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EVALUATION OF LONG TERM IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL POLICIES: THE 1967 IMMIGRATION ACT AS A CASE STUDY

BY

MARCELA HERNANDEZ

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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AT
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to provide an assessment of some possible implications of the 1967 Immigration Act and subsequent legislation on the distribution of occupation types for selected mother tongue groups.

The Toronto and Windsor C.M.A's were selected as the study area of this study and the 1981 and 1986 Censuses were selected as the study period. In order to find out the implications of the 1967 Immigration Act and subsequent legislation, the occupational statistics of the following groups were studied : English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Punjabi and Hindi.

The occupational data was analyzed using the Index of dissimilarity and Chi square computations. The results from these tests and the review of the literature was used to mae a series of conclusions on the need, of certain mother tongue groups, for Equity hiring policies.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents for all their guidance and support . Also to my future husband, Tony and to my sister, Adriana, for their support and for always being there for me.

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CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Once a government adopts a new course of social action, it is codified in legislation and implemented by policies. After a policy is initiated, the results may not always turn out as expected. Social changes in one area may introduce new conflicts in other areas of society. If this occurs, supplementary policies may be introduced to resolve the new conflicts. This study examines the multiplicative effects of a particular type of social legislation.

In 1967, the Canadian government modified the 1952 immigration act to eliminate the possibility of discrimination in the immigration process. The major change was the elimination of the use of country of origin and ethnic affiliation as a criterion for selecting immigrants. This led to the entry of a large number of immigrants from non-traditional sources, such as immigrants from Third World countries (Elliott, 1990).

The changing composition of Canada's society, with people from different ethnic backgrounds, led to adjustment processes in the labour market and political areas. There was a need for policies to eliminate the perceived discrimination in the labour force (Office of Employment Equity Commission, 1992). The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and employment equity policies were indirect consequences of the changes in the immigration act.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms went into effect in 1982 and federal employment equity policies in 1985. But, in the late seventies the government started studying the need for policies which would guarantee that all individuals be treated equally (Abella, 1984). In addition , many people were of the view that many employers had initiated changes in their hiring practices before the implementation of the employment equity policies (Elliott, 1992). Therefore, when government hiring practices were introduced, the composition of the labour force might have already changed. As a result, thre was need to reevaluate whether the right groups were designated.

The adoption of employment equity policies before and after the formal legislation went into effect probably impacted on the accessibility of selected groups to a number of additional employment opportunities and in turn changed the occupational composition of Canada's society. The extent of these changes is not fully known, but the implementation of such policies may have created a new occupational structure where non traditional groups may now face discrimination. As a result of the inadvertent impact that these changes may have had on the society, it is crucial to constantly monitor and reevaluate the efficacy of policies to ensure that all groups within the society are treated equitably.

1.2 Thesis objectives

Because social policies are rarely monitored over time in terms of their effectiveness and by the time the formal legislation are passed they might be redundant and even counter productive, the purpose of this thesis is to provide an assessment of some possible implications of the 1967 Immigration Act and subsequent legislation for the distribution of occupation types for selected mother tongue groups . This thesis poses the question of whether present equity legislation is still valid in its current form or is in need of revision. In order to fulfil this purpose, data on the occupational distribution of selected mother tongue groups by sex for the period between 1981 and 1986 are reviewed. The selected mother tongue groups are : English, French, Italian, German, Polish, Portuguese, Vietnamese, Hindi, Chinese, and Punjabi.

The specific objectives of this thesis are:

* A comparison of the occupational distributions of the selected mother tongue groups for 1981 and 1986 to assess whether the distributions vary by mother tongue, by sex and whether the variance has increased, decreased or remained stable over the study period.

* To assess whether the occupational distributions for 1981 and 1986 by mother tongue groups differ from that found by Porter in 1965.

* To ascertain how well the groups designated by the equity policies are faring compared to the traditional power groups and non designated groups.

* To find out whether the employment equity policy needs to be changed.

* To find out if the mother tongue occupational patterns found are reflective of large cities or whether these patterns also emerge in smaller

centres.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter of the thesis reviews the literature on : the 1952 Immigration Act, the 1967 changes to the Act, the social policies which indirectly resulted from the changes to the Immigration Act, Porter's occupational structure, the changing occupational structure and the literature on the occupational distribution by sex.

2.2 The 1952 Immigration Act

The 1952 Immigration Act has been described as an act of "preferred nations and prohibited classes" because the Governor in Council had the power to prohibit the entry of certain candidates due to their nationality, citizenship, ethnic affiliation, occupation, class, geographical area of origin, peculiar customs and the inability to become readily assimilated into Canadian society (Richmond, 1967). In 1956, this Act was amended to include a list of preferred nations. This piece of legislation gave preferential status to persons of British birth and nationality together with people from France and the U.S.A. It also gave secondary preference to immigrants from other European countries, if they had certain approved economic qualifications. Immigrants from non preferred nations, no matter how well qualified they were, could not enter Canada unless sponsored

by a close relative (Richmond, 1967). The immigration which followed the 1952 Immigration policy was characterized by the entry of a large number of people from the U.K, followed by many immigrants from Austria, East and West Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain (Richmond, 1967).

2.3 The 1967 Immigration Act

In the 1960's the Canadian government started to regard the 1952 Immigration Act as ethnocentric and racist and felt that it should be replaced by legislation with more universal application(Elliott, 1990). This belief led to the 1967 Act which introduced the points system. The immigrants, under this Act, were to be selected on the basis of points which were to be allocated according to age, education, adaptability, occupational skill, arranged employment, knowledge of English and French and the presence of relatives in Canada (Law Union of Ontario, 1981).

In addition to this, three classes of immigrants were established: the family, independent and refugee classes. The family class comprised certain close relatives sponsored by a Canadian citizen of at least 18 years of age and residing in Canada (Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, 1981). The independent class included the assisted relatives and others who applied to migrate on their own initiative at government offices abroad. These were to be assessed and selected according to the points system (Economic Council, 1990). The refugee class included any person designated by

the Governor-in-Council as a refugee. These were to be admitted on humanitarian grounds at times of crises (Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, 1981). The points system was the most important feature of the 1967 Act because it eliminated the use of country of origin or ethnic affiliation as a basis for selection of immigrants. As a result, it stimulated immigration from Third World countries (Elliott, 1990).

In 1978 , the 1967 Immigration Act was amended in order to establish a quota system to permit a better control over the number of international migrants to be admitted into Canada (Driedger, 1987). The most important feature of this amendment was that it expanded the independent class to include two types of business migrants : investors and entrepreneurs (Elliott, 1990). According to the 1978 Act, an investor can be defined as a person who has a proven track record in business, has accumulated the required net worth and is prepared to commit his or her funds to Canadian business. The entrepreneur was defined as a person who intends and has the ability to establish or buy a substantial interest in the ownership of a business or commercial venture in Canada, such that job opportunities will be created or maintained for more than one Canadian citizen (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990). Many immigrants from China and other Asiatic countries entered Canada under this category. This in turn might have affected the occupational distribution of groups.

Because of the immigration policy changes that took place in 1967, many immigrants entered this country with characteristics that differed from the ones who entered Canada during the pre 1967 period (Simmons, 1990). These immigrants were called the "New Wave" and this stream of immigrants comprised immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia. This stream not only included highly educated immigrants, but also poorly educated people , many of whom were domestics (Simmons, 1990).

2.4 Legislation subsequent to the 1967 Immigration Act

The changing composition of Canada's society and in particular Canada's labour force did not occur harmoniously. A number of studies revealed that people with certain characteristics were not being treated fairly, that some groups had a very narrow range of occupations and that some groups did not climb far up the corporate ladder (Treasury Board of Canada, 1988). As a result, there was a need for legislation to eliminate this apparent discrimination in the labour force. This existing inequality gave weight to pressures to establish a Charter of Rights and Freedoms and for Employment Equity policies.

2.4.1 The Charter of Rights and Freedoms

In 1972, a special joint committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons was appointed to study the need for a new constitution. This committee recommended that Canada

should have a Bill of Rights entrenched in the Constitution and that discrimination in employment or in membership in professional , trade or other occupational associations should be declared contrary to the Bill of Rights (Special Joint Committee, 1972).

In April of 1982, ten years after this report was introduced, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was signed. Equality is a fundamental principle and right of all Canadians under this charter. To achieve this, the Charter allows laws, programs and activities that help groups, who are at a disadvantage, to receive equal treatment that up to that time they had not obtained (Municipal Affairs, 1988). This charter guarantees the following : freedom of conscience, thought and beliefs. It also guaranties democratic rights, legal rights and other general rights (Richard, 1985).

2.4.2 Employment Equity policies

Employment Equity Policies arose from the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. These were designed to help the most disadvantaged groups enter all areas of the labour force and have access to all jobs . Such policies attempted to overcome discrimination in employment practices and provided assistance to members of disadvantaged groups in gaining fair access to jobs (Ministry of Affairs, 1988 and Dessler, 1992). Designated groups are those whose unemployment rate is higher than the country's average, whose range of

occupations is narrower and whose earnings are less than the rest of the labour force. Traditionally, they do not climb as far up the corporate ladder (Treasury Board of Canada, 1988).

In 1988, a Royal Commission was formed to inquire into the most efficient, effective and equitable means of promoting equal employment opportunities. Judge Rosalie Sibberman Abella presented a report in 1984, in which she stated that , at that time, disadvantages in the labour force were disproportionately assumed by four designated groups :women, natives, visible minorities and persons with disabilities. The visible minorities group was defined by the Commission as "non whites" (Abella, 1984). This report argued that most women work in clerical, sales, and support services of many corporations. These are not only the lowest paying jobs , they also tend to be jobs limited in opportunities for promotion (Abella, 1984). It also argued that natives, visible minorities and disabled people were not well represented in the top occupations of the occupational ladder (Abella, 1984).

It was not until 1985 that the formal legislation to implement the Abella report was adopted by the Federal government. Many argued that these equity policies were necessary because by the year 2001 , based on present immigration patterns, visible minorities would comprise a significant part of the labour force and also because women comprise an increasing percentage of the workforce (Office

of the Employment Equity Commission,1992). Traditionally, these groups have not progressed as rapidly as other groups, as described by Porter (1965). It is also argued that women who are also members of other designated groups, are the most severely disadvantaged (Office of Employment Equity Commission, 1992). However, the forces for changes to employment practices which were already present before the formal adoption of these policies and which were strengthened after the legislation was passed might have made redundant Porter's Vertical Mosaic thesis and some of the Equity legislation.

2.5 The occupational structure according to Porter (1965)

In the Vertical Mosaic, Porter examined census data on the occupational distribution of ethnic groups for the 1931-61 period and compared the distribution to those of the total population. He used the index of dissimilarity and index of net difference to make inferences. This statistical analysis led Porter to conclude that Canada's society could be described as a vertical mosaic where the vertical alignment accentuates the hierarchy of ethnic inequality. In the vertical mosaic, the charter status groups, the French and the English, command greater power and privilege than the entrance status groups, immigrants arriving later. Porter also noted an asymmetry of power favouring the English and French. Porter also claimed that among the other immigrant groups ethnic inequality existed, meaning that

some groups were in a much better position than others. Porter called this the "thesis of ethnically blocked mobility" (Porter, 1965).

The 1967 Immigration Act might have undermined Porter's thesis. Porter in 1985 published an article in which he discussed how the new immigration policy may have changed the traditional occupational structure of Canada's society. He argued that in the 1970's, the immigration flow by source region shifted from Europe to Asia and the West Indies. This "new wave" of immigrants, at the beginning, required high education levels and skills to enter Canada because the immigration from those sources had been previously low. Therefore, these "new wave" immigrants had to enter Canada through the points system which placed a greater emphasis on education and skills (Porter, 1985). As time passed, the education levels of this group of immigrants might have decreased because the presence of relatives in Canada meant that they could enter this country sponsored by a relative rather than through the points system. The entry of this "new wave of immigrants" might have led to the need for other social policies to help them integrate into the Canadian society. The above factors might have changed Porter's 1965 occupational structure.

2.6 The changing occupational structure

The literature on the occupational attainment of groups reveals that the findings of more recent research refute

Porter's thesis (1965). For instance, Lautard and Guppy (1990) revised Porter's interpretation using the census data on the occupational distribution of ethnic groups from 1931 to 1986. The authors calculated the total positive or negative percentage differences between the occupational distribution of ethnic groups and the total labour force. They also calculated the index of dissimilarity, which allows a comparison of occupational differentiation among groups and the index of net difference, which provides a measure of the overall occupational ranking of a group in relation to the rest of the labour force. From the statistical analysis the authors were able to infer that the British and Jewish males were over represented in managerial and administrative occupations whereas Italians , Portuguese, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Chinese and Asiatic females were under represented. They also were able to infer that the gender division of labour was more marked than the ethnic division.

In addition to this, Lautard and Loree (1984) and Pineo and Porter (1985) inferred that the strength of the association between ethnic origin and occupational status has attenuated. Furthermore, Darroch (1985) concluded that the marked differentiation that Porter saw at the time the immigrants arrived in Canada can either harden into a permanent class system or can change in the direction of absorption, integration and acculturation, which would lead to the disappearance of the relationship between ethnicity

and class and less differentiation in the job market.

2.7 Occupational structure by sex

Many studies have been conducted to describe the occupational distribution of immigrant women and men. Basavarajappa and Verma (1990) used the 1981 Canadian census data on occupational distribution to compare the occupational composition of immigrant women to that of Canadian born women and immigrant men. They employed the index of dissimilarity to compare the occupational differentiation among groups. Basavarajappa and Verma's (1990) study revealed that the representation of immigrant women in professional and technical occupations was lower than that of Canadian born women, but their representation was higher in processing and other occupations. Furthermore, immigrant women were less likely than immigrant men to be in managerial and professional occupations, according to this study. However, the use of aggregate data could be misleading since it could hide the particular process of groups. Boyd (1985) and Ng (1988) also concluded that sexual inequalities combine with ethnic origin inequalities to create disadvantages for immigrant women. These inequalities might have been caused by either immigration policies, which put women as dependents of men, or by other social policies (Ng,1988).

2.8 Conclusion

In 1967, the Canadian government modified the 1952 Immigration Act. This led to the entry of many immigrants from non traditional sources (Elliott, 1990). The changing composition of Canada's society also led to adjustment processes in the labour market and political areas. Government studies revealed that there was a need to eliminate the perceived discrimination in the labour force. In 1972, the government introduced a report on the need for legislation to protect rights and freedoms of all Canadians regardless of race, but not until 1985 was Federal legislation to protect the rights in the workforce passed. Since it took ten years to pass this legislation, it is argued that by the time it was passed, the composition of the labour force had already changed and perhaps, the employment equity legislation needed to be evaluated. Because of the possible negative impacts of these policies, based on outdated information on the occupational structure by mother tongue and gender, it is crucial to constantly monitor and reevaluate social policies. This thesis attempts to cast a fresh perspective on social policies by providing an assessment of the 1967 immigration act and subsequent legislation on the occupational distribution of mother tongue groups by ethnic origin and gender in Ontario.

CHAPTER III

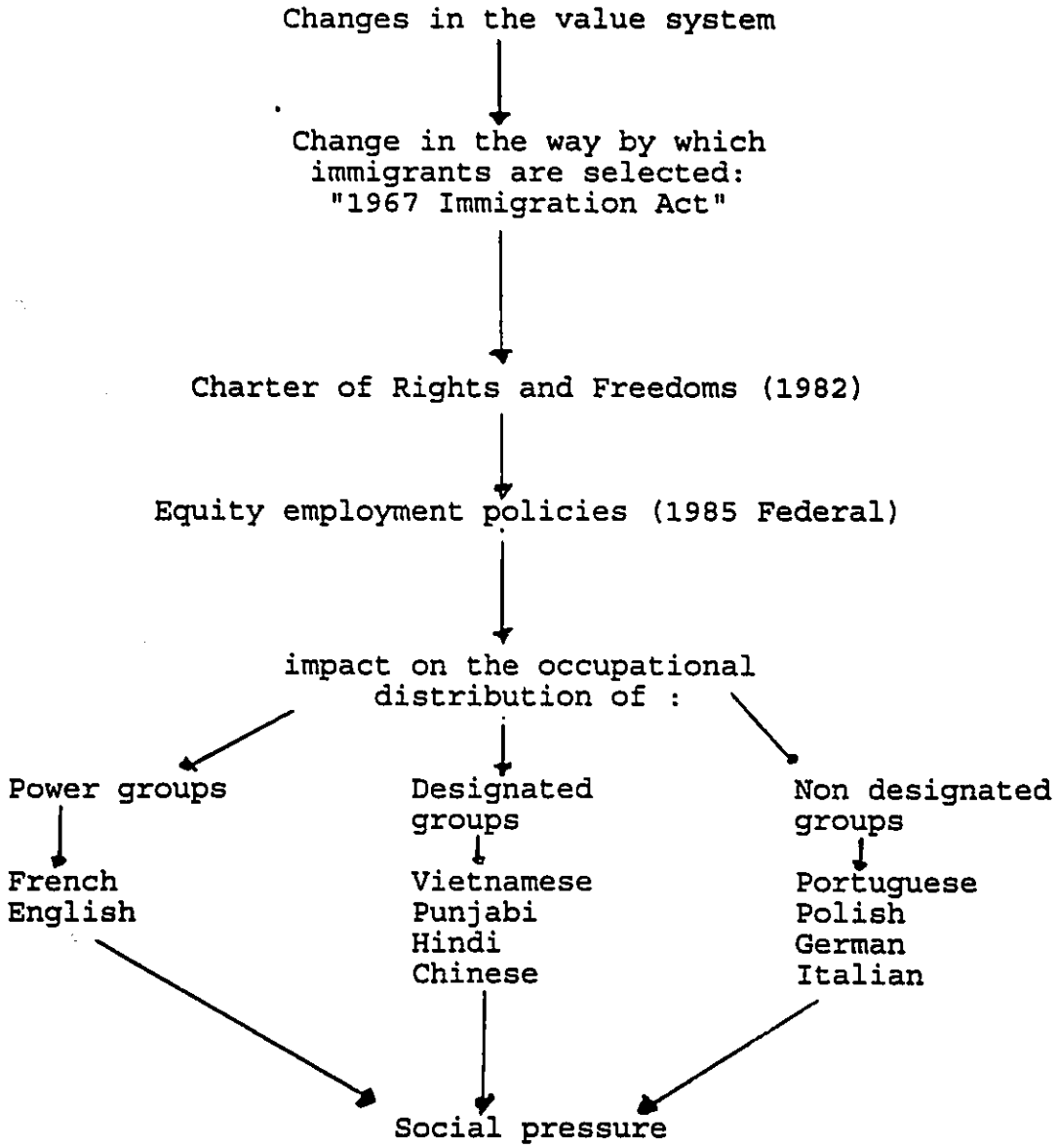
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Theoretical structure

The review of the literature revealed that the 1967 Immigration Act indirectly led to the need for other social policies to avoid conflict and to eliminate the apparent discrimination in the workforce. This process of social change is put forward in a diagram (Figure 1). Here, possible changes arising from social policies are outlined. The first process in the diagram is generated by a change in the value system of the government and or society. This leads to the government adopting a new course of social action. In this case, the new course of social action led to changes in the 1952 Immigration Act relating to the procedure by which immigrants were selected. No longer was ethnicity and country of origin to be used as a means of selecting immigrants. This modification allowed the entry of many people from a more diverse number of source countries. The entry of people with different backgrounds led to the need for social legislation to allow for a more equitable adjustment processes in the labour market and political areas. There was a need for policies to eliminate the "perceived discrimination" in the workforce, and to protect the rights and freedoms of all Canadians regardless of ethnic origin. (Office of the Employment Equity Commission, 1992). Government studies revealed that equality in

FIGURE 1

A DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION



employment had to be protected and guaranteed. (Special Joint Committe of the Senete, 1972). These recommendations were put forward in 1972, but , not until 1985 were the Federal government Employment policies formally adopted . The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Employment Equity policies were the major legislative acts aimed at equality. By the time these policies were formally implemented the process of easier access to certain occupations may already have been initiated. Therefore, by the time the equity legislation was formally implemented, it probably needed to be reevaluated. The 1967 Immigration Act and subsequent legislation may have impacted the occupational distribution of the power groups , designated groups, and non designated groups in a manner not wholly consistent with the aims sought. The literature on spatial implications of the above policies is limited.

3.2 Criteria for evaluating the Federal employment equity legislation under study.

In order to evaluate the impact of this policy on employment opportunities, the entry into the labour market of specific mother tongue groups by sex is analyzed over time and space. This is done to assess whether these groups are integrating into the national labour market. The rate of integration will provide an insight whether the employment equity policies are fulfilling their objectives. It will provide a point of reference to see how well the designated

groups , non-designated groups and traditional power groups are faring. The process initiated by the 1967 Immigration Act will be evaluated to see how the selected mother tongue groups fared in the labour market.

3.3 Hypothesis of the study

Based on the objectives of this study and on the review of the literature, the following hypothesis were formulated :

(1) The occupational distribution of the mother tongue groups under study have changed in the period between 1981-86.

(2) The occupational distribution of the study group differs from Porter's Vertical Mosaic thesis.

(3) The designated groups are improving their employment situation vis a vis the power groups.

(4) The designated groups have a similar distribution across occupation groups as non designated groups.

(5) Not all minorities within designated groups have made equal progress.

(6) Differences in occupational attainment are as much gender as ethnicity based.

(7) The changes in employment patterns by mother tongue groups vary by city type.

In the first hypothesis the occupational structure of the study group in 1981 and 1986 for Windsor and Toronto will be examined to establish if during the study period the occupational distribution of the selected groups have

changed for the better. This will establish whether constraints to employment opportunities were diminishing before the equity legislation was introduced.

In the second hypothesis the present occupational position of the mother tongue groups in the vertical occupational ladder will be tested to see whether it has changed from that reported by Porter in 1965 in his thesis of "ethnically blocked mobility". This will be done for 1981 and 1986 for Windsor and Toronto.

In the third hypothesis the employment patterns of the designated groups with the traditional power groups will be examined. It will concentrate in the study of the managerial and professional and technical occupations. In this hypothesis the researcher will try to find out if the designated groups are really at a disadvantage when compared to the traditional power groups (English and French).

In the fourth hypothesis; the proposition that the non designated groups, particularly those who had not done well in Porter's findings (1965), are also not faring well under equity legislation. It will compare the percentage of people from the four designated mother tongue groups in the power occupations (managerial and professional and technical) to that of the Italian, German, Portuguese and Polish mother tongue groups. This would be one indication that the non designated groups should also be considered for equity legislation.

In the fifth hypothesis the occupational distribution

of the designated groups is going to be studied to find out if all designated groups are in need of policies which would help them move up the vertical occupational ladder or not.

The sixth hypothesis will compare the females of some mother tongue groups to males of traditional groups to find out if gender, ethnicity or both are important on how the group advances. These two groups have been chosen because this is where the biggest gaps in occupational distribution should be found.In addition to this, in the seventh hypothesis the occupational distribution of each of the mother tongue groups between Windsor and Toronto will be compared ,to find out if the occupational accessibility pattern varies by city type.

The examination of these seven hypotheses will give an insight on the possible implications of the 1967 Immigration Act and subsequent legislation on the distribution of occupation types for selected mother tongue groups and it will allow the researcher to see if there is a need to refocus the employment equity policies.

3.4 Criteria for accepting the hypotheses

This section outlines the criteria to be used to accept the hypothesis of this study. If the hypotheses do not comply with the criteria outlined in this section, the null hypotheses will be accepted.

Hypothesis one:

This hypothesis will be accepted if six out of

the ten mother tongue groups experienced a positive change in their index of dissimilarity and if at least 2 of the designated groups experienced a positive change in the index.

Hypothesis two :

This hypothesis will be tested in two different ways. In the first procedure, this hypothesis will be accepted if the English and French are no longer dominant. This would mean that these groups no longer have the lowest index of dissimilarity . Based on the second procedure, this hypothesis will be accepted if the designated groups have a greater over representation in the power occupations than some of the non designated groups or if some of the non designated groups have a greater over representation than the traditional power groups.

Hypothesis three:

This hypothesis will be accepted if the designated groups experienced integration during the study period, which is shown by the reduction in the dissimilarity index, and also if they improved their representation in the power occupations as compared to the power groups.

Hypothesis four :

This hypothesis will be accepted if the designated groups experienced the same level of integration during the study period as the non designated groups and if they had the same over or under representation in the power occupations as the non designated groups.

Hypothesis five :

This hypothesis will be accepted if two conditions are satisfied.First of all, the designated groups must have experienced a decrease in their dissimilarity index. Secondly , all of the designated groups must have experienced an increase in their representation in power occupations during the study period.

Hypothesis six:

This hypothesis will be accepted if the index of dissimilarity tables (which compare the males from power groups to the females from designated groups) reveal that females are not experiencing the same upward mobility and integration in the labour market.

Hypothesis seven :

This hypothesis will be accepted if, when comparing the

the changes in the dissimilarity indexes during the study period, six out of the ten mother tongue groups did not experienced change (based on the ranking of change in the dissimilarity index). This would mean that not the same groups of Windsor and Toronto experienced integration during the study period. This hypothesis will also be accepted if the over and under representation of the groups in the power occupations, when compared to the profile of the C.M.A's, revealed that different groups have been experiencing the same type of occupational mobility during the study period.

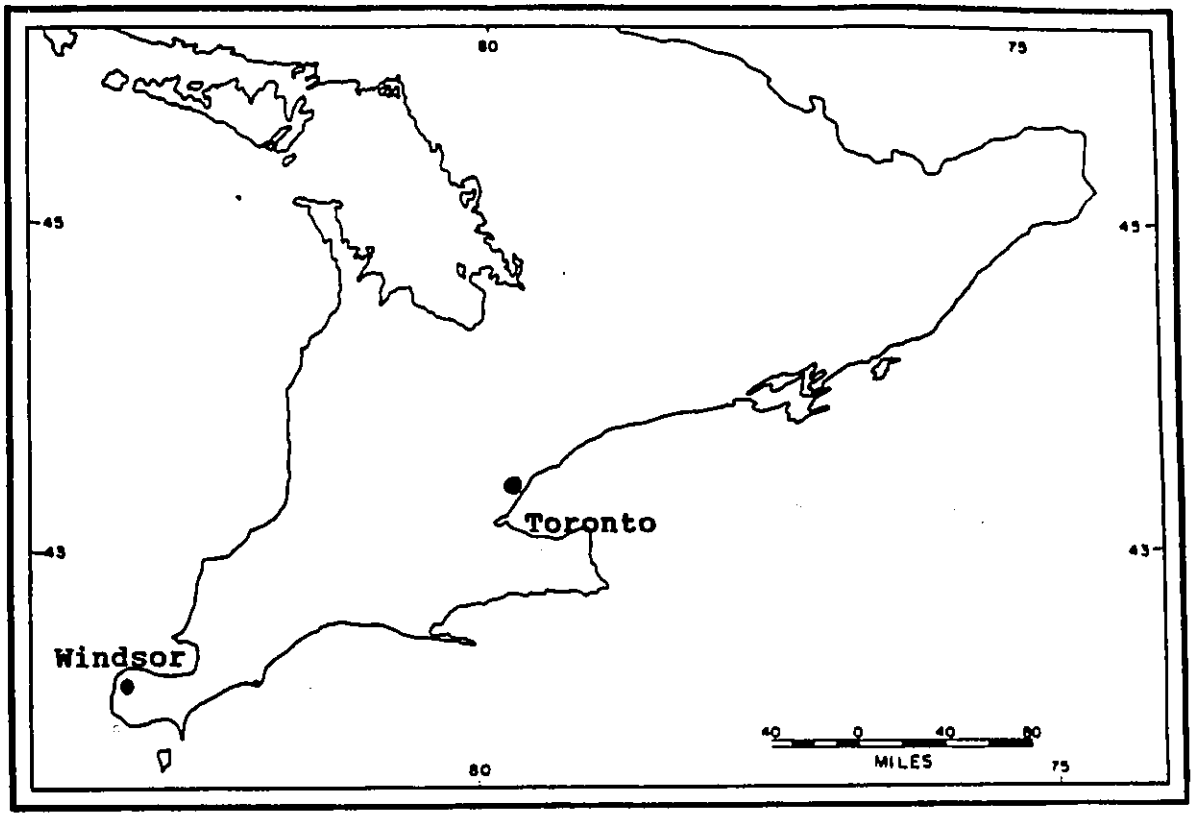
3.5 The study area

Because 50 percent of the immigrants chose Ontario as their place of destination, data from this province were chosen to evaluate the long term implications of the 1967 Immigration Act and subsequent legislation for the study group. The Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (C.M.A) was selected as it is a preferred area for immigrants, since it attracts more than half of the provincial immigrants (Elliott,1990). Windsor Census Metropolitan Area (C.M.A) was selected to represent urban nodes which are smaller, located at a periphery and with a slow growth economy. These two C.M.A's were compared to find out if the changes in the occupational structure of groups only occurred in the large very attractive cities or if changes also occurred in the smaller less attractive centres.

Toronto is the main labour market of the province. It is situated in the southern margin of the province fronting lake Ontario (figure 2). Toronto's service hinterland lies basically in Ontario, although in financial terms it extends

Figure 2

Location of the cities under study



across Canada. This area is the location of many Canadian head offices in the industrial and retail sectors of the economy and of American and multicultural giants (Hosford,1981). As a result, its labour force is concentrated in office, manufacturing and retail sectors. In the 1960's, the Italians comprised the major immigration component followed by the Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks and Portuguese (Richmond, 1967). By the 1970's and 80's, the West Indian, South Asian and East Asian migrants added to the visible minorities of the city (Hosford, 1981).

Windsor is Canada's southernmost city (figure 2). It is located on the Detroit river in the extreme southwestern corner of the province. This center includes many immigrants of various ethnic backgrounds, although the Italians were the largest post war group to come to this area (Richmond, 1967). During the 1980's, Windsor experienced immigration from Third World countries (Hawkins,1989). Windsor is one of Canada's largest manufacturing centre but the city has also a significant employment in the construction, transportation , trade and service industries (Hosford, 1981).

3.6 The study period

Due to the limitation of data sources, the 1981-86 period will be used to evaluate the long term implications of the 1967 immigration policy on the different mother tongue groups. This period will be used to examine the entry into the labour market of the selected mother tongue groups.

3.7 The data

In order to monitor the implications of the 1967 Immigration Act and to test the seven hypotheses, the data on the occupational distribution of selected mother tongue groups by gender will be used.

The data were supplied by the Ministry of Citizenship Ethnocultural database but they were compiled by Statistics Canada from the 1981 and 1986 censuses. The data are for the Toronto and Windsor Census Metropolitan areas. The C.M.A data were utilized because it provides a more complete description of the labour market .

Occupation is the key variable of the study, refering to the type of work a person was involved in during the census year. This study will only look at the occupational distribution of the English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Punjabi and Hindi mother tongue groups. These mother tongue groups were chosen because they have a high proportion of members in the Toronto and Windsor C.M.A.'S.

In addition , this study also uses the occupational distribution of the total population of the Windsor and Toronto C.M.A's in order to allow comparison of the distribution of the groups from each of the C.M.A's with the distribution of the total C.M.A.

The French and the English mother tongue groups were selected to represent the power groups. According to Porter(1969) , these two groups occupied the top layers of

FIGURE 3

CHANGES MADE TO MAKE THE 1986 DATA COMPARABLE TO THE 1981

1981 OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION	1986 OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION
Managerial	Management and administration
Professional and technical and	Occupations in natural sciences, engineering mathematics, social sciences, religion, teaching, medicine and health, artistic and literary, sport and recreation.
Clerical	Clerical
Sales	Sales
Service	Service
Primary	Farming, horticulture, and husbandry, fishing and trapping, forestry and logging, mining, quarry oil and gas
Manufacturing	Processing, machining, product fabricating, assembly and repairing, transport operating, material handling, other crafts and equipment operating.
Construction	Construction
All others	All others.

Source: Ministry of Citizenship, 1986.

his occupational pyramid. On the other hand, the Chinese, Vietnamese, Punjabi and Hindi mother tongue groups were selected to represent the designated groups. These are the mother tongues that, according to government studies in the 1970's, were discriminated against and were not able to advance as far up the occupational ladder (Abella,1984). These groups represent the immigrants who started arriving in great numbers after the introduction of the 1967 Immigration Act. The Italian, German, Polish and Portuguese mother tongue groups were selected to represent the non designated groups. These are groups that, according to government studies, are not in need of equity legislation (Abella,1984). These ethnic migrants started arriving in large numbers during the 1950's. They represent the pre 1967 Immigration Act migrants.

In order to make the 1981 data comparable to the 1986 data, nine broad categories were selected: managerial, professional and technical, clerical, sales, service, primary, manufacturing, construction and all others. These nine categories were used by the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture in 1981. Figure 3 shows the changes that had to be made to the 1986 data to make the two sets comparable.

The managerial , professional and technical occupations are used to represent the power and high prestige occupations. Groups that have a greater number of people in these two occupational groups would be located at the top of the occupational ladder. In the analysis more weight will

be focused on these two occupations since they reveal the degree of need that the designated groups have for equity policies .

3.8 Method of analysis

In order to evaluate the long term implications of the 1967 immigration policy, two types of analysis will be used :

(1) Descriptive analysis

(2) Chi square computations

The descriptive analysis will be used to give a picture of the occupational position , distribution and change of the mother tongue groups, chi square computations are used to assess if the differences are statistically significant.

(1) Descriptive analysis

The descriptive analysis consists of an examination of the index of dissimilarity tables. It will focus on percentage of over or under representation in the power and prestige occupations. The index of dissimilarity tables are derived for all groups and also by gender. In order to perform this computation, the data were transformed into percentages. The use of percentages allows for comparability of groups of different sizes. After the percentage transformation was completed, the index of dissimilarity calculation was performed using the following steps :

(1) The occupational profiles of the two groups in question are recorded.

(2) The differences between the corresponding

percentages of each occupational category are tabulated.

(3) The positive or negative differences are summed.

The positive sum represents the index of dissimilarity which can be interpreted as the percentage of the people of the first labour force profile that would have to change jobs in order to give that group an employment profile identical to that of the second profile. The higher the value of the index, the greater the dissimilarity between the groups in question (Marshall, 1989).

In order to fulfil the purpose of this thesis and in order to analyze the seven hypotheses, the following comparisons based on the dissimilarity index are made:

* Each of the groups against the profile of the C.M.A. This is done in aggregate and also by sex.
* Each of the power groups is compared to each of the designated groups.
* Each of the designated groups is compared to each of the non designated groups.
* Females from the designated groups are compared with males from the power groups.

These four sets of comparisons are made for the Toronto C.M.A and Windsor C.M.A for the periods 1981 and 1986. The 1981 dissimilarity indexes are compared to those obtained for 1986 by each group to ascertain the percentage variation

in the index over time. This variation is one measure of whether integration was occurring in the labour market.

The second part of this descriptive approach consists of an examination of the percentage of the positive or negative difference in the power occupations. This will be referred to as the percentage of over or under representation. This methodology is used to identify which groups are at the top of the occupational ladder. This procedure is done for the Windsor and Toronto C.M.A's for both census years.

(2) The Chi square computations

The chi square test is used to test the significance of the occupational distribution of groups.This statistical test was selected because it allows a greater range of possibilities since it is simple, free of many assumptions and extremely flexible (Norcliff,1977). This test has only three assumptions:

(1) The data may be measured at a nominal scale or any other level of measurement.

(2) There must be at least 2 samples or at least 2 mutually exclusive categories into which observations are placed.

(3) No category should have an expected frequency of less than five.

This statistical test will be run using the computer package (SYSTAT) which employs the following equation:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(oij - Eij)}{Eij}$$

where K= the total number of categories

e= the total number of samples

oij= the observed frequency in category i of sample j

Eij= the expected frequency in category i of sample j.

This formula generates a value known as chi square observed. Once this value is calculated, the chi square critical value at the .01 or .05 significance level is obtained from a chi square critical table for the degrees of freedoms equal to the number of categories minus one. If the chi square observed is greater than the chi square critical, the hypothesis that a significant difference exists will be accepted, if not, the hypothesis will be rejected (Lavalle, 1990).

In order to test the seven hypotheses the following sets of chi square computations were run on occupational profile data:

* Each of the power groups with each of the designated groups.
* Each of the designated groups with each of the non designated groups.
* Males from the traditional power groups with females from the designated groups.

These tests were run for both C.M.A's and for both census years to ascertain if significant difference existed

between the occupational profiles of the groups in question.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter IV is divided into 8 sections. In the first seven sections the hypotheses are analyzed utilizing the results from the index of dissimilarity and chi square tests for the Windsor and Toronto C.M.A's. The last section compares the results from the Toronto C.M.A with those from the Windsor C.M.A.

4.2 Hypothesis one

The literature review revealed that immigrants to Canada may go through a process of integration, absorption and acculturation leading to a disappearance of the relationship between ethnicity and class (Darroch, 1985). Based on this, the first hypothesis tested the proposition that immigrants have adjusted to the labour market, in an attempt to establish whether or not the occupational distributions of the selected groups have changed positively during the study period. Furthermore, the first hypothesis provides a reference point for assessment of the tendency for systematic constraints to employment opportunities to diminish before equity legislation was introduced. This argument is based on the view that the adoption of employment equity policies before and after the formal legislation was introduced has improved accessibility to a number of additional employment opportunities, and in turn changed the occupational structure of Canada's mosaic.

4.2.1 The Windsor C.M.A

In order to accept or reject the first hypothesis, index of dissimilarity tables were constructed which compared the occupational profile of each of the groups under study to that of the Windsor C.M.A. Comparisons were made with the local C.M.A because it is taken to be representative of small city labour markets. The results from these computations are illustrated in table 1. In table 1A the results for the mother tongue groups under study are summarized, while in tables 1B and 1C the indexes for males and females are recorded.

The English mother tongue group matches the Windsor CMA occupational profile most closely in both census years, followed in ranked order by the French, German, Polish, Italian, Chinese, Hindi, Punjabi, and Vietnamese mother tongue groups. The change column of table 1A shows that during the study period the indexes of dissimilarity changed. The Portuguese experienced the greatest positive change (33.91), followed by the Punjabi (6.9) and Polish mother tongue groups (4.63). On the other hand, the Vietnamese experienced the greatest negative change (-23.05) followed by a slight negative reduction for the Hindi group (-2.31). With the exception of the Vietnamese , it can be argued that positive changes in occupation integration took place in the Windsor C.M.A . Based on this criterion it appears that constraints to employment opportunities were diminishing before the equity legislation was introduced. In addition to this, it is argued that immigrant mother tongue groups were experiencing

integration into the labour market prior to the introduction of the employment equity legislation.

However, when the data is broken down by gender the picture becomes less positive. In tables 1B and 1C ,the figures show that the change in the occupational distribution of males and females is less equitable. For instance, while males from four groups experienced a negative change, females from 6 groups experienced a negative change. Chinese, Portuguese and Polish males experienced the greatest positive change while Portuguese , Italian and German females experienced the greatest positive change. From these observations it can be inferred that integration reflecting the labour market profile was not achieved by both males and females of all groups during the study period.

Based on the criterion for acceptance or rejection outlined hypothesis one is accepted for the Windsor Study area on the basis of the aggregated index of dissimilarity . Also, this hypothesis is accepted for males, but not for females since only four out of the 10 female groups experienced a change in profile which reflected the local labour market during the study period. Based on the aggregate index of dissimilarity it is inferred that before the equity legislation was introduced, the majority of the mother tongue immigrant groups were integrating into the labour market in Windsor. This integration changed the occupational structure of Windsor.

Table 1

Dissimilarity indexes between the mother tongue groups and the Windsor C.M.A average. 1981-1986.

Table a ; dissimilarity indexes for the total group

Group	1981	1986	change
English	5.36	3.48	1.88
French	10.95	9.02	1.93
Vietnamese	38.21	61.26	-23.05
Punjabi	53.07	46.17	6.9
Hindi	39.24	41.55	- 2.31
Chinese	24.42	23.74	.68
Portuguese	47.19	13.28	33.91
Polish	19.17	14.54	4.6:
Italian	20.53	18.17	2.36
German	14.25	13.18	1.07

Table b : dissimilarity indexes for the males

group	1981	1986	Change
English	6.99	4.46	2.53
French	12.94	10.19	2.75
Vietnamese	36.23	53.57	-17.34
Punjabi	41.59	48.84	- 7.25
Hindi	43.05	40.51	2.54
Chinese	32.20	21.13	11.07
Portuguese	37.38	26.83	10.55
Polish	21.85	11.62	10.23
Italian	17.25	17.69	- .44
German	13.02	14.55	- 1.53

Table c : dissimilarity indexes for the females

Group	1981	1986	Change
English	4.73	2.84	1.89
French	9.49	10.77	- 1.28
Vietnamese	53.69	89.85	-36.16
Punjabi	66.87	72.08	- 5.21
Hindi	45.06	69.45	-24.39
Chinese	32.7	35.74	- 3.05
Portuguese	68.36	26.28	42.08
Polish	22.85	22.96	- .11
Italian	24.34	15.95	8.39
German	18.6	12.05	6.55

4.2.2 The Toronto C.M.A

In table 2 results from the dissimilarity tables for the Toronto C.M.A are summarized. Here, changes in the indexes that took place during the study period are recorded. The dissimilarity indexes of the mother tongue groups under study are summarized in table 2A, while in tables 2B and 2C, the indexes for the males and females of these groups are recorded.

The English mother tongue group in 1981 matches the Toronto C.M.A occupational profile most closely followed in rank order by the German, French, Polish, Hindi, Chinese, Italian, Punjabi , Portuguese and Vietnamese. By 1986, the English had to share their position with the French followed by the German, Hindi, Polish, Chinese, Italian, Portuguese, Punjabi and Vietnamese. French and Hindi mother tongue groups experienced an upward movement in their occupational integration, since their rank order improved in 1986. From the Change column in table 2A it is also noted that while some groups experienced a positive change others did not. The Italians and Hindi were the two groups that experienced the largest positive change. Seven out of the 10 groups experienced a positive change. Of these, three were part of the designated groups. Groups that experienced a negative change were the Punjabi, Polish and German. Noting the exception of these 3 groups, (two of which had minor changes),it can be inferred that convergence in occupational integration was occurring. This could be an indication that

constraints to employment opportunities were diminishing by the time the employment equity legislation was formally adopted. Since the index of dissimilarity changes conform with the criteria for acceptance hypothesis 1 is accepted and it is concluded that the occupational distribution of mother tongue groups in the Toronto C.M.A did change positively in the period between 1981-86 in the Toronto C.M.A.

In order to establish if both males and females of the study groups experienced some form of occupational integration, tables 2B and 2C were compiled and analyzed. When the data are broken down by gender, the profile becomes more complex. As can be seen in table 2B, all males except the Punjabi, Hindi , Polish and German exhibited positive integration during the study period, since they all had a decrease in their index of dissimilarity. On the other hand, from table 2C, it can be seen that the Vietnamese, Chinese and Polish females did not progress during the study period since they did not experience a reduction in the dissimilarity index. This gender difference may be due to immigration procedures and or by culture as suggested by the literature on the subject (Ng,1988). Since the findings for males and females comply with the criteria for acceptance, this first hypothesis, is also accepted for the males and females of the mother tongue groups for the Toronto C.M.A. In conclusion, hypothesis one is accepted both in the aggregate and by gender. Since the majority of the mother tongue groups studied exhibited some form of integration during the study period,

TABLE 2

Dissimilarity indexes between the mother tongue groups
and the Toronto C.M.A average
1981-1986

Table a : dissimilarity indexes for the total group

Group	1981	1986	change
English	7.59	6.4	1.19
French	8.99	6.43	2.56
Vietnamese	43.19	43.02	.17
Punjabi	40.63	40.72	- .09
Hindi	17.5	13.26	4.24
Chinese	19.05	17.62	1.43
Portuguese	41.48	38.13	3.35
Polish	15.05	16	- .95
Italian	31.48	25.59	5.89
German	8.42	9.87	-1.45

Table b : dissimilarity indexes for the males

group	1981	1986	Change
English	9.88	7.9	1.98
French	9.66	8.26	1.4
Vietnamese	39.7	38.34	1.36
Punjabi	32.07	34.14	-2.07
Hindi	19.12	19.31	- .19
Chinese	22.61	19.52	3.09
Portuguese	39.58	36.47	3.11
Polish	16.65	19.55	-2.9
Italian	29.98	25.25	4.73
German	12.48	14.6	-2.12

Table c : dissimilarity indexes for the females

Group	1981	1986	Change
English	8.51	5.79	2.72
French	7.33	6.28	1.05
Vietnamese	47.24	48.25	-1.01
Punjabi	51.87	49.24	2.63
Hindi	19.45	17.57	1.88
Chinese	18.28	18.91	- .63
Portuguese	47.4	38.33	9.07
Polish	14.79	15.94	-1.14
Italian	30.63	23.38	7.25
German	7.45	7.0	.45

the equity legislation might have become less productive by the time it was adopted since these calculations show that the characteristics of the occupational profile changed from the time the government started studying the need for such policies in Toronto.

4.3 Hypothesis 2

In 1965 Porter published the Vertical Mosaic in which he stated that Canadian society can be described as a vertical mosaic, where the vertical alignment represents ethnic differentiation. Based on his data analysis Porter concluded that in this mosaic the English and the French commanded greater power and privilege, followed by the entrance status groups which were the immigrants arriving later. He also concluded that among the entrance status groups ethnic inequality existed; with the immigrant groups that arrived first being better off than those arriving at a later date. Based on Porter's study, one would expect to find the English and French mother tongue groups at the top of the occupational vertical alignment, followed by the groups favoured by the pre 1967 Immigration Act . The post 1967 Immigration Act immigrants, who came from non traditional sources would be found at the bottom of the occupational alignment. Hypothesis two states that the occupational distribution of the study group differs from that reported by Porter (1965) .

Hypothesis two was analyzed in two different ways: First it was analyzed using the index of dissimilarity , which

compared the groups to the profile of the C.M.A in question. Second, it was analyzed by examining the over and under representation of the mother tongue groups in the power occupations given that the index of dissimilarity can distort profile evaluation. The criterion for accepting this hypothesis was outlined in section 3.0.

4.3.1 The Windsor C.M.A

Analysis based on the dissimilarity indexes

From the index of dissimilarity values for 1981 and 1986, in table 1a, it is evident that in 1981 the English and French had the lowest dissimilarity indexes, followed by the German, Polish, Italian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Hindi, Portuguese and Punjabi. From these results it is argued that the French and English mother tongue groups continue to command greater power and privilege, and that among the other mother tongue groups inequality also exists. The only exception to Porter's (1965) observations is the Portuguese mother tongue group which would have been expected to rank with the other traditional immigrants, rather than with the non traditional immigrants, since they started arriving in great numbers before the points system was introduced.

In 1986, the French and English continued to have the lowest dissimilarity indexes , followed by the German, Portuguese, Polish, Italian, Chinese, Hindi, Punjabi and Vietnamese. This distribution resembles the one put forward by Porter (1965) because the English and French remain as the

power groups, followed by the traditional and non traditional immigrants. Based on the index of dissimilarity, the German mother tongue group has experienced the greatest integration among the traditional immigrants .Among the non traditional immigrants the Chinese have integrated the fastest. Based on this ranking , the hypothesis that the distribution of the study group differs from Porter's (1965) is rejected since the English and French are still in command and the differences between the traditional and non traditional migrants remain in Windsor.

Analysis based on the over and under representation in the power occupations

The ranking, based on the dissimilarity indexes can be misleading because aggregate data can hide the occupational progress of groups . For instance, some groups might possess a high dissimilarity index while having a greater proportion of people in the power occupations . This would put these groups at the top of the vertical occupational structure rather than at the bottom. As a result, an examination of the percentage of over and under representation in the power occupations is essential. These percentages are taken from the index of dissimilarity tables and represent the percentage of over or under representation of the group in each of the occupations when compared to the C.M.A .

In table 3 the percentage of over or under representation of the mother tongue groups in the managerial and professional and technical occupations is summarized. Based on the 1981

over or under representation data in the managerial category, the mother tongue groups are ranked as follows : English, Polish, Hindi, German, French, Chinese, Punjabi, Italian , Portuguese and Vietnamese. By 1986 , the ranking has changed to : Hindi, German, Chinese, English, French, Polish, Italian, Portuguese, Vietnamese and Punjabi. From the change in rankings it is argued that Hindi ,Chinese and German mother tongue groups have done very well in management, English , French and Polish groups average, while the other groups have done poorly. In addition, these two rankings show that in terms of the management category, the English and French no longer command greater power and privilege and that during the study period some of the designated groups have experienced an upward occupational mobility displacing some of the non designated groups. By 1986, the Hindi and Chinese mother tongue groups had the greatest percentage of people in management, and among the non-designated groups, the German had a greater representation than other groups. From this, it is argued that even before the equity legislation was formally adopted, some of the designated groups had a greater representation in management than the power and non designated groups.

According to the over and under representation in the professional and technical occupations in 1981, the mother tongue groups are ranked as follows : Hindi, Polish, English, German, French, Chinese, Vietnamese, Italian, Portuguese and Punjabi . By 1986, the ranking has changed to : Hindi, Polish,

TABLE 3
Percentage of over or under representation in the power occupations.
Mother tongue groups vs the Windsor C.M.A

	Group	Managerial over	Managerial under	Prof. and Tech. over	Prof. and Tech. under
1981	English	.1		3.96	
	French		- 2.16	2.66	
	Vietnamese		- 7.9	1.06	
	Punjabi		- 3.14		-13.65
	Hindi		- .1	36.56	
	Chinese		- 2.73	2.36	
	Portuguese		- 7.6		- 9.14
	Polish		- .06	4.24	
	Italian		- 3.3		- 3.77
	German		- 1.39	3.85	
1986	English	.26		.32	
	French		- .59	2.6	
	Vietnamese		- 8.26		-14.94
	Punjabi		- 8.26		- 1.64
	Hindi	7.12		19.67	
	Chinese	5.2			- 2.76
	Portuguese		- 2.76	1.66	
	Polish		- .79	4.02	
	Italian		- 1.66		- 4.3
	German	5.45		2.2	

French, German, Portuguese, English , Punjabi Chinese, Italian and Vietnamese. From the change in the ranking, it is argued that by 1986, the Hindi were doing extremely well in this occupation category, since they had a greater percentage of their labour force in management, while the Polish, German and French were about average and the Vietnamese were below average . These two rankings show that during the study period some groups experienced an upward occupational mobility while others, such as the Vietnamese, a downward occupational mobility. The Hindi and Polish have a greater percentage of people in this category, and among the designated groups, the Vietnamese have the least representation in this category.

As a result of these two rankings it is argued that the distribution of the mother tongue groups under study differs from the one put forward by Porter (1965), since members from non traditional sources have a higher proportion of people in the power occupations than the traditional power groups and traditional immigrants in Windsor, but are in accordance with his later work (1985). Due to the findings of this analysis, the hypothesis that the occupational distribution of the study group of the Windsor C.M.A differs from the one put forward by Porter (1965), is accepted.

4.3.2 The Toronto C.M.A

In this section tables 2A and 4 are analyzed to accept or reject hypothesis two for the Toronto C.M.A. In table 2A the results from the index of dissimilarity tables are recorded,

and in table 4 the percentages of under or over representation in the power occupations are summarized.

Analysis based on the dissimilarity indexes

From the 1981 index of dissimilarity values, table 2A, the mother tongue groups are ranked as follows : English, German, French, Polish, Hindi, Chinese, Italian, Punjabi, Portuguese, and Vietnamese. This ranking shows that the English continue to command greater power based on Porter's thesis, since their dissimilarity index is the one that matches best the Toronto C.M.A. The ranking also shows that the French are no longer in command since they were displaced by the German and it also shows that some of the post 1967 immigrants have displaced some of the traditional immigrants. By 1986 the ranking changed : English, French, German, Hindi, Polish, Chinese, Italian, Portuguese, Punjabi, and Vietnamese. As it can be seen, the English and French are at the top, but these two groups are not followed by all the traditional immigrants. Some of the non traditional immigrants displaced some of the traditional immigrants. For instance, the Hindi displaced the Polish, and the Chinese displaced the Italian and Portuguese. From this 1986 ranking it also can be argued that among the traditional immigrants the German and the Polish are in a better position than the Italian and Portuguese and that among the non traditional migrants, the Hindi and Chinese are better off than the Punjabi and Vietnamese. Due to the criterion for accepting hypothesis two,

based on the dissimilarity index, the hypothesis that the occupational distribution of the study group differs from Porter's Vertical Mosaic thesis is accepted for the Toronto C.M.A.

Analysis based on the over or under representation in the power occupations

Table 4 will be used in this section to describe the occupational position of the groups in question.

Based on the percentage of over or under representation in management, in 1981, the groups are be ranked as follows: German, Hindi, English, French, Chinese, Polish, Italian, Punjabi, Vietnamese and Portuguese. In 1981 the German, Hindi, and English were over represented in the power occupations while the French, Chinese, and Polish had an average representation and the rest were not well represented in these occupations. By 1986, the ranking changed : German, French, English, Hindi, Chinese, Polish, Italian, Punjabi, Portuguese and Vietnamese. As it can be seen, the Hindi were displaced from their position during the study period, meaning that their occupational status deteriorated. By 1986, the German , French, English had a large over representation in this power occupation; Hindi , Polish and Chinese had an average representation and the other groups were under represented. This analysis also shows that the German are doing better than the traditional power groups and that Hindi are doing better than some of the non traditional immigrants.

According to the over and under representation in the professional and technical occupations, in 1981, the groups can be ranked as follows : Chinese, French, Hindi, English, Polish, German, Punjabi, Vietnamese, Italian, and Portuguese. The Chinese , French, Hindi and English were over represented in the professional and technical occupations while, the Polish and German had an average representation. The Vietnamese and Punjabi were under represented and the Portuguese and Italian very under represented. By 1986 the groups ranking were as follows : Hindi, Polish, Chinese, French, English, German, Vietnamese, Punjabi, Italian and Portuguese. From these rankings it can be concluded that in 1986 the Hindi were doing extremely well in the professional and technical occupations, the Polish, Chinese, French , German and English were doing well. By 1986 the Hindi had displaced the power groups and had a better representation in this occupation than some of the traditional migrants.

Based on this set of data, it is inferred that the English and French are not the only groups that are at the top of the occupational ladder since other groups such a2s the Hindi and German have a greater percentage of people in the power occupations in the Toronto C.M.A. It also appears that some of the designated groups (non traditional migrants) are doing better than the non designated groups (traditional migrants) in Toronto. Therefore, it is evident that Porter's Vertical mosaic thesis is no longer applicable in the Toronto C.M.A. Thus, the hypothesis that the occupational distribution

TABLE 4

Percentage of over or under representation in the power occupations.
Mother tongue groups vs the Toronto C.M.A

	Group	Managerial over	Managerial under	Prof. and Tech. over	Prof. and Tech. under
1981	English	.58		2.46	
	French		.42	3.46	
	Vietnamese		8.96		6.9
	Punjabi		7.56		5.57
	Hindi	.83		3.23	
	Chinese		3.42	3.46	
	Portuguese		9.42		12.54
	Polish		3.42	1.46	
	Italian		7.42		10.54
	German	2.58		.46	
1986	English	1.41		1.31	
	French	2.95		2.14	
	Vietnamese		11.58		6.17
	Punjabi		8.17		9.4
	Hindi		.42	8.86	
	Chinese		2.47	2.92	
	Portuguese		9.67		12.5
	Polish		2.62	3.36	
	Italian		5.6		9.62
	German	5.05		.43	

of the study group differs from Porters Vertical mosaic thesis is accepted for the Toronto C.M.A.

4.4 Hypothesis three

The third hypothesis stems from the first two hypotheses. It states that the designated groups are improving their employment situation vis a vis the power groups. As mentioned in the methodology section, this hypothesis compares the occupational distribution of the designated groups to that of the power groups. Here, the focus is on the representation of these groups in the high prestige occupations. The questions: (1) were the designated groups at a disadvantage in 1981 and 1986 and (2) were they in need of equity legislation . The dissimilarity tables comparing the designated groups to the traditional power groups were calculated for analyses and tested for significance using chi square computations . As outlined in the methodology section, this hypothesis is accepted if the designated groups experienced integration during the study period , which is shown by a reduction in the dissimilarity index and also if they had a higher representation in the power occupations when compared to the power groups.

4.4.1 The Windsor C.M.A

Dissimilarity indexes for 1981 are recorded in table 5A. As can be seen , none of the designated groups were similar to the English and the French mother tongue groups. The

Chinese had the least occupational dissimilarity followed by the Vietnamese and Punjabi. In 1986, (table 5B), the Chinese continued to have the least differences in occupational dissimilarity followed by the Hindi, Punjabi and Vietnamese. When the 1981 results are compared to the 1986, it is noted that , when compared to the English, the Punjabi mother tongue group experienced the greatest positive change followed by the Chinese (table 5C). On the other hand, the Vietnamese experienced the greatest negative change . Furthermore, when the groups are compared to the French, the Hindi experienced the greatest positive change followed by the Punjabi. From these tables it is concluded that while the Hindi, Chinese and Punjabi are improving their occupational situation in comparison to the traditional power groups, the Vietnamese situation is getting worse.

In order to find out if the designated groups are improving their representation in the power occupations (management and professional and technical occupations), the percentage of over or under representation of these groups was analyzed. The results in table 6 indicate that in 1981, when compared to the English mother tongue group, the Vietnamese had the greatest under representation in the managerial occupation followed by the Punjabi and Chinese. However, the differences were not great. Conversely, the Hindi have the same representation as the English. By 1986, the Hindi and Chinese have an over representation in this category, which is evidence of the rapid integration by these two groups in the

TABLE 5
index of dissimilarity : Power groups
vs designated groups.
The Windsor C.M.A

Table A : 1981 dissimilarity indexes.

Designated Groups	English	French
Vietnamese	39.3	31.98
Punjabi	54.81	46.78
Hindi	36.05	40.64
Chinese	24.11	23.56

Table B : 1986 dissimilarity indexes.

Designated Groups	English	French
Vietnamese	60.8	56.71
Punjabi	45.83	43.28
Hindi	40.51	35.98
Chinese	23.58	26.32

Table C : Change in the indexes.

Designated Groups	English	French
Vietnamese	-21.5	-24.73
Punjabi	8.98	3.5
Hindi	- 4.46	4.66
Chinese	.53	-2.81

managerial category. However, the Punjabi and Vietnamese continue to lag in this area.

When examining the professional and technical occupations, in 1981, the Hindi mother tongue group had a great over representation while the other designated groups were under represented. The Vietnamese and Chinese were not far off the mark (table 6). In 1986, the Hindi continued to be over represented while the Vietnamese had the highest under representation.

From these data, it is concluded that, when compared to the English mother tongue group, the Hindi have become the power group in Porter's terminology, while the Chinese have replaced the French as second power group. Also, the Punjabi improved their situation somewhat,but the Vietnamese did not. As described in the literature section (2.0), the great achievement of the Hindi and Chinese may have been caused by the introduction of the points system. These immigrants probably entered Canada as independents, which meant that they needed high education or money for investment to enter this country . On the other hand, most Vietnamese entered as refugees which meant that education was not important because they were accepted on humanitarian grounds.

In table 7 the distribution of the designated groups is compared to that of the French mother tongue group. Here the Hindi and Chinese are once again found to have a greater representation in the managerial and professional and technical occupations. On the other hand, the Vietnamese are

TABLE 6
Over and under representation in the power occupations
English mother tongue vs designated groups
Windsor C.M.A

	Group	Managerial over	Managerial under	Prof. and Tech. over	Prof. and Tech. under
1981	Vietnamese		-8.0		- 2.9
	Chinese		-2.83		- 1.6
	Punjabi		-3.24		-15.4
	Hindi	0	0	32.6	
1986	Vietnamese		-8.52		-15.26
	Chinese	4.94			- 3.08
	Punjabi		-8.92		- 1.96
	Hindi	6.8o		19.35	

TABLE 7
Over and under representation in the power occupations
French mother tongue vs designated groups
Windsor C.M.A

	Group	Managerial over	Managerial under	Prof. and Tech. over	Prof. and Tech. under
1981	Vietnamese		- 5.74		- 1.6
	Chinese		- .57		- .3
	Punjabi		- .98		-14.1
	Hindi	2.26		33.9	
1986	Vietnamese		- 7.67		-17.54
	Chinese	5.79			- 5.36
	Punjabi		- 7.67		- 4.24
	Hindi	7.71		17.07	

at a disadvantage and this inequity increased during the study period. Meanwhile, the Hindi and Chinese groups experienced an upward occupational mobility.

In addition to the dissimilarity tables, Chi square computations were performed comparing each of the designated groups to each of the traditional power groups. Since for all of the tests the chi square observed was greater than the chi square critical, at a significance level of .05,it is concluded that a significant difference exists between the occupational distribution of the designated groups and power groups in Windsor.

Based on the criteria for accepting the third hypothesis, the results from the index of dissimilarity tables and chi square computations, the hypothesis that the designated groups are improving their employment situation vis a vis the power groups is accepted for the Hindi, Chinese and Punjabi mother tongue groups. The third hypothesis was rejected for the Vietnamese since their occupational distribution deteriorated during the study period in Windsor.

This analysis is one indication that not all of the groups that have been designated in the employment equity policies are in need of such policies to increase their representation in the power occupations. Of these four designated groups, the Vietnamese and to a limited extent the Punjabi, need help to increase their representation in these occupations. However, the Hindi or Chinese mother tongue groups do not need to be designated since by 1986 they were

over represented in these occupations in the Windsor C.M.A.

4.4.2 the Toronto C.M.A

Table 8 summarizes the results from the index of dissimilarity for the Toronto CMA that compares the designated groups to the power groups.

As can be seen, when compared to the English mother tongue group, Hindi had the lowest dissimilarity index followed by Chinese, Punjabi and Vietnamese. The low dissimilarity index shows that the occupational profile of the Hindi closely resembles the occupational profile of the English. When the designated groups are compared to the French mother tongue group, the Hindi and the Chinese are the two mother tongue groups that resembled the occupational profile of the French.

An examination of table 8B shows that the distribution did not change in 1986. Furthermore, table 8C , which looks for the percentage change, shows that change in the dissimilarity index took place during the study period. For instance, when compared to the English mother tongue, the Hindi and Chinese experienced the greatest positive change followed by the Vietnamese. The Punjabi, on the other hand, experienced a negative change. This means that the Hindi and Chinese were the two designated groups that experienced the greatest integration in the labour market, when compared to the English mother tongue group.

On the other hand, all four designated groups experienced

TABLE 8
Index of dissimilarity : power groups
vs designated groups
Toronto C.M.A

Table A : 1981 dissimilarity indexes

Designated Groups	English	French
Vietnamese	47.29	44.03
Punjabi	41.24	39.8
Hindi	13.02	11.25
Chinese	19.0	14.0

Table B : 1986 dissimilarity indexes

Designated Groups	English	French
Vietnamese	45.93	46.96
Punjabi	42.48	44.38
Hindi	10.88	11.57
Chinese	16.98	16.59

Table C : Change in the indexes

Designated Groups	English	French
Vietnamese	1.36	-2.93
Punjabi	-1.24	-4.58
Hindi	2.14	- .32
Chinese	2.02	-2.59

a negative change when compared to the French mother tongue group. Of these, the Hindi experienced the least negative change (-.32) while the Punjabi mother tongue group experienced the greatest one(-4.58).

From the analysis of the three tables that are part of table 8, it is inferred that the Hindi and Chinese have improved their occupational distribution when compared to the English but not when compared to the French. Also, the Hindi and Chinese are doing better than the Punjabi and Vietnamese when compared to the power groups.

In order to find out how the designated groups are doing in the power occupations, tables 9 and 10 were analyzed. Table 9 compares the designated groups to the English power group. This table shows that when compared to the English, the Hindi had an over representation in management, while the other groups were under represented. Of these, the Chinese had the least under representation. By 1986, all four groups were under represented in management . From this it is inferred that during the study period the occupational situation of the designated groups did not improve in terms of management.

In the professional and technical occupations, the Hindi and Chinese were the two designated groups that were over represented in this power occupation. Furthermore, these two groups experienced a great increase in their representation during the study period. The over representation of the Hindi increased from .77 to 7.55, while the over representation of the Chinese increased from 1 to 1.61. From the examination of

the representation of the designated groups in the power occupations it is ascertained that the Hindi and the Chinese are doing better than the Punjabi and the Vietnamese. It also is evident that the Hindi and Chinese experienced an upward occupational mobility during the study period because they increased their representation in the power occupations. This occupational mobility did not reach the management occupation. In the Toronto C.M.A the designated groups are not doing as well in management as they are doing in the Windsor C.M.A. The upward occupational mobility was not achieved by the Punjabi and the Vietnamese. This difference within the designated groups may have been caused by cultural traits, religion or also by immigration type (Ng,1988) and or city structure. For instance, the Vietnamese may not have a great representation in the power occupations because a great number of them entered Canada as refugees, on the other hand, the Punjabi might lack a representation in the power occupations because of cultural and or religious reasons (Herberg,1989).

Table 10 summarizes the over and under representation of the designated groups, when compared to the French mother tongue group. As can be seen, in 1981 the Hindi were over represented in management but by 1986 their situation deteriorated somewhat. By 1986 all four designated groups were under represented in this occupation. Of these, the Punjabi and the Vietnamese had the greatest under representation. On the other hand, the representation of the Hindi and Chinese improved in the professional and technical occupations. The

TABLE 9

Percentage of over or under representation in the power occupations.
English mother tongue vs designated groups
Toronto C.M.A

	Group	Managerial over	Managerial under	Prof. and Tech. over	Prof. and Tech. under
1981	Vietnamese		9.54		9.36
	Chinese		4.0	1	
	Punjabi		8.14		8.03
	Hindi	.25		.77	
1986	Vietnamese		12.99		7.48
	Chinese		3.88	1.61	
	Punjabi		9.58		10.71
	Hindi		1.83	7.55	

TABLE 10

Over and under representation in the power occupations
French mother tongue vs designated groups
Toronto C.M.A

	Group	Managerial over	Managerial under	Prof. and Tech. over	Prof. and Tech. under
1981	Vietnamese		8.54		10.36
	Chinese		3.0		
	Punjabi		7.14		9.03
	Hindi	1.25			.23
1986	Vietnamese		14.53		8.31
	Chinese		5.42	.78	
	Punjabi		11.12		11.54
	Hindi		3.37	6.72	

Hindi experienced the greatest improvement from an over representation of .23 to 6.72. When compared to the French, the Chinese and Hindi experienced an upward occupational mobility during the study period but this mobility did not go as far up as management. This analysis shows that in the Toronto C.M.A these four groups might still experience some constraints in management.

In addition to the dissimilarity tables, chi square computations were performed which compared the occupational profile of each of the power groups to that of each of the designated groups. These tests revealed that a significant difference existed in the occupational profile of the groups in question. These results are supported by the index of dissimilarity which showed that the groups are different with respect to occupational profile.

Although the chi square tests revealed that a significant difference exists between the occupational profile of the power groups and designated groups, the analysis of the over and under representation in the power occupations showed that some of the designated groups experienced an upward occupational mobility. As a result, the hypothesis that the designated groups are improving their occupational situation vis a vis the power groups is accepted for the Hindi and Chinese mother tongue groups but not for the Punjabi and Vietnamese . Therefore, it is inferred that not all four designated groups were at a disadvantage in 1981 and 1986 and in need of equity policies in the Toronto C.M.A. Of the four

groups, the Punjabi and Vietnamese are in need of policies to help them improve their occupational profile.

4.5 Hypothesis four

The fourth hypothesis is based on studies that contradicted Porter's (1965) findings. These studies, as discussed in the literature section (2.0), argued that the post 1967 immigrants are doing the same or better in occupational terms as the pre 1967 immigrants (Darroch,1985). This hypothesis states that the designated groups have similar distributions across occupational types as non designated groups and it studies the proposition that the non designated groups, particularly those who had not done so well in Porter's findings are not better off than the designated groups. In this section, the labour market integration of the designated groups is compared to that of the non designated groups. In order to accept or reject this hypothesis the index of dissimilarity values derived between each of the designated groups with each of the non designated groups are assessed as well as the occupational distribution for each group are tested for significance using chi square tests. In addition , the representation in the power occupations is assessed. The criteria for accepting the fourth hypothesis is outlined in the methodology section (3.0).

4.5.1 The Windsor C.M.A

Table 11 summarizes the dissimilarity indexes for the

designated groups and non designated groups. When the occupational profile of the designated groups is compared to the Portuguese mother tongue, the Hindi had the highest dissimilarity index and the Vietnamese the lowest. By 1986 this changed, the Chinese had the lowest dissimilarity index and the Vietnamese the highest. Furthermore, in table 11C it can be seen that during the study period the Chinese experienced the greatest positive change in their index. This suggests that they experienced integration in the labour force when compared to the Portuguese.

A comparison of the Polish mother tongue group to the designated groups revealed that the Chinese had the lowest dissimilarity index and that the Punjabi the highest meaning that the occupational profile of the Polish most closely matched the occupational profile of the Chinese. This scenario did not change in 1986. During the period between 1981 and 1986, the Hindi mother tongue group experienced a positive change while the others a negative one, meaning that their occupational situation deteriorated when compared to the Polish.

When the designated groups were compared to the Italian mother tongue, the Hindi mother tongue had the greatest dissimilarity index and the Chinese the lowest in 1981. By 1986 the Vietnamese had the highest dissimilarity index and Chinese the lowest index. In the study period, the Hindi and Punjabi were the two groups that experienced positive changes in their dissimilarity index.

TABLE 11
Index of dissimilarity : designated groups
vs non designated groups.
Windsor C.M.A

Table A : 1981 dissimilarity indexes.

Designated Groups	Portuguese	Polish	Italian	German
Vietnamese	39.0	28.69	33.13	32.38
Punjabi	51.0	40.62	43.85	42.85
Hindi	63.4	39.58	50.19	36.93
Chinese	52.0	26.59	27.43	26.11

Table B : 1986 dissimilarity indexes.

Designated Groups	Portuguese	Polish	Italian	German
Vietnamese	61.1	53.17	51.97	57.66
Punjabi	45.6	43.5	38.49	46.04
Hindi	42.78	35.05	39.37	31.42
Chinese	24.05	34.11	28.46	22.47

Table C : Change in indexes 1981-86.

Designated Groups	Portuguese	Polish	Italian	German
Vietnamese	-22.1	-24.48	-18.84	-25.28
Punjabi	5.4	- 2.88	5.36	- 3.19
Hindi	20.62	4.53	10.82	5.51
Chinese	27.95	- 7.52	- 1.03	3.64

When compared to the German mother tongue, the Chinese had the lowest dissimilarity index and the Punjabi the greatest in 1981. By 1986, the Vietnamese had the highest index. In the study period, the Vietnamese and Punjabi experienced a negative change in the index, while the Hindi and Chinese a positive one.

From this analysis it is argued that the designated groups do not have a similar occupational structure as the non designated groups in Windsor. Also, the chi square tests revealed that this difference in occupational profiles was significant. Furthermore, one can conclude that of the four designated groups, the Chinese and Hindi mother tongue groups did best when compared to the Portuguese and Italian and had the greatest dissimilarity index when compared to the German and the Polish. This shows that among the non designated groups inequality exists. Some of the non designated groups are doing better than others. From this analysis the hypothesis that the designated groups have a similar occupational distribution as non designated groups will be rejected for the Windsor C.M.A.

In order to find out if all of the designated groups are in need of equity policies to increase their representation in the power occupations, the over and under representation of the designated groups compared to the non designated groups was examined. Table 12 shows the over (+) or under (-) representation in the power occupations of the designated groups when compared to the non designated groups. In 1981 the

Vietnamese mother tongue group was under represented in all power occupations when compared to the Polish and German and under represented in management only when compared to the Portuguese and Italian. By 1986, the occupational situation of the Vietnamese deteriorated, they experienced a downward occupational mobility. By this time, they were under represented in both occupation groups when compared to all four non designated groups. This shows that the Vietnamese are in need of equity policies.

On the other hand, the Chinese mother tongue group was over represented in both occupations when compared to the Portuguese and Italian in 1981, and under represented in both occupations when compared to the Polish and German mother tongue groups. By 1986, the Chinese were over represented in management when compared to the non designated groups except for the German mother tongue group. Also, they were under represented in the professional and technical occupations except when compared to the Italian. In terms of equity policies this analysis shows that some of the non designated groups need more help than the Chinese mother tongue group to increase the proportion of people in the power occupations.

In 1981, the Punjabi mother tongue group was under represented in both occupations, except when this group was compared to the Portuguese and Italian. At this time, they were over represented in management. By 1986 their situation deteriorated, they were under represented in both power occupations when compared to the non designated groups. This

TABLE 12
Over or under representation of the designated groups in the power occupations when compared to the non designated groups.
Windsor C.M.A

		Vietnamese		Chinese		Punjabi		Hindi	
		Man.	P&T	Man.	P&T	Man.	P&T	Man.	P&T
1986	Portuguese	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
	Polish	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
	Italian	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
	German	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1981	Portuguese	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	Polish	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
	Italian	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	German	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

Legend

Man.	Management
P&T	Professional and technical
+	over representation
-	under representation

is an indication that they needed equity policies to help them obtain higher status occupations.

Lastly, the Hindi mother tongue group was over represented in both occupations in 1981 and 1986. This shows that in terms of representation in the top of the occupational ladder the Hindi did not need equity policies .

This analysis not only shows that in the Windsor area of the designated groups the Vietnamese and Punjabi are the only in need of equity policies , in the Windsor area,to help them increase their representation in the power occupations, it also shows that among the non designated groups dissimilarities also exist. For instance, the German and Polish are doing better than the Portuguese and Italian. Also, the Hindi and Chinese mother tongue groups are doing better than some of the non designated groups.

Based on the index of dissimilarity tables, chi square tests, and the analysis of the over and under representation in the power occupations, the fourth hypothesis that the designated groups have similar distribution across occupational groups will be rejected for the Windsor study area.

4.5.2 The Toronto C.M.A

Table 13 summarizes the results of the dissimilarity indexes which will be needed to accept or reject this fourth hypothesis for the Toronto C.M.A. When the designated groups are compared to the Portuguese mother tongue group in 1981,

the Vietnamese had the lowest dissimilarity index and the Hindi the highest. By 1986, the Hindi continued to have the highest and the Punjabi the lowest. This means that in 1981 the Vietnamese occupational profile was the one that resembled the profile of the Portuguese . By 1986, the Punjabi displaced the Vietnamese. During the study period, the Punjabi experienced the greatest positive change (5.06) while the Vietnamese the highest negative change (-3.31). This provides evidence that the Punjabi profile was converging to that of the Portuguese.

On the other hand, when compared to the Polish, the Chinese and Hindi had the lowest dissimilarity indexes and the Vietnamese the highest in 1981. By 1986, the Chinese had the lowest dissimilarity index followed by the Hindi group . During the study period all groups except for the Chinese experienced a negative change in the index. This means that all groups except for the Chinese dropped in occupational status when compared to the Polish.

Furthermore, when compared to the Italian mother tongue group, in 1981, all four designated groups had a dissimilarity index of about 30 percent. By 1986, the Chinese was the only group which experienced a substantial positive change in the index.

When compared to the German group, the Hindi and Chinese mother tongue groups had the lowest index in 1981 and the Vietnamese the highest. In 1986 this continued to hold true. Table 13C shows that the Hindi and Chinese experienced a

TABLE 13
Index of dissimilarity : designated groups
vs non designated groups
Toronto C.M.A

Table A : 1981 dissimilarity indexes

Designated Groups	Portuguese	Polish	Italian	German
Vietnamese	30.81	33.05	29.35	43.05
Punjabi	33.87	30.26	28.79	38.26
Hindi	42.71	12.81	32.81	14.3
Chinese	32.0	11.0	29.0	16.0

Table B : 1986 dissimilarity indexes

Designated Groups	Portuguese	Polish	Italian	German
Vietnamese	34.12	33.55	34.84	43.44
Punjabi	28.81	31.05	28.86	39.66
Hindi	44.41	16.96	31.32	13.57
Chinese	29.14	8.69	22.08	15.37

Table C : Change in the indexes 1981-86

Designated Groups	Portuguese	Polish	Italian	German
Vietnamese	-3.31	- .5	-5.49	- .39
Punjabi	5.06	- .70	- .07	-1.4
Hindi	-1.7	-4.15	1.49	.73
Chinese	2.86	2.31	6.92	.63

positive change while the Vietnamese and Punjabi were less fortunate.

In addition to the index of dissimilarity analysis, the Chi square computations also revealed that a significant difference exists in the occupational profile of the designated and non designated groups in question. From this analysis it is argued that the designated groups do not have an occupational structure similar to the non designated groups. Also, of the four designated groups, the Hindi and Chinese had the lowest dissimilarity index when compared to the Polish and German, and they had a greater index when compared to the Portuguese and Italian. This means that the occupational profile of the Hindi and Chinese more closely resembles that of the Polish and German groups . Furthermore, it also shows that the non designated groups do not share the same occupational distribution as designated groups. Therefore, this hypothesis will be rejected for the Toronto C.M.A.

Table 14 shows the over (+) or under (-) representation of the designated groups in the power occupations when compared to the non designated groups. In 1981, the Vietnamese were over represented in both power occupations when compared to the Portuguese, over represented in the professional and technical when compared to the Italians. They were under represented when compared to the Polish and German. By 1986,they were no longer over represented in management when compared to the Portuguese.

On the other hand, when the Chinese are compared to the non designated groups, they were over represented in both power occupations when compared to the Portuguese and Italians in 1981 , over represented in the professional and technical occupations when compared to the Polish and German. By 1986, they continued to be over represented in both occupations when compared to the Portuguese and Italian mother tongue groups. They also continued to be over represented in the professional and technical occupations when compared to the Germans. This is an indication that the Chinese mother tongue group is faring well compared to the non designated groups.

The Punjabi did not experience any change during the study period. During both census years, they were over represented in both occupations when compared to the Portuguese and over represented in the professional and technical occupations when compared to the Italian mother tongue group. This shows that the Punjabi have a better representation in the power occupations than the Portuguese and Italians but still in need to increase their representation in Toronto C.M.A.

On the other hand, during both census years, the Hindi were over represented in both occupations when compared to the Portuguese, Polish and Italian. Also they were over represented in the professional and technical occupations when compared to the Germans. This is another indication that the Hindi were doing better , in occupational terms, than the non designated groups. Therefore the Hindi might not be in need of

TABLE 14
Over or under representation of the designated groups in the power occupations when compared to the non designated groups
Toronto C.M.A

		Vietnamese		Chinese		Punjabi		Hindi	
		Man.	P&T	Man.	P&T	Man.	P&T	Man.	P&T
1986	Portuguese	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Polish	-	-		+	-	-	+	+
	Italian	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	German	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1981	Portuguese	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Polish	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
	Italian	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	German	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

Legend

Man.	Management
P&T	Professional and technical
+	over representation
-	under representation

equity policies. From this analysis it can be inferred that the V.etnamese and Punjabi may still be in need of equity policies to increase their representation in the power occupations but the Hindi and Chinese are not since they had a higher representation in the power occupations than most of the non designated groups.

This analysis suggests that not all of the designated groups are in need of equity policies to advance up the occupational ladder. In addition, differences exists among the non designated groups. For instance, in both census years, the Portuguese were under represented in the power occupations when compared to all four designated groups; the Italians were under represented in 6 out of the 8 comparisons .On the other hand, the Polish were under represented in 3 out of the 8 comparisons and the German in two out of the 8 comparisons.

Based on the index of dissimilarity tables, chi square computations and the over and under representation in the power occupations, the fourth hypothesis that the designated groups have similar distribution across occupational groups as non designated groups has been rejected in the Toronto C.M.A study area.

4.6 Hypothesis 5

The fifth hypothesis states that not all minorities within the designated groups have made equal progress in occupational attainment. This hypothesis is based on the fact that not all of the designated immigrants entered Canada as

independents, therefore some of them might possess very low educational levels and no money for investment (Elliott,1990). As outlined in the methodology section, this hypothesis was accepted if all of the designated groups experienced a decrease in their dissimilarity index and if they also experienced an increase in their representation in the power occupations during the study period. The acceptance of this hypothesis is based on the results found in the analysis of hypothesis 3 and 4.

4.6.1 The Windsor C.M.A

Based on the results from the chi square tests that were performed comparing the designated groups to the power groups, it is argued that the occupational distribution of the designated groups are significantly different in the Windsor C.M.A. In addition, the index of dissimilarity values revealed that during the study period not all minorities have made equal progress.

Different indexes of dissimilarity were found in the study groups; some groups converged while others diverged during the study period. Therefore, it can be concluded that the occupational status of the Vietnamese dropped during the study period. On the other hand, the Punjabi improved somewhat their situation but they still were under represented in some occupations. Conversely, the Chinese had a high percentage of people at the top of the occupational ladder. Their representation in the professional and technical occupations was not at the same level as the Germans but it was better

than the representation of other non designated groups.

Finally, the Hindi mother tongue group had a great proportion of people in both of the top occupations compared to the non designated groups and traditional power groups. From this evidence, the hypothesis that designated groups have not made equal progress is accepted for the period between 1981-86 for the Windsor C.M.A. This would mean that Windsor's ethnic workforce is varied in that different groups are clustered in specific occupations.

4.6.2 The Toronto C.M.A

As in the Windsor C.M.A, the chi square computations to test hypothesis 5 revealed that a significant difference existed in the occupational distribution of the designated groups. Based on the dissimilarity indexes, it is argued that while the Hindi and Chinese experienced an increase in their representation in the power occupations, the Vietnamese and the Punjabi did not experience such an increase. The Hindi and Chinese had a high proportion of people at the top of the occupational pyramid while the Vietnamese and Punjabi did not. The Hindi and Chinese were doing better, in terms of the number of people in the power occupations, than of the non designated groups with the exception of the German, who has a greater representation in management. In addition the Chinese and Hindi were over represented in the professional and technical occupations when compared to the power groups. But, the power groups are doing better in management. From this evidence, the hypothesis that designated groups have not made

equal progress is be accepted for the period between 1981-86. This means that the Toronto workforce is not equal and that there may be some obstacles which do not allow some groups to improve their occupational status.

4.7 Hypothesis 6

The review of the literature revealed that women and men do not experience the same occupational mobility, that some groups might discourage their members from increasing their status on the occupational pyramid and some immigration practices might also discriminate against women (Ng,1988). The sixth hypothesis states that the differences in occupational attainment are as much gender as ethnicity based. This hypothesis attempts to ascertain if gender, or ethnicity, or both are important in how a group advances. In order to accept or reject this hypothesis , chi square computations and index of dissimilarity tables were analyzed.

4.7.1 The Windsor C.M.A

Chi square tests were run comparing the males from the traditional power groups to the females of the designated groups. This set of chi square tests revealed that the occupational distribution of the males, from the traditional power groups, were significantly different.

In addition, index of dissimilarity tables were computed comparing the females of the designated groups to the males of the traditional power groups. As can be seen in table 15,

during the study period the females from the designated groups lost ground when compared to the English males. All of the females experienced a negative change in the index during the study period. The Vietnamese females experienced the greatest change and the Hindi females the least. When comparing females from the designated groups to the French males, the Vietnamese and Punjabi experienced a negative change while the Hindi and Chinese females a positive one. These indexes reveal that there is a great dissimilarity between some of the groups and that some groups worsened their situation during the period between 1981-86.

In order to better comprehend whether the traditional power group males are at an advantage when compared to the designated females, it is necessary to analyze the over and under representation of these groups in the power occupations. Compared to English males, Chinese females in 1981 were under represented in both power occupations. Hindi females were under represented in management but over represented in the professional and technical occupations. Punjabi females were under represented in management but over represented in the professional and technical occupations. By 1986, Chinese females had made a large improvement in management but were still marginally under represented in the professional and technical occupations. Hindi speaking females were still under represented in management but over represented in the professional and technical occupations. On the other hand, Punjabi and Vietnamese females were greatly under represented

TABLE 15
Index of dissimilarity : females from non designated groups vs males from power groups.
Windsor C.M.A

Table A : 1981 dissimilarity indexes

Females from designated Groups	English males	French males
Vietnamese	37.64	43.3
Punjabi	43.73	37.58
Hindi	46.65	57.15
Chinese	40.73	50.83

Table B : 1986 dissimilarity indexes

Females from designated Groups	English males	French males
Vietnamese	58.04	52.6
Punjabi	48.58	45.2
Hindi	46.81	42.8
Chinese	43.41	50.76

Table C : Change in the indexes, 1981-86.

Females from designated Groups	English males	French males
Vietnamese	-20.4	-9.3
Punjabi	- 4.85	-7.62
Hindi	- .16	14.35
Chinese	- 2.68	.07

in both power occupations.

Similar results were noted when comparing the designated females to the French males. In 1981, Chinese females were over represented in both occupations, Hindi females were under represented in management but over represented in the professional and technical occupations. Punjabi females were under represented in both occupations and Vietnamese females were under represented in the professional and technical occupations. By 1986, Chinese females were over represented in both power occupations, Hindi females continued to be under represented in management but over represented in the professional and technical occupations. In addition to this, Punjabi and Vietnamese females were under represented in both power occupations. This analysis brings to light that differences in attainment are as much gender as ethnicity based in the Windsor study area. For instance, Hindi and Punjabi females are not doing as well as their male counterparts in the Windsor C.M.A. This difference in attainment is probably caused by culture, education ,maybe females of this group are not encouraged to climb as far up the occupational ladder (Boyd,1990). On the contrary, Chinese females are the only designated females that are over represented in management. Based on this, the hypothesis that differences in attainment are as much gender as ethnicity based was accepted for the Windsor C.M.A.

4.7.2 The Toronto C.M.A

TABLE 16
Index of dissimilarity : females from designated groups vs males from power groups.
Toronto C.M.A

Table A : 1981 dissimilarity indexes

Females from designated Groups	English males	French males
Vietnamese	35.43	31.43
Punjabi	41.72	39.72
Hindi	31.5	30.7
Chinese	26.0	25.0

Table B : 1986 dissimilarity indexes

Females from designated Groups	English males	French males
Vietnamese	37.82	39.58
Punjabi	40.98	43.24
Hindi	45.76	48.42
Chinese	23.79	25.25

Table C : Change in the indexes , 1981-86.

Females from designated Groups	English males	French males
Vietnamese	-2.39	-8.15
Punjabi	.74	-3.52
Hindi	-14.26	-17.72
Chinese	2.21	.25

As in Windsor, the chi square tests (which compared the males from the traditional power groups to the females from the designated groups) to test hypothesis 6 revealed that a significant difference existed in their occupational distribution. In addition , table 16 illustrates the results from the index of dissimilarity which were performed comparing these two groups. When compared to English mother tongue males, Chinese females had the lowest dissimilarity index meaning that their occupational distribution closely resembled the distribution of English males. During the study period, Hindi and Vietnamese females were the only groups that experienced a negative change in the index when compared to English males. This means that these two groups did not experience any integration during the study period. Finally, when compared to French males , Vietnamese, Punjabi and Hindi females experienced a negative change while Chinese females profiles converged positively.

In order to better comprehend whether the traditional power group males are at an advantage when compared to the designated females, it is necessary to analyze the representation of these groups in the power occupations. Compared to English males the females from the designated groups were under represented in both power occupations in 1981. By 1986, Chinese, Punjabi and Vietnamese females were under represented in both power occupations while the Hindi females were under represented in management but over represented in the professional and technical occupations.

From this, it can be concluded that, when compared to the English males, only Hindi females experienced some form of upward mobility. On the basis of these findings there is some evidence that females in both cities are entering the professional sector in increasing numbers.

When compared to French males in 1981, females from all designated groups were under represented in the power occupations. By 1986, females from the Chinese, Punjabi and Vietnamese groups remained under represented in both occupations; while Hindi females were over represented in the professional and technical occupations. From this analysis, it is inferred that only Hindi females experienced an upward occupational mobility during the study period.

This analysis revealed that not all females from the designated groups are experiencing the same upward mobility when compared to the males from the power groups. In the Toronto area only the Hindi females are experiencing some form of integration into the labour market but not the others. Therefore the sixth hypothesis is accepted.

4.8 Hypothesis seven

The purpose of the seventh hypothesis was to find out if the same occupational pattern was found in both the Windsor and Toronto C.M.A's which would provide initial evidence that the occupational attainment of mother tongue groups is not affected by location in Ontario or size of the urban area. If occupational attainment does not vary, inferences can be drawn

that the findings of this research can be expanded to include other similar areas of the province. The criterion for accepting this hypothesis is found in the methodology section of this thesis (3.0). This hypothesis compared the occupational distribution of each of the groups for Windsor and Toronto to find out if the occupational accessibility pattern varies by city type. In order to test this hypothesis the following comparisons were made: :

(1) the index of dissimilarity tables which compared the mother tongue groups to the occupational distribution of the C.M.A were studied for both C.M.A's

(2) the over or under representation of the mother tongue groups, when compared to the C.M.A, were to be studied.

(1) Index of dissimilarity : mother tongue groups versus the C.M.A's

Based on the changes that took place in the dissimilarity indexes in the period between 1981-86 in Windsor, it can be concluded that the Portuguese mother tongue group experienced the greatest positive change followed by the Punjabi and Polish mother tongue groups. On the other hand, the Vietnamese experienced the greatest negative change followed by the Hindi. These tables also revealed that in both census years the English occupational profile was the only one that resembled the profile of Windsor, while the Punjabi in 1981 and Vietnamese in 1986 had the highest dissimilarity index.

When examining the dissimilarity tables for the Toronto C.M.A, it is evident that the Italians experienced the highest