

Social Origins and the Educational and Occupational Achievements of the 1.5 and Second Generations

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Des enquêtes spéciales démontrent que l'origine sociale constitue un déterminant important du niveau d'instruction des enfants immigrants. Cependant, l'omission de poser des questions sur l'origine sociale dans les grandes enquêtes empêche souvent l'étude de la relation existant entre l'origine sociale et la réussite socioéconomique de la progéniture des immigrants à l'âge adulte. L'analyse de l'Enquête sociale générale—cycle 15: rétrospective sur la famille de 2001 confirme l'influence de l'origine sociale, y compris les caractéristiques des antécédents familiaux, sur le niveau d'instruction et sur la réussite professionnelle de la progéniture des adultes immigrants âgée de 30 à 64 ans, classée par la distance de l'expérience migratoire et par la région d'origine. Les modèles de réussite de la progéniture des groupes spécifiques d'immigrants, particulièrement ceux provenant de nouvelles régions autres que les États-Unis, le Royaume-Uni, l'Irlande et l'Europe, sont en accord avec le modèle de l'« optimisme de l'immigrant » observé dans les études antérieures.

Special surveys show social origins are important determinants in the educational achievements of immigrant children. However, the omission of social origin questions on large surveys frequently prevents studying the relationship between social origins and the socioeconomic attainments of immigrant offspring in adulthood. Analysis of the 2001 General Social Survey Cycle 15 on Family History confirms the influence of social origins including family background characteristics on the educational and occupational achievements of adult immigrant offspring, age 30 to 64, demarcated by distance from the migration experience and by region of

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origin. The patterns of achievement for specific groups of immigrant offspring, particularly those whose origins are from new areas other than the United States, United Kingdom and Ireland, and Europe, is consistent with the “immigrant optimism” model observed in earlier studies.

SINCE THE 1960s, THE INTEGRATION OF newcomers has been a major topic of research, fuelled by the relatively large numbers of immigrants and shifting origins to North America. However, adult immigrants often arrive with young children or bear children, and the numbers of these immigrant offspring are also large. This sizable presence of immigrant offspring extends the interest in integration across subsequent generations. In North America as well as in Europe, research into the social, psychological, and economic integration of immigrant offspring has become a veritable growth industry, fuelling dissertations, special issues of journals, lectures, and government sponsored symposia.

The socioeconomic integration of the immediate descendants of immigrants is central in this burgeoning research. Education and occupation (and income) are part of what social scientist Max Weber termed “life chances,” and they are major indicators of social inequality. Socioeconomic inequalities between the foreign born as “newcomers” and groups with longer histories of residence are well documented, but an important derivative question is whether such inequalities persist for immigrant offspring. On the one hand, the decline or eradication of disadvantage for immigrant offspring would suggest that immigrant hardship reflects the immediate costs of migration, including the disruption of careers and social networks, the difficulties of credential recognition, and learning the destination country language(s). On the other hand, continued disadvantage across immigrant generations might signal structural impediments to both the foreign born and the next generation and imply a highly stratified society. Today in Canada and the United States, migrants often are persons of color, raising the specter of a racialized stratification system that will handicap their integration and their children’s integration.

The absence of census-based information on parental birthplace prompted many North American sociologists during the 1990s to analyze special surveys, many focused on the educational attainment of school-aged immigrant children (Hirschman 1994). When considered in their entirety, these studies on school-age children support two general conclusions. First, compared with the third-plus generation, children of North American immigrants generally do quite well with respect to education, although substantial variations exist depending on the color, ethnicity, and national origins of the offspring (Boyd 2008b; Fry 2006; Grayson 2009; Hirschman 2001; Kao and Thompson 2003; Keller and Tillman 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Second, social background factors are important determinants of educational outcomes for the children of immigrants (Glick and Hohmann-Marriott 2007; Lutz 2007; Vartanian et al. 2007).

Both conclusions are interrelated. Variations exist between countries with respect to the nature of their economies (rural versus service dominated) and the accessibility and breadth of their educational systems. As a result, immigrants may differ from nonimmigrants in the amount and types of education received and in their occupational experiences. In turn, family of origin and other background characteristics affect the attainments of offspring, including the children of immigrants. Drawing on the status attainment models first promulgated in the 1960s, research consistently documents that natal family characteristics along with background community characteristics influence offspring educational attainments, variously defined as test scores, grades, educational aspirations, high school drop out rates, school attendance, university degrees, or total years of schooling (Breen and Jonsson 2005; Haveman and Wolfe 1995; Kao and Thompson 2003). If immigrants and the native-born differ in their social origin “resources,” it stands to reason that educational differences across immigrant generations and between groups defined by ethnicity or birthplace will be observed as well. Existing stratification research also emphasizes that occupational outcomes are partly determined by social origins, primarily defined as natal family and community characteristics when growing up. Low achievements of some immigrant offspring may be partly attributable to low levels of familial resources and, some instances, growing up in small towns; higher levels of achievement may be the result of having well-educated parents with high status and good-paying occupations, along with other background characteristics conducive to high labor market success.

To date, the role of social background on the educational and occupational attainments of adult immigrant offspring has remained underexplored despite the saliency of social origins in stratification research on socioeconomic attainments of offspring (Anderson and Bruce 2004; Blau and Duncan 1967; Boyd et al. 1985; Charles, Roscigno, and Torres 2007; Sakamoto and Powers 2006; Warren and Hauser 1997). To a large extent, this neglect reflects the absence of data on social background in large surveys, such as censuses and labor force surveys, which contain a great deal of information on the labor market experiences of the respondents (e.g., see Sakamoto and Woo 2007). Yet, social origins are implicit in recent elaborations of the socioeconomic trajectories of immigrant offspring, discussed in the next section; as nations increasingly compete for high-skilled immigrants, immigrant offspring may be more likely to have favorable family of origin characteristics than do generations more remote from the immigration experience.

By studying the educational and occupational outcomes for adult immigrant offspring, age 30 through 64, and by documenting the importance of family origins in such attainments, this paper bridges two bodies of scholarship: that dealing with the educational experiences of school-age immigrant offspring and that studying the labor market experiences of immigrant adults. Using data from the 2001 Canadian General Social Survey

(GSS) Cycle 15, two questions are addressed. First, what are the educational and occupational achievements of generations increasingly removed from the migration experience? Second, how important are social origins in determining these origin and generational-specific outcomes? Stated differently, do variations across generations and within the immigrant offspring population reflect variations in the social origin characteristics of respondents?

In addressing these questions, variations in educational and occupational attainments across generations and by regional origin groups are documented and assessed against existing conceptual models of how immigrant offspring will fare. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses confirm the important influence of parental education, occupation, and other background characteristics in producing these socioeconomic outcomes for immigrant offspring categorized by region of origin and by distance from the migration experience. However, even after taking social origins into account, educational mobility exists, with the pattern being that of the “success” or overachievement model discussed below. In the case of occupational attainments, social origins also play pivotal roles in the attainments for most immigrant offspring groups. However, some groups also benefit from their higher than average educational attainments. Most telling, those born in Canada to parents from new source areas—regions other than Europe, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ireland—have the highest occupational statuses of all, a feature that reflects both their higher social origins and the higher educational achievements that exist after taking social origins into account.

WHAT TO EXPECT: DIRECTIVES FROM “ASSIMILATION” MODELS

Using a well-established lexicon, the term “immigrant offspring” refers to two groups that have foreign-born parents. The 1.5 generation consists of offspring who themselves are foreign born, but who have arrived as children; what constitutes arriving as youngsters ranges from before age 7, before age 13, and before age 15 depending on the study and data availability. The second generation consists of those who are born in the host society but who have one or more foreign-born parents. These two groups are considered to be distinctively positioned between the first generation of parents and the third-plus generation, which connotes those who are born in the host society and have parents who also are born in the host society. Although they have foreign-born parents who may have languages, beliefs, and customs that are different from those who have lived in the destination country for generations, the 1.5 and second generations are socialized in the host society and they have enhanced language skills by virtue of their participation in core social and economic institutions, including educational institutions.

Accordingly, the socioeconomic attainments of these offspring serve as indicators of integration processes that occur over generations, providing insight into whether the difficulties of integration that face immigrant parents persist for subsequent generations. Four models depict the possible outcomes for the 1.5 and second generations.

In the orthodox “straight-line” model that rests on the work of the “Chicago School” during the 1920s and elaborated through the 1960s, the first generation experienced difficulties in socioeconomic integration, partly because many first generation immigrants at the time were of farm origin and had low levels of education. But, with each generation further removed from foreign-born predecessors, the socioeconomic situations of “newcomer” groups improves, ultimately becoming similar to those of the North American born (who were often of British ancestry). Because the third-plus generation was thought to be the most educationally and economically advantaged, this perspective was termed the “straight line—or linear—assimilation model” because connecting each generational-specific outcome produces a straight (linear) line with an upward slope. With its focus on steadily improving socioeconomic attainments across generations, this model implicitly emphasizes upward social mobility between generations as an important mechanism of integration (Alba and Nee 2003:28).

Two alternative models take issue with the assumption that successive generations experience incorporation into the mainstream of the destination society. The “ethnic segmentation” model concedes that socioeconomic improvements may occur across generations but argues that immigrant offspring remain firmly embedded in ethnic communities and in ethnic economies. The “reactive segmentation” model, developed largely from the experiences of inner-city black immigrant youth in the United States with extensions to dark skinned Mexican origin offspring, depicts youth as rejecting mainstream mechanisms of mobility, including education. Consequently, these immigrant offspring do not show convergence toward the socioeconomic status of the third-plus generation, instead experiencing no mobility or downward mobility into an underclass (Boyd 2000; Portes 1995; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; Zhou and Bankston 1994, 1998).

A final model, the “success orientation model” (Boyd and Grieco 1998) or the “immigrant optimism hypothesis” (Kao and Tienda 1995), also emphasizes progress of immigrant origin groups over successive generations; but, unlike the “linear assimilation” or the “ethnic segmentation” models, it stresses the relative overachievements of the second generation compared with the first- and the third-plus generations, particularly the third-plus majority population. Overachievements are attributed to the achievement or “success” orientations of the foreign-born natal family that communicates high aspirations and expectations to its offspring (Feliciano 2005; Krahn and Taylor 2005). This model implies that the second generation will have higher educational and occupational attainments than either the first generation or the third-plus generations.

However, as Alba and Nee (2003) observe, immigrant groups are no longer starting at the bottom. This observation is particularly salient for studies of immigrant offspring in Canada; since 1967, the Canadian government has used a point system that includes education and during some periods, occupation or arranged employment, as criteria of admissibility for those seeking entry in the economic class. As a consequence, some immigrant offspring are likely to have highly educated parents. This possibility is enhanced for immigrants and their offspring who come from areas other than the United States or from Europe since the timing of their arrival is more recent and more likely to be affected by changes in immigration policies that favor the highly skilled. In such contexts, high achievements of the 1.5 and second generation may simply reflect the well-known association between social background and subsequent socioeconomic outcomes. Hence, a key research question is whether educational or economic outcomes for these immigrant offspring groups simply reflects the advantages or disadvantages associated with social background (the transfer of status across parental-offspring generations) or mobility above and beyond what advantages or disadvantages the social background factors might confer on these offspring.

Within the status attainment literature, the primary social origin factors that influence educational and occupational achievements derive from the family of orientation because the natal family is the primary source of emotional, social, and economic resources. Parental socioeconomic characteristics are important, although not exclusive, predictors of the educational and occupational attainments of offspring. Explanations for these links include the associations between parental education and occupations and three factors: the level of investments and expenditures made by parents in anticipation of increasing their children's human capital skills; the socializing influences of parental education on the aspirations and expectations of offspring (Haveman and Wolfe 1995); and intergenerational transmission of knowledge about the workplace. Other social origin variables include the number of siblings in the family of origin, family structure while growing up, and size of place when growing up. A large number of siblings can dilute potential investments in a specific child or reduce resources available for higher education or specialized occupational training. Growing up in a two- or one-parent family also affects the attainments of offspring. In particular, educational attainments may be lower for children growing up in a one-parent household: marital separation has stressful effects on children; if the parent does not remarry, there is a potential loss of a second adult socializer and an overall lower total household income, which reduces resources available for education and occupational training (Blake 1985; Blau and Duncan 1967; Boyd et al. 1985; Featherman and Hauser 1978; Haveman and Wolfe 1995; Kao and Thompson 2003; Lillard and Willis 1994). The size of the community lived in by respondents during their youth also influences socioeconomic attainments because it provides the context within which

schooling and workplace socialization occurs. Compared with large cities, rural areas and smaller towns may lack higher educational systems, and their economies may not require workers with high levels of education (Boyd 1985).

DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

To reiterate, this paper addresses two core questions: (1) with respect to educational and occupational attainments, do immigrant offspring fare better, worse than, or the same as other generational groups; and (2) how important are social origins in determining national-origin and generational-specific outcomes? These research questions are answered using data from the master data file of Cycle 15, GSS housed at Statistics Canada as well as in Statistics Canada Research Data Centres. Fielded by Statistics Canada from February to December 2001, Cycle 15 of the GSS is the third cycle to collect detailed information on family life in Canada. The survey sample was obtained via Random Digit Dialing of households with telephones, and thus excludes an estimated 2.1 percent of the Canadian population that are without telephones. Of those in the sampling frame, the overall nonresponse rate was 21 percent, with a 79 percent response rate. In total, data were gathered from 24,310 persons aged 15 and older and living in a private household in one of 10 Canadian provinces; institutional residents and those living in the territories and Nunavut were excluded (Statistics Canada n.d.).

Cycle 15 collected information on the following social origin characteristics: family structure between the respondent's birth and age 15, parental education, the number of siblings coresiding with the respondent before age 15, parental occupations when the respondent was age 15, and city (place of residence) size when age 15. In addition, Cycle 15 data were collected on birthplaces of respondents and their parents and on the ages of arrival if respondents were foreign born. From these data, a classification scheme is developed to represent groups increasingly removed from the immigration experience. In keeping with the categories readily found in other studies, the third-plus generation consists of respondents who are Canadian born and whose parents are Canadian born. The second generation consists of respondents who are Canadian born with at least one foreign-born parent (most have two foreign-born parents), and the 1.5 generation consists of foreign-born respondents who arrived as children or young adolescents (before age 15).

The analysis excludes the first generation of immigrants, defined as those arriving in Canada at age 15 or older. This group is excluded because any variation in education for the foreign-born arriving as older adolescents or as adults may reflect international differences in educational systems, thus complicating the interpretation of results for educational and occupational attainments for this group. In order to better capture final educa-

tional attainments and to include the core labor force population when studying current occupational attainments, this paper analyzes outcomes for the population between the ages of 30 and 64. Over 11,500 and 9,100 respondents formed the basis of the analysis for educational and occupational attainments, respectively, with differences reflecting the omission of the nonlabor force population from the occupational analysis.

The measure of educational attainment in this study is years of schooling. A well-accepted measure of educational achievement, found in sociological and economic studies alike, years of schooling often is treated as a form of human capital (investments in generic analytical and skill capabilities that increase productivity and rates of pay). Cycle 15 does not provide years of schooling; the measure was developed for this study by recoding educational data on the 2001 census into the educational classification existing in Cycle 15 and then using the 2001 census variable on years of schooling to produce average years of schooling for each category of that classification schema.

In GSS Cycle 15, respondents were asked to report the type of occupation held in the 12 months preceding the survey. Responses were coded using the 1991 Standard Occupational Classification (SOC91) and collapsed into 47 detailed occupational categories. By applying these categories to 2001 census data, Boyd-NP occupational status scores were produced (see Appendix), using the percentile methodology outlined in Boyd (2008a). These scores were used in the analysis of occupational attainment using GSS Cycle 15 data.

OLS regression is used to determine the extent to which family and other social background variables explain variations in educational and occupational attainments. Age of the respondent is included as a control variable; compared with younger respondents, older respondents may have fewer years of schooling but more years of labor market experience, both of which are associated with occupational attainments. Family background measures include number of siblings living with the respondent until the age of 15, parental levels of education measured as five levels of school completion, and parental occupations coded into four occupational categories. In many socioeconomic studies of attainment, “don’t know” or “not applicable” responses to questions on parental education and occupation can exclude a significant number of respondents from analysis. Older respondents may not remember or know the characteristics of parents; questions on parental characteristics also may be irrelevant if respondents grew up in single parent families or if their mothers lived in an era when few women were paid workers in the formal economy. To minimize the selective exclusion of cases due to nonresponse, the classifications of parental education and occupation include categories that represent respondents for whom no information is available, either because of question-specific nonresponse or because they were not asked (e.g., if respondents indicated their mothers did not work a follow-up question on type of employment was omitted).

Other social origin variables include a measure of family structure devised from information on whether respondents lived with parents at birth and/or age 15, and whether respondents lived with parental substitutes. Size of community at age 15 is also included as a measure of social origins. Again, a category for nonresponse was created for this latter variable due to a high nonresponse for some groups.

Because source countries and numbers of immigrants have changed following the adoption of new laws governing admission, researchers, and policymakers alike ask if outcomes vary for generational groups demarcated by race or ethnicity. Data on visible minority status or ethnic ancestry are not collected in the 2001 GSS. Fortunately, country of birth, which crudely corresponds to ethnic and/or racial information, is collected for foreign-born respondents and for the parents of respondents who are not born in Canada. However, Cycle 15 of the GSS is a relatively small survey, containing information on approximately 22,000 cases. Of these, approximately two-thirds are third-plus generation for which no country of origin data are available. Because small sample numbers exist for specific countries of origin for the 1.5 and second generations, immigrant offspring are defined according to their birth or their parents' birth in one of three areas: (1) the United States, the United Kingdom, or Ireland; (2) Europe (excluding the United Kingdom) or the former USSR; and (3) all other areas. Although analyzing specific birthplace groups in principle is desirable, the regional origin groups allow a broad brush-stroke examination of the educational and occupational attainments of the "new origin" immigrant offspring. In particular, do those offspring from areas other than the United States, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Europe do well, or is there evidence of downward mobility across generations?

It should be noted that the Cycle 15 GSS survey has a complex design and uses a stratified sample. Some geographical areas are overrepresented and others underrepresented. As well, there are multiple stages of selection and unequal probabilities of selection of respondents (Statistics Canada n.d.:18). As a result, weights must be used. Yet the use of weights inflates the sample to population estimates, rendering small variances and standard errors; accordingly weights were rescaled by dividing the weight variable with a factor calculated by dividing the population estimate by the sample size (Boyd et al. 1985:14). Further, the complex stratified sampling design produces smaller standard errors than if the analysis corrected for the sampling methodology, thus increasing the chances of a relationship being considered statistically significant. In order to minimize the reporting of findings as significant when they are not, bootstrapping is used. This resampling method (Rao, Wu, and Yue 1992) produces variance estimates closer to the exact estimates. These variance estimates are used in the tests for statistical significance that accompany the multivariate analysis.

THE DIVERSITY THAT LIES WITHIN

The 1.5 and second generations represent slightly under one-quarter (23 percent) of the population analyzed in this study (age 30 to 64, excluding the foreign born who immigrated at age 15 or older). Descriptive statistics, presented in Table 1, show differing characteristics exist within the immigrant offspring population by regional origins and between the 1.5, second, and third-plus generations. As might be expected in light of changing source countries for migrants—away from Europe and toward Asian, Latin American, and Africa—the 1.5 and second generations who are born in the United States, the United Kingdom, Ireland, or in Europe, and the (former) USSR are slightly older than those who are born elsewhere. The latter group also is most likely to reside in either Toronto or Vancouver, again confirming the role these cities now play in attracting migrants, and ultimately their children.

All immigrant offspring groups have higher years of schooling on average compared with the third-plus generation. In particular, the second generation whose parents are born in other areas, excluding the United States, United Kingdom, Ireland, and Europe, have the highest educational attainments of all. As shown in Chart I, for the other European or other region groups, the overall pattern is consistent with the “success orientation model” in that the second generation has higher levels of attainments than does the 1.5. For those born in the United States, the United Kingdom, and in Ireland, a “reverse” linear model appears—the second generation of U.S., U.K., and Irish origins actually has fewer years of schooling than does the 1.5 generation. Although differences are attenuated, the same pattern is observed for occupational attainment, lending support for the “success orientation/immigrant optimism” model, at least for the immigrant offspring whose origins are from places other than Europe and the United States, United Kingdom, or Ireland. All regional origin groups have higher occupational scores on average than the third-plus generation (Chart II).

In sum, educational and occupational attainments of immigrant offspring certainly do not conform to the orthodox “linear assimilation” model in which the 1.5 and second generations are playing “catch-up” to the assumed higher educational and occupational levels of the third-plus generation. If anything, the model of “success orientation” seems to apply in that educational and occupational levels are higher than observed for the third-plus generation. However, as observed earlier, these high achievements of the 1.5 and second generation may also be reflecting favorable social background characteristics.

What are the social origins of these regional origin generational groups? Data in Table 1 show that the parents of immigrant offspring who are born in the United States, United Kingdom, and Ireland and those born in other regions are more likely than those parents born in “other Europe” or parents of the third-plus generation to hold bachelor’s degrees and to have been

Table 1
Select Socio-Demographic Characteristics by National Origin and Generational Status, Age 30 to 64, Canada, 2001

	1.5 Generation			Second Generation			Third-plus generation (7)
	U.S., U.K., and Ireland (1)	Other Europe and USSR (2)	All other regions (3)	U.S., U.K., and Ireland (4)	Other Europe and USSR (5)	All other regions (6)	
Population estimates, rounded	155,600	300,200	150,000	931,300	984,500	84,200	8,888,200
Percent of total population	1.4	2.6	1.3	8.1	8.6	0.7	77.3
Sex of respondent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Female	59	43	46	51	51	50	50
Male	41	57	54	49	49	50	50
Respondents' mean age	44.2	48.0	38.2	47.8	42.5	39.4	45.1
Place of current residence	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Montreal	2	15	9	4	7	8	13
Toronto	21	30	31	17	26	38	7
Vancouver	9	3	29	10	5	16	4
Other CMAs	45	27	22	32	31	30	30
Non-CMAs	24	26	10	37	31	7	46
Respondents' mean years of schooling	14.5	13.8	14.7	13.8	14.1	15.9	13.6
Respondents' mean occupational scores ^a	57.5	49.9	53.9	46.9	48.2	60.1	44.9
<i>Social origin variables</i>							
Education of father	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Less than HS diploma	18	63	25	50	61	22	60
High school diploma	37	11	34	24	15	31	19
Some postsecondary	5	3	2	4	5	3	5
College or trade certificate or diploma	18	13	12	7	12	14	7
Bachelors degree or higher	22	10	27	15	8	31	10

Continued.

Table 1. Continued.

	1.5 Generation			Second Generation				Third-plus generation (7)
	U.S., U.K., and Ireland (1)	Other Europe and USSR (2)	All other regions (3)	U.S., U.K., and Ireland (4)	Other Europe and USSR (5)	All other regions (6)		
% not reporting education of father	8	19	20	17	16	14	15	
Education of mother	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Less than HS diploma	28	72	45	40	57	22	53	
High school diploma	41	16	33	33	25	37	26	
Some postsecondary	5	3	2	4	4	2	4	
College or trade certificate or diploma	12	6	8	12	8	16	9	
Bachelors degree or higher	15	3	12	10	6	23	8	
% not reporting education of mother	12	18	16	16	14	16	14	
Father's occupation	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Professional/technical	43	17	26	26	21	45	22	
Clerical	5	0	7	7	2	3	5	
Sales and service	11	14	26	15	11	18	13	
Trades and manufacturing	41	69	41	52	66	34	60	
% not reporting occupation of father ^b	8	9	13	11	9	11	9	
Mother's occupation	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Professional/technical	32	15	23	32	17	42	26	
Clerical	27	5	18	26	17	14	25	
Sales and service	33	32	29	29	37	24	36	
Trades and manufacturing	9	48	36	13	29	20	14	
% not reporting occupation of mother ^b	45	58	49	63	59	44	67	
Family structure when young	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Lived with both parents or substitute	93	90	85	87	90	99	90	

Continued.

Table 1. Continued.

	1.5 Generation			Second Generation			Third-plus generation (7)
	U.S., U.K., and Ireland (1)	Other Europe and USSR (2)	All other regions (3)	U.S., U.K., and Ireland (4)	Other Europe and USSR (5)	All other regions (6)	
Did not live with parents, had substitute	5	9	11	11	8	1	9
Did not live with both parents	2	2	4	2	2	1	1
Total number of brothers/sisters	2.0	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.6	3.0	3.1
Size of community when young	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Don't know or not stated	7	10	19	9	7	10	7
< 5,000 population	12	16	5	24	20	10	34
5,000 to <25,000	11	7	3	13	12	3	19
25,000 to <100,000	22	15	10	17	16	11	18
100,000 to 1,000,000	32	19	32	24	26	41	15
Over 1,000,000	16	34	30	12	19	25	7

Source: Statistics Canada General Social Survey, Cycle 15, 2001.

^a Boyd-NP scores calculated for the GSS-15.

^b Includes responses for parents who were not in the labor force. CMAs, Census Metropolitan Areas.

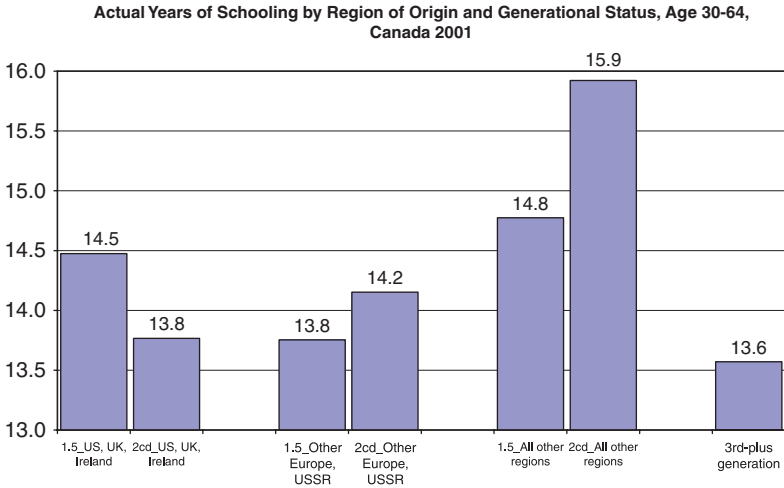


Chart I: *Actual years of schooling by region of origin and generational status, age 30 to 64, Canada 2001.*

employed in professional, semiprofessional, and technical occupations. The story regarding family structure, number of siblings, and size of place when aged 15 is more nuanced. Two of the region-specific generational groups have over 10 percent growing up with a substitute parent(s) while others,

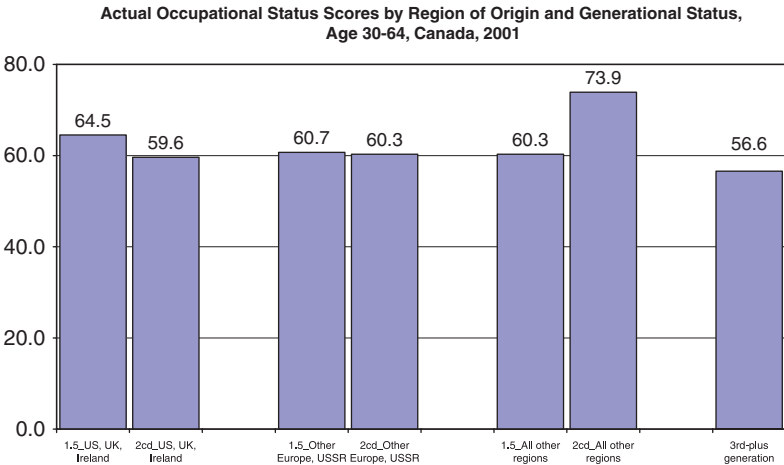


Chart II: *Actual occupational status scores by region of origin and generational status, age 30 to 64, Canada, 2001.*

such as the second generation born in other regions, primarily grew up in intact families. Similarly, some groups had only two siblings on average while growing up (the 1.5 born in the United States, United Kingdom, and Ireland) but others had closer to three siblings on average (particularly the second generation born in other regions). Likewise the second generation with parents born outside of Europe, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the United States were the most likely to grow up in cities of 100,000 population or greater with other groups being more geographically dispersed.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

The data in Table 1 support the argument that the higher average years of schooling and occupational scores that characterize specific groups of immigrant offspring are partly reflecting social origin characteristics associated with educational and occupational attainments. OLS dummy variable regression assesses this possibility, with age and current place of residence added as final controls. Because of the small sample numbers for some of the regional and generation groups, regressions are not conducted separately for women and men and a main effects model is used in which the coefficients for the 1.5 and second generations indicate the educational or occupational advantages or disadvantages relative to a reference group, defined as the third-plus generation. Adding the previously specified independent variables not only reveals their influence on outcomes but also the coefficients for the regional origin and generation groups then indicate the advantage or disadvantage that remains after adjusting for compositional differences between groups in these characteristics. Following a procedure outlined in Andrews, Morgan, and Sonquist (1967), the coefficients for groups defined by regional origins and generation can be transformed into deviations from the total population mean and into group-specific means, figures that would be observed after taking other factors into account.

OLS regressions for years of schooling (Table 2) generate three main conclusions. First, the increment to R^2 for successive models confirm that natal family characteristics and other social background measures strongly influence educational attainments of adult Canadians (e.g., the Model III R^2 of .210 versus Model II R^2 of .012). As documented in numerous earlier studies, higher levels of parental education and father's occupation are associated with higher levels of educational attainment, measured as years of schooling. (The occupational impacts of mothers do not significantly vary from that of mothers working in professional and technical occupation; however, a regression model [not shown] finds these nonsignificant effects exist after controlling only for parental education and for fathers' occupation; these indicators are likely to be highly correlated to the extent that marital homogamy exists in the family of procreation.) Educational levels are also higher when respondents had fewer siblings and lived

Table 2

Regression Coefficients for Respondents' Years of Schooling, by Region of Origin and Generational Status, Age 30 to 64, Canada, 2001

	Model I (1)	Model II (2)	Model III (3)	Model IV (4)
Constant	13.570***	13.601***	15.425***	16.134***
Generational status and origins				
Foreign born, 1.5 generation	.905***	.911***	-.062 (NS)	-.066 (NS)
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	.184 (NS)	.180 (NS)	.266 (NS)	.253 (NS)
Other Europe, USSR	1.204***	1.201***	.777*	.597*
All other regions				
Second generation				
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	.197 (NS)	.197 (NS)	-.028 (NS)	.013 (NS)
Other Europe, USSR	.583***	.584***	.490***	.415***
All other regions	2.353***	2.352***	1.329***	1.167***
Third-plus generation	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Sex				
Female		-.063 (NS)	-.019 (NS)	-.014 (NS)
Male		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Education of father				
Father's education not reported			-1.034***	-.992***
Less than HS diploma			-.305***	-.274***
High school diploma			(rg)	(rg)
Some postsecondary			.218 (NS)	.217 (NS)
College or trade certificate or diploma			.441***	.414***
Bachelors degree or higher			1.079***	1.053***
Education of mother				
Mother's education not reported			-1.039***	-.972***
Less than HS diploma			-.429***	-.383***
High school diploma			(rg)	(rg)
Some postsecondary			.394*	.407***
College or trade certificate or diploma			.490***	.497***
University degree			.878***	.879***
Father's occupation				
Father's occupation not reported			-.379***	-.359***
Professional/technical			(rg)	(rg)

Continued.

Table 2. Continued.

	Model I (1)	Model II (2)	Model III (3)	Model IV (4)
Clerical			-.178 (NS)	-.165 (NS)
Sales and service			-.368***	-.369***
Trades and manufacturing			-.733***	-.694
Mother's occupation				
Mother's occupation not reported			-.071 (NS)	-.026 (NS)
Professional/technical			(rg)	(rg)
Clerical			.095 (NS)	.103 (NS)
Sales and service			-.062 (NS)	-.064 (NS)
Trades and manufacturing			-.116 (NS)	-.108 (NS)
Family structure when young			(rg)	(rg)
Lived with both parents or substitute			-.269**	-.295**
Did not live with parents, had substitute			-.262 (NS)	-.302***
Did not live with both parents			-.170***	-.156
Did not live with both parents/sisters				
Total number of brothers/sisters				
Size of community when young				
Don't know or not stated			-.991***	-.900***
<5,000 population			-.415***	-.186 (NS)
5,000 to <25,000			-.314**	-.129 (NS)
25,000 to <100,000			-.187 (NS)	-.080 (NS)
100,000 to 1,000,000			-.174 (NS)	-.136 (NS)
Over 1,000,000			(rg)	(rg)
Place of current residences				
Montreal				-.048 (NS)
Toronto				(rg)
Vancouver				-.091 (NS)
Other CMAs				-.139 (NS)
Non-CMAs				-.572***
Respondent's age				-.015***
R ²	.012	.012	.210	.219

Source: Statistics Canada General Social Survey, Cycle 15, 2001.

NS, not significant at $p = .05$ level; rg, reference group.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

CMAs, Census Metropolitan Areas.

with both parents or substitutes, and in large communities while growing up. Although family and other background characteristics are important determinants of educational attainments, the age of the respondent and the size of the current community of residence also have modest effects on educational attainments. As age increases, educational achievements decline; living in Toronto, Canada's largest city and a center of finance and communication, is associated with higher levels of educational attainment.

Second, compared with age and current place of residence, family and other measures of social background account for much of the variations in educational attainments that exist between the regional origin-specific generation groups and the third-plus generation. This is shown by examining regression coefficients for various models and by converting the regression coefficients in Table 2 into means (Andrews, Morgan, and Sonquist 1967). For two groups, the 1.5 generation born in other European and USSR regions and the second generation born in the United States, United Kingdom, and Ireland, years of schooling are not statistically different from that observed for the third-plus generation in Canada (Table 2, Models I through IV). However, the higher positive educational increments for other groups diminish when the effects of social origins are taken into account. In the case of the 1.5 generation born in the United States, United Kingdom, and Ireland, the .9 years of schooling increment (relative to the third-plus generation) declines and is no longer significantly different from that of the third-plus generation once the social origin differences between groups are taken into account. For the remainder of the regional and generational groups, their educational advantages (relative to the third-plus generation) decline once group differences in social origins are taken into account, indicating that the relative educational advantages of these groups reflects their advantageous social origins. The first three columns of Table 3 present the actual mean years of schooling (column 1) controlling for sex; the means that would be observed if all groups had the same distributions for family and background characteristics (column 2); and the means that would be observed if all groups had the same distributions for family and background characteristics, age, and current place of residence (column 3). The differences between columns 1 and 3 indicate the overall effect of the group-specific characteristics have on the group's educational attainment (column 4), net of sex. Using a technique found in Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan (1972:233-34), this total difference is then decomposed into two parts: the first (column 5) shows the contribution of group-specific family and social background characteristics to that group's educational attainment while the second (column 6) indicates the contribution of age and place of residence to the group's average years of schooling.

Comparisons of columns 5 and 6 reveal the substantive importance of family and social backgrounds for the educational attainments of the 1.5 and second generations. For example, the 1.5 generation from the United States, the United Kingdom, or Ireland have an average of 14.5 years of

Table 3
Actual and Hypothetical Mean Years of Schooling and Independent Variable Contributions for Region of Origin and Generation Groups, Age 30 to 64, Canada 2001

	Net of					
	Model II ^a (1)	Model III ^b (2)	Model IV ^c (3)	Total difference ^d (4)	Family and social background ^e (5)	Age, current community ^f (6)
Generational status and origins						
Foreign born, 1.5 generation	14.5	13.6	13.6	.92	.92	.00
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	13.7	13.9	13.9	-.13	-.14	.01
Other Europe, USSR	14.8	14.4	14.2	.55	.37	.17
All other regions						
Second generation						
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	13.8	13.6	13.6	.13	.18	-.05
Other Europe, USSR	14.2	14.1	14.0	.11	.04	.07
All other regions	15.9	14.9	14.8	1.13	.97	.16
Third-plus generation	13.6	13.6	13.6	-.06	-.05	-.01

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey Cycle 15.

^a Based on Model II from Table 2.

^b Based on Model III from Table 2.

^c Based on Model IV from Table 2.

^d Column 1 minus column 3. Numbers based on values carried to the fourth decimal place.

^e Column 1 minus column 2. Numbers based on values carried to the fourth decimal place.

^f Column 2 minus column 3. Numbers based on values carried to the fourth decimal place.

schooling, but if this group had the family and social background characteristics of the entire population under study (1.5, second, and third-plus generations combined) the average would decline to 13.6 years of schooling (Table 3, columns 1 and 3). The difference of .92 years of schooling is completely due to the higher social backgrounds of this 1.5 generation relative to the total population (Table 3, columns 4 and 5). For the second generation from the United States, the United Kingdom, or Ireland their above-average social origins account for an additional .18 years of schooling but the overall impact is diminished by a loss of .05 years of schooling due to unfavorable age and place of residence profiles (as shown in Table 1, this second generation group is the oldest on average and is most likely to reside in small towns rather than in large cities). The age and community of residence profiles also matter for other regional origin groups. However, with the exception of the European-USSR 1.5 and third-plus generations, the above-average social backgrounds of the other regional origin and generation groups all substantially contribute to the higher educational attainments that are observed.

The preceding conclusions highlight the impacts of social background factors, confirming an extensive literature that documents the importance of family socioeconomic status on educational attainments while also confirming differences between ethnic or racially defined groups (see Kao and Thompson 2003). However, social origins do not completely explain the educational attainments of the generation groups. When adjustments are made for family of orientation and other background characteristics, regression coefficients in Table 2 show that the educational gap narrows for the third-plus generation and specific regional origin immigrant offspring groups; as well the difference between the third-plus generation and the 1.5 generation born in the United States, United Kingdom, or Ireland becomes negligible (statistically nonsignificant). The implication is that while social background characteristics are important sources for the higher levels of educational achievement of immigrant offspring versus the third-plus generation in Canada, they are not the whole story. Some groups have levels of educational attainments that are higher even after taking social origins and age and place of residence into account (see Table 3, column 3). As Chart III shows, the 1.5 and second generation from regions other than Europe, the United States, United Kingdom, and Ireland continue to have the highest average years of schooling, even after controlling for background and demographic characteristics. The overall patterns are consistent with the immigrant success model rather than with models of declines in achievement or the “linear” model of each generation doing successively better with advancing distance from the migration experience. Studies in the United States suggest that new immigrant groups perform better in school because they are more likely to respect authority, see life in the destination country as an opportunity for advancement, and come from families that are optimistic about the future educational attainment of their

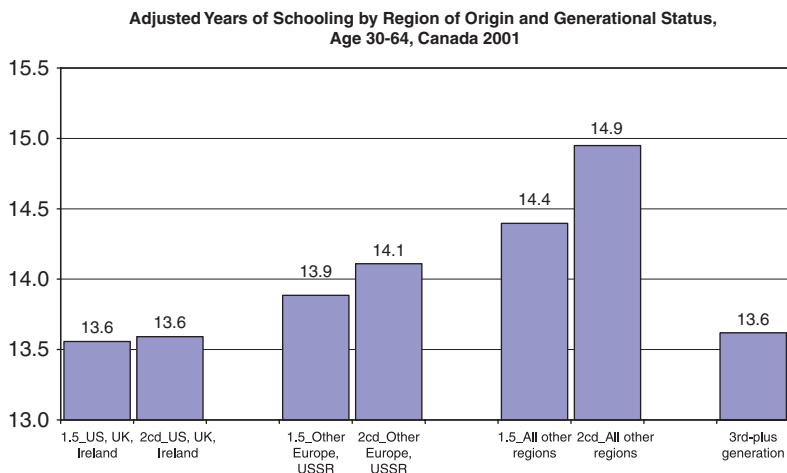


Chart III: Adjusted years of schooling by region of origin and generational status, age 30 to 64, Canada 2001.

children and emphasize educational attainment (Kao and Thompson 2003; Kao and Tienda 1995).

OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

The preceding analysis finds that above-average family background and other social origin characteristics are factors underlying the higher educational attainments of the 1.5 and second generation in Canada compared with the third-plus generation. OLS regressions also confirm this finding with respect to occupational attainments for those respondents who report holding a job within the 12 months before the GSS survey. Sequential regression models (Table 4) illuminate the way in which family background and other social origin variables influence the occupational status of the 1.5 and second generations compared with that of the third-plus generation. With the exception of the 1.5 generation born in other regions, all the regional and generation groups have higher occupational statuses than observed for the third-plus generation (Table 4, columns 1 and 2). However, when social origins are taken into account, only two groups of second generation—those with parents from Europe–USSR and from other areas—have higher occupational statuses that are significantly different from that of the third-plus generation (Table 4, Model III, column 3).

As indicated earlier, the OLS regressions in this paper show what would be the occupational (dis)advantages for region-specific generation groups compared with the third-plus generation, conditional on all groups having

Table 4

Regression Coefficients for Respondents' Occupational Status Scores, by Generational Status and Origins, Population that Worked in the Past 12 Months, Age 30 to 64, Canada, 2001

	Model I (1)	Model II (2)	Model III (3)	Model IV (4)	Model V (5)
Constant	56.583***	57.017***	70.484***	7.704***	3.765(NS)
Generational status and origins					
Foreign born, 1.5 generation					
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	7.952***	8.078***	1.778(NS)	2.234(NS)	1.199(NS)
Other Europe, USSR	4.136*	4.066*	3.217(NS)	1.474(NS)	-.068(NS)
All other regions	3.729(NS)	3.719(NS)	.442(NS)	-2.018(NS)	-2.083(NS)
Second generation					
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	3.056**	3.062**	1.249(NS)	1.705(NS)	.828(NS)
Other Europe, USSR	3.717**	3.704**	2.618*	600(NS)	.318(NS)
All other regions	17.333***	17.323***	10.429***	4.836*	4.463(NS)
Third-plus generation	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Sex					
Female					
Male		-.952(NS)	-1.168*	-1.805***	-1.787***
Education of father		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Not reported					
Less than HS diploma			-7.704***	-4.016***	-4.010***
High school diploma			-.607(NS)	.313(NS)	.196(NS)
Some post-secondary			4.184**	2.997*	2.743(NS)
College or trade certificate or diploma			2.927*	1.250(NS)	1.553(NS)
Bachelors degree or higher			5.668***	1.080(NS)	1.272(NS)
Education of mother					
Not reported					
Less than HS diploma			-5.422***	-1.318(NS)	-1.516(NS)
High school diploma			-3.325***	-1.785*	-2.075**
Some post-secondary			(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
College or trade certificate or diploma			-806(NS)	-2.331(NS)	-2.373(NS)
Bachelors degree or higher			2.499*	.298(NS)	.496(NS)
Father's occupation			2.227(NS)	-.959(NS)	-.915(NS)
Father's occupation not reported					
Professional/technical			-3.258**	-2.045(NS)	-1.897(NS)
			(rg)	(rg)	(rg)

Continued.

Table 4. Continued.

	Model I (1)	Model II (2)	Model III (3)	Model IV (4)	Model V (5)
Clerical			-.950 (NS)	-.423 (NS)	-.667 (NS)
Sales and service			-2.845***	-1.310 (NS)	-1.433 (NS)
Trades and manufacturing			-6.444*	-3.665***	-3.295***
Mother's occupation					
Mother's occupation not reported					
Professional/technical			-.634 (NS)	-.916 (NS)	-1.496 (NS)
Clerical			(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Sales and service			-.555 (NS)	-1.027 (NS)	-1.001 (NS)
Trades and manufacturing			-1.627 (NS)	-1.607 (NS)	-1.588 (NS)
Family structure when young			-.211 (NS)	-.296 (NS)	-.225 (NS)
Lived with both parents, or substitute			(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Did not live with parents, had substitute			-1.845 (NS)	-.735 (NS)	-.327 (NS)
Did not live with both parents			-4.633***	-3.175 (NS)	-2.637 (NS)
Total number of brothers/sisters			-.571***	-.027 (NS)	-.032 (NS)
Size of community when young					
Don't know or not stated			-8.275***	-3.816**	-2.667*
<5,000 population			-6.971***	-4.836***	-2.494*
5,000 to <25,000			-4.022***	-2.246*	100 (NS)
25,000 to <100,000			-1.837 (NS)	-.634 (NS)	1.169 (NS)
Over 1,000,000			-.726 (NS)	.345 (NS)	1.393 (NS)
Respondents' years of schooling			(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Place of current residences				4.093***	4.026***
Montreal					
Toronto					-2.810*
Vancouver					(rg)**
Other CMAs					-3.773**
Non-CMAs					-3.329***
Respondents age ^a					-7.055***
R ²	.008	.008	.117	.273	.284

Source: Statistics Canada General Social Survey, Cycle 15, 2001.

NS, not significant at $p = .05$ level; rg, reference group.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

CMAs, Census Metropolitan Areas.

the same distributions with respect to the variables entered into each regression model. In short, the regression analyses take the different compositional characteristics—including natal family and other social background characteristics—into account. However, the region-specific generation groups also differ with respect to educational attainments even after controlling for social origins (Tables 2 and 3). When these differences in years of schooling, net of family and social factors, are taken into account, the two-point occupational status score advantage of the second generation from Europe and the USSR (relative to the third-plus generation) net of family background further declines (Table 4, columns 4 and 5) and the occupational status gap between the two groups is no longer significant. Only the second generation from other regions continues to have a four-point occupational status advantage compared with the third-plus generation (Table 4, column 4); the final regression reveals that this remaining occupational status advantage reflects the younger age profile of this second generation group and the high concentration in Toronto (Table 4, column 5).

Converting the regression coefficients into means (Andrews et al. 1967) and decomposing the differences tell a similar but more nuanced story (Table 5). The relatively higher occupational status scores for 1.5 and second generation with U.S., U.K., and Irish origins reflect favorable social origins with the additional impacts of lower than average schooling (net of origins) and age and place of current residence canceling each other (Table 5, columns 6 through 8). Social origins matter less for the occupational attainments of immigrant offspring from Europe and the USSR relative to their above-average higher educational attainments. For the “new origin” immigrant offspring, those whose origins are outside of Europe and the United States, United Kingdom, and Ireland, social origins account for about half of their higher occupational statuses (6.4 points out of 12 points, as shown in columns 5 and 6, Table 5). However, their higher than average educational attainments, controlling for social origins, also are important contributors to their above-average occupational statuses (accounting for 5.3 points). Stated somewhat differently, assuming the overall population distributions for social origins variables, years of schooling and age and current community of residence, the occupational statuses for the second generation from other areas would be 61.9 points, respectively (Table 5, column 4). The difference of 12 points between this hypothetical mean and that observed net of sex (Table 5, column 1) reflects an increment of 6.4 points due to higher than average social origins (relative to the mean) and an increment of 5.3 points that reflects higher than average years of schooling.

CONCLUSION

With its focus on family history, the 2001 GSS, Cycle 15 permits examining the roles played by social origins in the educational and occupational achievements of adult immigrant offspring, age 30 to 64. Multivariate

Table 5

Actual and Hypothetical Mean Occupational Scores and Independent Variable Contributions for Region of Origin and Generation Groups Who Worked in the Past 12 Months, Age 30 to 64, Canada 2001.

	Net of							
	Model II ^a (1)	Model V ^b (2)	Model III ^c (3)	Model IV ^d (4)	Total difference ^e (5)	Family and social background ^f (6)	Years of schooling ^g (7)	Age, current community ^h (8)
Generational status and origins								
Foreign born, 1.5 generation	64.7	58.8	59.5	58.6	6.01	5.84	-.71	.88
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	60.6	60.3	58.8	57.4	3.27	.39	1.49	1.39
Other Europe, USSR	60.3	57.5	55.3	55.4	4.93	2.82	2.20	-.09
All other regions								
Second generation								
U.S., U.K., and Ireland	59.6	58.3	59.0	58.3	1.37	1.36	-.71	.72
Other Europe, USSR	60.3	59.7	57.9	57.8	2.52	.63	1.76	.13
All other regions	73.9	67.5	62.1	61.9	11.99	6.44	5.34	.22
Third-plus generation	56.6	57.0	57.3	57.5	-.87	-.46	-.25	-.16

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey Cycle 15.

^a Based on Model II from Table 4.

^b Based on Model V from Table 4.

^c Based on Model III from Table 4.

^d Based on Model IV from Table 4.

^e Column 1 minus column 4. Numbers based on values carried to the fourth decimal place.

^f Column 1 minus column 2. Numbers based on values carried to the fourth decimal place.

^g Column 2 minus column 3. Numbers based on values carried to the fourth decimal place.

^h Column 3 minus column 4. Numbers based on values carried to the fourth decimal place.

regression analysis confirms that the social origins of many immigrant offspring groups, demarcated by region of origin, help explain the higher years of schooling attained by these immigrant offspring compared with the third-plus generation. Although the GSS lacks information on the mechanisms that mediate social background and educational attainments, past research suggests that economic resources, parental education, and family structure influence educational outcomes because they help create educational aspirations and expectations and they provide, or deny, opportunities for offspring to obtain postsecondary or university schooling.

Social origins, defined as parental education and occupations, number of siblings, family structure and size of community when age 15, also partly account for the higher occupational statuses of four out of the six immigrant offspring groups. These findings have implications for future investigations that use survey or census data to study the socioeconomic well-being of the 1.5 and second generations, but which do not contain information on family background and other social origin characteristics. That immigrant offspring are doing well or poorly, relative to the third-plus generation may be at least partly the result of social background rather than the often assumed upward or downward social mobility thought to occur between generations increasingly removed from the immigration experience. As settlement countries increasingly seek to admit high-skilled migrants (Schachar 2006) who are the parents of tomorrow's 1.5 and second generation, it is plausible that many immigrant offspring groups in the near future will have even higher levels of educational and occupational attainments compared with groups such as the third-plus generation and beyond that are more distant from immigration. Of course, this possibility is tempered by different auspices under which the foreign born enter Canada; those admitted in the family or refugee classes have tended to have lower levels of education than those admitted in the skilled worker category.

While the analysis shows that social origins, including family background characteristics, are important factors underlying the educational and occupational achievements of the 1.5 and second generations vis-à-vis the third-plus generation, it also reveals that some immigrant offspring groups have higher educational attainments, even after adjusting for group differences in social origins. Why this is so cannot be determined from data available from the GSS. Other studies suggest possible explanations that include immigrant parents having higher expectations for their children and are optimistic about their children, factors that positively influence the aspirations and expectations of offspring (Kao and Thompson 2003; Kao and Tienda 1995).

The observed "success orientation" or "immigrant optimism" pattern whereby educational attainment is higher for the second generation than for the third-plus generation corroborates past research (Boyd 2002); in particular, it suggests that the achievement patterns of the second generation from other European countries and the (former) USSR and of the

1.5 and second generation from other regions conform to the “success orientation” or “immigrant optimism” model. Together, the educational achievements and occupational statuses of the 1.5 and second generations from the “new immigrant” source areas (other regions, excluding the United States, United Kingdom, Ireland, other Europe, and the former USSR) convey a profile of relative success. Simply put, the 1.5 and second generations from other regions have the highest years of schooling on average even after adjusting for social origins; although social origins continue to positively influence their occupational status, this group also benefits from their above-average schooling.

In sum, evidence from the 2001 GSS Cycle 15 does not show that immigrant offspring are educationally and occupationally disadvantaged relative to the third-plus generation. In fact, those offspring with origins in other regions of the world display the highest levels of attainments of all groups. Because the “other region” groups include the new immigrant source countries, it appears that socioeconomic integration difficulties of parents who are from these countries do not persist for the next generation. However, because the sample size of the GSS Cycle 15 requires aggregating groups and using main effects regression models, two caveats make this preceding statement a somewhat tentative conclusion in need of future research. First, a variety of birthplace areas, ethnicities and race are subsumed by the “other region” label; second, the main effects models constrain the influence of family background and other social characteristics to be the same for all groups. The impacts of social origins on the educational and occupational attainments of specific groups of immigrant offspring by country of origin, ethnicity or race remains an important future agenda, one that will be furthered by new and larger surveys that include measures of social origins.

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Appendix

Table A1

Boyd-NP Occupational Scores for GSS-15, Canada

Occupational titles ^a	Boyd-NP scores
Senior management occupations	92
Specialist managers	91
Managers in retail trade, food, and accommodation services	53
Other managers n.e.c.	88
Professional occupations in business and finance	85
Finance and insurance administrative occupations	62
Secretaries	47
Administrative and regulatory occupations	68
Clerical supervisors	68
Clerical occupations	53
Professional occupations in natural and applied sciences	93
Technical occupations related to natural and applied science	76
Professional occupations in health	99
Nurse supervisors and registered nurses	84
Technical and related occupations in health	68
Assisting occupations in support of health services	42
Judges, lawyers, psychologists, social workers, ministers of religion, policy and program officers	87
Teachers and professors	92
Paralegals, social services workers, and occupations in education and religion n.e.c.	64
Professional occupations in art and culture	61
Technical occupations in art, culture, recreation, and sport	49
Sales and service supervisors	34
Wholesale, technical, insurance, real estate sales specialists, retail wholesale and grain buyers	70
Retail salespersons and sales clerks	30
Cashiers	17
Chefs and cooks	24
Occupations in food and beverage service	20
Occupations in protective services	68
Travel and accommodation, including attendants in recreation and sport	45
Child care and home support workers	30
Sales and services occupations n.e.c.	18
Contractors and supervisors in trades and transportation	59
Construction trades	40
Stationary engineers, power station operators, electrical trades and telecommunications	78
Machinists, metal forming, shaping, and erecting occupations	50

Continued.

Table A1. Continued.

Occupational titles^a	Boyd-NP scores
Mechanics	56
Other trades n.e.c.	28
Heavy equipment and crane operators including drillers	34
Transportation equipment operators and related workers, excluding laborers	36
Trades helpers, construction and transportation laborers, and related occupations	21
Occupations unique to agriculture, excluding laborers	13
Occupations unique to forestry operations, mining, oil and gas extraction, fishing, excluding laborers	28
Primary production laborers	8
Supervisors in manufacturing	62
Machine operators in manufacturing	32
Assemblers in manufacturing	44
Laborers in processing, manufacturing, and utilities	17

^a Based on the GSS-15 variable SOC91C47.