Gender, 'Race' and Socioeconomic Status Attainment: Assessing the Double Negative

by

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ABSTRACT

Often, studies that attempt to theorize connections between 'race' and gender merely add 'race' with gender. This is known in the literature as The Double Negative Effect. The Double Negative Effect assumes there is simply an additive effect for 'race' and gender, such that the disadvantage experienced by women is doubled or at least proportionately increased if these women are also members of a visible minority group. Many social scientists have been questioning the connection between 'race' and gender, and their relationship to social inequality, however the exact nature of this intersection has not been explicitly tested. This research provides a unique hierarchical model that assesses the interrelationship between 'race' and gender within a status attainment. This thesis explores this Double Negative Effect and explicitly tests for an interaction effect between 'race' and gender on socioeconomic status. It is hypothesized that there is an interaction between gender and visible minority status that produces a negative effect on socioeconomic status that is above and beyond the main effects of visible minority status and gender. Using 1993 data from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) Internal File, this research operationalizes socioeconomic status with two measures: (1) occupational status, using the Blishen Socioeconomic Classification of Occupations, and; (2) income level. Results partly support the interaction hypothesis and demonstrate a notable disadvantage on SES for visible minorities and women.

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CHAPTER ONE:
Introduction

1.1 Rationale

In 1901 only 16% of the adult female population was in the labour force; by 1973 the figure had risen to 40%; and by 1997 participation rates had risen to 57% (Statistics Canada, 1997). In Comparison, men's labour force participation rates have remained relatively stable over the same period, fluctuating between 65 and 75%. By 1997 the labour force participation rate among men was 73% (Statistics Canada, 1997). This increase in the presence of women in the work force is one of the most important trends of recent decades.

Women are also more educated than ever before. In 1991 42% of women aged 15 and over had at least some post-secondary education. In 1981, only 10 years prior, this proportion was only 34%. From 1981 to 1991 the proportion of women who have a university degree has increased from 6% to 10%. In comparison, 13% of men had university degrees in 1991 (Frank, 1996:16). However, while men aged fifteen and older are still more likely to have a university degree, women now represent over one-half of university degrees granted each year (Statistics Canada, 1994b).

Regardless of these changes women remain concentrated in certain educational fields and occupation categories. Men and women also differ with respect to occupational mobility. Findings from the 1973 Canadian Mobility Study (Boyd *et al.*, 1981) demonstrated that women were overwhelmingly present in white collar jobs which are characterized by a truncated mobility ladder, meaning that they have low occupational mobility and low income.

Since women began entering the workforce income differences between the sexes have been an area of concern for social scientists. In 1972 a national survey of Canadian men and women found that females earned slightly less than half the average income of males (Goyder, 1981:336). Since 1972 studies have shown that the wage gap between men and women is shrinking, although 1993 Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics data show that the gap still remains sizeable, even when accounting for education level, field of specialization, years of

work experience and hours worked. In fact, on average, men make $3.64 more per hour than women (Coish and Hale, 1995:4). Coish and Hale (1995) also found that the wage gap between women and men is not explained by human capital characteristics. In fact, almost 90% of the wage gap remains unexplained by factors such as differences in work experience, education, or demographic characteristics (Coish and Hale,1995:10).

A second major trend has been a change in the ethnic composition of Canada, with a move away from traditional European sources of immigration. Specifically, in the 1970s and 1980s the size of non-European ethnic groups increased substantially, as a result of changes in immigration law. By 1996, 11.2% of the population (approx. 3.2 million) reported themselves to be members of one of the visible minority groups identified on the 1996 Census. This figure is up from approximately 2.5 million people who were reported to be members of a visible minority group in the 1991 Census (Statistics Canada, 1991;1996b). Today, the majority of the visible minority population is comprised of immigrants (primarily new immigrants). Research using the 1993 SLID data finds that of the interviewed visible minorities aged 15 and over, 82% were immigrants (Dibbs and Leesti, 1995). Using 1996 Census data, analysis reveals that of those reporting Chinese origins, over 75 percent are immigrants. Of those reporting South Asian origins, 70 percent are immigrants and of those who reported Arab/West Asian origins, 80 percent are immigrants (Census of Canada, 1996). Those reporting Black and Japanese origins had the largest Canadian born population, with 42 percent and 65 percent respectively, reporting Canadian born. Also, most visible minority immigrants tend to come to Canada at an older age than immigrants who are not visible minorities (Dibbs and Leesti, 1995). The visible minority population in Canada is highly educated, but according to 1993 SLID data the majority of visible minority immigrants (80%) obtained most of their elementary and high school education outside of Canada. Nevertheless, the unemployment rates for visible minorities in Canada are higher than the total population at 13.1% (Census of Canada, 1991) and 16.4% (SLID, 1993) versus 10.1% (Census of Canada,

1991) and 11.2%(SLID, 1993).[1] What is important to note from these statistics is that whether Canadian born or immigrant, visible minorities now comprise a large percentage of the Canadian population and have different labour market experiences from non-visible minority immigrants and the Canadian born.

These changes, both among women and the visible minority population, have had a significant impact on the dynamics of the Canadian socio-economic structure. One is reminded that the socio-economic status of ethnic groups, particularly visible minorities, immigrants and women in the labour force must continually be re-evaluated. This is particularly valuable for monitoring the impact of policies and programs that are directed at these groups. More important, however, is the necessity of providing information and facilitating understanding that can work toward the alleviation of racial and gender inequality in Canada.

These social changes should therefore both have a substantial effect on research on status attainment and social inequality in Canada. Up until recently, studies of social inequality in Canada have focussed mainly on ethnicity as a factor in explaining socio-economic status, with a particular emphasis on European ethnic origins rather than place of birth or 'race' or visible minority status. Consistent with the work of Porter (1965), considerable research on ethnicity as a factor contributing to socio-economic status attainment has been conducted since the publication of *The Vertical Mosaic*. In fact, most of this research has provided little support for Porter's thesis that ethnicity hinders occupational attainment or mobility (Darroch, 1979; Brym and Fox 1989:106-119; Satzewich and Li, 1987; Pineo and Porter, 1985). Nevertheless, some studies have found at least partial support for Porter's thesis, particularly those who compare socio-economic status attainment (as indicated by either or both occupational status and income level), between immigrants and the Canadian-born (Boyd, 1985), and within the immigrant population (Li, 1978,1979; Satzewich

[1] Because the labour force data from SLID and the 1991 Census were collected in different periods (January 1993 and June 1991) reflecting seasonal variations and changing economic conditions, the findings of the two sources differ slightly (Dibbs and Leesti, 1995:19).

and Li, 1987).

Social scientists have begun to speculate as to whether a "new ethnic mosaic" exists in Canada, one in which inequalities have been redefined by 'race' and colour (Agocs and Boyd, 1993:333). Research finds that patterns of occupational concentration differ among the Aboriginal population, the visible minority population and the British, French and other European ethnic groups. Referring to 1986 census data, Agocs and Boyd (1993) find that the percentages of visible minorities and Aboriginals in managerial or administrative occupations are low compared to other groups. They also find that Aboriginal and visible minority groups are over-represented in service occupations. Consistent with the method used by Porter, indexes of dissimilarity have demonstrated that the ethnic mosaic has been replaced by one defined by 'race' or colour. Agocs and Boyd (1993) indicate that Aboriginal and visible minority populations have the greatest difference in occupational distributions from the British. Further, in a multivariate analysis of census data, when controlling for place of residence, education and other variables that affect wages, Boyd (1991) found that foreign-born visible minorities have lower earnings than other ethnic groups (see also Satzewich and Li, 1987; Li, 1988; Li, 1992).

Social science research has established that both women and visible minorities have lower socio-economic status than men and non-visible minority Canadians. It follows logically, then, that *visible minority women*[2] will have especially low socio-economic status, due to a summation of the two negative main effects of 'race' and gender, which is known as the "double negative" effect. Paradoxically, however, research in the United States, particularly the work of Fuchs Epstein (1978) has indicated that there may sometimes occur an offsetting positive effect of the double negative for visible minority women. That is to say, there occurs an interaction effect between 'race'[3] and gender which reduces or even reverses

[2] *Visible minority women* refers to women who fall into any of the 10 visible minority groups determined by Statistics Canada. See section 5.5 for a listing of these groups and a discussion of variable measurement.

[3] The use of single quotations around the term 'race' is intended to recognize the social construction of the concept of 'race' and acknowledge that the term is in no way to be taken as referring to biological differences in 'race'. In the context of this study the term 'race' will be used, more or less, as a proxy for visible minority

the negative outcome. Status attainment research has often considered the variables of 'race' and gender, but they have seldom been the joint focus of researchers. The concepts of 'race' and gender are complex and interrelated, although much of the research on status attainment has considered these ascribed[4] characteristics separately. However, some Canadian feminist researchers and some other social scientists have also theoretically explored the connections between 'race', gender and socio-economic status. Some have claimed that 'race' and gender are more intimately linked than merely additive variables that affect socio-economic status, being in fact, "interactive" statuses. There has been little quantitative work exploring the interaction effect of 'race' and gender and immigration status on socio-economic status attainment until fairly recently. In fact, as noted by Breton, "...Porter, like the other social scientists at that time, paid little attention to gender or to the interaction of ethnicity and gender" (Breton, 1998:87). This research will look more specifically at the interaction of 'race' or colour and gender rather than all ethnic backgrounds[5] and gender, in order to explore the effect of visibility on socioeconomic status.

1.2 Objectives

In order to thoroughly explore the interrelationships of 'race' and gender this research tests for a double negative effect, and specifically tests the hypothesis that there is an interaction

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and will be operationalized according to Statistics Canada criteria. A discussion of this concept and problems associated with this operationalization are discussed in section 3.1.

[4] Ascribed characteristics are interpreted to be those that are not achieved (education, work experience, etc.), but those that are beyond the control of the individual, in the sense that they are statuses that an individual is born with ('race', ethnic ancestry, sex, etc.). Although it is acknowledged that people are born into different environments with different levels of opportunity and cultural capital, individuals do have some degree of agency over achieved statuses. It is understood that inequality of opportunity may particularly affect the socioeconomic status of individuals on top of the inequality experienced due to membership in ascribed statuses.

[5] The concept of ethnicity is often very convoluted. Isajiw (1980) points out that very few researchers of ethnic relations define the meaning of ethnicity. Ethnicity, according to Isajiw (1980:24), refers to "...an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such a people who identify themselves and/ or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group." In this research ethnicity is understood in these terms and refers to the ethnic ancestry or background of an individual as identified by the individual, as measured by Statistics Canada. (See Appendix One for more detail).

effect between 'race' and gender on socioeconomic status attainment using 1993 data from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID).

This approach provides a platform from which to discuss the intersections between 'race' and gender and immigration status, and their relationship to socio-economic status attainment. It is intended to be a starting point for assessing the dynamics of 'race' and gender over time, using the extensive longitudinal data available in the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics. It also aims to provide an overview and discussion of how 'race' and gender are researched in social science and insight into the processes and character of discrimination in Canada.

The following sections will provide a brief discussion of the research on socio-economic status attainment, with respect to ethnicity, visible minority status and immigrant status, gender and their intersections. The review of the material aims to demonstrate the need for further and more specific study on the intersections of 'race' and gender and their effects on socio-economic status from a status attainment perspective. Specific hypotheses, a discussion of the SLID dataset and the selected variables and their measurement, as well as theoretical and statistical model specifications will follow that outline the methodology used to test the interaction hypothesis. The later chapters will provide a detailed analysis of the results and a discussion of their significance to this research.

CHAPTER TWO:
Research on the Socio-economic Status Attainment of Women and Minority Groups

2.1 Socio-economic Status Attainment and Ethnicity

John Porter's (1965) thesis of the vertical mosaic had a provocative influence on research in social inequality and has drawn the attention of many researchers to the link between ethnicity and social mobility.[6] In his analysis of Canadian Census data (1965,1975), Porter concluded that ethnicity was a selection factor in occupational attainment and social mobility. Ethnic groups begin with differential entrance statuses and are stratified by the reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and class, which Porter expected to lead to the solidification of the differences in the hierarchical positions in the ethnic mosaic. Porter found that elite level positions in the social structure were almost exclusively held by persons of British origin and perceived there to be a substantial drawback for ethnic minorities on mobility.

The debate around Porter's thesis has been extensive and many have since attempted to either debunk Porter's findings as "patently false" (Tepperman, 1975:156) or have argued that the image of Canada as a vertical mosaic is no longer relevant (Ogmundson and McLaughlin, 1992; Reitz, 1990). There exists an emerging school of thought arguing that ethnicity is no longer as powerful a determinant of power and prestige as it once was (Agocs and Boyd, 1993: Brym and Fox, 1989; Geschwender and Guppy, 1995; Isajiw, Sev'er, and Driedger, 1993; Pineo and Porter, 1985). Much of the debate around Porter's thesis has centred on this link between ethnicity and mobility, but there has been less attention given to the influence of gender, immigrant status and visible minority status (or colour) on social mobility and status attainment.

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[6] For some examples, see: Blishen,1970; Boyd, *et al.*, 1985; Brym and Fox,1989; Clement, 1975; Cuneo and Curtis, 1975; Darroch, 1979; Forcese, 1986; McRoberts and Selbee,1981; Ogmundson, 1990; Pineo, 1976: Pineo and Porter, 1985; Reitz, and Breton, 1994; Reitz, 1980.

As noted above, research on the relationship between ethnicity and socio-economic status has tended to focus on the European ethnic groups used in Porter's analysis and has neglected the factors of 'race', or visible minority status. The changing face of Canadian demographics, also noted previously, has begun to lead to research that explores the importance of visibility or 'race' and of immigrant status in the process of socioeconomic status attainment in Canada.

2.2 Socioeconomic Status and Visible Minorities and Immigrants

Thus, Li (1988), Reitz (1990) and Agocs and Boyd (1993) all point to a colour-coded vertical mosaic where differences in SES between visible and non-visible ethnic groups are particularly pronounced. For these and other researchers, the "vertical mosaic" as defined by Porter has been reduced to a two-tiered ethnic mosaic, divided principally by skin colour.

Geschwender and Guppy (1995) state that results from their study on educational attainment and earned income "... clearly show that the vertical mosaic, at least on the dimension of education, has undergone a significant reshuffling in recent times" (Geschwender and Guppy, 1995:80). They find that there were not equivalent payoffs in earnings for either Asian or Italian men, and men from particular ethnic groups (French, First Nations, Italian and Jewish) receive lesser financial payoffs for higher education than do British men. Although these results indicate that there are notable differences in educational attainment and income across ethnic groups, the study does not explicitly address visible minority status or more specifically, the effect of visibility on SES. This study also assumes a direct linkage between educational attainment and income, without a discussion of occupational status.

Using 1991 Census data, Hou and Balakrishnan (1996) found that most visible minorities are under-represented in high status occupations and have incomes lower than what their educational and occupational achievements would merit. They found that Blacks and South Asians suffer the most income inequality. They also found that only Greeks and Chinese have higher odds ratios than the British in managerial occupations. Evidence was

shown that the Polish, Chinese, South Asian and other visible minorities had lower returns on education as far as occupational attainment is concerned. This research supported the findings of Basavarajappa and Verma, 1985. A few other older studies have explored the effects of 'race' (usually operationalized by place of birth) and ethnicity on occupational status and income and found similar results (Darroch, 1979; Brym and Fox, 1989).

2.3 Socioeconomic Status Attainment and Gender

By the mid-1970s American and Canadian feminist sociologists were documenting gender inequality (Fox, 1989; Huber, 1973). However, some of the research on status attainment has not given gender a thorough examination. Hamilton (1996) demonstrates that Porter's research did not adequately consider gender differences in the elite, as the Vertical Mosaic was written prior to the second wave of feminism, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, and the explosion of feminist scholarship. She claims that while Porter called attention to the relationship between education, professional opportunities and gender: "It is [women's] traditional exclusion from the higher professions which is a measure of the society's intellectual wastage" (Porter, 1965:179), he did not consider how the vertical mosaic was gendered in all of its manifestations (Hamilton, 1996:3). Researchers in status attainment began to realize that ignoring gender produces a distorted analysis. Subsequent research on SES attainment included gender in most analyses, but only a few focussed on gender inequality. However, many of the theoretical and methodological assumptions of status attainment research have been criticized for their inability to accurately reflect the experiences of women.

Status attainment research utilizes socioeconomic status scales that categorize occupations according to public consensus of prestige for each occupational role. Many have criticized these scales for assuming a common status scale when women and men are in reality accorded different status scores for the same occupational roles. A more detailed discussion of the problems associated with occupational status scales and gender will follow in the section

on occupational status measurement (see section 5.1).

Status attainment research has also been criticized for its theoretical assumptions. Fox (1989) concludes that focus on status attainment provides a very poor model of women's lives because women's status and their economic circumstances are not derived solely from their occupational status. Women's relationship to men and the family also has a major impact on a woman's status. However, if the labour force statistics can be taken to represent a growing trend of women increasingly entering the work force and attaining high levels of education then the presumption that "... paid jobs do not mean the same thing for women as they do for a man," (Fox, 1989) may be less appropriate today than in the 1970s and 1980s. Not to say that the increase of women in the paid workforce means less inequality nor that a women's status will cease to be determined by more than one source: particularly their relationship to men and the family, as well as to both paid and unpaid work. The inclusion of income and other independent variables like family size and marital status into the status attainment model can help bring researchers closer to measuring the experiences of women. However, the focus of status attainment research on paid work will undoubtedly ignore the so-called private sphere of unpaid work in which women continue to experience great inequality.

Acknowledging all of the criticisms, however, does not negate the usefulness of status attainment models in contributing to the understanding of women's experiences in the paid labour force. Many studies have examined gender inequality with respect to particular components of the status attainment model, usually dealing with education and income (see Goyder, 1980; Turrittin *et al.*, 1992; Shamai, 1992; Geschwender and Guppy, 1995). Findings generally suggest that occupational status attainment differs for men and women and the wage gap in earnings is still fairly substantial even after accounting for different educational levels and occupation fields (Boyd, 1992; Beaujot *et al.*, 1988; Boyd *et al.*, 1985; Goyder, 1981).

2.4 Socio-economic Status and Intersections between Gender, Visible Minority Status and Immigration Status

As noted, few Canadian studies have attempted to examine the joint effects of 'race' and gender on income, or occupational status, despite many empirical findings showing that women earn less than men (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984; Fox and Fox, 1983; Fillmore, 1990). In status attainment research the interrelationship between 'race' and gender has been discussed peripherally, often appearing as afterthought to traditional status attainment models and human capital[7] approaches. Rarely are 'race' and gender explored for interaction effects within a socio-economic status attainment framework.

As with most socio-economic status research, most of the research that examines the joint effects of gender with other demographic variables tends to focus on ethnicity or place of birth rather than 'race' or colour, and often fails to differentiate between immigrants and the Canadian born, either due to data limitations or model specification. A few recent studies have focussed on gender and ethnicity and their effect on educational attainment and payoff differences in education (Geschwender and Guppy, 1995; Turrittin *et al.*, 1992; Guppy *et al.*, 1984; Shamai, 1986). These studies all dealt specifically with ethnicity and not with visible minority status. In each case the intersections between ethnicity and gender were not the focus of the research.

There are, however, a few exceptions that explore the connection between 'race' and gender. Although, more often than not, when studies consider the joint effects of 'race', gender and immigrant status it is usually that the effects are thought to have a cumulative or additive effect on status attainment. This has most often been discussed as what has been termed in the literature, the "Double Negative Effect". Also, the connections between 'race' and gender and immigration status are often looked at with reference to particular groups which makes generalizability difficult.

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[7] These models assume an open competitive marketplace that evaluates and differentially rewards the traits that individuals embody, and the rewards vary according to the importance of these traits in society (Fox, 1989:126).

In particular, the work of only a few social scientists stands out. Some Canadian studies clearly indicate that the economic experiences of immigrant women differ significantly from immigrant men and Canadian born women. Research has shown that the effects of their ascribed characteristics as women and as immigrants often combine to create a situation that is distinguished by low-paying, low-status occupations (Sorenson, 1995).

Anne Denis (1986) tested the hypothesis that overseas-born women of non-British origin are obliged to adopt a situation of multiple subordination with regard to labour force participation rates. The hypothesis was only partially supported, although it was clear that immigrant women of particular non-British origins were in a position of subordination. This study operationalized the double negative as foreign born women, specifically those of non-British origin, not as visible minority status.

Gerber (1985) explored the question of whether native women are doubly disadvantaged as females of ethnic minorities and whether or not Native women face an added handicap due to their dependent status as Indians and their reserve-based communities. The results support the multiple jeopardy hypothesis (which is derived from exchange theory) that the most disadvantaged Canadians in terms of educational attainment, labour force participation and income are visible minorities (specifically Native), and female. This study operationalized the double negative as a cumulative effect specific to the experiences of Aboriginal women. Neither visible minority status, immigrant status nor occupational status were variables specified in the model.

The largest and most comprehensive Canadian study to date, (Boyd *et al.*, 1985) deals explicitly with gender, immigrant status and place of birth. Boyd assessed the double negative in the late seventies and early eighties with data from the 1973 Canadian Mobility Study. This analysis of the double negative was limited by its focus on immigrant women and had a measure of place of birth, but no specific measure of visible minority status. Boyd conceptualized the double negative as the summation of the effects of immigrant status and gender (specifically, immigrant women) and then controlled for place of birth.

A more recent study by Li (1992) using 1986 Census data analyzed the joint effects of 'race' and gender on income as a grounds of fractionalizing classes. Li's work draws on the Marxist concept of 'class fraction' which can be defined as referring to groupings within the boundary of a class. Although members share the same class relationships with others in terms of their relations to production, they may differ in ideological commitments and political actions due to their locations within the class structure and their social and economic characteristics (Li, 1992:489). Barrera (1979) defines what he calls an 'ascriptive class segment' or class fraction, as a "portion of a class which has set them off from the rest of the class by some readily identifiable and relatively stable characteristics of the persons assigned to that segment such as 'race', ethnicity, or sex, where the relationship of the members to the means of production is affected by the demarcation" (Barrera, 1979:212).

Anne Phizacklea and Robert Miles refer to the notion of 'class fractions' as "...an objective position within a class boundary which is, in turn, determined by both economic, [and] politico-ideological relations" (1980:6). According to Li (1992:490) they argue that sexism is an ideological force which sets women apart, acting in the same way that racism does to racialized groups, to render them in a distinct position in economic, political and ideological relations. Hence, women and racialized groups constitute class fractions (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980; Miles, 1982). Li's findings show that men have an income advantage over women. However, he claims that 'race' fractionalizes the earnings of white and non-white men more than for women. Li concludes that 'race' and gender have an interacting effect on earnings. He operationalized the interaction between 'race' and gender by constructing four categories: white male; non-white male; white female; and non-white female. This operationalization, although adequately exploring for an additive effect of 'race' and gender, does not separate out the main effects from possible interaction effects. Therefore, the possibility of an interaction effect between 'race' and gender cannot be tested. Hence, conclusions about their "interaction" cannot be made. Li's study also grouped visible minorities with Aboriginals, which is problematic since the situation of Canadian Natives is

unique and historically they have had very different experiences of social inequality compared to other visible minorities in Canada.[8] Also, this study focussed entirely on income as an SES indicator. A contribution of the proposed thesis, aside from using more recent data, may be to refine Li's notion of class fractions with respect to 'race' and gender by testing for a statistical interaction between 'race' and gender. Specifically, if 'race' is found to interact with gender in SES attainment, there would be grounds for further work that conceived of *visible minority women* as a distinct class fraction. Further analysis would require detailed class markers consistent with Wright's definition of class distinctions (Wright, 1977).

Class analysis has provided a theoretical foundation for the study of the intersections of 'race' and gender and status attainment variables like income and educational attainment. However, the interactive effects of 'race' and gender with relationship to class (in the Marxian sense) have not been systematically examined, aside from Li's work noted above. Several Marxian case studies have highlighted the importance of considering 'race' and gender jointly. For example, Muszynski (1988) and Creese (1988a; 1988b; 1989) show that 'race' and gender were used as a basis for segmenting the working class in their relationships to production and in the differentiation of wages (Li, 1992:491). Clement reminds us that gender interacts strongly with class, arguing that gender and class are, "twin pillars of power in Canada that both structure and have effects in terms of the distribution of inequalities" (Clement, 1988:12). He points to the linkage between gender and class, and how they interact and influence one another (Clement, 1988:12). However, the linkages and interrelationships between gender and class must also consider the importance of 'race' in effecting the distribution of inequalities.

Research in economics has also contributed to the study of the effects of 'race' and gender on income. A very recent study by Shammuddin (1997) estimated the double negative effect on the earnings of female immigrants in Canada. Using 1983 and 1984 Statistics

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[8] See Appendix One for a description of the Statistics Canada operationalization of 'visible minority'. It is in this sense that the term is used.

Canada data, this study found that approximately 71 to 79 percent of the differences in mean log earnings between native-born males and foreign-born females is attributed to the combined impact of gender and place of birth on earnings (Shammuddin, 1997:21). However, the research also finds that discrimination by gender and not by place of birth is the main source of the earnings gap. This study, dealing solely with income, analyzed the double negative using the Oaxaca decomposition method (Oaxaca, 1973). This research accounted for immigrant status (not visible minority status) and due to methodological specifications only compared foreign born females with Canadian born males (Shammuddin, 1997). This study looked at the coefficients of four specific groups, presupposing the existence of an interaction effect of 'race' and gender. However, the research presented did not clearly provide a modelling test for an interaction effect. With the interaction implicitly assumed, the research does an excellent job decomposing the effects, separating out the effects of cultural "endowments" or capital from the differences in payoffs for those endowments across genders. If the results from my research demonstrate that no statistically significant interaction effect exists between 'race' and gender, then the in-depth analysis and decomposition of that theoretical interaction may be a moot discussion.

Unlike the above studies, interesting work from the United States by Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (1978) has argued that 'race' and gender can combine in such a way that they do not necessarily have a negative effect on occupational attainment and success. Rather, the combined negatives of being a member of more than one marginalized group create a positive offset. Fuchs Epstein claims that while those who have more than one negative status tend to experience a cumulative negative effect, there are instances where "... the sex status of female and the 'race' status of black did not result in negative consequences but formed a positive matrix for a meaningful career" (Epstein, 1978:913). These claims were based on interviews with 31 women who had achieved occupational success in prestigious male-dominated professions including law, medicine, dentistry, university teaching, journalism and public relations.

Three interpretations of the results were offered by Fuchs Epstein, as emerging from the apparent interaction between statuses that accounted for their success. These are conceptualized as: 1) focussing on one of the negatively valued statuses cancelled the negative effect of the other; 2) two statuses in combination create a new status (for example black-woman) which may have no established value because it is unique; 3) because the "stranger" is outside the normal opportunity structure, he or she can choose (or may be forced to choose) an alternative lifestyle, and to create selective barriers which insulate them from diversions to occupational success and from ghetto culture, thus strengthening ambition and motivation (Fuchs Epstein, 1978:914). Although these are some interesting explanations for finding positive offsetting interaction effects, it is also highly likely that affirmative action programs may have increased opportunities for visible minorities and women. Also, tokenism may have played a role in hiring procedures, which would give the appearance of equality however minorities may still experience discrimination at the level of promotion or pay levels. Regardless, it remains highly plausible that there may be a negative interaction effect experienced by visible minority women due to their unique status in the labour market.[9] This study is an excellent source for hypothesis generating, but does not provide any hypothesis testing (from a quantitative perspective), as the sample is small and the methodological approach was qualitative in focus. This study demonstrates the theoretical intersections of 'race' and gender and finds some possible support for an interactive hypothesis.

These studies represent the only major research done on the connections between 'race' or visible minority status, gender and immigrant status on status attainment variables. Few of these studies explicitly dealt with visible minority status and the majority of data used in these studies are substantially outdated. Also, none of the quantitative studies discussed 'race' and gender with direct reference to occupational status. The more recent inclusion of ascribed characteristics as the focus of status attainment research has uncovered the most compelling findings on stratification in Canada.

[9] See Chapter four for a clear outlines of the hypotheses and other possible outcomes.

CHAPTER THREE:
Conceptualizations of 'race' and Gender

3.1 The Concepts of 'race' and 'Visible Minority'

The concept of 'visible minority' was coined in the early 1970s with the purpose of creating a term that was descriptive and egalitarian in an effort to move away from using terms like "non-whites" and "coloureds" and to highlight the common problems faced by all visible minorities, particularly white racism and the colour prejudices of the white majority (Synott and Howes, 1996:137). The term is now widely used in Canadian public discourse and the concept has been adopted by affirmative action initiatives, Employment Equity, and Multiculturalism legislation. Visible minority has been defined and measured in various ways and the Federal government has now adopted a specific guideline for the determination of visible minority status in the Canadian Census. In the Public Service Reform Act (1993) visible minorities are defined as persons who are non-white in colour or non-Caucasian in 'race', or other than Aboriginal people. These minorities have then been categorized into ten groups: Blacks, Chinese, Filipino, Oceanic (other Pacific Islanders), Indo-Pakistani, Japanese, Korean, Southeast Asians, West Arabs, and Latin Americans.

The use of the term 'visible minority' has more or less become the uncontested and politically correct "buzz word" amongst civil servants and some academics for referring to racial minorities in Canada. Discussions using the terms 'race' or 'races' have faded out and the concept of 'race' itself has been essentially redefined. In fact, it appears that, "... 'race' and colour have become synonymous, so much so that 'race' has been operationalized by the state as 'visible minority' for policy use, particularly within Employment Equity programming" (Pendakur,1997:1). The use of the terms 'race' or 'races' has been highly contested and discussed in sociology. The term has been used to refer to lineage, to biologically distinct groups of people, and recently, to a socially constructed label to describe patterns of physical and genetic difference (Satzewich, 1998:27). Within sociology, definitions of 'race' have

tended to focus on it as a socially constructed label rather than as a biologically grounded definition (Satzewich, 1998:29). This has led some social scientists to argue that it should be abandoned as an analytical concept. However, some critics have argued that defining 'race' as a label with no analytical utility is more or less denying the reality of racism and thereby undermining the anti-racist struggle (Satzewich, 1998:29). This could be interpreted as saying that 'race' doesn't exist in society and that we live in a colour-blind society that treats everyone equally. Clearly, utilizing the criteria that are used to group and discriminate against individuals in society as research variables in the analysis of income differences, for example, can make some valuable contributions to our understanding of social inequality. In other words, if groups are believed to be discriminated against on the basis of 'race', then it is valuable to use 'race' as a variable in quantitative social research, regardless of the socially constructed confines of the concept. On the other hand, there are major political implications for rejecting 'race' as an analytical category. In particular, using 'race' in certain ways may reinforce the idea that it is a biologically real categorization and that some 'race's may be superior to others. According to Satzewich (1998) any sociological research on understanding racism as well as any anti-racist strategy should proceed from a critique of the initial assumption that the human population can be grouped into discrete 'races' based on real and natural differences. He also points out that it is precisely for this reason that some sociologists insist on placing 'race' in quotation marks in order to indicate the problematic nature of the concept (Satzewich, 1998:31). The present research has taken such an approach in order to acknowledge the problems associated with the use of such a term and to emphasize that this research in no way refers to 'race' as a biological category. At the same time, this research will employ the term *visible minority* as an operationalized term for 'race'. Chapter five discusses how the concept of visible minority is measured. (Also, see Appendix One for more detail on how ethnicity and visible minority are measured and defined in this research).

As noted, there are numerous problems with the use of the terms 'race' or 'races' to divide people into recognizable measurable groups, unfortunately *visible minority* shares some

of these problems. Although the term 'visible minority' allows us to move away from the use of the term 'race' as describing a biological basis for categorizing and recognizing difference, it is still a descriptor that assumes a homogeneity within the group which is not likely present. Simply using the variable of 'visible minority' without also allowing for the breakdown of the various groups can been seen as a reductionist approach that lumps very different groups of people together in such a way as to reduce the significance of their individual experiences. Using solely the term 'visible minority' puts the emphasis on colour as the main signifier upon which discrimination is based, effectively negating the legitimacy of all other experiences of discrimination.

Also, the visible minority category encompasses ten 'non-white' groups each with its own range of economic and social differentiation and it is possible that the barriers faced by one group may not be the same as those faced by another. Indeed, Stasulius notes that, 'the combined liability of 'race' and gender in the Canadian labour market varies considerably from one non-white group to another' (1987:7, quoted in Labelle, 1990:74). Therefore, researchers must be aware of how the amalgamation of different groups affects the analysis of data concerned with visible minorities in Canada (Pendakur, 1997:17). For example, if one subgroup of an analytic category has a relatively high rate of socioeconomic achievement in occupation and income, it may offset the fact that another subgroup is not faring as well.

The following statistical model will account for place of birth differences and language characteristics and will test for the interaction across some detailed groups identified as visible minorities. This will reduce the risk of homogenizing the experiences of discrimination is lessened. It is not, however, diminished entirely, as the pre-determined 'visible minority' category is still being utilized. This allows for the assessment of the extent to which those groups in the 'visible minority' category vary in their relationship to socio-economic status, exploring the question of whether colour - the factor that defines these groups as visible minorities- is a unifying determinant of social inequality.

3.2 Visuality, Difference and Discrimination

So, what is really meant by the term visible minority? Actually, public consensus is lacking as to who is and who is not to be considered a visible minority (Synott and Howes,1996). This is specifically relevant to the present research because the assumption behind the construction of the term 'visible minority' is that these people are **visible**, highlighting the primacy of visuality in affecting the socio-economic status of those that are different from the norm. If discrimination is most strongly linked to 'visual' factors then this means that discrimination in Canada must be strongly linked to colour, gender, or age or any other acutely visual differences that allow us to categorize and group people. However, what makes colour more 'visible' than the other characteristics, like gender or age or weight? Why are they given the label of being 'visible minority' if they are 'coloured' or 'black' or 'dark' and not along some other lines? How is 'colour' measured and with reference to whom? For example, Latin Americans may be viewed as dark in skin colour if they are being compared to those with white skin colour, but not if they are being compared to most African Canadians. Are they always a minority? Are blacks considered a 'visible minority' in certain areas in the United States or for that matter, in Africa? By giving this label are we drawing lines where none exist? Racism and discrimination in Canada has often been said to be more subtle in expression compared to that of our American neighbours. If that is the case, then would this defined group of 'visible minorities' really be those who experience the most discrimination?

Ideally, further analysis should include a thorough examination of the other signifiers on which discrimination is based. Discrimination in Canada is likely not so simplistic or overt as to be solely based on colour. Like colour, other visual signifiers may be significant, primarily gender, and other less obvious ones such as fashion (which reflects cultural/popular capital). Discrimination may be linked to the other more 'cultural' factors (other than the purely visible). These factors may not necessarily be identified by sight, but possibly by smell and sound, such as by accent, word use, pop-culture or normative phrases, regional language knowledge, body language or other expressions of cultural capital.

According to Breton (1998), the large proportion of members of foreign-born visible minorities raises the question of the long-term effects of 'visibility' in ethnic stratification. He states that:

> By and large, 'Anglo-conformity' is the model of incorporation of immigrants that has prevailed in Canada. The implicit understanding was that conformity was expected, indeed demanded, and that compliance would increase one's chance of making it in the socioeconomic structure. This model assumes that individuals have considerable choice over the social salience of their cultural traits, that is, over what distinguishes them from Anglos and from what are the expected patterns of appearance and behaviour (Breton, 1998:88).

Will this model still operate when colour is involved, that is, when individuals have no choice in keeping or shedding their distinguishable trait? Breton (1998) indicates that it may not and that the experience of Blacks on the one hand, and Asians, on the other, may suggest a differential application of the 'Anglo-conformity model'.

State responses or initiatives with regards to immigrants have also been historically driven by the 'Anglo-conformity' model. The rapid growth of visible minorities in Canada has "added a new wrinkle in the multicultural equation" (Fleras, 1993:392). The recent restructuring in the Multiculturalism Program may indicate that the model is either no longer feasible or relevant or that the model is in transition or reformulation in order to deal with the great numbers of 'non-white' immigrants. Increased focus on anti-racism and issues pertaining to colour are apparent in the new Multiculturalism Program today (see Appendix Two for a brief historical outline of Multiculturalism Policy). The new Multiculturalism three-fold guideline for determining research project funding reflects the active anti-discrimination approach that reflects the development of a new state approach to a changing immigrant population. Three goals are outlined by the Multiculturalism program guidelines as: *Identity, Civic Participation* and *Social Justice.* The latter reflects a new 'equality' approach that deals specifically with ensuring "fair and equitable treatment that respects the dignity and

accommodates people of all origins" (Multiculturalism Canada, 1997:1). Also, the restructuring of the Multiculturalism Program has meant a redefinition of policy goals and directives that appears to be moving away from the promotion of 'cultural' or ethnic heritage to an anti-racist perspective. This can be evidenced by the emphasis that has been given to the March 21 Campaign Against Racism and the redistribution of program funding to initiatives and research that specifically deal with issues pertaining to 'race' rather than ethnicity. Historically, Multiculturalism has not been able to deal with the needs of visible minorities in Canada and has been criticized for its "lack of answers for the problems of racism, or White supremacy" (Nourbese, 1992:266). Thus, debates over Multiculturalism have been increasingly "less preoccupied with the promotion of dance troupes, food caravans, and poetry recitals (and)...instead is focused on the issue of power and resource sharing within the framework of equality and justice" (Fleras, 1993:394).

However, this new focus has also meant the need for simplicity in measurement and it has created a debate about the 'ethnicity question' surrounding the 1996 Census of Canada. Coding problems, identification issues and the confusion surrounding the measurement of ancestry, particularly among third and fourth generation Canadians, has meant a decline in the popularity or relevance of the concept and measurement of 'ethnicity'. Debates about the usefulness of the 'ethnicity question' and the creation of a 'visible minority question' on the 1996 Census of Canada is evidence that there is an increase in the focus on colour. It is likely that the political support or the funding for the 'ethnicity question' may not even be available by the 2001 Census.

These factors, as well as lower federal funding for the Multiculturalism Program may mean a narrow focus on 'race' and racism will be adopted by policy makers. However, this focus on the role of 'colour' detracts from a thorough analysis of the various levels and manifestation of discrimination in Canada. If this is reinforced or guided by official government sanction, there is a risk that public perception may see that discrimination based on 'colour' is the only real form of discrimination. 'Colour' and 'culture' or ethnicity likely all

play a major role in stratification in Canada, and to give primacy to only those facets of difference that can be distinguished visually is to deny the complexity of racism and the processes of discrimination and stratification. To assess social inequality in this context acknowledges the primacy of visuality in Canadian culture, but fails to explore the other more subtle manifestations of discrimination.

3.3 Intersections Between 'Race' and Gender

Synott and Howes (1996) claim that there is a strong connection between visualism, racism, sexism, such that the primacy of the sight (as opposed to the other senses of smell, hearing etc.,) in our society serves to heighten the importance of 'race' and gender as signifiers for discrimination. This thesis operates on the assumption that visibility (as it has been defined) is a key determinant of socio-economic status, and that gender (another characteristic that can be ascertained visually) interacts with this relationship.

All of the cited literature that has dealt with both 'race' and gender has been very useful in understanding the process of status attainment and stratification, but many have operated under the assumption that each of the respective statuses of 'race' and gender are held exclusively. It is not likely, however that these statuses operate in a social vacuum that protects them from the effects of other simultaneously held statuses. People are identified by those characteristics that differentiate them from others. Theoretically then, it seems much more likely for an individual to be identified by membership in a substatus group (black woman) rather than by membership in more than one status (black) (woman). For example, it is more likely that a black woman be considered just that: a *black woman*, rather than be considered a woman who happened to be black, or vice versa (i.e., a new status is created by intersections).

However, since women face discrimination in employment, as do various ethnic and racial minorities (Li, 1988), it would not be surprising to find that women of ethnic or racial minorities would be doubly disadvantaged, as their positions in exchange relationships are

weakened by devalued attributes or limited resources. Some argue that this experience of 'double negative' or 'double jeopardy' implies that there is a cumulative disadvantage experienced by women in these groups. But, it is not always that simple, as the gender and 'race' may produce a new interaction status that may have an even greater disadvantage in the labour market. This may be particularly true for immigrant women, since despite coming from different social and cultural backgrounds, they face similar situations, especially if they are non-white and non-English speaking. According to Roxanna Ng (1993:279), this commonality has to do with how their experiences are shaped by the legal, economic and social processes in Canada, regardless of their ethnic, racial, and sometimes class backgrounds.

This double negative approach often leaves the impression that being a woman is the primary status that incurs a negative effect on SES. 'Race' is then considered to have an additive or secondary effect on the already negative position held by the status of woman. Statistically, this may mean the assumption that the strength of association between gender and status attainment is greater than that between 'race' and status attainment. But is this the case? Theoretically this is very problematic, particularly from an anti-racist feminist perspective. Often studies that attempt to theorize connections between 'race' and gender, merely add 'race' into the existing feminist or other theoretical framework. According to Collins (1990) it is then implied that 'race' simply increases the degree of inequality and oppression experienced by women and that oppression can be quantified and compared. However, 'race' does not just make the experience of women's inequality greater, it qualitatively changes the nature of that inequality (Afshar and Maynard, 1990:13).

3.4 'Race' and Gender and Ethnic Stratification Theory

The Ethnic stratification approach used by Porter provides an excellent framework from which to explore the intersections between visible minority status, place of birth and gender. Curtis and Tepperman (1990) identified nine central images of Canadian society in contemporary sociology. It is arguable that a tenth image may be emerging that reflects the "double negative" hypothesis that women and visible minorities are doubly disadvantaged in socioeconomic attainment. This may or may not be the case, since the relevance of 'The Vertical Mosaic' imagery outlined by Porter as occurring in Canada during the first half of the century and before, is becoming less and less apparent. However, for the image to entirely lose contemporary relevance, persistent inequalities, particularly among visible minorities, must disappear (Helmes-Hayes and Curtis, 1998:17).

In order to look at the intersections of 'race' and gender and socioeconomic status informed by the Porter approach to social inequality in Canada, this research has taken an ethnic stratification approach as outlined by Shibutani and Kwan (1965; also Parkin, 1979). This approach is specifically concerned with the manner in which people are classified and evaluated in a community. Shibutani and Kwan (1965) argue that the fundamental focus of this approach must be on the study of *identification* and *social status*. There are accepted procedures in any society for earning a living, allocating rights and privileges, incorporating new members, minimising competition and conflict, and enforcing regulations, that are all based on some degree of shared understandings between the members of society. These shared understandings are conventional norms, and the totality of these norms constitutes social structure- the established patterns of action (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965:29). The manner in which people are classified and ranked is an important part of the structure of any community. These classifications group people into status positions that are then ranked in a hierarchical order. In the study of social stratification, Shibutani and Kwan argue that the primary focus of research must be on "the unequal access to goods, services, and pleasures, and those conventional norms concerning what people are to enjoy what is coveted and what

kind of people are to be deprived" (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965:29).

In conclusion, this research will focus on occupational status and income as indicators of social status and will examine the placement of visible minorities, women and the foreign born in the social structure of contemporary Canada. The intersections of gender, place of birth and 'race' will be explored within this context, acknowledging that the differentiation and ranking of groups in the Canadian social structure is a complex and changing process. Historically, Porter and other social scientist in his time, were able to locate and map the lines which were used to classify and rank groups in the social structure. However, it is likely that with changing demographics and labour dynamics these lines may be redrawn along different classification criteria.

CHAPTER FOUR:
Hypotheses and Model Specification

4.1 The Interaction Hypothesis

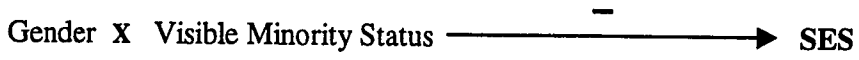
According to Blalock (1966), the testing of interaction effects must be strongly tied to a theoretical model. This research explores the interaction between visible minority status and gender, as signifying an entirely different status than the two individual statuses. This third status is hypothesized to have a different exchange value in the market system from the two separate statuses of "woman" and "visible minority". This status is hypothesized to accrue a negative effect on socioeconomic status. The following hypothesis will be tested for the grouped variable of "visible minority status" and gender, as well as across a detailed breakdown of visible minority groups.[10] Three way or second order interactions will also be explored for visible minority status, gender and place of birth.

This hypothesis postulates that there is an interaction between gender and visible minority status that produces a negative effect on socioeconomic status that is above and beyond the main effects of visible minority status and gender. If, in fact, it is the case that visuality, as discussed previously, has some degree of dominance in Canadian culture and a key role in discrimination, then the existence of a negative interaction effect could serve as support to this theory. If this negative interaction effect exists even when other 'cultural' factors are considered that relate to visible minority status, such as place of birth, mother tongue, foreign education and period of immigration, then more support can be attributed to this theory.

Thus, if 'cultural' factors do not account for the differences in socioeconomic attainment then what remains can be explained by discrimination on the basis of the 'visual' factors of colour and gender. Although discrimination on the basis of a 'visual' factor inherently includes making judgements on the nature or 'culture' of a particular group

[10] The detailed visible minorty groups are outlined in Section 6.5 on Variable Measurement.

(women, visible minorities) that is historically and politically contextualized, it is the visible attributes that differentiate that group from others and leads to discrimination. If the 'cultural' factors also lead to disadvantage then it is on top of these factors that discrimination based on visual identifiers exists. It is hypothesized then, that the interaction term will have a negative relationship to socio-economic status. It can be expressed as follows:



4.2 Alternative Outcomes

4.2.1 The Positive Interaction Effect

Previously, reference has been made to intriguing qualitative study done in the United States by Fuchs Epstein (1978) which developed some theoretical explanations of the success of black professional women. She outlines a hypothesis that the relationship between the interactive term for gender/visible minority status and the dependent variables. She postulates that this may be indicative that the two statuses (woman and visible minority) may combine to create a new status which may have no established "price" in the labour market because it is unique and therefore the individual may be in a better position to bargain for his/her worth. Fuchs Epstein (1978) hypothesizes that this unique status individual is a 'stranger' outside the normal opportunity structure, and therefore may have had to develop stronger ambition and motivation to overcome barriers to success or to construct barriers to insulate against the diversions/forces of what she terms the 'ghetto culture'. This is not to say necessarily that such a 'ghetto culture' exists, as Fuchs Epstein perceived it, however, it is feasible that individuals outside the mainstream or majority opportunity structure may have had to develop stronger ambition in order to engage in the opportunity structure in the first place. This is one explanation for the success of some minority professionals.

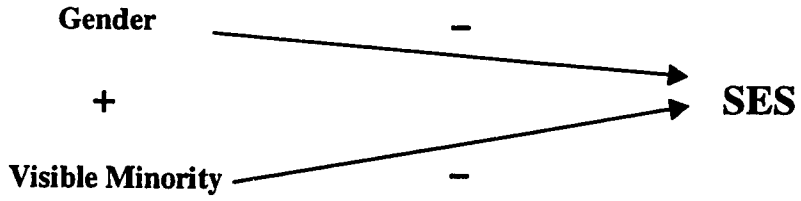
Fuchs Epstein also argued that the success of black professional women could be explained by the focus on one of the negatively valued statuses. This focus, say on visible

minority status, can essentially offset the effect of the other, or raise its worth enough to compensate for the negative effect of the other. Fuchs Epstein (1978) gave the possible example or interpretation that in a white professional milieu, a black women is viewed as lacking the "womanly" occupational deficiencies of white women- for example seeking a husband- and the black woman's sex status is given higher evaluation, or vice versa. These may or may not be valid interpretations, but the fundamental assertion can be tested within the context of this research. Thus, it is possible that the interaction of the two statuses may not produce as large a negative effect on the dependent variables as the main effects had. This alternative hypothesis can be expressed as:

Gender X Visible Minority Status $\xrightarrow{+}$ **SES**

4.2.2 The 'Double Negative' Effect

If no interaction effects are found between gender and visible minority status then the main effects must be interpreted as additive. The 'Double negative' effect assumes there is simply an additive effect for 'race' and gender, such that the disadvantage experienced by women is doubled or at least proportionately increased if these women are also members of a visible minority group. This means that women will experience a negative relationship with socio-economic status and that visible minorities will also have a negative relationship to socio-economic status. Thus, those that are members of both groups (women and visible minority) would have a greater disadvantage. It can be expressed as follows:



4.3 Model Specification

4.3.1 Main Effects: Double Negative

The main effects hypothesis of the double negative is presented as a summation of two negative main effects. Thus, from having membership in two disadvantaged groups, individuals are doubly disadvantaged. This involves a basic status attainment model, in which the variables of 'race' and gender are considered separately, and then their respective coefficients are summed. The main effects cumulative model may be expressed mathematically as follows:

$$Y = b_1 X_1 \text{ (Gender)} + b_2 X_2 \text{ (Visible Minority)} \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots b_n X_n + A$$

4.3.2 Interaction Effects

The interaction hypothesis can be interpreted as the multiplication of the two variables: 'race' and gender. Statistically, an interaction effect refers to the joint effect of two variables that is above and beyond the main effects of these two variables. This joint effect is not a vague derivative of the two main effects, but a separate source of variation that is distinct in its own right (Cohen and Cohen, 1983:303). They are not, however, unrelated. It can be said that they operate conditionally, such that the relationship between a said independent variable and a dependent variable depends on the value of another said independent variable. In the context of the proposed research then, the relationship of gender to status attainment depends on visible minority status. The hypothesized interaction between gender and visible minority status is expressed mathematically as:

$$Y = b_1 X_1 \text{ (Gender)} + b_2 X_2 \text{ (Visible Minority)} \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots + b_n X_n + b_{1.2} (X_1 X_2)$$

A second order interaction is also tested. Visible minority status, gender and place of birth are interacted together and then regressed on occupational status and income. This interaction can be expressed as:

$$Y = b_1 X_1 \text{ (Gender)} + b_2 X_2 \text{ (Visible Minority)} + b_3 X_3 \text{ (Place of Birth)} + \ldots + b_n X_n + b_{1.2} (X_1 X_2) + b_{1.2.3} (X_1 X_2 X_3).$$

In order to thoroughly understand this three-way interaction all possible interactions between the variables of gender, visible minority status and place of birth must be explored. Thus, interaction terms for visible minority x place of birth and for gender x place of birth must be entered into regression models with the other interaction terms.

$$Y = b_1 X_1 \text{ (Gender)} + b_2 X_2 \text{ (Visible Minority)} + b_3 X_3 \text{ (Place of Birth)} + \ldots + b_n X_n + b_{1.2} (X_1 X_2) + b_{2..3} (X_2 X_3) + b_{1..3} (X_1 X_3) + b_{1..2.3} (X_1 X_2 X_3).$$

It is not enough to just account for 'visible minority status' as it is a socially constructed (and more or less, State-defined) grouping of individuals. If the possible interactions between 'race' and gender are to be examined thoroughly, then it is important to look at the detailed visible minority categories, separating out the individual groups and exploring for interactions between those groups and gender, thus acknowledging the differing experiences of these groups in Canada (i.e.: Blacks vs. Chinese experiences). Since it would give excessive detail to look at interactions for all possible groups, they have been grouped together as discussed in section 5.5. Interactions are specified for these groups: Blacks, Chinese, South Asian, Other Asian, and Other Visible Minority. These hypothesized interactions can be expressed as follows:

$Y = b_1 X_1$ (Gender) $+ b_4 X_4$ (Black)..... $+ b_n X_n + b_{1.4} (X_1 X_4)$

$Y = b_1 X_1$ (Gender) $+ b_5 X_5$ (Chinese)..... $+ b_n X_n + b_{1.5} (X_1 X_5)$

$Y = b_1 X_1$ (Gender) $+ b_6 X_6$ (South Asian)..... $+ b_n X_n + b_{1.6} (X_1 X_6)$

$Y = b_1 X_1$ (Gender) $+ b_7 X_7$ (Other Asian)..... $+ b_n X_n + b_{1.7} (X_1 X_7)$

$Y = b_1 X_1$ (Gender) $+ b_8 X_8$ (Other Visible Minority)..... $+ b_n X_n + b_{1.8} (X_1 X_8)$

CHAPTER FIVE:
Variable Measurement

5.1 Occupational Status

The primary dependent variable proposed is occupational status as measured by the standard occupational classification scale with imputed Blishen scores in order to operationalize occupational prestige. The questions used to derive occupation are the same as were used in the Labour Force Survey. The questions concern the kind of work the respondent was doing (e.g. farm labourer, office clerk, factory worker) and his or her most important activities or duties (e.g. planting trees, filing documents, sorting vegetables) . These occupations were then coded at the most detailed level of the 1980 Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) into 500 categories, for up to six jobs had by the respondent during the reference year.[11] For this research, only the respondents' *main job* has been selected.

Based on this coding, Blishen scores have been imputed, creating a continuous dependent variable. Access to the main database at Statistics Canada in Ottawa allows for the use of the full 500 SOC categories. The scale can then be used to refer to socioeconomic status scores, interpreted as an interval level of measurement, and allows for a discussion of the results within the framework of status attainment.

Occupational status is intended to be an indicator of general social status. Of the most objective indicators of status such as education, income, and occupation, the latter is usually the focus of studies of social mobility. Occupation provides a good overall marker of social status, as it carries a wage or salary and is effected by educational qualifications. Also, occupation can mean a way of life, as work structures day to day life and is often instrumental to defining oneself as a person (Goyder, 1990:66).

[11] The ordering of the first, second and third job and so on reflects the order in which the respondent reported jobs to the interviewer. Unlike the Labour Force Survey, there is no main job identified in SLID Public Use File (SLID Microdata User's Guide, 1996:114). However, since data used for this analysis was taken from the SLID Internal File at Statistics Canada, a main job indicator was available that was created by the Labour Division at Statistics Canada. This "main job" indicator was created by capturing the job with the greatest number of hours worked over the year. This variable was used to filter the dataset so that only the respondents main job is analyzed in this research.

Occupational status is expected to be a major predictor of income levels. The use of a path analysis will allow for a detailed exploration and discussion of the causality relationships between education, occupational status and income.

There has been controversy over the use of the Blishen scores in regression analysis where education is also included in the model as an independent variable (Fox and Suschnigg, 1989). Blishen scores are in part based on the educational level of particular job holders, and in part on incomes of such job holders (Blishen, Carroll, and Moore, 1987). However, the Blishen score is also a measure of the social prestige of an occupation, independent of the typical educational level of holders of that occupation (Pineo and Porter, 1967). Therefore, this research assumes that the Blishen score is valid for use in a regression analysis as long as these characteristics are acknowledged.

Using a Blishen scale carries an implicit theory statement about social stratification (Goyder, 1984:334; Horan,1978) that assumes a finely graded hierarchy of levels of status. As pointed out by Horan (1978) a key assumption of the use of Blishen-type scores in a status attainment model is public consensus over the status hierarchy of occupations. Unfortunately, the Blishen scale used in this analysis was developed in the late seventies and early eighties, which may mean that consensus has faltered since the scale is outdated. New occupations have developed and it is unknown whether public consensus of their status exists, nor whether consensus exist on the status of old occupations. It is likely that perceptions of the status of certain job categories may change over time as expectations change and educational levels increase.

There has also been controversy on how well occupational SES scores (based on data pertaining to the male labour force) apply to women (Goyder, 1984; Guppy and Goyder, 1984). The use of a common prestige scale that does not differentiate between those that hold specific occupational roles can be misleading because it has been shown that men and women do not draw equivalent status from occupational roles (Boyd, 1986;Goyder, 1984; Guppy and Goyder, 1984; Guppy and Siltanen, 1977). In 1977 Guppy and Siltanen found that while the

rank order of occupations is virtually identical in prestige scores based on male and female respondents, the average female score is some 5 points lower, on a 100 point scale (Guppy and Siltanen, 1977:327). The implications of the research seem to be that it is acceptable to use a common occupational scale, but that use of such scales will understate the magnitude of inequality between the sexes. However, income, which has been shown to differ greatly by sex, can be used to capture the gender inequality undetectable by occupational comparisons (Goyder, 1984:323).

Problems with measurement aside, social inequality research can still benefit greatly from the study of occupational prestige. John Porter (1965) suggests that power is a means to the exploitation of property and resources, and is therefore crucial to social inequality. Weber (1946; 1947; 1958) noted that persons distinguish themselves by their "status group" as well as by power and economic possession. Many sociologists take the view that there are three principal dimensions of stratification: the honorific (status), the political (power), and the economic (wealth). This Weberian threefold distinction suggests that stratification is complex, rather than merely a matter of economic differentiation. This complexity means that full equality may fail to materialize even when there is an equal distribution of wealth (Forcese, 1986:3). If we assume that economic inequality is unavoidable in a capitalist economy, then power is essential to securing one's relative position in society. Having power can mean having decision making powers, having influence over others and having the ability to change society according to one's preferences. It can also mean the difference between being in a dominant or subordinate role in society. Economic power (income or monetary capital) may offer some degree of this opportunity, but the structure of democracy does, to some degree, impede this type of power extortion.

5.2 Income

Looking just at the status of paid occupations, however, is highly problematic, as it ignores the reality that different groups of people come to the labour market with different resources. Differences in life chances, material standard of living, opportunities for self-fulfilment, and degree of personal autonomy are significant among different groups (Fox, 1989:128). Goyder (1981:323) also points out that it would be a mistake to rely too heavily on occupational SES as an income proxy, as he finds the correlation between the two is only 0.5.

Income is measured by the total earned income for the main job held by the respondent at the end of the reference year. This earnings variable was then transformed, taking the natural logarithm in order to account for the skewed distribution of income. Income will be included in the analysis as it is seen as a logical extension of the discussion of occupational status and as an independent indicator of status attainment.

5.3 Education

Education is shown to be an important determinant of socio-economic status, both in terms of occupational attainment and income. Groupings of education levels into dummy variables are used to measure education. Markers of non-university postsecondary certificate or diploma, university postsecondary certificate or degree and high school diploma were created. This will enable the analysis to determine payoffs for particular attainments, such as a university degree, in determining occupational status and income level.

5.4 Work Experience

The definition of work experience includes all work part-time and full time since the respondent first started to work full time, and a value of zero is to be given to those who never worked full time. Work experience is measured in years of full time, full year work. This only accounts for years of work experience in Canada, which may be a significant issue for new immigrants to Canada as many will not have much work experience in Canada and

this will not account for their work experience from their source country.

This research focussed on work experience rather than age, which is the typical control used for comparisons between men and women on occupational prestige. Work experience is thought to offer a more valid control than age for this particular problem, as it is accounting for a factor that is directly linked to occupational status and income. Attaining high occupational status is not directly linked with age, per se, as age could be an asset in some occupations, and a drawback in others in today's workforce. Also, there is little validity to the assumption that age is an indicator of years of work experience: one can be old and have very little work experience and vice versa. It is expected that work experience will have a strong and positive linear relationship to occupational prestige.

5.5 Visible Minority Status

The SLID dataset provides a marker of visible minority status that is defined by the Statistics Canada guidelines. Since there is no wholly satisfactory method of determining visible minorities, SLID used a method comparable to that used in the 1991 Census. Questions on ethnic background, mother tongue, and country of birth, in that order, were used to identify people belonging to a visible minority using a procedure developed by the Interdepartmental Working Groups on Employment Equity Data, for the 1991 Census of Population (SLID, Microdata User's Guide, 1996:77). (see Appendix One for more detail). It is hypothesized that visible minorities will experience a disadvantage in occupational status attainment and income. Using the Internal File of the SLID available at Statistics Canada has allowed for the use of the detailed visible minority categories. A more detailed breakdown of visible minority groups was made available through the use of the Internal SLID data file.

For this thesis, not all groups could be studied due to low counts among some of the designated visible minority groups, and therefore modifications to the above groupings have been made and limited to these five groupings of visible minority Canadians: Blacks, Chinese, South Asian, 'other Asian' (Korean, Japanese, South East Asian and Filipino) and 'other

visible minority' (Oceanic, West Asian, Latin American). Although these distinctions are not always clear, and the groupings lack complete detail, they are accepted as appropriate in the context of methodological and statistical considerations.

In SLID, Aboriginal status is a separate variable from visible minority status, which acknowledges the unique circumstances and historical climate experienced by Native Canadians. However, Aboriginal status is also a system variable provided by SLID and captures all Native Canadians that respond positively to the question, (taken from the 1991 Census): "Is (respondent) a treaty Indian or a Registered Indian as defined in the Indian Act of Canada?" (SLID, Microdata User's Guide, 1996:78), but it does not include respondents form Reserves. This factor, combined with the low number of Aboriginal respondents and the limits of time and the scope of this research, has led to the decision to exclude Aboriginal Canadians from this analysis. However, further work could include a detailed analysis of the interaction effects between Aboriginal status and gender with a more appropriate data source.

5.6 Place of Birth, Period of Immigration and Foreign Education

Place of Birth is measured on the SLID Internal file as detailed place of birth with over 500 categories. For this research, a dichotomous variable was created that grouped those born outside of Canada and those born in Canada. This variable indicates whether a respondent is aged 15 or over and *not* born in Canada. Age at immigration and period of immigration are also available on the SLID Internal file. These variables were used to create a marker of those who attained their postsecondary education outside of Canada. SLID provides a marker of those who attained their highschool education outside of Canada, but not one specifically dealing with postsecondary education. Using these variables and another SLID variable which measures the year that the highest level of education was attained, a new variable indicating foreign postsecondary schooling has been constructed. This variable is used to assess if education attained outside of Canada has the same impact on occupational status and income level as education attained within Canada. This allows for a more detailed discussion of the

effects of education levels on occupational status and income and takes into account the differences that may be found among immigrants who did not get their education in Canada. It is expected that those with foreign postsecondary education will experience a disadvantage on occupational status attainment and income.

5.7 Gender

Gender is a system variable in SLID and was recoded into a dummy variable indicating if the respondent is female. It is hypothesized of course, that females will be shown to have lower occupational status than men, although it is likely that some multivariate regression results may find that women's status scores are similar to men's, if not higher, due to the tendency of the Blishen scale to understate the magnitude of inequality. It is expected, however, that women's income levels will be found to be substantially lower than men's.

5.8 Other Variables

There are a number of background or social characteristic variables selected for this analysis. Two of particular importance to the study of gender inequality are marital status and family size. Marital status was Captured in SLID by six categories. These categories have been recoded into a new variable called 'married' which created a marker of those respondents who were married or commonlaw, assigning a '1' to all those respondents that could be considered married and a '0' to all others. Family size is a system variable that captures an interval measurement of actual number of people recorded in the family. Marital status and family size have been demonstrated to be important factors for consideration in a status attainment model that analyzes the effect of gender (Hao and Brinton, 1997; Blau and Robins, 1989;Geronimus and Korenman,1992). Also, a recent American study by Bhopal (1998), has demonstrated that marital status has a differential impact on economic activity and education for different ethnic groups, indicating that marital status has more impact on Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups than it does for Afro-Caribbean and white groups. These

variables are included primarily as controls in the regression models. However, a discussion of the mean differences in occupational status and income and an examination of how the marital status and family size of women and men differentially effect SES is provided.

Parent's education is another background factor that has been argued to be an important factor affecting occupational status, as status attainment theory considers the intergenerational transmission of socio-economic status as important. Mother's and Father's education was measured separately, and have been coded into two dichotomous variables. University and non-university postsecondary schooling are computed into two dichotomous variables for mother and father. Parents with high school or lower than high school education are the comparison group for the regression models used.

A number of variables are used to capture the effect of geography and population. Province of residence will be used as a control variable simply to account for the effect of provincial differences. Access to the Statistics Canada mainframe allowed for use of the CMA markers available in SLID. More specifically, three CMA (central metropolitan area) markers were specified. Particularly, since this study aims to discuss the experiences of immigrants, who live largely in these urban centres, Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto were selected for the model. Also, a dichotomous variable for 'urban' was created in order to account for the effect of urban vs. rural economic systems.

CHAPTER SIX:
Data and Methods

6.1 The Data: Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics

The data used for this research is taken from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) public use sample (Person file), 1993 Statistics Canada. Total sample size is 31,000. A weighting variable is provided that weights the dataset to the national population. However, for the purposes of this analysis the weighting variable will be used only to account for missing data and item non-response, not to weight up the sample to the national population. The population for this research is somewhat smaller than the 31 thousand, as it is comprised of residents of Canada who are 15 years of age or over and are not in school fulltime, and are employed.[12] The analysis excludes those who are self-employed since the self-employed represent only approximately 10% of the labour force (Statistics Canada, 1997) and since this research does not intend to attempt a comprehensive class analysis. Therefore the total number of cases used for this analysis is 15,889.

6.2 Method of Analysis: Multiple Regression Correlation

The primary statistical method of analysis to be used in this research is Multiple Regression Correlation (Cohen and Cohen, 1983). This research is intended to represent the first stage in exploring the connections between visible minority status and gender on socio-economic status attainment. This is examined for both the foreign born and Canadian born population, allowing the for the possibility of the exploration of a higher order interaction by immigrant status.

To start, a basic status attainment model was entered into a regression on the two dependent variables. Parent's education, years of work experience, level of education, hours

[12] The SLID population is fundamentally the same as that of the Canadian Labour Force Survey and collects some information on children. The target population for SLID is therefore all persons regardless of age residing in Canada, excluding residents of Yukon and Northwest Territories; institutions; Indian Reserves; and military barracks (SLID, Microdata User's Guide, 1996:17).

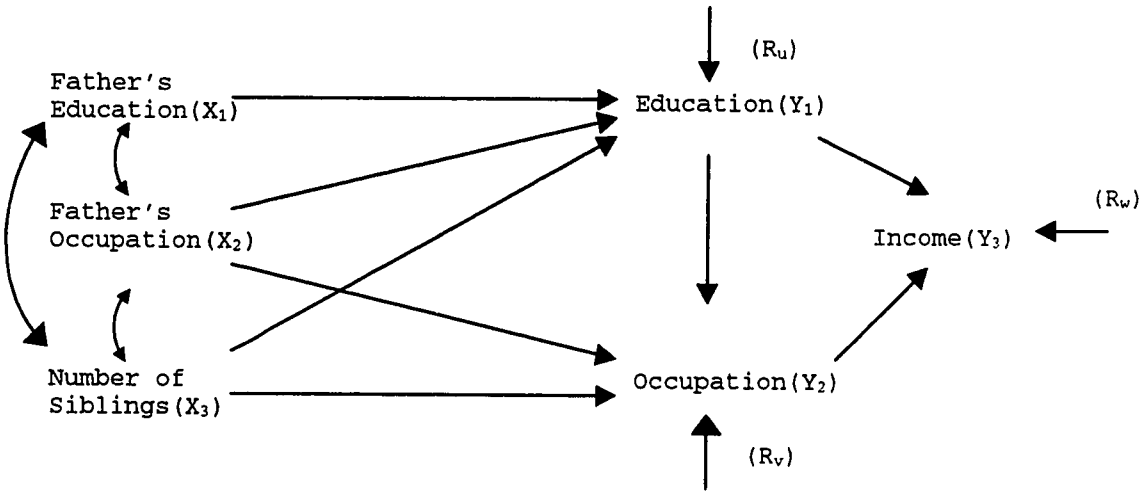
worked, as well as some regional controls to account for differences in major cities (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver), between urban and rural markets and across provinces, were included. The main effects of these variables could then be determined without accounting for differences in the population. Demographic variables were then added to this model, followed by more controls relevant to specific groups. This allowed for the detailed analysis of the main effects of all variables considered. This provided a clear understanding of the relationship of visible minority status to occupational status and income, both with and without factors such as place of birth, mother tongue and period of immigration taken into account. Detailed categories of the visible minority status variable were then entered, allowing for a detailed analysis of the foreign born and Canadian born visible minority groups. Also, in order to get a clear understanding of the relationship of gender to the dependent variables, models were also run both with and without marital status and family size present.

In order to test for an interaction effect between visible minority status and gender by SES numerous regressions were performed that give an extensive amount of detail on these relationships. First, a basic model was analyzed that included only gender, visible minority status regressed on occupational status and then on income. The first interaction term (visible minority x gender) was then included in a stepwise regression to test for an interaction effect and to see the change in the R^2 value and the change in the Beta coefficients for the main effect variables. The second interaction term was then entered (visible minority status x gender x place of birth). This provided the basis from which to compare results. In order to break down or decompose the interaction effects, the model was run a number of other times, including different interaction terms: (visible minority status x place of birth); (gender x place of birth) The basic status attainment model was then run, including the interaction tests. Then the secondary model was run, with all variables, and included the interaction terms in stages. Lastly, interaction effects were explored across the different visible minority groups with gender.

6.3 Methods of Analysis: Status, Stratification and Causal Modelling

The basic framework used in this research is based on the status attainment causal model used by Blau and Duncan (1967) and Duncan *et al.* (1972). At this time, most literature on stratification dealt with male respondents and traced intergenerational status patrilinearly. An accepted model of status attainment had been developed that purports a number of key variables as integral to the status attainment process and the placement of an individual in the hierarchical structures of society. This basic model of the process of achievement purported by Duncan *et al.* (1972), can be drawn as follows:

Figure 6.1: Causal Path Model Presented by Duncan *et al.*,(1972)



In The American Occupational Structure (1967), Blau and Duncan use father's education and father's occupational status as the sole indicators of intergenerational status. This research operationalizes parent's background status as mother's and father's education levels. There were no indicators for parent's occupation available in the SLID dataset. Also, education will not be explored as a dependent variable in this analysis, and hence the temporal order of parent's education to respondent's education will not be accounted for. This also means that no indirect effects of any of the exogenous variables through education on occupational status

and on income will be analyzed. The above model has also been expanded to include marital status, work experience, hours worked and some geographical control variables. Also, there are a number of other exogenous variables of interest to this research (gender, visible minority status, etc.) that are included in this model that are not included in the model drawn above. The model analyzed in this research is shown in Figure 6.2.

Diagrams 6.1 and 6.2 provide the platform from which to perform a path analysis[13] which explores the linkage between the two dependent variables and the direct and indirect effects of the independent variables. The path analysis used in this research is intended to provide a comprehensive way to visually represent the operationalization of occupational status and income as socioeconomic status, thus providing total SES scores or total income effects across groups and variables. However, the path analysis will be utilized for only one main effects model, and not all paths will be discussed for all the variables discussed in the analysis of occupational status.

The interaction terms will not be included in the path analysis as there are problems with the interpretation of the coefficients of the variables in the interaction (Bollen, 1989:129). Usually in a model without an interaction term we can say that for a one unit difference in X_1 we expect an average difference in Y_1. However, with an interaction term, this difference depends on the values of X_2 and Y_1. Therefore it is difficult to isolate X_2's influence (see Stolzenberg,1979). According to Hellevik (1988:163), it is difficult to incorporate interaction effects into a causal decomposition of associations, whereas in a regression model the interaction effects are easier to interpret since they are measured as effects of variables created for this purpose. Therefore, as there is no clear method for interpreting the causal associations of interaction terms and their components, they will not be included in the path model presented.

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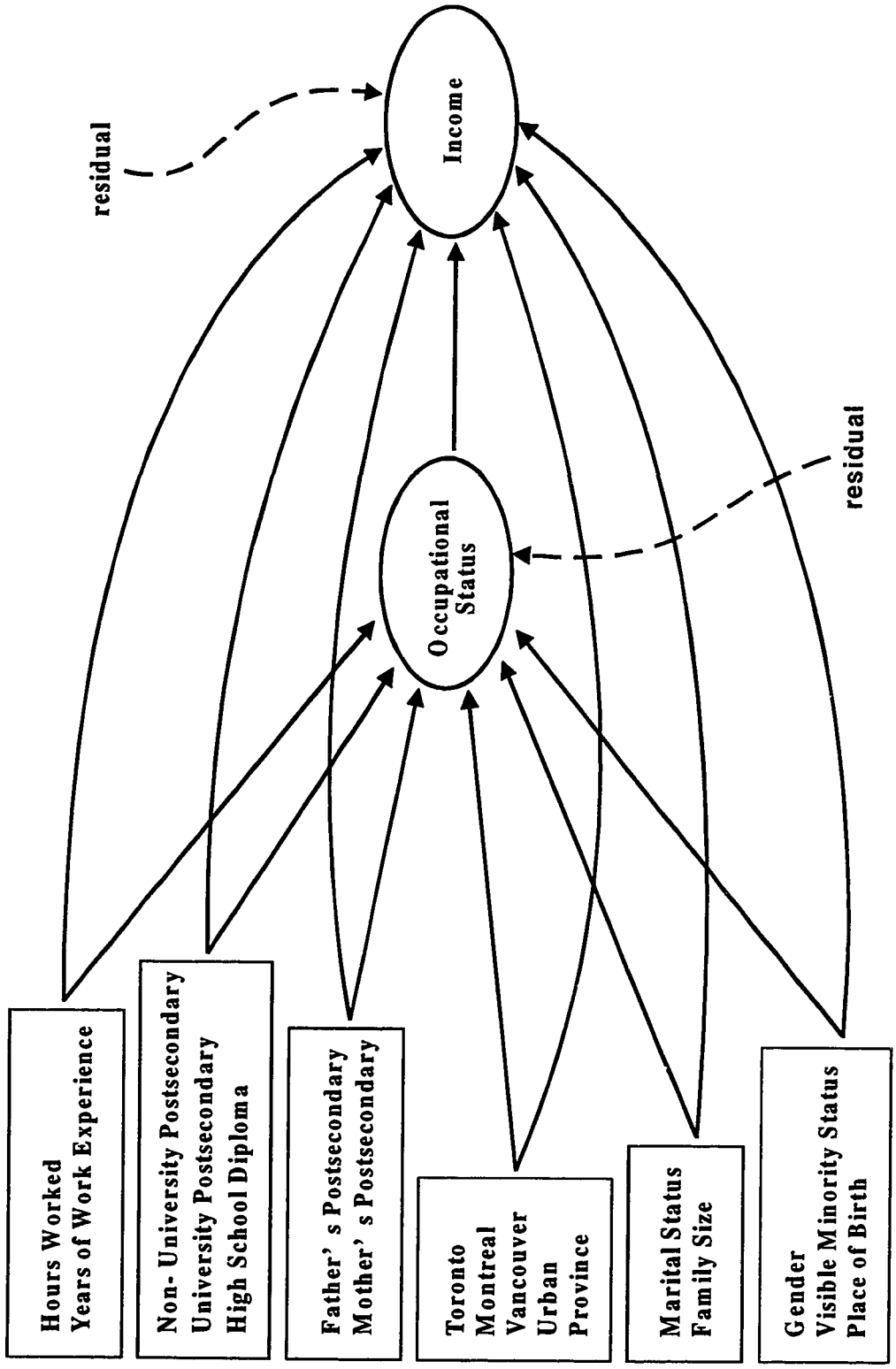
[13] For a detailed methodological discussion of path analysis, see Asher(1983); Duncan (1975).

Figure 6.2: Schematic of Status Attainment Model with Multivariate Controls



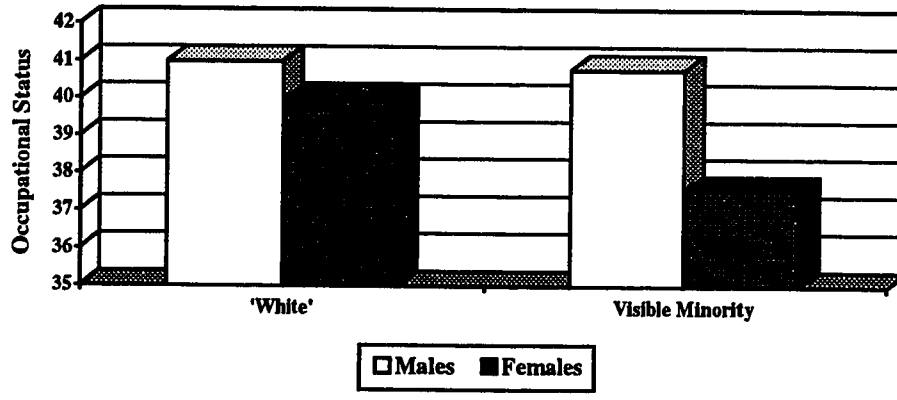
CHAPTER SEVEN:
Results and Discussion

7.1 Occupational Status

7.1.1 Exploring Intersections: Visible Minority Status, Gender and Place of Birth

For a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of 'race', gender and socioeconomic status it is important to explore their relationships without the influence of any other independent variables. Once a clear picture has developed of these zero order relationships, other independent variables and controls are introduced and the intersections of gender, 'race' and place of birth are reassessed. To begin understanding the relationship between gender and occupational status, a difference of means analysis is helpful. Figure 7.1 shows the mean occupational status of men and women by visible minority status. White or non-visible minority males are shown to have a mean occupational status of 41.4, whereas non-visible minority females have a lower mean at 39.9. Comparatively, visible minority men have a mean occupational status of 40.7, and visible minority women have the lowest mean occupational status at 37.5. The mean for the total population is 40.6.

Figure 7.1: Comparison of Male and Female Mean Occupational Status for Visible Minorities and Non-Visible Minorities



The means differences shown in Figure 7.1 are substantial, but they reflect the bivariate relationships only. In order to do a more detailed analysis, gender, visible minority status and place of birth are regressed on occupational status. The main effects of these variables are shown in Table 7.1. The first column of slope coefficients (*b*) show that there is a drawback of -4.70 Blishen points for visible minorities. Gender also has a negative effect on occupational status (*b*=-1.57), meaning a -1.57 decrease in Blishen points for women. Place of birth is shown to have a *positive* effect on occupational status for this model, indicating a 2.23 *increase* in Blishen points for the foreign born. Table 7.1 shows the predicted Blishen scores for this model:

Table 7.1: Predicted Blishen Scores for Main Effects, No Controls: Visible Minority, Gender, Place of Birth

Model	*b*	Sig.	*b*	Sig.	*b*	Sig.
Constant	42.63	***	42.57	***	42.63	***
Visible Minority	-4.70	***	-3.92	***	-3.51	***
Gender	-1.57	***	-1.45	***	-1.36	***
Place of Birth	2.23	***	2.23	***	2.45	***
Gender X Visible Minority			-1.62	*		
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth					-3.53	***

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$
*Note: Gender: 1=female, Visible Minority:1= visible minority, Place of Birth: 1=foreign born

The main effects of visible minority status and gender combine to create an interaction effect that has a separate influence on the occupational status. Although the inclusion of the interaction effect takes over some of the main effects of visible minority status and gender, these latter still remain significant drawbacks. Thus -1.62 is subtracted from the main regression coefficients for visible minority status (*b*= -3.92) and gender (*b*= -1.49). Place of birth, as a main effect, does not have a negative effect on occupational status, such that being foreign born does not have a negative effect on status. However, when place of birth is entered into a three way interaction with visible minority status and gender, it creates a

stronger negative while the main effects of visible minority status and gender remain significant and negative. This indicates that the drawback for the foreign born is most likely just among those who are also visible minorities and women.

In order to assess whether the three way interaction adds new information to the model, that is, has a separate independent effect on the dependent variable, the two interaction terms are entered into the same model. If the two interaction terms are still significant then we can see that there is a separate effect for visible minority foreign born women, that is on top of the interaction effect for visible minority women. If, however, the three way interaction effect is insignificant when in the same model as the two way interaction of visible minority status and gender, then we can assume that the negative three way interaction effect (visible minority x gender x place of birth) was mainly echoing the interaction effect of visible minority status and gender. Table 7.2 shows the model with the two way and three way interaction effects.

Table 7.2: Predicted Blishen Scores for Main Effects, No Controls: Interaction Effects Explored

	Main Effects		Interactions	
Model	***b***	**Sig.**	***b***	**Sig.**
Constant	42.63	***	42.53	***
Visible Minority	-4.70	***	-4.19	***
Gender	-1.57	***	-1.45	***
Place of Birth	2.23	***	2.63	***
Gender X Visible Minority			3.36	**
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth			-6.32	***

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

The coefficients in Table 7.2 show that even in this more fully specified model, the three-way interaction effect still has a significant effect on occupational status. In fact, the second order interaction effect increases in magnitude when the first order interaction term is in the model. The main effects are still apparent and are not significantly altered, however, the two-way

interaction term (visible minority x gender) is dramatically changed from –1.62, as seen in Table 7.1, to a slope coefficient of +3.36 when the place of birth interaction is in the model. This means that the two-way interaction effect in Table 7.1 was capturing some of the effect of the three-way interaction: specifically that the disadvantage for visible minority women was reflecting the stronger disadvantage for foreign born visible minority women. Therefore, this means that there is an interaction effect apparent, both for visible minority women and for foreign born visible minority women, but they differ in direction.

In order to ascertain how much the second order interaction effect is due to the relationship between visible minority status and place of birth or gender and place of birth, more regression coefficients for the fully saturated model were computed for these interactions. Table 7.3 shows the results when all interaction terms are entered into one model predicting occupational status, with no controls. Of particular importance here is whether the three way interaction (gender x visible minority status x place of birth) is diminished or made insignificant when the other interactions are accounted for. If so, then the relationship apparent in Table 7.2, between the three-way interaction to occupational status, was spurious.

Table 7.3: Predicted Blishen Scores for Main Effects, No Controls: All Interaction Effects

	Main Effects		Interactions	
Model	***b***	**Sig.**	***b***	**Sig.**
Constant	42.63	***	42.51	***
Visible Minority	-4.70	***	3.05	**
Gender	-1.57	***	-1.26	***
Place of Birth	2.23	***	4.29	***
Gender X Visible Minority			-3.90	*
Gender X Place of Birth			-1.92	**
Visible Minority X Place of Birth			-10.74	***
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth			4.67	*

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Above, Table 7.3 clearly shows that the relationship between the three-way interaction term and occupational status (with no controls) may be attributable primarily to the interaction effect between visible minority status and place of birth. Definitively, this table demonstrates that the visible minority foreign born experience a unique disadvantage on occupational status, such that the relationship of visible minority status to occupational status is dependent on the relationship of place of birth to occupational status, and vice versa. This may indicate that visible minority status has more influence than gender. In order to clearly assess the differences between groups, it will be helpful to calculate the predicted means for all groups.

In order to decompose these effects we look at the slopes for each of the specific groups. According to Cohen and Cohen (1983:315), the implication of a significant interaction effect is that the regression lines of the specified groups have significantly different slopes. Thus, the degree of relationship (as measured by slope) between Y(occupational status) and X_1(gender) is conditional upon the value of X_2(visible minority), that is, whether they are a visible minority (1) or 'white' (0). The regression equation can be formulated as follows:

$$\hat{Y} = b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3 + b_{1.2} (X_1 X_2) + b_{1.3} (X_1 X_3) + b_{2.3} (X_2 X_3) + b_{1.2.3} (X_1 X_2 X_3) + A.$$

Where:
- X_1 = Gender
- X_2 = Visible Minority
- X_3 = Place of Birth
- $X_{1.2}$ = Gender X Visible Minority
- $X_{1.3}$ = Gender X Place of Birth
- $X_{2.3}$ = Visible Minority X Place of Birth
- $X_{1.2.3}$ = Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth
- A = Constant

By entering the values for each variable, the total occupational status score can be calculated for each of the following specified groups. The interaction variables are all added into the

same model and their coefficients, (from Table 7.3) are summed. Although this provides excellent insight into the dynamics of gender, 'race' and place of birth, and a good platform for comparison with later models, the results are subject to specification error, as the model does not specify any other independent variables. This is the case because the effects are likely to change substantially when status attainment variables and controls like mother tongue, period of immigration and foreign education are entered into the model. Table 7.4 shows the prediction equations for all the groups for the model with no controls.

The calculations in Table 7.4 show that there are substantial differences in Blishen occupational status scores across the specified groups. The most disadvantaged group is foreign born visible minority women, with a Blishen status score of 36.56. The interaction term that includes visible minority foreign born women indicates that there is a positive offset interaction effect for this term, however, the predicted means demonstrate that regardless of this positive effect this group remains the most disadvantaged. The next lowest mean Blishen score is amongst the foreign born visible minority males. The interaction between the visible minority foreign born is much stronger than the effects of those involving gender.

However, not all foreign born males have low Blishen scores, in fact foreign born white males do comparatively well at 46.66, with a mean Blishen score above Canadian born white males. Foreign born white females do not fare as well, however, with a mean of 43.5, although this is slightly higher than Canadian born white males. Again, among the Canadian born, visible minority males accrue higher mean occupational status at 45.5 than amongst the Canadian born white males at 42.4. This pattern is much different for visible minority women. We see that foreign born visible minorities, particularly women, experience the greatest disadvantage on occupational status. However, the Canadian born visible minority women also do not fare

Table 7.4: Prediction Equations for Total Blishen Occupational Status Scores, No Controls, Main Effects and Interactions

Male, Canadian born, white

-1.26(0) + 4.29(0) +3.05(0) -3.90(0) -1.92(0) -10.74(0) +4.67(0) +42.37= 42.37

Male, Canadian born, visible minority

-1.26(0) + 4.29(0) +3.05(1) -3.90(0) -1.92(0) -10.74(0) +4.67(0) +42.37= 45.42

Male, foreign born, white

-1.26(0) + 4.29(1) +3.05(0) -3.90(0) -1.92(0) -10.74(0) +4.67(0) +42.37= 46.66

Male, foreign born, visible minority

-1.26(0) + 4.29(1) +3.05(1) -3.90(0) -1.92(0) -10.74(1) +4.67(0) +42.37= 38.97

Female, Canadian born, white

-1.26(1) + 4.29(0) +3.05(0) -3.90(0) -1.92(0) -10.74(0) +4.67(0) +42.37= 41.11

Female, Canadian born, visible minority

-1.26(1) + 4.29(0) +3.05(1) -3.90(1) -1.92(0) -10.74(0) +4.67(0) +42.37= 40.26

Female, foreign born, white

-1.26(1) + 4.29(1) +3.05(0) -3.90(0) -1.92(1) -10.74(0) +4.67(0) +42.37= 43.48

Female, foreign born, visible minority

-1.26(1) + 4.29(1) +3.05(1) -3.90(1) -1.92(1) -10.74(1) +4.67(1) +42.37= 36.56

* This model does not include any other independent variables or controls.

well compared to the white Canadian born. Canadian born visible minority males were seen to have a fairly high mean at 45.5, however women in this same group are much lower at 40.3. Canadian born white males also have higher mean occupational status (42.4) than females in the same group (41.1).

In summary, this model demonstrates that prior to controls being taken into account, Foreign born white males have the highest occupational status scores, followed by Canadian born visible minority males and non-visible minority males. However, white foreign born women do much poorer than the men. Visible minorities that are foreign born are at a notable disadvantage, particularly for women, as they have the lowest mean status scores in this model.

These results are highly informative, however, in order to predict occupational status it is obvious that we need to consider more than just the effects of visible minority status and gender. The main predictors of occupational status are grounded in a status attainment model (Blau and Duncan,1967; Duncan *et al.*,1972). The following analysis will discuss the effects of selected status attainment variables on occupational status. If, as the preceding section revealed, there are drawbacks for visible minorities and the foreign born, particularly among women, as well as interaction effects among these variables, it is important to ascertain whether they exist when status attainment variables are held constant.

7.1.2 Predicting Occupational Status: The Status Attainment Model

The Status Attainment model put forth by Blau and Duncan (1967) had a few primary components that have been drawn upon for this research. Parent's socioeconomic background, the education level of the respondent, the effects of these on occupational achievement are first analyzed while accounting for various other background factors that effect status. These are then analyzed with respect to their relationship to income.

Fundamentally, the status attainment model purports that parent's socioeconomic status will affect the socioeconomic status of the child. Parent's educational levels will affect the educational levels of the respondent, and his/her work experience, all of which will affect the level of occupational status attainment, which will subsequently affect the income level of the individual. For simplification, in the present model parent's education was not regressed on respondent's education or work experience since that path is not central to the research concerns being considered.[14]

[14] Results from a preliminary correlation matrix demonstrate that parent's education and respondent's education were not strongly correlated, with father's postsecondary education being only slightly correlated at 0.16, to respondent's university education.

Parent's education, respondent's education, years of work experience are the key multivariate controls entered into this model. Hours worked, province of residence, an urban/rural indicator and three CMA markers (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver) were entered as further controls. Table 7.5 shows the primary status attainment model. The greatest predictor of occupational status is shown to be education, specifically having a university postsecondary education (β=0.61). Having a university education will on average increase the Blishen status score by 21.9 points. Thus, those with a university education have a Blishen score of 46.8, compared to only 33.5 for those with a non-university postsecondary education, and just 29.5 for those with a high school diploma. Parent's education does not have a statistically significant effect on occupational status in this model. Although statistically insignificant, it is interesting to note that father's education appears to have a positive effect and mother's education has a negative effect.

Table 7.5: Status Attainment Model, Primary Controls

Model 1: Status Attainment	*b*	Beta	*Sig.*
Constant	24.94		***
Total Hours Worked	0.00	0.18	***
Years of Work Experience	0.17	0.14	***
Non-University Postsecondary	8.52	0.31	***
University Postsecondary	21.86	0.61	***
High School Diploma	4.58	0.12	***
Father Postsecondary Education	0.33	0.01	
Mother Postsecondary Education	-0.28	-0.01	
Toronto	0.43	0.01	
Montreal	-0.37	-0.01	
Vancouver	-0.74	-0.01	
Urban	1.39	0.04	***
Province	0.00	0.00	
R^2 0.35			

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Work experience is found to contribute only a small amount to explaining the variance on occupational status (β=0.14), however, it will increase the occupational status of the

respondent by 0.172 for each year of work experience. Hours worked causes a very small increase in occupational status, such that for each hour worked there is a .003 increase in occupational status points, however it explains a fair amount of the variance of occupational status (β=0.18). The three CMA's also have insignificant effects in this model, however those living in urban centres have an advantage of 1.39 Blishen points over those living in rural areas. Differences across provinces are non-existent.

7.1.3 Status Attainment Model: 'Race' and Gender and Place of Birth

The status attainment model discussed above predicts much of the variance in occupational status and income, and the assumption will be made that the model will work the same for all groups in the model. Entering gender, visible minority status, place of birth and other related variables should not significantly increase the R^2 value, nor should it change the slope coefficients of the status attainment variables. Also, if these new variables have significant relationships to the dependent variables then there are differences in socioeconomic status attainment across groups. If this is the case, with regards to occupational status attainment and income levels, then those differences may be interpreted as inequalities. To discuss how visible minority status and gender effect occupational status and income, the models must be broken down into the most basic of forms. To start, an analysis of the data predicting occupational status attainment will be provided, with an indepth discussion of the "double negative" and interaction tests. Following that there will be a discussion of the results predicting income.

In Table 7.6 gender, visible minority status and place of birth are added to the main status attainment model. Generally most of the coefficients are similar to those in the previous regression model. There are only a few changes that warrant specific discussion, however the table contains all coefficients. The CMA marker for Toronto becomes signifcant and increases to b=1.10, indicating an advantage for those who live in Toronto versus other cities

Table 7.6: Regression Coefficients for Occupational Status, Status Attainment Model, Visible Minority Status, Gender, Place of Birth

Model	*b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Constant	25.020		***
Total hrs paid at job	0.000	0.186	***
Yrs work experience	0.163	0.135	***
Non University Postsecondary	8.500	0.310	***
University Postsecondary	21.840	0.610	***
High School Diploma	4.510	0.120	***
Father Postsecondary	0.280	0.010	
Mother Postsecondary	-0.380	-0.010	
Toronto	1.100	0.020	**
Montreal	-0.260	-0.010	
Vancouver	-0.030	-0.001	
Urban	1.520	0.040	***
Province	0.004	0.010	
Gender	-0.070	-0.003	
Place of Birth	-0.360	-0.010	
Visible Minority Status	-3.500	-0.067	***

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

in Canada. That is, the life chances resulting from living in Toronto was underestimated in Table 7.5 due to the large numbers of immigrants residing in Toronto. The main effect of gender is -.07 but is insignificant. Place of birth has a negative, but insignificant effect on occupational status, meaning that those born outside of Canada experience a drawback of -.36 on occupational status less than the Canadian born. There is a clear negative effect for visible minority status on occupational status, indicating that visible minorities accrue –3.50 Blishen status points less than non-visible minority Canadians. When we take that main effect and look at it in the context of the Blishen socioeconomic index of occupations the average SES score is 21.52 for visible minorities. Those occupations with SES scores ranging from 21.00 to 23.00 are occupations like labourers in the service industry, parcel carriers, housekeepers and private cleaning workers and, fisheries workers (canning and curing). Obviously, these occupations are not representative of all visible minorities, but it demonstrates some examples of what the average occupations may be for this group.

Next, these three variables (gender, place of birth and visible minority status) are interacted as earlier and then regressed with the status attainment model against occupational status. Table 7.7 shows these results. The main effects of most of the status attainment variables have again remained more or less unchanged, however the effects of visible minority status, gender and place of birth have started to become clearer.

In Table 7.6 the coefficient for gender was small and insignificant. However, marital status and family size are particularly important to any analysis that considers gender. When these variables were entered into the model, the regression coefficient for gender becomes significant and increased slightly, indicating a -.38 drawback in occupational status for women. The main effect of marital status on occupational status is positive, indicating that being married will have a positive effect (b=3.12) on occupational status, and conversely, that being single will have a negative effect on occupational status attainment. Therefore, being married will have a 3.12 increase in occupational status points. Marital status explains a relatively substantial amount of the variance of occupational status (β=.11), close to years of

Table 7.7: Regression Coefficients for Occupational Status, Status Attainment Model and Primary Controls, Visible Minority Status, Gender, Place of Birth and Interactions

	Model 1			Model 2		
Model	***b***	***Beta***	***Sig.***	***b***	***Beta***	***Sig.***
Constant	24.562		***	24.489		***
Total hrs paid at job	0.003	0.172	***	0.003	0.173	***
Yrs work experience	0.126	0.104	***	0.122	0.101	***
Non University Postsecondary	8.352	0.305	***	8.347	0.305	***
University Postsecondary	21.449	0.597	***	21.383	0.596	***
High School Diploma	4.363	0.115	***	4.357	0.115	***
Father Postsecondary	0.552	0.016	*	0.441	0.013	
Mother Postsecondary	-0.123	-0.003		-0.208	-0.006	
Toronto	1.304	0.028	***	1.160	0.025	***
Montreal	-0.158	-0.004		-0.147	-0.003	
Vancouver	0.105	0.002		0.053	0.001	
Urban	1.686	0.045	***	1.687	0.045	***
Province	0.005	0.005		0.004	0.004	
Marital Status	3.117	0.109	***	3.163	0.111	***
Family Size	-0.217	-0.022	***	-0.214	-0.022	***
Gender	-0.385	-0.014	*	-0.268	-0.010	
Place of Birth	-0.521	-0.014		0.735	0.019	
Visible Minority Status	-3.229	-0.062	***	2.436	0.047	*
Gender X Visible Minority				-1.921	-0.026	
Gender X Place of Birth				-0.550	-0.010	
Visible Minority X Place of Birth				-7.747	-0.132	***
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth				1.702	0.021	

Model Summary	***R* Square**	**Adjusted *R* Square**
Model 1	0.363	0.362
Model 2	0.366	0.365

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

work experience and just a little less than having a high school diploma! Similarly, family size was expected to have an effect on occupational status, particularly for women. Indeed, there is a negative relationship between family size and occupational status, such that for each child increase in family size there is a status point decrease of -.22. Since women are shown to experience a drawback of -.38 Blishen points, and another drawback of -.22 per increment increase in family size (per child), women with one child experience a -.602 drawback on occupational prestige. The drawback for men with one child is only -.22 on occupational status.

If married women experience a drawback if they have children, it is logical to assume that single mothers would have more of a disadvantage, since the majority of single parents are women. Although a detailed analysis of this factor is beyond the scope of this research, it can be noted that there is likely a significant drawback for this group on occupational status.

Controlling for marital status and family size does not appear to substantially reduce the effect of visible minority status and place of birth on occupational status. However, there are some more significant changes in the model when gender, visible minority status and place of birth are interacted in a number of ways. Model 2 in Table 7.7, demonstrates these changes, particularly for visible minorities. When all four interaction terms are entered into the model, the R^2 increases only slightly, however the changes in the coefficients change substantially. The only statistically significant interaction term is for visible minority and place of birth. The main effect for visible minority status becomes positive, indicating that the majority of disadvantage experienced by visible minorities is among the foreign born visible minority population. The interaction between gender and visible minority status indicates a –1.92 drawback on occupational status, however it is not statistically significant. Also, the main effects for gender and place of birth become insignificant.

Interestingly, when just the three way interaction effect for visible minority status, gender and place of birth is entered into the model, without the other interaction terms, the coefficient for this variable is a statistically significant –2.82 drawback on occupational status.

This may indicate that when the saturated interaction model is regressed on occupational status the effect of visible minority status is much greater than gender and that the disadvantage experienced by visible minority foreign born women reflects the major disadvantage experienced by the visible minority foreign born in general. These results indicate that there is no interaction between visible minority status and gender, but that a substantial interaction effect exists between visible minority status and place of birth. However, other controls that are relevant to the foreign born must be entered into the model in order to obtain a more accurate picture of the interrelationships of visible minority status, place of birth and gender.

As suspected, when the additional controls of mother tongue, period of immigration and foreign education were introduced, the model began to change noticeably with respect to gender, visible minority status and place of birth. Since the majority of visible minorities in Canada have been relatively new immigrants it would seem logical that period of immigration might affect the relationship of visible minority status and place of birth on occupational status. The Pearson correlation between visible minority status and place of birth is fairly high at 0.50, indicating that being a visible minority and being foreign born are strongly related (i.e., most visible minorities are foreign born). Also, since immigration from non-European sources has increased since the 1970s the number of immigrants from third world countries has increased, and they are often less educated and have fewer market valued skills. Immigrant women from these countries are more often entering Canada as family class immigrants and refugees. Foreign born women do not have the same educational advantage when compared to Canadian born women, however, proportions with university education were higher among groups from Asia, Africa, Oceania and the United States Basavarajappa and Verma, 1990:303). Therefore, a marker of recent immigrants (post 1970) was created and entered into the model.

The regression coefficients shown in Table 7.8 demonstrate the change in the model when these additional factors are included in the model. The inclusion of foreign education,

Table 7.8 : Regression Coefficients for Occupational Status, Status Attainment Model, All Controls, Interactions

Model	Model 1 *b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*	Model 2 *b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Constant	24.491		***	24.329		***
Total hrs paid at job	0.003	0.172	***	0.003	0.173	***
Yrs work experience	0.124	0.103	***	0.123	0.101	***
Non University Postsecondary	8.248	0.301	***	8.253	0.301	***
University Postsecondary	21.533	0.599	***	21.466	0.597	***
High School Diploma	4.197	0.111	***	4.201	0.111	***
Father Postsecondary	0.541	0.016	*	0.448	0.013	
Mother Postsecondary	-0.172	-0.005		-0.242	-0.007	
Toronto	1.228	0.027	***	1.145	0.025	***
Montreal	-0.151	-0.003		-0.174	-0.004	
Vancouver	0.185	0.003		0.104	0.002	
Urban	1.705	0.045	***	1.704	0.045	***
Province	0.007	0.007		0.007	0.007	
Marital Status	3.114	0.109	***	3.156	0.111	***
Family size	-0.174	-0.018	*	-0.173	-0.017	*
Foreign University Degree	-3.115	-0.025	***	-3.186	-0.025	***
Foreign Non-University Education	0.516	0.005		0.342	0.003	
Period of Immigration	-1.784	-0.036	***	-0.723	-0.015	
Mother Tongue French	-0.098	-0.003		-0.007	0.000	
Mother Tongue Other	-1.806	-0.044	***	-1.771	-0.043	***
Gender	-0.400	-0.015	*	-0.250	-0.009	
Place of Birth	1.323	0.034	***	2.088	0.054	***
Visible Minority Status	-2.250	-0.043	*	2.672	0.051	*
Gender X Visible Minority				-1.826	-0.025	
Gender X Place of Birth				-0.683	-0.013	
Visible Minority X Place of Birth				-7.123	-0.120	***
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth				1.509	0.018	

Model Summary	*R* Square	Adjusted *R* Square
Model 1	0.365	0.364
Model 2	0.380	0.366

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

period of immigration and mother tongue captures the effect seen in Table 7.7 for place of birth, indicating that these factors are the main contributors explaining the negative effect of place of birth on occupational status. This decomposition of the effect of place of birth indicates that these three factors are the primary source of inequalities experienced by the foreign born, outside of discrimination based on colour. Those foreign born who are new immigrants, obtained a university education outside of Canada and have a mother tongue other than English or French, experience a substantial drawback on occupational status. The drawback for this group is noticeable at –5.08 status points. Those that are also visible minorities, which is likely the majority, experience an even greater drawback of –2.25 on the Blishen status scale.

In Table 7.8, Model 1, the cumulative or "double negative" coefficient calculated for visible minority women is -2.65 (–2.25 and -.40 respectively), compared to –2.25 for visible minority men. The coefficient for the interaction between gender and visible minority is -1.83, and not significant. Likewise, the interaction term for place of birth and gender is small and insignificant. However, the interaction term for visible minority and place of birth remains significant at the one in a thousand level and the effect is negative and large (b =-7.12). In contrast, when visible minority status, gender and place of birth are interacted together they create an insignificant positive effect in this model. Thus, the root of the interaction among the ascribed statuses lies in the relationship of visible minority status to place of birth and occupational status. Although the R^2 does not greatly increase with the addition of the interaction terms, the interaction effect for visible minority status and place of birth does produce an independent and significant effect on occupational status.[15] Thus, the inclusion of interaction effects adds to the explanatory power of the model in that is demonstrates that being a visible minority immigrant has an effect on occupational status above and beyond simply adding the effects of the variables. The interaction term provides insight into how we

[15] The R^2 is dependent on the size of the group and therefore a small group such as visible minority women cannot dominante R^2, regardless of the strength of effect (Cohen and Cohen,1983).

interpret the effects of visible minority status and gender and immigrant status on occupational status attainment.

In order to give a true discussion of the intersections between visible minority status and gender, a breakdown of the visible minority groups was entered into the status attainment model, first with primary controls and then with secondary controls. Table 7.9 presents Model 1 with no interaction effects and Model 2 with interaction effects. Model 1 demonstrates that Blacks and those in the "other Asian" category, which consists of Koreans, Japanese and South East Asians and Filipinos, experience the greatest drawback on occupational status. This is followed by those in the 'other visible minority' category (Oceanic and other Pacific Islanders, West Asian and North African(Arab) and Latin American) and by South Asians (Indo Pakistani). All of the visible minorities, with the exception of the Chinese experience a statistically significant disadvantage in this primary model. New immigrant visible minorities experience an even greater disadvantage, as well as those with a mother tongue other than English or French and those with a foreign university education. Using a 'double negative' approach means that the coefficient for gender would simply be added on top of these visible minority coefficients. Thus, there would be a cumulative disadvantage for Black women (b= -3.55), for South Asian women (-2.12), and so on. However, as shown in Model 2, to simply add the coefficients disregards the interaction effects between some of the visible minority categories and gender. Particularly, significant interaction effects with gender are found among those in the 'other Asian' category and the 'other visible minority' category. When the 'other Asian' Category and Gender are interacted, the slope coefficient becomes –2.95 and for gender × 'other visible minority' the coefficient is –4.50.

In order to get a clearer picture of the differences in the experiences of Canadian born and foreign born visible minorities, variables were constructed that selected out the foreign born and the Canadian born among the visible minority groups. Table 7.10 demonstrates that all of the detailed visible minority categories are shown to have a drawback on occupational status for the foreign born. The greatest disadvantage is found among the 'other Asian'

Table 7.9: Regression Coefficients for Occupational Status with Primary Controls, Detailed Visible Minority and Interactions

	Model 1			Model 2		
	b	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Constant	24.49		***	24.470		***
Total hrs paid at job	0.00	0.173	***	0.003	0.173	***
Yrs work experience	0.12	0.103	***	0.125	0.103	***
Non University Postsecondary	8.25	0.301	***	8.237	0.300	***
University Postsecondary	21.52	0.599	***	21.517	0.598	***
High School Diploma	4.19	0.111	***	4.182	0.111	***
Father Postsecondary	0.55	0.016	*	0.548	0.016	*
Mother Postsecondary	-0.15	-0.004		-0.145	-0.004	
Toronto	1.33	0.029	***	1.300	0.028	***
Montreal	-0.19	-0.004		-0.186	-0.004	
Vancouver	0.05	0.001		0.022	0.000	
Urban	1.71	0.045	***	1.708	0.045	***
Province	0.01	0.008		0.008	0.008	
Marital Status	3.11	0.109	***	3.103	0.109	***
Family size	-0.18	-0.019	***	-0.187	-0.019	**
Foreign University Degree	-3.01	-0.024	***	-2.970	-0.023	***
Foreign Non-University Education	0.69	0.007		0.796	0.008	
Period of Immigration	-1.82	-0.037	***	-1.778	-0.036	***
Mother Tongue French	-0.09	-0.003		-0.087	-0.003	
Mother Tongue Other	-1.93	-0.047	***	-1.928	-0.047	***
Gender	-0.39	-0.014	*	-0.305	-0.011	
Place of Birth	1.34	0.035	***	1.339	0.035	***
Black	-3.16	-0.027	***	-4.412	-0.037	***
Chinese	-0.78	-0.007		-0.474	-0.004	
South Asian	-1.73	-0.016	*	-1.611	-0.015	
Other Asian	-3.20	-0.030	***	-1.670	-0.016	
Other Visible Minority	-2.19	-0.016	*	-0.692	-0.005	
Gender X Black				1.985	0.013	
Gender X Chinese				-0.322	-0.002	
Gender X South Asian				-0.601	-0.004	
Gender X Other Asian				-2.949	-0.020	*
Gender X Other Visible Minority				-4.500	-0.019	*

Model Summary	*R* Square	Adjusted *R* Square
Model 1	0.366	0.364
Model 2	0.366	0.365

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 7.10: Regression Coefficients for Occupational Status, Detailed Visible Minority by Place of Birth with Primary Controls

Model 1	*b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Constant	24.496		***
Total Hours Worked	0.003	0.171	***
Years Work Experience	0.122	0.101	***
Non University Postsecondary	8.406	0.307	***
University Postsecondary	21.409	0.596	***
High School Diploma	4.297	0.114	***
Father Postsecondary	0.451	0.013	
Mother Postsecondary	-0.141	-0.004	
Marital Status	3.178	0.111	***
Family size	-0.207	-0.021	***
Toronto	1.035	0.022	***
Montreal	-0.042	-0.001	
Vancouver	0.147	0.003	
Urban	1.670	0.044	***
Province	0.007	0.006	
Gender	-0.351	-0.013	*
Black Foreign Born	-3.379	-0.022	***
Chinese Foreign Born	-5.081	-0.040	***
South Asian Foreign Born	-4.473	-0.039	***
Other Asian Foreign Born	-7.163	-0.060	***
Other Visible Minority Foreign Born	-4.229	-0.031	***

Model Summary	*R Square*	Adjusted *R* Square
Model 1	0.36	0.36

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

foreign born (*b*= -7.16) and the Chinese foreign born (*b*= -5.08). Foreign born South Asian experience a drawback of -4.47 Blishen points and those in the 'other visible minority' foreign born category experience a –4.23 drawback. Foreign born Blacks are shown to have a disadvantage of –3.38 status points. This model did not include foreign education, immigration year or mother tongue, however previous analysis indicates that these factors increase the disadvantage experienced by the foreign born. When the model was run with Canadian born visible minority groups selected out the disadvantage experienced by visible minorities is predominantly among the foreign born population (see Table 7.11). This is true for all groups except for Canadian born Blacks, who are shown to still experience a negative relationship with occupational status, although the coefficient is statistically insignificant (see Table 7.12). No tests for interaction effects among these categories with gender were performed, as they would be very difficult to interpret.

In summary, the analysis of the basic status attainment model with various sociodemographic variables proved valuable in gaining insight into the process of occupational status attainment and for understanding the interconnections between visible minority status, gender and place of birth. The largest interaction effect is found between visible minority status and place of birth (*b*= -7.75). Overall, visible minority status is a much stronger predictor of occupational status than gender. When secondary controls (foreign education, period of immigration and mother tongue), were included in the model, the strong interaction between visible minority status and place of birth remained (*b*=-7.12), and the smaller interaction between gender and visible minority status remained insignificant. This indicates the importance of colour in affecting occupational status.

The 'cultural' effects of mother tongue, foreign education and period of immigration were also found to be fairly substantial. New immigrants, those with a foreign university education and those with a mother tongue other than English or French experience a marked disadvantage on occupational status, which is then further disadvantaged by visible minority status. More detailed analysis of the various visible minority categories demonstrated that

Blacks and those in the 'other Asian' category (Korean, Japanese, South East Asian, and Filipino) accrue the greatest disadvantage on occupational status, particularly among the foreign born. Among the Canadian born, Blacks were the only group shown to experience a drawback on occupational status, although it was found to be statistically insignificant. There was a notable interaction effect found between gender and 'other Asian' as well as between gender and 'other visible minority'.

Table 7.11: Regression Coefficients for Occupational Status, Detailed Visible Minority by Foreign Born, Primary Controls,

	Model 1			Model 2		
	b	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Constant	30.227		***	29.654		***
Total Hours Worked	0.003	0.164	***	0.003	0.164	***
Years Work Experience	0.119	0.098	***	0.087	0.071	***
Non University Postsecondary	8.344	0.281	***	8.946	0.301	***
University Postsecondary	24.872	0.682	***	25.178	0.690	***
High School Diploma	4.191	0.096	***	4.335	0.099	***
Father Postsecondary	1.091	0.031		0.636	0.018	
Mother Postsecondary	0.077	0.002		-0.060	-0.001	
Marital Status	2.064	0.064	***	1.706	0.053	**
Family size	-0.310	-0.032		-0.169	-0.017	
Toronto	-0.994	-0.030		-0.470	-0.014	
Montreal	-1.432	-0.029		-1.442	-0.029	
Vancouver	-0.328	-0.008		0.263	0.006	
Urban	1.823	0.028		2.176	0.033	
Province	-0.036	-0.028		-0.032	-0.025	
Gender	-1.155	-0.039	*	-1.234	-0.042	*
Foreign University Degree	-5.055	-0.095	***	-4.842	-0.091	***
Foreign Non-University Education	2.498	0.058	***	2.156	0.050	**
Foreign High School Diploma	-2.463	-0.077	***	-1.804	-0.057	**
Period of Immigration	-2.516	-0.083	***	-1.480	-0.049	*
Mother Tongue French	-2.112	-0.023		-1.979	-0.021	
Mother Tongue Other	-2.647	-0.086	***	-2.051	-0.066	***
Black Foreign Born				-4.171	-0.066	***
Chinese Foreign Born				-3.406	-0.062	***
South Asian Foreign Born				-3.320	-0.065	***
Other Asian Foreign Born				-5.499	-0.108	***
Other Visible Minority Foreign Born				-3.342	-0.055	***

Model Summary	*R* Square	Adjusted *R* Square
Model 1	0.413	0.406
Model 2	0.426	0.417

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 7.12: Regression Coefficients for Occupational Status, Detailed Visible Minority by Place of Birth with Primary Controls

Model 1	***b***	***Beta***	***Sig.***
Constant	24.670		***
Total Hours Worked	0.003	0.171	***
Years Work Experience	0.129	0.107	***
Non University Postsecondary	8.216	0.300	***
University Postsecondary	21.203	0.591	***
High School Diploma	4.411	0.116	***
Father Postsecondary	0.595	0.017	*
Mother Postsecondary	-0.060	-0.002	
Marital Status	3.257	0.114	***
Family size	-0.265	-0.026	***
Toronto	0.606	0.013	*
Montreal	-0.235	-0.005	
Vancouver	-0.323	-0.006	
Urban	1.591	0.042	***
Province	0.003	0.002	
Gender	-0.388	-0.014	*
Black Canadian Born	-1.864	-0.010	
Chinese Canadian Born	4.684	0.023	***
South Asian Canadian Born	3.858	0.014	*
Other Asian Canadian Born	2.859	0.013	*
Other Visible Minority Canadian Born	0.676	0.002	

Model Summary	***R Square***	**Adjusted *R* Square**
Model 1	0.365	0.364

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

7.2 INCOME

7.2.1 Examining the Intersections of 'Race' and Gender

The analysis above has provided the first step toward understanding status attainment and the effects of gender, place of birth and 'race' on this process.[16] In order to draw a clearer picture of the process of socioeconomic status attainment, income was brought into the model as a final outcome variable. First, in order to get an understanding of the effects of 'race' and gender on income, a means analysis provides valuable insight. The mean occupational differences between visible minority men and women shown in section 7.1 provided a starting point for the discussion of the dynamics of 'race', gender and occupational status. It is valuable to look at both the mean occupational status and the mean income levels of various groups prior to including other independent variables into the equation. When the regression analysis that follows is looked at in the context of the base level bivariate means differences, it clarifies to what extent the specified intervening variables have a role in the status attainment process for the selected groups.

Figure 7.2: Comparison of Male and Female Annual Mean Income for Visible Minorities and Non-Visible Minorities

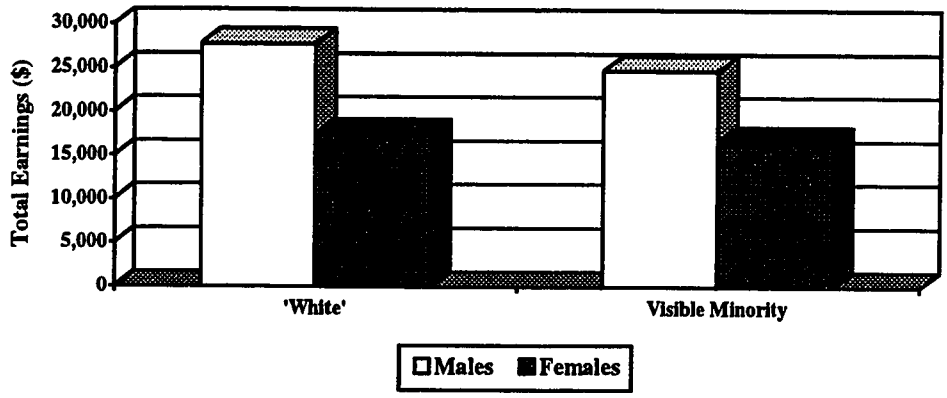


Figure 7.2 clearly shows that women have a much lower annual mean income than men and

[16] The use of the term 'process' here is intended to be in the sense that the status attainment model is a recursive model that is thought to be a representation of the process by which individuals attain levels of status in a society. For further details see Blau and Duncan, 1967.

visible minorities have a lower mean income than non-visible minorities. In particular, visible minority women have very a low mean income ($16,639) compared to visible minority men ($24,778). White or non-visible minority women also have lower a mean income ($17,454) than men in the same non-visible minority category ($27,783). That is a mean difference of $10,329. Visible minority women have only slightly a lower mean income than white women, suggesting the possibility of an interaction effect.

In order to get a preliminary glimpse into the interactions between visible minority status, gender and place of birth, these variables were tested in a regression analysis on income[17] without any other independent controls. Table 7.13 shows the coefficients for this model with just the first two- way interaction term.

Table 7.13: Predicted Income for Main Effects, No Controls: Visible Minority, Gender, Place of Birth

Model	*b*	Sig.	*b*	Sig.
Constant	9.894	***	9.901	***
Visible Minority	-0.409	***	-0.491	***
Gender	-0.508	***	-0.521	***
Place of Birth	0.309	***	0.309	***
Gender X Visible Minority			0.170	*

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Table 7.13 re-expresses the negative effect for gender on income level. As seen above, women (totalled across 'race') earn an annual average income of $11,920, compared to male mean earnings of $19,811. Place of birth (which was not accounted for in figure 7.2), has a *positive* relationship with income, indicating that the foreign born have *higher* incomes than the Canadian born. When gender and visible minority status interact together in the regression

[17] The income variable used in this analysis has been transformed, using the natural logarithm function. Therefore, the units are not directly interpretable into dollars. In order to convert the coefficients into dollar units, the inverse natural log must be applied to the predicted means.

model, they produce a positive offset effect on income. This reproduces the interaction effect found earlier between visible minority status, gender and occupational status, and indicates that visible minority women can experience a less negative relationship with income than would be expected from the main effects model. When the predicted means are calculated for this group based on this model, visible minority women indeed have a very low mean income of $9,386 compared to visible minority men at $13,161. Thus, the interaction effect between visible minority status and gender only partially offsets some of the disadvantage experienced by women and visible minorities, but does not compensate entirely.

In order to get a more comprehensive picture of the interaction all of the first and second order interactions were entered into a regression analysis. Table 7.14 shows these results.

Table 7.14: Predicted Income for Main Effects, No Controls: All Interaction Effects

	Main Effects		Interactions	
Model	***b***	**Sig.**	***b***	**Sig.**
Constant	9.894	***	9.903	***
Visible Minority	-0.409	***	-0.239	***
Gender	-0.508	***	-0.527	***
Place of Birth	0.309	***	0.291	***
Gender X Visible Minority			-0.259	
Gender X Place of Birth			0.059	
Visible Minority X Place of Birth			-0.307	**
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth			0.495	**

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

The above table demonstrates that the positive effect seen above by the interaction of visible minority status with gender is negated when other interaction terms are entered into the model. The interaction between gender and place of birth is also insignificant. The interaction between visible minority status and place of birth, however, is significant and substantial (b= -

0.307). When gender is then added to this interaction, the effect reverses direction. This does not necessarily mean that foreign born visible minority women have a high mean income, for the calculation of the predicted mean for this group yields a logged mean income value of 9.61 or $14,913, which is lower than males in the same group (9.65) or $15,522. Canadian born visible minority men have slightly higher mean income than the foreign born visible minorities ($15,678), whereas Canadian born visible minority women have a noticeably lower mean income ($9,321). White men, on the other hand have much higher predicted mean income ($19,990) compared to white women ($11,849). This means that the interaction between visible minority status and place of birth only holds for males.

As this bivariate analysis can only provide a partial picture of the intersections between visible minority status, gender and place of birth, the regression models run earlier for occupational status were replicated substituting income as the dependent variable. The inclusion of income into the model at this stage leads us to a causal model with both occupation and income being endogenous variables. Therefore we can treat occupation as an independent variable affecting income, and assess the status attainment model and the intersections of visible minority status and gender in this larger context. If there are effects of gender, visible minority status and place of birth on income, then it is "on top of" the effects shown on occupational status. To start, a preliminary analysis of the basic status attainment model with income as the dependent variable will provide the baseline model. Table 7.15 shows the regression coefficients for this status attainment model. In Table 7.15 the greatest predictor of income is hours worked, which is expected, since income is based on hourly wage rates. However, the slope coefficient is not very large, meaning that it does not cause a noticeable increase in income per unit (hour) increase in number of hours worked. Hours worked is entered into the model primarily as a control variable, in order to account for the differences between part-time and full-time workers, which is an important factor for gender comparisons of income. Occupational status contributes a much lower amount towards predicting income levels (β=0.191) than was expected.

Table 7.15: Regression Coefficients for Income, Status Attainment Model

Model	b	Beta	Sig.
Constant	6.974		***
Blishen	0.016	0.191	***
Total hrs paid at job	0.001	0.713	***
Yrs work experience	0.013	0.123	***
Non University Postsecondary	0.167	0.072	***
University Postsecondary	0.255	0.084	***
High School Diploma	0.103	0.032	***
Father Postsecondary	-0.044	-0.015	**
Mother Postsecondary	-0.080	-0.027	***
Toronto	0.006	0.002	
Montreal	-0.004	-0.001	
Vancouver	0.138	0.029	***
Urban	0.003	0.001	
Province	0.001	0.015	***
R^2 0.75			

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Years of work experience contributes a somewhat substantial amount towards explaining the variance on income (β=0.123). Having a university postsecondary education does not have same impact on income (β=0.08) as it did on occupational status (β=0.61). This demonstrates that the effect of education on material success acts mainly via occupational status. Years of work experience has a similar impact on explaining income (β=0.12) as it does for explaining occupational status (β=0.14). Parent's education has a significant negative impact on income, which likely reflects changes in the economy and increased levels of education among the population as a whole. The central metropolitan areas selected have a minor impact on income levels, with those living in Vancouver experiencing the only statistically significant advantage on income. Living in an urban centre was shown in Table 7.5 to have a significant positive effect on occupational status, however, Table 7.15 indicates that it has no significant additional effect on earnings.

In Table 7.16 the status attainment model has been expanded to include gender, place of birth and visible minority status. Marital status and family size are also included as controls.

These results indicate that even with a full set of controls, there remains a distinct negative effect of gender on income level. In line with much other research and indeed with common knowledge, Gender contributes more to explaining the variance of income than the variance of Occupational status (see Table 7.6).

Table 7.16: Regression Coefficients for Income, Status Attainment Model, Visible Minority Status, Gender, Place of Birth

Model	*b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Constant	7.036		***
Blishen	0.016	0.187	***
Total hrs paid at job	0.001	0.707	***
Yrs work experience	0.012	0.115	***
Non University Postsecondary	0.180	0.078	***
University Postsecondary	0.274	0.091	***
High School Diploma	0.114	0.036	***
Father Postsecondary	-0.050	-0.017	**
Mother Postsecondary	-0.088	-0.029	***
Toronto	0.049	0.013	***
Montreal	0.002	0.001	
Vancouver	0.172	0.036	***
Urban	0.011	0.004	
Province	0.002	0.018	***
Gender	-0.086	-0.037	***
Place of Birth	-0.022	-0.007	*
Visible Minority Status	-0.166	-0.038	***
Model Summary	R^2	**Adjusted *R*square**	
	0.76	0.76	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 7.17 shows that even when marital status, family size university education, occupational status, hours worked and years of work experience are held constant, women still earn 90% of what men earn. This gap is much reduced compared to a few decades ago, but still remains far from trivial. In fact, women have a predicted mean income of $15,028 compared to men with a mean income of $16,724 when all specified variables are held constant.

Visible minority status has a negative effect of -0.15 on income, indicating that visible minorities earn lower average incomes than non-visible minorities. Thus, making the assumption that all groups have the same university education, years of work experience, hours worked, and occupational status, visible minorities still earn only 86% of what non-visible minorities earn; visible minorities earn a mean income of $13,757 compared to non-visible minorities who earn $15,969. Place of birth also has a negative effect in this model (*b* = -0.02), indicating that the foreign born experience a small net disadvantage on income as well. With such extensive controls included in the model we are starting to measure "discrimination" on the bases of colour, gender and place of birth.

Table 7.17 also shows another model that includes the interaction terms for gender, visible minority status and place of birth. The interaction effect between visible minority status and gender is not significant, nor is the interaction between gender and place of birth. However, there *is* a significant interaction effect between visible minority status and place of birth along with a three-way interaction effect between gender, visible minority status and place of birth. The first order interaction between visible minority status and place of birth is negative and fairly substantial (*b*= -0.182). The second order interaction between gender, place of birth and visible minority status is significant at the 95% confidence level, and it is positive. The three-way interaction indicates that there is a positive interaction effect experienced by foreign born visible minority women. In other words, the new status created by the interaction of these variables means that foreign born visible minority women experience an offsetting positive effect on income, supporting the "positive effects of the

Table 7.17: Regression Coefficients for Income, Status Attainment Model and Primary Controls, Visible Minority Status, Gender, Place of Birth and Interactions

	Model 1			Model 2		
Model	***b***	***Beta***	***Sig.***	***b***	***Beta***	***Sig.***
Constant	7.049		***	7.055		***
Blishen	0.015	0.176	***	0.015	0.175	
Total hrs paid at job	0.001	0.698	***	0.001	0.698	***
Yrs work experience	0.010	0.093	***	0.009	0.093	***
Non University Postsecondary	0.179	0.077	***	0.180	0.078	***
University Postsecondary	0.269	0.089	***	0.271	0.090	***
High School Diploma	0.110	0.035	***	0.111	0.035	**
Father Postsecondary	-0.033	-0.012	**	-0.034	-0.012	
Mother Postsecondary	-0.072	-0.024	***	-0.074	-0.025	
Toronto	0.063	0.016	***	0.058	0.015	***
Montreal	0.009	0.002		0.009	0.002	
Vancouver	0.180	0.038	***	0.179	0.038	***
Urban	0.023	0.007		0.023	0.007	
Province	0.002	0.019	***	0.002	0.019	***
Marital Status	0.198	0.083	***	0.200	0.083	***
Family Size	-0.018	-0.022	***	-0.019	-0.022	***
Gender	-0.107	-0.046	***	-0.119	-0.052	***
Place of Birth	-0.033	-0.010	*	-0.038	-0.012	
Visible Minority Status	-0.149	-0.034	***	-0.056	-0.013	
Gender X Visible Minority				-0.058	-0.010	
Gender X Place of Birth				0.039	0.009	
Visible Minority X Place of Birth				-0.182	-0.037	**
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth				0.176	0.026	*

Model Summary	***R* Square**	**Adjusted *R* Square**
Model 1	0.76	0.76
Model 2	0.76	0.76

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

double negative" interpretation with respect to this group. However, this must be interpreted with caution for this regression model assumes that all education levels are the same; that years of work experience (specifically Canadian work experience) and other background and geographical factors are constant, which realistically is not the case. In fact, when foreign university education, period of immigration and mother tongue are entered into the model (as shown in Table 7.18), the positive three-way interaction effect becomes insignificant. The only significant interaction effect apparent is between visible minority status and place of birth. This reflects the findings shown in Table 7.8 predicting occupational status. Thus, the root of the interaction between the selected ascribed statuses remains between visible minority status and place of birth.

As discussed in section 7.1.3, the intersections between these ascribed variables are more clearly understood when the 'visible minority' grouping is broken down into more detailed categories. Table 7.19 shows both the main effects model and the interaction model computed this way. The main effects in model 1 clearly demonstrate disadvantage on income for all the specified visible minority categories. The greatest disadvantage is experienced by the 'other Asian' (b=-0.153) and 'other visible minority' (b= -0.153) categories. This is then followed by the Chinese (b= -0.148) and the Blacks (b= -0.137). Gender remains a negative main effect and place of birth is shown to have a very small positive effect. The negative coefficients for all the visible minority groups are increased when the interaction terms are included in a saturated two-way model. However, the only significant interaction effect is between gender and 'other visible minority ' and that is likely a function of the variable definition which grouped together visible minorities with some very diverse backgrounds. According to Basavarajappa and Verma (1990:303) those from Oceanic and African immigration sources and those from South and Central America do not differ substantially from the Canadian born occupational distributions. They also demonstrate that the gender differences among immigrants from Oceania were similar to the gender differences among the Canadian born (199:304). However, this pattern was not seen for occupational status

Table 7.18 : Regression Coefficients for Income, Status Attainment Model, All Controls, Interactions

	Model 1			Model 2		
Model	***b***	***Beta***	***Sig.***	***b***	***Beta***	***Sig.***
Constant	7.002		***	7.007		***
Blishen	0.015	0.176	***	0.015	0.176	
Total hrs paid at job	0.001	0.697	***	0.001	0.697	***
Yrs work experience	0.124	0.103	***	0.009	0.091	***
Non University Postsecondary	0.179	0.077	***	0.181	0.078	***
University Postsecondary	0.269	0.089	***	0.271	0.090	***
High School Diploma	0.109	0.034	***	0.110	0.035	***
Father Postsecondary	-0.033	-0.012	*	-0.034	-0.012	**
Mother Postsecondary	-0.070	-0.023	***	-0.071	-0.024	***
Toronto	0.075	0.020	***	0.071	0.018	***
Montreal	-0.006	-0.002		-0.007	-0.002	
Vancouver	0.175	0.037	***	0.173	0.037	***
Urban	0.024	0.008		0.025	0.008	
Province	0.002	0.029	***	0.003	0.029	***
Marital Status	0.200	0.083	***	0.201	0.084	***
Family size	-0.017	-0.021	***	-0.017	-0.021	***
Foreign University Degree	-0.001	0.000		0.002	0.000	
Foreign Non-University Education	0.027	0.003		0.021	0.002	
Period of Immigration	-0.040	-0.010		-0.019	-0.005	
Mother Tongue French	0.064	0.025	***	0.066	0.025	***
Mother Tongue Other	-0.039	-0.011	*	-0.034	-0.010	*
Gender	-0.108	-0.047	***	-0.121	-0.052	***
Place of Birth	0.015	0.005		-0.004	-0.001	
Visible Minority Status	-0.136	-0.031	***	-0.043	-0.010	
Gender X Visible Minority				-0.054	-0.009	
Gender X Place of Birth				0.049	0.011	
Visible Minority X Place of Birth				-0.185	-0.037	***
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth				0.156	0.023	
Model Summary				***R*** **Square**	**Adjusted *R* Square**	
Model 1				0.762	0.761	
Model 2				0.762	0.762	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 7.19: Regression Coefficients for Income with Primary Controls, Detailed Visible Minority and Interactions

	Model 1			Model 2		
	b	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*b*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Constant	7.002		***	7.004		***
Bilshen	0.015	0.176	***	0.015	0.176	***
Total hrs paid at job	0.009	0.091	***	0.009	0.091	***
Yrs work experience	0.001	0.697	***	0.001	0.697	***
Non University Postsecondary	0.180	0.078	***	0.180	0.078	***
University Postsecondary	0.270	0.089	***	0.270	0.089	***
High School Diploma	0.110	0.035	***	0.111	0.035	***
Father Postsecondary	-0.034	-0.012	**	-0.033	-0.011	**
Mother Postsecondary	-0.069	-0.023	***	-0.070	-0.023	***
Toronto	0.076	0.020	0.000	0.075	0.020	***
Montreal	-0.006	-0.002	0.729	-0.007	-0.002	
Vancouver	0.173	0.037	0.000	0.173	0.037	***
Urban	0.024	0.008	0.085	0.024	0.008	
Province	0.002	0.029	0.000	0.003	0.029	***
Marital Status	0.200	0.083	***	0.199	0.083	***
Family size	-0.017	-0.021	***	-0.017	-0.021	***
Foreign University Degree	0.001	0.000		0.016	0.002	
Foreign Non-University Education	0.029	0.004		0.030	0.004	
Period of Immigration	-0.041	-0.010		-0.043	-0.010	
Mother Tongue French	0.064	0.025	***	0.064	0.025	***
Mother Tongue Other	-0.038	-0.011		-0.036	-0.010	
Gender	-0.108	-0.047	***	-0.116	-0.050	***
Place of Birth	0.014	0.004	*	0.012	0.004	
Black	-0.137	-0.014	**	-0.152	-0.015	*
Chinese	-0.148	-0.016	***	-0.206	-0.023	***
South Asian	-0.091	-0.010	*	-0.125	-0.014	*
Other Asian	-0.153	-0.017	***	-0.146	-0.017	*
Other Visible Minority	-0.153	-0.014	**	-0.302	-0.027	***
Gender X Black				0.029	0.002	
Gender X Chinese				0.080	0.006	
Gender X South Asian				0.109	0.009	
Gender X Other Asian				-0.013	-0.001	
Gender X Other Visible Minority				0.440	0.023	***
Model Summary				***R* Square**	**Adjusted *R* Square**	
Model 1				0.762		0.761
Model 2				0.762		0.762

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

attainment, as shown in Table 7.9. This indicates 'other visible minority' women and 'other Asian' women experience a disadvantage in occupational status, which is likely related to immigrant women's low representation in professional and technical occupations and is high in processing and other occupations (Basavarajappa and Verma: 303). And, since these regressions predicting income levels held occupational status constant, this difference in occupational distribution was not accounted for and thus will not be shown in income differences.

To summarize, the various regressions analyzed for income have demonstrated some patterns that are similar to those found for occupational status, and some that differ substantially. Overall, the gender effect remains salient and is somewhat greater with respect to its effect on income than on occupational status. We have seen that the disadvantage experienced by women does not dissipate when status attainment variables are held constant. Visible minorities still experience a disadvantage on income, particularly among the Chinese and those falling in the 'other visible minority' category, although it is not substantial. Mean income differences prior to multivariate analysis demonstrated substantial income differences when factors such as education and years of work experience are not held constant. Also, visible minority women in general, had a lower mean income than non-visible minorities and men prior to the inclusion of status attainment variables. However, when status attainment variables are held constant, the relationship becomes slightly obfuscated and there is no interaction effect found for visible minority status and gender on income.

Of particular importance to the discussion of income, the model specification for predicting income included occupational status and therefore assumed that all respondents held the same occupational status. In that sense the model is hypothetical, since the analysis of occupational status demonstrated inequalities by 'race' and gender. It is imperative that income analysis be interpreted in light of this fact. In order to pull together the total effects of gender, visible minority status and place of birth on income, a path analysis will allow for the consideration of both the indirect effects via occupational status and the direct effects.

7.3 The Path Analysis Model: Occupation and Income

For a clearer picture of the dynamics of the comprehensive model, we can look to a path diagram to understand the relationship between the endogenous and exogenous variables. The recursive causal analysis technique used below will allow for a conclusion about the causal relationships between variables, but this conclusion holds only under a set of restrictions and assumptions. According to Asher (1983:12) one can make inferences that a causal model exists on the basis of patterns observed in one's data and assumptions made about the relationships of selected variables; causation is not demonstrated directly. Figure 7.3 shows the basic path model [18] for visible minority status, gender and place of birth with none of the exogenous controls. The system of structural equations for the calculation of the total effects of the given independent variables is:

$$X_1 = P_{14} X_1 \cdot P_{45} X_4 + P_{15} X_1 \quad = {}^{T}X_1$$

$$X_2 = P_{24} X_2 \cdot P_{45} X_4 + P_{25} X_2 \quad = {}^{T}X_2$$

$$X_3 = P_{34} X_3 \cdot P_{45} X_4 + P_{35} X_3 \quad = {}^{T}X_3$$

$$X_4 = P_{14} X_1 + P_{24} X_2 + P_{34} X_3 + r_4 \quad = {}^{T}X_4$$

$$X_5 = P_{15} X_1 + P_{25} X_2 + P_{35} X_3 + r_5 \quad = {}^{T}X_4$$

To calculate the residual path coefficients (r) the form is $\sqrt{1-R^2}$. Since standardized variables have a variance of one, the general expression ($1\text{-}R^2$) is simply the proportion of unexplained variance. Therefore the residual path coefficient is the square root of the unexplained variation in the dependent variable (Asher, 1983:31). In a recursive model of this type the usual assumption with respect to residuals is that each is uncorrelated with the other variables directly influencing the dependent variable in question, and that they are uncorrelated with each other (Blalock, 1964).

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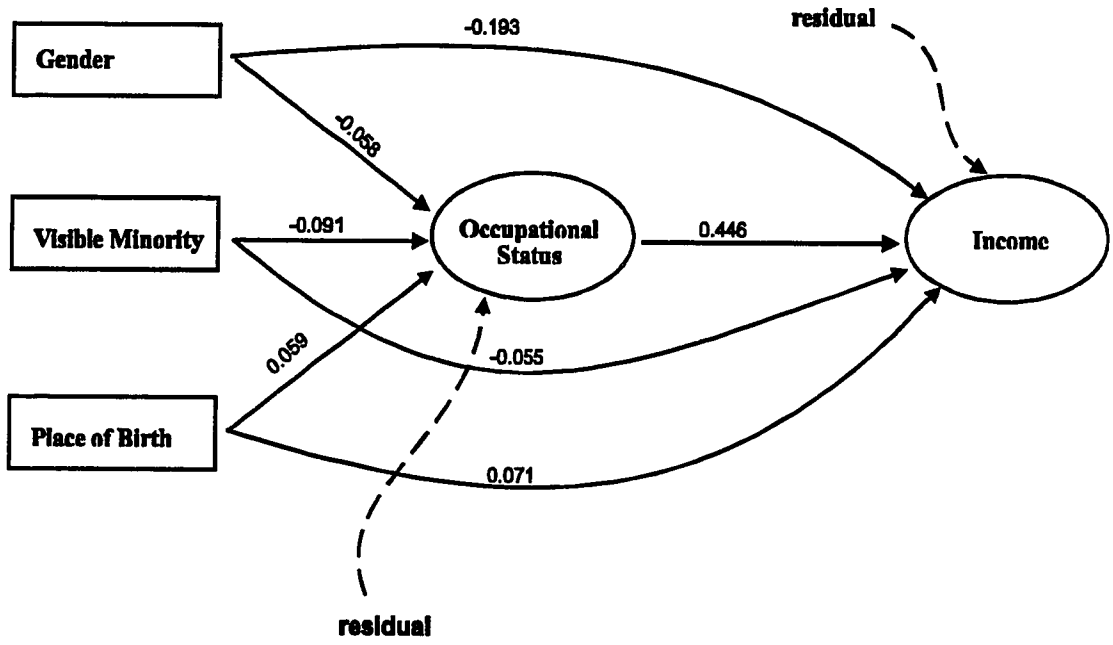
[8] This status attainment model is rooted in the structural equation model of status attainment presented by Blau and Duncan (1967) and Duncan *et al.*, (1972).

Figure 7.3: Status Attainment Model: Ascribed Statuses



In Figure 7.3 the direct and indirect paths are drawn between the independent variables and income. The indirect effects are those effects that travel through the intervening variable of occupational status. The direct effects are those that travel directly to income from an independent variable. The path coefficients are the standardized beta coefficients obtained using regression analysis and are generally much lower than the slope (*b*) coefficients. The calculations of the total effect are shown in Table 7.20 and clearly shows the indirect and direct effects of gender, visible minority status and place of birth on income

Table 7.20: Basic Path Model Effect Calculations, Ascribed Statuses

Variable	Indirect	Direct	Total Effect
Gender (X_1)	-0.058 X 0.446 = -0.026	-0.193	-0.219
Visible Minority Status (X_2)	-0.091 X 0.446 = -0.041	-0.055	-0.096
Place of Birth (X_3)	0.059 X 0.446 = 0.026	0.071	0.097
Occupational Status (X_4)	---------	0.446	0.446
Residual (r)	0.995	0.864	
R^2	0.010	0.254	

*All path coefficients are statistically significant at $p < .001$

Obviously, the direct effects of occupational status on income are quite large and positive. However, the total effect of gender on income is also fairly large (β= -0.22) and is the greatest predictor among the ascribed variables. However, this direct effect of gender on income is much greater than the indirect effect via occupational status, indicating that the disadvantage experienced by women is accrued mainly in relation to earnings and not so much because of their occupational status distributions. Also, since the income model holds occupational status constant, the disadvantage in income is not due to occupational status disadvantages. In other words income inequality is not strongly connected with differences in occupational statuses between men and women, in fact even when men and women are assumed to have the same occupational status there is a disadvantage on income for women.

Visible minority status has a slightly greater direct effect on income than indirect through occupational status. The indirect effect of visible minority status on income is –0.041 and the direct effect is –0.055. The total effect of visible minority status on income is somewhat substantial (β= –0.10). Place of birth also has a fairly substantial, although positive effect on income and the direct effect on income is much greater than the indirect effect.

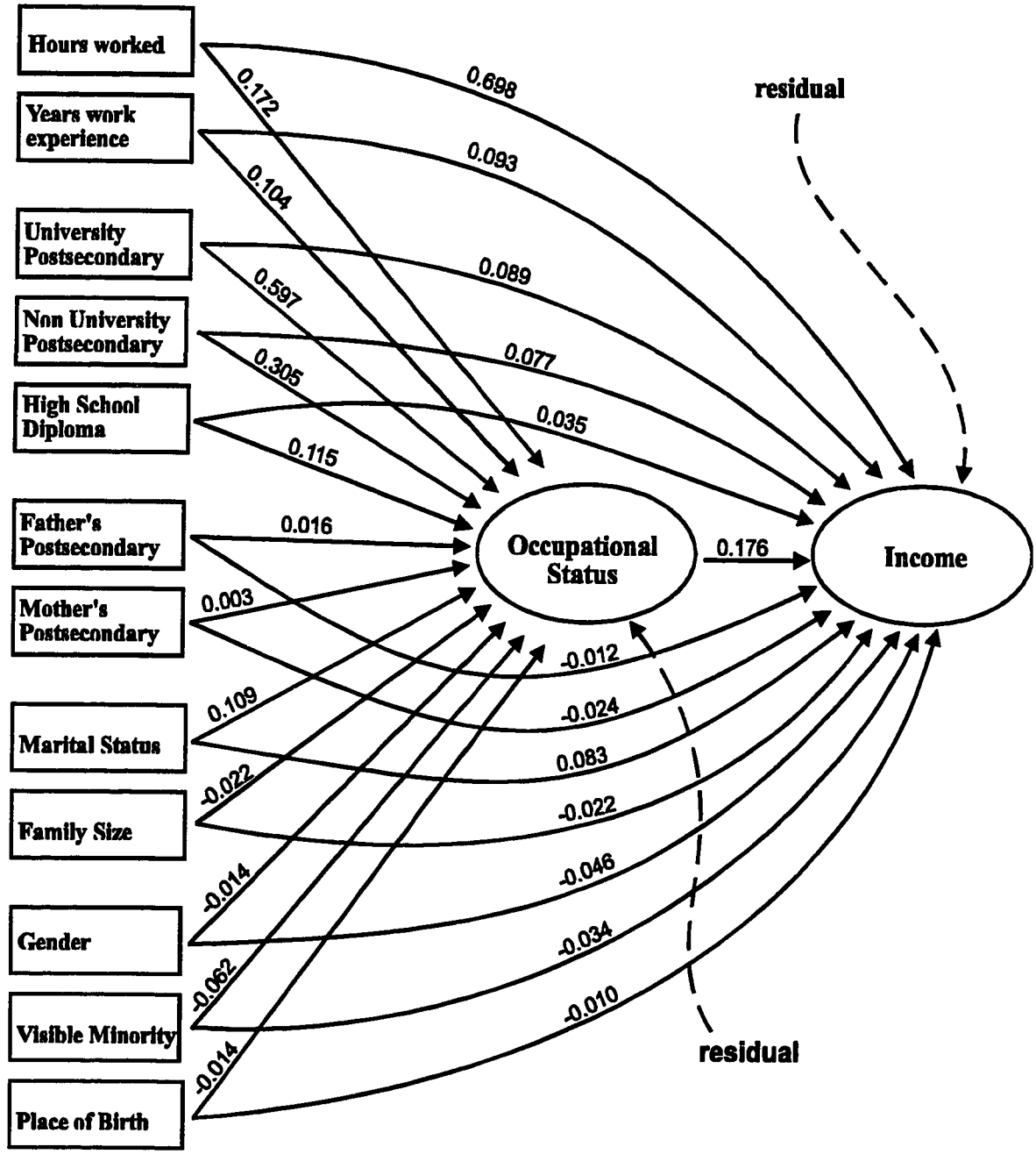
The predictive capacity of a model such as this is obviously limited, so a more detailed

path model was drawn. This path diagram includes all specified status attainment variables and primary controls for marital status and family size. Geographical and population controls were included in the regression models, however because of size restraints and the need for clarity, their path coefficients are not shown in the diagram, but are specified at the bottom of the diagram for reference. It must be noted that all *beta* weights are affected by these controls.

Figure 7.4 shows this path diagram with primary exogenous variables. The strongest multivariate control effect is for hours worked (β=0.73), which is particularly high since this hours worked variable controls for part-time and fulltime workers, and is strongly tied to hourly wages. This is the followed by university postsecondary education (β=0.194), and non-university postsecondary education (β=0.131). The effects of education on income are primarily indirect via occupational status. Thus, education is more strongly linked to occupational status attainment than it is to income. Marital status also has a fairly large total effect on income (β=0.102), and the indirect and direct effects are both apparent, indicating that those who are married or commonlaw have a noticeable advantage on occupational status attainment and on income.

In Table 7.21, gender still has a negative total effect on income, although it is substantially smaller when the specified controls are included in the model. Surprisingly, gender has nearly as great a total effect on income as having a high school education. The direct effect of gender on income is greater than the indirect effect via occupation. Visible minority status maintains a negative effect on income directly and also has a negative effect on income via occupational status. Place of birth also has a negative, but small, total effect on income, however it is primarily rooted in its direct effect on income. All of these ascribed statuses had an effect on income, even when occupational status and other status attainment variables were held constant. This indicates that inequality for these groups is linked *both* to occupational status

Figure 7.4: Status Attainment Model with Multivariate Controls



* Toronto (0.028, 0.016); Montreal (-0.004, 0.002); Vancouver (0.002, 0.038); Urban (0.045, 0.007); Province (0.005, 0.019)

Table 7.21 : Multivariate Path Model Effect Calculations

Variable	Indirect	*Sig.*	Direct	*Sig.*	Total Effect
Total hours worked (X_1)	0.172 X 0.176 = 0.030	***	0.698	***	0.719
Years work experience (X_2)	0.104 X 0.176 = 0.018	***	0.093	***	0.111
University Postsecondary (X_3)	0.597 X 0.176 = 0.105	***	0.089	***	0.194
Non University Postsecondary (X_4)	0.305 X 0.176 = 0.054	***	0.077	***	0.131
High School Diploma (X_5)	0.115 X 0.176 = 0.020	***	0.035	***	0.055
Father Postsecondary (X_6)	0.016 X 0.176 = 0.003	*	-0.012	**	-0.009
Mother Postsecondary (X_7)	-0.003(0) X 0.176 = -0.001		-0.024	***	-0.024
Marital Status (X_8)	0.109 X 0.176 = 0.019	***	0.083	***	0.102
Family Size (X_9)	-0.022 X 0.176 = -0.004	***	-0.022	***	-0.026
Gender (X_{10})	-0.014 X 0.176 = -0.002	*	-0.046	***	-0.049
Visible Minority Status (X_{11})	-0.062 X 0.176 = -0.011	***	-0.034	**	-0.045
Place of Birth (X_{12})	-0.014(0) X 0.176 = -0.002		-0.010	*	-0.010
Occupational Status (X_{13})	---		0.176	***	0.176
Toronto (X_{14})	0.028 X 0.176 = 0.005	***	0.016	***	0.021
Montreal (X_{15})	-0.004(0) X 0.176 = 0.000		0.002(0)		0.000
Vancouver (X_{16})	0.002(0) X 0.176 = 0.00		0.038	***	0.038
Urban (X_{17})	0.045 X 0.176 = 0.008	***	0.007(0)		0.008
Province (X_{18})	0.005(0) X 0.176 = 0.00		0.019	***	0.019
R^2					
Residual (r)					

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

and to income levels (which are not synonymous) and these inequalities are not entirely overcome by higher education, years of work experience, etc. The most salient of these disadvantages is the effect of gender, which clearly demonstrates that women encounter a distinct disadvantage in the labour market, both in their achievement of occupational status and in their income level attainment. If we look back to the path model which includes only the ascribed statuses, gender has a very substantial direct effect on income and an indirect effect through occupational status- and these effects do not diminish entirely when numerous variables considered integral to socioeconomic status attainment are held constant. The effects of visible minority status remain fairly similar in both the basic path model and the multivariate status attainment model. However, the effect of place of birth is greatly diminished with the inclusion of status attainment variables.

CHAPTER EIGHT:
Summary and Conclusions

8.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

8.1.1 Occupational Status and Stratification

This research began with occupational status as an indicator of socioeconomic status and as a locale in which ethnic stratification in Canada occurs. Since stratification is complex and involves much more than merely economic differentiation, occupational status differences among groups have been analyzed and tested for their salience. Differences in the occupational statuses between groups are highly important, since "...equality may fail to materialize even when there is an equal distribution of wealth" (Forcese, 1986:3). The Blishen scale of occupational SES carries an implicit theory statement about social stratification that assumes a hierarchy of levels of status, which also represents one dimension of hierarchical levels of power (Horan, 1978). If occupational status continues to differ greatly between groups (i.e. visible minorities vs. whites) even in advanced multivariate analysis with numerous controls, then this is evidence of discrimination and points to what criteria are being used to rank groups in a hierarchical system of stratification.

The main effect of visible minority status was negative and significant throughout all of the regression models with occupational status, indicating that visible minorities have a disadvantage on occupational status. However, to adopt the "...notion that all visible minorities are equally oppressed, impoverished, marginalized and victimized by an ubiquitous Canadian racism, and that they are all equally unequal, is... overly simple, and indeed would appear to be quite false" (Sinott and Howes, 1996:144). In fact, when the detailed visible minority categories were entered into the models, Blacks and those is the 'other Asian' category (Korean, Japanese, South East Asian and Filipino) have a much greater disadvantage on occupational status than the other specified visible minority groups, such as the Chinese or

South Asians. Needless to say, all visible minority groups experience varying degrees of disadvantage on occupational status.

This demonstrates that *colour* or visibility plays an integral role in discrimination and stratification in Canada. However, this does not imply that other factors have no impact on stratification. On the contrary, other systemic factors have also affected the socioeconomic status of visible minority immigrants. For example, those with a foreign university degree experience a notable disadvantage, indicating that there may be ethnocentric practices in accreditation. This is not a new problem, as processes for assessing qualifications by immigration officers have always been highly subjective and leaves ample room for individual prejudice as well (see Appendix Two). Those with a mother tongue other than English or French also experience a drawback on occupational status. Also, those who immigrated to Canada since 1971 were shown to have a notable disadvantage on occupational status attainment, which supports the notion that enclave development and length of stay have positive impacts on occupational status attainment in Canada.

Place of birth is demonstrated to have a small and insignificant negative effect when just primary status attainment controls are specified in the model, however, when all of the secondary controls discussed above are included into the model the effect becomes significant and positive. This indicates that the disadvantage associated with being foreign born is predominantly due to language barriers, period of immigration and foreign postsecondary education, which may all be indicators of systemic racism. Unfortunately, this research cannot clearly distinguish between various forms or manifestations of racism (individual, structural, systemic, etc.). Regardless, the findings clearly demonstrate that visible minorities among the foreign born have a distinct disadvantage on top of these difficulties.

Gender was demonstrated to have an unmistakable negative effect on occupational status, indicating that women experience a drawback on occupational status that is not diminished when factors such as years of work experience, level of education, marital status and family size are accounted for. Such a conclusion is not unique to the present study, but

while the previous evidence dates back to the 1973 Canadian Mobility Study, the SLID data used here are very recent and detailed and thus a provides us with a more recent picture. Indeed, since we know that many women leave the work force for a period of time due to childbearing and child-raising and that a large proportion of single parents are women, we know that the estimates of this hypothetical model are likely underestimating women's disadvantage on occupational status. On top of this, as noted in chapters two and five, occupational status scales have an in-built tendency to underestimate the disadvantage experienced by women (Guppy and Siltanen, 1977; Guppy and Goyder, 1984; Boyd, 1986).

Although these main effect relationships provide a great deal of information about the effects of 'race' and gender and place of birth on occupational status, an analysis of the interactions between the ascribed statuses adds much depth to our understanding of the dynamic relationships between these statuses. The underlying premise for this research was to explore the intersections between gender, 'race' and place of birth with respect to their relationships with occupational status and income. The interaction between visible minority status and gender was tested, as signifying a different status than the two individual statuses. This third status was hypothesized to have a different negative exchange value in the market system from the two separate statuses of "woman" and "visible minority". Table 8.1 summarizes the hypothesis test results of regression analyses with occupational status, and income, which is discussed below. The first analysis carried no controls and a negative interaction effect between gender and visible minority status on occupational status, thus supporting the initial hypothesis. Thus, with no exogenous variables controlled, gender and visible minority status create an independent effect on occupational status. This supports the notion that visible minority women have a unique status in the labour market that has a significant effect on occupational status.

When two sets of controls were included in the analysis, the interaction effect becomes more narrowly defined. As seen in Table 8.1, gender did have significant interaction effects with particular visible minority groups, even with all of the secondary controls in the model.

In fact, gender and 'other Asian' were shown to have a substantial negative interaction effect on occupational status. This indicates that Korean, Japanese, South East Asian and Filipino women experience a unique drawback on occupational status. Gender and 'other visible minority' interact and create an even larger negative interaction effect on occupational status. Therefore, women who are members of 'other visible minority' groups (Oceanic, West Asian, Latin American) also have a unique disadvantage on occupational status even with all the 'cultural' controls included in the model. These findings support the negative interaction hypothesis, and demonstrate that the collapsing of visible minority groups with different cultural and historical backgrounds and different economic and political experiences is highly problematic. Thus, although the effect of colour on occupational status has been shown to be significant, the diversity within these groups also has great importance, particularly for women.

In the initial model with no controls, the two-way interaction between gender and place of birth was also significant and negative, however its effect was notably smaller than the one discussed above. This indicates that foreign born women also experience a unique disadvantage on occupational status attainment, although the disadvantage experienced by visible minority women is much greater. However, when primary and secondary controls were entered into the model, the interaction effect disappears, indicating that the specified controls account for the disadvantage experienced by immigrant women. The primary control model results include basic status attainment variables and hold them constant. Since education and years of work experience (Canadian) are held constant it is likely that the drawback experienced by immigrant women is strongly linked to their lack of Canadian work experience and Canadian education. When secondary controls are introduced the interaction effect remains non-existent and the main effects for place of birth become positive, indicating that if education, years of work experience etc., were the same for all individuals, the foreign born would have an advantage over the Canadian born. Nonetheless, in reality this is not the case, and as noted in the summary of the main effects, those who obtained their postsecondary

education outside of Canada, were new immigrants and whose mother tongue was neither English nor French suffered a great disadvantage on occupational status.

Since many of the new immigrant population are defined as visible minorities, the strong and resilient interaction effect found between visible minority status and place of birth is particularly important. The interaction effect is strong and negative in all models and indicates that even when all specified factors are held constant, there is still very large drawback for foreign born visible minorities. Because the negative interaction still remains after all specified controls, we strongly suspect that this drawback is strongly tied to discrimination. This tells us that even when we account for differences in Canadian work experience or education, and even when we account for language differences and period of immigration, foreign born visible minorities are still in positions of disadvantage in terms of occupational status attainment. It can be inferred, then, that foreign born visible minorities likely experience discrimination in securing employment, encounter difficulty acquiring promotions, and are generally attaining jobs with much lower status than Canadian born visible and non-visible minorities. The existence of an interaction effect also indicates that foreign born visible minorities are acquiring a new status as a "sociological group" in society. If it is the case that groups can become " fractionalized" in the sense that Li (1992) and Phizacklea and Miles(1980) outline, then this could be interpreted as support for the notion that *foreign born visible minorities* represent an emerging class fraction.

The *negative* three-way interaction effect hypothesized between gender, visible minority status and place of birth was not supported. Indeed there was a *positive* offsetting interaction effect discovered for these variables in some of the regression analysis, which is contradictory to what one would expect, considering the negative main effects and negative two way interaction effects. To be sure, it is only when there are no controls included in the model that the positive three-way interaction on occupational status is apparent. In fact, when primary and secondary controls are entered into the occupational status model, the three-way interaction effect disappears. It is also important to note that the interaction effect in the

model without controls is barely significant at the 95% confidence level. Also, looking at the standard error for this interaction term indicates that the variance is quite large and therefore the results must be interpreted with caution.

Nonetheless, this positive effect could be reflecting changes in immigration patterns and immigration policy that mean that more educated women are entering Canada as independent or economic class immigrants, as opposed to family class or domestic workers. For example, according to Brand (1993), Black women emigrating from the Caribbean, more often than not, have come as independent class immigrants or on work permits, rather than as spouses. Thus, a fundamental condition of Black women's migration is the value of their work outside the home. Indeed, as discussed in chapter seven, the results of Table 7.10 and 7.11 show that foreign born Black women have an advantage over Canadian born Black women in occupational status attainment, although both experience a disadvantage compared to white women and men. This may also be connected to the aging "domestic worker" immigrant population.

The problem of grouping different visible minority groups into one visible minority category may also bear on the above discussion. For, as discussed previously, certain visible minority women experience disadvantages on occupational status, and some do not. There is an interaction effect between gender and two of the visible minority categories ('other Asain' and 'other visible minority') that withstands more stringent tests that include all specified controls and there are no interaction effects for Chinese and South Asian women. Therefore, it is likely that immigrant women in certain visible minority groups may indeed experience an interaction effect that is negative, but that detail is not emerging from this analysis. In other words, some immigrant women may have an negative interactive status with respect to occupational status, and others may not. However, I did not test the three way interactions between the detailed visible minority groups, place of birth and gender. Regardless, the predicted mean Blishen score for foreign born visible minority women was still the lowest occupational status score compared to all specified groups.

Table 8.1: Summary of Interaction Effects

Interaction Effects	Occupational Status			Income		
	No Controls	Primary Controls	Secondary Controls	No Controls	Primary Controls	Secondary Controls
Gender X Visible Minority	-					
Gender X Black						
Gender X Chinese						
Gender X South Asian						
Gender X 'Other Asian'			-			
Gender X 'Other Visible Minority'			-			+
Gender X Place of Birth	-					
Visible Minority X Place of Birth	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender X Visible Minority X Place of Birth	+			+	+	

Table 8.1 shows a summary of the interaction effects for various regression models with varying degrees of controls.

Primary controls:
- Status attainment variables
- Geographical controls
- Marital status
- Family size

Secondary Controls:
- Primary Controls
- Foreign Education
- Period of Immigration
- Mother Tongue

8.1.2 Income and Stratification

If the differences across groups exist on income when occupational status differences are controlled for, then these differences are on top of the disadvantage on occupational status, and indeed the main effects on income more or less mirrored those seen for occupational status. Visible minority status had a noticeable negative effect on income, indicating that visible minorities earn substantially less than non-visible minorities. Differences in occupational status aside, visible minorities earn 86% of what non-visible minorities earn. The path analysis demonstrated that there is also a substantial indirect effect of visible minority status on income, confirming that the effect of visible minority status on earnings is on top of the drawback on income due to lower occupational status scores. The detailed analsysis of the visible minority groups demonstrated that different visible minorities experience different degrees of disadvantage on income than was the case for occupational status. Similar to occupational status results, each of the visible minority groups experiences a drawback on income. This drawback remains when all controls are entered into the model and is most substantial among those in the 'other visible minority' and 'other Asian' categories. Members of these groups also have significant drawbacks on occupational status. Therefore, these groups likely face discrimination at the level of attaining and/ or moving up in occupations and in securing incomes that are equal to non-visible minorities. Chinese also have a significant shortfall on income which was not seen on occupational status. Thus, Chinese may not encounter much discrimination in the hiring and promotion process, but discrimination does affect their earnings once they attain their occupations.

Place of birth has a significant positive effect on income when no other factors are considered. However, the effect of place of birth in the model with the first set of controls is negative, fairly small and significant at the .05 confidence level. When secondary controls are introduced the effect diminishes and falls below significance (as was the case for place of birth and occupational status). The effect of birthplace is being accounted for by the other specified variables, namely foreign education, period of immigration and mother tongue. It is mother

tongue that is of key importance here, in that those with a mother tongue other than English or French experience a direct drawback on income as well as on occupational status. This is consistent with results from a recent study by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998), who found that knowledge of a non-official language has no benefits in the labour market, and that those with a mother tongue other than English or French also experience a major drawback on earnings. In fact, they find that mother tongue language knowledge is correlated with poorer labour market outcomes in comparison with learned language. Thus, not only do those whose mother tongue is other than English or French have difficulty attaining an occupation, much less a high status job, they also have lower incomes when they get those jobs.

Visible minority immigrants were shown to have a strong disadvantage on occupational status, and this effect is mirrored in the income analysis. *Foreign born visible minorities* interact to create greater negative effect on earnings than would be calculated from adding the main effects. Again, this effect is on top of the negative interaction effect found on occupational status. This interaction effect is clearly quite salient and adds further support to the interpretation that this group has a unique status in the labour market.

Two-way interaction between gender and visible minority status is apparent only when no other interactions are considered and when no other controls are included. The interaction becomes non-statistically significant when other interactions are included. This is in contrast to the findings of the occupational status model. Direct interaction effect between gender and visible minority status is non-existent in all of the other models with earnings. However, the interaction of the detailed categories with gender demonstrated that there was a small positive offsetting effect for women in the 'other Asian' category. This differs substantially from the results shown on income. However, since occupational status is held constant in these models, this means that only the *direct* interaction effects on income are negligible, and the indirect interaction effects via occupational status are not clearly tested. Thus, there may be an interaction effect between gender and some of the visible minority groups but it only affects income through its effect on occupational status attainment. The ranking of these groups is

happening primarily at the level of occupation which has a subsequent effect on their income.

The same thing occurs with the two-way interaction between gender and place of birth. This finding must, again, be viewed in light of the fact that this model controls for occupational status, and findings from the analysis including no controls indicated a stronger negative interaction effect for place of birth with gender, than with secondary controls included. It is interesting to note that Pendakur (1995:46) finds that the more recent the immigration period, the more likely women were to be concentrated in the manufacturing, and more specifically, in the low paid niches of that sector. At least part of this is attributable to the fact that more recent immigrant women are unable to speak English or French and are therefore restricted to jobs where such knowledge is not required. Usually, in an immigrant family, the husband is granted independent status, as he is perceived to be the head of the household and the wife and children are categorized as family class. In general, family class immigrants are ineligible for most forms of state assistance during the five to ten year sponsorship period. They cannot obtain family benefits, welfare, and other benefits unless there is a break in the sponsorship. On the other hand, official language training and employment training are provided free of charge to the household head, which is most often designated as the husband (Ng, 1993:285). This greatly restricts immigrant women's ability to attain well-paying secure jobs, and hence affects both their occupational status and indirectly, their income. Also noted by Pendakur (1995), age and length of stay in Canada have a significant impact on the labour market activity of immigrant women. Over one third of all women immigrating prior to 1961 had received at least part of their education in Canada. By the 1990s, immigrant women who had arrived in their thirties in 1961 were either out of the labour force or close to retirement and many new immigrant women are more educated than previously.

The three-way interaction effect between gender, visible minority status and place of birth is significant and positive with no controls and with primary controls in the model However, when secondary controls are entered into the model, the three-way interaction

effect on income disappears. This indicates that foreign born visible minority women experience a small offsetting positive effect on occupational status and income that offsets some of the disadvantage they experience from being visible minorities and women. This positive offsetting effect is only for *foreign born* visible minority women.

Regardless, as seen in Table 8.2, the mean income for this group is still fairly low at $13,599. However, *Canadian born visible minority* women have even lower mean incomes at $11,842. Canadian born visible minority men, on the other hand earn a greater mean income of $13,341, whereas, foreign born visible minority men experience a drawback on occupational status and on income, having lower mean incomes than foreign born visible minority women. Nonetheless, overall, visible minority women still have lower mean incomes than visible minority men, even when both primary and secondary controls are accounted for. In fact, visible minority women have a mean income of $14,161 compared to the mean income for visible minority men at $15,953, which is still higher than the mean income of white women at $14,978. Comparatively, white men maintain the highest mean income of $16,874.

Table 8.2: Summary of Predicted Mean Incomes, Primary Controls

	Men	Women
White	$16,874	$14,978
Visible minority	$15,953	$14,161
Canadian born white	$16,931	$15,029
Canadian born visible minority	$13,341	$11,842
Foreign born white	$16,301	$15,046
Foreign born visible minority	$12,844	$13,599

8.2 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

To begin, it is important to note again that this research has all the problems and limitations of any other quantitative research in the social sciences. It is bound my the methods of analysis that are tied into the scientific method and it is bound by the definitions and measurements used to capture abstract social concepts. Inevitably, most quantitative research is limited by the data and measurements that are available to us in survey datasets. This research also did not include a detailed discussion of the extensive qualitative research available on the dynamics of 'race' and gender in Canada. Interpretation and application of any of the findings of this research should be informed by this and researchers should endeavour to investigate these perspectives in order to further understand the intersections between 'race' and gender and the structure of stratification in Canada.

As noted in Chapter one, the demographic shift in the character of the immigrant population means that a large proportion of members of visible minority groups are foreign born. Since this is a fairly new trend, a longitudinal analysis is particularly important if the long term effects of 'visibility' in ethnic stratification are going to be explored. If, as Breton (1998) argues, the prevailing implicit understanding has been that conformity was expected of Canadian immigrants, it is important to ascertain whether this model will continue to operate when colour is involved. A long term analysis of the effects of 'visibility' is feasible with the SLID dataset. Unfortunately, a drawback of SLID and most other datasets, is that it does not have the depth of information required to make distinctions between various forms of racism. If 'visibility' is found to have a long term affect on stratification and discrimination in Canada, it would be very difficult to distinguish between systemic and individual racism that are linked to the stratification of minorities.

However, the SLID dataset provides excellent detailed and current information that has allowed this research to thoroughly examine many of the key factors that affect the socioeconomic status of visible minorities, women and the foreign born. The detail obtained through the use of the SLID internal dataset was particularly valuable and made the use of the

detailed Blishen scale possible. The dataset has much potential for future longitudinal analysis that could assess socioeconomic status attainment and the dynamics of 'race' and gender from a mobility perspective.

The variables in the dataset allowed for a very comprehensive and detailed model. Few studies, for example, have included foreign education variables or detailed visible minority categories in their analysis, and this is a great strength of this research. However, the model could be improved by breaking up the work experience variable into two variables. The work experience variable used in this analysis measured only Canadian work experience, and the construction and inclusion of a variable that measured foreign work experience would add an interesting perspective to the study of socioeconomic status attainment of immigrants in Canada. This would be a valuable step, as any research on Canadian immigrants could benefit from more detail on the structural or systemic factors that influence the socioeconomic status attainment of immigrants.

The use of the multiple regression analysis provided fine-grained detail about the relationships between the gender, 'race' and place of birth and occupational status and income. However, the strength of this research may also be the weakness of this research, such that the detailed variable specification meant that highly controlled models were constructed. This meant that is much detail has been obtained as to what factors are affecting stratification in Canada, but it has the potential to distract from the fundamental findings that visible minorities and women experience substantial disadvantage on socioeconomic status. The ability to *explain* the factors that are behind the disadvantage (e.g. foreign university education or mother tongue) should not be seen in any way as *explaining away* the disadvantage experienced by these groups since discrimination is playing a primary role in all

of these factors. Appendix Two briefly discusses some of the racism in Canada's immigration policy and the entire Canadian immigration process. Also, working within a status attainment framework, this research was forced to work from the premise of an ideal world that assumes that there is equal access to education and there is equality of opportunity. However, we know that this is not the case, and therefore we must interpret the findings with caution and acknowledge that the results may be highly conservative. Since the model does not account for inequality of opportunity or other related issues, the findings are likely underestimating the disadvantage experienced by women and minorities in Canada. It is these facts and perspectives that must inform any interpretation of this research and it must be acknowledged that this research has not looked at the wider power structures in society that undoubtedly have a major influence on stratification in Canada.

The use of the path analysis enabled us to calculate the total effect of variables on income and to distinguish between the direct and indirect effects of gender, 'race' and place of birth on income. The path model clearly demonstrated the need to continue stratification research that includes occupational status and is not just focussed on income. Many of the variables had indirect effects on income via occupational status that in turn affected their total income. Also, since occupational status represents social rankings that place people in positions of power, regardless of income levels, this adds further justification for the continuation of research on occupational status attainment.

8.3 CONCLUSIONS

Unfortunately, in social research "...there is a tendency to treat gender, 'race' and class as different analytic categories designating different domains of social life" (Ng, 1993:182). Acknowledging the interrelation of the categories of gender, 'race'/ethnicity and class is a more realistic way of understanding the experiences of people of colour; a way of understanding their experiences which does not "...fragment them into separate and at times opposing domains of social life" (ibid.). As noted in Chapter one, few quantitative studies have explored the *intersections* between gender, 'race' and place of birth on multiple indicators of socioeconomic status attainment. Nor have many studies looked at the intervening effect of occupational status in affecting income. Even fewer have looked at the socioeconomic status attainment process using causal modelling, while exploring the interrelationships between the ascribed statuses. Many social scientists have been questioning the connection between 'race' and gender in social inequality, however the exact nature of this intersection has not been explicitly tested. This research has provided a unique hierarchical quantitative model that has explicitly assessed the interrelationship between 'race' and gender. Many researchers have likely explored for interaction effects when performing analyses on data, however they may be inclined to reject the existence of small interaction effects as insignificant if their inclusion into statistical models fails to change the explanatory power (R^2)of the model. However, as noted previously, a small group of people in society will never explain a great deal of variance, as it is mathematically impossible. What is important to studies in social inequality is the differences in slopes, the different relationships that groups have to socioeconomic status variables, and why these relationships differ. If these differences are not thoroughly explored, the disadvantage experienced by some small groups could

potentially go unnoticed. Occupational status and income levels are predominantly explained by the specified status attainment variables, it is not expected that visible minority status or gender will contribute much more to the model. However, the question of whether some groups have more advantage compared to others and why are of continued importance. Theoretically, it has been argued that 'race' and gender are inextricably linked and that 'race' does not just make the experience of women's inequality greater, it qualitatively changes the nature of that inequality (Afshar and Maynard, 1990:13). Therefore, the interaction between 'race' and gender must be explored, even if the variance explained is not greatly increased.

This research explored these interrelationships thoroughly. It attempted to provide a brief review of the quantitative research available on the intersections between gender and 'race', to empirically study this intersection, and to look at some theoretical and methodological issues surrounding it. This research provided an assessment of the double negative hypothesis and a test of an interactive model in studying the dynamics or 'race' and gender with respect to socio-economic status attainment.

This research also represents an attempt at providing a position from which sociologists and social scientists can attempt to do quantitative research on ethnic stratification that thoroughly incorporates, or is rooted in, the dynamics of 'race' and gender. Merely acknowledging that 'race', gender and class are never in a socio-historical-political vacuum is not enough. It is important to attempt to bring this reality into the centre of all research on social inequality, regardless of methodological preference or theoretical framework. As a start, using the interaction approach means that we are not simply creating subgroups or creating more divisive categories, but that the intersections between gender and 'race' are fully identified and explored.

Visible minority status has been shown to have a substantial effect on socioeconomic status in this research, indicating support for Breton's (1998) contention that 'race' has become critical in accounting for patterns of inequality. However, this is not to say that ethnicity has lost importance entirely. On the contrary, research on ethnicity is still very relevant to understanding social inequality in Canada. Putting an overemphasis 'race' or colour when studying stratification, risks viewing inequality as if it exists in a 'black' and 'white' world. To do so would ignore the complexity of the Canadian social system and the historical, political and social contextualizations of the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in Canada. However, the use of the 'colour line' has some significant benefits to social research since it makes ethnic boundaries more visible. It is also easier to measure and monitor, get political support for and to target policies toward, since overt racism is something that is at odds with Canadian liberal values.

However, colour or visibility may likely be one of the key signifiers of difference that plays a role in the criteria upon which people are categorized and ranked in Canadian society. These criteria will likely change with time. In other words, colour may only be a significant signifier of difference at this historical juncture, which may be partly due to the substantial influx on non-European ethnic minorities that are noticeably more *different* from the majority population. Breton (1998) notes that European immigrants faced substantially more discrimination previously, when immigration from those sources was high and still fairly new. Reitz (1990) notes that ethnic networks and the development of ethnic enclaves have been vital to the success of some of these ethnic minorities in Canada. Many of the visible minorities in Canada have not yet developed strong enclaves or networks to assist in their socioeconomic status attainment. More research on the long term effects of visibility can

hopefully provide insight into these issues and can help us to begin to draw new "maps" of the Canadian system of stratification.

Helmes-Hayes and Curtis (1998:27) note that Porter's contributions to the mapping and interpretation of Canadian society will continue to have influence and significance for researchers of social inequality for some time to come. However, these maps may have become outdated or incomplete and need to be redrawn in order to reflect Canada's changing demographics and labour dynamics. Since these "maps" change with time, "we must ask if the images and symbols we use to capture and communicate salient features of the social landscape remain vital and useful" (Helmes-Hayes and Curtis, 1998:28). In order understand and challenge social inequality in Canada researchers must continue to re-examine the criteria with which groups are classified and subsequently placed into hierarchical positions in the stratification of Canadian society. Updating and redrawing the lines that form the social "maps" is an ongoing task, and this research only begins to assess some of the current criteria used to draw the lines of stratification in Canada. Attempting to examine social inequality from a perspective that thoroughly incorporates, or is rooted in, the dynamics of 'race' and gender will provide a much clearer mapping of the factors that influence stratification in Canada.

APPENDIX ONE:
Data Collection, Measurement and Definitions

Ethnicity or Ethnic Background/ Ancestry

Ethnic origin/ancestry questions asked by Statistics Canada have varied. They refer to either: ethnic or cultural background; ethnic or cultural background and racial background; or self-identification with an ethnic group.

Ethnic origin was determined in the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics as follows: "Canadians come from many ethnic, cultural and racial backgrounds, for example, English, French, North American Indian, Chinese, Black, Filipino or Lebanese. What is [respondent]'s background?

The respondent may list as many backgrounds as apply. The interviewer is instructed to probe for as much detail as possible. The interviewer then marks a box for the responses. If the response is anything else, the interviewer must enter the response. Two additional write-in responses can be entered.

- ☐ English
- ☐ French
- ☐ German
- ☐ Scottish
- ☐ Italian
- ☐ Irish
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Canadian
- ☐ Dutch
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Polish
- ☐ Black
- ☐ Metis
- ☐ Inuit/ Eskimo
- ☐ North American Indian
- ☐ East Indian

Visible Minority

The Employment Equity Act states that visible minorities are persons who "are non-white in colour or non-caucasian in race", and specifies regulations that these are individuals that can be identified as Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, South East Asians, Filipinos, Other Pacific Islanders, West Asians and Arabs, and Latin Americans.

Within Statistics Canada, one of three methods has generally been applied when collecting visible minority data:

- direct questions on being a visible minority (race/colour questions);
- indirect ethnocultural questions from which visible minority status is derived;
- a mix of both direct and indirect questions (Boxhill,1991).

The Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) derived the visible minority population using an approach developed by the Interdepartmental Working Group on Employment Equity Data. SLID used a simplified algorithm to distinguish the visible minority groups specified above because , unlike the Census, there was no question on religion. Also, due to the small sample size there were no multiple categories for those who reported a combination. The ethnic background question identified most of the persons in a visible minority (91%). Another 7% were identified by their country of birth, while the mother tongue question (1%) and ethnic background and country of birth questions combined accounted for the remainder (1%) (Dibbs and Leesti,1995:14).

Country of Birth

The question used in SLID to ascertain place of birth is as follows: "What country was [respondent] born?"

The interviewer then marks the response:

- Canada
- United Kingdom
- Italy
- U.S.A
- Germany
- Poland

If the response is anything else, the interviewer must enter the response.

APPENDIX TWO:
Multiculturalism and Immigration Policy in Canada

Multiculturalism Policy and 'Race'

Multiculturalism policy was formed in 1971, when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced in Parliament that his government had accepted the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Elliot and Fleras, 1992). Since then the policy has become enshrined in the Multiculturalism Act. The act committed the government to a policy of preserving and enhancing the multicultural identity of all Canadians in economic, social and political life (Henry *et al.*, 1995:265). Up until 1993 the Ministry of Multiculturalism funded research, cultural program and education programs that furthered these goals. The focus of the various initiatives undertaken by Multiculturalism has been on ethnicity and has been mostly geared toward encouraging celebratory heritage programs like dance groups and music festivals.

In 1993, as a result of changes in the leadership of the Government of Canada, multiculturalism was subsumed under a larger heritage ministry. Since then, the multiculturalism program has been in the process of redefining itself and attempting to secure a role for itself within the new ministry and within Canada. There have been many criticisms of multiculturalism in Canada. Often, the criticism is that the multiculturalism is merely providing symbolic support as the policy serves to legitimize the diversity in Canada and further nation-building among a the diverse groups in Canada (Henry *et al.*, 1995:265). Many have argued that the government has failed to recognize the nature, scope and impact of racial discrimination (Elliot and Fleras, 1992:320). Multiculturalism in the 1990s is undergoing a notable shift marked by a focus on race or visible minority issues; particularly, issues involving 'race' or visible minorities that fall under the rubric of any of the three policy goals: *Identity, Civic Participation* and *Social Justice.* This has been accompanied by a focus in data collection of and research on visible minorities, at the cost of ethnicity and/ or culture. Although visible minorities are also members of ethnic groups, the focus in only on those with an ethnic background that has been state-identified as visible minority. Cultural and heritage funding and/or research is notably low and Multiculturalism Program is increasingly occupied with colour and racial discrimination.

This is in some ways a positive change, since Multiculturalism has thus far more or less failed to deal with the needs of visible minorities in Canada and has been criticized for its lack of answers for the problems of racism, or white supremacy (Nourbese,1992: 266). On the other hand, neglecting the ethnic and cultural differences between visible minorities and other ethnic groups in Canada simplifies and reduces the problems and social inequality experienced by minority groups, effectively focussing on colour or 'race' as the sole factor in discrimination in Canada. Also, Multiculturalism policy has not dealt very effectively with any differences among these groups. In particular, Multiculturalism has not adequately considered the gender differences in the experiences of ethnic minorities in Canada, although current initiatives are attempting to draw attention to this problem. Overall, change has been occurring rapidly in the Multiculturalism Program and it is currently in transition. Increased immigration from Non-European sources, particularly from the Third World has meant changes in the

immigrant population with more visible minorities entering Canada than ever before. The current changes in Multiculturalism Policy may have substantial effects on the experiences of minority groups and particularly on how the state and the public will deal with the new issues Canadians face with respect to visibility and 'race'.

Canadian Immigration Policy and Racism

Differential treatment and selection based on race and ethnicity was firmly established in Canada's immigration policy since the 1910 Immigration Act. Throughout the history of Canadian immigration, overt and covert policies have excluded racial minority women immigrants in the hope that excluding women would keep the total numbers of minority group immigrants down (Henry *et al.*, 1995:72). The immigration policy continued to be overtly discriminatory toward racial minorities, based on the premise that Asians and other people of colour were 'unassimilable' because they had genetic, cultural and social traits that made them both inferior and unadaptable (Bolaria and Li, 1988). In 1967 Canada dropped its overt racially discriminatory immigration policies as a response to changing demographics and economic demands. However, restrictions and the overall treatment of racial minority immigrants was very poor and discrimination remained an integral component of Canada's immigration policy.

During the 1960s a new Immigration Act introduced the point system. This system assigned points to immigrants based on job-related skills, age, official language knowledge, level of education, work experience, demand for applicant's occupation, as well as personal assessment by an immigration officer. Immigrants are placed into three broad categories when admitted to Canada: economic, social, and humanitarian. They are then classified as independent, family class immigrants, or convention refugees. This was intended to be essentially a colour-blind selection procedure that was applied equally regardless of origin or colour. This act opened doors for an influx of immigrants from the Third World and previously excluded countries. Some argue, however, that the Act still maintained some of the racist administrative practices of earlier immigration policies (Henry *et al.*, 1995; Bolaria and Li, 1988). The seemingly universal selection process is not entirely neutral and left much room for discrimination throughout the immigration process. The selection criteria had an "adverse effect" on racial-minority immigrants and constituted differential treatment and racial discrimination (Henry *et al.*, 1995:76). For example, until the 1990s, there was only one visa office in India and China and the resources for all visa offices were unevenly distributed in developing countries. The personal assessment by immigration officers also left ample opportunity for individual prejudice and racism as qualifications, experience and background are all to some degree subjectively evaluated. Immigration officers had no objective method for assessing the qualifications that potential immigrants had acquired outside of Canada, in North America or Europe.

Regardless of the explicitly non-racist policy directives and the perceived universal principles applied in the point, racism has persisted in the Canadian Immigration process either directly or as an "adverse effect." Simmons (1998) argues that Canadian immigration policy is now characterized by neo-racist elements. According to Simmons, a neo-racist immigration policy is one that has significant racist

influences and outcomes within a framework that claims to be entirely non-racist. He points toward racism in immigration targets, unequal access to immigration services, biased selection of immigrants, racism in the economic role of immigrants and selective deportation of visible minorities as evidence that Canada has a neo-racist immigration policy. It is likely that this primarily systemic racism in Canadian Immigration Policy both directly and indirectly affects the socioeconomic status attainment of immigrants in Canada, particularly among visible minorities.

APPENDIX THREE:
1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
9555	"Sound and Video Recording and Reproduction Equipment Operators"	49.49
9557	"Motion Picture Projectionists"	43.65
9559	"Other Electronic and Related Communications Equipment Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	45.78
9590	"Foremen/women: Other Crafts and Equipment Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	50.82
9591	"Photographic Processing Occupations"	37.19
9599	"Other Crafts and Equipment Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	44.12
9910	"Supervisors & Foremen/Women n.e.c"	48.27
9916	"Inspecting,Testing, Gradering & Sampling Occupations n.e.c"	42.68
9919	"Other Occupations n.e.c"	34.90
9921	"Labourers- MFG"	28.97
9922	"Labourers- Transportation and Communication"	31.28
9923	"Labourers- Trade"	23.41
9924	"Labourers- Service"	21.26
9925	"Labourers- Public Administration & Defence"	26.16
9926	"Labourers- Other Industries"	24.11
9996	"Not in Sample"	
9997	"Don't Know"	
9998	"Refusal"	

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
9157	"Engine and Boiler-room Crew, Ship"	38.48
9159	"Water Transport Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	37.15
9170	"Foremen/women: Motor Transport Operating Occupations"	40.79
9171	"Bus Drivers"	34.93
9173	"Taxi Drivers and Chauffeurs"	30.92
9175	"Truck Drivers"	34.45
9179	"Motor Transport Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	36.04
9190	"Foremen/women: Other Transport Equipment Operating Occupations"	47.31
9191	"Subway and Street Railway Operating Occupations"	45.62
9193	"Rail Vehicle Operators, Except Rail Transport"	40.79
9199	"Other Transport Equipment Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	31.93
9310	"Foremen/women: Material Handling and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	42.33
9311	"Hoisting Occupations, n.e.c."	40.73
9313	"Longshore Workers, Stevedores and Freight Handlers"	32.59
9314	"Parcel Carriers, n.e.c."	21.86
9315	"Material Handling Equipment Operators, n.e.c."	35.21
9317	"Packaging Occupations, n.e.c."	25.79
9318	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Materials Handling and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	28.56
9319	"Other Material Handling and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	31.99
9510	"Foremen/women: Printing and Related Occupations"	46.36
9511	"Typesetting and Composing Occupations"	42.35
9512	"Printing Press Occupations"	40.66
9513	"Stereotyping and Electrotyping Occupations"	36.43
9514	"Printing Engraving, Except Photoengraving, Occupations"	48.79
9515	"Photoengraving and Related Occupations"	44.92
9517	"Bookbinding and Related Occupations"	30.30
9518	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Printing and Related Occupations"	26.37
9519	"Printing and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	31.69
9530	"Foremen/women: Stationary Engine and Utilities Equipment Operating and Related Occupations"	56.59
9531	"Power Station Operators"	54.46
9539	"Stationary Engine and Utilities Equipment Operating and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	47.63
9550	"Foremen/women: Electonic and Related Communications Equipment Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	57.85
9551	"Radio and Television Broadcasting Equipment Operators"	50.27
9553	"Telegraph Operators"	44.38

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
8719	"Excavating, Grading, Paving and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	37.36
8730	"Foremen/women: Electrical Power, Lighting and Wire Communications Equipment Erecting, Installing and Repairing Occupations"	57.39
8731	"Electrical Power Line Workers and Related Occupations"	51.09
8733	"Construction Electricians and Repairers"	47.94
8735	"Wire Communications and Related Equipment Installing and Repairing Occupations"	50.71
8736	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Electrical Power, Lighting, Wire Communications Equip.Erecting, Installing,Repairing"	53.53
8738	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Electrical Power, Lighting, Wire Communications Equip.Erecting, Installing,Repairing"	36.61
8739	"Electrical Power, Lighting and Wire Communications Equipment Erecting, Installing and Repairing Occupations, n.e.c."	47.31
8780	"Foremen/women: Other Construction Trades Occupations"	44.75
8781	"Carpenters and Related Occupations"	34.86
8782	"Brick and Stone Masons and Tile Setters"	36.21
8783	"Concrete Finishing and Related Occupations"	33.46
8784	"Plasterers and Related Occupations"	34.15
8785	"Painters, Paperhangers and Related Occupations"	31.94
8786	"Insulating Occupations, Construction"	34.34
8787	"Roofing, Waterproofing and Related Occupations"	29.83
8791	"Pipefitting, Plumbing and Related Occupations"	45.04
8793	"Structural Metal Erectors"	40.78
8795	"Glaziers"	39.50
8796	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Other Construction Trades"	48.79
8798	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Other Construction Trades"	28.13
8799	"Other Construction Trades Occupations, n.e.c."	33.43
9110	"Foremen/women: Air Transport Operating Occupations"	58.01
9111	"Air Pilots, Navigators and Flight Engineers"	64.07
9113	"Air Transport Operating Support Occupations"	53.64
9119	"Air Transport Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	45.16
9130	"Foremen/women: Railway Transport Operating Occupations"	48.23
9131	"Locomotive Operating Occupations"	49.25
9133	"Conductors and Brake Workers, Railway"	44.28
9135	"Railway Transport Operating Support Occupations"	42.87
9139	"Railway Transport Operating Occupations, n.e.c."	37.35
9151	"Deck Officers"	56.36
9153	"Engineering Officers, Ship"	55.32
9155	"Deck Crew, Ship"	36.31

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
8563	"Sewing Machine Operators, Textile and Similar Materials"	25.00
8566	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Textile, Fur and Leather Products"	26.78
8568	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Textile, Fur and Leather Products"	24.81
8569	"Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations: Textile, Fur and Leather Products, n.e.c."	26.36
8570	"Foremen/women: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations: Rubber, Plastic and Related Products"	42.59
8571	"Bonding and Cementing Occupations: Rubber, Plastic and Related Products"	33.27
8573	"Moulding Occupations: Rubber, Plastic and Related Products"	30.45
8575	"Cutting and Finishing Occupations: Rubber, Plastic and Related Products"	31.37
8576	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Rubber, Plastic and Related Products"	36.98
8578	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Rubber, Plastic and Related Products"	30.37
8579	"Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations: Rubber, Plastic and Related Products, n.e.c."	31.23
8580	"Foremen/women: Mechanics and Repairers, n.e.c."	48.51
8581	"Motor Vehicle Mechanics and Repairers"	39.19
8582	"Aircraft Mechanics and Repairers"	49.42
8583	"Rail Transport Equipment Mechanics and Repairers"	42.57
8584	"Industrial, Farm and Construction Machinery Mechanics and Repairers"	46.70
8585	"Business and Commercial Machine Mechanics and Repairers"	48.13
8586	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Equipment Repair, n.e.c."	43.87
8587	"Watch and Clock Repairers"	39.87
8588	"Precision Instrument Mechanics and Repairers"	53.83
8589	"Other Mechanics and Repairers, n.e.c."	38.25
8590	"Foremen/women: Other Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations"	42.99
8591	"Jewellery and Silverware Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations"	37.66
8592	"Marine Craft Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations"	32.93
8593	"Paper Product Fabricating and Assembling Occupations"	32.93
8595	"Painting and Decorating Occupations, n.e.c."	33.30
8596	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Other Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing"	33.38
8598	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Other Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing"	30.01
8599	"Other Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations, n.e.c."	30.36
8710	"Foremen/women: Excavating, Grading, Paving and Related Occupations"	42.54
8711	"Excavating, Grading and Related Occupations"	35.29
8713	"Paving, Surfacing and Related Occupations"	30.71
8715	"Railway Section and Track Workers"	32.64
8718	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Excavating, Grading, Paving and Related Occupations"	28.33

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
8395	"Patternmakers and Mouldmakers, n.e.c."	42.82
8396	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Other Machining and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	33.55
8399	"Other Machining and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	32.48
8510	"Foremen/women: Fabricating and Assembling Occupations: Metal Products, n.e.c."	49.97
8511	"Engine and Related Equipment Fabricating and Assembling Occupations, n.e.c."	36.00
8513	"Motor Vehicle Fabricating and Assembling Occupations, n.e.c."	36.86
8515	"Aircraft Fabricating and Assembling Occupations, n.e.c."	43.57
8523	"Industrial, Farm, Construction and Other Mechanized Equipment and Machinery Fabricating and Assembling Occupations, n.e.c."	36.35
8525	"Business and Commercial Machines Fabricating and Assembling Occupations, n.e.c."	35.56
8526	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Fabricating and Assembling Metal Products, n.e.c."	43.88
8527	"Precision Instruments and Related Equipment Fabricating and Assembling Occupations, n.e.c."	36.24
8528	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Fabricating and Assembling Metal Products, n.e.c."	31.03
8529	"Other Fabricating and Assembling Occupations: Metal Products, n.e.c."	33.83
8530	"Foremen/women: Fabricating, Assembling, Installing and Repairing Occupations: Electrical, Electronic and Related Equipment"	50.36
8531	"Electrical and Related Equipment Fabricating and Assembling Occupations"	33.31
8533	"Electrical and Related Equipment Installing and Repairing Occupations, n.e.c."	48.14
8534	"Electronic and Related Equipment Fabricating and Assembling Occupations"	32.33
8535	"Electronic and Related Equipment Installing and Repairing Occupations, n.e.c."	52.85
8536	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading,Sampling Occupations: Fabricating, Assembling, Installing and Repairing Electrical, Electronic, Related Equip."	42.52
8537	"Radio and Television Repairers"	43.76
8538	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Fabricating, Assembling, Installing and Repairing Electrical, Electronic,Related Equip."	29.59
8539	"Fabricating, Assembling, Installing and Repairing Occupations: Electrical, Electronic and Related Equipment, n.e.c."	34.62
8540	"Foremen/women: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations: Wood Products"	39.87
8541	"Cabinet and Wood Furniture Makers"	32.57
8546	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Wood Products"	31.98
8548	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Wood Products"	27.61
8549	"Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations: Wood Products, n.e.c."	29.04
8550	"Foremen/women: Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations: Textile, Fur and Leather Products"	34.53
8551	"Patternmaking, Marking and Cutting Occupations: Textile, Fur and Leather Products"	30.32
8553	"Tailors and Dressmakers"	28.52
8555	"Furriers"	28.91
8557	"Milliners, Hat and Cap Makers"	22.71
8561	"Shoemaking and Repairing Occupations"	25.37
8562	"Upholsterers"	31.22

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
8293	"Tobacco Processing Occupations"	36.65
8295	"Hide and Pelt Processing Occupations"	28.42
8296	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Other Processing"	35.64
8298	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Other Processing"	28.78
8299	"Other Processing Occupations, n.e.c."	30.18
8310	"Foremen/women: Metal Machining Occupations"	50.89
8311	"Tool and Die Making Occupations"	48.15
8313	"Machinist and Machine Tool Setting-up Occupations"	43.99
8315	"Machine Tool Operating Occupations"	38.43
8316	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Metal Machining"	42.47
8319	"Metal Machining Occupations, n.e.c."	36.62
8330	"Foremen/women: Metal Shaping and forming Occupations, Except Machining"	49.19
8331	"Forging Occupations"	37.68
8333	"Sheet Metal Workers"	40.36
8334	"Metalworking-machine Operators, n.e.c."	34.06
8335	"Welding and Flame Cutting Occupations"	41.42
8336	"INspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Metal Shaping and Forming, Except Machining"	43.19
8337	"Boilermakers, Platers and Structural Metal Workers"	43.58
8339	"Metal Shaping and Forming Occupations, Except Machining, n.e.c."	34.61
8350	"Foremen/women: Wood Machining Occupations"	41.47
8351	"Wood Patternmaking Occupations"	42.52
8353	"Wood Sawing and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	30.68
8355	"Planing, Turning, Shaping and Related Wood Machining Occupations"	31.62
8356	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Wood Machining"	34.03
8357	"Wood Sanding Occupations"	27.51
8359	"Wood Machining Occupations, n.e.c."	31.82
8370	"Foremen/women: Clay, Glass, Stone and Related Materials Machining Occupations"	43.15
8371	"Cutting and Shaping Occupations: Clay, Glass, Stone and Related Materials"	33.26
8373	"Abrading and Polishing Occupations: Clay, Glass, Stone and Related Materials"	32.88
8376	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Clay, Glass, Stone and Related Materials"	36.21
8379	"Clay, Glass, Stone and Related Materials Machining Occupations, n.e.c."	35.01
8390	"Foremen/women: Other Machining and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	46.88
8391	"Engravers, Etchers and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	32.27
8393	"Filing, Grinding, Buffing, Cleaning and Polishing Occupations, n.e.c."	35.40

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
8215	"Slaughtering and Meat Cutting, Canning, Curing and Packing Occupations"	33.82
8217	"Fish Canning, Curing and Packing Occupations"	20.38
8221	"Fruit and Vegetable Canning, Preserving and Packing Occupations"	23.18
8223	"Milk Processing and Related Occupations"	37.03
8225	"Sugar Processing and Related Occupations"	36.76
8226	"Inspecting, testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Food, Beverage and Related Processing"	34.09
8227	"Beverage Processing and Related Occupations"	40.13
8228	"Occupation in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Food, Beverage and Related Processing"	24.92
8229	"Food, Beverage and Related Processing Occupations, n.e.c."	32.32
8230	"Foremen/women: Wood Processing Occupations, Except Pulp and Papermaking"	44.20
8231	"Sawmill Sawyers and Related Occupations"	33.71
8233	"Plywood Making and Related Occupations"	34.66
8235	"Wood Treating Occupations"	35.92
8236	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Wood Processing, Except Pulp and Papermaking"	38.91
8238	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Wood Processing, Except Pulp and Papermaking"	29.71
8239	"Wood Processing Occupations, Except Pulp and Papermaking, n.e.c."	34.87
8250	"Foremen/women: Pulp and Papermaking and Related Occupations"	52.46
8251	"Cellulose Pulp Preparing Occupations"	44.18
8253	"Papermaking and Finishing Occupations"	43.92
8256	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Pulp and Papermaking"	46.10
8258	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Pulp and Papermaking"	39.32
8259	"Pulp and Papermaking and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	39.74
8260	"Foremen/women: Textile Processing Occupations"	40.71
8261	"Textile Fibre Preparing Occupations"	29.13
8263	"Textile Spinning and Twisting Occupations"	28.74
8265	"Textile Winding and Reeling Occupations"	27.90
8267	"Textile Weaving Occupations"	30.36
8271	"Knitting Occupations"	27.82
8273	"Textile Bleaching and Dyeing Occupations"	32.29
8275	"Textile Finishing and Calendering Occupations"	29.16
8276	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Textile Processing"	30.21
8278	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Textile Processing"	27.40
8279	"Textile Processing Occupations, n.e.c."	29.65
8290	"Foremen/women: Other Processing Occupations"	43.35

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
8115	"Melting and Roasting Occupations, Mineral Ores"	43.35
8116	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Mineral Ore Treating"	45.92
8118	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Mineral Ore Treating"	37.94
8119	"Mineral Ore Treating Occupations, n.e.c."	40.81
8130	"Foremen/women: Metal Processing and Related Occupations"	51.27
8131	"Metal Smelting, Converting and Refining Occupations"	40.33
8133	"Metal Heat-treating Occupations"	39.33
8135	"Metal Rolling Occupations"	41.18
8137	"Moulding, Coremaking and Metal Casting Occupations"	36.45
8141	"Metal Extruding and Drawing Occupations"	36.41
8143	"Plating, Metal Spraying and Related Occupations"	33.89
8146	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Metal Processing"	44.50
8148	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Metal Processing"	36.06
8149	"Metal Processing and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	38.29
8150	"Foremen/women: Clay, Glass and Stone Processing, Forming and Related Occupations"	44.48
8151	"Furnace and Kiln Workers: Clay, Glass and Stone"	36.43
8153	"Separating, Grinding, Crushing and Mixing Occupations: Clay, Glass and Stone"	34.81
8155	"Forming Occupations, Clay, Glass and Stone"	34.85
8156	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Clay, Glass and Stone Processing and Forming"	37.98
8158	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Clay, Glass and Stone Processing and Forming"	31.45
8159	"Clay, Glass and Stone Processing, Forming and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	36.07
8160	"Foremen/women: Chemicals, Petroleum, Rubber, Plastic and Related Materials Processing Occupations"	49.77
8161	"Mixing and Blending Occupations, Chemicals and Related Materials"	36.19
8163	"Filtering, Straining and Separating Occupations, Chemicals and Related Materials"	40.14
8165	"Distilling, Subliming and Carbonizing Occupations, Chemicals and Related Materials"	51.21
8167	"Roasting, Cooking and Drying Occupations, Chemicals and Related Materials"	39.76
8171	"Crushing and Grinding Occupations, Chemicals and Related Materials"	34.69
8173	"Coating and Calendering Occupations, Chemicals and Related Materials"	32.40
8176	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Chemicals, Petroleum, Rubber, Plastic and Related Materials Processing"	43.64
8178	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Chemicals, Petroleum, Rubber, Plastic and Related Materials Processing"	32.50
8179	"Chemicals, Petroleum, Rubber, Plastic and Related Materials Processing Occupations, n.e.c."	40.75
8210	"Foremen/women: Food, Beverage and Related Processing Occupations"	41.92
8211	"Flour and Grain Milling Occupations"	34.77
8213	"Baking, Confectionery Making and Related Occupations"	30.55

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
6193	"Elevator-operating Occupations"	32.21
6198	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Other Services"	21.24
6199	"Other Service Occupations, n.e.c."	27.60
7113	"Livestock Farmers"	29.59
7115	"Crop Farmers"	31.32
7119	"Farmers, n.e.c."	27.92
7180	"Foremen/women: Other Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry Occupations"	38.95
7183	"Livestock Farm Workers"	25.36
7185	"Crop Farm Workers"	22.04
7195	"Nursery and Related Workers"	26.99
7196	"Inspecting, Testing, Grading and Sampling Occupations: Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry Occupations"	25.71
7197	"Farm Machinery Operators"	23.76
7199	"Other Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry Occupations, n.e.c."	23.34
7311	"Captains and Other Officers, Fishing Vessels"	36.35
7313	"Net, Trap and Line Fishing Occupations"	24.59
7315	"Trapping and Related Occupations"	19.02
7319	"Fishing, Trapping and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	22.73
7510	"Foremen/women: Forestry and Logging Occupations"	45.16
7511	"Forestry Conservation Occupations"	34.14
7513	"Timber Cutting and Related Occupations"	25.23
7516	"Log Inspecting, Grading, Scaling and Related Occupations"	44.19
7517	"Log Hoisting, Sorting, Moving and Related Occupations"	34.57
7518	"Occupations inn Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Forestry and Logging"	25.34
7519	"Forestry and Logging Occupations, n.e.c."	32.30
7710	"Foremen/women: Mining and Quarrying Including Oil and Gas Field Occupations"	54.07
7711	"Rotary Well-drilling and related Occupations"	42.43
7713	"Rock and Soil Drilling Occupations"	40.23
7715	"Blasting Occupations"	40.43
7717	"Mining and Quarrying: Cutting, Handling and Loading Occupations"	39.56
7718	"Occupations in Labouring and Other Elemental Work: Mining and Quarrying Including Oil and Gas Fields"	34.73
7719	"Mining and Quarrying Including Oil and Gas Field Occupations, n.e.c."	40.74
8110	"Foremen/women: Mineral Ore Treating Occupations"	51.56
8111	"Crushing and Grinding Occupations, Mineral Ores"	39.45
8113	"Mixing, Separating, Filtering and Related Occupations, Mineral Ores"	42.59

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
5190	"Supervisors: Other Sales Occupations"	44.32
5191	"Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade"	46.08
5193	"Route Drivers"	35.73
5199	"Other Sales Occupations, n.e.c."	32.84
6111	"Fire-fighting Occupations"	51.17
6112	"Police Officers and Detectives, Government"	58.78
6113	"Police Agents and Investigators, Private"	46.60
6115	"Guards and Related Security Occupations"	31.95
6116	"Commissioned Officers, Armed Forces"	62.19
6117	"Other Ranks, Armed Forces"	41.69
6119	"Protective Service Occupations, n.e.c."	33.20
6120	"Supervisors: Food and Beverage Preparation and Related Service Occupations"	34.64
6121	"Chefs and Cooks"	25.56
6123	"Bartenders"	29.24
6125	"Food and Beverage Serving Occupations"	23.31
6129	"Food and Beverage Preparation and Related Service Occupations, n.e.c."	26.52
6130	"Supervisors: Occupations in Lodging and Other Accommodation"	31.36
6133	"Lodging Cleaners, Except Private Household"	21.37
6135	"Sleeping-car and Baggage Porters"	27.46
6139	"Occupations in Lodging and Other Accommodation, n.e.c."	26.13
6141	"Funeral Directors, Embalmers and Related Occupations"	47.32
6142	"Housekeepers, Servants and Related Occupations"	22.08
6143	"Barbers, Hairdressers and Related Occupations"	35.62
6144	"Guides"	32.87
6145	"Travel and Related Attendants, Except Food and Beverage"	48.83
6147	"Child-care Occupations"	23.70
6149	"Personal Service Occupations, n.e.c."	25.53
6160	"Supervisors: Apparel and Furnishings Service Occupations"	34.28
6162	"Laundering and Dry Cleaning Occupations"	25.90
6165	"Pressing Occupations"	24.49
6169	"Apparel and Furnishings Service Occupations, n.e.c."	24.49
6190	"Supervisors: Other Service Occupations"	37.46
6191	"Janitors, Charworkers and Cleaners"	26.36

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
4160	"Supervisors: Library, File and Correspondence Clerks and Related Occupations"	50.57
4161	"Library and File Clerks"	34.85
4169	"Library, File and Correspondence Clerks and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	43.50
4170	"Supervisors: Reception, Information, Mail and Message Distribution Occupations"	46.46
4171	"Receptionists and Information Clerks"	35.04
4172	"Mail Carriers"	42.29
4173	"Mail and Postal Clerks"	38.15
4175	"Telephone Operators"	33.25
4177	"Messengers"	28.82
4179	"Reception, Information, Mail and Message Distribution Occupations, n.e.c."	34.90
4190	"Supervisors: Other Clerical and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	47.88
4191	"Collectors"	43.10
4192	"Claim Adjusters"	41.70
4193	"Travel Clerks, Ticket, Station and Freight Agents"	44.92
4194	"Hotel Clerks"	31.63
4195	"Personnel Clerks"	45.22
4197	"General Office Clerks"	37.93
4199	"Other Clerical and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	39.01
5130	"Supervisors: Sales Occupations, Commodities"	41.01
5131	"Technical Sales Occupations and Related Advisers"	57.89
5133	"Commercial Travellers"	50.52
5135	"Sales Clerks and Salespersons, Commodities, n.e.c."	30.93
5141	"Street Vendors and Door-to-door Sales Occupations"	29.95
5143	"Newspaper Carriers and Vendors"	17.81
5145	"Service Station Attendants"	21.47
5149	"Sales Occupations, Commodities, n.e.c."	29.16
5170	"Supervisors: Sales Occupations, Services"	56.44
5171	"Insurance Sales Occupations"	50.18
5172	"Real Estate Sales Occupations"	49.99
5173	"Sales Agents and Traders, Securities"	58.62
5174	"Advertising Sales Occupations"	47.26
5177	"Business Services Sales Occupations"	52.09
5179	"Sales Occupations: Services, n.e.c."	44.56

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
3332	"Musicians and Singers"	36.58
3333	"Occupations Related to Music and Musical Entertainment, n.e.c."	32.35
3334	"Dancers and Choreographers"	32.94
3335	"Actors/Actresses"	42.94
3337	"Radio and Television Announcers"	46.43
3339	"Occupations in Performing and Audio-Visual Arts, n.e.c."	37.54
3351	"Writers and Editors"	54.58
3355	"Translators and Interpreters"	57.30
3359	"Occupations in Writing, n.e.c."	50.15
3360	"Supervisors: Occupations in Sports and Recreation"	38.48
3370	"Coaches, Trainers and Instructors, Sports and Recreation"	36.71
3371	"Referees and Related Officials"	23.77
3373	"Athletes"	40.36
3375	"Attendants, Sports and Recreation"	24.93
3379	"Occupations in Sports and Recreation, n.e.c."	25.74
4110	"Supervisors: Stenographic and Typing Occupations"	46.00
4111	"Secretaries and Stenographers"	41.82
4113	"Typists and Clerk-typists"	38.47
4130	"Supervisors: Bookkeeping, Account-recording and Related Occupations"	45.39
4131	"Bookkeepers and Accounting Clerks"	40.28
4133	"Cashiers and Tellers"	28.31
4135	"Insurance, Bank and Other Finance Clerks"	40.51
4137	"Statistical Clerks"	41.79
4139	"Bookkeeping, Account-recording and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	40.23
4140	"Supervisors: Office Machine and Electronic Data-processing Equipment Operators"	51.16
4141	"Office Machine Operators"	37.39
4143	"Electronic Data-processing Equipment Operators"	41.93
4150	"Supervisors: Material Recording, Scheduling and Distributing Occupations"	44.50
4151	"Production Clerks"	43.11
4153	"Shipping and Receiving Clerks"	34.11
4155	"Stock Clerks and Related Occupations"	35.46
4157	"Weighers"	32.07
4159	"Material Recording, Scheduling and Distributing Occupations, n.e.c."	31.89

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
2799	"Other Teaching and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	53.23
3111	"Physicians and Surgeons"	101.32
3113	"Dentists"	101.74
3115	"Veterinarians"	72.24
3117	"Osteopaths and Chiropractors"	70.24
3119	"Health Diagnosing and Treating Occupations, n.e.c."	57.21
3130	"Supervisors: Nursing, Therapy and Related Assisting Occupations"	63.51
3131	"Nurses, Registered, Graduate and Nurses-in-Training"	55.26
3132	"Orderlies"	38.68
3134	"Registered Nursing Assistants"	46.51
3135	"Nursing Attendants"	33.60
3136	"Audio and Speech Therapists"	62.36
3137	"Physiotherapists"	56.56
3138	"Occupational Therapists"	55.23
3139	"Nursing, Therapy and Related Assisting Occupations, n.e.c."	40.44
3151	"Pharmacists"	64.39
3152	"Dietitians and Nutritionists"	59.31
3153	"Optometrists"	79.63
3154	"Dispensing Opticians"	48.55
3155	"Radiological Technologists and Technicians"	56.78
3156	"Medical Laboratory Technologists and Technicians"	55.79
3157	"Denturists"	59.02
3158	"Dental Hygienists and Dental Assistants"	45.02
3161	"Dental Laboratory Technicians"	45.15
3162	"Respiratory Technicians"	59.05
3169	"Other Occupations in Medicine and Health, n.e.c."	39.86
3311	"Painters, Sculptors and Related Artists"	36.88
3313	"Product and Interior Designers"	43.47
3314	"Advertising and Illustrating Artists"	40.23
3315	"Photographers and Camera Operators"	44.66
3319	"Occupations in Fine and Commericial Art, Photography and Related Fields, n.e.c."	40.57
3330	"Producers and Directors, Performing and Audio-Visual Arts"	57.04
3331	"Conductors, Composers and Arrangers"	42.01

1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Cont'd)

Code	Occupation Title	SES
2169	"Other Occupations in Architecture and Engineering, n.e.c."	35.47
2181	"Mathematicians, Statisticians and Actuaries"	61.91
2183	"Systems Analysts, Computer Programmers and Related Occupations"	60.73
2189	"Occupations in Mathematics, Statistics, Systems Analysis and Related Fields, n.e.c."	48.24
2311	"Economists"	69.18
2313	"Sociologists, Anthropologists and Related Social Scientists"	63.09
2315	"Psychologists"	65.36
2319	"Occupations in Social Sciences, n.e.c."	49.87
2331	"Social Workers"	60.11
2333	"Occupations in Welfare and Community Services"	36.89
2339	"Occupations in Social Work and Related Fields, n.e.c."	44.39
2341	"Judges and Magistrates"	93.27
2343	"Lawyers and Notaries"	75.60
2349	"Occupations in Law and Jurisprudence, n.e.c."	48.72
2350	"Supervisors: Occupations in Library, Museum and Archival Sciences"	57.97
2351	"Librarians, Archivists and Conservators"	55.40
2353	"Technicians in Library, Museum and Archival Sciences"	51.11
2359	"Occupations in Library, Museum and Archival Sciences, n.e.c."	37.70
2391	"Educational and Vocational Counsellors"	67.61
2399	"Other Occupations in Social Sciences and Related Fields, n.e.c."	51.54
2511	"Ministers of Religion"	52.84
2513	"Nuns and Brothers"	42.17
2519	"Occupations in Religion, n.e.c."	43.27
2711	"University Teachers"	75.87
2719	"University Teaching and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	46.83
2731	"Elementary and Kindergarten Teachers"	63.64
2733	"Secondary School Teachers"	70.19
2739	"Elementary and Secondary School Teaching and Related Occupations, n.e.c."	43.38
2791	"Community College and Vocational School Teachers"	66.03
2792	"Fine Arts Teachers, n.e.c."	40.93
2793	"Post-secondary School Teachers, n.e.c."	67.05
2795	"Teachers of Exceptional Students, n.e.c."	58.09
2797	"Instructors and Training Officers, n.e.c."	49.94

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Code	Occupation Title	SES
1174	"Personnel and Related Officers"	57.19
1175	"Purchasing Officers and Buyers, Except Wholesale and Retail Trade"	52.23
1176	"Inspectors and Regulatory Officers, n.e.c."	52.51
1179	"Occupations Related to Management and Administration, n.e.c."	57.55
2111	"Chemists"	63.47
2112	"Geologists"	71.01
2113	"Physicists"	73.00
2114	"Meteorologists"	70.66
2117	"Physical Sciences Technologists and Technicians"	54.05
2119	"Occupations in Physical Sciences, n.e.c."	41.81
2131	"Agriculturists and Related Scientists"	62.19
2133	"Biologists and Related Scientists"	65.63
2135	"Life Sciences Technologists and Technicians"	52.86
2139	"Occupations in Life Sciences, n.e.c."	51.01
2141	"Architects"	68.12
2142	"Chemical Engineers"	72.47
2143	"Civil Engineers"	71.70
2144	"Electrical Engineers"	70.48
2145	"Industrial Engineers"	64.07
2146	"Agricultural Engineers"	64.22
2147	"Mechanical Engineers"	68.37
2151	"Metallurgical Engineers"	71.05
2153	"Mining Engineers"	72.80
2154	"Petroleum Engineers"	74.67
2155	"Aerospace Engineers"	65.79
2156	"Nuclear Engineers"	75.44
2157	"Community Planners"	65.11
2159	"Professional Engineers, n.e.c."	70.27
2160	"Supervisors: Other Occupations in Architecture and Engineering"	62.97
2161	"Surveyors"	46.22
2163	"Draughting Occupations"	53.83
2164	"Architectural Technologists and Technicians"	55.82
2165	"Engineering Technologits and Technicians"	56.57

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Code	Occupation Title	SES
1111	"Members of Legislative Bodies"	55.08
1113	"Government Administrators"	67.84
1115	"Post Office Management Occupations"	38.19
1116	"Inspectors and Regulatory Officers, Government"	56.42
1119	"Officials and Administrators Unique to Government n.e.c."	60.65
1130	"General Managers and Other Senior Officials"	71.62
1131	"Management Occupations, Natural Sciences and Engineering"	79.23
1132	"Management Occupations, Social Sciences and Related Fields"	62.53
1133	"Administrators in Teaching and Related Fields"	78.34
1134	"Administrators in Medicine and Health"	68.89
1135	"Financial Management Occupations"	60.65
1136	"Personnel and Industrial Relations Management Occupations"	62.87
1137	"Sales and Advertising Management Occupations"	50.07
1141	"Purchasing Management Occupations"	50.83
1142	"Services Management Occupations"	40.99
1143	"Production Management Occupations"	57.57
1145	"Management Occupations, Construction Operations"	55.91
1146	"Farm Management Occupations"	32.06
1147	"Management Occupations, Transport and Communications Operations"	61.01
1149	"Other Mangers and Administrators, n.e.c."	55.09
1151	"Other Managers- Mines and Oil Wells"	66.39
1152	"Other Managers- Durable Godds Manufacturing"	56.56
1153	"Other Managers- Non-Durable Godds Manufacturing"	54.91
1154	"Other Managers- Construction"	49.40
1155	"Other Managers- Transportion and Communication"	56.38
1156	"Other Managers- Trade"	47.79
1157	"Other Managers- Service"	52.49
1158	"Other Managers- Other Industries"	56.83
1171	"Accountants, Auditors and Other Financial Officers"	59.44
1173	"Organization and Methods Analysts"	65.98

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