INCOME INEQUALITY BETWEEN VISIBLE MINORITIES AND WHITES: A COMPARISON BETWEEN QUEBEC AND THE REST OF CANADA

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August, 2017.

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Sociology.

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ABSTRACT

English version

Objectives. Studies that have examined wage differentials between visible minorities and whites living in Canada found that, even though most immigrants since the 1990s have had similar levels of educational attainment (even greater) relative to native-born Canadians, most have a lower income compared to the latter group, especially visible minority immigrants. Few of those studies, however, have examined income inequality experienced specifically by visible minorities, concentrating instead on immigrants overall. This constitutes an important gap in the literature given that visible minorities, both native-born and immigrants, are more likely to experience a wage gap with respect to native-born whites than white immigrants. In addition, only a small number of studies have taken a detailed look at income inequality experienced by visible minorities living in Quebec, compared to visible minorities living in the rest of Canada. This is an important limitation given that Quebec is one of the Canadian provinces where much of the conflict regarding the integration of individuals who might appear as different from the majority is occurring. Thus, this dissertation aims at addressing those lacunas by studying wage differentials between visible minority members and whites, comparing Quebec to the other Canadian provinces.

Method. This dissertation uses the 2006 Census and 2011 National Household Survey and employ the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model in order to separate the wage gap into two parts: a part that can be explained by sociodemographic and human capital characteristics, and a part that cannot be explained by such observable characteristics and, thus, more likely due to discriminatory practices.

Results. The first analysis demonstrates that there are significant wage differences between visible minority groups and white individuals in Quebec, but that these wage gaps are mostly explained by individual characteristics. However, unexplained portions of these wage gaps remain, potentially indicating the presence of discrimination. Moreover, the rest of the analyses show strong evidence that some minority groups who live in Quebec might be more financially disadvantaged than visible minorities living in the rest of Canada. However, the reason why

Quebec has the largest wage gaps seem in large part because of the disadvantageous socio-demographic and human capital characteristics that visible minorities living in Quebec have. **Conclusion.** Findings reveal that most of these large gaps are explained by the fact that visible minorities who live in Quebec have characteristics that disadvantage them in the labor market. This might be related to Quebec's immigration policies that differ slightly from the rest of Canada. Thus, social policies should concentrate even more on language training courses as well as other integration initiatives. However, findings also reveal the presence of discrimination in the province of Quebec when it comes to wage differentials, especially when it comes to the language and the nativity and duration status of visible minorities, which should be acknowledged as well.

Version française

Objectifs: Les études qui ont examiné l'écart de revenu entre les membres de minorité visibles et les individus blancs habitant au Canada ont révélé que, bien que la majorité des immigrants depuis les années 1990 ont un niveau d'éducation similaire à celui des natifs (sinon plus élevé), ceux-ci ont un revenu moindre que les natifs, spécialement les immigrants de minorités visibles. Cependant, un nombre limité de ces études ont examiné l'inégalité salariale des membres de minorités visible spécifiquement, se concentrant plutôt sur la catégorie des immigrants de façon générale. Ceci constitue une lacune dans la littérature étant donné que les minorités visibles, qu'ils soient natifs ou immigrants, sont plus enclins à avoir un écart de revenu avec les natifs blancs comparé aux immigrants blancs. De plus, seul un nombre limité d'études ont examiné l'inégalité de revenu des minorités visibles résidant au Québec, comparée aux minorités visibles vivant dans le reste du Canada. Ceci constitue une limitation importante étant donné que Québec est l'une des provinces canadiennes où la majorité du conflit au sujet de l'intégration des individus qui semblent différés de la majorité subvient. Donc, cette dissertation vise à combler ces lacunes en étudiant les écarts salariales entre les membres de minorités visibles et les blancs comparant le Québec aux autres provinces canadiennes.

Méthode. Cette dissertation utilise les données de recensement 2006 ainsi que l'enquête nationale auprès des ménages 2011 et emploie le modèle de décomposition de Oaxaca-Blinder afin de séparer l'écart salariale en deux parties : une partie qui peut être expliquée par les caractéristiques sociodémographiques et du capital humain, l'autre partie qui ne peut être

expliquée par ces caractéristiques observables et, par conséquent, est probablement due à des pratiques discriminatoires.

Résultats. La première analyse démontre qu'il y a des différences de revenu significatives entre les membres de minorités visibles et les individus blancs au Québec mais que ces écarts de revenus sont principalement expliqués par des caractéristiques observables. Cependant, des portions non-expliquées demeurent ce qui indique la présence de discrimination. De plus, le reste de l'analyse apporte des preuves considérables qu'il est possible que les membres de minorités visibles qui demeurent au Québec soient plus désavantagés financièrement que les membres de minorités visibles résidant dans le reste du Canada. Néanmoins, Québec démontre des écarts de revenus plus grands en partie due aux caractéristiques défavorables de ces membres de minorités visibles au point de vue sociodémographique et du capital humain.

Conclusion. Les résultats démontrent que la majorité de ces grands écarts sont expliqués par le fait que les membres de minorités visibles qui résident au Québec ont des caractéristiques défavorables au marché de l'emploi. Ceci peut être relié aux politiques d'immigrants de Québec qui diffère légèrement de celles du reste du Canada. Donc, les politiques sociales devraient se concentrer plus sur des cours de formation liés aux langues ainsi que sur d'autres initiatives visant leur intégration. Néanmoins, les résultats révèlent la présence de discrimination dans la province du Québec lorsqu'il s'agit des écarts de revenu, plus précisement au niveau de la langue, et du statut de naissance et de la durée de residence des membres de minorités visibles, ce qui doit aussi être reconnu.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe an endless amount of gratitude to Professor Vang for her invaluable guidance. She taught me work ethic, endurance, and motivation. I would also like to thank Professor Carmichael for his continuous support throughout my academic life. He was always there when I needed encouragement and words of comfort, which is something that I will never forget.

Special thanks to my friend Andrew for his time, generosity, and endless support. I cannot count the number of times that he has offered words of encouragement. I am not sure that I could have done it without him. Thank you to my friend Stephan whose help was also priceless. I owe these two an endless number of diners to compensate for their time spent encouraging me.

It is essential to thank my aunt Nicole for her mentorship who kept me balanced and sane throughout this difficult process. Thank you to my parents for their love and support even though I suspect that they had no clue what I have been doing all those past years. Finally, a special thank you to my partner, Nicolas, who has demonstrated an incredible amount of patience by staying by my side all those years, even when times were rough.

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada who I would like to thank, since this grant was the reason that I could afford graduate school. Thank you to the McGill Sociology department who have also helped me financially through teaching assistantships and course lectureships. I have learned the teaching profession through those various opportunities. Finally, thank you to McGill University. I was told by some people that going to this university was an unattainable dream for someone like me who was from a small city. I am glad that they were wrong.

PREFACE & CONTRIBUTION OF AUTHORS

This dissertation adds to the literature pertaining to income differentials experienced by visible minorities by examining specifically the case of Quebec, and by comparing Quebec to the rest of Canada. By adding a specific emphasis on visible minorities while taking into consideration their length of stay in Canada (when applicable), this dissertation expands on the potential role that discrimination plays in the labor market. The Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method will be used to present an in-depth analysis into the mechanisms that are at play, if and when discrimination is present. Finally, one chapter of this dissertation solely examines wage inequalities experienced by visible minority women instead of lumping those results with the ones of visible minority men, enabling the reader to enhance their understanding of gender differences. Overall, this dissertation contributes to the literature on ethnic stratification in Canada, on income inequality, and on ethnic relations.

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, J. Sigouin.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Up to the Second World War, immigration policies in Canada intended to attract mostly immigrants from the United States, Great Britain and northern Europe (Simmons, 2010). Discriminatory immigration policies discouraged the entry of certain immigrant groups and at worst, forbade some groups altogether (Knowles, 2007). For example, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 banned a majority of Chinese immigrants from entering the country. In fact, up until 1962, non-European immigrants were largely excluded. Invoking various official reasons including job shortages and wartime security, Canada denied access to some groups, such as Jews, whereas immigrants from northern Europe were welcomed with open arms (Abella & Troper, 1982).

The horrors of World War II brought legitimacy to anti-racist discourse, which contributed to the removal of most of the unequal immigration practices. Industrialization and the declining number of European immigrants with desired skills also played a significant role in the changes to immigration policy. As a result, Canada ended its country-of-origin immigration selection system in 1962 (Knowles, 2007, p. 187). In 1967, the Canadian immigration system changed to focus on job skills, on knowledge of official languages, and on education (Knowles, 2007, pp. 192-198).

Since then, Canada started to receive an increasing number of non-European immigrants. In fact, "since the 1970s, more than three-quarters of all Canadian immigrants have come from non-European regions" (Simmons, 2010, p. 124). For example, Poland and Italy, which were once amongst the top countries of origin for immigrants coming to Canada are now far behind Pakistan, Philippines, and countries in Asia and Africa (Statistics Canada, 2006). The non-European origins of post-1962 migrants changed the ethnic and racial composition of the Canadian population., The term "visible minority", defined by the Canadian Employment Act as "persons, other than Aboriginal people, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour", became widely used. Visible minorities represented 19.1% of the total population in 2011 compared to 13.4% in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2013a, p. 4; Statistics Canada, 2005, p. 6). Of these visible minorities, 65.1% are foreign-born (Statistics Canada, 2013a, p. 4). In this dissertation, I draw on the Canadian literature pertaining to immigrant economic integration although my primary interest is the earning disparities between visible minorities and whites. I

rely on studies of immigrant economic integration mainly because of the higher proportion of immigrants among visible minorities, and because there are more published studies on immigrant earnings than on the earnings of visible minorities.

Despite Canada's goal to integrate newcomers, social inequality — characterized by a given group's lack of opportunities and rewards because of its allocated social status (Grusky, 2008, p. 5) — still exists. Regardless of whether or not visible minorities are immigrants, groups such as blacks have been disadvantaged in various aspects of their life including work, education, and occupational status. For example, Hum and Simpson's analysis of the Survey of Income and Labour Dynamics, found that "Black men receive about 19 percent less than men who are not members of a visible minority" even after controlling for human capital and demographic characteristics (1999, p. 384). Thus, as Fleras and Elliot so aptly describe, "Canada remains a stratified society where differences in pigmentation, ethnicity, and gender continue to make a difference in terms of who gets what and how much" (2002, p. 115).

When examining the issue of social inequality experienced by visible minority members, Quebec is an interesting place to study because of its passionate discourse about national identity and its conflicting relationship with immigration as a potential threat to its nation-building process. French Quebecers have always been concerned about maintaining their distinctive features, including language and culture, which have often been represented by a common history and identity (Bouchard & Scott, 2015). Thus has emerged a concern about the increasing flow of immigrants arriving in Quebec since the 1970s. These worries have sometimes resulted in direct conflict between French Quebecers and subordinate ethnic groups in the province. In recent years, the idea of ethnic intolerance has been brought into public focus with the establishment, on February 8, 2007, of the Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles —commonly known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission — whose mandate was "to take stock of accommodation practices related to cultural differences, analyse the attendant issues bearing in mind the experience of other societies, conduct an extensive consultation on this topic, and formulate recommendations aimed at ensuring that accommodation practices conform to Québec's core values" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 33). The primary task of the Commission was to examine the Quebec government's duty to accommodate the religious and cultural practices of ethnic groups in public institutions (Barnett et al., 2012, p. 9; Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 17).

The Commission was established because of public discontent concerning reasonable accommodation cases that were widely reported by Quebec's media (Potvin, 2014), and French Quebecers questioned if those cases were in fact "reasonable" or if they constituted abusive recourse to the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 33). Among the prominent cases was the Yetev Lev Orthodox Jewish congregation's request to the management of a YMCA in Montreal to replace its regular glass windows with frosted glass in order to prevent their congregants from seeing scantily clad YMCA members exercising inside[1]. The request was initially granted until some members of the YMCA formed a petition against the decision to accommodate the Jewish congregation (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 53). The YMCA decided to compromise by installing blinds to conceal the activities within its building. Another case was the examination of whether a Sikh schoolboy could wear his kirpan — a ceremonial sword or dagger carried by some Sikhs — at school. Public reaction heated up when the court decided that he should be allowed to wear it under certain conditions. From 2002 to 2007, over 20 cases were discussed in the media using the term "reasonable accommodation" [2](Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, pp. 50-60), which became embedded into the public discourse whenever conflict emerged over the practices of religious minorities (Beaman, 2012). These cases were perceived as getting out of hand, permitting too much accommodation to the detriment of Quebec's social cohesion and to French Quebecers' identity (McAndrew, 2007).

The Commission conducted several hearings across Quebec's regions and Quebec media coverage of those meetings tended to portray Quebecers as xenophobic and racist (Anctil, 2006). Steven Slimovitch, national legal counsel for B'nai Brith Canada, even called the Commission "A soapbox for venting racism and a beat-the-immigrant festival" (National Post, 2007). However, some journalists mentioned that the racist comments expressed in the hearings did not represent the views of the majority of Quebecers, who were not even aware that reasonable

[1] The Jewish congregation paid for the installation and the purchasing of the new windows.

[2] Reasonable accommodation can be defined as "an arrangement that falls under the legal sphere, more specifically case law, aimed a relaxing the application of a norm or a statute in favour of an individual or a group of people threatened with discrimination for one of the reasons specified in the Charter" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 289). The concept of "reasonable accommodation" was introduced into Canadian law in 1985 by the Supreme Court of Canada (Barnett et al., 2012, p. 7). However, Bouchard and Taylor (2008) acknowledged that the term "reasonable accommodation" became associated with the management and governance of religious diversity, therefore making the term solely about religion. Instead, Bouchard and Taylor (2008) suggested that the term "concerted adjustment" might be a preferable option to talk about those cases, where a democratic involvement between citizens to find common solutions over disputes is emphasized (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 19).

accommodation was an issue in Quebec. The role of the media in exacerbating tensions around these events was also pointed out (Potvin, 2014). Overall, those cases, combined with extensive Quebec media coverage, lead to the perception that immigrants were the main seekers of accommodation, and to the perception that such cases were signs of immigrants' increasing reluctance to integrate into Quebec society (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 33). Thus, the intensity of the debate on reasonable accommodation in Quebec has brought into the limelight lingering issues concerning Quebec's fear of newcomers and its sociocultural integration model (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 17).

Other evidence seems to corroborate that Quebecers might be less welcoming to individuals who are culturally different from the dominant ethnic group. As an example, a poll conducted on September 17 and 18, 2007, by SES Research on whether it was reasonable to accommodate religious and cultural minorities, revealed that 76.9% of Quebecers thought that immigrants should fully adapt to mainstream culture in Canada compared to 53.1% of Canadians living outside Quebec (MacDonald, 2007). In contrast, only 5.4% of Quebecers surveyed responded that it was reasonable to accommodate religious and cultural minorities compared to 18% of Canadian respondents outside of Quebec[3]. Whether or not we ascribe some validity to this poll, it illustrates a belief that people have about Quebec – that Quebecers seem more likely to support limits to the amount of accommodation given to religious and cultural minorities – and that this belief seems to coincide with the idea that Quebec society is less likely to tolerate ethnic differences and more likely to discriminate against them. Thus, there seems to be concern about Quebecers' willingness to accept individuals who differ from the majority.

Concerns about this willingness were raised once again in 2013 when the Parti Québécois declared it wanted to end the debate on reasonable accommodation through the implementation of a Charter of Values, which would have prohibited public sector employees from wearing conspicuous religious symbols, including the kippah, hijab, turban, and large crosses. Critics were swift to point out that this bill would end up discriminating against a large portion of the visible minority population, especially Muslim women (Taylor, 2014). The Quebec Human Rights Commission called it a "radical infringement on fundamental rights" (Perreaux, 2013).

[3] The random representative on-line sample of 1,083 Canadians is considered accurate to within three percentage points, 19 times out of 20

Hearings also took place where the public was invited to express their opinions about the proposed Charter. Once again, media coverage depicted Quebecers as racists. For example, the media extensively covered the testimony of the Pineault family who described their trip to Morocco by using controversial remarks, including wondering aloud about why people would ask them to remove their shoes while entering a Moroccan mosque, and saying that people in Quebec should not be allowed to walk around in "disguises" – their way of referring to the Muslim veil (Blatchford, 2014).

The debate surrounding the implementation of the Charter of Values contributed to increased tension and conflict among the Quebec population. Muslim groups such as the Conseil Musulman de Montréal noted an increase in the number of attacks directed towards members of the Muslim community and referred to videos of individuals insulting Muslim women who were wearing hijabs in Montreal's metro (Radio-Canada, 2013). In Saguenay, a mosque was vandalized with what appeared to be pig's blood accompanied by a letter saying that supporters of Islam should "accommodate or go home" (CBC, 2013). Even though media coverage depicted Quebecers as Islamophobic. a strong majority voted against the Parti Québécois in the 2014 election and, thus, against the proposed Charter. This rejection of the PQ government and of the Charter suggests that Quebecers might be more welcoming to visible minorities than otherwise suggested by Quebec media.

Since this election, other controversial events have occurred in Quebec that reopened the debate about the prevalence of xenophobia and discrimination in the province. One in particular that received a great deal of attention was when white comedian Mario Jean used blackface makeup to personify a black comedian at the Gala des Oliviers. Some journalists who criticized this practice were shocked to hear responses from the public, the entertainment industry, and other journalists who defended Jean's performance and claimed it had no ill intent. The backlash experienced by the journalists who criticized the event led them to argue that this was representative of the taboo surrounding the topic of race in Quebec, illustrated by *Huffington Post* article titles from the time, including "You can't point out racism in Quebec" (Dauphin, 2013) and "Does anyone know what Quebec stands for anymore?" (Sholars, 2013). Thus, whenever controversial events pertaining to racism or discrimination happen in Quebec, the role that Quebec identity plays in these events quickly resurfaces as a potential explanatory factor.

With its focus on its distinct cultural identity and French-speaking majority, Quebec has often been accused of excluding individuals who are not white francophones. This assumption was supported by the study of Sniderman and colleagues who found that "Quebeckers exhibited higher levels of anti-Semitism than do English-speaking Canadians" (1993, p. 243), mostly because Quebecers value conformity over everything else, and felt threatened by their cultural position in Canada. The most extreme example where Quebecers were accused of excluding individuals who differed from the majority came from journalist Jan Wong after the 2006 Dawson College shooting. Discussing this shooting in relation to two other shootings that occurred in Montreal – École Polytechnique in 1989 and Concordia University in 1992 – she linked all three to the alienation felt by individuals who are not "old-stock" French Québécois. Public and political condemnation followed the publication of her article, calling her theory "delirious", without foundation, and offensive to the Quebec population (Gagnon, 2006). Nevertheless, Jan Wong's point of view once again illustrates the belief shared by some individuals that Quebec is intolerant towards ethnic and racial diversity.

On the evening of January 29, 2017, a mass shooting occurred at the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec City, where six people were killed and nineteen were injured. A lone gunman, Alexandre Bissonnette, surrendered to the police, saying that he was responsible. The 27-year-old had no criminal record, but on social media platforms had expressed support for white nationalist groups and anti-Muslim views. Following this event, Jan Wong's point of view found support in an op-ed titled "Why does 'progressive' Quebec have so many massacres?" by J.J. McCullough, a political cartoonist, published in the *Washington Post* on February 1st, 2017. In this article, the author claims that "a disproportionate share of the country's massacres occur in the province of Quebec". He answers the question posed by claiming that "Quebec's dark history of anti-Semitism, religious bigotry and pro-fascist sentiment" has created a place that's "inhospitable, arrogant and, yes, noticeably more racist than the Canadian norm." He then finishes by saying that "the province seems to produce an awful lot of lunatics prone to public massacres, who often explicitly justify their violence with arguments of dissatisfaction towards Quebec's unique culture". Similar to Jan Wong's article, his op-ed stirred outrage, with some journalists and the Bloc Québécois denounced his claims as ill-founded. Regardless, we can see that the belief that Quebec is more intolerant than the other Canadian provinces is still held by some individuals.

In addition, some polls have indicated that Quebecers might be less tolerant towards visible minorities than other provinces. For example, a poll conducted by Léger Marketing in 2007 revealed that 59% of Quebecers admitted to being racist in some degree compared to 47% for those living outside Quebec. Another survey conducted in 2015 by the private media company TVA revealed that 20% of Quebecers considered themselves racists (Parent, 2015). Most of the respondents said that they were more likely to be racist towards Muslims and Sikhs. In contrast, other polls have revealed that Quebecers have positive views of visible minorities. For example, a survey conducted by CROP in 2005, demonstrated that 80% of Quebecers would have no problem voting for a black prime minister (Perreault, 2008). During Barack Obama's first presidential campaign, 77.8% of Quebecers said that they would vote for him if they could, compared to 72% for the rest of Canada (ibid). Thus, even though some people might believe that Quebec is more likely to discriminate against visible minorities than other Canadian provinces, the situation might be more complex.

This is not to say that other Canadian provinces have not had their share of problems when it comes to intergroup relations. For example, in Toronto on July 27th 2013, 18-year-old Sammy Yatim, a young immigrant from Syria, was shot eight times by a Toronto local police officer after Yatim wielded a knife on a streetcar. His death caused protests in Toronto that questioned the police's use of force and groups associated his death with racism from the Toronto police force. It was not the first time that Ontario police forces have been accused of racial profiling. The Kingston Police Services released a one-year study in 2006 that examined how likely visible minorities were to be stopped by the police. Findings revealed that blacks accounted for 2.2 percent of all stops while only constituting 0.6 percent of Kingston's inhabitants (Closs & McKenna, 2006, p. 150). Another example of potential racism occurred during the 2014 Ottawa shooting at Parliament Hill when a black student reported that the University of Ottawa's coffee shop, which gave refuge to scared students, refused to let him in and he attributed this to his skin color (Décoste, 2015). In Winnipeg, mayoral candidate Robert-Falcon Ouellette received hateful comments regarding his Aboriginal heritage and his use of only French during a speech at the Francophone Chamber of Commerce (CBC, 2014). Finally, in 2015, Canadian magazine *Maclean's* deemed Manitoba to be the most racist province in Canada due to its high rate of hate crimes and high level of racism towards Aboriginal peoples (MacDonald, 2015). Thus, Quebec is far from being the only province to experience racist

events. What remains unique about Quebec, however, is the belief that Quebec is more discriminatory towards visible minorities because of its focus on nationalism, identity, and language.

Thus, Quebec might be more intolerant towards visible minorities (as evidenced by some of the examples listed above). However, it remains unclear whether or not this perceived social and cultural intolerance manifests into unequal treatment in the labor market – a key site of social mobility. Empirical evidence on discrimination on the basis of visible minority status in the Quebec labor market is limited (see Eid et al., 2012 for an exception). Therefore, there remains an important need to fill the knowledge gap about visible minority members' labor market experience within Quebec, and in comparison to other Canadian provinces.

The Current Study

In this dissertation, I use wage disparities between whites (reference group) and visible minority members (blacks, Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians) to gauge possible discrimination in the labor market. Ethnic wage differentials are a commonly used measure of social inequality (Frenette & Morissette, 2005; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002, 2007; Picot & Sweetman, 2005). Indeed, being able to have a good job and earn a fair wage are key reasons, although not the only ones, why immigrants choose to live in a given country (Knowles, 2007). I compare Quebec to the other Canadian provinces and regions (Ontario, British Columbia, the Prairies, and the Atlantic provinces).

This dissertation makes four main contributions to the literature pertaining to income differentials experienced by visible minorities. First, it extends the literature on wage differentials by providing a detailed analysis of the case of Quebec. The predominant focus on the literature has been on Canada overall (Desjardins & Cornelson, 2011; Frenette & Morissette, 2005, Hou & Balakrishnan, 1996). To my knowledge, a very limited amount of studies have examined the role of discrimination experienced by visible minorities in Quebec (Eid, 2012). Second, as mentioned above, this dissertation contributes to the literature on wage differentials by offering a clear focus on the comparison between Quebec and the other Canadian provinces[4]. Previous studies that have compared Quebec to other Canadian provinces devoted only a small portion of their work to this analysis (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, p. 2002), although a number

[4] As used above, the term "provinces and regions" is more accurate, but only the word "provinces" will be used for ease of reading, since it will be mentioned several times in the text throughout the dissertation.

of studies – albeit limited as well – has concentrated on this comparison (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007). In contrast, this dissertation not only offers a clear comparison between Quebec and the other Canadian provinces, but thoroughly discusses the various factors that explain differences in wages between groups. This is made possible by the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method (used in this dissertation), which permits an in-depth analysis into the mechanisms at play by clearly identifying what part of the earning disparity (if it exists) is due to observable characteristics and what part can potentially be due to discrimination. Finally, a focus on visible minorities instead of on immigrants also contributes to this literature. Previous studies on wage differentials have focused heavily on immigrants, sometimes without even differentiating them between their country of origin (Desjardins & Cornelson, 2011; Frenette & Morissette, 2005). Less is known about the experience of visible minorities in Canada regarding the labor market, which is one of the lacunas that this dissertation intends to fill. Given that a large number of visible minorities in Canada are immigrants, the length of stay of the visible minorities will be taken into consideration in the analysis. This will enable the reader to see what differential impact being a visible minority might have on earnings, separately from being an immigrant (when applicable).

Chapter 1 includes the introduction and the literature review, and Chapter 2 includes the methodology and the analytical strategy that will be used throughout this dissertation. Chapter 1 proceeds in several sections. The next section finalizes the introduction by offering a discussion on how Canada and Quebec integrate newcomers. As such, the Canadian and Quebec context are discussed through a presentation of key demographic trends, and through the examination of relevant social policies – such as multiculturalism versus interculturalism – that might help readers understand the Quebec point of view about integration. This section is followed by a literature review that starts with a general overview of ethnic stratification in order to offer a thorough theoretical background on the role that ethnic stratification can play in the labor market. Some explanations for the presence of ethnic stratification in the labor market are presented as well as a discussion on how the boundaries between the dominant and subordinate groups function. A review of ethnic stratification in Canada, especially through a discussion of the work of John Porter, follows in order to better situate this dissertation within the literature on ethnic stratification. In the next sections, there is a review of the literature on income differentials in Canada and then a comparison of income differentials in Canada vs Quebec is

offered. Chapter 2 presents the methodology section where data, key variables, the statistical model used as well as the analytical strategy performed are explained. The analyses in this dissertation are separated into three chapters. Chapter 3 examines wage differentials between visible minorities and whites living in Quebec, including results for both men and women, using the 2006 Census and the 2011 National Household Survey, although the 2006 Census is predominantly used. Chapter 4 looks at wage differentials between visible minority men and white men and compares Quebec to other Canadian provinces, using predominantly the data from the 2006 Census. The provinces (and regions) used for comparison are Ontario, British Columbia, the Prairies (includes Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Manitoba), and the Atlantic provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland). Chapter 5 presents the same analysis of wage differentials as in Chapter 3, but focuses on visible minority women and white women. Chapter 6 offers a discussion about the results of Chapters 3, 4, and 5, identifying the limitations of this dissertation, and presents a conclusion. Thus, because Chapter 6 discusses the findings with respect to previous scholarship, the empirical chapters present the results without referencing the work of other authors. The following research questions guide the analyses.

1. Is there a significant difference in terms of wages and salaries between visible minority members and white individuals living in Quebec?
2. If so, are wage and salary differentials, potentially indicative of discrimination, identifiable in Quebec?
3. Is the wage gap between visible minorities and whites, if it exists, more pronounced in Quebec than in the other Canadian provinces?

In responding to these questions this dissertation aims to discover to what extent visible minority status is an important determinant of social stratification in the Quebec province. I also hope to discover whether or not being a visible minority member is a more important determinant of social stratification in Quebec than in other Canadian provinces[5].

[5] Hereinafter referred to as ROC.

Ethnic Diversity and Integrating Newcomers: The Canadian and Quebec Approach

Canada has a large foreign-born population that is becoming increasingly ethnically diverse. In 2011, immigrants represented 20.6% of the total population with more than 73% of them identifying as being part of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2013a, p. 4). For example, 78% of immigrants who arrived between 2006 and 2011 identified as being visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2013a, p. 15). Today, the largest visible minority groups are South Asians (25% of the visible minority population), Chinese (21.1%), and blacks (15.1%) (Statistics Canada, 2013a, p. 4). The majority of visible minority members are concentrated in four of Canada's provinces: Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta (Statistics Canada, 2013a, p. 4). According to Statistics Canada, visible minorities will make up a third of Canada's population by 2031 (Statistics Canada, 2010, p. 23), an increase that illustrates the growing need for studies that look at the integration of visible minorities. This increase in the number of visible minorities is due to the arrival of immigrants from non-European countries. Before the 1970s, immigrants to Canada were mostly from Europe — reaching percentages as high as 78.3% of the total immigrant population— but the number of European-born immigrants has kept decreasing considerably since then (Statistics Canada, 2013a, p. 7). For example, immigrants from the United Kingdom represented approximately 15% of the immigrant population that came to Canada before 1991. In contrast, they now represent only 5% of the immigrant population who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 184).

Quebec is also experiencing an increase in immigrants from non-European countries. Visible minorities went from accounting for 7% of the overall Quebec population in 2001 to 8.8% in 2006 to 11% in 2011 (Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, 2011, 2014, p. 3). In 2011, 64.6% of the visible minority population in Quebec was foreign-born (Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, 2014, p. 3). Immigrants now consist of 12.6% of the overall Quebec population, a number that experts predict will increase in the near future (Payeur et al., 2014, p. 13). In 1981, Quebec received around 25,000 immigrants and has received, on average, from 2008 and 2013, a number of approximately 52,300 immigrants per year (Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, 2014, p. 18). Moreover, a large number of immigrants in Quebec come from Africa and Asia, indicating that the number of visible minorities will likely continue to rise (Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, 2014). Thus, visible minority members will increasingly become part

of Quebec society, demonstrating the importance of studying and determining whether or not Quebec is more reluctant to accept ethnic diversity than ROC.

Despite this increase in Quebec, the immigrant population and visible minority groups have encountered several barriers that prevent improvements to their quality of life, including in the labor market. For instance, Quebec's unemployment rate in 2011 for immigrants was 11.9% compared to 5.6% for Canadian-born Quebecers (Issaad, 2012, p. 13). The situation is worse for visible minority immigrants who have a higher unemployment rate than immigrants who are not visible minorities (Eid, 2012). Moreover, poverty rates appear to be concentrated within visible minority groups. Poverty is much more likely to affect individuals who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color. Visible minorities living in poverty are also more likely to be young, immigrants, married, and highly skilled but unemployed (National Council of Welfare Reports, 2012).

Among the social policies that have been partially blamed for the high rate of unemployment among the linguistic minority population in Quebec – which includes immigrants who are more likely to be Allophones[6] – is Bill 101 (Bourhis, 2008; Brenhouse, 2013; Canadian Heritage, 2011). The Charter of the French Language (most often known as Bill 101) declares French as "the language of Government and the Law, as well as the normal and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business" (Chapter C-11). For instance, it requires – at least most of the time[7] – that Quebec children receive a French education rather than an English one. It also makes French the official language of business, which makes it difficult for individuals who do not speak French, or do not master it very well, to find employment. For instance, an analysis conducted by the Canadian Institute for Identities and Migration found that, in Quebec, Allophones had a median income $10,000 lower than that of Francophones while English-speaking individuals earned $5,000 less than Francophones (2013)[8]. In 2014, 15.2% of the immigrants living in Quebec spoke only English, and 26.2% could not speak French or English (Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion,

[6] A person whose mother tongue is other than English or French (Statistics Canada, 2007b)
[7] Several exceptions apply in this case, such as having at least one Canadian parent who received the major part of his/her elementary instruction in English. For others, please see http://www.olf.gouv.qc.ca/english/charter/
[8] For more, please see http://westquebecers.ca/?action=show&lid=4EI4E-PAETZ-PKHL6&comaction=view&id=MXVHG-7ANVJ-LFP47

2015). Thus, immigrants and Anglophones who do not speak French appear to be disadvantaged in the labor market.

Contrary to the belief of linguistic minority groups that Quebecers are intolerant of cultural and linguistic differences, the political elites governing Quebec seem to not consider such measures as discriminatory[9] (Charter of the French Language, 2011). Instead, measures such as Bill 101 are considered as playing a joint role in ensuring the survival of the French culture, and ensuring newcomers' success in Quebec society (Charter of the French Language, 2011). Aligned with this objective of having newcomers adapt to the French culture is Quebec's model of immigration, namely interculturalism. Interculturalism is known to differ somewhat from the multiculturalism policy adopted by the rest of Canada. On one hand, interculturalism emphasizes that both newcomers and the native-born should work together in order to accept each other's cultural differences, which is similar to Canadian multiculturalism. Interculturalism has been defined as "a way of promoting ethnocultural relations characterized by interaction in a spirit for differences" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 118), and multiculturalism has been presented as "a general conception of sociocultural integration that seeks public recognition and political accommodation of group cultural and religious differences" (Kymlicka, 1998a, p. 22; Tremblay, 2009, p. 1). Thus, both interculturalism and multiculturalism promote integration while acknowledging the importance of cultural differences. In other words, group-specific rights are recognized, but are also constrained by liberal principles, such as freedom and democracy (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008; Kymlicka, 2015).

On the other hand, Quebec has rejected multiculturalism for several reasons, including the fact that it was perceived as treating French Quebecers as just another ethnic group among many others who could not use their "founding nation" status to claim special status within the Canadian federation. Multiculturalism was perceived as an attempt from the federal government to diminish the historical place of French Quebecers within Canadian history, and their contribution to the Canadian society (Bouchard & Scott, 2015, p. 60). Instead, Quebec

[9] As an example, one can think of the website of the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse du Québec, which states that "it should be noted that the status of French as an official language in Québec is not discriminatory." (Source: http://www.cdpdj.qc.ca/en/droits-de-la-personne/motifs/Pages/langue.aspx). In addition, once can look at Chapter C-11 of the Charter of the French Language where the following is expressed: "Whereas the National Assembly intends to pursue this objective in a spirit of fairness and open-mindedness, respectful of the institutions of the English-speaking community of Québec, and respectful of the ethnic minorities, whose valuable contribution to the development of Québec it readily acknowledges" (source: http://legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/ShowDoc/cs/C-11)

implemented interculturalism, which emphasizes "the importance of integration on the basis of the fundamental values of Quebec society" (Bouchard & Scott, 2015, p. 4). The values of Quebec society are closely related to the French culture and, more specifically, to the survival of the French language. As a result, interculturalism asserts that French is the primary language used in Quebec, and that newcomers' cultures should be embraced as long as they respect the core values of democracy and freedom (Chiasson & Howes, 2012). In other words, newcomers should make an effort to share a sense of unity with Quebec Francophones by learning the French culture and language. This focus on the French culture differs considerably from multiculturalism, at least in its earlier years, where Prime Minister Pierre -Elliott Trudeau, in his presentation of the multicultural framework, announced that "For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture…" (Canada, House of Commons, 1971, pp. 8545-8548).

This distinction between interculturalism and multiculturalism stems from the fact that French Quebecers constitutes a linguistic minority in Canada, surrounded by the dominance of English in the rest of the world, which places Quebec in a position of weakness (Bouchard & Scott, 2015, pp. 11-12, 52). In other words, the practice of multiculturalism may be easier to implement in an English-dominant nation that is culturally established. Quebec has been very sensitive about keeping the culture of its majority, because it constitutes a minority culture in the rest of Canada. Because of their linguistic minority status, Quebec Francophones fear any forms of identity fragmentation and marginalization (Bouchard & Scott, 2015, p. 52). Falling short of gaining the legitimacy status that they would have liked from Canada[10], Quebec Francophones always fear losing their language, culture, political and economic institutions, and their historical consciousness. Quebec's historical consciousness is based on "more than two centuries of domination, both from the outside (the British Empire) and from the inside (the clergy and its allies in the elites of business and the liberal professions)" (Bouchard & Scott, 2015, p. 12). Hence, this legacy of struggles has led to the creation of this distinct model of managing ethnic diversity that, compared to multiculturalism, emphasizes the importance of integration through learning the core values of Quebec society in order to insure its survival.

Quebec's emphasis on integration, especially through learning the French language, is based on the fear that their language is doomed to disappear if not properly protected. This fear seems supported by the fact that Quebec that has seen the number of individuals speaking French

[10] As examples, one can think of the failures to pass the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord

in Quebec and in the rest of Canada diminishing over the years (Beaujot, 1982, p. 369-370). Francophones went from representing 31% of the total Canadian population in 1901 to 20.5% in 2011 (Ferretti, 2016, p. 5). Quebec Francophones went from representing 22.6% of the Canadian population in 1971 to 19.5% in 2006 (Termote et al., 2011, p. 96). In 1971, 12% of the Francophones lived in Canada, but outside of Quebec, compared to 9% in 2006 (Termote et al., 2011, p. 96). According to Termote's projection, in 2056, we can expect the Francophone population living outside Quebec to represent only 1.3% of the overall Canadian population (Termote et al., 2011, p. 106). The number of Francophones in Quebec is also decreasing, but to a lesser extent. Between 1971 and 1981, the French population in Quebec constituted 83% of the overall Quebec population compared to 81% in 2011 (Termote et al., 2011, p. 92). The situation is worst in Montreal, which is where the majority of immigrants who come to Quebec choose to reside (86.8%) (Ministere de l'Immigration, de la Diversite, et de l'Inclusion, 2013, p. 2). Between 1991 and 2001, Francophones represented 69.7% of the Montreal population and declined to 68.3% in 2006 (Termote et al., 2011, p. 93). Thus, the implementation of interculturalism by Quebec can be related to this fear of losing the French language, which is a worry that the rest of Canada does not share when it comes to protecting the English language. In fact, multiculturalism assumes that ethnic groups already know the English language or will want to learn it given its primary status in Canada (and in the rest of the world). Therefore, compared to Quebec, there appears to be no need for the rest of Canada to implement a policy, such as interculturalism, that tries to emphasize the primacy of learning the main language spoken by its citizens.

Interculturalism has been heavily criticized, especially in the first half of the 1990s where Quebecois separatism was used by journalists and researchers as an example of "multiculturalism gone wrong" (Winter, 2014, p. 140). Requesting that immigrants learn French as well as the Quebecois culture was perceived as a discriminatory attitude linked to attempt of forced assimilation (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 117; Globe and Mail, 1995; Winter, 2014, p. 138). Despite these poor opinions of Quebec's interculturalism, the province has maintained its choice, has kept denying that it is a discriminatory policy, and has argued that interculturalism would benefit immigrants who would be better equipped to integrate into the Quebec labor market and Quebec society in general. Thus, Quebec asks its newcomers for an additional effort to adopt the French culture, but does not perceive it as a discriminatory measure. Instead, it is

perceived as a key element by which newcomers will integrate into Quebec society, which in turn will improve their chances for success.

Some scholars have argued that the difference between interculturalism and multiculturalism has started to disappear since the start of the 21th century as multiculturalism focused more on unity through a dominant culture, namely the English culture (Winter, 2011; Bouchard & Scott, 2015). Winter characterized this type of multiculturalism as adopting a republican discourse, which "roots multiculturalism in British/English- Canadian values" (2014, p. 138). Moreover, she points out that official discourse has slowly stopped making clear references to the importance of Canada's multicultural identity, and the salient role that ethnic communities play in that identity formation process (Winter, 2014, p. 143). According to Bouchard and Scott (2015), the view that multiculturalism has "little concern for the establishment of a shared culture that would ensure for the nation or society an essential symbolic foundation" might no longer apply (p. 61). Since the 1990s and 2000s, an increasing concern for collective cohesiveness and preserving core Canadian values emerged in the rest of Canada due to the Quebec separatist movement, the increasing number of immigrants coming from non-European countries, the threat of Americanization, and globalization (Bouchard & Scott, 2015; Winter, 2011). Thus, the debate concerning the potential differences between interculturalism and multiculturalism and their respective advantages and disadvantages is far from being over.

Therefore, Quebec's unique position both as a linguistic majority in its own province and a linguistic minority in the rest of Canada and its continent, has led the province to adopt some measures, such as Bill 101 and interculturalism, that aim at protecting the French language and French Quebecers' culture. When examining wage inequality in Quebec compared to ROC, one must remember these cultural and policy differences since they can potentially help in explaining the context behind wage differentials. Quebec has been strongly criticized for these measures perceived by some as being discriminatory towards minority groups. Nevertheless, Quebec has denied that these measures were discriminatory, arguing that those measures aimed at facilitating the integration of newcomers into Quebec society. In fact, Quebec has also tried to implement additional policies that aim to facilitate the integration of newcomers. For example, the City of Montreal announced in 2007 that half of its new hires would be filled by visible minority members (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 227). Direct results of such measures remain to be seen.

Moreover, most surveys asking Quebecers' opinions about immigrants and ethnic minorities reveal very positive views. The Institute for Research on Public Policy conducted a survey in 2010 that showed that individuals living in the Province of Quebec were more open to immigration than individuals living in Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta (Reitz, 2011). As also pointed out by Bouchard and Taylor in their report, 90% of the individuals who participated with the Commission were in favour of increasing Quebec's number of immigrants (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 223). Thus, whether or not the Province of Quebec is discriminatory towards its visible minority members remains contentious, which is why the current study examines the extent to which Quebec's arguably "hostile" cultural environment for visible minorities and immigrants translates into ethnic stratification in the labor market.

Literature Review

A General Overview of Ethnic stratification

Definitions and Key Concepts

Examining the extent that ethnicity plays a role in shaping unequal outcomes and opportunities remains a relevant topic as this directly relates to Canada's role in advancing human rights. Social inequality "is produced by two types of matching processes: the social positions in society are first matched to "reward packages" of unequal value, and members of society are then allocated to the positions so defined and rewarded" (Grusky, 2008, p. 5). Social inequality can be persistent and clustered into specific groups, which can then lead to social stratification where some individuals are sorted into categories, such as caste, class, race, and gender (Grusky, 2008, p. 6). When stratification occurs along ethnic lines, it is then referred to as ethnic stratification, which is a "system of stratification wherein some relatively fixed group membership (e.g., race, religion, or nationality) is utilized as a major criterion for assigning social positions with their attendant differential rewards" (Noel, 1968, p. 157). Thus, ethnic stratification is a form of social stratification that can occur in many domains of life, including in the health sector, housing and neighborhoods, the criminal justice system, and in the labor market.

The Importance of Examining Ethnic Stratification in the Labor Market

Studying ethnic stratification in the labor market tells us the extent to which ethnic groups are integrated into society, because finding a job and earning a decent wage are of central importance for becoming part of their host country's economic system. Earning a good wage is

fundamental to their integration by being their main point of access to health services and decent housing (OECD, 2015). For immigrants, labor market integration can lead to their political and cultural integration as well, which could increase their participation in the host country. In other words, "labor market integration is the single most important step toward socio-economic integration, even if it does not necessarily guarantee it" (Lodovici, 2010, p. 2). If ethnic stratification is present in the labor market, then it hinders ethnic groups' life chances. This is against the Canadian Human Rights Act (1976-77), which emphasizes "the right to equality and non-discrimination in the areas of employment…" (c.33, S.7). In principle, the labor market is supposed to be neutral to ethnic minorities, where ethnicity should not play a significant role in determining salary and career opportunities (Becker, 1971). The labor market should be a purely meritocratic system, hiring and rewarding workers based on their performance and qualifications (Becker, 1971). However, there is some evidence that the Canadian labor market is not entirely a meritocratic system. For instance, white workers tend to have the lowest unemployment rates, which could potentially indicate some favoritism towards whites in the Canadian labor market (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Thus, studying the salience of ethnic stratification in the labor market, via earnings differentials, provides an important snapshot of the place given to ethnic groups in Canadian society.

Explanations for the Presence of Ethnic Stratification[11]

Power-Threat Hypothesis

Scholars have pointed to a number of explanations that can help account for ethnic stratification in the labor market. Among the most widely referenced explanations for ethnic stratification is the power- threat hypothesis (Blalock, 1967). According to this hypothesis, ethnic groups might be perceived as a threat by the dominant group that is the main power-holder and that wants to preserve and protect the interests of its members (Blalock, 1967; Newman, 1973; Porter, 1965). The dominant group can be defined as the group "that exercises power to create and maintain a pattern of economic, political, and institutional advantage, which in turn results in the unequal (disproportionately beneficial to the dominant group) distribution of resources" (Doane, 1997, p. 376). The power- threat theory holds that the dominant group is

[11] This section summarizes key explanations for ethnic stratification in the labor market from the international literature. However, because of data limitations (i.e., lack of variables), none of the factors summarized are directly tested in this dissertation. This summary is thus meant to offer the reader potential paths of explanations to foster reflection on the topic.

more likely to perceive ethnic groups as a threat if there are an increasing number of them, and if they are perceived as racially or ethnically distinct (Blalock, 1967). Theorists claim that stratification along ethnic lines is largely a function of perceived threats that a growing minority group has on dominant group members' privileges and positions within society. According to this position, negative attitudes about and discriminatory practices towards ethnic minority groups are brought about in part by a feeling that the dominant group has prerogatives that entitle them to a superior position within society. Ethnocentric beliefs on the part of majority group members accentuates assumptions that their group is entitled to a disproportionate share of rights, resources, and privileges in society (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Noel, 1968). Perceiving ethnic groups as a threat, whether this threat is real or perceived, can lead ethnic groups to experience differential forms of treatment.

Economic/Political Threat

Under the power-threat theory, minorities are believed to represent a threat to existing social arrangements because they may seek to redistribute social resources in their favor. Any attempt (perceived or otherwise) by ethnic minorities to redistribute rights and privileges is contested by majority group members. In particular, Blalock (1967) claims that the threat of a growing ethnic minority population is largely the result of perceived competition for jobs and other economic resources. To maintain their advantageous position within society, majority group members will often use their superior economic and political resources to disempower and discriminate against minorities to ensure the status quo persists (Bonachich, 1972; Noel, 1968). For example, members of the dominant group can decide who is allowed to enter their country, and what jobs immigrants will be permitted to have (Porter, 1965). Immigration policies could reflect this exclusion process by, for example, trying to prevent some immigrant groups from entering the country (e.g., the Chinese Head Tax) or by trying to favor immigrants that are deemed more beneficial to the host society, such as Canada's country-of-origin immigrant selection system that until 1962 privileged the entry of British, French, and American citizens (Knowles, 2007). As a more recent example, the Conservative Canadian government introduced laws in 2012 that trimmed the refugee claimant system, making it harder for refugees to come to Canada[12], whereas immigrants with greater financial means and skills are increasingly

[12] Some of those laws have since been changed by the Liberal government elected in 2015.

encouraged to immigrate to Canada (Harris & Zuberi, 2015). It has been argued that this focus on "economic migrants" disadvantages visible minorities, because of the systemic barriers they are more likely to experience due to racist ideologies (Arat-Knoc, 1999), which prevents them from acquiring the education, work experience, and credentials that are favored with "economic migrants". This emphasis on financial means and skills favors white immigrants who are more likely to come from developed countries compared to visible minorities (Shields, 2004). Hence, the dominant group is able to maintain its high social status through its political power.

Additionally, the dominant group has economic power. For example, managers, mostly being whites, are more likely to hire individuals that resemble them because it gives them a sense of familiarity (Kanter, 1977), and a false sense of security that the job will be done the way that they like it done (Elliott & Smith, 2004; Porter, 1965). Queue theory is another example describing the mechanism behind ethnic stratification, arguing that employers sort and rank workers, which results in a "job queue" where some workers are most likely to be ranked worse than others (Reskin & Roos, 1990). Studies have shown that visible minorities and women are more likely to suffer from this process by being ranked lower than white men (Elliott & Smith, 2004; Reskin & Ross, 1992; Reskin & Padavic, 1994; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). Thus, employers are less likely to hire ethnic minorities or to pay them similar wages as someone who is a member of the dominant group.

Finally, some scholars have argued that feelings of threat can be heightened by the presence of certain societal factors. For example, Van den Berghe (1967) argued that an industrial urban economy with a high level of competition in the labor market can result in increased intergroup conflict. Olzak (1992) hypothesized that competition over jobs coupled with economic contraction can lead the dominant group to react more negatively to the presence of minority groups, leading to confrontations, riots, and other forms of collective actions from the dominant group. Thus, the perception that some ethnic groups are an economic and/or political threat could explain the salience of ethnic stratification in the labor market.

Cultural Threat

The dominant group can also feel threatened by ethnic minority groups because of subjective or real religious and cultural differences (Blalock, 1967; Doane, 1997; Isajiw, 1998). For example, Canadian national identity has been formed around a Eurocentric framework with foundations in Catholicism and Protestantism (Porter, 1965; Salée, 2007). As such, ethnic groups

who share this religious background might be perceived as cultural and religious kin by the Charter groups (i.e., the British and the French) (Porter, 1965). The dominant group is more likely to accept ethnic groups that share similar cultural and religious characteristics, as these similarities can be interpreted as a sign that they share the same values and norms. They provide a sense of familiarity and security to the dominant group (Porter, 1965). In contrast, ethnic groups whose religious and cultural background differ from that of the Charter groups may be seen as not only culturally different and inferior but a potential threat to the sociocultural interests and institutions of the dominant group (Isajiw, 1998).

Determining Subordinate Ethnic Groups: A Question of Boundaries

It appears, then, that the dominant group defines who can be part of their group and who is excluded. From this point of view, ethnicity is a social construct, because the boundaries of group membership fluctuate in the course of intergroup relations (Barth, 1969; Dashefsky, 1972; Weber, 1968). Some scholars have argued that the creation of an "other" is in fact necessary in order to maintain a sense of "we" (Doane, 1997; Guillaumin, 1995; Pietrantonio, 1999). The boundaries between "us" and "them" exist not only to maintain ethnic distinctions (Barth, 1969), but also to serve an instrumental purpose: the monopolization of power and privilege (Weber, 1968).

In some societies, the boundaries between the dominant and subordinate groups become blurred as the presence of some mechanisms can facilitate boundary crossing. For example, white ethnic groups, such as the Irish and the Italians, were not initially considered members of the dominant white Canadian or American groups. But over time, and especially with upward socioeconomic mobility, the boundaries between these white ethnic groups and the dominant group became less salient, and those groups eventually became absorbed into the dominant group (Alba, 2009; Ignatiev, 1995; Pineo & Porter, 1985; Roediger, 2005). Assimilation, when subordinate ethnic groups become part of the dominant white group, has often been noted as one explanatory factor of this absorption (Alba, 2009; Porter, 1965; Roediger, 2005). Learning the official language(s) of the host country and increasing their education levels by going into institutions of the host country are key tools that subordinate ethnic groups have sometimes been able to use to extricate themselves from their subordinate position (Porter, 1965; Weinfeld, 2001). In addition, state policies that promote equal access to everyone can contribute to widen the parameters within which the definition of whiteness unfolds (Roediger, 2005). All of those

mechanisms can help make the dominant group flexible enough to admit subordinate ethnic groups formerly thought unworthy. Thus, through newfound access to opportunities, subordinate ethnic groups can gain enough legitimacy in the eyes of the white dominant group to become part of them (Alba, 2009). In other words, membership criteria of the dominant group evolve over time, making the boundaries between the dominant and the subordinate groups blurred.

On the other hand, some ethnic groups may have greater difficulty with boundary blurring because of characteristics that are deemed too different by the dominant group. Some criteria of group membership (such as a shared history) may diminish in salience but other criteria may harden or surface anew, preventing subordinate group members from claiming membership with the dominant group (Alba, 2009; Barth, 1969). Bright boundaries (Alba, 2005) between dominant and subordinate groups and perceptions of cultural difference may lead to attribution of negative stereotypes (e.g., minorities as having criminogenic tendencies) (Quillian & Pager 2001). Stereotypes, in turn, can be used by the dominant group to justify the lower social status of those ethnic groups (Kinloch, 1979, p. 142). For example, Chinese immigrants were depicted as disease carriers and trouble-makers to justify the head-tax bill of 1885, which restricted Chinese immigration to Canada. But research indicates that perceived economic competition was the underlying reason for Canada's ban on Chinese immigration (Knowles, 2007, pp. 71-75). Thus, processes of boundary blurring may not be a possibility for some ethnic groups. As such, they may experience exclusion in key domains such as the labor market.

A Review of Ethnic Stratification in Canada: The Role of John Porter

The literature on ethnic stratification in Canada has a long history, but contemporary scholarship on the subject can be traced back to the seminal work of John Porter (Helmes-Hayes, 2010; Helmes-Hayes & Curtis, 1998). In *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965), Porter described Canadian society as a vertical mosaic stratified along ethnic lines (1965, pp. 60-103), where he explained that "immigration and ethnic affiliation have been important factors in the formation of social classes in Canada" (Porter, 1965, p. 73). Using data from the 1931, 1951, and 1961 Censuses, Porter demonstrated that some ethnic groups, such as Eastern Europeans, were disproportionately concentrated in the lowest occupational strata. Their low occupational attainment, in turn, resulted in low earnings relative to the British and the French Charter groups (Porter, 1965, p. 73). Porter argued that the Charter groups were able to obtain high occupational positions due to their dominant status. Importantly, the Charter groups had the ability to

determine who is allowed to enter Canada and, therefore, who has access to the Canadian labor market[13]. In doing so, the Charter groups effectively controlled and managed potential economic and political challenges to their superior position in Canadian society. For example, immigration policies channeled immigrants to settle on less desirable land and to accept less desirable jobs. Ukrainians, for instance, were "steered…gently out along the northern fringe of settlement in the Prairies provinces" by Canadian government officials (Porter 1965, p. 68). In addition, power-holders, which Porter referred to as "the elites", would decide who can be recruited in their inner circle. Here, factors such as kinship links, common educational experiences, memberships in clubs, religious and ethnic affiliations are all considered when recruiting other "elite" members (Porter, 1965, p. 218). In other words, being around the same individuals, going to the same memberships clubs, and having a similar educational and class background lead to the creation of a homogenous group who shares the same ideologies (Porter, 1965, p. 305). Therefore, the Charter groups, through various means, are able to decide which immigrant groups are allowed to come to Canada and what kinds of jobs they can hold once they are inside the country. Notably, this initial gatekeeping can set limits on the socioeconomic opportunities for immigrants and their Canadian-born descendants.

Porter (1965) described a phenomenon known as the "ethnically blocked mobility" thesis, where he claimed that the socioeconomic achievement of members in an ethnic group is based on their entrance status when they immigrate. For example, during industrialization, selective immigration was used as a means to fulfill specific workforce positions that the charter groups (i.e., French and English) were not willing to accept (e.g., Chinese building railroads) (Porter, 1965, pp. 63-73). Thus, certain immigrant groups were given "entrance status" associated with lower status jobs. As a result, subsequent waves of immigrants had very limited options in terms of jobs, and were caught in their entrance status occupations, impeding their upward social mobility. In Porter`s framework, this entrance status then becomes hardened into a permanent class system for some immigrant groups, which impacts future generations (Porter, 1974, p. 6). Porter acknowledged that some immigrant groups have been able to improve their occupational

[13] It is worth noting that the British were more likely than the French to be in prestigious occupational categories, and that other ethnic groups were generally below these two groups. Porter documented that the French decreased their representation in top occupational levels (e.g., professional, proprietors, and managers) over time and increased their representation in the lower skilled and semi-skilled occupations (Porter, 1965, p. 86).

status over the years. For examples, Asians[14] and Jews were able to increase their presence in the professional and the financial class between 1931 and 1961 (Porter, 1965, p. 86). In contrast, Italians and Asian Indians remained underrepresented in those occupations (Porter, 1965, p. 86), indicating the presence of a permanent class system[15].

Several scholars have criticized Porter's thesis, arguing that the relationship between ethnicity and occupational status was minimal and declining (Darroch, 1979; Ornstein, 1981; Pineo, 1976). For example, Darroch (1979) re-examined Porter's data and questioned the primary role of ethnicity as an important determinant of social stratification in Canada after finding that occupational dissimilarity decreased between 1931 to 1971 (pp. 1-25). Darroch (1979) argued that Porter paid too little attention to the diminishing strength of the association between ethnicity and occupations, which, according to Darroch, was an indication that the salience of ethnicity in occupational distribution had been diminishing over time. Tepperman (1975) was even more vocal in expressing his opposition towards Porter's thesis, arguing that the once-privileged position of the Charter groups was slowly eroding, since non-British ethnic groups were able to improve their occupational status (pp. 149-152). Tepperman even called *The Vertical Mosaic* "patently false" (1975, p. 156). Revisiting his own work in 1985, Porter himself conceded that the situation he described in 1965 might only have been applicable to that time period, and that it was possible that the vertical mosaic had since collapsed (Pineo and Porter, 1985, p. 390). Indeed, using the 1971 census and the 1973 Canadian Mobility Survey data, Pineo and Porter showed that the relation between ethnicity and occupational status was very weak, with ethnicity explaining at the most 4% of the variance in occupational status (1985, p. 378). In addition, looking at native-born males, they found that some non-Charter groups, such as those of Polish or Ukrainian ethnicity, were making occupational gains significantly greater than those of the charter groups (Pineo & Porter, 1985, p. 380). As a result, it has been argued that ethnicity might no longer be a relevant factor in explaining social stratification in Canada (Isajiw, Sev'ner & Driedger, 1993).

[14] However, Porter brought some nuance to this argument by pointing out that Asians remained overrepresented in personal service occupations (1965, p. 84). He also showed that Asians needed to be in the professional class in order to be accepted into Canada, which contributed to an increase in their status.

[15] Porter tried to answer why some groups were able to improve their occupational status and why others were not by examining how immigration policies and the education level of some immigrant groups (e.g., Jews) contributed to the increase of their social status. Porter also mentioned that those who structurally assimilated had better chances to move up the occupational ladder (1965, p. 82).

Nevertheless, some scholars have maintained that ethnicity remains an important determinant of occupational attainment in Canadian society. This conclusion is mainly based on research using more recent data and focusing on immigrants' labor market performance. Boyd examined foreign-born males residing in large urban centres in the 1973 labor force and found lower occupational attainment for immigrants than Canadian-born workers (1985, p. 411). She also found variation in occupational attainment within the immigrant population by country/region of origin, with immigrants from Italy, Poland, Greece, Portugal, and other Eastern European countries occupying lower status jobs than immigrants from the United Kingdom and the United States. Other studies corroborate Boyd's findings (Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Lautard & Guppy, 1990; Li, 1988; Reitz, 1980). For example, Galarneau and Morissette (2008), using the 1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006 Census data, found that immigrants were increasingly overrepresented in jobs with lower educational requirements, such as cashiers and office clerks, even for immigrants who held a university degree. They concluded that "this increase suggests that established immigrants[16] had more difficulty finding jobs reflecting their educational attainment in 2006 than in 1991" (2008, pp. 5-6). In addition, they found differences among immigrant sub-groups, where immigrants from Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia were the most likely to be overrepresented in jobs with low educational requirement[17]. Thus, recent studies have observed a pattern where ethnic stratification has diminished mostly among white European groups, but has increased among visible minority groups (Helmes-Hayes & Curtis, 1998, p. 16; Breton, 1998, p. 105).

As a result, there seems to be a consensus that the vertical mosaic, as described by Porter, does not apply to all ethnic groups. Ethnic groups originating from Europe have achieved occupational parity with the Charter groups for the most part. However, there is also a growing consensus that visible minorities remain disadvantaged. This perspective is exemplified by Geschwender and Guppy (1995) who claimed that Canada has retained a "colour-coded vertical mosaic" (p. 2), in which visible minority status is a main source of stratification[18]. Thus, the need to study the extent to which visible minority status constitutes an important source of

[16] They defined established immigrants as "those who came to Canada between 11 and 15 years before the census reference year" (Galarneau & Morissette, 2008, p. 8)

[17] However, the authors acknowledged that, overall, country of origin plays a small role in explaining this overrepresentation. They also mentioned that this might be explained by the non-recognition of credentials, schooling or foreign experience, and the lack of language skills.

[18] Aboriginal peoples and women have also been singled out as groups that still experience social stratification.

stratification in Canada for contemporary ethnic groups is highly important. Studying the role that ethnicity – and in the case of this dissertation, visible minority status – plays in the stratification process in Canada is of the utmost importance as a democratic society must eliminate ethnicity-based impediments to social mobility (Porter, 1965, p. 73). Therefore, the focus on wage differentials between different visible minority groups and native-born white Canadians in Quebec – and in comparison to ROC in this dissertation – can be viewed as a continuation of the long-standing Canadian ethnic stratification literature spearheaded by Porter. Contemporary empirical evidence on income differentials as evidence of continued ethnic stratification in Canada and in Quebec is discussed in the next sections.

Income Differentials in Canada

A large body of research has studied income disparity experienced by immigrants living in Canada (Desjardins & Cornelson, 2011; Frenette & Morissette, 2005; Hou & Balakrishnan, 1996; Morissette & Sultan, 2013; Picot et al., 2005; Yoshida & Smith, 2008). A majority of those studies have found that immigrants still experience a considerable income gap compared to Canadian-born individuals. Among the studies that have compared immigrants to Canadian-born individuals without distinguishing if the immigrants were white or part of a visible minority group is one conducted by Morissette and Sultan (2013). They studied the wage trajectories of recent immigrants (i.e., cohorts from 1991 to 2010), and discovered that although the wage gap has narrowed between immigrant men and native-born men within the last 20 years, this convergence stalled in 2001, only to see the gap expand. Using Census data covering the 1980-2000 period, Frenette and Morissette (2005) were also interested to see if earnings of immigrants would ever converge with those of native-born Canadians. They discovered that relative entry earnings fell both for male and female immigrants in the 1980s, dropping even more in the subsequent decades, suggesting that more time would be needed for recent immigrants before complete convergence could occur (if even possible). Consistent with these findings is a study conducted by Desjardins and Cornelson (2011), who, using the 2006 Census, found that immigrants working full time earned 21% less than Canadian-born individuals and recent immigrants earned 56% less than Canadian-born individuals (p. 3). Thus, far from disappearing, the wage gap between immigrants and Canadian-born individuals in Canada remains present, and is even widening for recent immigrants.

The immigrant-white income gap has also been found to be more pronounced for visible minority immigrants in Canada (Hum & Simpson, 1999; Lian & Mathews, 1998; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). Hum and Simpson (1999), using the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) for the year 1993, found a wage disadvantage of about 15% for visible minority men that were foreign-born relative to white foreign-born men (p. 390). Foreign-born black, Indo-Pakistani, and Chinese men were among the most disadvantaged. Pendakur and Pendakur (1998), using the 1991 Census and controlling for personal characteristics, discovered that visible minority immigrant men earned 13.9% less than Canadian-born white men, whereas they found no significant difference between foreign-born white men and Canadian-born white men (p. 527). Thus, the fact that visible minority immigrants suffer a larger income penalty than white immigrants suggests that discrimination might play a role in their wage determination.

A number of studies have also demonstrated that Canadian-born visible minorities experience wage differentials compared with white Canadian-born individuals (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002, 2007, 2011; Stelcner & Kyriazis, 1995). Although the wage gaps Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) found between visible minority immigrant men and Canadian-born white men were larger than the ones they found between Canadian-born visible minority men and Canadian-born white men, Canadian-born visible minority men still earned approximately 10% less than Canadian-born white men, reaching 13.5% less for those living in Census metropolitan areas (p. 527). Pursuing this line of research in a more recent study, Pendakur and Pendakur (2007) disaggregated the visible minority category into subgroups (i.e., Caribbean, Chinese, South Asian, and Arab/West Asian) in order to compare their earnings to those of British-origin Canadian workers. For both men and women, they discovered that Caribbean and South Asian individuals earned significantly less than British-origin individuals, after adjusting for personal characteristics and also after adding controls for work characteristics. Hence, studying visible minorities can enhance our understanding of the mechanisms behind labor market penalties by demonstrating that there exist differences in how each group experiences these penalties.

Income Differentials: Canada versus Quebec

A smaller number of studies have established that the visible minority-white income gap is worst in the province of Quebec (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002, 2011). Controlling for personal and work characteristics, using the 1991 Census, Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) found

that Montreal's Canadian-born visible minority men earned 16.7% less than Canadian-born white men compared to 8.9% less in Toronto and 3.6% less in Vancouver. They found no significant difference for women (p. 540). Using census years from 1971 to 1996, the same authors (2002) later examined Canadian-born wage differentials between visible minorities and whites in eight Canadian cities, adjusting for personal characteristics, and demonstrated that visible minority women and men living in Montreal had some of the highest wage gaps among the cities studied. Finally, Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) used the 1996, 2001, and 2006 censuses to study earning differentials between Canadian-born ethnic groups and whites offering a comparison between Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. The overall visible minority category for men had a larger earning gap in Montreal than in the other cities for all years, except in 1995 when looking at the model adjusted for both personal and work characteristics. Visible minority women were also more disadvantaged in Montreal, but less so than men. The women coefficients for their fully adjusted models were very similar to the ones found for women living in Toronto. Looking at selected minority groups, their analysis revealed that in 2005, all the groups of visible minority men living in Montreal had a bigger wage gap relative to individuals of British origin than the visible minority groups living in the other cities, except for African black men in Toronto who were equally disadvantaged. In contrast, the only visible minority group in Vancouver that had a significant wage gap with respect to British-origin men was South Asian men. The situation for visible minority women was somewhat different: African, black, and Caribbean women were more disadvantaged in Montreal and Toronto (although more so in Montreal for black and Caribbean women), whereas Arab women were more disadvantaged in Toronto, and South Asian and Chinese women experienced a higher wage penalty in Vancouver.

In addition, Boudarbat and Boulet (2007) examined the entry-level earnings of immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1961 and 2000, comparing Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia. Overall, they argue that the earnings of recent immigrant cohorts (1990s cohorts) have been deteriorating over the years compared to older immigrant cohorts (1960s cohorts), but more so for immigrants living in British Columbia. Ontario offers the most optimistic portrait, putting Quebec in the middle. Looking at the differences in salaries between immigrants who came to Canada in the 1960s and those who arrived in the 1990s, immigrants of the 1990s living in British Columbia make 31.2% less than their 1960s counterparts compared to 27.1% less in Quebec and 18% less in Ontario (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007, p. 16). However, they

discovered that the situation for women was the worst in Quebec with the largest difference in salaries between cohorts. When analyzing by sub-groups, they discovered that visible minority immigrant men had significant earning gaps in Ontario for individuals from Asia, Africa, and the Americas (excluding the United States) compared to immigrants from the United Kingdom and the United States. Similar earning gaps were found in Quebec, but only for Africans and those from the Americas (excluding United States). In British Columbia, Asian immigrant men had significantly lower earnings than the reference group. Thus, findings pertaining to income disparity by provinces/cities remain mixed, indicating the need for further investigation.

Explanations for Income Differentials

Various explanations have been offered to explain income disparity experienced by visible minorities/immigrants, including a shift in immigrants' originating countries (Baker & Benjamin, 1994), low value attributed to immigrants' education (Ferrer & Riddell, 2004; Freeman & Needels, 1993; Reitz, 2001, 2003b), immigrants' work experience (Alboim et al., 2005; Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Green & Worswick 2004), and discrimination (Frenette et al., 2004). Each of these explanations is summarized in this section.

Since the immigration reforms of the 1960s, the proportion of immigrants coming to Canada from "non-traditional" sources (i.e., other than the US and Europe) has been increasing (Reitz, 2007, p. 23). It has been argued that immigrants from "non-traditional" sources are less likely to have characteristics that are favorable to the Canadian labor market (Picot & Hou, 2003). This assumption is based on *human capital theory*, which is considered to be "the largest and most influential economic approach to the differences of individual earnings" (Osberg, 1981, p. 98). This theory states that training, education, languages spoken, work experience, and other skills lead to an accumulation of knowledge, which increases productivity and, thus, the amount of income employers are willing to pay for those skills (Becker, 1962, 1964; Osberg, 1981, Salamon, 1991; Schulz, 1961, 1962; Smith, 1776). Thus, the more individuals invest in their human capital characteristics the more returns they should receive. The selection of skilled immigrants in Canada is based on a "human capital" model where education, work experience, and knowledge of any official languages are emphasized, because these characteristics are thought to increase employment chances. Immigrants from "non-traditional" sources are less likely to speak English or French compared to immigrants from Europe or the United States, which impedes their chances of obtaining employment (Ferrer & Riddell, 2004). Baker and

Benjamin (1994), studying the decline in the economic status of post-1970 immigrant cohorts using the Canadian census years of 1971, 1981, and 1986, claimed that changes in the country of origin of immigrants explained up to one-half of the decline in their employment gains (pp. 395-396). Thus, part of the income disparity experienced by visible minorities/immigrants stems from the composition of immigrant source countries and the corresponding switch from source countries from which it is easy to transfer human capital to the Canadian economy (e.g., countries such as the US, those in Europe) to countries where human capital skills are not as well-matched or known to the Canadian labor market (e.g., countries in Africa) (Green & Worswick, 2004, p. 18).

A second explanation for immigrants' lower earnings has to do with lack of recognition of foreign credentials. Immigrants who obtained their education outside of Canada are less likely to have their credentials recognized by Canadian employers. Reitz (2007) claimed that "the value of immigrants' foreign-acquired schooling is about two-thirds of the value of a similar amount of education for the native-born" (2007, p. 18). The situation might be worse for immigrants from "non-traditional" sources, where their educational degree can be perceived by employers as being of a lower quality or less transferrable to the Canadian context (Dietz & Esses, 2007; Reitz, 2007). It is generally recognized that human capital assessment by employers has a country-specific component, where individuals with knowledge of the culture and the institutions of the host country are favored over those who do not, especially when they come from a country whose institutions and culture differ considerably from the host country (Ferrer & Ridell, 2008). In some instances, Canadian employers might be justified in thinking that immigrants' education is of a lower quality than Canadian schooling (Sweetman, 2004). Employers' unfamiliarity with the quality of a foreign-acquired education may also explain this tendency where, in the absence of information, the "rational" choice might be to abstain from hiring immigrants (Mata, 1999). However, it has also been argued that this can constitute discrimination, as Canadian employers refuse to recognize the value of foreign-acquired qualifications that could be transferrable to the Canadian market (Dietz & Esses, 2007; Reitz, 2001, 2007; Sweetman, 2004). Hence, the market value of the qualifications of immigrants coming from non-traditional sources is lower than the market value of immigrants coming from the US and Europe (Li, 2000).

A third explanation attributes immigrants' lower earnings to the devaluation of foreign work experience by Canadian employers – particularly of immigrants from non-European

countries – as employers worry that immigrants' work experience might not be transferrable to the Canadian labor market (Green & Worswick, 2004). Just like with foreign-acquired qualifications, employers might be justified in wondering whether or not immigrants will be able to transfer their foreign work experience, especially for professions that require a strong social dimension (e.g. sales clerk) (Lee & Edmonston, 2013; Reitz, 2007). To be efficient, immigrant workers might need to be familiar with institutional settings, the main language spoken, and the prominent culture of the host society, which might not have been learned through foreign work experience. Green and Worswick (2004) found that, since the 1990s, immigrant men were receiving zero return on their foreign work experience (p. 23). They also discovered that the devaluation of foreign work experience "explained one quarter of the overall decline in immigrant entry earnings between the early 1980s and the early 2000s" (Green & Worswick, 2004, p. 23). Another study showed that Canadian employers are more likely to recognize the value of a foreign-acquired educational credential *if* it is combined with Canadian work experience (Oreopoulos, 2009). Thus, Canadian work experience can help immigrants to overcome barriers to the labor market. Workers with only foreign work experience may then experience underemployment as they take on menial jobs while trying to acquire additional education in Canadian institutions. They may also accept jobs for which they are over-qualified simply to acquire Canadian work experience (Basran & Zong, 1998; Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Guo & DeVoretz, 2006). This pattern of underemployment may account for some of the earnings gap between immigrants and Canadian-born workers documented in the literature.

Nevertheless, characteristics associated with the shift in the origins of immigrants, such as the lack of knowledge of official languages and low education, have been found to explain, at best, half of the income disparity between new immigrants and Canadian-born individuals, which indicates that other factors are at play (Picot & Hou, 2003). Among the factors that have been mentioned is the potential presence of discrimination. Assessing the role of discrimination in the labor market has been much more difficult. Most studies that have looked at social inequality have expressed caution given that estimates usually associated with discrimination can also be the result of unobserved variables. Indeed, a standard procedure consists of looking at earning disparity controlling for personal and work characteristics (i.e., all differences that might explain an income gap), attributing what is left of the wage gap to discrimination (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). Such is the procedure used by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) who conducted regressions

of log-earnings adjusting for personal characteristics, location, and work characteristics to see if the earning gap would disappear after doing so. They concluded that earning gaps were not fully explained by characteristics, indicating that discrimination was also a contributing factor. For example, they found that for Canadian-born males, a majority of the earnings gap could be attributed to differences in characteristics, but a remaining 39.9% of the gap was due to privilege or discrimination (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, p. 533). Pendakur and Pendakur (2007) used the 2001 census to examine earnings disparity across quantiles to assess their conditional distributions. They found that Chinese men faced more earning disparities at the top conditional earnings distribution (90^{th} percentile), whereas South Asian men experienced the greatest earnings disparity at the bottom of the distribution. In contrast, Nadeau and Seckin (2010) examined the larger wage gaps experienced by immigrants living in Quebec compared to the rest of Canada, and found that discrimination was not a legitimate explanation. They argue that the main difference between Quebec and the rest of Canada was a significant drop in the citizenship premium earned by immigrants in Quebec. However, as admitted by the authors, they could not explain why this premium has so drastically diminished in Quebec. Thus, while some authors consider the fact that visible minority members earn less than whites ─ even when both are native-born ─ as a sufficient indicator that discrimination is taking place (Block & Galabuzi, 2011), others have tried to study discrimination using more complex methodological procedures. Both strategies have yielded mixed results when it comes to identifying the role that discrimination plays in labor market penalties.

The literature pertaining to earnings differentials between immigrants/visible minorities and whites in Quebec (although limited) suggests that discrimination may be responsible, at least partly, for the income inequalities observed. Godin and Renaud (2005) examined immigrants over a period of ten years to see if they were able to attain stability in the labor market in the Montreal area. They used data from the Settlement of New Immigrants (SNI), which consists of a longitudinal survey describing the attempts of 1,000 immigrants to establish themselves in Montreal over a period of 10 years. Their study differs from other research on earning disparity because their goal was to provide long-term employment prospects about job stability by using a random effect model controlling for fixed characteristics (e.g., demographic) and the economic market. They found that, overall, new immigrants were able to attain work stability, but that certain groups such as natives of the Middle East, East Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa

encountered more difficulties than the other groups. They also noted that for these disadvantaged groups, differences in job position persisted 10 years after their arrival, which they concluded could only be explained by some form of discrimination.

Other scholars like Zhu and Bélanger (2010) have used the 2006 Census to study the economic integration of immigrants. Dividing immigrants living in Quebec into two groups – those from the United States and West Europe and those who are not from those two places – that are between 15 and 64 years old, and then compared these groups to non-immigrants. After accounting for sex, age, education level, and knowledge of an official language, they found that immigrants from the United States and West Europe were more likely to obtain a job than those from elsewhere. When they considered the location of immigrants' post-secondary education in their models, they found that immigrants from places outside the United States and West Europe were less likely to obtain a job even with a high education level. Knowledge of French and being bilingual (English) increased the chances of non-immigrants and immigrants from the United States and West Europe, while being bilingual was the only significant variable for the other group of immigrants. Finally, the probability of getting a job was lower for recent immigrants (since 2000) that were not from the United States or West Europe. They concluded that immigrants that are not from the United States or West Europe were more disadvantaged than the other immigrants as well as native-born individuals, and that part of their wage gap was due to discrimination.

Among the studies that have considered Quebec along with other provinces is Boudarbat and Boulet (2007), which found that earnings for immigrants between the ages of 16 and 65 in Quebec declined over successive arrival cohorts. Their findings also revealed that this decline affected men more than women. Among their findings is that the male immigrant cohort of 1990 earned 15.4% less than the male immigrant cohort of 1960 at the time of their entry to Canada, whereas the difference was not significant for female immigrants (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007, 10). When considering female immigrants' salary upon arrival to Canada by country of origin, Boudarbat and Boulet (2007) found no significant difference between women originating from Asia and Africa compared to women coming from the United States or the United Kingdom. The situation was different for male immigrants coming from Africa and Latin America who were highly disadvantaged compared to male immigrants whose countries of origin consisted of the United States or the United Kingdom. Male immigrants coming from nontraditional sources had

more difficulties receiving returns on their foreign work experience than male immigrants coming from traditional sources of immigration. This finding seems to indicate the presence of discrimination even though the authors did not directly make a link between the two. Thus, this literature suggests that discrimination may be partly responsible for the earnings differentials observed, which is the main inquiry of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

Methodology

Data and Sample

Two data sets are used for the analysis presented throughout this dissertation. The first consists of the 2006 detailed microdata file containing a 20% sample of individuals who answered the census 2B form. The census enumerates everyone living in Canada, including non-permanent residents such as people who have a student or an employment authorization, a ministerial permit, or who have claimed refugee status. The census also counts Canadian citizens and landed immigrants who are temporarily outside Canada on the day of the Census. However, the census 2B form excludes people who are full-time residents of institutions. The second data set is from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) where approximately 4.5 million households received the questionnaire with an average response rate of 68.6%. This survey includes almost the same individuals as the Census, although comparing the two data sets needs to be done carefully[19]. The National Household Survey was a voluntary survey aimed to replace the long-form Census that previously had been mandatory. The voluntary nature of the survey has been criticized heavily, because some data has been suppressed due to the low number of counts in certain areas (Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey Codebook). Certain groups, if not represented in large numbers, are less likely to be accurately represented in the data. For instance, almost 12% of the communities had a response rate below 50% (The Canadian Press, 2012). Even more important for the sake of this research is the criticism that the data does not contain enough individuals in the low-income or in the high-income brackets, because these groups were reluctant to answer the questionnaire (Cain, 2013). Additionally, the survey does not have high response rates from vulnerable groups, which could potentially be problematic for this research given that visible minority groups are vulnerable groups. These data limitations need to be taken into consideration when interpreting the results using the 2011 NHS. For these reasons, the results will be displayed by census/survey year.

The sample in this dissertation is restricted to individuals (whites, blacks, Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians) between the ages of 18 and 64 (Fearon & Wald, 2011), who worked 30 hours or more per week (Fearon & Wald, 2011; Hou & Coulombe, 2010) with positive wages or

[19] Note that the 2006 Census includes non-institutionalized individuals living in collective dwellings (e.g., hotels) and persons living abroad, whereas the 2011 NHS excludes them.

salaries in 2005 for the 2006 analysis, and in 2010 for the 2011 analysis (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2007, 2011). This group represents around 47.5% of the 18-64 for the Quebec analysis, and around 46.5% for the Quebec versus the rest of Canada analysis. Non-permanent residents have been excluded from the sample (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2007). The sample selection as well as the variable chosen in this dissertation are classic choices for the wage differentials literature. All regression analyses are done separately for each year, and also separated for men and for women (Frenette & Morissette, 2005; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). This is a common way in the literature to differentiate the experiences of men and women in the labor market, which is important since women tend to earn a lower salary than men (Vechhio et al., 2013).

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is the *wages or salaries* of individuals, which consists of "*gross wages and salaries before deductions for such items as income tax, pensions, employment insurance, etc*." during calendar year 2005 or during calendar year 2010 (Statistics Canada, 2008a, p. 1017). The unit of analysis is individuals. Wages are an important variable for the purpose of this study. Analysis of wages aims to determine if someone who is a visible minority member will earn the same amount of money as someone who is not a member of a visible minority group, while holding constant other variables that could account for this earning difference, if any difference is found[20]. This continuous variable is measured by asking respondents their wages and salaries, with 0 corresponding to no income from these sources. Only respondents who reported positive wages and earnings were retained in the sample (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2007, 2011). The natural logarithm of annual wages and salaries is used to account for normality assumptions necessary for OLS analysis.

Independent Variable

The key independent variable consists of the *visible minority group* to whom an individual self-identifies and is defined by the *Employment Equity Act* as "*persons, other than*

[20] It is worth noting that this dependent variable excludes self-employment (representing around 7% of the 18-64 population). The wage and salary variable is widely used in the literature (Boudabart & Boulet, 2007; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998), since I am interested in discrimination taking place in the labor market. Given that visible minorities are more likely to be self-employed than whites, there is a possibility that I am overestimating the wage gaps if "there is a propensity for highly motivated (or high earnings) workers to enter the self-employed sector" (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, p.522).

Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color" (Statistics Canada, 2008a, p. 989). The term "visible minority" came into usage in the 1980s as an alternative between the term "race" and "ethnic minorities", and has been considered a more neutral term (Boyd et al., 2000). Consistent with other research, I use the term "visible minority" throughout the dissertation. These specific groups are examined: blacks, Chinese, South Asians, and Arabs (including West Asians). Those groups were chosen since the first three groups are the largest visible minority groups living in Canada. Arabs are also added to the categories, since this visible minority group has suffered the most from discrimination following stereotypes generated by recent events such as 9/11. Separate regression models for each of these visible minority groups compared to whites are being presented. Respondents who Statistics Canada included in the "multiple responses" or in the "visible minority, n.i.e" categories were excluded from the sample for clarity purposes (representing less than 1% of the 18-64 sample for both the Quebec and Canadian analyses)[21]. Aboriginals are also excluded from the analysis.

Covariates

Sociodemographic Controls

First, demographic characteristics are adjusted for, including the *respondent's age group,* which refers to the age at last birthday, because income might increase with age. To assess for the curvilinear relationship of earning with age (i.e., income increases as age increases, but this increase becomes less as people get older), age squared is used in the models (Bourdarbat & Boulet, 2007; Oaxaca, 1973; Oaxaca & Ransom, 1994; Renaud & Cyan, 2006; Zhu & Bélanger, 2010). The sample is restricted to individuals between the ages of 18 and 64 in order to capture the most active members in the labor market, defined as the "working-age population" by Statistics Canada (2012, p.3). Note that in this literature a Mincer proxy to measure work experience is usually utilized. This consists of calculating the age minus the age that someone starts school minus the years of education, which gives us the maximum number of years of experience (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007). Unfortunately, the 2006 Census does not enable the calculation of such proxy given that education is only available in a categorical form. The

[21] Statistics Canada follows the employment equity definition of visible minority, where individuals who give multiple responses can be included in another category. For example, someone who answers both "black and white" will be entered in the black category. For more, please see the Statistics Canada visible minority population and population group reference guide.

stability of such variables is questionable, despite some authors attempts to circumvent this limitation by using different solutions such as computing the average years of schooling using the age-education category in the 2001 Census to further impute years of schooling in the category of the 2006 Census (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007). Moreover, even the usual proxy has been criticized by Yoshida and Smith (2008) for 1) not providing new data given that the variables the proxy uses – namely age and years of schooling – are already present in the model, and 2) for affecting the estimates of earnings disadvantages. Therefore, no Mincer proxy will be used for this analysis, only age as a proxy for work experience will be used in this analysis. Models for men and women are run separately, given that there are important differences between women and men in wages and their determinants (Hum & Simpson, 1999). For example, women earn less than men, especially when they are immigrants and are coming from non-European countries (Lim, 1995; Morokvasic, 1984).

Marital status is also included as a control, which is categorized into 3 dummy variables: divorced/separated/widowed; married[22]; and single (reference category). Overall, a majority of studies have found that married individuals generally earn more than others (except maybe for common-law couples) (Lee & Edmonston, 2013; Seccombe, 2000). In addition, unmarried women tend to be worse off than unmarried men (Statistics Canada, 2004). Given that immigrant men and women are more likely to be married than Canadian-born individuals, it will be interesting to see if this translate into a higher income (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

Following the work of Oaxaca (1973), Lands and Richelle (2013), Swidinsky and Swidinsky (2002), and Vecchio and colleagues (2013), the *presence of a child*, which refers to whether or not there is at least one child in the household, is included in the models for women "in order to capture the effect of child-rearing on females' labor force experience" (Vecchio et al., 2013, p.4). This is justified by the fact that it has been argued that persistent wage differences between gender may arise from women's still greater responsibility when it comes to unpaid work (including taking care of children), which can be even greater for some visible minority women who are more likely to follow the traditional family model (Becker, 1985; Vecchio et al., 2013). Thus, this variable can be perceived as a rough attempt to handle the problem of loss work experience due to childcare, including the costs from the depreciation of skills during the period of absence (Oaxaca, 1973). However, it should be acknowledged that this is only part of

[22] Excludes cohabitation.

the picture as some studies have looked at the relationship between marital status and having children where married individuals with no children earn a higher income than married individuals with children (Statistics Canada, 2004). In addition, the outcome differs depending if the family is of the breadwinner model or of the dual owner type. Under the breadwinner model, women who are married earn less than married men whereas if the women have children they earn a lower wage compared to men with children (Lewis, 1992). If the two parents work (especially if they both work full-time, and if they share household work), both men and women would have higher wages if married, even when they have children (Anderson & Kohler, 2015; Goldscheider et al., 2015; McDonald, 2000). Thus, the family type is a much more complex phenomenon than what is presented in this dissertation. However, given the already existing complexity of the statistical models presented, and the focus of this dissertation on discrimination (and not household type), this dissertation does not dig further into this phenomenon as this goes beyond the purview of this dissertation.

Employment Characteristics

Employment status is operationalized by *the number of weeks worked* and *full-time (i.e. 40 hours per week and more) versus part-time* (i.e. between 30-39 hours per week*)* are controlled for to make sure that the earning gap, if found, is not due to higher weeks worked during the year, or because someone has been working 30 hours per week versus someone who has been working 40 hours or more per week (Desjardins & Cornelson, 2011; Oaxaca, 1973) [23].

The *labor force activity* is also considered *by using the occupation of respondents*, which "refers to the kind of work persons were doing during the reference week, as determined by their kind of work and the description of the main activities in their job" (Statistics Canada, 2008a, p. 647) (based on NOC). As shown by several studies including Darroch (1979) and Lautard and Loree (1984), occupational groups need to be controlled for when trying to assess earning inequalities because different earnings are associated with different occupations. This dissertation used the Statistics Canada's National Occupation Classification for Statistics (NOC-S) 2006, which is the national reference and organizational framework of occupations in Canada.

[23] Note that the term "part-time" is being used only to differentiate between those who work 30-39 hours per week vs those who work 40+, but that this former group is still considered working full-time.

Occupation is defined "as a collection of jobs, sufficiently similar in work performed to be grouped under a common title for classification purposes. A job, in turn, encompasses all the tasks carried out by a particular worker to complete her/his duties." (Statistics Canada, 2007a, p. 2)[24]. This ensures a certain homogeneity at the skill level where the basic principle of classification is that of kind of work performed (Statistics Canada, 2007a, p. 2). It includes 10 broad occupational categories containing 47 major groups, which are further subdivided into 140 minor groups (Statistics Canada, 2007a). In order to simplify the interpretation of the results, only the 10 broad occupational categories are controlled for in this dissertation (Goyder & Frank, 2007, p. 67). These 10 occupation groups include: management; business, finance, and administration (reference group); natural and applied sciences and related; health occupations; occupations in social science, education, government service and religion; occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport; sales and service occupations; occupations unique to primary industry; and occupations unique to processing, manufacturing, and utilities. Those broad categories were also chosen to avoid the problems associated with large numbers of categories, including the struggle to preserve the classification detail in multivariate models where a large number of dummy variables must be created, which could then lead to many empty cells (Boyd, 2008, p. 53)[25].

Human Capital Characteristics

Human capital characteristics are also controlled for, including education level, the language spoken at home, and the first official language spoken. The *respondent's highest*

[24] Using the NOC or NOC-S of the Canadian Census is quite common in the literature pertaining to wage differentials experienced by immigrants/visible minorities. See for examples Pendakur and Pendakur (1998, 2011), and Li (2000).

[25] However, using those broad categories does not capture the complexity behind occupational structure, where detail is lost at the major group level (Goyder & Frank, 2007). In other words, some occupations can reward human capital characteristics differently under different contexts, which is something that is not captured in this dissertation. There exists a considerable literature on occupational classification in Canada. Judging the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations (CCDO) of the 1970s too heterogeneous, Porter, Pineo, and McRoberts (1977) constructed their own scale, which remained popular up until the 1980s. The National Occupational Classification (NOC) was introduced in 1993 by HRDC (now called Human Resources and Social Development) in order to correct this criticism. Since then, various researchers have remained unsatisfied with this classification, and has attempted to create other scales, such as Boyd (2008) who calculated occupational scores for Canada using Nam-Powers approach, or Goyder and Frank (2007) "Blishen" type NOC scale for 26 categories. See Boyd (2008) and Goyder and Frank (2007) for further details, as this discussion goes beyond the scope of this dissertation.

degree, certificate or diploma is important to control for as it could be a reason why some visible minority groups/immigrants have a lower income level than other groups (Hou & Balakrishan, 1996). Dummy variables using the following categories are considered: less than high school; high school (reference group); college or technical training certificate (includes trade certificate or diploma, college certificate and diploma, postsecondary qualifications); and university degree or above (bachelor's degree, university certificate above bachelor level, medical degree, master's degree and earned doctorate) (Yoshida & Smith, 2008).

One who studies Quebec cannot forget to control for language since French is the official language, but English is also a strong asset to have if one wants to be economically successful. Both the language spoken at home and the official languages spoken are used as they are usually considered good measures of language proficiency (Hou & Balakrishan, 1996). The *language spoken at home* refers to "the language spoken most often at home by the individual at the time of the census" (Statistics Canada, 2008a). This variable is recoded into 3 dummies: English; French (reference group); and other[26]. The *first official language spoken* is also included in the analysis in order to make sure that in using these two variables that we are increasing our chance of capturing not only whether or not visible minorities speak one of the two official languages in Canada, but that they know them well enough to speak either fairly regularly. It has been recoded into 4 dummies: English; French (reference group); English and French; and Other[27].

The year of immigration with the census year is used to create a *duration* variable in order to measure how long immigrants have been living in Canada. This is important since several studies have found that someone who has just arrived might encounter socioeconomic problems that are mainly due to the novelty of the situation rather than to the discriminatory feature of the host society. It takes time to get accustomed to the rules and social institutions of a country, as well as getting the right credentials to obtain a good working position. In order to be able to use the decomposition method, all models need to be exactly the same, therefore the following categories are created in order to include non-immigrants: Canadian-born (reference

[26] Since this dissertation wants to focus on those who have better French-language skills, individuals who answered "English and French" as their main language spoken at home were excluded from the analysis (<1%).
[27] Although those two variables were correlated, it was not enough to cause multicollinearity issues. A VIF test was conducted and showed that multicollinearity was not an issue (i.e. VIF test did not exceed 4).

group), 0-10 years, 11 to 20 years, 21 years or more (Myles & Hou, 2003). Thus, *duration* can be seen as a rough proxy for Canadian work experience.

Measuring Discrimination

The discrimination thesis has often been used to explain earnings differentials experienced by visible minorities. Discrimination consists of the unequal treatment of individuals that denies them the right to fully participate within the society in which they live (Altman, 2011). Structural discrimination occurs when major institutions in a given society produce systematically disadvantageous outcomes for minority groups compared to the outcomes of the majority group. The key result of such discrimination is to keep minority groups in a subordinate position (Pincus & Ehrlich, 1994). Thus, the fear of losing their dominant group status is often a major reason for why discrimination occurs (Blumer, 1958) (see discussion on power-threat theory in the ethnic stratification section).

Discrimination is a difficult concept to measure and researchers have used different methods to identify it, including field experiments, laboratory experiments, and analysis of natural experiments and of secondary data. For example, Eid and his colleagues (2012) conducted a quasi-experimental design in the Montreal area using matched-pair curriculum vitaes that they sent out between December 2010 and May 2011 to private and public institutions, and non-profit organizations. They sent the same curriculum vitaes, but altered the candidates' names to depict Arab, African, Latin-American, or white European origin. The number of interview invitations was the outcome measure. Their audit study revealed that, regardless of whether the occupation was a high-level or low-level one, resumes with nonwhite ethnic names received fewer interview invitations. For example, resumes with white European origin names received the most interview invitations, being 1.72 more likely to receive an invitation for high-level occupations than resumes with African names, 1.63 compared to Arab names, and 1.58 compared to Latin-American names (2012, p.38).

Another, more common approach, to measure discrimination in the literature consists of using statistical modelling. Several studies have chosen to use this type of modelling to examine earning or wage disparity experienced by immigrants/visible minority members (deSilva, 1992, 1997, Hou & Balakrishan, 1996; Hum & Simpson, 1999, Li, 2000, 2001, Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002; Reitz,2001; Swidinsky & Swidinsky, 2002; Wanner, 1998). Most use statistical

models in the form of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses (also known as the residual difference method) where all the available and relevant variables that can explain the wage gap between groups are entered in the model (Chiplin & Sloan, 1982). Explanatory variables in the models typically consist of age, language spoken, and education (just to name a few), which would be considered valid reasons for group differences in wages (Reitz, 2001). The gap that remains once all explanatory variables are entered in the model is considered potentially indicative of discrimination (Yoshida & Smith, 2008). However, a major limitation of this model is that the gap that remains might be due to something else other than discrimination, such as having omitted variables in the model (Blank et al., 2004). For example, researchers might be limited in terms of the number of explanatory variables available in a given data set. Nevertheless, statistical modelling is usually favored by researchers over the quasi-experimental design, because the data is more readily available, the use of statistical modeling is less expensive, and it offers a larger sample size.

The Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition has been used as an alternative to the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analysis as this model can separate the wage gap into two parts: a part that can be explained by sociodemographic and human capital characteristics, and a part that cannot be explained by such observable characteristics and thus is more likely due to discriminatory practices (Oaxaca, 1973). The unexplained part indicates when the subordinate group (e.g., visible minorities) earns less than the dominant group, even when group differences in important characteristics such as human capital are taken into account. Regression decomposition techniques have the added advantage of enabling identification of the contributions made by each explanatory variable to the overall unexplained wage gap. The Oaxaca-Blinder detailed decomposition model is not a perfect method as it too can suffer from the fact that it does not contain all the relevant variables in its model. Therefore, the unexplained part captures both the effects of discrimination and the unobserved group differences that could affect income (Blank et al., 2004, p. 124). As a result, all the measures presented in the models of this dissertation should be interpreted as descriptive rather than causal (for further discussions of the limitations of this model see the analytical strategy section at the end of this chapter and also the limitation section in Chapter 6). Overall, the Oaxaca-Blinder detailed decomposition is a good tool for understanding the factors related to wage differentials (if they exist) as well as for

measuring the magnitude of the racial differences, but it does not enable causal inferences to be expressed.

Most applications of this technique can be found in the literature pertaining to the labor market and discrimination. Oaxaca (1973) demonstrated its benefits by studying the male-female wage differentials in urban markets in the United States by studying the 1967 Survey of Economic Opportunity. His findings revealed that the wage structure differed significantly between men and women and a substantial portion of the male-female wage gap was explained by discrimination and the concentration of women in low-paid jobs. Blinder (1973) analyzed the black-white wage differentials using this technique to explain the wages of white men, white women, and black men. He found that discrimination explained up to 70% of the race-related wage differentials and up to 100% of the sex-related wage differentials (pp. 444, 448). Numerous studies have followed the methods of Oaxaca's and Blinder's works. Anees (2012) studied immigrants' wage gaps in the United Kingdom by examining the first two quarters of the Quarterly Labour Force Survey 2009. Despite immigrants' higher human capital endowments, the author found that discrimination was also an explanatory factor explaining at least 60% of the wage gap. Vecchio and colleagues (2013) used this technique to study the male-female wage gap in Australia's health sector using the Work Outcomes Research Cost-benefit Project. They first used ordinary least-squares regression to identify the male-female wage gap, and then proceeded to use the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model in order to quantify the contributions that individual endowments and discrimination made to this wage gap. They found that 16.7% of the wage gap remained unexplained (2013, p. 6) and that the issue of lower returns on work experience was the major explanation for this discrimination. In terms of Canadian studies, Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) used the Oaxaca decompositions to study the differences in mean log earnings. They found that 39.90% of the wage gap between Canadian-born white males and Canadian-born visible minority males remain unexplained, and was probably "due to privilege and discrimination" (1998, p. 533). In another study, Fearon and Wald (2011) found that 58.8% of the earning gap between black and white workers remain unexplained (which combined both genders and did not distinguish between those who were native-born and those who were born outside of Canada) (p. 337). This illustrates this dissertation's argument that the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model is a useful approach to studying the role of discrimination in earnings differentials between two groups – in this case between whites and visible minorities. This is

why this study will use the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model in order to make sure that as many elements pertaining to wage inequality in the labor market are captured.

Analytical Strategy

$$\bar{Y}_w - \bar{Y}_{vm} = (\bar{X}_w - \bar{X}_{vm})\bar{\beta}_w + \bar{X}_{vm}(\bar{\beta}_w - \bar{\beta}_{vm}) \quad (1)$$

The statistical method used in this dissertation is the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model (Oaxaca, 1973). The model is formally stated in Equation (1) where the difference in wages between whites and visible minorities $(\bar{Y}_w - \bar{Y}_{vm})$ can be broken down into an explained component, $(\bar{X}_w - \bar{X}_{vm})\bar{\beta}_w$, due to differences in personal characteristics ($\bar{X}$) between the two groups, and an unexplained component $\bar{X}_{vm}(\bar{\beta}_w - \bar{\beta}_{vm})$ that is due to differences in returns to the set of observable characteristics. In Equation (1), whites are the reference group[28] . The first summand

$$(\bar{X}_w - \bar{X}_{vm})\bar{\beta}_w$$

corresponds to the "endowments effect"[29] which amounts to the expected change of the visible minority group's mean outcome, if they had whites' predictor levels. It is "the part of the outcome differential that is "explained" by group differences in the predictors" (Jann, 2008, p. 3).

The second summand

$$\bar{X}_{vm}(\bar{\beta}_w - \bar{\beta}_{vm})$$

is associated with a "coefficients effect" which quantifies the expected change in the visible minority group's mean outcome, if they had whites' coefficients. The unexplained portion is

[28] As suggested by Jann (2008) and Yu (2005), I made sure that the contribution of a categorical predictor to the unexplained portion was not influenced by the choice of the omitted category and the constant by "normalizing" the regressions.

[29] It should be noted that some variables used in this dissertation are not considered endowments (e.g., marital status, number of weeks worked), but are nevertheless included in the model because they constitute observable attributes that can be measured and which could influence one's income greatly. Please look at Oaxaca (1973), Lands and Richelle (2013), Anes (2012), Vecchio et al. (2013), and Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) for examples of studies that have included age and/or marital status (either one or both of them) in their models using the Oaxaca model. Hence, these variables are often included in the literature, but they do not constitute human capital characteristics, which is why this dissertation never refers to those variables as such.

usually *interpreted* with discrimination in the literature, because it indicates when visible minorities obtain lower returns despite having the same sociodemographic and human capital characteristics as whites. As stated above, this is not completely true as the unexplained part also includes all the potential effects of differences in unobserved variables and measurement error. Under the *human capital theory*, wage differential among individuals should simply reflect differences in education, occupational status and other achieved characteristics. If an earning difference remains after controlling for these variables, it could indicate differential treatment. However, it is worth mentioning that this assumption has some flaws as differences in characteristics can be just one among various sources of inequality. For example, self-selection and preferences are not taken into consideration (Fearong & Wald, 2011, p. 337). Some individuals might voluntarily choose to give priority to other aspects in their lives, such as family. In addition, the level of motivations of workers, even with similar achieved characteristics, are not captured. The same can be said about the level of competence of workers since workers with equal credentials can display a different level of competency. In addition, there exists various reasons that can explain differences in achieved characteristics, such as poverty, which represent a lack of opportunity for certain groups. This lack of opportunity which can get translated into lower achieved characteristics can be considered discrimination in and of itself (Human Rights Watch, 2012; Lang, 2007). Furthermore, given that this dissertation focuses on individuals who worked 30 hours or more per week, it does not capture discrimination in access to occupations or in access to full-time work.

$$\underbrace{(\bar{\chi}_w - \bar{\chi}_{vm})'\bar{\beta}_w}_{explained} = \underbrace{(\bar{\chi}_w - \bar{\chi}_{vm})'\bar{\beta}_w}_{variable\ 1} + \underbrace{(\bar{\chi}_{2w} - \bar{\chi}_{2vm})\bar{\beta}_{2vm}}_{variable\ 2} + \cdots \qquad (2)$$

$$\underbrace{\bar{\chi}'_{vm}(\bar{\beta}_{w-} \bar{\beta}_{vm})}_{unexplained\ VM} = \underbrace{\bar{\chi}_{2vm}(\bar{\beta}_{2w} - \bar{\beta}_{2vm})}_{variable\ 1} + (\underbrace{\bar{\chi}_{2vm}(\bar{\beta}_{2w} - \bar{\beta}_{2vm})}_{variable\ 2} + \cdots \qquad (3)$$

Finally, the detailed decomposition model (equations 2 & 3) is used in order to determine the relative contribution of individual explanatory variables to the wage gaps, both for the explained and unexplained parts[30] (Neumark, 1988; Jann, 2008). For the explained part, "the

[30] Most studies using this method do not usually present the detailed decomposition for the unexplained portion of the wage gaps (Hou & Coulombe, 2010; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). Instead, most studies elaborate on the

total component is the sum over the individual contributions where $\overline{X}_1, \overline{X}_2, \ldots$ are the means of the single regressor and $\overline{\beta}_1, \overline{\beta}_2, \ldots$ are the associated coefficients. It reflects the contribution of the group differences in $\overline{X}_1$, the second in $\overline{X}_2$, etc." (Jann, 2008, p. 8). As for the unexplained part, the summand reflects the contribution of different returns to group characteristics (Jann, 2008). The detailed decomposition model enables researchers to see how much of the wage gaps is due to a specific variable, such as education. It also tells us how much of the unexplained wage gap can be explained due to differences in returns to specific variables. The detailed decomposition shows the contribution of every level for categorical variables, including the reference categories. This study only emphasizes the variables that are significant and of a greater magnitude when compared to the other variables. Interaction effects were not formally tested in the models, which might mean limitations on the findings due to possible misspecification[31].

When using the 2011 NHS, one problem is the difficulty of trying to explain some of the results, such as the considerable decrease in wage gap experienced by certain groups, because it is not possible to know whether these results represent a true reality (i.e., less discrimination) or a lack of reliability due to the potentially poor quality of the data gathered. Thus, given that the results from the 2011 NHS appear less reliable for certain groups, results pertaining to the detailed decomposition will not be shown (only the overall decomposition, such as the results illustrated in Table 5, will be discussed). Finally, even though the 2006 Census and the 2011 NHS data includes a large number of visible minorities, the numbers for some visible minorities remain low, especially when looking at the Atlantic Provinces. Thus, some of the results need to be interpreted in light of these limitations.

detailed decomposition of the explained portion and just state what the percentage unexplained is (Hou & Coulombe, 2010). This dissertation wanted to innovate by elaborating on the unexplained portion of the wage gap, as it offers a more comprehensive picture. It will enable the reader to see under which variable does a given visible minority group earn less than whites. However, the author wants to warn the reader of all the possible problems associated with the unexplained portion of the wage gaps (already stated above), and this analysis will be presented while keeping in mind that it is only for information purposes and to yield further discussion about this topic.

[31] Interactions between visible minority status and language (spoken at home and official language spoken) were considered initially through OLS equations. However, given that none of those interactions yielded significant results, they were discarded from the models presented in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 3: WAGE DIFFERENTIALS BETWEEN VISIBLE MINORITY MEMBERS AND WHITES LIVING IN QUEBEC

Introduction

Social inequality in the form of wage differentials that visible minorities and new migrants living in Canada experience relative to native-born Canadians of European decent is a topic that has received extensive scholarly attention (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005; Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Picot, 2004; Reitz, 1998). Findings reveal that, even though most immigrants arriving after 1990 have had similar levels of educational attainment (or even greater) relative to native-born Canadians, most have a lower income compared to the latter group, especially visible minority immigrants (Ferrer & Riddell, 2004; Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002, 2011; Reitz, 2001, 2003). Few of those studies, however, have examined income inequality experienced specifically by visible minorities (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002, 2011), concentrating instead on immigrants overall[32] (Frennette & Morissette, 2003; Picot, 2004). This constitutes an important gap in the literature given that visible minorities, both native-born and immigrant, are more likely to experience a wage gap relative to both native-born whites and white immigrants (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2011).

In addition, only a small number of studies have taken a detailed look at income disparities of visible minorities living in Quebec (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Zhu and Bélanger, 2010). This is an important limitation given that Quebec is perceived to be the Canadian province struggling the most with integration of minorities and immigrants. Nearly two-thirds of the visible minorities residing in Quebec are immigrants (64.6%) (Quebec, 2014). Because these groups come from all corners of the world, speaking different languages and practicing various religions, visible minorities and immigrants are often perceived by native-born Quebecers as diverging from the cultural norms and practices of the dominant group (i.e., white, French, and Catholic) (Quebec, 2014). This is partly explained by the fact that French Quebecers fear losing their cultural identity, which is closely linked to the French language (Bouchard & Scott, 2015). Being a French minority in an English country has led some individuals to fear newcomers that do/did not share, either partly or completely, their cultural identity (Gidengil,

[32] Several studies, however, have been able to touch upon the concept of visible minority by looking at the countries of origin of the immigrants (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007). However, this can only serve as a proxy for the concept of visible minority.

2004). This cultural fear of the other is not just psychological, but also political where the dominant group can be scared to lose its power, and uses different political means, such as exclusion, to try to hold on to it (See Chapter 1 to see more political elements). This fear of the "other" has, at times, led to conflict.

The establishment of the Commission Bouchard-Taylor is one of the more recent examples illustrating such conflict. On February 8, 2007, the Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles was established in an effort to appease public discontent in regards to some cultural/religious accommodations that occurred in Quebec. Those cases receiving widespread attention and concern included the carrying of a kirpan — a ceremonial sword or dagger carried by some Sikhs — in a school in Montreal, which was perceived as dangerous by some parents, and the demand for frosted windows at a YMCA in Montreal from ultra-Orthodox Jews, so that women exercising would not be visible from the street (Quebec, 2007). After this Commission was established, several criticisms of Quebec were expressed, such as accusations that Quebec was using this Commission to express long-existing xenophobic feelings, as highlighted by some of the newspaper headlines written at that time — for examples "Accommodement raisonnables- La Commission est taxée de xénophobie" (Bourgault-Côté, 2008), and "Quel Accommodement Raisonnable?" (Anctil, 2006). Conclusions in the final report of this Commission acknowledged the role that the media played in exacerbating the conflict, but also highlighted the work that still needs to be done in Quebec regarding the integrating of visible minorities and immigrants, including within the labor market (Quebec, 2007).

This chapter will explore the possibility that Quebec is particularly hostile towards immigrants and visible minorities and if such views are translated into disadvantages in the labor market for minority groups. There are already some indications that this might be the case. For example, in 2011, the unemployment rate for visible minorities in Quebec was 13.3%, compared to 6.5% for the overall native population (Quebec, 2014, p. 12). The situation also differed depending on the nativity status, where visible minority immigrants had an unemployment rate of 13.2%, compared to 12.0% for visible minorities that were native-born (Quebec, 2014, p. 12).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Note that all the results presented in this dissertation pertain to individuals (whites, blacks, Chinese, South Asians, and Arabs) between the ages of 18 and 64, who worked 30 hours

or more per week[33], excluding self-employed individuals. Table 1 and Table 2 show descriptive statistics from the 2006 Census for men and women, respectively. As per Statistics Canada guidelines, those results are based on the weighted frequencies, and not the raw counts[34]. For both men and women, the sample size for each group is quite large (from 2952 to 327,273 for men, from 2068 to 303,905 for women), which is the advantage of using the Census over other data sets. For both men and women, the average log wages for all visible minority subgroups is smaller than the average log wages for whites. Visible minorities also tend to be younger than whites, and are more likely to be married. Visible minority men are more likely to have a bachelor's degree or higher than white men, whereas white men are more likely to have completed a college or technical training degree . Visible minority women are more likely than white women to have completed a bachelor's degree or above with the exception of black women. In terms of employment characteristics, among men who are not self-employed and who are working 30 or more hours per week, a higher percentage of white men work on a full-time basis (i.e., 40 or more hours per week). White men on average also worked more weeks during the year relative to visible minority men. The situation for visible minority women is somewhat more nuanced with black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women all working fewer weeks per year relative to white women, whereas some visible minority women (e.g., Chinese, and South Asians) are more likely than white women to work full-time. Not surprisingly given the diverse background of Quebec immigrant groups, white men and women are more likely French speaking, whereas visible minority men and women are more likely to speak a language at home that is neither French nor English. Finally, regardless of gender, whites in Quebec are predominantly native-born individuals, whereas a majority of visible minorities are immigrants. Blacks and Chinese are more likely than the other visible minority groups to have been living in Canada for 21 years or more.

Tables 3 and 4 show descriptive statistics for men and women, using the 2011 National Household Survey. Similar patterns are observed where the sample size for each visible minority group is large (from 3248 to 343,746 for men, from 2487 to 329212 for women). Also, similar to

[33] A dummy variable full-time versus part-time was included in the model in order to differentiate between those who work fewer hours per week than those who work 40 hours or more per week (defined as full-time) (Oaxaca, 1973).

[34] The same applies for all the results presented in this dissertation (including the decomposition models).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	327273	6962	2952	5343	2929
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.25 (1.08)	9.76 (1.15)	9.78 (1.22)	9.80 (1.25)	9.79 (1.14)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.17 (12.39)	36.84 (12.01)	38.57 (11.21)	37.79 (10.58)	38.49 (12.06)
Males, %	51.92	48.1	52.2	61.24	59.07
Marital status %					
Single	52.82	49.27	35.30	33.83	31.21
Married	34.72	38.85	59.01	59.44	63.62
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	12.46	11.88	5.69	6.73	5.17
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime (40+)	89.12	81.01	82.26	84.34	84.21
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	44.89 (12.32)	41.86 (14.54)	41.54 (15.05)	41.37 (14.93)	43.00 (13.42)
Occupation, %					
Management	11.03	4.89	11.46	13.61	9.75
Business, finance and administrative	10.20	15.82	13.42	12.43	12.88
Natural and applied sciences and related	9.92	9.24	20.07	16.47	10.54
Health occupations	1.96	3.58	1.65	2.79	1.47
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.39	6.42	5.35	7.88	3.69
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.50	2.19	2.11	1.66	1.04
Sales and service occupations	19.00	26.93	29.63	26.07	29.25
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	27.49	16.98	8.12	12.09	14.73
Occupations unique to primary industry	3.40	0.85	0.32	0.50	0.79
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	9.10	13.10	7.86	6.49	15.86
Education, %					
Less than high school	15.35	13.36	13.75	6.37	15.64
High school	21.57	23.50	17.53	14.84	26.84
College or technical training	45.09	40.20	25.58	33.08	29.66
Bachelor's degree or above	17.98	22.93	43.14	45.71	27.86
First official language spoken, %					
English	9.35	22.90	53.71	19.41	75.09
French	88.92	71.28	16.6	55.5	6.54
English and French	1.38	5.24	23.07	24.39	17.05
Other	0.35	0.59	6.91	0.70	1.33
Language spoken at home, %					
English	8.87	21.3	16	11.72	31.24
French	87.78	57.64	11.24	37.89	4.65
Other	3.35	21.06	72.76	50.39	64.11
Duration, %					

Canadian-born	94.13	26.21	18.72	7.06	14.49
0-10 years	1.70	28.86	34.34	49.1	36.67
11 to 20 years	1.31	21.26	25.41	31.36	28.9
21 years or more	2.85	23.67	21.52	12.48	19.94

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[3] Includes Arabs and West Asians.
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	303905	7557	2734	3346	2068
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	9.88 (1.07)	9.60 (1.10)	9.54 (1.18)	9.40 (1.28)	9.46 (1.15)
Age (mean, s.d.)	39.73 (12.20)	36.94 (12.11)	38.08 (11.10)	35.70 (10.71)	36.14 (11.65)
Females, %	48.08	51.90	47.80	38.76	40.93
Marital status %					
Single	49.63	46.47	31.33	30.49	31.29
Married	33.37	33.50	57.93	57.78	60.09
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	17.01	20.02	10.74	11.73	8.62
Presence of a child (%)	75.15	91.05	84.01	86.14	87.15
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime (40+)	75.78	71.22	78.46	69.45	77.45
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	43.99 (13.231)	40.92 (14.98)	39.58 (15.72)	38.71 (15.92)	39.75 (15.40)
Occupation, %					
Management	6.88	3.19	8.47	7.01	3.36
Business, finance and administrative	29.17	22.22	25.25	26.16	24.08
Natural and applied sciences and related	3.20	1.90	8.17	5.61	4.09
Health occupations	10.25	20.76	4.94	6.24	4.72
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	13.69	11.03	6.62	18.25	8.70
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.50	2.11	3.04	2.54	2.30
Sales and service occupations	25.93	27.45	28.28	28.87	23.90
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2.18	1.99	2.33	0.77	1.97
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.85	0.28	0.30	0.36	0.29
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	4.35	9.07	12.60	4.19	23.59
Education, %					
Less than high school	10.07	11.15	13.20	6.79	13.76
High school	23.51	19.51	17.12	16.51	26.72
College or technical training	44.34	48.76	28.83	37.73	31.40
Bachelor's degree or above	22.08	20.59	40.85	38.96	28.12
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	9.50	23.12	49.22	14.64	72.43
French	88.87	72.75	18.96	61.20	8.85
English and French	1.37	3.95	21.62	23.12	16.49
Other	0.27	0.18	10.20	1.04	2.23
Language spoken at home, %					
English	9.17	22.20	18.82	10.13	36.86

French	87.61	56.96	11.52	38.63	6.33
Other	3.22	20.83	69.67	51.23	56.81
Duration, %					
Canadian-born	94.60	27.48	18.46	10.85	19.50
0-10 years	1.52	23.40	37.49	44.3	29.95
11 to 20 years	1.25	22.37	24.88	32.15	26.55
21 years or more	2.63	26.75	19.17	12.70	24.00

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2011 NHS[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	343746	9057	3407	8250	3248
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.36 (1.09)	9.95 (1.15)	10.04 (1.24)	10.06 (1.23)	10.00 (1.14)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.93 (12.69)	37.69 (11.41)	40.63 (11.43)	39.06 (10.27)	39.25 (11.94)
Males, %	51.57	48.80	50.05	60.12	57.57
Marital status %					
Single	57.90	48.47	32.35	30.46	31.45
Married	30.59	40.41	60.44	62.83	63.23
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	11.51	11.12	7.21	6.71	5.33
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime (40+)	89.64	81.52	85.17	85.83	84.51
Weeks (mean, s.d)	44.60 (12.49)	41.75 (14.52)	43.06 (13.96)	42.08 (14.36)	42.96 (13.82)
Occupation, %					
Management	11.18	5.75	12.75	12.30	10.37
Business, finance and administrative	10.40	18.18	12.79	14.10	12.35
Natural and applied sciences and related	10.69	11.42	22.31	18.17	11.18
Health occupations	2.08	4.25	1.81	3.71	1.58
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.33	6.35	5.90	7.44	4.28
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.74	2.44	2.61	1.79	1.73
Sales and service occupations	19.47	27.22	28.72	23.45	31.62
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	27.32	15.10	7.59	13.04	16.13
Occupations unique to primary industry	3.22	1.02	0.36	0.45	0.57
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	7.57	8.27	5.17	5.55	10.20
Education, %					
Less than high school	13.61	10.83	10.41	5.52	14.26
High school	20.18	21.46	13.90	14.27	29.81
College or technical training	46.98	39.21	25.92	32.23	29.46
Bachelor's degree or above	19.23	28.51	49.77	47.97	26.48
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	9.37	19.22	54.92	16.10	73.40
French	89.08	74.91	16.95	59.78	8.85
English and French	1.22	5.63	20.53	23.73	16.65
Other	0.33	0.24	7.60	0.39	1.10
Language spoken at home, %					
English	9.17	19.47	20.84	11.12	40.26
French	88.33	66.80	12.21	50.92	7.44

English and French	0.37	1.18	0.68	0.79	0.98
Other	2.13	12.55	66.27	37.19	51.33
Language spoken at home, %					
English	8.92	18.93	17.12	8.79	30.36
French	87.97	59.89	10.42	36.19	6.15
Other	3.11	21.18	72.46	55.02	63.49
Duration, %					
Canadian-born	94.17	26.48	18.77	6.91	17.67
0-10 years	2.05	34.92	31.83	51.15	26.26
11 to 20 years	1.29	17.33	22.93	25.23	31.10
21 years or more	2.49	21.28	26.47	16.72	24.98

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2011 NHS[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	329212	9563	3474	5575	2487
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.05 (1.07)	9.81 (1.13	9.76 (1.25)	9.67 (1.26)	9.58 (1.23)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.72 (12.57)	37.63 (11.68)	38.03 (11.43)	36.95 (10.54)	36.92 (11.55)
Females, %	48.43	51.20	49.95	39.88	42.43
Marital status %					
Single	54.10	45.89	34.44	26.66	29.31
Married	30.20	35.16	54.95	62.33	62.44
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	15.70	18.95	10.61	11.01	8.25
Presence of a child	69.12	89.24	80.06	85.72	85.34
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime (40+)	77.17	74.21	75.26	72.24	73.31
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	44.20 (13.02)	41.36 (14.89)	41.22 (15.16)	39.32 (15.73)	39.96 (15.14)
Occupation, %					
Management	7.64	3.62	8.72	7.23	6.39
Business, finance and administrative	28.41	23.38	27.08	25.31	22.56
Natural and applied sciences and related	3.53	2.77	9.05	5.69	4.03
Health occupations	11.10	22.83	6.82	9.51	7.04
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	15.03	13.10	8.49	20.21	10.73
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.62	2.47	3.62	2.66	3.08
Sales and service occupations	24.94	26.00	28.09	25.88	30.03
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	1.85	1.48	1.38	1.04	3.27
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.77	0.20	0.35	0.22	0.28
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	3.12	4.13	6.40	2.26	12.60
Education, %					
Less than high school	8.10	8.55	7.19	5.83	11.55
High school	21.10	17.02	17.28	14.90	26.44
College or technical training	45.37	49.23	28.75	33.96	32.68
Bachelor's degree or above	25.42	25.20	46.78	45.32	29.32
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	9.44	20.26	49.77	13.37	70.51
French	89.08	75.94	21.48	64.20	10.33
English and French	1.46	3.62	21.02	21.68	16.59
Other	0.03	0.18	7.73	0.75	2.57
Language spoken at home, %					
English	9.10	19.60	20.15	7.07	33.37

French	87.90	59.92	13.50	35.92	8.68
Other	3.00	20.48	66.35	57.01	57.96
Duration, %					
Canadian-born	94.51	26.90	18.09	9.44	22.34
0-10 years	1.88	29.10	34.67	47.74	23.81
11 to 20 years	1.24	18.27	26.06	26.58	28.49
21 years or more	2.37	25.73	21.18	16.23	25.36

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

the 2006 Census, the average log of wages is lower for every visible minority group compared to whites. However, for 2010, men from certain visible minority groups (e.g., Arab and Chinese) have an average log wages that is closer to that of whites, which suggests that overall the wages of visible minorities, when compared to 2005, have been increasing over the years. However, one needs to remain careful with such a statement given that the data sets used in this study are not panel data and, thus, are not following the same individuals over time, making it impossible to ascertain with certainty whether or not wages and salaries for visible minorities have increased since 2005. In general, visible minorities, regardless of gender, are younger and are more likely to be married than whites. Visible minorities are less likely than whites to work full-time (i.e., 40 or more hours per week), and the same number of weeks (i.e., they usually work fewer weeks than whites). They are also more likely to speak at a language other than French or English in their home. Finally, as noted above, immigrants are predominantly visible minorities.

Aggregate Decomposition Results for Men: 2005 and 2010

Table 5 presents the mean wages for men (logged) for each visible minority group in 2005 and in 2010 using the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model. In the sample for 2005, the mean log of wages is 10.245 for whites, whereas the mean log of wages for the visible minority groups are all smaller. For example, the average wage for blacks (logged) is 9.765, yielding a wage gap with whites of 0.48. As described by Pendakur and Pendakur (2011), "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" (p. 307). In my regressions, the left-out category is "white". Thus, a wage gap of 0.48 means that blacks earn 48% less than whites. Blacks and Chinese have the largest earning gaps with whites compared to the other groups, whereas Arab men have the smallest wage gap. The adjusted results broken-down by the portion explained due to differences in characteristics and the portion unexplained due to differences in returns to their characteristics (i.e., the one usually associated with discrimination), demonstrate that, overall, a large portion of the wage gaps for all the visible minority groups are explained by individual characteristics (from 65.3% to 74.1%). In other words, if discrimination plays a role, it remains smaller than the role played by observable characteristics. For example, 74.1% of the South Asian/white wage gap is explained by individual characteristics and 25.9% is left unexplained. This indicates that, overall, the

differences in characteristics between whites and visible minority groups account for roughly three-quarters of the wage gaps identified. The unexplained part indicates when the wage gap is not explained by individual characteristics, and possibly by discrimination. Arab and Chinese men have the highest percentages of unexplained wage gaps, with 34.7%, and 32.2%, respectively. This indicates that discrimination might occupy a more prominent role for these visible minority groups.

Table 5. Decomposition of wage gap (log of wages) between whites and individual racial/ethnic minority groups for men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census and 2011 NHS[1]

			Twofold Decomposition of Wage Gap			
	Mean (log) earnings	Wage gap (diff. from whites)	Portion explained[2]	% of gap	Portion unexplained[2]	% of gap
2006 Census						
Whites	10.245	---				
Blacks	9.765	0.48	0.343	71.5	0.137	28.5
Chinese	9.776	0.469	0.318	67.8	0.151	32.2
Arabs	9.804	0.441	0.288	65.3	0.153	34.7
South Asians	9.793	0.452	0.335	74.1	0.117	25.9
2011 NHS						
Whites	10.355	---				
Blacks	9.949	0.406	0.274	67.5	0.132	32.5
Chinese	10.039	0.316	0.146	46.2	0.170	53.8
Arabs	10.064	0.291	0.176	60.5	0.115	39.5
South Asians	10.005	0.35	0.283	80.9	0.067	19.1

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2]These are the portions explained and unexplained when controlling for personal, work characteristics, and duration and nativity status: age, marital status, educational level, official language spoken, and language spoken at home, occupations, and employment status (i.e. Working full-time and number of weeks), and duration

Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

In 2010, the wage gaps for all visible minority subgroups *decreased*, compared to 2005. Similar to results from 2005, blacks still have the largest unadjusted wage gap with 0.406. Arab men remain the group with the smallest wage gap with 0.291. As for the portion of the gap that is explained by individual characteristics, South Asians and blacks still have the highest percentages with 80.9% and 67.5%, respectively. When comparing to the results of 2005, we can see that the explained portion of the gap between Chinese and whites has decreased considerably, moving from 67.8% to 46.2%. Indeed, Chinese now have the highest percentage

of unexplained portion of the wage gap, potentially indicating that discrimination in the labor markets towards Chinese men has been increasing over the years. However, this could also be due to the quality of the 2011 NHS data (as mentioned in Chapter 2). Finally, a rather substantial proportion of the wage gap between Arabs and whites remains unexplained, whereas South Asians continue to have the smallest unexplained portion, potentially indicating that labor market discrimination might be less present for them.

Comparing across groups, the most disadvantaged groups are (in this order) black and Chinese men, when looking at the unadjusted results. When examining the adjusted results, the groups with the highest portion explained are South Asians and blacks. Thus, even though blacks have the largest unadjusted wage gap, the majority of the wage differential can be explained by their relative distribution on observable characteristics which disadvantage them compared to that of white men. The groups with the highest unexplained portions are Arabs and Chinese. Thus, if discrimination is present in terms of wage differentials, Arabs and Chinese seem more likely to experience it.

Explained Detailed Decomposition Analysis

How to Interpret the Results

Table 6 shows the results of the detailed decomposition analysis for the explained component of the wage gaps in 2005 for visible minority subgroups. Row 1 shows the total log annual earning gap and the second row shows the explained part of the wage gap due to differences in characteristics. For example, when looking at column 1 we can see that blacks have a wage gap of 0.48 with whites, and that 0.343 of 0.480 is explained by observable characteristics (Thus giving 71.5%, as presented in Table 5 under the portion explained for blacks). The rest of the table shows the relative contribution of observable characteristics to the explained portion of the wage gap. A negative coefficient indicates that the visible minority group is advantaged by their distribution on a given characteristic, compared to whites, thus decreasing the wage gap experienced by this group (or another way to look at it is to say that if they had the same distribution as whites on this characteristic it would increase the wage gap experienced by this group). On the other hand, positive coefficients mean that the visible minority group is disadvantaged by its relative distribution on this individual characteristic compared to whites. For instance, results for black men suggest that blacks are advantaged by having a lower proportion than whites at low education (-0.004 for the “less than high school

category") and a higher proportion than whites at high education (-.011 for "bachelor's degree or above"). We can refer to Table 1 to illustrate this finding where we can see that blacks are less likely than whites to have "less than high school" (13.36% vs 15.35%, respectively), and more likely to have a "bachelor's degree or above" (22.93% vs 17.98%, respectively)[35]. Back to Table 6, when trying to determine which explanatory variable plays a bigger role compared to others, I chose to emphasize the variables that were significant and of a considerable magnitude. For example, for black men, full-time employment is a statistically significant predictor ($P<0.001$) and constitutes 0.058 of 0.343, or 16.91%, of the black-white wage gap that is explained by observable characteristics[36]. In contrast, having a high school degree, while statistically significant, plays a minimal role, contributing only 0.29% (0.001)[37].

Results

Table 6 demonstrates that general patterns can be observed when examining the explained part of the wage gap experienced by black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men. Overall, black (to a lesser extent[38]), Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men are advantaged by their marital status as they are more likely than white men to be married, and are less likely to be single. To give a detailed example, the marital status of Chinese men constitutes an advantage for them as they have a higher proportion who are married (coefficient of -0.017, Table 6; 59.01% vs 34.72%, respectively, in Table 1), and a lower proportion who are single (coefficient of -0.013, Table 6; 35.30% vs 52.82%, respectively, in Table 1), compared to white men. This is explained by the fact that married men have the highest average income, and that single men have the lowest average income (see Table A1 in Appendix A). Thus, if black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men had the same distribution as whites on this characteristic, especially if they had a lower proportion with "married", and a higher proportion with "single", it would further disadvantage them relative to white men.

[35] The entire explained section is based on the results of Table 6, but one can use Table 1 in addition, in order to offer more context to the results of Table 6. This is why this entire section will use both tables to talk about the results, but the reader should predominantly refer to Table 6.

[36] Note that this is considered as part of the explained portion of the wage gap because this is viewed from a purely mathematical point of view where it makes sense that someone who is less likely to work full-time earns less than someone who is more likely to do so. Thus, this is why this is not considered discrimination. However, there is an argument that can be made that this observable characteristic can still be due to discrimination in terms of limited opportunities.

[37] In order to give the reader a sense of magnitude, for black men in that specific model, a log of 0.001 represents around $45 whereas a log of 0.058 represents around $2635.

[38] As indicated by the lower magnitude of the coefficients for black men (e.g., -0.003 for married black men compared to -0.020 for married South Asian men).

All visible minority groups are advantaged by their high proportion of individuals who have completed a bachelor's degree or more, and their low proportion with less than high school (except for South Asian men), compared to white men. For instance, results for Chinese men suggest that they are advantaged by having a lower proportion than whites at low education (-0.003 for the "less than high school category") and a higher proportion than whites at high education (-.057 for "bachelor's degree or above"). We can refer to Table 1 to illustrate further this finding where we can see that Chinese are less likely than whites to have "less than high school" (13.75% vs 15.35%, respectively), and more likely to have a "bachelor's degree or above" (43.14% vs 17.98%, respectively). The same pattern applies to black and Arab men. South Asian men are also advantaged by their educational distribution, but only when it comes to the highest level (i.e. bachelor's degree or above with a coefficient of -0.022, Table 6). This is different from the experience of the other visible minority groups who were also advantaged at the lower level (e.g., by being less likely to be in the "Less than high school" category). Thus, if black, Chinese, and Arab men had the same distribution as whites on education, especially if they had a higher proportion with "less than high school", and a lower proportion with "bachelor's degree or above", it would further disadvantage them relative to white men.

Arab and Chinese men have a more favorable distribution in terms of occupation than black and South Asian men, when this distribution is compared to that of white men. Arab and Chinese men had higher proportions, compared to whites, of individuals working in highly paid occupations. For instance, Chinese and Arab men are more likely than white men to work in occupations related to "natural and applied science and related" (coefficients of -0.024 and -.015, Table 6, respectively). Arab men are also advantaged because the share of Arab men who work in management positions is greater than that for whites (coefficient of -0.008, Table 6; 13.61% for Arabs vs 11.03% for whites, in Table 1), which constitutes the highest paid occupation (see Table A1 in Appendix A). It is worth acknowledging that Arab men are the only visible minority group that has a significantly higher proportion of managers than whites. This is a substantial advantage for Chinese and Arab as these are some of the occupational categories associated with the highest average incomes (see Table A1 in Appendix A). In contrast, black and South Asian men (but especially black men) were less likely than white men to work in those occupations. For example, black and South Asian men had lower proportions with "management" than white men, which plays to their disadvantage, explaining

part of their wage gap (black men: coefficient of 0.018, Table 6; 4.89% vs 11.03%, respectively, Table 1, South Asian men: coefficient of 0.004, Table 6; 9.75% vs 11.03%, respectively, Table 1). On the other hand, black and South Asian men are advantaged by having a higher proportion working in occupations unique to processing, manufacturing, and utilities (blacks:13.10%, South Asians: 15.86% vs whites: 9.10%, Table 1) than white men, whereas Chinese and Arab men are disadvantaged by having a lower proportion working in this occupational category (Chinese:7.86%, Arabs: 6.49% vs whites: 9.10%, Table 1). Overall, all visible minority groups are advantaged by having a lower proportion who work in occupations unique to primary industry compared to white men, since this is an occupation associated with a low average income (see Table A1 in Appendix A). On the other hand, they are all disadvantaged by having a higher proportion, compared to white men, in sales and service occupations, which is an occupation with a low average income (Table A1 in Appendix A). Thus, all visible minority groups experience advantages and disadvantages when it comes to their relative distribution on occupation compared to that of white men, but Chinese and Arab seem to be in a better position by being more likely to work in highly-paid occupations, compared to black and South Asian men.

The language spoken by visible minority groups constitutes a clear disadvantage with their lower proportion of speaking French at home and as their first official language spoken, compared to white men. All visible minority groups are also heavily disadvantaged by their higher proportion of speaking another language at home that is neither French nor English (and as their first official language spoken for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men). To give an example, Chinese men are disadvantaged by having a lower proportion who named French as their first official language spoken (coefficient of 0.043, Table 6; 16.60% vs 88.92%, respectively, Table 1), and by having a higher proportion who named another language other than French or English as their first official language spoken (coefficient of 0.007, Table 6; 6.91% vs 0.05%, respectively, in Table 1), compared to white men. Chinese men also have a lower proportion who speaks French at home (coefficient of 0.028, Table 6: 11.24% vs 87.78%, respectively, Table 1), and a higher proportion who speaks another language than French or English at home, compared to white men (coefficient of 0.062, Table 6; 72.76% vs 3.35%, respectively, in Table 1). It is possible that this finding illustrates a lack of fluency of the French language, compared to individuals who speak French at home. Thus, all visible

minority groups would see their wage gap decreased if they had a higher proportion of individuals who speak French. However, it is worth noting that Chinese and South Asian men are more disadvantaged than black and Arab men on that level as indicated by the higher magnitude of their coefficients in Table 6, as they are less likely to speak French than them (see Table 1 also). On the other hand, all visible minority groups are advantaged by the fact that visible minority men are more likely to speak English at home compared to white men. This might seem surprising to some who believe that only speaking French is rewarded in Quebec, but in fact speaking English at home is associated with a high income (see Table A1 in Appendix A). Therefore, language is one of the largest contributors to the explained portion of the wage gap experienced by all visible minority men. In other words, visible minority men would have a smaller wage gap relative to whites if their mother tongue was French (possibly indicating a lack of fluency).

Moreover, the employment characteristics of visible minority groups contributes considerably to their wage gap; by having a lower proportion of individuals who work full-time (i.e., 40 hours or more), and by working, on average, fewer weeks per year, compared to white men. For example, Arab men are disadvantaged by having a lower proportion with "full-time" (i.e., 40 hours or more) compared to whites (coefficient of 0.042, Table 6; 84.34% vs 89.12%, respectively, in Table 1), and work, on average, fewer weeks (coefficient of 0.113, Table 6; 42 vs 45, respectively, in Table 1). Note that this is considered part of the explained wage gap, because it makes sense from a mathematical point of view that someone who works fewer weeks, and/or is less likely to work on a full-time basis, earns less than some who works a higher number of weeks and/or more likely to work full-time. However, it is possible that this also represents a lack of opportunities experienced by visible minorities who, maybe would like to work more, but are incapable of finding work employment that would allow them to do so. This is worth keeping in mind when interpreting these results. To summarize, based on these findings, visible minority men would have a smaller wage gap relative to whites if they were able to find year-round employment.

In addition, all visible minority groups (except Arab men[39]) are disadvantaged by the fact they are, on average, younger than white men. For instance, black men are being

[39] Only Arab men have a negative coefficient (-0.006), which might be due to the fact that Arab men between the ages of 55-64 have a higher average income than white men (See Table A1 in Appendix A).

disadvantaged by being younger, on average, than whites (i.e., black men are on average 37 years old vs 40 years old for white men, Table 1). Since age is used as a rough proxy for work experience, it seems that black, Chinese, and South Asian men are disadvantaged by the fact that they have less years of work experience than white men[40]. Younger individuals tend to earn less than older individuals, and tend to have a lower amount of work experience.

Finally, all visible minority groups are disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to be immigrants, compared to whites. For example, Chinese men are disadvantaged by being less likely to be Canadian-born than white men (coefficient of 0.091, Table 6; 18.72% vs 94.13%, respectively, Table 1). The fact that visible minorities have been living in Canada for a shorter duration relative to white men (i.e., 0-10 years) also explains part of their wage gap. This is consistent with the literature that states that the longer immigrants live in their host country, the better their living condition is (Porter, 1965). This is further supported by the fact that visible minority men living in Canada for 21 years or more have a smaller wage gap relative to whites. In other words, overall, if visible minority men's distribution of their duration and nativity status were the same as the one of whites, it would diminish their wage gap. They are disadvantaged by the fact that compared to whites, they are more likely to be immigrants, and, thus, have spent less time in Canada. This can be related to Canadian work experience, since the "duration and nativity status" category is used as a proxy for it. Thus, visible minority men seem disadvantaged by the fact that, compared to white men, they have less Canadian work experience, but that this disadvantage diminishes for those who have spent a considerable amount of time in Canada. Thus, immigrants who have been living in Canada a shorter period of time finds themselves the most disadvantaged, whereas immigrants who have been living in Canada a longer period of time find themselves in a better financial position. This is why this affects Arab men the most as they constitute the visible minority groups, among the ones observed in this dissertation, who have started immigrating to Canada more recently.

[40] As stated in Chapter 2, this is a very rough proxy that should be interpreted with caution.

Unexplained Detailed Decomposition Analysis

How to Interpret the Results

Table 7 presents the unexplained portion of the wage gap, which looks at how wages would differ if visible minorities` observable skills were rewarded in a manner similar to that of white individuals. The first row indicates once again the total log annual earning gap for each of the visible minority groups compared to whites. The second row consists of the unexplained portion of the gap that is attributable to differences in returns to characteristics. For instance, we can see that 0.137 of 0.48 (i.e., 28.50% as illustrated in Table 5) of the black-white wage gap remains unexplained. The rest of the table shows how much each of the variables contribute to the unexplained wage gaps. Once again, I chose to emphasize the variables that are significant and of a considerable magnitude (when compared to other variables). A positive coefficient indicates that this variable contributes to the wage gap, and that this visible minority group receives less income returns for this characteristic than whites. For instance, the first official language spoken is one of the largest contributors to the unexplained difference in earnings. We can see that blacks get lower returns than whites for having French as their first official language spoken (coefficient of 0.140) (and for having English as well, but to a lesser extent with a coefficient of 0.041). This seems to support the discrimination hypothesis, since it indicates that, even when a black man speaks French, he still earns less than a white man who speaks French, all else being equal[41]. In contrast, a negative coefficient indicates that this variable contributes to decrease the wage gap experienced by a given visible minority group, providing them with more returns for having a certain characteristic. For example, black men receive more returns than whites when having completed less than a high school diploma (-0.007) and with the college or technical training category (-0.012). These cases are interesting to look at as they potentially could indicate instances that go against the discrimination hypothesis.

Results

Table 7 demonstrates that general patterns can be observed when examining the unexplained part of the wage gap experienced by black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men. Moreover, some findings demonstrate that, for certain characteristics, some visible minority

[41] Note that all the results pertaining to the unexplained portion of the wage gap can be phrased as such (i.e., "all else being equal") but will only be used when giving specific examples. Nevertheless, the reader should keep in mind that the results presented for the explained and unexplained portions of the wage gaps control for all the variables listed in Chapter 2.

groups receive greater returns than white men. This is the case for the number of weeks worked where black, Chinese and Arab men show large, negative, and significant coefficients (-0.113, -.0244, and -0.251, respectively). This indicates that their premium for the number of weeks worked is greater than the one for white men when working the same number of weeks, all else being equal. Interestingly, South Asian men is the only visible minority group who does not receive a significantly higher premium for the number of weeks worked, compared to white men. However, contrary to the other visible minority groups, South Asian men receive greater returns when working full-time (i.e., 40 hours or more per week) than white men, all else being equal. Thus, when both work full-time, South Asian men receive a higher income than white men, all else being equal.

Black, Chinese, and South Asian men experience a greater return when having completed less than a high school diploma, compared to white men with the same educational level, all else being equal. For example, black men receive more returns than whites when having completed less than a high school diploma (-0.007). In addition, black men are the only visible minority group that receives a greater premium than white men with the college or technical training category (-0.012). These cases potentially indicate instances that go against the discrimination hypothesis towards visible minorities.

Some visible minority groups also receive a greater return when working in occupations that are well-paid. For example, this is the case for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men who receive a higher income than white men when working in "natural and applied sciences and related" occupations, all else being equal (-0.021, -0.015, -0.021, respectively). Blacks, Chinese, and Arabs receive a greater return than white men when working in health occupations, all else being equal (-0.012, -0.006, -0.011, respectively). Thus, it seems possible for some visible minority groups in certain occupational categories to earn a higher wage than their white male counterparts.

Aside from those greater returns, visible minority groups, overall, experience a wage gap that is partly explained by lower returns for certain characteristics (as demonstrated by Table 5 and Table 7). These characteristics include age where Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men receive a lower return than white men. In fact, age is one of the largest contributors to the unexplained portion of the wage gap experienced by these visible minority groups. Since age is

used as a proxy for work experience, it could potentially indicate that their work experience is being less rewarded than that of white men.

Being married is also associated with lower returns for black and Arab men, compared to white men (0.027, 0.028, respectively). On the other hand, Chinese men who are single receive a higher income than white men who are single, all else being equal (-0.026).

In addition, Chinese men receive a lower premium than white men when having completed a high school diploma (.009). Moreover, black, Chinese, and South Asian men receive lower returns when having completed a bachelor's degree or above (0.020, 0.022, 0.027, respectively). This offers strong support to the discrimination hypothesis, since this means that, for example, a black man with a bachelor's degree or above receives a lower income than a white man with the same level of education, all else being equal.

Language also plays a substantial role in explaining the wage gap of black, Chinese, and Arab men. For instance, visible minority groups who name English as their first official language spoken (i.e., blacks, Chinese, and Arabs) earn less than white men who also name English as their first official language spoken. Moreover, naming French as their first official language spoken yields lower returns for black and Arab men than for white men (0.140, 0.057, respectively). Chinese are particularly affected by the fact that they receive a lower premium for speaking another language other than French or English at home (0.102). Arabs, on top of receiving lower returns when having English (0.052), French (0.057), or English and French (0.024) as their first official language spoken, also earn less when French is their main language spoken at home (0.027). These findings also seem to support the discrimination hypothesis, given that some visible minorities who speak French earn less than whites who speak French. On the other hand, South Asian men are the only visible minority group where none of the coefficients of the language variables are significant, potentially indicating that they are not subject to any lack of returns to their language characteristics (which is surprising given that we saw that they were less likely than black and Arab men to speak French) or a lack of evidence.

Another finding which offers strong support to the discrimination hypothesis is the fact that all visible minority groups receive a lower return when working in managerial occupations, compared to white men. In other words, all else being equal, a black, Chinese, Arab, or South Asian manager is being paid less than a white manager. Black and Arab men

receive a lower income than white men when working in trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations (0.029, 0.022, respectively). Black and Chinese men get lower returns when working in occupations unique to processing, manufacturing, and utilities, compared to white men working in the same field of work (0.019, 0.018, respectively). Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men also receive lower returns when working in sales and service occupations, compared to white men working in the same field (0.062, 0.026, 0.035, respectively).

Finally, all of them, except Arab men, receive a lower return for being Canadian-born. In other words, all else being equal, a black, Chinese, or South Asian man who is Canadian-born earns a lower wage than a white man who is native-born. This finding offers strong support for the discrimination hypothesis. In addition, the return on having lived in Canada between 11 to 20 years is greater for white men than for Arab men (0.019). On the other hand, blacks and South Asians who have been living in Canada for 0-10 years receive a higher income than white men who have been living in Canada for the same period of time (-0.020, -0.022, respectively). The same applies for Arab and South Asian men who see their return on being in Canada longer (i.e., 21 years or more) greater than the one of white men who have been living in Canada for the same amount of time (-0.008, -0.024, respectively). Henceforth, it seems that the return on being in Canada longer is greater for most visible minority groups compared to white immigrants, but that it is the opposite for Canadian-born visible minorities who see their returns being lower than the ones of white Canadian-born.

Table 6. Oaxaca-Binder explained decomposition of log wages and salaries for men 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec according to visible minority status, 2006 Census

	Whites vs:			
	Blacks	**Chinese**	**Arabs**	**South Asians**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.480***	0.469***	0.441***	0.452***
	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.017)	(0.021)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.343***	0.318***	0.288***	0.335***
	(0.011)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.016)
Personal Characteristics				
Age	0.257***	0.128***	0.182***	0.129***
	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.017)
Age squared	-0.220***	-0.124***	-0.188***	-0.117***
	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Marital status:				
Single	-0.003***	-0.013***	-0.015***	-0.017***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Married	-0.003***	-0.017***	-0.017***	-0.020***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	0.000	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education:				
Less than high school	-0.004***	-0.003**	-0.017***	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
High school	0.001***	-0.002***	-0.004***	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
College or technical training	0.001***	0.004***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.011***	-0.057***	-0.062***	-0.022***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Official language spoken				
English	-0.002	-0.005	-0.001	-0.008
	(0.002)	(0.008)	(0.002)	(0.012)
French	0.010***	0.043***	0.020***	0.049***
	(0.003)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.015)
English and French	-0.001	-0.006	-0.007	-0.005
	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Other	0.000	0.007**	0.001*	0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.001)

Language spoken at home:				
English	-0.007***	-0.004***	-0.002***	-0.012***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)
French	0.011***	0.028***	0.018***	0.030***
	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Other	0.016***	0.062***	0.042***	0.055***
	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Work Characteristics				
Employment Status:				
Full-time (40+)	0.058***	0.050***	0.042***	0.047***
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Weeks	0.096***	0.107***	0.113***	0.060***
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Occupations:				
Management	0.018***	-0.001	-0.008***	0.004**
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Natural and applied sciences and related	0.002*	-0.024***	-0.015***	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Health occupations	-0.003***	-0.001	0.002***	-0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.000***	0.000	-0.001***	0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001*	-0.001	-0.002***	-0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Sales and service occupations	0.006***	0.008***	0.006***	0.008***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.007***	0.013***	0.010***	0.009***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.006***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.006***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	-0.003***	0.001**	0.002***	-0.006***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)

Duration and nativity status:				
Canadian-born	0.082***	0.091***	0.105***	0.096***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)
0-10 years	0.053***	0.064***	0.093***	0.069***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)
11 to 20 years	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
21 years or more	-0.018***	-0.016***	-0.008***	-0.015***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	-0.362**	-0.395*	-0.981***	-1.077***
	(0.157)	(0.217)	(0.181)	(0.207)
N	334,235	330,225	332,616	330,202

Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, multiple visible minority responses

Standard errors are in parentheses

*P≤.05

**P≤.01

****P≤.001

Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

Table 7. Oaxaca-Binder unexplained decomposition of log wages and salaries for men 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec according to visible minority status, 2006 Census

	Whites vs:			
	Blacks	**Chinese**	**Arabs**	**South Asians**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.480***	0.469***	0.441***	0.452***
	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.017)	(0.021)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.137***	0.151***	0.153***	0.117***
	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.018)
Personal Characteristics				
Age	0.392	1.160***	2.019***	2.185***
	(0.248)	(0.433)	(0.351)	(0.408)
Age squared	-0.164	-0.605***	-0.914***	-0.969***
	(0.123)	(0.215)	(0.174)	(0.205)
Marital status:				
Single	-0.014	-0.026**	-0.007	-0.014
	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Married	0.027***	0.011	0.028**	0.029
	(0.007)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.020)
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	-0.005*	0.003	-0.002	0.000
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Education:				
Less than high school	-0.007**	-0.020***	-0.001	-0.022***
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)
High school	-0.001	0.009*	-0.000	0.003
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.007)
College or technical training	-0.012*	0.010	-0.004	0.009
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.020***	0.022*	0.013	0.027***
	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Official language spoken				
English	0.041*	0.034*	0.052***	0.026
	(0.023)	(0.019)	(0.011)	(0.038)
French	0.140**	-0.008	0.057**	-0.001
	(0.067)	(0.009)	(0.028)	(0.006)
English and French	0.008	-0.011	0.024**	-0.005

	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Other	-0.000	0.002	-0.003***	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Language spoken at home:				
English	0.005	-0.025***	-0.010**	-0.001
	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.014)
French	0.011	0.002	0.027**	-0.002
	(0.015)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.004)
Other	-0.009	0.102***	0.009	0.034
	(0.006)	(0.025)	(0.013)	(0.029)
Work Characteristics				
Employment Status:				
Full-time (40+)	0.133***	0.055	0.053	-0.079**
	(0.025)	(0.038)	(0.033)	(0.040)
Weeks	-0.113***	-0.244***	-0.251***	-0.054
	(0.033)	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.055)
Occupations:				
Management	0.009***	0.028***	0.028***	0.013**
	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Business, finance and administrative	0.003	-0.007	-0.004	0.010
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Natural and applied sciences and related	0.000	-0.021**	-0.015**	-0.021***
	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Health occupations	-0.012***	-0.006***	-0.011***	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.004	0.005	-0.008*	-0.006**
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	0.001	-0.001	0.000	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Sales and service occupations	0.006	0.062***	0.026***	0.035***
	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.029***	0.006	0.022***	0.011
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.002**	-0.001	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.019***	0.018***	0.005	0.005
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.008)
Duration and nativity status:				
Canadian-born	0.014**	0.022***	0.002	0.023***

	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.006)
0-10 years	-0.020***	-0.006	-0.012	-0.022**
	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.011)
11 to 20 years	0.002	-0.013*	0.019**	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)
21 years or more	0.002	-0.011	-0.008*	-0.024***
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.007)
Constant	-0.362**	-0.395*	-0.981***	-1.077***
	(0.157)	(0.217)	(0.181)	(0.207)
N	334,235	330,225	332,616	330,202

Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, multiple visible minority responses

Standard errors are in parentheses

*P≤.05

**P≤.01

****P≤.001

Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

Aggregate Decomposition Results for Women: 2005 and 2010

Table 8 presents the mean log of wages for women by visible minority subgroups in 2005 and in 2010. The mean log of wages in 2005 is 9.882 for white women whereas the mean log wages for the visible minority subgroups are all smaller, but not that small (especially compared to the wage gap between white and visible minority men, both in absolute and relative terms). For example, the mean log wages for black women is 9.604, which represents only a gap of 0.278. Black women have the smaller wage gap whereas Arabs and South Asians have the largest ones with 0.481, and 0.420, respectively. When examining the explained and unexplained portions of the wage gaps, we can see that most of the wage gaps for black women is explained, reaching 94.6%. This potentially indicates that discrimination is playing no role or a very minimal one for this visible minority group, as indicated by their low percentage of portion unexplained (5.4%). Arab and South Asian women have the highest portions unexplained, indicating that discrimination potentially explains some of their wage gap.

Comparing these results with the ones of 2010, we can see that South Asian women are now the group with the largest wage gap, while Arab women now constitute the second most disadvantaged group. Black women remain the group with the smallest wage gap. When looking at the explained versus the unexplained portions of the wage gaps, Chinese women have the highest unexplained percentage, followed by South Asians. As for the group with the lowest percentage of unexplained wage gap, blacks are at the top, which is consistent with the 2006 data.

Comparing across groups, the largest groups, or the most disadvantaged ones, are Arab and South Asian women, when looking at the unadjusted results. When examining the adjusted results, the group with the highest portion explained is black women. Using the 2006 Census data, the groups with the highest portion unexplained are Arabs and South Asians. When using the 2011 NHS, South Asians still have one of the highest percentages, but Chinese is now the group with the highest unexplained percentage. It remains unclear whether this disparity between years is representative of a real phenomenon, where, for some reasons, Chinese women have started to potentially experience more discrimination than before. It can also be due to the quality of the data obtained under the 2011 NHS (as mentioned before in Chapter 2).

Table 8. Decomposition of wage gap (log of wages) between whites and individual racial/ethnic minority groups for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census and 2011 NHS[1]

			Twofold Decomposition of Wage Gap			
	Mean (log) earnings	Wage gap (diff. from whites)	Portion explained[2]	% of gap	Portion unexplained[2]	% of gap
2006 Census						
Whites	9.882	---				
Blacks	9.604	0.278	0.263	94.6	0.015	5.4
Chinese	9.538	0.344	0.272	79.1	0.072	20.9
Arabs	9.401	0.481	0.368	76.5	0.113	23.5
South Asians	9.462	0.42	0.323	76.9	0.097	23.1
2011 NHS						
Whites	10.05	---				
Blacks	9.813	0.237	0.21	88.6	0.027	11.4
Chinese	9.76	0.29	0.208	71.7	0.082	28.3
Arabs	9.67	0.38	0.299	78.7	0.081	21.3
South Asians	9.583	0.467	0.359	76.9	0.108	23.1

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2]These are the portions explained and unexplained once controlling for personal, work characteristics, and duration and nativity status: age, marital status, educational level, official language spoken, and language spoken at home, occupations, and employment status (i.e. Working full-time and number of weeks), and duration

Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Explained Detailed Decomposition Analysis

Results

Table 9 presents the detailed decomposition model for the explained part of the wage gaps using the 2006 Census. Compared to men, almost all the variables introduced in the model for visible minority women contribute to the explained portions of the wage gaps, albeit some to a lesser extent than others. This is explained by the fact that visible minority women, compared to visible minority men, have a higher percentage of their wage gap explained by their relative distribution on the characteristics introduced in the model compared to white women.

Using Table 9, general patterns can be observed when examining the explained part of the wage gap experienced by black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women. In terms of advantages, the fact that all visible minority groups, except black women, are more likely to

have a higher education level (i.e., bachelor's degree or above) than white women is an asset. Black women, on the other hand, are less likely than white women to have completed such a degree (0.005), which plays to their disadvantage given that it is the educational category that is associated with the highest average income (Table A2 in Appendix A). In addition, black, Chinese, and South Asian women are disadvantaged by having a higher proportion of individuals who did not complete a high school degree, compared to white women (0.003, 0.008, 0.010, respectively). In contrast, Arab women are advantaged by the fact that they have a lower proportion with "less than high school", compared to white women (coefficient of -.009, Table 9; 6.79% vs 10.07%, respectively, Table 2)[42]. Finally, black, Chinese, and Arab women are advantaged by having a lower proportion with "high school degree" than white women (-0.003, -0.005, -0.005, respectively, Table 9). South Asian women is the only visible minority group that experience a disadvantage due to its relative distribution on "high school" diploma, compared to white women (coefficient of 0.002, Table 9). This could be explained by the fact that South Asian women have a higher proportion than white women with "high school" (26.72% vs 23.51%, Table 2), which is still a low level of education obtained when compared to the other educational categories, which plays to their disadvantage.

Another advantage consists of the full-time status where Chinese and South Asian women have a higher proportion of individuals who work full-time (i.e., 40 hours or more), compared to white women (-0.016, -0.013, respectively, Table 9). This is different from the situation experienced by black and Arab women who are less likely than white women to work full-time, which contributes to their wage gap (0.028, 0.038, respectively, Table 9).

The "occupation" category yields mixed results where we can see both advantages and disadvantages. For example, black women are heavily disadvantaged by having a lower proportion working in managerial positions compared to white women (coefficient of 0.010, Table 9; 3.19% vs 6.88%, respectively, Table 2), but they are advantaged by having a higher proportion working in health occupations (coefficient of -0.020, Table 9; 20.76% vs 10.25%, respectively, Table 2). Chinese women experience the opposite where they are more likely than white women to work in management (coefficient of -0.004, Table 9; 8.47% vs 6.88%, respectively, Table 2), but less likely to work in health occupations (coefficient of 0.010, Table

[42] The interpretation of the explained portion of the wage gap for women predominantly uses Table 9, but one can use Table 2 to offer additional context to the results of Table 9.

9; 4.94% vs 10.25%, respectively, Table 2). Nevertheless, some overall trends can still be found. For example, all visible minority groups are advantaged by having a lower proportion than white women working in occupations unique to primary industry, given that it is an occupational category associated with a low average income (See Table A2 in Appendix A). Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women are advantaged by having a higher proportion working in natural and applied science and related occupations (-0.013, -0.006, -0.002, Table 9), which is an occupational category that has a high average income (see Table A2 in Appendix A). Black women are the only visible minority group that has a lower proportion working in that occupational category, which contributes to their wage gap (coefficient of 0.003, Table 9). However, all visible minority groups have a lower proportion working in business, finance, and administrative occupations, which plays to their disadvantage given that it is an occupational category with a high average income (see Table A2 in Appendix A). All visible minority groups, except South Asian women, are disadvantaged by having a higher proportion with "sales and service occupations", compared to white women. This disadvantages them, because this occupation has a low average income, when compared to the other occupations (Table A2 in Appendix A). South Asian women is the only visible minority group examined in this dissertation that is less likely than white women to work in sales and service occupations (coefficient of -.005, Table 9), which plays to their advantage. Black, Chinese and South Asian women are disadvantaged by having a higher proportion working in "occupations unique to processing, manufacturing, and utilities" (0.004, 0.008, .018, Table 9)[43]. It is worth noting that, compared to the other visible minority groups, South Asian women seems most affected by this as indicated by the higher coefficient for this category (0.018 compared to 0.008 for Chinese women, and 0.004 for black women, Table 9), which potentially means that it plays a bigger role in explaining South Asian women's wage gap than in explaining the wage gaps of these other visible minority groups. All visible minority groups, except Arab women, have a lower proportion with occupations in social science, education, government service, and religion, compared to white women which plays to their disadvantage. On the other hand, Arab women

[43] This situation is different than the one experienced by visible minority men who would be disadvantaged by having a lower proportion with "occupations unique to processing, manufacturing, and utilities". This is explained by the fact that men who work in that field receive a higher wage than women who work in that field (See Table A1 and A2 in Appendix A). This field is relatively well-paid for men (when compared to the other fields), but not for women.

find themselves in a more favorable position with a higher proportion working in that field, compared to white women (coefficient of -0.004, Table 9; 18.25% vs 13.69%, respectively, Table 2). Overall, Chinese women, followed by Arab women, seemed to be slightly more advantaged than black and South Asian women in terms of their relative distribution on this characteristic compared to white women, since they have a higher proportion of individuals working in some of the most highly-paid occupations (e.g., management, natural and applied sciences).

In terms of clear disadvantages, one of the largest contributors to the explained wage gap experienced by all visible minority women is the number of weeks they worked. They are heavily disadvantaged by the fact that they work, on average, fewer weeks compared to white women. For example, South Asian women worked an average of 40 weeks compared to 44 weeks for white women (Table 2). In other words, visible minority women would have a smaller wage gap relative to whites if they were able to work the same number of weeks as white women. In addition, black and Arab women are disadvantaged by having a lower proportion working on a full-time basis, compared to white women (0.028, 0.038, Table 9), whereas South Asian and Chinese women are advantaged by having a higher proportion with "full-time" status than white women (-0.013, -0.016, respectively, Table 9).

All visible minority groups are heavily disadvantaged by their higher proportion of individuals who speak neither French nor English at home, compared to white women. This means that, compared to white women, visible minority women are more likely to speak at home a language that is neither French nor English, which somehow gets translated into a lower income (maybe as an indication of a lack of French or English fluency). Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women are also disadvantaged because of their higher proportion with "other" for the "official language spoken" variable, although Chinese women seems the most affected by this as indicated by the higher magnitude of their coefficient (i.e., 0.009 for Chinese women vs 0.001 for Arab women vs 0.002 for South Asian women, Table 9). On the other hand, all visible minority groups are advantaged by their higher proportion with "English and French" as their official language spoken, especially Chinese and Arab women. Finally, Black, Chinese, and South Asian women are advantaged by the fact that they are more likely than white women to speak English at home. It is worth noting the higher magnitude of the coefficient for South Asian women compared to the ones of the other visible minority groups (i.e., South Asian

women: -0.013, black women: -0.006, Chinese women with -0.005), which indicates that this plays a bigger advantage for South Asian women than for the other visible minority women.

All visible minority women are disadvantaged by having a higher proportion of individuals with children. Moreover, contrary to visible minority men, the fact that visible minority women are more likely to be married than white women constitutes a disadvantage. In fact, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women are disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to be married and less likely to be single than white women. One potential explanation can be found when comparing table A1 and table A2 in Appendix A which show that the average income associated with marital status is lower for women than for men. Hence, it is possible that marriage might hinder visible minority women's chances of obtaining a better income[44].

In addition, the fact that all visible minority groups are, on average, younger than white women contributes to their wage gap. This could be associated with a lower level of work experience, which would be associated with a lower wage. Their duration and nativity status also hurts them heavily, especially the "Canadian-born" and the "0-10 years" categories. All visible minority groups are disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to be immigrants, compared to white women. For example, black women are disadvantaged by being less likely than white women to be Canadian-born (coefficient of 0.065, Table 9; 27.48% vs 94.60%, respectively, in Table 2), where we can see in Table A2 in Appendix A that Canadian-born is associated with a high income. Immigrants who have been living in Canada "0-10 years" finds themselves in the most disadvantaged position, whereas immigrants who have been living in Canada "21 years or more" experience a better financial position. For instance, black women are disadvantaged by having a higher proportion of individuals, compared to white women, who have been in Canada for 0-10 years (coefficient of 0.048, Table 9; 23.40% vs 1.52%, respectively, Table 2), given that it is the duration and nativity category that has the lowest average income (Table A2 in appendix A). This disadvantage is only partly reduced by the fact that a high proportion of black women have been in Canada for 21 years or more (coefficient of -0.025, Table 9; 26.75% for black women vs 2.63% for white women, Table 2). In other words, overall, if visible minority women's distribution of their duration and nativity status were the same as the one of white women, it would diminish their wage gap. Compared

[44] For a more detailed discussion, please see Chapter 6.

to white women, visible minority women are more likely to have spent less time in Canada, and thus might have less Canadian work experience, which explains part of their wage gap. This affects Arab women the most as they constitute the visible minority groups, among the ones observed in this dissertation, who have arrived in Canada more recently.

Unexplained Detailed Decomposition

Results

Table 10 has demonstrated that general patterns can be observed when examining the unexplained part of the wage gap experienced by black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women. One surprising finding is the fact that the unexplained coefficient for black women does not significantly contribute to their wage gap, potentially indicating that they do not receive any differences compared to white women in terms of their returns to their characteristics (or indicating a lack of evidence). This means that their wage gap is explained mostly by their individual characteristics. In addition, visible minority women seem less likely to experience discrimination in the form of wage differentials than visible minority men.

We can even find cases where visible minority women receive higher returns on their characteristics than white women. Among the examples supporting this statement is the fact that, for Chinese and South Asian women, having less than a high school diploma is associated with a greater return than for white women (-0.011, -0.023, respectively). For Chinese and Arab women, the return on the number of weeks worked is greater for them than for white women (-0.103, -0.095, respectively). In other words, all else being equal, when working the same number of weeks, Chinese and Arab women earn more than white women. In addition, Chinese women is the only visible minority group that receives greater returns than white women when working full-time (-0.070). Arab women who are single also earn a higher income than white women who are single, all else being equal (-0.018). On the other hand, having English and French as the first official language spoken has a greater return for Chinese women than for white women (-0.014). Presumably, this could indicate that Chinese women who are bilingual receive a higher income than white women who are also bilingual. Also, similar to what several visible minority men experience, the return on being in Canada longer (i.e., 21 years or more) is greater for South Asian women than for white women (-0.018). These findings contradict the discrimination hypothesis where we can see that some visible minority women receive a greater premium on certain characteristics compared to white women.

In terms of lower returns experienced by visible minority women, we can see that they all experience a lower return with the "bachelor's degree or above category", which lends strong support to the discrimination hypothesis. In other words, visible minority women with a bachelor's degree or above earn less than white women with the same educational degree, all else being equal. Both Chinese and Arab women receive a lower return, compared to white women, for speaking a language that is neither French nor English as their language spoken at home (0.050, 0.029, respectively). This could also suggest discrimination or maybe a lack of fluency from the part of visible minority women, compared to white women.

The return on certain sociodemographic characteristics also seem to show lower returns for visible minority women. For example, the return on having children is lower for Arab women than it is for white women (0.080). The premium for being married is greater for white women than it is for South Asian women (0.050).

Visible minority women also experience lower returns when working in certain occupations. For example, the return on being a manager is lower for Arab women than for white women. Both Chinese and Arab women working in occupations in social science, education, government service and religion receive lower returns than their white women counterparts. Interestingly, Arab and South Asian women working in occupations related to art, culture, recreation, and sport receive a lower premium than white women, whereas Chinese women receive a higher premium.

Finally, Arab women get a lower return for being in Canada for 11 to 20 years, compared to white women who have been living in Canada the same amount of time (0.027). This latter finding could bring some support for the discrimination hypothesis, given that this indicates that the reason for a lower premium cannot be justified by a lack of Canadian work experience from the visible minority group. Thus, discrimination reasons seem more likely to explain this discrepancy. However, we would expect to see a positive significant coefficient for the "21 years or more" category if that were true, which is not the case. In fact, as mentioned above, we even found that the return on having lived longer in Canada (i.e., 21 years or more) is greater for South Asian women than for white women, which seems to contradict the discrimination hypothesis.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the decomposition of the wage gap between white and visible minority men and women, aged 18-64, working 30 hours or more per week, excluding self-employed, living in Quebec using the 2006 Census. When looking at the unadjusted wage gaps, among men, black and Chinese men are the most disadvantaged groups, whereas, among women, South Asian women are the most disadvantaged ones. In relations to the adjusted results for men, the visible minority groups with the highest explained portions are blacks and South Asians (Table 5). For women, black women are clearly the visible minority group with the highest portion of their wage gap explained by their relative distribution of their individual characteristics compared to white women (Table 8).

Examining the explained portion of the wage gaps for visible minority men and women (Table 6 and Table 9), we can observe that visible minority men are advantaged by their marital status whereas visible minority women experience the opposite. Majority of the visible minority groups examined in this chapter are also advantaged by their educational level, given that they have a high proportion of individuals who have completed a bachelor's degree or more, compared to whites. Arabs and Chinese have a more favorable distribution on occupation relative to whites than blacks and South Asians who are less likely to work on highly-paid occupations. In terms of disadvantages, the fact that visible minority men and women are less likely to speak French and are more likely to speak a language that is neither French or English contributes in explaining their wage gap. Visible minorities are also disadvantaged by the fact they are less likely to find year-round employment, compared to whites. As stated before, this could be the result of a lack of opportunities in the labor market for visible minorities. In addition, visible minorities are younger, on average, than whites which could reflect a lack of work experience, which gets translated into a lower income. Finally, the fact that they are more likely to be immigrants than whites explains part of their wag gap, and where recent immigrants experience a larger wage gap with whites than long-term immigrants.

As for the unexplained portion of the wage gap experienced by visible minority men and women (Table 7 and Table 10), some results indicate instances where they experience greater returns for a given characteristic, compared to whites, which seems to contradict the discrimination hypothesis. For example, black, Chinese and Arab men experience a greater

return when having completed less than a high school diploma, compared to white men with the same educational level, all else being equal. Chinese and South Asian women also experience the same situation. Some visible minority groups receive a greater return on the number of weeks worked compared to white men, all else being equal. Moreover, some visible minority men receive a greater return when working in occupations that are well-paid. Finally, some visible minority groups (i.e., black men and women, South Asian men) who have been living in Canada for 0-10 years receive a higher income than whites who have been living in Canada for the same period of time. The same applies for Arab men and South Asian men and women who see their return on being in Canada longer (i.e., 21 years or more) greater than the one of white men who have been living in Canada the same amount of time. These findings potentially contradict the discriminatory hypothesis where we can see that some visible minority groups, in some instances, receive a greater return to characteristics than whites.

That being said, visible minorities are more likely to experience a lower return to their characteristics relative to whites. For example, regardless of gender, all visible minority groups (except for Arab men) experience a lower return with the "bachelor's degree or above category", which lends strong support to the discriminatory hypothesis given that it indicates that visible minorities are not being rewarded for their education as much as whites are. Some visible minority groups receive lower returns when working in certain occupations. For example, all visible minority men and Arab women receive a lower return when working in managerial occupations. This could potentially indicate the presence of discrimination as this could indicate that employers do not recognize the high skills of visible minorities. Finally, another finding that supports the discrimination hypothesis is the fact that all visible minority men, except Arab men, receive a lower return for being Canadian-born. This could potentially indicate that the visible minority status explains this disparity, and, thus, is a result of a discriminatory practice.

Table 9. Oaxaca-Binder explained decomposition of log wages and salaries for women 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec according to visible minority status, 2006 Census

	Whites vs:			
	Blacks	**Chinese**	**Arabs**	**South Asians**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.278***	0.344***	0.481***	0.420***
	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.025)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.263***	0.272***	0.368***	0.323***
	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.020)
Personal Characteristics				
Age	0.155***	0.095***	0.227***	0.201***
	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.015)
Age squared	-0.124***	-0.088***	-0.194***	-0.164***
	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Marital status:				
Single	0.000***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.000	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Presence of a child	0.005***	0.002***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education:				
Less than high school	0.003***	0.008***	-0.009***	0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
High school	-0.003***	-0.005***	-0.005***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
College or technical training	-0.001***	0.003***	0.001***	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.005***	-0.059***	-0.053***	-0.019***
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Official language spoken				
English	-0.002	-0.007	-0.001	-0.011
	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.010)
French	0.003	0.013	0.005	0.015
	(0.003)	(0.011)	(0.004)	(0.012)
English and French	-0.001***	-0.011***	-0.012***	-0.008***

	(0.000)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Other	0.000	0.009**	0.001**	0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Language spoken at home:				
English	-0.006***	-0.005***	-0.000*	-0.013***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)
French	0.002	0.005	0.003	0.006
	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Other	0.010***	0.036***	0.026***	0.029***
	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Work Characteristics				
Employment Status:				
Full-time (40+)	0.028***	-0.016***	0.038***	-0.013**
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Weeks	0.101***	0.144***	0.173***	0.139***
	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.011)
Occupations:				
Management	0.010***	-0.004***	-0.000	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Business, finance and administrative	0.005***	0.003***	0.002***	0.004***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	0.003***	-0.013***	-0.006***	-0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Health occupations	-0.020***	0.010***	0.008***	0.011***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.003***	0.007***	-0.004***	0.005***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.002***	-0.001	-0.001***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Sales and service occupations	0.003***	0.005***	0.007***	-0.005**
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	-0.000	0.000	-0.001***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.002***	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.004***	0.008***	-0.000	0.018***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)

Duration and nativity status:				
Canadian-born	0.065***	0.074***	0.081***	0.073***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
0-10 years	0.048***	0.079***	0.094***	0.062***
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
11 to 20 years	-0.004*	-0.004*	-0.005*	-0.004*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
21 years or more	-0.025***	-0.017***	-0.011***	-0.022***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Constant	-0.198	0.309	-0.343	-0.278
	(0.133)	(0.215)	(0.239)	(0.252)
N	311,462	306,639	307,251	305,973

Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, multiple visible minority responses

Standard errors are in parentheses

*P≤.05 **P≤.01 ***P≤.001

Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

Table 10. Oaxaca-Binder unexplained decomposition of log wages and salaries for women 18-64 years old, 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec according to visible minority status, 2006 Census

	Whites vs:			
	Blacks	**Chinese**	**Arabs**	**South Asians**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.278***	0.344***	0.481***	0.420***
	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.025)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics	0.015	0.072***	0.113***	0.097***
	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Personal Characteristics				
Age	0.070	-0.273	0.514	0.071
	(0.226)	(0.427)	(0.439)	(0.491)
Age squared	-0.017	0.107	-0.177	0.096
	(0.113)	(0.216)	(0.216)	(0.242)
Marital status:				
Single	-0.001	-0.012	-0.018*	-0.016
	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.014)
Married	-0.003	0.024	0.025	0.050**
	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.021)
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	0.002	-0.000	0.002	-0.003
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Presence of a child	0.047	0.011	0.080*	0.051
	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.051)
Education:				
Less than high school	-0.012***	-0.011**	-0.004	-0.023***
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)
High school	0.005	-0.006	0.001	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)
College or technical training	0.015**	-0.002	-0.002	0.005
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.010**	0.050***	0.026**	0.040***
	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.011)
Official language spoken				
English	-0.019	0.022	0.014	0.015
	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.037)
French	0.016	0.003	0.017	0.008
	(0.045)	(0.009)	(0.033)	(0.008)

English and French	0.001	-0.014*	0.011	0.012
	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.010)
Other	0.000	0.000	-0.002	-0.004
	(0.000)	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Language spoken at home:				
English	0.026***	0.001	-0.005	0.014
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.018)
French	-0.037***	-0.009	-0.002	-0.005
	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.005)
Other	-0.011**	0.050**	0.029*	0.021
	(0.005)	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.028)
Work Characteristics				
Employment Status:				
Full-time (40+)	0.054***	-0.070**	0.014	0.003
	(0.016)	(0.033)	(0.028)	(0.041)
Weeks	0.072***	-0.103**	-0.095**	0.031
	(0.028)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.053)
Occupations:				
Management	0.004**	0.007	0.011*	0.007
	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.005	0.003	-0.007	0.000
	(0.006)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.014)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.002	-0.010	-0.004	-0.006
	(0.001)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Health occupations	-0.004	0.003	-0.007	0.001
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.004	0.009*	0.022*	0.003
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.006)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001	-0.006**	0.009***	0.006**
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Sales and service occupations	-0.010	-0.007	-0.010	-0.004
	(0.008)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.014)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	-0.001	-0.001	0.002	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.009***	0.004	0.001	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.015)

Duration and nativity status:				
Canadian-born	0.004	0.002	-0.004	0.011
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.009)
0-10 years	-0.016***	-0.015	-0.008	-0.007
	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.011)
11 to 20 years	0.008*	0.000	0.027***	0.011
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.009)
21 years or more	0.005	0.006	-0.004	-0.018*
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.010)
Constant	-0.198	0.309	-0.343	-0.278
	(0.133)	(0.215)	(0.239)	(0.252)
N	311, 462	306,639	307,251	305,973

Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, multiple visible minority responses

Standard errors are in parentheses

*P≤.05 **P≤.01 ***P≤.001

Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

CHAPTER 4: WAGE DIFFERENTIALS BETWEEN VISIBLE MINORITY AND WHITE MEN: A COMPARISON BETWEEN QUEBEC AND THE REST OF CANADA

Introduction

The third chapter of this dissertation examined wage differentials between visible minority groups and white individuals living in Quebec. This fourth chapter expands on this topic by comparing wage differentials in Quebec to the rest of Canada. As described in the preceding chapters, Quebec has often been accused of being intolerant towards visible minorities/immigrants, leading some to believe that discrimination is more salient in this province than in the rest of Canada (hereafter ROC) (National Post, 2007; Séguin and Clark, 2012; Sniderman et al., 1993). A cross-province comparison is then necessary in order to address this issue, and to highlight key differences, if they exist, between the Canadian provinces.

The wage gap between immigrants and Canadian-born individuals constitutes a key measure of the ability of migrants to integrate into Canadian society. Scholarship has focused on the wage gap between immigrants and Canadian-born individuals, and has revealed that income differences between these groups not only continue to exist but have actually begun to widen for recent immigrants arriving after the early 1980s (Statistics Canada, 2008b). What has been less well-demonstrated is how this wage gap affects visible minorities specifically, since most of the studies have chosen to focus on immigrants instead, while only sometimes differentiating between visible minority immigrants and white immigrants (Hum and Simpson, 1998; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). The aim of this chapter is to fill this gap in the extant literature by focusing on visible minorities, both as immigrants and native-born individuals. What has also been less well-documented is how the wage gap may vary by province and, specifically, how Quebec may differ from ROC. While several studies have included a sub-analysis by province or city, none, to my knowledge, has tried to directly compare the wage gap experienced by visible minorities in Quebec to the rest of Canada[45]. This chapter fills this void in the literature by examining the wage gap between visible minorities and white individuals, comparing Quebec to Ontario, British Columbia, the Prairies, and the Atlantic

[45] Some studies, such as the one conducted by Nadeau and Seckin (2010) and Boudarbat and Boulet (2007) have done such comparison, but by looking at the immigrant wage gap, not visible minorities.

provinces. This comparison captures sub-national trends undocumented by previous studies, and might also directly address the extent to which visible minorities are welcome in Quebec.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

As with all the other chapters presented in this dissertation, all the results pertain to individuals (whites, blacks, Chinese, South Asians, and Arabs between the ages of 18 and 64, who worked 30 hours or more per week, excluding self-employed individuals. Tables 11 and 12 present descriptive statistics for men living in Canada using the 2006 Census and the 2011 National Household Survey, respectively[46]. As per Statistics Canada guidelines, those results are based on the weighted frequencies, and not the raw counts[47]. We can see that, overall, white men have a higher average wage (logged) than visible minority men, potentially indicating significant wage gaps between them. Visible minority men are younger on average than white men (except Chinese men in 2010), and are more likely to be married (except black men). Visible minorities are more likely to speak a language that is neither French nor English while at home, especially Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians. In terms of employment status, visible minority men are less likely to work full-time (i.e., 40 hours or more per week) compared to white men, and they also work fewer weeks per year. In addition, a higher percentage of visible minorities are highly educated, having attained a bachelor's degree or above. Not surprisingly, the proportion of foreign-born whites is substantially quite small (11%). In contrast, the proportion of immigrants among the visible minority groups is much higher (between 71%-91%). Notably, there are relatively large proportions of Canadian-born blacks (29%) and Chinese (19%) in the sample.

[46] The same information by province can be found in the Appendix (Tables B1 to B5), but only for 2006. Whites in almost every province have means log of wages bigger than the ones for visible minorities, except for the Atlantic provinces, where Chinese and South Asian men have a better financial situation than white men. However, given the low sample size of visible minorities in the Atlantic provinces, the results need to be interpreted with caution.

[47] The same applies for all the results presented in this dissertation (including the decomposition models).

Table 11. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Canada, 2006 Census[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	1236034	30117	51043	27500	56712
Log of wages and salaries (mean, s.d.)	10.36 (1.13)	9.98 (1.17)	10.11 (1.19)	9.91 (1.27)	10.12 (1.17)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.10 (12.51)	37.46 (12.12)	39.42 (11.66)	37.54 (11.40)	38.54 (11.95)
Males, %	51.39	47.87	50.07	58.73	53.65
Marital status %					
Single	40.68	46.67	33.06	35.97	26.19
Married	48.21	41.19	61.97	58.48	69.65
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	11.11	12.14	4.97	5.56	4.16
Employment Status					
Fulltime (40+), %	89.74	82.72	85.74	82.57	87.57
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	43.89 (12.32)	41.25 (14.54)	41.64 (15.05)	41.35 (14.93)	41.15 (13.42)
Occupation, %					
Management	12.22	5.87	11.38	13.96	10.69
Business, finance and administrative	9.70	15.15	13.23	10.2	14.56
Natural and applied sciences and related	9.97	8.66	21.71	16.07	13.65
Health occupations	1.74	2.69	2.83	3.32	2.37
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.46	5.62	4.86	6.28	3.59
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.29	2.50	2.23	1.44	1.09
Sales and service occupations	17.89	23.42	23.62	25.49	19.63
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	28.36	22.54	10.83	15.46	19.40
Occupations unique to primary industry	4.67	1.47	0.78	0.93	1.65
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	7.70	12.08	8.53	6.85	13.37

Education, %					
Less than high school	14.33	12.13	10.43	8.62	10.28
High school	27.23	29.24	21.66	21.52	25.16
College or technical training	39.34	39.12	23.63	27.9	27.71
Bachelor's degree or above	19.10	19.51	44.28	41.96	36.85
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	71.99	77.86	89.17	70.87	95.39
French	27.27	19.82	1.33	18.16	0.54
English and French	0.63	2.20	2.12	10.12	1.59
Other	0.11	0.12	7.39	0.85	2.48
Language spoken at home, %					
English	70.73	69.8	31.8	33.04	42.37
French	25.51	15.51	0.81	11.88	0.34
Other	3.77	14.68	67.38	55.09	57.29
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	89.82	29.33	19.29	8.56	14.3
0-10 years	2.02	23.95	29.61	45.32	39.98
11 to 20 years	2.14	22.89	28.12	33.46	25.93
21 years or more	6.03	23.84	22.98	12.67	19.8
Province, %					
Quebec	92.68	2.00	0.87	1.51	0.85
Ontario	79.54	3.31	4.61	1.56	6.68
British Columbia	77.58	0.71	9.10	0.91	6.48
Prairies	88.99	1.28	2.82	0.77	2.45
Atlantic	97.99	0.91	0.29	0.27	0.30

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 12. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Canada, 2011 NHS [1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	1211262	23337	62075	23965	69732
Log of wages and salaries, (mean, s.d.)	10.48 (1.15)	10.14 (1.19)	10.32 (1.24)	10.19 (1.27)	10.30 (1.18)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.94 (12.75)	38.58 (11.89)	41.03 (12.05)	38.92 (11.34)	39.60 (11.71)
Males, %	51.27	48.23	49.65	58.03	53.37
Marital status %					
Single	43.45	43.23	32.75	33.22	25.75
Married	45.58	42.65	61.34	60.66	70.25
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	10.97	11.12	5.91	6.12	3.99
Employment Status					
Fulltime (40+), %	89.04	82.31	86.33	83.88	87.41
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	44.81 (12.56)	43.00 (13.98)	44.10 (13.27)	42.83 (14.05)	44.16 (13.07)
Occupation, %					
Management	12.42	7.14	12.12	13.77	11.73
Business, finance and administrative	9.88	15.04	14.15	11.49	14.89
Natural and applied sciences and related	10.56	9.71	22.83	17.53	14.55
Health occupations	1.98	3.19	3.37	4.27	2.74
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.67	6.82	5.60	7.12	4.36
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.59	2.73	2.79	2.02	1.40
Sales and service occupations	18.44	24.84	22.01	22.68	20.50
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	28.03	21.33	10.97	15.47	20.03
Occupations unique to primary industry	4.39	1.52	0.71	0.75	1.33
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	6.04	7.68	5.45	4.90	8.47
Education, %					
Less than high school	11.60	10.16	8.21	7.04	8.53
High school	26.93	28.25	19.55	19.03	23.71
College or technical training	37.14	37.14	23.73	27.65	27.67
Bachelor's degree or above	24.46	24.46	48.51	46.28	40.09

Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	72.29	74.00	88.6	75.9	95.87
French	27.06	23.51	1.24	15.46	0.67
English and French	0.53	1.00	1.77	8.12	1.59
Other	0.13	1.49	8.39	0.52	1.87
Language spoken at home, %					
English	71.04	66.13	34.3	30.13	40.48
French	25.42	17.96	0.69	12.27	0.40
Other	3.54	15.9	65.01	57.6	59.12
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	90.82	30.7	21.69	8.50	15.94
0-10 years	2.10	26.95	23.51	41.79	34.27
11 to 20 years	1.99	17.68	27.51	30.29	27.92
21 years or more	5.09	24.67	27.29	19.43	21.86
Province, %					
Quebec	90.77	2.56	0.88	2.17	0.93
Ontario	76.45	3.50	4.88	1.99	7.79
British Columbia	74.71	0.77	9.57	1.20	7.23
Prairies	85.52	1.81	2.91	1.02	3.37
Atlantic	97.32	1.00	0.42	0.40	0.41

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Aggregate Decomposition Results

This section examines the wage gaps using the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model by first presenting the two-fold decomposition model using the 2006 Census and the 2011 NHS. It is then followed by the two-fold detailed decomposition model for the explained part of the wage gap and for the unexplained part of the wage gap, but only using the results from the 2006 Census. I do so for each visible minority group by province. Similar to Chapter 3, only the variables that are significant and of a considerable magnitude are considered in the discussion, since they are the biggest contributors to the wage gaps.

Table 13 presents the mean log wages for black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men (in that order) by provinces using the 2006 Census and the 2011 NHS. For the majority of the visible minority groups, the mean log of wages for whites is bigger than their mean log of wages, indicating a significant white-visible minority wage gap. For example, in Quebec, the mean log of wages for black men is 9.765, yielding a wage gap with white men of 0.48 (Table 13). Thus, the majority of visible minority men examined in this dissertation have large wage gaps compared to white men, especially in Quebec where the majority of the largest unadjusted wage gaps are found. This is the case for black, Chinese, and South Asian men who experience the largest unadjusted wage gaps in Quebec, whereas Arabs experience the largest gap in Ontario in 2005 and in the Prairies in 2010 (Quebec being second). This could provide support for the argument that Quebec is more discriminatory towards its visible minorities than ROC, but given that no other variables are taken into consideration yet, further examination is required before making such claims. In contrast, in the Atlantic provinces, Chinese and South Asian men have a higher mean wage (logged) than white men living in that region, whereas Arab men do not have a significant wage gap with whites. One possible explanation could be that visible minority persons are more likely to go to the Atlantic provinces because of job-related reasons, therefore having more advantageous characteristics than whites who, in contrast, tend to leave the Atlantic provinces, especially the most educated ones, in the hope of finding better work opportunities (see more about this in Chapter 6). Thus, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men living in the Atlantic provinces are excluded from the rest of the discussion presented in this chapter.

Table 13. Decomposition of wage gap between white Canadians and visible minorities for men, aged 18-64, working 30 hours per week, according to the province of residence, Canada, 2006 Census and 2011 NHS[1]

			Twofold Decomposition of Wage Gap			
	Mean (log) earnings	Wage gap (diff. from whites)	Portion explained[2]	% of gap	Portion unexplained[2]	% of gap
2006 Census						
Quebec						
Whites	10.245	---				
Blacks	9.765	0.480	0.343	71.46	0.137	28.54
Chinese	9.776	0.469	0.318	67.80	0.151	32.20
Arabs	9.804	0.441	0.288	65.31	0.153	34.69
South Asians	9.793	0.452	0.335	74.12	0.117	25.88
Ontario						
Whites	10.432	---				
Blacks	10.065	0.367	0.244	66.49	0.123	33.51
Chinese	10.18	0.253	0.098	38.74	0.155	61.26
Arabs	9.94	0.492	0.276	56.10	0.216	43.90
South Asians	10.14	0.292	0.136	46.58	0.156	53.42
British Columbia						
Whites	10.399	---				
Blacks	10.015	0.384	0.241	62.76	0.143	37.24
Chinese	10.011	0.388	0.247	63.66	0.141	36.34
Arabs	9.96	0.439	0.305	69.48	0.134	30.52
South Asians	10.064	0.335	0.239	71.34	0.096	28.66
Prairies						
Whites	10.459	---				
Blacks	10.039	0.420	0.255	60.71	0.165	39.29
Chinese	10.198	0.260	0.139	53.46	0.121	46.54
Arabs	10.046	0.413	0.257	62.23	0.156	37.77
South Asians	10.229	0.229	0.121	52.84	0.108	47.16
Atlantic						
Whites	10.087	---				
Blacks	9.736	0.351	0.251	71.51	0.100	28.49
Chinese	10.147	-0.060	-0.104	173.33	0.044	-73.33
Arabs	9.965	0.122	0.042	34.43	0.080	65.57
South Asians	10.179	-0.092	-0.118	128.26	0.026	-28.26
2011 NHS						
Quebec						
Whites	10.355	---				
Blacks	9.949	0.406	0.274	67.49	0.132	32.51
Chinese	10.039	0.316	0.146	46.20	0.170	53.80
Arabs	10.064	0.291	0.176	60.48	0.115	39.52
South Asians	10.005	0.350	0.283	80.86	0.067	19.14

Ontario						
Whites	10.495	---				
Blacks	10.183	0.312	0.196	62.82	0.116	37.18
Chinese	10.354	0.141	0.004	2.84	0.137	97.16
Arabs	10.223	0.272	0.146	53.68	0.126	46.32
South Asians	10.31	0.185	0.054	29.19	0.131	70.81
British Columbia						
Whites	10.502	---				
Blacks	10.204	0.298	0.165	55.37	0.133	44.63
Chinese	10.213	0.288	0.171	59.38	0.117	40.63
Arabs	10.229	0.273	0.168	61.54	0.105	38.46
South Asians	10.242	0.260	0.159	61.15	0.101	38.85
Prairies						
Whites	10.669	---				
Blacks	10.371	0.298	0.221	74.16	0.077	25.84
Chinese	10.534	0.135	0.065	48.15	0.070	51.85
Arabs	10.369	0.300	0.211	70.33	0.089	29.67
South Asians	10.445	0.224	0.084	37.50	0.140	62.50
Atlantic						
Whites	10.301	---				
Blacks	9.977	0.324	0.232	71.60	0.092	28.40
Chinese	10.321	-0.020	-0.028	140.00	0.008	-40.00
Arabs	10.271	0.030	0.086	286.67	-0.056	-186.67
South Asians	10.544	-0.243	-0.184	75.72	-0.059	24.28

[1]Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories.
[2]These are the portions explained and unexplained when controlling for personal, work characteristics, and duration and nativity status: age, marital status, educational level, official language spoken, and language spoken at home, occupations, and employment status (i.e. Working full-time vs part-time and number of weeks), and duration

Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Explained Detailed Decomposition

Although Quebec has some of the largest unadjusted wage gaps, it is also one of the provinces with the largest percentages explaining those wage gaps by observable characteristics, in 2005[48]. Quebec has the largest explained percentages for South Asian (74.12%, Table 13) and Chinese men (67.80%, Table 13), and has the second largest for blacks (71.46%, Table 13) and Arab men (65.31%, Table 13).

Tables 14, 15, 16, and 17 show the explained detailed decomposition of the wage gaps for black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men relative to white men, by province of residence, using the 2006 Census. The first two rows present the log annual earning gap, and the part of

[48] As with Chapter 3, only the results using the 2006 Census for the detailed decomposition model is being discussed in the text for reasons explained in Chapter 2.

this gap that is due to observable characteristics. For example, blacks in Quebec (Table 14 column 2) have a wage gap of 0.48 relative to whites in the same province[49], and 0.343 of this gap (or 71.46%) is explained by observable characteristics. The rest of the table shows how much each of the observable characteristics contribute to the explained portion of the wage gap. A negative coefficient indicates that the visible minority group is advantaged by their distribution on a given characteristic, compared to whites, thus decreasing the wage gap experienced by this group. For example, blacks in the Prairies are more likely than whites in the Prairies to have completed a bachelor's degree or above (as indicated by the -0.007 number in Table 14), which decreases their wage gap. This is also illustrated in Table B4, where we can see that blacks in the Prairies have a higher proportion with "bachelor's degree or above" than white men living in the Prairies (20.96% vs 17.65%, respectively). On the other hand, positive coefficients mean that the visible minority group is disadvantaged by its relative distribution on this individual characteristic compared to whites. A positive number indicates that a given characteristic contributes to widening the wage gap, and the magnitude tells us by how much. Taking blacks in Quebec as an example, we can see that speaking a language at home other than English or French significantly contributes 0.016 to the 0.343 of the explained wage gap (Table 14). This means that the language ability of blacks in Quebec explains 4.67% of their wage gap. I will now outline the most notable findings from the tables.

Education

Similarities across visible minority groups and provinces can be observed when examining the specific characteristics contributing to the explained wage gaps of black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men. In terms of advantages, since a high level of education is usually associated with a high income, that fact that a majority of the visible minority groups examined in this dissertation have a high proportion who have completed a high education level (i.e. bachelor's degree or above) constitutes an asset, and this applies to all the provinces. This greater concentration of highly educated men is especially true for Arabs (Table 16), Chinese (Table 15), and South Asians (Table 17), whereas black men are less likely than these visible minority groups to have a university degree (Table 14). Nevertheless, the education level of black men is also an advantage, since those living in Quebec and in the Prairies are

[49] As indicated by Tables 14 and 15 (as well as all the explained and unexplained tables presented in this chapter), the comparison group is always white men living in their respective provinces. Hence, the words "living in their respective provinces" will not always be written down, but should be assumed.

more likely to have a bachelor's degree or above than white men. In contrast, the proportion of highly educated black men is lower in Ontario, which contributes to their wage gap (Table 14). Black men in the Atlantic provinces are also disadvantaged by having a higher proportion who have completed high school, and a lower proportion who have completed a college or technical training education, compared to white men. Thus, relative to whites in their respective provinces, blacks living in Quebec and in the Prairies are better off than blacks living in Ontario and in the Atlantic provinces. When examining Arab men specifically (Table 16), their high level of education plays a substantial role in Quebec where the percentage difference between white/Arab is larger than in the other provinces (see Table B1 in Appendix B). Hence, black and Arab men in Quebec seem particularly advantaged compared to their visible minority counterparts, since they have a much higher percentage of individuals having completed this high educational level, compared to whites living in Quebec. Not too surprising is the fact that Chinese men are heavily advantaged by their high education level, and this applies to all the provinces, but plays a larger role in Ontario. As for South Asians (Table 17), South Asian men in Ontario and in the Prairies seem to have a more favorable distribution than South Asian men in Quebec and in British Columbia, relative to white men in their respective provinces. For example, South Asian men in Ontario and in the Prairies are advantaged by their low proportion with "less than high school" relative to white men, whereas South Asian men in British Columbia are disadvantaged by having a higher proportion. Therefore, visible minorities's high educational level contributes to decrease their wage gap, which would be larger if their educational level was similar to that of white men.

Marital Status

In general, the marital status of most visible minorities is an asset, because they are more likely than white men to be married, and are less likely to be single. This is explained by the fact that married men have the highest average income, and that single men have the lowest average income[50].This is the case for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men in all the provinces[51], except for Arabs in Ontario and British Columbia who are more likely to be single (Table 15, Table 16, and Table 17, respectively). When looking at the marital distribution of black men (Table 14), there exists a clear difference between those living in Quebec compared

[50] Tables not shown.

[51] A reminder that the Atlantic provinces are excluded from this discussion for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men.

to those living the rest of Canada (ROC). Black men in Quebec are advantaged by their marital status, given that they are more likely than white men to be married and are less likely to be single. In contrast, black men living in ROC are disadvantaged by being less likely than white men to be married and more likely to be single.

Occupation

When comparing across visible minority groups, Chinese and Arab men, compared to black and South Asian men, seem to have a more favorable distribution regarding occupation relative to white men, regardless of the province. To be more precise, Chinese and Arab men are advantaged by the fact that they are more likely to work in highly-paid occupations relative to white men, whereas black and South Asians seem to experience the opposite situation. An example of this can be found in the experience of Arab men who are more likely to be managers compared to white men, and this applies to Quebec and to British Columbia (Table 16). In all the provinces[52], Arab and Chinese men are advantaged by the fact that they have a high proportion with natural and applies sciences and related occupations, compared to white men. (Tables 15-16). Thus, Chinese and Arab men tend to be advantaged by their distribution on occupation relative to white men, since the occupations listed above are associated with a high average income.

In contrast, black men are less likely to occupy managerial positions, which explains part of their wage gap, and this applies to all the provinces, especially in Ontario and the Prairies (Table 14). In addition, in all the provinces, black men are disadvantaged by the fact that they have a low proportion working in the natural and applied sciences and related occupations. Similar to black men, South Asian men are disadvantaged by their lower likelihood of occupying managerial positions compared to white men, and this applies to Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia (Table 17). On the other hand, South Asian men seem to be in a slightly better position than black men; they are advantaged by having a high proportion working in health occupations, and this applies to the Prairies and Quebec (albeit with a very low coefficient). Moreover, in Ontario and in the Prairies, South Asian men are advantaged by having a high proportion working in natural and applied sciences and related fields, compared to white men. However, South Asian men in British Columbia are in the opposite position with a low proportion. Hence, black and South Asian men, but particularly

[52] Ibid.

black men, have a distribution on occupations relative to white men that is less favorable than that of Chinese and Arab men, and this applies to all the provinces.

Nevertheless, we can still find some similarities across groups when examining their distribution on occupation relative to white men. For instance, black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men are advantaged by having a low proportion working in occupations unique to the primary industry compared to white men, and this applies to all the provinces (except in British Columbia for South Asians). Black and South Asian men are advantaged by the fact that they are more likely than white men to work in occupations unique to processing, manufacturing, and utilities, and this applies to all the provinces, except for the Atlantic provinces (Tables 14 and 17). Visible minority groups also share disadvantages. For example, the fact that they are more likely to work in sales and service occupations compared to white men disadvantages them, which partly explains their wage gap. This applies to all the provinces for black, Chinese, and Arab men, whereas this applies only to Quebec, British Columbia, and the Prairies for South Asians. For blacks, this plays a much bigger role in the Atlantic provinces (0.020, Table 14). Indeed, when looking at Table B5 in Appendix B, blacks in the Atlantic Provinces are over 50% more likely to work in sales and services relative to whites in that Province (33.15% versus 18.89%, respectively). In addition, visible minority men are disadvantaged by having a low proportion with trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations, compared to white men. This applies to black men living in all the provinces (except British Columbia), and this plays a bigger role in Quebec (0.007, Table 14). For Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men, this applies to those living in Quebec, Ontario, and the Prairies.

Full-time Status and Number of Weeks Worked

Despite those advantages, we can find that the disadvantages, overall, outweigh these favorable distributions relative to white men, and that they contribute in explaining the wage gaps experienced by blacks, Chinese, Arabs, and South Asian men. First, the fact that all visible minority men are less likely to work on a full-time basis (working 40 hours per week and more*)* is part of the explanation for their lower wages compared to white men, and this applies to all the provinces[53]. For black men, it is worth noting that it plays the largest role in

[53] A reminder that the Atlantic provinces are excluded from this discussion for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men.

the Atlantic provinces (0.071, Table 14), whereas it plays the largest one in British Columbia and the Prairies for Arab men (0.071, 0.070, Table 16, respectively), in Quebec for South Asians (0.047, Table 17), and in British Columbia for Chinese (0.054, Table 15). In addition, visible minority men are disadvantaged because, on average, they work fewer hours per week than white men, and this applies to all the provinces for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men. For black men, this applies to all the provinces (except in the Atlantic provinces), but it plays a larger role in Quebec, as indicated by the 0.096 coefficient (Table 14). It is also more important in Quebec for Arab men and Chinese men (0.113, Table 16; 0.107, Table 15, respectively). Thus, based on these findings, visible minority men across all the provinces would have a smaller wage gap relative to whites if they were able to find year-round employment. As explained in previous chapters, this finding can reflect a lack of access to employment experienced by visible minority men, and not a result of a voluntary choice on their part.

Work Experience and Canadian Work Experience

All the visible minority groups examined in this dissertation are also disadvantaged by the fact that they are younger, on average, than white men, and this applies to all the provinces, except for Quebec with Arab men[54]. As stated in the previous chapter, since age is used as a rough proxy for work experience, this potentially indicates that visible minority men suffer from a lack of work experience when compared to white men.

In addition, the "duration and nativity status" variable could indicate that visible minority men suffer from a lack of Canadian work experience, when compared to white men. Indeed, regardless of the visible minority group examined, visible minority men are disadvantaged by being more likely to be immigrants, compared to whites, which explains part of their wage gap, and this applies to all the provinces[55]. For every visible minority group, this plays the largest role in Quebec, which could partly be explained by the fact that this province has one of the highest percentages of white Canadian-born individuals.

Moreover, the fact that visible minority men have been living in Canada for a shorter duration relative to white men (i.e., 0-10 years) also explains part of their wage gap, and this applies to all the provinces, once again playing a more prominent role in Quebec for all visible

[54] One possible explanation could be that in Quebec, between the ages of 55-64, Arab men have a higher average income than white men (Tables not shown).

[55] A reminder that the Atlantic provinces are excluded from this discussion for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men.

minority groups, except for South Asians where it is Ontario (Table 17). On the other hand, visible minority immigrants who have been living in Canada for a longer period of time (i.e., 11-20 years for Ontario, 21 years or more for all the provinces) see their wage gap being smaller relative to white men. Arab men, being the most "recent" visible minority group compared to the other ones examined in this dissertation, are therefore more disadvantaged by this situation (Table 16). Overall, the wage gap experienced by visible minority men is greater for recent immigrants than it is for immigrants who have been living in Canada a longer period of time (potentially indicating a greater amount of Canadian work experience).

Language

Visible minority men are disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to speak a language that is neither French nor English at home and as their first official language spoken. For example, Chinese and South Asian men are heavily disadvantaged by having a higher proportion of individuals who speak a language that is neither French nor English as their first official language spoken and as their main language spoken at home, and this applies to all the provinces, except in Ontario for the first official language spoken (Tables 15 and 17, respectively). This plays a larger role in British Columbia. Black and Arab men are more likely to speak a language at home that is neither French nor English, and this applies to all the provinces, but it plays the largest role in the Prairies (0.022, Table 14) and in Quebec (0.016, Table 14) for black men, whereas it is in British Columbia for Arab men (0.070, Table 16). Hence, the higher likelihood of visible minorities to speak "other" languages at home is to their disadvantage all over, but especially in British Columbia.

Although there exist similarities between Quebec and ROC when it comes to the language variables, visible minority men in Quebec are largely disadvantaged by their lower likelihood of speaking French, more specifically by the fact that they have a lower proportion with "French" as their first official language spoken and as their main language spoken at home, compared to white men. However, for Quebec, visible minority men are advantaged by their greater likelihood of speaking English at home, compared to white men. As one could expect, speaking French plays a rather small role in ROC than in Quebec (probably because it is rarer, except in New Brunswick). Instead, visible minority men are disadvantaged in ROC by their lower likelihood of speaking English. For example, in British Columbia and in the Prairies, Chinese men are disadvantaged by their lower likelihood of having English as their

first official language spoken, compared to white men (0.005, 0.002, respectively, Table 15). Chinese men are also disadvantaged by having a low proportion with “English” as their language spoken at home, and this applies to Ontario, and the Prairies. Hence, visible minority men are disadvantaged by their higher likelihood of speaking a language that is neither English nor French, and by their lower likelihood of speaking French (in Quebec) and English (in ROC), especially at home whereas the first official language spoken has a smaller impact, compared to white men.

Table 14. Oaxaca-Binder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for black men, aged 18-64, working 30+hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census [1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Blacks in Quebec	**Blacks in Ontario**	**Blacks in British Columbia**	**Blacks in Prairies**	**Blacks in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.480***	0.367***	0.384***	0.420***	0.351***
	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.033)	(0.020)	(0.040)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.343***	0.244***	0.241***	0.255***	0.251***
	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.030)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.257***	0.187***	0.250***	0.207***	0.224***
	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.026)	(0.016)	(0.035)
Age squared	-0.220***	-0.168***	-0.234***	-0.198***	-0.173***
	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.022)	(0.014)	(0.030)
Marital status					
Single	-0.003***	0.011***	0.011***	0.010***	0.019***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Married	-0.003***	0.014***	0.012***	0.009***	0.019***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Separated	0.000	0.000**	0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.004***	-0.004***	-0.000	-0.003***	0.004
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
High school	0.001***	0.001***	-0.000	0.001	0.004***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
College or technical training	0.001***	-0.001***	-0.000	0.001**	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.011***	0.008***	-0.001	-0.007***	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.002	0.000	0.003**	0.002**	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
French	0.010***	0.000	-0.000	-0.001**	0.007
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
English and French	-0.001	0.000	-0.001*	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Other	0.000	0.000	-0.000**	0.000	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)

Language spoken at home					
English	-0.007***	0.002***	0.002	0.007***	-0.001*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
French	0.011***	-0.000	-0.002***	-0.001***	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.016***	0.005***	0.012***	0.022***	0.002**
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.001)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.058***	0.056***	0.052***	0.056***	0.071***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Weeks	0.096***	0.069***	0.061***	0.067***	0.016
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.016)
Occupation					
Management	0.018***	0.023***	0.014***	0.021***	0.011***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.001***	-0.001***	0.000*	0.000	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	0.002*	0.002***	0.004***	0.005***	0.009***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Health occupations	-0.003***	-0.000*	-0.002**	-0.003***	-0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.000***	-0.000***	0.001	0.000**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001*	0.001*	0.005***	-0.001	0.002
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Sales and service occupations	0.006***	0.004***	0.009***	0.008***	0.020***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.007***	0.001***	-0.000	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.006***	-0.005***	-0.002***	-0.010***	-0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.001**	-0.003***	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.082***	0.031***	0.033***	0.032***	0.005***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.002)
0-10 years	0.053***	0.032***	0.022***	0.044***	0.010***
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.003)

11 to 20 years	0.002	-0.004***	-0.001	0.000	-0.002*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
21 years or more	-0.018***	-0.017***	-0.006***	-0.011***	-0.001*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Constant	-0.362**	0.006	-0.330	-0.488**	-0.150
	(0.157)	(0.096)	(0.304)	(0.206)	(0.325)
N	334235	453584	240932	226926	102908

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories.
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels
using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

Table 15. Oaxaca-Blinder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Chinese men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Chinese in Quebec	**Chinese in Ontario**	**Chinese in British Columbia**	**Chinese in Prairies**	**Chinese in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.469***	0.253***	0.388***	0.260***	-0.060
	(0.022)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.067)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.318***	0.098***	0.247***	0.139***	-0.104**
	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.050)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.128***	0.064***	0.116***	0.002	0.060
	(0.016)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.053)
Age squared	-0.124***	-0.047***	-0.111***	-0.017	-0.075*
	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.045)
Marital status					
Single	-0.013***	-0.006***	-0.002***	-0.002***	-0.005*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Married	-0.017***	-0.012***	-0.009***	-0.008***	-0.007**
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Separated	0.000**	-0.000**	-0.000	0.001***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.003**	-0.005***	-0.003***	-0.005***	-0.017***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.003)
High school	-0.002***	-0.007***	-0.003***	-0.007***	-0.004**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
College or technical training	0.004***	0.005***	0.003***	0.005***	0.010***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.057***	-0.066***	-0.032***	-0.051***	-0.090***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.007)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.005	-0.000	0.005**	0.002**	-0.001
	(0.008)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.004)
French	0.043***	0.001	0.000	0.001**	0.010*
	(0.013)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.006)
English and French	-0.006	0.000	-0.000*	-0.000	-0.001
	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.007**	-0.000	0.014**	0.007**	0.004
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.003)

Language spoken at home					
English	-0.004***	0.018***	0.009	0.018***	0.010**
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.005)
French	0.028***	0.001***	0.000***	0.000***	0.003
	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Other	0.062***	0.057***	0.080***	0.057***	0.025**
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.012)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.050***	0.013***	0.054***	0.047***	0.020
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.013)
Weeks	0.107***	0.069***	0.065***	0.063***	-0.066***
	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.023)
Occupation					
Management	-0.001	0.008***	0.000	0.008***	-0.005
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.001***	-0.000***	0.001**	0.000	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.024***	-0.026***	-0.009***	-0.027***	-0.033***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)
Health occupations	-0.001	-0.000*	-0.001***	-0.004***	-0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.000	-0.000***	-0.001***	0.000	0.003**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001	-0.001**	-0.001**	0.000	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Sales and service occupations	0.008***	0.002***	0.014***	0.012***	0.006*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.013***	0.003***	-0.000	0.007***	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.004***	-0.012***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.001**	-0.002***	-0.000	-0.001***	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.091***	0.038***	0.043***	0.032***	0.024***
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.009)
0-10 years	0.064***	0.052***	0.030***	0.026***	0.040***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.010)

11 to 20 years	0.002	-0.005***	-0.002	0.000	-0.008*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.005)
21 years or more	-0.016***	-0.013***	-0.006***	-0.019***	-0.005*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Constant	-0.395*	-0.278***	-0.529***	-0.076	0.094
	(0.217)	(0.084)	(0.145)	(0.177)	(0.722)
N	330265	460704	255595	230635	102298

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses given to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 16. Oaxaca-Blinder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Arab men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Arabs in Quebec	**Arabs in Ontario**	**Arabs in British Columbia**	**Arabs in Prairies**	**Arabs in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.441***	0.492***	0.439***	0.413***	0.122
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.077)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.288***	0.276***	0.305***	0.257***	0.042
	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.058)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.182***	0.224***	0.222***	0.189***	0.185***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.061)
Age squared	-0.188***	-0.208***	-0.200***	-0.187***	-0.153***
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.053)
Marital status					
Single	-0.015***	0.001**	0.003**	-0.003**	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Married	-0.017***	-0.005***	-0.003**	-0.008***	-0.003
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Separated	0.000**	-0.000**	-0.000	0.001***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.017***	-0.009***	-0.006***	0.004**	-0.017***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)
High school	-0.004***	-0.004***	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.002
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
College or technical training	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.006***	0.006***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.062***	-0.050***	-0.035***	-0.032***	-0.064***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.007)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.001	-0.000	0.003**	0.002**	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
French	0.020***	0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.008
	(0.006)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.005)
English and French	-0.007	0.000	-0.003*	-0.000	-0.003
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Other	0.001*	-0.000	0.002*	0.001**	0.002
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.002***	0.015***	0.008	0.015***	0.010**
	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)
French	0.018***	0.001***	-0.000	0.000**	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.042***	0.047***	0.070***	0.048***	0.023**
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.011)
Work Characteristics					

Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.042***	0.064***	0.071***	0.070***	0.030**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.015)
Weeks	0.113***	0.103***	0.084***	0.088***	-0.015
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.028)
Occupation					
Management	-0.008***	-0.002	-0.007***	-0.001	-0.016***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.000***	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.015***	-0.011***	-0.008***	-0.010***	-0.005
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Health occupations	0.002***	-0.000*	-0.001*	-0.003***	-0.011***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.001***	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.002***	-0.003***	-0.001	-0.003***	-0.005***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Sales and service occupations	0.006***	0.007***	0.013***	0.014***	0.011***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.010***	0.002***	-0.000	0.003***	0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.007***	-0.006***	-0.004***	-0.010***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.002***	0.001***	0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.105***	0.042***	0.054***	0.035***	0.029***
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.010)
0-10 years	0.093***	0.072***	0.053***	0.048***	0.047***
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.011)
11 to 20 years	0.003	-0.007***	-0.002	0.000	-0.013*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.007)
21 years or more	-0.008***	-0.003***	-0.002***	-0.009***	-0.004*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Constant	-0.981***	-0.572***	-0.748**	-0.663**	-1.449**
	(0.181)	(0.150)	(0.297)	(0.314)	(0.682)
N	332616	444222	241268	225637	102261

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses given to the visible minority categories.
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels
using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

Table 17. Oaxaca-Blinder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for South Asian men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	South Asians in Quebec	**South Asians in Ontario**	**South Asians in British Columbia**	**South Asians in Prairies**	**South Asians in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.452***	0.292***	0.335***	0.229***	-0.092
	(0.021)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.087)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.335***	0.136***	0.239***	0.121***	-0.118**
	(0.016)	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.053)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.129***	0.119***	0.219***	0.061***	0.019
	(0.017)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.060)
Age squared	-0.117***	-0.117***	-0.191***	-0.059***	-0.009
	(0.015)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.052)
Marital status					
Single	-0.017***	-0.011***	-0.012***	-0.011***	-0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Married	-0.020***	-0.020***	-0.020***	-0.015***	-0.005*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Separated	0.000**	-0.000	-0.000	0.001***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education					
Less than high school	0.001	-0.009***	0.006***	-0.011***	-0.026***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
High school	0.003***	-0.005**	0.001**	-0.004***	-0.011***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
College or technical training	0.003***	0.003***	0.002***	0.004***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.022***	-0.048***	-0.007***	-0.050***	-0.107***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.007)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.008	0.000	0.003**	0.000	-0.001
	(0.012)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.006)
French	0.049***	0.001	0.000	0.001**	0.010*
	(0.015)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.006)
English and French	-0.005	0.000	-0.000*	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Other	0.001*	-0.000	0.010**	0.003**	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.012***	0.014***	0.008***	0.016***	0.005**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.003)
French	0.030***	0.001***	0.000	0.000	0.002
	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.055***	0.045***	0.073***	0.052***	0.015**
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.007)

Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.047***	0.012***	0.014***	0.032***	0.004
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.013)
Weeks	0.060***	0.070***	0.060***	0.063***	-0.032
	(0.008)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.027)
Occupation					
Management	0.004**	0.009***	0.007***	-0.000	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.000***	-0.001**	0.000**	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.001	-0.009***	0.004***	-0.017***	-0.020***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.005)
Health occupations	-0.001**	-0.000**	-0.000**	-0.003***	-0.024***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.004)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.001***	-0.001***	-0.002***	-0.000***	0.005***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.003***	-0.004***	-0.004***	-0.003***	0.002
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.003)
Sales and service occupations	0.008***	0.000	0.005***	0.005***	-0.007**
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.009***	0.002***	-0.000	0.004***	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.006***	-0.007***	0.001***	-0.013***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	-0.006***	-0.007***	-0.003***	-0.001***	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.096***	0.040***	0.042***	0.036***	0.028***
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.010)
0-10 years	0.069***	0.074***	0.031***	0.044***	0.044***
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.011)
11 to 20 years	0.003	-0.005***	-0.001	0.000	-0.006*
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
21 years or more	-0.015***	-0.008***	-0.007***	-0.016***	-0.010**
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Constant	-1.077***	-0.506***	-0.536***	-0.538**	0.014
	(0.207)	(0.081)	(0.163)	(0.219)	(0.978)
N	330202	471524	250911	229714	102290

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses given to the visible minority categories.
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels

Unexplained Detailed Decomposition

As stated above, the majority of the wage gaps experienced by black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men in Quebec are accounted for by their individual characteristics. Thus, when examining the unexplained portion of the wage gaps, Table 13 demonstrates that Quebec is not the province with the highest percentage unexplained. In fact, Ontario has the largest unexplained percentages for South Asian (53.42%), Chinese (61.26%), and Arab men (65.57%), while the Prairies have the largest for black men (39.29%).

Tables 18, 19, 20, and 21 show the unexplained detailed decomposition of the wage gaps for black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men relative to white men by province of residence using the 2006 Census, respectively. Similar to the analysis pertaining to the explained detailed decomposition, Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians living in the Atlantic provinces are excluded from the discussion. Row 1 of the tables indicates the wage gap with respect to whites who live in Quebec, and how much of the wage gap remains unexplained after all relevant characteristics have been accounted for in the model. The other rows indicate the same information, but for Ontario, British Columbia, the Prairies, and the Atlantic provinces (in that order). The rest of the table lists the variable where visible minorities receive lower/higher returns for having the same characteristics as whites. As with Chapter 3, I emphasize the variables that are significant and of a considerable magnitude. A negative coefficient indicates that a given variable contributes to decrease the wage gap experienced by a given visible minority group, providing them with more returns for having a certain characteristic. Positive numbers indicate that a given variable is contributing to the wage gap and, thus, that they are getting lower returns than whites for this characteristic. This is why this section is associated with discrimination, since it illustrates when a visible minority group earns less than whites, even when they have the same characteristics as them[56].

Education

Tables 18, 19, 20, and 21 demonstrate that general patterns can be observed when examining the unexplained part of the wage gap experienced by black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men across provinces. In Quebec and in Ontario, every visible minority group examined in this dissertation experienced lower returns for having a bachelor's degree or above

[56] It can also be to other reasons, such as omitted variables. Please see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion on that topic.

compared to white men, except Arab men in Quebec. This plays a larger role in Quebec for black men (0.020, Table 18), whereas it plays a bigger role in Ontario for Chinese and South Asians (0.030, Table 19, 0.054, Table 21, respectively). Moreover, Arabs in British Columbia and South Asians in the Prairies also experience lower returns on this educational category. This could offer strong support for the discrimination hypothesis, given that it indicates that, all else being equal, a visible minority man with a bachelor's degree or above earns less than a white man with the same educational level. Additional evidence supporting the discrimination hypothesis can be found when looking at Chinese men (Table 19). In Quebec, Ontario, and in British Columbia, the return on having completed a high school diploma is lower for Chinese men than for white men with the same degree. The same is true for Chinese and Arab men with a college or technical training education (excluding bachelor's degree or above) living in Ontario.). This may provide some support to the argument that discrimination is present in those two provinces. However, it is worth noting that Arab men in Quebec show no significant signs for this variable, potentially indicating a lack of discrimination towards Arab men with respect to their educational level in Quebec, whereas significant signs are found in Ontario and British Columbia.

Even though some findings potentially point to the presence of discrimination, we can also find examples where visible minority men obtain a higher return for their educational level, compared to white men. For example, the return for having completed less than a high school diploma is higher for black and South Asian men in Quebec and in Ontario, for Chinese in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, and for Arab men in Ontario, compared to white men with the same educational level, living in their respective provinces. Other evidence contradicting the discrimination hypothesis includes the fact that higher returns are given to black men in Ontario who have completed a high school diploma, compared to white men who have the same educational degree in that province (Table 18). The same applies to black men in Quebec and in the Atlantic provinces who have completed a college or technical training degree. Thus, some visible minority groups receive higher returns for certain educational levels, but not for the highest level where they experience the opposite.

Marital Status

Marital status also contributes to the unexplained portion of the wage gap experienced by visible minority men in Canada. For example, visible minority men who are married tend to

receive a lower wage than white men who are married, all else being equal. This applies to black and Arab men in Quebec and Ontario, Chinese men in Ontario, British Columbia, and in the Prairies, and South Asian men in Ontario and in the Prairies. In contrast, black married men in the Atlantic provinces receive a higher wage (Table 18). Being single is also associated with a higher return for visible minority men compared to white men, and this applies to black men in Ontario, Chinese men in all the provinces[57], South Asian men in Ontario and British Columbia, and Arab men in Ontario and in the Prairies. In addition, in Quebec, the return on being separated is greater for black men than for white men, whereas it is the opposite for black men living in the Atlantic provinces (Table 18). Finally, for South Asian men in Quebec (Table 21), none of the categories for marital status are significant, potentially indicating that South Asian men do no experience any significant differences in returns for their marital characteristics in that province (or a lack of evidence). Thus, the marital status of visible minority men offers both evidence against and in favor of the discrimination hypothesis, where a penalty is often associated with being married whereas a premium is associated with being single.

Occupation

Findings related to occupation offer mixed support for the discrimination hypothesis. Results supporting the presence of discrimination can be found when examining highly-paid occupations, such as management, where visible minority men earn a lower wage than white men. For instance, all else being equal, blacks working in a managerial position in Quebec and in Ontario have lower incomes relative to whites in those positions. The same applies to Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men in all the provinces, except British Columbia for Arab men[58]. These findings offer strong support for the argument that discrimination is prevalent in the labor market, especially in highly-paid positions. However, it does not support the argument that the situation is worse off in Quebec than in ROC, since I find similar results across the provinces.

For example, black and Arab men in all the provinces (except British Columbia for black men) are less rewarded when working in trades and transport, compared to white men (Tables 18 and 20, respectively). This also applies to South Asians in Ontario, British

[57] A reminder that the Atlantic provinces are excluded from this discussion for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men.
[58] Ibid

Columbia, and the Prairies (Table 21). The return is also lower when working in occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities for South Asians in Ontario and the Prairies, for blacks in all the provinces (except the Prairies), and for Chinese men in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia. Moreover, compared to white men living in their respective provinces, blacks in Ontario and in the Prairies receive lower returns for working in sales and service occupations, and this is also the case for Chinese living in all the provinces, and Arab and South Asian men living in Quebec, in Ontario, and in the Prairies. Thus, the distribution of visible minority groups on occupation potentially indicates the presence of discrimination, where black men seem particularly penalized, especially when working highly-paid jobs, and this applies to all the provinces.

On the other hand, some findings also reveal that visible minority men can receive higher returns than white men when working in certain occupations in some provinces. For example, in British Columbia, the return on working in occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities is higher for South Asians than for white men, all else being equal (Table 21). In addition, some of those occupations are highly-paid, which contradicts the findings above. This is the case for black men in the Atlantic provinces and South Asian men in British Columbia working in business, finance, and administrative occupations who receive a higher wage than white men working in the same field (Tables 18 and 21, respectively). This is also the case when working in natural and applied sciences and related occupations, and this applies to black men in British Columbia, and to Chinese, Arab and South Asian men in all the provinces. Black men living in Quebec, Chinese men in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, Arab men in Quebec and Ontario, and South Asians in Ontario and the Prairies also receive a higher return when they work in health occupations, compared to white men living in their respective provinces. These cases contradict the argument that visible minority men are discriminated against in terms of their occupation. Hence, the occupational categories reveal evidence that both supports and contradicts the discrimination hypothesis; evidence which also does not show any substantial differences between Quebec and ROC.

Full-time Status and Number of Weeks Worked

A finding supporting the discrimination hypothesis resides in the fact that visible minority men who work full-time receive a lower wage than white men working full-time, all else being equal. This applies to black men in all the provinces (except in the Atlantic

provinces), and Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men in Ontario, British Columbia, and the Prairies. Thus, except for black men, Quebec is the only province that does not have a significant difference in returns for the full-time status of visible minority men[59]. This could contradict the hypothesis that discrimination is more present in Quebec than in ROC. In addition, in Quebec, the return on working full-time is greater for South Asian men than for white men, all else being equal (Table 21). Based on these findings, visible minority men are potentially discriminated against when it comes to their full-time status, and this seems to be more prevalent in ROC than in Quebec.

However, the findings pertaining to the number of weeks worked contradict the argument that discrimination is present in the Canadian provinces, but still support the argument that Quebec might be better off than ROC. For instance, the return for working the same number of weeks as white men is greater for black men living in Quebec, British Columbia, and the Prairies, for Chinese men in all the provinces, for Arab men who live in Quebec and in Ontario, and for South Asian men in Ontario and the Prairies. Supporting the argument that Quebec might be in a better situation than ROC is the additional fact that, for Chinese men, this seems to play a larger role in Quebec which has the largest coefficient (-0.244, Table 19). Moreover, the Quebec coefficient is not significant for South Asian men, potentially indicating a lack of discrimination towards this visible minority group for this characteristic (Table 21). In addition, in British Columbia, South Asian men receive a lower wage when working the same number of weeks as white men, all else being equal. Thus, evidence both supporting and contradicting the discrimination hypothesis can be found when analyzing the full-time status and the number of weeks worked of visible minority men, where the situation in Quebec seems better than in ROC.

Work Experience and Canadian Work Experience

When examining the age variable (a proxy for work experience), visible minority men receive a lower return than white men. Thus, all else being equal, for the same amount of work experience, white men receive a higher wage than visible minority men, which strongly supports the discrimination hypothesis. This applies to black men in the Atlantic provinces,

[59] A reminder that the Atlantic provinces are excluded from this discussion for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men.

Arab men in Quebec and in Ontario, Chinese men in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, and South Asian men in all the provinces.

Moreover, strong evidence supporting the argument that there could be discrimination, and that it could be more prevalent in Quebec, can be found when exploring the duration and nativity status variable. Strong evidence supporting the argument that there is discrimination in Quebec includes the fact that someone who is black and Canadian-born earns less in Quebec than someone who is white and Canadian-born, all else being equal (Table 18). Quebec is the only province that has a positive and significant coefficient in that category (though only at 0.05 level), potentially demonstrating the stronger presence of discrimination towards black men in that province than in ROC. The situation is similar for Chinese men where it is only in Quebec that they receive a lower return for being Canadian-born compared to white men, whereas Chinese men living in Ontario, British Columbia, and the Prairies receive a greater return (Table 19). In other words, in Quebec only are Chinese men who are Canadian-born earning less than Canadian-born white men, all else being equal. In addition, South Asians who are Canadian-born earn less than white men who are Canadian-born, and this applies to Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia (Table 21). This plays a bigger role in Quebec which has the largest coefficient (0.023, Table 21). On the other hand, in the Prairies, the return for being Canadian-born is greater for Arab men than for white men, which contradicts the discrimination hypothesis (Table 20). Thus, these findings offer strong support for the argument that Quebec is potentially more discriminatory than ROC towards visible minority men who are Canadian-born.

Nevertheless, it is not only in Quebec that one can find evidence of lower returns for visible minority men. For instance, in British Columbia, South Asian men who have been living in Canada for 11 to 20 years receive a lower return than white men with the same amount of time spent in the country (Table 21). This also applies to Arab men in Quebec, Ontario, and the Prairies, Black men in Ontario and the Prairies, and Chinese men in British Columbia. These findings offer strong support for the discrimination hypothesis, since having less Canadian work experience cannot be used as an excuse to justify the wage gap. Moreover, in Ontario, British Columbia, and in the Prairies, Chinese men who have been living in Canada for 0-10 years earn less than white men who have been in Canada the same amount of time (Table 19). The same applies to Arab men in the Prairies (Table 20). However, in Quebec and

in Ontario, the return on having lived in Canada for 0-10 years is greater for black men than for white men (Table 18). The same applies to South Asian men in Quebec (Table 21). Overall, Quebec is not the only province where visible minority immigrants receive lower returns on their time spent in Canada compared to white men.

On the other hand, this penalty seems to disappear for long-term visible minority immigrants. Indeed, the return on having spent a long period of time in Canada (i.e., 21 years or more) is often greater for visible minority men than for white men. This is the case for black men in the Prairies, for Chinese men in Ontario and in British Columbia, for South Asian men in all the provinces, and for Arab men in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia. Therefore, it seems that the return on being in Canada longer is greater for visible minority men in most of the provinces examined in this dissertation, compared to white immigrants, but only when they have spent 21 years or more in the country.

Language

There exist some differences between Quebec and ROC when one looks at language. A greater penalty for the language spoken seems present in Quebec when compared to ROC, where very few positive and significant coefficients are found for the language variables in ROC when compared to Quebec. In Quebec, lower returns tend to be associated with speaking French for some visible minority men in Quebec. For example, Arab men in Quebec who speak French, either at home or as their first official language spoken, earn less than white men with the same language skills (Table 20). For black men, the return for having French as their first official language spoken is lower for them than for white men (Table 18). In other words, in Quebec, even when black and Arab men speak French, they earn less than white men who speak French, all else being equal. Lower returns for speaking English are also found in Quebec for some visible minority groups. For example, blacks and Chinese in Quebec receive lower returns for speaking English as their first official language spoken, whereas black men in Ontario who speak French as their first official language spoken receive a higher wage than their white counterparts (Tables 18 and 19, respectively). However, Quebec is not the only region that penalizes visible minority men for the language spoken. Arab men in British Columbia and in the Prairies receive lower returns on speaking English than white men living in these provinces (Table 20). Finally, we can even find some cases where the returns are higher for visible minority men, even in Quebec. For example, Chinese men in Quebec who

speak English at home receive higher returns than white men who speak English, all else being equal (Table 19). The same situation applies to Chinese men in Ontario whose English is their first official language spoken (ibid).

Some overall trends can be found among ROC where some visible minority men are penalized when speaking a language that is neither French nor English. For instance, in Ontario, Chinese men whose first official language spoken is neither French nor English receive a lower return than white men with the same official language spoken (Table 19). In British Columbia and the Prairies, the return on having English and French as their first official language spoken is lower for South Asians than for white men (Table 21). On the other hand, the return for having a language that is neither French nor English can bring higher returns for some visible minority groups. Such is also the case of South Asians in British Columbia (ibid). Surprisingly, none of the language coefficients are significant in the province of Quebec for South Asian men, which could potentially be interpreted as a lack of significant differences in returns to their language characteristics. Thus, although the language variables potentially reveal the presence of discrimination towards some visible minority men in Quebec, it also seems to be a problem in ROC.

Conclusion

To summarize, this chapter analyzed wage gaps experienced by visible minority men (blacks, Chinese, South Asians, and Arabs, compared to white men) between the ages of 18 and 64, who worked 30 hours or more per week, excluding self-employed individuals. Based on the findings of this chapter, visible minority men experience large wage gaps compared to white men, especially in Quebec where the majority of the largest wage gaps are found. This is the case for black, Chinese, and South Asian men who face the largest unadjusted wage gaps in Quebec, while Arabs have the largest gap in Ontario (Quebec being second). In contrast, in the Atlantic provinces, Chinese and South Asian men have a higher mean wage (logged) than white men living in that region, whereas Arab men do not have a significant wage gap with whites. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, one possible explanation could be that visible minority persons in the Atlantic provinces have more advantageous characteristics than whites, because they are more likely to have gone there for

employment reasons[60]. Although Quebec has some of the largest unadjusted wage gaps, it is also one of the provinces with the largest explained percentages, indicating that the majority of the wage gaps can be explained by the fact that visible minorities have observable characteristics that are less favorable to the labor market.

Quebec has the largest explained percentages for South Asian and Chinese men, and has the second largest for blacks and Arab men. Visible minority men are advantaged by their high education level. On that level, black and Arab men in Quebec seem particularly advantaged compared to black and Arab men in ROC. The marital status of visible minority men is also an advantage as they are more likely to be married (associated with a high average income), and less likely to be single (associated with a low average income). Across the provinces, Arab and Chinese men seem more advantaged than black and South Asians in terms of their distribution on occupation relative to white men where the latter group are less likely to work in highly-paid occupations, especially black men. In addition, visible minority men would earn more if they could find year-round employment. They are also disadvantaged by being younger, on average, than white men, which could potentially indicate a lower level of work experience. Having a lower level of Canadian work experience could potentially be another reason why visible minority men earn less than white men, as indicated by the duration and nativity status variable. In fact, visible minority men seem heavily disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to be immigrants than white men, and this is especially true in Quebec which has the largest coefficients. This can be explained by the fact that Quebec has a high number of Canadian-born compared to ROC. Finally, visible minority men receive a lower wage than white men, because they are more likely to speak a language that is neither French nor English. Moreover, visible minorities in Quebec are disadvantaged by their lower likelihood of speaking French whereas it is their lower likelihood of speaking English disadvantaging them in ROC.

In addition, Quebec is not the province with the highest unexplained percentages. In fact, Ontario has the largest unexplained percentages for South Asians, Chinese, and Arab men while the Prairies have the largest for black men. When examining the differences in returns to characteristics experienced by visible minority men, one can find similarities between Quebec

[60] The results pertaining to the Atlantic provinces need to be interpreted with caution given the low sample size of some visible minority groups.

and ROC. Higher returns for visible minority men can be found at low levels of education, when being single, when working the same number of weeks as whites, and when working in certain occupations, including business-related fields. In addition, the return for having spent 21 years or more in Canada is higher for visible minority men than for white men. However, overall, visible minority men are more likely to experience lower returns for their characteristics. Such is the case at the highest level of education where they experience a lower return for having a bachelor's degree or above, compared to white men. Visible minority men also experience lower returns on working full-time, and when working in highly-paid jobs, especially black men. On the other hand, there are differences between Quebec and ROC where visible minority men in ROC seem more penalized on their employment status than visible minority men in Quebec. In contrast, visible minority men in Quebec are more penalized on their language skills than those who live in ROC. Finally, Canadian-born visible minority men seem more penalized in Quebec than in ROC.

Table 18. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained decomposition of log wages and salaries for black men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census [1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Blacks in Quebec	**Blacks in Ontario**	**Blacks in British Columbia**	**Blacks in Prairies**	**Blacks in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.480***	0.367***	0.384***	0.420***	0.351***
	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.033)	(0.020)	(0.040)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.137***	0.123***	0.143***	0.165***	0.100***
	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.025)	(0.017)	(0.028)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.392	0.149	0.519	1.102***	0.309
	(0.248)	(0.154)	(0.571)	(0.355)	(0.591)
Age squared	-0.164	-0.119	-0.256	-0.581***	-0.176
	(0.123)	(0.077)	(0.285)	(0.176)	(0.306)
Marital status					
Single	-0.014	-0.028***	-0.000	-0.006	-0.045
	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.029)
Married	0.027***	0.019***	0.021	0.014	-0.030*
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.018)
Separated	-0.005*	0.002	-0.007	-0.002	0.015**
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.007**	-0.004**	0.002	-0.001	0.018
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.011)
High school	-0.001	-0.008**	-0.007	-0.008	0.002
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.016)
College or technical training	-0.012*	-0.004	-0.013	0.006	-0.033**
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.015)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.020***	0.012***	0.009	0.004	0.002
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.012)
Official language spoken					
English	0.041*	-0.017	0.108	0.022	0.044
	(0.023)	(0.055)	(0.094)	(0.086)	(0.179)
French	0.140**	-0.005*	0.003	-0.003	0.003
	(0.067)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.011)
English and French	0.008	0.000	-0.001	0.004	0.002
	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Other	-0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.002

	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Language spoken at home					
English	0.005	-0.037*	0.073	-0.043	0.024
	(0.009)	(0.021)	(0.073)	(0.038)	(0.114)
French	0.011	0.003**	-0.001	0.004*	-0.001
	(0.015)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.007)
Other	-0.009	-0.007***	-0.005	-0.024*	-0.000
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.005)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.133***	0.161***	0.219***	0.270***	0.033
	(0.025)	(0.017)	(0.062)	(0.042)	(0.063)
Weeks	-0.113***	-0.023	-0.175*	-0.166***	0.019
	(0.033)	(0.025)	(0.090)	(0.056)	(0.087)
Occupation					
Management	0.009***	0.005***	0.002	0.005	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.006)
Business, finance and administrative	0.003	-0.005	-0.003	0.021***	-0.018*
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.010)
Natural and applied sciences and related	0.000	-0.003	-0.018***	0.003	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Health occupations	-0.012***	-0.000	-0.005	0.001	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.004	-0.003*	-0.001	0.002	-0.007
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.009)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	0.001	-0.001	0.016***	-0.004**	-0.004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Sales and service occupations	0.006	0.007*	-0.018	0.017*	-0.008
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.020)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.029***	0.009**	-0.006	0.025***	0.044***
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.015)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.002**	-0.001	-0.001	-0.008***	0.003
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.006)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.019***	0.009***	0.013*	-0.002	0.011*
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.014**	0.005	0.008	-0.006	0.041
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.016)	(0.008)	(0.058)
0-10 years	-0.020***	-0.017***	0.009	0.010	0.014

	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.009)
11 to 20 years	0.002	0.012***	0.002	0.011**	-0.003
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.005)
21 years or more	0.002	0.005	-0.016	-0.014**	-0.005
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Constant	-0.362**	0.006	-0.330	-0.488**	-0.150
	(0.157)	(0.096)	(0.304)	(0.206)	(0.325)
N	334235	453584	240932	226926	102908

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels
using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

Table 19. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Chinese men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Chinese in Quebec	**Chinese in Ontario**	**Chinese in British Columbia**	**Chinese in Prairies**	**Chinese in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.469***	0.253***	0.388***	0.260***	-0.060
	(0.022)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.067)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.151***	0.154***	0.141***	0.122***	0.044
	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.050)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	1.160***	0.936***	0.812***	0.202	0.439
	(0.433)	(0.156)	(0.190)	(0.280)	(1.245)
Age squared	-0.605***	-0.471***	-0.383***	-0.252*	-0.408
	(0.215)	(0.079)	(0.097)	(0.142)	(0.633)
Marital status					
Single	-0.026**	-0.019***	-0.018***	-0.029***	-0.012
	(0.013)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.030)
Married	0.011	0.033***	0.023***	0.048***	0.069
	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.049)
Separated	0.003	0.000	0.001	0.000	-0.006
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.010)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.020***	-0.011***	-0.005***	0.001	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.013)
High school	0.009*	0.005**	0.010***	0.003	0.015
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.021)
College or technical training	0.010	0.005**	-0.000	-0.005	-0.004
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.015)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.022*	0.030***	0.006	0.001	-0.054
	(0.013)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.060)
Official language spoken					
English	0.034*	-0.079***	0.055	0.112	-0.069
	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.053)	(0.079)	(0.205)
French	-0.008	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.009)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.005)
English and French	-0.011	-0.001*	0.000	-0.000	0.004
	(0.009)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Other	0.002	0.014***	-0.000	0.004	-0.006
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.025***	-0.003	0.010	0.043	0.017
	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.039)	(0.060)	(0.185)
French	0.002	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.006)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Other	0.102***	0.025	0.066	0.057	-0.006
	(0.025)	(0.032)	(0.074)	(0.085)	(0.185)

Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.055	0.150***	0.171***	0.187***	-0.062
	(0.038)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.031)	(0.141)
Weeks	-0.244***	-0.228***	-0.114***	-0.216***	0.032
	(0.047)	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.039)	(0.173)
Occupation					
Management	0.028***	0.023***	0.025***	0.038***	-0.000
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.017)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.007	0.001	-0.003	0.000	-0.013
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.015)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.021**	-0.033***	-0.018***	-0.015**	-0.033
	(0.010)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.034)
Health occupations	-0.006***	-0.003***	-0.004***	-0.003	-0.014
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.012)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.005	0.000	-0.000	0.005**	0.052***
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.019)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.003**	0.007
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.007)
Sales and service occupations	0.062***	0.039***	0.023***	0.032***	-0.012
	(0.013)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.028)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.006	0.000	0.002	-0.004	-0.006
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.013)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.001	-0.001***	-0.001	-0.004***	-0.004
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.007)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.018***	0.013***	0.005***	0.000	0.001
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.022***	-0.004**	-0.008**	-0.021***	-0.033
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.036)
0-10 years	-0.006	0.016***	0.033***	0.031***	0.080**
	(0.011)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.035)
11 to 20 years	-0.013*	0.002	0.009*	-0.005	-0.023
	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.017)
21 years or more	-0.011	-0.006***	-0.025***	-0.010	-0.005
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.018)
Constant	-0.395*	-0.278***	-0.529***	-0.076	0.094
	(0.217)	(0.084)	(0.145)	(0.177)	(0.722)
N	330265	460704	255595	230635	102298

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses given to visible minority categories.
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 20. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Arab men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Arabs in Quebec	**Arabs in Ontario**	**Arabs in British Columbia**	**Arabs in Prairies**	**Arabs in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.441***	0.492***	0.439***	0.413***	0.122
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.077)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.153***	0.216***	0.134***	0.156***	0.080
	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.058)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	2.019***	0.974***	0.619	0.492	3.178**
	(0.351)	(0.275)	(0.553)	(0.547)	(1.308)
Age squared	-0.914***	-0.405***	-0.173	-0.200	-1.715***
	(0.174)	(0.137)	(0.278)	(0.269)	(0.643)
Marital status					
Single	-0.007	-0.025***	0.008	-0.032*	0.013
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.042)
Married	0.028**	0.077***	0.019	0.031	0.046
	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.054)
Separated	-0.002	-0.003*	-0.003	0.002	-0.008
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.010)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.001	-0.009***	-0.008	-0.009	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.014)
High school	-0.000	0.001	0.000	-0.009	-0.012
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.025)
College or technical training	-0.004	0.015***	0.010	0.003	-0.022
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.025)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.013	0.018**	0.033*	0.023	0.054
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.048)
Official language spoken					
English	0.052***	0.035	-0.000	0.097*	-0.087
	(0.011)	(0.039)	(0.084)	(0.076)	(0.174)
French	0.057**	-0.003*	0.004	0.003	0.014
	(0.028)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.013)
English and French	0.024**	-0.004	-0.007	0.002	0.008
	(0.012)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.010)
Other	-0.003***	0.002*	-0.000	-0.003	-0.005
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.006)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.010**	0.006	0.057*	0.050*	0.070*
	(0.005)	(0.022)	(0.046)	(0.065)	(0.095)
French	0.027**	-0.000	-0.002	-0.000	-0.007
	(0.011)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.007)
Other	0.009	0.013	0.038	-0.034	0.120**

	(0.013)	(0.032)	(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.083)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.053	0.135***	0.221***	0.250***	0.048
	(0.033)	(0.028)	(0.055)	(0.060)	(0.146)
Weeks	-0.251***	-0.108***	0.060	0.042	-0.231
	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.079)	(0.078)	(0.181)
Occupation					
Management	0.028***	0.033***	0.009	0.061***	0.039*
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.034)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.004	0.005	-0.010	-0.004	0.018
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.020)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.015**	-0.028***	-0.020*	-0.023**	-0.005
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.024)
Health occupations	-0.011***	-0.011***	-0.004	0.002	-0.057**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.023)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.008*	-0.001	-0.011**	-0.008	0.006
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.027)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	0.000	0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Sales and service occupations	0.026***	0.034***	0.004	0.029*	0.053*
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.048)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.022***	0.025***	0.028**	0.041***	0.019*
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.027)
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.000	-0.001	0.002	-0.008**	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.005	-0.002	0.008	0.000	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.002	0.003	0.005	-0.023**	-0.019
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.024)
0-10 years	-0.012	0.007	0.012	0.037**	-0.024
	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.036)
11 to 20 years	0.019**	0.016**	0.002	0.021**	0.030**
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.026)
21 years or more	-0.008*	-0.011***	-0.020**	-0.012	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.018)
Constant	-0.981***	-0.572***	-0.748**	-0.663**	-1.449**
	(0.181)	(0.150)	(0.297)	(0.314)	(0.682)
N	332616	444222	241268	225637	102261

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses given to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels
using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada

Table 21. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for South Asian men, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	South Asians in Quebec	**South Asians in Ontario**	**South Asians in British Columbia**	**South Asians in Prairies**	**South Asians in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.452***	0.292***	0.335***	0.229***	-0.092
	(0.021)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.087)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.117***	0.156***	0.096***	0.108***	0.026
	(0.018)	(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.069)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	2.185***	0.909***	0.663***	1.160***	1.316
	(0.408)	(0.132)	(0.239)	(0.301)	(1.772)
Age squared	-0.969***	-0.374***	-0.271**	-0.657***	-0.992
	(0.205)	(0.065)	(0.117)	(0.147)	(0.878)
Marital status					
Single	-0.014	-0.020***	-0.013**	-0.002	-0.177***
	(0.012)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.053)
Married	0.029	0.047***	0.013	0.041***	0.194***
	(0.020)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.074)
Separated	0.000	0.000	0.001	-0.002	0.013
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.013)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.022***	-0.009***	-0.002	-0.005	0.026**
	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.013)
High school	0.003	0.001	0.002	0.000	-0.013
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.025)
College or technical training	0.009	-0.007***	-0.006	0.001	-0.059**
	(0.008)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.030)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.027***	0.054***	0.006	0.017*	-0.155
	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.098)
Official language spoken					
English	0.026	0.025	0.033	0.025	0.457
	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.071)	(0.074)	(0.431)
French	-0.001	-0.000	-0.000	-0.001	-0.003
	(0.006)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.007)
English and French	-0.005	0.000	0.002***	0.002**	-0.001
	(0.010)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Other	0.000	0.001*	-0.011*	-0.001	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.001	-0.010	-0.021	-0.006	-0.032
	(0.014)	(0.025)	(0.047)	(0.079)	(0.195)
French	-0.002	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.008)
Other	0.034	0.016	-0.015	-0.027	0.004

	(0.029)	(0.033)	(0.071)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	-0.079**	0.193***	0.156***	0.322***	-0.341
	(0.040)	(0.015)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.215)
Weeks	-0.054	-0.206***	0.087***	-0.312***	-0.342
	(0.055)	(0.017)	(0.034)	(0.043)	(0.224)
Occupation					
Management	0.013**	0.022***	0.006**	0.045***	0.011
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.021)
Business, finance and administrative	0.010	-0.003	-0.009***	0.004	0.073***
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.023)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.021***	-0.014***	-0.011***	-0.011*	-0.003
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.031)
Health occupations	-0.002	-0.005***	0.000	-0.011***	-0.049
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.031)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.006**	-0.002***	-0.000	-0.000	0.035
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.032)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	0.001	-0.000	0.002**	-0.000	-0.006
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.009)
Sales and service occupations	0.035***	0.022***	0.004	0.031***	0.033
	(0.012)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.026)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.011	0.019***	0.027***	0.034***	-0.014
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.020)
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.000	-0.000*	0.002	-0.005***	-0.003
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.007)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.005	0.012***	-0.012***	0.007**	-0.011
	(0.008)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.012)
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.023***	0.010***	0.009*	0.008	0.055
	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.037)
0-10 years	-0.022**	-0.007	0.007	0.011	-0.012
	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.043)
11 to 20 years	0.005	0.002	0.013***	0.003	-0.042**
	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.020)
21 years or more	-0.024***	-0.015***	-0.030***	-0.024***	0.048
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.037)
Constant	-1.077***	-0.506***	-0.536***	-0.538**	0.014
	(0.207)	(0.081)	(0.163)	(0.219)	(0.978)
N	330202	471524	250911	229714	102290

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, multiple responses given to visible minority categories.
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Coefficients are weighted.

CHAPTER 5: WAGE DIFFERENTIALS BETWEEN VISBLE MINORITY AND WHITE WOMEN: A COMPARISON BETWEEN QUEBEC AND THE REST OF CANADA

Introduction

This fifth chapter examines the white-visible minority wage gap experienced by women, comparing Quebec to the other Canadian provinces. The literature pertaining to wage differentials experienced by visible minority groups often prioritizes men by offering analyses that solely study them (Baker & Benjamin, 1994; Green & Worswick, 2004; Nadeau & Seckin, 2010), or only control for gender (Banerjee et al., 2009), therefore neglecting to study what the experience of visible minority women in the labor market is. To the author's knowledge, very few studies have focused on visible minority women and have compared their wages across the Canadian provinces. This clearly indicates a gap in this literature, as studies have demonstrated that men and women experience the labor market penalties differently, with women being more likely to be discriminated against (Lim, 1995; Morokvasic, 1984; Vechhio et al., 2013). In addition, studies that have looked at wage differentials experienced by visible minority women have found mixed findings. Some have found that visible minority women earn less than visible minority men and white women (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Hum & Simpson, 1999) while others have found no significant gap between them and Canadian-born white women (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). This chapter fills this gap by studying the wage differences between visible minority and white women, comparing Quebec to other Canadian provinces (ROC).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Tables 22 and 23 present descriptive statistics for women living in Canada using the 2006 Census and the 2011 National Household Survey, respectively[61]. Regardless of the year, white women have a higher mean wages (logged) than visible minority women. However, the white-visible minority wage gap for women seems to be smaller than for men. Visible minority women are younger on average than white women. Except for black women, visible minority

[61] The same information by province can be found in the Appendix (Tables C1 to C5), but only for 2006. White women in every province, except for the Atlantic provinces, have a higher log of earnings than visible minority women. However, given the low sample size of visible minorities in the Atlantic provinces, the results need to be interpreted with caution.

Table 22. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Canada, 2006 Census[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	1167495	32800	51070	12235	48732
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	9.92 (1.12)	9.79 (1.14)	9.82 (1.17)	9.52 (1.24)	9.70 (1.14)
Age (mean, s.d.)	39.79 (12.34)	37.86 (12.07)	38.92 (11.33)	35.66 (11.25)	36.98 (11.52)
Females, %	48.61	52.13	49.93	41.27	46.35
Marital status %					
Single	36.8	46.58	31.72	32.2	24.29
Married	47.15	33.66	58.97	56.97	67.62
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	16.05	19.76	9.31	10.83	8.09
Employment Status					
Fulltime (40+), %	73.41	73.05	76.04	65.99	75.05
Weeks, (mean, s.d.)	43.15 (13.26)	41.55 (13.71)	42.78 (14.37)	41.89 (15.76)	41.59 (14.34)
Occupation, %					
Management	7.87	4.72	7.33	7.42	5.82
Business, finance and administrative	29.09	26.42	29.85	23.32	27.76
Natural and applied sciences and related	2.99	2.27	8.03	5.57	3.89
Health occupations	10.07	16.46	6.66	7.88	7.09
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	13.01	10.52	7.95	13.48	8.69
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.28	2.10	2.51	2.38	1.46
Sales and service occupations	26.78	28.65	25.39	34.07	26.80
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2.15	1.91	1.69	1.34	2.33
Occupations unique to primary industry	1.27	0.27	0.41	0.26	2.43
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	3.49	6.68	10.18	4.28	13.73
Education, %					

Less than high school	9.73	9.17	11.09	7.85	10.54
High school	28.59	23.96	22.98	22.87	27.04
College or technical training	38.84	48.20	26.50	31.14	28.37
Bachelor's degree or above	22.84	18.67	39.43	38.14	34.05
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	72.29	78.83	87.85	74.67	94.56
French	26.97	19.6	1.37	22.08	0.64
English and French	0.63	1.41	2.06	1.98	1.37
Other	0.11	0.16	8.72	1.27	3.43
Language spoken at home, %					
English	71.19	71.97	33	31.67	47.26
French	25.11	14.93	0.80	11.01	0.41
Other	3.70	13.10	66.2	57.32	52.33
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	90.06	28.17	17.88	11.59	16.36
0-10 years	1.96	20.22	30.98	42.79	35.26
11 to 20 years	2.19	24.25	29.48	33.53	26.37
21 years or more	5.80	27.37	21.65	12.09	22.00
Province, %					
Quebec	92.96	2.33	0.87	1.03	0.64
Ontario	79.33	3.99	4.82	1.18	5.76
British Columbia	76.03	0.60	9.6	0.80	6.55
Prairies	88.80	1.11	2.84	0.56	2.40
Atlantic	98.05	0.92	0.28	0.19	0.26

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 23. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Canada, 2011 NHS[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	1183823	34931	63843	17505	61784
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.12 (1.13)	9.96 (1.18)	10.04 (1.25)	9.81 (1.25)	9.93 (1.19)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.49 (12.67)	38.26 (12.03)	39.82 (11.76)	36.68 (11.32)	37.91 (11.54)
Females, %	49.3	51.77	50.35	41.97	46.63
Marital status %					
Single	39.10	46.21	32.11	29.74	23.79
Married	45.31	34.63	57.40	59.45	68.31
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	15.59	19.16	10.49	10.81	7.90
Presence of a child	69.54	88.25	81.09	85.79	85.22
Employment Status,					
Fulltime (40+), %	74.56	73.96	76.25	68.59	74.69
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	43.90 (13.40)	42.45 (14.44)	42.54 (14.21)	40.56 (15.23)	41.61 (14.61)
Occupation, %					
Management	8.72	5.26	8.03	7.95	7.18
Business, finance and administrative	27.86	25.42	29.72	22.97	26.75
Natural and applied sciences and related	3.22	2.58	8.47	5.57	4.07
Health occupations	10.92	16.83	8.17	9.95	8.87
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	14.49	12.66	9.95	16.20	11.12
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.53	2.53	3.19	2.91	2.00
Sales and service occupations	25.76	28.95	24.82	30.45	27.98
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2.00	1.81	1.48	1.31	2.11
Occupations unique to primary industry	1.14	0.23	0.40	0.21	1.54
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	2.34	3.71	5.78	2.48	8.38
Education, %					

Less than high school	7.33	7.17	8.18	6.19	7.98
High school	26.50	23.13	20.61	18.90	23.88
College or technical training	39.37	46.01	25.38	30.10	28.64
Bachelor's degree or above	26.80	23.70	45.83	44.72	39.50
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	72.43	75.10	87.94	67.94	94.95
French	26.92	23.04	1.48	21.03	0.71
English and French	0.58	1.70	1.83	9.71	1.26
Other	0.07	0.16	8.75	1.29	3.08
Language spoken at home, %					
English	71.23	68.12	35.42	28.39	44.08
French	25.29	17.59	0.88	11.38	0.47
Other	3.48	14.29	63.70	60.23	55.46
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	90.91	29.86	20.13	10.96	18.10
0-10 years	1.90	22.16	24.87	39.13	30.86
11 to 20 years	2.05	19.37	28.88	31.79	27.32
21 years or more	5.14	28.61	26.12	18.13	23.72
Province, %					
Quebec	91.13	2.87	0.93	1.55	0.73
Ontario	76.23	4.22	5.09	1.56	6.79
British Columbia	72.76	0.67	10.08	1.04	7.37
Prairies	85.20	1.56	3.15	0.71	3.15
Atlantic	97.57	0.94	0.38	0.24	3.23

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

women are more likely than white women to be married. Visible minorities are more likely to speak at home a language that is neither French nor English, especially Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians. In terms of employment characteristics, Chinese and South Asian women are more likely to work full-time (i.e., 40 hours or more per week) than white women, whereas the opposite is true for black and Arab women. In addition, visible minority women (except blacks) are more likely to have completed a bachelor's degree or above compared to white women. Finally, the proportion of immigrants among the visible minority groups is much higher.

Aggregate Decomposition Results

This section examines the wage gaps using the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model by first presenting the two-fold decomposition model using the 2006 Census and the 2011 NHS. It is then followed by the two-fold detailed decomposition model for the explained part of the wage gap and for the unexplained part of the wage gap, but only using the results from the 2006 Census[62]. I do so for each visible minority group by province. Similar to Chapters 3 and 4, only the variables that are significant and of a considerable magnitude are considered in the discussion, since they are the biggest contributors to the wage gaps.

Table 24 presents the mean log wages for black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women (in that order) by provinces using the 2006 Census and the 2011 NHS. When compared to visible minority men, we can see that the wage gaps experienced by visible minority women is generally smaller. For example, in 2005, black men in Quebec experienced a wage gap of 0.48 versus 0.278 for black women in Quebec, Chinese men in Ontario has a wage gap of 0.253 compared to a wage gap of 0.095 for Chinese women in the same province. Arab women are an exception with wage gaps that are of a similar magnitude as Arab men, which could be due to the rise of Islamophobia. As for the small wage gap experienced by the other visible minority women, it could be related, in part, to the fact that women in general earn less than men, which makes the white-visible minority wage gap for women smaller to start with. Nevertheless, the mean log of wages for whites are bigger than the mean log of wages for most visible minority women, indicating a significant white-visible minority wage gap. For example,

Table 24. Decomposition of wage gap between white Canadians and visible minorities for women, aged 18-64, working 30 hours per week, according to the province of residence, Canada, 2006 Census and 2011 NHS[1]

			Twofold Decomposition of Wage Gap			
	Mean (log) earnings	Wage gap (diff. from whites)	Portion explained[2]	% of gap	Portion unexplained[2]	% of gap
2006 Census						
Quebec						
Whites	9.882	---				
Blacks	9.604	0.278	0.263	94.60	0.015	5.40
Chinese	9.538	0.344	0.272	79.07	0.072	20.93
Arabs	9.401	0.481	0.368	76.51	0.113	23.49
South Asians	9.462	0.420	0.323	76.90	0.097	23.10
Ontario						
Whites	10.006	---				
Blacks	9.886	0.120	0.107	89.17	0.013	10.83
Chinese	9.911	0.095	0.061	64.21	0.034	35.79
Arabs	9.576	0.430	0.341	79.30	0.089	20.70
South Asians	9.727	0.279	0.197	70.61	0.082	29.39
British Columbia						
Whites	9.912	---				
Blacks	9.737	0.175	0.185	105.71	-0.010	-5.71
Chinese	9.739	0.173	0.134	77.46	0.039	22.54
Arabs	9.517	0.395	0.339	85.82	0.056	14.18
South Asians	9.702	0.210	0.264	125.71	-0.054	-25.71
Prairies						
Whites	9.921	---				
Blacks	9.683	0.238	0.244	102.52	-0.006	-2.52
Chinese	9.819	0.103	0.126	122.33	-0.023	-22.33
Arabs	9.52	0.401	0.446	111.22	-0.045	-11.22
South Asians	9.675	0.246	0.235	95.53	0.011	4.47
Atlantic						
Whites	9.676	---				
Blacks	9.509	0.166	0.124	74.70	0.042	25.30
Chinese	9.654	0.021	-0.037	-176.19	0.058	276.19
Arabs	9.587	0.089	0.092	103.37	-0.003	-3.37
South Asians	9.795	-0.120	-0.118	98.33	-0.002	1.67
2011 NHS						
Quebec						
Whites	10.05	---				
Blacks	9.813	0.237	0.210	88.61	0.027	11.39
Chinese	9.76	0.290	0.208	71.72	0.082	28.28
Arabs	9.67	0.380	0.299	78.68	0.081	21.32
South Asians	9.583	0.467	0.359	76.87	0.108	23.13

Ontario						
Whites	10.151	---				
Blacks	10.009	0.142	0.112	78.87	0.03	21.13
Chinese	10.103	0.049	-0.000	0.00	0.049	100.00
Arabs	9.853	0.298	0.234	78.52	0.064	21.48
South Asians	9.937	0.215	0.144	66.98	0.071	33.02
British Columbia						
Whites	10.066	---				
Blacks	9.92	0.146	0.185	126.71	-0.039	-26.71
Chinese	9.913	0.153	0.128	83.66	0.025	16.34
Arabs	9.79	0.276	0.293	106.16	-0.017	-6.16
South Asians	9.877	0.189	0.213	112.70	-0.024	-12.70
Prairies						
Whites	10.161	---				
Blacks	9.897	0.263	0.234	88.97	0.029	11.03
Chinese	10.148	0.012	0.034	283.33	-0.022	-183.33
Arabs	9.873	0.288	0.311	107.99	-0.023	-7.99
South Asians	9.956	0.205	0.156	76.10	0.049	23.90
Atlantic						
Whites	9.949	---				
Blacks	9.737	0.211	0.202	95.73	0.009	4.27
Chinese	9.874	0.075	0.073	97.33	0.002	2.67
Arabs	9.751	0.197	0.281	142.64	-0.084	-42.64
South Asians	9.783	0.166	0.151	90.96	0.015	9.04

[1]Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories.
[2]These are the portions explained and unexplained when controlling for personal, work characteristics, and duration and nativity status: age, marital status, educational level, official language spoken, and language spoken at home, occupations, and employment status (i.e. Working full-time vs part-time and number of weeks), and duration
Notes: Coefficients are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

in Quebec, the mean log of wages for black women is 9.604, yielding a wage gap with white men of 0.278. Thus, the majority of the visible minority women examined in this dissertation experience wage gaps, especially in Quebec where the majority of the largest unadjusted wage gaps are found. This is the case for black (2005 only), Chinese (both years), Arab (both years), and South Asian women (both years). In contrast, in the Atlantic provinces, South Asian women have a higher mean wage (logged) than white women living in that region (2005), whereas Chinese (both years) and Arab (2005 only) do not have a significant wage gap with white women. As explained in Chapter 4, this could be due to some sort of selectivity process where visible minority women who live in the Atlantic provinces do so specifically because of work opportunities having been offered to them. Thus, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women

living in the Atlantic provinces are excluded from the rest of the discussion presented in this chapter.

Explained Detailed Decomposition

Looking at the 2005 results in Table 24, compared to visible minority men, visible minority women have a larger percentage of their wage gaps explained by their characteristics. We can even find several visible minority groups where all of the wage gaps are explained by their characteristics, including black women in British Columbia and the Prairies, Chinese and Arab women in the Prairies, and South Asian women in British Columbia. Even when their wage gap is not entirely explained by their characteristics, we can find visible minority women that have explained percentages higher than 90%. Such is the case of black women in Quebec (94.60%), and South Asian women in the Prairies (95.53%). As for Quebec, it has the lower explained percentage for Arab women (76.51%), whereas the Atlantic provinces has it for black women (74.70 %), and Ontario for Chinese (64.21%) and South Asian women (70.61%). Thus, most of the wage gaps experienced by visible minority women is explained by the fact that they have characteristics that, when compared to white women, appear to be less favorable to the labor market, potentially indicating that discrimination plays a minor role in wage differentials.

Tables 25, 26, 27, and 28 display the explained detailed decomposition of the wage gaps for black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women relative to white women by province of residence using the 2006 Census, respectively. The first two rows present the log annual earning gap and the part of this gap that is due to observable characteristics. For example, blacks in Quebec (Table 25 column 2) have a wage gap of 0.278 relative to whites in the same province[63], and 0.263 of this gap (or 94.60%) is explained by observable characteristics. The rest of the table shows how much each of the observable characteristics contribute to the explained portion of the wage gap. A negative coefficient indicates that the visible minority group is advantaged by their distribution on a given characteristic, compared to whites, thus decreasing the wage gap experienced by this group. For example, Chinese women in Quebec are more likely than white women in Quebec to have completed a bachelor's degree or above (as indicated by the -0.059 number in Table 26), which decreases their wage gap. This is also

[63] As indicated by Table 25 (as well as all the explained and unexplained tables presented in this chapter), the comparison group is always white women living in their respective provinces. Hence, the words "living in their respective provinces" will not always be written down, but should be assumed.

illustrated in Table C1 where we can see that Chinese women in Quebec have a higher proportion with "bachelor's degree or above" than white women living in Quebec (40.85% vs 22.08%, respectively). On the other hand, positive coefficients mean that the visible minority group is disadvantaged by its relative distribution on this individual characteristic compared to whites. A positive number indicates that a given characteristic contributes to widening the wage gap, and the magnitude tells us how much. Taking black women in Ontario in Table 25 as an example, we can see that they are particularly disadvantaged by having a lower proportion with "bachelor's degree or above", compared to white women. It contributes 0.020 to the 0.107 of the explained wage gap (Table 25). This means that their distribution on that specific level of education relative to white women explains 18.69% of their wage gap compared to only 1.90% for black women living in Quebec (0.005 of 0.263, Table 25). Thus, this chapter emphasizes the role of variables that are significant and of a considerable magnitude.

Education

Similarities and differences across visible minority groups and across provinces can be observed when examining the specific variables contributing to the explained wage gaps of black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women. Overall, visible minority women are advantaged by the fact that they have completed a high level of education (i.e., bachelor's degree or above") compared to white women, which is associated with a high income. This applies to Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women in all the provinces (except British Columbia for South Asians)[64], but it plays a bigger role for Chinese and Arab women (as indicated by their higher negative coefficients compared to the ones for South Asian women that are smaller). For Chinese and Arab women, this plays a larger role in Quebec (-0.059, Table 26; -0.053, Table 27). On the other hand, black women across provinces (except in British Columbia where the coefficient is not significant) are the only visible minority group that is disadvantaged by the fact that they are less likely to have completed a bachelor's degree or more. This plays a bigger role in Ontario and in the Atlantic provinces (0.020, 0.025, respectively, Table 25). Thus, black women appear more disadvantaged in terms of their

[64] A reminder that Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women living in the Atlantic provinces are excluded from the discussion.

distribution on education relative to white women, whereas the other visible minority groups appear more advantaged. This is particularly true of Arab women across provinces who seem the most advantaged group. For instance, Arab women in all the provinces (except in the Prairies) are advantaged by their low proportion with "less than high school" compared to white women, whereas black, Chinese, and South Asian women are disadvantaged by having a higher proportion (except black women in Ontario, and South Asians in Ontario and the Prairies who have a lower proportion).

Marital Status and Presence of a Child

Overall, the marital status of visible minority women is not a big contributor to their wage gap. In Quebec and the Prairies, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women are more likely to be married than white women which contributes to increase their wage gap, whereas it is the opposite in Ontario and British Columbia (Tables 26, 27, and 28). This could be due, in part, to the fact that, in Quebec and in the Prairies, the wage difference between being married and being single is much smaller than in the other provinces[65]. For black women, in Ontario, British Columbia, and the Atlantic provinces, they are disadvantaged by being less likely to be married than white women. Thus, being married for visible minority women in ROC is associated with a high income, whereas it is not the case for visible minority women in Quebec and the Prairies. As for the presence of a child, visible minority women are more likely than white women to have children, and this reduces their wages.

Occupation

The distribution of visible minority women on occupation relative to white women reveals advantages and disadvantages. In general, visible minority women are disadvantaged by their low proportions working in fields that are highly-paid, such as management, business-related fields, and jobs related to natural and applied sciences. For example, black women in all the provinces (except British Columbia), Chinese and South Asian women in Ontario, British Columbia, and the Prairies, and Arabs in Ontario and British Columbia are less likely than white women to work in managerial positions. Black women in Quebec, British Columbia, and the Prairies have low proportion with business, finance, and administrative jobs, and black women living in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia have low proportions with natural and applied sciences and related occupations (Table 25). Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women

[65] Tables not shown

are also less likely to work in business-related fields (except Chinese women in Ontario and British Columbia, and South Asians in Ontario), but are more likely to work in natural and applied sciences and related jobs which constitutes an asset (Tables 26, 27, 28). Black women are not necessarily in a worse position, since they are more likely than white women to work in health occupations, whereas the other visible minority groups are in the opposite situation. Chinese women living in Quebec are more likely to work in management, compared to white women living in Quebec. Hence, the distribution on occupation of visible minority women relative to that of white women includes advantages and disadvantages, and Quebec's distribution does not differ from ROC.

Full-time Status and Number of Weeks Worked

Full-time status and the number of weeks worked are major contributors to the explained portion of the wage gap of visible minority women. Chinese and South Asian women have a more favorable distribution on full-time status relative to white women, compared to that of black and Arab women. Black women in Quebec and the Prairies, and Arab women in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and the Prairies are disadvantaged by the fact that they have a low proportion working full-time compared to white women, whereas Chinese and South Asian women across provinces (except the Prairies for South Asians) experience the opposite situation[66]. In addition, all visible minority women across provinces are disadvantaged by the fact that they work, on average, fewer weeks compared to white women. This plays a larger role in Quebec which has the largest coefficients for all groups. As stated in previous chapters, even though this is part of the explained portion and, thus, not considered a result of discrimination, it could still indicate a lack of work opportunities experienced by visible minorities.

Work Experience and Canadian Work Experience

Across provinces, visible minority women are disadvantaged by the fact that they are younger, on average, than white women, except in Ontario and the Prairies for Chinese women[67]. As stated in the previous chapters, given that age is used as a rough proxy for work

[66] Includes black women living in Ontario as well.
[67] One possible explanation could be that they are not much younger than white women (See Tables C2 and C4 in Appendix C).

experience, this could indicate that visible minority women, compared to white women, have less work experience which hinders their wage.

Moreover, all visible minority women are disadvantaged by the fact that they are less likely to be Canadian-born than white women, and this applies to all the provinces. For every visible minority group, this plays the largest role in Quebec given that this province has one of the highest percentages of white Canadian-born individuals. When looking at the duration of time spent in Canada by visible minority immigrants, we can see that recent immigrants (i.e., 0-10 years) are more disadvantaged than long-term immigrants (21 years or more), which could indicate that the lack of Canadian work experience is a determinant factor in explaining the wage gap of visible minority immigrants. For example, visible minority women who have been living in Canada for a shorter duration relative to white women (i.e., 0-10 years) are the most disadvantaged among the duration categories, once again playing a more prominent role in Quebec for all visible minority groups. In contrast, visible minority immigrants who have been living in Canada for a longer period of time (i.e., 11-20 years for Quebec, Ontario and the Prairies, 21 years or more for all the provinces) see their wage gap being smaller relative to white men. Arab men, being the most 'recent' visible minority group compared to the other ones examined in this dissertation, are therefore more disadvantaged by this situation. Henceforth, the wage gap experienced by visible minority women is greater for recent immigrants than it is for immigrants who have been living in Canada a considerable amount of time. This could indicate the importance that employers give to having Canadian work experience, where they are more likely to hire individuals who are Canadian-born individuals and long-term immigrants. Also, Quebec employers seem to value this more than employers in ROC.

Language

Across provinces, visible minority women are heavily disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to speak a langue that is neither French nor English. The language spoken at home seems to matter more than the first official language spoken, which is potentially indicative that the former variable captures a lower efficiency to speak one or both official languages better than the first official language spoken variable does. This applies to all the visible minority groups in all the provinces, but black women are less disadvantaged than the other groups. Interestingly, speaking French is not a big contributor to the explained wage gap

in Quebec, whereas speaking English in ROC does contribute to their wage gaps. For instance, black women in the Prairies, and Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians in Ontario and the Prairies are disadvantaged by their low proportions with “English” spoken at home, compared to white women. On the other hand, in Quebec, blacks, Chinese, and South Asians are advantaged by their higher likelihood of speaking English, and all visible minority groups are advantaged by their higher proportion with “English and French” as their first official language spoken, compared to white women.

Table 25. Oaxaca-Blinder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for black women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Blacks in Quebec	**Blacks in Ontario**	**Blacks in British Columbia**	**Blacks in Prairies**	**Blacks in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.278***	0.120***	0.175***	0.238***	0.166***
	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.037)	(0.023)	(0.037)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.263***	0.107***	0.185***	0.244***	0.124***
	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.027)	(0.018)	(0.029)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.155***	0.084***	0.248***	0.185***	0.086***
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.023)
Age squared	-0.124***	-0.069***	-0.203***	-0.155***	-0.062***
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.019)	(0.012)	(0.018)
Marital status					
Single	0.000***	-0.001**	-0.002***	-0.002***	-0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Married	0.000	0.003***	0.002***	-0.001***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Separated	0.000	0.001***	0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Presence of a child	0.005***	0.001***	0.002***	0.006***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education					
Less than high school	0.003***	-0.003***	0.004**	0.003**	0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)
High school	-0.003***	-0.004***	-0.002***	-0.002**	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
College or technical training	-0.001***	-0.002***	0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.005***	0.020***	0.003	0.007***	0.025***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.002	0.000	-0.001	0.002***	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)
French	0.003	0.000**	0.000	-0.001***	0.004
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)
English and French	-0.001***	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000

	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Other	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.001***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.006***	0.001***	-0.000	0.007***	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
French	0.002	0.000***	-0.000	-0.001*	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.010***	0.002***	0.006***	0.013***	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
<u>Work Characteristics</u>					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.028***	-0.008***	0.015	0.013**	0.009
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Weeks	0.101***	0.054***	0.068***	0.091***	0.013
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.018)
Occupation					
Management	0.010***	0.011***	0.003	0.006***	0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Business, finance and administrative	0.005***	-0.000	0.003***	0.010***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	0.003***	0.002***	0.002**	-0.000	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Health occupations	-0.020***	-0.015***	-0.014***	-0.020***	0.004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.003***	0.003***	0.001*	0.002***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.002***	-0.002***	-0.001	-0.003***	-0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Sales and service occupations	0.003***	0.004***	0.014***	0.023***	0.021***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	-0.000	-0.000	-0.001*	-0.000**	-0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.002***	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.007***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.004***	-0.000**	0.000	0.004***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)

Residential status					
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.065***	0.029***	0.029***	0.036***	0.005***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.001)
0-10 years	0.048***	0.025***	0.021***	0.044***	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.002)
11 to 20 years	-0.004*	-0.004***	0.000	-0.003*	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
21 years or more	-0.025***	-0.020***	-0.009***	-0.010***	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Constant	-0.198	-0.068	-0.360	-0.384*	0.389
	(0.133)	(0.088)	(0.365)	(0.212)	(0.365)
N	311462	440348	235297	209034	100325

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 26. Oaxaca-Blinder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Chinese women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Chinese in Quebec	**Chinese in Ontario**	**Chinese in British Columbia**	**Chinese in Prairies**	**Chinese in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.344***	0.095***	0.173***	0.103***	0.021
	(0.023)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.077)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.272***	0.061***	0.134***	0.126***	-0.037
	(0.018)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.056)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.095***	0.047***	0.107***	0.022**	0.083**
	(0.012)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.039)
Age squared	-0.088***	-0.054***	-0.100***	-0.030***	-0.066**
	(0.010)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.031)
Marital status					
Single	0.002***	0.000**	-0.000***	0.000**	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.002***	-0.001***	-0.001***	0.001***	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Separated	-0.000	-0.001***	-0.002***	-0.000*	-0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Presence of a child	0.002***	0.001***	0.002***	0.005***	-0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Education					
Less than high school	0.008***	0.003***	0.006***	0.011***	-0.013***
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
High school	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.002***	-0.007***	-0.005*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
College or technical training	0.003***	0.001***	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.059***	-0.052***	-0.031***	-0.047***	-0.090***
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.010)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.007	-0.000	-0.002	0.004***	0.002
	(0.006)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)
French	0.013	0.001**	-0.000	0.003***	0.005
	(0.011)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.007)
English and French	-0.011***	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.001

	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.009**	0.002	-0.004	0.016***	-0.001
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.005***	0.014***	-0.000	0.017***	-0.002
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.004)
French	0.005	0.001***	0.000**	0.000**	-0.002
	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.036***	0.040***	0.035***	0.036***	-0.012
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.010)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	-0.016***	-0.044***	-0.016***	-0.011***	-0.004
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.016)
Weeks	0.144***	0.068***	0.063***	0.056***	0.031
	(0.010)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.031)
Occupation					
Management	-0.004***	0.005***	0.002***	0.004***	-0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Business, finance and administrative	0.003***	-0.001***	-0.001***	0.004***	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.013***	-0.018***	-0.005***	-0.021***	-0.019***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Health occupations	0.010***	0.007***	0.010***	0.008***	0.005
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.007***	0.004***	0.003***	0.002***	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001	-0.001***	-0.003***	-0.002***	0.009**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.004)
Sales and service occupations	0.005***	-0.015***	0.003***	0.013***	-0.016**
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.007)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.000	-0.001***	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.002***	-0.009***	-0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.008***	-0.001**	0.004***	0.004***	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)

Residential status					
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.074***	0.033***	0.041***	0.038***	0.038***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.009)
0-10 years	0.079***	0.048***	0.034***	0.032***	0.043***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.010)
11 to 20 years	-0.004*	-0.004***	0.000	-0.005*	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)
21 years or more	-0.017***	-0.012***	-0.008***	-0.014***	-0.013***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Constant	0.309	0.091	0.054	-0.256	0.488
	(0.215)	(0.080)	(0.123)	(0.176)	(0.714)
N	306639	444886	254887	212988	99691

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using
sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 27. Oaxaca-Blinder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Arab women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Arabs in Quebec	**Arabs in Ontario**	**Arabs in British Columbia**	**Arabs in Prairies**	**Arabs in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.481***	0.430***	0.395***	0.401***	0.089
	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.097)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.368***	0.341***	0.339***	0.446***	0.092
	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.070)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.227***	0.250***	0.249***	0.313***	0.066
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.053)
Age squared	-0.194***	-0.205***	-0.206***	-0.252***	-0.044
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.041)
Marital status					
Single	0.002***	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.002***	-0.001***	-0.000**	0.001**	-0.001*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Separated	-0.000	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.000*	-0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Presence of a child	0.003***	0.001***	0.002***	0.007***	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.009***	-0.003***	-0.007***	0.009***	-0.005
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.005)
High school	-0.005***	-0.004***	-0.003***	0.000	-0.004
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
College or technical training	0.001***	0.001***	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.053***	-0.041***	-0.045***	-0.020***	-0.079***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.012)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	0.003***	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
French	0.005	0.001**	-0.000	0.001	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.006)
English and French	-0.012***	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.004)

Other	0.001**	0.000	-0.001	0.006***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.000)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.000*	0.012***	-0.000	0.015***	-0.002
	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.004)
French	0.003	0.001***	-0.000	0.000	-0.002
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Other	0.026***	0.035***	0.035***	0.031***	-0.012
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.010)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.038***	0.055***	0.053***	0.058***	0.020
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.021)
Weeks	0.173***	0.129***	0.138***	0.172***	0.078*
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.041)
Occupation					
Management	-0.000	0.003***	0.003**	0.001	-0.012**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Business, finance and administrative	0.002***	0.003***	0.004***	0.008***	0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.006***	-0.008***	-0.004***	-0.008***	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Health occupations	0.008***	0.003***	0.002	0.005*	0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.007)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	-0.004***	0.001***	0.001***	0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001***	-0.002***	-0.001	-0.002***	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Sales and service occupations	0.007***	0.024***	0.021***	0.029***	0.006
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.010)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.004***	-0.007***	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	-0.000	-0.000*	0.001***	0.001*	-0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Residential status					
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.081***	0.036***	0.050***	0.037***	0.036***
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.009)
0-10 years	0.094***	0.062***	0.059***	0.051***	0.047***

	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.011)
11 to 20 years	-0.005*	-0.005***	0.000	-0.004*	-0.002
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.005)
21 years or more	-0.011***	-0.002***	-0.002***	-0.006***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Constant	-0.343	0.015	-1.024***	-1.119***	0.557
	(0.239)	(0.154)	(0.359)	(0.344)	(1.063)
N	332616	425769	236040	207728	99582

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 28. Oaxaca-Blinder explained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for South Asian women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	South Asians in Quebec	**South Asians in Ontario**	**South Asians in British Columbia**	**South Asians in Prairies**	**South Asians in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.420***	0.279***	0.210***	0.246***	-0.120
	(0.025)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.016)	(0.080)
Explained by Differences in Characteristics	0.323***	0.197***	0.264***	0.235***	-0.118**
	(0.020)	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.058)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.201***	0.165***	0.233***	0.147***	-0.034
	(0.015)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.043)
Age squared	-0.164***	-0.141***	-0.194***	-0.122***	0.031
	(0.012)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.035)
Marital status					
Single	0.002***	0.000**	0.001***	0.001***	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.002***	-0.002***	-0.002***	0.001***	-0.001**
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Separated	-0.000	-0.002***	-0.002***	-0.000*	-0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Presence of a child	0.003***	0.001***	0.002***	0.005***	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education					
Less than high school	0.010***	-0.002***	0.017***	0.000	-0.014***
	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
High school	0.002***	-0.003***	-0.001***	-0.003***	-0.015***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
College or technical training	0.003***	0.001***	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Bachelor's degree or above	-0.019***	-0.039***	-0.000	-0.045***	-0.114***
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.010)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.011	0.000	-0.002	0.001**	0.002
	(0.010)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.005)
French	0.015	0.001**	-0.000	0.003***	0.005
	(0.012)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.006)
English and French	-0.008***	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)

Other	0.002**	0.001	-0.003	0.007***	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.013***	0.010***	-0.000	0.015***	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.003)
French	0.006	0.001***	0.000**	0.000**	-0.002
	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Other	0.029***	0.028***	0.031***	0.031***	-0.008
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	-0.013**	-0.015***	-0.039***	-0.001	0.046**
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.018)
Weeks	0.139***	0.114***	0.107***	0.106***	-0.003
	(0.011)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.031)
Occupation					
Management	0.001	0.008***	0.007***	0.003***	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Business, finance and administrative	0.004***	-0.001***	0.004***	0.005***	-0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.002**	-0.004***	0.002***	-0.004***	-0.011***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Health occupations	0.011***	0.009***	0.001	0.004***	-0.010
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.006)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.005***	0.003***	0.004***	0.002***	-0.003*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.002***	-0.003***	-0.005***	-0.003***	-0.003
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Sales and service occupations	-0.005**	-0.007***	0.012***	0.017***	-0.040***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.007)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	-0.000	0.000***	0.000	-0.000**	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.002***	-0.002***	0.027***	-0.009***	-0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.018***	-0.002**	0.004***	0.006***	-0.001*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Residential status					
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.073***	0.034***	0.039***	0.041***	0.045***
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.010)
0-10 years	0.062***	0.058***	0.032***	0.044***	0.040***

	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.009)
11 to 20 years	-0.004*	-0.004***	0.000	-0.004*	-0.002
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.006)
21 years or more	-0.022***	-0.010***	-0.011***	-0.014***	-0.022***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Constant	-0.278	-0.330***	-0.150	0.324	0.162
	(0.252)	(0.074)	(0.131)	(0.249)	(0.893)
N	305973	449644	247404	231255	99662

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Unexplained Detailed Decomposition

Table 24 demonstrates that the unexplained portions are quite small, given that we have already seen that the vast majority of the wage gap between women is accounted for by individual characteristics such as the occupations they work in, the number of hours worked per week, their work experience, and their language, rather than potential discrimination. We can even find cases where there are no unexplained percentages, which includes black women in British Columbia and the Prairies, Chinese and Arabs in the Prairies, and South Asians in British Columbia. Based on these findings, this indicates that the wage gaps of these visible minority groups in these provinces is explained only by the fact that they have characteristics that are less favorable to the labor market, potentially indicating that discrimination is absent[68]. In addition, in the Atlantic provinces, Arab women do not have a significant wage gap with white women, whereas Chinese and South Asian women have a higher wage (logged) than white women, thus excluding them from this discussion. On the other hand, Ontario is the province who has some of the largest unexplained percentages. For instance, in 2005, Ontario has the largest unexplained percentage for Chinese women (35.79%, Table 28) followed by British Columbia (22.54%) and Quebec (20.93%). Ontario also has the largest unexplained percentage for South Asian women (29.39%, Table 30) followed by Quebec (23.10%). The Atlantic provinces has the largest one for black women (25.30%, Table 27) followed by Ontario (10.83%). As for Quebec, it has the largest unexplained percentage for Arab women (23.49%, Table 28) followed by Ontario (20.70%). However, the unexplained coefficient for black women in Quebec is not significant. Thus, Quebec and Ontario seem to be the provinces where the presence of discrimination is more present than in the other provinces.

Tables 29, 30, 31, and 32 present the unexplained detailed decomposition for black, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women. Row 1 of the tables indicates the wage gap with respect to whites who live in Quebec, and how much of the wage gap remains unexplained. The other rows indicate the same information, but for Ontario, British Columbia, the Prairies, and the Atlantic provinces (in that order). The rest of the table lists the variable where visible minorities receive lower/higher returns for having the same characteristics as whites. As with Chapters 3 and 4, I emphasize the variables that are significant and of a considerable

[68] A reminder that there still could be aspect of discrimination in the explained portion, including when one examines the full-time status and the number of weeks (as explained in the previous chapters).

magnitude. A negative coefficient indicates that the visible minority group studied receives higher returns on a given characteristics, compared to white women. Positive numbers indicate that a given variable is contributing to the wage gap and, thus, that they are getting lower returns than whites for this characteristic. This is why this section is associated with discrimination, since it is illustrating when a visible minority group earns less than whites even when they have the same characteristics as them[69]. Hence, when looking at the part of the wage gaps experienced by visible minority women that is attributable to differences in returns to characteristics, we can see that Chinese, Arab, and South Asian are in a worse position than black women who only experience differences in returns to characteristics in Ontario and in the Atlantic provinces where very few variables are significant. In contrast, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women have a higher number of variables that are significant.

Education

Findings for education offer some support for the discrimination hypothesis. For example, Chinese and Arab women in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, South Asian women in Quebec and in Ontario, and black women in Ontario get a smaller return for having a university degree or more when compared to white women living in their respective provinces and having a similar level of education. Other evidence supporting the discrimination hypothesis can also be found when examining Table 30 where we can see that Chinese women in Ontario and British Columbia receive lower returns on having a high school diploma than white women. However, we can also find cases that contradict the discrimination hypothesis. For instance, visible minority women obtain a higher return on having less than a high school diploma, compared to white women. This applies to Chinese women in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, Arab women in Ontario and British Columbia, and South Asian women in Quebec and in Ontario. In addition, Chinese women in Ontario and British Columbia with a college or technical training education receive a higher wage than white women with the same educational degree, all else being equal. Thus, discrimination, if present, is more likely to be experienced by visible minority women who has the highest level of education.

Marital Status and Presence of a Child

Potential evidence of discrimination can be found when examining the returns that visible minority women receive when having a child compared to white women. In fact, visible

[69] It can also be to other reasons, such as omitted variables. Please see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion on that topic.

minority women receive lower returns on having a child compared to white women, and this applies to black women in Ontario, Chinese women in Ontario and British Columbia, Arab women in Quebec and in Ontario, and South Asians in Ontario.

In contrast, the marital status of visible minority women present mixed support for the discrimination hypothesis. In general, the return on being single is higher for visible minority women than it is for white women, whereas the return on being married is lower for visible minority women compared to white women. This applies to Chinese women in Ontario and British Columbia, Arab women in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia (but only Ontario and British Columbia for being married), and South Asian women in Quebec and Ontario (but only for being married). Thus, visible minority women are penalized when being married, but receive a premium when being single.

Occupation

Findings reveal a major difference between the experience of black women and the other visible minority groups when it comes to the occupation. Black women receive higher returns when occupying several jobs, whereas the other visible minority groups are more likely to receive lower returns, compared to white women. For example, black women in Ontario receive higher returns than white women when working in business-related occupations, in occupations related to health, and in occupations in social science, education, and the government (Table 29). In addition, black women in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces receive a higher wage compared to white women when working in occupations in art, culture, recreation, and sport, and in sales and service occupations. In contrast, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women receive a lower return on working in management, compared to white women. This applies to Chinese in Ontario and British Columbia, Arab women in Quebec and in Ontario, and South Asians in Ontario (Tables 30, 31, 32). This offers strong support for the discrimination hypothesis as this reveals that, when working in management, white women earn more than visible minority women, all else being equal. Other evidence potentially pointing to the presence of discrimination in occupation can be found, especially when examining the case of Arab women who have higher coefficients than the other visible minority groups (Table 31). This is the case for Arab women in Ontario working in occupations in social science, education, government service and religion (0.023, Table 31), and in sales and service occupations (0.020, Table 31). South Asian women in Ontario also

receive lower returns in those occupational categories, but with lower coefficients (0.008, 0.007, respectively, Table 32), as well as Chinese women in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, but only for the former category (0.009, Table 30).

Despite these findings, evidence pointing against the presence of discrimination can also be found for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women. For example, Chinese women in Ontario receive higher returns when working in business-related occupations, and in occupations in natural and applied sciences (for British Columbia as well), compared to white women (Table 30). Arab women in Ontario and British Columbia also receive higher return when working in occupations in natural and applied sciences (Table 29). Hence, black women are more likely to experience higher returns when working in certain occupations, whereas the other visible minority groups are more likely to receive lower returns, compared to white women. Among those other groups, evidence pointing to the potential presence of discrimination can be found when examining certain occupations, such as management, but some findings also reveal higher returns experienced by them.

Full-time Status and Number of Weeks Worked

The full-time status and the number of weeks worked are major contributors to the unexplained portion of the wage gaps experienced by visible minority women, exhibiting both lower and higher returns. In contrast to the results pertaining to the occupational categories, black women seem worse than the other visible minority groups, where they are more likely, in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, to receive a lower wage when working full-time, and when working the same number of weeks as white women, all else being equal (Table 29). Arab women are also particularly penalized by these characteristics where they receive lower returns on working full-time (in Ontario), and on working the same number of weeks as white women (in Ontario and British Columbia) (Table 31). In contrast, Chinese women in Quebec receive higher returns on working full-time and on the number of weeks worked, compared to white women (Table 30). This is also the case for Chinese women in Ontario, Arab women in Quebec, South Asian women in Ontario who receive higher returns on the number of weeks worked, compared to white women. However, Chinese and South Asian women also experience lower returns. For example, Chinese women in British Columbia and South Asian women in Ontario obtain a lower wage when working full-time compared to white women also working full-time (Table 30). Hence, black and Arab women are more likely to be penalized

than Chinese and South Asian women when it comes to their full-time status and their number of weeks worked, compared to white women.

Work Experience and Canadian Work Experience

Contrary to visible minority men, the age variable (proxy for work experience) does not play a major role for visible minority women. Only Chinese and Arab women have significant coefficients (Tables 30, 31). In addition, only Arab women in British Columbia receive a lower return on their age compared to white women, whereas Arab women in Ontario and Chinese women in Ontario and in British Columbia receive higher returns. In other words, all else being equal, for the same amount of work experience, they receive a higher wage than white women. This offers strong evidence against the discrimination hypothesis.

The duration and nativity status variable reveals mixed findings in support for the discrimination hypothesis. Supporting the discrimination hypothesis is the fact that South Asian women in Ontario who are Canadian-born receive a lower wage than white women who are Canadian-born, all else being equal (Table 32). In addition, for some visible minority women, their return on having been in Canada for 0-10 years is lower than for white women. This is the case of Chinese women in Ontario and British Columbia, and South Asian women in Ontario (Tables 30, 32). The return on having been in Canada for 11-20 years is also lower for black women in Ontario, and Arab women in Quebec (Tables 29, 31). On the other hand, findings going against the discrimination hypothesis are also found. Similar to visible minority men, the penalty experienced by some recent immigrant women is not present for long-term visible minority immigrants (21 years or more). Indeed, the return on having spent a long period of time in Canada (i.e., 21 years or more) is often greater for visible minority women than for white men. This applies to Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women in Ontario and British Columbia. Hence, it seems that the return on being in Canada longer is greater for some visible minority women whereas recent immigrants as well as Canadian-born are more likely to experience a penalty.

Language

When penalized for their language skills, it is more likely for speaking a language that is neither French nor English, especially at home, and especially for Chinese in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, and Arab women in Quebec. South Asian women are more likely to be penalized when speaking English, and this applies in Ontario (Table 32). However, some

cases can be found where visible minority women receive a higher return. This is the case for black women in the Atlantic provinces where having English and where having French as their first official language spoken yield higher returns (Table 29). Chinese women in Quebec receive higher returns on having English and French as their first official language spoken, and Chinese women in British Columbia receive a higher wage when speaking English (Table 30).

Conclusion

To summarize, this chapter analyzed wage gaps experienced by visible minority women (blacks, Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians, compared to white women) between the ages of 18 and 64, who worked 30 hours or more per week, excluding self-employed individuals. I have found that the wage gaps for visible minority women are smaller than for visible minority men, except for Arab women in 2005 who experience wage gaps of similar magnitudes as Arab men which differs from the other visible minority women who experience smaller wage gaps than their men counterparts. This could be due to the rise of Islamophobia experienced in Western countries since 9/11. As for the small wage gaps of the other visible minority groups, this might be explained by the fact that there is less variation between the wages of white and visible minority women to start with, and thus less variation left unexplained. Similar to the findings of visible minority men, Quebec is once again the province with the largest unadjusted wage gaps, partially supporting the hypothesis that the situation for visible minority women is worse than the situation of visible minority women in the rest of Canada. In contrast, in the Atlantic provinces, South Asian women have a higher mean wage (logged) than white women living in that region, whereas Chinese and Arab do not have a significant wage gap with white women. As explained in previous chapters, this could be due to the fact that visible minorities established in the Atlantic provinces have better human capital characteristics than well-educated whites who leave for other Canadian provinces in the hope of finding a better job.

Visible minority women have a larger portion of their wage gaps that is explained by their characteristics, contrary to visible minority men. Cases where all of the wage gaps are potentially explained by all their characteristics include black women in British Columbia and the Prairies, Chinese and Arab women in the Prairies, and South Asian women in British Columbia. In addition, some visible minority women have explained percentages higher than 90%. Such is the case of black women in Quebec (94.60%, Table 24), and South Asian women

in the Prairies (95.53%, Table 24). For Quebec, it has the lower explained percentages for Arab women (76.51%, Table 24), whereas the Atlantic provinces has it for black women (74.70 %, Table 24), and Ontario has it for Chinese (64.21%, Table 24) and South Asian women (70.61%, Table 24). Thus, most of the wage gaps experienced by visible minority women is explained by the fact that they have characteristics that, when compared to white women, are less favorable to the labor market, potentially indicating that discrimination plays a minor role.

When examining the explained portion of their wage gaps, findings reveal that, overall, visible minority women (except black women) are advantaged by the fact that they have completed a high level of education (i.e., bachelor's degree or above") compared to white women, which is associated with a high income. Marital status reveals a difference between Quebec and ROC where, in Quebec, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women are disadvantaged by being more likely to be married than white women, whereas it is the opposite in Ontario and British Columbia. This situation also differs from the experience of visible minority men who were advantaged by their higher likelihood of being married. One possible explanation could be that being married for women is not associated with a much higher income compared to being single, and this particularly applies to Quebec. In general, visible minority women are disadvantaged by the fact that they are less likely than white women to work in managerial positions, which is the occupational category that has the highest average income. One exception exists for Chinese women living in Quebec who are more likely to work in management, compared to white women living in Quebec. Full-time status and the number of weeks worked are major contributors to the explained portion of the wage gap of visible minority women where findings revealed that Chinese and South Asian women have a more favorable distribution on full-time status relative to white women, compared to that of black and Arab women. On the other hand, all visible minority women across provinces are disadvantaged by the fact that they work, on average, fewer weeks compared to white women. This plays a larger role in Quebec that has the largest coefficients for all groups. As stated in previous chapters, this could reveal some form of discrimination in terms of a lack of work opportunities experienced by visible minority women. Across provinces, visible minority women are disadvantaged by the fact that they are younger, on average, than white women, except in Ontario and the Prairies for Chinese women. This could indicate that visible minority women, compared to white women, have less work experience which affects negatively their

wage. Visible minority women also seem to suffer from lack of Canadian work experience, at least when compared to white women who are more likely to be born in Canada. Findings revealed that the wage gap experienced by visible minority women is greater for recent immigrants than it is for immigrants who have been living in Canada a considerable amount of time. Thus, employers, especially in Quebec, seem to place a high value on Canadian work experience. As for language, visible minority women are heavily disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to speak a langue that is neither French nor English. A surprising finding revealed that speaking French is not a big contributor to the explained wage gap in Quebec, whereas speaking English in ROC does contribute to their wage gaps.

The unexplained portion of the wage gap of visible minority women is quite small, potentially indicating the absence or low presence of discrimination in the labor market for them. We can even find cases where there are no unexplained percentages, which includes black women in British Columbia and the Prairies, Chinese and Arabs in the Prairies, and South Asians in British Columbia. On the other hand, Ontario is the province who has some of the largest unexplained percentages. For example, Ontario has the largest unexplained percentage for Chinese women (35.79%, Table 24) followed by British Columbia (22.54%) and Quebec (20.93%). Ontario also has the largest unexplained percentage for South Asian women (29.39%, Table 24) followed by Quebec (23.10%). The Atlantic provinces has the largest one for black women (25.30%, Table 24) followed by Ontario (10.83%). As for Quebec, it has the largest unexplained percentage for Arab women (23.49%, Table 24) followed by Ontario (20.70%). However, the unexplained coefficient for black women in Quebec is not significant. Hence, the presence of discrimination, if it exists, seems more prevalent in Quebec and in Ontario.

Examining the unexplained portion of their wage gap in detail, some findings support the discrimination hypothesis whereas others go against it. For example, the education variable reveal findings that support the discrimination hypothesis where the return on having a bachelor's degree or above is lower for Chinese and Arab women in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, for South Asian women in Quebec and in Ontario, and black women in Ontario, compared to white women living in their respective provinces. However, we can also found cases that go against the discrimination hypothesis. For instance, visible minority women obtain a higher return on having less than a high school diploma, compared to white women.

Thus, discrimination, if present, is more likely to be experienced at the highest level of education. Potential evidence of discrimination can be found when observing the lower returns that visible minority women receive when having a child compared to white women. In contrast, the marital status of visible minority women present mixed support to the discrimination hypothesis. In general, the return on being single is higher for visible minority women than it is for white women, whereas the return on being married is lower for visible minority women compared to white women. Occupation reveals a major difference between the experience of black women and the one of the other visible minority groups. Black women receive higher returns when occupying several jobs, whereas the other visible minority groups are more likely to receive lower returns, compared to white women. For example, black women in Ontario receive higher returns than white women when working in business-related occupations. In contrast, Chinese, Arab, and South Asian women receive lower returns on working in management, compared to white women. This offers strong support for the discrimination hypothesis as this reveals that, when working in management, white women earn more than visible minority women, all else being equal. In contrast to the results pertaining to the occupational categories, black women seem worse than the other visible minority groups, where they are more likely, in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, to receive a lower wage when working full-time, and when working the same number of weeks as white women, all else being equal. Arab women are also particularly penalized by these characteristics where they receive lower returns on working full-time (in Ontario), and on working the same number of weeks as white women (in Ontario and British Columbia). In contrast, Chinese women in Quebec receive higher returns on working full-time and on the number of weeks worked, compared to white women. This is also the case for Chinese women in Ontario, Arab women in Quebec, South Asian women in Ontario who receive higher returns on the number of weeks worked, compared to white women. Contrary to visible minority men, the age variable (proxy for work experience) does not play a major role for visible minority women. Only Chinese and Arab women have significant coefficients and they are negative, thus, offering strong evidence against the discrimination hypothesis. As for the duration and nativity status of visible minority women, it seems that the return on being in Canada longer is greater for some visible minority women whereas recent immigrants as well as Canadian-born are more likely to experience a penalty. Finally, when penalized for their language skills, it is

more likely for speaking a language that is neither French nor English, especially at home, and especially for Chinese in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, and Arab women in Quebec. Overall, Quebec and Ontario remain the provinces with the largest unexplained percentages, whereas the other Canadian provinces have either very low percentages or no percentages at all that can be attributed to discrimination.

Table 29. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for black women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Blacks in Quebec	**Blacks in Ontario**	**Blacks in British Columbia**	**Blacks in Prairies**	**Blacks in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.278***	0.120***	0.175***	0.238***	0.166***
	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.037)	(0.023)	(0.037)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.015	0.013**	-0.010	-0.006	0.042*
	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.027)	(0.017)	(0.026)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.070	0.043	0.649	0.879**	0.608
	(0.226)	(0.140)	(0.593)	(0.383)	(0.558)
Age squared	-0.017	-0.048	-0.358	-0.477**	-0.325
	(0.113)	(0.071)	(0.294)	(0.192)	(0.294)
Marital status					
Single	-0.001	-0.000	-0.003	-0.011	-0.001
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.022)
Married	-0.003	0.000	0.018	0.006	-0.022
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.014)
Separated	0.002	-0.000	-0.009	0.002	0.009
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Presence of a child	0.047	0.041**	0.026	-0.117**	0.021
	(0.031)	(0.019)	(0.063)	(0.046)	(0.068)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.012***	-0.002	0.005	-0.001	0.018**
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.009)
High school	0.005	0.002	0.004	-0.010	-0.038***
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.013)
College or technical training	0.015**	-0.005	-0.020	-0.006	-0.008
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.019)	(0.011)	(0.018)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.010**	0.004*	-0.005	0.011*	0.005
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Official language spoken					
English	-0.019	-0.017	0.020	0.091	-0.598**
	(0.017)	(0.050)	(0.143)	(0.076)	(0.254)
French	0.016	0.003	-0.008	-0.001	-0.024**
	(0.045)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.011)
English and French	0.001	-0.001	0.003	0.002	-0.003

	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Other	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.002	0.002
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Language spoken at home					
English	0.026***	-0.022	-0.053	-0.043	-0.010
	(0.008)	(0.020)	(0.094)	(0.045)	(0.123)
French	-0.037***	0.001	0.002	0.005**	-0.002
	(0.013)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Other	-0.011**	-0.002	-0.011	-0.038***	0.003
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.004)
<u>Work Characteristics</u>					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.054***	0.083***	0.042	0.090***	0.023***
	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.042)	(0.028)	(0.047)
Weeks	0.072***	0.054***	0.018	-0.002	0.109***
	(0.028)	(0.019)	(0.084)	(0.050)	(0.074)
Occupation					
Management	0.004**	0.001	0.009	0.004	-0.005
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.005	-0.019***	0.002	-0.006	-0.008
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.017)	(0.009)	(0.019)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.002	-0.000	-0.001	0.001	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Health occupations	-0.004	-0.010***	0.011	0.011	0.012
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.004	-0.005*	0.011	-0.003	-0.009
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.010)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.001	-0.002**	-0.002	0.002	-0.009**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Sales and service occupations	-0.010	-0.024***	-0.018	-0.003	-0.055**
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.024)	(0.015)	(0.027)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	-0.001	-0.001	-0.003	0.003*	0.004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.000	0.001***	-0.001	-0.002*	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.009***	0.003	0.004	-0.008**	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)

Residential status					
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	0.004	0.004	0.039**	0.012	-0.052
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.019)	(0.009)	(0.066)
0-10 years	-0.016***	-0.010***	0.006	-0.012	-0.001
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.006)
11 to 20 years	0.008*	0.008***	-0.000	0.006	0.009**
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.004)
21 years or more	0.005	0.003	-0.028**	-0.008	-0.006*
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.004)
Constant	-0.198	-0.068	-0.360	-0.384*	0.389
	(0.133)	(0.088)	(0.365)	(0.212)	(0.365)
N	311462	440348	235297	209034	100325

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 30. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Chinese women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Chinese in Quebec	**Chinese in Ontario**	**Chinese in British Columbia**	**Chinese in Prairies**	**Chinese in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.344***	0.095***	0.173***	0.103***	0.021
	(0.023)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.077)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.072***	0.034***	0.039***	-0.023*	0.058
	(0.018)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.054)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	-0.273	-0.513***	-0.520***	0.136	0.279
	(0.427)	(0.150)	(0.184)	(0.280)	(1.367)
Age squared	0.107	0.297***	0.301***	-0.014	-0.132
	(0.216)	(0.077)	(0.095)	(0.144)	(0.699)
Marital status					
Single	-0.012	-0.007**	-0.013**	0.015**	-0.020
	(0.010)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.036)
Married	0.024	0.023***	0.014**	-0.010	0.035
	(0.015)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.050)
Separated	-0.000	-0.001	0.001	-0.003	-0.000
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.011)
child	0.011	0.059***	0.075***	0.038*	0.027
	(0.037)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.023)	(0.078)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.011**	-0.008***	-0.006***	-0.015***	-0.012
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.012)
High school	-0.006	0.006***	0.007**	0.006	-0.040
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.026)
College or technical training	-0.002	-0.006**	-0.010***	-0.009*	0.017
	(0.008)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.024)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.050***	0.031***	0.024***	0.037***	0.138***
	(0.013)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.053)
Official language spoken					
English	0.022	0.003	-0.099*	0.019	0.189
	(0.016)	(0.025)	(0.055)	(0.067)	(0.293)
French	0.003	-0.001**	0.000	0.000	-0.004
	(0.009)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.007)
English and French	-0.014*	-0.000	-0.001	0.000	-0.000

	(0.009)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.008)
Other	0.000	0.015***	0.000	-0.019***	0.018
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.017)
Language spoken at home					
English	0.001	0.007	0.024	0.038	-0.273
	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.034)	(0.047)	(0.238)
French	-0.009	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.005
	(0.006)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.006)
Other	0.050**	0.039	0.119*	0.095	-0.235
	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.062)	(0.071)	(0.210)
<u>Work Characteristics</u>					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	-0.070**	0.010	0.049***	-0.004	-0.026
	(0.033)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.100)
Weeks	-0.103**	-0.032*	-0.004	-0.051	-0.402**
	(0.043)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.161)
Occupation					
Management	0.007	0.009***	0.007***	0.007**	0.025
	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.016)
Business, finance and administrative	0.003	-0.012***	0.001	-0.014*	0.002
	(0.015)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.033)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.010	-0.011***	-0.004***	-0.012***	-0.011
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.019)
Health occupations	0.003	0.001	0.004**	0.000	-0.030
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.019)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.009*	0.009***	0.009***	0.001	-0.020
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.022)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	-0.006**	0.001	0.003***	-0.002	-0.015
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.013)
Sales and service occupations	-0.007	0.001	-0.007	-0.002	0.016
	(0.017)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.038)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.000	-0.001***	-0.003***	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.003)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.004	0.015***	-0.001	-0.005*	0.005
	(0.009)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.010)
<u>Residential status</u>					
Duration					

Canadian-born	0.002	-0.003	-0.010***	-0.009*	0.073**
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.034)
0-10 years	-0.015	0.020***	0.029***	0.028***	0.004
	(0.012)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.032)
11 to 20 years	0.000	0.005	0.008	0.005	-0.027
	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.021)
21 years or more	0.006	-0.012***	-0.015***	-0.026***	-0.017
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.022)
Constant	0.309	0.091	0.054	-0.256	0.488
	(0.215)	(0.080)	(0.123)	(0.176)	(0.714)
N	306639	444886	254887	212988	99691

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 31. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for Arab women, aged 18-64 years, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	Arabs in Quebec	**Arabs in Ontario**	**Arabs in British Columbia**	**Arabs in Prairies**	**Arabs in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.481***	0.430***	0.395***	0.401***	0.089
	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.097)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.113***	0.089***	0.056**	-0.045*	-0.003
	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.074)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.514	-0.463	1.090*	0.754	-0.663
	(0.439)	(0.284)	(0.643)	(0.597)	(1.976)
Age squared	-0.177	0.271*	-0.491	-0.269	0.185
	(0.216)	(0.140)	(0.319)	(0.289)	(1.019)
Marital status					
Single	-0.018*	-0.025***	-0.034*	0.011	-0.037
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.056)
Married	0.025	0.033***	0.044**	0.034	0.090
	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.085)
Separated	0.002	0.002	0.002	-0.009	-0.003
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.017)
Presence of a child	0.080*	0.058*	0.096	0.074	0.103
	(0.044)	(0.030)	(0.066)	(0.077)	(0.227)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.004	-0.011***	-0.007*	-0.023**	-0.020
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.021)
High school	0.001	-0.005	0.005	0.011	-0.009
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.035)
College or technical training	-0.002	0.005	0.000	0.002	0.013
	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.034)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.026**	0.055***	0.065***	0.030**	0.076
	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.022)	(0.014)	(0.059)
Official language spoken					
English	0.014	0.001	0.054	0.113	0.112
	(0.010)	(0.035)	(0.098)	(0.081)	(0.365)
French	0.017	-0.002	0.001	-0.002	-0.003
	(0.033)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.020)
English and French	0.011	-0.006*	0.001	0.005	0.006

	(0.013)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.022)
Other	-0.002	0.002*	-0.002	-0.005	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Language spoken at home					
English	-0.005	-0.030	0.021	-0.015	-0.227
	(0.005)	(0.020)	(0.054)	(0.068)	(0.184)
French	-0.002	0.001	-0.001	0.000	0.008
	(0.014)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.013)
Other	0.029*	0.002	0.060	0.003	-0.001
	(0.017)	(0.032)	(0.100)	(0.069)	(0.142)
Work Characteristics					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.014	0.035**	0.010	0.129***	-0.148
	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.128)
Weeks	-0.095**	0.093***	0.171**	0.131*	0.141
	(0.044)	(0.032)	(0.071)	(0.068)	(0.206)
Occupation					
Management	0.011*	0.012***	0.004	0.026***	0.005
	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.028)
Business, finance and administrative	-0.007	0.002	-0.015	0.025*	-0.027
	(0.021)	(0.008)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.040)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.004	-0.010***	-0.011**	-0.012*	0.021
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.014)
Health occupations	-0.007	-0.004	-0.006	0.014	-0.026
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.026)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.022	0.023***	0.007	0.018*	-0.036
	(0.015)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.032)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	0.009***	-0.004**	0.006	-0.001	-0.003
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.012)
Sales and service occupations	-0.010	0.020*	-0.005	0.031	-0.116*
	(0.023)	(0.011)	(0.029)	(0.024)	(0.060)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.002	0.003**	0.003	0.000	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.008)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.000	-0.001*	-0.000	-0.003	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.008)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.001	0.008***	-0.004	-0.001	0.000
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.008)
Residential status					
Duration and nativity status					
Canadian-born	-0.004	0.001	0.007	0.019	0.045
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.047)

0-10 years	-0.008	0.006	0.024	-0.010	-0.068
	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.045)
11 to 20 years	0.027***	0.010	0.008	0.006	0.017
	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.027)
21 years or more	-0.004	-0.006*	-0.022***	-0.011	-0.000
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.027)
Constant	-0.343	0.015	-1.024***	-1.119***	0.557
	(0.239)	(0.154)	(0.359)	(0.344)	(1.063)
N	332616	425769	236040	207728	99582

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table 32. Oaxaca-Blinder unexplained detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for South Asian women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, according to the province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Whites vs:[2]				
	South Asians in Quebec	**South Asians in Ontario**	**South Asians in British Columbia**	**South Asians in Prairies**	**South Asians in Atlantic**
Total Log Annual Earning Gap	0.420***	0.279***	0.210***	0.246***	-0.120
	(0.025)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.016)	(0.080)
Unexplained (i.e. Attributable to Differences in Returns to Characteristics)	0.097***	0.082***	-0.054***	0.011	-0.002
	(0.020)	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.058)
Sociodemographic characteristics					
Age	0.07	0.138	-0.612***	0.404	1.337
	(0.491)	(0.130)	(0.204)	(0.310)	(1.593)
Age squared	0.096	0.048	0.395***	-0.087	-0.924
	(0.242)	(0.064)	(0.100)	(0.152)	(0.834)
Marital status					
Single	-0.016	-0.005	0.004	0.004	-0.000
	(0.014)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.036)
Married	0.050**	0.033***	0.018*	0.006	-0.019
	(0.021)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.061)
Separated	-0.003	-0.002**	-0.004**	-0.002	0.003
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.015)
Presence of a child	0.051	0.065***	0.077***	-0.001	-0.138
	(0.051)	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.118)
Education					
Less than high school	-0.023***	-0.011***	-0.013***	-0.017***	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.013)
High school	0.002	0.000	0.004	0.009	-0.010
	(0.009)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.018)
College or technical training	0.005	-0.002	-0.008**	-0.008	0.002
	(0.010)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.029)
Bachelor's degree or above	0.040***	0.053***	0.022***	0.054***	0.077
	(0.011)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.064)
Official language spoken					
English	0.015	0.064**	-0.037	0.101	0.099
	(0.037)	(0.030)	(0.054)	(0.090)	(0.227)
French	0.008	-0.001**	-0.000	0.000	-0.008
	(0.008)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.008)

English and French	0.012	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.003
	(0.010)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.006)
Other	-0.004	0.002**	0.008	-0.007**	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Language spoken at home					
English	0.014	-0.020	-0.036	-0.423***	-0.386
	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.038)	(0.094)	(0.308)
French	-0.005	-0.000	0.000	0.001	0.002
	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.003)
Other	0.021	0.022	-0.016	-0.424***	-0.113
	(0.028)	(0.022)	(0.053)	(0.099)	(0.144)
<u>Work Characteristics</u>					
Employment Status:					
Full-time (40+)	0.003	0.070***	0.101***	0.060***	-0.085
	(0.041)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.096)
Weeks	0.031	-0.084***	0.180***	-0.007	-0.107
	(0.053)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.035)	(0.189)
Occupation					
Management	0.007	0.007***	0.006***	0.011***	0.026
	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.016)
Business, finance and administrative	0.000	0.004	0.009**	0.004	0.057
	(0.014)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.045)
Natural and applied sciences and related	-0.006	-0.002*	-0.000	0.001	0.008
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.016)
Health occupations	0.001	-0.001	0.006**	-0.007*	-0.009
	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.026)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	0.003	0.008***	0.001	0.017***	0.036
	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.027)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	0.006**	-0.001**	-0.001	0.005***	-0.009
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.007)
Sales and service occupations	-0.004	0.007**	0.011*	0.002	-0.005
	(0.014)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.028)
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	0.000	0.001	0.001	-0.002	-0.009
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.009)
Occupations unique to primary industry	-0.001	-0.001***	-0.023***	-0.003***	0.005
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.006)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	0.002	0.018***	0.005*	0.001	-0.001
	(0.015)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.006)
<u>Residential status</u>					
Duration and nativity status					

Canadian-born	0.011	0.008***	0.001	0.009	0.014
	(0.009)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.026)
0-10 years	-0.007	0.013***	0.003	0.009	-0.035
	(0.011)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.030)
11 to 20 years	0.011	0.001	0.004	0.008	-0.027
	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.024)
21 years or more	-0.018*	-0.020***	-0.009**	-0.029***	0.055
	(0.010)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.035)
Constant	-0.278	-0.330***	-0.150	0.324	0.162
	(0.252)	(0.074)	(0.131)	(0.249)	(0.893)
N	305973	449644	247404	213255	99662

Robust standard errors in parentheses
[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority categories
[2]The reference group is white individuals living in the respective province.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

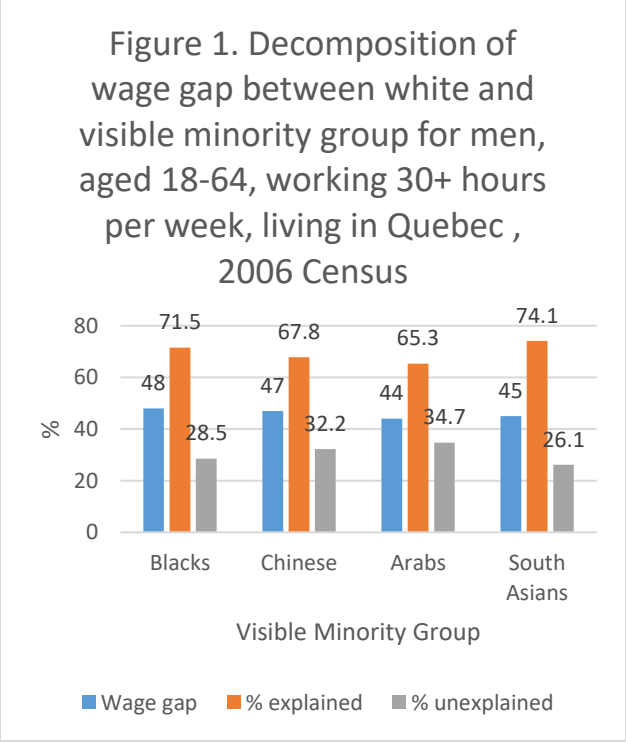
Quebec Findings

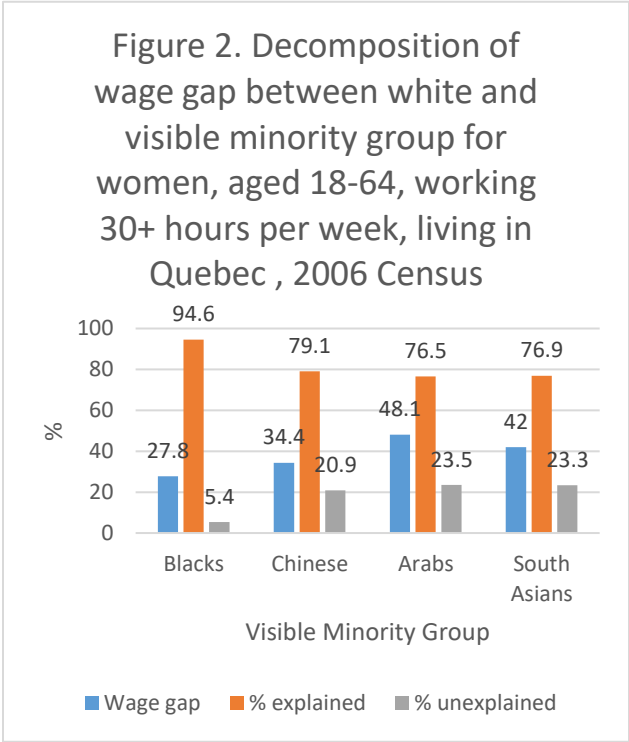
This dissertation had three research questions, two of them are being answered by the results presented in Chapter 3:

RQ1: Is there a significant difference in terms of wages and salaries between visible minority members and white individuals living in Quebec?

RQ2: If so, are wage and salary differentials potentially indicative of discrimination identifiable in Quebec?

The first analysis of this dissertation (Chapter 3) demonstrated that there are significant wage differences between visible minorities and whites in Quebec, and offered some indications about why they are experiencing these wage differentials, including the potential presence of discrimination. Figures 1 and 2 summarize the findings pertaining to the decomposition of the wage gap between white and visible minority men (Figure 1) and women (Figure 2) aged 18-64, working 30 hours or more per week, living in Quebec using the 2006





Census. For men, when looking at the unadjusted results, black and Chinese men are the groups with the largest wage gaps. For women, it is Arabs and South Asians. Once relevant characteristics are accounted for, all visible minority groups face a significant wage gap with whites (except black women), which supports the argument that discrimination is potentially present in the labor market[70]. Among visible minority men, the adjusted minority/white wage differentials are highest for Arabs and Chinese. Arab and South Asian women have the highest adjusted minority/white wage differentials among visible minority women. Hence, the persistence of visible minority effects, even after having controlled for relevant characteristics, may indicate the presence of embedded discriminatory attitudes in the Quebec labor market.

This dissertation's finding regarding Chinese and Arab men is in accord with the extant literature, including studies conducted by Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) [71] and Zhu and Bélanger (2010) who also found that Chinese and Arab men faced high minority/white wage differentials. For Chinese and Arab men, this dissertation has found that they receive a lower wage than white men when working in certain occupations, such as management. Reitz (2003b) discussed this difficulty when he examined immigrants' ability to work in knowledge occupations, and noted that immigrants face several barriers in trying to occupy managerial positions, including discrimination. This is also consistent with the study conducted by Galarneau and Morissettte (2004) who found that male immigrants were less likely to be rewarded for their educational skills and, as a result, were more likely to end up in low-skill jobs. Finally, Pendakur and Pendakur (2007) also observed that Chinese men were more likely to face a wage disparity when occupying high-skilled jobs. Additionally, this dissertation has observed that Chinese and Arab men are less likely than white men to earn the same wage for the same amount of work experience, which is a well-documented phenomenon in the existing literature (Nadeau & Seckin, 2010; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Zhu & Bélanger, 2010).

Interestingly, this dissertation observed that black men in Quebec are not the most disadvantaged group when looking at their adjusted wage gap, which differs from other findings discovered in the literature. For example, Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) found that, in 2005, in Montreal, black men had the widest wage gap among all the other groups included in

[70] As stated before, other variables can be at play.
[71] Their study pertained to Montreal. Boudarbat & Boulet (2007) also found that men from Asian countries were disadvantaged in Quebec although their reference group consisted of immigrants from the U.S. and the U.K.

their analysis (e.g., South Asians, Italians, Greeks) (p.24). This difference in findings could be due to the fact that they only examined Canadian-born residents aged 25 to 64, controlled for fewer variables, and used individuals with British origins as their reference group. Boudarbat and Boulet (2007) also found that black men were highly disadvantaged in Quebec, but they only studied immigrants from Africa, and used immigrants from the United States and the United Kingdom as the reference group. On the other hand, Boudarbat's and Boulet's findings align with those of this dissertation when it comes to black women who experience no significant wage gap once controlling for personal and work characteristics.

Among visible minority women, Arabs, especially in 2005, are one of the most underprivileged groups with high unadjusted and adjusted wage gaps, which coincides with studies like the one conducted by Godin and Renaud (2005) who also highlighted the difficulty that immigrants from the Middle East experienced in the Quebec labor market. It is unfortunately not a surprising result given the rise of Islamophobia occurring around the world since 9/11, which Quebec is not impervious to and is illustrated by an increase in the amount of attacks against Muslim women since the proposal of the Charter of Values (CBC News, 2013). The Quebec Human Rights Commission notes that Arabs have been increasingly the victims of racial profiling in Canada since 2001 (Turenne & Bitzakidis, 2008). They also conducted a survey in 2015 which found that negative perception of Arabs and of the Muslim veil are high, especially in Quebec (CBC News, 2015; Solyom, 2015).

This dissertation has also observed that South Asian women face a high unadjusted and adjusted minority/white wage gap, which somewhat differs from the extant literature. For example, a study conducted by Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) found no significant wage gap in 2005 between South Asian women and British-origin women. This difference in findings could be explained by the fact that they used British-origin individuals as their reference group, or that they looked at Canadian-born residents only. More aligned with this dissertation's finding is the work of Swidinski and Swidinski who found a wage gap between South Asian women and native-born women, but admitted to it being a modest one (2002, 651). Some studies just lump all Asian groups together (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007; Maroto & Aylsworth, 2016), which renders the comparison with this dissertation difficult.

Hence, all visible minority groups (except black women) have a significant adjusted minority/white wage gap, and it is higher for Chinese men, Arab men and women, and South

Asian women. It is worth noting that, in general, the wage gaps (both unadjusted and adjusted) for visible minority women, regardless of whether these occurred in 2005 or in 2010, are much smaller than the ones experienced by men, which accords with the literature (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). Some authors have hypothesized that this difference might be due to the fact that women's wages are already disadvantaged compared to men's earnings due to sexism, and thus renders the white-visible minority women wage gap smaller to start with (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). As an example, this dissertation has found that black women do not have a significant wage gap with whites, once accounting for their individual characteristics (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007). Overall, this indicates that most of the wage gaps experienced by visible minority women are due to observable characteristics and may have less to do with race- or ethnic-based discrimination.

The Potential Presence of Discrimination in the Quebec Labor Market

The majority of the adjusted minority/white wage gap is explained by the fact that visible minorities have individual characteristics that are less favorable to the Quebec labor market. Discrimination seems to play a smaller role, especially for visible minority women, but can still be found when analyzing the results carefully. This present section will list the main disadvantageous individual characteristics that visible minorities have, but will also highlight how they do not explain all of the wage gap, and that discrimination is likely playing a role as well.

Among those individual characteristics that are less favorable to the labor market are the language skills of several visible minority groups. For example, all visible minority groups, regardless of gender, have a higher proportion of individuals speaking another language at home that is neither French nor English, compared to whites. Even though this is the language spoken at home, this variable might be capturing a lack of English/French skills. This finding is consistent with previous studies that have highlighted how the language skills of immigrants can be a major obstacle in the Quebec labor market (Boudarbat, 2011; Nadeau & Seckin, 2010; Zhu & Belanger, 2010). Not surprising is the finding that speaking French is an important asset to have in Quebec, which is supported by several other studies (Boudarbat, 2011; Nadeau & Serkin, 2010). This dissertation has found that it is particularly true for visible minority men in Quebec who are less likely than whites to speak French, but that it does not impact visible minority women as much as they are more likely to speak French at home, compared to visible

minority men (Tables 1 and 2). When comparing across visible minority groups, black men and women seemed to be the visible minority group the least affected by their language distribution, as they are more likely than the other visible minority groups to speak French. This can be explained by the high migration stream of Haitian individuals to Quebec who are more likely to speak French. Finally, speaking English at home constitutes an asset in Quebec, which all visible minority groups, regardless of gender (except for Arab women), have. It is possible that this finding captures bilingual individuals who, studies have found, earn a higher income than individuals who only speaks French (Christofides & Swidinsky, 2010; Vaillancourt, 1997). Hence, visible minorities earn less, in part, because of their lack of knowledge of the French language compared to whites' level of knowledge.

However, this dissertation's findings reveal that even when they do speak this language, they still earn less than white individuals, which strongly supports the discrimination hypothesis. Arab men seem particularly affected by this where we can see that they receive, for example, lower returns for speaking French at home, and for speaking French as their first official language spoken. Chinese men and women, and Arab women, are also particularly affected by the fact that they receive a lower premium for speaking another language other than French or English at home. This could also suggest discrimination and/or a lack of fluency, compared to whites. Studies, such as the one conducted by Eid (2012) and Oreopoulos (2009, 2012), offer some support for this explanation where they found that employers were reluctant to hire individuals who did not have English-sounding names or French-sounding names, because they were afraid that they would not speak these languages very well. Their studies highlighted how resumes with Arab-sounding names (Eid, 2012) or Chinese-sounding names (Oreopoulos, 2009, 2012) were less likely to receive a callback from employers because they assumed that they would not speak French/English very well, which seem to align with the findings of this dissertation.

Visible minority groups in Quebec are also worse off in terms of their employment characteristics, namely the full-time status and the number of weeks worked, which reveal two main findings. One is the fact that most visible minority groups (regardless of gender) are less likely than whites to work full-time and that they work, on average, fewer weeks which prevents them from earning as much as whites. Second, as mentioned in the empirical chapters, this could indicate the presence of discrimination at the level of work opportunities, as opposed

to representing a desire from visible minority groups to work less than whites. It is possible that these differences can be the result of discriminatory practices from employers who are less likely to hire visible minorities on a full-time basis, and make them work fewer weeks than whites. This would be consistent with studies such as Zhu and Bélanger (2010) and Boudarbat (2011) who observed a lower employment rate for immigrants compared to native-born individuals, despite their high education levels.

Related to employment is the additional finding that some visible minorities, especially black men, are under-represented in highly-paid occupations. This could potentially indicate the presence of labour market discrimination through occupational segregation, where occupational choice is constrained (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Swidinsky & Swidinsky, 2002). Moreover, this dissertation has also demonstrated that even when visible minorities occupy highly-paid positions, they are less likely to be paid the same wage as whites occupying the same positions. Hence, even though visible minorities have employment characteristics that appear to be less favorable to the labor market, it might not be the result of a voluntary choice.

In addition, part of the minority/white wage gap can be explained by the fact that, regardless of gender, all visible minority groups (except Arab men) are, on average, younger than whites. Since age is used as a rough proxy for work experience, this could potentially indicate that these visible minority groups have less work experience than whites. However, I have also found that, all else being equal, visible minority men receive a lower wage than white men for the same amount of work experience, which may indicate discriminatory practices from employers[72].

As for their duration and nativity status, all visible minority groups, regardless of gender, are disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to be immigrants, compared to whites. Thus, being Canadian-born constitutes a major asset in the labor market. Given that 64.6% of visible minorities in Quebec are foreign-born (Québec, 2014, 12), this characteristic affects a large proportion of visible minority workers in the province. Immigrants who have been living in Canada for a shorter period of time (i.e., 0-10 years) are the most disadvantaged among the immigrant population, whereas immigrants who have been living in Canada for a longer period of time are in a better financial position. Therefore, visible minority immigrants suffer from a lack of Canadian experience, which leads to wage differentials with whites.

[72] Since age is used a rough proxy, results should be interpreted with caution.

Recent immigrants suffer the most from it, facing a wage disadvantage early in their Canadian careers, whereas long-term immigrants seemed to have been able to overcome some of it (but not all) with increased time spent living in Canada. This is in line with studies like Godin and Renaud (2005) who found that some immigrants who had been living in Montreal for 10 years or more were more likely to obtain job stability than more recent immigrants. Zietsma (2007) also reported that immigrants might need more time to adjust to their new life, which has ramifications on their income. He demonstrated that immigrants who have been living in Canada for 5 years or less were more likely to have a lower employment rate. Consequently, the average number of years spent living in Canada for visible minorities tends to be lower than that of whites, which reduces their years of Canadian work experience. Thus, the fact that visible minorities are more likely to be immigrants than whites could explain, in part, the observed difference in wages.

However, this does not encompass the whole story. Even when visible minority men are Canadian-born, they receive a lower wage than whites who are Canadian-born. For example, all visible minority men, except Arab men, receive a lower return for being Canadian-born. On the other hand, Arab men and South Asians (men and women) who have been living in Canada for 21 years or more receive a greater return than white men who have been living in Canada the same amount of time. This finding potentially contradicts the discriminatory hypothesis where we can see that some visible minority groups, in some instances, receive a greater premium than whites, even when having the same characteristic as them. Therefore, it seems that the return on being in Canada longer is greater for some visible minority groups compared to white immigrants, but that it is the opposite for Canadian-born visible minorities who see their returns being lower than those of white Canadian-born individuals. This latter finding is consistent with some studies, including the one of Lands and Richelle (2013) who used the 2006 Census to study the Canadian immigrant population working in the manufacturing industry and found that the return on being in Canada longer is greater for visible minorities than for whites.

It is worth noting that visible minorities also have characteristics that help reduce their wage gap, namely their education level and their marital status (for men). The fact that all the visible minority groups observed in this dissertation (except black women) have a higher level of education than whites is an asset, since higher levels of education are associated with higher

wages. This is consistent with the literature where the high educational qualification of immigrants is observed (Boudarbat, 2011; Nadeau & Seckin, 2010). Thus, the wage gap of visible minorities would be wider if they had the same distribution on education as whites.

On the other hand, findings reveal that their high education level is less likely to be rewarded, compared to whites. For example, regardless of gender, all visible minority groups (except for Arab men)[73] experience a lower return with the "bachelor's degree or above" category, which lends strong support to the discrimination hypothesis, given that this is a category where these groups have endowment advantages. This could suggest that having the right educational degree, at a high level, is not enough for employers to give them an income that is the same as their white peers. On the other hand, given that this dissertation does not control for the origin of the educational degree, it is possible that some visible minorities have obtained it abroad, which can be perceived by employers (either rightly or not) as being of a lower quality (Boudarbat, 2011; Picot, 2008).

Despite these results demonstrating the potential role that discrimination plays in the Quebec labor market, it is worth mentioning results indicating that some visible minority groups experience greater returns than their white counterparts, which seems to go against the discrimination hypothesis. To give some examples, black, Chinese and South Asian men experience a greater return when having completed less than a high school diploma, compared to white men with the same education level, all else being equal. Chinese and South Asian women also experience the same situation. Also, black, Chinese (both genders), and Arab (both genders) receive a greater return on the number of weeks worked than white men, all else being equal. Moreover, some visible minority men receive a greater return when working in occupations that are well-paid. For example, this is the case for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men who receive a higher income than white men when working in science-related occupations. To the author's knowledge, no other studies have mentioned cases where visible minorities receive higher returns for those characteristics. This might be due to the fact that very few studies examining Quebec have used the Oaxaca detailed decomposition model the way that this dissertation does (i.e. not just stating the amount of unexplained but looking at the unexplained detailed decomposition as well). When they do, they tend to focus on cases where visible minorities receive lower returns for a given characteristic (Banarjee, 2009).

[73] Note that it excludes back women too, as they do not experience a significant wage gap.

To conclude, this dissertation, through Chapter 3, has demonstrated that:

1) There is a significant difference in terms of wages and salaries between visible minority members and white individuals living in Quebec, especially for Chinese men, Arabs (men and women), and South Asian women (RQ1).
2) The wage gaps experienced by visible minority groups in Quebec seem mostly due to their individual characteristics that are less favorable to the labor market compared to whites' characteristics, and not discrimination (RQ2).
3) As for the potential presence that discrimination plays in explaining these wage gaps (RQ2), we can see that the reality is much more complicated than what some media outlets have expressed about Quebec and its relationship with visible minority groups. This dissertation found some evidence potentially pointing to the presence of discrimination in the Quebec labor market, especially when looking at the lower returns received by visible minorities for their language skills, their nativity and duration status, and their high education level.

Quebec vs ROC

The third research question of this dissertation can be answered by looking at the results of Chapters 4 and 5:
RQ3: Is the wage gap between visible minorities and whites, if it exists, more pronounced in Quebec than in the other Canadian provinces?

Chapters 4 and 5 examined wage differentials between whites and visible minority members (blacks, Chinese, Arabs, and South Asians who have self-identified with only one of these groups), aged 18-64, who worked at least 30 hours per week, by gender, comparing Quebec to the other Canadian provinces. Table 33 offers a summary of some of the findings of those chapters by displaying the unadjusted wage gaps, the explained and unexplained percentages, by visible minority group and by gender, according to the province/region of residence, based on the 2006 Census.

Table 33. Oaxaca-Blinder detailed decomposition of log wages and salaries for visible minorities, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, by gender, according to their province of residence, 2006 Census[1]

	Blacks		Chinese		Arabs		South Asians	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Quebec								
Unadjusted wage gap	**0.48**	**0.278**	**0.469**	**0.344**	0.441	**0.481**	**0.452**	**0.42**
% Explained	71.46	94.6	67.8	79.07	65.31	76.51	74.12	76.9
% Unexplained	28.54	5.4	32.2	20.93	34.69	**23.49**	25.88	23.1
Ontario								
Unadjusted wage gap	0.367	0.12	0.253	0.095	**0.492**	0.43	0.292	0.279
% Explained	66.49	89.17	38.74	64.21	56.1	79.3	46.58	70.61
% Unexplained	33.51	10.83	**61.26**	**35.79**	**43.9**	20.7	**53.42**	**29.39**
British Columbia								
Unadjusted wage gap	0.384	0.175	0.388	0.173	0.305	0.395	0.335	0.21
% Explained	62.76	105.71	63.66	77.46	69.48	85.82	71.34	125.71
% Unexplained	37.24	-5.71	36.34	22.54	30.52	14.18	28.66	-25.71
The Prairies								
Unadjusted wage gap	0.42	0.238	0.139	0.103	0.413	0.401	0.229	0.246
% Explained	60.71	102.52	53.46	122.33	62.23	111.22	52.84	95.53
% Unexplained	**39.29**	-2.52	46.54	-22.33	37.77	-11.22	47.16	4.47
The Atlantic provinces								
Unadjusted wage gap	0.251	0.166	-0.060[a]	0.021[b]	0.042[b]	0.089[b]	-0.092[a]	-.120[a]
% Explained	71.51	74.7	173.33[a]	-176.19[b]	34.43[b]	103.37[b]	128.26[a]	98.33[a]
% Unexplained	28.49	**25.3**	-73.33[a]	276.19[b]	65.57[b]	-3.37[b]	-28.26[a]	1.67[a]

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[a] Visible minority group has a higher mean wage (logged) than white men living in that region,
[b] Visible minority group does not have a significant wage gap with whites living in that region.

In the Atlantic provinces, Chinese men and South Asian men and women have a higher mean wage (logged) than white men living in that region, whereas Chinese women and Arab men and women do not have a significant wage gap with whites. As mentioned in the previous chapters, this might be due to the fact that visible minorities in the Atlantic provinces have better human capital characteristics than whites living in the Atlantic provinces. For example,

white men have a much lower percentage of individuals with a bachelor's degree or above compared to visible minority men (except for Black men) (Tables B1-B5). Several researchers have been documenting the various waves of out-migration that the Atlantic provinces have been suffering from, to the benefit of the other Canadian provinces, especially Ontario, Quebec, and more recently Alberta, who have benefitted from the flow of young, well-educated women and men moving away from the Atlantic provinces for better work opportunities (Hiller, 2009; Mackenzie, 2002; Phyn & Harling-Stalker, 2011). In addition, visible minorities living in the Atlantic provinces tend to be economic migrants who have better human capital characteristics than family class immigrants or refugees (at least most of the time). Evidence supporting this is the fact that Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick welcome a larger share of economic migrants than the national average (Akbari et al., 2008; Statistics Canada, 2011a).

On the one hand, there is strong evidence that some visible minority groups who live in Quebec might be more financially disadvantaged than visible minorities living in the rest of Canada. Indeed, regardless of gender, Quebec has the largest unadjusted wage gaps for all visible minority groups, except for Arab men. Thus, when only examining the magnitude of the wage gaps, Quebec appears to be the province where a majority of visible minority groups, both men and women, face the most difficulty.

On the other hand, when investigating these wage gaps to see which portion is due to individual characteristics and which part is potentially due to discrimination, we can see that the situation might not be that straightforward. Quebec has the largest explained percentages for South Asian and Chinese men, and has the second largest for blacks and Arab men. As for visible minority women, Quebec has the second largest explained percentage for Chinese women, and the third largest explained percentages for black women and South Asian women. Thus, in Quebec, as described in the previous section, a major explanation of visible minorities' wage gap is the fact that they have characteristics that are less favorable to the Quebec labor market.

When comparing the characteristics of visible minorities living in Quebec to those living in ROC, we can find some similarities, as well as differences. For example, the high education level of visible minority men and women (except black women[74]) compared to that

[74] Except black men in Ontario as well.

of whites constitutes an important asset that diminishes their wage gaps. This is particularly true for black and Arab men in Quebec who seem particularly well off compared to black and Arab men in ROC. This advantage also plays a bigger role in Quebec for Chinese and Arab women. This might be due to the fact that Quebec's native-born population has a lower level of educational attainment than native-born individuals in ROC (at least in 2005).

The marital status of visible minority men is also an advantage, as they are more likely to be married (associated with a high average income), and less likely to be single (associated with a low average income), and this is something that Quebec shares with the other provinces. Marital status does not have a big impact for visible minority women overall, but when it does, visible minority women (except black women) in Quebec and in the Prairies are disadvantaged by the fact that they are more likely to be married than white women, whereas it is the opposite for visible minority women living in ROC. Being married in Quebec and in the Prairies is not associated with a much higher income compared to being single. One possible explanation could be that married men are more likely to earn a higher income than married women[75]. Other researchers have observed the higher likelihood of men experiencing a marriage premium compared to women (Cornwell & Rupert, 1997). Several explanations have been explored in trying to explain this marriage premium. First, some have hypothesized that married men may be more productive than single men since they have to provide for their families (Cornwell & Rupert, 1997), especially visible minority men where the traditional structure of the family unit might be more prevalent than among white families. Second, it could be due to the fact that employers prefer to hire married men since they could be perceived as being more committed to making a living (Cohen, 1999). Third, a selection effect might be at play where "productive men are at higher risk of union formation or marriage" (Cohen, 1999, p. 2; Daniel, 1992).

Visible minorities living in Quebec also share disadvantageous characteristics with visible minorities in ROC, but some are more pronounced in Quebec. For example, we have seen that visible minority men and women across provinces are heavily suffering from the fact that they are more likely to be immigrants than white men, and this is especially true in Quebec which has the largest coefficients for all visible minority groups. This could be explained, in

[75] However, this does not apply specifically to Quebec and the Prairies. Thus, while this explanation might offer some preliminary insight into this phenomenon, further research needs to be done.

part, by the fact that Quebec has a high number of Canadian-born compared to ROC. In addition, visible minority men in Quebec experience differences when it comes to their language skills compared to the experience of visible minorities in ROC. Indeed, visible minorities in Quebec are disadvantaged by their lower likelihood of speaking French, whereas it is visible minorities' lower likelihood of speaking English that disadvantages them in ROC. For visible minority women, it is their higher propensity to speak a language other than French or English at home that contributes the most to their wage gaps, and this applies across the provinces. Some have offered the explanation that another language spoken at home could reflect their lack of fluency in French or English, since they practice it less often than someone who speaks official languages both at work and at home (Li, 2000). Hence, the reason why Quebec has the largest wage gaps seems to be in large part due to the disadvantageous sociodemographic and human capital characteristics that visible minorities have in Quebec. This is consistent with some arguments made by other authors who have suggested that Quebec immigration policies might attract immigrants with characteristics less favorable to the labor market (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007).

This seems to indicate that discrimination in terms of wage differentials is not as prevalent in the province of Quebec as one could have anticipated. Indeed, when looking at men and the portion of their wage gaps that remains unexplained, Quebec is rarely the province with the highest unexplained percentages. For instance, Ontario has the highest unexplained percentages for three of the visible minority groups for men (Chinese, South Asians, and Arab men), and the Prairies have the highest unexplained percentages for black men. The Prairies tend to have most of the second highest unexplained percentages. However, Quebec is the third province with the highest unexplained percentage for Arab men. The situation is similar for visible minority women, with Ontario having most of the largest unexplained percentages for all groups, regardless of the year. For instance, Ontario has the largest unexplained percentage for Chinese women followed by British Columbia and Quebec. Ontario also has the largest unexplained percentage for South Asian women followed by Quebec. The Atlantic provinces has the largest one for black women followed by Ontario. As for Quebec, it has the largest unexplained percentage for Arab women followed by Ontario. Thus, the unexplained portion is typically highest in Ontario and second or third highest in Quebec (especially for visible

minority women)[76], revealing that discrimination might be present in the Quebec labor market, but not more present than in some other provinces.

Indeed, visible minorities in Quebec receive lower returns mostly for their higher education level, for some of their occupational status, and for their duration and nativity status, but these lower returns are similar to what visible minorities experience living in the other Canadian provinces (see Banarjee (2008) who also found lower returns to education and work experience). For example, in Quebec and in Ontario, visible minority men examined in this dissertation experienced lower returns for having a bachelor's degree or above compared to white men, except Arab men in Quebec. This accords with studies such as the one conducted by Morissette and Sultan (2013) who found that more-educated male immigrants' earnings (i.e., those with more than a trades certificate) earned 93% of their native-born counterparts (p. 5). This could offer strong support for the discrimination hypothesis given that it indicates that, all else being equal, a visible minority man with a bachelor's degree or above earns less than a white man with the same educational level. On the other hand, this dissertation has found that some groups experience a higher return than whites for having completed less than a high school diploma (e.g., black and South Asian men in Quebec and in Ontario, Chinese in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, Arab men in Ontario). The situation is very similar for visible minority women who experience lower returns on their highest level of education, whereas we can find cases of higher returns on their lower levels of education. Thus, this finding pertaining to the education variable offers strong support in favor of the discrimination hypothesis, but only at the highest level of education obtained, and there is no indication that the situation is worse in Quebec than in ROC.

Supporting this statement is the finding that visible minority men in ROC seem more penalized on their employment status than visible minority men in Quebec. For example, except for black men, Quebec is the only province that does not have a significant difference in returns for the full-time status of visible minority men[77]. This could contradict the hypothesis that discrimination is more present in Quebec than in ROC. In addition, in Quebec, the return on working full-time is greater for South Asian men than for white men, all else being equal.

[76] However, Quebec has the highest unexplained percentage for Arab women.
[77] A reminder that the Atlantic provinces are excluded from this discussion for Chinese, Arab, and South Asian men.

The Quebec coefficient for the number of weeks worked is not significant for South Asian men, potentially indicating a lack of discrimination towards this visible minority group for this characteristic (or a lack of evidence). In addition, black women are more likely to experience lower returns on their full-time status and their number of weeks worked, including in Ontario and in the Atlantic provinces. Arab women in Ontario and in British Columbia also suffer heavily from those lower returns. In contrast, Chinese women in Quebec receive higher returns on working full-time and on the number of weeks worked, compared to white women. This is also the case for Chinese and South Asian women in Ontario, and Arab women in Quebec who receive higher returns on the number of weeks worked, compared to white women. Thus, visible minorities are penalized when it comes to their employment status across all provinces, but the situation seems worse in ROC than in Quebec.

In contrast, some findings support the hypothesis that discrimination is more present in Quebec than in ROC for visible minorities. For instance, visible minority men in Quebec are more penalized on their language skills than those who live in ROC (except South Asians). Visible minority men in Quebec receive lower returns when speaking French than whites, whereas visible minority men in ROC are more likely to receive lower returns when speaking English, but to a lesser extent than the former group. This could be partially explained by the fact that some immigrant visible minorities speak a French language that differs from the French language spoken in Quebec (i.e., Québécois French), which makes it difficult to integrate into the Quebec labor market. Studies have described how immigrant visible minorities who speak French are not accustomed to the accent, expressions, and other variations associated with the Québécois French which renders their job search tremendously laborious (Benzakour, 2004; Chicha & Charest, 2008). However, overall trends across provinces can be found where visible minority men and women receive lower returns on speaking another language that is neither French nor English, and this applies to all the provinces, which is consistent with the extant literature (Banarjee, 2008). Thus, if discrimination is more present in Quebec than in ROC, it seems to be centered around language skills.

In addition, it seems to also be oriented towards their nativity and duration status. Canadian-born visible minority men seem more penalized in Quebec than in ROC, which offers strong support for the argument that discrimination is more present in Quebec. For

example, in Quebec, someone who is black and Canadian-born earns less than someone who is white and Canadian-born, all else being equal. Quebec is the only province that has a positive and significant coefficient in that category. The situation is similar for Chinese men where it is only in Quebec that they receive a lower return for being Canadian-born compared to white men, whereas Chinese men living in Ontario, British Columbia, and the Prairies receive a greater return. This finding is consistent with the work conducted by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) who found that, in Montreal, Canadian-born visible minority men faced a larger statistically significant earnings gaps with Canadian-born whites than in Toronto and Vancouver (1998, p. 540). A more recent study performed by the same group of researchers also found that Canadian-born visible minority men living in Montreal were worse off than those living in Toronto and Vancouver (2011, pp. 313-314). Thus, these dissertation's findings offer strong support for the argument that Quebec is potentially more discriminatory than ROC towards visible minority men who are Canadian-born.

Hence, in relation to its third research question (RQ3), this dissertation has discovered some evidence that Quebec might be more discriminatory towards its visible minority members than ROC, especially when looking at their unadjusted wage gaps and their lower returns received for their language skills and nativity and duration status. However, other evidence seems to indicate that Quebec is not worse off than ROC (such as its high explained percentages), whereas Ontario is the province where discrimination is potentially more present. These findings differ with some studies that have observed a higher level of disparity in the Quebec province relative to ROC (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002, 2011[78]). The difference might be due to the fact that these authors used a different age group (25-64), looked only at Canadian-born residents, and used men and women of British origin as their reference group. A study conducted by Nadeau and Seckin (2010) also noted that the situation in Quebec was worse than in ROC through the examination of the wage gap between Canadian born males and immigrant males. Once again, differences in the analytical choices made might explain the discrepancy between their findings and those of this dissertation. For example, they only looked at immigrant males, used a broader categorization of the immigrant country of origin (US & UK, Rest of Europe, Asia, and Others), and they used a broader time period (1980-2000). However, similar to this dissertation, they stated that discrimination did not appear to

[78] Note that Pendakur and Pendakur (1998, 2002) have looked at Montreal versus Vancouver and Toronto.

play a more prevalent role in Quebec than in ROC. Therefore, this dissertation presents some findings that can be linked to the results of other studies in the literature, but also offers a different outlook of the phenomenon at hand that provides us with more details, including some indication as to where discrimination is more likely to be present in Quebec than in ROC.

To summarize, this dissertation, through Chapters 4-5, has demonstrated that:

1) At first, the wage gap between visible minorities and whites appears more pronounced in Quebec than in the other Canadian provinces when looking at the unadjusted minority/white wage differentials, where Quebec has the largest ones for all visible minority groups, except for Arab men.
2) Once accounting for relevant variables, a major explanation of the visible minority wage gap in Quebec is the fact that they have characteristics that are less favorable to the Quebec labor market, and discrimination seems to play a smaller role.
3) Among all the provinces/regions, discrimination seems to play a bigger role in Ontario where the unexplained portion is typically highest in Ontario, but is the second or third highest in Quebec (especially for visible minority women)[79].
4) Overall, the experience of visible minorities in Quebec in terms of receiving lower returns on certain characteristics is very similar to the experience of visible minorities living in ROC.
5) However, visible minorities in Quebec are more likely than those who live in ROC to face lower returns for their language skills and nativity and duration status.

Who are the Most Disadvantaged Groups in Canada?

Regardless of the province of residence, when we take into consideration the unadjusted wage gaps as well as the unexplained portions, overall, black, Arab, and Chinese men are the visible minority groups that are the most disadvantaged (not in that order). This aligns with studies such as the one conducted by Maroto and Aylsworth (2016) who investigated wealth disparities among first-generation immigrants, and found that immigrants from African, Asian and Middle-Eastern countries face the largest wage gaps compared to

[79] However, Quebec has the highest unexplained percentage for Arab women.

Canadian-born families. In addition, this dissertation's finding pertaining to black men is consistent with prior studies that found that black men earn the least compared to white men and other visible minority groups (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007; Fearon & Wald, 2011; Hum & Simpson, 1999; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2010; Reitz & Breton, 1994; Swidinsky & Swidinsky, 2002). Racial discrimination might be one reason why blacks are one of the most financially disadvantaged visible minority groups (Jablonski, 2012). Statistics Canada conducted in 2002 the Ethnic Diversity Survey and found that 49.6% of blacks reported having experienced discrimination, compared to 35.9% for the visible minority average (Reitz & Banerjee, 2006, p. 10). Several researchers have studied racial discrimination, especially how blacks are more likely to be negatively perceived by the rest of the population due to numerous stereotypes associated to them (Blauner, 1974, Bonilla-Silva 1994; Jablonski, 2012). Racial discrimination can be rooted back to the transantlatic slave trade where people of darker skin would be associated with negative characteristics (Jablonski, 2012). Unfortunately, some of these negative views persist to the present. While this phenomenon is very much present in the United States, it also exists in Canada as supported by audit studies, such as the one conducted by Eid and his colleagues (2012), where individuals of African origin were less likely to get an interview for a job even when they were as qualified as white candidates. Other researchers have suggested that occupational segregation can be partly blamed for the black-white wage gap (Hamilton et al. 2005), which can also apply to this dissertation given that black men are less likely than white men to occupy managerial positions. These authors explain that black men might be underrepresented in high-paying occupations and overrepresented in low-paying occupations, which explain their lower wage. Thus, the magnitude of the black-white wage gap can be attributed, in part, to racial discrimination.

Results pertaining to Arab men are more mixed, with studies that found no significant wage gap between Arabs and whites (Hum and Simpson, 1999), while others found some significant wage gap but that Arab men did not constitute the most disadvantaged group (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2010; Stelcner & Shapiro, 1999). A possible explanation for the discrepancy between what I found in my study (i.e., that Arab men earn substantially less than white men) and what other researchers found in their studies (i.e., no wage gap or only a small wage difference) may have to do with the recent increase in discrimination against Arabs (including Islamophobia), which I was able to capture by the use of more recent data sets (See

Table 34). However, it is interesting to note that few studies have paid particular attention to the wage gaps experienced by Arabs in Canada compared to the amount of studies that have done so in the United States, even though discrimination towards Arabs (both work-related and non-work-related) is a real problem in Canada as well (Fleras and Kunz, 2001). Thus, this dissertation seems to capture the increased hostility towards Arabs due to media stereotypes portraying them as religious fanatics who are against democratic values (Shaheen, 2001).

This dissertation has also found large Chinese-white earnings differentials, and much of the wage gap, particularly in more recent years, was not accounted for by group differences in sociodemographic and other human capital characteristics. However, given the lack of reliability of the 2011 NHS data, the case of Chinese men needs to be interpreted with caution. This finding is not completely inconsistent with what other studies have found where Chinese men were disadvantaged when it comes to earnings (e.g., Hum & Simpson, 1999; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2010), but rarely constituted one of the most disadvantaged groups (although the study done by Pendakur & Pendakur (2010) showed a substantial wage gap for Chinese men living in Montreal and Toronto in 2005). This discrepancy might be explained by the fact that these studies use other data sets (i.e., Hum and Simpson (1999) used the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics whereas Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) used the 1996, 2001, and 2006 Census years)[80]. Regardless, this dissertation is not the first one to observe a negative attitude towards Chinese individuals, who are criticized, among other things, for their different cultural practices and for establishing what some perceived as ethnic enclaves preventing their integration into Canadian society (Said, 1997).

[80] Given that Chinese are more likely to be self-employed (Bi, 2015), and that the dependent variable used in this dissertation excludes self-employment, it is possible that I am overestimating the wage gaps for this group. However, this does not explain why I still find large portions of their wage gaps that remain unexplained.

Table 34. Decomposition of Wage Gap between Whites and Arabs, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec according to gender, 2006 Census and 2011 NHS

	2006 Census		2011 NHS	
	Arab men	Arab women	Arab men	Arab women
Quebec				
Unadjusted wage gaps	0.441	0.481	0.291	0.38
% Explained	65.31	76.51	60.48	78.68
% Unexplained	34.69	23.49	39.52	21.32
Ontario				
Unadjusted wage gaps	0.492	0.43	0.272	0.298
% Explained	56.1	79.3	53.68	78.52
% Unexplained	43.9	20.7	43.62	21.48
British Columbia				
Unadjusted wage gaps	0.439	0.395	0.273	0.276
% Explained	69.48	85.82	61.54	106.16
% Unexplained	30.52	14.18	38.46	-6.16
The Prairies				
Unadjusted wage gaps	0.413	0.401	0.3	0.288
% Explained	62.23	111.22	70.33	107.99
% Unexplained	37.77	-11.22	29.67	-7.99
Atlantic provinces				
Unadjusted wage gaps	0.122	0.089	0.03	0.197
% Explained	34.43	103.37	286.87	142.64
% Unexplained	65.57	-3.37	-186.67	-42.64

Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and multiple responses to the visible minority question.

For women, Arabs are the visible minority group that faces the largest penalties in terms of the size of their wage gaps, and in terms of having the largest portions of their wage gap unexplained by observable characteristics. Just like for Arab men, this finding concerning Arab women is not fully in accord with other studies examining wage differentials. Previous studies' results are mixed, with some studies finding almost no significant wage gaps (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2011), while others have found some significant wage differentials (Reitz & Banarjee, 2006; Stelcner & Shapiro, 1999). Once again, it is possible that

this dissertation captures the increased hostility towards Arabs, because of its use of more recent data sets.

In comparison, black women are in a more favorable position with smaller wage gaps and high percentages explaining their wage gaps by observable characteristics. This is somewhat in line with the results of some studies, such as the ones conducted by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998, 2011) who found mixed results depending on the nativity status of black women (i.e., foreign-born black women were more likely to have a significant wage gap than native-born black women) and their city of residence (i.e., black women in Montreal and in Toronto in 2005 had significant wage gaps, unlike black women in Vancouver who did not). This is also consistent with the study done by Boudarbat and Boulet (2007) who did not find any significant earning gaps for women whose country of origin was Africa[81].

The Potential Presence of Racism and Discrimination in the Canadian Labor Market

This dissertation seems to have found substantial evidence pointing to the role of racism in explaining some of these wage gaps. This is supported, among other things, by the fact that foreign-born visible minorities earn less than foreign-born whites, given that their foreign-born status is not the reason why they earn less (and everything else having been controlled for)[82]. For example, in Ontario and the Prairies, black men who have been living in Canada between 11 to 20 years receive a lower pay than white men who have been living in Canada for the same amount of time (and everything else being equal). However, some could try to counter this argument by saying that the reason why they earn less is because of their qualifications which might be of a lower quality than the qualifications of immigrants of European origins (Hum & Simpson, 1999). However, the argument that racial discrimination explains some of the wage differentials experienced by visible minorities is also supported by the demonstration that several visible minority groups, even when born in Canada, earn less than native-born whites (e.g., Chinese men in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, and in the Prairies). This is consistent with several studies that have found racial prejudice in employment

[81] However, it is worth noting that their reference group was immigrants from the United States and the United Kingdom.

[82] As pointed out earlier in this dissertation, by "everything else" I mean every variable that was accessible in the data sets and deemed relevant. It is possible that part of the unexplained portion of the wage gaps (if not all) is attributable to omitted variables.

disparities (Boyd, 1992; Li, 1998; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002). Thus, ethnic and racial stereotypes may explain why visible minorities earn less than whites, since they can have an effect on how employers perceive their qualifications (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005).

The role that discrimination plays in explaining wage differentials has been acknowledged by some authors, such as Hum and Simpson (1999) and Swidinsky and Swidinsky (2002) who argued that native-born black men experience discrimination in the labor market[83]. Discrimination has also been directly studied by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) who highlighted that a substantial portion of the wage gaps experienced by visible minorities (including blacks, Chinese, and Arabs), both Canadian-born and immigrants, was due to discrimination. Boudarbat and Boulet (2007) explicitly used the word "discrimination" when talking about the labor market experience of immigrants from Africa living in Quebec and Ontario (2007, p. 12). However, the potential impact of discrimination on wage disparities remains complex and needs to be approached cautiously. As explained earlier in this dissertation, there exists several factors that can explain wage differentials that are not captured by these studies (including mine), which bring us to the limitations of this dissertation.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study that need to be addressed. One is the fact that this dissertation does not mention how one visible minority group living in one province/region might differ from the same visible minority group living in another region of Canada. For example, blacks living in Quebec have different characteristics than blacks living in British Columbia. They are more numerous in Quebec, and are more likely to speak French, to name just a few distinctions. The same applies to every visible minority group in this dissertation. Regardless, by focusing on the minority/white wage gap by province/region, this dissertation has tried to take it into consideration as much as possible, that is to assess the degree to which each province/region acts as different labor markets, and how each visible minority group living in those provinces/regions experiences it (Pendakur and Pendakur, 2007, 312). While it is true that visible minorities might have different characteristics by province/region, this dissertation has found no indication that they constitute profound ones[84].

[83] However, Hum and Simpson (1999) wondered if that was the case for any other visible minority groups.
[84] It is possible that visible minorities are more likely to leave Quebec, because of reasons of discrimination. However, no strong empirical support has been found so far to support this argument.

Moreover, it is worth noting that the fact that this study did not find a prevalence of discrimination in terms of wage disparities in certain provinces/regions does not constitute infallible proof that it does not exist. Other forms of discrimination related to wages might exist, including lack of access to good jobs. Although this dissertation touches upon it with findings such as the fact that certain visible minority groups earn less because they are less likely to work full-time, which might be a result of a lack of choice, it does not fully focus on it. This dissertation also does not tell the story of visible minorities who are unable to find work (or work less than 30 hours per week). This is a common limitation in several studies that have looked at wage differentials, since they are mostly focusing on individuals who are employed and only control for employment characteristics, thus assuming that occupational choice in unconstrained (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Reitz, 1998). This is problematic as these individuals already have an advantage that other visible minority groups who are unemployed do not have, which these studies do not capture. We are thus missing an important component of the story pertaining to the labor market experience of disadvantaged groups. Nevertheless, this dissertation is offering preliminary evidence of what is potentially a lack of access to good work opportunities (by incorporating the full-time status and the number of weeks worked in the model as well as by analyzing the detailed decomposition of these variables along with the occupational categories). Consequently, future studies should think about ways to incorporate individuals who are not working in order to see the extent to which access to jobs is limited.

In addition, the incorporation of other work-related variables (e.g., unemployment status, underemployment, etc.) would help us to have a more well-rounded picture of the barriers that immigrants and visible minorities encounter in the Canadian labor market by tackling the issue of job access. Moreover, omitted variables may play a role in the interpretation of the Oaxaca Blinder model. As explained in Chapter 2, the unexplained part includes all the potential effects of differences in unobserved variables and measurement error. Thus, while the unexplained part of the wage gaps is usually associated with discrimination, it is possible that other variables not included in the model would explain some of it. This includes, but is not limited to, variables measuring directly training and work experience in Canada and abroad that could not be used in this study, but should be considered in future studies (and in the creation of future questionnaires). Moreover, other factors might explain

earnings differentials such as self-selection and preferences. Some visible minorities might choose to work in some fields, because they know individuals of the same visible minority group as them working in them, even though these fields are associated with a low income and lower opportunities (Hou & Picout, 2003). In addition, even though this dissertation takes into consideration the level of education, their age, and their occupation, it does not capture individuals' level of motivation, quality of work and of the education received, and the real amount of work experience as well as the quality of such experience.

Some additional limitations pertaining to the data sets used should also be mentioned. The 2006 Census and the 2011 NHS do not differentiate between the different categories of immigrants: economic immigrants, family class, or refugee. Since the life and work experience of those individuals can be dramatically different, including differential skill sets such as language spoken and education level, they are probably facing different economic barriers, which this dissertation is not able to capture. The relative size of the economic, family and refugee classes in various regions of the country and for various visible minority groups is also not taken into consideration, which could bias the results. For example, in 2005-2006, Quebec average number of refugees was higher than the national average (CIC, 2007). Since this is a population that has more needs, this might partially explain why the individual characteristics of visible minorities in Quebec is such a big disadvantage compared to ROC. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 2, the occupational categories could be better differentiated, which would offer a clearer picture of how occupying a certain occupation is an advantage or not. It is possible that occupation is picking up some elements that the education variable is not capturing, such as skills, which makes it even harder to interpret. In addition, as mentioned earlier in the text, results from the 2011 NHS are suggestive only, due to what appears to be less reliable results from using this data set. When I first started to write this dissertation, one of my recommendations was to reinstate the mandatory long form for the Census. I am therefore very pleased that the current government has decided to go back to this format. The use of panel data would be a welcomed addition to this study as trends over time could be better assessed. Thus, it remains impossible to know whether or not the financial situation of the same visible minority members has been improving over the years or not. This is important as wage penalty for foreign-born individuals (a large % of visible minority are foreign-born) may lessen over time as immigrants gain work experience in the Canadian labor market. So

longitudinal studies that follow individuals over time can reveal such 'catch-up" processes. This is a major problem in the field of study of wage differentials for visible minority members in Canada, as researchers can either use longitudinal data sets that contain low numbers of visible minority members (e.g., Survey of Labor and Income Dynamics) or data that do not include information about Canadian-born individuals (Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada), thus rendering any comparison between immigrants and whites impossible. By using the Census and the National Household Survey, the number of individuals sufficient to make claims about the overall population of interest is met, but we are lacking information when it comes to work experience (Yoshida & Smith, 2008). Future studies would benefit tremendously from having access to data sets that are longitudinal, that have a large number of visible minority individuals, and that contain key variables pertaining to the labor market.

Conclusion

Previous research has demonstrated that visible minorities earn less than whites, especially among men, which is consistent with this study (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011; Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007). This dissertation adds to this literature by demonstrating that the same story does not necessarily apply to every minority group, with some being in a more precarious financial situation than others. For example, the Quebec analysis has revealed that Chinese and Arabs are more likely than other visible minority groups to experience lower returns on some characteristics, compared to whites. In Canada, overall, this dissertation is capturing the increased level of hostility that Arab men and women are experiencing in the labor market. Blacks living in Canada also have a significant wage gap that remains unexplained by observable characteristics. In contrast, blacks do not constitute the most disadvantaged group in Quebec, which is a surprising finding given that this visible minority group's life chances are often the most hindered (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). Finally, Chinese men in Canada are also facing economic barriers.

This dissertation has also demonstrated that the use of the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition model offers insights into the topic of income differentials that some previous studies lacked. For example, lack of advantageous personal and work characteristics, such as speaking French and working on a full-time basis, are major explanatory factors in the visible minority-white wage gap in Quebec. Thus, social policies should concentrate even more on language training courses as well as other integration initiatives. Moreover, being Canadian-

born or having lived a considerable amount of time in Quebec constitutes key assets in the Quebec labor market. This, according to some are indicative of discrimination occurring in the labor market (Reitz, 2001) whereas others would mention that having Canadian experience constitutes a legitimate requirement asked from employers (Reitz, 2007; Yoshida & Smith, 2008). Regardless, the fact that visible minorities` characteristics, such as having a bachelor's degree or above, are not compensated at par with white individuals potentially indicates that some form of discrimination is occurring in Quebec. However, the extent to which this discrimination is taking place is much lower than what one could have expected.

Recent events pertaining to race relations that have happened in Quebec could have led one to believe that it is the Canadian province where visible minorities encounter the most difficulty in earning a fair wage. The fact that Quebec is the province with the largest unadjusted wage gaps for all the visible minority groups (except for Arab men) studied seems to support this view. However, this dissertation goes beyond this fact by differentiating these wage gaps between a part that is attributable to observable characteristics, and a part that is due to lower returns to characteristics. Indeed, we have seen that, when one digs deeper into these wage gaps, that a subtler picture is revealed. In fact, all of these large gaps are explained mostly (i.e., more than 50% of their wage gaps) by the fact that visible minorities that live in Quebec have some characteristics that disadvantage them in the labor market. This might be related to Quebec's immigration policies which differ slightly from the rest of Canada in terms of having a strong focus on the French language, which according to some, leads to having immigrants from countries that are less likely to have skills transferrable to the labor market (Nadeau & Seckin, 2010). In addition, Quebec, when compared to ROC, is rarely the province with the largest unexplained portions of wage gaps. In general, the unexplained portion is typically highest in Ontario, whereas Quebec has the second or third highest portion, especially for visible minority women. Quebec has the highest unexplained portion only for Arab women. Thus, if discrimination is present in Canada, it does not seem more prevalent in Quebec than in ROC. One caveat to this affirmation is the fact that when discrimination seems present in Quebec, it is mostly centered around visible minorities' language skills and nativity and duration status, where they receive lower returns than whites (more so than visible minorities living in ROC). Therefore, even though the situation in Quebec does not appear to be worse off than in ROC, it needs to address those less than stellar features of its labor market where

employers seem less likely to remunerate Canadian-born visible minorities, even when they speak French. Some programs, such as the Employment Integration Program for Immigrants and Visible Minorities (PRIIME), have been implemented by the government in an attempt to encourage employers to hire immigrants or visible minorities. Nevertheless, some critiques have been levied against such programs, such as their lack of promotion, especially towards employers outside the Montreal area (Chicha & Charest, 2008, 35). Thus, while those attempts by the Government to integrate visible minorities to the labor market are commendable, the findings of this dissertation demonstrate that they are not sufficient. These findings must be further investigated both in academic research and in public policy.

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Appendix A

Table A 1. Average Wages and Salaries of selected variables for men 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census, mean, (s.d.)[1]

	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	327273	6962	2952	5343	2929
Age					
18-25	16078.94 (13085.92)	11942.58 (10198.15)	11462.2 (12093.61)	12158.98 (11805.5)	12549.02 (11003.12)
26-45	43941.87 (41515.32)	28954.64 (20734.82)	34724.04 (55865.31)	30825.08 (30653.48)	29560.26 (26933.59)
46-54	52681.12 (57645.60)	33496.63 (24699.67)	37659.42 (52264.86)	41286.81 (55405.25)	34891.8 (44395.29)
55-64	47231.51 (82630.22)	35418.43 (43324.81)	39213.83 (55080.75)	47269.49 (50292.90)	46278.7 (64490.23)
Marital status					
Single	32475.63 (33663.04)	21094.78 (18172.35)	24778.46 (24384.57)	22416.34 (22087.95)	21010.44 (22219.28)
Married	54117.79 (66998.39)	31963.15 (22972.75)	37274.11 (63280.81)	35493.81 (40465.66)	33731.73 (42351.84)
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	47938.26 (60819.17)	33329.64 (41343.62)	26897.24 (35764.13)	37147.48 (53876.80)	31419.14 (25761.88)
Occupation					
Management	74187.65 (115749.10)	47293.25 (63472.07)	50044.25 (92098.40)	47730.78 (70152.46)	57867.18 (81624.80)
Business, finance and administrative	43682.52 (59100.02)	26316.35 (19734.19)	39923.99 (84877.13)	29191.4 (27950.84)	27495.57 (33059.61)
Natural and applied sciences and related	53150.23 (35285.82)	39495.98 (25134.40)	46872.79 (34617.22)	43253.02 (29769.85)	51835.3 (35140.76)
Health occupations	41864.15 (41302.39)	30908.62 (21106.43)	39210.66 (27467.18)	42863.86 (55334.21)	32163.33 (30111.01)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	49489.34 (50675.82)	36908.14 (26288.11)	36334.08 (44077.48)	37424.2 (33166.61)	46191.98 (48170.80)
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	31524.56 (32647.63)	19696.98 (18426.03)	22853.61 (17931.63)	21816.53 (22072.55)	17082 (16005.16)
Sales and service occupations	29519.27 (29920.59)	19023.26 (15572.98)	16493.71 (22775.07)	18544.18 (18159.70)	16530.53 (13679.63)

Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	36168.37 (22966.44)	25232.38 (18304.92)	26338.24 (19204.10)	23964.88 (19729.11)	25971.48 (18514.31)
Occupations unique to primary industry	23496.32 (21607.17)	15243.44 (11412.72)	14318.28 (13241.50)	18569.76 (15905.32)	11450.74 (10981.08)
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	37078.2 (23110.55)	24424.95 (15731.39)	20676.21 (16458.78)	24616.73 (19775.56)	24496.42 (15355.24)
Education					
Less than high school	29243.07 (21973.53)	19296.96 (13485.93)	22053.7 (15551.87)	19753.08 (17552.53)	19768.61 (13205.72)
High school	34926.76 (41186.76)	20253.71 16647.28	18862.65 16670.06	21355.31 28512.48	20584.76 19813.42
College or technical training	40274.04 (33668.03)	27299.91 19563.3	26149.73 27145.86	26087.68 21535.3	27207.33 24687.33
Bachelor's degree or above	65242.94 (95382.33)	36876.94 37235.19	44608.85 72866.38	39648.76 47127.51	46500.52 57855.21
Language: First official language spoken					
English	49102.28 (99052.03)	27556.42 (21636.70)	34971.3 (51898.9)	31570.03 (32076.82)	30648.74 (38952.61)
French	41320.23 (44727.3)	26572.07 (25712.18)	38901.65 (78888.04)	31866.98 (36905.73)	30859.46 (35531.66)
English and French	33921.4 (33166.49)	26110.96 (20083.05)	26601.26 (26526.49)	29480.99 (41137.71)	25880.63 (28081.70)
Other	26392 (17694.12)	25950.99 (22482.42)	14431.48 (11049.64)	25259.29 (22232.54)	14984.74 (10572.01)
Language spoken at home					
English	51046.89 (107482.80)	27567.04 (21438.76)	50991.93 (80544.41)	37490.29 (39739.80)	39425.21 (53441.45)
French	41293.31 (43267.84)	27160.14 (27310.46)	44852.23 (93834.96)	34757.29 (40950.59)	34269.82 (39225.93)
Other	34056.65 (36057.50)	24898.77 (18664.67)	26212.81 (27668.83)	27024.39 (32563.98)	24538.43 (23463.35)
Duration					
Canadian-born	56728.84 (50011.82)	22685.69 (20903.89)	32685.47 (42463.63)	29803.94 (49615.69)	24539.11 (23625.23)
0-10 years	34127.74 (41186.97)	22726.1 (18269.50)	24142.9 (26735.21)	25629.77 (23327.96)	23887.62 (24127.59)
11 to 20 years	39068.37 (39244.78)	26705.64 (19277.12)	32367.71 (59736.13)	31407.56 (31011.80)	24991.26 (23083.47)
21 years or more	54041.55 (104619.30)	36281.55 (34505.83)	44774.01 (72702.92)	53229.95 (66704.62)	50667.73 (63569.42)

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.

Table A 2. Average Wages and Salaries of selected variables for women 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census, mean, (s.d.) [1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	303905	7557	2734	3346	2068
Age					
18-25	12892.59 (10264.74)	11368.91 (9581.533)	10932.92 (10533.53)	11470.39 (10988.19)	11082.85 (9545.23)
26-45	31345.85 (23302.47)	24105.56 (17981.01)	24829.4 (22632.81)	23021.41 (25201.07)	22528.61 (20138.88)
46-54	35022.04 (27226.01)	28104.43 (19968.88)	35148.3 (10881.20)	26194.85 (21148.43)	24299.42 (20475.63)
55-64	28894.4 (24187.01)	28137.36 (19054.87)	21224.05 (16909.97)	27229.4 (41023.76)	28502.75 (20337.56)
Marital status					
Single	25313.20 (21265.42)	19495.25 (16944.57)	21132.75 (22122.98)	18352.62 (19854.94)	19699.53 (19662.30)
Married	32007.71 (26501.98)	24876.6 (18946.98)	25733.76 (61828.95)	21927.84 (23248.44)	20455.53 (18910.54)
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	32589.97 (25035.44)	25411.73 (17991.99)	24462.76 (21398.79)	26597.59 (35682.66)	25100.81 (17859.70)
Child	28391.11 (24106.44)	22218.71 (18094.58)	23734.61 (52750.10)	20652.12 (23101.10)	20251.35 (18978.46)
No child	29974.07 (23743.28)	25241.77 (17491.16)	26318.21 (23592.84)	26031.99 (30092.65)	23018.02 (19782.18)
Occupation, %					
Management	49008.85 (44439.39)	33225.33 (23534.50)	49637.82 (151159.10)	35469.25 (41366.34)	39666.65 (32615.84)
Business, finance and administrative	30803.55 (20016.96)	23997.61 (16212.03)	25941.55 (26023.24)	24438.32 (27330.20)	23580.18 (17176.03)
Natural and applied sciences and related	41796.01 (26104.73)	36907.59 (22009.96)	39959.77 (27465.89)	37374.25 (24925.25)	39423.02 (26705.77)
Health occupations	33602.56 (20808.23)	29761.11 (21200.05)	28725.59 (22809.93)	28628.92 (25220.82)	27442.15 (19999.29)
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	35493.41 (22956.76)	28365.31 (19266.69)	24620.42 (22844.52)	22040.33 (21561.40)	25883.18 21177.02
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	26574.81 (23106.10)	21261.9 (20898.91)	23638.62 (18982.51)	16683.74 (17863.52)	14997.96 16757.47
Sales and service occupations	16604.39 (15668.51)	13802.86 (11435.66)	14497.67 (13568.01)	11856.84 (11393.57)	12452.39 11612.44
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	23030.61 (17045.49)	19358.82 (13665.62)	16504.96 (12966.02)	15074.16 (9656.84)	18931.65 19837.65

Occupations unique to primary industry	13965.34 (12395.32)	10109.07 (8164.20)	13539.37 (9434.39)	10142.02 (10234.62)	9467.96 4948.952
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	21395.77 (14675.80)	15784.88 (10338.83)	14580.66 (11298.69)	13983.51 (9567.09)	14989.97 (10410.69)
Education, %					
Less than high school	17060.45 (12918.09)	15020.07 (10084.64)	14406.17 (9638.45)	12305.42 (9072.02)	13627.03 (9256.51)
High school	23214.5 (18100.54)	15608.17 (12926.64)	17162.06 (14229.24)	14576.81 (26926.42)	15230.33 (12473.83)
College or technical training	27283.58 (20637.69)	22411.62 (16317.04)	20910.25 (20325.02)	18276.55 (15433.78)	20474.44 (18602.16)
Bachelor's degree or above	43073.17 (32089.25)	33205.04 (23476.87)	32527.73 (73438.86)	28865.43 (29279.49)	29326.88 (24414.19)
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	31742.93 (32696.46)	23858.2 (17670.03)	25607.94 (27946.91)	22646.72 (21729.10)	21059.63 (19425.29)
French	28529 (22906.93)	22038.26 (18143.93)	23604.08 (20113.77)	21567.93 (25436.39)	23195.08 (21250.45)
English and French	25858.21 (22862.69)	22704.36 (18617.96)	26162.62 (94614.55)	20412.64 (22696.04)	18280.51 (16827.12)
Other	16436.81 (12841.48)	20632.01 (14439.77)	13919.2 (11764.34)	14500.95 (16318.04)	13403.42 (10982.73)
Language spoken at home, %					
English	32593.05 (33671.77)	23993.28 (17466.35)	31538.68 (30714.02)	28555.59 (26901.35)	25847.99 (22889.45)
French	28534.72 (22786.63)	22870.56 (18953.77)	27365.26 (21951.97)	23804.59 (28243.59)	26281.11 (24156.97)
Other	24729.14 (22635.84)	19813.18 (15776.12)	21630.81 (55840.28)	18143.4 (19437.34)	16595.99 (14172.57)
Duration, %					
Canadian-born	38763.47 (23892.59)	20738.49 (17427.64)	30141.98 (102255.60)	22535.70 (22639.70)	21509.85 (20834.85)
0-10 years	22485.61 (21129.92)	16310.55 (14383.99)	18211.44 (19028.74)	17425.86 (17464.99)	14185.95 (11804.99)
11 to 20 years	27611.25 (24818.02)	21845.76 (16648.26)	24412.32 (27258.18)	21524.80 (18984.12)	18556.1 (15996.77)
21 years or more	33741.76 (28593.16)	30207.73 (19968.02)	29684.25 (27747.83)	33860.92 (44793.29)	30206.22 (23756.78)

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Appendix B

Table B 1. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census[1]

Characteristics	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	327273	6962	2952	5343	2929
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.25 (1.08)	9.76 (1.15)	9.78 (1.22)	9.80 (1.25)	9.79 (1.14)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.17 (12.39)	36.84 (12.01)	38.57 (11.21)	37.79 (10.58)	38.49 (12.06)
Males, %	51.92	48.1	52.2	61.24	59.07
Marital status %					
Single	52.82	49.27	35.30	33.83	31.21
Married	34.72	38.85	59.01	59.44	63.62
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	12.46	11.88	5.69	6.73	5.17
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime	89.12	81.01	82.26	84.34	84.21
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	44.89 (12.32)	41.86 (14.54)	41.54 (15.05)	41.37 (14.93)	43.00 (13.42)
Occupation, %					
Management	11.03	4.89	11.46	13.61	9.75
Business, finance and administrative	10.20	15.82	13.42	12.43	12.88
Natural and applied sciences and related	9.92	9.24	20.07	16.47	10.54
Health occupations	1.96	3.58	1.65	2.79	1.47
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.39	6.42	5.35	7.88	3.69
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.50	2.19	2.11	1.66	1.04
Sales and service occupations	19.00	26.93	29.63	26.07	29.25
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	27.49	16.98	8.12	12.09	14.73
Occupations unique to primary industry	3.40	0.85	0.32	0.50	0.79
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	9.10	13.10	7.86	6.49	15.86
Education, %					
Less than high school	15.35	13.36	13.75	6.37	15.64
High school	21.57	23.50	17.53	14.84	26.84
College or technical training	45.09	40.20	25.58	33.08	29.66

Bachelor's degree or above	17.98	22.93	43.14	45.71	27.86
First official language spoken, %					
English	9.35	22.9	53.71	19.41	75.09
French	88.92	71.28	16.6	55.5	6.54
English and French	1.38	5.24	23.07	24.39	17.05
Other	0.35	0.59	6.91	0.70	1.33
Language spoken at home, %					
English	8.87	21.30	16.00	11.72	31.24
French	87.78	57.64	11.24	37.89	4.65
Other	3.35	21.06	72.76	50.39	64.11
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	94.13	26.21	18.72	7.06	14.49
0-10 years	1.7	28.86	34.34	49.10	36.67
11 to 20 years	1.31	21.26	25.41	31.36	28.9
21 years or more	2.85	23.67	21.52	12.48	19.94

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table B 2. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in Ontario, 2006[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.43 (1.17)	10.07 (1.17)	10.18 (1.19)	9.94 (1.32)	10.14 (1.15)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.10 (12.48)	37.82 (12.23)	39.55 (11.41)	37.41 (11.71)	38.69 (11.72)
Males, %					
Marital status %					
Single	35.65	45.28	30.76	36.76	25.76
Married	53.83	42.07	64.14	58.19	70.50
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	10.52	12.66	05.09	05.04	03.74
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime	89.26	82.86	87.71	81.85	87.84
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	45.94 11.76	43.77 13.30	43.76 13.53	42.69 14.02	43.75 13.31
Occupation, %					
Management	13.36	06.29	10.75	13.98	10.63
Business, finance and administrative	10.30	16.17	13.61	10.52	16.76
Natural and applied sciences and related	10.11	8.86	25.08	16.24	15.10
Health occupations	1.40	2.04	2.41	3.33	2.06
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.71	4.96	4.60	05.46	3.59
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.44	02.66	2.24	1.32	1.09
Sales and service occupations	18.00	21.77	19.81	24.70	18.45
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	26.59	23.92	10.02	15.68	16.67
Occupations unique to primary industry	3.21	1.34	0.47	0.93	0.52
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	8.89	11.99	11.01	7.83	15.13
Education, %					
Less than high school	12.87	11.00	10.24	8.20	8.32
High school	29.71	31.21	20.70	24.17	23.29
College or technical training	36.18	39.79	20.84	25.81	27.44
Bachelor's degree or above	21.24	17.99	48.22	41.81	40.95

Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	94.43	94.65	91.09	92.76	97.45
French	4.96	4.22	0.52	2.07	0.21
English and French	0.39	1.04	0.99	4.34	0.83
Other	0.23	0.09	7.40	0.83	1.51
Language spoken at home, %					
English	91.48	85.81	28.73	40.18	43.07
French	2.63	2.71	0.24	0.72	0.11
Other	5.89	11.48	71.03	59.09	56.82
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	84.51	27.73	15.84	7.23	10.89
0-10 years	2.72	20.54	31.86	43.56	44.27
11 to 20 years	3.46	25.76	30.5	37.40	27.89
21 years or more	9.32	25.97	21.8	11.81	16.95

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table B 3. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men 18-64 years old, working 30+ hours per week, living in British Columbia, 2006[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.40 (1.13)	10.02 (1.15)	10.01 (1.18)	9.96 (1.17)	10.06 (1.14)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.90 (12.66)	37.61 (11.53)	39.42 (11.97)	38.06 (11.85)	38.05 (12.35)
Males, %	51.41	55.06	49.58	55.28	50.63
Marital status %					
Single	37.41	48.39	35.48	40.57	25.73
Married	50.59	38.76	59.56	53.61	69.47
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	12.00	12.85	4.96	05.82	4.80
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime	89.13	83.06	82.92	80.87	87.54
Weeks(mean, s.d.)	45.31 (11.93)	43.33 (13.29)	43.20 (13.59)	42.58 (13.57)	43.35 (13.03)
Occupation, %					
Management	13.07	7.29	13.04	15.92	10.19
Business, finance and administrative	8.64	11.19	13.92	7.39	9.97
Natural and applied sciences and related	9.95	7.37	16.11	15.62	7.20
Health occupations	2.09	3.40	2.98	2.89	2.39
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.77	6.79	4.83	5.81	2.96
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.75	4.41	2.42	2.27	1.14
Sales and service occupations	17.69	24.19	27.99	27.00	20.94
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	29.62	25.77	11.87	17.04	28.76
Occupations unique to primary industry	4.80	2.32	1.13	0.70	5.70
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	5.62	7.27	5.72	5.34	10.76
Education, %					
Less than high school	11.24	11.08	8.99	7.05	15.65
High school	30.30	29.52	24.06	23.47	31.41
College or technical training	38.87	39.03	27.35	28.04	29.12
Bachelor's degree or above	19.60	20.38	39.60	41.41	23.82

Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	97.99	93.59	90.78	93.59	93.3
French	1.78	4.98	0.16	1.90	0.16
English and French	0.18	1.40	0.58	3.49	0.50
Other	0.05	0.03	8.48	1.02	6.05
Language spoken at home, %					
English	96.95	86.08	34.85	41.64	39.86
French	0.46	2.30	0.14	0.76	0.18
Other	2.59	11.62	65.01	57.61	59.96
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	86.87	36.93	21.26	4.54	22.91
0-10 years	2.39	21.23	28.1	48.51	28.98
11 to 20 years	2.26	20.62	28.35	33.68	22.75
21 years or more	8.48	21.22	22.29	13.27	25.36

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table B 4. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men 18-64 years old, working 30 hours per week, living in Prairies, 2006[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.46 (1.11)	10.04 (1.12)	10.20 (1.17)	10.05 (1.18)	10.23 (1.15)
Age (mean, s.d.)	39.35 (12.66)	36.63 (11.61)	39.32 (12.03)	36.84 (11.55)	38.55 (12.40)
Males, %	51.98	55.52	51.72	59.82	52.36
Marital status %					
Single	36.88	46.14	34.77	34.37	26.64
Married	52.85	43.55	61.18	61.46	68.54
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	10.28	10.31	4.05	4.17	4.82
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime	91.71	85.67	86.62	84.09	88.26
Weeks (mean, s.d)	46.19 (11.11)	43.78 (13.17)	43.93 (13.31)	43.03 (13.69)	43.92 (13.15)
Occupation, %					
Management	12.30	5.42	9.67	12.69	12.44
Business, finance and administrative	8.92	10.47	10.34	5.34	11.26
Natural and applied sciences and related	10.27	8.04	23.28	15.28	18.38
Health occupations	1.75	4.02	4.39	4.18	3.93
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	4.93	6.24	5.37	5.00	4.05
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	1.70	1.56	1.77	0.79	0.95
Sales and service occupations	15.73	21.83	24.51	26.00	19.65
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	31.56	25.74	12.63	22.74	20.89
Occupations unique to primary industry	7.93	2.35	1.25	2.33	1.13
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	4.92	14.32	6.79	5.65	7.33
Education, %					

Less than high school	15.81	13.85	12.99	18.00	9.47
High school	29.31	29.92	21.36	26.34	24.20
College and technical training	37.23	35.26	24.58	23.46	26.14
Bachelor's degree or above	17.65	20.96	41.07	32.20	40.19
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	97.38	93.24	94.01	93.6	96.93
French	2.45	4.77	0.21	2.29	0.24
English and French	0.11	1.74	0.56	2.91	0.68
Other	0.06	0.24	5.22	1.20	2.15
Language spoken at home, %					
English	96.8	73.39	41.59	49.98	46.57
French	0.76	2.50	0.10	0.41	0.06
Other	2.44	24.11	58.32	49.60	53.08
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	92.26	26.29	26.48	19.96	17.49
0-10 years	1.60	37.96	23.01	41.03	37.18
11 to 20 years	1.45	16.48	20.78	22.62	19.54
21 years or more	4.68	19.28	29.74	16.39	25.79

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table B 5. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for men 18-64 years old, working 30 hours per week, living in Atlantic provinces, 2006[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.09 (1.11)	9.74 (1.22)	10.15 (1.16)	9.96 (1.25)	10.18 (1.49)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.37 (12.46)	37.62 (13.04)	39.60 (11.41)	38.13 (12.45)	40.13 (12.80)
Males, %	50.57	50.23	51.3	58.74	53.88
Marital status %					
Single	35.63	53.78	30.78	36.21	33.86
Married	54.47	37.13	60.81	56.81	59.32
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	9.90	9.09	8.41	6.97	6.82
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime	89.60	79.44	86.79	85.24	88.99
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	41.61 (14.69)	41.09 (15.05)	43.71 (12.94)	42.08 (14.91)	42.64 (14.75)
Occupation, %					
Management	9.74	4.85	12.09	16.70	10.48
Business, finance and administrative	8.79	11.97	10.11	8.44	8.83
Natural and applied sciences and related	8.83	4.25	24.85	11.41	18.83
Health occupations	1.96	3.11	5.85	8.60	16.04
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	5.23	8.32	11.25	12.51	16.76
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	1.67	2.39	1.94	1..15	2.14
Sales and service occupations	18.88	33.15	22.90	25.40	14.17
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	30.00	22.10	7.71	13.08	08.20
Occupations unique to primary industry	7.75	4.65	1.79	1.01	1.57
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	7.15	5.22	1.50	1.71	2.97
Education, %					
Less than high school	18.27	20.24	9.36	9.10	4.3
High school	26.45	31.75	21.60	23.60	12.37

College or technical training	39.42	31.56	13.85	23.52	20.88
Bachelor's degree or above	15.86	16.45	55.19	43.78	62.63
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	86.78	94.06	95.92	91.67	98.33
French	13.12	4.89	1.13	3.95	0.79
English and French	0.08	0.58	0.9	3.32	0.39
Other	0.02	0.46	2.06	1.06	0.5
Language spoken at home, %					
English	88.31	92.42	50.2	52.73	68.11
French	11.04	3.93	0.26	1.82	1.37
Other	0.65	3.65	49.59	45.45	30.52
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	97.24	83.42	36.07	23.74	26.17
0-10 years	0.44	8.35	31.17	36.74	34.65
11 to 20 years	0.5	4.62	16.89	26.3	11.9
21 years or more	1.82	3.61	15.87	13.23	27.27

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.
[3] Given the low sample size of some visible minority groups and Statistics Canada guideline regarding confidentiality, the sample sizes were removed from the table.

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Appendix C

Table C 1. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Quebec, 2006 Census[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Number of observations	303905	7557	2734	3346	2068
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	9.88 (1.07)	9.60 (1.10)	9.54 (1.18)	9.40 (1.28)	9.46 (1.15)
Age (mean, s.d.)	39.73 (12.20)	36.94 (12.11)	38.08 (11.10)	35.70 (10.71)	36.14 (11.65)
Females, %	48.08	51.90	47.80	38.76	40.93
Marital status %					
Single	49.63	46.47	31.33	30.49	31.29
Married	33.37	33.50	57.93	57.78	60.09
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	17.01	20.02	10.74	11.73	8.62
Presence of a child (%)	75.15	91.05	84.01	86.14	87.15
Employment Status, %					
Fulltime (40+)	75.78	71.22	78.46	69.45	77.45
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	43.99 (13.231)	40.92 (14.98)	39.58 (15.72)	38.71 (15.92)	39.75 (15.40)
Occupation, %					
Management	6.88	3.19	8.47	7.01	3.36
Business, finance and administrative	29.17	22.22	25.25	26.16	24.08
Natural and applied sciences and related	3.20	1.90	8.17	5.61	4.09
Health occupations	10.25	20.76	4.94	6.24	4.72
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	13.69	11.03	6.62	18.25	8.70
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.50	2.11	3.04	2.54	2.30
Sales and service occupations	25.93	27.45	28.28	28.87	23.90
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2.18	1.99	2.33	0.77	1.97
Occupations unique to primary industry	0.85	0.28	0.30	0.36	0.29
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	4.35	9.07	12.60	4.19	23.59
Education, %					
Less than high school	10.07	11.15	13.20	6.79	13.76
High school	23.51	19.51	17.12	16.51	26.72
College or technical training	44.34	48.76	28.83	37.73	31.40
Bachelor's degree or above	22.08	20.59	40.85	38.96	28.12
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	9.50	23.12	49.22	14.64	72.43
French	88.87	72.75	18.96	61.20	8.85

English and French	1.37	3.95	21.62	23.12	16.49
Other	0.27	0.18	10.20	1.04	2.23
Language spoken at home, %					
English	9.17	22.20	18.82	10.13	36.86
French	87.61	56.96	11.52	38.63	6.33
Other	3.22	20.83	69.67	51.23	56.81
Duration, %					
Canadian-born	94.60	27.48	18.46	10.85	19.50
0-10 years	1.52	23.40	37.49	44.3	29.95
11 to 20 years	1.25	22.37	24.88	32.15	26.55
21 years or more	2.63	26.75	19.17	12.70	24.00

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and individuals who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians.
Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table C 2. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in Ontario, 2006 Census[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	10.006 (1.14)	9.89 (1.15)	9.91 (1.17)	9.58 (1.23)	9.73 (1.17)
Age (mean, s.d.)	39.80 (12.34)	38.43 (12.05)	39.04 (11.08)	35.64 (11.29)	37.08 (11.32)
Females, %	53.89	53.88	50.32	42.29	45.51
Marital status %					
Single	32.13	46.94	30.07	32.69	24.23
Married	52.23	32.81	60.6	56.94	68.25
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	15.64	20.26	9.33	10.37	7.52
Presence of a child	77.48	91	84.8	86.96	87.03
Employment Status					
Fulltime (40+)	73.48	74.53	79.53	65.84	75.6
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	44.24 (13.20)	42.63 (14.13)	42.23 (14.34)	40.39 (15.41)	40.83 (15.08)
Occupation, %					
Management	8.73	5.09	7.18	7.55	5.88
Business, finance and administrative	28.86	28.86	31.19	22.40	30.63
Natural and applied sciences and related	3.09	2.36	9.85	5.97	4.52
Health occupations	9.21	15.23	6.28	7.99	5.78
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	13.51	10.38	7.96	12.16	9.24
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.38	2.12	2.61	2.29	1.55
Sales and service occupations	25.88	27.39	20.27	35.03	23.05
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2.07	1.97	1.64	1.39	2.47
Occupations unique to primary industry	1.04	0.18	0.28	0.25	0.42
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	4.23	6.42	12.74	4.98	16.45
Education, %					
Less than high school	9.04	7.78	10.41	7.72	8.34

High school	30.34	24.69	22.32	24.63	26.05
College or technical training	35.84	49.47	24.68	28.67	27.46
Bachelor's degree or above	24.78	18.05	42.60	38.98	38.16
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	93.96	95.43	89.89	90.63	96.69
French	5.38	3.85	0.51	2.3	0.31
English and French	0.47	0.62	1.17	5.98	0.8
Other	0.19	0.1	8.42	1.1	2.2
Language spoken at home, %					
English	91.29	87.84	30.77	38.29	49.67
French	2.91	2.52	0.27	0.82	0.19
Other	5.8	9.64	68.96	60.89	50.14
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	84.9	25.16	15.05	9.5	13.05
0-10 years	2.76	18.18	32.8	41.81	38.94
11 to 20 years	3.53	26.89	30.86	37.28	28.38
21 years or more	8.81	29.77	21.29	11.41	19.63

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and respondents who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table C 3. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in British Columbia, 2006 Census[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	9.91 (1.14)	9.74 (1.16)	9.74 (1.17)	9.52 (1.22)	9.70 (1.02)
Age (mean, s.d.)	40.59 (12.47)	36.54 (11.77)	38.81 (11.65)	36.52 (11.65)	36.78 (11.66)
Females, %	48.59	44.94	50.42	44.72	49.37
Marital status %					
Single	33.22	46.05	34.96	35.32	23.14
Married	48.75	34.79	55.70	52.03	67.63
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	18.02	19.17	9.34	12.65	9.23
Presence of a child	72.51	83.86	84.86	86.10	85.48
Employment Status					
Fulltime (40+)	68.78	66.62	71.16	60.99	74.52
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	43.45 (13.40)	41.38 (14.27)	41.55 (14.48)	39.29 (15.69)	40.22 (14.69)
Occupation, %					
Management	8.57	7.37	7.79	7.10	5.22
Business, finance and administrative	28.73	23.34	29.96	22.25	21.88
Natural and applied sciences and related	2.71	1.79	4.84	4.37	1.92
Health occupations	9.92	14.19	6.81	9.44	9.56
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	12.81	11.01	7.90	10.50	6.86
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.68	3.22	2.44	3.06	1.06
Sales and service occupations	28.58	35.07	30.15	38.45	34.17
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2.09	1.37	1.68	0.98	2.18
Occupations unique to primary industry	1.44	0.67	0.73	0.25	9.28
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	1.47	1.96	7.71	3.59	7.89
Education, %					
Less than high school	7.14	9.31	9.99	3.80	15.69
High school	32.14	25.89	25.25	22.54	30.24
College or technical training	38.13	43.63	29.39	32.46	31.39

Bachelor's degree or above	22.59	21.18	35.37	41.20	22.68
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	97.96	95.18	89.33	93.44	92
French	1.77	3.55	0.15	1.25	0.23
English and French	0.22	0.17	0.74	3.67	0.51
Other	0.06	1.10	9.79	1.64	7.26
Language spoken at home, %					
English	96.84	86.14	35.64	35.12	41.47
French	0.49	1.32	0.08	0.58	0.1
Other	2.67	12.55	64.29	64.3	58.43
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	86.79	40.27	19.74	6.28	23.11
0-10 years	2.44	18.99	29.62	49.2	27.41
11 to 20 years	2.49	18.33	30.25	32.97	23.7
21 years or more	8.28	22.41	20.38	11.56	25.78

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and respondents who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table C 4. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in the Prairies, 2006 Census[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	9.92 (1.11)	9.68 (1.13)	9.82 (1.14)	9.52 (1.15)	9.68 (1.16)
Age (mean, s.d.)	39.39 (12.54)	36.40 (11.74)	39.09 (11.54)	34.27 (11.62)	36.98 (12.16)
Females, %	48.02	44.48	48.28	40.18	47.64
Marital status %					
Single	31.47	41.88	30.00	31.02	24.19
Married	53.61	40.74	61.49	59.72	67.22
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	14.91	17.38	8.51	9.25	8.58
Presence of a child	73.07	87.57	83.61	89.30	84.73
Employment Status					
Fulltime (40+)	72.39	70.29	74.04	63.32	72.52
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	44.03 (13.18)	41.21 (14.85)	42.30 (14.40)	38.72 (15.79)	40.75 (15.13)
Occupation, %					
Management	7.73	5.28	6.23	7.32	6.46
Business, finance and administrative	30.67	19.81	26.65	21.94	25.18
Natural and applied sciences and related	2.98	3.03	8.82	5.27	4.16
Health occupations	10.99	17.10	8.38	9.50	9.73
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	11.90	9.50	8.43	10.59	9.09
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.86	1.36	1.90	1.66	1.48
Sales and service occupations	26.65	36.10	31.89	38.54	33.90
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2.55	1.81	1.60	2.19	2.02
Occupations unique to primary industry	2.11	0.70	0.28	0.65	0.45
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	1.56	5.31	5.83	2.34	7.55
Education, %					
Less than high school	11.06	12.41	15.73	15.20	11.12
High school	30.87	28.89	22.33	31.22	26.81
College or technical training	37.02	39.81	25.57	25.98	26.23

Bachelor's degree or above	21.05	18.89	36.37	27.60	35.85
Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	97.26	94.6	92.63	93.25	96.42
French	2.55	3.84	0.22	1.87	0.15
English and French	0.12	0.93	0.43	2.40	0.46
Other	0.07	0.63	6.72	2.47	2.97
Language spoken at home, %					
English	96.87	75.41	40.21	48.94	48.61
French	0.82	2.37	0.09	0.55	0.15
Other	2.31	22.22	59.7	50.51	51.24
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	92.41	27.74	23.15	25.42	19.26
0-10 years	1.48	33.18	24.62	38.45	33.51
11 to 20 years	1.54	18.45	24.7	22.04	20.94
21 years or more	4.56	20.64	27.52	14.09	26.29

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and respondents who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.

[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.

Table C 5. Descriptive statistics of selected variables for women, aged 18-64, working 30+ hours per week, living in the Atlantic provinces, 2006 Census[1]

Variables	Whites	Blacks	Chinese	Arabs[2]	South Asians
Log of wages and salaries, mean, s.d.	9.68 (1.11)	9.51 (1.10)	9.65 (1.26)	9.59 (1.23)	9.80 (1.24)
Age (mean, s.d.)	39.74 (12.12)	38.17 (12.46)	38.22 (11.98)	38.53 (12.67)	40.36 (12.48)
Females, %	49.43	49.77	48.7	41.26	46.12
Marital status %					
Single	32.94%	52.97%	34.34%	31.99%	27.64%
Married	52.43%	33.54%	56.48%	60.18%	61.97%
Separated/Widowed/Divorced	14.63%	13.50%	9.19%	7.83%	10.39%
Presence of a child	74.65%	86.06%	67.78%	88.50%	78.82%
Employment Status					
Fulltime (40+)	75.63%	74.20%	76.34%	72.47%	68.22%
Weeks (mean, s.d.)	41.40 (15.14)	41.03 (15.45)	40.50 (15.26)	39.11 (15.69)	41.48 (14.43)
Occupation, %					
Management	6.58%	4.29%	7.74%	13.20%	6.92%
Business, finance and administrative	27.05%	27.36%	23.09%	20.39%	32.35%
Natural and applied sciences and related	2.30%	1.71%	10.72%	2.48%	7.17%
Health occupations	11.49%	10.15%	9.84%	10.95%	15.13%
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	11.29%	11.43%	12.57%	12.51%	15.63%
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	2.45%	2.22%	6.02%	2.81%	1.32%
Sales and service occupations	31.23%	38.66%	25.30%	33.28%	16.94%
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	1.62%	0.80%	0.91%	1.52%	2.03%
Occupations unique to primary industry	1.59%	0.53%	0.51%	1.29%	1.16%
Occupations unique to processing,manufacturing and utilities	4.39%	2.86%	3.31%	1.56%	1.34%
Education, %					
Less than high school	12.41%	15.60%	6.90%	10.08%	6.16%
High school	27.32%	27.85%	22.50%	23.19%	12.36%
College or technical training	39.47%	43.38%	22.53%	21.75%	25.84%
Bachelor's degree or above	20.80%	13.17%	48.08%	44.98%	55.65%

Language: First official language spoken, %					
English	86.95	96.37	92.78	91.94	95.65
French	12.94	3.18	0.35	2.07	1.51
English and French	0.09	0.20	1.62	1.50	1.34
Other	0.01	0.26	5.25	4.49	1.50
Language spoken at home, %					
English	88.53	94.63	52.68	52.60	66.95
French	10.82	2.37	0.42	0.98	0.62
Other	0.65	3.00	46.9	46.43	32.43
Duration and nativity status, %					
Canadian-born	97.33	89.38	33.45	36.83	23.00
0-10 years	0.39	5.08	29.11	31.6	26.87
11 to 20 years	0.47	2.98	19.28	17.86	21.65
21 years or more	1.81	2.56	18.16	13.71	28.48

[1] Excludes self-employed, Aboriginals, and respondents who gave multiple responses to the visible minority question.
[2] Includes Arabs and West Asians
[3] Given the low sample size of some visible minority groups and Statistics Canada guidelines regarding confidentiality, the sample sizes were removed from this table.

Notes: Results are weighted to national levels using sampling weights provided by Statistics Canada.