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Who Drives a Taxi in Canada?

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Executive summary

Although, there have been frequent media reports of immigrants with PhD and MD degrees driving a taxi in Canada, there have been few serious inquiries into this issue. Using 2006 Census data, this document provides information on immigrant and Canadian-born participation in the taxi driving occupation.

According to the 2006 Census, taxi driving has become an occupation highly concentrated with immigrants in Canada. There were over 50,000 taxi drivers in Canada; two out of four drivers were immigrants. This ratio is double that of immigrants in the Canadian population of the same age range (almost 1 in 4), thus immigrants were significantly overrepresented in the taxi driving occupation.

Taxi driving is identified as a skill level C in the National Occupational Classification, which usually requires secondary school and/or occupation-specific training. About 35% of Canadian-born taxi drivers and 53% of immigrant taxi drivers had at least some postsecondary education and may be overqualified for their job. Over-education occurs both among Canadian-born and immigrant taxi drivers, but the rate was higher among immigrants.

Taxi driving was the main job for 255 doctorate or medicine and related degree holders – 200 of which were immigrants. A further 6,040 taxi drivers (12.0%) held a bachelor's or master's degree, the majority of them (80.7%) being immigrants. Among all immigrant taxi drivers, 20.2% have bachelor's degree or better; more than 4 times the rate for Canadian-born taxi drivers (4.8%).

Immigrants from India, Pakistan, Lebanon, Haiti and Iran were significantly overrepresented among immigrant taxi drivers.

Among postsecondary-educated immigrant taxi drivers, one in three had a Canadian degree; the rest were foreign trained. Immigrant taxi drivers with a degree from India or Pakistan accounted for 18.8% and 11.8% of the total respectively. Among 4,515 taxi drivers with bachelor's degrees, 33.4% were Canadian trained and 35.0% had degrees from India or Pakistan. Among 1,525 taxi drivers with master's degrees, 16.1% had Canadian degrees, and 25.3% had degrees from India. Among 255 PhD and MD taxi drivers, 70.6% were foreign trained, of which 19.4% had degrees from India. There were also 75 (29.4%) Canadian trained PhD or MD taxi drivers.

The distribution pattern of field of study for postsecondary-educated taxi drivers was quite different between Canadian born and immigrants. For the Canadian born, nearly one third had a degree in architecture and related technologies, 14.5% studied business, management, marketing and related support services, and 13.5% studied personal, protective and transportation services. Among immigrants, however, the top postsecondary field was business (management, marketing and related support services), accounting for 15.9%; while architecture and related services and engineering ranked second and third, accounting for 13.7% and 13.4% respectively. The percentage of taxi drivers with engineering degrees was much higher among immigrants (13.4%) than among the Canadian born (2.2%).

Immigrants accounted for half and up to 80% of taxi drivers in 8 Canadian cities (Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa-Gatineau, Winnipeg, Montreal, and Hamilton); in Toronto and Vancouver specifically, more than 80% of taxi drivers are immigrants. Outside of these 8 cities, immigrants accounted for only 17.5% of all cab drivers.

1. Introduction

Immigrant underemployment has been a hot media topic in Canada in recent years. PhDs and MDs driving a taxi has become a classic media example of the phenomena that highly educated immigrants perform low-skill work after arrival in Canada.

Exactly, how serious is the issue of employment down skilling of immigrants in Canada, particularly in the taxi driving occupation? Although, there have been frequent media reports of taxi PhDs and MDs, there have been few serious inquiries into this issue.

This document uses 2006 Census data to examine the participation of immigrants and the Canadian born in the taxi driving occupation. Specifically, it asks to what extent highly educated immigrants are employed in this occupation and how this compares to their Canadian-born counterparts. The document also draws a general portrait of taxi drivers in Canada and for eight major CMAs in terms of their immigration status, landing period, country of birth, educational attainment, field of study, and location of study.

1.1. Data, scope and definition of the analysis

The population of this analysis is made of the Canadian born and immigrants who were 15 years old and over in the 2006 Census and reported taxi and limousine drivers and chauffeurs as their major employment in the 2006 Census¹. Hereafter, for succinctness, we will just use taxi drivers to refer to this occupational category. To compare immigrants who landed during different periods, we classify immigrants into the following three groups: very recent immigrants (who landed between 2001 and 2006); recent immigrants (who landed between 1996 and 2001); and established immigrants (who landed before 1996). Due to the need to protect confidentiality, the frequency numbers in this analysis are all rounded to the nearest zero or five.

¹ The 2006 Census collected occupational information for persons 15 years old and over. A person's occupation is determined by the kind of work and the description of the main activities in the job the person was doing in the reference week of the 2006 Census or the job of longest duration since January 1, 2005 if the person did not have a job during the census reference week. Occupation is coded based on the 2006 National Occupational Classification (NOC 2006). NOC 2006 distinguishes 520 occupational unit groups (four-digit code) and four occupational skill levels (A, B, C and D). The skill level of an occupation is determined based mainly on the amount and type of education and training required to enter and perform the duties of an occupation. Skill level A occupations usually require a university degree (bachelor's, master's or doctorate), while skill level B occupations usually require college education or apprenticeship training. Skill level C occupations usually require secondary school and/or occupation-specific training. The lowest skill level (D) corresponds to occupations where only on-the-job training is necessary. Taxi and limousine drivers and chauffeurs are classified together as one occupational unit group (code 7413) and are identified as a skill level C occupation. We can reasonably assume that most people who reported their occupations in this category in the 2006 Census are taxi drivers.

2. National picture

2.1. Half of the taxi drivers in Canada are immigrants

In the 2006 Census, a total of 50,110 Canadian born and immigrants reported driving a taxi as their major labour market activity. Taxi drivers account for 0.2% of the population 15 years and over. Half of those who reported driving a taxi (50.1%) are immigrants. This percentage is much higher than the percentage of immigrants in the Canadian population of the same age range (23.0%). Thus, immigrants are significantly overrepresented in the taxi driving occupation. In some cities, such as Toronto and Vancouver, more than 80% of taxi drivers are immigrants.

Table 1: Composition of taxi drivers by immigration status and by immigrant landing cohort

	Taxi drivers		Total population 15 and over	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	50,110	100.0	25,433,620	100.0
Canadian born	24,990	49.9	19,592,380	77.0
Immigrants	25,125	50.1	5,841,240	23.0
<i>Established immigrants</i>	18,440	73.4	4,209,790	72.1
<i>Recent immigrants</i>	3,995	15.9	744,670	12.8
<i>Very recent immigrants</i>	2,690	10.7	886,795	15.2

Source: 2006 Census.

The majority (73.4%) of immigrant taxi drivers are established immigrants; the percentage is similar to the percentage of established immigrants among total immigrants (72.1%). Recent and very recent immigrants account for 15.9% and 10.7% of immigrant taxi drivers respectively. Taxi drivers account for a small share of immigrants 15 years old and over among all three landing cohorts: 0.4% for established immigrants, 0.5% for recent immigrants and 0.3% for very recent immigrants. The percentages for all these three immigrant cohorts, however, are much higher than that of their Canadian-born counterparts (0.1%).

Table 2: Gender composition of taxi drivers by immigration status and landing cohort

	Total	Female	Male
Total	50,110	8.7	91.3
Canadian born	24,990	14.9	85.1
Immigrants	25,125	2.5	97.5
<i>Established immigrants</i>	18,440	2.5	97.5
<i>Recent immigrants</i>	3,995	1.9	98.0
<i>Very recent immigrants</i>	2,690	2.6	97.4

Source: 2006 Census.

In Canada, taxi driving is a male dominated occupation. The vast majority of taxi drivers are males (85.1%), especially among immigrants (97.5%).

2.2. More than one third of immigrant taxi drivers were born in India and Pakistan

Not all immigrant source countries are equally represented in the taxi driving occupation. The top 10 source countries of immigrant taxi drivers are India, Pakistan, Lebanon, Haiti, Iran, the United Kingdom, Somalia, Ethiopia, Bangladesh and Greece.

Table 3: Immigrant taxi drivers by country of birth and immigrant landing cohort²

Country of birth	Total immigrants		Established immigrants		Recent immigrants		Very recent immigrants	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	25,125	100.0	18,440	100.0	3,995	100.0	2,690	100.0
India	6,220	24.8	4,555	24.7	1,075	26.9	590	21.9
Pakistan	2,960	11.8	950	5.2	1,005	25.2	1,000	37.2
Lebanon	1,790	7.1	1,655	9.0	85	2.1	50	1.9
Haiti	1,455	5.8	1,280	6.9	90	2.3	85	3.2
Iran	1,040	4.1	820	4.4	175	4.4	50	1.9
United Kingdom	830	3.3	x	x	F	F	F	F
Somalia, Republic of	775	3.1	615	3.3	145	3.6	15	0.6
Ethiopia	765	3.0	630	3.4	105	2.6	30	1.1
Bangladesh	500	2.0	290	1.6	155	3.9	55	2.0
Greece	415	1.7	x	x	F	F	F	F
Eritrea	380	1.5	360	2.0	F	F	F	F
Afghanistan	360	1.4	225	1.2	85	2.1	50	1.9
Italy	360	1.4	x	x	F	F	F	F
Sri Lanka	315	1.3	225	1.2	60	1.5	30	1.1
Jamaica	305	1.2	270	1.5	x	F	F	F
Algeria	300	1.2	105	0.6	135	3.4	60	2.2
Poland	265	1.1	x	x	F	F	F	F
Morocco	260	1.0	215	1.2	10	0.3	30	1.1
China, People's Republic of	255	1.0	165	0.9	35	0.9	55	2.0
Iraq	245	1.0	x	x	x	F	F	F
Other	5,335	21.2	4,060	22.0	725	18.1	550	20.4

F: Too unreliable to be released.

x: Suppressed for confidentiality.

Source: 2006 Census.

The 2006 Census enumerates 6,220 people who were born in India and worked as taxi drivers in 2005-06, which is to say that one out of every four immigrant taxi drivers was born in India. Pakistan follows as a distant second and contributes about 2,960 or 11.8% of immigrant taxi drivers. Immigrant taxi drivers born in Lebanon, Haiti, and Iran rank in third, fourth, and fifth place, accounting for 7.1%, 5.8% and 4.1% respectively. Although China ranks as the top immigrant sending country in Canada in 2005-06 and contributes about 7.3% of all immigrants 15 years old and over, only 255, or 1.0% of immigrant taxi drivers, were born in China.

² Established immigrants are those who landed before 1996, recent immigrants are those who landed between 1996 and 2001; very recent immigrants are those who landed between 2001 and 2006.

A further breakdown shows that the composition of immigrant taxi drivers by country of birth varies between immigrants who landed in different periods. The most noticeable trend is the decrease of the share of taxi drivers from India and the increase of the share from Pakistan among very recent immigrants. Taxi drivers from India have a stable share of around 25% for established and recent immigrants, but this share decreases to 21.9% for very recent immigrants. Among established immigrants, taxi drivers from Pakistan only account for 5.2%, but the share increases to 25.2% and 37.2% for recent and very recent immigrants. Among very recent immigrants, Pakistan surpasses India by 15 percentage points and jumps to the top as a source of immigrant taxi drivers.

Another significant change occurs for immigrant taxi drivers from Lebanon. Although the percentage of Lebanese immigrants aged 15 years and over relative to all immigrants of the same age group only change marginally across the three immigrant landing cohorts, the percentage of taxi drivers born in Lebanon decreases from about 9% among established immigrants to 2.1% and 1.9% among recent and very recent immigrants.

2.3. Highly-educated immigrants account for a sizable portion of immigrant taxi drivers

According to NOC 2006, taxi driving is classified as a skill level C occupation which usually requires secondary school and/or occupation-specific training. Table 4 shows that in Canada, among 50,110 taxi drivers, 56% of them have no high school diploma or are high school graduates, 31.5% have a trade or college diploma, and about 9% are bachelor's degree graduates. There are also 1,525 (3.0%) taxi drivers holding a master's degree and 255 (0.5%) holding a doctorate or medicine and related degree. Overall, about 44.1% of taxi drivers have at least some postsecondary education and may be overqualified³ for their jobs.

Table 4: Composition of taxi drivers by highest educational attainment

	Total in Canada		Canadian born		Immigrants		Established immigrants		Recent immigrants		Very recent immigrants	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	50,110	100.0	24,990	100.0	25,125	100.0	18,440	100.0	3,995	100.0	2,690	100.0
No certificate, diploma or degree	11,765	23.5	8,105	32.4	3,660	14.6	3,050	16.5	360	9.0	250	9.3
High school graduation certificate or equivalency certificate	16,250	32.4	8,080	32.3	8,170	32.5	6,225	33.8	1,185	29.7	760	28.3
Trades or college diploma A	15,805	31.5	7,585	30.4	8,220	32.7	6,500	35.2	1,130	28.3	590	21.9
Bachelor's degree B	4,515	9.0	985	3.9	3,530	14.0	1,960	10.6	865	21.7	710	26.4
Master's degree	1,525	3.0	180	0.7	1,345	5.4	615	3.3	375	9.4	355	13.2
Doctorate or medicine and related degree C	255	0.5	55	0.2	200	0.8	95	0.5	80	2.0	25	0.9

A: Including trades certificate, college diploma and university certificate or diploma below bachelor level.

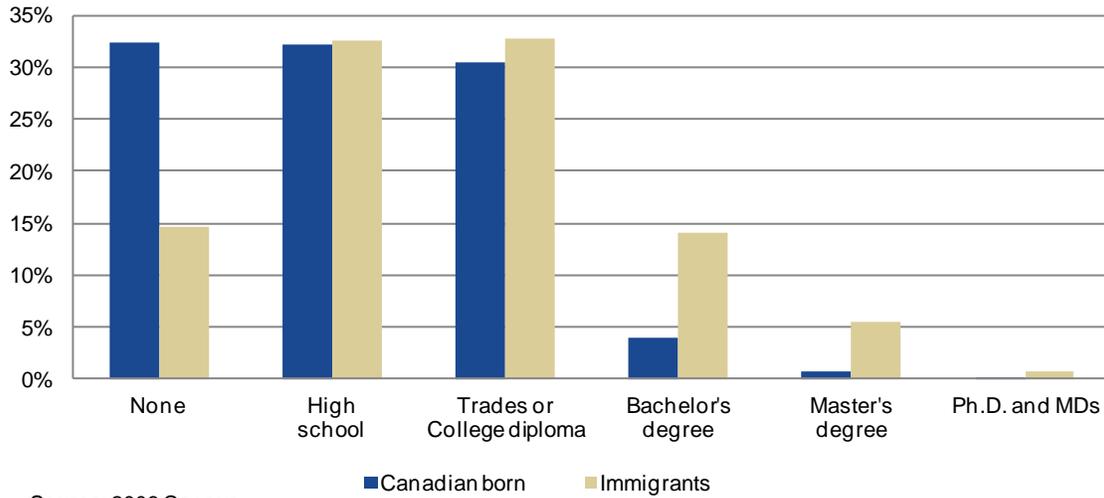
B: Including university certificate or diploma above bachelor level.

C: Including earned doctorate or a degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry.

Source: 2006 Census.

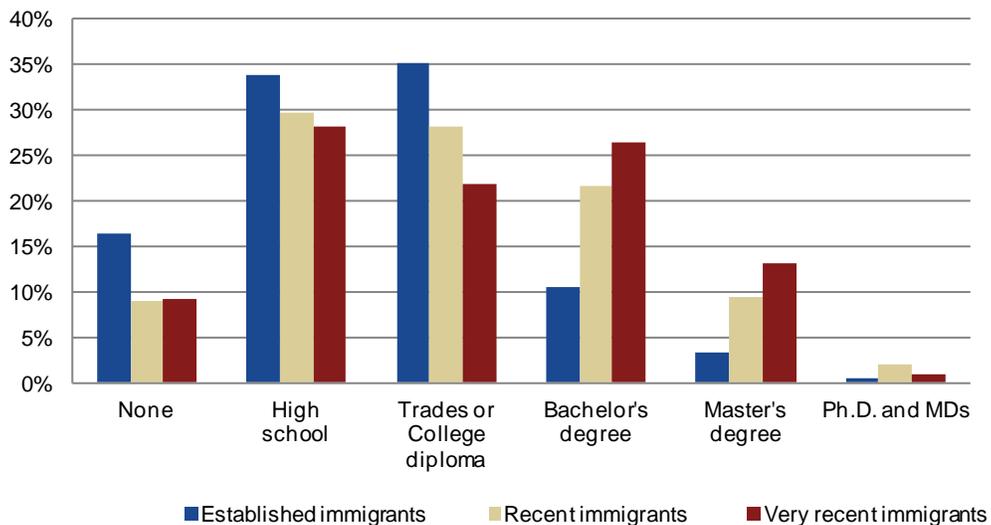
³ For the purpose of this profile, overqualification, underemployment and overeducation refer to the situation where one works in an occupation which requires a lower level of education than he/she actually acquired based on the NOC 2006 specification. It is noteworthy that the quality of credentials acquired from different countries may not be equivalent to Canadian degrees, but such differences are not measured in this study.

Figure 1: Taxi drivers by highest educational attainment: immigrants and the Canadian born



Source: 2006 Census.

Figure 2: Immigrant taxi drivers by highest educational attainment: three landing cohorts



Source: 2006 Census.

Figure 1 shows that there are large differences in the distribution of educational attainment of taxi drivers between the Canadian born and immigrants. Among immigrant taxi drivers, 52.9% have at least some postsecondary education, 20.2% have bachelor's degree or above; these percentages are much higher than that for Canadian-born taxi drivers, at 35.2% and 4.8% respectively. Breaking down by landing cohort (Figure 2) shows that the percentages of those with at least some postsecondary education among recent and very recent immigrants are similar (61.4% and 62.4%), but more than 10 percentage points higher than for established immigrants (49.6%). If we consider the percentage of those with bachelor's degrees or above, the differences among established immigrants, recent and very recent immigrants are even more striking: 14.4%, 33.1% and 40.5 %.

To what extent, do PhDs and MDs, particularly immigrants, turn to taxi driving for employment in Canada? The 2006 Census shows that in total, about 255 or 0.5% of the 50,110 taxi drivers in Canada have a doctorate or a medicine and related degree. Among them, 200 are immigrants. There are also 55 Canadian-born PhD and MD taxi drivers.

Overeducation occurs both among Canadian-born and immigrant taxi drivers, but is at a higher rate among immigrants, especially among recent and very recent immigrants.

3. Postsecondary-educated taxi drivers

3.1. Country of highest educational attainment

Table 5 shows that one out of every three postsecondary-educated immigrant taxi drivers has a Canadian degree. However, a vast majority (84.4%) of them are trade or college diploma holders. Among postsecondary-educated immigrant taxi drivers, those with Indian or Pakistani degrees account for 18.8% and 11.8% of the total.

Table 5: Postsecondary-educated immigrant

	Total number	%
Total	13,295	100.0
Canada	4,425	33.3
India	2,495	18.8
Pakistan	1,570	11.8
Lebanon	510	3.8
Iran	325	2.4
United Kingdom	315	2.4
Bangladesh	245	1.8
Haiti	230	1.7
United States	195	1.5
Other	2,985	22.5

Source: 2006 Census.

Since sample sizes are too small, we cannot provide a breakdown of taxi drivers by highest educational attainment, country of education and immigration status due to confidentiality considerations. Combining Canadian-born and immigrant taxi drivers, among bachelor's degree holders, 1,510 out of 4,515 (33.4%) are Canadian trained, 1,060 (20.2%) have degrees from India and 670 (14.8%) have degrees from Pakistan. Among 1,525 taxi drivers with master's degrees, 245 (16.1%) have Canadian degrees, and 385 (25.3%) have degrees from India. Among 255 PhD and MD taxi drivers, 180 (70.6%) are foreign trained and 35 (13.7%) have degrees from India. There are 75 (29.4%) Canadian trained among the PhD or MD taxi drivers.

3.2. Field of study

The distribution pattern of field of study for postsecondary-educated taxi drivers is quite different between the Canadian born and immigrants. For the Canadian born, nearly one third have a degree in architecture and related technologies⁴, 14.5% studied in business, management, marketing and related support services, and 13.5% studied in personal, protective and transportation services. Among immigrants, however, the top postsecondary field is business, management, marketing and related support services, accounting for 15.9%; while architecture and related technologies and engineering rank second and third, accounting for 13.7% and 13.4% respectively. The percentage of taxi drivers with engineering degrees is much higher among immigrants (13.4%) than among the Canadian born (2.2%).

⁴ Architecture and related technologies includes: architecture, city/urban, community and regional planning, environmental design, interior architecture, landscape architecture, architectural history and criticism, architectural technology/technician, architecture and related services, and other.

Among immigrant taxi drivers, field of study also differs substantially by landing cohort. Among established immigrants, the percentage of those with degrees in architecture and related technologies is the highest (16.7%) – still lower than that of the Canadian born (28.1%), but much higher than that of recent (8.0%) and very recent immigrants (5.4%). However, the percentage of taxi drivers with degrees in engineering is much higher among recent (17.6%) and very recent immigrants (20.2%) than among established immigrants (11.0%). This higher percentage of engineering degree holders among later arrivals is likely related to the much higher percentage of holders of engineering degrees among later arrivals rather than to increasing difficulties of engineering graduates in finding work in their fields compared to graduates from other fields⁵.

Table 6: Postsecondary-educated taxi drivers by field of study⁶

Field of study	Total in Canada	Canadian Born	Immigrants	Established immigrants	Recent immigrants	Very recent immigrants
Total	22,100	8,805	13,295	9,170	2,445	1,680
Architecture and related technologies	19.4	28.1	13.7	16.7	8.0	5.4
Business, management, marketing and	15.4	14.5	15.9	15.1	17.8	18.2
Personal, protective and transportation	9.0	13.5	6.1	7.3	3.5	3.9
Engineering	8.9	2.2	13.4	11.0	17.6	20.2
Engineering technologies and technicians	8.1	6.9	8.9	10.4	6.7	3.6
Humanities	7.5	4.8	9.3	8.6	10.2	11.6
Social sciences	5.2	3.2	6.4	5.8	7.8	8.0
Health profession	4.8	6.4	3.6	3.4	4.3	4.2
Mathematics and computer science, Information science and supportive service and system science and theory	4.6	3.6	5.3	5.2	5.7	5.4
Behavioural sciences and law	3.4	3.8	3.2	2.8	2.7	5.7
Education	3.1	3.7	2.7	2.6	3.7	2.1
Visual and performing art, and Communications technologies	3.0	4.2	2.1	2.7	x	F
Physical and life sciences and technologies	3.0	1.6	3.9	3.7	5.1	3.0
Agriculture, natural resources and Conservation	2.4	1.4	3.1	2.7	3.5	5.1
Mathematics and statistics	0.8	F	x	x	x	x
Parks, recreation, leisure and fitness	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.7	x	F
Public administration	0.6	1.2	0.2	x	F	F
Library science	0.1	F	F	F	F	F

F: Too unreliable to be released.

x: Suppressed for confidentiality.

Source: 2006 Census.

⁵ The 2006 Census show that among postsecondary educated immigrants aged 25-64, those with engineering degrees increased from 8% for established immigrants to 18% and 20% for recent and very recent immigrants.

⁶ Fields of study in this table are grouped mainly based on 13 primary groups based on the Classification of Instructional Programs, Canada 2000, but some of the very broad primary groups are further divided based on the 41 two-digit “series” in CIP 2000. For more information on CIP 2000, please see 2006 Census Dictionary www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/ref/dict/pop064a-eng.cfm.

4. CMA profile

Table 7 shows that among seven of the eight selected Canadian CMAs, Hamilton being the exception, immigrants account for at least 60% of all taxi drivers. In Toronto and Vancouver, more than 80% of taxi drivers are immigrants. Outside of these eight CMAs, immigrant taxi drivers only account for a small share of taxi drivers (17.5%). In most CMAs, a vast majority of taxi drivers are established immigrants, but in Calgary, which is a popular destination of new immigrants in recent years, immigrant taxi drivers who arrived after 1995 account for a much larger percentage (43.9%) than in the main immigrant receiving CMAs, Toronto (28.3%) and Montreal (16.3%).

Table 7: Taxi drivers by immigration status and by landing cohort for selected CMAs

	Total in Canada			Total Immigrants		
	Total Number	Canadian born (%)	Immigrants (%)	Established immigrants (%)	Recent immigrants (%)	Very recent immigrants (%)
Total in Canada	50,110	49.9	50.1	73	15.9	10.7
Montreal	7,185	40.4	59.6	83.9	9.5	6.8
Ottawa a-Gatineau	2,010	36.8	63.2	82.3	9.1	8.3
Toronto	11,265	17.6	82.5	71.7	16.8	11.5
Hamilton	1,115	53.4	46.6	66.3	22.1	11.5
Winnipeg	1,070	37.4	62.6	68.7	16.4	14.9
Calgary	2,105	32.1	67.9	56.3	25.8	18.1
Edmonton	2,120	35.6	64.4	74.7	16.5	8.8
Vancouver	3,530	19.3	80.7	70.2	18.6	11.4
Other (other CMAs and non-CMAs)	19,705	82.5	17.5	73.2	16.1	10.9

Source: 2006 Census.

The concentration of immigrants from different source countries in the taxi driving occupation varies among CMAs. In Montreal, a majority of immigrant taxi drivers are from countries where French is widely spoken. For example, one third of immigrant taxi drivers in Montreal were born in Haiti, 18.7% and 5.6% were born in Lebanon and Algeria, respectively.

In Vancouver, immigrants from India are the predominant force in the taxi driving occupation. Taxi drivers born in India contribute 63.3% of immigrant taxi drivers and 51.1% of all taxi drivers in the CMA. The situation in Winnipeg is similar to Vancouver. Taxi drivers who were born in India account for 73.9% of immigrant taxi drivers and 46.3% of all taxi drivers in the CMA.

In Calgary, Toronto and Hamilton, India is also the top source country of immigrant taxi drivers, but the percentages are much lower. Immigrants from Pakistan also contribute a significant portion. Taxi drivers from these two countries together account for 64.3%, 44.8% and 39.5% of the immigrant taxi drivers in these three CMAs respectively, or 43.7%, 37.0% and 18.4% of all taxi drivers.

In Ottawa-Gatineau, the top source country of immigrant taxi drivers is different from the aforementioned CMAs. Immigrants born in Lebanon contribute the most, accounting for 33.1% of the immigrant taxi drivers; immigrants born in India, Iran and Ethiopia rank second, third and fourth, accounting for 13.4%, 5.5% and 4.7% respectively.

In Edmonton, the source countries of immigrant taxi drivers are more diversified. Immigrants from India contribute the largest share, but only account for 27.1% of immigrant taxi drivers, while immigrants born in Ethiopia, Lebanon and Somalia also account for significant portions, for 11.0%, 9.9% and 8.8% respectively.

Table 8: Immigrant taxi drivers in selected CMAs by country of birth

	Ottawa-									
	Total	Montreal	Gatineau	Toronto	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver	Other
Total	25,125	4,280	1,270	9,290	520	670	1,430	1,365	2,850	3,450
India	24.8	1.2	13.4	23.4	21.2	73.9	39.5	27.1	63.3	14.1
Pakistan	11.8	0.6	F	21.4	18.3	x	24.8	4.0	7.5	5.7
Lebanon	7.1	18.7	33.1	2.3	F	F	x	9.9	F	4.6
Haiti	5.8	33.5	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Iran	4.1	6.4	5.5	4.0	F	F	F	2.9	5.3	3.3
United Kingdom	3.3	F	F	2.4	7.7	F	1.4	x	2.5	12.8
Somalia, Republic of	3.1	F	2.8	3.9	F	F	1.7	8.8	F	5.4
Ethiopia	3.0	F	4.7	4.3	F	F	4.5	11.0	F	1.3
Bangladesh	2.0	F	1.6	3.8	x	F	F	F	2.5	F
Greece	1.7	3.7	F	2.0	F	F	F	F	F	x
Eritrea	1.5	F	3.1	1.5	F	F	1.7	5.1	F	2.3
Afghanistan	1.4	0.6	2.4	2.2	F	F	F	0.7	1.2	0.9
Italy	1.4	4.3	F	0.8	F	F	F	F	F	1.4
Sri Lanka	1.3	0.2	F	3.0	F	F	F	F	F	F
Jamaica	1.2	F	F	2.7	F	F	F	F	F	x
Algeria	1.2	5.6	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	0.9
Poland	1.1	F	F	0.7	F	F	3.1	6.6	F	1.2
Morocco	1.0	4.4	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	x
China, People's Republic of	1.0	F	1.6	1.2	F	F	3.1	F	1.6	F
Iraq	1.0	F	2.0	0.3	6.7	F	F	F	F	2.5
Other	21.2	18.9	27.6	19.9	26.0	7.5	14.3	19.8	11.9	38.7

F: Too unreliable to be released.

x: Suppressed for confidentiality.

Source: 2006 Census.