The Colour of Money Redux:
Immigrant/Ethnic Earnings Disparity in Canada
1991 – 2006

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Abstract

In this paper, we investigate how visible minority and immigrant earnings gaps in Canada evolved over 1991 to 2006. Immigrant disparity changes with the duration of residence in Canada, so we evaluate disparity at 5 years in Canada, that is for relatively recent immigrants. We find that, overall, visible minority- and immigrant-based earnings disparity increased substantially over the 15 year period. This pattern is observed broadly for both men and women, in Canada as a whole and in each of its three largest CMAs, for most white and visible minority immigrant groups, and for most Canadian-born visible minority ethnic groups. The decline in relative earnings is large: it is on the order of 20 percentage points for both white and visible minority immigrants and on the order of 10 percentage points for Canadian-born visible minority workers.

1.   Introduction

A large body of Canadian research shows that immigrants can face substantial labour market disparity, which may be worsening since 1990 (see for example, Akbari, 1992; Howland and Sakellariou, 1993; Stelcner and Kyriazis, 1995; Christofides and Swidinsky, 1994; Baker and Benjamin, 1995; Hum and Simpson, 1999; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998; Lian and Matthews, 1998). A smaller literature has established that Canadian-born visible minorities also face labour market disparity (see Stelcner, 2000; Pendakur and Pendakur 1998, 2002, 2011). These papers have shown that both male and female visible minorities face disadvantage, and that certain visible minority ethnic groups drive this disparity, especially those of South-Asian and Black/Caribbean/African origins (see de Silva and Dougherty 1996; Baker and Benjamin 1995; Hum and Simpson 1999; Pendakur and Pendakur 2002). Further, Skuterud (2010) finds that earnings gaps can remain even after three generations. Similarly, Palameta (2007) and Pendakur and Pendakur 2011) find that gaps do not disappear for Canadian-born visible minorities. Conversely, Reitz, Zhang and Hawkins (2009) find that some Canadian-born racial minorities, particularly men of Chinese origin, perform better than white workers.

We investigate how minority and immigrant earnings gaps in Canada have evolved from 1991 to 2006. We use four micro data sets containing all the "long form" records collected by Statistics Canada for the 1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006 Censuses of Canada. These data sets are very large and allow consistent definitions of variables over the period. It is thus possible to assess the degree to which non-Aboriginal Canadian-born and immigrant minorities face earnings differentials, as well as the degree to which those differentials have changed over time. In this way, we are able to assess how the findings of previous research--which examine a variety of time periods and use different methods--compare to a method that uses consistent data and methodology over time.

We find that visible minority- and immigrant-based earnings disparity has increased substantially over the 15-year period. In contrast, European-origin minorities born in Canada do not face earnings gaps.

This pattern is observed broadly for both men and women, in Canada as a whole and in each of its three largest CMAs, for most white and visible minority immigrant groups, and for most Canadian-born visible minority ethnic groups. The decline in relative earnings is large: it is on the order of 20 percentage points for both white and visible minority immigrants and on the order of 10 percentage points for Canadian-born visible minority workers.

2.   Previous Research

As noted above, there is a fairly rich body of research exists that assesses earnings differentials faced by minorities in Canada's labour force. Howland and Sakellariou (1993), using regression techniques to examine the Individual File of Public Use Sample Tape of the 1986 Canadian Census, found that the earnings gap ranged from 2% for South Asian men to 21% for Black men, as compared with non-visible minority men. Using the 1989 Labour Market Activity Survey, Christofides and Swindinsky (1994) found that, while British or French immigrant males were not generally disadvantaged in the Canadian labour market, minority immigrant males earned

18% less than non-minority males on average. Using 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File (PUMF) data, Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) found the earnings gap to be 2% for immigrant white men, and 16% for immigrant visible minority men. Lian and Mathews (1998) similarly used the 1991 Census PUMF to conclude that immigrants of Western European ethnic backgrounds actually displayed higher incomes than the average for Canadian-born workers; however, this advantage was not observed for workers of Eastern and Southern European backgrounds, and statistically significant disadvantage was observed for visible minorities ranging from 5% for those of Arab ethnicity, to 33% for those of Filipino background (Lian and Mathews, 1998).

Such earning differentials were confirmed in the later 1990s by Hum and Simpson (1999), who, using data from the 1993 Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, found entry earnings for visible minority immigrant men to be 37% lower than Canadian-born males compared to 9% for immigrant males from Europe. Using the Longitudinal Immigrant Data Base (IMDB) to examine immigrant entry earnings and catch-up rates between 1980 and 1996, Li (2003) found that immigrants who arrived in the 1990s did indeed have lower entry earnings than those who arrived in the 1980s. However, his findings indicate that those who arrived more recently took less time to catch up with the average earnings of native-born Canadians. Similarly, Hum and Simpson (1999) estimated that the earnings of immigrant men had the potential to converge within ten years, with the time increasing to thirty years for immigrant women. However, both studies continued to recognize that such optimism was unlikely to be extended to immigrants from non-European countries. Li (2003) found that immigrants from Asia and Africa took longer to catch up, and Hum and Simpson (1999) estimated that convergence was unlikely to occur within the lifetime of visible minorities.

Entering the 2000s, a longitudinal study by Galarneau and Morissette (2004) compared Census data from 1991, 1996, and 2001 to reaffirm that no narrowing of the earnings gap had occurred for the immigrant population at large. Where the earnings of recent immigrants were found to be 20% lower than Canadian-born workers in 1991, the same gap was observed in 2001. As concluded in a literature review conducted by Hum and Simpson (2004), evidence from cross-sections and panel data of studies has contributed to a common acceptance of the notion that immigrant earnings are unlikely to converge with those of native-born Canadians.

Kogan (2006), using the European Labour Force Survey data from 1992 to 2000 revealed that "third-country" immigrants (those from outside the European Union) also experienced greater labour market integration in countries with a higher demand for low-skilled labour, including the UK and Southern Europe. Differences in immigrants' countries of origin revealed that those from Sub-Saharan African countries experienced a substantial disadvantage compared to those from Asian countries (Kogan, 2006). Conversely, a US study by Hall and Farkas (2008) applied a random coefficient regression model to the Survey of Income and Program Participation data from 1996 to1999, and 2001 to 2003, to find that many US immigrants are employed in similar occupations to native-born Americans, and experience substantial wage gains over time. However, similarly to Galarneau and Morissette (2004), immigrants are found to earn 24% less than native-born workers, with Latino immigrants suffering from barriers to mobility (moving from one job to another) and more severe wage discrimination (Hall and Farkas, 2008).

A smaller body of literature has focused on patterns across Canadian cities. In particular, Pendakur and Pendakur (1998, 2011) focus attention on the high degree of disparity observed in Montreal relative to Toronto and Vancouver, which cannot be explained by compositional differences. Pendakur and Pendakur (2002, 2011) find that these patterns have existed since at least the 1980s.

3. Methodology

The objective of this paper is to provide a picture of the overall 15-year history of minority earnings disparity in Canada, using consistent data definitions and data sources for the period 1990 to 2005.

Specifically, we estimate earnings differentials between white and visible minority workers for Canada as a whole and in three large Canadian cities across four census years. In addition, we investigate earnings differentials between British-origin workers and 34 ethnic groups (both white and nonwhite) in Canada as a whole, and in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver separately. We choose these groups for two reasons. They are large enough to provide statistically significant results at the Canada-wide level over the 15-year period, but not necessarily at the CMA level. Further, this categorization is also compatible with Pendakur and Pendakur 2010, but includes immigrant groups.

Our sample is restricted to workers earning more than $100 per year, whose major source of income is wages and salaries, who are aged between 25 and 65, and who are not temporary residents of Canada and who are not Aboriginal persons. In all regressions, the dependent variable is the natural logarithm of annual earnings from wages and salaries in the previous year.[1]

We estimate log-earnings equations controlling only for ethnic origin, personal characteristics, and immigrant characteristics. Ethnic origin, as noted above, is *either* visible minority status, *or* a more detailed list of 34 ethnic origins. Personal characteristics are: age, education, marital status, official language knowledge, and census metropolitan area of residence.

For immigrant workers, we add additional variables: immigrant status, the number of years since migration, and both of these variables interacted with visible minority status. In regressions using the more detailed list of ethnic origins, we interact immigrant status with the ethnic origin, rather than with visible minority status, and interact years since migration with visible minority status. We include regressors to control for the amount of time an immigrant has resided in Canada. These controls have a value of 0 for an immigrant whose year of arrival in Canada is 5 years before the income year reported in that Census. Thus, the coefficient on the immigrant variable may be interpreted as the log-earnings disparity faced by an immigrant who has been in Canada for 5 years. For example, if the immigrant dummy has a value of -0.05, this means that a

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[1]   Coefficients from log-earnings can be interpreted as approximately equal to percentage disparities between the group of interest and the specified reference (i.e. "left-out") category, holding constant all the personal characteristics in the regression. In our regressions, the left-out category is "white" when considering visible minorities as a whole, and is "British" when considering the collection of 34 ethnic groupings. Thus, if a reported coefficient on visible minority is -0.05, then one could say that visible minorities earn 5% less than whites with similar personal characteristics.

white immigrant who arrived in 1985 faces earnings disparity of about 5 per cent in 1990 (reported in the 1991 Census).[2]

In controlling only for the personal characteristics of workers, we intentionally leave out the characteristics of the jobs those workers have. We believe that the work characteristics of workers — such as occupation and industry sector — are at least as susceptible to ethnic discrimination as the wages paid to workers. The case is made by Becker (1996) and others that in competitive labour markets discrimination by employers, workers, or customers results in segregation of workers into different jobs by ethnicity but does not result in wage differentials for workers in identical jobs. With competitive product and labour markets, this segregation results in a "separate but equal" type of world where ethnic discrimination results in dividing the economy into sub-economies composed of single ethnic groups with identical wage and earnings outcomes across sub-economies.

But, if either of these competitive labour market assumptions is relaxed, the "separate but equal" conclusions do not follow. For example, if product markets are not competitive, so that some firms make excess profits that are partially shared with (possibly unionized) workers, then workers in those firms make more money than seemingly identical workers in other firms with less excess profits. Pendakur and Woodcock (2010) find evidence that immigrants end up in low-wage firms. Here, segregation results in unequal outcomes.

Alternatively, if labour markets are not competitive, a similar "separate but *un*equal" conclusion can follow. For example, consider the occupation of investment banker, a well remunerated job in large part because investment bankers must have something to lose if their investors are to trust them. If white workers have a better chance of getting these jobs than non-white workers, then occupation segregation results in earnings differentials between white and non-white workers.[3] Our econometric methodology is most suited to this latter interpretation of how labour market works. We control for the characteristics of workers in assessing earnings disparity. However, we do not control for the characteristics of their jobs because we believe that these characteristics are themselves subject to disparate access on the part of some workers relative to others.

The results of our analysis are drawn from 64 regressions (4 time periods * 4 regions * 2 ethnic categorizations * 2 genders), which assess the impacts of immigrant/ethnic earnings differentials after controlling for age, marital status, official language knowledge, household size, Census Metropolitan Area of residence and level of schooling. We run separate regressions for males and females because the census does not have a good indicator of labour force participation. So, our results allow us to compare within ---but not across---genders.[4]

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[2]   Details on the full list of variables included in the regression can be found in the appendix.

[3]   It should also be noted that changes in industry and occupation coding make comparison of work-related characteristics impossible over the four census periods.

[4]   The census does not include a variable that describes the amount of time workers have been active in the labour force. Generally for men, there is an assumption that this is equal to years of age minus years of schooling. However women are more likely to be in and out of the labour force. This means that it is difficult to directly compare the earnings of men and women. For this reason we limit our analysis to comparisons within rather than across genders.

We note that in cases where the coefficient has a value of 0.20 or less, differences in the log of wages can be interpreted as percent differences in earnings. Thus, for example, a coefficient of 0.05 for an ethnic group would suggest that, on average, after controlling for other variables, that ethnic group could expect to earn about 5% more than the comparison ethnic group. However, for coefficients that are greater than either -0.25 or +0.25, this interpretation is not correct. For this reason, in the graphs we have converted all the coefficient values into percent differences from the comparison group.

4. Results

4.1 Canada as a Whole

Table 1 shows coefficients from estimated log-earnings regressions that control for personal characteristics and visible minority status as described above. We present results for Canada as a whole, with CMA dummies controlling for area of residence, and for Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver separately.[5]

For Canadian-born persons, the coefficient on visible minority status gives the estimated difference in log-earnings for a visible minority in comparison with a white person. As stated above, for small values (less than .25), these may be interpreted as percentage differences in earnings.The coefficient on visible minority for males in the 1991 Census data is -0.10, so we conclude that Canadian-born visible minority men earned about 10% less than their white Canadian-born counterparts.

For immigrants, the coefficient on the immigrant dummy gives the estimated difference in log-earnings between a white immigrant who has been in Canada for 5 years and their white Canadian-born counterparts. For example, the coefficient on immigrant for men in the 1991 Census data is -0.27, indicating that white immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1985 (5 years before the 1990 earnings year) earned about 24% less than their white Canadian-born counterparts.[6] The estimated difference in log earnings for a visible minority immigrant is the sum of three effects: the immigrant effect, the visible minority effect, and the visible minority immigrant effect. For example, the coefficients on these three variables for men in the 1991 Census year are -0.27, -0.10, and -0.18, respectively, indicating that visible minority immigrants who had arrived in Canada in 1985 had earnings about 42% lower (coefficient of -0.55) than their Canadian-born white counterparts.

As noted above, for visible minority immigrants, three estimated coefficients are relevant to their earnings disparity. Thus, reading data results off of the Table can be cumbersome. In addition, for large negative values, proportionate differences in earnings are smaller in magnitude than the

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[5]. We do not report data means because the data are drawn from the confidential files of the Censuses of Canada. However, the mean values of our data are very similar to analogous data means drawn from the public-use data files of each year's Census.

[6] The coefficients on immigrant dummies give estimated disparity faced by an immigrant who has been in Canada 5 years. Immigrants with other durations in Canada are, of course, in the empirical model. To compute their estimated earnings disparity, one would add the estimated coefficients on years in Canada and its square (plus its interactions with the visible minority indicator). We do not discuss the estimated disparities for immigrants with other durations in Canada in the text, as they make summarizing the results more confusing.

coefficients, and for large positive values, proportionate differences are larger in magnitude than the coefficients. In order to simplify the tracking of disparity over time, we present the information in the Table graphically, and transformed into exact proportionate differences in Figures 1 - 4.

Figure 1 presents the information from the top panel of Table 1 graphically. It gives the proportionate differences in earnings for male and female minorities across 4 income years (1990, 1995, 2000, and 2005). The proportionate difference in earnings for Canadian-born visible minority males was -9% in 1990 in comparison with Canadian-born white workers with otherwise similar personal characteristics. For visible minority immigrant males, the proportionate difference was 42% (which, as noted above, is smaller in magnitude than -0.55, the sum of the three relevant coefficients).

Past research suggests that labour force prospects for immigrants and visible minorities have deteriorated over time (see for example, Akbari, 1992; Howland and Sakellariou, 1993; Stelcner and Kyriazis, 1995; Christofides and Swidinsky, 1994; Baker and Benjamin, 1995; Hum and Simpson, 1999; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998; Lian and Matthews, 1998). Our findings reiterate this. Amongst both men and women, disparity increased from 1991 to 1996 and stayed high for all immigrants and Canadian-born visible minorities. These results are easily seen in Figure 1, which provides results for Canada-wide regressions. First, we will consider visible minority Canadian-born women. As did Pendakur and Pendakur (2011), we see a deterioration in relative earnings over time, from a (statistically insignificant) 2% earnings advantage in 1990 to a (statistically significant) 4% earnings *gap* in 2005. This is not a dramatic change, but it is definitely a downward trend.

Turning to the results for white immigrant women it is apparent that immigrants saw their earnings prospects fall dramatically, from an earnings gap of 22% in 1990 to 35% in 1995 to 39% in 2005. This is a very large change; among white immigrants with 5 years of residence in Canada, the relative earnings gap almost doubled.

Now moving to visible minority immigrant women, we see an even more dramatic deterioration in relative earnings. In 1990, their earnings gap was 22%, the same as that of white immigrant women. By 1995, it had increased to 37%, and then it continued to increase unabated over the next two periods to reach 47% by 2005. For visible minority immigrant women, relative earnings disparity more than doubled from 1990 to 2005.

Canadian-born visible minority men saw their earnings gap grow from 9% in 1990 to 18% in 2005. This increase in disparity was also reported in Pendakur and Pendakur (2011). However, that paper did not consider immigrants. White immigrant men also saw an increase in earnings disparity; their earnings gap was 24% in 1990, but it grew to 35% by 2005, with the bulk of that increase occurring between 1990 and 1995

Considering now the results for visible minority immigrant men, the earnings gap in 1990 was 42%. In 1995, it had grown to 50%, and by 2005, it had reached 54%.

All in all, we see a very strong pattern of increasing earnings disparity for all minority groups: for both males and females, Canadian-born visible minorities, immigrant whites, and immigrant

visible minorities saw a big decline in their relative earnings over the 4 Census periods. For most groups, the bulk of this deterioration occurred in the early 1990s.

4.2   Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver

Given the dynamics of the Canadian labour market across regions, it is possible that the Canada-wide picture might average out important variation across cities. Running regressions at the CMA level suggests that the overall patterns in the evolution of disparity identified above are evident in each of the three cities we study: Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver.

Figure 2 shows analogous results to Figure 1 for the Montreal Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). The over-time pattern we observe in Figure 1 is seen also for Montreal: all groups saw a decline in their relative earnings from 1990 to 2005. The deterioration is large for some groups. For female and male visible minority immigrants, the earnings gap grew by 17 and 9 percentage points, respectively. White immigrants also saw their relative earnings decline, though not by as much as visible minority immigrants did. Finally, we see a drop of about 6 percentage points in the relative earnings of Canadian-born visible minority men.

An important difference between the Canada-wide results shown in Figure 1 and the Montreal results shown in Figure 2 is that disparity tends to be worse in Montreal. For most minority groups, the earnings gap in Montreal is about 10 percentage points larger than the analogous national average earnings gap. That is, minority earnings disparity is larger in Montreal than in Canada taken as a whole, a result that echoes the findings of numerous previous papers (Pendakur and Pendakur 1998, 2002, 2007, 2011).

In Figure 3, we present results for the Toronto CMA, the largest urban agglomeration in Canada. Since the Toronto CMA accounts for nearly one-fifth of the data, and for nearly one-third of visible minorities, it should not be surprising that the results for Toronto closely track the national averages presented in Figure 1. All the patterns observed for Canada as a whole are evident for the Toronto CMA; visible minorities and immigrants saw substantial declines in their relative earnings from 1990 to 2005, and much of this deterioration occurred in the early part of that period.

Figure 4 presents results for the Vancouver CMA. Here, we see much the same pattern as in Figure 1 for visible minority immigrants. Earnings gaps widened from about 20% to more than 45% for women from 1990 to 2005. For men, they widened from about 45% to about 55% over the same period. The bulk of this decline occurred in the early 1990s, but decline continued throughout the rest of the period.

In contrast, for white immigrants, the decline was much smaller, and changed direction over the period. Earnings gaps for men and women were about 20% in 1990. By 2005, these had grown to about 32% and 25% for women and men, respectively. Interestingly, although both groups showed a marked deterioration in relative earnings over the early 1990s, male white immigrants showed some convergence in earnings between 1995 and 2005, with their earnings gap narrowing from 30% to 25%.

Canadian-born visible minorities tended to have higher relative earnings in Vancouver than in other CMAs, or in Canada as a whole. Indeed, in the early part of the period of 1990 to 2005,

Canadian-born visible minority women earned much *more* than their Canadian-born white counterparts. By 2005, this earnings advantage had contracted, but remained statistically significant. Canadian-born visible minority men earned about the same as Canadian-born white men in 1990 (a fact noted in Pendakur and Pendakur 1998), but by 2005, their earnings were statistically significantly lower than those of their Canadian-born white counterparts. In 2005, Canadian-born visible minority men faced an earnings gap of 13% in Vancouver, which, although lower than the 20% gap faced at the Canada-wide level, represents a substantial labour market disadvantage.

4.3   Canada as a Whole: Disparity Across Fine-Grained Ethnic Groups

Results shown in Table 2 are drawn from regressions that break out the immigrant and visible minority categories from Table 1. This set of analyses provides detailed earnings differentials for immigrant and Canadian-born workers across 23 European origins and 10 non-European origins for each of the 4 census periods. For each census period, we show two columns of coefficients. The first shows coefficients for the Canadian-born population, and the second shows the equivalent immigrant ethnic group. We are therefore able to compare, for example, the 1990 earnings differential for Canadian-born Greek women (-0.06) to immigrant Greek women. Greek women born in Canada get the coefficient for Greek women (-0.06 or about -6%). Greek immigrant women get both the coefficient for Greek women (-0.06) as well as the coefficient for being an immigrant (-0.23) as well as -0.03 for being a female Greek immigrant. This means the earnings differential for Greek immigrant women is large, exceeding 30 per cent (-0.06 + -0.23+-0.03= -0.32). This translates to a difference of -27%. Figures 5 through 8 show results for selected ethnic groups at the Canada-wide level. As above, these figures show differences expressed as percent differences; however, in this case, the comparison group is individuals who report only British origin on the ethnic origin question. We note that, in 2006, there is no significant difference between the earnings of people reporting British, French, or Canadian as ethnic origin, so we interpret our results as the difference in earnings between minority and majority ethnic origin workers (British, French, Canadian or any combination).

Looking first at the results for women of European origin born in Canada, we do not see any significant changes over the 15-year period (see Figure 5). Women reporting Northern European ancestry did not face any earnings disadvantage controlling for personal characteristics. Women of Portuguese and Balkan origin born in Canada, however, enjoy a bonus of 7%. Immigrant women from Europe do not fare as well. For example, Czech / Slovak immigrant women saw their earnings prospects deteriorate from a gap of -20% in 1990 to -40% in 2005. The earnings gap faced by Portuguese immigrant women also increased from -10% to -30%.

The results for non-European origin women are quite uneven. Women of Chinese origin born in Canada enjoyed an earnings bonus of about 6% in 2005 (14% in 1990), suggesting that they are paid more than similarly qualified women of British origin (see Figure 6). Women of South Asian and Arab and West Asian origin earn about the same as women of British origin after controlling for personal characteristics; however, Black women (reporting African, Black, or Caribbean origins) face earnings gaps of between 9% too 24% in 2005. Over all, this represents a deterioration in the wage prospects of visible minority women since 1990 when the gaps ranged from -9% to -17%. However, women with South East Asian origins have seen substantial improvement in their prospects, with the earnings gap decreasing from -20% in 1995

to +7% in 2005. The situation for visible minority immigrant women is worse. Visible minority immigrant women have seen a steady decline in their earnings prospect over the entire 15-year period of this study. In 1995, Chinese immigrant women, for example, earned about 29% less than women of British origin born in Canada. By 2005, they earned about half of what similarly qualified women of British origin earned. Immigrant women from Africa and the Caribbean also saw sharp declines in their earnings relative to women of British origin born in Canada. Caribbean immigrant women, for example, earned about 20% less in 1990. In 2005, earnings had declined to about 43% of similarly qualified women of British origin born in Canada.

Looking at the data for men, we can see sharp differences in results by origin and immigrant status. Men of European origin often enjoyed a small bonus over the entire 15-year period. Men of German, Dutch, and Polish origin born in Canada earned about 4% too 8% more than similarly qualified men of British origin born in Canada over the entire 15-year period. Immigrant men from the same origins faced earnings disparity ranging from -9% to -16% in 2005. With the exception of immigrant men from Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium, all other European immigrant groups faced earnings gaps between -9% and -33% in comparison to men of British origin born in Canada over the entire 15-year period.

The situation for visible minority men, however, was quite different. Visible minority men born in Canada faced earnings gaps between -11% and -40% in 2005. For some groups, this represents a decline in prospects, and for others, an improvement. South East Asian men born in Canada, for example, have seen the earnings gap improve, from -27% in 1995, to -22% in 2005. Men of Chinese origin, however, have seen a decline in their prospects, with the earnings gap increasing from -7% to -11%.

Visible minority immigrant men faced large earnings gaps over the entire time, which, depending on the group, either remained steady, or got worse. Men of Arab and West Asian, Black, Caribbean, or African Black origin saw their prospects deteriorate by about 10% from 1990 to 2005. Men of South Asian origin saw a minor decline in their prospects from -16% in 1990 to -20% in 2005.

4.4   Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver: Fine-Grained Ethnic Groups

Results for Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver are somewhat scattered, in part because of the number of visible minorities. In Montreal, for women, the more detailed ethnic categorization does not change our assessment very much. For example, in 2005, among white immigrants, only Russian immigrants earn significantly less than other white immigrant groups. Other European immigrant groups experience significant disadvantage (coefficient of -0.52). Looking at the detailed origins for non-European origins, we see that three groups experience significant gaps larger than those of British-origin immigrants; Chinese, South Asian, and Arab and West Asian groups face an additional earnings disparity of about 20%.

Turning to males in Montreal, Southern and Eastern European immigrants face an additional gap of about 20% to 30% (coefficient ranging from –0.21 to -0.35) in addition to the immigrant status effect (coefficient of -0.39). Canadian-born minorities with European origins do not appear to face a great deal of disparity. However, amongst men, all visible minority groups, be

they Canadian-born or immigrant, have much lower earnings. For Canadian-born, the disparity hovers around 20% - 60%, whereas for immigrants, it ranges from 50% to 60%.

In Toronto in 2005, among the Canadian-born, men and women of European origin do not face a great deal of disparity. However, over all, immigrant women face an earnings gap (coefficient of -0.49). Southern and Eastern European immigrant women face an additional gap between 10% and 20%. South Asian and Chinese immigrant women also have a significant earnings gap, in addition to the general immigrant gap, of about -12%. Black groups born in Canada (African, Black, and Caribbean) all face significant disparity (coefficients ranging from -0.14 - 0.32).

Turning to men, South Asian and Southeast Asian men born in Canada have seen a narrowing of disparity to about 6%. However, the immigrant groups saw an increase in disparity.

In Vancouver, we see much the same pattern for women of European origin born in Canada, where the disparity is small or insignificant for Southern European groups. For immigrant groups, however, the situation has gotten worse, with the immigrant gap increasing from -15% to about -30%. For men, those of Southern and Eastern European origin do worse, but there is not much change over time. Canadian-born Italian men, however, receive an earnings premium of about 10%.

Visible minority females born in Canada enjoy a substantial bonus in Vancouver. South Asian, Chinese and Southeast Asian women born in Canada all enjoy earnings premiums, but their foreign-born counterparts face large earnings gaps, which got worse over time (from about -20% to -40%).

Finally, turning to earnings for visible minority men born in Canada, we see that the decline in earnings is somewhat smaller. In 2005, they faced gaps of between 10% and 20%. However their foreign-born counterparts faced earnings gaps ranging from 30% to 50%. In the early part of the period, foreign-born visible minority men in Vancouver had earnings gaps of about 45% to 55%. Thus, visible minority immigrant groups, while having big earnings gaps, did not face substantial increases in the gaps. This is quite different from the situation in Montreal and Toronto.

5   Conclusions

The findings of this study may be summarized simply: minorities faced increasing earnings disadvantage over 1990 to 2005, with the bulk of the decline in their prospects occurring over the early 1990s. This pattern is observed broadly for both men and women, in Canada as a whole and in each of its three largest CMAs, for most Canadian-born visible minority ethnic groups, and for most white and visible minority immigrant groups. The decline in relative earnings is large: it is on the order of 10 percentage points for Canadian-born visible minorities, and on the order of 20 percentage points for both white and visible minority immigrants.

The fact that immigrants face earnings disparity is widely known (see for example, Stelcner, 2000; Lian and Mathews, 1998; Hum and Simpson 2004). However the magnitude of the decline in prospects is not as well studied. Our results suggest that the relative labour market outcomes of recent immigrants are substantially worse today as compared to 2 decades ago.

In the same way, the fact that some minorities born in Canada face gaps in their labour market attainment is fairly well documented (although somewhat more contentious). Christophides and Swidinky (1994) and Hum and Simpson (1999) argue that minorities born in Canada do not face earnings gaps at all. However, their datasets are relatively small implying relatively imprecise estimated coefficients. Our findings, using large and consistent datasets, suggest that not only are these earnings gaps concentrated in non-European (visible minority) ethnic groups, but also they are remarkably consistent over time and in some cases getting larger. These results are consistent with those of Skuterud (2010) and Palameta (2007).

That immigrant earnings disparity has increased over time is troubling in the context of Canada's steadily large intake of immigrants and steady increase in ethnic diversity. Canada's cities are crucibles of superdiversity, and are seen worldwide as roadmaps to a future of cohesive diversity. Growing immigrant and visible minority labour market disparity threatens this. The social and economic capital of immigrants may be the culprit here. But the welcoming---or excluding---nature of Canada's urban communities may also be at play. Unraveling these sources of disparity is an important goal of future research.

Increasing disparity faced by minorities born in Canada is troubling because these individuals are educated and socialized in Canada. In comparison with immigrants, these individuals do not face the same barriers related to language knowledge, recognition of credentials, accent penalties or lack of networks.

Understanding the evolving barriers facing immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada will require new empirical strategies. The mechanisms outlined above are not amenable to study using traditional data sources like the Censuses of Canada. Field experimental work, such as Oreopoulous (2011), has illuminated name discrimination as an important player in immigrant and visible minority disparity. New lab experimental research may also shed light on processes of exclusion in our superdiverse urban environments. Data sources targeting particular mechanisms may also have an important role to play in uncovering the magnitudes of particular channels of immigrant disparity, as in the work of Ferrer et al (2006) on literacy skills. Finally, panel data sources must be brought to bear on these questions to reasonably assess a dynamic phenomenon like the integration of immigrants into economic life.

6   References

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Appendix A

The personal characteristics in our regressions are coded as follows:

Age: Eight age cohorts as dummy variables (age 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40
                        to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, and 60 to 64). Age 25 to 29 is the left-
                        out dummy variable.

Schooling: We control for twelve levels[7] of certificates as dummy variables (none,
                        high school, trades certificate, college certificate less than 1 year, college
                        certificate less than 3 years, college certificate 3 or more years, university
                        certificate less than Bachelors, Bachelors degree, BA+, medical degree,
                        Masters degree, and Doctorate). No certificate is the left-out dummy
                        variable. We note that although schooling information is available by
                        place of schooling (foreign or domestic) in the 2006 Census, it is not
                        available in other years. Thus, we do not control for variation in the
                        location of schooling.

Marital Status: Five dummy variables indicating marital status (Single – never married,
                        married, separated, divorced, widowed). Single is the left-out dummy
                        variable.

Household size: A dummy variable indicating a single person household and a continuous
                        variable indicating the number of family members for other households.

Official Language: Four dummy variables (English, French, Both Official Languages –
                        English and French, and Neither Official Language). English is the left-
                        out dummy variable. Note that although nearly all Canadian-born persons
                        (minority or not) speak either or both official language(s), many
                        immigrants (especially recent ones) speak neither.

CMA: In regressions that pool all of the cities together, we use 12 dummy
                        variables indicating the Census Metropolitan Area / Region (Halifax,
                        Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton,
                        Vancouver, Victoria, or not in one of the 10 listed CMAs). Toronto is the
                        left-out dummy variable.

Ethnic Origin: Two dummy variables indicating employment equity group status (White,
                        Visible Minority). White is the left-out dummy variable. Alternatively,
                        34 dummy variables indicating ethnic origin (with separate dummies for
                        various multiple-origin groups), with British-only as the left-out ethnic
                        origin. For these, we do not report on the eight Aboriginal origin groups.
                        Note that any regression that includes the employment equity group status
                        dummy does not include the 34 ethnic origin dummies, and vice versa.5

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[7]   Empty cells are not a problem in regression analysis: empty cells are dropped; small cells are retained, but
their parameters are estimated with high variance.

Immigrant Status: Immigrant dummy equal to 1 if the person is not a citizen by birth.

Years since Migrating: Continuous variable equal to 0 for persons with Immigrant Status equal to 0, and equal to the number of years in Canada, less 6 years. Noting that Census earnings relate to the previous year, an immigrant who arrived in Canada in 1995 in the 2001 Census database would have Years Since Migration equal to 0 and would have reported their earnings for the 2000 calendar year. Thus, the coefficient on the immigrant dummy may be interpreted as the log-earnings disparity faced by an immigrant who has been in Canada for 5 years.[8] We note that citizenship status is highly correlated with years since migration for permanent residents, since a very large proportion of permanent residents take up citizenship soon after they are eligible. Consequently, to avoid collinearity problems, we do not include citizenship status as a regressor.

Coding of ethnic origin is based on census variables eth1 and eth2 (Ethnic Origin Component, Question 17: First ethnic origin and Second ethnic origin)

Note: if the first ethnic origin is Canadian, we use the second ethnic origin.

Single origins:

British	English, Irish Manx, Scottish, Welsh, British isles
French	Acadian French, Quebecois
Canadian	Canadian, Newfoundlander, Nova Scotian Ontario, Other provincial or regional groups
Baltic	Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian
German Austrian	German, Austrian
Czech Slovak	Czech, Slovak, Czechoslovakian
Scandinavian	Finnish, Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Scandinavian
Dutch	Dutch (Netherlands), Flemish, Frisian
Polish	Polish
Jewish	Jewish
Hungarian	Hungarian
Russian	Russian
Portuguese	Portuguese
Italian	Italian, Sicilian
Greek	Cypriot, Greek
Balkan	Romanian, Albanian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Macedonian, Maltese, Montenegrin, Serbian, Slovenian, Yugoslav n.i.e.

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[8]   We note that, both immigrants who have been in Canada for 5 years and less, and Canadian-born persons have a value of 0 for the years-since-migration regressor. However, immigrants have the immigrant status dummy equal to 1, while Canadian-born persons have it equal to 0. Thus, the immigrant status dummy carries the immigrant effect for an immigrant who has been in Canada for 5 years and less.

Spanish	Spanish, Basque
Ukrainian	Ukrainian
Belgian	Belgian
Other European	Luxembourger, Swiss, Kosovar, Gypsy, Slav, Afrikaner
Arab W Asian	Egyptian, Iraqi, Jordanian, Kuwaiti, Lebanese, Libyan, Algerian, Berber, Moroccan, Tunisian, Maghrebi, Palestinian, Saudi, Syrian, Yemeni, Arab, Afghan, Armenian, Assyrian, Azerbaijani, Georgian, Iranian, Israeli, Kurd, Pashtun, Tatar, Turk, Arab n.i.e.
S Asian	Bangladeshi, Bengali, East Indian, Goan, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Nepali, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sinhalese, Sri Lankan, Tamil, South Asian n.i.e.
Chinese	Chinese, Taiwanese
SE Asian	Burmese, Cambodian, Hmong, Khmer, Laotian, Malaysian, Singaporean, Thai, Vietnamese, East or SE Asian n.i.e.
Other Asia	Filipino, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Tibetan, Asian n.o.s. Fijian, Polynesian, Samoan, Pacific Islander n.i.e.
African Black	Akan, Amhara, Angolan, Ashanti, Bantu, Burundian, Cameroonian, Chadian, Congolese, Dinka, East African, Eritrean, Ethiopian, Gabonese, Gambian, Ghanaian, Guinean, Harari, Ibo, Ivorian, Kenyan, Malagasy, Malian, Mauritian, Nigerian, Oromo, Peulh, Rwandan, Senegalese, Seychellois, Sierra Leonean, Somali, South African, Sudanese, Tanzanian, Tigrian, Togolese, Ugandan, Yoruba, Zambian, Zimbabwean, Zulu, African, n.i.e.
Black	Black
Caribbean	Antiguan, Bahamian, Barbadian, Bermudan, Carib, Cuban, Dominican, Grenadian, Guyanese, Haitian, Jamaican, Kittitian/Nevisian, Martinican, Montserratan, Puerto Rican, St. Lucian, Trinidadian/Tobagonian, Vincentian/Grenadinian, West Indian Caribbean, n.i.e.
Latin American	Indigenous Latin American, Argentinian, Belizean, Bolivian, Brazilian, Chilean, Colombian, Costa Rican, Ecuadorian, Guatemalan, Hispanic, Honduran, Maya, Mexican, Nicaraguan, Panamanian, Paraguayan, Peruvian, Salvadorean, Uruguayan, Venezuelan, Latin Central or S. America n.i.e.
American, Australian New Zealander:	American, Australian, New Zealander, Hawaiian, Maori
Multiple origins:	
British/French/ Canadian Combinations	Any combination of British, French and/or Canadian.
Visible minority with white	any combination of a visible minority origin with European and/or majority origins.
White Multiple	Any combination or European or majority origins.

Table 1: Earnings differentials (coefficients) between White Canadian-born and Immigrant and visible minorities by Sex, Canada, Toronto, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991 - 2006

			1991		1996		2001		2006	
			coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.
Canada	female	Observations	950,391		980,755		1,045,740		1,136,259	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.13		0.13		0.13		0.15	
		Immigrant	-0.26	***	-0.43	***	-0.43	***	-0.49	***
		Visible minority	0.02		-0.05	***	-0.05	***	-0.04	***
		Immig * vm	-0.01		0.02		-0.05	***	-0.11	***
		Years since immigrating	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.03	***	0.03	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.01	***	0.01	***	0.01	***	0.02	***
	male	Observations	1,073,026		1,068,370		1,099,470		1,148,612	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.17		0.18		0.16		0.17	
		Immigrant	-0.27	***	-0.38	***	-0.37	***	-0.43	***
		Visible minority	-0.10	***	-0.15	***	-0.18	***	-0.20	***
		Immig * vm	-0.18	***	-0.16	***	-0.15	***	-0.15	***
		Years since immigrating	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.03	***	0.03	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.02	***	0.02	***	0.01	***	0.01	***
Montreal	female	Observations	111,831		115,855		123,155		135,106	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.12		0.13		0.14		0.17	
		Immigrant	-0.28	***	-0.50	***	-0.44	***	-0.60	***
		Visible minority	-0.01		-0.15	***	-0.15	***	-0.10	***
		Immig * vm	-0.12	**	0.11	**	0.02		-0.01	
		Years since immigrating	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.03	***	0.04	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.02	***	0.00		0.01	**	0.01	*
	male	Observations	123,763		123,665		126,980		134,668	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.19		0.19		0.17		0.19	
		Immigrant	-0.40	***	-0.49	***	-0.44	***	-0.61	***
		Visible minority	-0.25	***	-0.23	***	-0.32	***	-0.33	***
		Immig * vm	-0.04		-0.06		-0.05		0.06	*
		Years since immigrating	0.01	***	0.03	***	0.02	***	0.03	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.03	***	0.02	***	0.02	***	0.01	***

Table 1:   Earnings differentials (coefficients) between White Canadian-born and Immigrant and visible minorities
           by Sex, Canada, Toronto, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991 - 2006

			1991		1996		2001		2006	
			coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.
Toronto	female	Observations	146,978		155,910		174,635		191,366	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.10		0.13		0.12		0.15	
		Immigrant	-0.26	***	-0.48	***	-0.49	***	-0.52	***
		Visible minority	-0.01		-0.14	***	-0.09	***	-0.08	***
		Immig * vm	0.05	**	0.14	***	0.03		-0.05	***
		Years since immigrating	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.03	***	0.04	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.00		0.01	***	0.01	***	0.02	***
	male	Observations	154,781		159,135		174,745		184,843	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.18		0.20		0.18		0.20	
		Immigrant	-0.28	***	-0.43	***	-0.43	***	-0.49	***
		Visible minority	-0.15	***	-0.22	***	-0.23	***	-0.21	***
		Immig * vm	-0.06	***	0.00		-0.02		-0.07	***
		Years since immigrating	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.03	***	0.03	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.01	***	0.01	***	0.01	***	0.01	***
Vancouver	female	Observations	57,734		63,695		69,280		76,699	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.08		0.12		0.11		0.13	
		Immigrant	-0.20	***	-0.37	***	-0.32	***	-0.40	***
		Visible minority	0.12	***	0.10	***	0.04	**	0.06	***
		Immig * vm	-0.15	***	-0.16	***	-0.25	***	-0.27	***
		Years since immigrating	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.02	***	0.03	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.02	***	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.02	***
	male	Observations	63,126		66,730		69,925		74,408	
		Prob>F	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
		R2	0.18		0.20		0.18		0.18	
		Immigrant	-0.24	***	-0.35	***	-0.33	***	-0.29	***
		Visible minority	-0.04	*	-0.07	***	-0.14	***	-0.14	***
		Immig * vm	-0.34	***	-0.32	***	-0.30	***	-0.37	***
		Years since immigrating	0.02	***	0.03	***	0.02	***	0.02	***
		Yrs since immig for vm	0.02	***	0.02	***	0.01	***	0.02	***

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006 Census of Canada

Note: other controls include: CMA, age, level of schooling, marital status, official language knowledge and housel

Table 2: Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

			1991				1996				2001				2006			
			Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant	
			coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.
Canada	female	Observations	950,391				980,755				1,045,740				1,136,259			
		Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
		R2	0.13				0.13				0.13				0.15			
		Immigrant			-0.23	***			-0.38	***			-0.38	***			-0.43	***
		French	0.03	***	-0.01		0.02	***	0.00		0.00		0.05	**	0.00		0.07	***
		Canadian	0.05	***	0.00		0.00		-0.02		-0.02	***	-0.06	**	0.00		-0.09	**
		Baltic	0.02		-0.10	*	0.05		-0.13	**	-0.03		-0.04		0.00		-0.06	
		Austrian German	0.00		-0.10	***	0.01		-0.10	***	0.00		-0.10	***	0.01	*	-0.12	***
		Czech Slovak	0.07	**	-0.06		0.07	**	-0.15	***	-0.01		-0.08	*	0.03		-0.11	**
		Scandinavian	0.02		-0.09	***	0.02		-0.02		0.01		-0.07	**	0.03	*	-0.04	
		Dutch	-0.01		-0.12	***	0.02		-0.10	***	-0.01		-0.12	***	-0.02		-0.06	**
		Polish	0.05	***	-0.17	***	0.06	***	-0.20	***	0.05	***	-0.14	***	0.03	**	-0.09	***
		Jewish	0.00		-0.02		-0.05	***	-0.01		-0.07	***	-0.01		-0.11	***	-0.02	
		Hungarian	-0.01		-0.06	*	0.05	**	-0.15	***	0.00		-0.09	**	-0.01		-0.02	
		Russian	-0.03		-0.19	**	0.02		-0.43	***	-0.04		-0.37	***	-0.02		-0.30	***
		Portuguese	0.09	***	0.03		0.11	***	0.02		0.06	***	-0.04		0.07	***	-0.01	
		Italian	0.10	***	-0.11	***	0.08	***	-0.15	***	0.03	***	-0.09	***	0.04	***	-0.07	***
		Greek	-0.06	**	-0.03		-0.02		-0.17	***	-0.05	***	-0.19	***	-0.06	***	-0.11	***
		Balkan	0.08	***	-0.03		0.05	**	-0.12	***	0.09	***	-0.17	***	0.07	***	-0.11	***
		Spanish	-0.07		-0.09		0.11	*	-0.25	***	-0.07		-0.13	*	-0.06		-0.18	***
		Ukrainian	0.06	***	-0.02		0.06	***	-0.12	***	0.03	***	-0.30	***	0.05	***	-0.23	***
		Belgian	0.04		0.00		0.06	*	-0.06		0.09	***	-0.06		0.11	***	-0.18	**
		Other European	0.06	*	-0.07	*	0.02		-0.10	***	0.01		-0.02		-0.03		-0.01	
		Arab W Asian	0.06		-0.27	***	0.02		-0.28	***	-0.04		-0.26	***	-0.04		-0.28	***
		S. Asian	0.02		-0.05		-0.04		-0.04		-0.06	***	-0.07	**	-0.01		-0.20	***
		Chinese	0.14	***	-0.04	*	0.10	***	-0.07	***	0.05	***	-0.13	***	0.06	***	-0.24	***
		SE Asian	0.01		0.06		-0.23	***	0.24	***	-0.09	**	0.03		0.07	***	-0.16	***
		Other Asian	0.16	***	-0.34	***	0.14	***	-0.39	***	0.08	***	-0.42	***	0.06	**	-0.45	***
		African Black	-0.17		0.03		-0.11		-0.10		-0.15	**	-0.15	**	-0.24	***	0.00	
		Black	-0.12	***	0.05		-0.18	**	0.06		-0.18	***	-0.03		-0.20	***	0.00	
		Caribbean	-0.09		0.10		-0.19	***	0.12	***	-0.14	***	-0.01		-0.09	***	-0.04	*
		Spanish Latin American	-0.17		-0.04		-0.21		-0.03		-0.15	*	-0.09		-0.05		-0.19	***
		American Australian NZ	-0.16	*	0.16		-0.04		0.05		0.01		-0.07		0.00		0.00	
		Br Fr Can multiple	-0.01	***	-0.01		0.00		-0.03	**	-0.02	***	-0.04	**	0.00		-0.05	***
		Vismin w white	-0.05	**	-0.01		-0.11	***	0.01		-0.07	***	-0.09	***	-0.08	***	-0.05	***
		White multiple	-0.01	**	-0.06	***	0.01	***	-0.12	***	-0.02	***	-0.06	***	0.00		-0.06	***

Table 2:   Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

			1991 Canadian-born coef	sig.	1991 Immigrant coef	sig.	1996 Canadian-born coef	sig.	1996 Immigrant coef	sig.	2001 Canadian-born coef	sig.	2001 Immigrant coef	sig.	2006 Canadian-born coef	sig.	2006 Immigrant coef	sig.
Canada	male	Observations	1,073,026				1,068,370				1,099,470				1,148,612			
		Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
		R2	0.18				0.18				0.16				0.17			
		Immigrant			-0.15	***			-0.25	***			-0.27	***			-0.31	***
		French	0.02	***	-0.11	***	0.03	***	-0.10	***	0.00		-0.03		0.00		-0.07	***
		Canadian	0.04	***	-0.16	***	0.01	***	-0.11	***	-0.01		-0.17	***	0.01	**	-0.20	***
		Baltic	0.01		-0.07	*	0.06	*	-0.15	***	0.04		-0.18	***	0.04		-0.29	***
		Austrian German	0.03	***	-0.13	***	0.08	***	-0.17	***	0.04	***	-0.08	***	0.06	***	-0.09	***
		Czech Slovak	0.11	***	-0.27	***	0.10	***	-0.20	***	-0.01		-0.11	**	-0.01		-0.07	
		Scandinavian	0.05	***	-0.15	***	0.06	***	-0.09	***	0.06	***	-0.11	***	0.05	***	-0.06	*
		Dutch	0.06	***	-0.16	***	0.11	***	-0.18	***	0.07	***	-0.11	***	0.08	***	-0.13	***
		Polish	0.05	***	-0.32	***	0.07	***	-0.29	***	0.03	**	-0.18	***	0.04	***	-0.16	***
		Jewish	0.04	***	-0.18	***	0.01		-0.21	***	0.05	***	-0.21	***	0.02		-0.12	***
		Hungarian	0.03		-0.23	***	0.05	**	-0.19	***	0.00		-0.13	***	0.02		-0.16	***
		Russian	0.02		-0.21	***	0.04		-0.52	***	0.08	***	-0.44	***	0.03		-0.26	***
		Portuguese	-0.03		-0.07	**	0.04		-0.13	***	0.02		-0.13	***	0.02		-0.09	***
		Italian	0.01		-0.18	***	0.04	***	-0.21	***	-0.03	***	-0.14	***	0.00		-0.11	***
		Greek	-0.21	***	-0.23	***	-0.19	***	-0.27	***	-0.22	***	-0.21	***	-0.17	***	-0.24	***
		Balkan	0.02		-0.19	***	0.06	***	-0.26	***	0.00		-0.18	***	0.01		-0.21	***
		Spanish	-0.09	*	-0.24	***	-0.13	**	-0.20	***	-0.12	**	-0.22	***	-0.07	*	-0.26	***
		Ukrainian	0.05	***	-0.22	***	0.05	***	-0.21	***	0.01		-0.29	***	0.06	***	-0.33	***
		Belgian	0.09	***	-0.19	***	0.07	**	-0.14	***	0.02		-0.04		0.05	*	-0.07	
		Other European	0.04		-0.19	***	0.04	*	-0.21	***	0.02		-0.13	***	0.00		-0.20	***
		Arab W Asian	-0.03		-0.38	***	-0.03		-0.41	***	-0.10	***	-0.34	***	-0.13	***	-0.36	***
		S. Asian	-0.16	***	-0.18	***	-0.21	***	-0.15	***	-0.22	***	-0.15	***	-0.20	***	-0.20	***
		Chinese	-0.07	***	-0.24	***	0.00		-0.35	***	-0.10	***	-0.31	***	-0.11	***	-0.37	***
		SE Asian	-0.27	**	-0.07		-0.28	***	-0.06		-0.12	***	-0.24	***	-0.22	***	-0.15	***
		Other Asian	0.07	***	-0.48	***	0.08	***	-0.47	***	-0.02		-0.48	***	-0.01		-0.54	***
		African Black	-0.18	**	-0.31	***	-0.29	***	-0.28	***	-0.27	***	-0.27	***	-0.28	***	-0.17	***
		Black	-0.25	***	-0.17	***	-0.24	***	-0.21	**	-0.24	***	-0.25	***	-0.40	***	0.06	
		Caribbean	-0.15	**	-0.23	***	-0.31	***	-0.10	***	-0.24	***	-0.14	***	-0.26	***	-0.12	***
		Spanish Latin American	-0.16		-0.32	**	-0.37	***	-0.08		-0.22	***	-0.14	**	-0.15	***	-0.21	***
		American Australian NZ	0.02		0.00		0.02		-0.10	*	0.03		-0.06		0.01		-0.08	
		Br Fr Can multiple	0.01		-0.14	***	0.03	***	-0.09	***	0.00		-0.05	***	0.00		-0.05	***
		Vismin w white	-0.08	***	-0.28	***	-0.09	***	-0.23	***	-0.14	***	-0.18	***	-0.11	***	-0.20	***
		White multiple	0.03	***	-0.16	***	0.06	***	-0.20	***	0.03	***	-0.17	***	0.04	***	-0.14	***

Table 2:   Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

		1991				1996				2001				2006			
		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant	
		coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.
Montreal female	Observations	111,831				115,855				123,155				135,106			
	Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
	R2	0.12				0.13				0.14				0.18			
	Immigrant			-0.29	***			-0.58	***			-0.46	***			-0.52	***
	French	0.03	**	0.03		-0.01		0.16	**	0.03		0.14	**	0.03		0.12	*
	Canadian	-0.05		0.08		-0.03		0.11		0.05	**	-0.02		0.05	***	0.05	
	Baltic	0.03		-0.09		0.02		0.02		-0.03		-0.47		0.12		0.01	
	Austrian German	0.09	*	-0.07		-0.01		-0.01		0.02		-0.04		0.04		-0.07	
	Czech Slovak	0.13		0.02		0.04		-0.14		-0.02		-0.02		-0.03		0.15	
	Scandinavian	0.08		-0.07		-0.02		0.19		0.33	*	-0.33		0.19		0.00	
	Dutch	0.04		-0.21		-0.09		-0.15		0.19	**	-0.46	**	0.00		-0.27	
	Polish	0.10	*	-0.22	***	-0.05		0.02		0.01		-0.05		0.01		-0.10	
	Jewish	0.01		0.04		-0.06	*	0.00		-0.08	*	0.09		-0.08	*	-0.08	
	Hungarian	-0.04		-0.01		-0.02		0.18		0.17	**	-0.25	*	-0.08		0.02	
	Russian	0.16		-0.53		-0.03		-0.85	***	-0.08		-0.15		0.10		-0.38	***
	Portuguese	0.03		0.04		-0.02		0.20	**	0.00		0.09		0.07		-0.05	
	Italian	0.04	*	-0.08	*	-0.03		-0.03		0.03		-0.06		0.05	**	-0.09	
	Greek	-0.17	***	0.00		-0.17	***	-0.02		-0.08	**	-0.13		-0.09	***	-0.11	
	Balkan	0.24	***	-0.24	**	-0.29	**	0.26		0.07		-0.24	*	-0.15		-0.03	
	Spanish	0.01		-0.06		0.15	*	-0.06		-0.09		-0.01		-0.08		-0.06	
	Ukrainian	0.06		-0.17		0.00		-0.15		-0.12		-0.11		-0.15		-0.05	
	Belgian	0.08		0.04		0.00		0.19	*	0.07		0.07		0.07		-0.10	
	Other European	0.22	**	-0.17		-0.02		0.08		0.06		-0.04		0.02		-0.09	
	Arab W Asian	0.09		-0.29	***	-0.01		-0.06		0.02		-0.13		-0.04		-0.21	***
	S. Asian	-0.04		-0.13		-0.25		0.29		-0.25	**	0.23	*	-0.02		-0.20	*
	Chinese	-0.02		-0.02		0.03		0.05		0.01		-0.07		0.04		-0.20	**
	SE Asian	0.05		-0.03		-0.36		0.47	*	-0.37	*	0.41	*	-0.11		0.04	
	Other Asian	0.25		-0.31		-0.20		0.03		-0.31		0.07		0.04		-0.33	
	African Black	-0.01		0.21		0.10		-0.09		-0.01		-0.11		-0.20		0.07	
	Black	-0.18		0.09		-0.04		-0.07		0.17		-0.17		-0.24		0.20	
	Caribbean	0.02		-0.02		-0.27	***	0.31	***	-0.18	***	0.14	*	-0.08	**	0.03	
	Spanish Latin American	0.29		-0.54	**	0.02		-0.13		-0.06		-0.06		-0.02		-0.15	
	American Australian NZ	0.01		-0.34		-0.11		0.11		0.32	***	-0.21		0.00		-0.07	
	Br Fr Can multiple	0.01		0.12		-0.03		-0.07		0.01		0.05		0.01		-0.16	
	Vismin w white	0.00		-0.12		-0.26	***	0.26	***	-0.10	*	0.02		-0.12	***	-0.01	
	White multiple	-0.05	**	-0.01		-0.10	***	0.04		-0.06	**	0.11		-0.03		-0.02	

Table 2: Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

	1991 Canadian-born coef	sig.	1991 Immigrant coef	sig.	1996 Canadian-born coef	sig.	1996 Immigrant coef	sig.	2001 Canadian-born coef	sig.	2001 Immigrant coef	sig.	2006 Canadian-born coef	sig.	2006 Immigrant coef	sig.
Montreal male Observations	123,763.00				123,665.00				126,980.00				134,668.00			
Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
R2	0.19				0.20				0.17				0.19			
Immigrant			-0.16	***			-0.33	***			-0.26	***			-0.39	***
French	0.01		-0.18	***	0.04	**	-0.09	*	0.00		-0.09		0.00		-0.04	
Canadian	0.02		-0.67	**	0.03	*	-0.05		0.05	**	-0.31	***	0.04	**	-0.24	**
Baltic	-0.04		-0.21		0.26	**	-0.04		0.04		-0.21		-0.35	**	-0.41	
Austrian German	-0.01		-0.14	**	0.08		-0.12		-0.02		-0.08		-0.03		0.05	
Czech Slovak	0.02		-0.39	***	0.03		-0.12		-0.26	*	0.06		0.07		-0.29	**
Scandinavian	-0.15		0.04		-0.34	**	0.59	***	0.10		-0.24		-0.01		0.18	
Dutch	-0.08		0.01		0.16		-0.32	**	-0.19		0.15		-0.21	*	0.23	
Polish	-0.17	***	-0.19	**	0.06		-0.31	***	0.04		-0.27	***	-0.09		-0.14	
Jewish	0.03		-0.32	***	0.02		-0.30	***	-0.01		-0.33	***	-0.07		-0.27	***
Hungarian	-0.02		-0.37	***	-0.07		-0.12		0.02		-0.21		-0.03		-0.28	**
Russian	-0.18		-0.04		0.19		-1.04	***	-0.25		-0.22		-0.04		-0.22	
Portuguese	-0.08		-0.16	**	-0.04		-0.08		-0.07		-0.18	**	-0.07		-0.12	
Italian	-0.11	***	-0.25	***	-0.06	**	-0.26	***	-0.14	***	-0.25	***	-0.10	***	-0.21	***
Greek	-0.35	***	-0.34	***	-0.27	***	-0.36	***	-0.39	***	-0.28	***	-0.31	***	-0.32	***
Balkan	-0.26	*	-0.14		-0.09		-0.03		-0.03		-0.29	**	0.01		-0.35	***
Spanish	-0.19	*	-0.14		0.00		-0.22	**	-0.25	**	-0.14		-0.05		-0.30	***
Ukrainian	-0.04		-0.50	***	-0.01		-0.16		-0.03		-0.28	**	-0.10		-0.26	*
Belgian	0.04		-0.21	**	-0.11		0.12		-0.04		-0.08		-0.08		0.01	
Other European	-0.08		-0.26	**	-0.12		-0.13		-0.02		-0.20		-0.01		-0.39	***
Arab W Asian	-0.16	*	-0.30	***	0.01		-0.38	***	-0.13	*	-0.35	***	-0.11	**	-0.39	***
S. Asian	-0.75	***	0.28		-0.16		-0.15		-0.35	**	-0.13		-0.35	***	-0.15	
Chinese	-0.44	***	-0.14		-0.10		-0.38	***	-0.16	**	-0.39	***	-0.23	***	-0.35	***
SE Asian	-0.16		-0.30	**	0.31		-0.60	***	-0.04		-0.34	**	-0.42	***	0.05	
Other Asian	-0.27		-0.18		-0.08		-0.43		-0.45		-0.12		0.08		-0.80	***
African Black	-0.33		-0.28		-0.64		0.03		-0.13		-0.45	**	-0.36	***	-0.03	
Black	-0.35	***	-0.29	***	-0.50		-0.17		-0.42	**	-0.29		-0.98	***	0.68	**
Caribbean	-0.03		-0.65	***	-0.36	***	-0.15		-0.43	***	-0.10		-0.33	***	-0.15	**
Spanish Latin American	-0.37		-0.18		-0.82	**	0.37		-0.38	***	-0.04		-0.28	***	-0.13	
American Australian NZ	-0.11		-0.14		0.17		-0.28		0.05		0.03		-0.26	**	0.08	
Br Fr Can multiple	-0.03	**	-0.10		0.03		-0.03		0.00		-0.16	**	-0.02		0.10	
Vismin w white	0	***	-0.39	***	0	***	0.02		0	**	-0.39	***	0	***	-0.20	***
White multiple	-0.03		-0.29	***	-0.02		-0.19	***	-0.05	*	-0.17	***	-0.07	***	-0.10	

Table 2: Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

	1991 Canadian-born coef	sig.	Immigrant coef	sig.	1996 Canadian-born coef	sig.	Immigrant coef	sig.	2001 Canadian-born coef	sig.	Immigrant coef	sig.	2006 Canadian-born coef	sig.	Immigrant coef	sig.
Toronto female Observations	146978.00				155910.00				174635.00				191366.00			
Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
R2	0.10				0.13				0.13				0.15			
Immigrant			-0.21	***			-0.44	***			-0.46	***			-0.49	***
French	0.00		0.04		0.02		0.09		-0.06	*	0.06		0.03		0.20	***
Canadian	0.03	**	0.02		-0.03	**	-0.02		-0.06	***	-0.04		-0.01		0.01	
Baltic	0.08	*	-0.21	***	-0.01		0.04		0.00		0.00		-0.09		0.05	
Austrian German	0.04		-0.18	***	-0.01		-0.06		-0.01		-0.02		-0.02		-0.06	
Czech Slovak	0.09		-0.14		0.00		-0.09		0.15	**	-0.25	***	-0.18	*	0.14	
Scandinavian	-0.04		0.03		-0.11		0.04		0.07		-0.11		-0.01		0.01	
Dutch	-0.07	*	-0.09	*	-0.03		-0.10		-0.05		-0.06		0.01		0.00	
Polish	0.00		-0.16	***	0.03		-0.25	***	0.03		-0.14	***	-0.02		-0.05	
Jewish	0.02		-0.06	*	-0.09	***	0.12	***	-0.03		0.00		-0.12	***	0.03	
Hungarian	0.04		-0.10		0.13	***	-0.32	***	-0.10		-0.04		-0.02		-0.12	
Russian	0.14		-0.40	***	-0.15		-0.16		0.01		-0.38	***	-0.03		-0.23	
Portuguese	-0.08		0.11	*	0.02		0.02		0.02		-0.07	*	0.01		-0.02	
Italian	0.09	***	-0.21	***	0.03	**	-0.15	***	-0.02		-0.09	***	0.01		-0.08	***
Greek	0.02		-0.15	***	0.01		-0.22	***	-0.07	**	-0.16	***	-0.05	*	-0.18	***
Balkan	0.04		-0.08	*	-0.05		-0.06		0.01		-0.10	**	0.08	**	-0.11	**
Spanish	0.01		-0.17		0.10		-0.32	***	0.15	*	-0.36	***	-0.02		-0.21	**
Ukrainian	0.06	**	-0.01		0.03		-0.06		-0.01		-0.29	***	-0.04		-0.15	***
Belgian	-0.01		-0.13		0.20		-0.35		0.07		0.08		0.08		-0.52	
Other European	0.03		-0.10		0.08		-0.15	**	-0.03		0.06		-0.04		0.08	
Arab W Asian	-0.09		-0.09		0.05		-0.32	***	-0.13		-0.18	**	-0.15	***	-0.10	*
S. Asian	-0.06		0.02		-0.15	***	0.06		-0.16	***	0.03		-0.08	***	-0.13	***
Chinese	0.08	**	0.01		-0.02		0.09	**	0.00		-0.02		0.01		-0.12	***
SE Asian	0.13		-0.06		-0.53	***	0.54	***	-0.09	*	0.05		0.03		-0.08	*
Other Asian	0.14	***	-0.31	***	0.06		-0.37	***	0.00		-0.31	***	0.07		-0.40	***
African Black	-0.09		0.03		-0.42	***	0.18		-0.20	**	-0.07		-0.32	***	0.06	
Black	-0.07		-0.01		-0.32	**	0.19		-0.27	***	0.07		-0.21	**	0.01	
Caribbean	-0.13		0.14		-0.23	***	0.14	***	-0.17	***	0.05		-0.14	***	0.06	
Spanish Latin American	-0.39		0.22		-0.23		0.03		-0.24	**	0.05		-0.15	**	-0.04	
American Australian NZ	-0.38		0.44		-0.01		0.24		-0.04		-0.11		0.13		0.09	
Br Fr Can multiple	-0.03	*	0.04		-0.02	**	0.05	*	-0.04	***	-0.02		-0.01		0.00	
Vismin w white	-0.09	**	0.05		-0.25	***	0.21	***	-0.17	***	0.06		-0.11	***	0.05	
White multiple	-0.01		-0.04		-0.03	**	-0.05	**	-0.04	***	0.00		-0.04	***	-0.02	

Table 2:   Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

			1991				1996				2001				2006			
			Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant	
			coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.
Toronto	male	Observations	154781.00				159135.00				174745.00				184843.00			
		Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
		R2	0.19				0.20				0.19				0.20			
		Immigrant			-0.19	***			-0.32	***			-0.36	***			-0.40	***
		French	-0.02		-0.14	**	0.01		-0.16	*	-0.02		-0.05		0.00		0.03	
		Canadian	0.00		-0.11	***	-0.05	***	-0.12	**	-0.05	***	-0.16	***	-0.06	***	-0.39	***
		Baltic	-0.08	*	0.04		-0.10	*	-0.08		-0.03		-0.07		-0.02		-0.16	
		Austrian German	0.03		-0.10	***	0.02		-0.07	**	0.02		-0.02		0.01		-0.05	
		Czech Slovak	-0.02		-0.23	***	0.01		-0.12		-0.01		-0.09		-0.06		-0.10	
		Scandinavian	0.02		-0.13	**	-0.10		0.06		0.01		0.09		-0.10	*	0.17	
		Dutch	0.03		-0.09	**	0.03		-0.06		0.05	*	0.05		0.08	***	-0.12	
		Polish	0.00		-0.28	***	-0.07	*	-0.21	***	-0.04		-0.13	***	-0.06	*	-0.08	*
		Jewish	0.01		-0.11	***	-0.04		-0.09	**	0.03		-0.11	***	0.02		-0.09	*
		Hungarian	-0.06		-0.15	***	-0.09	*	-0.12	*	-0.17	**	-0.01		0.00		-0.22	**
		Russian	0.00		-0.20		0.10		-0.67	***	-0.03		-0.31	**	0.06		-0.32	**
		Portuguese	-0.09	**	0.00		-0.08	**	-0.02		-0.07	***	-0.05		-0.04	**	-0.05	
		Italian	-0.04	***	-0.13	***	-0.05	***	-0.14	***	-0.08	***	-0.06	***	-0.02	*	-0.13	***
		Greek	-0.20	***	-0.17	***	-0.26	***	-0.13	***	-0.22	***	-0.13	***	-0.18	***	-0.23	***
		Balkan	-0.10	***	-0.10	**	-0.09	***	-0.18	***	-0.10	***	-0.09	**	-0.09	***	-0.19	***
		Spanish	-0.14		-0.15		-0.13		-0.17	*	-0.20	*	-0.06		-0.23	***	-0.05	
		Ukrainian	-0.01		-0.19	***	-0.06	*	-0.21	***	-0.09	***	-0.30	***	-0.02		-0.36	***
		Belgian	0.13	*	-0.10		0.01		-0.02		0.14		0.00		0.07		-0.23	
		Other European	-0.01		-0.12	**	-0.07		-0.11		-0.07		-0.02		-0.10	*	-0.03	
		Arab W Asian	0.03		-0.37	***	-0.18		-0.26	**	-0.11	*	-0.26	***	-0.16	***	-0.29	***
		S. Asian	-0.44	***	0.13		-0.39	***	0.06		-0.25	***	-0.08	**	-0.24	***	-0.15	***
		Chinese	-0.12	***	-0.12	***	-0.15	***	-0.16	***	-0.18	***	-0.17	***	-0.17	***	-0.26	***
		SE Asian	-0.31		0.04		-0.37	***	0.06		-0.23	***	-0.09		-0.24	***	-0.10	**
		Other Asian	0.03		-0.40	***	0.01		-0.46	***	-0.14	***	-0.35	***	-0.10	***	-0.43	***
		African Black	-0.24	*	-0.22		-0.60	***	0.09		-0.26	***	-0.25	**	-0.39	***	-0.02	
		Black	-0.31	***	-0.03		-0.26	*	-0.17		-0.16	*	-0.20	*	-0.27	***	-0.06	
		Caribbean	-0.26	***	-0.01		-0.42	***	0.09	*	-0.29	***	0.00		-0.30	***	0.01	
		Spanish Latin American	-0.38	**	0.03		-0.38		0.02		-0.33	***	0.05		-0.22	***	-0.08	
		American Australian NZ	0.02		0.18		-0.16		0.12		0.09		0.01		0.00		-0.12	
		Br Fr Can multiple	-0.03	***	-0.12	***	-0.02	*	-0.01		-0.03	***	0.06	**	-0.03	***	-0.04	
		Vismin w white	-0.21	***	-0.09	*	-0.17	***	-0.14	***	-0.27	***	0.02		-0.22	***	-0.07	*
		White multiple	-0.02	**	-0.04	**	-0.03	***	-0.10	***	-0.03	**	-0.10	***	-0.04	***	-0.09	***

Table 2:   Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

			1991				1996				2001				2006			
			Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant		Canadian-born		Immigrant	
			coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.	coef	sig.
Vancouver	female	Observations	57734.00				63695.00				69280.00				76699.00			
		Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
		R2	0.09				0.12				0.12				0.13			
		Immigrant			-0.15	***			-0.31	***			-0.27	***			-0.34	***
		French	0.00		-0.08		-0.03		-0.20		-0.07		0.13		0.06		-0.09	
		Canadian	0.04		-0.12		-0.05	**	-0.26		-0.04	*	-0.16	*	-0.03		-0.48	*
		Baltic	0.02		-0.05		-0.01		0.13		0.21	*	-0.11		0.29	**	-0.31	
		Austrian German	-0.01		-0.11	**	0.01		-0.04		-0.03		-0.11	*	-0.02		-0.12	*
		Czech Slovak	0.02		-0.06		-0.08		0.02		-0.24	*	0.16		0.09		-0.18	
		Scandinavian	0.01		-0.08		0.05		0.01		-0.04		0.01		0.07		-0.08	
		Dutch	-0.07		-0.12	*	-0.04		-0.09		-0.17	***	-0.05		-0.04		-0.10	
		Polish	0.10	*	-0.32	***	0.00		-0.19	**	0.05		-0.19	**	0.08		-0.17	**
		Jewish	0.11	*	-0.20		0.07		-0.25	*	-0.01		-0.09		0.06		-0.11	
		Hungarian	-0.11		-0.14		-0.04		-0.19	*	-0.05		-0.14		-0.08		-0.03	
		Russian	-0.05		-0.26		-0.21	*	-0.11		-0.08		-0.49	***	-0.03		-0.28	***
		Portuguese	0.09		-0.07		0.13		-0.10		0.02		-0.08		0.11	*	-0.04	
		Italian	0.10	**	-0.20	***	0.08	*	-0.24	***	0.00		-0.11		-0.01		-0.12	
		Greek	-0.13		0.11		-0.04		-0.02		-0.04		-0.33	*	-0.04		-0.05	
		Balkan	0.14		-0.10		0.05		-0.23	**	0.07		-0.25	***	0.15	**	-0.21	***
		Spanish	0.12		-0.55	**	0.04		-0.32		-1.10	***	0.82	**	-0.03		-0.27	
		Ukrainian	0.05		-0.06		-0.02		-0.01		0.04		-0.19		0.04		-0.25	**
		Belgian	0.15		-0.44		0.12		-0.01		-0.33		0.33		0.18		0.13	
		Other European	0.08		-0.29	*	0.07		-0.40	***	-0.14		-0.03		-0.37	**	0.33	**
		Arab W Asian	-0.09		-0.36		0.37	***	-0.75	***	-0.05		-0.50	***	-0.10		-0.27	**
		S. Asian	0.13	*	-0.28	***	-0.03		-0.17	**	0.02		-0.29	***	0.09	**	-0.31	***
		Chinese	0.22	***	-0.19	***	0.15	***	-0.23	***	0.09	***	-0.34	***	0.13	***	-0.41	***
		SE Asian	-0.11		0.09		0.02		-0.09		-0.01		-0.19	*	0.12	**	-0.26	***
		Other Asian	0.15	***	-0.46	***	0.15	***	-0.48	***	0.03		-0.55	***	0.03		-0.50	***
		African Black	-2.11	***	1.96	***	0.34		-0.58	**	-0.23		-0.15		0.09		-0.27	
		Black	-0.08		-0.12		-0.70		0.37		-0.02		-0.39		-0.56		0.21	
		Caribbean	-0.24		0.05		-0.13		0.10		-0.39	**	0.17		-0.11		-0.15	
		Spanish Latin American	0.36		-0.89		-0.36		0.11		-0.49		0.05		-0.04		-0.31	**
		American Australian NZ	-0.02		0.03		0.16		-0.10		0.01		0.06		-0.20		0.20	
		Br Fr Can multiple	-0.04	*	0.00		-0.04	**	0.03		-0.02		0.01		0.00		0.00	
		Vismin w white	-0.10	*	-0.03		-0.11	**	-0.08		-0.09	**	-0.17	***	-0.10	**	-0.04	
		White multiple	0.00		-0.02		0.00		-0.12	***	-0.05	***	-0.04		0.00		-0.05	

Table 2: Earnings differentials between selected ethnic groups and British origin, Canadian-born workers by immigrant status and sex, Canada and MTV, 1991 - 2006

			1991 Canadian-born coef	sig.	1991 Immigrant coef	sig.	1996 Canadian-born coef	sig.	1996 Immigrant coef	sig.	2001 Canadian-born coef	sig.	2001 Immigrant coef	sig.	2006 Canadian-born coef	sig.	2006 Immigrant coef	sig.
Vancouver	male	Observations	63126.00				66730.00				69925.00				74408.00			
		Prob>F	0.00				0.00				0.00				0.00			
		R2	0.18				0.21				0.19				0.18			
		Immigrant			-0.16	***			-0.24	***			-0.20	***			-0.18	***
		French	-0.07	***	-0.01		-0.05		-0.10		0.03		-0.10		0.02		-0.06	
		Canadian	-0.06	**	-0.17		-0.01		-0.16		-0.04	**	-0.44	***	-0.02		-0.25	**
		Baltic	-0.03		0.22		-0.15		-0.13		-0.31	**	0.37	**	-0.19		-0.41	*
		Austrian German	0.05	***	-0.14	***	0.04		-0.16	***	0.00		-0.12	**	-0.01		-0.18	***
		Czech Slovak	0.14	**	-0.35	***	0.13		-0.29	**	-0.16		-0.06		-0.12		0.05	
		Scandinavian	0.00		-0.07		-0.06		-0.06		0.06		-0.12	*	0.05		-0.16	
		Dutch	0.00		-0.10	*	0.08	**	-0.24	***	0.03		-0.15	**	0.06		-0.14	
		Polish	0.00		-0.35	***	0.07		-0.37	***	-0.15		-0.17		0.03		-0.32	***
		Jewish	0.05		-0.13		-0.12		0.09		0.01		-0.24	*	0.08		-0.12	
		Hungarian	0.04		-0.33	***	0.01		-0.23	***	-0.02		-0.29	***	-0.07		-0.09	
		Russian	-0.03		-0.12		-0.04		-0.34	*	0.05		-0.38	***	-0.10		-0.24	**
		Portuguese	0.11		-0.25	**	-0.05		-0.06		0.08		-0.24	**	0.07		-0.27	***
		Italian	0.06	*	-0.17	***	0.02		-0.11	**	-0.01		-0.12	**	0.10	***	-0.18	***
		Greek	-0.02		-0.29	***	-0.16		-0.33	**	-0.13		-0.22	*	-0.18	***	-0.39	***
		Balkan	-0.01		-0.15	*	0.19	***	-0.57	***	-0.08		-0.17	**	-0.03		-0.24	***
		Spanish	0.00		-0.47	***	-0.66	**	0.19		-0.11		-0.43		-0.11		-0.52	***
		Ukrainian	0.00		-0.09		0.00		-0.02		-0.06		-0.54	***	-0.01		-0.33	***
		Belgian	0.01		-0.26		-0.09		-0.14		-0.22	**	0.37	**	-0.25		-0.27	
		Other European	0.18	**	-0.19	*	0.01		-0.25	**	-0.05		-0.16	*	-0.21	**	0.02	
		Arab W Asian	-0.41	**	-0.18		-0.12		-0.42	**	-0.50	*	-0.15		-0.14		-0.42	**
		S. Asian	-0.10		-0.37	***	-0.22	***	-0.28	***	-0.23	***	-0.28	***	-0.20	***	-0.35	***
		Chinese	-0.05		-0.36	***	0.00		-0.48	***	-0.10	***	-0.46	***	-0.12	***	-0.56	***
		SE Asian	-0.13		-0.38		-0.26	**	-0.24	**	-0.16	*	-0.41	***	-0.17	**	-0.41	***
		Other Asian	0.04		-0.54	***	-0.02		-0.43	***	-0.04		-0.59	***	-0.02		-0.75	***
		African Black	-0.13		-0.10		-0.08		-0.41	**	-0.68	*	0.10		-0.24		-0.28	
		Black	-0.02		-0.47	***	-0.21		-0.60	**	-0.11		-0.39		-0.76		0.48	
		Caribbean	-0.01		-0.15	*	-0.16		-0.27	*	0.12	*	-0.58	***	-0.11		-0.47	***
		Spanish Latin American	-0.02		-0.51		-0.34	*	-0.26		-0.33		-0.15		-0.21		-0.38	***
		American Australian NZ	-0.09		0.12		-0.04		-0.19		-0.29		0.22		-0.03		0.17	
		Br Fr Can multiple	-0.03		-0.19	**	0.01		-0.06	*	0.00		-0.03		-0.01		-0.06	
		Vismin w white	-0.11	**	-0.34	***	-0.16	***	-0.25	***	-0.19	***	-0.23	***	-0.11	***	-0.37	***
		White multiple	-0.03	***	-0.06	*	0.00		-0.17	***	-0.01		-0.16	***	-0.02		-0.13	***

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006 Census of Canada

Note: other controls include: CMA, age, level of schooling, marital status, official language knowledge and household size
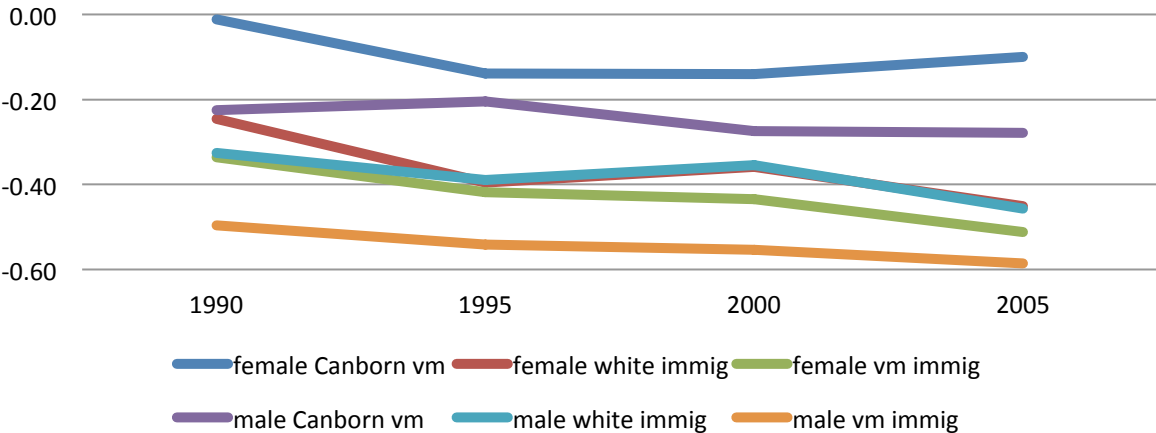
% Earnings differentials between selected groups and Canadian-born white men and women, 1990 -2005

Figure 1: Canada
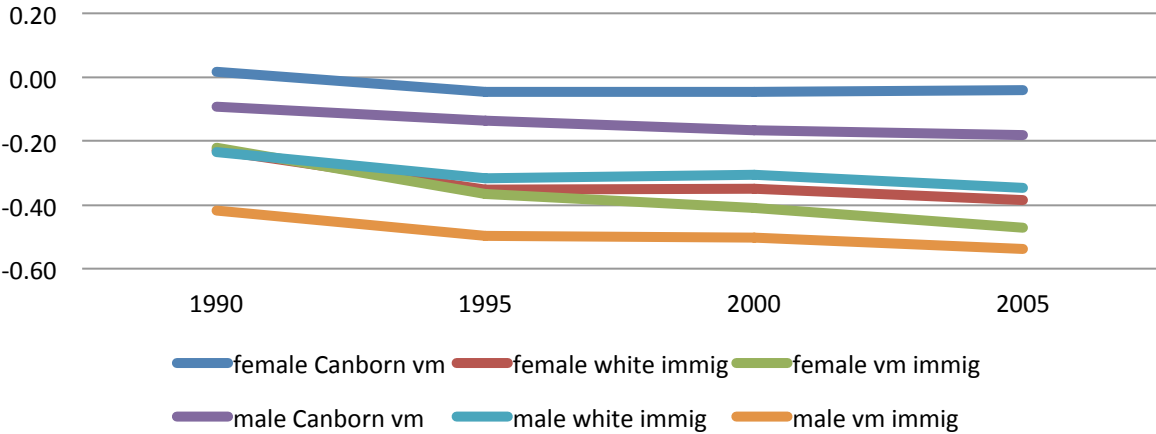
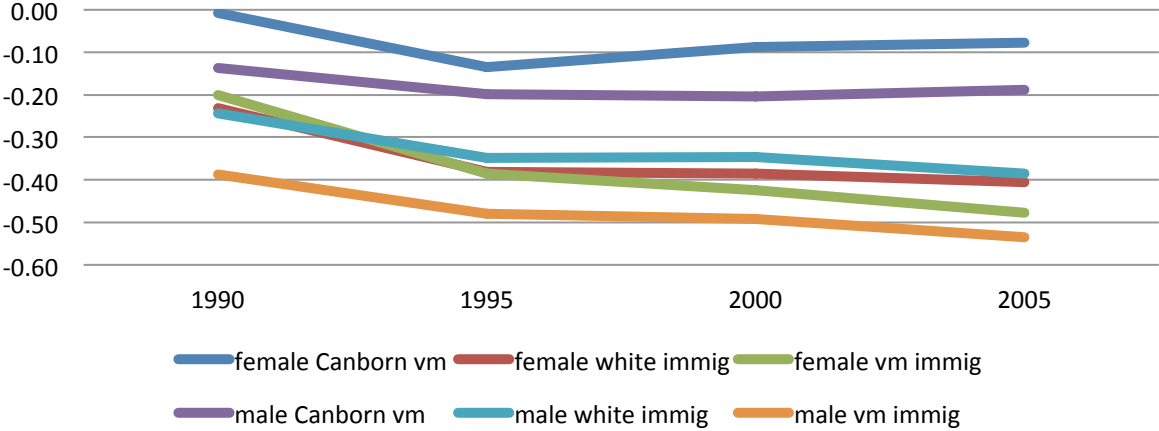Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Figure 2: Montreal

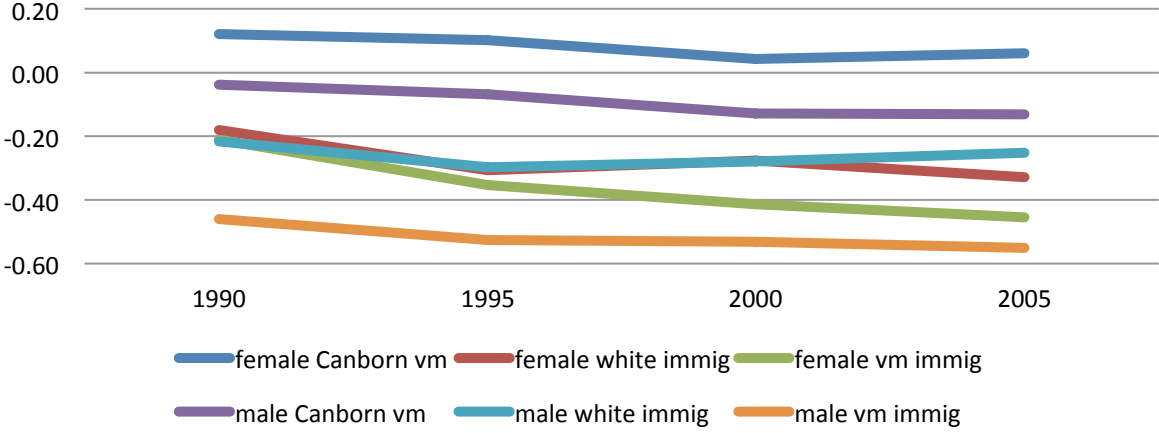

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

% Earnings differentials between selected groups and Canadian-born white men and women, 1990 -2005

Figure 3: Toronto

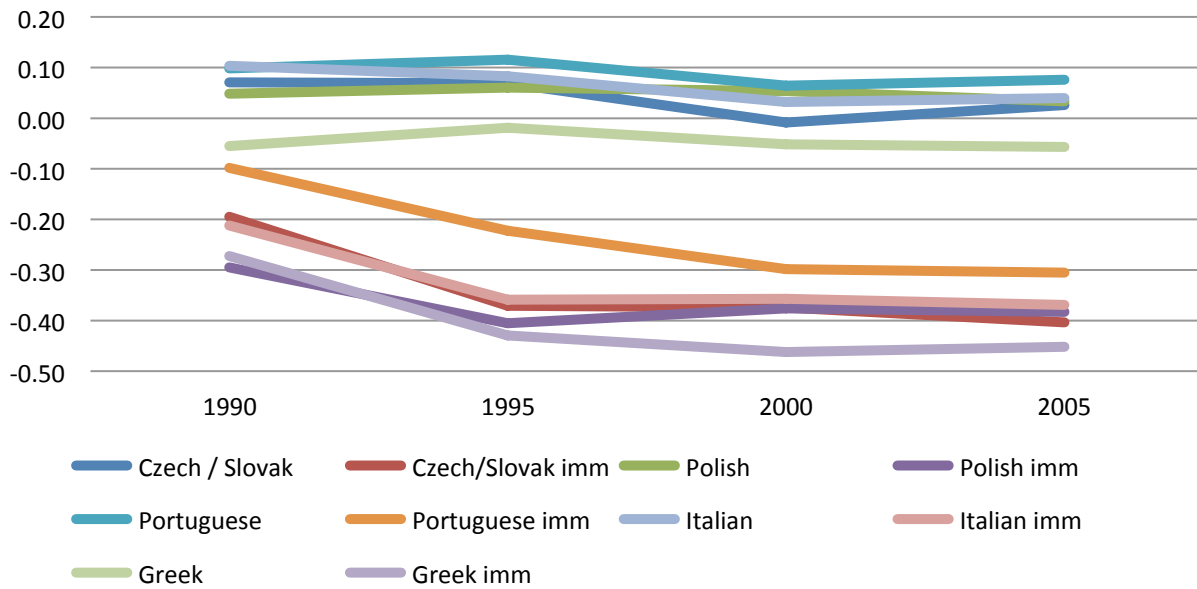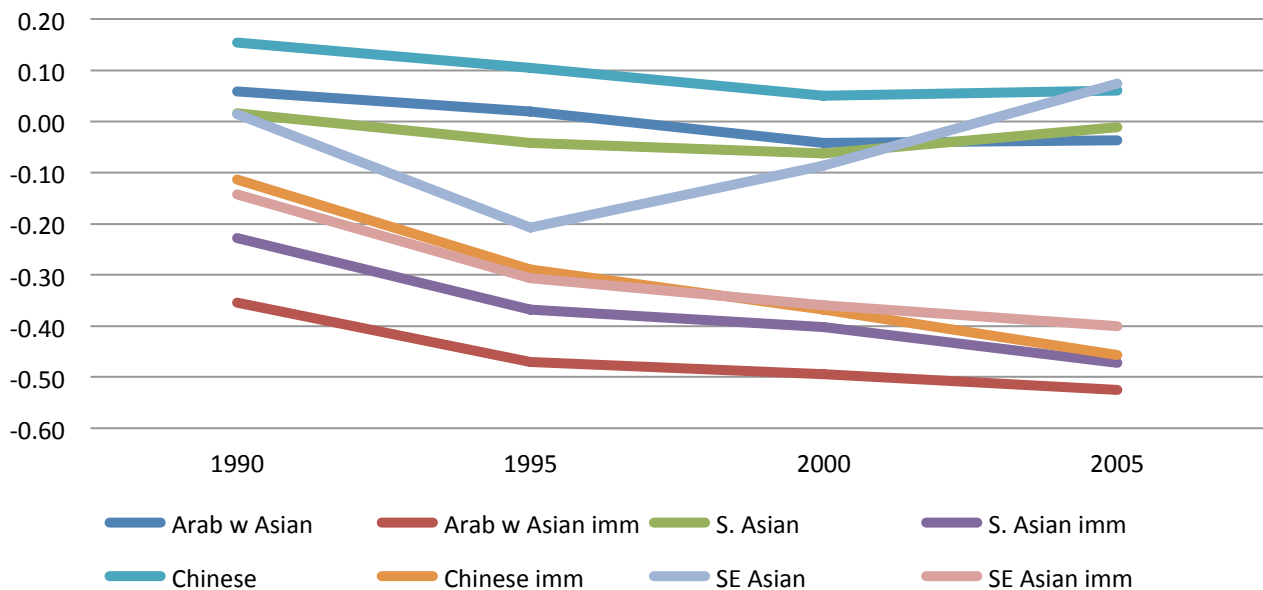Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Figure 4: Vancouver
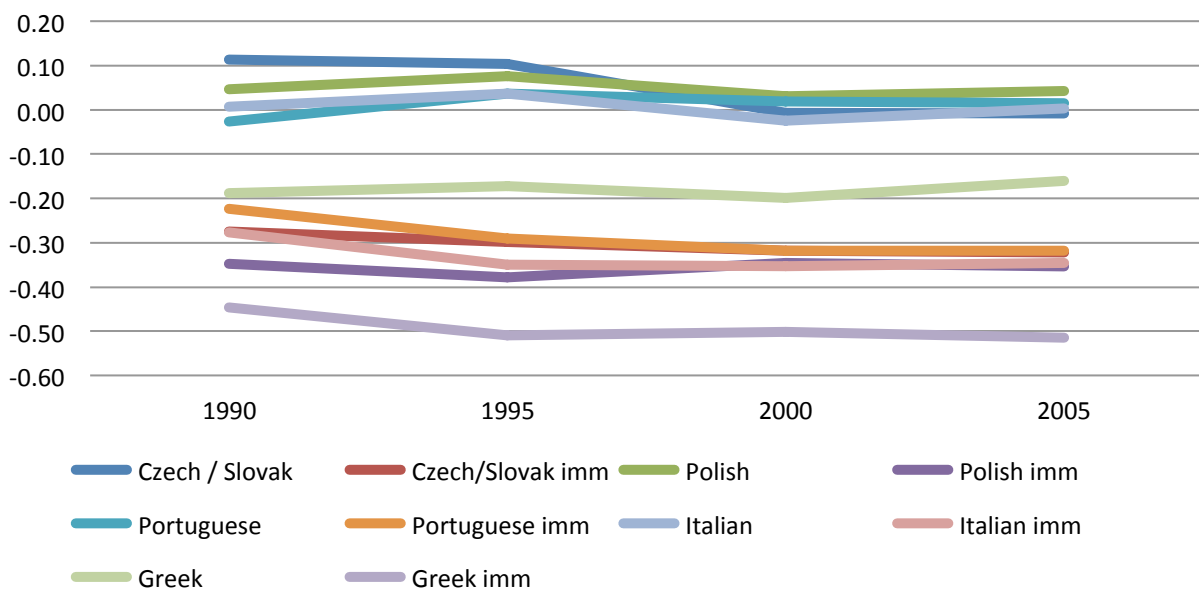

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Earnings differentials between, selected ethnic origins vs Canadian-born British origin, 1990 -2005, Canada

Figure 5: Selected European origin women

Legend: Czech / Slovak, Czech/Slovak imm, Polish, Polish imm, Portuguese, Portuguese imm, Italian, Italian imm, Greek, Greek imm

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Figure 6: Selected non-European origin women (1)

Legend: Arab w Asian, Arab w Asian imm, S. Asian, S. Asian imm, Chinese, Chinese imm, SE Asian, SE Asian imm

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Earnings differentials between, selected ethnic origins vs Canadian-born British origin, 1990 -2005, Canada

Figure 7: Selected non-European origin women (2)

Legend: African Black, African Black imm, Black, Black imm, Caribbean, Caribbean imm, Spanish Latin Amer, Spanish Latin imm
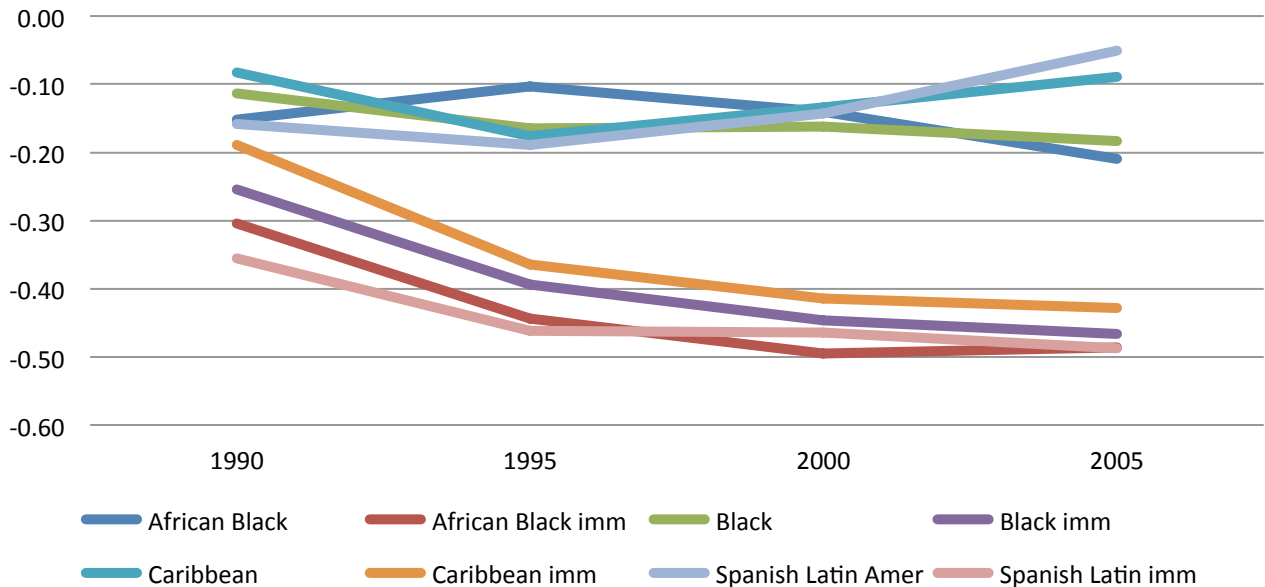
Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Figure 8: Selected European origin men

Legend: Czech / Slovak, Czech/Slovak imm, Polish, Polish imm, Portuguese, Portuguese imm, Italian, Italian imm, Greek, Greek imm

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Earnings differentials between, selected ethnic origins vs Canadian-born British origin, 1990 -2005, Canada

Figure 9: selected non-European origin men (1)

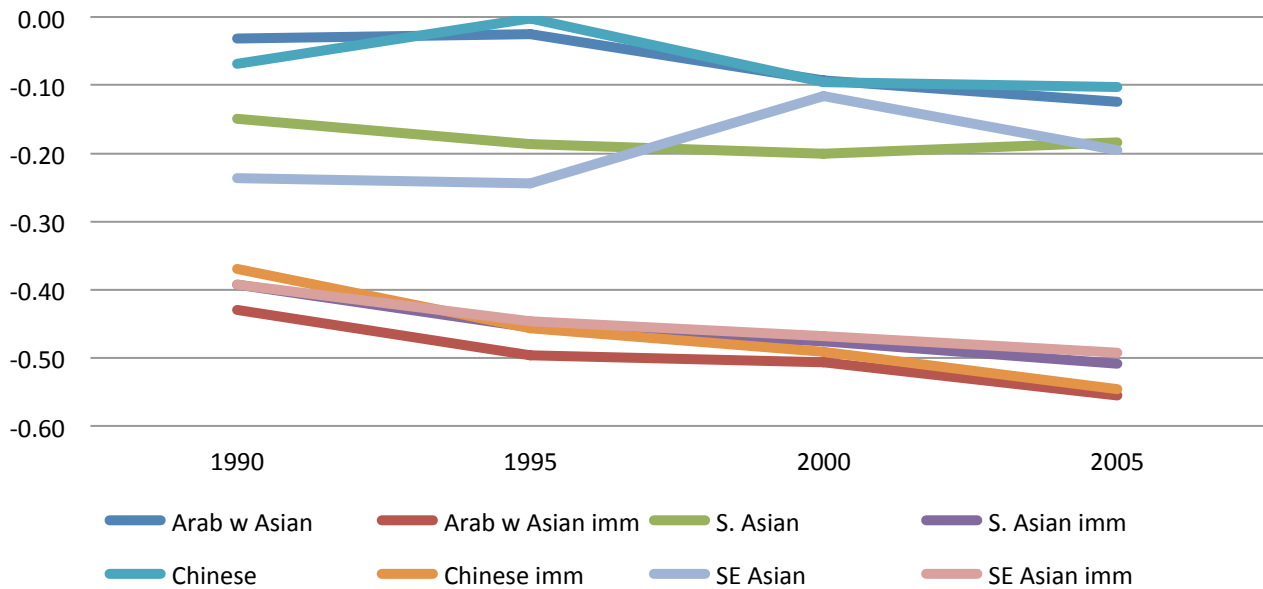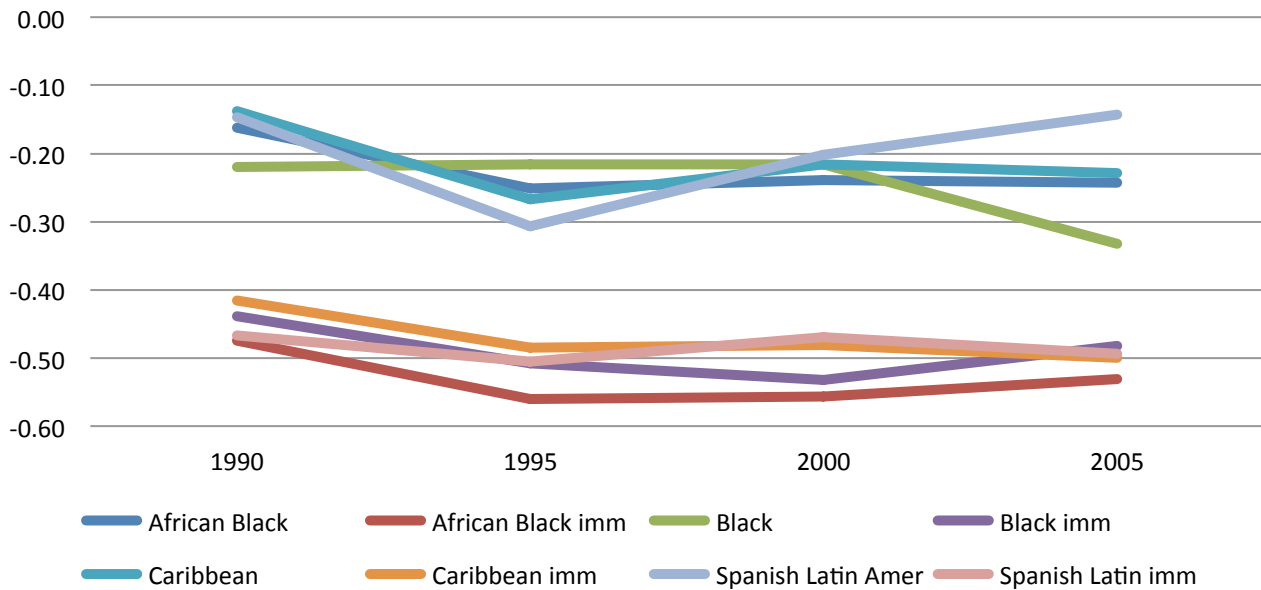Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada

Figure 10: Selected non-European origin men (2)

Source: 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 Census of Canada