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Women and Work: The Labour Market Experiences of Recent Immigrant Women
by
Patricia Greenhalgh

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
August, 1998
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and Research acceptance of the thesis

Women and Work: The Labour Market Experiences of Recent
Immigrant Women

submitted by Patricia Greenhalgh, B.A. (Hon.)
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Janet Siltanen, Thesis Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the patterns of inequality surrounding women's work through the examination of how inequalities between women are structured around the experience of immigration. The research question asks how the labour market experiences of recent immigrants in Canada are differentiated by the intersecting focal points of "race" and gender and looks at change in these experiences from 1981 to 1991. This research is situated both in the interest in diversity of women's experience of work and in the interest of immigration consequences for women. The contribution made to the existing research includes the creation of a new data source which allows for the identification of visible minority status. The findings suggest that recent immigrant women who are members of a visible minority with new places of birth are the most disadvantaged in the labour market and that the situation of recent immigrants is worsening.

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Chapter 1

Research Outline and Literature Review

Introduction

In this thesis, the labour market experiences of recent immigrants are examined as they are differentiated by the intersecting focal points of “race”, measured by place of birth and visible minority status, and gender.⁽¹⁾ In addition, the question is asked whether or not these experiences have changed over the ten year period from 1981 to 1991. In general, the literature suggests that immigrants are disadvantaged in the labour market as compared to non-immigrants and that recent immigrants are the most disadvantaged. Two areas of limitation have been identified in the study of the labour market activity of immigrants. The first is a gender limitation which results in the inaccurate portrayal of the experiences of women. The second, is the unclear significance of “race” on experience as measured by place of birth alone. A contribution of this research to the existing literature is the creation of a new data source which addresses both of these limitations and adds to the growing amount of research which specifically addresses issues of inequality surrounding women’s work.

The objective of this chapter is to set the context of this research by developing the dimensions that provide the framework of analysis. Limitations found in the literature will be discussed around first, the concept of gender and second, that of “race”. The chapter will conclude with a statement of the research question and an outline of the remaining chapters.

⁽¹⁾ It is recognized that the term “race” is problematic and therefore is found in quotations wherever used.

Gender and Immigration

The Canadian labour market has often relied on immigrants to fill labour shortages. In fact, much of the history of immigration policy in Canada has been closely tied to the needs of the labour market (Hawkins 1972). Prior to the introduction of the new immigration regulations in 1962 and the point system in 1967, the majority of immigrants came to Canada from the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States. The new legislation allowed for a broader mix of eligible immigrants from areas primarily within the New Commonwealth such as the Caribbean, Bermuda, Africa and Asia. As immigrants increasingly came from these new source countries, the ethnic mix of the population, and therefore the available labour market pool, has become considerably more ethnically diverse.

Women have always migrated. Since the early 1930's, women account for approximately 50 per cent of the total number of immigrants arriving in Canada annually.⁽²⁾ However, critics have noted that research concerning immigrants focuses on the experiences of immigrant men and their role in the labour market (Morokvasic 1984:13; Beach and Worswick 1993:36). Because immigrant women typically enter the country under the provisions of the family class, they are not subject to the point system and are not considered by researchers to be destined for the labour force (Table 1.1). However, their participation rate, regardless of their entry class, rivals that of Canadian-born women (Badets 1989:4).

⁽²⁾ Each year, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship publishes an annual report containing immigration statistics including the number of arrivals for that year.

Table 1.1: Immigration by Class, 1987-1992, Canada												
Immigration Class	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	76975	75123	79395	82534	96119	95882	108280	105950	116192	114589	125042	127800
Family Class	22874	30724	21144	30187	26623	34151	33115	40342	38024	48354	42873	57087
Refugees	4546	2927	5424	3317	6209	4001	6931	4467	11152	7222	17441	11258
Designated Refugees	8278	5814	10465	7630	15614	11180	16783	11508	21707	13320	14354	8822
Assisted Relatives	6500	5783	8137	7430	11216	10304	13224	12169	11471	10776	10170	9710
Independent(1)	34777	29875	34225	33970	36457	36246	38227	37464	33838	34917	40204	40923

Source: Citizenship and Immigration: Immigration Statistics, Annual Reports

(1) Independent includes: Self-employed, Entrepreneur, Investors, Retired and Others.

The Participation of Women in the Labour Market

One of the most significant trends in the labour market in the last half of the twentieth century is the increasing participation of women. In 1991, almost half (45.0 per cent) of those employed in the labour market were women as compared to only 22.1 per cent in 1951 (Statistics Canada 1991).⁽³⁾ In just over forty-five years, the typical demographic profile of a woman wage earner has changed substantially. In 1951, she was young, more often had a marital status of single, usually worked full-time, full-year and almost certainly had European ancestry (Statistics Canada 1953). In comparison, in 1991, employed women are usually older, married, more likely to participate in non-standard work arrangements and if recent immigrants, likely to be members of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada 1995). Although the percentage of women immigrants in the total immigrant population has changed very little since 1951, their places of birth have significantly shifted to non-European countries (Tables 1.2 for all immigrants and 1.2.1 for female immigrants).⁽⁴⁾

A more recent labour market trend is the growing number of women with young children participating in the labour force. Dual wage-earning families have become the norm and single-parent families headed by women are increasing in number. Part-time work is also on the increase for women, many of whom are attempting to balance their family responsibilities with those of paid labour by working less than forty hours a week.

⁽³⁾ The age of the labour force population was defined in 1951 as persons fourteen years and over. In 1991, it is persons fifteen and over.

⁽⁴⁾ The annotation used to number the data tables throughout this paper is as follows: all tables included in each chapter are in numerical order with the number of the chapter preceding i.e. 1.1, 2.1. All tables found in the appendices are similarly numbered but begin with a capitalized letter corresponding to the appropriate appendix.

Table1.2: Immigrants by Selected Places of Birth Showing Period of Immigration for Canada, 1991													
Place of Birth	Total Immigrant Population		Before 1961		1961-1970		1971-1980		1981-1987		1988-1991		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Total places of birth	4,342,890	100.0	1239035	100.0	827960	100.0	1037440	100.0	644975	100.0	593480	100.0	
United States of America	249080	5.7	61790	5.0	55450	6.7	76430	7.4	37070	5.7	18345	3.1	
Central America	68820	1.6	1885	0.2	2835	0.3	9320	0.9	28120	4.4	26660	4.5	
South America	150570	3.5	5110	0.4	16485	2.0	62765	6.0	38835	6.0	27375	4.6	
Caribbean and Bermuda	232525	5.4	8175	0.7	46300	5.6	100150	9.7	46010	7.1	31885	5.4	
United Kingdom	717745	16.5	328180	26.5	178630	21.6	139570	13.5	48630	7.5	22735	3.8	
Other Northern Europe	83390	1.9	47005	3.8	15615	1.9	11495	1.1	4950	0.8	4325	0.7	
Western Europe	431540	9.9	264905	21.4	75420	9.1	48935	4.7	27765	4.3	14515	2.4	
Eastern Europe	420460	9.7	219020	17.7	44490	5.4	34765	3.4	58900	9.1	63285	10.7	
Southern Europe	711565	16.4	255975	20.7	257700	31.1	136050	13.1	32450	5.0	29390	5.0	
Africa	166170	3.8	5605	0.5	27135	3.3	59805	5.8	32930	5.1	40700	6.9	
Western Asia and Middle East	146795	3.4	5400	0.4	13755	1.7	30225	2.9	37825	5.9	58585	9.9	
Eastern Asia	377210	8.7	22225	1.8	39220	4.7	108825	10.5	88015	13.6	118930	20.0	
Sout East Asia	311970	7.2	2920	0.2	14710	1.8	116455	11.2	99380	15.4	78515	13.2	
Southern Asia	228795	5.3	5065	0.4	30040	3.6	85300	8.2	56115	8.7	52275	8.8	
Oceania and other	46255	1.1	5770	0.5	10190	1.2	17360	1.7	7980	1.2	4965	0.8	

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-316.

Table 1.2.1: Female Immigrants by Selected Places of Birth Showing Period of Immigration for Canada, 1991												
Place of Birth	Total Immigrant Population		Before 1961		1961-1970		1971-1980		1981-1987		1988-1991	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total places of birth	2,212,895	100.0	632185	100.0	420170	100.0	529485	100.0	332375	100.0	298675	100.0
United States of America	141425	6.4	37605	5.9	29920	7.1	42080	7.9	21545	6.5	10270	3.4
Central America	34500	1.6	985	0.2	1640	0.4	4965	0.9	13785	4.1	13125	4.4
South America	77880	3.5	2790	0.4	8375	2.0	32205	6.1	20575	6.2	13935	4.7
Caribbean and Bermuda	130390	5.9	4655	0.7	26155	6.2	55465	10.5	26770	8.1	17350	5.8
United Kingdom	385590	17.4	185460	29.3	92215	21.9	70235	13.3	25825	7.8	11850	4.0
Other Northern Europe	42450	1.9	23250	3.7	8115	1.9	6065	1.1	2715	0.8	2305	0.8
Western Europe	214440	9.7	130150	20.6	37885	9.0	24105	4.6	14735	4.4	7570	2.5
Eastern Europe	209420	9.5	107925	17.1	23615	5.6	18235	3.4	28335	8.5	31315	10.5
Southern Europe	340370	15.4	117580	18.6	125285	29.8	67245	12.7	15790	4.8	14470	4.8
Africa	77070	3.5	2655	0.4	12580	3.0	28950	5.5	14660	4.4	18225	6.1
Western Asia and Middle East	64605	2.9	2600	0.4	5995	1.4	13490	2.5	16340	4.9	26175	8.8
Eastern Asia	194875	8.8	9790	1.5	20830	5.0	56775	10.7	46635	14.0	60840	20.4
Sout East Asia	164725	7.4	1415	0.2	9380	2.2	58370	11.0	52605	15.8	42960	14.4
Southern Asia	110565	5.0	2320	0.4	12775	3.0	42275	8.0	27580	8.3	25615	8.6
Oceania and other	24580	1.1	3005	0.5	5405	1.3	9020	1.7	4480	1.3	2675	0.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-316.

Others work part-time because they are unable to find full-time employment. Although the benefit of part-time work is certainly the reduced hours, part-time work is often characterized by low wages and salaries, few to no benefits, shift work, no job security and a lack of union representation (Duffy 1992:13).

The Sociology of Labour Markets

The sociology of labour markets deals with issues surrounding labour market operations and the influence of social institutions on that operation. Of particular interest is the distribution of jobs and wages and the impact of this distribution on patterns of inequality. As concluded by Krahn and Lowe (1993:109) "Thus, the study of labour markets is not only about who gets better or worse jobs; it also addresses broader questions about social stratification".

The human capital theory of labour markets attempts to explain inequality or differences in labour market outcomes through the match between the quality of labour and of jobs. The theory argues that workers compete for jobs in an open labour market. Those with more education and training get rewarded for those characteristics by getting the best jobs. Differences between jobs, in terms of rewards, are explained by differences in education and training levels between workers. Krahn and Lowe (1993:117)

summarize human capital theory as follows:

In a perfect world we would expect that jobs with specific requirements would be filled by individuals most suited for such positions. If being suited for a particular job meant that one must first obtain an advanced education, then it would seem only reasonable that, having done so, one would be rewarded with a better job.

While the objective of this research is not to prove or disprove the human capital theory, the effect of characteristics such as education levels and language proficiency is

acknowledged. As human capital theory suggests that in an open market individuals with skills will be rewarded at a level commensurate with those skills, the implication of this theory for this research is an expected connection between language proficiency and higher education levels on one side and good jobs on the other side for all immigrants. Differences found between subgroups with similar labour market skills indicate that other factors play a role in labour market processes such that outcomes are not dependent on skill levels alone. Krahn and Lowe (1993:117-118) continue;

It is difficult to dispute the basic logic of this theory, or the evidence that better-educated labour market participants are less likely to be unemployed and more likely to hold well-paying, higher status jobs. But is it also difficult to ignore the fact that labour market processes and outcomes often do not conform to the predictions of human capital theory.

Labour market segmentation theory, in general, offers an alternative explanation of labour market processes. This theory indicates that primary and secondary labour markets co-exist where workers are segmented or concentrated and have restricted mobility. Barriers exist between markets which are not overcome simply by the acquisition of higher levels of education and training skills. All of the research reviewed later in Chapter I falls under the umbrella of labour segmentation theory. Essentially, discrimination, based on various factors including year of arrival, visible minority status and gender, eliminate the possibility of workers competing equally in a single open labour market. Li (1988:72) summarizes;

In other words, to the extent that one can show that people with the same qualifications, class position, and social characteristics receive unequal income on the grounds of their origin, one can logically claim that there is discrimination in the labour market.

Explanations of the structure of inequality in the labour market and labour market processes in general have become considerably more inclusive since the introduction of human capital theory. Issues of access to information, networking, collective bargaining, policies which facilitate the integration of family and work, political decision making, power structures and labour demand have been introduced as explanatory variables vis-à-vis the structure of the labour market. Rosenfeld and Kalleberg (1991), in their study of gender gaps in earnings in nine industrialized countries conclude:

Despite the relatively small number of countries we were able to study, our results point to the need to study political processes rather than women's characteristics in order to understand variation across countries, and perhaps across time (Reskin 1988), in earnings equality by sex.

The logical question which follows is how do these processes affect the labour market experiences of immigrant women. The intersection of "race" with these processes suggests a very complex model of inquiry which requires considerable research. The purpose of this research, however, is not to explain the structure of inequality in the labour market but rather to present a more accurate picture of the pattern of inequality between subgroups of recent immigrant women as a precursor to additional future research.

Limitations Concerning "Race" and Gender

As mentioned in the introduction, two limitations have been identified in the existing literature on the labour market experiences of immigrants. The first limitation is a concentration on men as the research subjects which has resulted in the exclusion of women's experiences altogether. Furthermore, the experiences of men have been inaccurately presented as the experiences of the total population. Creese and Stasiulis (1996:7) note,

The legacy of a singular focus on male subjects remains embedded within the productivist dichotomies of public and private spheres, economy and family, productive and non-productive labour, and the like that take the male subject as a theoretical point of departure. This remains the case in much research in spite of more than two decades of feminist political economy attempting to bring gender, and women into focus.

Labour market analysis must bring “women into focus” through the identification and elaboration of women’s experience both to address the male-bias of research and to acknowledge the value of women’s experience for its own sake. Little is known about what labour market resources immigrant women bring into Canada. As many of them are family class immigrants (approximately 40 per cent), their skills are not considered either as individuals or as contributing members of family units. This is inconsistent with the reality that, like women in non-immigrant families, the majority of these recent immigrant women participate in the labour force as members of dual earning families. It also fails to recognize the need for policy initiatives which would facilitate the entry of immigrant women into the labour market.

The second limitation in the literature concerns the effect of an immigration policy which allows for significantly more ethnic diversity in the immigrant experience in the labour market. Specifically, the significance of “race” on experience is unclear in the existing literature. There is, however, increasing criticism of a theoretical focus on gender which excludes other intersecting variables which contribute to the structure of inequality. Research which has included women in general and their labour market characteristics has typically focused on gender inequality which specifically addresses differences between the situation of men and that of women. The differences in women’s work experiences, however, cannot be fully explained by gendered social processes alone. A multiplicity of

factors shape labour market experience. In order to differentiate women's work experiences, both the importance and the influence of other variables such as "race", language and education must be included and measured. Creese and Stasiulis summarize (1996:7) "Conventionally, when considered at all, "race" ethnicity and racism are descriptive add-ons, providing a fuller account of an event or process, rather than forming, as they should, a constitutive part of all relations".

The impact of discriminatory immigration policy can be clearly seen in the changing source countries of immigrants by period of immigration (Tables 1.2 for all immigrants and 1.2.1 for female immigrants). In total, the traditionally preferred immigrants from Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States account for 95.1 per cent of all immigrants who came to Canada before 1961.

The new regulations of 1962 and the introduction of the point system in 1967 allowed for a broader mix of eligible immigrants. The numbers of immigrants born in the Caribbean and Bermuda, Africa, South East Asia and Southern Asia increased by four or more times in the ten year period from 1961 to 1970. Before 1961, the top three places of birth of Canadian immigrants were the United Kingdom, Western Europe and Southern Europe. By 1991, the top three have changed to Eastern Asia, South East Asia and Eastern Europe. (Table 1.2). Clearly the distribution of source country has changed the ethnic diversity of the total population in Canada and therefore has also changed the diversity of the available labour market pool of both women and men. The largest group of recent immigrants in the labour market are members of visible minorities from these new source countries. This is not only the largest group but is also growing and will likely continue to do so into the next millennium unless the federal government issues a reversal of current immigration policy. To

help contextualize the change provoked by the introduction of the point system, a more detailed history of immigration policy in Canada is found in Appendix A.

Prior to the release of the 1986 Census microdata file, the only available measure of “race” using census data was ethnic origin or place of birth.⁽⁵⁾ Neither were intended or designed to measure “race” specifically but have been used as proxies resulting in research findings which are ambiguous. Assumptions which make a one-to-one connection between ethnicity or place of birth and “race” are the source of this ambiguity.

Research on Immigrants in the Canadian Labour Market

The growing ethnic diversity of Canada’s immigrant population has initiated an increasing number of research studies. The majority, address the question of whether or not immigrants experience inequalities or disadvantages as compared to the Canadian-born population. The labour market provides an ideal location to identify and measure patterns of disadvantage. Employment income or occupational status attainment are understood as final labour market outcomes which can be explained, measured and compared over populations. In order to determine if ethnic or birthplace inequality exists, after all other variables are controlled, the main focus of research done on Canada’s immigrant population is the measure of what the literature refers to as immigrant economic integration (Baker and Benjamin 1994; Bloom and Gunderson 1989; Richmond 1990). Integration is usually defined as the ability of immigrants to reach or surpass the average dollar sum of wages and salaries, employment income or total income of the Canadian non-immigrant or Canadian-born population. This latter population is used as the control group. Often the analysis is extended to determine whether or not the relative position of

immigrants improves or worsens over time. Integration is said to be successful when parity is reached or surpassed. The passage of time is measured either by using several data sources from different periods of time and tracing populations over them or by using one single data source but disaggregating it by period of immigration.

None of the integration type literature reviewed is directly comparable to the research reported in this paper but it does address what we know about the immigrant experience in the labour market. Although issues raised within this research are relevant here as they contribute to our understanding of immigration and work, it is recognized that the object of study is typically immigrants compared to non-immigrants. It does, however, give an indication of relevant issues to consider in the analysis of immigrant experiences in the labour market.

One reoccurring conclusion is the impact on integration of period of immigration. Research indicates that the longer an immigrant lives in Canada, the better are his/her chances of attaining parity with the Canadian-born population. An early study, using data from the 1971 and 1981 Censuses on male immigrants, quantified the length of time to reach parity at twenty-two years (Bloom and Gunderson 1989).

Beaujot and Basavarajappa (1988) using the 1981 Census, divide the immigrant population into traditional and non-traditional source countries. They conclude that length of residence is critical to any understanding of the differences in income between immigrant and non-immigrant populations. They find that immigrants from traditional source countries achieve economic parity over time with the Canadian-born. New

⁽⁹⁾ The 1996 Census questionnaire was the first to ask a direct question on visible minority status.

immigrant groups from developing countries have a more difficult time achieving parity and have lower employment income than do the Canadian-born.

Baker and Benjamin researched performance in the labour market using data from three census periods: 1971, 1981 and 1986. They also conclude that period of immigration is a critical factor. Recent immigrants are defined as those who arrived from one to five years ago. They conclude that "Recent immigrants start with earnings up to 20% lower than their predecessors and have assimilated at a very modest pace in their first years in Canada. If their future assimilation matches that of earlier cohorts, convergence with natives may be unattainable" (Baker and Benjamin 1994:400).

Occupational distributions as well as income levels are found to vary by length of residence in Canada. Anthony Richmond (1991), using census data from 1971, 1981 and 1986, concludes that in 1970 both male and female immigrants had an average earned income above that of the Canadian-born population. Over time, this relative advantage declined. By 1980, immigrant males were 1.1 percent below the Canadian-born average while comparable figures for women were 1.7 percent below. Five years later, in 1985, the relative disadvantage did not disappear and actually worsened for immigrant males.

Beaujot and Rappak (1990) also examined data over the same three census periods. Place of birth is categorized as traditional and new (non-traditional) and, period of immigration is broken into several arrival cohorts. Within these cohorts, new immigrants are compared to traditional immigrants as well as to the Canadian-born population. When examining total income, Beaujot and Rappak (1990:134) conclude "Compared to the traditional immigrant group, the new immigrant group is typically at an advantage for men arriving before 1970 and for women arriving before 1975. For the most recent cohorts,

both men and women new immigrants are at a relative disadvantage". The conclusion drawn when looking at employment income is similar. Beaujot and Rappak (1990:137) state "For male arrivals since 1975 and since 1970 for women, the new immigrant group have average incomes that are uniformly below the Canadian-born, by age groups".

The impact on integration of period of immigration can be partially understood in that the acquisition of labour experience and education received in Canada takes time to acquire and is deemed to have more value in the Canadian labour market than does employment experience and education acquired outside of the country. Language skills can also be learned or improved over time.

The study of issues surrounding the impact of period of immigration on integration is important for another reason. It allows for the examination of change in immigrant experience over time. What is known about change in the literature, suggests that the situation of immigrants is worsening. As indicated earlier, Beaujot and Rappak (1990) found that immigrants arriving in the 1970's and later have more difficulty and take longer to reach the economic levels of earlier immigrants. If changes in the economy alone were responsible, the expected impact would be felt equally between subgroups of recent immigrants as well as between immigrants and non-immigrants. This relative worsening of the immigrant situation was also found by Richmond (1991) and Miller (1992).

Most of the current research divides the immigrant population by traditional and non-traditional source country and uses it as a proxy for "race" in order to allow for the comparison within groups of immigrants. The assumption made is that given the history of immigration policy in Canada, place of birth can generally be used to indicate "race". Although the above studies agree that period of immigration is an important determinant

in the labour market outcome of immigrants, they also indicate differences by place of birth which may or may not specifically represent differences by “race”. Richmond (1991:151) cautions that variation within the immigrant group is lost when place of birth is not included in the analysis and states “The overall picture, based on averages for all immigrants, disguises some of the variations within the immigrant population, particularly when comparisons are made between those from traditional source countries and those from third world countries”.

Several research studies focus on very specific populations in an effort to address this variation within the immigrant population. Richmond (1990) determines, using the 1981 Census, that Caribbean immigrants are disadvantaged as compared to other immigrants and to the Canadian-born population even after gender, age, period of immigration and education are controlled. Diversity within immigrant groups is acknowledged. Richmond finds that each year of residence in Canada added positively to employment income again confirming the importance of period of immigration in understanding labour market outcomes.

Miller (1992) examines Asian male immigrants using the 1981 and 1986 Censuses. He argues that the group, Asian male immigrants, is not homogeneous and disaggregates it further into four distinct regions in order to perform his research. The time required by these immigrants to reach parity with the Canadian-born, Miller concludes, has increased from twenty-two years in 1981, to twenty-five years in 1986 indicating a relative worsening of the immigrant situation.

More recent research studies use the visible minority indicator to refine their analysis. Pendakur and Pendakur (1995), using the 1991 Census microdata file, use the visible

minority indicator in conjunction with the identification of some ethnic groups. Diversity within the category of visible minority group is recognized. The conclusion drawn is that there are different patterns by gender and visible minority status such that visible minority immigrants experience a wage gap as compared to native born whites which is larger than the earnings penalties experienced by white immigrants. Their findings suggest that visible minority immigrant women earn approximately seven per cent less than white Canadian-born women while the corresponding percentage for the men is about fourteen per cent. In addition, Pendakur and Pendakur (1995:19) state "...we have found substantial variation in the earnings penalties of the different ethnic groups comprising whites and visible minorities."

Hou and Balakrishnan (1996:324), using the same data source, conclude:

In Canada, income differentials exist among many ethnic groups with some of these differentials explained by variations in educational and occupational distributions. After adjusting for these factors some ethnic groups, such as Italians, Poles, and Portuguese, are no longer in inferior positions. In contrast, most visible minorities receive less income return from educational and occupational achievements. The important question that remains to be answered is why some European groups gain relatively high incomes while visible minority groups do not.

These studies suggest that "race" as measured by ethnicity and visible minority status, does have an impact on the labour market experience of male and female immigrants independent of place of birth. In addition to "race" and gender, the literature indicates that other variables such as age, education, location of education, labour force activity, full-time status, labour market experience, place of residence, occupation and proficiency in English or French must be included in any study of labour market outcomes (Baker and

Benjamin 1994; Beaujot and Rappak 1990; Hou and Balakrishnan 1996; Richmond 1990; Boyd 1990,1991).

In terms of our acquired knowledge concerning immigrant women specifically, Boyd (1984,1987,1989,1990,1991,1992) has conducted numerous studies and contributed greatly to the understanding of issues surrounding immigrant women in the labour force. Many studies use the 1986 Census microdata file or earlier Statistics Canada surveys. The visible minority indicator is used from the microdata file to enable comparison of women who are foreign-born visible minorities and non-visible minorities with women who are Canadian-born visible minorities and non-visible minorities. Boyd addresses how inequalities are structured within gender categories. She concludes (1990:279)

But, inequalities associated with country of origin also mean that foreign-born women may earn less or hold different jobs than do Canadian-born women. These inequalities characterize certain birthplace groups more than others, leading to the observation that foreign-born women are triply disadvantaged by their status as female, as foreign-born and by their origins or "race".

In other studies, Boyd (1990,1991) has focused on the interaction of language with disadvantage and the resulting policy implications. She concludes that knowledge of English or French is a major factor in the labour market outcomes of immigrants (Boyd 1991:5). In addition to restricting the types of jobs available, the inability to speak either English or French also reduces the likelihood of unionization and the flow of information concerning worker's rights in terms of health and safety, minimum pay requirements and hours worked. This is particularly important for immigrant women as they are twice as likely as their male counterparts, in 1986, to be unable to speak either English or French (Boyd 1991:13).

Research Question

The research question has two parts. It asks first, how are the labour market experiences of recent immigrants differentiated by “race” and gender and, second, has this changed over time? The objective of this research is to provide an accurate picture of the pattern of inequality in the labour market as it relates to immigrant women. This research does not try to explain the structure of inequality as it exists but acknowledges the importance of such questions as the logical next stage of inquiry.

Clearly, the above studies indicate that both period of immigration and visible minority status are essential components when labour force outcomes are being examined whether or not integration is the issue. In order to reduce the impact of length of residency in Canada, the population studied was restricted to recent immigrants. In addition, it is also evident that all immigrants are not uniformly disadvantaged as compared to the Canadian-born population. Diversity by place of birth exists within the immigrant group which also needs to be included in any explanation of labour market experiences or outcomes. Therefore the main framework for analysis will include recent immigrants differentiated by gender as well as visible minority status and place of birth.

The contribution of this paper to the existing literature is twofold. The first is in the creation of a data source both for 1981 and 1991 Censuses which contains most of the census socio-economic variables as well as the visible minority indicator. There is no available public data source for the 1981 Census which includes the visible minority indicator. In the 1986 Census microdata file, the visible minority indicator became available as defined by the Employment Equity Regulations. Persons who are members of a visible minority group are defined as being non-Caucasian in “race” or non-white in

colour. The use of the visible minority indicator in this research enables the refinement and the clarification of the impact of “race” on experience as opposed to place of birth alone. In addition, the time line of analysis is extended backward to the 1981 Census through the construction of the concept in a custom-built file derived directly from the 1981 Census database. Both the use of the visible minority indicator and the focus on women as the research subject in this research address the aforementioned limitations found in the literature. Results from this newly created data source can be used to corroborate existing research as well as to extend the timeframe of analysis.

The second contribution to the existing literature is the addition to a small but growing amount of research which addresses issues of inequality surrounding women’s work through the examination of how inequalities between women are structured around the experience of immigration. Boyd’s work has contributed greatly to our understanding of labour market issues of immigrant women and this research will add to Boyd’s work in two ways. The first is a more elaborate presentation of diversity within immigrant groups. The immigrant population is broken down by country of birth (classified as traditional or new places of birth, based on the history of immigration in Canada), and then cross-classified with visible minority status. Immigrant groups are then compared to each other to determine relative advantage and disadvantage. Canadian born women are not used as the normative group.

The second addition to Boyd’s work is to extend the timeline forward to 1991 and backward to 1981 in terms of the availability of the visible minority indicator. This also allows for the examination of change over the ten year period specified.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter II describes in detail the research methodology used. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first evaluates the available data sources and describes why and how a new data source was created. The second section provides definitions of conceptual categories used in this research. The created data source is not available to the public.⁽⁶⁾ Detailed data tables are found in appendices to provide others with enough material to use as a basis for their research.

A profile of socio-economic characteristics of recent immigrant women by place of birth and visible minority indicator status follows in Chapter III. The variables examined include age, marital status, presence of children, religious affiliation, ability to speak English or French, educational attainment, household income and family low income status. The purpose of this chapter is to provide some insight into who these women are and describe elements of their social environment.

Chapter IV explores the employment activity of this population including labour force rates, weeks and hours worked, full-time status and educational attainment by labour force activity. A gender comparison is also included.

The final chapter, Chapter V, examines occupational data as well as wages and salaries. Detailed cross-tabulations and medians are used to determine patterns of inequality as they exist between groups of immigrants in terms of their labour market outcomes and the impact of educational attainment, ability to speak English or French, “race” and gender. This will be followed by a conclusion and a call for further research.

⁽⁶⁾ This data source was created to support this research and is not a Statistics Canada data product.

Chapter II

Data Requirements

Introduction

Once a research question has been asked, in this area of research, it can be problematic to find a data source which contains the content detail and geographic level required. As a result, research questions are sometimes modified or proxy variables are used to estimate the unavailable characteristic. A major contribution of this research is the creation of a new data source which was constructed after an evaluation of the existing sources indicated their inability to support all data requirements. Data from the new source can be used to corroborate existing research as well as add to the current pool of knowledge surrounding the labour market experience of immigrants. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used to create this new source and to provide definitions of key data concepts.

The first data requirement was the ability to identify the target population of immigrant women in order to determine and to address the limitations in the existing literature and to add to the body of research which includes their experiences. Fortunately, gender is one of the common demographic variables included in all population level surveys.

Immigration questions have also traditionally been included on the census.

The integration literature discussed in the previous chapter indicates that period of immigration is a critical variable in understanding labour market outcomes of immigrants. In order to analyze the immigrant experience upon arrival to Canada, and to eliminate as much as possible the ongoing process of integration, the research subject was identified as recent immigrant women. Recent was defined as up to three full years prior to Census

day. This is considered too short an opportunity to acquire much Canadian labour market experience or education thus making the subgroups more comparable in terms of their social resources at the time of immigration.

To explore diversity in recent immigrant experience, it was fundamental to have a range of socio-cultural and labour market data available. The data source must include variables which address issues identified in the field of women and work. For example, data should allow for the exploration of occupational segregation and wage gaps.

To examine intersecting focal points, the framework for analysis is a matrix with two variables, each with two values. The matrix is as follows:

Place of Birth	Visible Minority Indicator	
	Non-Visible Minority	Visible Minority
Traditional		
New		

The matrix includes place of birth divided into traditional and new, similar to much of the literature discussed in the previous chapter. Traditional places of birth include the United States, United Kingdom, Greenland, Europe, Ireland, Scandinavia and Canada.⁽¹⁾ All other countries fall into the category new places of birth.

The second variable in the matrix is the visible minority indicator which was originally defined to meet the needs of the Employment Equity Act. As previously mentioned, visible minorities are identified as persons who are non-Caucasian in "race" or non-white

in colour. The operationalization of this concept has not been without difficulty. Until 1996, the census has never asked a direct question on "race". As a result, the visible minority indicator for 1981 and 1991 had to be derived using data from several census questions including ethnic origin, place of birth, mother tongue and religion. The driving variable is ethnic origin but as Boxhill (1984:7) states "It was not however intended to determine racial origin". In conjunction with the other variables, Boxhill (1990:28) concludes:

In the absence of information on race or colour, data on ethnic origin remain the best available from the census for addressing just who may be in a visible minority in Canada. However, users still have to deal with the tough choices regarding who are, according to census parlance, to be counted in and who are not, but must do so in an informed and responsible fashion.

More detail by either place of birth or visible minority subgroup was not included in this preliminary look at the data. In future research, a more detailed inquiry could provide valuable insight into the labour market experiences of immigrants. However, at this initial exploring stage, it was judged appropriate to examine variation between and within the four subgroups of the place of birth/visible minority indicator matrix.

In addition to the above main requirements, a time frame was needed to determine whether or not the labour market experiences of recent immigrant women have changed. The time frame chosen was the ten year period, 1981 to 1991. Most of the published research to date uses data from the 1986 Census or earlier, as the microdata files from the 1991 Census have only been available for a short time. This research extends the timeline forward by using 1991 data. In addition, it extends the time line backward by having the

⁽¹⁾ A small number of people are included who were born in Canada to parents who were not Canadian citizens i.e. foreign diplomats, armed forces personnel etc.

visible minority indicator available alongside other 1981 Census data.

Existing Data Sources

The Canadian Census of Population is the most comprehensive survey data available. It contains a large array of socio-cultural and economic data and is conducted at five year intervals. All Canadian citizens and landed immigrants are enumerated in the census including those living outside of Canada on military bases, merchant vessels or on diplomatic missions. The population covered by the 1991 Census was expanded to include non-permanent residents who were refugee claimants or persons with a student or employment authorization or a Minister's permit.

Not all census questions are asked of the entire population. Essentially four out of five households respond to a short questionnaire which asks several demographic questions including age, sex and marital status. The remaining one out of five households received a much longer questionnaire (47 questions in total) which included questions on immigration status, labour force activity, educational attainment and income. The data from these households were weighted so that the sample represents the total population. All of the data used in this research are sample data.

Statistics Canada disseminates an electronic microdata file for individuals from each census.⁽²⁾ They are known as the Public Use Microdata Files or PUMF. Each file represents a smaller sample of the total population enumerated by the census. The 1981 file contains a sample of two per cent or 486,875 individual records. The sample for the

⁽²⁾ Census data have always been disseminated through a series of print products as well as a few electronic products. Unfortunately, the print products do not allow enough flexibility to study specific target populations.

1991 file was increased to three per cent, representing 809,654 individual records. All variables included in the census are available on each file.

Two major deterrents were found with the existing microdata files. The first, is the level of detail available. Due to the size of the samples, many variable categories are aggregated. This is in response to confidentiality restrictions and data quality considerations. Unfortunately when doing this, much of the richness of census data is lost. An example is the religion variable on the 1991 file. Twenty-four categories exist but they are mostly Protestant sects. The "other" category contains very diverse religious groups such as Jewish, Eastern Non-Christian and Atheist. Disaggregation is not possible because these categories were combined during the creation of PUMF.

The second problem is that the visible minority indicator does not exist on the 1981 file. Neither can it be constructed because the level of detail required to construct it does not exist on the file. As mentioned earlier, the variable was constructed based on combinations of responses to the ethnic origin, place of birth, mother tongue and religion questions. It was made available only on the 1991 file because the concept had not yet been defined prior to the release of the 1981 file.

Creation of New Data Source

Although there are other available electronic products containing census data, none of them allows the user to fully manipulate the data. In order to overcome these problems, new data files were created directly from the census databases containing all respondent data. To be consistent, the same methodology and software programs were used for both censuses. All individual records were retrieved and placed onto a flat file if they met the selection criteria. Only recent immigrants were to be included. Recent was defined for

the 1991 file, as having a period of immigration equal to 1988, 1989, 1990 or the first five months of 1991. For the 1981 file, period of immigration had to equal 1978, 1979, 1980 or the first five months of 1981 in order for the record to be selected. In both cases, this selection criterion ensured that only landed immigrants were chosen as period of immigration is set to exclude institutional residents, non-permanent residents and Canadian citizens by birth.

The variables retrieved from the Census databases, in addition to the visible minority indicator in 1991 and the components to derive it in 1981, included age, census family income, census metropolitan area, class of worker, employment income, highest level of schooling, hours worked, household income, labour force activity, low income status, marital status, occupation, official languages, person level weight, place of birth, presence of children, religion, school attendance, sex, total income, wages and salaries, weeks worked, work activity and year of immigration.

The visible minority indicator is available on the 1991 database and so was simply copied onto the flat file. In 1981, it is not available but a complex program to derive it was written to allow for the retrieval of 1981 data required by the Employment Equity Program. In order to allow for comparisons over time, the definition of the variable remained constant. There were modifications to the ethnic origin question and some refinements, over time, to the inclusion criteria. However, Kelly (1995:13) concludes "...that the similarities between the definitions outweigh the differences".

All variables were defined as numeric fields except the person level weight which was a floating decimal field. This weight allows the sample data to represent the total population of immigrants in Canada. All data shown are weighted as well as rounded to a base of five

and suppressed for cell counts less than five. The purpose of rounding and cell suppression is to ensure confidentiality. In addition, published census data are also routinely subjected to area suppression whereby very small geographic areas are not shown. Area suppression was not required in this research because of the level of geography chosen.

The geography used was the combination of the three largest census metropolitan areas (CMA's) in Canada: Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. Immigrants have typically migrated to urban areas where there is more opportunity to find paid work. In 1981, 50.8 per cent of all immigrants lived in the above mentioned census metropolitan areas as compared to 29.2 per cent of the total population of Canada. In 1991, the concentration of immigrants increased to 56.8 per cent with the corresponding figure for the total population also increasing to 31.6 per cent.

In both census periods being studied, recent immigrants settled in Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver even more so than the total immigrant population. For those immigrants who migrated to Canada between 1978 and 1981, 53.4 per cent lived in the above mentioned CMA's while the corresponding figure for 1991 jumped to 68.9 per cent.

Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver were amalgamated into one geography because they are all large urban centres and all contain large representations of recent immigrants. This eliminates the possibility that differences between populations are a result of rural urban differences in labour market opportunity. This combination of geographies is useful for the purposes of this research and is not intended to suggest that all three census metropolitan areas are homogeneous. Perhaps in further research, the geography specified could be more detailed.

In order to guarantee that the correct records and their corresponding weights were retrieved into the new files, a series of tabulations were carried out and the data verified against existing, published sources where possible: the total recent immigrant population by the selected census metropolitan areas for both 1981 and 1991 (Table 2.1); counts of recent immigrants by place of birth for the combined geography, 1981 and 1991 (Table 2.2); and recent immigrants by visible minority subgroup for the combined geography, 1981 and 1991 (Table 2.3). These counts became control counts for all subsequent manipulation of the files.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was first, to examine the data requirements of this research and second, to explain the methodology used to create new data sources. The electronic data source available, PUMF, did not contain enough detail or meet the specified data requirements. New data files were created directly from the census databases for 1981 and 1991. As these files are not available to the public due to confidentiality but many data tables have been included in the appendices. The tables provide enough detail to allow other researchers to use the data. All tables include the four subgroups of the place of birth/visible minority indicator matrix. One of the main contributions of this research is the provision of these tables.

In the chapter which follows, a socio-cultural profile of recent immigrant women will be examined and similarities and differences by place of birth and visible minority status highlighted.

**Table 2.1 Recent Immigrants by Gender for Montreal,
Toronto and Vancouver, 1981 and 1991**

Geography	1981			1991		
	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men
Total	180620	94000	86620	408650	205965	202685
Montreal	43325	22130	21195	84535	40840	43695
Toronto	98000	51340	46660	241925	123055	118870
Vancouver	39295	20530	18765	82190	42070	40120

The sources used to verify all numbers in this table are published products from Statistics Canada. The 1991 numbers were verified using Catalogue 93-316: Immigration and Citizenship. There was no single equivalent publication in 1981. A provincial series was used: catalogues 93-929, 93-930, 93-934

**Table 2.2 Recent Immigrants by Place of Birth
and Gender for Combined Geography of Montreal,
Toronto and Vancouver, 1981 and 1991**

Place of Birth	1981			1991		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
Total	180620	94000	86620	408650	205965	202685
Canada	275	150	125	210	90	120
United States	7695	4375	3320	7170	3840	3330
St Pierre and Miquelon	25	10	15	0	0	0
Central America	1615	920	695	12440	6105	6335
Caribbean and Bermuda	17915	10185	7730	26285	14295	11990
South America	11195	5915	5280	22750	11470	11280
Western Europe	6705	3495	3210	7035	3715	3320
Eastern Europe	8615	4415	4200	35240	17590	17650
Ireland	470	230	240	1460	745	715
United Kingdom	17655	9020	8635	10050	5290	4760
Southern Europe	14750	7495	7255	20660	10265	10395
Scandinavia	1045	530	515	615	390	225
Asia	80580	41020	39560	233340	117740	115600
Africa	9530	4810	4720	28745	13060	15685
Oceania	2130	1160	970	2650	1370	1280
Other	420	270	150	0	0	0

**Table 2.3 Recent Immigrants by Visible Minority Indicator
and Gender for Combined Geography,
1981 and 1991**

Visible Minority Status	1981			1991		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
Total	180620	94000	86620	408650	205965	202685
Total Visible Minorities	115345	60035	55310	319520	160905	158615
Blacks	20620	11570	9050	37390	18915	18475
South Asians (1)	18470	9615	8855	57910	28670	29240
Chinese	34740	18050	16690	106620	54790	51830
Koreans	1945	1070	875	6320	3190	3130
Japanese	1170	610	560	1335	775	560
Sout East Asians	13460	6030	7430	13130	6310	6820
Filipinos	8430	4835	3595	22865	14320	8545
Other Pacific Islanders	605	330	275	120	85	35
West Asians and Arabs	9215	4365	4850	49700	21785	27915
Latin Americans	6680	3550	3130	20770	10395	10375
Mulltiple Visible Minority	na	na	na	3360	1670	1690
Total Non-Visible Minority	65275	33965	31310	89130	45060	44070

(1) This group Indo-Pakistanis was renamed in 1991 to South Asians.

Chapter III

A Profile of Recent Immigrant Women

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the data requirements for this research were examined. As there is no existing data source which meets these requirements, a new data source was created from the Census databases of 1981 and 1991.

In order to begin the examination of the influence of place of birth and visible minority status on labour market experiences, this chapter provides a profile of socio-cultural and economic characteristics, the purpose of which is to set the context in which labour market decisions are made by recent immigrant women. For example, the implications of one such characteristic, language proficiency in English or French, is summarized by Boyd (1990:280);

Not knowing the language spoken in the workplace and used in social conversations means that many jobs are forfeit. As a result, workers who are not able to converse in English or French may be less likely to find employment. When employed, such workers may be located in ethnically segmented labour markets and/or menial occupations in which extensive verbal exchanges are not a requirement for doing the work. Such employment conditions usually are characterized by low wages.

The variables to be used in this analysis are age, marital status, presence of children in the household, religious affiliation, ability to speak either English or French, educational attainment, household income and family low income cutoffs. Household income is included rather than a measure of personal income or components of personal income because it represents a proxy of the daily living environment of recent immigrant women. In order to compare 1981 to 1991, all dollar amounts are expressed in constant 1990

dollars. The calculation of average and median household income does not include households with income equal to zero. Personal income, specifically wages and salaries, is used as a final labour market outcome in Chapter V.

The data files were constructed such that all records are individual records and households and/or families cannot be identified. To augment the information provided by household income, the concept of low income cut-off is also included.⁽¹⁾ The categories available are, (1) above the cut-off; (2) below the cut-off; and, (3) concept not applicable. The concept is not applicable to persons living in non-private households. For all other persons, this concept indicates whether or not their families, based on family size and where they live in terms of degree of urbanization, spend twenty percentage points more of their income on basic necessities than the average which is based on and calculated from the National Family Expenditure Survey data. By using these data at the person level, the results indicate how many recent immigrant women live in economic families or alone which are above or below the income cutoffs.⁽²⁾ It does not indicate how many families are above or below the cutoffs.

Comparisons are presented for the four subgroups identified in the matrix in Chapter II which is reproduced below with the subgroups numbered.

⁽¹⁾ For more information on the calculation of the low income cutoffs see Statistics Canada 1992: Low Income Persons 1981-1991 Survey of Consumer Finances.

⁽²⁾ Economic families are defined as two or more persons living together who are related by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

Place of Birth	Visible Minority Indicator	
	Non-Visible Minority	Visible Minority
Traditional	1	3
New	2	4

First, we will examine women in non-visible minorities comparing those with traditional and new places of birth (Groups 1 and 2), and second we will examine visible minority women with contrasting places of birth (Groups 3 and 4). The comparative focus then shifts, that is, we examine women with traditional places of birth contrasting visible minority status (Groups 1 and 3). Finally, we examine women with new places of birth by visible minority categories (Groups 2 and 4). These comparisons will underscore the focus of this chapter which is to determine if there are similarities or differences between groups which would contribute to labour market outcomes. The relative significance of place of birth and visible minority status will be explored and any advantages and disadvantages identified.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. Section 1 compares the subgroups using the matrix described above for the census year 1981. This is followed by a discussion of change in the profile of the four subgroups over the ten year period 1981 to 1991. A table which summarizes change in the key indicators is included. The third and final section briefly presents the profile as it exists in 1991. A summary of data findings is included in a text box at the end of the discussion of each census period. Detailed data tables are found in Appendix B.

1981 Census

The summary table (Table 3.1) indicates immediately that there are both similarities and differences between the four subgroups. Women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth are numerically the smallest group and are considerably younger than the others. Differences appear by marital status, ability to speak English or French, educational attainment, household income and percentage of women in families who are below the low income cutoffs. Differentiation appears both by place of birth and visible minority status.

Comparisons By Place of Birth

Non-Visible Minorities, Comparing Traditional and New Places of Birth

The first subgroup comparison is between women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth to women with the same visible minority status but with new places of birth. The latter population is a much smaller population, approximately one-fifth that of the former.⁽³⁾ The average and median ages are similar with the median age at 29 years for both subgroups. The single largest five year age group is also the same at 25 to 29 years old (Table B3.6.1).

Given that many recent immigrant women enter the country under family provision clauses, it is not surprising that most of these women have a marital status of married. The only difference between the two subgroups is that the younger women, aged 15 to 24, with new places of birth, are almost 10 per cent more often single (Table B3.8.1).

⁽³⁾ In this research, the term 'population' is used instead of 'sample' to indicate that Census data is weighted to represent the characteristics of the total population. The same weights are used in the new data source such that the total population of recent immigrants is represented.

The majority of these women are married and many of them have children. Almost half of both populations have children and a sizable portion are mothers with children less than six years of age (Table B3.9.1). The summary table indicates the percentage of children less than six years old by age group of mother. The existence of preschool children in the household plays a key role in the labour market decisions made by the mother. Duffy (1992:116) states “Further, the number of children in the home and their ages affect the likelihood that women will be part-timers”. One in four recent immigrant women in non-visible minorities regardless of place of birth have young children of this age at home.

Religious affiliation and place of birth are related concepts. The top two religions for both groups of women are Catholic and Protestant. Little religious diversity exists in the subgroup of women with traditional places of birth. Here, the top two religions account for the majority of the population, 75 per cent. Women with new places of birth are less concentrated in the top two religions and have a sizable Jewish category not found in the comparison group (Table B3.10.1).

As noted in the previous chapter, Boyd (1991), has pointed out the ability to speak either English or French has a direct impact on labour market experience. Recent immigrant women with traditional places of birth are almost three times as likely to be unable to speak English or French than their counterparts with new places of birth. The respective percentages are 17.0 as compared to 6.4. In both cases, the numbers are distributed throughout the age categories. Hence, it would not be surprising to find differences in their participation rates in the labour force. The corresponding

Table 3.1 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Summary Characteristics for Combined Geography, 1981.

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
Total Female Population 15 to 64	20135	3535	595	44955
Age distribution				
% between age 15 to 24	29.7	30.5	48.7	34.6
% between age 25 to 44	53.8	51.1	33.6	41.6
% between age 45 to 64	16.4	18.2	17.6	23.9
Average age of population 15-64	32.2	32.5	28.8	33.0
Median age of population 15-64	29	29	25	28
% with children LT age 6 by age of mother				
15 to 24	22.6	18.8	13.0	12.9
25 to 44	34.1	39.8	37.3	34.4
45 to 64	0.9	1.3	0.0	0.9
% married	75.4	71.1	58.0	57.6
% unable to speak Eng. or Fr.	17.0	6.4	13.6	23.6
% with postsecondary education	47.3	53.4	41.0	32.7
% with university degree	11.7	13.4	10.3	9.5
Average Household Income	\$47,285	\$43,548	\$44,571	\$41,207
Median Household Income	\$39,122	\$36,230	\$34,472	\$34,491
% Below Low Income Cutoffs	32.8	40.5	36.5	43.3

percentages for recent immigrant men with the same characteristic are lower than that of comparable subgroup women in all cases (Table B3.11.1).

Highest level of schooling is a hierarchical concept with elementary/secondary at the lowest level which includes the category no schooling or kindergarten only. The highest level is university with degree. The objective of this variable is to measure educational stock, that is, the level of education attained by the population at a specific point in time (in this case, Census Day). In recognition that some of the target population would be enrolled in school, attainment is compared for the population not currently attending school.

Women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth have 52.7 per cent of their population not attending school with an education level of elementary/secondary only. Comparable women with new places of birth are slightly better educated in that they have 6 per cent fewer at the lower end of the educational hierarchy and a few per cent more at the level of university degree (Table B3.13.1).

In 1990 constant dollars, women with traditional places of birth are better off in terms of household income than are their counterparts with new places of birth. At the lowest end of the scale, there are 17.2 per cent of women with traditional places of birth living in households with less than \$10,000 of annual household income. This percentage increases to 21.8 per cent for women with new places of birth. Even when the level of income is increased to under \$30,000 of annual household income, women with new places of birth remain the poorest of women in non-visible minorities (Table B3.14.1). Average and median household incomes are also lower.

The low income cutoffs for economic families and unattached individuals indicate that there are large numbers of recent immigrant women living in families which are considered to be below the cutoff. Again, women with new places of birth are significantly more often below the cutoffs than their counterparts with traditional places of birth. Fully 40.5 per cent of the former live in families, or living alone, below the cutoffs.

In summary, recent immigrant women in non-visible minorities do not differ by place of birth in age, marital status, presence of children and religious affiliation. They do, however, differ such that women with new places of birth are more often able to speak English or French, are somewhat better educated but have a median household income below that of their counterparts and more often live in families which are considered below the low income cutoffs. Given their better language skills and education levels, the question remains why is their household income lower?

Visible Minorities, Comparing Traditional and New Places of Birth

The second comparison is between women in visible minorities with differing places of birth. Here, women with new places of birth are the oldest of all four subgroups in terms of their average age but the median age indicates that they are one year younger than women in non-visible minorities. They are older, however, than women with the same visible minority status but with traditional places of birth who are the youngest of the four groups. The numerically largest five year age group, however, is the same for both groups at 20 to 24 years of age (Table B3.6.1).

Regardless of the age difference, marital status is similar by place of birth for women in visible minorities in terms of the proportion of the population married. The older age

distribution, however, is consistent with the findings of fewer single women and more women who are widowed, separated or divorced (Table B3.8.1).

Recent immigrant women with new places of birth have the same overall percentage of their population with children less than six years old but they have slightly more children in general. This indicates an increase in the presence of older children which is again consistent with the older age distribution of the mothers (Table B3.9.1).

Although the top four religious affiliations are the same between the two subgroups, the rank order is different. Women with traditional places of birth have Protestant, No or Other Religion, Eastern Non-Christian and Catholic affiliations as compared to women with new places of birth who have affiliations of Eastern Non-Christian and Catholic both first, followed by No or Other Religion and Protestant. In 1981, the category No or Other Religion is considerably higher in general for women in visible minorities than it is for women in non-visible minorities (Table B3.10.1).

There is notable difference, 10 percentage points, between these subgroups of women in visible minorities in terms of their ability to speak either English or French. Almost one in four women with new places of birth have this characteristic representing the largest number of women, 10,605, as compared to all other subgroups. The majority of these women are in the age group 45 to 64 (Table B3.11.1). The percentage of recent immigrant men in the same subgroup is also high at 16.0 per cent and is the largest of all the male subgroups (Table B3.11.1).

In addition, women with new places of birth have the largest proportion in the lowest educational attainment category (Table B3.13.1). They do, however, have a comparable

percentage of their number with a university degree at 9.5 per cent but this is still the lowest for all four subgroups.

Although the distribution of household income is similar for the subgroups, making their median household income the same within twenty dollars, there are fewer women with new places of birth in the highest category (Table B3.14.1). In addition, there are more, 43.3 per cent in total, living in families which are considered below the low income cutoffs. This percentage represents the highest percentage of all the four subgroups.

In summary, as compared to their counterparts, women in visible minorities with new places of birth are older, are similar in their proportions with a marital status of married but have more children in general (Table B3.9.1). They also more frequently do not speak English or French, are less well educated and are members more often of families who fall below the low income cutoffs.

Comparisons by Visible Minority Status

Traditional Places of Birth, Comparing Visible and Non-Visible Minorities

The population of recent immigrant women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth is numerically the smallest group of the four subgroups. These women are considerably younger than women in non-visible minorities with similar places of birth. Their median age is 25 and the largest five year age group is younger, between 20 and 24 years old (Table B3.6.1).

As expected by the age distribution, these women are less often married and more often single than those in non-visible minorities with the same places of birth. Again as expected, only 37.0 per cent have children of any age and even fewer have children less than six years old (Table B3.9.1).

The largest religious affiliation of women in visible minorities is Protestant. The main difference between the subgroups, however, is not in the rank order of Protestant or Catholic but rather in the decrease of Catholics and the substantial increase in the affiliation of Eastern Non-Christian for women in visible minorities. The percentage representing Orthodox, however, is very similar by place of birth (Table B3.10.1).

In 1981, 13.6 per cent of recent immigrant women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth were unable to speak one of Canada's charter languages which is a smaller percentage than that of women in non-visible minorities with the same places of birth. It is interesting to note that there are virtually no men in the subgroup visible minority with traditional places of birth who are unable to speak either English or French (Table B3.11.1).

Women in visible minorities have the largest percentage of persons attending school full-time as compared to all other subgroups but this is likely a consequence of their age distribution (Table B3.12.1). School attendance and age are co-related variables. For those women not attending school, they are generally less well educated than their counterparts with the same places of birth. Interestingly, however, at the top of the educational hierarchy, they have a lower but comparable percentage of their population with a university degree.

The distribution of household income in 1990 constant dollars is similar at the low end, less than \$10,000, to counterpart women with the same places of birth. This similarity also exists in the \$60,000 or more category. In the less than \$30,000 category, however, there are more women in visible minorities (Table B3.14.1). Their median household

income is more than four thousand dollars less. Consequently, the percentage of women in families which are considered below the low income cutoffs is also higher.

In summary, recent immigrant women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth are younger, more often single and have fewer children than do non-visible minorities with similar places of birth. In addition, they are, in general, less well educated, have lower annual household incomes and larger numbers below the low income cutoffs.

New Places of Birth, Comparing Visible and Non-Visible Minorities

The final two subgroups of women compared have varying visible minority status within the category equal to new place of birth. Both have similar average and median ages. The age distribution indicates that women with new places of birth have fewer persons between the ages of 25 to 44 and more between the ages of 45 to 64.

Nonetheless, they are much more often single and much less often married. Also women in visible minorities have few children of any age and fewer children less than six years old. The marital status of these recent immigrant women may have changed since arriving in Canada, but more women in visible than non-visible minorities, regardless of their place of birth, immigrate to Canada as single persons with no dependents.

A comparison of religious affiliation between these groups of women with new places of birth clearly indicates that their countries of origin are different. Women in non-visible minorities have a large representation of Jewish while women in visible minorities show a sizable percentage of Eastern Non-Christian (Table B3.10.1).

This difference between the groups resulting from different source countries, is also evident in the ability to speak either English or French. Women in visible minorities with

new places of birth are more than three times as likely to be unable to speak English or French as compared to their counterparts in non-visible minorities.

Women in visible minorities also have a larger percentage of their population in the lowest educational attainment category. In fact they are less well educated than their counterparts at all levels (Table B3.13.1). This level of educational attainment and inability to speak English or French, as noted by Boyd (1990:280), represents a serious disadvantage in terms of potential labour market outcome and will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Both the average and median household income of women in visible minorities is lower than their counterparts in non-visible minorities when places of birth are compared. Although the percentage of women living in families which are below the low income cutoffs is very high for both groups, it is the highest at 43.3 per cent for women in visible minorities with new places of birth.

In summary, women in visible minorities with new places of birth are different in many respects to women in non-visible minorities with the same places of birth. They are much less often married and have fewer children. In addition, they are significantly more often unable to speak one of Canada's charter languages, are less well educated in general and more often live in families which are considered to be below the low income cutoffs.

Summary of 1981 Census

The above comparisons by visible minority status and place of birth highlight some interesting similarities and differences between the subgroup populations. For comparisons by place of birth, women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth are better educated and more often able to speak either English or French but

economically, are poorer in terms of annual household income and low income cutoffs than women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth. As language proficiency and education are skills exchanged in the labour market, it is anticipated according to human capital theory, that women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth will do better in terms of labour market outcomes as compared to non-visible minority women with traditional places of birth. However, as the household income and low income cutoffs suggest, the intersection of place of birth and visible minority status have an influence on labour market outcomes unless, as individuals, these women do better financially than they do as household or family members. This will be examined in more detail in the following chapters.

For women in visible minorities, those with new places of birth are poorer and have less education and ability to speak English or French than their counterparts with traditional places of birth. As a result, labour market outcome is expected to be more advantaged for women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth.

For comparisons by visible minority status, women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth are better educated, have higher household incomes and have the smallest percentage of their population living in families considered below the low income cutoffs as compared to women in visible minorities with the same places of birth. Some of these differences are a result of the younger age structure of women in visible minorities.

Women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth are better educated and have fewer women in families or living alone who are below the low income cutoffs as compared to women in visible minorities with the same places of birth. The comparison

by visible minority status suggests that women in non-visible minorities may have better labour market outcomes. A brief summary description of the 1981 data follows:

Summary Description 1981

Non-Visible Minorities - comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 1 and 2)

New

- have better language skills
- are better educated
- have lower household income
- have more persons in low income families

Visible Minorities - comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 3 and 4)

New

- are older
- have more children
- have fewer language skills
- are less educated
- have more persons in low income families

Traditional Places of Birth - comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 1 and 3)

Visible

- are younger
- more are single
- have fewer children
- are less well educated
- have lower household income
- have more persons in low income families

New Places of Birth - comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 2 and 4)

Visible

- more are single
- have fewer children
- are less well educated
- have fewer language skills
- have more persons in low income families

Change From 1981 to 1991

Some of the characteristics of recent immigrant women have remained constant over the period 1981 to 1991 while others have changed significantly. The changes in key indicators between the two censuses have been gathered together in summary form in Table 3.2.

The socio-cultural and economic characteristics of recent immigrant women have in many respects remained the same over the ten year period. All four of the subgroups grew in total numbers but women in visible minorities with new places of birth experienced the largest growth, almost tripling their 1981 size. The median age also increased for all four subgroups by 2 to 4 years making 1991 subgroups slightly older.

The majority of recent immigrant women continue to have a marital status of married although all groups except women in visible minorities with new places of birth see a small decline in the percentages married. Women in non-visible minorities also see a decline in the percentage with children less than six years old. Women in visible minorities with new places of birth, however, experience a small increase in the proportion with small children.

The actual percentage change in the above characteristics is, thus far, very small and is not surprising over a ten year period. This is not so with the remaining variables. The percentage decrease of women in visible minorities regardless of place of birth who are unable to speak either English or French is notable at almost 10 per cent in both cases. Women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth actually see an increase in percentage with this characteristic which is close to double the percentage in 1981. In

Table 3.2 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Change in Summary Characteristics from 1981 to 1991 for Combined Geography.

Change in Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
Total Female Population 15-64	+ 8280	+1155	+865	+77930
Median age of population 15-64	+2	+2	+2	+4
% with children LT age 6	-3.1	-2.5	+3.9	+1.6
% married	-3.4	-5.3	-0.5	+2.1
% unable to speak Eng. or Fr.	-0.4	+4.7	-9.5	-9.1
% with postsecondary education	+8.2	+4	+18.3	+14.6
% with university degree	+6.8	+2.3	+9.8	+7.4
Median Household Income	-\$3500	+\$1970	+\$11993	+\$2022
% Below Low Income Cutoffs	+6.1	0	-2.4	+0.7

contrast, women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth see a decrease of less than 1 per cent.

All subgroups of recent immigrant women are better educated in 1991 both in terms of their percentages with some postsecondary education and with university degrees. The largest change at both educational levels is for women in visible minorities but women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth also see an increase with university degrees.

Recent immigrant women with new places of birth show very modest increases in annual median household income while women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth experience an increase in their median of approximately \$12,000, i.e., an increase of almost 35 per cent over their 1981 median.

Women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth experience a decrease of \$3500 in their median household income. This translates into an increase in the proportion of women living in families or alone which are below the low income cutoffs. For women with the same places of birth but who are members of a visible minority, the proportion living below the cutoffs decreases very slightly.

1991 Census

We have examined the profile of the four subgroups of recent immigrant women in 1981 and looked at change to that profile over the ten year period 1981 to 1991. In order to complete the analysis, a brief examination of the profile as it exists in 1991 follows. Included is a summary description similar to that provided for 1981.⁽⁴⁾

⁽⁴⁾ The data table showing summary characteristics for 1991 is included in Appendix B as Table B3.3.

In 1991, the numbers in all four subgroups has increased. Women in visible minorities with new places of birth continue to be the largest of the four subgroups and are four times larger than the next largest subgroup, women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth.

When compared by place of birth, women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth are more often single but those married have more children, in general. They also have slightly larger proportions with some postsecondary education but smaller proportions with university degrees but more of their population is attending school full-time. Although they have a slightly higher median household income, they also have a larger proportion of women living in families which are below the low income cutoffs.

Women in visible minorities compare by place of birth such that the subgroup with new places of birth are older, have more children and are significantly less well educated. They also have a larger proportion that do not speak English or French. As expected from these profiles, their median household income is smaller and they have the largest proportion of all subgroups in families living under the low income cutoffs (44.0 per cent). The education and language profile of this subgroup suggest that their employment/population ratios would be lower and their unemployment rates higher than women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth.

When contrasted by visible minority status, women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth are both younger and much less often married. They are also better educated and are more proficient in English or French. Both their median household income is higher and they have fewer persons in low income families. By itself, this profile

indicates some advantage, as compared to women with new places of birth, in the available skills brought to the labour market.

For women with new places of birth when compared by visible minority status, women in visible minorities are more often single and have fewer children. They are more often unable to speak English or French and are, in general, not as well educated. They do, however, have a comparable proportion at the top of the education hierarchy, with university degree (16.9 per cent). Women with new places of birth have lower median household incomes and higher proportions of their population living in families under the low income cutoffs.

Summary Description 1991

Non-Visible Minorities -comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 1 and 2)

New

- fewer married
- have more children
- have fewer language skills
- have fewer university degrees but more postsecondary in general
- higher median household income
- more persons in low income families

Visible Minorities -comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 3 and 4)

New

- are older
- have more children
- have fewer language skills
- are less educated
- have lower household income
- have more persons in low income families

Traditional Places of Birth -comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 1 and 3)

Visible

- are younger
- more are single
- are better educated
- have higher household income
- have fewer persons in low income families

New Places of Birth -comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 2 and 4)

Visible

- more are single
- have fewer children
- more university degrees but less postsecondary in general
- have fewer language skills
- have lower household income
- have more persons in low income families

Summary

In 1981, recent immigrant women with the same visible minority status compared by place of birth such that women with new places of birth are less well off in terms of average household income and the low income cutoffs regardless of education levels. The ability to speak either English or French is lowest in the visible minority group with new places of birth. However, women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth are poorer when compared by place of birth and yet have the highest proportion of their population able to speak English or French.

The economic indicators suggest that, when compared by visible minority status, women in visible minorities have lower annual household incomes and higher percentages of living below the low income cutoffs than do women in non-visible minorities. Within the visible minority subgroups, women with new places of birth have the largest proportion below the low income cutoffs.

In 1991, women in non-visible minorities do not significantly differ by place of birth. Women in visible minorities, however, do differ by place of birth with those with new places of birth having lower annual household incomes and the highest percentage of their population living in families which are considered below the low income cutoffs.

Comparisons by visible minority status suggest that recent immigrant women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth are less able to speak English or French and are less wealthy than their counterparts with the same places of birth. Women with new places of birth who are members of a visible minority group have both lower annual

household incomes and higher percentages of women living in families which are below the low income cutoffs than their counterparts with the same places of birth.

Many of the cultural characteristics identified have not significantly changed over the ten year period suggesting that these characteristics are not responsible for any change in labour market outcomes from 1981 to 1991. However, two significant points can be made. The first concerns language skills. Training in English or French as a second language is of critical importance to all immigrants coming to Canada. A report on language training presented to the Minister of Employment and Immigration (1991:1) opens as follows:

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of language training to immigrants. The major obstacle preventing immigrants from practising much-in-demand skills acquired in their country of origin is a lack of language proficiency. Successful immigrant adjustment into the host country depends on their ability to communicate in the official language(s).

In 1981, language skills varied considerably within the matrix. Over time, visible minority groups show a decrease in the proportion of their population unable to speak English or French as a consequence of the order of countries of origin changing within the categories of traditional and new places of birth to countries where English or French is more common. What is particularly interesting, is the increase in the proportion of non-visible minority women with new places of birth who do not speak English or French. This alters the rank order between groups such that visible minority women were the most disadvantaged in terms of language skills in 1981 and, in 1991, the disadvantage shifts to non-visible minority women with traditional places of birth. This is accompanied by virtually no change in the subgroup of non-visible minority women with traditional places

of birth. The implication of this is the possibility of an increasing disadvantage in the labour market for the subgroups of women in non-visible minorities by virtue of change in country of origin.

The second important point is that, by 1991, all groups are better educated but again the change is not uniform across groups. Women in visible minorities experience notable increases in both the population with some postsecondary education and in the proportion of university graduates. Again the rank order between subgroups changes. The education and language profile of recent immigrant women has changed over time such that the largest gains in the labour market are expected for the subgroups of women in visible minorities.

The household income variables, however, suggest this expectation of gain is problematic. Median household income increases as expected for women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth but does not follow the same pattern for the other subgroups. The increase is minimal and similar for visible minority women and non-visible minority women with new places of birth although changes in their language and education profile were not similar and did not suggest that household income would increase at the same rate. The final group, women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth, experience a decrease in household income and increase in families below the low income cutoffs opposite to that suggested by changes in their profile.

In 1981, household economic advantage between the subgroups is clear. Non-visible minority women are advantaged over visible minorities and traditional places of birth over

new places of birth. In the span of ten years, the rate of change occurs differently between groups altering comparisons of levels of relative advantage.

Clearly, human capital theory is unable to explain these variations between groups and over time. This overall profile argues first, that both place of birth and visible minority status are associated with household income and second, that the relative significance of these factors can change over time and third, that this significance will be extended into the labour market.

The objective of this comparison of social characteristics was to set the context for the remaining chapters which specifically examine labour market outcomes by place of birth and visible minority status. As education levels and ability to speak English or French change substantially between the two census periods, they will also be used in the analysis in Chapter IV to determine their impact on labour market outcomes and their ability to contribute to the understanding of the pattern of inequality surrounding women's work.

Chapter IV

Employment Activity

Introduction

The integration literature reviewed in Chapter 1 concludes that gender, language skills, period of immigration and place of birth play integral roles in both the labour market outcomes of immigrants and in the length of time required before wage parity is reached with the Canadian born. The most advantaged immigrant profile, according to the literature, includes the ability to speak English or French accompanied by long term residence in Canada, a traditional place of birth and being male. These characteristics increase the likelihood of having a better job, higher wages and a shorter elapsed time to reach parity. Although little research exists which focuses on immigrant women as the research subject, that which does exist concludes that immigrant women, as compared to immigrant men, are further disadvantaged in their ability to reach parity.

Within the female recent immigrant population and as forecasted by the literature, differences by place of birth and by visible minority status indicate that recent immigrant women are not a homogeneous group but are differentiated such that women in visible minorities with new places of birth continue to be the most disadvantaged. It is interesting to note, however, that the profile also indicates that the subgroup of women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth has undergone considerable negative change over the ten year period studied. Their median annual household income decreases while the proportion of persons falling under the low income cutoffs increases. This group has typically been used as the normative group for comparative purposes and yet these

preliminary indications from the profile suggest this may no longer be an appropriate comparison. This will be discussed again in the next chapter.

The focus of this chapter is a more detailed analysis of the paid labour market experiences of the four subgroups. As Badets and Chui (1994:47) state

At various stages in Canada's history, immigrants have been admitted to meet the demand for specific kinds of labour in the Canadian economy. This process, together with changes in the source countries and demographic characteristics of recent immigrants, have influenced both the educational and labour force characteristics of the immigrant population.

The labour force concepts included in this chapter are labour force activity, the employment/population ratio, participation rates, unemployment rates and full-time/part-time status. Labour force activity divides the total population into employed, unemployed or not in the labour force. The reference period for labour force activity is the week before the census, known as the reference week. All summary rates provided are calculated from labour force activity data and are expressed as percentages.

The employment/population ratio is defined as the number of employed persons expressed as a percentage of the total population 15 years of age and over. It provides a measure of the proportion of persons contributing to social services such as unemployment insurance and pension schemes. The participation rate expresses the percentage of the total labour force, employed and unemployed, in relation to the total population 15 years and over. The third rate used is the unemployment rate which expresses the proportion of unemployed persons in relation to the total labour force.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ For detailed definitions see 1991 Census Dictionary, Catalogue 92-301E.

Labour force activity is disaggregated by age group. The age groups and education levels used are the same as those found in Chapter III.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first provides highlights of the labour market profile of the four subgroups in 1981. The second section examines change in the labour market characteristics from 1981 to 1991 and is followed by highlights of the 1991 characteristics. The fourth and final section, provides a gender comparison between recent immigrants vis-à-vis their labour market characteristics. This comparative component by gender is included to complement the existing analysis and in recognition that gender continues to play a significant role in the labour market activity of women. Detailed tables are provided in Appendix C.

1981 Census

In 1981, the trend of a growing female labour force continued. Fully 5,000,265 women in Canada were members and many of them were married and had children. The participation rate for the total female population aged 15 and over was 52.1 per cent while their unemployment rate was 11.5 per cent. (Statistics Canada 1993) Recent immigrant women in the four subgroups have participation rates above that of the total population and unemployment rates which are lower for women in non-visible minorities but higher for women in visible minorities than the rate for the total female population (Table 4.1). While the labour force rates are given for the population aged 15 and over, the details given by marital status, presence of children and educational attainment are shown for the population aged 25 to 44. This was included in the summary in recognition that during this age group employment rates peak at their highest point and to eliminate the

Table 4.1 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Summary Labour Force Characteristics for Combined Geography, 1981.				
Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
Total Female Population 15 to 64	20135	3535	595	44955
Female Labour Force 15 to 64	11260	1925	335	24130
Employment/Population Ratio	51.4	48.5	49.1	47.2
Participation Rate	55.9	54.5	56.3	53.7
Unemployment Rate	8.1	10.9	13.4	12.1
% Full-year full-time workers	43.1	37.6	38.2	40.3
Participation rate by marital status and presence of children Age 25 to 44				
Married	56.1	55.0	69.8	59.9
With Children	48.2	50.1	67.4	56.2
Without Children	72.9	67.7	73.8	68.3
Single	91.5	93.7	100.0	85.7
%Full-year full-time by marital status and presence of children Age 25 to 44				
Married	41.3	40.8	32.2	42.8
With Children	34.2	36.3	25.5	39.7
Without Children	50.8	49.1	47.6	48.7
Single	71.4	61.1	53.9	51.2
Participation rate with some postsecondary education Aged 25 to 44	64.2	63.5	72.3	69.4
%Full-year full-time with some postsecondary education Aged 25 to 44	43.5	44.9	41.7	45.0
Participation rate for pop. who do not speak English or French Aged 15 to 64	43.8	46.0	54.4	38.0
%Full-year full-time for pop. who do not speak English or French Aged 15 to 64	42.0	n.a.	44.7	39.6

Td Pob = Traditional Places of Birth

New Pob = New Places of Birth

comparison of labour force rates of subgroups with differing extremes in age distribution.

According to the matrix used throughout this research, recent immigrant women in 1981 continue to differ by place of birth and visible minority status. In Chapter III, women in non-visible minorities when contrasted by place of birth, had both better language (English or French) skills and more education when they had new places of birth. The same subgroup of women, still comparing by place of birth, have employment profiles which indicate that they have higher unemployment rates and fewer workers with full-year, full-time jobs. In addition, those with some postsecondary education have participation rates and a proportion working full-time which is approximately the same as women with traditional places of birth. For this subgroup, the expected advantage of more education and proficiency in a charter language, suggested by the human capital theory, does not translate into more jobs or more full-year, full-time jobs. Clearly, other intervening factors including place of birth are influencing the labour market activity of this subgroup resulting in an unequal structure in the labour market.

The second comparison in the matrix is women in visible minorities contrasted by differing places of birth. Women in this subgroup with new places of birth have lower participation and unemployment rates but were found to have less education and fewer language skills. It is interesting to note, however, that those with some postsecondary education in the same subgroup also participate less often than women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth. This is also the case for the population which does not speak English or French.

When the comparative focus changes to visible minority status, women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth have much higher unemployment rate than do

women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth. They also work less often full-year, full-time. Although the population in the visible minority subgroup is less well educated in general, those with some postsecondary education do participate more often suggesting that advantage is conferred with higher educational credentials. However, this educated group does not work more often full-year, full-time. Although it is impossible to determine the reasons behind this from the data, women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth have fewer children when compared by visible minority status. This suggests that child care alone does not explain the work activity of this subgroup.

The final comparison is by visible minority status with new places of birth. Although the participation rates are similar between subgroups, women in visible minorities are less well educated in general and have a higher unemployment rate but work slightly more often full-year, full-time. For those with some postsecondary education, their participation rate is higher than women in non-visible minorities with the same places of birth. Within this comparison, women in visible minorities are better at converting their educational skills into paid work.

Summary of 1981 Census

As previously noted, the majority of recent immigrant women are married when they arrive in Canada. As their participation rates are higher than that of the general population, and the rates of recent immigrant men are also high (Table 4.3), it appears that many of these women are members of dual earning families, not unlike the general population.

Although women comprise approximately half of the immigrants coming into the country, their status as family class immigrants prevents their contribution as active

members of their family units as well as their skill levels from being considered upon arrival. As recency of arrival was defined as approximately three years and a few months before Census Day, it seems likely, that given so short a period of time, many of these women had labour market plans upon arrival. Not only is their contribution to the family unit not considered, but any requirements they may have to facilitate entry into the labour market, such as language skills, are also ignored.

The examination of the labour market rates of recent immigrant women in 1981, suggests that place of birth and visible minority status contribute to labour market experiences. Women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth have the lowest unemployment rates and the highest proportion working full-time, full-year accompanied by high participation rates. This group is the most advantaged in the labour market. The most disadvantaged group is by far the largest group: women in visible minorities with new places of birth.

Summary Description 1981

Non-Visible Minorities -comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 1 and 2)

New

- have lower employment/population ratio
- have higher unemployment rate
- have fewer full-year, full-time workers
- works less often full-year, full-time when population does not speak English or French

Visible Minorities -comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 3 and 4)

New

- have lower employment/population ratio
- have lower participation rate
- have lower unemployment rate
- have more persons working full-year, full-time
- participate less often with some postsecondary education (age 25 to 44)

Traditional Places of Birth -comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 1 and 3)

Visible

- have lower employment/population ratio
- have much higher unemployment rate
- work less often full-year, full-time
- participate more with some postsecondary education (age 25 to 44)
- participate more when population does not speak English or French

New Places of Birth -comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 2 and 4)

Visible

- have higher unemployment rates
- work more often full-year, full-time
- participate more often with some postsecondary education (age 25 to 44)
- participate less often when population does not speak English or French

Change From 1981 to 1991

In the socio-economic profile of recent immigrant women provided in Chapter III, there were many characteristics which remained constant over the two census periods accompanied by a few characteristics, mostly education and language proficiency, which changed quite dramatically. The labour market characteristics examined in this chapter undergo significant change over the ten years. The table below is a summary of change in the key labour market indicators.(Table 4.2).

From 1981 to 1991, all four subgroups of recent immigrant women experience an increase in the size of their respective labour force and also an increase in their participation rates. Women in visible minorities with new places of birth show an increase in the size of their labour force by over 49,000 workers. Women in non-visible minorities show considerably larger increases in their participation rates when compared to women in visible minorities within the same category of place of birth. This growth is accompanied by large increases, between 8 and 10 per cent, in the unemployment rates for all groups. However, women in visible minorities experience increases in their unemployment rate which are equal or larger than the increases in their participation rates. Although there are more women in the labour force, many of them are unable to find paid work.

As noted earlier, the labour force trend of increasing participation of women with children can be seen in the change in participation rates of these women aged 25 to 44. There is, however, differentiation by visible minority status and by place of birth for women in visible minorities. Women in non-visible minorities experience a significant

**Table 4.2 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Change in Summary
Labour Force Characteristics from 1981 to 1991
for Combined Geography**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
Total Female Population 15 to 64	+8280	+1155	+865	+77930
Total Female Labour Force 15 to 64	+8530	+1175	+615	+49375
Participation Rate	+13.8	+11.6	+8.9	+6.1
Unemployment Rate	+10.4	+8.1	+8.4	+8.4
% Full-year full-time workers	+4	+11.3	+10.4	+10.5
Participation rate 25 to 44	+20.1	+18.5	-10	+5.3
Married with children				
%Full-year full-time age 25 to 44	+6.7	+8.1	+26.3	+10.1
Married with children				
Participation rate with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	+12.1	+17	+4.5	+7.2
%Full-year full-time with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	+5	+6.5	+13.3	+11.1
Participation rate for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	+15	-2.3	n.a.	+1.2
%Full-year full-time for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	+1.1	+26.6	n.a.	+3.4

Tr Pob = Traditional Places of Birth

New Pob = New Places of Birth

increase in their rates while women in visible minorities with new places of birth see a much more modest increase. A decrease of 10 per cent is found in the participation rate of women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth. This suggests that women with children in this subgroup are dropping out of the labour force as discouraged workers, that is workers who give up looking for paid work after a period of time.

In all four subgroups, the percentages of married women with children working full-time increase from 1981 to 1991. The increases are larger for women in visible minorities and particularly large for visible minority women with traditional places of birth.

While all four subgroups are better educated in 1991, all groups also experience an increase in the participation rate of persons with some postsecondary education aged 25 to 44. Women in non-visible minorities show much larger increases than do women in visible minorities. However, the latter group see larger increases in the proportions of this population working full-time.

As noted in Chapter III, the proportion of recent immigrant women who do not speak either English or French is declining, but numerically the population has increased from 1981 to 1991 to just over 23,000. Many of these women participate in the labour market nevertheless, even though they are limited by their language skills. Their choice of occupation is narrow regardless of their education levels or labour market experience received outside of Canada. The available occupations are not considered good jobs either in status or remuneration (Boyd 1990; Seward 1990). The value of other skills they may bring to the labour market is completely overridden by the language profile. This preeminence of language skills clearly has policy implications in terms of the effective provision of English or French second language instruction.

Change in the labour force rates for recent immigrant women who do not speak English or French are also dissimilar by subgroup. Women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth experience a considerable increase in their participation rate and essentially no change in their proportions working full-time. On the other hand, the participation rate of women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth modestly decreases while the proportion working full-time increased by more than one-quarter. This increase is moderated by the knowledge that this population is numerically very small and so the rates are easily affected by any amount of change. Women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth experience only a small increase in both of these labour force indicators.

Summary of Change From 1981 to 1991

Notable change has occurred in the ten year period, 1981 to 1991 (Table 4.2). Like women in general, recent immigrant women both with and without children, regardless of their immigrant entry class, are increasingly participating in the labour market and often do so as members of dual earning family units. The participation rates of women in visible minorities have experienced less upward shift than the rates of women in non-visible minorities.

Many immigrant women are unemployed despite the fact that all subgroups are better educated and the proportion of the population unable to speak English or French has decreased, thus, in theory, increasing the available pool of job skills. As many of these women are not considered to be destined for the labour force upon arrival, their labour market plans are not considered nor are policy initiatives designed to help overcome any barriers they encounter when trying to find paid work. Barriers include the devaluation of

education and experience received outside of Canada, access to information, geographic location and labour demand in that location, professional associations which restrict entry into their profession and racial discrimination.

Education and work experience received in Canada has more value in the labour market. Many issues surround the assessment of credentials received outside of the country. In a report to the Minister of Employment and Immigration (1991:19) the following recommendation, which uses strong language, was included:

The Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council recommends that EIC, in conjunction with the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, and in consultation with the provinces, set up the necessary institutional framework to objectively assess and establish the equivalence of education, training and work experience obtained abroad. In view of the gravity of this problem and the resulting considerable damage inflicted on the utilization of scarce human resources, a high priority should be attached to this endeavour.

With all subgroups experiencing an increasing unemployment rate which is higher than that of the general population, the overall labour market situation of recent immigrant women appears to be worsening over time. This observation of increasing disadvantage supports similar trends noted earlier in the literature by Richmond (1991) and Beaujot and Rappak (1990).

As noted earlier, the category of women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth appears to be undergoing a transformation. Although this group experiences the largest increase in participation rates, they also experience the largest increase in their unemployment rate and the smallest increase in the proportion working full-time, full-year. This group has been used as a benchmark population in the existing literature. Non-visible minority immigrants with traditional places of birth represented the

“typical” immigrant coming to Canada prior to the introduction of the point system and significant changes to immigration policy which allowed for immigration from countries previously prohibited. By 1991, recent immigrants with this profile have experienced an erosion of their advantaged position although they currently continue to be advantaged as compared to visible minority immigrants particularly those with new places of birth.

1991 Census

We have examined the employment profile of the four subgroups of women in 1981 and looked at change in that profile from 1981 to 1991. As was done in Chapter III, a brief description of labour characteristics as they are in 1991 is given in order to complete the scenario. A summary table for 1991 is included in Appendix C as Table C4.5.

Non-visible minority women when compared by place of birth, have a lower participation rate and a .5 higher unemployment rate when they have new places of birth. They do, however, participate more often when the population is restricted to those with some postsecondary education and do so slightly more often as full-time workers. All other things equal, higher levels of education are associated with higher participation rates but in this comparison, women with new places of birth are more often able to translate that higher level of education into a higher participation rate.

The largest difference between the participation rates of these two subgroups is in the population unable to speak English or French. Women with new places of birth have a considerably lower rate. Unlike the group with some postsecondary education, women with this language profile compare by place of birth such that women with new places of birth are more disadvantaged in terms of lower participation rates.

The second comparison is for women in visible minorities by place of birth. Women with new places of birth have both a lower participation rate and a lower unemployment rate. This significantly lower participation rate is possibly understating the unemployment rate in that it limits the calculation of the rate to the population in the labour force without consideration of the population outside of the labour force. It is unknown how many of these people are discouraged workers, that is, people who give up looking for work and drop out of the labour force. If they were included, the unemployment rate might be higher.

While the participation rates are similar between subgroups for the population with some postsecondary education, they are very different for the population which does not speak English or French. Like the previous subgroup comparison, women with new places of birth who do not speak English or French participate much less often and so are more disadvantaged by their language profile as compared to women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth.

The third comparison is between visible and non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth. Although the subgroup of women in visible minorities is better educated in general, as seen in Chapter III, they have a lower participation rate and a much higher unemployment rate. However, when the population is limited to those with some postsecondary education, the participation rates are similar between subgroups but women in visible minorities work more often full-year, full-time.

The participation rates are also similar between subgroups for the population which is not proficient in English or French. These rates are considerably higher than those of women with new places of birth suggesting that they are having less difficulty overcoming

the language disadvantage. This is likely the result of the existence of older, more established ethnic enclaves in the labour market.

The final comparison is between women in visible and non-visible minorities with new places of birth. Women in visible minorities have a lower participation rate with higher unemployment rate. This disadvantage continues into the population with some postsecondary education and also into the population which is not proficient in English or French but women in visible minorities tend to work more often full-year, full-time.

Summary of 1991 Census

By 1991, almost twenty-five years have passed since Canada implemented an immigration policy more open to non-European countries. During that time, many immigrants have come from previously inadmissible source countries such as the Caribbean, Bermuda, Africa and Asia. As this trend continues, the ethnic mix in the available labour market grows. Women constitute approximately half of the population of recent immigrant arrivals. Those who are members of visible minority groups and have new places of birth represent the largest of the four subgroups discussed. For the labour force population aged 15 to 64, this subgroup is 3.5 times larger than all other subgroups of immigrant women combined. Both the literature and the above discussion of labour force rates indicate that this is the most disadvantaged group as compared to other immigrant subgroups or the Canadian born. As they are numerically larger and growing at a faster rate than other subgroups, the differentiation of the labour market experiences of these women, and also of comparable subgroup men, is becoming increasingly difficult for policy makers to ignore.

As noted earlier, there is support for the argument that the situation of recent immigrants is worsening. All subgroups experience large increases in their unemployment rates. These

increases far exceed the increase of one per cent over the same ten year period in the unemployment rate of all women over the age of 15. In particular, women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth show the largest increases in unemployment accompanied by the smallest increases in the proportion working full-time full-year even for those with some postsecondary education. This clearly advantaged group, in 1981, has by 1991, lost some of its advantage. This finding will be discussed again in Chapter V.

Summary Description 1991

Non-Visible Minorities -comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 1 and 2)

New

- have lower employment/population ratio
- have lower participation rate
- have slightly higher unemployment rate
- have more full-year, full-time workers
- participates more with some postsecondary education
- participates less often when population does not speak English or French

Visible Minorities -comparing new and traditional places of birth (Groups 3 and 4)

New

- have lower employment/population ratio
- have lower participation rate
- have lower unemployment rate
- have more persons working full-year, full-time
- participates less often when population does not speak English or French

Traditional Places of Birth -comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 1 and 3)

Visible

- have lower employment/population ratio
- have lower participation rate
- have much higher unemployment rate
- work more often full-year, full-time with some postsecondary education (age 25-44)
- participate more often when population does not speak English or French

New Places of Birth -comparing visible and non-visible minorities (Groups 2 and 4)

Visible

- have lower employment/population ratios
- have lower participation rates
- have higher unemployment rates
- work more often full-year, full-time
- participate less often with some postsecondary education (age 25 to 44)
- participate less often when population does not speak English or French

A Comparison by Gender

A comparison by gender for both census years is included here in recognition that labour market experience is differentiated by gender. The data file created to support this research included recent immigrant men. Both their period of arrival, their status as immigrants and their subgroup assignment is defined in exactly the same manner as the women (see pages 23-24).

For 1981, a summary table for men is included which contains the same information as was provided for women except that the characteristic of presence or absence of children is not included. This variable is derived for labour force purposes, not family purposes, and is available in 1981 for women only. Also included is a summary table which shows the change in key indicators for men from 1981 to 1991. More detailed data tables for male immigrants are also found in Appendix C.

1981 Census

In all four subgroups, recent male immigrants, aged 15 to 64, are numerically a slightly smaller population than are the women. Their numbers in the labour force, however, are larger as they are in the general population. Differences are found by visible minority status and place of birth for men indicating that their labour market experience is also differentiated by these two variables (Table 4.3). The objective of this comparison however, is to identify similarities and differences in the labour force indicators by gender (all comparisons are between Tables 4.3 and 4.1).

**Table 4.3 Recent Male Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Summary Labour Force
Characteristics for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
Total Male Population 15 to 64	18510	3440	610	40875
Male Labour Force 15 to 64	16055	2780	445	30675
Employment/Population Ratio	82.8	74.1	65.3	68.7
Participation Rate	86.7	80.8	72.3	75.1
Unemployment Rate	4.5	8.3	9.8	8.5
% Full-year full-time workers	64.1	57.6	54.1	47.6
Participation rate by marital status				
Age 25 to 44				
Married	93.9	94.2	91.7	89.9
Single	90.0	89.2	71.4	84.6
%Full-year full-time by marital status Age 25 to 44				
Married	69.6	67.8	59.5	57.7
Single	50.4	49.9	61.0	48.9
Participation rate with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	94.1	94.7	83.2	90.1
%Full-year full-time with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	71.2	65.7	50.4	57.3
Participation rate for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	80.0	84.2	n.a	65.5
%Full-year full-time for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	50.6	33.0	n.a	43.7

Td Pob = Traditional Places of Birth

New Pob = New Places of Birth

In all subgroups, the employment/population ratio and the participation rate for men is considerably higher than it is for women in comparable subgroups. The largest difference is between non-visible minority groups, particularly the population with traditional places of birth.

In 1981, the unemployment rates for recent immigrant men are all single digit rates and are much lower as compared to the women. The proportions working full-year full-time are also much higher but again a difference of magnitude appears between subgroups such that men in non-visible minorities are the most different as compared to the women.

Almost all married recent immigrant men, aged 25 to 44, participate in the labour force. Once more the difference by gender is significantly larger for the population in non-visible minorities. While the rates are also high for single men they are more similar, in general, to that of single women.

The vast majority of recent immigrant men with some postsecondary education participate in the labour force. For the population in non-visible minorities with new places of birth, the difference by gender is a rate over 30 per cent higher for the men. The gap is accompanied by a notably higher proportion working full-year, full-time for all subgroups of men.

Recent immigrant men who do not speak either English or French still experience the majority of their population participating in the labour force. The rate could not be calculated for men in visible minorities with traditional places of birth, with this language profile, because the population is too small (Table B3.11.1). The proportions working full-year, full-time are, as expected, the smallest of all participation rates examined. They

continue, however, to be higher than the comparable subgroup of women but the gap is considerably smaller than that previously mentioned.

In summary, in 1981, the difference between male recent immigrants and female recent immigrants by subgroup is considerable. The men participate in much larger numbers, find employment more often and more often work as full-year, full-time workers. The largest gender differences are found in both subgroups within the non-visible minority category. Men in non-visible minorities with some postsecondary education participate in the labour market approximately 30 per cent more often than their female subgroup counterparts regardless of place of birth. The range of difference increases to over 35 per cent within the same subgroups for the population which does not speak either English or French.

The smallest gender difference in the participation rates examined falls within the category of visible minorities with traditional places of birth. Recent immigrant males with some postsecondary education in this subgroup participate in the labour force approximately 10 per cent more than women in the same subgroup.

Change From 1981 to 1991

In order to look at change in the labour market characteristics for recent immigrant men and compare that to the change over the same period in the characteristics of the four subgroups of women, a summary table showing key indicators for recent immigrant men was prepared (Table 4.4). This table is similar to the one provided for recent immigrant women found earlier in this chapter (Table 4.2).

**Table 4.4 Recent Male Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Change in Summary
Labour Force Characteristics from 1981 to 1991
for Combined Geography**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
Total Male Population 15 to 64	+9545	+1620	+560	+77955
Total Male Labour Force 15 to 64	+7865	+1480	+390	+57800
Participation Rate	-1.4	+3.5	-1.2	-.6
Unemployment Rate	+12.2	+7.2	+8.6	+10.6
% Full-year full-time workers	-8.4	+3.5	+6.4	+7.9
Participation rate 25-44				
Married	-2.9	-.1	-3.1	-3.1
Single	-3.3	-6.6	+19.6	-.7
%Full-year full-time age 25-44				
Married	-9.9	+5	+13.2	+4.9
Single	+4.1	+8.4	+14.7	+5.0
Participation rate with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	-3.3	-3.4	+4.6	-1.7
%Full-year full-time with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	-10.3	+2	+24.6	+2.4
Participation rate for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	+9	-9.6	n.a.	-2.1
%Full-year full-time for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	-16.3	+9.3	n.a.	+9.5

Td Pob = Traditional Places of Birth

New Pob = New Places of Birth

In all four subgroups, the total population of recent immigrant males increases from 1981 to 1991. A corresponding increase is seen in the labour force population, however, the participation rate for males decreases in all subgroups except non-visible minorities with new places of birth. The recent female immigrant participation rate continues to increase and is part of the continuing trend toward more women becoming members of the labour force. This is consistent with the increasing participation rates seen for the population with some postsecondary education. Again, the rate for the women significantly exceeds that of the men in all subgroups except the smallest, visible minorities with traditional places of birth, where the increase in rate by gender is similar.

The unemployment rates increase substantially in all subgroups from 1981 to 1991. The largest increase, for both men and women, are in the subgroups of non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth where the rate increases 10.4 per cent for the women and 12.2 per cent for the men.

Accompanied with increasing participation rates, the percentage of full-time, full-year workers increases in all subgroups of women but increases less so for the men. A decrease is seen in the subgroup of men in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth.

The participation rate for married men decreases slightly in all subgroups by 1991. The women in non-visible minority subgroups see large participation rate increases for the population in the same age group, married with children. The only subgroup of married women with children which does see a decrease in their participation rate is women in visible minorities with traditional places of birth. This same subgroup sees an increase in participation for women who are married without children.

Consistent with the change mentioned above, the participation rates for the population who do not speak English or French either increase or decrease less in the subgroups of women than they do in the subgroups of men. The largest difference is found in the subgroup of non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth. Here the rates of the men increase only .9 per cent while the rates of the women increase significantly by 15 per cent.

In summary, the change between 1981 and 1991 is in most cases more significant for the women than it is for the men. Recent immigrant women continue to be part of the trend toward more female participation in the labour force.

1991 Census

We have examined gender differences in labour force characteristics in 1981 and looked at change in the profiles of women as compared to men from 1981 to 1991. As was done previously, a brief analysis of gender differences in 1991 for recent immigrants is given in order to complete the scenario.⁽³⁾

In the previous section on change from 1981 to 1991, we noted that the participation rates of the four subgroups of women have changed more significantly than those of the men. The labour market profile in 1991, however, continues to be differentiated by gender. In all subgroups, recent male immigrants participate in larger proportions than do the women, have smaller unemployment rates and more often have full-year, full-time jobs.

For the population with some postsecondary education, the range of difference in

⁽³⁾ The data table showing summary characteristics for males for 1991 is included in Appendix C as Table C4.6.

participation rates by gender is smaller but the difference remains significant. Only in the visible minority subgroup with traditional places of birth is the gender difference in participation rate larger for the population with some postsecondary education than it is in the total population aged 15 to 64.

The final population examined is the population without English or French language proficiency. Here again, the participation rates of the men are considerably higher in all subgroups. The largest difference reaches 30.9 per cent higher for men in non-visible minorities with new places of birth as compared to women in the same subgroup.

Summary

Women, particularly women with children, are participating in the labour force in ever increasing numbers. This is also happening in the population of recent immigrant women. In 1981, the participation rate when compared by place of birth and visible minority status was similar but the unemployment rates were higher for visible minority groups. The proportions working full-year full-time varied by both place of birth and visible minority status with the largest proportion found in the subgroup of women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth. This is consistent with the findings from the previous chapter which showed advantage in terms of household income and the low income cutoffs for women with traditional places of birth and for women in non-visible minority groups for 1981.

By 1991, the female recent immigrant labour force was larger and the participation rate increased for all four subgroups. The most significant change between the two censuses is in the large increase in the unemployment rates. The highest rates are found in the subgroups of women in visible minorities. The proportions working full-year full-time

also increase. The change in the participation rate of women with some postsecondary education is more significant for women in non-visible minorities. Non-visible minority women with traditional places of birth experience a decrease in their annual household income in 1991 as previously discussed (p.53). Although their participation rates have increased, their unemployment rate has also increased the most by subgroup and the increase in the proportion working full-time, full-year is considerably smaller as compared by subgroup. These results are consistent with the decrease in household income found in Chapter III. However, women in visible minority groups continue to be at a disadvantage vis-à-vis non-visible minority groups in terms of lower participation rates and higher unemployment rates. The range of difference in unemployment rates between subgroups is smaller in 1991 although the range in participation rates between subgroups has increased.

The profiles of recent immigrant women for 1981 and 1991 show a structure of inequality consistent with the findings in Chapter III. The four subgroups are represented generally from the most advantaged labour market rates to the least advantaged as follows: non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth; non-visible minorities with new places of birth; visible minorities with traditional places of birth and; visible minorities with new places of birth. These results are also consistent with the literature reviewed in Chapter I which concluded that recent immigrants are disadvantaged in their labour market outcomes by period of immigration, place of birth and visible minority status.

The interesting point, however, is not in the profiles themselves, which confirm what is already known concerning the labour market experience of immigrants in general, but rather in the process of change and how that change is differentiated by subgroup. The

change in unemployment rate is similar for all subgroups except women in non-visible minorities with traditional places. This subgroup of women experience the largest growth in their unemployment rate accompanied by notably smaller growth in the proportion working full-time, full-year.

The impact of differential change in unemployment rates and proportions working full-time, full-year is the reduction in the range of difference and this gives the appearance of increasing equality between subgroups and consequently, a seeming reduction in the influence of place of birth and visible minority status vis-à-vis labour market experience. This, however, cannot be substantiated when the actual change over time is examined by subgroup. The position of subgroups along a scale of advantage, as previously mentioned, is maintained in 1991. More similarity between groups results from notably uneven gains experienced in the labour market rates and proportions working full-time, full-year by subgroup. It would be interesting to extend this analysis into the 1996 Census to determine if this differential change is creating a trend which will ultimately redefine the relative positioning of the subgroups in terms of disadvantage.

The comparison by gender suggests that the labour market experience of recent immigrants is differentiated by gender. In all subgroups and in both census periods, recent immigrant men have higher participation rates, lower unemployment rates and higher proportions working full-year, full-time. The largest gender difference for all subgroups is in the participation rates of those who do not speak English or French. The specific subgroup with the largest difference is non-visible minority men with new places of birth who participate just over 30% more than do women in the same subgroup with the same

language profile. That is, lack of language facility hinders men much less than women in the labour market.

From 1981 to 1991, the gender difference in labour market rates is reduced somewhat as a result of the increasing number of women, and recent immigrant women, participating in the labour market. As noted earlier, more similar labour market rates by gender represents more equality in access to the labour market and so a positive change for women but does not ensure any substantive change in the structure of inequality as it manifests itself in labour market outcomes. The kinds of occupations these women have and how well they are being paid is a concrete measure of labour market inequality which will be examined in the following chapter.

This chapter has examined the labour force rates by marital status, education and language proficiency in English or French for 1981 and 1991. Differences have been found by place of birth, visible minority status and gender. The next area of examination is labour market outcomes of the subgroups to determine if differences or similarities continue to exist by language proficiency, education level, place of birth, visible minority status and gender. In order to do so, Chapter V will include an examination of occupations and wages.

Chapter V

Occupations and Wages

Introduction

The general literature suggests that occupational segregation and a gendered wage gap frame the labour market experiences of all women in Canada. Women have traditionally worked in clerical, service and sales occupations and little has changed over time (Armstrong 1984). The occupational distribution of recent immigrant women is also very concentrated in a few occupational groups. Opportunity to move from one occupational group to another is limited. In addition, many of the occupations done by immigrant women are associated with lower wages and lower benefit packages. Boyd (1984:1092) summarizes as follows: "...immigrant women experience the restrictions of a sex segregated occupational structure in which women's jobs are characterized by lower wages, less opportunity for advancement, and less job security".

Chapter V has been divided into two main sections. The first section provides a discussion of the occupations and wages of recent immigrant women over the ten years from 1981 to 1991. Variation is shown by education level and language proficiency within and between categories of place of birth and visible minority status in order to show both the differences and similarities between subgroups.⁽¹⁾

Summary tables are provided for both census years which show the top three rank

⁽¹⁾ It is recognized that education levels and language proficiency also have an impact on the labour market outcomes of women working part-time, not full-year. This discussion was not included because the definition of the category used is too broad for significant comparisons to be made by place of birth and visible minority status and, although interesting, is not the focus of this research.

ordered occupations by subgroup and the median wage. Also included is a summary table indicating change over the ten year period. All median wages shown are calculated in 1990 constant dollars to facilitate comparison.

The second section examines “advantaged” recent immigrants. These immigrants have labour market profiles which suggest that they could do better in terms of outcomes than a comparable population without this combination of characteristics. They are aged 25 to 44, work full-time full-year, have some postsecondary education and speak English or French. The primary objective in identifying these advantaged subgroups is to contrast the experiences of women to those of men to see how the most favourably positioned women compare to equally positioned men.

Occupations of Recent Immigrant Women in 1981

In 1981, the total female experienced labour force in Canada, is concentrated in clerical, service and sales occupations (Statistics Canada 1988).⁽²⁾ The top three rank ordered occupations of recent immigrant women working full-time, full-year are similar. They are clerical, service and machining and product fabrication. These three occupations are the top employers of all four subgroups with only the rank order changing between groups. Gender plays an important role in the definition of work and consequently, in job opportunity. The concentration of women in these occupations is very high particularly for women in visible minorities and more so for those with new places of birth where the concentration in 1981 is as high as 72.8% (Table D5.5.1). Movement to other occupational groups is essentially limited.

⁽²⁾ The experienced labour force includes the population 15 years and over who were either employed or unemployed during the reference week but who worked in 1980 or 1981.

**Table 5.1.1 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Labour Force Outcomes
for Combined Geography, 1981**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
Total who worked 15-64				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	C,S,MPF	C,S,MPF	C,S,MPF	C,MPF,S
25% quantile full-time/year	\$12,514	\$11,950	\$10,474	\$11,025
Median wages full-time/year	\$17,783	\$17,783	\$12,625	\$14,582
75% quantile full-time/year	\$24,080	\$23,117	\$20,523	\$19,561
Top 3 occupations part-time (1)	C,S,MPF	C,MPF,S	C,S,MPF	S,C,MPF
Median wages part-time	\$5,334	\$4,141	\$4,245	\$4,623
With some postsecondary:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	C,S,MA	C,H,MA	C,NS,O	C,S,H
25% quantile full-time/year	\$14,598	\$12,448	\$10,669	\$12,946
Median wages full-time/year	\$20,607	\$19,828	\$19,026	\$17,783
75% quantile full-time/year	\$26,702	\$23,816	\$28,497	\$21,339
Without some postsecondary:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	C,MPF,S	C,S,MPF	MPF,S,C	MPF,S,C
25% quantile full-time/year	\$11,007	\$11,701	\$9,851	\$10,635
Median wages full-time/year	\$14,964	\$14,606	\$11,327	\$13,254
75% quantile full-time/year	\$20,450	\$19,561	\$16,004	\$16,857
With English and French:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	C,S,MA	C,S,H	C,S,MPF	C,MPF,S
25% quantile full-time/year	\$13,337	\$12,021	\$9,851	\$11,283
Median wages full-time/year	\$18,462	\$18,494	\$12,803	\$15,300
75% quantile full-time/year	\$24,896	\$23,384	\$20,628	\$19,995
Without English and French:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	MPF,S,O	**	**	MPF,S,O
25% quantile full-time/year	\$11,327	**	**	\$9,780
Median wages full-time/year	\$13,212	**	**	\$12,832
75% quantile full-time/year	\$16,893	**	**	\$15,209

C = Clerical

H = Health

MA = Managerial

MPF = Machining and product fabrication

NS = Natural Science

O = Other

S = Service

SA = Sales

T = Teaching

(1) Includes part-time/not full-year.

**Table 5.1.2 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Labour Force Outcomes
for Combined Geography, 1991**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
Total who worked 15-64				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	C,S,MPF	C,S,MA	C,SA,H	C,S,MPF
25% quantile full-time/year	\$13,000	\$13,000	\$11,000	\$12,000
Median wages full-time/year	\$19,000	\$20,534	\$19,750	\$18,000
75% quantile full-time/year	\$25,038	\$28,000	\$27,000	\$24,279
Top 3 occupations part-time (1)	S,C,SA	C,S,SA	C,SA,S	C,S,MPF
Median wages part-time	\$6,000	\$6,000	\$4,284	\$5,626
With some postsecondary:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	C,H,S	C,MA,H	C,SA,H	C,S,H
25% quantile full-time/year	\$15,459	\$15,422	\$12,000	\$14,131
Median wages full-time/year	\$21,488	\$23,500	\$22,500	\$20,100
75% quantile full-time/year	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$26,135
Without some postsecondary:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	S,C,MPF	S,C,MPF	C,MPF,S	C,S,MPF
25% quantile full-time/year	\$13,000	\$13,000	\$11,000	\$12,000
Median wages full-time/year	\$19,000	\$20,534	\$19,750	\$18,000
75% quantile full-time/year	\$25,038	\$28,000	\$27,000	\$24,279
With English and French:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	C,S,MA	C,S,MA	C,SA,H	C,S,MA
25% quantile full-time/year	\$14,000	\$13,134	\$11,407	\$12,000
Median wages full-time/year	\$20,000	\$20,859	\$20,413	\$19,000
75% quantile full-time/year	\$27,000	\$28,000	\$28,000	\$25,000
Without English and French:				
Top 3 occupations full-time/year	MPF,S,O	**	**	MPF,S,C
25% quantile full-time/year	\$10,000	**	**	\$9,972
Median wages full-time/year	\$14,075	**	**	\$13,000
75% quantile full-time/year	\$18,115	**	**	\$18,000

C = Clerical

H = Health

MA = Managerial

MPF = Machining and product fabrication

NS = Natural science

O = Other

S = Service

SA = Sales

SS = Social sciences

T = Teaching

(1) Includes part-time/not full year.

As expected, with the introduction of some postsecondary education, more occupational variety exists and more professional occupations emerge which bring higher wages.⁽³⁾ However, the concentration represented by the top three jobs is only somewhat reduced. Even with some postsecondary education, the occupation representing the largest portion of the population continues to be clerical for all subgroups. Occupations of medicine and health, and managerial, administrative are introduced following clerical but only into the population of non-visible minority women. The distribution of occupations is influenced by both race and gender with non-visible minority employees having the advantage of being better able to translate their education levels into good jobs.

When the occupational distribution is analyzed by English or French language proficiency, clerical and service continue to be the top two rank ordered occupations. The third occupation is a professional one for the two subgroups of women in non-visible minorities. For women in visible minorities, the three occupations of clerical, service and machining and product fabrication persist regardless of their proficiency in one of Canada's charter languages. Again, language skills are not sufficient for the women in visible minorities to gain access to professional level occupations.

Occupational data are shown in the summary table for two subgroups of women who do not speak English or French, because of the small cell size of the other two groups. With the data available, machining and product fabrication is the leading occupation. This occupational group contains occupations within it which do not require proficiency in

⁽³⁾ Professional occupations include managerial, administration and related; natural sciences, engineering and math; medicine and health; social sciences and teaching.

English or French but are often ethnic enclaves with little opportunity to gain language skills, few to no employee benefits, no union representation, low wages, piece work and little chance for advancement (Shirley Seward 1990; Monica Boyd 1991; Charlene Gannage 1987; Julie White 1983). In addition, concentration in the top three occupations is higher without language skills than with language skills. In 1981, recent immigrant women who do not speak one or both of Canada's official languages are the most disadvantaged in the labour market.

Wages of Recent Immigrant Women in 1981

While the top three rank ordered occupations are the same in all subgroups in 1981, the median income is lower for women in visible minority subgroups and lowest for those with traditional places of birth. Differences are also found when the range between the 25th and 75th quantile is examined. Women in visible minorities with new places of birth have the smallest range indicating less wage difference within the group as compared by place of birth and visible minority status.

As anticipated and consistent with the introduction of professional occupations, the median income is higher in the population with some postsecondary education. In fact the range of difference between subgroups is even reduced. While non-visible minority women with traditional places of birth have the highest median, those women in visible minorities with new places of birth have the lowest suggesting that they incur additional barriers into better paying jobs. The median wage decreases considerably in all subgroups without some postsecondary education.

For the population with English or French language skills, both subgroups of non-visible minority women have one professional occupation in their top three largest

employers and so, as expected, have higher median wages than either subgroup of women in visible minorities with no professional occupations shown in their top three.

While the inability to speak English or French eliminates differences in occupational distribution between the available subgroups, women in visible minority groups with new places of birth have a lower median wage indicating that within these general occupational groups they have the lower paying jobs.

Change From 1981 to 1991

From 1981 to 1991, there is not much change in the occupational distribution of the four subgroup populations regardless of overall higher levels of educational attainment. Occupational segregation persists which is particularly evident in that clerical occupations continue to be the single largest employer of women in 1991.

The concentration of the top three occupations decreases slightly in three of the subgroups. In the remaining subgroup, women in visible minorities with new places of birth, the decrease is more notable at 10 per cent, nevertheless leaving both visible minority subgroups with higher occupational concentrations than their counterparts in non-visible minority groups (Table D5.5.2).

There is some change when language skills are specified. For the population with English or French proficiency, the only subgroup which does not change is women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth. They continue to have managerial

**Table 5.2 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Change in
Median Wages for Combined Geography, 1981-1991**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
Total who worked 15-64				
Median wages full-time/year	+\$1,217	+\$2,751	+\$7,125	+\$3,418
Median wages part-time (1)	+\$666	+\$1,859	+\$39	+\$1,003
With some postsecondary:				
Median wages full-time/year	+\$881	+\$3,672	+\$3,474	+\$2,317
Without some postsecondary:				
Median wages full-time/year	+\$36	+\$1,747	+\$1,673	+\$1,746
With English and French:				
Median wages full-time/year	+\$1,538	+\$2,365	+\$7,610	+\$3,700
Without English and French:				
Median wages full-time/year	+\$863	n.a.	n.a.	+\$168

(1) Includes part-time/not full year.

occupations as the third largest employer. In 1981, both non-visible minority subgroups had one professional occupation represented in the top three. Women in visible minority subgroups see the emergence of professional occupations in their top three for the first time in 1991.

All subgroups of women show an increase in their annual median wages. Of note, is that the largest amount of change is in both subgroups of women in visible minorities particularly women with traditional places of birth. This is consistent with the introduction of one professional occupation in their top three largest employers.

Although all subgroups show an increase, this increase is not equally distributed across groups. However, the difference between the lowest and highest median in 1991 is smaller than it was in 1981 suggesting a somewhat more equal distribution of jobs.

Women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth experience the smallest amount of change in their medians over time. Even in the population with some postsecondary education, the growth rate is approximately 4 % as compared to 18% for women in non-visible minorities with new places of birth. The notable difference in the growth rate, as well as other data findings previously mentioned, confirm that these women who previously had been the most advantaged as compared to other subgroup women, have lost some of that advantage. The progress of this group should be monitored in upcoming censuses to determine if this loss continues.

Little change is seen in the available subgroups which do not speak English or French. It is interesting to note, that the disadvantage incurred by this characteristic is more or less constant over time indicating that its relative weight in the labour market is high and structurally stable.

Summary

Over the ten year period specified, there is little change in the occupational distribution of recent immigrant women. Clerical occupations continue to be the top employer regardless of education levels. The only notable change is in the introduction, in 1991, of a professional occupation in the top three occupations in the subgroups of visible minority women who speak English or French.

As expected, some professional occupations emerge and median wages increase with higher levels of education while the lowest medians are found in the subgroups that have no English or French language skills. However, whether examined by education level or language ability, the median wages remain the lowest for women in visible minority subgroups. The inability to translate education and language skills into better paying jobs creates a disadvantage for these subgroups in the labour market and suggests that their membership in a visible minority group plays a role in their labour market outcomes such that they are disadvantaged vis-à-vis other subgroup women. This has policy implications which include a review of the limited employment equity legislation which exists, discussions of the coverage and implementation of equity through other venues than legislation and a determination of labour market barriers and how to remove these barriers both into and within the labour force.

“Advantaged “ Subgroups

To get another perspective on the data, very specific groups of recent immigrant women and men, referred to as the “advantaged subgroups” are identified. They are “advantaged” in that their attributes and skills are known to produce more favourable labour market outcomes. They are aged 25 to 44, working full-time, full-year, have some

postsecondary education and are proficient in English or French. The classification by place of birth and visible minority status is maintained. The objective of defining these subgroups is to contrast the experiences of equally, favourably positioned recent immigrant women and men.

Two summary tables follow. The first shows the top three occupations and median wages for advantaged women and men while the second shows median wages by selected occupations.⁽⁴⁾ The pool of occupations shown represent the top three occupations of all four subgroups of recent immigrants combined.

The discussion which follows is divided into two sections, each one focusing on a comparison by gender over the ten year period. The first section examines occupational structure and the distribution of wages. The second looks at wages by specific occupations. Large wage gaps exist between men and women within occupations. There are certainly pay equity issues in terms of equal pay for equal work but, given that the occupational classification used is quite broad, some differences are in part a result of a division of jobs along gender lines within an occupational category. The women typically get the lower status, less well paid jobs. An example of this gendered occupational structure is in the medical occupations where the men are usually doctors and specialists and the women are nurses.

⁽⁴⁾ All medians which were based on an unweighted count of 25 or less were suppressed.

**Table 5.3 "Advantaged" Recent Immigrant Population
Showing Summary Labour Force Outcomes
by Visible Minority Status and Place of Birth
for Combined Geography, 1981 and 1991.**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
1981 Females				
Total who worked fty 25-44	1915	325	**	2695
Top 3 occupations	C,MA,NS	C,H,S		C,H,S
25% quantile	\$16,004	\$14,057		\$14,226
Median wages	\$21,339	\$19,828		\$18,672
75% quantile	\$29,875	\$28,027		\$23,117
1981 Males				
Total who worked fty 25-44	5290	985	**	4850
Top 3 occupations	NS,MA,MPF	NS,MA,MPF		MPF,NS,C
25% quantile	\$25,429	\$23,117		\$17,783
Median wages	\$36,207	\$35,566		\$24,896
75% quantile	\$49,792	\$46,235		\$32,827
1991 Females				
Total who worked fty 25-44	4150	680	210	17710
Top 3 occupations	C,H,MA	C,MA,H	C,H,SA	C,S,MA
25% quantile	\$16,156	\$16,000	\$16,000	\$15,000
Median wages	\$22,662	\$24,000	\$27,000	\$21,000
75% quantile	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$35,940	\$27,000
1991 Males				
Total who worked fty 25-44	6320	1355	355	21720
Top 3 occupations	NS,MA,MPF	MA,MPF,NS	MA,NS,C	MA,NS,C
25% quantile	\$21,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$18,000
Median wages	\$31,000	\$30,000	\$29,418	\$25,000
75% quantile	\$42,000	\$45,000	\$44,000	\$35,000

C = Clerical
 H = Health
 MA = Managerial
 MPF = Machining and product fabrication
 NS = Natural Science

O = Other
 P = Processing
 S = Service
 SA = Sales
 T = Teaching

**Table 5.4: "Advantaged" Recent Immigrant Population
Showing Median Wages by Occupation
by Visible Minority Status and Place of Birth,
for Combined Geography, 1981 and 1991.**

Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Td Pob	New Pob	Td Pob	New Pob
1981 Females				
Clerical	\$19,561	**	**	\$19,561
Managerial, administrative and related	\$27,963	**	**	**
Natural sciences,engineering and math	\$28,452	**	**	**
Medicine and health	\$29,585	**	**	\$18,672
Service	\$14,226	**	**	\$13,870
Machining and product fabrication	**	**	**	\$14,226
1981 Males				
Clerical	\$28,452	**	**	\$21,339
Managerial, administrative and related	\$49,792	\$46,235	**	\$30,281
Natural sciences,engineering and math	\$41,878	\$36,320	**	\$33,787
Medicine and health	**	**	**	\$24,007
Service	\$24,896	**	**	\$18,556
Machining and product fabrication	\$31,806	\$30,657	**	\$23,128
1991 Females				
Clerical	\$21,005	\$23,000	**	\$21,568
Managerial, administrative and related	\$27,264	**	**	\$26,000
Medicine and health	\$26,500	**	**	\$23,750
Sales	\$19,000	**	**	\$19,000
Service	\$15,000	**	**	\$12,659
Natural sciences,engineering and math	\$30,000	**	**	\$29,638
Machining and product fabrication	**	**	**	\$15,000
1991 Males				
Clerical	\$20,250	**	**	\$22,000
Managerial, administrative and related	\$45,000	\$46,342	**	\$30,000
Medicine and health	\$33,022	**	**	\$27,753
Sales	\$24,000	**	**	\$24,000
Service	\$20,628	**	**	\$18,000
Natural sciences,engineering and math	\$35,020	\$40,000	**	\$34,000
Machining and product fabrication	\$30,181	**	**	\$22,230

** data not available due to sample size.

Occupations and Wages of Advantaged Recent Immigrants

In both census years, the top rank ordered occupation of advantaged women is clerical despite their more favourable “human capital” resources. For the men, clerical occupations are included in the top three for visible minority subgroups only, in both census years, but are ranked third.

Professional occupations are found only in the top three occupations of non-visible minority women with traditional places of birth in 1981, and in both subgroups of non-visible minority women in 1991. Women in visible minority subgroups, in contrast, do not show professional occupations in their top three. Clearly, women in visible minority subgroups encounter barriers in terms of the movement into professional occupations which are not faced by equally positioned non-visible minority women.

As compared to the women, the advantaged men are more successful in getting into professional occupations. In both census years, men in non-visible minority subgroups, regardless of place of birth, have two professional occupations in the top three while the men in visible minorities have one. While a comparison between subgroups of men is not included in the focus of this research, the occupational data suggest that visible minority men, like their female counterparts, encounter barriers moving into professional occupations which are not equally found by other employees. These barriers could include difficulties in having foreign credentials recognized, language fluency or accent issues, access to information and discrimination. In addition, a “bad job syndrome” has been referenced in the literature which posits that the history of having bad jobs can itself act as a barrier (Krahn and Lowe 1993, Burchell and Rubery 1990).

The more professional occupations demand higher wages and better benefit packages. As expected, in all subgroups and in both census years, the median wages of the men are higher than the women. Krahn and Lowe (1993:170) discuss the occupational gains made by women in general from 1981 to 1991 and the impact of those gains on the existing wage gap:

Despite women entering some of the higher-paying managerial and professional jobs during the 1980s, the wage gap narrowed by less than 8 percentage points (going from 64.2 to 67.6 percent) in this decade. This partly reflects the way in which employment growth trends often counteract each other. During the 1970s, the number of women in the twenty highest-paying occupations swelled more than fourfold, compared with a twofold increase for men. But this trend was offset by an expansion of female employment at the lower end of the pay scale.

The median wage increased over the specified time in all subgroups of advantaged recent immigrant women. The change in the wage gap between 1981 and 1991 for advantaged groups is more notable than the gains made in the total population. In all subgroups, the wage difference between the men and the women has decreased. The largest reduction is in the subgroup of non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth. For these women, the gap narrows 14.2 percentage points (from 58.9 to 73.1 percent). For visible minority women with new places of birth, the gap narrows less, only 9 percentage points over time (from 75.0 to 84.0 percent). This subgroup experiences less wage difference by gender.

Across group differences are measured by the difference between the lowest and highest medians. In 1981, the subgroups of women are considerably more similar in their median wages than the men (only \$2667 difference between subgroups of women as compared to \$11311 for the men). Interestingly, in 1991, the subgroups of men have become much less different while the women have seen an increase in difference such that

the difference across groups is the same by gender (\$6000). This points to increasing inequality between subgroups of women while at the same time, inequality by place of birth and visible minority status appears to be decreasing between subgroups of recent immigrant men. As noted earlier, however, the men show a decreasing or stable median annual wage from 1981 to 1991, which differs by subgroup and is largest for non-visible minority men. As non-visible minority men had higher wages in 1981 than the subgroups of visible minority men, this suggests a loss in advantage by non-visible minority men. The net effect is somewhat misleading. There is an appearance of increasing similarity and equality, over time, between subgroups as well as by gender suggesting a reduction in the influence of place of birth and visible minority status while, in fact, both gains and losses are differentiated by place of birth and visible minority status. In addition, more similarity between subgroups as a result of a reduction in advantage by some groups does not suggest any gain in general.

In most cases, for both men and women, the wage scale ranked from highest to lowest is as follows: 1.non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth; 2.non-visible minorities with new places of birth; 3.visible minorities with traditional places of birth; and 4.visible minorities with new places of birth. The distribution of labour market outcomes is differentiated by the intersection of place of birth and visible minority status even in these advantaged subgroups.

Specific Occupations by Wages

As compared by subgroup to “advantaged” recent immigrant men, the median wages of women are lower in the occupations listed in Table 5.4 which represent the largest employers of immigrant women. In the professional occupations of managerial, natural

sciences, and medicine and health, the medians for advantaged men are substantially higher. The largest difference is found in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth where the occupation of managerial has a gender difference of \$21,899 per year. This difference is larger than many of the median wages listed for women.

The exception to the median wages of men being higher is in the clerical occupations in 1991 where the women in non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth have slightly higher medians than the men. Although the women show an increase in their median wage over time in this occupational category, it is much smaller than the decrease experienced over time by the men. The overall median wages of subgroup men have decreased in many occupational categories from 1981 to 1991 (Table 5.4) especially in the subgroup of non-visible minority men with traditional places of birth..

Summary

In this final section of the chapter, “advantaged” subgroups were defined as recent immigrants with some postsecondary education, with English or French language skills, working full-time, full-year, aged 25 to 44. The objective was to compare women and men with the highest human capital resources in the immigrant population.

Clerical occupations dominate in both census periods for recent immigrant women while the men experience both more diversity and are employed in more professional occupations. In fact, the top rank ordered occupation for advantaged men, in the vast majority of instances, is a professional occupation. Higher wages and better benefits are associated with these occupations.

When specific occupations are examined over time, the subgroups of men continue to have higher median wages than comparable subgroups of women even though in most of the occupations shown, the median wage of men has decreased from 1981 to 1991.

The advantaged characteristics of these subgroups, as expected, have a positive impact on labour market outcomes in that occupational segregation is less of a barrier and wages are higher. The objective, however, of the comparison was to identify differences between equally positioned men and women. Of note, is the persistence of clerical occupations for women. The continuation of occupational segregation whereby “women’s work” is restricted to jobs deemed to require less skill and therefore lower wages perpetuates the gendered wage gap. If advantaged immigrants face these barriers, then immigrants with a less favourable profile are even more disadvantaged.

Chapter VI

Conclusion and Call for Future Research

In Canada, the increasing participation of women in the labour market is one of the most significant labour market trends since World War II. More recently, women with young children are joining the labour force. Although the inclusion of gender is critical to any explanation of the distribution of labour market outcomes, current research must also include other contributing factors and their relationship as intersecting focal points. One such factor is “race” considered as a “constitutive part of all relations” (Creese and Stasiulis 1996:7) which, combined with gender, enable a better understanding of womens experiences in the labour force. The research question of this thesis asked: are the labour market experiences of recent immigrants differentiated by the intersecting focal points of “race” and gender and has this changed over time, from 1981 to 1991?

The existing literature concerning immigrant experience in the labour market focuses on the process of integration which is understood as the ability of immigrants to reach wage parity with the Canadian born. One reoccurring conclusion is that period of immigration is critical to the understanding and measurement of the length of time required to achieve parity. The literature reviewed in Chapter 1 concludes, in general, that the distribution of labour market outcomes is unequal such that immigrants suffer a disadvantage compared to non-immigrants, recent immigrants as compared to traditional immigrants, visible minority immigrants as compared to non-visible minorities and immigrant women as compared to immigrant men.

One limitation in the literature, as it relates to this research, is the ambiguous use of “race” as measured by proxy through place of birth. Although, given the history of

immigration policy in Canada and given the availability of data on place of birth, it has been useful as a proxy, it has not provided a clear measurement of “race”. This problem was addressed in the current research through the creation of the visible minority variable on a new data source which included the richness of other census data. An examination of electronic and print products from the Census product line of 1981 and 1991 revealed several shortcomings, the most important of which was the unavailability of the visible minority indicator in 1981. The new data files created included this indicator as it had been defined for Employment Equity purposes. The visible minority variable provides a more direct measurement of “race” and was incorporated in the development of the matrix used to facilitate between subgroup comparisons.

The second limitation found in the existing literature is a gender limitation. Men have typically been the subject of research in the field of immigration. This has resulted in either the exclusion of women’s experiences altogether or the misrepresentation of those experiences as the same as the experiences of men. In this thesis, women are the primary subjects of investigation in order to redress the gender imbalance of past research. A principle aim was to add to the growing amount of research which looks at issues surrounding women’s work through the examination of how inequalities between women are structured around the experience of immigration.

In conclusion, there are six main findings that warrant mention. The first, is the consequence of the entry status of women as family class immigrants. Women represent approximately 50 percent of immigrants and the majority of them are married and many have children. A large proportion of these women enter the country as family class immigrants. As such, they are not considered to be destined for the labour market.

However, immigrant women have higher participation rates in the labour market than do Canadian born women in both census periods. Even recent immigrant women have higher participation rates suggesting that their intentions are to enter the labour market as soon or shortly after they arrive. Given that there is an increasing need for both parents to earn a wage in order to support a family and that it takes years for immigrants to reach parity with Canadian born workers, it is not surprising that even recent immigrant women participate in the labour market soon after arrival.

The entry status, family class immigrants, has disadvantages for women. Firstly, it ignores the skills and attributes they bring into the country. These skills should be acknowledged and included in the entry evaluation of the family. Their contribution both to their families and to the economy, should not be undervalued. In addition, because their entrance status masks their labour market intentions, programs which are designed to facilitate entry into the labour force are typically male biased and do not meet the needs of immigrant women.

The second main finding addresses issues around language facility. Between 1981 and 1991, the proportion of recent immigrant women who do not speak English or French has decreased in most subgroups but numerically the population has grown (from 14,340 to 23,090) (see Table B3.11.1 and Table B3.11.2). Boyd has added greatly to our understanding of the labour market experiences of immigrant women and has concluded that the most disadvantaged group are immigrant women who are not proficient in one of Canada's charter languages (Boyd 1990,1991). The results of the current research support this conclusion suggesting further that this language profile hinders immigrant men in the labour market less than it does comparable subgroups of women.

Although the data show that education and language skills play an important role in determining labour market outcomes, as suggested by human capital theory, there remain inequalities that appear more directly related to profiles of “race”. The third main finding of the current research is evidence which suggests that discrimination plays a role in the distribution of labour market outcomes. In key areas such as labour force rates, the existence of professional occupations in the top three rank ordered occupations and differences in wages between subgroups, non-visible minorities are more advantaged than visible minorities and traditional places of birth are advantaged over new places of birth (i.e., Western Europe over the New Commonwealth).⁷ In both census years, the visible minority subgroups have the highest unemployment rates and the lowest wages even when they have some postsecondary education and are proficient in English or French. Within the visible minority subgroups, those with new places of birth, which represent the subgroup with the largest growth from 1981 to 1991, have the lowest participation rates accompanied by the highest unemployment rates and the lowest median wages. Further work is needed to explore the structure of this inequality.

The fourth finding is differences found by gender between subgroups in the general population of recent immigrants as well as in the advantaged population defined in Chapter V. Even within the broad occupational groups used, large differences of median annual wages indicate issues around pay equity and gendered occupational structures. Immigrant women, like their non-immigrant counterparts, tend to be concentrated in clerical and service occupations. In all subgroups, the men do better in the labour market than do the women. In both census years, the largest wage gaps by gender are found in the subgroups of non-visible minorities.

The fifth finding focuses on change over time from 1981 to 1991 and the data indicate that the immigrant situation is worsening. This was also suggested in the literature by Richmond (1991) and Beaujot and Rappak (1990) who found that an increasing period of time is required for recent immigrants to reach economic parity with non-immigrant workers. We also know that recent immigrants are predominantly members of visible minorities from Third World countries and will likely continue to be so at least in the near future. Soon they will outnumber the traditional European immigrants and represent the majority of immigrants in Canada. As the ethnic mix in the Canadian population grows, social issues surrounding race and disadvantage become more obvious. The Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council recommend:

...that in order to ensure that immigrants and their progeny are not discriminated against in Canada, a more vigorous race relations program be instituted by the Government with adequate resources (despite current constraints), with a display of strong leadership and new initiatives.

In the labour market, disadvantage from discrimination represents an inefficient use of human capital. The process of entry into the labour market requires examination. Barriers such as the lack of recognition of foreign educational credentials must be re-evaluated. In addition, foreign experience should be taken into account for those from "new" sources as it is for those from traditional sources.

The sixth and final finding is evidence that the once advantaged non-visible minority immigrants with traditional places of birth have lost advantage vis-à-vis other immigrant groups. This group has always been used as the normative group but this evidence suggests that it is now problematic to use the progress of this group, which is weak and

changed from its past course, as a measurement of the success of other groups. The result of this is an overstatement of the progress of the other groups.

Another consequence of using non-visible minorities with traditional places of birth as the normative group is the appearance of increasing equality between subgroups and consequently, a seeming reduction in the influence of place of birth and visible minority status vis-à-vis labour market experience. This, however, cannot be substantiated when the actual change over time is different by subgroup. More similarity between groups results from notably uneven gains experienced in the labour market statistics by subgroup and not from a more equal distribution of outcomes.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although this examination of the patterns of inequality in the labour market indicate that there are differences by visible minority status, place of birth and gender, the recommendations for future research suggest that the next step have a more explanatory focus. As this preliminary look at the data finds variations between subgroups, even with education levels and language facility constant, the next area of inquiry needs to address an explanation of why these patterns of inequality are different between subgroups of women.

Some analytic categories, like place of birth, also require a more narrow definition. Within both the traditional and new immigrant group categories much diversity exists, as indicated by the range between the 25% and 75% quantile of wages, which makes conclusions less definitive. A specific group of countries, for example the Asian countries, could be used as a geography and comparisons made by country within that geography.

Also, occupational categories must be more detailed in order to fully examine occupational segregation and its influence on the wage gap.

The geography used in this research was the combination of the Census Metropolitan Areas of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The majority of Canada's immigrant population live in one of these three cities. Further research could include an examination of the impact of geography on labour market experiences in terms of differing municipal labour market practices and policies and differences between urban and rural environments.

As Canada continues to be one of the top receiving countries of immigrants, and as the majority of these immigrants participate in the labour market, it is important to study inequality in the distribution of labour market outcomes. These patterns of inequality address issues of inequality in general and issues around the consequences of immigration.

Clearly, women are entrenched in the labour market as indicated by the trend of their increasing participation. The experiences of recent immigrant women and Canadian born women, however, include higher unemployment rates, lower median wages and occupational segregation as compared to men. Although labour market gains have been made through policy changes and equity initiatives, gender equality remains a goal.

APPENDIX A

Appendix A

History of Immigration in Canada

Prior to the end of the Second World War, there was no urgency to clearly define the role played by immigration in Canada. After the war, however, the continued expansion of the economy along with increased industrialization created a growing demand for both skilled and unskilled labour. The postwar Liberal government, under Mackenzie King, was reluctant to alter the existing immigration policy either by liberalizing admission or increasing immigration levels. Economic experts advising King did not predict economic expansion but were constrained by the recent events of the Great Depression and the recession following the first world war (Economic Council of Canada 1991:19).

In 1946, immigration policy was very restrictive and racially discriminating in terms of the admission of applicants. Admissible classes continued to be those specified by P.C.695 passed on March 31, 1931. They included:

1. British subjects, defined as persons born or naturalized in Great Britain, Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia or the union of South Africa
2. citizens of the United States
3. wife and unmarried children under eighteen years of age and fiancé(e)s of legal residents of Canada
4. farmers with sufficient means to farm in Canada.

None of the above provisions applied to persons of any Asiatic race. At that time, "Asiatic" was defined as persons from the eastern hemisphere except Europe (Hawkins 1989:21). Based on an order-in-council (P.C.2115) dated September 1930, Chinese immigration was restricted to the admission of the wife and unmarried children, under eighteen years of age, of Canadian citizens who were able to care for them. There were no provisions for the admission of relatives. This order-in-council updated the Chinese

Immigration Act of 1923 which had prohibited the admission of all persons of Chinese ethnic origin except diplomatic personnel, children born in Canada who had left Canada, merchants and foreign students.

The government response to questions and criticism of the existing policy was to establish a Senate Committee on Immigration and Labour. Their mandate was to examine all aspects of immigration including the desirability of admitting immigrants, the type of immigrants preferred, the selection procedure and the resources required to achieve certain levels of immigration. The committee produced reports in 1946, 1947 and 1948 recommending that the current Immigration Act of 1910 be revised and that the Chinese Immigration Act be repealed. They concluded that immigration was good for Canada but that careful, long-term planning of levels was required so as not to adversely effect the economy or alter the Canadian standard of living. In addition, results of hearings found that public opinion favoured the participation of Canada to help resettle the many thousands of persons who had been displaced in Europe by the war.

In May of 1946, P.C.2071 was passed which began the process of dealing with displaced persons as well as cautiously liberalizing immigration policy. The above order-in-council allowed residents to sponsor first degree relatives in Europe and orphaned nieces and nephews under the age of sixteen. Still in that year, Canadian immigration officials were directed to accept identity and travel documents in lieu of passports from displaced persons and in November, emergency measures were announced to help resettlement.

On the first of May, 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King made an often quoted landmark statement of the government's immigration policy. According to Hawkins, King's statement

"served as the official formulation of Canadian immigration policy until 1962" (Hawkins 1972:91). As quoted by Corbett (1957:3) King said:

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be advantageously be absorbed in our national economy.

Like other major problems of today, the problem of immigration must be viewed in the light of the world situation as a whole. A wise and productive policy for Canada cannot be devised by studying only the situation within our own country...Among other considerations, it should take account of the urgent problem of the resettlement of persons who are displaced and homeless, as an aftermath of world conflict. ...The fear has been expressed that immigration would lead to a reduction in the standard of living. This need not be the case. If immigration is properly planned, the result will be the reverse.

...With regard to the selection of immigrants, much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a fundamental human right of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy.

Prime Minister King's announcement tied immigration policy explicitly to both the expansion of the population and of the economy. Absorptive capacity, however, was never defined or operationalized. The economy was still booming and labour demand continued to exceed supply. As a result, there was no impetus to be more specific about capacity levels or how to measure immigrant absorption into the economy.

Employers recognized that labour shortages could be filled by immigrants. In primary industries, employers applied to the Department of Labour in order to recruit immigrants under prearranged labour contracts (Knowles 1992:127). To address such labour shortages, farm workers, miners and loggers were added as admissible classes of immigrants in January, 1947.

Three special movements of immigrants occurred between 1946 and 1947. The first consisted of 4,527 Polish ex-servicemen all of whom agreed to work on farms for a minimum of two years. The second group was 15,000 farm workers from the Netherlands whose intentions were to buy farms in Canada. The final group was the smallest, 500 immigrants and their dependants from the Island of Malta. The Canadian government agreed to the Maltese movement in an effort to relieve the unemployment situation in Malta caused by a shift to peacetime operations of the Royal Dockyards.

The situation of displaced persons required immediate attention and public support was favourable. From June 1947 to October 1948, several orders-in-council were passed allowing the admission to Canada of approximately fifty thousand displaced persons. Mobile immigration teams were sent to Austria and Germany. Selection criteria were ethnic origin, potential value to the economy and political and ideological persuasion. Assessment was the responsibility of the immigration officer.

By 1950, the importance of immigration and immigration policy as it related to the labour market was beginning to be recognized. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created under the leadership of Walter Harris. Prior to that, immigration had fallen under the auspices of the Department of Mines and Resources. The creation of a separate department had been recommended by the Senate Committee and served to increase the profile of immigration in spite of the fact that the new department was also responsible, until 1966, for Indian Affairs.

The movement of displaced persons was coming to an end but there continued to be no shortage of would be immigrants. All former orders-in-council would be replaced in June 1950 with the passage of P.C.2856. Preferred classes of immigrants continued to be those from

Britain, Ireland, the United States and, as of 1948, France. Classes of admissible European immigrants were expanded to include any applicant "who satisfies the Minister that he is a suitable immigrant having regard to the climate, the social, educational, industrial, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada; and that he is not undesirable owing to his probable inability to become readily adapted and integrated into the life of the Canadian community and to assume the duties of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after his entry" (Hawkins 1989:99).

Even admissible classes of Asiatics were expanded to include the husbands of Canadian citizens and unmarried children up to the age of majority. Regulations were also amended to allow German nationals to enter Canada. In 1951, agreements were reached with the governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon to allow admission of specified quotas of immigrants and their families. Immigration policy was being liberalized in a piecemeal fashion, motivated by the requirements of the labour market.

A new Immigration Act was finally passed in 1952 replacing the forty-two year old act of 1910. One of the most significant aspects of the new act was the scope of powers vested in the cabinet to admit or prohibit admission of persons. The minister and his officials were given enormous discretionary powers in hopes that that power would allow for easier administration of immigration policy.

In 1957, the Liberals were defeated by the Conservatives under John Diefenbaker. The economy took a downturn and unemployment levels reached the highest they had been since the end of the war. The Conservatives decided to turn the immigration tap off. Immigration levels, however, were kept artificially high until 1958 as a result of the previous government's response to thousands of Hungarian refugees fleeing from their country after the Russians

crushed the Hungarian uprising in 1956. Until 1961, levels were much reduced (See Table A1.3 and A1.4). The history of immigration policy in Canada indicates an inverse relationship between unemployment rates and immigration levels such that high unemployment rates result in low levels of immigration (Economic Council of Canada 1991:19). Still, immigration had made an impact on the size of the labour force, accounting for one-half of the growth in size between 1950 and 1960 (Knowles 1992:136).

One area of concern the Conservatives attempted to address, was the growing number of sponsored immigrants coming into the country who were predominantly unskilled. Manual labourers from southern Europe were sponsoring many relatives, none of whom were subjected to the selection process. By the mid 1950s, it was estimated that one Italian immigrant could bring into the country up to forty-nine relatives (Hawkins 1972:51). In 1959, an order-in-council was put forward which restricted the admissible classes of relatives to the immediate family. Opposition was very strong both from the Liberals as well as from many ethnic communities across the country. The order-in-council was withdrawn. It was not until the mid-sixties before the government was able to impose controls that could stop the escalation of the sponsor movement.

The main achievement of the Conservatives during this period were the new immigration regulations of 1962. Racial discrimination, referred to by Hawkins (1989:8) as the "White Canada" immigration policies, had been a key component of all prior legislation. The new regulations essentially eliminated racial discrimination. Canada was the first major receiving

**Table A1.3: Immigration Arrivals to Canada ,
1945-1991**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Immigrants</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Immigrants</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Immigrants</i>
1945	22,722	1966	194,743	1987	152,098
1946	71,719	1967	222,876	1988	161,929
1947	64,127	1968	183,974	1989	192,001
1948	125,414	1969	161,531	1990	214,230
1949	95,217	1970	147,713	1991	230,781
1950	73,912	1971	121,900		
1951	194,391	1972	122,006		
1952	164,498	1973	184,200		
1953	168,868	1974	218,465		
1954	154,227	1975	187,881		
1955	109,946	1976	149,429		
1956	164,857	1977	114,914		
1957	282,164	1978	86,313		
1958	124,851	1979	112,096		
1959	106,928	1980	143,117		
1960	104,111	1981	128,618		
1961	71,689	1982	121,147		
1962	74,586	1983	89,157		
1963	93,151	1984	88,239		
1964	112,606	1985	84,302		
1965	146,758	1986	99,219		

Source: Citizenship and Immigration: Immigration Statistics, Annual Reports

**Table A1.4: Immigration Arrivals to Canada by Gender,
1945-1991**

Period of Immigration	Total Immigrants		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1946-1950	340458	100.0	166929	49.0	173529	51.0
1951-1955	617756	100.0	351896	57.0	265860	43.0
1956-1960	605193	100.0	314920	52.0	290273	48.0
1961-1965	381552	100.0	182073	47.7	199479	52.3
1966-1970	702894	100.0	356163	50.7	346731	49.3
1971-1975	635978	100.0	317040	49.9	318938	50.1
1976-1980	465033	100.0	221544	47.6	243489	52.4
1981-1984	345075	100.0	162816	47.2	182259	52.8
1985	84302	100.0	40266	47.8	44036	52.2
1986	99219	100.0	49120	49.5	50099	50.5
1987	152098	100.0	76975	50.6	75123	49.4
1988	161929	100.0	79395	49.0	82534	51.0
1989	192001	100.0	96119	50.1	95882	49.9
1990	214230	100.0	108280	50.5	105950	49.5
1991	230781	100.0	116192	50.3	114589	49.7

Source: For 1985-1992, Citizenship and Immigration: Immigration Statistics
(annual reports).
For 1946-1984, Boyd:1987:39.

country, ahead of the United States and Australia, to eradicate discriminatory immigration policy (Knowles 1992:143).

Skill became the main criterion for unsponsored immigrants. Section 31(a) of the new regulations outlined the requirements as “a person who by reason of his education, training, skills or other special qualifications, is likely to be able to establish himself successfully in Canada” (Hawkins 1972:125). The connection between immigration policy and labour market needs was again fortified.

In 1963 the Conservatives were defeated by the Liberals under Lester B. Pearson. The economy was recovering but the pace of technological innovation was beginning to escalate. Unemployment levels remained high. Skills in demand in the job market were changing and some skills became obsolete. Immigration policy was again reviewed. The government was determined to continue the focus on skills of prospective immigrants and also hoped to introduce controls over the sponsor movement. The criteria used to select unsponsored immigrants was eleven years of education which was a necessary but not sufficient condition. The rest was completely up to the discretion of the immigration officer who assessed each applicant's personality and work experience in relation to Canada's labour market needs in the intended geographic area of settlement.

Tom Kent, the deputy minister, believed that it was possible to identify and attach relative weights to the factors which enabled immigrants to adapt successfully. The result was the point system which was incorporated into the regulations of 1967. At last a universal selection system was put into place which was completely non-discriminatory and explicitly geared to the needs of the labour market. Nine categories were established; education, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, age, arranged employment, knowledge of

French and English, relative and employment opportunities in the area of settlement. Points were attached to each category and a score of fifty points out of one hundred was sufficient to grant admission. The weights associated with each category were amended in 1978 and again in 1985 (see Figure A1.1 and A1.2).

The introduction of the new regulations removed a clause (Section 31d) from the 1962 regulations which contained the last vestige of privilege for Europeans and Americans. This clause had contained a wider definition of admissible, sponsored relatives.

The sponsored class was redefined in the new regulations to include only dependent relatives. Eligible applicants were the sponsors spouse, fiancé(e), unmarried children of any age (if adopted, under 13 years of age), parents of any age, grandparents 60 years and over (or incapable of working); orphaned brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, or grandchildren (not yet married) under 18 years of age; or any other relative if the sponsor had no close relatives in Canada or no family-class relatives who could be sponsored (Economic Council of Canada 1991:16). These applicants were exempted from selection under the point system.

A new class was created for nominated relatives who were assessed using the point system but who were given additional points if they had relatives in Canada who were willing to support them for a period of up to five years after arrival. The government's intention was to try and curb the unskilled, sponsor movement. It enabled the family class to be narrowly defined and forced other relatives to be assessed according to the point system but gave them special credit for having relatives in Canada who could provide short term settlement arrangements.

Figure A1.1: Immigrant Selection Factors under the Point System, Canada, 1967

Independent applicants

Short-term factors

Arranged employment or designated occupation	0 or 10
Knowledge of English and/or French	0-10
Relative in Canada	0,3, or 5
Area of destination	0-5

Long-term factors

Education and training	0-20
Personal qualities	0-15
Occupational demand	0-15
Occupational skill	0-10
Age	0-10
Maximum	100

Nominated Relatives

Long-term factors (same as for independent applicants)	1-70
Short term settlement arrangements provided by relative in Canada	15,20,25, or 30
Maximum	100

Sponsored dependents

Close relative in Canada willing to take responsibility for care and maintenance	not required
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Source: Manpower and Immigration Canada

**Figure A1.2: Immigrant Selection Factors under the
Point System, Canada
Revised in 1985**

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Units</i>
Education	12
Specific Vocational Preparation	15
Experience	8
Occupation	10
Arranged Employment	10
Age	10
Knowledge of French and English	15
Personal Suitability	10
Levels Control	10
Total	100
Pass Mark	70
Bonus for Assisted Relative Applicants	10

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration Commission

Also included in the new regulations was a provision (Section 34) which allowed visitors to apply for immigrant status while they were in Canada. Would be applicants soon realized that the fastest way to get into Canada was simply to arrive and then apply for immigration status. If refused, the applicant could acquire additional time in Canada by submitting an appeal to the Immigration Appeal Board.

Over the next five years, an enormous backlog of cases was created. In 1972, Section 34 was revoked and an amnesty, called the Adjustment of Status Program, was put into effect in order to deal with the backlog. Persons who had lived in Canada since November 30, 1972 and who came forward within sixty days of the amnesty were able to have their status adjusted. Thirty-nine thousand people from one hundred and fifty countries were given landed immigrant status (Hawkins 1989:48).

Another task force was established to review immigration policy. A Green Paper was tabled in February 1975 which initiated the creation of a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons. A national public debate ensued from the task force hearings held across the country. Fifty public hearings were held in twenty-one cities. The committee heard four hundred witnesses and received fourteen hundred briefs (Hawkins 1989:57)

Sixty-five recommendations were made by the joint committee and sixty of them were incorporated into the new Immigration Act of 1976. The objectives of Canadian immigration policy were finally articulated in the Act. They included the promotion of Canada's demographic, economic, cultural and social goals, family reunion, fulfilment of Canada's obligations in relation to the United Nations Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to refugees, a bona fide non-discriminatory policy and co-operation between levels of government and the voluntary sector (Knowles 1992:58).

Section 7 of the new act specified that the government is required to table an annual report, after consulting with the provinces, which indicates the number of immigrants to be admitted over a specified period of time (usually one fiscal year).

The point system was revised to put more emphasis on the work experience and training of independent applicants and less on their education. Three classes of immigrants were specified; the family class, the humanitarian class and independents. The nominated relatives class were subsumed under independents.

The establishment of a humanitarian class recognized the growing refugee movement and the need to formalize Canada's response and eliminate adhoc, event by event decisions for both United Nations defined refugees and displaced persons.

The early 1980s were years of economic recession during which time the number of independent immigrants coming into Canada was reduced. By the mid decade, the economy was recovering and the Conservative government planned for an increase, albeit small, in the level of immigration. An old Liberal plan was dusted off and expanded which created a new category of business class immigrants. The original scheme had two categories; self-employed and entrepreneurs. The later class had to invest in a business which employed at least one other person. The new category was the investor class. These immigrants are admitted solely on the basis of their net worth and business acumen. Much criticism has been levied against the government for allowing applicants to forego the selection procedure simply because of wealth. Economic analysis suggests that the benefit accrued to Canada is minimal (Economic Council of Canada 1991:36).

The federal government again sought extensive consultations in late 1989 and early 1990 with economists, academics, provincial governments, representatives from labour, business etc.

concerning policy and levels. For the first time a five year plan of immigration levels was tabled in 1990-1991. The economy was slow but, in general, support was in favour of immigration. Caution concerning the balance between family class and independents was enunciated. The level for 1990-1991 was 220,000 which was to increase to 250,000 in the year 1991-1992 and then remain there until 1995. The increase was to focus on the independent categories.

Although immigration is a joint responsibility between the federal government and the provinces, according to section 95 of the British North America Act, most of the history of immigration policy in Canada has been controlled solely by the federal government. More recently, the provinces, including Quebec, have become interested in participating in the selection of potential immigrants. Federal-provincial agreements have now been signed in seven provinces.

The Change in Ethnic Diversity

The history of immigration policy is reflected in the changing place of birth and period of immigration for men and women respectively. The impact of discriminatory policy on place of birth is clear. In total, the traditionally preferred immigrants from Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States account for 95.1 per cent of all immigrants who came to Canada before 1961.

The new regulations of 1962 and the introduction of the point system in 1967 allowed for a broader mix of eligible immigrants and began to alter significantly the existing ethnic diversity of Canada. Immigrants born in the Caribbean and Bermuda, Africa, South East Asia and Southern Asia increased in the ten year period from 1961 to 1970 four or more times that which they had been in the years before 1961. By 1991, the three largest places of birth are Eastern Asia, South East Asia and Eastern Europe. Europeans who had represented 63.6 per

cent of all immigrants who immigrated before 1961 dropped to 25.7 per cent by the 1988-1991 period. Clearly the distribution of source country has changed the ethnic diversity of immigrants in Canada.

APPENDIX B

Table B3.3 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Summary Characteristics for Combined Geography, 1991.

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
Total Female Population 15 to 64	28415	4690	1460	122885
Age distribution				
% between age 15 to 24	20.5	25.0	39.4	23.1
% between age 25 to 44	67.2	60.0	51.7	60.4
% between age 45 to 64	12.2	15.0	9.0	16.5
Average age of population 15-64	32.5	32.6	28.8	33.6
Median age of population 15-64	31	31	27	32
% with children LT age 6 by age of mother				
15 to 24	14.8	11.0	16.1	10.1
25 to 44	28.0	34.7	31.9	29.9
45 to 64	1.8	1.4	0.0	1.3
% married	72.0	65.8	57.5	59.7
% unable to speak Eng. or Fr.	16.6	11.1	4.1	14.5
% with postsecondary education	55.5	57.4	59.3	47.3
% with university degree	18.5	15.7	20.1	16.9
Average Household Income	\$43,834	\$47,252	\$52,524	\$44,855
Median Household Income	\$35,622	\$38,200	\$46,465	\$36,513
% Below Low Income Cutoffs	38.9	40.5	34.1	44.0

**Table B3.4: Recent Immigrants Aged 15 to 64
by Visible Minority Indicator Showing Age Groups
for Combined Geography, 1981 and 1991**

Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	1981		1991		1981		1991	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	45615	100.0	66225	100.0	87040	100.0	244340	100.0
15-19	4280	9.4	5360	8.1	13035	15.0	26150	10.7
20-24	7915	17.4	7680	11.6	18980	21.8	32320	13.2
25-29	10365	22.7	14270	21.5	16795	19.3	43560	17.8
30-34	8140	17.8	13805	20.8	10685	12.3	44045	18.0
35-39	4940	10.8	9830	14.8	5630	6.5	33910	13.9
40-44	2975	6.5	7130	10.8	3890	4.5	24695	10.1
45-49	1770	3.9	3685	5.6	3535	4.1	13380	5.5
50-54	1710	3.7	2080	3.1	4585	5.3	9585	3.9
55-59	1850	4.1	1175	1.8	5130	5.9	8540	3.5
60-64	1670	3.7	1210	1.8	4775	5.5	8155	3.3

**Table B3.5: Total Population
Aged 15 to 64 Showing Age Groups
for Combined Geography,
1981 and 1991**

Age Groups	1981		1991	
	#	%	#	%
Total	4977580	100.0	6036335	100.0
15-19	620680	12.5	541520	9.0
20-24	687720	13.8	658995	10.9
25-29	642555	12.9	820790	13.6
30-34	627770	12.6	824340	13.7
35-44	940795	18.9	1424230	23.6
45-54	806450	16.2	987685	16.4
55-59	366920	7.4	402745	6.7
60-64	284690	5.7	376030	6.2

Source: For 1981 data the source was Population Language, ethnic origin, religion, place of birth, schooling, Table 3, Catalogues 93-929, 93-930, 93-934. For the 1991 data the source was Age, Sex and Marital Status, Table 3, Catalogue 93-310.

**Table B3.6.1 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	20135	100.0	3535	100.0	595	100.0	44955	100.0
15-19	1815	9.0	365	10.3	130	21.8	6135	13.6
20-24	4170	20.7	715	20.2	160	26.9	9445	21.0
25-29	4305	21.4	795	22.5	100	16.8	8765	19.5
30-34	3430	17.0	525	14.9	65	10.9	5335	11.9
35-39	1875	9.3	325	9.2	20	3.4	2585	5.8
40-44	1225	6.1	160	4.5	15	2.5	1980	4.4
45-49	755	3.7	135	3.8	35	5.9	2010	4.5
50-54	805	4.0	170	4.8	40	6.7	2965	6.6
55-59	970	4.8	155	4.4	25	4.2	3135	7.0
60-64	780	3.9	185	5.2	5	0.8	2600	5.8
Average	32.3		32.5		28.8		33.0	
Median	29		29.0		25		28	

**Table B3.6.2 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Immigrant Group Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Immigrant Group Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	28415	100.0	4690	100.0	1460	100.0	122885	100.0
15-19	2000	7.0	545	11.6	270	18.5	12060	9.8
20-24	3845	13.5	630	13.4	305	20.9	16390	13.3
25-29	6325	22.3	905	19.3	280	19.2	22090	18.0
30-34	5815	20.5	840	17.9	250	17.1	22445	18.3
35-39	4090	14.4	640	13.6	155	10.6	17205	14.0
40-44	2850	10.0	430	9.2	70	4.8	12455	10.1
45-49	1485	5.2	300	6.4	65	4.5	6195	5.0
50-54	800	2.8	115	2.5	30	2.1	4810	3.9
55-59	580	2.0	145	3.1	25	1.7	4860	4.0
60-64	625	2.2	140	3.0	10	0.7	4375	3.6
Average	32.5		32.6		28.8		33.6	
Median	31		31		27		32	

**Table B3.7 Recent Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Gender for Combined Geography, 1981 and 1991**

Census Year	Gender	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
		Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
1981	Total Number	38640	6975	1210	85830
	Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Female %	52.1	50.7	49.2	52.4
	Male %	47.9	49.3	50.8	47.6
1991	Total Number	56475	9745	2630	241710
	Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Female %	50.3	48.1	55.5	50.8
	Male %	49.7	51.9	44.5	49.1

**Table B3.8.1 Recent Female Immigrants by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Marital Status by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Marital Status and Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	20135	100.0	3535	100.0	595	100.0	44955	100.0
Single	3440	17.1	745	21.1	230	38.7	14895	33.1
Married	15185	75.4	2515	71.1	345	58.0	25915	57.6
Separated	400	2.0	65	1.8	10	1.7	940	2.1
Divorced	490	2.4	80	2.3	5	0.8	615	1.4
Widowed	620	3.1	130	3.7	5	0.8	2590	5.8
Age 15 to 24	5985	100.0	1080	100.0	295	100.0	15580	100.0
Single	2565	42.9	565	52.3	200	67.8	10390	66.7
Married	3330	55.6	505	46.8	90	30.5	5005	32.1
Separated	45	0.8	0	0.0	5	1.7	85	0.5
Divorced	35	0.6	10	0.9	0	0.0	50	0.3
Widowed	10	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	50	0.3
Age 25 to 44	10840	100.0	1810	100.0	200	100.0	18670	100.0
Single	790	7.3	160	8.8	30	15.0	4045	21.7
Married	9430	87.0	1555	85.9	160	80.0	13555	72.6
Separated	280	2.6	40	2.2	10	5.0	495	2.7
Divorced	300	2.8	50	2.8	0	0.0	270	1.4
Widowed	35	0.3	5	0.3	0	0.0	300	1.6
Age 45 to 64	3310	100.0	645	100.0	100	100.0	10705	100.0
Single	85	2.6	20	3.1	0	0.0	465	4.3
Married	2420	73.1	460	71.3	90	90.0	7355	68.7
Separated	75	2.3	25	3.9	0	0.0	355	3.3
Divorced	155	4.7	15	2.3	5	5.0	295	2.8
Widowed	575	17.4	125	19.4	5	5.0	2235	20.9

**Table B3.8.2 Recent Female Immigrants by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Marital Status by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Marital Status and Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	28415	100.0	4690	100.0	1460	100.0	122885	100.0
Single	5575	19.6	1150	24.5	550	37.7	40895	33.3
Married	20455	72.0	3085	65.8	840	57.5	73325	59.7
Separated	795	2.8	215	4.6	25	1.7	2535	2.1
Divorced	1010	3.6	110	2.3	45	3.1	2035	1.7
Widowed	580	2.0	130	2.8	0	0.0	4100	3.3
Age 15 to 24	5845	100.0	1175	100.0	575	100.0	28455	100.0
Single	3180	54.4	770	65.5	375	65.2	21500	75.6
Married	2585	44.2	390	33.2	200	34.8	6510	22.9
Separated	65	1.1	10	0.9	0	0.0	255	0.9
Divorced	5	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	115	0.4
Widowed	10	0.2	5	0.4	0	0.0	75	0.3
Age 25 to 44	19085	100.0	2810	100.0	745	100.0	74195	100.0
Single	2290	12.0	335	11.9	160	21.5	18125	24.4
Married	15425	80.8	2260	80.4	555	74.5	52525	70.8
Separated	585	3.1	135	4.8	10	1.3	1740	2.3
Divorced	660	3.5	75	2.7	20	2.7	1215	1.6
Widowed	125	0.7	5	0.2	0	0.0	590	0.8
Age 45 to 64	3485	100.0	705	100.0	135	100.0	20235	100.0
Single	110	3.2	40	5.7	20	14.8	1270	6.3
Married	2445	70.2	435	61.7	85	63.0	14290	70.6
Separated	140	4.0	70	9.9	10	7.4	540	2.7
Divorced	345	9.9	35	5.0	20	14.8	700	3.5
Widowed	445	12.8	120	17.0	0	0.0	3435	17.0

**Table B3.9.1 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Presence of Children for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Presence of Children	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
Total 15 to 64	20135	3535	595	44955
% With Children	46.3	47.9	37.0	41.1
% With Children LT 6	25.2	26.3	18.8	19.0
% Without Children	53.7	52.1	63.0	58.9

**Table B3.9.2 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Presence of Children for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Presence of Children	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
Total 15 to 64	28415	4690	1460	122885
% With Children	38.0	49.0	37.6	47.1
% With Children LT 6	22.1	23.8	22.7	20.6
% Without Children	62.0	50.9	62.4	52.9

**Table B3.10.1 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Religious Affiliation
by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Age Groups and Religion	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New I Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	20135	100.0	3535	100.0	595	100.0	44955	100.0
Catholic	8780	43.6	1150	32.5	110	18.5	12935	28.8
Protestant	6345	31.5	900	25.5	160	26.9	7850	17.5
Orthodox	1405	7.0	75	2.1	40	6.7	980	2.2
Jewish	1430	7.1	850	24.0	0	0.0	35	0.1
Eastern Non-Christian	110	0.5	230	6.5	130	21.8	12985	28.9
Para Religions	10	0.0	5	0.1	0	0.0	25	0.1
No and Other	2055	10.2	325	9.2	155	26.1	10145	22.6
Age 15 to 24	5985	100.0	1085	100.0	290	100.0	15580	100.0
Catholic	2875	48	400	36.9	30	10.3	4070	26.1
Protestant	1725	28.8	260	24.0	70	24.1	2900	18.6
Orthodox	525	8.8	40	3.7	5	1.7	265	1.7
Jewish	250	4.18	190	17.5	0	0.0	10	0.1
Eastern Non-Christian	60	1.0	105	9.7	100	34.5	5095	32.7
Para Religions	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	0.0
No and Other	550	9.19	90	8.3	85	29.3	3235	20.8
Age 25 to 44	10835	100.0	1820	100.0	200	100.0	18665	100.0
Catholic	4450	41.1	450	24.7	45	22.5	5965	32.0
Protestant	3580	33	525	28.8	80	40.0	3175	17.0
Orthodox	635	5.9	15	0.8	15	7.5	490	2.6
Jewish	815	7.5	510	28.0	0	0.0	25	0.1
Eastern Non-Christian	50	0.5	110	6.0	15	7.5	4740	25.4
Para Religions	10	0.1	5	0.3	0	0.0	5	0.0
No and Other	1295	12.0	205	11.3	45	22.5	4265	22.9
Age 45 to 64	3315	100.0	630	100.0	105	100.0	10710	100.0
Catholic	1455	43.9	300	47.6	35	33.3	2900	27.1
Protestant	1040	31.4	115	18.3	10	9.5	1775	16.6
Orthodox	245	7.4	20	3.2	20	19.0	225	2.1
Jewish	365	11.0	150	23.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Eastern Non-Christian	0	0.0	15	2.4	15	14.3	3150	29.4
Para Religions	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	0.1
No and Other	210	6.3	30	4.8	25	23.8	2645	24.7

**Table B3.10.2 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Religious Affiliation
by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Age Groups and Religion	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	28415	100.0	4690	100.0	1460	100.0	122885	100.0
Catholic	17460	61.4	2190	46.7	255	17.5	32865	26.7
Protestant	4045	14.2	795	17.0	350	24.0	20455	16.6
Orthodox	2080	7.3	5	0.1	95	6.5	3155	2.6
Jewish	1880	6.6	1250	26.7	0	0.0	150	0.1
Eastern Non-Christian	170	0.6	125	2.7	460	31.5	37205	30.3
Para Religions	35	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	260	0.2
No and Other	2745	9.7	335	7.1	290	19.9	28795	23.4
Age 15 to 24	5850	100.0	1175	100.0	570	100.0	28455	100.0
Catholic	3760	64.3	510	43.4	85	14.9	6615	23.2
Protestant	700	12.0	225	19.1	80	14	4845	17.0
Orthodox	350	6.0	0	0.0	10	1.8	795	2.8
Jewish	410	7.0	320	27.2	0	0.0	35	0.1
Eastern Non-Christian	65	1.1	30	2.6	300	52.6	10060	35.4
Para Religions	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	70	0.2
No and Other	565	9.7	90	7.7	95	16.7	6035	21.2
Age 25 to 44	19085	100.0	2815	100.0	750	100.0	74195	100.0
Catholic	11790	61.8	1285	45.6	130	17.3	21690	29.2
Protestant	2810	14.7	460	16.3	235	31.3	12510	16.9
Orthodox	1390	7.3	5	0.2	70	9.3	1790	2.4
Jewish	1110	5.8	765	27.2	0	0.0	90	0.1
Eastern Non-Christian	105	0.6	75	2.7	140	18.7	19695	26.5
Para Religions	25	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	110	0.1
No and Other	1855	9.7	225	8.0	175	23.3	18310	24.7
Age 45 to 64	3480	100.0	710	100.0	130	100.0	20230	100.0
Catholic	1910	54.9	395	55.6	40	30.8	4560	22.5
Protestant	535	15.4	110	15.5	35	26.9	3100	15.3
Orthodox	340	9.8	0	0.0	15	11.5	565	2.8
Jewish	360	10.3	165	23.2	0	0.0	25	0.1
Eastern Non-Christian	0	0.0	20	2.8	20	15.4	7450	36.8
Para Religions	10	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	80	0.4
No and Other	325	9.3	20	2.8	20	15.4	4450	22

**Table B3.11.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who
Do Not Speak English or French
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
	#	#	#	#
Total	3425	230	80	10605
15 to 24	1025	70	10	1870
25 to 44	1260	100	15	3275
45 to 64	1140	60	55	5460
% of target population	17.0	6.4	13.6	23.6
% of male recent immigrants	13.1	4.6	0.1	16.0

**Table B3.11.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who
Do Not Speak English or French
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Age Groups	Non-Visible Minority		Visible Minority	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
	#	#	#	#
Total	4705	525	55	17805
15 to 24	595	75	0	1885
25 to 44	3010	240	40	7790
45 to 64	1100	210	15	8130
% of target population	16.6	11.1	4.1	14.5
% of male recent immigrants	15.8	7.4	3.4	9.9

Table B3.12.1 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing School Attendance for Combined Geography, 1981				
School Attendance	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places Birth
Total Population	20135	3535	595	44955
% Not Attending	78.8	75.0	65.5	72.1
% Attending Full-time	11.1	12.4	25.2	16.6
% Attending Part-time	10.2	12.6	9.2	11.3

Table B3.12.2 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing School Attendance for Combined Geography, 1991				
School Attendance	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
Total Population	28415	4690	1460	122885
% Not Attending	72.5	68.8	64.7	66.9
% Attending Full-time	15.1	19.2	24.0	17.8
% Attending Part-time	12.4	12.0	11.3	15.3

**Table B3.13.1 Recent Female Immigrants
Aged 15 to 64 Who Were Not Attending School by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Highest
Level of Schooling for Combined Geography, 1981**

Highest Level of Schooling	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Not Attending	15860	100.0	2650	100.0	390	100.0	32415	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	8365	52.7	1235	46.6	230	59.0	21815	67.3
Trades Certificate	435	2.7	50	1.9	0	0.0	515	1.6
Other Non-University	3675	23.2	735	27.7	85	21.8	4580	14.1
University no degree	1530	9.6	275	10.4	35	9.0	2430	7.5
University with degree	1855	11.7	355	13.4	40	10.3	3075	9.5

**Table B3.13.2 Recent Female Immigrants
Aged 15 to 64 Who Were Not Attending School by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Highest
Level of Schooling for Combined Geography, 1991**

Highest Level of Schooling	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Not Attending	20595	100.0	3225	100.0	945	100.0	82165	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	9165	44.5	1375	42.6	385	40.7	43260	52.7
Trades Certificate	925	4.5	90	2.8	20	2.1	1510	1.8
Other Non-University	4750	23.1	820	25.4	220	23.3	15305	18.6
University no degree	1955	9.5	435	13.5	130	13.8	8215	10.0
University with degree	3800	18.5	505	15.7	190	20.1	13875	16.9

**Table B3.14.1 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
1980 Household Income by Age Groups and for
Combined Geography, 1981.**

Age Groups and Hhld Income (1)	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	20135	100.0	3535	100.0	595	100.0	44955	100.0
LT \$9999 (2)	3455	17.2	770	21.8	105	17.6	8175	18.2
\$10000-\$19999	2135	10.6	435	12.3	75	12.6	5990	13.3
\$20000-\$29999	2510	12.5	415	11.7	100	16.8	6500	14.5
\$30000-\$39999	2835	14.1	460	13.0	70	11.8	6485	14.4
\$40000-\$49999	2430	12.1	390	11.0	60	10.1	5110	11.4
\$50000-\$59999	1945	9.7	320	9.1	40	6.7	3995	8.9
\$60000+	4820	23.9	740	20.9	140	23.5	8705	19.4
Average income(3)	\$47,285		\$43,548		\$44,571		\$41,207	
Median income(3)	\$39,122		\$36,230		\$34,472		\$34,491	
Total 15 to 24	5985	100.0	1080	100.0	290	100.0	15580	100.0
LT \$9999 (2)	880	14.7	185	17.1	50	17.2	2805	18.0
\$10000-\$19999	705	11.8	155	14.4	30	10.3	2230	14.3
\$20000-\$29999	790	13.2	130	12.0	40	13.8	2365	15.2
\$30000-\$39999	915	15.3	135	12.5	30	10.3	2255	14.5
\$40000-\$49999	710	11.9	140	13.0	40	13.8	1650	10.6
\$50000-\$59999	515	8.6	115	10.6	20	6.9	1335	8.6
\$60000+	1465	24.5	220	20.4	80	27.6	2940	18.9
Total 25 to 44	10840	100.0	1800	100.0	195	100.0	18660	100.0
LT \$9999 (2)	1910	17.6	400	22.2	30	15.4	3615	19.4
\$10000-\$19999	1050	9.7	200	11.1	35	17.9	2580	13.8
\$20000-\$29999	1285	11.9	225	12.5	50	25.6	2840	15.2
\$30000-\$39999	1530	14.1	265	14.7	20	10.3	2760	14.8
\$40000-\$49999	1365	12.6	175	9.7	0	0.0	2300	12.3
\$50000-\$59999	1180	10.9	155	8.6	20	10.3	1400	7.5
\$60000+	2515	23.2	380	21.1	40	20.5	3165	17.0
Total 45 to 64	3310	100.0	640	100.0	95	100.0	10705	100.0
LT \$9999 (2)	665	20.1	180	28.1	20	21.1	1755	16.4
\$10000-\$19999	380	11.5	80	12.5	10	10.5	1180	11.0
\$20000-\$29999	430	13.0	65	10.2	15	15.8	1295	12.1
\$30000-\$39999	390	11.8	60	9.4	20	21.1	1465	13.7
\$40000-\$49999	350	10.6	75	11.7	10	10.5	1155	10.8
\$50000-\$59999	250	7.6	50	7.8	0	0.0	1260	11.8
\$60000+	840	25.4	130	20.3	20	21.1	2595	24.2

(1) Household income is expressed in 1990 dollars.

(2) includes zero and negative income

(3) calculation of median does not include persons with zero household income

**Table B3.14.2 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
1990 Household Income by Age Groups
Combined Geography, 1991.**

Age Groups and Hhld Income	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	28415	100.0	4690	100.0	1460	100.0	122885	100.0
LT \$9999 (1)	4740	16.7	900	19.2	180	12.3	22140	18.0
\$10000-\$19999	3905	13.7	640	13.6	195	13.4	15825	12.9
\$20000-\$29999	4070	14.3	525	11.2	145	9.9	17145	14.0
\$30000-\$39999	3755	13.2	670	14.3	170	11.6	15530	12.6
\$40000-\$49999	3260	11.5	440	9.4	150	10.3	13290	10.8
\$50000-\$59999	2780	9.8	420	9.0	155	10.6	10570	8.6
\$60000+	5905	20.8	1095	23.3	465	31.8	28385	23.1
Average income(2)	\$43,834		\$47,252		\$52,524		\$44,855	
Median income(2)	\$35,622		\$38,200		\$46,465		\$36,513	
Total 15 to 24	5845	100.0	1175	100.0	570	100.0	28450	100.0
LT \$9999 (1)	985	16.9	220	18.7	50	8.8	5365	18.9
\$10000-\$19999	975	16.7	180	15.3	80	14.0	3735	13.1
\$20000-\$29999	830	14.2	110	9.4	45	7.9	4085	14.4
\$30000-\$39999	675	11.5	190	16.2	80	14.0	3510	12.3
\$40000-\$49999	630	10.8	110	9.4	75	13.2	2955	10.4
\$50000-\$59999	550	9.4	125	10.6	40	7.0	2440	8.6
\$60000+	1200	20.5	240	20.4	200	35.1	6360	22.4
Total 25 to 44	19085	100.0	2805	100.0	750	100.0	74195	100.0
LT \$9999 (1)	3160	16.6	525	18.7	115	15.3	13540	18.2
\$10000-\$19999	2525	13.2	330	11.8	85	11.3	9740	13.1
\$20000-\$29999	2780	14.6	335	11.9	85	11.3	10590	14.3
\$30000-\$39999	2710	14.2	400	14.3	50	6.7	9565	12.9
\$40000-\$49999	2335	12.2	285	10.2	75	10.0	8160	11.0
\$50000-\$59999	1865	9.8	240	8.6	95	12.7	6315	8.5
\$60000+	3710	19.4	690	24.6	245	32.7	16285	21.9
Total 45 to 64	3480	100.0	705	100.0	130	100.0	20240	100.0
LT \$9999 (1)	600	17.2	150	21.3	15	11.5	3230	16.0
\$10000-\$19999	405	11.6	130	18.4	30	23.1	2350	11.6
\$20000-\$29999	460	13.2	80	11.3	15	11.5	2470	12.2
\$30000-\$39999	365	10.5	80	11.3	35	26.9	2455	12.1
\$40000-\$49999	295	8.5	45	6.4	0	0.0	2170	10.7
\$50000-\$59999	360	10.3	55	7.8	15	11.5	1820	9.0
\$60000+	995	28.6	165	23.4	20	15.4	5745	28.4

(1) Includes zero and negative income.

(2) calculation of median does not include persons with zero household income

**Table B3.15 Recent Female Immigrants Aged 15 to 64 by
Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing
Low Income Cutoffs for Combined Geography, 1981 and 1991**

Census Year	Low Income Cutoff	Non-Visible Minorites		Visible Minorities	
		Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth	Traditional Places of Birth	New Places of Birth
1981	Total Number	20135	3535	595	44955
	Above	66.8	59.1	61.7	56.1
	Below	32.8	40.5	36.5	43.3
	Not applicable	0.4	0.3	1.7	0.5
1991	Total Number	28415	4690	1460	122885
	Above	61.0	59.1	65.7	55.8
	Below	38.9	40.5	34.1	44.0
	Not applicable	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2

APPENDIX C

**Table C4.5 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Summary Labour Force
Characteristics for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Tr Pob	Nig Pob	Tr Pob	Nig Pob
Total Female Population 15 to 64	28415	4690	1460	122885
Female Labour Force 15 to 64	19790	3100	950	73505
Employment/Population Ratio	56.8	53.5	51	47.6
Participation Rate	69.7	66.1	65.2	59.8
Unemployment Rate	18.5	19.0	21.8	20.5
% Full-year full-time workers	47.1	48.9	48.6	50.8
Participation rate by marital status and presence of children Age 25 to 44				
Married	72.1	72.1	66.6	66.1
With Children	68.3	68.6	57.4	61.5
Without Children	81.3	81.0	80.2	78.8
Single	85.5	94.1	82.9	81.7
%Full-year full-time by marital status and presence of children Age 25 to 44				
Married	45.7	48.0	53.5	53.2
With Children	40.9	44.4	51.8	49.8
Without Children	55.0	55.7	55.9	60.4
Single	63.0	73.1	80.1	61.0
Participation rate with some postsecondary education Aged 25 to 44	76.3	80.5	76.8	76.6
%Full-year full-time with some postsecondary education Aged 25 to 44	48.5	51.4	55.0	56.1
Participation rate for pop. who do not speak English or French Aged 15 to 64	58.8	43.7	60.3	39.2
%Full-year full-time for pop. who do not speak English or French Aged 15 to 64	43.1	41.2	n.a.	43.0

**Table C4.6 Recent Male Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Summary Labour Force
Characteristics for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Summary Characteristics	Non-Visible Minorities		Visible Minorities	
	Tr Pob	Nig Pob	Tr Pob	Nig Pob
Total Male Population 15 to 64	28055	5060	1170	118830
Male Labour Force 15 to 64	23920	4260	835	88475
Employment/Population Ratio	71.0	71.2	58.1	60.2
Participation Rate	85.3	84.3	71.1	74.5
Unemployment Rate	16.7	15.5	18.4	19.1
% Full-year full-time workers(1)	55.7	61.1	60.5	55.5
Participation rate by marital status				
Age 25 to 44				
Married	91.0	94.1	88.6	86.8
Single	86.7	82.6	91.0	83.9
%Full-year full-time by marital status Age 25 to 44				
Married	59.7	68.3	72.7	62.6
Single	54.5	58.3	75.7	53.9
Participation rate with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	90.8	91.3	87.8	88.4
%Full-year full-time with some postsecondary education				
Aged 25 to 44	60.9	65.9	75.0	59.7
Participation rate for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	80.9	74.6	n.a.	63.4
%Full-year full-time for pop. who do not speak English or French				
Aged 15 to 64	44.3	42.3	n.a.	53.2

Table C4.7.1 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1981.

Labour Force Activity and Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	20130	100.0	3535	100.0	595	100.0	44955	100.0
Employed	10345	51.4	1715	48.5	290	48.7	21210	47.2
Unemployed	915	4.5	210	5.9	45	7.6	2920	6.5
Not in Labour Force	8870	44.1	1610	45.5	260	43.7	20825	46.3
Participation Rate	55.9	-	54.5	-	56.3	-	53.7	-
Unemployment Rate	8.1	-	10.9	-	13.4	-	12.1	-
Age 15 to 24	5985	100.0	1080	100.0	290	100.0	15580	100.0
Employed	3280	54.8	590	54.6	115	39.7	7460	47.9
Unemployed	275	4.6	50	4.6	20	6.9	1055	6.8
Not in Labour Force	2430	40.6	440	40.7	155	53.4	7065	45.3
Participation Rate	59.4	-	59.3	-	46.5	-	54.7	-
Unemployment Rate	7.7	-	7.8	-	14.8	-	12.4	-
Age 25 to 44	10835	100.0	1810	100.0	200	100.0	18670	100.0
Employed	5995	55.3	955	52.8	140	70.0	11075	59.3
Unemployed	525	4.8	135	7.5	10	5.0	1345	7.2
Not in Labour Force	4315	39.8	720	39.8	50	25.0	6250	33.5
Participation Rate	60.2	-	60.2	-	75	-	66.5	-
Unemployment Rate	8.1	-	12.4	-	6.7	-	10.8	-
Age 45 to 64	3310	100.0	645	100.0	105	100.0	10705	100.0
Employed	1070	32.3	170	26.4	35	33.3	2675	25.0
Unemployed	110	3.3	25	3.9	10	9.5	520	4.9
Not in Labour Force	2130	64.4	450	69.8	60	57.1	7510	70.2
Participation Rate	35.7	-	30.2	-	42.9	-	29.9	-
Unemployment Rate	9.3	-	12.8	-	22.2	-	16.3	-

Table C4.7.2 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1991.

Labour Force Activity and Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	28415	100.0	4690	100.0	1460	100.0	122885	100.0
Employed	16140	56.8	2510	53.5	745	51.0	58450	47.6
Unemployed	3650	12.8	590	12.6	210	14.4	15055	12.3
Not in Labour Force	8625	30.4	1590	33.9	505	34.6	49380	40.2
Participation Rate	69.7	-	66.1	-	65.4	-	59.8	-
Unemployment Rate	18.4	-	19.0	-	22.0	-	20.5	-
Age 15 to 24	5845	100.0	1175	100.0	575	100.0	28455	100.0
Employed	3010	51.5	485	41.3	230	40.0	10315	36.3
Unemployed	665	11.4	85	7.2	75	13.0	3130	11.0
Not in Labour Force	2170	37.1	605	51.5	270	47.0	15010	52.7
Participation Rate	62.9	-	48.5	-	53.0	-	47.3	-
Unemployment Rate	18.1	-	14.9	-	24.6	-	23.3	-
Age 25 to 44	19085	100.0	2810	100.0	750	100.0	74195	100.0
Employed	11515	60.3	1695	60.3	415	55.3	42060	56.7
Unemployed	2555	13.4	400	14.2	125	16.7	9820	13.2
Not in Labour Force	5015	26.3	715	25.4	210	28.0	22315	30.1
Participation Rate	73.7	-	74.6	-	72.0	-	69.9	-
Unemployment Rate	18.2	-	19.1	-	23.1	-	18.9	-
Age 45 to 64	3485	100.0	705	100.0	135	100.0	20235	100.0
Employed	1615	46.3	330	46.8	100	74.1	6075	30.0
Unemployed	430	12.3	105	14.9	10	7.4	2105	10.4
Not in Labour Force	1440	41.3	270	38.3	25	18.5	12055	59.6
Participation Rate	58.7	-	61.7	-	81.5	-	40.4	-
Unemployment Rate	21.0	-	24.1	-	9.1	-	25.7	-

Table C4.8.1 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity by Level of Schooling for Combined Geography, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling by Labour Force Activity	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	20130	-	3535	-	595	-	44955	-
Employed	10345	100.0	1715	100.0	290	100.0	21210	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	4380	42.3	645	37.6	155	53.4	11645	54.9
Trades Certificate	290	2.8	15	0.9	0	0.0	405	1.9
Other Non-University	2830	27.4	565	32.9	60	20.7	4290	20.2
University no degree	1250	12.1	230	13.4	35	12.1	2285	10.8
University with degree	1595	15.4	260	15.2	40	13.8	2585	12.2
Unemployed	915	100.0	210	100.0	45	100.0	2920	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	305	33.3	65	31.0	25	55.6	1740	59.6
Trades Certificate	50	5.5	10	4.8	0	0.0	40	1.4
Other Non-University	235	25.7	50	23.8	10	22.2	570	19.5
University no degree	150	16.4	30	14.3	10	22.2	230	7.9
University with degree	175	19.1	55	26.2	0	0.0	340	11.6
Not in the Labour Force	8870	100.0	1610	100.0	260	100.0	20825	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	5140	57.9	860	53.4	180	69.2	15490	74.4
Trades Certificate	190	2.1	40	2.5	0	0.0	175	0.8
Other Non-University	1870	21.1	350	21.7	40	15.4	2210	10.6
University no degree	785	8.9	200	12.4	15	5.8	1470	7.1
University with degree	885	10.0	160	9.9	25	9.6	1480	7.1

Table C4.8.2 Recent Female Immigrants by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity by Level of Schooling for Combined Geography, 1991

Highest Level of Schooling by Labour Force Activity	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	28415	--	4690	--	1460	--	122885	--
Employed	16140	100.0	2510	100.0	745	100.0	58450	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	5940	36.8	800	31.9	210	28.2	22060	37.7
Trades Certificate	705	4.4	80	3.2	15	2.0	1225	2.1
Other Non-University	4330	26.8	690	27.5	245	32.9	14730	25.2
University no degree	1785	11.1	460	18.3	115	15.4	8430	14.4
University with degree	3380	20.9	480	19.1	160	21.5	12005	20.5
Unemployed	3650	100.0	590	100.0	210	100.0	15055	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	1225	33.6	275	46.6	110	52.4	6905	45.9
Trades Certificate	125	3.4	10	1.7	0	0.0	380	2.5
Other Non-University	955	26.2	120	20.3	40	19.0	3265	21.7
University no degree	425	11.6	65	11.0	30	14.3	1800	12.0
University with degree	920	25.2	120	20.3	25	11.9	2705	18.0
Not in the Labour Force	8625	100.0	1590	100.0	505	100.0	49380	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	4490	52.1	1000	62.9	295	58.4	32345	65.5
Trades Certificate	370	4.3	30	1.9	0	0.0	695	1.4
Other Non-University	1680	19.5	315	19.8	85	16.8	6755	13.7
University no degree	830	9.6	135	8.5	50	9.9	4695	9.5
University with degree	1255	14.6	110	6.9	80	15.8	4890	9.9

**Table C4.9.1 Recent Female Immigrants
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Work Activity by Weeks Worked
for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Work Activity by Age Group	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	13210	-	2265	-	385	-	26395	-
Worked 1981 only	1690	-	290	-	30	-	4190	-
Total Worked 1980	11520	100.0	1980	100.0	355	100.0	22205	100.0
Total Full-time	9060	78.6	1550	78.3	265	74.6	18130	81.6
1-13 weeks	1300	11.3	295	14.9	15	4.2	3060	13.8
14-26 weeks	1590	13.8	315	15.9	95	26.8	3770	17.0
27-39 weeks	1205	10.5	195	9.8	20	5.6	2365	10.7
40-48 weeks	1455	12.6	270	13.6	35	9.9	2700	12.2
49-52 weeks	3510	30.5	470	23.7	100	28.2	6240	28.1
Total Part-time	2460	21.4	430	21.7	90	25.4	4070	18.3
1-13 weeks	730	6.3	155	7.8	30	8.5	1185	5.3
14-26 weeks	625	5.4	100	5.1	40	11.3	1195	5.4
27-39 weeks	355	3.1	65	3.3	10	2.8	510	2.3
40-48 weeks	325	2.8	60	3.0	10	2.8	480	2.2
49-52 weeks	425	3.7	50	2.5	0	0.0	700	3.2
Total 25 to 44	7600	-	1265	-	175	-	13540	-
Worked 1981 only	810	-	160	-	15	-	1825	-
Total Worked 1980	6790	100.0	1105	100.0	150	100.0	11715	100.0
Total Full-time	5380	79.2	910	82.4	140	93.3	10000	85.4
1-13 weeks	720	10.6	130	11.8	15	10.0	1510	12.9
14-26 weeks	925	13.6	165	14.9	45	30.0	1910	16.3
27-39 weeks	705	10.4	125	11.3	25	16.7	1275	10.9
40-48 weeks	870	12.8	180	16.3	25.0	16.7	1430	12.2
49-52 weeks	2160	31.8	310	28.1	30	20.0	3875	33.1
Total Part-time	1410	20.8	195	17.6	10	6.7	1715	14.6
1-13 weeks	415	6.1	80	7.2	10	6.7	470	4.0
14-26 weeks	360	5.3	35	3.2	0	0.0	515	4.4
27-39 weeks	205	3.0	25	2.3	0	0.0	220	1.9
40-48 weeks	195	2.9	30	2.7	0	0.0	190	1.6
49-52 weeks	235	3.5	25	2.3	0	0.0	320	2.7

**Table C4.9.2 Recent Female Immigrants
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Work Activity by Weeks Worked
for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Work Activity by Age Group	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	21330	-	3275	-	1025	-	78585	-
Worked 1991 only	2210	-	260	-	110	-	8435	-
Total Worked 1990	19120	100.0	3015	100.0	910	100.0	70150	100.0
Total Full-time	15055	78.7	2235	74.1	670	73.6	56720	80.9
1-13 weeks	1490	7.8	195	6.5	60	6.6	6125	8.7
14-26 weeks	2650	13.9	320	10.6	90	9.9	8845	12.6
27-39 weeks	1910	10.0	245	8.1	75	8.2	6140	8.8
40-48 weeks	2225	11.6	390	12.9	80	8.8	8565	12.2
49-52 weeks	6780	35.5	1085	36.0	365	40.1	27045	38.6
Total Part-time	4065	21.3	780	25.9	245	26.9	13430	19.1
1-13 weeks	850	4.4	205	6.8	75	8.2	3935	5.6
14-26 weeks	1160	6.1	200	6.6	90	9.9	3445	4.9
27-39 weeks	575	3.0	75	2.5	10	1.1	1855	2.6
40-48 weeks	480	2.5	120	4.0	35	3.8	1480	2.1
49-52 weeks	1000	5.2	180	6.0	35	3.8	2715	3.9
Total 25 to 44	585	-	54530	-	15075	-	2150	-
Worked 1991 only	65	-	5125	-	1500	-	155	-
Total Worked 1990	520	100.0	49405	100.0	13575	100.0	1995	100.0
Total Full-time	440	84.6	42205	85.4	11040	81.3	1595	79.9
1-13 weeks	45	8.7	4005	8.1	1160	8.5	125	6.3
14-26 weeks	45	8.7	6175	12.5	1895	14.0	225	11.3
27-39 weeks	40	7.7	4490	9.1	1410	10.4	190	9.5
40-48 weeks	50.0	9.6	6580	13.3	1560	11.5	230	11.5
49-52 weeks	260	50.0	20955	42.4	5015	36.9	825	41.4
Total Part-time	80	15.4	7200	14.6	2535	18.7	400	20.1
1-13 weeks	30	5.8	1960	4.0	515	3.8	50	2.5
14-26 weeks	30	5.8	1955	4.0	690	5.1	115	5.8
27-39 weeks	10	1.9	980	2.0	375	2.8	50	2.5
40-48 weeks	0	0.0	830	1.7	315	2.3	85	4.3
49-52 weeks	10	1.9	1475	3.0	640	4.7	100	5.0

**Table C4.10.1 Recent Immigrants Aged 15 to 64,
Who Worked In 1980, by Visible Minority Indicator and
Place of Birth Showing Work Activity by Hours Worked
and Gender for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Work Activity by Hours Worked	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Females	11525	100.0	1980	100.0	360	100.0	22205	100.0
Total Full-time	9060	78.6	1550	78.3	270	75.0	18135	81.7
1-19 Hours	240	2.1	60	3.0	10	2.8	435	2.0
20-39 Hours	2405	20.9	380	19.2	80	22.2	4030	18.1
40+ Hours	6415	55.7	1110	56.1	180	50.0	13670	61.6
Total Part-time	2465	21.4	430	21.7	90	25.0	4070	18.3
1-19 Hours	450	3.9	85	4.3	20	5.6	600	2.7
20-39 Hours	780	6.8	140	7.1	10	2.8	1060	4.8
40+ Hours	1235	10.7	205	10.4	60	16.7	2410	10.9
Total Males	15265	100.0	2715	100.0	435	100.0	27390	100.0
Total Full-time	14460	94.7	2535	93.4	385	88.5	24090	88.0
1-19 Hours	170	1.1	35	1.3	25	5.7	500	1.8
20-39 Hours	2030	13.3	390	14.4	55	12.6	3100	11.3
40+ Hours	12260	80.3	2110	77.7	305	70.1	20490	74.8
Total Part-time	805	5.3	180	6.6	50	11.5	3300	12.0
1-19 Hours	120	0.8	35	1.3	0	0.0	495	1.8
20-39 Hours	195	1.3	15	0.6	20	4.6	865	3.2
40+ Hours	490	3.2	130	4.8	30	6.9	1940	7.1

**Table C4.10.2 Recent Immigrants Aged 15 to 64, Who Worked
In 1990, by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Work Activity by Hours Worked
and Gender for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Work Activity by Hours Worked	Visible Minorities				Non-Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Females	910	100.0	70140	100.0	19115	100.0	3010	100.0
Total Full-time	665	73.1	56715	80.9	15055	78.8	2230	74.1
1-19 Hours	15	1.6	1710	2.4	360	1.9	60	2.0
20-39 Hours	180	19.8	12605	18.0	3690	19.3	520	17.3
40+ Hours	470	51.6	42400	60.5	11005	57.6	1650	54.8
Total Part-time	245	26.9	13425	19.1	4060	21.2	780	25.9
1-19 Hours	70	7.7	2740	3.9	815	4.3	180	6.0
20-39 Hours	55	6.0	3835	5.5	1390	7.3	250	8.3
40+ Hours	120	13.2	6850	9.8	1855	9.7	350	11.6
Total Males	835	100.0	84105	100.0	22815	100.0	4085	100.0
Total Full-time	725	86.8	73515	87.4	21040	92.2	3575	87.5
1-19 Hours	10	1.2	1940	2.3	430	1.9	100	2.4
20-39 Hours	120	14.4	10225	12.2	2630	11.5	370	9.1
40+ Hours	595	71.3	61350	72.9	17980	78.8	3105	76.0
Total Part-time	110	13.2	10590	12.6	1775	7.8	510	12.5
1-19 Hours	30	3.6	1960	2.3	305	1.3	140	3.4
20-39 Hours	10	1.2	2705	3.2	500	2.2	110	2.7
40+ Hours	70	8.4	5925	7.0	970	4.3	260	6.4

**Table C4.11.1 Recent Male Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity
by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Labour Force Activity and Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	18510	100.0	3440	100.0	610	100.0	40875	100.0
Employed	15330	82.8	2550	74.1	400	65.6	28070	68.7
Unemployed	725	3.9	230	6.7	40	6.6	2610	6.4
Not in Labour Force	2455	13.3	660	19.2	170	27.9	10195	24.9
Participation Rate	86.7	-	80.8	-	72.1	-	75.1	-
Unemployment Rate	4.5	-	8.3	-	9.1	-	8.5	-
Age 15 to 24	4270	100.0	860	100.0	275	100.0	15865	100.0
Employed	2910	68.1	415	48.3	145	52.7	9290	58.6
Unemployed	195	4.6	65	7.6	30	10.9	980	6.2
Not in Labour Force	1165	27.3	380	44.2	100	36.4	5595	35.3
Participation Rate	72.7	-	55.8	-	63.6	-	64.7	-
Unemployment Rate	6.3	-	13.5	-	17.1	-	9.5	-
Age 25 to 44	11640	100.0	2130	100.0	220	100.0	17905	100.0
Employed	10505	90.2	1825	85.7	180	81.8	14685	82.0
Unemployed	370	3.2	160	7.5	10	4.5	1160	6.5
Not in Labour Force	765	6.6	145	6.8	30	13.6	2060	11.5
Participation Rate	93.4	-	93.2	-	86.4	-	88.5	-
Unemployment Rate	3.4	-	8.1	-	5.3	-	7.3	-
Age 45 to 64	2600	100.0	450	100.0	115	100.0	7105	100.0
Employed	1920	73.8	310	68.9	70	60.9	4090	57.6
Unemployed	160	6.2	10	2.2	10	8.7	475	6.7
Not in Labour Force	520	20.0	130	28.9	35	30.4	2540	35.7
Participation Rate	80.0	-	71.1	-	70.0	-	64.3	-
Unemployment Rate	7.7	-	3.1	-	12.5	-	10.4	-

**Table C4.11.2 Recent Male Immigrants by Visible Minority
Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity
by Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Labour Force Activity and Age Groups	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	28055	100.0	5060	100.0	1170	100.0	118830	100.0
Employed	19935	71.1	3600	71.1	680	58.1	71555	60.2
Unemployed	3985	14.2	660	13.0	150	12.8	16920	14.2
Not in Labour Force	4135	14.7	800	15.8	340	29.1	30355	25.5
Participation Rate	85.3	-	84.2	-	70.9	-	74.5	-
Unemployment Rate	16.7	-	15.5	-	18.1	-	19.1	-
Age 15 to 24	5040	100.0	980	100.0	460	100.0	28980	100.0
Employed	2815	55.9	480	49.0	170	37.0	11785	40.7
Unemployed	575	11.4	110	11.2	50	10.9	3165	10.9
Not in Labour Force	1650	32.7	390	39.8	240	52.2	14030	48.4
Participation Rate	67.3	-	60.2	-	47.8	-	51.6	-
Unemployment Rate	17	-	18.6	-	22.7	-	21.2	-
Age 25 to 44	19695	100.0	3445	100.0	640	100.0	70625	100.0
Employed	14940	75.9	2695	78.2	480	75.0	49795	70.5
Unemployed	2790	14.2	455	13.2	85	13.3	10870	15.4
Not in Labour Force	1965	10.0	295	8.6	75	11.7	9960	14.1
Participation Rate	90	-	91.4	-	88.3	-	85.9	-
Unemployment Rate	15.7	-	14.4	-	15	-	17.9	-
Age 45 to 64	3320	100.0	635	100.0	70	100.0	19225	100.0
Employed	2180	65.7	425	66.9	25	35.7	9975	51.9
Unemployed	620	18.7	95	15.0	20	28.6	2885	15.0
Not in Labour Force	520	15.7	115	18.1	25	35.7	6365	33.1
Participation Rate	84.3	-	81.9	-	64.3	-	66.9	-
Unemployment Rate	22.1	-	18.3	-	44.4	-	22.4	-

**Table C4.12.1 Recent Male Immigrants
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place
of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity by
Level of Schooling for Combined Geography, 1981**

Highest Level of Schooling by Labour Force Activity	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	18510	-	3440	-	610	-	40875	-
Employed	15330	100.0	2550	100.0	400	100.0	28070	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	4770	31.1	640	25.1	165	41.3	14225	50.7
Trades Certificate	845	5.5	145	5.7	10	2.5	610	2.2
Other Non-University	4550	29.7	620	24.3	70	17.5	4720	16.8
University no degree	1655	10.8	425	16.7	95	23.8	3975	14.2
University with degree	3510	22.9	720	28.2	60	15.0	4540	16.2
Unemployed	725	100.0	230	100.0	40	100.0	2610	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	305	42.1	85	37.0	25	62.5	1350	51.7
Trades Certificate	30	4.1	10	4.3	0	0.0	60	2.3
Other Non-University	170	23.4	65	28.3	15	37.5	430	16.5
University no degree	60	8.3	25	10.9	0	0.0	405	15.5
University with degree	160	22.1	45	19.6	0	0.0	365	14.0
Not in the Labour Force	2455	100.0	660	100.0	170	100.0	10195	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	1435	58.5	390	59.1	110	64.7	7195	70.6
Trades Certificate	90	3.7	0	0.0	10	5.9	110	1.1
Other Non-University	430	17.5	135	20.5	20	11.8	1020	10.0
University no degree	185	7.5	70	10.6	10	5.9	1075	10.5
University with degree	315	12.8	65	9.8	20	11.8	795	7.8

**Table C4.12.2 Recent Male Immigrants
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place
of Birth Showing Labour Force Activity by
Level of Schooling for Combined Geography, 1991**

Highest Level of Schooling by Labour Force Activity	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	28055	--	5060	--	1170	--	118830	--
Employed	19935	100.0	3600	100.0	680	100.0	71555	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	7270	36.5	1265	35.1	170	25.0	27175	38.0
Trades Certificate	1150	5.8	115	3.2	30	4.4	1635	2.3
Other Non-University	4720	23.7	825	22.9	150	22.1	14070	19.7
University no degree	2355	11.8	620	17.2	145	21.3	9745	13.6
University with degree	4440	22.3	775	21.5	185	27.2	18920	26.4
Unemployed	3985	100.0	660	100.0	150	100.0	16920	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	1435	36.0	230	34.8	55	36.7	7010	41.4
Trades Certificate	215	5.4	20	3.0	10	6.7	450	2.7
Other Non-University	1040	26.1	175	26.5	35	23.3	3060	18.1
University no degree	475	11.9	120	18.2	30	20.0	2580	15.2
University with degree	820	20.6	115	17.4	20	13.3	3820	22.6
Not in the Labour Force	4135	100.0	800	100.0	340	100.0	30355	100.0
Elementary/Secondary	2365	57.2	475	59.4	240	70.6	19385	63.9
Trades Certificate	160	3.9	10	1.3	0	0.0	365	1.2
Other Non-University	740	17.9	140	17.5	50	14.7	3330	11.0
University no degree	370	8.9	100	12.5	30	8.8	3430	11.3
University with degree	500	12.1	75	9.4	20	5.9	3845	12.7

**Table C4.13.1 Recent Male Immigrants
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Work Activity by Weeks Worked
for Selected Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Work Activity by Age Group	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	16800	-	2930	-	475	-	32525	-
Worked 1981 only	1530	-	215	-	45	-	5125	-
Total Worked 1980	15270	100.0	2715	100.0	425	100.0	27395	100.0
Total Full-time	14460	94.7	2535	93.4	385	90.6	24095	88.0
1-13 weeks	1370	9.0	310	11.4	40	9.4	3530	12.9
14-26 weeks	1855	12.1	350	12.9	60	14.1	4305	15.7
27-39 weeks	1440	9.4	310	11.4	50	11.8	3210	11.7
40-48 weeks	2450	16.0	370	13.6	55	12.9	3890	14.2
49-52 weeks	7345	48.1	1195	44.0	180	42.4	9160	33.4
Total Part-time	810	5.3	180	6.6	40	9.4	3300	12.0
1-13 weeks	225	1.5	50	1.8	10	2.4	1200	4.4
14-26 weeks	230	1.5	40	1.5	20	4.7	840	3.1
27-39 weeks	80	0.5	45	1.7	0	0.0	375	1.4
40-48 weeks	115	0.8	20	0.7	0	0.0	355	1.3
49-52 weeks	160	1.0	25	0.9	10	2.4	530	1.9
Total 25 to 44	11240	-	2080	-	205	-	16475	-
Worked 1981 only	725	-	140	-	20	-	2170	-
Total Worked 1980	10515	100.0	1940	100.0	185	100.0	14305	100.0
Total Full-time	10095	96.0	1885	97.2	165	89.2	13385	93.6
1-13 weeks	655	6.2	170	8.8	10	5.4	1530	10.7
14-26 weeks	1200	11.4	255	13.1	20	10.8	2140	15.0
27-39 weeks	1030	9.8	210	10.8	30	16.2	1720	12.0
40-48 weeks	1700	16.2	250	12.9	20.0	10.8	2260	15.8
49-52 weeks	5510	52.4	1000	51.5	85	45.9	5735	40.1
Total Part-time	420	4.0	55	2.8	20	10.8	920	6.4
1-13 weeks	100	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	265	1.9
14-26 weeks	85	0.8	15	0.8	10	5.4	265	1.9
27-39 weeks	60	0.6	25	1.3	10.0	5.4	85	0.6
40-48 weeks	60	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	125	0.9
49-52 weeks	115	1.1	15	0.8	0	0.0	180	1.3

**Table C4.13.2 Recent Male Immigrants
by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Work Activity by Weeks Worked
for Selected Age Groups for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Work Activity by Age Group	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total 15 to 64	24985	-	4345	-	915	-	93155	-
Worked 1991 only	2160	-	275	-	75	-	9040	-
Total Worked 1990	22825	100.0	4070	100.0	840	100.0	84115	100.0
Total Full-time	21050	92.2	3565	87.6	735	87.5	73520	87.4
1-13 weeks	1765	7.7	225	5.5	50	6.0	7560	9.0
14-26 weeks	3540	15.5	405	10.0	75	8.9	11215	13.3
27-39 weeks	3035	13.3	445	10.9	100	11.9	8095	9.6
40-48 weeks	3040	13.3	590	14.5	80	9.5	11500	13.7
49-52 weeks	9670	42.4	1900	46.7	430	51.2	35150	41.8
Total Part-time	1775	7.8	505	12.4	105	12.5	10595	12.6
1-13 weeks	415	1.8	120	2.9	35	4.2	3300	3.9
14-26 weeks	500	2.2	155	3.8	40	4.8	2820	3.4
27-39 weeks	245	1.1	30	0.7	30	3.6	1335	1.6
40-48 weeks	245	1.1	70	1.7	0	0.0	1070	1.3
49-52 weeks	370	1.6	130	3.2	0	0.0	2070	2.5
Total 25 to 44	18460	-	3205	-	585	-	62260	-
Worked 1991 only	1465	-	185	-	0	-	5380	-
Total Worked 1990	16995	100.0	3020	100.0	585	100.0	56880	100.0
Total Full-time	16120	94.9	2805	92.9	565	96.6	52575	92.4
1-13 weeks	1190	7.0	160	5.3	30	5.1	4840	8.5
14-26 weeks	2700	15.9	280	9.3	50	8.5	7665	13.5
27-39 weeks	2320	13.7	345	11.4	50	8.5	5990	10.5
40-48 weeks	2340	13.8	470	15.6	70.0	12.0	8150	14.3
49-52 weeks	7570	44.5	1550	51.3	365	62.4	25930	45.6
Total Part-time	875	5.1	215	7.1	20	3.4	4305	7.6
1-13 weeks	190	1.1	25	0.8	10	1.7	1095	1.9
14-26 weeks	270	1.6	90	3.0	0	0.0	1140	2.0
27-39 weeks	145	0.9	15	0.5	10	1.7	625	1.1
40-48 weeks	110	0.6	35	1.2	0	0.0	500	0.9
49-52 weeks	160	0.9	50	1.7	0	0.0	945	1.7

Table D5.5.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1981.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Female Population 15-64	4965	100.0	745	100.0	135	100	8945	100.0	
Worked full-time, full-year	385	7.8	55	7.4	5	3.7	245	2.7	
Managerial, administration and related	280	5.6	35	4.7	10	7.4	200	2.2	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	75	1.5	5	0.7	0	0.0	60	0.7	
Social sciences	200	4.0	20	2.7	0	0.0	50	0.6	
Teaching	320	6.4	70	9.4	5	3.7	525	5.9	
Medicine and health	160	3.2	20	2.7	0	0.0	80	0.9	
Artistic, literary and recreational	1560	31.4	295	39.6	35	25.9	2695	30.1	
Clerical	305	6.1	40	5.4	0	0.0	365	4.1	
Sales	745	15.0	95	12.8	30	22.2	1590	17.8	
Service	40	0.8	0	0.0	5	3.7	45	0.5	
Primary	105	2.1	10	1.3	10	7.4	260	2.9	
Processing	585	11.8	75	10.1	30	22.2	2230	24.9	
Machining and product fabrication	10	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.1	
Construction	15	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	30	0.3	
Transport equipment	185	3.7	15	2.0	5	3.7	560	6.3	
Other									

APPENDIX D

Table D5.5.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1991.								
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Female Population 15-64	9005	100.0	1475	100.0	445	100.0	35610	100.0
Worked full-time, full-year	720	8.0	205	13.9	20	4.5	3060	8.6
Managerial, administration and related	450	5.0	30	2.0	10	2.2	1050	2.9
Natural sciences, engineering and math	210	2.3	50	3.4	10	2.2	435	1.2
Social sciences	425	4.7	40	2.7	35	7.9	665	1.9
Teaching	755	8.4	150	10.2	45	10.1	2275	6.4
Medicine and health	270	3.0	30	2.0	10	2.2	475	1.3
Artistic, literary and recreational	2165	24.0	380	25.8	185	41.6	12370	34.7
Clerical	630	7.0	120	8.1	60	13.5	2330	6.5
Sales	1710	19.0	245	16.6	25	5.6	6015	16.9
Service	45	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	125	0.4
Primary	245	2.7	30	2.0	0	0.0	785	2.2
Processing	830	9.2	130	8.8	40	9.0	3810	10.7
Machining and product fabrication	30	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	80	0.2
Construction	20	0.2	5	0.3	0	0.0	75	0.2
Transport equipment	500	5.6	60	4.1	5	1.1	2060	5.8
Other								

Table D5.6.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year With Some Postsecondary Education by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1981.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Worked Full-time/year	4965		745		135		8945		
Total with no postsecondary	2165		270		70		4850		
Total with some postsecondary	2800	100.0	475	100.0	65	100.0	4095	100.0	
Managerial, administrative and related	320	11.4	45	9.5	5	7.7	180	4.4	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	265	9.5	30	6.3	10	15.4	190	4.6	
Social sciences	60	2.1	5	1.1	0	0.0	40	1.0	
Teaching	195	7.0	20	4.2	0	0.0	35	0.9	
Medicine and health	285	10.2	65	13.7	5	7.7	440	10.7	
Artistic, literary and recreational	150	5.4	20	4.2	0	0.0	60	1.5	
Clerical	840	30.0	195	41.1	25	38.5	1830	44.7	
Sales	175	6.3	20	4.2	0	0.0	170	4.2	
Service	335	12.0	35	7.4	5	7.7	450	11.0	
Primary	20	0.7	0	0.0	5	7.7	5	0.1	
Processing	20	0.7	5	1.1	0	0.0	50	1.2	
Machining and product fabrication	75	2.7	15	3.2	5	7.7	435	10.6	
Construction	5	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	0.1	
Transport equipment	10	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.2	
Other	40	1.4	20	4.2	5	7.7	190	4.6	

Table D5.6.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year With Some Postsecondary Education by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1991.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Worked Full-time/year	9005		1475		445		35610		
Total with no postsecondary	3535		570		155		14140		
Total with some postsecondary	5465	100.0	905	100.0	290	100.0	21470	100.0	
Managerial, administration and related	595	10.9	150	16.6	20	6.9	2390	11.1	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	410	7.5	25	2.8	10	3.4	900	4.2	
Social sciences	175	3.2	40	4.4	5	1.7	385	1.8	
Teaching	400	7.3	35	3.9	35	12.1	590	2.7	
Medicine and health	680	12.4	145	16.0	45	15.5	1965	9.2	
Artistic, literary and recreational	230	4.2	20	2.2	5	1.7	410	1.9	
Clerical	1455	26.6	240	26.5	110	37.9	8715	40.6	
Sales	370	6.8	60	6.6	50	17.2	1410	6.6	
Service	650	11.9	85	9.4	5	1.7	2800	13.0	
Primary	15	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	40	0.2	
Processing	55	1.0	20	2.2	0	0.0	200	0.9	
Machining and product fabrication	200	3.7	55	6.1	5	1.7	965	4.5	
Construction	10	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	35	0.2	
Transport Equipment	15	0.3	5	0.6	0	0.0	30	0.1	
Other	200	3.7	20	2.2	0	0.0	630	2.9	

Table D5.7.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year With No Postsecondary Education by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1981.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Worked Full-time/year	4965		745		135		8945		
Total with some postsecondary	2800		475		65		4095		
Total with no postsecondary	2165	100.0	270	100.0	70	100.0	4850	100.0	
Managerial, administration and related	65	3.0	10	3.7	0	0.0	65	1.3	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	15	0.7	5	1.9	0	0.0	10	0.2	
Social sciences	10	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	0.4	
Teaching	10	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	0.4	
Medicine and health	30	1.4	5	1.9	0	0.0	85	1.8	
Artistic, literary and recreational	10	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	0.4	
Clerical	720	33.3	100	37.0	10	14.3	860	17.7	
Sales	130	6.0	20	7.4	0	0.0	195	4.0	
Service	410	18.9	60	22.2	25	35.7	1135	23.4	
Primary	15	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	40	0.8	
Processing	80	3.7	5	1.9	10	14.3	210	4.3	
Machining and product fabrication	510	23.6	60	22.2	25	35.7	1795	37.0	
Construction	5	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	0.1	
Transport equipment	5	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	0.3	
Other	145	6.7	5	1.9	0	0.0	370	7.6	

Table D5.7.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year With No Postsecondary Education by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1991.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Worked Full-time/year	9005		1475		445		35610		
Total with some postsecondary	5465		905		290		21470		
Total with no postsecondary	3535	100.0	570	100.0	155	100.0	14140	100.0	
Managerial, administration and related	130	3.7	50	8.8	0	0.0	670	4.7	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	35	1.0	5	0.9	0	0.0	150	1.1	
Social sciences	30	0.8	5	0.9	5	3.2	50	0.4	
Teaching	25	0.7	5	0.9	0	0.0	75	0.5	
Medicine and health	70	2.0	5	0.9	0	0.0	310	2.2	
Artistic, literary and recreational	40	1.1	15	2.6	5	3.2	65	0.5	
Clerical	710	20.1	140	24.6	75	48.4	3655	25.8	
Sales	260	7.4	55	9.6	10	6.5	920	6.5	
Service	1060	30.0	160	28.1	20	12.9	3220	22.8	
Primary	30	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	80	0.6	
Processing	190	5.4	10	1.8	0	0.0	580	4.1	
Machining and product fabrication	630	17.8	80	14.0	30	19.4	2850	20.2	
Construction	20	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	45	0.3	
Other	5	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	45	0.3	
Other	300	8.5	40	7.0	5	3.2	1430	10.1	

Table D5.8.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year With English or French Proficiency by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1981.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Worked Full-time/year	4965		745		135		8945		
Total with no English or French	590		20		15		1460		
Total with English or French	4375	100.0	725	100.0	120	100.0	7485	100.0	
Managerial, administration and related	385	8.8	55	7.6	5	4.2	225	3.0	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	280	6.4	35	4.8	10	8.3	195	2.6	
Social sciences	75	1.7	5	0.7	0	0.0	50	0.7	
Teaching	200	4.6	20	2.8	0	0.0	45	0.6	
Medicine and health	310	7.1	70	9.7	5	4.2	515	6.9	
Artistic, literary and recreational	155	3.5	20	2.8	0	0.0	70	0.9	
Clerical	1520	34.7	295	40.7	35	29.2	2595	34.7	
Sales	285	6.5	40	5.5	0	0.0	300	4.0	
Service	635	14.5	85	11.7	30	25.0	1300	17.4	
Primary	40	0.9	0	0.0	5	4.2	10	0.1	
Processing	50	1.1	5	0.7	10	8.3	195	2.6	
Machining and product fabrication	285	6.5	70	9.7	15	12.5	1565	20.9	
Construction	10	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.1	
Transport equipment	15	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	25	0.3	
Other	130	3.0	25	3.4	5	4.2	390	5.2	

**Table D5.8.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year
With English or French Proficiency by Visible Minority Indicator and
Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Full-time/year	9005		1475		445		35610	
Total with no English or French	1120		85		30		2760	
Total with English or French	7885	100.0	1390	100.0	415	100.0	32850	100.0
Managerial, administration and related	720	9.1	200	14.4	20	4.8	2965	9.0
Natural sciences, engineering and math	445	5.6	30	2.2	5	1.2	1035	3.2
Social sciences	200	2.5	50	3.6	5	1.2	430	1.3
Teaching	410	5.2	40	2.9	25	6.0	635	1.9
Medicine and health	720	9.1	150	10.8	45	10.8	2240	6.8
Artistic, literary and recreational	265	3.4	30	2.2	10	2.4	450	1.4
Clerical	2075	26.3	360	25.9	185	44.6	12005	36.5
Sales	590	7.5	115	8.3	60	14.5	2175	6.6
Service	1395	17.7	220	15.8	25	6.0	5400	16.4
Primary	40	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	100	0.3
Processing	170	2.2	30	2.2	0	0.0	635	1.9
Machining and product fabrication	475	6.0	95	6.8	30	7.2	2885	8.8
Construction	15	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	70	0.2
Other	15	0.2	5	0.4	0	0.0	65	0.2
Other	345	4.4	60	4.3	5	1.2	1755	5.3

Table D5.9.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year With No English or French Proficiency by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1981.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Worked Full-time/year	4965		745		135		8945		
Total with English or French	4375		725		120		7485		
Total with no English or French	590	100.0	20		15		1460	100.0	
Managerial, administration and related	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		20	1.4	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		5	0.3	
Social sciences	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		10	0.7	
Teaching	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		5	0.3	
Medicine and health	10	1.7	n.a.		n.a.		10	0.7	
Artistic, literary and recreational	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		15	1.0	
Clerical	35	5.9	n.a.		n.a.		100	6.8	
Sales	20	3.4	n.a.		n.a.		65	4.5	
Service	110	18.6	n.a.		n.a.		290	19.9	
Primary	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		35	2.4	
Processing	55	9.3	n.a.		n.a.		65	4.5	
Machining and product fabrication	305	51.7	n.a.		n.a.		665	45.5	
Construction	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		0	0.0	
Transport equipment	0	0.0	n.a.		n.a.		5	0.3	
Other	55	9.3	n.a.		n.a.		170	11.6	

**Table D5.9.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year
With No English or French Proficiency by Visible Minority Indicator and
Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Full-time/year	9005		1475		445		35610	
Total with English or French	7885		1390		415		32850	
Total with no English or French	1120	100.0	85	100.0	30		2760	100.0
Managerial, administration and related	5	0.4	0	0.0	n.a.		95	3.4
Natural sciences, engineering and math	5	0.4	0	0.0	n.a.		15	0.5
Social sciences	5	0.4	0	0.0	n.a.		5	0.2
Teaching	15	1.3	0	0.0	n.a.		30	1.1
Medicine and health	35	3.1	0	0.0	n.a.		35	1.3
Artistic, literary and recreational	5	0.4	0	0.0	n.a.		20	0.7
Clerical	90	8.0	20	23.5	n.a.		365	13.2
Sales	35	3.1	0	0.0	n.a.		150	5.4
Service	315	28.1	25	29.4	n.a.		615	22.3
Primary	5	0.4	0	0.0	n.a.		25	0.9
Processing	75	6.7	0	0.0	n.a.		150	5.4
Machining and product fabrication	360	32.1	35	41.2	n.a.		925	33.5
Construction	10	0.9	0	0.0	n.a.		10	0.4
Other	165	14.7	5	5.9	n.a.		315	11.4

Table D5.10.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Wages for Combined Geography, 1981.

Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Ffty	4965	100.0	745	100.0	135	100.0	8945	100.0
\$0 - \$4999	1230	24.8	130	17.4	10	7.4	1700	19.0
\$5,000 - \$9,999	350	7.0	50	6.7	20	14.8	1015	11.3
\$10,000 - \$14,999	875	17.6	170	22.8	40	29.6	2530	28.3
\$15,000 - \$19,999	910	18.3	135	18.1	30	22.2	1985	22.2
\$20,000 - \$24,999	725	14.6	140	18.8	15	11.1	1095	12.2
\$25,000 +	875	17.6	115	15.4	20	14.8	620	6.9

Table D5.10.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Full-time, Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Wages for Combined Geography, 1991.

Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Fty	9005	100.0	1475	100.0	445	100.0	35610	100.0
\$0 - \$4999	1855	20.6	365	24.7	150	33.7	7950	22.3
\$5,000 - \$9,999	565	6.3	105	7.1	20	4.5	2730	7.7
\$10,000 - \$14,999	1350	15.0	245	16.6	80	18.0	5965	16.8
\$15,000 - \$19,999	1570	17.4	170	11.5	35	7.9	5740	16.1
\$20,000 - \$24,999	1550	17.2	210	14.2	55	12.4	6135	17.2
\$25,000 +	2115	23.5	380	25.8	105	23.6	7090	19.9

**Table D5.11.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked
Full-time, Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and
Place of Birth by Showing Wages by Level of Schooling
for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Ftfy	4965		745		135		8945	
Total with postsecondary	2800	100.0	475	100.0	65	100.0	4095	100.0
\$0 - \$4,999	715	25.5	90	18.9	5	7.7	725	17.7
\$5,000 - \$9,999	160	5.7	25	5.3	5	7.7	325	7.9
\$10,000 - \$14,999	315	11.3	80	16.8	15	23.1	785	19.2
\$15,000 - \$19,999	475	17.0	80	16.8	10	15.4	1065	26.0
\$20,000 - \$24,999	455	16.3	110	23.2	10	15.4	735	17.9
\$25,000 +	680	24.3	90	18.9	20	30.8	460	11.2
Total w/o postsecondary	2165	100.0	270	100.0	70	100.0	4850	100.0
\$1 - \$4,999	515	23.8	40	14.8	10	14.3	970	20.0
\$5,000 - \$9,999	190	8.8	25	9.3	10	14.3	690	14.2
\$10,000 - \$14,999	560	25.9	90	33.3	25	35.7	1750	36.1
\$15,000 - \$19,999	435	20.1	55	20.4	20	28.6	920	19.0
\$20,000 - \$24,999	270	12.5	30	11.1	5	7.1	360	7.4
\$25,000 +	195	9.0	25	9.3	0	0.0	160	3.3

**Table D5.11.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked
Full-time, Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and
Place of Birth by Showing Wages by Level of Schooling
for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Ftfy	9005		1475		445		35610	
Total with postsecondary	5465	100.0	905	100.0	290	100.0	21470	100.0
\$0 - \$4,999	1225	22.4	185	20.4	90	31.0	4760	22.2
\$5,000 - \$9,999	240	4.4	50	5.5	0	0.0	1200	5.6
\$10,000 - \$14,999	505	9.2	135	14.9	55	19.0	2530	11.8
\$15,000 - \$19,999	810	14.8	90	9.9	15	5.2	3245	15.1
\$20,000 - \$24,999	1005	18.4	145	16.0	50	17.2	4135	19.3
\$25,000 +	1680	30.7	300	33.1	80	27.6	5600	26.1
Total w/o postsecondary	3535	100.0	570	100.0	155	100.0	14140	100.0
\$0 - \$4,999	630	17.8	180	31.6	60	38.7	3195	22.6
\$5,000 - \$9,999	320	9.1	50	8.8	20	12.9	1530	10.8
\$10,000 - \$14,999	840	23.8	110	19.3	30	19.4	3430	24.3
\$15,000 - \$19,999	760	21.5	75	13.2	20	12.9	2500	17.7
\$20,000 - \$24,999	545	15.4	65	11.4	5	3.2	2000	14.1
\$25,000 +	440	12.4	85	14.9	20	12.9	1490	10.5

**Table D5.12.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked
Full-time, Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and
Place of Birth Showing Wages by Language Proficiency
for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Ftfy	4965		745		135		8945	
Total with Eng. + French	4375	100.0	725	100.0	120	100.0	7485	100.0
\$0 - \$4,999	1120	25.6	130	17.9	10	8.3	1325	17.7
\$5,000 - \$9,999	280	6.4	50	6.9	20	16.7	785	10.5
\$10,000 - \$14,999	665	15.2	160	22.1	30	25.0	2000	26.7
\$15,000 - \$19,999	800	18.3	130	17.9	25	20.8	1755	23.4
\$20,000 - \$24,999	690	15.8	140	19.3	15	12.5	1040	13.9
\$25,000 +	820	18.7	115	15.9	20	16.7	580	7.7
Total w/o Eng. + French	590	100.0	20	100.0	15	100.0	1460	100.0
\$0 - \$4,999	110	18.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	375	25.7
\$5,000 - \$9,999	75	12.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	230	15.8
\$10,000 - \$14,999	210	35.6	15	75.0	10	66.7	535	36.6
\$15,000 - \$19,999	110	18.6	5	25.0	5	33.3	225	15.4
\$20,000 - \$24,999	35	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	55	3.8
\$25,000 +	50	8.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	40	2.7

**Table D5.12.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked
Full-time, Full-year by Visible Minority Indicator and
Place of Birth Showing Wages by Language Proficiency
for Combined Geography, 1991.**

Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Worked Ftfy	9005		1475		445		35610	
Total with Eng. + French	7885	100.0	1390	100.0	415	100.0	32850	100.0
\$0 - \$4,999	1630	20.7	350	25.2	140	33.7	7145	21.8
\$5,000 - \$9,999	450	5.7	95	6.8	20	4.8	2365	7.2
\$10,000 - \$14,999	1035	13.1	225	16.2	65	15.7	5245	16.0
\$15,000 - \$19,999	1305	16.6	160	11.5	30	7.2	5345	16.3
\$20,000 - \$24,999	1425	18.1	195	14.0	55	13.3	5875	17.9
\$25,000 +	2035	25.8	370	26.6	105	25.3	6870	20.9
Total w/o Eng. + French	1120	100.0	80	100.0	30	100.0	2760	100.0
\$0 - \$4,999	225	20.1	15	18.8	10	33.3	805	29.2
\$5,000 - \$9,999	110	9.8	10	12.5	0	0.0	365	13.2
\$10,000 - \$14,999	315	28.1	20	25.0	20	66.7	715	25.9
\$15,000 - \$19,999	265	23.7	10	12.5	0	0.0	395	14.3
\$20,000 - \$24,999	120	10.7	15	18.8	0	0.0	260	9.4
\$25,000 +	85	7.6	10	12.5	0	0.0	220	8.0

Table D5.13.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Part-time or Part-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1981.								
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Female Population 15-64	6555	100.0	1240	100.0	220	100	13265	100.0
Worked part-time/part-year In 1980	210	3.2	10	0.8	10	4.5	260	2.0
Managerial, administrative and related	160	2.4	20	1.6	0	0.0	135	1.0
Natural sciences, engineering and math	80	1.2	25	2.0	0	0.0	100	0.8
Social sciences	470	7.2	95	7.7	5	2.3	190	1.4
Teaching	435	6.6	75	6.0	20	9.1	820	6.2
Medicine and health	220	3.4	20	1.6	0	0.0	120	0.9
Artistic, literary and recreational	1855	28.3	410	33.1	60	27.3	3105	23.4
Clerical	635	9.7	95	7.7	25	11.4	620	4.7
Sales	1350	20.6	210	16.9	60	27.3	3110	23.4
Service	40	0.6	5	0.4	0	0.0	350	2.6
Primary	90	1.4	30	2.4	0	0.0	475	3.6
Processing	715	10.9	190	15.3	25	11.4	2955	22.3
Machining and product fabrication	10	0.2	5	0.4	0	0.0	20	0.2
Construction	30	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	30	0.2
Transport equipment	255	3.9	40	3.2	20	9.1	970	7.3
Other								

Table D5.13.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Part-time or Part-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Occupation for Combined Geography, 1991.									
Occupation	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Female Population 15-64	10115	100.0	1540	100.0	465	100	34535	100.0	
Worked part-time/part-year in 1980	415	4.1	50	3.2	30	6.5	1670	4.8	
Managerial, administrative and related	285	2.8	10	0.6	5	1.1	655	1.9	
Natural sciences, engineering and math	220	2.2	45	2.9	20	4.3	530	1.5	
Social sciences	505	5.0	155	10.1	5	1.1	1215	3.5	
Teaching	770	7.6	95	6.2	15	3.2	1860	5.4	
Medicine and health	210	2.1	35	2.3	25	5.4	505	1.5	
Artistic, literary and recreational	2100	20.8	445	28.9	175	37.6	11125	32.2	
Clerical	1090	10.8	170	11.0	85	18.3	3330	9.6	
Sales	2705	26.7	315	20.5	65	14.0	6710	19.4	
Service	35	0.3	15	1.0	0	0.0	425	1.2	
Primary	310	3.1	30	1.9	5	1.1	750	2.2	
Processing	780	7.7	90	5.8	20	4.3	3580	10.4	
Machining and product fabrication	45	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	80	0.2	
Construction	20	0.2	10	0.6	0	0.0	65	0.2	
Transport equipment	620	6.1	70	4.5	15	3.2	2030	5.9	
Other									

**Table D5.14.1 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Part-time or
Part-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth
Showing Wages for Combined Geography, 1981.**

Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities			
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Immigrant Group Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Immigrant Group Places of Birth	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Worked part-time/part-year	8245		1525		250	100.0	17455	
Worked only before 1980	1690		285		30	12.0	4190	
Worked part-time/part-year in 1980	6555	100.0	1240	100.0	220	100.0	13265	100.0
\$0 - \$4999	3755	57.3	730	58.9	135	61.4	7720	58.2
\$5,000 - \$9,999	1605	24.5	325	26.2	45	20.5	3545	26.7
\$10,000 - \$14,999	655	10.0	115	9.3	20	9.1	1340	10.1
\$15,000 - \$19,999	270	4.1	35	2.8	15	6.8	380	2.9
\$20,000 - \$24,999	160	2.4	10	0.8	0	0.0	160	1.2
\$25,000 +	115	1.8	15	1.2	5	2.3	120	0.9
Median wages ⁽¹⁾	\$5,334		\$4,141		\$4,245		\$4,623	

⁽¹⁾ Medians are calculated for persons with wages.

Table D5.14.2 Recent Female Immigrants Who Worked Part-time or Part-year by Visible Minority Indicator and Place of Birth Showing Wages for Combined Geography, 1991.									
Wages	Non-Visible Minorities				Visible Minorities				
	Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		Traditional Places of Birth		New Places of Birth		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Worked part-time/part-year	12325		1800		575		42965		
Worked only before 1990	2210		260		110		8435		
Worked part-time/part-year in 1990	10115	100.0	1540	100.0	465	100.0	34530	100.0	
\$0 - \$4999	4840	47.8	780	50.6	260	55.9	18135	52.5	
\$5,000 - \$9,999	2465	24.4	350	22.7	50	10.8	8415	24.4	
\$10,000 - \$14,999	1420	14.0	210	13.6	75	16.1	3965	11.5	
\$15,000 - \$19,999	770	7.6	85	5.5	55	11.8	1955	5.7	
\$20,000 - \$24,999	325	3.2	50	3.2	15	3.2	1115	3.2	
\$25,000 +	290	2.9	65	4.2	20	4.3	950	2.8	
Median wages (1)	\$6,000		\$6,000		\$4,284		\$5,626		

(1) Medians are calculated for persons with wages.

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