Discrimination Against Canadian Colours

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I. Introduction

Canada is a nation of immigrants. Decades of open and compassionate immigration policies have earned Canada a solid reputation abroad in this regard. However, as long as there has been immigration in this country, concerns have existed over the impact of immigration on the labour market and, more importantly, the role that discrimination plays regarding income differentials. This paper will analyze the earning differentials of immigrants, which shall be defined as ethnic minorities. The methodology that this paper uses will be, in order to highlight the issue, a literature review and a regression analysis of earning differentials.

II. The Issue

Immigrants have had a major role in building Canada. Since the Second World War, Canada has accepted close to 7.8 million immigrants or almost 150,000 annually (Economic Council of Canada, 1991). From 1990 onwards, the annual intake has been just under 230,000 or about 0.7% of our population. At this rate, Canada accepts more immigrants and refugees than any other country, in terms of a percentage of total population. Roughly 4.5 million people, some sixteen percent of Canada's population of 29 million, are foreign-born (Economic Council of Canada, 1991). The ethnic composition of the Canadian populace has also changed rapidly. In 1957, the top ten source countries for immigration were all European, with the United Kingdom accounting for one-third of the total. Forty years later, in 1997, eight of the top ten source countries for immigration were non-European. About twenty five percent of Canadian immigrants now come from Hong Kong, China and Taiwan and about twenty percent from the Indian subcontinent (Reitz, 1998). With these numbers, the issue of discrimination arises when immigrants are trying to secure employment within the Canadian labour market. Of all the immigrants coming to Canada, most fall under the skilled worker category. These are

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immigrants who possess work skills, which are deemed wanted by the Canadian government's National Occupational Classification (Hawkins, 1989). Such skills often include technical skills, in the fields of science and medicine, but also quite frequently labour skills, to fill labour gaps that the current Canadian population either cannot or is unwilling to fill.

III. Literature Review

The article, "The Colour of Money: Earnings Differentials Among Ethnic Groups in Canada," written by Krishna Pendakur and Ravi Pendakur is about the earning differentials among ethnic groups in Canada. The purpose of their article is to assess the usefulness of the distinction between white and visible-minority by evaluating ethnically based earning differentials with respects to white and visible-minority aggregates. This topic is of importance because there are inherent discrepancies with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Employment Equity Act such that a "person's ethnic heritage should not constrain his or her labour market opportunity" (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). The Pendakurs point out that there has been increasing evidence that supports the existence and magnitude of earnings and wage disparities among ethnic groups in Canada. Also, their paper questions public policy that focuses primarily on "discrimination against visible minorities instead of discrimination against specific ethnic groups" (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). The authors conclude that there are substantial earning differentials both between and within the white and visible-minority categories. Interestingly enough, they are trying to show how the "white versus visible-minority classification system hides ethnically based differences within these aggregate groups" (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). The Pendakurs' paper also states that differentials between whites and visible minorities suggest that the visible minority category is a useful indicator of economic discrimination. Finally, they conclude that policy makers must take care when

discussing ethnicity-based earnings gaps and discrimination to specify whom they mean when they are talking about the disadvantaged (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998).

The results of the Pendakurs' findings were quite startling. Their analysis demonstrates that Canadian born visible-minority women and Canadian born white-women all have approximately equal average earnings (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). However, immigrant visible-minority women earn less than all other women. The results also show that the mean earnings of immigrant white males are higher than those of Canadian born white males. However, immigrant visible-minority males earn much less than Canadian born white males (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). Lastly, they state that even after controlling for the factors that typically cause differentials in earnings, there will still be substantial gaps between ethnic groups. Looking at the different tools of analysis, mainly regressions and the authors' reasoning, the results are convincing.

The main drawback of the Pendakurs' article is that the data presented might not be as objective as it appears to be at first glance. There are many multi-ethnic and Canadian born people of multiple ethnic backgrounds; hence, this discussion of race or ethnicity is prone to subjectivity. For example, workers who claim multiple ethnic origins can say that they are from a number of different backgrounds. However, the analysis does not fit these sorts of people into a specific category because the data collected is based upon individual subjectivity. Hence, there is an element of subjectivity on the part of the individual giving such data. Ideally, the analysis would try to treat these issues regarding ethnicity and race. If rooting out this subjectivity is not feasible, then the analysis should discuss discrepancies arising from such subjective data, perhaps by studying how different permutations of ethnicity would lead to a difference in earning differentials, all other variables being equal.

The paper written by Howland and Sakellariou, "Wage discrimination, occupational segregation and visible minorities in Canada", analyzes the relative economic position of both immigrants and native-born minorities. This was the first paper of its kind in Canada to analyze the earnings gap between native-born visible minorities and Canadian-born while considered the earnings effect of differences in occupational attainment (Howland and Sakellariou, 1993). The main findings of this paper are that anti-discrimination legislation aimed at decreasing the earnings gap between visible minority and white women should have a dual focus: it should aim to reduce inter-occupational wages discrimination and to provide training programmes to widen employment opportunities for ethnic minority women. Their paper also supports the conclusions that were reached in the article, "The Colour of Money: Earnings Differential Among Ethnic Groups in Canada" by Krishna Pendakur and Ravi Pendakur. However, Howland and Sakellariou examined earning gaps between whites, Asians and blacks and how these disparities relate to earnings of productivity-related characteristics, wage discrimination and occupational segregation. Similarly, they did not take into account the subjectivity of the discussion of ethnicity or race nor have they provided a system whereby this subjectivity can be eliminated to resolve the discrepancies from arising from such data. Lastly, Howland and Sakellariou discuss occupational segregation, which the Pendakurs did not deal with.

Christofides and Swidinsky's article, "Wage Determination by Gender and Visible-Minority Status: Evidence from the 1989 LMAS" analyzes the wage implications for people distinguished by gender and visible minority status from the 1989 Labour Market Activity Survey. They examined whether the differences in earnings could be explained by productivity-related characteristics. Their main finding was that thirty percent of the offered wage differentials between white males-minority females, white males-white females and white males-

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minority males can be attributed to productivity-related factors (Christofides and Swidinsky, 1994). They also concluded that there were no differences between minority males-white females and white females-minority females, which can also be explained by productivity factors (Christofides and Swidinsky, 1994). Even more surprising, the wage differentials between minority males and minority females are not because of gender or ethnic discrimination but due to differences in productivity characteristics. Christofides and Swidinsky used a much broader definition of visible minority than the Pendakurs and there were no categories for multiple-ethnicity. After consultations with Statistics Canada, Christofides and Swidinsky realized that the self-identification information was not reliable and should not be used in the analysis of labour market discrimination. With that in mind, the authors went ahead and used the data, and thus their results were different from those of the Pendakurs. This difference in data sets shows how the manner in which results, regarding discrimination with respect to earning differentials, can change.

Beach and Worswick provide another piece of literature on this issue. "Is there a double-negative effect on the earnings of immigrant women?" focuses particularly on immigrant women, a group not closely examined by the above-mentioned authors. This paper investigates whether immigrant women in Canada have lower earnings than Canadian-born women, in addition to the conventional findings of gender earning differentials. They highlighted four major findings. The first is a highly significant determinant of earnings, whose effect clearly dominates that of more traditional proxies (marital status and number of children) of women's time spent outside the labour market (Beach and Worswick, 1993). They found that working immigrant women reported a slightly higher degree of labour market experience and a smaller number of children than Canadian-born women and a nine percent higher earnings (Beach and

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Worswick, 1993). They also concluded that the earnings differentials were not the same for all immigrant women. The initial levels of earnings were estimated to be around twelve to fifteen percent; however, there appeared to be a large double-negative effect for some immigrant groups, particularly highly educated immigrants. Thirdly, the empirical studies supported the fact that immigrant wives initially subsidized their husbands' investments in long run, skill-specific jobs (Beach and Worswick, 1993). Lastly, the adjustment for immigrant women after coming to Canada does not appear to be statistically significant. This implies that any initial earnings gap, in relation to Canadian-born women, changes very little over the worker's career and may even worsen.

IV. Discussion

A major tenet of the Canadian immigration policy is the selection of immigrants who will benefit Canada economically because of their skills and abilities, including those who can fill Canada's immediate labour market needs. Increasingly, these needs reflect Canada's move to a knowledge-based economy. Immigrants are chosen on the basis of their ability to meet defined selection criteria, which are derived based upon their propensity to provide Canada with an adaptable, educated, and professionally experienced work force (Economic Council of Canada, 1991).

Canada's current *Immigration Act and Regulations* date from 1976 but they have been amended several times in the last decade to respond to such difficult issues as refugee determination and inadmissibility (Fagnan and DeVoretz (ed), 1995). The Act is based on several broad and occasionally inconsistent policy objectives: the attainment of demographic goals, the enrichment of Canada's cultural and social fabric, the facilitation of family reunification, the fulfillment of Canada's international obligations and the maintenance of our

humanitarian traditions, the fostering of a strong and viable Canadian economy, the protection of the health, the preservation of safety in Canadian society, and the promotion of international order and justice (Reitz, 1998).

The question that must be asked is how these policies affect immigrants' earnings when compared to Canadian-born workers. Given that immigrants are selected on the basis of their ability to meet defined selection criteria, then why do earning differentials exist between immigrants and the Canadian-born population? The only logical answer would be that discrimination is the underlying factor within the labour market. Within the economic group of immigrants, Canada has an active programme to attract entrepreneurs and investors who can establish or contribute to new and existing businesses and create job opportunities for Canadians. This seems to be oxymoronic: on one hand, the Canadian government is actively seeking out those immigrants who can be beneficial to the Canadian labour market. Conversely, discriminatory policies set by employers have the opposite effect – immigrants become a burden on the labour market.

Immigrants generally start out in the labour market at a distinct competitive disadvantage, largely as a result of discrimination in the educational system. However, their handicaps do not end there; in the labour market itself, this segment of the population does not have an equal opportunity to make the best of their disadvantaged beginnings.

Discrimination can take several forms. Employment discrimination means that some people are not hired because of non-economic characteristics such as race and gender. Two individuals with the same training, education and experience apply for a job. One is an immigrant of a visible minority group and the other is a Canadian-born who is not a visible minority. Both can function if placed within the job. If both do not have the same chance of

getting the job, discrimination has entered into the decision-making process. This sort of discrimination is difficult to identify positively. Differences in unemployment rates among whites and visible minorities may suggest discrimination, but do not prove that it exists.

Another possible explanation of how immigrants, especially women, are discriminated against is the theory of occupational segregation (Fellows et al., 1997). This theory holds that women are crowded into certain jobs. Most women work in occupations that are mainly filled by women, for example, nurses, bank tellers, and secretaries. While women are not excluded from other jobs, entry is more difficult. This crowding effect increases supply in lowers wages in these areas. While labour market segregation may be decreasing, many economists believe that it is a significant factor in explaining gender-based differences in pay (Fellows et al., 1997).

V. Methodology for Further Research and Analysis – Modeling Strategies and Data Sets

The data set that is used for developing the ideas in this paper is from the 1996 Census administered by Statistics Canada. This survey contains all the necessary data needed for the proposed analysis of earning differentials among ethnic groups in Canada. The data set contains 6685 observations for an undefined group. This group contains males and females, of all ethnicities (none of which were recorded as multiple ethnicities), that reported wages and salaries in the province of Alberta.

Table 1: Variables:

Variables	Definition	Sample Mean	Standard Deviation
Province	The province in which the sample size is located, in this case, Alberta	48	0

Age	The age at which individuals reported at the time of the census	38.3466	11.74311
Sex	Male or Female	1.54166	0.4982987
Immigran	Immigrant Status Indicator	1.298878	0.4578005
Ethnicor	Ethnic Origin	12.76245	10.963
Highestl	Highest Level of Schooling: the sample size that reported an education above high school	7.89813	2.655111
Wagessal	Wages & Salaries reported at the time of the census	29027.83	26103.91

There were some observations that reported missing values. As seen in Appendix 1, variables that were reporting missing values were dropped. Prior to dropping these missing variables, the original sample size was 9121. Some of these variables have been transformed. The categorical variables have been converted into dummy variables. The purpose of the dummy variable is to control for unobserved, but systematic differences between observations from different categories. The wages and salaries variable was converted to the logarithm of wages and salaries, thereby reducing heteroscedasticity if the wages and salaries variable has heteroscedastic error terms.

Table 2: Estimating Wage/Earnings Equation:

Independent Variables	Estimated Coefficients	Estimated t-ratio	R-squared	Number of Observations
Sex	0.50	17.28 (*)	0.1391	6685
Age^2	0.00	10.31(*)	0.1391	6685
Immigrant Status Indicator	-0.14	-3.474	0.1391	6685
Ethnic Origin Indicator (Canadian)	-0.19	-4.52 (*)	0.1391	6685
Ethnic Origin Indicator (other ethnicities, please see Appendix 1 and Appendix 2)			0.1391	6685
Highest Level of Education **University:** BA	0.62	12.43	0.1391	6685
University: MA	0.72	3.87 (*)	0.1391	6685
University: PhD	0.98	6.02 (*)	0.1391	6685

(*) – Indication of a coefficient that is statistically different from 0

The results show that as an individual increases their education, the earning differentials also increase until they have earned a Ph.D. Also, this shows that the gender and age of an individual will also determine whether discrimination is a factor in earnings differentials. There were only nine ethnic minority indicators that had a statistically significant t-ratio; however, not a single ethnic minority indicator yielded a positive coefficient estimate. The purpose of this

regression analysis was to construct a model, which would be used to identify the effects of earning differentials between aggregate groups of Canadians and immigrants of different ethnic origins. This analysis should determine whether immigrants are faced with earning differentials in relation to their Canadian counterparts. It can be concluded that the data set does not give any determinant conclusion as to whether the proposed analysis was able to produce original results that would contribute to the understanding of this issue.

Looking at the data and its codebook (Appendix 2), it seems that those ethnicities that reported a statistically significant t-ratio were those ethnicities from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. Those that were not significant were from Europe and the Caribbean. However, those individuals that reported Canadian as their ethnic origin were faced with an earning differential of nineteen percent. This may be the case where people considered themselves to be Canadian instead of the ethnicity of their birth country, for example, a man born in India considering himself to be Canadian and not Indian.

When looking at the results of other economists, they have either selected against or failed to test for other things. Christofides and Swidinsky do not mention people that are of European descent. Likewise, Howland and Sakellariou do not mention anyone other than those belonging to South East Asian, South Asian or black ethnic groups. Moreover, they do not examine the differences between people who claim only one ethnic origin and people who claim multiple ethnic origins. Beach and Worswick only focused on the economic issues facing immigrant women. Also, the data used by Beach and Worswick came from the 1973 Job Mobility Survey conducted by Statistics Canada as a supplementary questionnaire to the regular Monthly Labour Force Survey. Their analysis focused only on earnings and not on any non-monetary employment benefits for which no data was available. Also, there has been no

apparent attempt to study other forms of discrimination in the labour market such as consumer and statistical discrimination.

A method that could be used to further decompose the observed wage gaps into two components would be the Blind-Oaxaca decomposition. The two decomposed components would be the differences in mean earnings due to differences in mean observable characteristics and the differences in mean earnings due to different treatment of human capital characteristics. Many would consider the first component as a legitimate source of wage differentials; however, the second component would be considered a heinous discriminatory portion of wage differences. Unfortunately, this regression analysis cannot differentiate human capital characteristics nor can it look at the mean observed characteristics.

VI. Economic Costs of Discrimination

The economic costs of discrimination are both individualist and societal. The individual costs of discrimination are those imposed on the individual who loses one way or another because of discrimination. The social cost of discrimination takes the form of a reduction in total output of the economy due to discrimination (Fellows et al., 1997).

Individuals that are discriminated against suffer from losses in the form of reduced living standards. They tend to be paid less for what they sell, to pay higher prices for what they buy, to have fewer employment opportunities, and to be segregated in low-paying occupations. Individuals who discriminate may both gain and lose something from their behavior. An employer practicing discriminatory hiring policies may gain something if a female worker can be hired at a lower wage than a male worker, assuming that both are equally productive. The wages of Canadian-born may be kept artificially high if immigrants are shut off from jobs and occupations because of their status. Discriminators, however, may lose by having to forfeit

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income in order to satisfy their taste for discrimination. For example, an individual who refuses to sell his or her house to a South Asian may end up selling the house at a lower price to a Canadian-white born person, or an individual who refuses to hire a woman may end up paying a higher wage to a man with the same productivity. Market imperfections are caused by imperfect knowledge, immobility of resources, and imperfect competition. That being said, this should not be mistaken for competitive labour markets, which result in workers of equal ability being treated equally by an employer. The demand for labour is determined by the employee's marginal revenue product; workers who contribute more to their employer's output and revenues will command higher wages than those who contribute less. Wage differentials in competitive markets reflect differences in employee productivity. Such wage differentials should not be confused with labour market discrimination. Similarly, employers would have very little incentive to stir up racial and ethnic troubles. Schiller states that profits, politics and to some extent, recreation command more attention and commitment (Schiller, 1998). If this is the case, then employers who are participating in a perfectly competitive market will choose not to discriminate.

Employers who do discriminate against immigrants and minority workers do so because of statistical discrimination. Statistical discrimination, according to Bruce, is defined as "discrimination in the sense that individuals from the majority group will have a higher preference to be selected than the minority group, even when there are applicants in the minority group who would have proven to be as productive as those in the majority group" (Bruce, 1995). One might ask why this is statistical in nature. According to Bruce, the source of discrimination is a statistical correlation between the indicator being used to make a hiring decision and the expected level of productivity" (Bruce, 1995). In reality, employers do not know for sure which

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potential employees will turn out to be the most productive. Tests and educational credentials are used to help reduce such certainty, but if all such screening criteria were eliminated, employers might rely more on racial characteristics. This proves to be quite problematic for immigrants. Many immigrants have received their education outside of Canada. Among these educated immigrants, an important reason for an earnings penalty could be non-equivalence or non-recognition of academic credentials (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). Immigrants, who have gained professional and technical degrees abroad, may face an earnings gap compared with similarly educated workers with Canadian degrees and certificates because those international degrees are not recognized or are not equivalent to those gained in Canada. Therefore, if these professional and technical skills go unnoticed, it may just as well be that Canada is losing a large portion of its productive and effective workforce. Moreover, an immigrant man who is a part of a visible-minority and who completed his education in Canada may expect to earn 16.2 percent less than a Canadian-born white man, even though both have a Canadian education (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998).

Immigrants and members of ethnic minorities, especially women, have been pushed into low-wage occupations. The effect of segregation by occupation is twofold. First, the supply of labour is increased in occupations restricted to minority groups, which causes a depression of wages in those occupations. Second, the supply of labour is decreased in occupations closed off to minority groups, thus increasing wages in those occupations. The result is to create a wider gap between low- and high-wage occupations.

According to Howland and Sakellariou, differences in the levels of occupational determining endowment characteristics between Canadian white-born and women belonging to the Asian ethnic group played a significant role in the earnings disadvantage of these women

(Howland and Sakellariou, 1993). However, occupational segregation had no role in the women's earnings gap. They conclude that polices to decrease the earnings differentials between Canadian white-born and visible minorities by equalizing the ethnic representation across occupational categories would be effective only for males from black ethnic groups (Howland and Sakellariou, 1993).

The next question that needs to be answered is why do women, especially those that are immigrants, fail to enter higher paid male-dominated occupations? First of all, many of these occupations have a lack of female role models or mentors, which enforces the traditional view of the division of labour between the sexes. Immigrants, especially those from areas where traditional roles are acted out to their fullest extent, would find entry to these male-dominated occupations even more difficult than Canadian white-born females would. The division of labour within households often leaves women at home to provide domestic services, such as raising children, whereas men pursue work in the labour market to provide income for the family. According to Schiller, an explanation for these job and pay discrepancies is the lesser labour force attached to women (Schiller, 1998). Most working women either start their careers after having children or interrupt their careers for that purpose. Often, this is the case with immigrant women. Many immigrant women have left their careers, if they were indeed employed, back in order to pursue a new life, so to speak, in which these interruptions are inevitable. Role differentiation and labour-market discrimination tend to reinforce each other.

There are also non-market forms of discrimination, such as social discrimination, that are present in the labour market. Social discrimination would be difficult to root out, since it is based on deep-rooted beliefs and customs. In comparison to market discrimination, it would also be difficult to associate monetary costs with social discrimination. Fellows et al., go so far as

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saying that the source of market discrimination is social discrimination and that the self-interest motive in the market tends to overcome and reduce the effectiveness of discrimination in the labour market.

VII. Policy Solutions

Policy makers have tried to come up with legislation and regulations in order to eliminate discriminatory practices from occurring in the labour market. However, these policies are deemed almost useless because discrimination still flourishes in the labour market. Even though immigration played an important role in Canada's history, and it should continue to do so, policy makers hold the view that there should be some changes. Some people may argue that immigration must be limited to those who possess the human capital necessary to adjust quickly and independently to the needs of Canadian society and the job market. Other restrictions they think Canada should impose include a much tighter and enforced quota system for skilled worker immigrants, based on Canada's current employment needs, they should encourage immigration for the purpose of business, and that Canada should limit immigrant sponsorship (DeVoretz, 1995).

However, these policies are only good for immigrants coming into the country, not for those who are already participating in the labour market. Policies for landed immigrants should be multifactorial and should include: education, legislation, government subsidies, and reduction of discrimination in the development of human capital and occupational segregation.

Educating Canadians, as a whole, would teach them to understand others so that they will not be predisposed to stereotyped views of ethnicity. Many prejudices are based on stereotypes, which have little or no basis in fact. This leads to something known as erroneous discrimination, whereby those who discriminate honestly believe untrue stereotypes, which suggest that the

discrimination is based on objectively valid criteria (Fellows et al., 1997). Beach and Worswick argued that the lack of language training for women is an important source of female immigrant earnings degradation (Beach and Worswick, 1993). Conversely, Fagnan stated that female immigrants are not penalized for not having English as a mother tongue whereas male immigrant earners are (Fagnan and DeVoretz (ed.), 1995). By providing education to both employers and immigrants in terms of anti-discriminatory policies would prove to be beneficial.

Another policy solution towards curbing discrimination is the use of legislation. Legislation, in the hopes of changing peoples' tastes, would prove to be difficult in reducing discrimination. However, laws can establish a framework for reducing discrimination. The most basic set of laws, in Canada, is the Canadian Charter of Rights. In addition, there are provincial charters to protect human rights and federal and provincial legislation that deals with wage and employment discrimination. Even though legislation cannot force individuals to change their prejudices, it can have substantial effects on the way they behave. Legislation can reduce discrimination if the law increases the cost of discriminating beyond the amount that the individual is willing to pay. The penalties could include fines or loss of government contracts.

Legislation can also help to deter another form of discrimination – consumer discrimination. This form of discrimination arises when the consumer forms a bias against a certain group and refuses to deal with employees of that group. Therefore, immigrants of a visible-minority may have limited opportunities to get jobs that involve personal contact with customers (Schiller, 1998). A related concern is the possibility that consumers may believe that the product of a minority group is of a lesser quality than that of the dominant group (Bruce, 1995). For example, if a substantial proportion of customers have a preference of being served by or dealing with white staff, employers may refuse to hire employees of another ethnicity,

because such actions could cost them customers. For example, if the law requires all car repair shops to stop discriminating in their hiring processes, then the prejudiced customer has no choice but to use the services of any available mechanic, whether white or a member of a visible-minority group.

A third solution for discrimination would be government subsidies. Subsidy payments would be made to employers who do not practice discrimination in hiring, wages, and promotions. Employers who discriminate would be sacrificing subsidy payments, thus providing an incentive not to discriminate. In this case, the opportunity cost of discrimination would be equal to the subsidy payment. Government subsidy payments could reduce discrimination if the payments were equal to or greater than the non-monetary gain the discriminator receives from discrimination.

Policies looking at occupational segregation are quite controversial and are still being discussed today. As mentioned above, the effects of occupational segregation are twofold. There are policies similar to affirmative action programmes which encourage the employment of groups who have historically been discriminated against. However, this sort of programme can result in "reverse discrimination." Proponents of such polices claim it is justified as a counterbalance to existing discrimination (Fellows et al., 1997). This is also where the idea of role modeling and mentoring comes in. For example, a female professor of engineering would serve to encourage female students to enter the profession or a black person in the medical profession may entice other students of similar ethnicity to enter medicine. However, those that are opposed to such policies claim that reverse discrimination is still discrimination and thus, is unfair (Fellows et al., 1997).

VIII. Conclusion

The topic of discrimination, as discussed in this paper, is a very broad one. It encompasses many aspects of Canadian policy towards immigrants and Canadian-born people. It is also a topic of ongoing research, which has opened many more doors regarding immigration and discrimination in the labour market. Through the use of legislation, changes in anti-discriminatory behavior and policies will hopefully eliminate, if not curb, the role that discrimination plays regarding income differentials amongst Canada's ethnic minority populations.

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Appendix 2:

'Census of Canada 1996, Individual Public Use Microdata'

[Data Collection Help] [Data Analysis Help]
[Data Centre Help] [Extraction Help]

                    'Census of Canada 1996, Individual Public Use
Microdata'
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              *   *
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'Census of Canada 1996, Individual Public Use Microdata' PAGE 1

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

PROVP, Province/Territory

Field: 1 Position: 1-2 Format: F2.0

        CONTENT   CODE   SAMPLE
        Newfoundland   10   15199
        Prince Edward Island   11   3690
        Nova Scotia   12   24999
        New Brunswick   13   20268
        Quebec   24   195696
        Ontario   35   295633
        Manitoba   46   30564
        Saskatchewan   47   27128
        Alberta   48   74144
        British Columbia   59   102494
        Yukon and Northwest   60   2633

Coverage:
        Valid cases 792448 Missing cases 0

'Census of Canada 1996, Individual Public Use Microdata' PAGE 15

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

AGEP, Age

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Field: 15 Position: 23-24 Format: F2.0

        CONTENT                          VALUE        VALID N
        MEAN                             35.35
        MINIMUM                              0
        MAXIMUM                             85
        RANGE                               85        792390
        Not available                       98
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'Census of Canada 1996, Individual Public Use Microdata' PAGE 16

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

SEXP, Sex

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Field: 16 Position: 25-25 Format: F1.0

        CONTENT                          CODE        SAMPLE
        Female                              1         403335
        Male                                2         389113

Coverage:
     Valid cases 792448 Missing cases 0
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'Census of Canada 1996, Individual Public Use Microdata' PAGE 22

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

IMMPOPP, Immigrant Status Indicator

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Field: 22 Position: 33-33 Format: F1.0

        CONTENT                          CODE        SAMPLE
        Non-immigrants                      1         650346
        Immigrants                          2         137603
        Non-permanent Res                   3           4498
        Not available                       8              1

Coverage:
     Valid cases 792447 Missing cases 1
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'Census of Canada 1996, Individual Public Use Microdata' PAGE 29

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

23

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ETHNICRP, Ethnic Origin


Field: 29 Position: 42-43 Format: F2.0

        CONTENT                         CODE        SAMPLE
        Sgl: British Isles               1          90899
        Sgl: French                      2          74579
        Sgl: Dutch                       3           8393
        Sgl: German                      4          20111
        Sgl: Other W.Europe              5           2307
        Sgl: Hungarian                   6           2589
        Sgl: Polish                      7           7255
        Sgl: Ukrainian                   8           9125
        Sgl: Balkans                     9           4503
        Sgl: Greek                      10           3970
        Sgl: Italian                    11          20038
        Sgl: Portuguese                 12           6795
        Sgl: Spanish                    13           1984
        Sgl: Jewish                     14           5432
        Sgl: Oth Europe (2)             15          10009
        Sgl: Africa (2)                 16           3622
        Sgl: Lebanese                   17           2303
        Sgl: Other Arab                 18           2608
        Sgl: West Asia                  19           2918
        Sgl: South Asia                 20          15947
        Sgl: Chinese                    21          22315
        Sgl: Filipino (2)               22           5584
        Sgl: Vietnamese (2)             23           3031
        Sgl: Oth E/S-E.Asia             24           4420
        Sgl: Lat/Cntl/S Amer            25           3325
        Sgl: Caribbean (2)              26           8613
        Sgl: Aboriginal                 27          13398
        Sgl: Canadian                   28         148269

Coverage:
     Valid cases 792405 Missing cases 43


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DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES


HLOSP, Highest Level of Schooling


Field: 74 Position: 90-91 Format: F2.0

        CONTENT                         CODE        SAMPLE
        < than Grade 5                   1          15994
        Grade 5-8                        2          59479
```

```
        Grade 9-13                              3        142364
        High School Grad                        4         90169
        Trades Cert/Diploma                     5         23104
        Oth nonU: No Oth Crt                    6         40526
        Oth nonU: with Trade                    7         39286
        Oth nonU: with Oth C                    8         72319
        Univ: No Cert/Dipl                      9         20566
        Univ: With Cert/Dipl                   10         39972
        Univ: BA or Prof Deg                   11         58017
        Univ: BA + Cert/Dipl                   12          8713
        Univ: MA                               13         13841
        Univ: PhD                              14          2885
        Not applicable                         99        165213


Coverage:
        Valid cases 627235 Missing cases 165213
```

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DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

WAGESP, Wages & Salaries

Field: 101 Position: 136-142 Format: F7.0

```
        CONTENT                          VALUE        VALID N
        MEAN                          16031.61
        MINIMUM                              0
        MAXIMUM                         200000
        RANGE                           200000         627235
        Not applicable                 9999999
```

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