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The Colour of Work: Labour Market Segmentation  
in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991

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## RIIM

### Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

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**The colour of work: labour market segmentation  
in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991**

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Two years ago, the tenants across the street in East Vancouver where I live were evicted from their house, which was subsequently torn down. An excavation crew arrived a few days later and a new house began to take shape over the next couple of months. I watched the succession of sub-trades, noting that virtually all of the workers in each were of South-Asian descent. They were also all men. Some marked themselves as observant Sikhs, with turbans and the other outward signs of that faith; others were ordinarily dressed in the workers' garb of jeans, boots, and heavy-duty shirts. This was the case for the cement forming crew, the framers, electricians, plumbers, drywallers, siding workers, roofers, glaziers, and painters. Only the men who installed the rain gutters appeared to be of European origin and, of course, one other significant participant in the construction project: the city inspectors. The completed house was sold by an Indo-Canadian realtor to an Indo-Canadian family.

This example illustrates two basic tendencies in the Canadian labour market (and most other capitalist countries as well). The first, and principal subject of this essay, is the specialization of certain groups in specific types of jobs, in the

above example Indo-Canadian men in house-building. The second is the development of enclave economies based on networks of contractual relationships within ethnic groups. In this example, individuals with quite different types of employment—such as labourers, realtors and, no doubt, lawyers—become linked in webs of exchange that are part of the market logic of efficiency and profit but also revolve around ethnic identity. These patterns of economic participation are part of the process of articulation between immigrant groups and their receiver societies; they also reveal much about the well-being of individual immigrants and, at a larger scale, ethnic communities. To an important extent, ethnic groups come to be identified with the economic participation of their members. We see this most clearly from “outside” the group, when stereotypes arise from the concentration of groups in particular types of work, such as Korean shopkeepers, African-American porters and chambermaids, Italian masons, Jewish lawyers, and so on. I believe the same is true inside groups, that the petit bourgeois location of Koreans in the economy, for example, helps *define* intra-community relations and the shared imagination of that group.

These tendencies have become the focus of two analytical traditions: labour market segmentation theory, as developed within the field of institutionalist economics; and the burgeoning field of ethnic entrepreneurialism. In this paper, I focus on the former of these literatures. After outlining the basic lineaments of labour market segmentation theory, I turn to an empirical investigation of occupational clustering in Canada’s three largest metropolitan areas—Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver—in an effort to explore three inter-related issues: the

extent of ethnic and gender segmentation in the labour markets of these cities; the nature of this segmentation (i.e. which groups perform which jobs?); and the geographical specificity of segmentation.

### **Theories of labour-market segmentation**

There are a wide variety of theories designed to explain how individuals and jobs are matched. The most prominent of these arose within neo-classical economics and is based on the concept of human capital.<sup>1</sup> Here it is assumed that the labour market is an equilibrium-seeking mechanism that allocates workers to jobs on the basis of their education, skill, experience, and past performance.

Employers are portrayed as rational actors motivated by economic maximization and, as such, pay attention only to the attributes of potential workers that affect their performance—literacy, numeracy, specific training, experience, and so on.

Viewed at the individual scale, workers find themselves in poor jobs because they are inadequately prepared for better ones, whether due to lack of intelligence, drive, or educational attainment. Able workers wishing to improve their position in the labour market need add to their human capital by learning new skills. In essence, the labour market is assumed to be a neutral arena that is gender- and colour-blind and the onus is on individuals to succeed.

Human-capital theories have a particular explanation of ethnic and gender clusters in the labour market. We are all no doubt familiar with the view that

women are under-represented in well-paid, high-status occupations because of the interruption of their careers to bear and tend children. The cycle of education, training, and experience is thereby broken, reducing the human capital built over the woman's lifetime (Mincer and Oleg 1982; also see Beach and Worswick 1993). It is also postulated that women enter the labour market early and forego higher education because they expect to oscillate between paid employment and child-rearing. Ethnic clusters are typically explained with reference to the immigrant experience. Immigrants normally arrive lacking fluency in the language of their adopted countries and with inadequate training and experience for their new labour-market context. They therefore must accept poor jobs, at least at the outset. However, through systematic effort at upgrading their language and other skills, they are able to move to more desirable occupations and, in the process, achieve average (or better) levels of income (Chiswick 1978). This view of the labour market has significant similarities with an assimilationist perspective, where immigrants gradually become indistinguishable from the receiver society both in terms of culture and economic standing (Krahn and Lowe 1993).

This thumbnail sketch of human capital theory is deliberately stark in order to emphasize the point that, within this view, there is no recognition of systematic biases in hiring practices or the development of structural rigidities in the labour market. Before proceeding to criticize the human capital view, though, it is important to acknowledge how deeply imbedded it has become in our lives. At an

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<sup>1</sup> See DeFreitas (1988) and Gunderson and Riddell (1993) for basic economic introductions to this theory and Krahn and Lowe (1993) for a sociological treatment.

aggregate level, this conceptualization is assumed in most of the econometric models that are routinely used to predict labour market responses to economic change (e.g. to estimate future unemployment rates). As such, it is highly influential in the policies of most western governments. But there are much more immediate effects too. We probably all take the basic assumptions of human-capital theory for granted. For example, when someone asks us for career-planning advice, we instinctively highlight the importance of education, implying that better jobs are acquired by the more educated. Further, and more personally, employed academics believe we are entitled to jobs because of our training, effort and the quality of our work. Yet in the department where I work, 83 percent of new full-time appointments between 1987 and 1997 were men of European origin while the same was true of only half the graduating Phd students. This occurred despite the fact that a concerted effort was made to attract suitable women applicants and to ensure that they were treated fairly; in each case the choice appeared “rational”. Still, the result seems biased. This type of comparison is a familiar rhetorical device used to refute the human capital view, but the unconscious acceptance of human capital theory is evident even here. That is, we tend to gauge the validity of human capital theory after accepting its basic premise that work should be given to the most qualified and then find fault with the theory when this is not so. Critics of human capital theory (including me) are therefore often in the awkward position of rejecting this framework of ideas explicitly while accepting some of its most basic tenets implicitly.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> My point about accepting-rejecting this theory runs roughly parallel to J.K. Gibson-

A number of alternatives to human capital theory have been proposed, both within and outside neo-classical economics.<sup>3</sup> The most thorough-going of these began to be framed in the late 1960s as dual labour-market theory and has been revised, and in the process re-labeled as segmentation theory, in two subsequent generations of scholarship. I will concentrate on the initial formation of this view and then jump past the second wave of theory to discuss recent developments.

Although the notion of a split labour market was not exactly new in the 1960s, most accounts of segmentation theory begin with Robert Averitt's *The dual economy* (1968) and Peter Doeringer and Michael Piore's *Internal labor markets and manpower analysis* (1971). These authors argued that the capitalist labour market should not be seen as a unified whole because, while some workers receive substantial rewards for their human capital, others do not. Jobs are split between those that provide workers with the potential for upward advancement and those best described as "dead ends". Entry-level workers in a bank, for example, are frequently eligible for on-the-job training that helps them progress toward management positions. However, janitors, cab drivers, and a host of other types of workers are not so fortunate. For them, extra training and experience rarely translate directly to better remuneration or status; that is, the return on additional human capital "investment" is low or nil.

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Graham's argument in *The end of capitalism (as we knew it): a feminist critique of political economy* (Cambridge MA: Blackwell 1996), where she/they note that "understanding the beast [capitalism] has itself produced the beast" (1).

<sup>3</sup> For example, the assumption of a self-equilibrating labour market can be relaxed in econometric models. In fact, gender and ethnic discrimination can be (and are being) modeled using the general tools of neo-classical economics. Research on gender discrimination is



In this first wave of conceptualization, then, human capital was seen to have relevance in one portion of the labour market, which came to be known as the primary segment, where workers require special qualifications, enjoy relatively stable tenure, and are able to attain better-than-average incomes, upward advancement, and privileges associated with seniority. However, in its opposite—the secondary segment—accumulated human capital is largely irrelevant. This portion of the labour market is comprised of jobs that are seen as less skilled, quickly learned, and more vulnerable to economic fluctuations. Workers enjoy few returns to education or experience since they are not deemed requirements for their jobs. Typically, primary-segment workers are represented by professional associations or unions while secondary-segment workers are treated as individuals. Secondary-segment workers usually must obtain a number of jobs over their careers and are more likely to be part-time workers during slack economic periods. I emphasize that the distinctions made between skilled and unskilled work are frequently quite arbitrary. For example, it is by no means clear to me that a stock broker is more “skilled” than a sewing machine operator, but the point is that employers collectively value some skills more than others, and that this evaluation matters a great deal in the bargaining process between workers and managers.<sup>4</sup>

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summarized Gunderson and Riddell (1993) and I discuss similar work on immigrants and ethnic groups below.

<sup>4</sup> See Rauch (1996), chapter 7, for an empirical investigation of the assessment of skill. Rauch demonstrates that employers incorporate racialized and gender stereotypes in their understanding of skill. That is, jobs predominantly held by women of colour, even when they demand considerable forethought, effort and dexterity, are typically defined as unskilled.

In this early work, the causes of the split labour market were explained through an analysis of the demand for labour. Researchers argued that the labour market in advanced economies is structured around two basic fractures. First, according to this view, the economy is dominated by an oligopoly of firms in each sector that are generally able to withstand considerable competition. Outside this “core” there is a shifting group of smaller firms that are more fully open to competitive pressure. Workers in these small- and medium-sized firms do not enjoy the job seniority, or rates of pay, of their counterparts in core firms. I should add that at the time this theory was first proposed there were abundant examples of firms that appeared able to *control* rather than *fear* the market, such as IBM, AT&T, General Motors, etc.—those that were at one time called “blue-chip” stocks and were thought to be unassailable. It was also a time of increasing state involvement in economic and social matters, with a growing, relatively well-paid bureaucracy. But even today it is arguable that employees of major firms and government offices are better off than those who work at minimum rates of pay for sub-contractors and other very small firms.<sup>5</sup> Second, dual-labour-market theorists argued that there is a core and peripheral work force at the *intra*-firm level. At the core are those workers retained “come what may” because their skills are deemed essential, while another group of workers is hired and fired according to the exigencies of the market.<sup>6</sup> Note that the obverse side of unemployment statistics, which reached post-war peaks of 12.6% (1983) and 11.5% (1992/3)

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<sup>5</sup> For Canadian evidence on this point, see Bernard and Smith (1991), Morissette (1991), and Crompton (1992)

during last two recessions in Canada, is the large proportion of workers who *remain* in the labour force.<sup>7</sup>

Significantly, dual labour market theorists argued that the demand side of the labour market—the existence of qualitatively different types of jobs—was associated with a particular configuration of labour supply. They asserted that most core or primary jobs are acquired by men who belong to “mainstream” cultural groups. Women, visible minorities, and recent immigrants, conversely, form the bulk of the secondary segment. Explanations for this outcome differ between what Jamie Peck (1989) has called the “revisionist” and “radical” schools of segmented labour-market theory (also see Rubery 1978). Both perspectives see employers as participants in wider systems of discrimination that evaluate the skill and potential productivity of workers with taken-for-granted sexist and racist stereotypes. Prime-age “white” males are apparently still preferred for intellectually demanding jobs, while poorly-paid, uncertain work is left for those conveniently defined as “other” whether by sex, ethnicity, sexuality or some other form of difference. The radical school imputes a more insidious purpose to this process, believing that the division of workers into discrete segments is part of a broader strategy to subjugate the working class. Radical theorists are also more interested in the activities of the state and how they impinge on the labour market, and draw instrumental connections between immigration policy and the

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<sup>6</sup> While this idea was advanced in early discussions of the split labour market, it has come to be associated with the more recent work of Atkinson (1987).

<sup>7</sup> These data originate from the Statistics Canada CANSIM Data Base. “CANSIM” is an official Mark of Statistics Canada.

perceived need to maintain a “reserve army” of unemployed individuals eager to accept work of any sort.

The single dichotomy between good and bad jobs was refined in a second wave of theorization that began with the publication of David Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich’s *Segmented work, divided workers* in 1982. Gordon *et al* attempted to add an historical explanation of segmentation in the American labour market and proposed a three-fold classification of jobs by sub-dividing the primary segment into two constituent elements: professional white-collar workers on the one hand, versus unionized white- and blue-collar workers on the other. Research in this second wave was motivated by radical politics and galvanized by the combined forces of industrial restructuring and the “Reagan revolution” and drew inspiration from the French regulationist school. In common with the first generation of scholarship on segmentation, the focus here was on the demand for labour, with the labour market conceived as a process that creates certain types of jobs that are subsequently filled by particular workers. Also in common with earlier ideas, this view of the labour market assumed a “triple fit” between firms in less profitable sectors of the economy (or workers less central to the operations of the firm), non-existent or poor returns to human capital, and marginalized workers (Lever-Tracey 1984).

The third generation of scholarship represents both continuity, in the sense that researchers proceed from the assumption that the labour market is segmented, and a departure from earlier work in three important ways. First, the relationship between labour demand and supply is seen as relatively autonomous.

That is, labour market roles are not created in isolation from the structure of society—secondary-sector jobs can only be defined and filled when there are individuals willing to accept them. Although not framed as part of the segmentation debate, the work of Paul Willis (1977) provides an instructive illustration of this process: through an extended series of interviews with working-class boys in a British school, he shows how they develop a collective imagination of masculinity that prioritizes physical over mental labour. Ironically, their scorn for boys who succeed in school, in combination with the value they place on strength and stamina, helps socialize them into dependable workers destined to be trapped in unskilled jobs. The matching of individuals with jobs, in this case, depends on peer networks and socially constructed ways of seeing the world. Second, in order to explore the social-economic interface that yields a segmented labour market, a wide variety of factors are examined, including the socialization process, domestic responsibilities and family dynamics, patriarchy and gender roles, activities of the state, and racialization. Third, the complexity of factors involved demands a “middle level” theorization that is less likely to yield abstract models capable of prediction (see Granovetter 1985); rather, attention is given to explaining particular labour-market configurations in particular places.

Perhaps the simplest way to illustrate this more contingent approach is to summarize a prominent contribution, the work of Susan Hanson and Geraldine Pratt (1995) on Worcester, Massachusetts. On one level, *Gender, work, and space* advances a critique of human capital theory through an in-depth exploration of the reasons women accept secondary-segment jobs. In particular, they show how

the arrangement of domestic responsibilities in the home disadvantages women workers in the labour market in multiple ways, a point in keeping with standard labour market segmentation theory.<sup>8</sup> But on another level, Hanson and Pratt provide an intricate account of the job search process that challenges segmentation theory. They reveal, for example, the kin and friendship networks that workers activate in finding a job and show how these constrain women; similarly, they show that employers deliberately recruit suburbanized women workers for specific roles. They also provide numerous examples of outcomes that would not be anticipated given the stark, either/or (marginalized, non-marginalized) view prominent within segmentation theory. They are especially concerned about the classification of all marginalized groups—women, people of colour, the disabled, and so on—into one large conceptual category, implying that these sub-groups are interchangeable. Finally, they indicate an intricate relationship between work and neighbourhood life that is intensely local:

These relations between employer strategies and local labor supply build toward a geography of labor market segmentation, and this geography contributes to class-, race- and gender-based occupational segregation. (p. 178)

That is, workers are embedded in webs of information that are spatially bounded and exist with the context of residential life that is itself stratified in important ways (particularly by class and ethnicity). Significantly, employers incorporate this social geography into their location decisions and hiring strategies and the

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<sup>8</sup> Superficially, this appears to match the explanation of gender segmentation offered within human capital theory. However, Hanson and Pratt's account revolves around an analysis of patriarchy and, as such, sees the labour market as an instance of domination, not as a neutral process that allocates workers to jobs.

day-to-day practices that lead to segmented labour markets reflect the spatial contexts within which they operate.<sup>9</sup>

Taking the full corpus of segmentation theory into consideration, we should expect to find certain gender and ethnic patterns in the composition of Canadian urban labour markets, especially those sectors not governed by affirmative action programs. If the theory is right, we should find a preponderance of Euro-Canadian men in the better-paid jobs of the primary segment, and others in secondary-segment occupations. But beyond this, we should also be alert to more elaborate, finely-scaled relationships between particular groups in specific places. Given the historical and geographical specificities of immigration to Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver, there are likely to be many variations on a common story of segmentation.

### **Measuring labour market segmentation**

The data for this essay are drawn from custom cross-tabulations of the 1991 Canadian census, based on a form that was completed in approximately every fifth dwelling in the Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs).<sup>10</sup> The census records information on all household members, but only those in the labour force (those over the age of 15 who were employed at some point during the six month period prior to June 4<sup>th</sup>) are included here, yielding a

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<sup>9</sup> Peck (1996) adds that the regulatory regimes of local state agencies also contribute to a micro-geography of segmentation, and calls for a fourth generation of segmentation theory that incorporates a greater sense of spatial specificity.

<sup>10</sup> Tabulations were supplied by Statistics Canada. I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada (grant #410910413) for funds to purchase data and the

sample of some 960,000 people.<sup>11</sup> While two of the census variables are straightforward—sex of the worker and CMA of residence—the others are more complex:

- Where income statistics are provided, they refer to the median *wage/salary* income of all workers who reported earnings of this type. I chose employment rather than self-employed or total income to highlight the role of the labour market in generating income differences.
- Immigration status is sub-divided into four categories: those who were born in Canada (non-immigrants); those who landed before 1977 (more than 15 years); those who landed between 1977 and 1986; and those who landed during the five years preceding the 1991 census. The three latter groups can be roughly considered, respectively, settled, transitional, and newly-arrived immigrants.
- Four categories of educational attainment were also used: less than completed high school, high school with diploma, more than high school but without university degree; and at least one university degree.
- Statistics Canada classifies the labour force into about 20 major groups that, together, contain approximately 500 four-digit occupational codes; there are also nearly 7000 seven-digit coded occupations but this level of detail is rarely used in research. The major groups range from a few that are quite specific (e.g. “Occupations in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics”) to those that are general (e.g. “Occupations in medicine and health”). Although many researchers have used the major group classification system to study segmentation (e.g. Lautard and Guppy 1990; Morrison 1990), I believe it is too coarse for the purposes outlined here. At the same time, the four-digit list of 500 occupations had to be reduced for reasons of cost and statistical reliability.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, there is no accepted standard for this procedure

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Vancouver RIIM Project for funds to hire research assistants to help compile and run the data (Laura Beattie and Aaron James).

<sup>11</sup> Given the demographic dominance of these three cities in Canada, the sample includes over 7 percent of the entire national labour force. Note that all numbers reported here are Statistics Canada’s estimates for the entire population and are five-fold multiples of sampled information; thus numbers in the tables all end in zeros or fives.

<sup>12</sup> Statistics Canada charges researchers according to the number of cells included in special cross-tabulations. Using 600 occupations, all ethnic categories, both sexes, the four immigration categories, and the three CMAs would have resulted in a table with some 3 million cells, which would be both exceedingly expensive and difficult to interpret. Further, Statistics Canada is legally bound to suppress any information that would allow researchers to recognize particular individuals in the data (e.g. there might be only one Sikh woman welder in Vancouver). To comply with this law, Statistics Canada assigns those cells with either 5 or 10 individuals (representing samples of 1 or 2), as 0, 5 or 10 counts on a random basis. Inevitably, larger tables, based on fine-grained distinctions in the data, have a high proportion of randomized cells and must be treated cautiously. Tables produced for this study were originally 50 occupations, by 30 ethnic categories, by 2 sexes, or 1500 cells for each city, and contained few randomized cells.



and I rapidly discovered that the codes used by Statistics Canada, while logical and comprehensive, do not easily lend themselves to segmentation research. For example, occupational data do not distinguish between managers of small vs. large companies.

While acknowledging these difficulties, the full range of occupations was collapsed into 44 categories intended to provide a reasonable portrait of the diversity of the labour market in relatively homogeneous groupings (Table 1). Inevitably, some categories are more homogeneous than others; for example, “Medical Physicians” is a far more uniform group than “Service Occupations”, which contains an array of jobs that range from, for example, a fast-food cook to a police detective. Note that a few detailed occupations commonly thought to have highly segmented labour forces were specified, including: Food and beverage serving workers, Housekeepers, Child care workers, Sewing machine operators, Carpenters, Plumbers, and Construction labourers. Given the many compromises involved, the classification used here should not be seen as definitive, but rather as a first approximation.

- Data on ethnicity is the most cumbersome (Table 2). In the Canadian census, respondents are asked to name their “ethnic origin”. Since 1981, individuals have been able to identify multiple origins (e.g. British-French-Aboriginal). Multiple response data is extremely difficult to analyze because, first, there are so many possible groups and, second, we have no way of knowing how individuals with two or more ethnic backgrounds see themselves and are seen by others. Therefore, when reporting ethnic information, I have confined the analysis to those who declared a single ethnic origin (about 80% of the total working population). I have also removed groups with very small numbers from the study and have concentrated on 22 groups with significant populations. Again, qualifications must be made about the lack of consistency among these categories. Those of Japanese origin, for example, represent a far more homogeneous group than those of South Asian origin (a problematic amalgam of various ethnicities—such as Sri Lankan, Bengali, Singhalese and “East Indian”—and religious affiliations).<sup>13</sup>

Ultimately the results of this study are only as valid as the census categories used. The removal of ethnic groups with small populations, as well as the inclusion of some relatively heterogeneous ethnic groups, is likely to lead to an underestimate of the total degree of segmentation in the labour market. The particular choice of occupations has more complicated implications. Groups

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<sup>13</sup> See Kobayashi (1994) for a thoughtful discussion of the politics surrounding the ethnic categories defined by Statistics Canada.

clustered in occupations specified here (e.g. Chinese-origin women employed as garment workers) will be readily identified, while those in occupations that are part of larger categories will be less discernible.

It is also worth noting, briefly, the slippage between some of the theoretical concepts discussed earlier and the nature of the data investigated here. Ideally, from the point of view of early segmentation theories, one should be able to define the primary and secondary segments of the labour market in advance and then assess the composition of workers in each. But there are no census variables or categories that could be used to operationalize such a study. For example, respondents were not asked the size of the company they work for, nor are there any measures, direct or surrogate, that might indicate whether respondents are “core” or “peripheral” worker in their firms. Instead, I selected the occupational variable for this analysis, assuming that some occupations are clearly “primary” in nature (e.g. physicians, jurisprudence occupations, supervisory sales workers, and natural scientists), while others are “secondary” (e.g. housekeepers, food serving workers, regular sales workers, and sewing machine operators). However, from the point of view of more recent segmentation theories that emphasize both the larger picture of inequality and the small-scale processes that divide the labour market in highly specific ways, the data used here are relevant and valid.

### **Labour market segmentation and income**

There is a large and growing literature on income variation by ethnicity and/or immigrant status in Canada (for recent examples, see: Li 1988; Reitz 1990; Akbar

and DeVoretz 1992; Boyd 1992; deSilva 1992; Beach and Worswick 1993; Baker and Benjamin 1994; Bloom *et al* 1995; Fagnan 1995; Prescott and Wandschneider 1995; Pendakur and Pendakur 1996; and Shamsuddin 1996). This work generally adopts the methodology of comparing “potential” and actual wages for different groups. Potential wages are calculated using the human capital characteristics of each individual (such as education, length of time in the labour market, and language proficiency) as independent variables. In more elaborate studies, care is taken to control for the effects of a wide variety of other factors (such as sex, age, part-time vs. full-time status, industrial sector, occupational category, and region or city of residence) to ensure that the measured relationship between human capital and income is as direct as possible. Researchers conclude that discrimination may exist when the average actual wage rate for a group is below what would be expected given the human capital of the group. While analysts agree that women are not fully compensated for their human capital, conclusions are not as clear-cut on the subject of immigrants and visible minorities. The majority of analysts have, after controlling for a number of variables, found an income gap between immigrants and the native-born, and between “whites” and visible minorities (e.g. Li 1988; Beach and Worswick 1993; Bloom *et al* 1996; Pendakur and Pendakur 1996). DeSilva (1992), however, in an Economic Council of Canada study, found the opposite – i.e. no statistically significant difference in incomes between these groups.

The methodology employed in these studies reflects the basic assumptions of human capital theory, in that researchers build models assuming that

educational attainment and language proficiency are “given” for each individual. Further, control variables, such as part-time/full-time status, or the industrial sector within which a worker is employed, are considered to be complicating factors that must be, as far as possible, statistically neutralized.<sup>14</sup> On the whole, more intricate models – where many variables are controlled – are believed to yield more robust results. Segmentation theorists take a different approach, insisting that these assumptions are invalid (see Offe 1985; Hanson and Pratt 1995; Peck 1996). They argue that “independent” characteristics of the individual, such as educational attainment, do not exist “prior” to discrimination. Similarly, they believe that many of the factors controlled in these studies (e.g. part-time vs. full-time status, or occupation) are products of the same processes that govern wage rates. From this viewpoint, the methodology of creating a model based on independent variables and controls is inherently suspect and, further, the more elaborate the model, the more tautological the results and the more the full weight of discriminatory behaviour will be underestimated.

Ironically, for all their differences, researchers from both traditions often share the same objective: segmentation theory is predicated on the assumption that discrimination occurs, while many of the human-capital income models are designed to prove, beyond a reasonable doubt, that certain groups are disadvantaged in the labour market. However, while each of these positions is

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<sup>14</sup> Occasionally, researchers test these variables for interaction, but these results rarely are

based on a clear set of logical principles and each is convincing on its own terms, they are difficult to reconcile.

In this essay, I attempt to adopt an intermediary approach on the relationship between human capital and income, acknowledging that human capital theorists would find it wanting due to lack of specificity while segmentation theorists would be equally critical of my use of education as an *a priori* starting point.<sup>15</sup> Given a modest research budget, income data was acquired only for women in selected ethnic groups and occupations in the Vancouver CMA (the total sample was 73,602, representing a workforce of 368,010). Education was used as a measure of human capital and, in aggregate at least, women gain considerable employment income for each extra step in educational attainment (Figure 1).<sup>16</sup> This finding is generally true for immigrant women as well, though their additional earnings for extra education are less than for non-immigrants. Trend lines fitted to the data indicate that, on average, in 1990 women earned an extra \$3946 per year per educational category; however, non-immigrant women earned \$4384 more per category, compared with \$3826 for pre-1977 immigrants, \$3290 for immigrants landing between 1977 and 1986, and only \$1870 for the most recent arrivals. Evidence is found, then, for both the human capital view and the argument made by segmentation theorists that immigrants are less remunerated for their human

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addressed in the conclusions of the studies or in policy recommendations.

<sup>15</sup> To be fair, I should add that I was constrained from controlling for several factors (especially part-time vs. full-time status) that I wished to include because of the cost of data.

<sup>16</sup> Again, note that the omission of any control for hours worked is problematic and that these differences may be under- or over-estimated. My method here is similar to that of Li's (1988) more general study of the Canadian labour market, except that I distinguish between men and women..

capital than others (also see Reitz 1990; Boyd 1992; Baker and Benjamin 1994; and Shamsuddin 1996).

The relationship between employment income and ethnic origin is similarly ambiguous (Figure 2). British-origin women receive the highest premium for additional education of the groups included here (\$4084 per category). The return on educational capital is, apparently, less for Filipinas (\$3808) and Chinese-origin women (\$3142) and substantially less for those tracing their origins to either Vietnam (\$2534) or the Indian sub-continent (\$2022). Women from all of these backgrounds receive economic benefits from higher levels of education, but ethnicity clearly matters to the amount of that return (also see Li 1988; Boyd 1992 and Pedakur and Pendakur 1996).

The concept of a dual labour market is best illustrated, however, when the data are classified by occupation (Figure 3). While women in many occupations receive monetary rewards for higher education (\$3946 average for all occupations, per category, and \$2810 for managers), this is definitely not the case for all women. Note the meager return for education among waitresses (\$856 per category) and child-care workers (\$562). Moreover, the rate drops essentially to zero (\$10) for clerical workers—a category that includes nearly one-third of *all* women in the labour force—and is actually negative for domestic servants (\$-6) and sewing machine operators (\$-564). While these data are no doubt biased because of the inclusion of both full- and part-time workers in all categories,<sup>17</sup> they suggest that

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<sup>17</sup> The number of well-educated, part-time clerical workers would probably be quite high, as this is an occupation accessible to many married women who bear the primary responsibility for raising children. Thus, the figure of only \$10 gain per category is, in all likelihood, low.

women who enter those portions of the labour market that are seen as un- or semi-skilled are not compensated for their educational attainment. The critical question then becomes: are there biases in the ethnic composition of these occupational categories? More particularly, are minority women over-represented in jobs with little or no return to human capital?

### **Occupational segmentation**

The nature of segmentation becomes clearer when the various relationships between ethnic origin, sex, occupation and place are probed. First, to establish an overview of these variables and their interaction, likelihood ratio chi-squared statistics for a multiple-way contingency table were calculated. The advantage of this procedure is that it identifies the degree of relationship between any two or more variables while controlling for others. The most significant association was between ethnicity and city (chi-squared of over 3 million!—Table 3), reflecting the very different composition of the three cities' populations, particularly the preponderance of French-origin women and men in Montréal's labour market versus British-origin workers in the other two cities. The next highest chi-squared value was obtained between sex and occupation, indicating that the most basic fissure in the labour market is between male- and female-dominated jobs. Third, ethnic origin by occupation was also highly significant, as was city by occupation, since the three cities had different economic specializations and, therefore, occupational mixes (e.g. Vancouver and trade; Toronto and finance; Montréal and

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However, it is just as unlikely that, even if only full-time workers were included, the clerical

manufacturing). Associations between the final two pairs of variables, sex by city and sex by ethnicity were modest, which is to be expected given the roughly equal numbers of men and women in Canadian society overall, and a history of family-based immigration over the past half century.

**Table 3: Four-way cross-tabulations (likelihood ratio), paired results**

Variables	Partial X <sup>2</sup>	D.F.	Cont. coef.	Probability
Sex by city	3959	2	.028	.0000
Sex by ethnic origin	16563	21	.057	.0000
Occupation by city	124855	86	.156	.0000
Ethnic origin by occupation	543619	903	.322	.0000
Sex by occupation	1450875	43	.530	.0000
Ethnic origin by city	3072477	42	.772	.0000

A series of two-way cross-tabulations for each city reveals that, on average, the relationship between ethnicity and occupation is stronger for women, reflecting a double jeopardy in the labour market for women of colour (Table 4). Contingency coefficient statistics also show that ethnicity and occupation are most closely associated in Toronto, then Montréal, and finally Vancouver. This finding suggests three possibilities. First, the degree of segmentation appears to be associated with the size of the metropolitan population, suggesting that the more elaborate labour markets of large cities contain more potential sites for the development of segmented occupational structures.<sup>18</sup> Second, the degree of

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figure would begin to approach the average.

<sup>18</sup> This result is not a statistical artifact of city size, as sample size is taken into account in the calculation of contingency coefficients (though raw chi-squared values are highly affected by the size of the sample).



segmentation is highest in Toronto, the city with the largest and most diverse immigrant population, suggesting that segmentation may also be associated with the intricate webs of social networks that emerge in ethnically diverse societies. Finally, the different levels of segmentation may also be the product of the different immigrant flows to the three cities. British Columbia receives a much higher proportion of independent and business-related immigrants than either Québec or Ontario, and a far lower proportion of refugees and family-assisted immigrants (DeVoretz 1996). Immigrants arriving in Vancouver, presumably, could be more prepared for the Canadian labour market and less likely to be trapped in secondary jobs.

**Table 4: Two-way cross-tabulations (likelihood ratio), ethnic origin by occupation**

	Partial X <sup>2</sup>	D.F.	Cont. coef.	Probability
Montreal - women	173377	903	.405	.0000
Montreal - men	101432	903	.305	.0000
Toronto - women	208596	903	.384	.0000
Toronto - men	201142	903	.364	.0000
Vancouver - women	92030	903	.396	.0000
Vancouver - men	52556	903	.297	.0000

The question of a double jeopardy can be clarified somewhat by identifying the particular groups that are the most and least clustered in the labour market. The Index of Dissimilarity (ID) is commonly used for this purpose (e.g. Fox and Fox 1987; Lautard and Guppy 1990; Ogden 1994). A value of zero means that the group in question has exactly the same occupational distribution as all other

groups, while 100 means the group is completely isolated in the labour market. Arithmetically, the ID value indicates the proportion of a group that would have to change jobs for that group to have the same occupational profile as the rest of the population. The broad picture is provided in Figure 4, which depicts the relative degree of segmentation of each group in the three cities (data for both men and women, immigrants and non-immigrants, and all three cities were combined to produce these results; data are disaggregated below). Interestingly, the most heterogeneous group, “Other”, was the most widely distributed across the occupations defined here. Next, as segmentation theory would suggest, there were a number of European-origin groups, respectively: French, Ukrainian, German, British, North European, and Dutch, all with Index values less than or equal to 10. At the opposite end of the spectrum, individuals of Filipino/a, Vietnamese, and Jewish origin, all groups that have suffered from one or another form of racism, have (with Greeks) the most distinctive labour market profiles.<sup>19</sup> Between these polarities, though, the situation is not so clear-cut. At the generalized level of all three cities, Indo-Canadian (South Asian) men and women, with an index value of only 12.3, are widely dispersed in terms of occupation. Similarly, Japanese-Canadians, who experienced institutionalized persecution during the Second World War, do not appear to be highly segmented, nor does the rather diverse grouping of “blacks”.<sup>20</sup> Greek-Canadians—a community that has

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<sup>19</sup> However, the fact that Jewish men and women are most frequently found in high-status occupations must be noted. Clearly, segmentation theory has no easy means to explain this phenomenon. For further analysis of income levels among Vancouver’s Jewish immigrants, see Dean and DeVoretz 1996.

<sup>20</sup> Defined here as all those who declared their origin as “black”, “Caribbean”, or “African”

raised few complaints of discrimination—also appear anomalous, in this case with a much higher level of labour market clustering than one might expect.

The same Index calculations can be performed for occupations instead of ethnic groups, in this case indicating how distinct each occupation is from the labour market at large in terms of the ethnic composition of its workforce. At this aggregate scale, the broad categories of clerical, sales and service workers, plus “other occupations” appear to have the least segmented labour forces. Conversely, various types of construction work, cleaning occupations, domestic service, and garment production are all areas of the labour market with pronounced ethnic concentrations. This latter list fits quite well the expectations of segmentation theory, in that many of these occupations would be viewed as “secondary”. Some of these are undoubtedly entry-level jobs that will be vacated as soon as workers can find better ones, but there is also evidence that workers become trapped in these occupations (see below). However, there are contradictory patterns too. Many clerical, sales, and service occupations share the “secondary” characteristics of modest pay, non-unionized shop-floors and, as seen above, few returns to human capital – yet have low levels of ethnic concentration. Also some of the most desirable occupations, notably in the fields of law and medicine (physicians), are highly specific in terms of their ethnic composition indicating, at the very least, that labour-market outcomes are more intricate than is commonly acknowledged within segmentation theory.

While documenting significant patterns, aggregate statistics tell us little about the placement of specific groups in the labour market. The same city- and sex-

specific tables were used to produce a set of index values for each ethnic group and each occupation.<sup>21</sup> A value of 1.0 means that the group in question has the “expected” number of individuals in the occupation in question, while those greater than 1 show concentration in a particular occupation (with 2.0 indicating double the expected value), and those less than 1 show that the group is under-represented.

The results generated using this method are too voluminous to be reported here, and I will concentrate on a few ethnic-origin groups in the Vancouver area (Figures 5 and 6; Tables 5 and 6). Women and men of British origin are both fairly evenly distributed across the labour market, as indicated by their modest Index of Dissimilarity values and the large number of observed/expected ratios near one.<sup>22</sup> Each of the other four groups included here are more clustered in the labour market. Turning to women, those of Vietnamese-origin are highly concentrated in manufacturing; Jewish women in social sciences, law, teaching, and health care (as doctors); Indo-Canadian women in farming and manufacturing; and Filipinas in health care (not as doctors) and domestic service (note their nine-fold over-representation in housekeeping).<sup>23</sup> Jewish men are even

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<sup>21</sup> For each cell in the table (i.e. a specific combination of ethnic origin, sex and occupation), the observed number was divided by an expected value given the assumption that ethnicity and occupation are independent. The expected value was calculated by dividing the product of the row and column sums by the grand total in the table (as in a chi-squared contingency test). For examples of other studies using similar indices, see Reitz 1990; Hiebert 1993; and Wyly 1996.

<sup>22</sup> Recall that, at this point in the analysis, women and men are treated separately; thus the low Index values reflect *ethnic* segmentation only. I return to the issue of gender segmentation below.

<sup>23</sup> The case of Filipinas reflects the combined impacts of the Domestic Caregiver program in Canada, attempts by the government of the Philippines to send workers overseas and thereby acquire western currency, the increased tendency for upwardly-mobile couples to hire nannies

more concentrated in a few occupations than Jewish women – especially in the social sciences, university teaching and as physicians (also a nine-fold over-representation; see Dean and DeVoretz 1996). Vietnamese-origin men are most likely to be found in the service sector, particularly the restaurant trade, and also farming, processing and manufacturing. Filipinos are highly concentrated in lodging and restaurant services and, as in the case of Filipinas, in health care. Finally, Indo-Canadian men are relatively evenly spread across Vancouver's labour market, with two prominent specializations in the taxi trade and processing/machining (especially in the lumber industry).

These data suggest several important points. First, the group that has traditionally dominated Canada's economy and political system, those of British origin, exhibit the least segmented pattern of labour market participation. Generally, the most highly segmented groups are visible minorities, and there is a particular propensity for minority women to be channeled into "secondary" employment. Still, the relatively less segmented participation of South Asian and Black/Caribbean men and West Asian men and women is perplexing (Figure 6). The extraordinarily high values for Jewish men and Portuguese women are also interesting in this respect. Ethnic data do not support segmentation theory unequivocally, indicating that the either/or distinction made between mainstream and racialized workers is too broad. Second, the four minority groups documented here are differentially positioned in the labour market, revealing a complex process of marginalization that does not affect all groups in the same

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for their children, and the operation of agencies who match potential servants with employers.

way. Third, as seen most clearly in the case of Jewish men and women, segmentation should not, in itself, be interpreted negatively.

### **Geographical patterns**

To consider the importance of geographical patterns of labour market behaviour, three types of indexes are compared (Table 7), one specifying the uniqueness of the occupational profile of each ethnic-origin group with respect to all other groups, another whether members of a group tend to perform the same work in different cities, and a third the degree of gender labour market segmentation within each group. Again, data demonstrate the salience of gender as the fundamental form of division in the labour market; on average 41 percent of men or women would have to change occupations for their two distributions to be the same. Next, the average Index value between groups was just over 17, a more modest figure but nevertheless important given the coarse scale of analysis employed here (22 groups and 44 occupations).<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, the average Dissimilarity between places was nearly as high (16.4), indicating that the occupational profile of a given group, on average, varies almost as much with other members of the same group who reside in different cities as it does with members of other groups in the same city.

These types of segmentation are, to varying degrees, inter-related. Correlation coefficients (weighted by the size of each ethnic-origin group) reveal a weak,

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See Pratt *et al* 1997.

<sup>24</sup> ID values are sensitive to the number of categories used; other things being equal, values would be higher with a more detailed classification of occupations.

though statistically significant relationship between both “group” and “place” types of segmentation on the one hand and gender segmentation on the other (Table 8). The association between “group” and “place” segmentation is, however, considerably stronger, indicating that ethnic-origin groups with unique occupational profiles tend to find different types of work in different cities. The fact that both of these types of segmentation are negatively associated with income suggests two points: the same groups are likely to be marginalized in all three cities’ labour markets; and the specific forms of labour-market marginalization differ between cities (for similar findings in the Australian manufacturing sector, see Morrison 1990).

**Table 8: Weighted correlation coefficients between IDs and 1990 Income**

	Between places	Within groups (gender)	Income from wages/salaries
Between groups	.577	.255	-.328
Between places		.173	-.623
Gender			.180

Notes: all values are significant at the .01 level of probability  
 These correlation coefficients are based on actual, rather than ranked, income values.

These relationships are examined further in Table 9, where ethnic groups are clustered according to their degree and type of segmentation. The characteristics of groups at the extremes are easiest to comprehend. Most of the groups that comprise Canada’s “charter” population share the characteristics of minimal

“group” and “place”, but high gender segmentation. That is, men and women in these groups are, to a high degree, allocated into male- and female-dominated occupations, but otherwise are spread fairly evenly across the labour market. Conversely, most of the groups that face barriers in Canadian society share low incomes, and ID values between 15 and 35 along both “group” and “place” dimensions. Generally, the degree of gender segmentation is more modest among these groups than among those with higher incomes and less segmented labour forces. Although additional research would be required to explain this pattern, I believe it is related to the tendency for men in marginalized groups to perform what is typically characterized as “women’s work” within mainstream Canadian society (e.g. non-physician occupations in health care).

**Table 9: Ethnic-origin groups, by type and degree of segmentation and average 1990 income**

Group	Place	Gender = medium	Gender = high	Income
low	low	Other, Ukrainian, West Asian	British, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Polish	\$24,732
low	medium	Japanese	Northern Europe, South Asian	\$22,802
medium	low	Jewish		\$28,905
medium	medium	Black, Chinese, Greek, Korean, Latin Am, Vietnamese	Aboriginal, Filipino/a, Portuguese	\$19,419

Note: A cutoff of 15 was used to differentiate between “low” and “medium” ID values for “group” and “place” segmentation. For gender, the median value of 41.9 was used to differentiate between the “medium” and “high” categories.

The four groups in the other categories in the table do not follow the general patterns I have just described. I will address the cases of Jewish- and South



Asian-origin Canadians below, and note here that the two remaining “outlier” groups – of Japanese and Northern European origin – are both small in terms of population, are generally comprised of non-immigrants, and (to the extent that they continue to interact with their ancestral nation states) are associated with prosperous economies beyond Canada.

To better understand the relationship between occupation, ethnicity, gender and income, the labour market participation of four groups are examined in greater detail. These are deliberately selected to represent each of the four major types in Table 9. The case of British-origin Canadians illustrates the experience of one of Canada’s dominant ethnic groups (Table 10) which, as previously noted, performs essentially the same work in all three cities and is close to the average occupational profile. Men and women of British descent, however, do different types of work, with men predominating in managerial, technical, and manual occupations and women in the service sector, especially in clerical work.

Jewish migrants began to arrive in Canada over two centuries ago, but the surges of immigration that set the basic parameters of Jewish settlement and economic integration arrived around the turn of the twentieth century and in the aftermath of the Second World War. Over several generations, Jewish-Canadians have achieved the highest rate of participation in professional occupations and, concomitantly, the highest average incomes in Canada (Table 11). This strong representation in the “primary” segment of the labour market is replicated between the three cities and is, to a large extent, shared between men and women. An explanation for the success of Jewish-Canadians would have to

include reference to pre-migration factors (e.g. the levels of skill and entrepreneurial expertise brought from Europe) and the internal solidarity of the community in the face of significant obstacles in the past (e.g. quotas limiting Jewish entry into professional schools at most Canadian universities prior to 1950) (see Hiebert 1993; and Dean and DeVoretz 1996).

South-Asian immigrants, or Indo-Canadians, also have a long history of settlement in Canada, but the bulk of this community arrived after the criteria for entering Canada were broadened in the 1960s. Unlike those of British and Jewish descent, Indo-Canadians perform different types of work in the three cities examined here (Table 12). Many are employed in manufacturing in all three cities, but there are unique concentrations of Indo-Canadians in Montréal's health-care professions, as opposed to the hospitality, accommodation and horticultural sectors of Vancouver. In Toronto and Vancouver, Indo-Canadian men are highly over-represented as taxi operators, which is not the case in Montréal. Much of this variation is the result of different phases of settlement and the unique religious composition of the Indo-Canadian population in the different cities (in particular, the dominance of Sikhs in Vancouver, Hindus in Toronto). But these patterns also reflect the particular opportunities in the "secondary" segment of the labour market that are available to members of visible minority groups in each city, such as textile and garment work (especially) in Montréal, and labour in the farming sector in Vancouver.

The arrival of significant numbers of Vietnamese immigrants is even more recent, beginning in the mid-1970s. Interestingly, the "group", "place" and

“gender” dissimilarity indices for Vietnamese-Canadians are all approximately the same, indicating the unique position of this group as one of the most marginalized, with a high representation in “secondary” occupations and one of the lowest average income levels (Table 13). However, as in the case of Indo-Canadians, there is substantial diversity within this general pattern. In Montréal, Vietnamese-origin men and women are over-represented in well-paid medical and other scientific occupations, as well as in the poorly-paid textile/clothing sector. In Toronto, Vietnamese men and women are, with relatively few exceptions, concentrated in manufacturing. In Vancouver, there is more diversity, with Vietnamese men and women prominently employed in manufacturing as well as food and beverage occupations, cleaning work, and resource production. Again, these patterns have arisen in the context of somewhat different trajectories of immigration (e.g. well-educated, francophone Vietnamese immigrants tended to settle in Montréal) and the particular possibilities available for recent immigrants in each city.

Adding a geographical dimension to the study of segmentation corroborates certain aspects of the theory and challenges others. The experience of marginalized groups, in broad terms, tends to be replicated between cities, suggesting that stereotypical attitudes and behaviours are widespread and transcend distance. But, on the other hand, the *particular* forms of marginalization differ between places. A group may find work as construction labourers in one city, textile operators in another, and farm labourers in a third. All these occupations fall within the general category of the “secondary” segment,

but they are not identical. Some are parts of ethnic enclave economies; others are not. Some offer scope for entrepreneurial activity, while in others (e.g. medical services) workers do not have this potential. In short, not all “secondary” jobs are alike, and the particular complexion of advantages and disadvantages in these forms of work vary geographically.

### **Immigration and labour market segmentation**

We have already seen evidence of a double jeopardy, where women of colour are most likely to be found in “secondary” segment jobs. To what extent is this linked to, or perhaps even a statistical artifact of, the growth of immigration to Canada during the 1980s? An argument could be advanced that: a) a higher proportion of visible minority groups are recent immigrants; b) recent immigrants tend, initially at least, to be hired in the least desirable jobs; c) as individuals become fully integrated into Canadian society (gathering education, experience, and familiarity with an official language), they find better work; and d) that labour market segmentation is therefore an inevitable, but temporary, phenomenon that is of little concern. Alternatively, segmentation theory suggests that immigrants, as well as Canadian-born visible minority groups, are “locked” into marginalized work. This issue is already the subject of intense debate and is too complex to be settled here. However, by introducing the category of immigration status to a selection of the data on labour market segmentation, a few preliminary comments are possible.

Returning to the context of women in Vancouver's labour market, ID values were calculated for each of the four categories of immigration status and period of landing used earlier (Table 14). Immigrants that arrived between 1986 and 1991 were both the most clustered in terms of occupation and had the highest level of participation in "secondary" jobs (note the degree of over-representation in domestic service, child-care, janitorial work, and garment production).<sup>25</sup> This pattern is somewhat less evident for "transitional" immigrants (the 6-15 year category) and much dissipated for those who have been in Canada for more than 15 years. In general terms, then, more settled immigrants are more evenly spread across the labour market indicating that, over time, individuals do build their human capital and realize mobility to better types of work.

This positive outcome does not always occur, however, especially in the case of visible minority groups. There is also a progressive reduction in ID values for those categories of South-Asian-origin women who have lived in Canada the longest, particularly for those born in Canada (Table 15). Note, for example, the dramatic decline in the degree of over-representation of Indo-Canadian women in the farming sector, from over 14 times for the most recent arrivals to almost no over-representation at all for non-immigrants. But this transition away from an undesirable job appears exceptional. In many of the most relevant occupational categories, there is a major distinction between immigrants (of all time periods) on the one hand and non-immigrants on the other. Note the several categories

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<sup>25</sup> Also note, however, the over-representation of this group of women in university teaching and natural sciences and engineering occupations, a reflection of the selection system in place for prospective independent applicants.

related to lodging and cleaning work: immigrants, regardless of when they landed in Canada, are heavily involved in these occupations, while Indo-Canadian women born in Canada avoid them. The same is true in the garment sector and, incidentally, also of Chinese-origin women in Vancouver.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that those immigrant women of colour who enter “secondary” jobs when they arrive, tend to stay in them through their working careers.<sup>27</sup> Their daughters, however, appear to break the pattern and exercise more choice in their search for work. If these *preliminary* interpretations are correct, the critical question for Canadians to consider is: is it acceptable for immigrants to wait a generation before fully realizing labour-market mobility?

### **Concluding thoughts, policy issues, and future research directions**

The nature of the data surveyed here means that, at best, conclusions must be considered tentative. That said, it seems clear that expectations derived from either human capital or segmentation theory are too simple to capture the complex relationships between gender, ethnicity, immigration and work in Canada’s largest cities. On the human capital side, individuals do receive additional income as they become better educated, and (in general) immigrants who have been in Canada longer are more evenly distributed across occupational

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<sup>26</sup> On average, Chinese-Canadian women are 5.8 times more likely to be employed as sewing workers than average. Non-immigrants, however, had an index value of only 0.4, as opposed to 5.6 for the most recent immigrant category, 8.1 for those arriving between 1976 and 1985, and 6.4 for those who arrived before 1976.

<sup>27</sup> Using a different methodology and a broader set of data, DeVoretz (1989), and Akbari and DeVoretz (1992) argue that immigrants did not compete directly with non-immigrants in the Canadian labour market during the 1970s and early 1980s, except in a relatively small

categories than those who have arrived more recently. But there also appear to be rigidities in the labour market that simultaneously reflect and reinforce the marginalized position of certain groups: immigrant and visible-minority women receive fewer benefits from education than those in more “mainstream” categories; men and women of colour occupy more than their share of “secondary” occupations; and immigrant women of colour are frequently locked in to the least-paid, least-secure jobs.

There is also a subtle geography to these patterns of segmentation. At the coarse level of analysis employed here, geographical differences appear to reinforce rather than undermine gender and ethnic patterns: groups that capture the most desirable jobs in one place tend to replicate their success in other places, while groups in less advantageous positions appear to have little to gain by migrating to other urban labour markets. Still, as I have argued, it is possible that “secondary” jobs are not quite so interchangeable, that some may provide more potential for advancement than others, particularly through self-employment. Segmentation theory is too blunt to accommodate these types of differences and over-generalizes the world into just two categories of privileged vs. others, assuming that members of minority groups, women and immigrants are marginalized everywhere in the same ways. The complex history of conflict and accommodation between groups is thereby reduced to an either/or question with no intermediary possibilities, and issues that matter a great deal to individuals, families and groups in particular places are ignored.

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number of (mainly) labour-intensive sectors. As in the limited example provided here, this

Just as the preceding conclusions were qualified, so too must policy suggestions based on the incomplete, and in some cases unwieldy, data surveyed here. Several provisional points seem justified, however:

- The evidence for “double jeopardy” for women of colour appears to be strong, and the frequent calls for dismantling affirmative action programs are therefore, to say the least, premature.
- The additive nature of gender and ethnic labour-market segmentation means that tackling only one side of the problem without the other will create, at best, a partial solution. There are no easy answers here. For example, general programs aimed to assist women gain better jobs are most likely to affect “mainstream” women. This is of course a worthy goal in itself, but we should not pretend that it addresses the particular concerns of visible-minority, immigrant women (see Boyd 1992). The same gap between intent and outcome is no doubt true of programs targeted generically at *all* members of visible minorities.
- In the Vancouver case, immigrants, especially those of colour, occupy more than their share of the least desirable jobs. The occupational profile of non-immigrant visible minorities, however, is remarkably different, and is more evenly distributed across both “primary” and “secondary” categories. The success of the children (or grandchildren, etc.) of immigrants is due to a combination of factors including, among others, the determination of individuals, the advocacy of non-governmental organizations, and a socio-legal climate that is increasingly intolerant of overt discrimination.<sup>28</sup> In this case, policy seems already to be moving in the right direction. However, the apparent lack of occupational mobility of a significant proportion of immigrants, even those who have been in Canada more than 15 years, is cause for concern. The availability of language and skills training for immigrants, particularly women, is therefore a vital issue. The effectiveness of current programs should be reviewed on an ongoing basis and any attempt to reduce the scope of settlement services should be carefully scrutinized (also see Seward and Tremblay 1989).

More research is required to extend this list of recommendations. Some of the limitations of the data examined here could be overcome by including a more

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suggests that immigrants have a distinct occupational profile throughout their working careers.

<sup>28</sup> This is not to say that Canadians have conquered racism and can “move on” to other pressing issues. Recall that immigrants and women of colour are not fully compensated, in terms of wages and salaries, for their level of education. For further evidence, see Bloom *et al* 1995; Pendakur and Pendakur 1996.



complete list of relevant variables in the cross-tabulations (e.g. knowledge of English or French, full-time vs. part-time status, and distinguishing the self-employed), which would ensure valid comparisons and therefore more reliable results. But there are other important issues that cannot be resolved through the analysis of numerical data, however detailed. We need to learn more about the processes that channel immigrants into specific occupations and about the factors that encourage or discourage immigrants to seek better jobs as they become more integrated into Canadian society. This type of information is critical for policy formation, but must be sought through a variety of other methods that are more time consuming and costly, such as panel studies and interviews with immigrants, employers, and educators.

We also need to ask fundamental questions about the meaning of equity. What would a “fair” labour market “look” like? Would equity mean an even spread for all groups over all sectors of the labour market? Should women and men be equally represented in all occupational categories? If a non-segmented labour market is seen as a social objective, how should it be achieved? For example, should groups over-represented in “primary” segment occupations be directed away from them? Should the number of French and British managers be reduced somehow; should Jewish-Canadians be asked to limit their entry into law and medical schools? Even if one agreed with these types of measures (which I do not), their adoption is exceedingly unlikely under present political circumstances.

Finally, Canadian immigration policy accords preference to independent applicants who can fill strategic gaps in the labour market, whether computer

analysts, engineers, or domestic servants (Green and Green 1994). It would therefore be unrealistic – perhaps even undesirable – to expect recent immigrants to have exactly the same occupational profile as those born in Canada or who have lived here a long time. But this logic gives rise to a basic question: to what extent is the integration process delayed when immigrants are isolated in the labour market. Even more fundamentally: how much segmentation is acceptable?

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**Table 1: Total labour force, by occupation, for Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991**

Occupation	Women	Men	Total	%
Managers	268,810	426,050	694,860	14.5
Natural sciences	49,040	177,205	226,245	4.7
Social sciences	51,870	25,205	77,075	1.6
Law and jurisprudence	13,560	21,545	35,105	0.7
Religious occupations	2,045	6,090	8,135	0.2
Teachers (general)	114,540	52,290	166,830	3.5
Teachers (university)	8,700	14,960	23,660	0.5
Medical Physicians	7,665	19,865	27,530	0.6
Medical Nurses	72,905	4,580	77,485	1.6
Medical Technicians	18,170	7,455	25,625	0.5
Medical Other	70,575	21,770	92,345	1.9
Clerical supervisors	18,255	13,615	31,870	0.7
Clerical workers	737,780	242,180	979,960	20.5
Sales supervisors	20,335	35,655	55,990	1.2
Sales workers	208,100	266,420	474,520	9.9
Service workers - general	271,695	267,560	539,255	11.3
Food + Bev. Supervisors	9,195	11,135	20,330	0.4
Food + Bev. Workers	109,490	97,190	206,680	4.3
Chefs	21,615	42,365	63,980	1.3
Bartenders	4,925	6,015	10,940	0.2
Waiters(resses)	55,895	26,610	82,505	1.7
Lodging supervisors	3,530	3,020	6,550	0.1
Lodging workers	9,195	4,660	13,855	0.3
Lodging cleaners	5,090	1,120	6,210	0.1
Janitors	30,365	48,910	79,275	1.7
Houskeepers	13,395	1,265	14,660	0.3
Childcare workers	37,205	1,350	38,555	0.8
Farming + Horticulture	11,240	33,835	45,075	0.9
Primary sector workers	1,280	7,845	9,125	0.2
Processing workers	27,715	72,965	100,680	2.1
Machining - non-wood	170	1,910	2,080	0.0
Machining - wood	5,735	72,745	78,480	1.6
Fabrication - non-textiles	33,370	198,120	231,490	4.8
Fabricating - textiles	56,760	20,735	77,495	1.6
Sewing operators	34,835	3,415	38,250	0.8
Excavation workers	2,845	57,485	60,330	1.3
Construction - general	4,355	163,895	168,250	3.5
Const. Supervisors	505	20,270	20,775	0.4
Const. Carpenters	560	36,290	36,850	0.8
Const. Plumbers	180	16,255	16,435	0.3
Const. Labourers	500	21,075	21,575	0.5
Transportation workers	12,755	134,535	147,290	3.1
Taxi operators	420	12,550	12,970	0.3
Material handlers	25,040	58,875	83,915	1.8
Other	83,385	164,620	248,005	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,198,695</b>	<b>2,590,010</b>	<b>4,788,705</b>	

Note: Indented occupational categories are subsets and not included in totals

**Table 2: Ethnic composition of the labour market, by CMA, 1991**

	Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Aboriginal	8,060	.4	4,010	.2	6,865	.6
British	120,510	6.4	658,810	26.2	344,980	32.3
French	1,135,065	59.9	42,935	1.7	22,460	2.1
German	12,650	.7	51,010	2.0	46,940	4.4
North European	1,650	.1	9,980	.4	19,055	1.8
Dutch	3,000	.2	24,440	1.0	18,660	1.7
Polish	10,755	.6	47,805	1.9	9,720	.9
Ukrainian	5,010	.3	26,475	1.1	17,085	1.6
Greek	39,765	2.1	50,760	2.0	5,775	.5
Italian	111,945	5.9	219,695	8.7	22,635	2.1
Portuguese	23,680	1.3	89,180	3.5	7,645	.7
Jewish	39,390	2.1	66,640	2.6	6,850	.6
Black	34,560	1.8	122,845	4.9	5,485	.5
Chinese	23,700	1.3	144,535	5.7	109,850	10.3
Filipino/a	8,900	.5	54,305	2.2	22,480	2.1
Japanese	1,095	.1	8,980	.4	10,850	1.0
Korean	1,390	.1	13,560	.5	5,125	.5
South Asian	17,585	.9	117,265	4.7	50,395	4.7
Vietnamese	10,585	.6	11,760	.5	5,250	.5
West Asian+Arab	43,025	2.3	35,390	1.4	7,295	.7
Hispanic	15,055	.8	16,810	.7	3,725	.3
Other	226,380	12.0	700,285	27.8	318,745	29.8
Total	1,893,755		2,517,475		1,067,870	

Note: Totals include some double counting (see Table 1)

**Table 5: Occupation by ethnic origin for selected groups of women in Vancouver, 1991**

	British		Jewish		South Asian		Filipina		Vietnamese	
	Number	Index	Number	Index	Number	Index	Number	Index	Number	Index
Manag	13720	1.2	280	1.3	830	.5	345	.3	100	.6
NatSc	1645	.9	75	2.2	165	.6	110	.6	0	.0
SocSc	3645	1.1	180	3.1	205	.4	120	.4	10	.2
Law	1025	1.3	55	3.8	35	.3	10	.1	0	.0
Relig	120	1.1	10	5.3	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Teach	8245	1.3	295	2.6	215	.2	115	.2	10	.1
UnivT	585	1.0	35	3.4	70	.8	0	.0	10	1.3
MDs	530	1.2	45	5.8	45	.7	10	.2	0	.0
Nurse	6080	1.2	60	.7	365	.5	1000	2.1	20	.3
MdTec	1170	1.0	45	2.1	100	.5	145	1.2	0	.0
MdOth	4110	1.0	85	1.1	790	1.3	815	2.0	25	.4
CISup	2275	1.2	10	.3	125	.5	65	.4	0	.0
Cler	48135	1.1	650	.8	4820	.7	2285	.5	255	.4
SISup	1830	1.0	20	.6	185	.7	35	.2	25	1.0
Sales	14890	1.1	345	1.4	1425	.7	480	.3	115	.6
Serve	17340	.8	165	.4	4720	1.5	4525	2.2	410	1.4
FdSup	750	.9	10	.7	75	.6	35	.4	0	.0
F+Bv	7355	.9	80	.5	1565	1.2	685	.8	215	1.8
Chefs	1070	.6	0	.0	730	2.9	155	.9	90	3.8
Bartr	250	1.0	20	4.3	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Waitr	4405	1.0	45	.6	300	.4	210	.5	75	1.2
LdSup	425	1.1	10	1.4	80	1.4	35	.9	10	1.8
Lodge	755	.7	10	.5	325	2.1	185	1.8	40	2.8
Clean	265	.5	0	.0	240	2.7	140	2.4	10	1.2
Jantr	1255	.7	0	.0	1120	4.0	205	1.1	35	1.3
Housk	960	.8	0	.0	140	.8	1040	8.6	15	.9
Child	2830	.9	20	.4	235	.5	2115	6.9	0	.0
Farm	960	.6	10	.4	1660	7.2	10	.1	50	2.3
Prim	280	1.3	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	25	8.5
Proc	685	.4	10	.3	595	2.4	90	.5	115	4.9
MachW	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Machn	90	.7	10	4.5	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
FabxT	800	.9	10	.6	220	1.6	10	.1	135	10.5
Textl	340	.2	0	.0	610	2.3	110	.6	145	5.8
Sewng	115	.1	0	.0	465	2.6	70	.6	120	7.3
Excav	165	1.3	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Const	305	1.1	0	.0	60	1.4	0	.0	10	2.6
CFore	35	.9	0	.0	20	3.3	0	.0	0	.0
CCarp	75	1.3	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	10	12.7
CPlum	10	.8	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
CLabr	40	1.2	0	.0	15	2.9	0	.0	0	.0
Trans	980	1.3	10	.8	50	.4	10	.1	0	.0
Taxis	15	.7	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Mater	700	.7	0	.0	360	2.5	30	.3	40	3.0
Other	4100	1.0	180	2.5	450	.7	120	.3	50	.9
Total	134750		2585		18100		10440		1550	
I. Diss.		11.4		27.7		29.1		42.8		40.6

Note: totals have been adjusted to compensate for double counting



**Table 6: Occupation by ethnic origin for selected groups of men in Vancouver, 1991**

	British		Jewish		South Asian		Filipina		Vietnamese	
	Number	Index	Number	Index	Number	Index	Number	Index	Number	Index
Manag	26450	1.2	795	1.7	1865	.6	305	.4	120	.3
NatSc	10065	1.0	235	1.1	895	.6	380	1.0	65	.4
SocSc	1910	1.1	120	3.4	125	.5	15	.2	10	.4
Law	2105	1.5	255	8.2	75	.4	10	.2	20	.9
Relig	475	1.1	20	2.1	10	.2	0	.0	10	1.4
Teach	3990	1.3	140	2.1	165	.4	20	.2	10	.2
UnivT	1140	1.0	150	6.2	135	.8	0	.0	0	.0
MDs	1490	1.1	245	8.8	95	.5	10	.2	0	.0
Nurse	305	1.0	0	.0	20	.4	110	9.1	0	.0
MdTec	385	.8	15	1.4	55	.8	80	4.2	10	1.2
MdOth	1210	.9	100	3.6	175	.9	135	2.7	10	.5
CISup	1190	1.1	10	.4	170	1.1	20	.5	0	.0
Cler	12735	1.0	225	.8	1865	1.0	850	1.7	95	.5
SISup	3435	1.1	125	1.8	545	1.2	20	.2	40	.8
Sales	21400	1.1	635	1.6	2440	.9	430	.6	135	.4
Serve	15265	.9	175	.5	2675	1.0	1390	2.1	445	1.5
FdSup	710	.7	10	.4	95	.6	65	1.6	15	.9
F+Bv	4925	.6	100	.6	685	.6	480	1.6	290	2.3
Chefs	1725	.5	25	.4	320	.7	150	1.2	180	3.4
Bartr	410	1.0	0	.0	10	.2	30	2.0	0	.0
Waitr	1580	.7	55	1.2	185	.6	190	2.3	65	1.8
LdSup	360	1.2	10	1.6	25	.6	30	2.6	10	2.1
Lodge	440	1.0	10	1.1	60	1.0	105	6.4	10	1.4
Clean	60	.6	0	.0	20	1.4	45	12.0	10	6.2
Jantr	2210	.9	0	.0	945	2.6	505	5.2	45	1.1
Housk	70	.7	0	.0	10	.7	10	2.8	0	.0
Child	95	.8	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Farm	2860	1.0	10	.2	1045	2.4	65	.6	130	2.7
Prim	1435	.9	0	.0	240	1.1	25	.4	105	4.1
Proc	4085	.8	20	.2	2215	2.9	130	.6	270	3.1
MachW	115	.7	0	.0	95	4.2	0	.0	20	7.7
Machn	3355	.9	25	.3	690	1.3	225	1.6	35	.6
FabxT	11500	1.0	115	.5	1705	1.0	605	1.3	365	1.9
Textl	260	.5	20	1.6	105	1.3	30	1.4	75	8.1
Sewng	25	.4	0	.0	30	3.6	0	.0	10	10.6
Excav	4195	1.1	20	.2	445	.8	50	.3	25	.4
Const	12250	.9	60	.2	1695	.9	60	.1	110	.5
CFore	1995	1.1	10	.2	205	.8	0	.0	10	.3
CCarp	2795	.9	25	.4	300	.7	20	.2	35	.7
CPlum	1445	1.2	15	.6	130	.8	0	.0	0	.0
CLabr	1210	.9	0	.0	270	1.3	0	.0	0	.0
Trans	10675	1.1	80	.4	1900	1.4	200	.6	40	.3
Taxis	490	.7	0	.0	600	6.1	10	.4	0	.0
Mater	5035	1.1	25	.3	855	1.3	130	.8	45	.6
Other	9760	1.1	190	1.0	795	.6	230	.7	210	1.5
	169075		3810		23095		5525		2400	
		10.5		36.6		20.8		36.8		39.1

Note: totals have been adjusted to compensate for double counting

	Between groups	Between places	Within groups	Income rank
Aboriginal	15.6	18.7	43.9	20
Black	17.8	19.5	40.7	15
British	11.1	9.6	41.6	5
Chinese	18.3	17.0	37.4	14
Dutch	10.5	14.1	47.2	6
Filipina/o	33.8	19.4	46.5	16
French	5.2	10.7	42.1	9
German	8.9	12.2	44.6	7
Greek	29.3	15.7	38.3	17
Italian	13.6	11.5	47.6	8
Japanese	12.5	23.8	38.2	2
Jewish	29.2	10.8	38.2	1
Korean	22.6	15.8	24.4	21
Latin American	28.0	19.6	36.5	22
Northern European	10.2	19.7	49.6	3
Other	5.0	9.6	37.8	10
Polish	12.1	12.6	44.9	11
Portuguese	28.5	17.4	50.0	12
South Asian	13.2	26.1	42.4	13
Ukrainian	8.4	14.0	37.1	4
Vietnamese	30.3	28.4	33.3	19
West Asian	13.6	13.9	39.3	18
Average	17.2	16.4	41.0	

Notes:

1. “between groups”: These indicate the Index of Dissimilarity (ID) for each ethnic-origin group with respect to all other groups. The same values were used to produce Figure 4.
2. “between cities”: For each group, an ID was calculated for each city with respect to the other two cities (e.g. the proportion of Aboriginal men in Montréal who would have to change jobs to match the labour market profile of Aboriginal men in Toronto and Vancouver). The number reported here is the average of these three ID values; a low number means that the group in question does similar work in all three cities.
3. “within groups”: In each city, an ID was calculated for the occupational profiles of men and women in each ethnic-origin group. The number reported here is the average for the three cities. A low number means that men and women in a particular group do the same types of work.
4. “income rank” was derived in the following steps: a) Statistics Canada supplied the median income of all men and women who recorded a wage/salary income in 1990; b) for each group, a weighted average of male and female wage/salary incomes was calculated; c) these averages were ranked
5. Averages are unweighted

**Table 10: Index of British-origin participation, by occupation and city, 1991**

	Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Manag	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2
NatSc	1.1	1.3	.9	1.0	.9	1.0
SocSc	.9	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.1
Law	.6	.9	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.5
Relig	1.1	1.3	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.1
Teach	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
UnivT	1.9	2.1	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.0
MDs	.9	1.0	.9	.9	1.2	1.1
Nurse	1.3	.6	1.2	.7	1.2	1.0
MdTec	.9	1.0	.7	.6	1.0	.8
MdOth	.9	.6	.9	.8	1.0	.9
CISup	1.6	1.7	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1
Cler	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0
SISup	.8	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1
Sales	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Serve	.8	.8	.8	.8	.8	.9
FdSup	.9	.4	1.0	.6	.9	.7
F+Bv	.9	.7	.9	.6	.9	.6
Chefs	.8	.7	.7	.5	.6	.5
Bartr	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0
Waitr	.8	.7	.9	.6	1.0	.7
LdSup	2.1		1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2
Lodge	.9		.8	.8	.7	1.0
Clean	.6		.5		.5	
Jantr	.8	.9	.6	.8	.7	.9
Housk	.5		.5		.8	
Child	1.1		.9	.9	.9	
Farm	1.1	.7	1.4	1.4	.6	1.0
Prim		1.9	1.6	1.5	1.3	.9
Proc	.6	.7	.6	.7	.4	.8
MachW				.5		.7
Machn		.8	.6	.8	.7	.9
FabxT	1.0	.9	.6	.9	.9	1.0
Textl	.2	.3	.2	.3	.2	.5
Sewng	.1		.1		.1	
Excav		.8	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.1
Const		.7	.8	.8	1.1	.9
CFore		.7		.8		1.1
CCarp		.6		.8		.9
CPlum		.5		1.0		1.2
CLabr		.6		.5		.9
Trans	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.1
Taxis		.6		.5		.7
Mater	.6	.9	.6	1.0	.7	1.1
Other	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1
Total	54625	65885	311425	347385	155360	189620

Note: Blanks indicate categories with fewer than 100 individuals

<b>Index of dissimilarity Between and Within cities, by gender</b>				
Between cities			Within cities	
	Women	Men	(gender)	
Montreal	7.0	8.6	Montreal	39.9
Toronto	9.9	10.5	Toronto	38.6
Van.	11.5	12.5	Van.	46.3

**Table 11: Index of Jewish-origin participation, by occupation and city, 1991**

	Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Manag	1.5	2.0	1.3	1.6	1.3	1.7
NatSc	1.1	.8	1.1	.9	2.2	1.1
SocSc	1.7	1.4	2.2	2.0	3.1	3.4
Law	2.9	4.2	3.2	7.2	3.8	8.2
Relig		2.2	3.1	1.6		
Teach	2.1	1.3	2.1	1.4	2.6	2.1
UnivT	3.5	2.8	3.0	3.4	3.4	6.2
MDs	1.7	4.7	5.7	7.4	5.8	8.8
Nurse	.3		.4		.7	
MdTec	.8		1.0	1.0	2.1	
MdOth	.9	1.0	1.7	3.3	1.1	3.6
CISup	1.0	.8	.5	.5		
Cler	1.1	.9	.8	.7	.8	.8
SISup	2.0	3.7	1.6	2.1	.6	1.8
Sales	1.7	2.4	1.6	1.9	1.4	1.6
Serve	.5	.3	.5	.5	.4	.5
FdSup		.7	1.0	1.1		.4
F+Bv	.3	.4	.7	.6	.5	.6
Chefs		.1	.5	.2		.4
Bartr						
Waitr	.3	.6	.8	.8	.6	1.2
LdSup		3.9				
Lodge		2.3				
Clean						
Jantr		.3	.1	.3		
Housk						
Child	.9		.4			
Farm				.3		
Prim						
Proc	.4	.4	.3	.3		
MachW						
Machn		.1		.3		
FabxT	.4	.3	.2	.3		.5
Textl	.3	1.3	.3	1.0		
Sewng	.1					
Excav		.1		.3		
Const		.3		.4		.2
CFore		.7		.6		
CCarp		.3		.3		
CPlum				.8		
CLabr				.3		
Trans		.4		.5		.4
Taxis		1.3		1.3		
Mater	.4	.2	.2	.2		
Other	1.5	.7	1.2	.7	2.5	1.0
Total	16905	22485	29750	36890	2780	4070

Note: Blanks indicate categories with fewer than 50 individuals

<b>Index of dissimilarity Between and Within cities, by gender</b>				
Between cities			Within cities	
	Women	Men	(gender)	
Montreal	8.8	14.1	Montreal	40.0
Toronto	7.9	11.2	Toronto	35.9
Van.	13.0	13.9	Van.	38.7

**Table 12: Index of South-Asian-origin participation, by occupation and city, 1991**

	Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Manag	.7	.7	.7	.8	.5	.6
NatSc	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.2	.6	.6
SocSc	.4	.5	.5	.6	.4	.5
Law			.5	.2		.4
Relig		2.2		.4		
Teach	.6	.7	.5	.7	.2	.4
UnivT	2.1	2.2	.6	.6	.8	.8
MDs	2.5	.7	1.8	.8	.7	.5
Nurse	.7		.8	1.4	.5	
MdTec	1.2		1.6	2.4	.5	.8
MdOth	.5		.7	1.2	1.3	.9
CISup		.6	1.0	.9	.5	1.1
Cler	.7	.9	1.2	1.4	.7	1.0
SISup		.8	.9	.8	.7	1.2
Sales	.8	.6	.9	.9	.7	.9
Serve	.6	1.3	.8	1.1	1.5	1.0
FdSup			.9	.9	.6	.6
F+Bv	.4	2.4	.7	1.1	1.2	.6
Chefs			1.1	1.3	2.9	.7
Bartr				.6		.2
Waitr		1.4	.4	1.0	.4	.6
LdSup				.5	1.4	
Lodge			.5	1.1	2.1	1.0
Clean				2.7	2.7	
Jantr	1.0	.4	.5	.7	4.0	2.6
Housk			.6		.8	
Child	.8		1.0		.5	
Farm			.4	.2	7.2	2.4
Prim						1.1
Proc	2.6	2.3	1.9	1.5	2.4	2.9
MachW				2.1		4.2
Machn			2.5	1.8		1.3
FabxT	3.9	.9	2.6	1.3	1.6	1.0
Textl	4.5	3.7	2.1	2.3	2.3	1.3
Sewng	4.9	8.4	2.4	2.5	2.6	
Excav			.9	.5		.8
Const			.8	.3	1.4	.9
CFore				.1		.8
CCarp				.3		.7
CPlum						.8
CLabr				.2		1.3
Trans			.3	1.0	.4	1.4
Taxis				4.8		6.1
Mater	3.7	.9	3.4	1.4	2.5	1.3
Other	.8	.7	1.1	.9	.7	.6
Total	6085	11500	48750	68515	23410	26985

Note: Blanks indicate categories with fewer than 50 individuals

<b>Index of dissimilarity Between and Within cities, by gender</b>				
Between cities			Within cities	
	Women	Men	(gender)	
Montreal	27.6	24.9	Montreal	44.1
Toronto	33.2	23.2	Toronto	34.9
Van.	36.7	28.4	Van.	48.3



**Table 13: Index of Vietnamese-origin participation, by occupation and city, 1991**

	Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Manag	.8	.5	.4	.3	.6	.3
NatSc	2.5	2.6	1.3	1.0		.4
SocSc		.5	.6			
Law						
Relig						
Teach	.4	.6	.3	.4		
UnivT	.5					
MDs	6.9	4.5	3.3			
Nurse		.0				
MdTec		2.6	1.4			
MdOth	1.2	1.9	.9			
CISup						
Cler	.5	.9	.6	.8	.4	.5
SISup						
Sales	.5	.5	.6	.5	.6	.4
Serve	.8	1.1	.9	.8	1.4	1.5
FdSup	4.5	3.6				
F+Bv	1.1	2.0	.9	1.1	1.8	2.3
Chefs	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.2	3.8	3.4
Bartr						
Waitr	.5	1.7	.6	1.0	1.2	1.8
LdSup		.0				
Lodge					2.8	
Clean						
Jantr	.7			.7		1.1
Housk						
Child						
Farm					2.3	2.7
Prim						4.1
Proc	3.1	1.1	2.3	2.5	4.9	3.1
MachW						
Machn	5.6	1.0	3.9	3.5		
FabxT	3.9	1.2	6.0	2.9	10.5	1.9
Textl	4.1	4.7	6.7	5.3	5.8	8.1
Sewng	4.9	10.3	7.9	9.4	7.3	
Excav				.4		
Const	1.4			1.0		.5
CFore						
CCarp				1.5		.7
CPlum						
CLabr						
Trans	.0			.4		.3
Taxis			.0	.7		
Mater	1.6	.8	2.2	1.3	3.0	.6
Other	.4	1.0	2.0	1.6	.9	1.5
Total	4800	5785	4645	7115	2170	3080

Note: Blanks indicate categories with fewer than 50 individuals

<b>Index of dissimilarity Between and Within cities, by gender</b>				
Between cities			Within cities (gender)	
	Women	Men		
Montreal	24.3	31.0	Montreal	31.9
Toronto	23.5	30.1	Toronto	36.4
Van.	33.5	30.9	Van.	31.5

**Table 14: Segmentation by immigration status, Vancouver women 1991**

Occupation	Total	Non-imm	Imm15+	Imm5-15	Immto5
Managers	37140	1.1	1.0	.7	.5
Natural sciences	6085	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.2
Social science workers	10205	1.1	.9	.7	.5
Law and jurisprudence	2575	1.3	.8	.4	.3
Religious occupations	335	.9	.8	1.5	1.9
Teachers general	20495	1.2	.9	.4	.4
Teachers university	1815	.8	1.3	.9	1.6
Medical physicians	1380	1.0	1.3	.9	.5
Medical nurses	15580	1.0	1.2	.7	.5
Medical technicians	3860	1.1	1.1	.8	.6
Medical other	13200	.9	1.1	1.3	1.0
Clerical supervisors	5845	1.1	1.1	.6	.4
Clerical workers	139765	1.1	.9	.7	.6
Sales supervisors	5915	1.0	1.1	.8	.6
Sales workers	44525	1.1	1.0	.8	.7
Service general	66635	.9	1.0	1.3	1.7
Food + Bev. Supervisors	2630	1.0	1.2	1.2	.8
Food + Beverage workers	27525	1.0	.9	1.2	1.2
Chefs	5375	.7	1.2	2.0	1.5
Bartenders	835	1.4	.4	.5	.1
Waiters(resses)	14465	1.1	.6	.8	1.1
Lodging supervisors	1240	.8	1.4	1.8	.8
Lodging workers	3315	.6	1.7	2.1	1.6
Lodging cleaners	1860	.4	1.9	2.5	1.9
Janitors	5990	.6	1.5	2.1	1.7
Housekeepers	3915	.6	.9	1.2	3.7
Childcare workers	9910	.8	.6	.7	3.5
Farming + Horticulture	4900	.7	1.0	2.1	2.0
Primary sector workers	675	1.2	.6	1.0	.2
Processing workers	5360	.6	1.5	2.5	1.5
Machining wood	20	.8	.0	5.4	.0
Machining general	400	1.1	.9	1.0	.6
Fabrication non-textiles	2935	.9	1.0	1.5	1.2
Fabricating textiles	5745	.2	1.9	3.3	2.5
Sewing operators	3745	.1	1.9	3.8	2.5
Excavation workers	395	1.3	.9	.0	.0
Construction general	895	1.1	.7	1.1	.6
Const. Supervisors	130	1.0	1.1	.8	.9
Const. Carpenters	180	1.1	.6	1.8	.0
Const. Plumbers	40	1.2	.0	2.7	.0
Const. Labourers	110	1.1	.5	2.5	.0
Transportation workers	2370	1.3	.6	.2	.2
Taxi operators	70	1.6	.0	.0	.0
Material handlers	3070	.9	.9	1.4	1.6
Other	12830	1.1	.9	.9	.8
Total	496285	318390	88665	45690	43540
Index of dissimilarity		19.3	7.2	20.6	28.2

**Table 15: South-Asian-origin women in Vancouver's labour market, 1991**

Occupation	Number	Total	Non-imm	Imm15+	Imm6-15	Immto5
Managers	830	.5	.6	.7	.4	.2
Natural sciences	165	.6	.9	.6	.4	.8
Social science workers	205	.4	.5	.5	.5	.1
Law and jurisprudence	35	.3	.0	.8	.0	.0
Religious occupations	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Teachers general	215	.2	.7	.3	.1	.1
Teachers university	70	.8	.0	.9	.5	1.4
Medical physicians	45	.7	.0	1.2	.7	.0
Medical nurses	365	.5	.3	.6	.6	.3
Medical technicians	100	.5	.7	.9	.2	.5
Medical other	790	1.3	.5	1.5	1.4	.9
Clerical supervisors	125	.5	.7	.7	.3	.2
Clerical workers	4820	.7	1.4	.9	.6	.5
Sales supervisors	185	.7	1.1	.8	.4	.6
Sales workers	1425	.7	1.5	.7	.5	.6
Service general	4720	1.5	.9	1.4	1.7	1.7
Food + Bev. Sup.	75	.6	1.0	.3	.8	.6
Food + Bev. Workers	1565	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.1
Chefs	730	2.9	.5	2.8	3.8	2.5
Bartenders	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Waiters(resses)	300	.4	1.7	.2	.4	.4
Lodging supervisors	80	1.4	.0	2.0	1.8	.0
Lodging workers	325	2.1	.0	3.0	2.4	.6
Lodging cleaners	240	2.7	.0	3.8	3.2	1.1
Janitors	1120	4.0	.9	3.1	4.6	5.7
Housekeepers	140	.8	.0	.6	1.1	.7
Childcare workers	235	.5	.8	.5	.4	.6
Farming + Horticulture	1660	7.2	1.1	3.4	8.6	14.3
Primary sector workers	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Processing workers	595	2.4	1.0	2.5	2.7	2.1
Machining wood	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Machining general	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Fabrication non-textiles	220	1.6	.0	1.2	1.5	3.0
Fabricating textiles	610	2.3	.0	2.2	2.8	2.2
Sewing operators	465	2.6	.0	2.8	3.3	2.3
Excavation workers	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Construction general	60	1.4	.0	.0	2.1	3.4
Const. Supervisors	20	3.3	.0	.0	4.9	7.9
Const. Carpenters	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Const. Plumbers	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Const. Labourers	15	2.9	.0	.0	8.7	.0
Transportation workers	50	.4	.0	.2	.8	.4
Taxi operators	0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Material handlers	360	2.5	1.7	2.2	2.6	3.2
Other	450	.7	.8	.6	.6	1.3
Total	23410	23410	1880	8870	7810	4850
Index of dissimilarity		28.7	19.5	22.0	37.2	38.3

Figure 1: Income by highest level of education for women in Vancouver, 1990 (by immigration category)

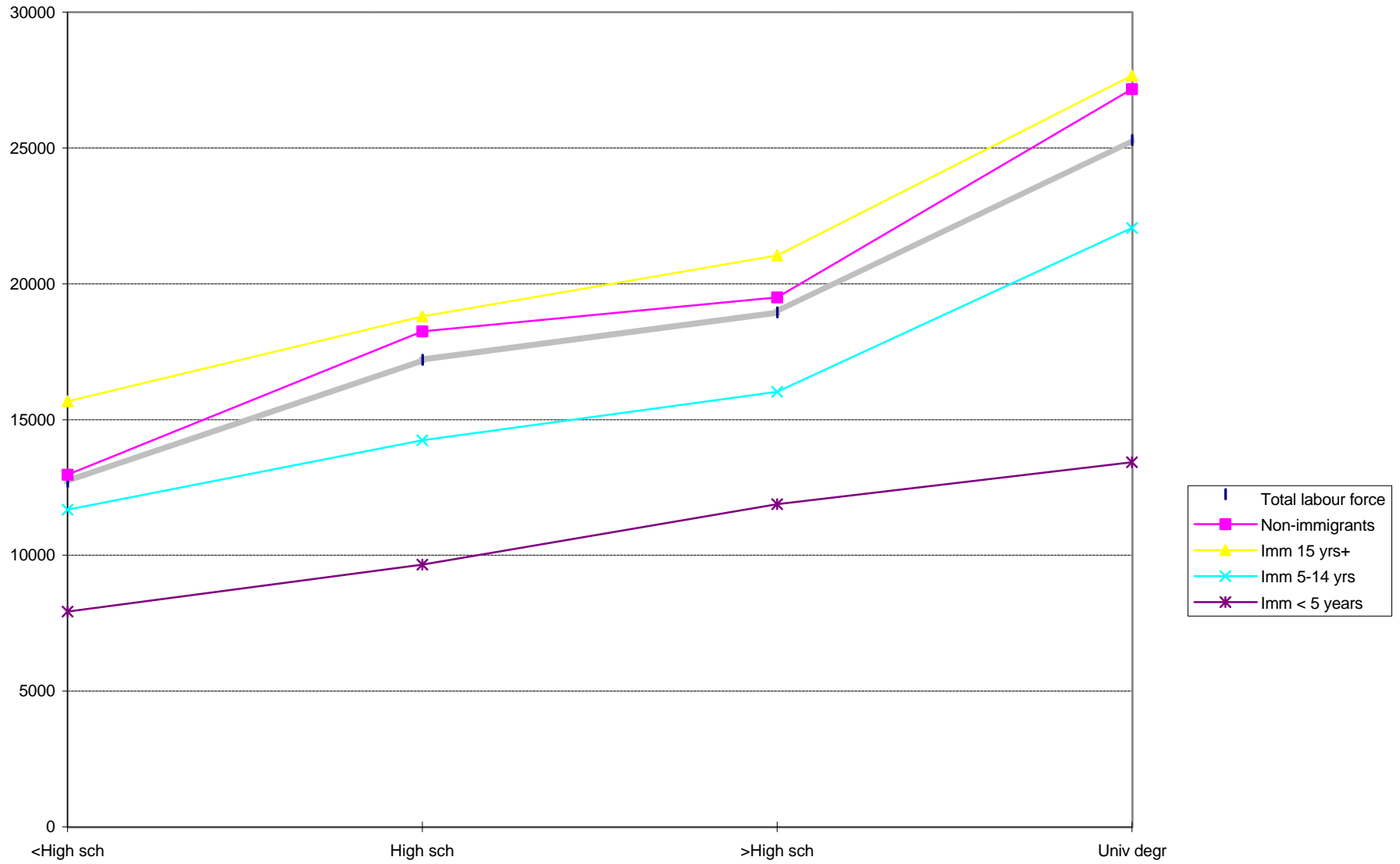


Figure 2: Income by highest level of education for women in Vancouver, 1990 (for selected ethnic-origin groups)

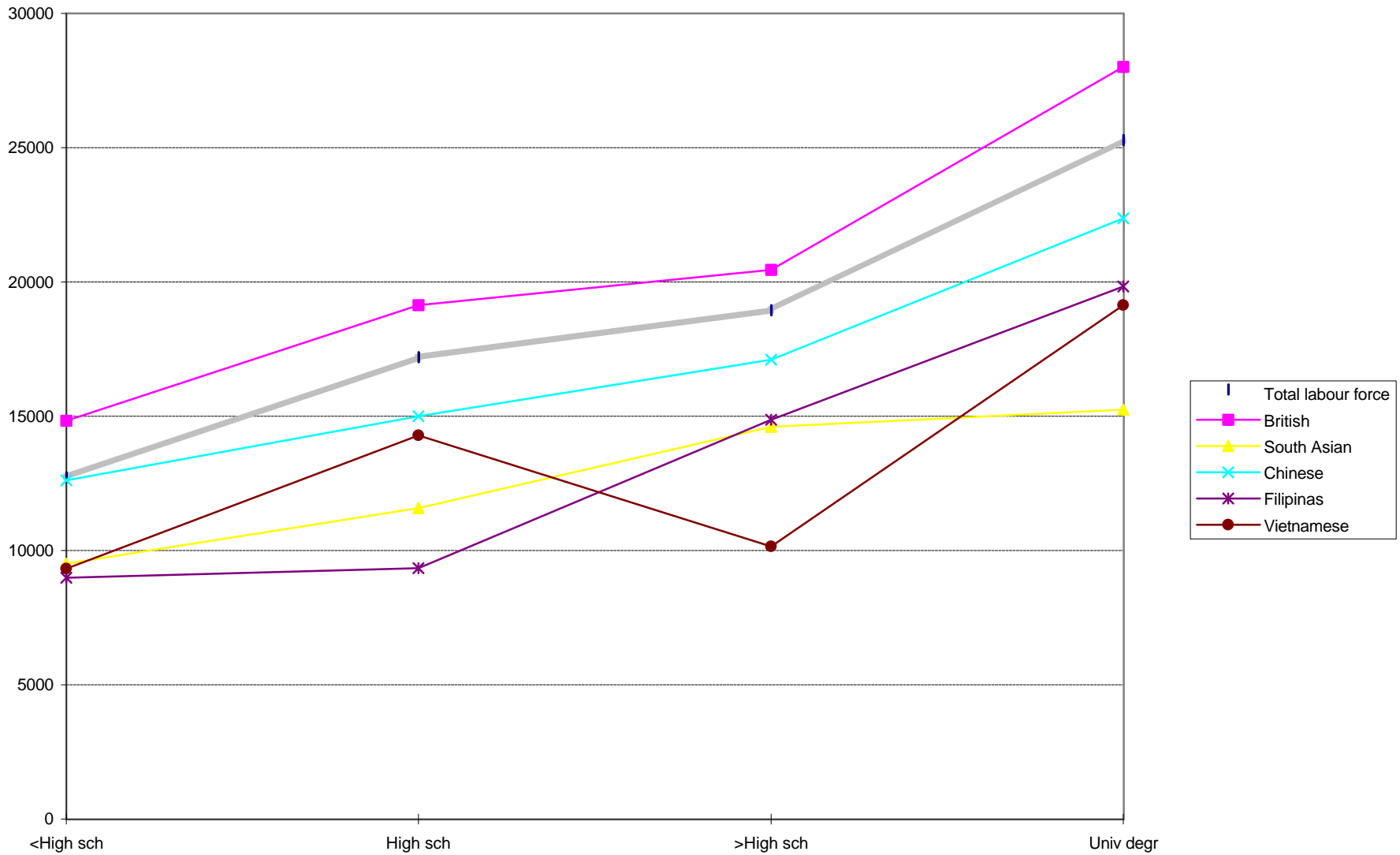


Figure 3: Income by highest level of education for women in Vancouver, 1990 (for selected occupations)

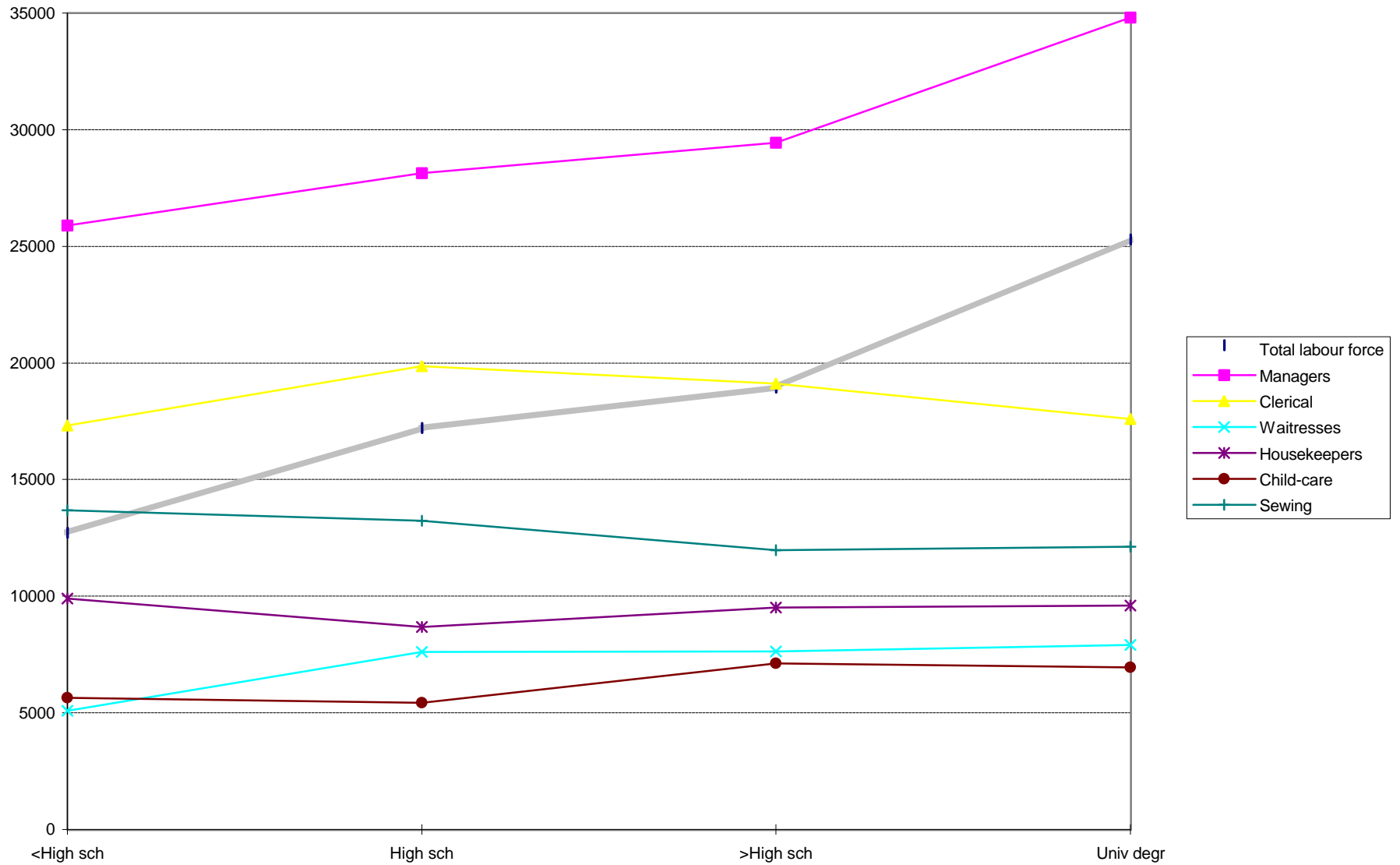


Figure 4: Ranked ID values for ethnic-origin groups in the labour markets of Canada's largest cities, 1991

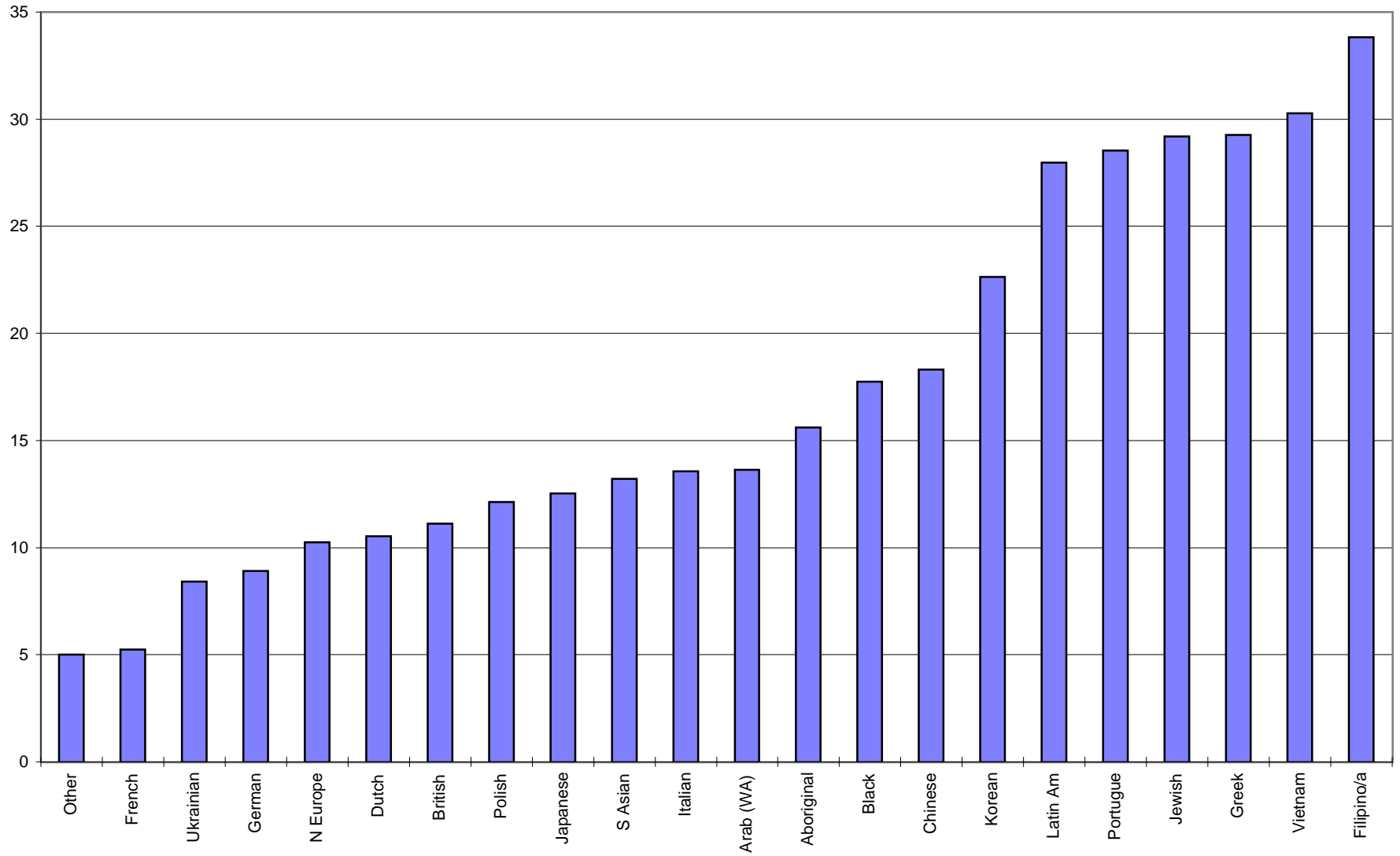




Figure 5: ID values for occupational categories in Vancouver's labour market, 1991

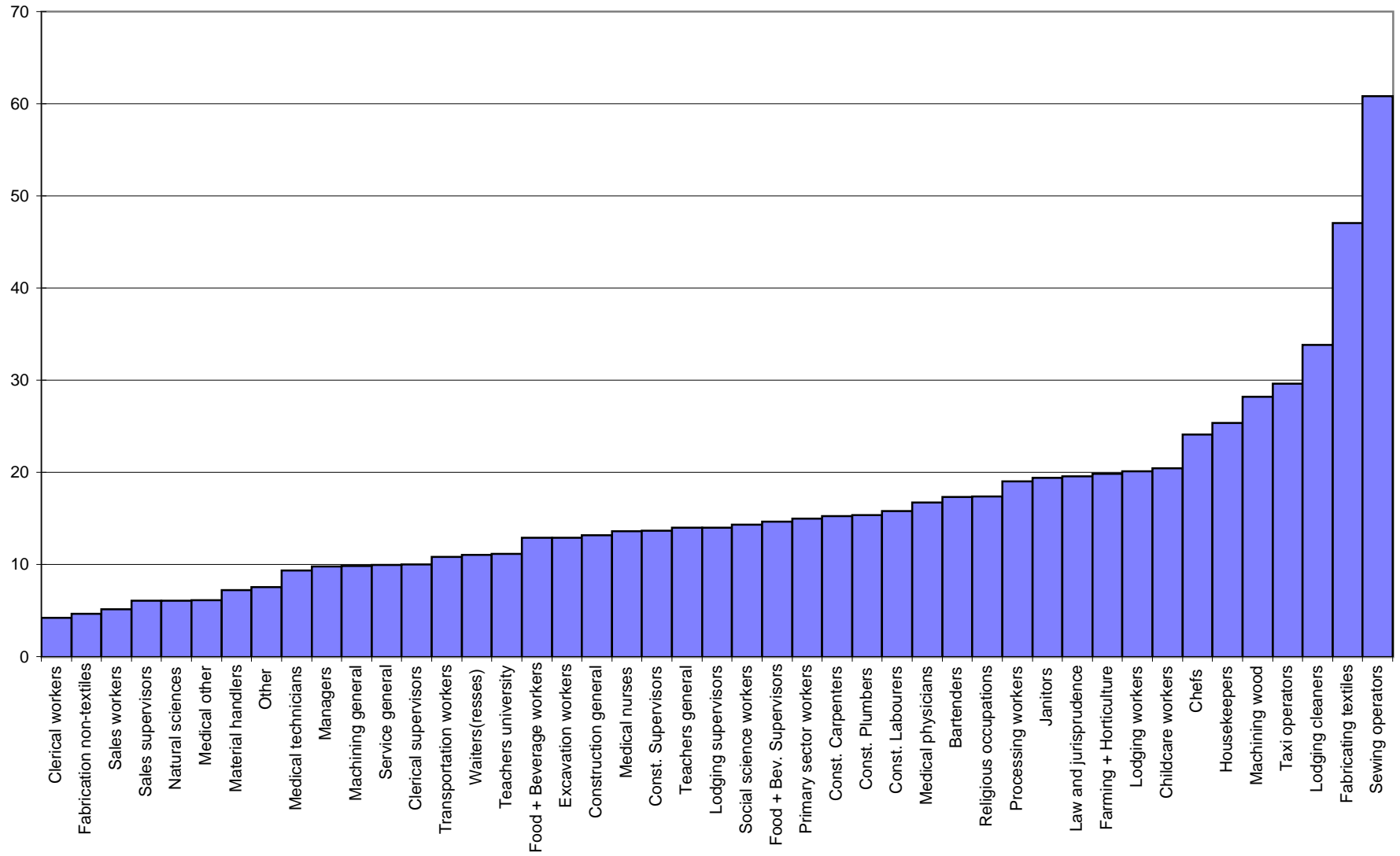
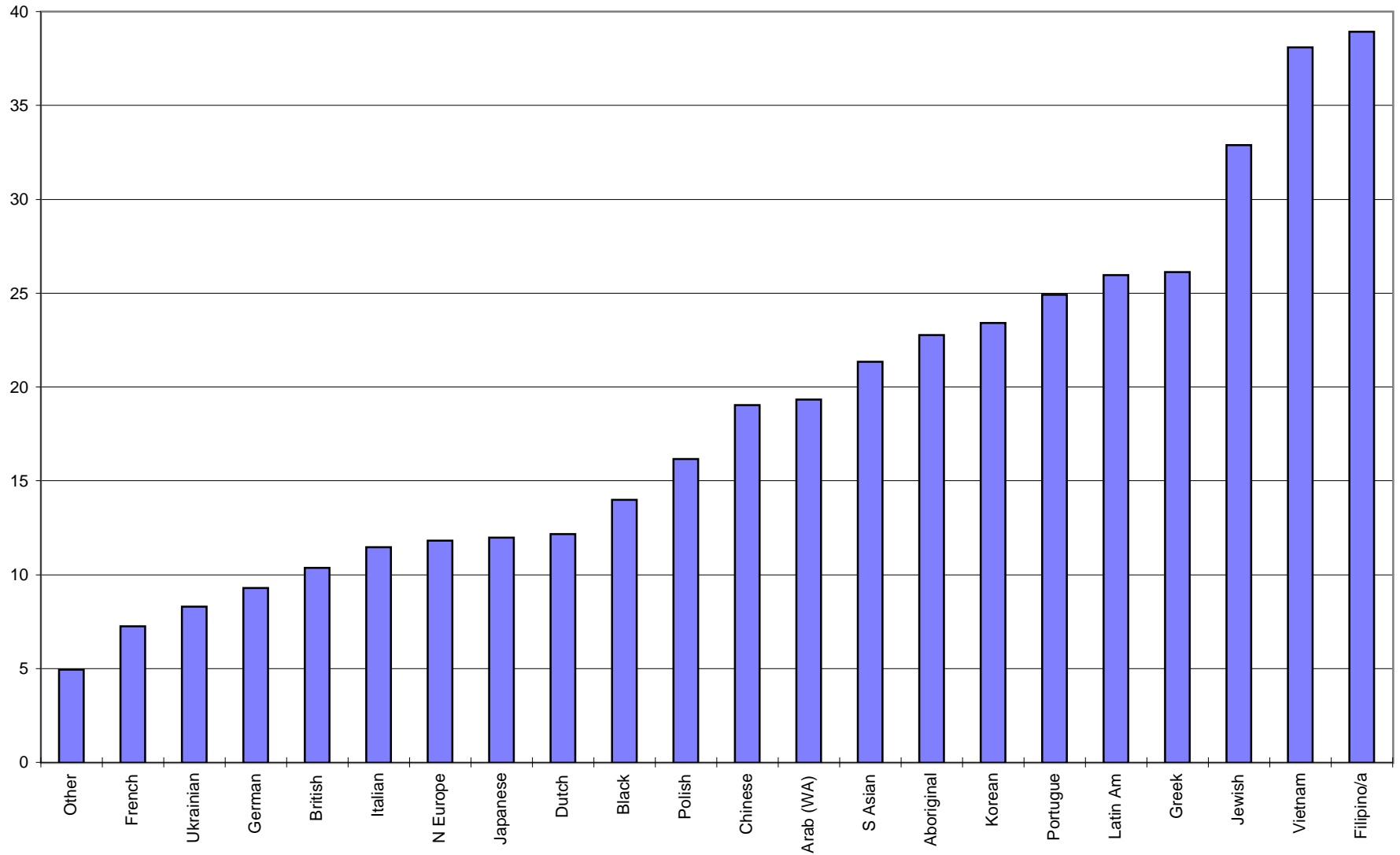


Figure 6: ID values for ethnic origin groups in Vancouver's labour market, 1991



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