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Abstract

The research draws attention to racial discrimination in employment in Canada, and discusses the impact on the status of racialized groups in the Canadian labour market. Racial discrimination occurs in Canada in at least two forms, economic discrimination, (when employers make generalized assumptions about the worth of racialized employees), and exclusionary discrimination (when members of a racialized group are not hired, paid equally or promoted regardless of their skills and experience). Recognizing the growth of the racialized population of Canada, the report emphasizes the concern about hierarchical structures affecting the distribution of opportunity in the labour market and argues that this growth in the racialized population makes the issue of racial discrimination one of great importance. If the racialized and immigrant population of Canada do not have equal access to the labour market, Canada will not reap the benefits of the potential of this growing proportion of its population.

The research seeks to answer the question whether the position of individuals within the Canadian labour market are determined partly by their racial group affiliation and if racialized men and women in Canada, and immigrants are denied full access to the Canadian labour market because of it.

The report uses data largely from the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics income data from 1996 and 2001 and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada labour participation data for racialized and non-racialized groups. It compares the workforce participation of racialized groups in different occupational groups. The report also includes findings from interviews with settlement sector officials working with internationally educated professionals in five major Canadian urban centres.

Based on an analysis of these data, the report finds that during this census period (1996 to 2001), even though the racialized population of Canada was growing faster than the national average, racialized groups did not advance proportionately in the labour market and continued to have higher rates of unemployment, and experience a double digit income gap. The gap, which is evident between racialized men and women as well, occurred regardless of educational attainment, and was identifiable among those who are university educated as well as those with high school education. The report also finds that the labor market is largely segregated by race. Racialized groups are over-represented in low paying occupations such as textile, light manufacturing and service sector jobs, and under-represented in better paying, more secure jobs, such as legislators, supervisors and senior management positions. The report also concluded that the inability for internationally trained professionals and tradespeople to utilize their skills in the Canadian labour market contributes to the income and employment status gap between educated Canadians and similarly educated recent immigrants.

The report suggests that governments, employers and regulators of professions and trades, need to systematically address the issue of employment discrimination by working towards eliminating barriers to access to employment. One way to do it is to implement policies and programs that adopt principles of employment equity. Governments need to increase the job pool by creating more well-paying employment, and have better regulation of working conditions of precarious employment sectors.

About the authors

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Résumé

Cette étude attire l'attention du lecteur sur la discrimination raciale prévalant en milieu professionnel et traite du statut des membres des groupes racisés sur le marché canadien du travail. La discrimination raciale se manifeste au Canada sous au moins deux formes : la discrimination économique (lorsque les employeurs ont des idées préconçues sur la valeur d'une main-d'œuvre composée d'immigrants) et la discrimination d'exclusion (lorsque les membres des groupes racisés ne sont pas embauchés, rémunérés équitablement ou promus parce que les employeurs ne tiennent pas compte de leurs qualifications et de leur expérience). Soulignant la croissance des groupes racisés au sein de la population canadienne, ce rapport met l'accent sur les structures hiérarchiques entravant la répartition équitable des possibilités d'emploi sur le marché du travail. La discrimination raciale devient donc un problème de la plus grande importance. Les immigrants et les membres des groupes racisés étant privés d'un accès équitable au marché du travail, le Canada ne peut jouir du potentiel qu'ils ont à offrir.

Elle vise à répondre, entre autres, à deux questions : le marché de travail canadien est-il tout aussi accessible aux hommes et femmes membres de groupes racisés et aux immigrants et l'octroi de postes est-il en quelque sorte déterminé par l'appartenance ethnique.

Le rapport s'appuie en grande partie sur des données tirées de recensements canadiens effectués de 1996 à 2001, de l'Enquête sur la dynamique du travail et du revenu et du Ministère des Ressources humaines et du Développement des compétences; de données relatives au revenu et à la participation active des membres de groupes racisés et non racisés au cours de la période couverte; de la participation de la population active en fonction de différents groupes professionnels et, enfin, d'entrevues effectuées auprès de représentants du secteur de l'établissement offrant des services aux diplômés internationaux de cinq principaux centres urbains canadiens.

Suivant l'analyse de ces données, le rapport indique que bien que la croissance de la population des groupes racisés ait été beaucoup plus rapide que la moyenne nationale canadienne au cours de la période recensée, la situation des groupes racisés sur le marché du travail n'a pas progressé proportionnellement, le taux de chômage a continué d'être aussi élevé et l'écart du revenu dépassait la barre des 10 %. Cet écart, qui est manifeste entre les hommes et femmes de groupes racisés, se produit peu importe le niveau de scolarité, tant les personnes détenant un diplôme universitaire que celles ayant une formation de niveau secondaire. L'étude révèle également que le marché du travail est en grande partie ségrégué par race. Les groupes racisés sont surreprésentés dans les emplois économiquement faibles, comme dans le secteur du textile, de l'industrie légère et le secteur tertiaire, tandis qu'ils sont sous-représentés dans les secteurs où les emplois sont plus rémunérateurs et plus stables, comme ceux qu'occupent les législateurs, les superviseurs et les cadres supérieurs. Le rapport conclut de plus que l'incapacité des diplômés et des gens de métiers de formation internationale d'utiliser leurs aptitudes sur le marché du travail canadien contribue à l'écart de revenu et du type d'emploi entre les individus ayant acquis leur formation au Canada et les immigrants ayant acquis une formation académique semblable à l'étranger.

Le rapport suggère que les gouvernements, les employeurs et les personnes chargées de la réglementation des métiers et professions se penchent systématiquement sur la question de la discrimination en s'attaquant à tout ce qui entrave l'équité d'emploi. Une façon d'y arriver consiste à mettre en place des lignes directrices et des programmes faisant valoir les principes d'équité. Les gouvernements doivent de plus favoriser l'expansion du marché du travail en créant davantage d'emplois rémunérateurs et en supervisant les conditions de travail régissant les emplois précaires.

Executive summary

The last decade has seen the fastest growth in the size of the racialized group in Canada's history. Much of that growth has been achieved through immigration, with over 75% of new immigrants being members of racialized groups. While this development is to be celebrated as an affirmation of Canada's multicultural reality, the growth of the racialized population puts the issue of racial discrimination in employment front and centre in the early twenty-first century labour market policy debates.

In a modern liberal democratic society such as Canada, racial discrimination is an affront to the principle and aspirations of equality for all its citizens. It also represents an inefficient way to allocate scarce human resources and imposes an economic cost both to racialized groups and the Canadian economy as a whole. Not only does it rob the economy of a valuable resource in a competitive global environment, it undermines the competitiveness of Canadian business at home and abroad. At the same time, those whose talents and skills are improperly deployed lose their skills

along with their self-esteem. In real terms, this scenario saddles the victims of discrimination with lives of poverty and increases the national and provincial budgetary costs for dealing with poverty and its impacts on health and social well-being.

So with the racialized proportion of the Canadian labour force continuing to grow as projected, with trends showing increases in full-time participation of both male and female racialized workers between 1996 to 2001 far outpacing those of other Canadians, concerns about the hierarchical structures that affect the distribution of opportunity in the labour market can only become more prominent.

Equally disturbing is the impact, both on their lives and the Canadian economy, of the devaluation of the human capital of thousands of highly qualified newcomers to Canada, many of them qualified professionals and trades people. These skilled immigrants are attracted from their home countries by an aggressive immigration policy which promises the potential to improve their lives and to succeed as contributors to a modern economy and multicultural society. Many then find themselves relegated to precarious employment in low wage sectors and low end occupations because barriers in the Canadian economy deny them the opportunity to use their skills and be compensated commensurate with their training and experience.

As this report shows, denying racialized Canadian men, women, and immigrants full access to Canadian labour markets, racial discrimination in employment robs Canada of the full benefit of the potential of a growing proportion of Canadians. Left to its devices, racial discrimination in employment will continue to impair the ability of Canada to make the best of its human resources. Action by governments, employers and regulators of professions and trades is needed to address the challenge posed by employment discrimination, to break down the barriers imposed by systemic discrimination and establish transparency in employment practices and competence based hiring, promotion and accreditation as the pre-eminent operating principles in the Canadian labour market.

The report's key findings include the following:

- During the census period (1996-2001), the growth of the racialized group population has outpaced the Canadian average. While the Canadian population grew by 3.9% between 1996-2001, the corresponding rate for racialized groups was 24.6%. Over the same period, the racialized component of the labour force grew by males 28.7%/females 32.3% compared to 5.5% and 9% respectively for the Canadian population.
- While contributing a much higher rate of new entrants to the labour force, racialized groups and new immigrants have not fared well in the labour market in the last census period (1996-2001). Racialized group members and new immigrants continue to sustain a double digit income gap and a higher rate of unemployment. During the period, they experienced a median after tax income gap of 13.3% and an average after tax income gap of 12.2%. The gap is highest among male youth (average after tax income gap 42.3% and median after tax income gap 38.7%), as well as those with less than high school education (median after tax income gap 20.6%) and those over 65 years (average income gap 28% and median income gap 21%).
- This gap is evident among the university educated (median gap 14.6%) as well as those without post-secondary education (20.6%) suggesting a cross social class factor. But the size of the gap varies among sub-groups and disappears within the family income category— likely because racialized groups have more income earners per average family.
- Labour market participation rates and rates of unemployment show a continuing gap between the experience of racialized and non-racialized workers. In 2001, while the participation rates for the total population were 80.3%, those for racialized group members were as low as 66% and 75% for immigrants. Racialized groups and immigrants also experienced unequal unemployment rates with the total population rate being 6.7% while the racialized group rate was as high as 12.6%.

- The labour market is segmented along racial lines, with racialized group members over-represented in many low paying occupations, with high levels of precariousness while they are under-represented in the better paying, more secure jobs. Racialized groups were over-represented in the textile, light manufacturing and service sectors occupations such as sewing machine operators (46%), electronic assemblers (42%), plastics processing (36.8%), labourers in textile processing (40%), taxi and limo drivers (36.6%), weavers and knitters (37.5%), fabrics, fur and leather cutters (40.1%), iron and pressing (40.6%). They were under-represented in senior management (8.2%), professionals (13.8%), supervisors (12%), fire-fighters (2.0%), legislators (2.2%), oil and gas drilling (1.5%), farmers and farm managers (1.2%). One area where they fared better is in the information technology industry, with software engineers (36.3%), computer engineers (30.1%) and computer programmers (27.8%).
- The failure of the racialized group members to translate educational attainment into comparable occupational status and compensation. While their educational attainment exceeds that of other Canadians, their levels of income and occupational status is lower than that of the comparable cohort.
- Despite new-found interest and attention from key stakeholders in the process of accreditation, the experience of internationally educated professionals (IEPs) and trades people continues to be one of frustration and disappointment as highly skilled immigrants continue to confront barriers to the conversion of their internationally obtained skills and experience into equivalent credentials, professional and trade licences and an opportunity to escape the high levels of unemployment, poverty and degradation of their skills. The loss to Canada's economy and to the IEPs and their families and communities is in the billions of dollars annually, far outstripping the loss from the brain drain to the United States of America that has been the subject of much greater public and policy attention.
- The various indicators also show a gap between the attainment of racialized men and women, suggesting a gendered dimension to the inequality identified.
- Income inequality is an established indicator of labour market discrimination. Taken together with the unequal unemployment rates; the inability of racialized group members to convert their educational attainment advantage into commensurate occupational status and income; the differential experience of internationally trained racialized group members, the findings show that racialized groups experience racial inequality in the Canadian labour market that may be attributable to racial discrimination in employment.
- The report's conclusion is that racial discrimination continues to be a major factor in the distribution of opportunities in the Canadian labour market and by extension in determining the life chances of racialized peoples and immigrants in Canada.
- To overcome racial discrimination, different levels of government, employers, trade unions and those who regulate professions and trades must take the necessary action to eliminate the barriers to equal access to employment and professions and trades by strengthening policies and programs aimed at increasing transparency in labour market practices and more efficient and effective competence-based ways of evaluating the human capital of racialized group members. Policies and programs that adopt the principles of employment equity should be implemented by governments, professional associations, and employers, both as an equity and an economic imperative. The governments should also focus on the need to create more well-paying employment and regulate the working conditions in sectors where precarious employment is prevalent.

Introduction

The purpose of this report is to draw attention to the issue of racial discrimination in employment and its impact on the status of racialized group members in a changing Canadian labour market. We argue that the position of individuals in the Canadian labour market is determined not only by their productive capacity but also by their group affiliation and that it varies from group to group. Labour market attachment is critical to the livelihood and identity formation of individuals and groups, but also their ability to claim a sense of belonging and full citizenship. This is especially true of historically socially excluded groups such as racialized groups. The early twenty-first century shift towards flexible deployment of labour and flexible accumulation on a global scale has converged with the focus on the knowledge based economy and the growth of the racialized population to amplify the impact of racial discrimination in employment on the groups. The growth in the population of racialized groups far outpaced the growth in the rest of the Canadian population over the last decade of the twentieth century with a major source of that growth being increased racialized immigration. While Canadian public policy has placed a premium on occupational skills and educational attainment, historical structures of discrimination in employment seem to have impeded the labour market success of the better educated and expanding proportion of the Canadian population that is racialized. Social indicators such as higher rates of poverty, sectoral, and occupational concentrations along racial lines, high unemployment and under-employment, a failure to convert educational attainment into comparable occupational status and compensation suggest the need to revisit a concern that seems to have faded in the minds of mainstream observers of the Canadian labour market. The intensified racial stratification of Canada's labour market under neo-liberal restructuring has led some to observe that what was once described as an ethnic Canadian vertical mosaic is now colour coded. These developments call renewed attention to the need for equity in

employment since they have an adverse impact on the lives of racialized group members, their communities and ultimately, given their population growth rates, the productivity of the Canadian economy.

We present some evidence to show that in the early twentieth century, racial discrimination continues to deny racialized group members the attainment of their full potential in the Canadian labour market. As the data show, it is manifested in the patterns of differential access to employment, differential labour market mobility, income inequality for racialized groups and other highly racialized groups such as recent immigrants. Using quantitative data on income and unemployment, occupational and sectoral segregation, and qualitative data on the differential labour market experiences of internationally trained skilled labour, we discuss the extent of racial discrimination in employment and its implications for the life chances of racialized Canadians and for public policy. Comparative data is drawn from the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census as well as Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) and Human Resources and Skills Development (formerly HRDC) sectoral employment data by race, gender, immigration status and educational attainment.

"Work is one of the most fundamental aspects in a person's life, providing an individual with a means of financial support and, as importantly, a contributory role in society. A person's employment is an essential component of his or her sense of identity, self worth and emotional well-being"
(Supreme Court of Canada)²

Racial Discrimination in Employment in Canada

Discrimination in employment has been documented for over a century, yet the study of racial discrimination in employment in Canada is a more recent enterprise. It was not until the 1984 Parliamentary Committee report 'Equality Now' that racial discrimination in employment became a

¹ Racialized groups refers to persons other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or not white in colour. Racialized categories include Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab/West Asian, South East Asian, Filipino, Latin American, Japanese, Korean and Pacific Islanders (based on the Federal Employment Equity Act definition of visible minorities).

² Supreme Court of Canada. *McKinley v. BC Tel.* [2001], 2 S.C.R. 161

prominent part of contemporary scholarship.³ In the Report of the Equality in Employment Commission (1984) which identified racial discrimination as part of the phenomenon of discrimination in employment in Canada, Judge Rosalie Abella defined discrimination in employment as "practices or attitudes that have, whether by design or impact, the effect of limiting an individual or group's right to opportunities generally available because of attributed rather than actual characteristics."⁴

According to the Commission Report, discrimination represents an arbitrary barrier standing between a person's ability and his or her opportunity to demonstrate it. While discrimination occurs in different ways at different times and in different places, the one constant is that the persistence of barriers that disproportionately affect certain groups is a signal that the practices that lead to this adverse impact are discriminatory. All things being equal, in a market economy, the value of labour should derive from its marginal productivity and equally productive persons should both be compensated equally and have equal opportunities for mobility. Yet the reality is that, in the Canadian labour market, there are widely documented differential outcomes that occur along racial and gender lines, suggesting a more complex, differentiated and even hierarchical labour market.

Racial discrimination occurs in a variety of ways. To begin with, race acquires a social significance attached to certain biological features which become the basis for designating distinct collectivities. Then the social process of racialization imbues the categories established with value, leading to socio-economic practices that reflect and reinforce those values. It is these practices that are responsible for the differential treatment that privileges some and oppresses other members of society.

For the purposes of this report, racial discrimination in employment refers to two forms of practices that deny racialized group members equality of opportunity in the Canadian labour market and secure an advantage for non-racialized groups.

Economic discrimination is said to occur when employers, unable to assess the ability of members of a group make generalized assumptions about the worth of their human capital, as may be the case when the value of qualifications from a certain country or region is considered unclear. *Exclusionary discrimination* occur when members of a group are not hired or paid commensurate wages, or once hired, not promoted regardless of their skills and experience. In both cases, it is the outcome, not the intent that is the standard as established by the Supreme Court of Canada. In *Andrews v. Law Society of British Columbia*, the Court clearly identified discrimination as the:

"distinction which, whether intentional or not but based on grounds relating to personal characteristics of an individual or group, has an effect which imposes disadvantages not imposed upon others or which withholds or limits access to other members of society" (*Andrews v. Law Society of British Columbia*, [1989], S.C.R. 144).

In emphasizing the negative impact of discrimination, the Court seemed to depart from the then conventional approaches to labour market discrimination. In much of the human resource management discourse at the time, discrimination was considered a function of the free exchange of labour and wages, subject to competitive market forces, to the exclusion of influences from other institutions in society. This was especially true of what is known as the human capital approach, popular with neo-classical economists, who are more comfortable talking about statistical discrimination as opposed to systemic discrimination. Yet, these practices have never been innocuous or without consequence for individuals, communities and the Canadian nation.

For racialized groups, a survey of key indicators such as occupational status and sectoral participation, income levels, employment and unemployment rates and access to professions and trades, points to patterns of racially distinctive experiences. Various data reviewed below and conclusions

³Equality Now, *Report of the Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society* (Ottawa: 1984)

⁴Judge Rosalie Abella, *Report of the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment* (Ottawa: Supply & Services, Canada, 1984) pp2.

drawn from a survey of key informants working with internationally educated professionals and trades people, suggest strongly that the differential outcomes identified can be attributed to racially discriminatory systemic practices such as:

- Differential treatment in recruitment, hiring and promotion;
- Extensive reliance on non-transparent forms of recruitment such as word of mouth which reproduce and reinforce existing networks;
- Differential valuation or effective devaluation of internationally obtained credentials;
- Use of immigrant status as a proxy for lower quality of human capital.⁵

In this report, we consider five key aspects of the experience of racialized group members and recent immigrants in the Canadian labour market to determine the prevalence of racial discrimination in employment as a feature of the Canadian labour market in the early twenty-first century. These include:

- The employment income of racialized and non-racialized groups.
- The labour market participation of the groups based on employment and unemployment rates.
- The sectoral distribution of the group to establish whether there are patterns of concentration in particular sectors.
- The ability of racialized and non-racialized groups to convert their human capital invest-

ment in the form of education into occupational status and income.

- The experience of recent immigrants, 75% of whom are racialized, with access to professions and trades.

We conclude that racial discrimination is evident in the experience of racialized group members in the Canadian labour market. Secondly that its significance has grown with the increase in the numbers of racialized group members in the Canadian population, a trend that seems only likely to escalate.

Changes in Canada's Population

In the early twenty-first century, racialized groups represent a key source of human resources for the Canadian labour market. Already, 70% of net new entrants into the labour force are immigrants, 75% of who are racialized. By 2011, 100% net new entrants will come from this group, making the issue of racial discrimination critical to their integration into the Canadian labour market and to the continued success of the Canadian economy (HRDC, 2002). The percentage of racialized groups in the Canadian population, which was under 4% in 1971, grew to 9.4% by 1991, and reached 13.4% by 2001 (Table 1). In the last census period, 1996-2001, racialized group population growth outpaced Canadian population, 24.6% versus 3.9%.

Racialized group population is projected to rise to 20% by 2016 partly based on its current rate of growth. Between 1996 and 2001, the working age racialized population rose by 24.6% while the racialized male proportion of the labour market

	Total Population	Total Racialized Population	Percentage
Total - Both Sexes	29,639,030	3,983,845	13.4
Males	14,564,275	1,945,510	13.4
Females	15,074,755	2,038,340	13.5

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada

⁵Various reports speak to the prevalence of these practices. See Abella, 1984; Agocs, C. & C. Burr 1996 "Employment Equity, Affirmative Action and Managing Diversity: Assessing the Differences" in International Journal of manpower. 17 (4-5); Alliance for Employment Equity, 1998 "Charter Challenge – The Case for Equity (Spring, 1998); Bakan & Kobayashi, 2000; Billingley and Musynski (1985); Equality Now, 1984; Henry & Ginsberg, 1985; Jain, 1985, 1988; Kunz, et al, 2001; NARC, 2002; Report of the Federal Taskforce on the Participation of Visible Minorities in the Federal Public Service, 2000.

grew by 28.7% and racialized female racialized proportion by 32.3% (see Table A1 and Table A2, in appendix).

According to the 2001 Census, the racialized group working age population growth was highest in Ontario (28%) and significant in British Columbia (26.6%), Alberta (22.5%), New Brunswick (18.0%), Quebec (14.7%) and only declining in Prince Edward Island (-22.6%). This compares to the general percentage change of Canada (3.9%), Ontario (6%), British Columbia (10.2%), Alberta (-1.4%), New Brunswick (-1.4%), Quebec (1.1%). Much of that growth can be attributed to immigration, with significant increases from Asia and the Middle East. Given Canada's continued reliance on immigration for population growth and labour market needs, and the escalating process of globalization, these trends are likely to persist.

Canada's racialized population is mainly concentrated in urban centres, with nearly three quarters (73%) living in Canada's three largest cities in 2001 and accounting for significant proportions of the populations of those municipalities - Toronto (43%), Vancouver (49%), and Montreal (23%). Other municipalities with significant racialized populations include Calgary (18%), Edmonton (15%), Markham, Ontario (56%), Richmond, and B.C. (59%).⁶

In 2001, racialized group members made up 19% of the population of Ontario, Canada's largest province. That share is projected to rise to 25% by 2015. In 2001, British Columbia had the highest proportion of racialized group members in its population at 22%. While 68% of Canada's racialized group members are immigrants, a significant proportion, 32%, are Canadian-born. It is significant to note that the growth of the racialized population far outpaced that of the Canadian population in general over the last census period - 1996-2001 and especially in the urban areas and the provinces of Alberta (23%), British Columbia (27%), Ontario (28%), and Quebec (15%). The size of the racialized population will continue to be an important consideration for labour market and other public policy because it is concentrated in

urban Canada, which is the engine of Canada's economy.

Some Implications of Canada's Changing Racial Profile

Canada's changing demographics have far reaching implications for how the Canadian economy is organized and whether it can maintain its position as one of the world's strongest economies. The growth of the racialized population puts the issue of racial discrimination in employment front and centre in the early twenty-first century labour market policy debates. In a liberal democratic society such as Canada, racial discrimination is an affront to the aspirations of equality. But it also represents an inefficient way to allocate scarce human resources and imposes an economic cost both the racialized groups and the Canadian economy as a whole. Not only does it rob the economy of a valuable resource in a global environment, it undermines the competitiveness of Canadian business at home and abroad, while the skills of those who are improperly deployed degrade along with their self-esteem. Along with this scenario, it imposes lives of poverty on the victims of discrimination and increases the budgetary costs associated with dealing with poverty and its impacts on health and social well-being.

With the racialized proportion of the Canadian labour force continuing to grow as projected, with trends showing increases in full-time participation of both male and female racialized workers between 1996 to 2001 far outpacing those of other Canadians, concerns about the hierarchical structures that affect the distribution of opportunity in the labour market can only become more prominent. As this report shows, by denying racialized men, women and immigrants full access to Canadian labour markets, racial discrimination in employment denies Canada the full benefit of the potential of a growing proportion of Canadians. Left to its devices, racial discrimination in employment will continue to impair the ability of Canada to make the best of its human resources.

Perhaps as disturbing is the impact, both on their lives and the Canadian economy, of the devaluation

⁶(Statistics Canada, 2003).

of the human capital of thousands of highly qualified newcomers to Canada, many of them qualified professionals and trades people. These skilled immigrants are attracted from their home countries by an aggressive immigration policy which promises the potential to improve their lives and be successful contributors to a modern economy and multicultural society. Many then find themselves relegated to precarious employment in low wage sectors and low end occupations because barriers in the Canadian economy deny them the opportunity to attain employment and compensation commensurate with their training and experience (Brouwer, 1999; Reitz, 2001; Li, 2003; interviews, 2004).

Patterns of Racial Discrimination in Early Twenty-First Century

Historical structures of racial discrimination have influenced the incorporation of racialized immigrants into the Canadian labour market and it can be speculated that without major interventions, Canadian labour markets will continue to show patterns of racial and gender stratification. Modern day processes of social exclusion recall past labour market displacement and exclusion, especially during tough economic times, that are widely documented.⁷ Modern day racialized immigrants fit into a hierarchy of stratification of labour that imposes differential levels of exploitation in support of capitalist accumulation that generates a form of "racial dividend" from what is racially defined labour market differentiation.

The continuity of racial segregation in the labour market with roots in Canada's inception as a "white settler colony" imposes an added burden on racialized groups within the context of the emergence of contingent or non-standard forms of work as a dominant phenomenon of the era of globalization. The growing demand for labour in Canada's urban heartland under conditions of heightened globalization, has meant that waves of racialized immigrants, escaping political instability and economic decline are now destined for Canada's urban centres, making them a significant numerical minorities in these urban centers. In Canada's biggest metropolis, Toronto, they will soon constitute a majority. In 2001, Canada was home to 5.4 mil-

lion immigrants, or 18.4% of the total population, the highest proportion in 70 years. This is projected to rise to 25% by 2015. The increase in the immigrant population was more than three times the growth rate of the Canadian-born population (Statistics Canada, 2003).

Below, we consider key patterns of racialized participation in Canada's labour market using five factors outlined earlier.

- The gap between the employment income of racialized and non-racialized groups.
- The differential labour market participation of the groups, based on unequal employment and unemployment rates.
- The racially defined sectoral distribution of the group in the labour market.
- The failure of racialized groups to convert their human capital investment in the form of education into occupational status and income.
- The differential experience of recent immigrants with access to professions and trades.

Employment Income Attainment of Racialized and Non-racialized Groups

Income inequalities have historically been a reliable measure of racial discrimination in the labour market. The impact of racial discrimination on income distribution can be tracked using employment income data. Our analysis of that data for the period between the two census years, 1996-2001 reveals a persistent double digit income disparities between racialized and non-racialized individual earners. This suggests that while the income gap between racialized and non-racialized individual earners over that period seems to be changing, it remains a significant indicator of racial inequality in the Canadian labour market.

As Table 2 and Table 3 reveal the median after tax income for racialized persons was 23.2% lower than that of non-racialized persons in 1996, but the gap fell to 13.3% in 2000. The median before tax income gap fell from 28.6% in 1996 to 16.5% in

⁷Anderson and Lynam, 1987; Brand, 1987; Calliste, 1991; Creese, 1991; Daenzer, 1993; das Gupta, 1996; Reitz, 1981

Table 2. After Tax Income of Racialized Persons, Canada, 1996

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (\$)	Difference(%)
Average	19,631	16,053	20,129	4,076	20.2
Median	16,394	12,991	16,922	3,931	23.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002.

Table 3. After Tax Income of Racialized Persons, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (\$)	Difference(%)
Average	23,023	20,627	23,522	2,895	12.3
Median	18,138	15,909	18,348	2,439	13.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002.

Table 4. Median Before Tax Income of Racialized Persons
Canada: 1996-2000 (2000 Dollars)

	1996	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	18,304	20,149	10.1
Racialized Persons	13,648	17,078	25.1
Non-Racialized Persons	19,111	20,454	7.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002.

Table 5. Median After Tax Income of Racialized Persons
Canada: 1996-2000 (2000 Dollars)

	1996	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	16,394	18,138	10.6
Racialized Persons	12,991	15,909	22.5
Non-Racialized Persons	16,922	18,348	8.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002.

2000. Not only are we able to document a significant wage gap, but the size and persistence of the gap suggests continuing problem with income inequality in the Canadian labour market for racialized groups.

As reported in Table 4 and Table 5, towards the end of that period, we see a significant increase in the median before and after tax income of racialized persons by 25.1% and 22.5% respectively (average after tax increase 28.5%). This compares to the increase in non-racialized median before and after tax income at 7% and 8.4% respectively (average after tax increase 16.9%). This suggests a time lag

in terms of the access to the benefits of the expansion of the Canadian economy over that period, an indicator of structural discrimination in employment. Some of that time lag can be explained by the 'immigration effect', yet its size compares unfavourably to previous immigration periods.⁸

The income disparities between racialized and non-racialized persons are confirmed by the patterns observable among cohorts with university education, with an average after tax income gap of 8.5% and 14.6% median after tax income gap (see Table A3, in appendix). However, income disparities are greatest among cohorts with less than high school

⁸ Among other things, newcomers have to adjust to a new labour market culture, acquire relevant labour market information and the necessary soft skills to be competitive in the job market. This adjustment process is often identified as representing an immigration effect in their integration into the labour market.

Table 6. After Tax Income of Racialized Persons, Less Than High School, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (a-b)	% Difference
Average	15,125	11,958	15,444	3,486	22.6
Median	12,955	10,378	13,068	2,690	20.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002.

Table 7. After Tax Income of Families, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (a-b)	% Difference
Average	53,083	61,266	52,381	- 8,885	-17.0
Median	43,265	50,912	43,080	-7,832	-18.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002.

education where the average after tax income gap of 22.6% and 20.6% median after tax income gap as highlighted in Table 6.

The time lag trends are observable among the low skilled and high skilled groups. Between 1997 and 2000, as reported in Tables A4 and A5 in the appendix, the increase in median after tax incomes for university educated racialized group members are 17.0% compared to 7.6% for non-racialized and average after tax while increases of 38.2% compared to 14.2% among non-racialized university educated.

Table 7 reveals the gap between non-racialized and racialized people diminishes when you consider family income. The higher average and median incomes for racialized families reported in Table 7 may be explained by the higher on average number

of wage earners among racialized families (in many cases three to four wage earners). What is instructive here is the fact that in 2000, there was a significant drop in the median after tax income gap among families with no employment income earners, from 31 % and 20.1% to 18.6% and 19.35% among families with one income earner; 16.5% and 15.6% among 2 income earners to 1.5% and 5.5% among families with 3 income earners.

Part of what accounts for this is the increase in average after tax income of 40.1% between 1997 and 2000 (20.1% median after tax income increase) as shown in Tables A6 and A7 in the appendix. Likely because racialized families experienced a benefits from the improved economy time lag, racialized families experienced the highest average and median after tax increases between 1997 and 2000.

Table 8. After Tax Income of Racialized Persons by Select Deciles, Canada, 2000
1 is the lowest and 10 is the highest

Decile	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (a-b) %
1 st	10	15.4	9.3	6.1
2 nd	10	11.4	9.7	1.7
3 rd	10	11.4	9.7	1.7
4 th	10	8.7	10.1	-1.4
5 th	10	9.9	10	-0.1
6 th	10	8.8	10.2	-1.4
7 th	10	9.7	10.1	-0.4
8 th	10	8.6	10.2	-1.6
9 th	10	8.4	10.3	-1.9
10 th	10	7.7	10.4	-2.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table 9. After Tax Income of Racialized Families by Select Deciles, Canada, 2000
1 is the lowest and 10 is the highest

Decile	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (a-b) %
1 st	6	5.4	5.8	-0.4
2 nd	6.2	4.8	6.3	-1.5
3 rd	7.7	6.7	8	-1.3
4 th	8.5	7.9	8.5	-0.6
5 th	9.4	9.1	9.4	-0.3
6 th	10.3	8.7	10.4	-1.7
7 th	11.1	8.9	11.5	-2.6
8 th	12	11	12.3	-1.3
9 th	13.3	16.4	13.1	3.3
10 th	15.3	21.1	14.7	6.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

A decile breakdown in Table 8 confirms the disproportionate concentration of racialized persons in the lower income deciles while non-racialized persons are over represented in the upper income deciles (see Table 16 below). Again, the family breakdown in Table 9 reverses the trend with racialized families over represented in the upper income deciles, possibly because of the numbers of income earners per family. Table 10 reveals that the income gap is gendered as the decile gap between racialized men and racialized women shows, (see Table 18 below). Overall, more racialized women concentrated in the lower percentiles than men. However, racialized men while more highly represented in the upper deciles, are also more numerous among the lowest decile.

There is some convergence between racialized and non-racialized female incomes, although racialized

female-led families show a greater number of earners per household, see Table A8 in the appendix.

While the inequalities exist in all age groups, as Table 11 reveals, they are especially deep among the male youth cohort (16-24years) where the median after tax income gap in 2000 was 38.6% and the average income was 42.3% an increase from the 1997 rates of 37.2% and 32.2% respectively.

The median after tax gap among the 25-44yr cohort was still significant but lower at 9.5% while the average after tax gap was 13.5%, see Table 12.

It was even lower among the 45-65 age group at average 1.7% and median 12.5% but increases substantially among the over 65 age group to average 28.5% and 21.2% median after tax, as shown in Table A9 in the appendix.

Table 10. After Tax Income of Racialized Women and Men by Select Deciles, Canada, 2000
1 is the lowest and 10 is the highest

Decile	Racialized Women (a)	Racialized Men (b)	Differences (a-b) %
1 st	14.30	16.70	16.8
2 nd	13.50	9.10	-32.6
3 rd	12.10	10.50	-13.2
4 th	10.00	7.20	-28.0
5 th	12.10	7.50	-38.0
6 th	9.50	7.90	-16.8
7 th	10.70	8.70	-18.7
8 th	8.40	8.80	4.8
9 th	5.30	11.70	120.8
10 th	4.00	11.80	195.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table 11. After Tax Income of Racialized/Non-racialized, Male Persons Ages 16-24, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (\$)	Difference(%)
Average	9,564	6,165	10,036	3,871	38.6
Median	7,434	4,314	7,477	3,163	42.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table 12. After Tax Income of Racialized/Non-racialized, Male Persons Ages 25-44, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (\$)	Difference(%)
Average	31,879	28,515	32,816	4,301	13.1
Median	28,549	26,153	28,886	2,733	9.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table 13. After Tax Income of Racialized/Non-racialized, Female Persons Age 16-24, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (\$)	Difference(%)
Average	8,509	8,057	8,552	495	5.8
Median	6,739	5,705	6,743	1,038	15.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table 14. After Tax Income of Racialized/Non-racialized, Female Persons Age 25-44, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (\$)	Difference(%)
Average	21,832	21,014	22,111	1,097	5.0
Median	18,916	19,018	18,965	-53	-0.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table 13 reveals that the female 16-24 years cohort gap between non-racialized and racialized persons was more modest at 15.4% median after tax income and 5.8% average after tax income.

Median and average after tax gap dropped to -0.3% and 5.0% respectively among the 25-44 group as shown in Table 14.

The cohort gap was low in the female 45-64 group at average 5.1% and a higher median income gap of -5.8% (see Table A10 in appendix), but rose in the over 65% group to average 20.7% and 12.3% median after tax income.

The other key area of convergence is among unionized workers, as Table 15 reveals, where the median

before and after tax incomes gap is minimal, although the racialized population is still underrepresented in the ranks of unionized workers.

The convergence here pertains to the formal bargaining structures ensuring a more equitable compensation regime although the gains made by racialized group members over the 1997-2000 period, as shown in Table 16, were compromised by a much lower than average improvement in wages, suggesting less of a time lag in benefits from an improved economy because of better protections provided by collective bargaining.

Labour Market Participation of Racialized and Recent Immigrants

Another reliable indicator of racial inequality in the

Table 15. After Tax Income of Persons with FY/FT Unionized, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference (\$)	Difference(%)
Average	35,851	33,780	36,038	2,258	6.3
Median	34,360	33,040	34,418	1,378	4.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table 16. Average After Tax Income of Persons with FY/FT Unionized
Canada: 1997-2000 (2000 Dollars)

	1997	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	33,114	35,851	8.3
Racialized Persons	32,978	33,780	2.4
Non-Racialized Persons	33,114	36,038	8.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002.

labour market is the differential rate of unemployment. The employment income gaps between racialized and non-racialized cohorts partly reflect the unequal access to job opportunities suggested

Table 17. Labour force participation rates for Immigrants, Non-Immigrants, and Visible Minorities (%)

	1981	1991	2001
Total labour force	75.5	78.2	80.3
Canadian born	74.6	78.7	81.8
All immigrants	79.3	77.2	75.6
Recent Immigrants	75.7	68.6	65.8
Visible Minorities	n/a	70.5	66.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003: The Changing Profile of Canada's Labour Force and The Conference Board of Canada, April 2004, Making a Visible Difference The Contribution of Visible Minorities to Canadian Economic Growth.

Table 18. Unemployment rates for Immigrants, Non-Immigrants, and Visible Minorities (%)

	1981	1991	2001
Total labour force	5.9	9.6	6.7
Canadian born	6.3	9.4	6.4
All immigrants	4.5	10.4	7.9
Recent Immigrants	6.0	15.6	12.1
Visible Minorities	n/a	n/a	12.6

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census Analysis Series. The Changing Profile of Canada's Labour Force, February, 11, 2000 and 2001 Employment Equity Data Report, Human Resource and Development Canada.

above. In 1996, the participation rate for the non-racialized group adult population was 75% compared to 66% of the racialized adult population. Table 17 reveals that while the participation rate for the total population improved to 80% in 2001, racialized participation rates lagged at 66%. Similarly, Table 18 shows that unemployment rate differentials were also stack, with the total labour force population at 6.7% in 2001 and the racialized rate about twice as high at 12.6%. Unemployment rates were also was higher among specific racialized groups, including women, youth, those without post-secondary education in 1996 but leveled off in 2001 except among recent immigrants

As noted previously, the immigrant class in the last twenty years has become increasingly racialized, composing about 75% of the entrants in the last two census periods. So an important aspect of the racialized group disadvantage in labour market participation may be attributed to the 'immigration effect'. This is demonstrated by the differentials in participation rates among groups in the various immigration periods (see Tables A11 – A13 in appendix). The rates of unemployment are substantially higher for those entering the country for the first year (32.4%) versus those who entered the country eleven to fifteen years ago (8.4), or between fifteen to twenty years (7.5%) and those with more than twenty years residency (5.3%). The total immigrant unemployment rate is still a high 9.5%. For recent immigrants, the rates of unemployment rose markedly between 1986 and 1996, recovering slightly in 2001.

The experiences of recent immigrants are significantly different than those of previous immigrants. The spread in the rates of unemployment and underemployment are as much as 5% points between recent immigrants and Canadian-born (Statistics Canada, 2003). What is noteworthy is that the traditional trajectory that saw immigrants 'catch up' with other Canadians over time seems to have shifted with the change in immigrant source country. With the shift in the majority of immigration sources to countries in the global South in the 1980s, there has been a marked decline in the labour market performance of immigrants. What is emerging, especially in the case of racialized immigrants, is an expansion of the immigration lag period, and in some cases, a divergence, not convergence in the performance of the immigrant and Canadian-born groups (Reitz, 2001; Kazimapur & Hou, 2003).

As Tables 16 and 17 show, during the post-1980 migration periods, the participation rates for recent immigrants have been falling while the difference in rates of unemployment has been growing. These immigrants had lower earnings after the same number of years in Canada as did the pre-1980s group (Reitz, 2001; Picot & Hou, 2003; Worswick, 2004). The irony is that over that period of time, the level of educational attainment, usually an indicator of future economic success, has been improving (Anisef, Sweet & Frempong, 2003; Alboim, Finnie & Meng, 2003). Despite that fact, racialized new immigrants are less likely to be employed in occupations typically requiring a university degree (Schellenberg, 2004:50).

So, while in previous periods of immigration with predominantly European source countries, the immigration effect had disappeared by the ten years of stay, and even faster among those with university education. The immigration effect appears to be sustained for much longer with more recent racialized cohorts. It is only among those with twenty years in the labour market that the rate is lower than the national average. The experiences of the increasingly racialized new immigrants raises ques-

tions regarding the character of the post-1980 immigrant class. This is coupled with variation in the labour market experiences of non-racialized immigrants, who tend to perform better than their racialized counterparts⁹. Both of these concerns suggest that the congruence between increased racialization and a sustained labour participation gap may be caused by other factors in addition to the immigration effect.

That the immigration effect may be amplified in the case of racialized immigrants by the existence of racial discrimination in employment documented through other indicators is an important consideration. Other research findings appear to validate these findings. A study by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) shows that immigrant non-racialized men earn as much as Canadian-born non-racialized males while there is a 15.8% income gap between racialized immigrants and non-racialized Canadian born.¹⁰ A recent Statistics Canada study shows that male recent immigrant full time employment earnings fell 7% between 1980 and 2000 (Frenette & Morissette, 2003). This compares with a rise of 7% for Canadian born cohort. Among university educated the drop was deeper (13%). For female recent immigrant full time employment earnings rose but by less than other female full time. More alarming are the low income implications of these trends. While low income rates among recent immigrants with less than high school graduation increased by 24% from 1980 to 2000, low income rates increased by 50% among high school graduates and a significant 66% among university educated immigrants (Frenette & Morissette, 2003).

While for the most recent immigrants, higher documented levels of unemployment may reflect their relatively short time in the country, recent studies show that racialized immigrants also suffer higher levels of poverty, with some groups of racialized women sustaining poverty rates as high as 60 percent (Picot & Hou, 2003; Schellenberg, 2004; Kazimapur & Halli, 2000; Lee, 2000; Ornstein, 1997).

⁹ See Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, May 12, 1998. (Average earnings of visible minorities and others by period of immigration)

¹⁰ Pendakur, K & R. Pendakur, "The Colour of Money: Earnings Differentials Among Ethnic Groups in Canada" *Canadian Journal of Economics* 31 (3) 1998: 518-548

Table 19. Workforce Population Showing Representation by Employment Equity Occupational Groups –Visible Minority Total Population (2001 NOC) by Employment Equity Occupational Groups

Employment Equity Occupational Groups (NOC)	Male Population		Female Population		Visible Minorities	
	Male Population	%	Female Population	%	Visible Minorities	%
Senior Managers	161,980	74.9	54,325	25.1	17,685	8.2
Middle and Other Managers	928,205	62.5	556,205	37.5	174,945	11.8
Professionals	1,221,240	47.2	1,366,925	52.8	356,945	13.8
Semi-Professionals and Technicians	624,520	47.7	685,480	52.3	156,865	12.0
Supervisors	93,915	43.3	122,945	56.7	25,960	12.0
Supervisors: Crafts and Trades	425,595	80.4	103,535	19.6	25,240	4.8
Administrative and Senior Clerical	137,130	15.0	774,635	85.0	84,340	9.3
Skilled Sales and Service Personnel	391,080	55.7	310,930	44.3	98,390	14.0
Skilled Crafts and Trades Workers	1,277,135	94.1	80,220	5.9	110,205	8.1
Clerical Personnel	438,990	27.3	1,170,155	72.7	234,635	14.6
Intermediate Sales and Service	603,565	31.5	1,312,470	68.5	250,260	13.1
Semi-Skilled Manual Workers	1,428,340	77.6	411,300	22.4	277,635	15.1
Other Sales and Service Personnel	713,490	44.1	903,005	55.9	242,640	15.0
Other Manual Workers	496,870	74.9	166,895	25.1	88,590	13.3

Source: 2001 Census of Canada, 2001 Participation and Activity Limitation Survey (PALS)
Produced by Human Resources and Skills Development, 2001 Employment Equity Data Report. Released March 2004.

Sectoral Distribution for Racialized and Non-racialized Groups

A third reliable measure of racial inequality in employment is the distribution of employment opportunities across different sectors of the economy for racialized and non-racialized cohorts. The existence of racially defined concentrations in certain sectors and occupations suggests differential access to the labour market and racial discrimination. An analysis of the data shows that there are significant concentrations of racialized group members in several sectors and occupations, most of them falling in the category of low-income occupations and sectors.

An analysis of 2001 Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (formerly HRDC) employment equity data, as shown in Table A14 in the appendix, reveals that racialized groups are over-represented among such low income occupations as sewing machine operators (46%), light manufacturing industries such as electronics assembly (42%), labourers in textile processing (40%), machine operators (33%), among others. However, they have also become over-represented in computer programming (27.8%), chemists (27.6%), chefs

(26.8%), and supervisors in fabric and fur industries (28.4%).

On the other hand, Table 19 shows that racialized persons are under-represented in such high income occupations as senior managers (8.2%), middle managers (11.8%), professionals (13.8%), semi-professionals and technician (12%), supervisors (12%), supervisors, crafts and trades (4.8%), skilled crafts and trades workers (8.1%) and skilled sales and service personnel (14.0%).

While the data is partial, the patterns of sectoral and occupational concentration by race seem clear and they maintain the trend in the previous census period. Clearly, the concentration in low income sectors and occupations also has had an impact on their social economic status, as the data on the incidence of low income among the racialized group category shows.

The segregation effect is compounded by gender discrimination for racialized women as Table 20 shows. Racialized women are at least twice as likely as racialized males to work in clerical and sales positions, while racialized males are three times as

Table 20. Workforce Population Showing Representation by Employment Equity Occupational Groups –Visible Minority Total Population (2001 NOC) by Employment Equity Occupational Groups

Employment Equity Occupational Groups (NOC)	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Population	%	Population	%	Visible Minorities	%	Visible Minorities	%
Senior Managers	161,980	74.9	54,325	25.1	13,390	6.2	4,300	2.0
Middle and Other Managers	928,205	62.5	556,210	37.5	110,265	7.4	64,680	4.4
Professionals	1,221,240	47.2	1,366,920	52.8	196,275	7.6	160,675	6.2
Semi-Professionals and Technicians	624,525	47.7	685,485	52.3	83,130	6.3	73,735	5.6
Supervisors	93,915	43.3	122,950	56.7	12,315	5.7	13,640	6.3
Supervisor: Crafts and Trades	425,595	80.4	103,530	19.6	19,645	3.7	5,595	1.1
Administrative and Senior Clerical	137,125	15.0	774,640	85.0	16,290	1.8	68,045	7.5
Skilled Sales and Service Personnel	391,075	55.7	310,930	44.3	61,515	8.8	36,875	5.3
Skilled Crafts and Trades Workers	1,277,140	94.1	80,220	5.9	97,255	7.2	12,945	1.0
Clerical Personnel	438,995	27.3	1,170,155	72.7	77,540	4.8	157,095	9.8
Intermediate Sales and Ser Service	603,565	31.5	1,312,470	68.5	82,160	4.3	168,105	8.8
Semi-Skilled Manual Workers	1,428,340	77.6	411,295	22.4	183,735	10.0	93,900	5.1
Other Sales and Service Personnel	713,490	44.1	903,005	55.9	113,430	7.0	129,210	8.0
Other Manual Workers	496,870	74.9	166,890	25.1	49,745	7.5	38,850	5.9

Source: 2001 Census of Canada, 2001 Participation and Activity Limitation Survey (PALS)
Produced by Human Resources and Skills Development, 2001 Employment Equity Data Report. Released March 2004.

likely as racialized women to work as senior managers.

Analysis of 1996-2001 census data shows that there was some significant improvement in the position of racialized groups in the senior management ranks (see Table A16 in appendix). For instance, the numbers of racialized group members in senior management grew by 60.7% between 1996 and 2001. However, racialized groups were still under-represented by the end of that period. In 2001, white male non-visible minorities represented 74.9 % of all senior managers across Canada in comparison to 8.2% for visible minorities (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2001).

Among professionals in 2001, as shown in Table A17 in the appendix, there was also significant improvements among racialized groups with a 58% increase since 1996. However, white male non-visible minorities represented 47.2% of all professionals across Canada compared to 13.8% for visible minorities. In some specific categories, such as skilled crafts and trades, white male non-visible minorities accounted for 94.1% of workers in the category across Canada in comparison to only 8.1%

for racialized groups (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2001).

Converting Human Capital Investment into Occupational Status and Compensation

Yet another key indicator of racial inequality is the ability of racialized group members to translate their investment in human capital in terms of educational attainment into comparable occupational status and compensation. In the early twenty-first century, we are confronted with a unique situation that raises the significance of returns to educational attainment as an indicator of racial inequality. The shift towards more immigrants from the South has led to a noticeable lag in economic attainment among members of the immigrant groups. This has occurred despite the 1990s emphasis on skilled immigrants in immigration policy. Ironically, as the selection process has become more stringent in response to charges that immigrant quality has declined, a majority of immigrants from the South now come through the independent (skilled) class – over 60% in recent years (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures, 2002).

Table 21. Population Showing Representation by Highest Levels of Schooling
Geography: Canada

Educational Attainment	Male Population	%	Female Population	%	Visible Minorities	%
Total - Highest Levels of Schooling	11,626,70	48.6	12,274,50	51.4	3,041,650	12.7
Less Than Grade 9	1,103,985	47.0	1,246,505	53.0	285,305	12.1
Grade 9-13 Without Secondary Certificate	2,558,290	49.9	2,568,120	50.1	567,665	11.1
Grade 9-13 With Secondary Certificate	1,520,080	45.1	1,847,820	54.9	379,235	11.3
Trades Certificate or Diploma	1,643,455	63.2	955,470	36.8	201,830	7.8
Some Other Non-university Without Certificate	714,270	46.5	823,350	53.5	186,210	12.1
Other Non-university With Trades or Certificate	1,166,035	40.1	1,742,155	59.9	287,855	9.9
Some University Without Univ. Cert./Degree	813,835	47.2	908,920	52.8	299,210	17.4
University certificate, degree or diploma	2,106,840	49.1	2,182,230	50.9	834,350	19.5
University Cert./Diploma Below Bachelor Level	242,160	40.3	359,260	59.7	117,490	19.5
Bachelor's Degree(s)	1,150,585	47.7	1,260,890	52.3	471,415	19.5
Degree in Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary ...	79,970	65.3	42,570	34.7	28,605	23.3
University Cert./Diploma Above Bachelor Level	180,660	47.2	202,295	52.8	59,055	15.4
Master's Degree(s)	359,520	56.0	282,535	44.0	128,790	20.1
Earned Doctorate	93,945	73.0	34,680	27.0	28,995	22.5

Source: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2001 Employment Equity Data Report, March 2004

In 1996, 34% of recent immigrants aged 25-44 had completed university, compared to 19% in the rest of the Canadian population, 43% of all recent immigrants aged 25 to 44 were post-secondary graduates (Statistics Canada, 1998). Among more recent immigrants (1996-2000), 62% had post secondary education compared to 23% in the Canadian-born population. A 1999 study on the "quality" of immigrants who arrived from 1956 to 1994 shows that the percentage of those without a high school education has been declining, and is lower than that in the Canadian population throughout the period, while the proportion of university graduates has been growing and outpacing the level in the Canadian population (Akbari, 1999).¹¹ These findings would seem to contradict the popular assumption that the quality of human capital is diminishing among immigrants, an assumption that seems to inform labour market decisions by employers and regulators of professions and trades.

For many racialized group members, educational attainment has not translated into comparable

labour market access, or workplace mobility. In 2001, as Table 20 shows, racialized group members were over represented among highly educated categories such as holders of bachelor's, masters and doctorate degrees. However, they were underrepresented under the trades and colleges graduates ranks, as well as among those with less than a grade 12-13 education. According to a Conference Board of Canada study, while racialized groups averaged less than 11% of the labour force between 1992 and 2000, they accounted for 0.3% of real gross domestic product growth (GDP). That contrasts with the remaining 89% of the labour force that contributed 0.6%. This disproportionately larger contribution to GDP growth is likely to grow over the 2002-2016 period as the contribution of the rest of the population falls. However, this productivity was not rewarded as the average wages for racialized groups over that period remained 14.5% lower than that of other Canadians. The Board report concludes that in monetary terms, over the period 1992 to 2016, racialized groups will contribute \$80.9 billion in real GDP growth.¹²

¹¹ See also Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2000. The Economic Performance of Immigrants: Education Perspective, Strategic policy, Planning and Research (Ottawa: Government of Canada).

¹²Conference Board of Canada. Making a Visible Difference: The Contributions of Visible Minorities to Canadian Economic Growth. Economic Performance and trends, April 2004. The Board estimates and increase of \$794.7 billion (in 1997\$), of which \$302 will accrue to capital stock, \$241 to technical efficiency and \$251.4 to labour force gains, of which racialized groups will account for \$80.9 billion. See also, Statistics Canada, Earnings of Canadians (Ottawa: 2003).

The poor income performance in the labour market coincided with an increase in the educational attainment among racialized group members and immigrants.¹³ Between 1991-2000, 76% of new immigrants had at least one type of internationally obtained credential.¹⁴ Among recent immigrants, the level of higher education is as high as 62% compared to 23% in the general population. As Table 33 shows, racialized group members make up a higher proportion of those with some university education (17.4%); Bachelor's degrees (19.5%); Degrees in Medicine, Dentistry and Veterinary (23.3%); Master's degrees (20.1%) and Doctorates (22.5%) than their proportion in the population (13.4%). Racialized group members levels of lower education, as reported in Table 20, reveal less than grade 9 (12.1%); grade 9-13 no certificate (11.1%), and grade 9-13 with certificate (11.3%), which all fall below their proportion in the population. They fall well below that proportion in the trades certificate (7.8%) likely because of the bias in the immigration process against working class immigrants.

The advantage that racialized groups have in educational attainment appears to be growing as Table A18 and Table A19 in the appendix show with regard to the increase in the numbers of degree holders in medicine, dentistry, veterinary and

Ph.Ds. The percentage growth among racialized groups in the two categories far outpaces the Canadian average (37.79% to 16.64% and 49.5% to 23.5%), suggesting that the advantage is likely to be maintained (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2001). Yet the income impact remains uncertain.

Education attainment patterns are similar among the recent immigrant group. Table 22 below shows a steady improvement in educational attainment among immigrants arriving over a thirty year period beginning in 1970 to 2001. While 22.5% of immigrants arriving in 1970 held university degrees and 26.10% had trades and college education, for a total of 48.4%, of those arriving in 1990, 40.7% had university degrees and 20.2% had trade and college education, for a total of 60.9%. That compares with the Canadian average of 22.2% with a university degree and 31.7% with a college and trade education, for a total of 53.4%. As the immigrant cohort has become more racialized, the immigration selection process has ensured that the group's educational attainment is greater than that of the Canadian born group.

Yet, on the other hand, Table 23 shows the decline relative to similarly educated Canadian groups in

Table 22. Post secondary education among immigrants and Canadian born (%)

Group	University	College	Trades	Total
Immigrated since 1970	22.5	12.1	14.0	48.4
Immigrated since 1980	25.5	12.5	10.9	48.6
Immigrated since 1990	40.7	2.7	7.57	60.9
Total Canada, 2001	22.2	17.9	12.9	53.4

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census analysis series, Education in Canada: Raising the Standard (March 11, 2003).

Table 23. Average earnings of immigrants and Canadian-born with university degree (000's)

	Male		Female	
	1990	2000	1990	2000
1 year in Canada	\$33	\$31.5	\$21	\$19.8
10 years in Canada	\$52	\$47.5	\$32.5	\$32.4
Canadian born	\$60	\$66.5	\$37	\$41

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census analysis series, Earnings of Canadians: Making a Living in the New Economy (March 11, 2003).

¹³See for example, Statistics Canada, 2001 Census analysis series, Earnings of Canadians: Making a Living in the New Economy (March 11, 2003).

¹⁴Statistics Canada, The Daily, September 04, 2003: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, 2001 pp4.

income attainment over the last ten years among university educated immigrants for both the most recent. Declines also apply to the resident for ten years relative to a similarly educated Canadian population. According to Statistics Canada's Census Analysis Series (2001), after one year in Canada, a male immigrant with a university degree earned 55.8% (\$33,673) of the male Canadian born counterparts, while a female immigrant earned 56.6% (\$21,059) of her female counterpart. By 2000, that amount had fallen to 47.3% (\$31,460) and 48.3% (\$19,829) respectively. For those who had lived in the country for 10, years, the gap had not closed as was the case in the pre-1980s immigration class, rather, immigrants still lagged behind at 86.2% (52,060) for males and 87.3% (32,522) for females in 1990. Even more importantly, by 2000, the gap had grown to 28.6% among males and 20.9% among females. In both cases, while the incomes of immigrant graduates declines, those of the Canadian born cohort grew, from \$60,375 for males in 1990 to \$66,520 in 2000 and \$37,235 for females in 1990 to \$41,062 in 2000 (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Numerous studies have suggested that the failure to translate this internationally obtained training into Canadian equivalency is due to barriers in the licensing and accreditation processes, employers' risk averse attitudes towards internationally obtained skills and experience and demands for Canadian experience that are unrelated to the core competencies of the job. This characterization of the problem is consistent with the findings from the qualitative study done for this report involving key informants in the Canadian settlement service sector. They argue that this represent a form of anti-immigrant discrimination that impacts adversely access to employment for those in the immigrant class. According to most, racialized immigrants face structural barriers to accreditation of their imported skills and job experience, and denial of access to trades and professions by provincially regulated licensing bodies, among others.¹⁵

¹⁵ For this report, telephone interviews were conducted in the Spring and Summer of 2004 with key informants from the settlement sector in five major urban centres which receive over 85% of the recent immigrants - Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax. The informants were selected from a targeted sample because of their work with IEPs and their knowledge of the policies issues involved in the area of the integration of skilled workers into the Canadian labour market. The results confirm both the findings of the quantitative analysis as well as previous qualitative research reported by Basran & Zong, 1998, McDade, 1988, among others. They also speak to a heightened awareness of the issues at the policy making levels of governments, among regulators and employers, as well as growing mobilization among IEPs and communities to advocate for change.

Differential Access to Professions and Trades

In the early twenty-first century, an important aspect of the experience of racialized groups in the Canadian labour market is the experience of those whose education is obtained abroad. This category, here referred to as Internationally Educated Professionals and Trades People (IEPs), has been growing as Canada's immigration system has moved towards more stringent selection criteria, with emphasis on higher education and market oriented skills. In the first 3 years of the new millennium, over 60% of the newcomers have university degrees. Because of their increasingly significant numbers as a proportion of racialized cohort, their experience, while specific, in part explains the failure of racialized group members to translate the educational attainment and experience into higher occupational status, intra and inter-sectoral mobility and compensation. It also speaks directly to the failure of the major players – governments, licensing bodies and other regulators, employers, educational institutions, trade unions (and perhaps the IEPs themselves), to devise appropriate policy and program responses to the problem of inequitable access to professions and trades and to ensure a smooth transition for internationally trained professionals and trades people into their fields of expertise.

A successful integration strategy would require a focus on evaluating the competencies of trained immigrants rather than demands for undefined Canadian experience, approximating the value of their human capital based on what source country they are from and proposing to send them without supports to non-urban environments as a condition of their residence. It would mean state supported efforts to match immigrant skills with the labour market shortages that exist in Canada's regions, provinces and cities, towns and communities.

The Canadian government has a history of supporting past immigration with such resources such as land for settlement. In this case however, it has

embarked on the selection of highly talented immigrants but assumed no accountability for their successful integration or even bothered to track their progress. Instead, even as it pursues a laissez-faire approach to their integration, it continues to ‘compete’ for immigrants bearing similar skills, raising troubling questions about the logic of this aggressive immigration policy. While at least two federal departments have a direct interest in this population (Canadian Immigration and Citizenship (CIC) and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), there has been, until recently, minimal high level inter-governmental co-ordination on the issues of access to professions and trades for immigrants. Surprisingly, in the case of the debate on the brain drain to the USA, the federal and provincial governments have responded by implementing taxation and other policies measures aimed at discouraging skilled immigration to the United States. However, despite demands for similar action by IEPs, communities and increasingly employers, equitable access to professions and trades in Canada has remained on the policy back burner. Ironically, in terms of sheer numbers, Canada receives four skilled immigrants to every one that migrates to the USA. Moreover, they are as or even more highly skilled than the ones leaving (Canada attracts more Masters and Doctoral graduates than it loses), and have chosen to live and work in Canada.¹⁶ Yet, the issue of the brain waste has not prompted policy action adequate to the problem.

The nature of the problem

Internationally educated immigrants are supposed to be the future of Canada’s increasingly labour-strapped economy. With massive baby boom retirements on the horizon, someone has to pay their pensions and keep the tax dollars flowing for the social programs they will need in their old age. Canada also promises the IEPs an opportunity to improve their lives and those of their families. It seems like a win-win proposition. This proposition however, depends on the relatively seamless integra-

tion of IEPs into their fields of expertise. Yet, not unlike their predecessors, this group of largely racialized immigrants confront a Canadian labour market with racial hierarchies, with structures of discrimination that defy the logic articulated above, with governments in a neo-liberal era committed to deregulating the labour market rather than intervening in failed labour markets to ensure the optimal allocation of human resources.

The racial composition of the immigration group began to change in the 1960s and by 1980s that process was in full stride. It seemed to coincide with a period during which the state and self-regulating professional and occupational bodies imposed strict administration of rules and regulations in the name of ensuring the public interest, a process that has had the effect of erecting new barriers to entry for many recently immigrated IEPs. While the labour market conditions that precipitated the defensive actions have changed, the regulators have been slow to respond to the growing demands for licensing newcomers. Ironically, provincial government, while resisting the push by municipal governments for greater autonomy, are only too accommodating when it comes to the self-regulating bodies that run the professions and trades, another provincial creation. Not all occupations or trades are regulated, and some are more regulated than others, which leads to varied experiences and part of the problem at the feet of the employers.¹⁷ Employer’s attitudes towards internationally obtained skills and their bearers have been identified as particularly problematic.¹⁸

There is some general agreement around some of the issues that need to be addressed:

- Lack of adequate information about licensing process, pre- and post-arrival
- Paucity of reliable tools for assessing credentials and other prior learning

¹⁶ Scott Murray, Presentation to the Brain Drain, Brain Gain Sessional Proceedings, Maytree Foundation, Toronto, May 25, 2000.

¹⁷ While professions and occupations in the health care, education and engineering fields are largely self-regulated, there is less rigorous regulation in social work, accounting and practically none in the information technology field. However, there are educational credentials that serve as benchmarks and to which employers look for assessing the skills of the prospective employees. Needless to say, this process is highly subjective and open to pre-judgment.

¹⁸ Sangster, D. Assessing and Recognizing Foreign Credentials in Canada – Employers’ Views. Ottawa: Canadian Labour and Business Centre, 2001; Calleja, D. "Right Skills, Wrong Country" Canadian Business, June 2000

- Lack of competency-based licensing and sector specific language testing
- Inadequate bridging and supplementary training and internship opportunities
- Limited transparency in the licensing process and lack of feedback or appeal process
- Limited co-ordination between stakeholders

While generally acknowledged, there has been no comprehensive, cross-jurisdictional policy response. So that the failure to translate internationally obtained human capital and higher immigrant educational attainment into better labour market performance is partly explained by the existence of systemic barriers to the recognition of international qualifications and prior learning assessment by regulators and employers.¹⁹ That is the conclusion of a number of important Canadian studies dealing with the situation of internationally trained professionals and trades people in the Canadian labour market.²⁰ While some argue that skilled immigrants require soft skills, employment related language training, sector specific orientation and labour market information in order to be competitive in the labour market, others acknowledge that immigrants face barriers to access to relevant information about licensing procedures both before and after arrival, barriers to obtaining equivalence, recognition and certification of internationally acquired credentials and in obtaining employment in their fields of expertise because of employer attitudes.²¹ While there are some common features across the country, the experiences vary from profession and trade as well as province and community. Below, we look at two specific experiences relating to the integration of medical and engineering graduates.

International Medical Graduates

While international medical graduates (IMGs) are provincially regulated, they are required to pass federally administered exams before they embark on

the provincial processes of certification. These also involve a number of costly exams that along with the expense involved, also take up a lot of time because they are scheduled at specific times during the year. These exams can cost up to \$6,000 and the preparation course another \$1,000. In the meantime, many IMGs have to find ways to earn a living, with many taking precarious jobs such as working in light manufacturing plants, taking other factory jobs, driving cabs, working as parking attendants or if lucky, working in community health centres or as researchers. Moreover, high performance on the exams does not guarantee anything since the IMGs are still subject to a small allocation of residency positions because the majority are reserved for Canadian graduates.

In Ontario, Canada's biggest province, while the organization representing IMGs – the Association of International Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario (AIPSO) has over 2,000 members, until recently there were less than 30 residencies available to them each year. At that rate, it would take them close to 60 years to be processed. The number of residencies was increased to 90 last year. The situation is repeated in most other provinces, although in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, some IMGs have been granted temporary licenses leading up to undertaking and completing their residence.

Beyond the purview of the regulatory bodies then, because of the residency requirement, IMGs are also subject to the decision making of the schools of medicine which determine who will be admitted, often based on a competition but using criteria and assessment tools that are not transparent. Moreover, no feedback is available to help them prepare for the next round. Work is circulating that the selectors are putting a premium on communication skills, without defining what that means or acknowledging the growth in the size of racialized communities in many urban centres and the implications of that development on how we define appropriate communication skills. Incidentally, all

¹⁹ The Toronto based Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and trades (PROMPT) has identified five key reasons why IEPs face persistent barriers to fair access to trades and professions: Lack of Policy coherence among levels of government in Canada; lack of accountability among stakeholders; and negative attitudes towards immigrants in Canadian society, regulatory bodies and employers. (Prompt Update – June 2003).

²⁰ See Basran & Zong, 1998; Cummings et al., 1989; Fernando and Prasad, 1986; Mata, 1994; McDade, 1988, among others.

²¹ *ibid*

this bureaucratic dance is happening at a time when the doctor shortages are as high as 1,000 in Ontario. More recently, a tripartite process has been initiated involving the regulators, government and IMGs. As well, a federal taskforce is looking at the problems of integrating IMGs.²²

Internationally Trained Engineering Graduates

Engineering graduates (ITEGs) also face many of the same barriers to accreditation that medical graduates face. They come from countries in East Asian, South Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, among others (those in Ontario come from as many as 59 countries). Most are employed in occupations outside their field and many are unemployed. Most have participated in a process of credential assessment but while expensive, have gained nothing from it because the provincial regulators largely do not recognize the results of such assessments, preferring to do their own. The ITEG represents the most number of professionals selected in the country and residing in Vancouver, Toronto or Montreal.²³

The exams are expensive and so require other sources of income, without the guarantee of success. They are required to take exams set by the Canadian Council of Professional Engineers (CCPE) as part of the pre-landing assessment but also the exams set by the provincial bodies, a step that most don't get information about prior to landing in Canada. To establish their claim to take the exams, they often need to produce original documents from the issuing institutions, although some are refugees and the home states are hostile towards them. This process routinely takes months to complete because of the difficulty in acquiring such documents. The advocacy organizations have called for co-ordinating between the federal and the provincial governments to better serve the ITEGs and the populations as a whole.

A major stumbling block to accreditation in most provinces is the demand for Canadian experience, which can only be acquired if one is licensed or works in an apprenticeship role with practicing engineers. These demands would seem unreasonable at a time when engineering is facing a labour over-supply. The assessment processes are also often subjective and the competence assessment tools unclear. For instance, the Professional Engineers Association (PEA) in British Columbia at some point acknowledged that it did not have the knowledge base and competence to assess ITEGs. More recently, there has emerged a new category, Engineer in Training, that provides a bridge between licensed and non-status engineers and allow for the possibility of pilot mentoring projects.

While you need the license to practice and the process is cumbersome, some ITEGs have found work in related fields such as engineering technology. But many work in precarious employment, in part time or contract jobs to raise money for exams and assessments. More recently, a number of community organization in Toronto and Vancouver have provided loans for the exam expenses.²⁴ Employers and regulators have raised the question of soft skills – the ability to get along with others and to communicate effectively have been raised by regulators and employers, as a major impediment to employment. However, the ITEGs have countered with complaints about the inaccessibility of the accreditation processes and the absence of an appeal process for those who are not successful.²⁵

Findings of survey of key informants in the Settlement sector

For this report, informant interviews were conducted with officials in the settlement sector working with internationally trained professionals and trades people in Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. The qualitative research sought to verify the findings from the quantitative data discussed above in relations to such variables as unemploy-

²² Interviews with Joan Atkin, Executive Director, AIPSO; Jane Cullingworth, ED, Capacity Canada; Patrick Coady, Association of International Medical Doctors of British Columbia (AIMD BC).

²³ According to the British Columbia Society of Internationally Trained Engineers (SITE –BC), there are over 5,000 internationally trained engineers in British Columbia

²⁴ Maytree Foundation in Toronto and Mosaic and the Vancouver Credit Union are providing low cost loans

²⁵ Interviews with Brian Amenzeger, President, SITE-BC; Gurmeet, Executive Director Council for Access to the Profession of Engineering (CAPE) Ontario.

ment and labour market participation rates, incomes rates, types of work, experience with accreditation and ability to convert educational attainment into comparable job status, among racialized groups and recent immigrants by looking at the experience of a subset group – the internationally trained professionals and trades people in the Canadian labour market. The findings confirm the patterns identified in the quantitative data and strongly suggest that in the case of IEPs, barriers to access to professions and trades persist and have contributed to higher levels of unemployment, lower levels of income, lower occupational status and inability to convert prior learning into comparable job status.²⁶ Many of those interviewed suggested that the failure of the accreditation process amounts to the devaluing the skills of IEPs to the detriment of both the aspirations of IEPs and their families and the Canadian economy. More specifically, some explained it as related to a widely held view among the Canadian public, regulators, and employers that immigrants from ‘third world countries’ hold inferior human capital.

Suggesting that while it fit in with the idea of Canada as an ‘imagined white-settler nation’ that has historically defined the entry of racialized labour into the Canadian labour market, some questioned the generalized attitude that Canadian credential standards and experience are superior to those of countries in the Global South, where some of the immigrants may have been working with Canadian technology and producing products consumed in Canada, having met Canadian consumer standards.²⁷

One advocate raised a question in particular about the shifting standards and we paraphrase:

‘If products made by internationally trained engineers in Asia, Africa and Latin America increas-

ingly dominate the Canadian commodity markets, how can the Canadian standard be so superior to those of the countries from which the products are made that the professionals who make them there cannot practice when they come to Canada?’²⁸

Ironically, in 1997, more than 50 countries including the USA, Canada, the European Union, Russia, Australia, France among others, signed an agreement to recognize the educational credentials of immigrants from the signatory countries. This was in recognition of the demands of global economy and its effect on opening up national borders to labour mobility. However, Canada’s jurisdictional divide (provincial control over regulation of most professions and trades) has prevented it from signing it to date and in any case, many of the most significant immigrant producing countries are not signatories.

Many informants in the qualitative survey suggested that decisions regarding access to professional employment for the internationally trained are often not based on objective assessment of their competency but on outmoded attitudes held by regulators and employers about the general competencies of immigrants and their countries of origin. These negative attitudes are reinforced by the mass media’s tendency to frame the immigration of racialized group members as representing an economic and social (and even security) burden on Canadian society. What often emerges is a selective and negative portrayal and misrepresentation of racialized immigrants in Canadian mass media which, as has been documented, results in the creation or entrenchment of negative stereotypes.²⁹ The effect is to undermine the seamless integration of recent immigrants into the Canadian labour market and to contribute to the increase in poverty among recent immigrants and especially among university graduates that has been documented recently.³⁰ The

²⁶Telephone interviews conducted by the authors with key informants from the settlement service sector in Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax in the Spring and Summer of 2004 to determine the prevalence of systemic barriers to access to employment in regulated and unregulated trades and professions among internationally educated professionals and tradespeople, assessed its impact on the employment prospects of IEPs and what measures IEPs and other stakeholders were taking to address the issues.

²⁷ Interviews with key settlement sector informants (2004)

²⁸Interview with provincial coordinator of an IEP association (name withheld upon request).

²⁹See Henry, F & C. Tator *Racist Discourses in Canada’s English Print media* (Toronto: CRRF, 2000); A. Fleras & J.L. Kunz, *Media and Minorities: Representing Diversity in Multicultural Canada* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2001)

³⁰The growing poverty gap between post 1980 immigrants and Canadian born is an outcome of the social economic factors discussed previously in this report.

resulting exclusions contribute to emotional and psychological stresses that in some cases mature into mental health conditions. Another dimension of the impact of these exclusions can be seen in family life, as family breakdown is increasingly observed phenomenon among families of skilled immigrants. Increasingly also, the health status of these immigrants is declining.³¹

The role of governments

Governments are the regulators of last resort as well as having a policy and program lead role. Immigration falls under federal jurisdiction and the federal government has some responsibility for human resource development. However, most of the regulated and unregulated professions fall under provincial jurisdiction. Federal government immigration and provincial government labour market policies have combined with provincial hesitation to act and a lack of federal-provincial co-ordination to contribute to the persistence of inequality in access to professions and trades for those with international qualifications.

The most forceful federal government response to the concerns increasingly expressed about the failure of the internationally trained professionals and trades people to integrate into their fields of expertise has been to make the selection process more stringent. This policy direction is contradictory. One the hand it implies an underlying assumption that the solution to the problem lies in state action to attract the 'perfect immigrant'. The onus is shifted on to the individual in what amounts to an embrace of a laissez-faire approach by the state to the labour market. This validates the assertion that that immigrant human capital quality has diminished with the shift to immigration from the Global South. Yet as the data increasingly shows, the more highly educated the immigrant pool gets, the greater the gap between skill utilization and the reality of skill depreciation in the post immigration

period, suggesting a structural problem within the labour market.³² Moreover, by the department of immigration's own admission, individuals who are in occupations excluded from the skill worker category but arrive as family members or refugees can be successful in integrating into the labour market.³³ The socio-class specific approach to immigration, aside from reversing the tradition of Canadian immigration, de-emphasizes social skills that are key to integration while not fixing what ails the labour market.

As part of the immigration process, the Canadian government's "General Occupations List" is used to assign points by occupation to prospective immigrants. The number of points assigned to various occupations is intended to reflect demand in the Canadian labour market. The federal government assigns up to 25 points for education obtained abroad, up to 21 points for experience and up to 24 points for official languages (and requires a minimum of - previously 75 – since 2003 67 points to qualify for permanent residency – others include age (10), arranged employment (10) and adaptability (10). The objective is to provide an advantage to educated immigrants, who are assumed to be in demand in the Canadian economy. Ironically, skewing the selection process in favour of highly educated immigrant de-emphasizes the very 'soft skills' such as adaptability and communication that employers claim are key to a successful job search. No points are awarded for Canadian experience yet, for many regulators and employers, this seems to be the most important attribute. Since 2001, over 60% of those immigrating, including their dependants had at least a university degree or a trade certificate (CIC, 2003). While labour market shortages persist or are projected in a number of areas of the economy such as health care, education, construction, this has not translated into ready jobs for this highly educated group. Many immigrants face major and sometimes insurmountable barriers to

³¹Interviews (2004)

³²In the first three years of the millennium, due to the stringent selection process, over 60% of the immigrants admitted to Canada were admitted under the independent or skill based class. Many of these also came with highly educated spouses and dependents. This is because the selection process is skewed in favour of a certain type of migrant with education and experience, attributes that don't seem to translate into value in the Canadian labour market because of the low regard in which that education and experience is held by regulators and employers. In fact, many informants in the interviews suggested that to be successful in the job search process, many newcomers are advised to under-report their education.

³³See Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Skilled Worker Immigrants: Towards A New Model of Selection* (Economic Policy and Programs Division: Selection Branch, 1998).

obtaining occupational licenses.³⁴ So many are forced into unskilled labour or less skilled work at wages well below their potential.

Regulators and employers

Many professions, trades and occupations are regulated to protect the public interest. They require prospective employees to meet set standards of performance or demonstrate their ability to obtain a license. In many cases though, regulators are not very familiar with international educational, training, technological or professional standards although the responsibility to evaluate international credentials falls on them. According to professional regulators and employers, there is a mismatch between the skills, education and experience of IEPs and actual occupations once in Canada. They attribute it to individual factors such as the lack of familiarity with the Canadian labour market and occupational requirements, low official language skills, and the quality gap in higher education between countries of the South and industrialized Northern countries (Basavarajappa & Verma, 1985; Devoretz, 1998; Stoffman, 2002). Employers have pointed to limited period of stay in country, lack of Canadian qualifications and language facility as limiting the attractiveness of immigrants as candidates for hire or promotion. Employers have also insisted that skilled immigrants lack soft skills such as communication, occupational language facility and the ability to 'fit in'.³⁵ Regulators have also expressed concern about the difficulty in evaluating international credentials for equivalency without all the necessary information about the educational institutions and the conditions of practice in the home country of IEPs. Some have called for bridg-

ing programs to address the gap in Canadian and home country practice.

Various key informants responded to this characterization of the problem by suggesting that the focus of employers and regulators is disproportionately on the subjective attributes of IEPs that are vulnerable to prejudiced judgements.³⁶ In any case, the soft skills that can be acquired and should not be a basis for throwing the baby out with the bath water.³⁷ Informants also complained about the cost of credential assessments, the licensing exams, and various elements of the process of certification that vary from province to province. They expressed concerns about the fact that educational institutions such as medical schools play a gate keeping role when it comes to selecting international medical graduates for residency positions. This role is not subject to accountability or transparency, frustrating many international medical graduates (IMGs) who may have completed all the requisite exams but are denied access to residency without explanation.

Key informants also raised concern that the prior learning or skill assessment processes, whether by educational institutions, assessment agencies or by licensing bodies do not focus on individual competencies, preferring instead to focus on the credential or such subjective issues such as the average literacy level in the source country. They argue that a competency based evaluation of skills better identifies the abilities of individual IEPs because it takes into account their experience after graduation. Finally, they expressed fear about the lack of transparency on the part of the licensing bodies and the failure of

³⁴These vary from profession to profession but generally include: demands for Canadian experience, lack of information about credential assessments and licensing, assessments that don't establish equivalency of credentials, financial cost of credential assessment and federal and provincial examinations, licensing exams not being held regularly, separate federal and provincial credential assessment requirements, demands for documentation directly from the credential issuing institution in the home country, slow licensing process and in some cases limited positions such as the case with medical residency, employer bias, sector specific language facility, lack of networks.

³⁵A study done for Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce surveyed the opinions of employers regarding foreign-trained accreditation, and while some thought the licensing processes were too restrictive, many thought that immigrants' lack of information about the fields in which they want to practice and poor language skills led to their failure to get win accreditation, or that their qualifications did not meet Canadian standards. However, study results show that some regulators and employers were not aware of the government-mandated prior learning assessment services and others were wary of the government forcing them to accept their outcomes as a basis for certification or employment.

³⁶A recent Government of Ontario study of internationally trained professionals arriving after 1994, found that almost three-quarters of the internationally trained professionals who had their academic qualifications assessed after immigrating obtained equivalent academic qualifications to those granted by Ontario universities. Moreover, most immigrants tested well on official language facility. See Ontario Ministry of training, Colleges and Universities (2002). *The Facts Are In*. pp 16-19

³⁷Many settlement sector agencies are involved in providing labour market information, language services, job search skills, job referrals, sector specific mentoring, even loans to cover the cost of credential assessments and licensing exams.

governments to hold them accountable for managing access to professions and trades in what may amount to less than the public interest.³⁸

The racialized experience of barriers to access to professions and trades creates substantial costs - both to individual immigrants and their families, and to Canadian governments, businesses, and the economy. The costs to the individuals and their families are financial but also emotional, undermining their sense of identity and their self-esteem. The result is a highly educated and experienced underclass of immigrant professionals and trades people who are unemployed or underemployed in Canada, many finding only low-end, low-skill, contract, temporary or part-time, casualized employment. Many highly trained immigrants end up as newspaper carriers, janitors, taxi drivers, delivering fast foods or working as security officers in Canada's urban areas (de Wolf, 2001; Galabuzi, 2001; Jackson, 2002). Many racialized recent immigrants still run higher health care risks due to social exclusion, although they may have historically enjoyed better health (Hyman, 2001). Standard employer demands for "Canadian experience" often lead to professionals and trades people "falling" out of their field of training, and their skills degrading over time. Over 90% of those who fail to find work in their field in the first three years of immigration tend to end up permanently in other sectors.

Given these conditions, immigrant professionals and skilled trades people have not translated their educational attainment and experience into high occupational status or income. This situation has been referred to as a "brain waste" by advocates for immigrants. According to a Price Waterhouse report (1998) commissioned by the Ontario government, the systematic failure to recognize foreign

credentials costs the Ontario economy by increasing costs to the welfare system, imposing losses on employers who are unable to find employees with the skills and abilities they desperately require, and necessitating unnecessary retraining for foreign trained individuals.³⁹

Most of the issues identified are within the purview of public policy and can be addressed by governments, in partnership with regulators, educational institutions, assessment agencies, trade union, employers and service providers. There is a need to define the public interest as including a focus equity and economic efficiency. This need has never been greater than it is in this globalized labour market environment. The systemic failure to properly evaluate and accredit prior learning by employers and regulators casts them not as defenders of the public interest but gatekeepers and lacking transparency in the application processes. Along with the existence of closed trade union shops, these factors make it difficult to review their exercise of discretion to eliminate the barriers. The effect is the devaluation and degrading of the skills of vulnerable IEPs, [which contributes to documented occupational and wage inequality](#).⁴⁰ Although IEPs, immigrants, and racialized communities are organizing to challenge this exercise of power, they are often powerless to stop their victimization and require the governments to take the responsibility of enforcing a broader definition of the public interest.

Responding to the problem of differential access to professions and trades

Recently, a number of factors have combined to force unprecedented attention the issue of credential recognition the growing level of skills shortages especially in the health and education sectors: the growing numbers and advocacy of IEPs; global

³⁸ Interviews with settlement sector informants, Spring/Summer 2004

³⁹ Other studies quantifying the economic loss of unrecognized credentials include one by Bloom and Grant (2001) for the Conference Board of Canada, which suggests that close to 540,000 Canadian workers, 47 percent of whom are racialized group members, lose \$8,000 to \$12,000 of potential income per year, or a total of between \$4.1 and \$5.9 billion annually. A study by Reitz, put the figure at a much higher \$55 billion (Siddiqui, 2001). Interviews with settlement sector officials conducted for this report. [These conclusions are supported by previous research. See for instance, Cummings, 1989; Brouwer, 1999; Basran & Li Zong, 1998; Reitz, 2001\).](#)

⁴⁰ Advocacy groups for Internationally trained Engineering graduates, International Medical Graduates, Teachers, Accountants have sprung up along with ethno-specific IEP associations, in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, and have become active in the public debate. The Framework for the Social Union, signed in 1999, requires provincial governments to comply with the mobility provisions of the Agreement on Internal Trade, and the Red Seal Program was established to facilitate the mobility of skilled workers across provincial borders. Canada is also a signatory to NAFTA and the WTO, both contain some provisions relating to skilled labour mobility.

labour market competition; pressure from employers, and international and internal trade agreements for labour mobility⁴¹. Over the years, governments have made mostly symbolic responses to the need to facilitate the successful integration of internationally skilled immigrants, even then they have been expressed by employers and communities. More recently, some provincial governments have mandated assessment agencies and supported a range pilot projects addressing the occupational language needs of IEPs, job shadowing and mentoring, and profession based career counselling, etc. Provincial governments in British Columbia, Quebec, Ontario have mandated credential assessment agencies.⁴² Governments have also begun to increase residency positions for international medical graduates to meet the demand created by shortages of physicians. They are also paying some attention to the co-ordinating function. A federal-provincial Working Group on Access to professions and trades was established in the late 1990s. In 1991, the federal government established the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC) to act as a clearinghouse for information about regulated trades and professions.

Most of the regulation of trades and professions falls under provincial jurisdiction but many self-regulating bodies act independently of the governments that mandate them to secure the public interest. They are under no obligation to accept the credential assessments of the mandated agencies and most do not. This puts a premium both on federal-provincial co-ordination and government action to ensure that the self-regulating bodies open up to the newcomers. Many internationally trained immigrants charge that the gate keeping function of the regulatory bodies too often translates into barriers to access when the interests of existing members come

into conflict with those of international graduates. To solve the problem, they have called for an appeal process to review the decisions of the regulators.

In response to concerns about inadequate language training, federal and provincial governments are supporting some employment related training or occupational and sector specific language training.⁴³ However, this training is far outweighed by the area of primary focus: funding for low level language training for immigrants in English or French as a second language, appropriate for beginners not those seeking occupation or sector-specific language training. They have also made some commitment to funding some training and upgrading for immigrants, with many funding innovative pilot projects run by settlement sector agencies. However, these pilot projects do not seem to mature into permanent programming. Some of the soft skills training has focused on better preparing IEPs for the Canadian labour market through job placement training, mentoring, and job shadowing. Much of this is under the initiative of settlement agencies and in some cases, partnering with employers or regulatory bodies.

Some non-profit organizations (NGOs) working with immigrants have shown resourcefulness and innovation by establishing loan programs to cover the cost licensing exams and upgrading.⁴⁴ But pilot projects tend to include multiple stakeholders and so regulators are also involved in some pilot projects aimed at providing 'in the workplace' experience, including mentorships and job shadowing programs. Increasingly, they are organizing across professions to discuss more appropriate ways of evaluating international skills and developing tools for competency assessment. There have been some positive signs arising out of pressure from some employ-

⁴¹Advocacy groups for Internationally trained Engineering graduates, International Medical Graduates, Teachers, Accountants have sprung up along with ethno-specific IEP associations, in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, and have become active in the public debate. The Framework for the Social Union, signed in 1999, requires provincial governments to comply with the mobility provisions of the Agreement on Internal Trade, and the Red Seal Program was established to facilitate the mobility of skilled workers across provincial borders. Canada is also a signatory to NAFTA and the WTO, both contain some provisions relating to skilled labour mobility.

⁴²Along with the Canadian Centre for International Credentials, provinces have mandated a variety of agencies for credential assessment. This is the case in Quebec, Ontario, and Western Canada but not in the Maritimes, where they rely largely on Ontario's mandated service, World Education Services (WES).

⁴³An example is the Sector Specific Training Information and Counseling (STIC) program which is a partnership of the federal and Ontario governments along with settlement sector partners. It began running in four sectors, Engineering, Health Care, Accounting and Auto Mechanics.

⁴⁴Maytree Foundation in Toronto and AMSSA and a Vancouver Credit Union ran loan funds for IEPs to help them cover the high cost of processing their accreditation.

ers dealing with skill shortages and some of the regulators involved in dialogue with IEPs and governments. These discussions have made some progress in encouraging a shift from the government's laissez-fair, passive approach towards becoming more engaged in the IEP integration process. Still, some of the government policy responses tend to compound the problem. For instance, to respond to the concerns raised about inadequate communication skills, the federal government has made the immigrant selection process more stringent with regard to language requirements. Moreover, despite some sector specific career planning, most of the newcomers are still forced to take any low wage job available as a condition of public assistance, short circuiting the possibility of going through the credential assessment and accreditation process.

Conclusion

The report reviews the experience of racialized and immigrant populations in the Canadian labour market. While far outpacing the general Canadian population growth, and contributing a majority of new entrants into the labour market, racialized groups and immigrants have not fared well in the labour market in the last census period (1996-2001). A review of employment income data and labour market participation patterns of racialized groups and recent immigrants, during the last census periods (1996-2001) shows both a double digit income gap between racialized and non-racialized populations in the Canadian labour market, higher unemployment and lower participation rates, and occupational concentrations in the low income occupations.

These patterns are evident even when educational attainment is taken into account, suggesting that racialized group members and recent immigrants are not able to translate their educational attainment (indeed advantage) into comparable occupational status and compensation. This is partly explained by the experience of internationally educated professionals who face barriers to converting their skills into skilled occupations. There are variations in the size of the gap among sub-groups and it seems to disappear when you consider family income – with racialized groups having more income earners per family. There is a noticeable gap between racialized men and women, suggesting a gendered dimension to the inequality identified.

This analysis is confirmed by the findings from interviews with key informants from among settlement sector officials in Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax, where over 80% of the racialized and recent immigrant population lives. Read together with the unequal unemployment rates; the inability of racialized group members to convert their educational attainment advantage into commensurate occupational status and income; the differential experience of internationally trained racialized group members; and the sectoral concentrations, the findings confirm the racialized groups experience of racial inequality in the Canadian labour market and the persistence of racial discrimination in employment. The impact of racial discrimination in employment in the early twentieth century is amplified because of the size of the racialized population but also because the population's contribution to the Canadian economy has grown exponentially over the last two decades. The stakes are high because race continues to be a major factor in the distribution of opportunities in the Canadian labour market and by extension in determining the life chances of racialized peoples and immigrants in Canada. The major difference is that this disadvantage will now translate into a drag on the Canadian economy and the Canadian population as a whole.

Methodology

The report's analysis was based on both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data on income, unemployment, occupational and sectoral distribution drawn from the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (formerly HRDC) sectoral employment data. Qualitative data on the differential labour market experiences of internationally educated professionals and trades people (IEPs) was drawn from 25 telephone interviews conducted in the Spring and Summer of 2004 with key informants from the settlement service sector in five major urban centres which receive over 85% of the recent immigrants - Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax. The informants were selected from a targeted sample of those who work with IEPs and have specific knowledge of the policies issues involved in the area of the integration of skilled workers into the Canadian labour market. ■

Table A1. Total Population in the Labour Force (15 Years and Over by Racialized Groups)
– Male Canada: 1996-2001

	1996	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	8,007,955	8,452,015	5.5
Racialized Population	817,955	1,052,965	28.7

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada

Table A2. Total Population in the Labour Force (15 Years and Over by Racialized Groups)
– Female Canada: 1996-2001

	1996	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	6,804,745	7,420,060	9.0
Racialized Population	720,805	953,330	32.3

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada

Table A3. After Tax Income of Racialized Persons, University Degree, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference(a-b, \$)	Difference(a-b, %)
Average	38,312	35,617	38,919	3,302	8.5
Median	32,832	28,378	33,230	4,852	14.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Labour and Income Dynamics, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002.

Table A4. Median Before Tax Income of Person with University Degree
Canada: 1997-2000 (2000 Dollars)

	1997	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	29,948	32,832	9.6
Racialized	24,252	28,378	17.0
Non-Racialized	30,893	33,230	7.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002

Table A5. Average After Tax Income of Person with University Degree
Canada: 1997-2000 (2000 Dollars)

	1997	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	33,055	38,312	15.9
Racialized	25,781	35,617	38.2
Non-Racialized	34,091	38,919	14.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002

Table A6. Average After Tax Income of Persons, Number of Earners 3 or More
Canada: 1997-2000 (2000 Dollars)

	1997	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	18,754	21,932	16.9
Racialized	15,647	21,927	40.1
Non-Racialized	19,206	22,261	15.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002

Table A7. Median After Tax Income of Persons, Number of Earners 3 or More
Canada: 1997-2000 (2000 Dollars)

	1997	2000	Percentage Change
Total Population	14,553	15,883	9.1
Racialized	12,472	15,121	21.2
Non-Racialized	14,840	15,999	7.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 1999-2002

Table A8. After Tax Income of Racialized Racialized, Female Persons, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference(a-b, \$)	Difference(a-b, %)
Average	18,267	17,250	18,476	1,226	6.6
Median	14,495	14,534	14,543	9	0.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table A9. After Tax Income of Racialized, Male Persons Age 65 and over, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference(a-b, \$)	Difference(a-b, %)
Average	23,458	17,191	24,060	6,869	28.5
Median	19,669	15,626	19,841	4,215	21.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table A10. After Tax Income of Racialized, Female Persons Age 45-64, Canada, 2000

	Total Population	Racialized (a)	Non-Racialized (b)	Difference(a-b, \$)	Difference(a-b, %)
Average	19,532	18,723	19,733	1,010	5.1
Median	15,415	16,289	15,390	-899	-5.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour, and Labour and Income Dynamics, Custom Tables, 2002

Table A11. Labour Force Activity, Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration, Total Visible Minority Population for All Age Groups, Both Sexes (Population 15 Years Over) for Canada, 2001

Labour Force Activity

	Total labour force activity	In the labour force	Employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Participation rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total - Immigrant status and period of immigration	3,041,655	2,006,300	1,815,880	190,420	1,035,350	66	59.7	9.5
Non-immigrant population	475,785	315,175	281,495	33,680	160,610	66.2	59.2	10.7
Immigrant population	2,458,685	1,646,065	1,496,470	149,590	812,620	66.9	60.9	9.1
Entered country during the census year	41,315	21,580	14,575	7,000	19,730	52.2	35.3	32.4
Entered country within the last 5 years	515,125	322,090	278,915	43,175	193,035	62.5	54.1	13.4
Entered country 6 to 10 years ago	583,210	376,025	338,460	37,570	207,190	64.5	58	10
Entered country 11 to 15 years ago	431,785	301,920	276,650	25,270	129,865	69.9	64.1	8.4
Entered country 16 to 20 years ago	232,220	164,255	151,940	12,315	67,965	70.7	65.4	7.5
Entered country more than 20 years ago	655,030	460,190	435,930	24,260	194,845	70.3	66.6	5.3
Non-permanent residents	107,185	45,060	37,915	7,150	62,120	42	35.4	15.9

Source: 2001 Census 97F0012XCB01002, Statistics Canada

Table A12. Labour Force Activity, Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration, Total Visible Minority Population for All Age Groups, Males (Population 15 Years Over) for Canada, 2001

Labour Force Activity

	Total labour force activity	In the labour force	Employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Participation rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total - Immigrant status and period of immigration	1,464,665	1,052,965	958,305	94,660	411,700	71.9	65.4	9
Non-immigrant population	241,165	161,330	142,760	18,570	79,835	66.9	59.2	11.5
Immigrant population	1,170,265	866,195	794,080	72,115	304,075	74	67.9	8.3
Entered country during the census year	19,310	12,170	8,670	3,505	7,140	63	44.9	28.8
Entered country within the last 5 years	244,425	174,940	154,440	20,500	69,485	71.6	63.2	11.7
Entered country 6 to 10 years ago	271,530	192,940	175,150	17,785	78,590	71.1	64.5	9.2
Entered country 11 to 15 years ago	208,680	158,760	146,470	12,295	49,915	76.1	70.2	7.7
Entered country 16 to 20 years ago	109,720	85,575	79,535	6,045	24,150	78	72.5	7.1
Entered country more than 20 years ago	316,600	241,810	229,820	11,990	74,790	76.4	72.6	5
Non-permanent residents	53,235	25,440	21,465	3,975	27,800	47.8	40.3	15

Source: 2001 Census 97F0012XCB01002, Statistics Canada

Table A13. Labour Force Activity, Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration, Total Visible Minority Population for All Age Groups, Females (Population 15 Years Over) for Canada, 2001

Labour Force Activity

	Total labour force activity	In the labour force	Employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Participation rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total - Immigrant status and period of immigration	1,576,985	953,330	857,575	95,760	623,650	60.5	54.4	10
Non-immigrant population	234,620	153,845	138,730	15,110	80,775	65.6	59.1	9.8
Immigrant population	1,288,420	779,870	702,390	77,475	508,550	60.5	54.5	9.9
Entered country during the census year	22,005	9,410	5,910	3,500	12,600	42.8	26.9	37.2
Entered country within the last 5 years	270,700	147,150	124,475	22,675	123,550	54.4	46	15.4
Entered country 6 to 10 years ago	311,680	183,090	163,305	19,780	128,590	58.7	52.4	10.8
Entered country 11 to 15 years ago	223,105	143,160	130,185	12,970	79,945	64.2	58.4	9.1
Entered country 16 to 20 years ago	122,495	78,680	72,410	6,270	43,810	64.2	59.1	8
Entered country more than 20 years ago	338,430	218,380	206,105	12,275	120,050	64.5	60.9	5.6
Non-permanent residents	53,945	19,625	16,450	3,175	34,325	36.4	30.5	16

Source: 2001 Census 97FO012XCBO1002, Statistics Canada

Table A14. Visible Minority Population Aged 15+ Highest Representation in Occupation Groups and Unit Groups, 2001 Geography: Canada

Employment Equity and Occupational Groups and Unit Groups (NOC)	Males		Females		Visible Minorities	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
9451 Sewing Machine Operators	5,720	8.4	62,650	91.6	31,475	46.0
9483 Electronics Assemblers.....	17,650	46.0	20,680	54.0	16,210	42.3
9616 Labourers in Textile Processing	6,770	45.0	8,275	55.0	6,110	40.6
6682 Ironing, Pressing and.....	2,975	36.2	5,240	63.8	3,335	40.6
9452 Fabric, Fur and Leather Cutters	4,615	57.6	3,400	42.4	3,215	40.1
9444 Textile Inspectors, Graders.....	1,065	27.7	2,785	72.4	1,475	38.4
9442 Weavers, Knitters and Other....	4,550	46.0	5,355	54.1	3,715	37.5
9422 Plastics Processing Machine...	16,825	64.8	9,150	35.2	9,555	36.8
7413 Taxi and Limousine Drivers...	37,055	91.9	3,285	8.1	14,760	36.6
2173 Software Engineers	23,155	81.6	5,230	18.4	10,295	36.3
9517 Other Products Machine.....	10,635	63.5	6,125	36.6	5,980	35.7
9487 Machine Operators and.....	1,930	60.3	1,265	39.5	1,075	33.6
9492 Furniture and Fixture.....	25,975	79.0	6,915	21.0	10,535	32.0
9443 Textile Dyeing and Finishing....	2,940	66.6	1,480	33.5	1,390	31.5
9619 Other Labourers in Processing.	43,600	52.2	39,945	47.8	25,705	30.8
7344 Jewellers, Watch Repairers.....	4,145	75.4	1,355	24.6	1,690	30.7
9498 Other Assemblers and.....	9,395	55.2	7,625	44.8	5,220	30.7
9222 Supervisors, Electronics.....	3,130	62.9	1,845	37.0	1,510	30.3
2147 Computer Engineers (Except ...	25,160	85.1	4,385	14.8	8,900	30.1
9454 Inspectors and Testers.....	680	19.0	2,900	81.0	1,060	29.6
9484 Assemblers and Inspectors.....	10,015	59.1	6,920	40.9	4,840	28.6
9516 Other Metal Products Machine.	5,445	77.6	1,580	22.5	2,000	28.5
9225 Supervisors, Fabric, Fur and....	1,815	39.3	2,805	60.7	1,310	28.4
9495 Plastic Products Assemblers...	9,520	59.3	6,550	40.8	4,555	28.4
2174 Computer Programmers and	83,535	76.5	25,655	23.5	30,395	27.8
2112 Chemists	10,035	61.4	6,300	38.6	4,510	27.6
6241 Chefs	26,260	78.9	7,030	21.1	8,925	26.8

Source: 2001 Census of Canada, 2001 Participation and Activity Limitation Survey (PALS) Produced by Human Resources and Skills Development, 2001 Employment Equity Data Report. Released March 2004.

Table A15. Visible Minority Population Aged 15+ Lowest Representation in Occupational Groups and Unit Groups, 2001 Geography: Canada

Employment Equity and Occupational Groups and Unit Groups (NOC)	Males		Females		Visible Minorities	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0642 Fire Chiefs and Senior Fire-.....	2,035	97.8	45	2.2	10	0.5
8442 Trappers and Hunters	1,360	82.9	285	17.4	10	0.6
8241 Logging Machinery Operators	15,915	97.4	430	2.6	130	0.8
7436 Boat Operators	1,175	94.8	70	5.6	10	0.8
8211 Supervisors, Logging and.....	5,425	94.1	340	5.9	50	0.9
8231 Underground Production and...	10,270	98.0	200	1.9	100	1.0
8411 Underground Mine Service and.	2,200	95.4	100	4.3	25	1.1
8221 Supervisors, Mining and.....	4,810	95.6	220	4.4	55	1.1
8421 Chainsaw and Skidder.....	19,840	97.3	555	2.7	225	1.1
8251 Farmers and Farm Managers	174,635	73.1	64,355	26.9	2,950	1.2
8261 Fishing Masters and Officers	2,740	96.3	105	3.7	40	1.4
2223 Forestry Technologists and.....	9,710	82.8	2,015	17.2	165	1.4
8422 Silviculture and Forestry.....	12,820	86.7	1,975	13.3	210	1.4
7372 Drillers and Blasters - Surface..	3,530	98.6	50	1.4	55	1.5
8412 Oil and Gas Well Drilling.....	8,250	98.3	145	1.7	130	1.5
8614 Mine Labourers	3,825	90.9	380	9.0	75	1.8
7362 Railway Conductors and.....	5,250	96.9	165	3.0	100	1.8
2224 Conservation and Fishery.....	5,915	84.0	1,135	16.1	130	1.8
8615 Oil and Gas Drilling, Servicing..	12,115	95.7	550	4.3	245	1.9
8222 Supervisors, Oil and Gas.....	7,185	96.5	260	3.5	145	1.9
8262 Fishing Vessel Skippers and...	28,860	86.7	4,420	13.3	650	2.0
6262 Firefighters	24,605	97.3	670	2.7	500	2.0
7382 Commercial Divers	965	95.5	45	4.5	20	2.0
8441 Fishing Vessel Deckhands	5,880	80.9	1,380	19.0	145	2.0
7421 Heavy Equipment Operators....	78,515	97.7	1,870	2.3	1,700	2.1
0011 Legislators	5,585	63.5	3,210	36.5	195	2.2
6272 Funeral Directors and.....	3,535	75.3	1,155	24.6	105	2.2
8232 Oil and Gas Well Drillers.....	8,005	96.0	325	3.9	195	2.3
9464 Tobacco Processing Machine..	445	52.7	395	46.7	20	2.4

Source: 2001 Census of Canada, 2001 Participation and Activity Limitation Survey (PALS) Produced by Human Resources and Skills Development, 2001 Employment Equity Data Report. Released March 2004.

Table A16. Senior Managers Age 15+ Canada: 1996-2001

	1996	2001	% change
Total Population	151,545	216,300	42.7
Racialized Persons	119,990	161,980	35.0
Non-Racialized Persons	11,005	17,685	60.7

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Canada Produced by: Human Resources and Skills Development

Table A17. Professionals Age 15+ Canada: 1996-2001

	1996	2001	% change
Total Population	2,165,530	2,588,165	19.5
Racialized Persons	1,024,890	1,221,240	19.2
Non-Racialized Persons	225,400	356,945	58.4

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Canada Produced by: Human Resources and Skills Development

Table A18. Degree in Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary, Canada

	1996	2001	% change
Total Population	105,050	122,535	16.64
Male Population	73,790	79,970	8.38
Female Population	31,255	42,570	36.20
Visible Minority Population	20,760	28,605	37.79

Source: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada Based on 1996 and 2001 Census

Table A19. Doctorate, Canada

	1996	2001	% change
Total Population	103,860	128,625	23.5
Male Population	79,560	93,945	18.1
Female Population	24,300	34,680	42.7
Visible Minority Population	19,385	28,995	49.5

Source: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada Based on 1996 and 2001 Census

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