

The Residential Mobility of Newcomers to Canada: The First Months

Jean Renaud and Karine Bégin Centre d'études ethniques University of Montréal

Virginie Ferreira and Damaris Rose INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société Institut national de la recherche scientifique

Abstract

This paper looks at a key aspect of new immigrants' settlement experience—finding a home. Specifically, we examine the factors determining the propensity, over the first six months of settlement, to remain in or move on from the first residence occupied since arrival in Canada. We consider in turn the effects of various household and individual characteristics, and examine how these effects vary by urban region. Our data source is the first wave of observations from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), which covers a sample of 12,040 people who arrived in Canada as landed immigrants between October 2000 and September 2001. Semi-parametric survival models are used for the analysis. We find that while the residential mobility of this cohort in the initial months after arrival is associated with certain individual- and household-level characteristics, the strongest association is with the type of housing occupied. The city of residence of these newcomers, however, has little bearing on their housing transitions.

Keywords: housing, residential mobility; immigration; immigrant settlement process; Canadian cities; longitudinal analysis

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While shelter is a basic need for all, it takes on a particular material and symbolic significance when people settle in a new country in that it represents the fulcrum for a new start (Ray 1999; Ryan and Woodill 2000). Finding a home is one of the first settlement actions, if not the first, that a newcomer takes when making the initial contact in terms of day-to-day living with the receiving society. In this situation, an understanding of the first settlement activities is vital. Newcomers to Canada are highly diversified in terms of economic resources, links to the labour market, social networks and knowledge of residential markets in the cities where they first settle (Statistics Canada 2005). It can be assumed, therefore, that while some succeed at once, or almost at once, in obtaining housing that will satisfy their needs and aspirations for some time, others tend to move more than once in order to gradually improve their residential quality of life, to be closer to those with whom they have social ties, or to improve their job prospects. However, immigrants whose economic status remains precarious face a more limited range of residential options; this can entail frequent and more or less forced moves resulting from, say, rent increases, which may impair their personal stability and their social integration. For those immigrants, residential stability may mean that they have succeeded in finding affordable housing, likely with help from their social network (Bernèche and Martin 1986; Miraftab 2000; Ray 1998); this may or may not satisfy their other needs. Residential mobility or stability among newcomers, and their residential trajectories or "careers" resulting from these dynamics, may thus have a variety of meanings, and the residential adjustments they make in the initial months and years of settlement do not occur in a vacuum and must be interpreted in light of the settlement actions taken by immigrants in other areas of their lives (Murdie et al. 1999; Özüerkren and van Kempen 2002), taking into account the filters and barriers they face in the residential market (Bolt and van Kempen 2002; Murdie 2002).

The residential transitions of recent immigrants should thus be examined longitudinally, which was not possible on a Canada-wide basis until quite recently, with the completion of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), and with the availability to researchers of the microdata from that survey. The target population for the LSIC consisted of immigrants aged 15 or older arriving in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001 who submitted an immigration application to a Canadian mission abroad. Some 12,040 immigrants were selected to participate in the first wave of interviews after about six months' residence (Statistics Canada 2003 and 2005). The same immigrants were also asked to take part in a second and a third wave of interviews after two and four years, respectively, of settlement. The survey gathered data on various aspects of immigrant settlement. Subjects such as the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent, language proficiency, social networks, household composition and income were addressed. Questions were also asked about the respondent's

housing, employment and education. Data were also gathered on moving-in and moving-out dates, and on selected features of the housing occupied in each place the respondents lived in. Since much of the data included dates, dynamic study is possible of the residential settlement of the immigrants, although the structure of the survey does not enable us to consider the reason for each successive move as an explanatory factor in the analysis.

We therefore took the opportunity presented by the LSIC to explore the survey's potential to shed light on the residential transitions that newcomers experience. We restricted our study to the residential adjustments occurring in the first months of settlement, as only the data from the first wave of interviews were available at the time. The objective of this paper will be, first, to describe immigrants' residential mobility, and second, to answer two specific questions about their initial residences: What factors affect how soon they leave their first home? Are there factors peculiar to the urban settings in which immigrants are placed?

In addressing these two questions, we will first identify the factors—whether individual or household-related—that hasten or delay the transition. This will help us determine what characteristics affect the stability or mobility of newcomers. Analysis of the second question will show whether cities offer different urban contexts, and thus whether new immigrants face different situations, depending on whether they settle in Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver or elsewhere in Canada.

Methods and variables

In our study of residential transitions, we used survival model analysis (Allison 1991; Cleves et al., 2002). This involves studying the speeds of transition from one status to another and identifying the factors that affect them. It shows for each unit of time the probability that a given event will occur. Survival curves and semi-parametric regressions (or Cox regressions) were plotted.² In this case, residential mobility is considered from four different angles related to the analysis of the transitions. First, we looked at interurban and interprovincial mobility. Two survival curves were estimated, showing the rates at which immigrants change their metropolitan region of residence (MRR) or census agglomeration of residence (CAR) and province. However, the main purpose of the analyses was to explain mobility from one residence to another, while continuing to pay special attention to the dynamics related to the urban settings of residence. Survival curves were prepared for the promptness of leaving a residence depending on the rank of the residence occupied (first, second or third residence since arrival), and the promptness of leaving the first residence depending on the city of residence.

The first variables introduced to explain how soon people leave a dwelling relate to socio-demographic characteristics: the respondent's age, sex, immigration category (economic, family or refugee) and membership in various kinds of visible minorities. Added to these were variables related to human capital. Two variables

relate to knowledge of English and French. These are the indicators of knowledge of the official languages based on three questions that ask respondents to assess their ability to speak, read and write each of them. Another variable considered was the highest level of schooling attained outside Canada, whether primary or below, secondary, post-secondary or university. Another variable was whether the respondent had lived in Canada before immigrating.

As the promptness of departure from a dwelling is a phenomenon that involves the household,³ its characteristics must be considered among the causal factors. Such factors include savings and average monthly family income,⁴ as indicators of financial independence in the first months in Canada. Two variables related to household composition are also included: the number of members of the immigrating unit⁵ the respondent belongs to, and its composition (single adult, two or more adults with children, two or more adults without children, one adult with children, or children alone).

Furthermore, the social networks already developed by the immigrant and in place when they arrive are likely to provide assistance in finding a home, in particular by supplying temporary lodging, or more or less complete information on the market availability of affordable accommodation (Moriah et al. 2004; Ray 1998; Rose and Ray 2001). To take these effects into account, the presence of family or friends in Canada at the time of the respondent's arrival is also included.

Two questions relating to housing were identified and included in the analysis.⁶ The first relates to any arrangements made prior to migration to occupy the initial dwelling. The second relates to the various types of accommodation occupied by the respondent: their own home, or that of immediate family or in-laws; the home of a friend; the home of a relative outside the immediate family; a hotel or motel; the home of an employer; temporary lodgings; an immigrant or refugee centre; or, lastly, some other type of accommodation.

The next variable contributes information on the immigrant's region of residence: Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver or some other urban region, and indicates whether the processes relating to the promptness of leaving a dwelling differ according to its urban context. To that end, terms of interaction designed mainly to show whether the effect of the previously introduced variables differs with the city of residence were added to the regression. In the process of defining the final analysis model, interactions between the immigration category and the social network variables, and between cities of residence and immigration category, knowledge of the official languages and membership in a visible minority were carried out at the same time. Of these interactions, only those that appeared significant in the first test were retained for the purposes of our analysis.

Analyses of residential mobility

The descriptive analyses of residential mobility will focus on the respondents' first

30 weeks of settlement.⁷ After 30 weeks, although respondents will have begun to move out of the picture, enough remain to produce reliable estimates.

Interurban and interprovincial mobility

Moving to another city or province of residence during the first months entails a major residential adjustment that might result from getting a new job or from the desire to be closer to relatives or to concentrations of members of the same ethnocultural group (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2000 and 2001). The results obtained indicate that when this type of mobility occurs, it takes some time to set in motion—usually after 20 weeks of residence—and affects a very small proportion of newcomers. After 30 weeks, only 4% of immigrants will have moved to another city, and the proportion drops to 1.5% for those changing province.

Promptness of moving out by rank of dwelling

Residential mobility, however, is certainly not a matter only of changing the city or province of residence. It may be thought that the first type of mobility experienced by the new arrival is mobility between dwellings.⁸ Our focus will be the rate at which newcomers move, particularly with respect to the first dwelling occupied upon arrival in Canada (ranked first).

We prepared a survival curve and table for moves out of the first three dwellings occupied by newcomers since their arrival. They indicate more specifically the proportion of individuals who are still in their first, second, third or subsequent dwelling (ranked 1, 2 and 3) over time. Immigrants leave their initial dwelling soon and at a relatively constant rate in the first months of settlement. After 30 weeks in Canada, nearly 50% of respondents will have left their initial dwelling. They are slower to leave the second dwelling than they were to leave the first, and even slower to leave the third than they were to leave the first two, which is consistent with the idea that overall, the residential situation improves with each move. Of immigrants at risk of leaving their second dwelling, just over 15% will have done so after 30 weeks' residence there, and this proportion will be only slightly smaller with respect to leaving the third dwelling. In other words, the residential trajectories of a substantial proportion of new immigrants show no sign of residential stabilization in the first weeks of settlement. The regression analyses of departure from the first dwelling presented below provides a profile of the most mobile individuals at the very beginning of settlement.

Promptness of departure from the initial dwelling

In order to determine whether the promptness with which immigrants leave their first dwelling differs with the place of residence, an additional survival curve and table were prepared. They indicate that in the first 20 weeks, respondents seem

to leave their first dwelling at the same pace, regardless of whether they live in Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver or another MRR or CAR, which suggests that generally, the first residential adjustments reflect the same types of experience in the early stages of settlement, regardless of variations from city to city in the residential market or the profile of the newcomers. Thereafter, a slight gap opens up between Montréal and other cities, with immigrants in Montréal tending to leave their dwelling less promptly than immigrants elsewhere in Canada. However, this initial trend should be explored further, using regression analysis.

We move now to the results of the Cox regressions, which yielded better documentation of the processes surrounding the move out of the initial dwelling. Seven models were constructed, in a hierarchical arrangement. The first includes one set of variables, and in each subsequent model a new set of variables was added. In Table 1, for each model, we present the coefficients for each variable, their significance and a set of data on the regression, particularly the $\chi 2$ or likelihood ratio (LR), which indicates whether the model is significant, and the $\chi 2$ that determines the contribution of each significant variable to the model. The last column of the table is associated with the seventh model. It presents the $\chi 2$ for each variable, showing the impact of each of them on the promptness of leaving the first dwelling.

The results indicate that the introduction of each set of variables in the regression models in turn adds further explanatory force to assist our understanding of residential transitions. The various models show some measure of stability as the additions are made: a majority of variables and categories of variables retain their significance and effect. The seventh and last model best explains the promptness of leaving the first dwelling (LR $\chi 2=15785.51$, sig=0.001). The introduction of the terms of interaction further improves the explanation ($\chi 2=21.44$, sig=0.001), but to a lesser extent than the addition of the other variables.

Table 1 also shows which variables explain in significant terms the moves out of the first dwelling: the age of the respondent, the category of immigration, membership in a visible minority, knowledge of French, level of education, previous residence in Canada, average monthly family income, composition of the immigrating unit, presence of family in Canada, and type of initial dwelling in Canada. The other variables have no significant effect on how soon the respondent moves out of the first dwelling.

The $\chi 2$ of the variables indicates the extent to which each variable explains the transition. The type of dwelling seems to be the variable that helps most to explain it ($\chi 2$ =2638.07, sig=0.001). Next in order of importance are the variables relating to composition of the immigrating unit, membership in a visible minority, category of immigration, previous residence in Canada, and level of education. The contribution of the other variables is less important.

In the latter model, the addition of the terms of interaction prevents indi-

Table 1: Risk ratios for the Cox regression on the move from the initial dwelling

				Model				
Variables	1	7	3	4	w	9	7	γ2
Socio-demographic characteristics								:
Age	**966.0	*466.0	0.994***	0.994***	0.995**	0.995**	0.995**	**/0.6
Sex (female)	1.027	1.020	1.024	1.018	0.995	866.0	866.0	00.00
Category of immigration (economic)								28.52***
Family Refinee	0.339***	0.358***	0.443***	0.478***	0.743***	0.743***	0.701***	27.40***
Visible minority (White)	0.70	1.047	1.077	2001	1.101	100.1	1.00.1	40 23***
Chinese	1 020	1 015	0 960	0.046	0 0 0	900 0	1 004	0.01
Courth Agian	1.020	1.000	1.031	1.063	0.07	0.00	0.056	0.01
Black	1.171	1.033	1.031	1.067	0.75	0.240	0.550	2.70
Filinino	1.32	1.073	0.972	1.037	0.883	0.07	0.00	1.75
Latin American	1.150	1.08	1 206	1.212*	1.045	1.060	1171	2.10
Southeast Asian	1.065	1.076	0.911	0.929	0.730	0.736	0.741	2.94
Arab	1.190**	1.178*	1.133	1.163*	1.109	1.139	1.128	2.96
West Asian	1.486***	1.483***	1.390***	1.428***	1.113	1.138	1.255**	7.42**
Korean	1.292***	1.344***	1.155	1.160	1.227**	1.265**	1.277**	8.84**
Japanese	0.402*	0.558	0.494	0.477	0.605	0.617	0.622	1.58
Visible minority n.i.e.	1.333	1.254	1.254	1.313	1.272	1.307	1.329	1.62
Multiple visible minorities	1.131	1.067	0.940	1.005	0.893	0.821	0.832	0.51
l visib	1.564	1.417	1.397	1.427	1.170	1.199	1.199	0.37
Human capital								
French		1.005	1.072	0.997	1.031	1.043**	1.039*	4.71*
English		1.059***	1.001***	1.072***	1.028	1.027	1.026	2.47
Educational attainment (none or primary)								14.75**
Secondary		1.072	1.074	1.071	1.172	1.166	1.150	2.27
Postsecondary		1.167*	1.188	1.177	1.360***	1.367***	1.347**	9.38**
University		1.151**	1.199*	1.178	1.308**	1.311**	1.291**	7.36**
Previous residence in Canada (none)		0.519***	0.563***	0.554***	0.738***	0.726***	0.731***	20.79***
Monthly family income			0.999***	0.999***	0.999**	0.999**	0.999**	8.08**
Size of the immigrating unit			1.004	1.007	1.020	1.014	1.016	0.73
Composition of the immigrating unit (adult only)	ly)							51.70***
2 or more adults with children			1.261***	1.246***	1.478**	1.507***	1.507***	35.47***
2 or more adults without children			1.262***	1.256***	1.378***	1.377***	1.379***	37.51***
C			0.890	0.895	1.146	1.152	1.150	2.52
Children only			0.399**	0.408**	0.518	0.536	0.532	4.13*
Amount brought in savings			1.000*	1.000*	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.30
)								

Table 1 Continued

				Model				
Variables	-	2	3	4	ĸ	9	7	γ2
Social network								3
Relatives in Canada (none)				0.868***	1.130**	1.127**	1.111**	6.42*
Friends in Canada (none)				1.059	0.971	0.979	0.980	0.33
Housing characteristics								
					0.943	0.941	0.940	2.27
Type of accommodation (own home or a								2638.07***
relative's)								
Home of a friend					5.313***	5.300***	5.303***	1570.95***
Home of a distant relative					3.127***	3.149***	3.178***	456.51***
Hotel or motel					10.790***	10.884**	10.869***	1229.24***
Residence of an employer					2.745**	2.769**	2.787**	8.71**
Centre or temporary residence					8.954***	8.887**	8.942***	1118.51***
MRR or CAR of residence					7.771	0.040	2.022	160.00
City of residence (Toronto)								3 20
Montréal						0.931	2960	0.25
Vancouver						1.035	1.019	0.15
Other MRR or CAR						1.033	1.01	2.31
Terms of interaction								
Vancouver / French							1.080	2.18
Other MRR or CAR / Family							1.258*	6.28*
Relative / Refugee							1.159	3.04
West Asian / Montréal							0.922**	9.78**
Latin American / Other							0.954	3.07
West Asian / Other MRR or CAR							0.981	2.34
* p<0.05	11956	11956	10959	10959	10875	10720	10720	
** p<0.01 Event	8095	2608	5240	5240	5163	5029	5029	
*** p<0.001 Cases covered	6348	6348	5719	5719	5712	5691	5691	
-2LL	99747.844	99572.608	91946.124	91920.512	87383.318	85166.026	85144.584	
	17	23	30	32	39	42	48	
20	1182 25***	1357 49***	8983 97***	***85 6006	13546 07***	15764 07***	15785 51 ***	
LK A:		-						
Contribution of each set of variables $(X^2)^t$		÷	1	1	1	1	1	
		175.23***	7626.48***	25.61***	4537.19***	2217.29***	21.44 ***	

vidual consideration of the variables or categories of variables. They have to be considered in relation to the terms of interaction associated with them, since the coefficients of the variables lack the effect associated with the terms of interaction. Thus, the categories "family" and "West Asian" cannot be interpreted in isolation. To obtain the overall effect of these categories, they must be related to the coefficients of the terms of interaction: "other MRR or CAR / family" and "West Asian / Montréal."

Detailed examination of the seventh model shows the effect of the significant variables and categories of variable. Socio-demographic characteristics help explain the phenomenon in terms of age variables, a few groups within the cohort belonging to visible minorities, and particularly the family immigration category. With regard to age, the older the respondent, the slower the pace of leaving the first dwelling, which is consistent with the results of earlier studies in Quebec (Renaud et al. 1993; Renaud and Gingras 1998) and which suggests that residential stability is more important when a newcomer has already achieved a certain age level upon arrival in the new country. However, membership in a visible minority accelerates departure from the first dwelling, by comparison with the "White" reference group: this is the case with West Asians living outside the Montréal MRR, and with Koreans.

Respondents coming to Canada for reasons of family reunification generally experience a significant reduction in the likelihood of moving out of their initial dwelling during our observation period, by comparison with economic immigrants. The slower departure rate could be associated with the very definition of this immigration category. These respondents seem more likely than economic immigrants to have accommodation arranged before arrival, since they are joining a family member already settled in Canada, who in most cases will have been able to make suitable arrangements to receive them. Living in accommodation more appropriate to their family situation, these respondents seem less likely to move from their initial residence. Also, in some cases, the initial dwelling may not be satisfactory, but the transition is slowed by the difficulty of finding affordable accommodation that is sufficiently large, particularly in the major urban areas. The fact that respondents living outside the Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver MRRs leave their initial dwelling sooner could also relate to market conditions that are more favourable to family households.

The set of variables relating to human capital shows that knowledge of French and a level of educational attainment above secondary contribute to an early move out of an immigrant's initial dwelling. These moves could be prompted by occupational factors. These attributes also favour the ability to access information on the residential market and on the housing system without reliance on informal networks, which means that people are better informed about the possibilities of improving their residential situation (Moriah et al. 2004; Rose and Ray 2001).

On the other hand, previous residence in Canada reduces the likelihood of a transition. Having lived in Canada before immigrating could give immigrants more familiarity with the housing market and with Canadian institutions and how they work, and the possibility of having developed a network within the city that enables them to find suitable housing from the outset.

Monthly family income and the composition of the immigrating unit are the only significant variables in considering the characteristics of the household. Both may relate to different groups of individuals, since the first relates to the family, whereas the second relates to the immigrating unit—the respondent and all those individuals who arrived in Canada with him or her. In terms of income, the results indicate that the higher it is, the lower the chances that the transition will take place; families that are better-off are more likely to find satisfactory accommodation upon arrival. In terms of the composition of the immigrating unit, the categories that appear significant are households of two adults with or without children. Both of those types of immigrating units are more likely to move than those made up of a single adult. The desire to acquire a more private and stable residential situation both for children and for couples beginning their lives in a new country could help make the first residential adjustment occur sooner, particularly in cases where the first dwelling does not belong to them.

Among the variables relating to the social network, having family in Canada at the time of arrival is the only significant one, and it increases the likelihood of leaving the initial dwelling. It may be that family in Canada is a help in quickly finding housing that appeals, if there are relatives already settled in the city where the respondent arrives, but such an interpretation must be made with caution, because in the LSIC, this variable includes both family members living in the same MRR or CAR, and those living in another province.

With respect to housing characteristics, only the type of housing has a significant effect. Thus, immigrants who live in housing that is not their own tend to change residences more quickly than those living in their own home or in the home of a close relative. These results were more or less what we might have expected. Beginning life in Canada in housing that is not one's own, with the sharing and crowding that this can imply, may increase immigrants' desire to find a place of their own or to live with a close relative, thereby enjoying a residential quality of life that offers more privacy, comfort and stability.

Lastly, with regard to the urban area variable, none of the categories is significant. The model shows that a respondent living in Vancouver, Montréal or another MRR or CAR does not move out significantly sooner or later than one living in Toronto. This result accordingly led us to reconsider our initial observations concerning the slight gap between Montréal and other urban areas. Only certain special cases of interaction between the place of residence of the respondents and another individual attribute made it possible to identify a few specific

effects associated with the geographical location of newcomers. Immigrants in the family reunification class living outside the three main MRRs are quicker to leave their initial dwelling, whereas West Asians living in Montréal show more residential stability; this could be attributable to the difficulties in economic integration experienced by the latter (Godin 2004) and the supposedly negative effect on their ability to find and move into more satisfactory housing.

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to explore the potential of a new source of longitudinal data in documenting the residential mobility of new immigrants in the first months of settlement in Canada, whether the mobility takes the form of a move out of their metropolitan area or province of residence or, less drastically, a change of housing. Detailed examination of the promptness of moving out of the initial dwelling made it possible not only to identify the factors associated with greater residential mobility, or on the contrary greater residential stability, but also to see whether the associated processes differ with the immigrant's place of residence. We hoped thus to make up for the lack of studies comparing the major cities of immigration in Canada and to gain a better understanding, through the enhancement of longitudinal data, of the dynamics of residential settlement. The results are somewhat surprising.

While immigrants are unlikely to move to another city or province in the first months of settlement, we cannot say that they are not very mobile in the early days. Many of them—about 50%, in fact—moved at least once, either within the same city, or otherwise. However, contrary to what one might have expected, the rate at which newcomers leave their initial dwelling does not generally seem to be affected by variations in residential markets from one large city to another, or between the three large metropolises and the other urban areas. The promptness of moving out of the initial dwelling is affected rather by the characteristics of the housing and the household, by newcomers' individual characteristics and attributes in terms of human capital, and by social networks. In particular, the type of housing occupied, household composition, membership in a visible minority and educational attainment are the determinant variables in accelerating transitions, whereas the category of immigration, previous residence in Canada, age and income have a significant effect on delaying the move from the initial dwelling.

While the dynamics of the move from the first dwelling vary little from city to city over the brief period of settlement considered, that is, with respect to the first wave of observations from the LSIC, things could be different in the medium term, when immigrants may be more exposed to the dynamics of residential markets, which differ considerably from city to city. In conducting this study, we sought to use the newly available data from the first wave of the LSIC to shed light on the residential aspects of the first steps in settling in a new country. The

period covered by the analysis does not, however, correspond for all respondents to the time spent in the same accommodation. Data from subsequent waves of the LSIC will support analyses of this type covering a longer period of observation, particularly as it corresponds to a period of inflation in the housing market in certain large cities (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation 2004). It will be possible to see whether the mechanisms observed are maintained, whether some are peculiar to the beginning of settlement, or whether other dynamics emerge after a certain time has passed.

Lastly, with regard to method, the study showed the added value of the longitudinal approach in gaining a better understanding of the housing dynamics that newcomers experience, even though we did encounter some limitations of the LSIC, particularly the impossibility of determining possible associations between the timing of residential transitions and certain variables with a major explanatory potential, such as rental costs, the degree of effort and the mode of occupancy. That said, the other Canada-wide longitudinal surveys of the immigrant cohort (such as the Longitudinal Immigration Database and the National Population Health Survey) contain much less information on housing and residential mobility, and in this sense the LSIC represents substantial progress, particularly as housing is a crucial fulcrum for making a fresh start in a new country.

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Notes

- ¹ For the first wave of observations, designed to describe the situation of respondents after 6 months' residence in Canada, longitudinal respondents were interviewed over a period varying from 5 to 10 months or so in the host society. Thus, length of residence is not the same for all respondents.
- ² The regression results presented were resampled using "bootstrap" weights. This method of resampling is used to test data reliability and consists of extracting random subsamples (with replacement) from within the original sample to obtain an approximation of the actual variance. For the LSIC, Statistics Canada supplied a series of 1,000 bootstrap weights for recalculating the variance for each estimate produced, and for determining its quality. Using these weights, we can determine whether the differences observed in the regression are statistically significant for the cohort studied.
- ³ With regard to the unit of analysis and the phenomenon being studied, the residential

dynamics and the resulting choices involve the entire household. However, the unit of analysis for the LSIC was the longitudinal respondent. While it would have been appropriate to use immigrant-dependent households as our unit of analysis, this was not possible given the design of the survey, which was intended to assess the individual experiences of immigrants. For more information, refer to the user's guide.

- ⁴ Since total income received in Canada and from outside Canada by the economic unit supported by the longitudinal respondents was not available until the interviews were held, it was divided by the number of months the respondent had spent in Canada in order to obtain an approximation of average monthly income. Thus, income is assumed to have been stable through the first months of settlement, which is likely not the case. It would have been helpful to have more accurate data on family income levels: start of gainful employment, and increases or decreases in the income of both spouses.
- ⁵ In the LSIC, household characteristics are available only as at the time of arrival. In order to ensure recognition of the time factor in the sequence of events, data on the respondent's immigrating unit were given priority for the period considered, that is, between the time of arrival and the first interview. "'Immigrating unit' means the 'group of people who applied to come to Canada under the same visa form and, for the purpose of the survey, who arrived either with the longitudinal respondent or three months before or after the longitudinal respondent'" (Statistics Canada 2003). However, it is not necessarily all the individuals belonging to the immigrating unit, or only those individuals, who will be living with the respondent and forming the respondent's household. In some cases, the number of individuals in an immigrant household may be underestimated, and in other cases overestimated. Nevertheless, this is the best estimate available in the survey for the relevant period of settlement.
- ⁶ With no detailed information on all the initial dwellings occupied by the respondents, given the structure of the survey, the analysis could not include rental costs, the rate of effort or the mode of occupancy (owner or tenant). These factors could have proved to be key determinants of residential stability.
- ⁷ Note, however, that regression analyses are done for the entire period during which respondents were observed. In the first wave, observation ended after 10 months' residence.
- ⁸ In the various analyses conducted, all the immigrants in the survey are likely to undergo a mobility experience in the initial months of settlement, whether mobility is expressed in its more general form (a straightforward move) or the more specific form (such as a change of city or province). With regard to inter-city or -province mobility, transitions may or may not take place at the time of the move from the initial dwelling. In some cases, the change of MRR or province of residence occurs upon leaving the first dwelling; in others, it occurs when they leave subsequent dwellings (second, third or more). Thus, in the analyses of the move from the initial dwelling, some immigrants who went through this first change of residence may have moved beyond the boundaries of their MRR of initial residence. However, the percentage of respondents in this situation is very small.

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