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Visible Minorities and Aboriginals in Vancouver's Labour Market

by

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Abstract

Canada's visible minority and Aboriginal populations have increased rapidly since the 1960s. In 1961, only 2 percent of the population (about 300,000 of a population of 18 million people) could be classified as visible minority and less than 1 percent as Aboriginal. Forty years later, through a combination of immigration, births and intermarriage, the 2001 Census recorded four million visible minorities and almost one million Aboriginals. Vancouver has become massively more diverse over recent decades. In 1981, less than 7% of the population was visible minority, and about 1% was Aboriginal. By 2001, these proportions had grown to 37% and 2%, respectively. Are visible minorities and Aboriginals disenfranchised minorities in Vancouver's labour market, or have the stunning changes in Vancouver's ethnic composition delivered an ethnically unstratified labour market? This paper presents recent evidence on the labour market performance of visible minorities and Aboriginals in Vancouver.

1. Introduction

Canada's visible minority and Aboriginal populations have increased rapidly since the 1960s. For visible minorities, the impetus occurred in 1961 when a change in immigration regulations allowed substantial intake from Asia and Africa. For Aboriginals the impetus has been a combination of a relatively recent baby-boom and a 1985 change in regulations regarding registered Indian status. Bill C31, which allowed Aboriginal women who had married outside the Aboriginal community to reclaim their registered status, resulted in a total increase of about 176,000 registered Aboriginals. In 1961, only 2 percent of the population (about 300,000 of a population of 18 million people) could be classified as visible minority and less than 1 percent as Aboriginal. Forty years later, through a combination of immigration, births and intermarriage the 2001 Census recorded four million visible minorities and almost one million Aboriginals.

The last forty years has also seen a massive move toward urbanization and rapid technological change. Further the last fifteen years has seen stagnant incomes, and growing socio-economic polarization (Myles, Morrissette & Picot 1994). So, an increasingly diverse population is sharing — or fighting over — a roughly fixed pie.

Vancouver has become massively more diverse over recent decades. In 1981, less than 7% of the population was visible minority, and about 1% was Aboriginal (1981 Census public-use micro-data). By 2001, these proportions had grown to 37% and 2%, respectively. Are visible minorities and Aboriginals disenfranchised minorities in Vancouver's labour market, or have the stunning changes in Vancouver's ethnic composition delivered an ethnically unstratified labour market? This paper presents recent evidence on the labour market performance of visible minorities and Aboriginals in Vancouver.

2. Visible Minorities and Aboriginals in Vancouver

The Employment Equity Act of 1986 classifies as 'Aboriginal' anyone whose ancestry is at least partly Aboriginal or 'native.' It classifies as a visible minority anyone whose ancestors are neither entirely European nor partly Aboriginal. These rather clunky definitions were created to capture 'nonwhiteness' and 'nativeness' for policy purposes. The visible minority category is comprised of highly heterogeneous groups with quite distinct migration and social histories — visible minorities include both the Canadian-born and immigrants, and are comprised of both single- and multiple-origin people. The visible minority category includes such diverse groups as the descendants of 19th century Japanese migrants, and Chinese-origin people who immigrated in the 1990s. The Aboriginal category is also heterogeneous, including

Metis, Inuit and a culturally diverse grouping of North American Indians. To facilitate discussion and empirical work, we take these classifications as given and proceed.

Since this paper is focussed on labour market outcomes for visible minority and Aboriginal workers, it is natural to first look at the education levels of these groups. Education is the single most important predictor of earnings in labour markets in all developed countries. If one discovers disparities in earnings across groups, education is the first place to look for an explanation. Table 1 shows the education distributions for visible minorities and Aboriginals aged 15 and over in 2001 in the Vancouver census metropolitan area (CMA). The data are public-use tables from the 2001 Census of Canada (Statistics Canada 2004).

Table 1: Education

	Total		Aboriginal Peoples		Visible Minorities	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total - Highest Level of Schooling	1,620,920	100.0	27,130	100.0	576,495	100.0
Less Than Grade 9	100,975	6.2	1,685	6.2	59,925	10.4
Grade 9-13 Without Secondary Certificate	302,050	18.6	8,390	30.9	103,130	17.9
Grade 9-13 With Secondary Certificate	197,500	12.2	3,165	11.7	69,475	12.1
Trades Certificate or Diploma	157,435	9.7	3,435	12.7	35,505	6.2
Some Other Non-university Without Certificate	114,010	7.0	2,665	9.8	34,375	6.0
Other Non-university With Trades or Certificate	199,690	12.3	3,600	13.3	52,840	9.2
Some University Without Univ. Cert./Degree	157,680	9.7	1,895	7.0	58,920	10.2
University Cert./Diploma Below Bachelor Level	55,875	3.4	570	2.1	26,565	4.6
Bachelor's Degree(s)	219,010	13.5	1,200	4.4	94,820	16.4
Degree in Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary ...	10,615	0.7	10	0.0	4,525	0.8
University Cert./Diploma Above Bachelor Level	34,520	2.1	230	0.8	11,235	1.9
Master's Degree(s)	59,695	3.7	245	0.9	21,560	3.7
Earned Doctorate	11,865	0.7	40	0.1	3,635	0.6
Index of dissimilarity				19.1		8.8

The last line of the table provides the index of dissimilarity (ID) between the total population and the Aboriginal and visible minority population. The ID tells us what proportion of one group would have to be redistributed to match the distribution of the comparison group. Thus, 20% of Aboriginal Persons would have to change their schooling profile to match the profile of the total population. The same is true for 8.8% of visible minorities. However, where Aboriginal schooling is tilted towards the bottom of the distribution, Visible minority schooling is tilted towards the top of the schooling distribution. For example, 16.5% of visible minorities have Bachelor's Degrees as their highest level of schooling in comparison with 13.5% for the population as a whole. Aboriginals, on the other hand, have much lower distribution of education than the population as a whole. For example, only 4.4% of Aboriginals have a Bachelor's Degree as their highest level of schooling. Considering those who have not completed

secondary school, 37.1% (6.2%+30.9%) of Aboriginals in Vancouver do not have a secondary certificate in comparison with 24.8% for the population as a whole.

Education is an input to labour market success. Table 2 shows the occupational distribution for employed visible minorities and Aboriginals aged 15 and over in 2001 in the Vancouver census metropolitan area (CMA). The data are public-use tables from the 2001 Census of Canada (Statistics Canada 2004).

The index of dissimilarity for Aboriginal persons is 14.4% and for Visible minorities it is 8.4%, suggesting that, compared to visible minorities, a far greater proportion of Aboriginal persons would have to be redistributed to achieve the occupation distribution of the population as a whole. Here, we see that although visible minorities are fairly well-represented in the Professional and managerial categories, Aboriginals are not. Whereas 15.2% of visible minorities and 17.5% of the population as a whole are professionals, only 10% of Aboriginals are in this category. Similarly, whereas 9.2% of visible minorities and 10% of the population as a whole are middle and other managers, only 5.3% of Aboriginals are in this category. At the other end of the occupational distribution, we see about 4% of visible minorities and 3% of the population as a whole fall into ‘other manual workers’, but more than 6% of Aboriginals are in this classification.

Table 2: Occupations

	All	Aboriginals	Visible Minorities
Total	100	100	100
Senior Managers	1.5	0.8	1.0
Middle and Other Managers	10.0	5.3	9.2
Professionals	17.5	10.0	15.2
Semi-Professionals and Technicians	8.7	9.7	7.5
Supervisors	1.1	1.2	1.0
Supervisors: Crafts and Trades	1.4	1.5	0.9
Administrative and Senior Clerical.....	6.0	5.0	4.5
Skilled Sales and Service Personnel	4.5	4.2	5.5
Skilled Crafts and Trades Workers	6.3	8.7	4.8
Clerical Personnel	10.3	11.8	10.5
Intermediate Sales and Service.....	12.7	13.9	14.0
Semi-Skilled Manual Workers	7.9	9.1	9.6
Other Sales and Service Personnel	9.0	12.8	12.3
Other Manual Workers	2.9	6.1	3.8
Index of dissimilarity		14.4	8.4

So, we learn from the preceding that Aboriginals have much less education than other groups, and perform relatively poorly in Vancouver’s labour market. However, we do not learn whether or not they do poorly *given* their low education levels. That is, we cannot tell from the preceding whether or not lower

education levels explains the poor labour market performance of Aboriginals, or whether there is something else going on.

Similarly, slightly more visible minorities get Bachelor's Degrees than do people in the population as a whole, but slightly fewer visible minorities end up as professionals and managers than people in the population as a whole. If they are slightly more educated, shouldn't they be slightly more represented at the top of the occupation distribution? Resolving questions like these requires more than the tabular approach above — it requires us to ask about variation in labour market outcomes across ethnic groups which *controls* for differences in, among other things, the education levels of people in those groups.

3. The Earnings Differential as an Indicator of Labour Market Discrimination

The rest of this paper is devoted to creating an indicator of labour market discrimination faced by visible minorities and Aboriginals in Vancouver, and assessing its evolution over time. The indicator developed is the differential in attained earnings across groups where the differential controls for observable differences in people's characteristics including their age and education level. Thus, a reported differential of 20% for, say, Aboriginal men, would imply that Aboriginal men earn 20% less than white men who have the same age, level of education and other observable characteristics. This reported differential is therefore not polluted with differences in the education distributions between white and Aboriginal workers. Given this, one may take such differentials as measures of labour market discrimination against the group in question, and look at its level and evolution over time. Examination of such differentials may thus inform us about whether or not the labour market is rife with discrimination, and how that has changed over the past 3 decades.

3.1 Earnings Differentials

The 1990s witnessed a growing flow of research devoted to examining the degree to which ethnic minorities are subject to labour market discrimination in Canada (see for example, Akbari 1992; Howland and Sakellariou 1993; Stelcner and Kyriazis 1995; Christofides and Swidinsky 1994; Baker and Benjamin 1997; Hum and Simpson 1998; Pendakur and Pendakur 1998; Lian and Matthews 1998). While these authors have generally concluded that immigrant groups often face significant and substantial labour market disadvantage, there is debate over the degree to which minorities born in Canada are subject to similar disadvantage (see Stelcner 2000). In this paper, I evaluate the scope of labour market disadvantage in the Vancouver Census Metropolitan area with six specially created micro datasets which contain all the

'long form' records collected by Statistics Canada for the 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001 Censuses of Canada. These datasets are very large and allow consistent definitions of variables over the period 1971 to 1996, and allow the assessment of earnings differentials facing ethnic minorities in the Canadian-born population. In the work that follows, we will use the above data to answer the question: In Vancouver, what are the earnings differentials between white and visible minority workers and between white and Aboriginal workers holding constant their age, education and other personal characteristics?

3.2 Earnings Differentials and Discrimination

In what sense can the presence of a significant earnings differential between white and visible minority workers or between white and Aboriginal workers point to discrimination against minorities in labour markets? The differentials reported below control for a variety of personal characteristics including age and education, but do not control for any job characteristics, such as occupation, industry, or work hours. Thus, even if all workers in the same occupation and industry groupings get the same earnings regardless of their ethnicity, our empirical strategy might find earnings differentials due to the concentration of white workers in higher paying occupations and industries compared to non-white workers.

However, it could be argued that the job characteristics of workers — such as occupation and industry — are at least as susceptible to ethnic discrimination as the wages paid to workers. In fact, the case is made by Becker (1996) and others that in competitive labour markets, ethnic discrimination by employers, workers or customers results not in wage differentials for workers in identical jobs but in segregation of workers into different jobs by ethnicity. With competitive product and labour markets, this segregation results in a 'separate-but-equal' type of world where ethnic discrimination results in dividing the economy into sub-economies composed of single ethnic groups with identical wage and earnings outcomes across sub-economies.

If either of these competitive assumptions are relaxed, the 'separate-but-equal' conclusions do not follow. For example, if product markets are not competitive so that some firms make excess profits which are partially shared with (possibly unionized) workers, then workers in those firms make more money than seemingly identical workers in other firms with less excess profits (see, e.g., Dickens and Lang 1986). If ethnic discrimination on the part of employers, workers or customers results in white workers ending up in the high-profit firms and non-white workers ending up in the low-profit firms, then the segregation of workers across firms by ethnicity results in differential outcomes. An alternative example may be seen by relaxing the restriction that labour markets are competitive (see, e.g., Shapiro and Stiglitz 1984). For example, consider the occupation of investment banker. This job might pay a lot because investment bankers must have something to lose if their investors are to trust them. Since these jobs

perform well relative to the alternatives, there are more workers who want the job than there are jobs. If white workers have a better chance of getting these ‘good jobs’ as compared to nonwhite workers, then occupation segregation results in earnings differentials between white and nonwhite workers. However, such differentials, because these are the very factors affected by ethnic discrimination, will only be observed if the researcher does NOT control for job characteristics such as occupation and industry.

Thus, to the extent that ethnic discrimination may manifest *both* in the allocation of workers to jobs and the remuneration commensurate with those jobs, it seems prudent to estimate models that do not control for job characteristics.¹ A second reason to exclude job characteristics is that the occupational coding in the Census main bases changed dramatically over time. A consistent occupational coding structure useable across all the census periods would capture only about 40% of workers — the other 60% would be in a category called ‘other occupations.’

3.3 Estimating Earnings Differentials

This paper builds on results for 1971-1996 presented in Pendakur and Pendakur (2002) by updating them to 2001. The data consist of six customized micro data files which initially contained information from all the long form records collected for the 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001 Censuses of Canada.² The population examined consists of all male Canadian-born residents of the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area, 25 to 64 years of age, whose primary source of income is from wages and salaries. People without any schooling were dropped from the sample as were those who did not report any income.

Table 3 shows weighted counts for populations by ethnic origin. As per Statistics Canada guidelines, we are unable to release exact counts, but we note that weighted counts are approximately 5 times the actual numbers of observations of men for 1981 to 2001 and 3 times the actual numbers of men for 1971. The key feature of Table 3 is that it shows the very large size of the data sets used.

Table 3: Weighted Counts

	1971	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
Vancouver: White	134,085	156,360	169,750	176,995	200,730	261,260
Visible Minorities	2,810	4,220	5,885	7,935	10,610	13,965
Aboriginal Persons	800	3,050	4,070	6,135	4,820	6,995

¹ For the same reason, we do not include hours of work, weeks of work and full-time/part-time status.

² The 1971 long form was given to 33 percent of all households. In subsequent census periods, the long form data was collected from 20 percent of households.

The dependent variable in all regressions is the natural logarithm of earnings from wages and salaries during the previous year. The logarithmic function de-skews the distribution of earnings, which is useful because it decreases the influence of very high earnings reporters. However, it also increases the influence of very low earnings reporters. (Regressions which drop all observations with less than \$100 in annual earnings yield qualitatively identical results.)

We use a variety of independent variables to control for the personal characteristics of workers in our samples:

Age:	Eight age cohorts as dummy variables (age 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59 and 60 to 64). Age 25 to 29 is the left-out dummy variable.
Schooling:	Twelve levels of schooling as dummy variables (less than 5 years of school, 5 to 8 years of school, nine to ten years of high school, more than 10 years of high school (includes high school graduates), some post secondary schooling without a certificate, post secondary certificate, trades certificate, some university without a certificate, some university with a trades or other certificate, a university diploma below the BA level, bachelors degree, first professional degree, masters degree or PhD). ³ Less than 5 years of schooling is the left-out dummy variable.
Marital Status:	Five dummy variables indicating marital status (Single– never married, married, separated, divorced, widowed). Single is the left-out dummy variable.
Household size:	A dummy variable indicating a single person household and a continuous variable indicating the number of family members for other households.
Official Language:	Three dummy variables (English, French, bilingual– English and French). English is the left-out dummy variable. We note that because our sample is entirely Canadian-born, every observation reports speaking either English or French. This also eliminates the much variation in quality of language knowledge that plagues the estimation of earnings differentials across ethnic groups.
Group Status:	Three dummy variables indicating group status (White, Visible Minority, Aboriginal person). White is the left-out dummy variable.

One might argue that since educational, marital and locational choices may themselves be constrained by discriminatory forces, controls for education, marital and family structure and city should also be left out of the model, yielding a ‘total measure’ of earnings disparity. In practise, one must draw the line somewhere, and in order to focus on labour market disadvantage (rather than all disadvantage), we include all available personal characteristics but leave out all job characteristics.

Group status (white, visible minority or Aboriginal) is the primary independent variable of interest. These three groups are quite coarse, and are chosen because of their use in federal employment equity policy. The earnings differential faced by each group in each year may be taken as a measure of

³ The 1971 census question on schooling does not include a flag for high school. We therefore combine the categories for 10 years of highschool or more for 1971 through to 1996.

labour market discrimination faced by that group in that year. I reiterate that only Canadian-born males are included in the sample, so that there are no immigration effects to consider.

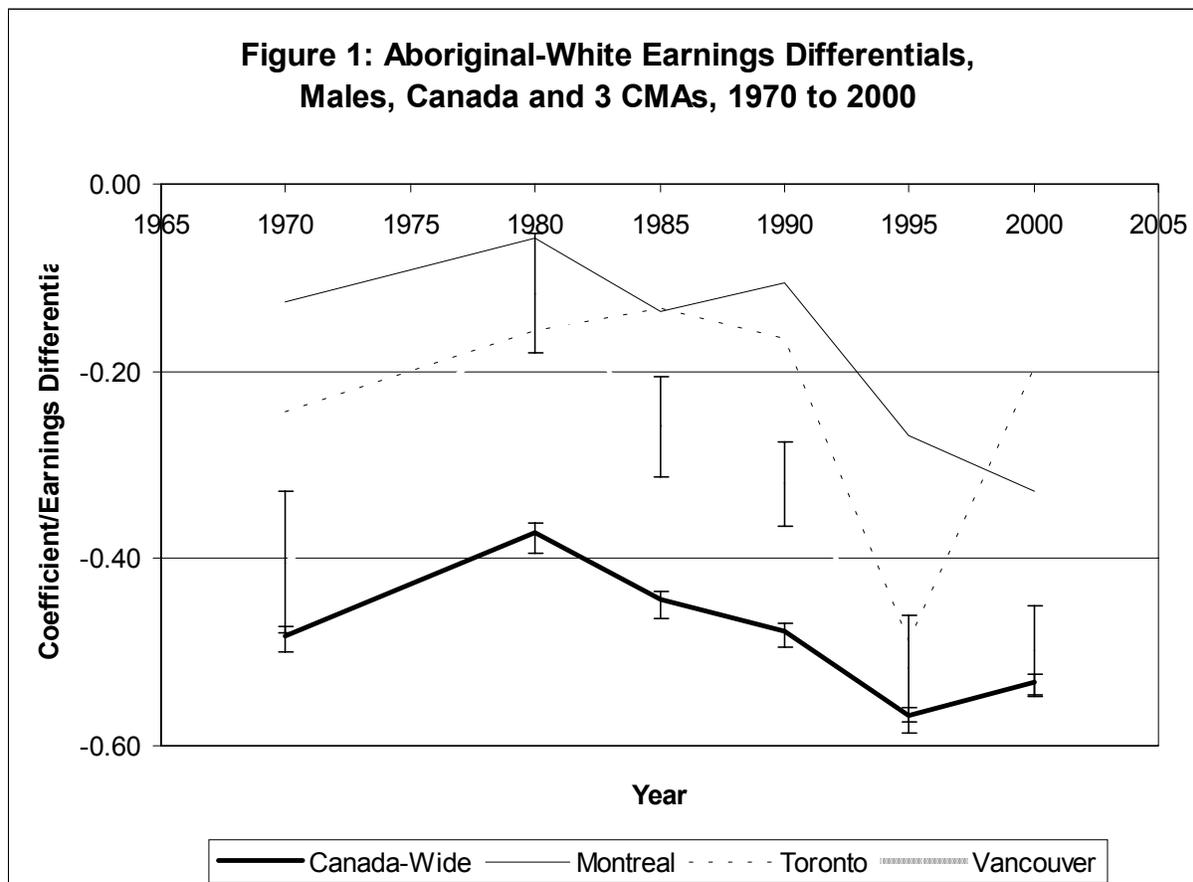
4. Results

Table 4 shows results from 24 separate regressions. A separate model was run for Canada as a whole and for each of 3 CMAs/regions in each of 6 census periods. The coefficients are approximately equal to the percentage difference in annual wages and salaries between Canadian-born white and Aboriginal or visible minority persons, holding personal characteristics constant. For large coefficients (especially those larger in absolute value than 0.10) this approximation will overestimate the percentage difference for negative coefficients and underestimate the percentage difference for positive coefficients.

Table 4. Coefficients from Log-Earnings Regression Models, Males, 1970–2000

		Canada-wide				CMA							
						Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver			
Coefficient	Year	coef	std err		coef	std err	coef	std err	coef	std err	coef	std err	
Aboriginal	1970	-0.48	***	0.01	-0.13	***	0.03	-0.24	***	0.03	-0.40	***	0.04
	1980	-0.37	***	0.00	-0.06	**	0.03	-0.16	***	0.03	-0.12	***	0.03
	1985	-0.44	***	0.00	-0.14	***	0.03	-0.13	***	0.02	-0.26	***	0.03
	1990	-0.48	***	0.00	-0.10	***	0.02	-0.16	***	0.02	-0.32	***	0.02
	1995	-0.57	***	0.00	-0.27	***	0.05	-0.49	***	0.04	-0.52	***	0.03
	2000	-0.53	***	0.00	-0.33	***	0.05	-0.20	***	0.03	-0.50	***	0.02
Visible Minority	1970	-0.05	***	0.01	-0.11	***	0.03	-0.11	***	0.02	-0.10	***	0.02
	1980	-0.03	***	0.01	-0.12	***	0.04	-0.09	***	0.03	-0.08	***	0.03
	1985	-0.07	***	0.01	-0.10	***	0.04	-0.08	***	0.02	-0.04		0.03
	1990	-0.06	***	0.01	-0.21	***	0.03	-0.11	***	0.02	0.00		0.02
	1995	-0.15	***	0.01	-0.21	***	0.04	-0.17	***	0.02	-0.06	***	0.02
	2000	-0.13	***	0.01	-0.23	***	0.03	-0.16	***	0.01	-0.06	***	0.02

Figures 1 and 2 display the information in Table 4 graphically. Confidence bands with 95% coverage are provided for Canada-wide and Vancouver coefficients; for Montreal and Toronto, confidence bands are suppressed to prevent clutter.

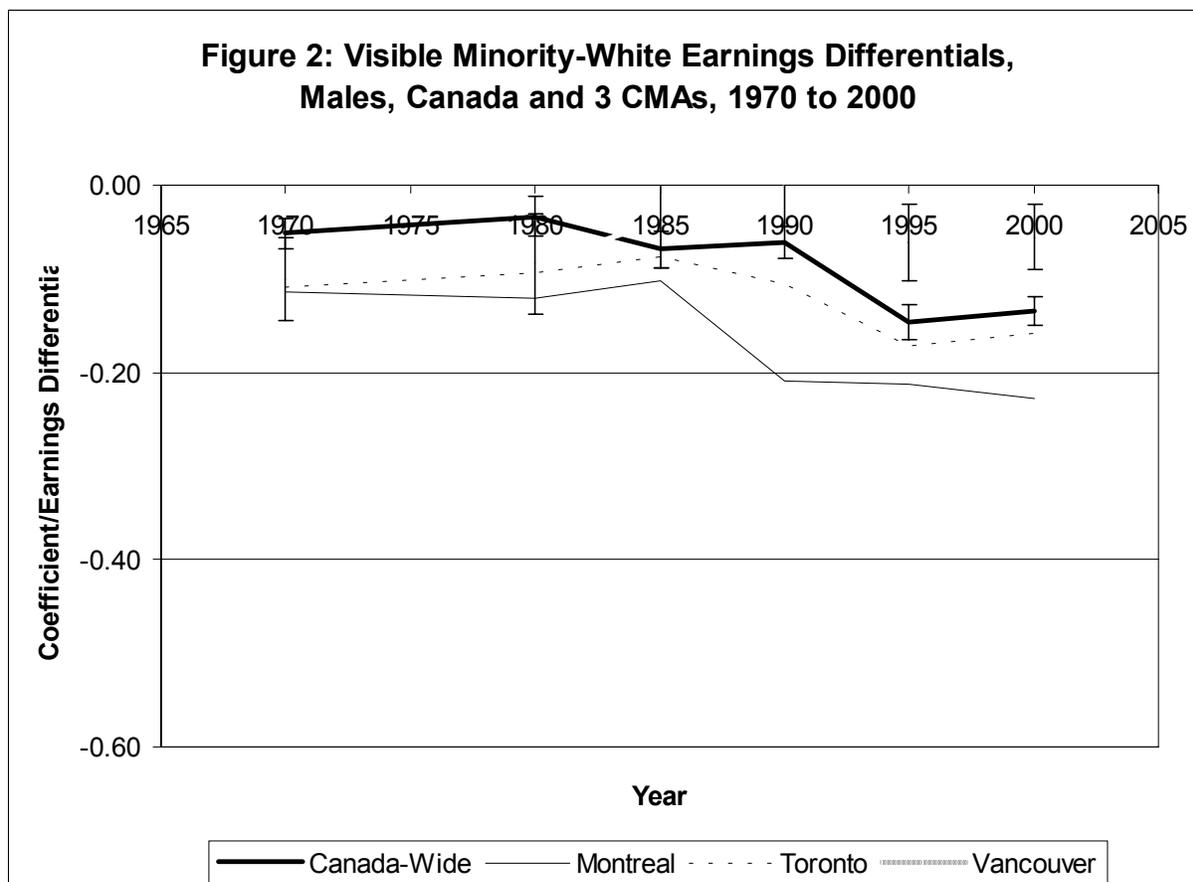


There are at least three features of Figure 1 that merit attention. First, the Canada-wide regression shows that Aboriginal men attain about half the earnings of similarly educated and aged white men. This is similar to findings in George and Kuhn (1994), and is largely due to the lower labour force attachment of Aboriginal people in comparison with whites. However, even if we control for weeks, hours and full time status the observed differential reduces in size, but is still very substantial. Evidence presented in Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) suggests that about half the differential is ‘explained’ by such job characteristics.

Second, although there was some improvement at the Canada-wide level over the 1970s, this indicator of relative labour market performance shows bad news for Aboriginal men since then. The differential increased from 40% to almost 60% between 1980 and 1995, and reduced somewhat to 53% in 2000.

Third, turning to the results for Vancouver, we see that Aboriginal men fare better than at the Canada-wide level, but worse in Vancouver than in Toronto or Montreal. This is due to at least two factors: Vancouver has large reserves within its CMA boundaries, which hold many comparatively lower-

skilled residents; and earnings differentials are vastly worse for Aboriginals outside Canada's cities, so that the three large CMAs show better relative performance than Canada as a whole (see Pendakur and Pendakur 1998 and George and Kuhn 1994). The over-time trajectory of Aboriginal earnings in Vancouver is similar to that of Canada as a whole — there was great improvement over the 1970s and steady erosion between 1970 and 1996. However, whereas there was a sharp and statistically significant improvement in the late 1990s for Aboriginals in Canada as whole, there was no such sharp or statistically significant improvement in Vancouver during the late 1990s.



In Figure 2, we see the same information graphed for visible minorities. Here again, there are at least three features which merit discussion. First, note that the scale for earnings differentials is the same as in Figure 1. The most important feature of Aboriginal and visible minority earnings differentials is that Aboriginals face much much steeper earnings differentials than do visible minorities. This feature of the data is well-known, but often neglected in policy discourse. By any measure, Aboriginals are the worst off ethnic group in Canada (see also Pendakur and Pendakur 1998, 2002).

The second feature worth noting in Figure 2 is the over-time pattern. At the Canada-wide level, we observe a qualitatively similar pattern from that seen for Aboriginals: there was significant improvement in relative earnings over the 1970s, and deterioration thereafter. In 1970, visible minority men earned 5% less than similarly aged and educated white men, and in 1980, this differential was only 3%. However in 1985 and 1990, the differential rose to 6-7%, and in 1995 and 2000, it rose again to 13-15%. The increase after 1986 — the implementation of the Employment Equity Act — is particularly striking. However, before concluding that the implementation of the Act had perverse consequences on the earnings of visible minorities, we should remember that the 1990s was a period of rising earnings inequality, so that even if placement in the earnings distribution remained constant, the proportionate gap between people would have risen.

The third feature to draw from Figure 3 is the difference between Vancouver and Canada's other large metropolitan areas. In all three large CMAs during the 1970s, earnings differentials faced by visible minority men were larger than in Canada as a whole. Visible minorities who lived in smaller urban areas and in rural areas performed relatively better than those in the biggest cities. In 1970, the earnings differential was about 10% in all three CMAs in comparison with 5% for Canada as a whole. Over the 1970s, not much changed in the three CMAs, and over the 1980s and 1990s, the pattern for Montreal and Toronto was qualitatively similar to that in Canada as a whole — sharp deterioration in visible minority earnings between 1985 and 2000.

In Vancouver, we saw a different pattern. Between 1980 and 1990, visible minority earnings converged towards white earnings. Indeed, in 1990, visible minority men earned the same as white men who had the same personal characteristics. However, the deterioration during the 1990s in the relative earnings observed in Montreal, Toronto and Canada as a whole is also seen in Vancouver. The differential grew from nothing in 1990 to 6% in 1995 and 2000.

5. Conclusions

This paper presents evidence on the evolution of discrimination against visible minorities and Aboriginals in the Vancouver labour market. I use as an indicator of labour market discrimination the earnings differential between groups — whites, visible minorities and Aboriginals — holding constant observable characteristics of people including their age and education level. This indicator of labour market discrimination is estimated only for men, but evidence in Pendakur and Pendakur (1998, 2002) suggests that qualitatively similar patterns hold for women.

Concerning Aboriginals, there two major features of the data to report. First, Aboriginal men in Vancouver (as for Canada as a whole) earn much less than white men throughout the period. In 2000, Aboriginal men earned approximately half of what similarly aged and educated white men earned. Second, although there was a great convergence between Aboriginal and white earnings during the 1970s, this was entirely undone during the next two decades. Between 1980 and 2000, the earnings differential between Aboriginal and white men in Vancouver approximately doubled.

Concerning visible minorities, there are two major findings. First, visible minority men in Vancouver earned less than white men throughout the period, but the disparity is much less severe than for Aboriginals. In 2000, visible minority men earned 6% less than similarly aged and educated white men. Second, whereas visible minority men earned about 10% less than white men in all three of Canada's largest in 1970, Vancouver emerged in the 1980s and 1990s as a comparatively better earnings environment for visible minorities. In 2000, visible minority men earned about 12% less than white men in Toronto, and over 20% less in Montreal. Thus, differentials in Canada's other large cities are two or three times as large as in Vancouver.

In terms of discrimination, there are two lessons to draw. First, to the extent that these earnings differentials may be taken as a measure of economic discrimination in the labour market, Aboriginals are by far the most marginalised ethnic grouping. Any policy aimed at equity across ethnic groups must aim first at the problems faced by Aboriginals in both education acquisition and in translating education into earnings. Second, the passage of time does not seem to be improving things much. Labour market outcomes across these broad ethnic categories seemed to be converging in the 1970s, but have markedly diverged since then. This divergence has continued even during the 1990s, a period of massively increased diversity in Canada's cities, most especially in Vancouver. So, policy which seeks equity must do so in an environment where diversity does not automatically generate equity.

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