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ASCRIPTIVE EARNINGS GAPS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES:

INTERSECTION OF RACE, GENDER, AND NATIVITY*

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Abstract

This paper examines ascriptive earnings gaps, focusing on the intersection of race (Chinese/white), gender (men/women), and nativity (native/foreign-born) on earnings gaps in Canada and the United States. We address the following questions: Do racial disparities in earnings vary by gender and nativity in each country? Do native-immigrant disparities in earnings vary by gender in each country? Do race/nativity/gender earnings gaps vary by country? We examine restricted 2006 Canadian census data and pooled 2005-2006-2007 American Community Survey data. Earnings gaps are largest for immigrant Chinese men in Canada, followed by immigrant Chinese men in the U.S., immigrant Chinese women in Canada, native-born Chinese men in Canada, immigrant Chinese women in the U.S., and native-born Chinese women in Canada. The earnings gaps for native-born Chinese men and women in the U.S. are negligible. Results are both expected (minority race and foreign birth continue to disadvantage earnings) and surprising (immigrant Chinese men's earnings gaps exceed that of immigrant Chinese women's). Results confirm the importance of the race/gender/nativity nexus in earnings gaps and substantial country differences highlight the value of cross-country research in researching ascriptive earnings gaps.

KEY WORDS: Earnings Gaps; Intersection of Race/Gender/Nativity; Canada; U.S.

INTRODUCTION

Standard stratification theories propose that individuals and groups with low positions in social hierarchies experience disadvantages associated with their low positions, which further deepen their disadvantages. Theories and research of ascriptive-based social hierarchies such as race and gender have long occupied central positions in sociology and other social sciences. This paper reports findings from a comparative analysis of ascriptive earnings gaps, focusing on the intersection of race, nativity, and gender on earnings gaps in Canada and the United States.

We focus on earnings gaps because wage and earnings disparities remain an unfinished story in the journey towards racial and gender equity in many societies (Tomaskovic-Devey and Stainback, 2007; The White House Council on Women and Girls, 2012). There is an extensive literature on racial and gender earnings gaps. Many of these studies have also examined the intersection of race and gender, testing the effects of the double jeopardy of being racial minority women in labor market outcomes (see for example, Grodsky and Page, 2001; Jarrell and Stanley, 2004; McCall, 2001; Williams and Rubin, 2003; and studies cited in Leicht's 2008 review and in Tomaskovic-Devey and Stainback, 2007).

In addition to race and gender, nativity has become an increasingly important ascriptive factor in shaping socioeconomic outcomes in countries with large immigrant populations, such as the U.S. and Canada (Frenette and Morisette, 2005; Li, 2003; McCall, 2001; Stewart and Dixon, 2010). The role of nativity is made complex because of overlaps with race. Since the 1970s, the majority of immigrants to Canada and the U.S. have been members of racial or ethnic minorities. Over half of Canada's foreign-born population are "visible minorities" (Statistics Canada, 2007).[1] In the U.S., Latin Americans and Asians composed 53 percent and 27 percent,

[1] "The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as 'persons other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color'. The visible minority population includes the following groups: Chinese,

respectively, of the foreign-born population in 2008 (Lobo, 2012). Growth of foreign-born racial minorities in the labor force points to the need to broaden research on ascriptive earnings gaps to include the role of nativity as another social dimension on which individuals and groups are ranked. Further, the intersection of race, gender, and nativity represents a unique and valuable point to examine ascriptive earnings gaps, permitting an evaluation of the triple jeopardy represented by minority race, female gender, and foreign birth.

LITERATURE REVIEW

While a comprehensive review of the literature on ascriptive earnings gaps is not feasible given space limits, we briefly highlight the main research and conclusions. Most research on earnings inequality has focused on race and gender, and the intersection of race and gender, and there are relatively few studies on the intersection of race, gender, and nativity. Leicht's (2008) recent review concludes that earnings inequality by race and gender persists, despite decades of progress and many laws and programs to reduce race and gender inequities. Further, while the gender earnings gap has narrowed, the racial earnings gap has either stagnated or even widened for some racial groups. While researchers have identified several factors associated with racial and gender earnings gaps, "around one-quarter of the gap remains unexplained" (Leicht, 2008: 138).

Human capital differences (Card and Krueger, 1992; Grodsky and Pager, 2001) – that is, many racial minorities do not have the human capital that are rewarded by employers, such as education, training, job skills, and experience – account for the greatest proportion of the racial earnings gap. Other researchers identified job segregation or under-representation of racial minorities in higher wage occupations as another contributor to racial earnings gaps (Williams

South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, and Korean" (Chui et al., 2005: 1).

and Rubin, 2003; Tomaskovic-Devey and Stainback, 2007). The intersection between race and nativity has received some attention. Foreign-born racial minorities suffer additional earnings penalty as characteristics associated with foreign birth such as foreign credentials, lack of proficiency in host country language, and older age at arrival depress earnings (Frenette and Morisette, 2005; Lee and Edmonston, 2011; McCall, 2001; Stewart and Dixon, 2010; Zeng and Xie, 2004).

Unlike the racial earnings gap, there is general consensus that the gender earnings gap has narrowed in recent years although there is still a significant gender wage inequality (The Economist, 2012; Jarrell and Stanley, 2004; Leicht, 2008; The White House Council on Women and Girls, 2012). Some of the same factors associated with racial earnings gaps are also associated with gender earnings gaps, including human capital differences (Leicht, 2008) and job segregation (Carrington and Troske, 1998; Williams and Rubin, 2003). While more women are graduating from college, most tend to major in fields that do not lead to higher earnings, such as the humanities and social sciences. This leads to over-representation of women in lower-paid occupations that do not provide much scope for advancement and increased earnings, including clerical, care giving, and retail sales (Charles and Grusky, 2004).

Women are also more likely to have interrupted employment histories because of childbearing and heavier family responsibilities (Correll et al., 2007). Thus, women's education, skills, and job histories may not be comparable with men. Some studies have also examined the intersection of race and gender by examining earnings of minority women (Greenman and Xie, 2008). Finally, as with foreign-born racial minority men, foreign-born racial minority women may experience additional employment and earnings disadvantages associated with foreign birth

such as lack of transferability of foreign credentials and job experience and lack of host language proficiency (Boyd, 1984; Lee, 1999).

The above brief review of research on ascriptive earnings inequality leads to several general points. First, the gender earnings gap has narrowed but remains significant. Second, the racial earnings gap has not seen similar progress, and may have widened in some cases. Third, while several factors such as human capital differences and job segregation have been shown to contribute to both racial and gender earnings gaps, a sizable portion of the gaps remains unexplained by researchers' models, a puzzle that continues to challenge researchers and policy makers alike. Fourth, the intersection of race and gender has received considerable attention, and results generally confirm the double jeopardy hypothesis. Fifth, the intersection of race and foreign birth also confirms the double jeopardy hypothesis. Finally, there are relatively few studies on the intersection of race, gender, and nativity as ascriptive bases of earnings inequality, an important gap in the research literature that this paper addresses.

Comparing Chinese and whites

In examining race and earnings gaps in the two countries, we restrict our examination of minority race effect to the Chinese, for several reasons. First, by comparing just one racial minority group with whites, we are able to examine the specific effect of being Chinese in earnings gaps. This is similar to previous research comparing blacks and whites that are able to hone in on the cost or effect of being black (Grodsky and Page, 2001; Siegel. 1965). Including multiple racial minorities that differ in many unmeasured ways in our statistical model will not allow us to understand how a particular racial background affects earnings.

Second, the Chinese-origin population in both Canada and the U.S. experienced historical discrimination that makes them a valuable group for a contemporary study of racial earnings

gaps. Both countries enacted restrictive immigration laws targeting Chinese immigrants during the 19th century. The U.S. enacted the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the first immigration law that barred a specific nationality group from immigrating to the United States. Canada followed suit with its 1885 Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration, the first in a series of exclusionary legislation aimed at limiting Chinese immigration to Canada.

Third, paying Chinese workers lower wages was common if not standard in both Canada and the United States in the past, as shown by the following examples of earnings discrimination against the Chinese in Canada:

> "In the 1870s, Chinese (salmon cannery) workers were paid between $25 and $30 per month while whites received between $30 and $40. The industry expanded and wages rose. In the 1890s, the discrepancy between the wages of white and Chinese workers was even greater." (Library and Archives Canada).

> "Railroad construction lasted from 1880 to 1885. During this time, about 7,000 Chinese workers arrived in British Columbia…. They formed three-quarters of the total railway workforce in the province…. Chinese workers, however, were paid lower wages than white workers, even though they were more efficient…." (Library and Archives Canada).

Fourth, the new or post-1965 immigration has transformed the ethnic landscape in Canada and the United States, with rapid growth of the Chinese-origin population. Of the 17.3 million Asian Americans reported in the 2010 U.S. census, 4 million (or 23 percent) were Chinese, making them the largest Asian American population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). In Canada, Chinese are essentially tied with South Asians (or Asian Indians) as the largest Asian Canadian groups, at 37 percent and 38 percent, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2006 Census).

Fifth, unlike some racial minorities, Chinese and other Asian-origin groups have often been portrayed as successful examples of racial minorities in both the U.S. and Canada, captured by the "model minority" image.[2] In particular, aggregate statistics on high levels of educational attainment of many Asian immigrants and their second-generation children have been used to

[2] For examples of critiques of this image, see Hurh and Kim (1989), Lee (1989), and Waters and Eschbach (1995).

support the successful minority image. Yet many studies using older data show that Asians do not escape ascriptive racial earnings gaps in the United States (Iceland, 1999; Zhou and Kamo, 1994) or Canada (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998; Reitz and Sklar, 1997). Our analysis of more recent data allows us to see if the situation has improved for the Chinese in recent years.

Sixth, we focus on Chinese instead of comparing all Asians (as some studies have – see for example, Stewart and Dixon, 2010) because the Asian-origin populations in both countries are diverse in many characteristics that are important for a study of earnings, including history and context of immigration and settlement in each country, ethnic/cultural backgrounds, educational attainment, etc. (Lee, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2007).

Finally, the Chinese-origin populations in both Canada and the United States are mainly foreign-born. Almost three-fourths of Canada's Chinese-origin population are foreign born (Statistics Canada, 2006) and 65 percent of Chinese Americans are foreign-born (Lee, 2012), making the Chinese an ideal population for studying the intersection of race and nativity on earnings gaps.

Gender Earnings Gap

As with racial minorities, women workers were historically also paid lower wages. The civil rights era and women's rights movement led to major changes that have reduced the most egregious forms of gender discrimination in the workplace (Tomaskovic-Devey and Stainback, 2007). However, in spite of decades of progress, women continue to experience substantial wage gaps compared to men, as discussed in the review above (The Economist, 2012; Jarrell and Stanley, 2004; Leicht, 2008) and shown by the following quote from The White House Council on Women and Girls' Report:

> "While women's labor force participation has increased dramatically in recent decades, and women are breaking barriers in every industry, they continue to earn less than men

> and be at greater risk of income insecurity…. in 2010, women still earned 77 cents for every dollar earned by men. Over the course of her lifetime, that wage gap can cost a woman and her family tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars in lost wages, reduced pensions, and reduced Social Security benefits." (The White House Council on Women and Girls, 2012: 1)

Thus, racial and gender wage gaps remain remarkably resilient in spite of decades of government policies and programs to reduce or eliminate them. Wage gaps not only go against societal values of fairness and justice, but also as The White House Report pointed out, have long-term economic and social consequences for the individuals, their families, and society.

Value of Cross-Country Comparisons

An additional contribution of this paper is its cross-country comparison of the intersection of race, gender, and nativity on earnings gaps. While there are distinctive challenges in cross-country research, including the need for comparable variables and sensitivity to historical and contextual differences, a comparative analysis can advance knowledge in many unique ways. It has the advantage of allowing researchers to conduct similar analyses using different data (Canadian and U.S. data) to identify similarities and differences in how various factors and characteristics explain observed wage differences by race, gender, and nativity in two contexts. A comparative design can strengthen support for the findings and their interpretations, advancing current knowledge about the relative effects of race, gender, and nativity on earnings, and their joint effects, and societal differences in how ascriptive statuses such as race, gender, and nativity are treated in the labor market.

This comparative study also contains important implications for each country's approach to immigration and immigrant integration, given the dominance of immigrants in the Chinese-origin populations of both countries. Canada has a selective points-based immigration system whereby potential immigrants are screened based on such human capital characteristics as age,

education, English and/or French language proficiency, and adaptability whereas the U.S. immigration system is motivated by the principle of family reunification. Canada's points-based immigration system, together with its multicultural policy which promotes cultural diversity and acceptance, suggests that Chinese immigrants and their Canadian-born offspring should experience smaller earnings gaps, compared with Chinese in the United States.

Expected Findings

In order to investigate the intersection of race, gender, and nativity on earnings gaps, we conduct the following comparisons of earnings, for each country:

(i) immigrant Chinese men and native-born white men (intersection of race and nativity for men);

(ii) native-born Chinese men and native-born white men (race effect for men);

(iii) immigrant Chinese women and native-born white women (intersection of race and nativity for women);

(iv) native-born Chinese women and native-born white women (race effect for women).

We compare earnings gaps, obtained by subtracting Chinese' earnings from whites' earnings from each of the above comparisons, with one another to examine the intersection of race and nativity on earnings gaps, for men and women. Gender effects are gauged by comparing the size of the gaps for men and women by nativity -- specifically, comparing the size of the earnings gaps between (i) and (iii) and (ii) and (iv).[3]

[3] Another way of examining the role of gender may be to compare each group of women with native-born white men in each country, for example, immigrant Chinese women with native-born white men and native-born Chinese women with native-born white men. However, we believe that separate gender analyses followed by comparisons of earnings gaps across genders allow a more specific focus on the role of gender.

Previous research suggests we will observe negative earnings gaps between Chinese and whites, immigrants and native-born, and women and men, because of the persistence of racial, gender, and nativity earnings gaps. The intersection of race, gender, and nativity leads us to expect immigrant Chinese women to have the largest earnings gap and native-born Chinese men to have the smallest earnings gap. Given Canada's selective points-based immigration policy and official multiculturalism policy, we expect the earnings gaps for the Canadian comparisons to be smaller than comparable U.S. comparisons.

DATA

We analyze restricted data from the 20 percent sample micro-data file of the 2006 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada, 2012) and the pooled 2005, 2006, and 2007 American Community Surveys or ACS (Ruggles et al., 2009). In this study, we treat metropolitan areas as the units of local labor market (see for example Sanmartin et al., 2003) from which we derive community-level (contextual) measures. For this reason, we necessarily restrict our analysis to residents in Canada's 33 census metropolitan areas (CMAs) where over two-thirds of Canada's total population and 97 percent of the Chinese population reside. For the same reason, we only include residents in the U.S.'s 284 metropolitan areas (with data in the ACS), where three-quarters of the U.S. total population and 96 percent of Chinese Americans reside.

We focus our analyses on individuals who are between ages 25-64, are paid workers (not self-employed), worked at least one week in the income year, and had positive earnings. With these restrictions, our study sample includes 1,157,541 Canadians and 1,633,096 Americans who reside in the metropolitan areas in Canada and the U.S., respectively.

Our definition of racial groupings (i.e., Chinese and whites) in Canada is based on responses to the Canadian census question on "visible minority" membership: "Is this person:

White, Chinese, South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.), Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian, etc.), Arab, West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan, etc.), Korean, Japanese, other – specify." Whites include those who self-identified themselves as "white" only and exclude individuals who reported themselves as both white and one or more minority groups. This definition approximates the "non-Hispanic white" category in the ACS data except that people with Arab and West Asian origins are included in the non-Hispanic white category in the U.S. As described below, we remove these individuals from the U.S. sample to make the two white samples equivalent.

In this study, Chinese Canadians include those who identified themselves as "Chinese", excluding Chinese with mixed races such as "Chinese and white" (n = 1331 or 1.7% of the total Chinese Canadian sample). Using this definition, our study sample includes 78,916 Chinese Canadians (or 6.8% of the total Canadian sample), of which 86.4% are born outside Canada.

The definition for racial groupings for the U.S. sample is similar in the ACS with the exception of Arabic and West Asian Americans who are considered whites in the U.S. data. To make cross-country data comparable, we remove individuals reporting Arabic and West Asian origins from the sample of "whites" in the U.S. data.[4] We use a similar definition for identifying the U.S. Chinese sample, that is, persons who report "Chinese" only on the race question. The U.S. sample includes 37,290 Chinese (or 2.3% of the total U.S. sample), of which 82.8% are born outside the U.S.

Variables and Descriptive Statistics

The dependent variable is logged weekly earnings. In Table 1, we present descriptive statistics for the dependent variable and main independent variables used in the analysis. Because

[4] Arabs and West Asians account for about one percent of the total non-Hispanic white population, which would have minimum impact on the regression estimates. However, removing them makes it clear that the two white samples are equivalent.

our primary focus is to compare Chinese with native-born whites, further categorized by nativity and gender, between Canada and the U.S., we present separate statistics by race (Chinese or white), nativity (foreign- or native-born), country (Canada and U.S.), and gender (men and women).

Table 1 shows that for the Canadian sample of men, immigrant Chinese earn less than native-born Chinese, who in turn earn less than native-born whites. For the U.S. sample of men, immigrant Chinese earn less than both native-born Chinese and white men, but native-born Chinese earn *more* than native-born whites.

Earning patterns for women are somewhat different. For the Canadian sample of women, native-born Chinese women earn the most and immigrant Chinese women the least. For the U.S. sample of women, native-born Chinese women also earn the most but native-born white women earn the least.

- Table 1 About Here -

We consider eight individual-level demographic and socioeconomic variables for additional comparisons. First is age, since age has well-documented associations with earnings. Age is measured in years. For the samples, native-born Chinese are somewhat younger than the other groups for both men and women in both Canada and the U.S., reflecting the recency of immigration for the majority of Chinese in both countries.[5]

Education is measured in five levels, ranging from less than high school education (1) to graduate degree (5). Overall, we see that native-born Chinese appear to have more education than immigrant Chinese, who in turn have more education than native-born whites. This pattern of education holds for both genders in both countries. If we combine the categories of Bachelor's

[5] Chinese have long histories in both countries as we previously discussed in the introduction but the majority of Chinese today are either recent immigrants or their foreign-born or native-born children.

and graduate degrees, we observe that the U.S. sample is generally better educated than the Canadian sample for each comparison group. This is a somewhat unexpected finding for Chinese immigrants in Canada since Canada's points-based immigration system is designed to select prospective immigrants who are more educated and presumably more adapted to working and living in Canada. This raises some questions about the effectiveness of Canada's immigration system for selecting better-educated immigrants from the similar source countries.[6] This is consistent with the argument of some earlier studies suggesting that selective immigration policies are not necessarily more effective (Antecol, Cobb-Clark, and Trejo 2003). It is also worth noting that except for immigrant Chinese, women are better educated than men in both countries.

Ability to speak English is a dummy variable. For the Canadian data, it is based on the question on knowledge of official languages, that is, whether the respondent is able to conduct a conversation in either of Canada's two official languages (English or French). For the U.S., data are based on responses to the English language proficiency question. For both men and women, the proportion of Chinese immigrants who speak English (or French) in Canada is lower than their counterparts in the U.S., another unanticipated finding that is also inconsistent with the objectives of Canada's selective immigration system.

Marital status is measured with three categories: (a) married or cohabiting, (b) separated, divorced or widowed, and (c) never married. Table 1 shows that in both countries, immigrant Chinese are most likely to be married, followed by native-born whites, than native-born Chinese. The converse is true for the percent of never married, most likely reflecting the younger age structure of native-born Chinese in both countries.

[6] Most Chinese immigrants to Canada and the U.S. are from China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan.

Duration of residence (in years) in the host country is an important measure for studying immigrants and is often used as a proxy measure of adaptation or acculturation. The difference in years of residence is over 2 years for both men and women, which is a non-trivial difference. Subtracting years of residence from age gives the age at immigration. This shows that Chinese immigrants to the U.S. arrive at younger ages than their counterparts to Canada despite the fact that Canada's immigration system awards more points to younger potential immigrants: for example, the maximum points are awarded to those ages 21 to 49. In the regression analysis (described below), years of residence is centered with zero mean (zero-mean normalization) for the immigrant sample to facilitate interpretation of the main effect of the immigrant dummy variable where native-born respondents are coded as zero for the years of residence variable. This allows us to incorporate the native-born as the comparison or reference group in the analysis.

We consider three employment-related variables: working full-time, occupation, and industry type. Working full-time is a dummy indicator. Except for gender, the rate of full-time employment is similar across groups. For both Canada and the U.S., occupation and industry type are measured as categorical variables with numerous levels. To conserve space, we do not show the distributions of these variables in Table 1 or their regression estimates in subsequent regression tables, as they mainly serve as control variables and are not expected to yield any new insights in the earnings equations.[7]

To account for U.S.-Canada differences in the size of metropolitan areas, the distribution of the Chinese population among metropolitan areas, and local labor markets, we consider a set of four community-level variables. Population size is used to capture potential "mega-city" effects on earnings (Reitz et al., 2011). The relative size of Chinese population is a measure of

[7] For interested readers, these estimates are available from the authors.

"enclave" effect (Chiswick and Miller, 2005; Sanders and Nee, 1992; Xie and Gough, 2011). Both measures are logged to adjust for their skewed distribution. As previously noted, we use metropolitan areas as proxy units of local labor markets. We use the Herfindahl index to measure industrial diversity,

$$D_j = 1 - \sum_i p_{ij}^2$$

where D_j is the industry diversity in the jth metropolitan area; p_{ij} is the proportion of the labor force employed in the ith industry in the jth metropolitan area. The value of this index ranges from 0 (where the entire labor force in the metropolitan area is employed in a single industry) to $(1 - 1/n)$ (where the n industries have the equal share of the labor force in the metropolitan area). Finally, we use percent of workers in science and technology industries to measure the effect of the concentration of high-tech industries.

Overall, we observe that both native-born and immigrant Chinese tend to live in large metropolitan areas where there are high concentrations of the Chinese population. Industry appears to be more diverse in Canada than in the U.S. Relatively more Canadians are employed in high-tech industries than Americans. There are relatively little within-country differences in the two industry measures.

Statistical Methods

As the dependent variable is a continuous variable, we use ordinary least squares (OLS) models for the data analysis. We carefully evaluated the OLS assumptions about our analytical models, particularly the issue of multicollinearity (Belsley, Kuh, and Welsch, 1980). In unreported analysis, we find that variance inflation factors (VIFs) are generally low for our covariates. Only a few VIFs have a value of greater than 2 and none is greater than 10.

Moreover, we found no evidence of violation of other OLS assumptions for the regression models.

There are two other methodological issues in our regression models. One is the issue of potential sample selection bias in the earning equation for women. It is well known that samples of female wage earners may come from non-random samples of the female population, which may bias regression estimates (Greene, 2012). To address the issue of this selection bias, we re-estimated our main regressions using the Heckman (two-stage) selection model to correct for potential selection bias, which is now a routine procedure used in the earning equation for women (Heckman, 1979). We report the regression estimates for our main models in Appendix A1. Comparing the regression estimates in Models 3-4 in Tables 3 and 5 with the estimates in Appendix A1, we see no substantive differences between them, suggesting that our OLS regression estimates in the female earning equations are generally robust.

The second methodological issue has to do with the nature of our multilevel data. The community-level measures are aggregates of individual-level data and individuals are necessarily nested in the community where they live. The dependency among observations within a metropolitan area can underestimate standard errors of the regression coefficients. To address this problem, we use the robust variance estimation method that takes into account cluster effects (correlated errors within metropolitan areas -- see Steenbergen and Jones, 2002). Such a model is equivalent to a fixed-intercept model with level-1 covariates within the framework of Hierarchical Liner Models (Raudenbush et al., 2000).

We estimate models separately for women and men to investigate the role of gender in earnings gaps. Similarly, we estimate separate models for native-born Chinese and immigrant

Chinese to investigate the role of nativity in explaining earning gaps between Chinese and whites.

RESULTS

We first examine the effects of race, gender and their interaction in Canada and the U.S. Table 2 presents OLS estimates from 4 nested models of weekly earnings for native-born men. Model 1 is our baseline model, including the country and race dummies and an interaction term of country and race. It estimates the observed differences in earnings between 4 groups of adult men: Canadian-born Chinese, Canadian-born whites, American-born Chinese and American-born whites. Model 2 adds the demographic and socioeconomic variables. Model 3 adds the three employment related variables. Finally, Model 4 is our full model, including the community-level variables.

- Table 2 About Here -

Table 2 shows that both the main effects of country and race and their interaction are statistically significant in all model specifications. To facilitate the interpretation, we plotted these estimates (and the intercept), shown in Figure 1. The difference in logged income between groups represents a percentage difference. Each graph in the figure corresponds to a model in the table. In panel A, we see that Chinese earn less than whites in Canada (11%), where the converse is the case in the U.S. For Canadian men, the earnings gap varies between 10% (in panel C) to 15% (in panel D). For American men, the pattern observed in panel A remains until panel C with the gap ranging from 11% (in panel A) to 6% (in panel C). In panel D, the direction of the relationship is reversed: Chinese American men earn about 3% less than white men in the U.S.

- Figure 1 About Here -

The effects of other independent variables are generally consistent with previous research. We observe that age has a nonlinear (an inverted "U" shape) effect on earnings. Earnings rise with age until late adulthood and declines thereafter. The effects of education are consistent with each increased level of educational attainment associated with an incremental return in earnings. As expected, the ability to speak English (or French) contributes to earnings significantly. Married men earn more than the never married, who in turn earn less than the formerly married.

The community-level variables also contribute to explaining the differences in earnings. Contrary to conventional belief, an increase in population size of the community has a negative impact on earnings. However, an increase in the size of the Chinese population has a positive effect on earnings. Of course, the effect of population size is the *net* effect, i.e., after removing the effects of the other variables in the model including the size of the Chinese population. When Chinese population size is removed from the model, the effect of community population size turns positive. Because the Chinese population tends to be concentrated in major metropolitan areas that have high employment earnings (for example, Los Angeles and New York in the U.S. and Toronto and Vancouver in Canada), the remaining effect of the size of metropolitan areas after controlling for the size of Chinese population may be reflecting the effects of those large metropolitan areas where earnings tend to be lower (for example, Montreal in Canada and Pittsburgh in the U.S.). Moreover, industrial diversity also has a positive effect on men's earnings, although percent of the labor force in science and technology industries has no significant impact.

Table 3 presents OLS estimates for native-born women. The models in the table have the same specifications as those in Table 2. Again, we plot the estimates associated with race and

country (and the intercept) and these are shown in Figure 2. From the baseline model plot (panel A), we see that Chinese women earn more than white women in both Canada and the U.S. (12% and 33%, respectively). The earnings gap is reduced substantially in panel B (3% and 20%, respectively). In panel C, there is virtually no difference in earnings between Chinese and white women in Canada, and the racial gap is further reduced in the U.S. (15%). In panel D, with the community-level variables added, Chinese Canadian women earn less than white Canadian women, while the racial gap declines further in the U.S. In short, all else being equal, native-born Chinese women earn about 8% less than native-born white women in Canada, whereas their counterparts in the U.S. earn about 4% more than native-born white women.

- Table 3 and Figure 2 About Here -

The effects of the other independent variables are similar to those reported for native-born men with one notable exception. Among the community-level measures, percent of labor force in science and technology is now positive and significant, suggesting that a high concentration of high-tech industries in the community has a generally positive effect on women's average earnings.

We now turn to the effects of race, gender, nativity and their interaction in Canada and the U.S. First, we look at the findings for men. Table 4 shows the comparisons of earning gaps between foreign-born Chinese men with native-born white men in Canada and the U.S. Figure 3 again plots the interaction effects of race and country. In all model specifications, the effect of nativity is evident: Chinese immigrants earn considerably less than native-born whites in both countries. The earnings gap is wider in Canada than in the U.S. All else being equal, Chinese immigrants earn about 44% less than whites in Canada and about 29% less in the U.S. (see panel D). As for the other variables, the effects are very similar to those in Table 2. We see that years

of residence in the host country has a positive effect on earnings, which is consistent with previous research (Frenette and Morrisette, 2005; Li, 2003).

- Table 4 and Figure 3 About Here -

Table 5 replicates Table 4 with the female samples. Figure 4 plots the estimates on race, country and their interaction. Here we observe a somewhat different picture of earning differentials between the two countries. For Canadian women, immigrant Chinese consistently earn less than native-born whites, and the earnings gap ranges from 17% to 29% depending upon model specifications. For American women, immigrant Chinese earn more than native-born whites in the baseline model, but the relationship changes once the control variables are added. When all variables are considered in Model 4, immigrant Chinese women in the U.S. earn about 15% less than native-born white women. The effects of the other variables are comparable to those reported in Table 3. As for immigrant men, years of residence has a positive effect on earnings.

- Table 5 and Figure 4 About Here -

Our results demonstrate that for immigrants, longer residence in the host society is associated with an increase in earnings. But years of residence cannot capture the entire immigrant experience in the host society. Prior research has shown that immigrants who arrive as children are more adaptable to host society than immigrants who immigrate as adults (Lee and Edmonston, 2011; Myers et al., 2009). To test the idea that child immigrants (1.5 generation) would have better earnings advantages than adult immigrants, we separate immigrants into two subgroups depending upon their age of arrival. We define child immigrants as those who immigrated to the host country at age 12 or younger and adult immigrants as those who arrived at age 13 or older.

Table 6 compares how child and adult immigrants compare with native-born whites in Canada and the U.S. To conserve space, we only show the final models and plot the interaction effects of race and country in Figure 5. It is evident that the earnings gap between Chinese child immigrants and native-born whites is considerably narrower than the gap between Chinese adult immigrants and native-born whites. Specifically, for Canadian men, Chinese child immigrants earn 20% less than native-born whites. The comparable figure for Chinese adult immigrants is 52%. In the U.S., the corresponding figures are 8% vs. 36%. We see a similar pattern of findings for Canadian women. However, for American women, Chinese child immigrants earn 4% more than native-born whites, whereas Chinese adult immigrants earn 20% less. The effects of the other variables are comparable to those in the previous tables. Additional analyses of the effects of age-at arrival for Chinese immigrants provide strong confirmation of the importance of this characteristic on immigrants' earnings.

- Table 6 and Figure 5 About Here -

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The tenacity of ascriptive inequities remains a challenge for researchers and policy makers alike. This paper contributes to the literature on ascriptive earnings gaps with a comparative study of Canada and the United States, and by highlighting the relatively under-researched intersection of race, gender, and nativity. While there are unique challenges to a comparative study, including data comparability and contextual differences (we described these in detail in the data section), a comparative study also has unique contributions, allowing researchers to compare the effects of similar factors to evaluate their role on earnings. For example, if foreign birth has the same earnings penalty in both Canada and the U.S., then there is stronger support for the need to

include nativity in future research on ascriptive earnings gaps in countries with large foreign-born populations.

The main findings generally confirm the persistence of racial and nativity earnings gaps: each comparison between Chinese and whites, regardless of nativity, gender, and country, shows a negative gap, meaning Chinese always earn less than comparable whites. The size of the gaps, however, ranged from negligible (for native-born Chinese Americans) to substantial (for immigrant Chinese men). The larger earnings gaps for Chinese immigrants in Canada are unexpected, given Canada's selective immigration policy that implies greater socioeconomic integration of immigrants. In addition, Canadian-born Chinese also experience large earnings gaps compared to the negligible gaps for U.S.-born Chinese. Large country differences raise questions about societal differences in race, gender, and nativity-based social hierarchies and how these affect labor market outcomes. This paper's examination of earnings suggests that these social hierarchies have larger impacts in Canada.

While the findings are generally consistent with much previous research showing the persistence of ascriptive earnings gaps, they also raise many questions and issues. First, as noted above, the large country differences are unexpected and contain disheartening implications for Chinese Canadians. The larger earnings gaps of Chinese in Canada compared with those of Chinese in the U.S. is a recurrent theme. In the U.S., native-born Chinese men and women do not have noticeable earnings gaps with their native-born white counterparts, suggesting that for native-born Chinese Americans, being Chinese in the U.S. racial hierarchy does not exact much cost, as far as earnings are concerned. This is, however, not the case for native-born Canadian Chinese men and women, who continue to experience large earnings gaps relative to their Canadian-born white counterparts.

Previous studies that had documented earnings disparities between visible minorities (such as Chinese) and whites in Canada often attributed much of the disparities to the high proportions of immigrants among visible minorities. However, this analysis shows that earnings gaps between Chinese and whites in Canada cannot simply be explained by factors associated with foreign birth. Unlike native-born Chinese Americans, native-born Chinese Canadians continue to pay a price for being Chinese and the Canadian labor market appears to continue to favor whites over racial minorities such as the Chinese.

Second, there is a clear cost to being an immigrant. Earnings gaps are larger for Chinese immigrants, and largest of all for Chinese immigrant men in Canada. Chinese immigrant women also experience earnings gaps, although these are smaller than those for Chinese immigrant men. As for men, the earnings gaps for Chinese immigrant women are larger in Canada. These results confirm the importance of nativity as a key social hierarchy in both the U.S. and Canada. The intersection of foreign birth with Chinese race is especially costly for men. Perhaps labor market advantages of native-born white men are so large that immigrant Chinese men will inevitably suffer the largest earnings gaps. In addition, given the particularly large earnings gaps between immigrant Chinese men and native-born white men in Canada, it is possible that native-born white men in Canada are particularly privileged, thereby producing the largest earnings gap when compared with immigrant Chinese men. That immigrant Chinese men in Canada should experience the largest earnings gaps also raises questions about the efficacy of Canada's selective points-based immigration system. Immigrants are selected for labor market success, yet Chinese immigrants, both men and women, have larger earnings gaps than their counterparts in the United States where immigrants are admitted mainly through the principle of family reunification.

Third, the findings on gender also raise questions as they were unexpected and did not support the notion of double jeopardy, which proposes that foreign-born minority women would have the largest earnings gaps. Instead, the earnings gaps between foreign-born Chinese and native-born white men are larger than the gap between foreign-born Chinese and native-born white women. The results suggest that immigrant and racial minority women are less disadvantaged than immigrant and racial minority men, when compared with similar native-born majority persons of the same gender. It is possible that because there is still a general gender gap in earnings that the distribution of women's earnings is narrower, thereby compressing the potential gap between groups of women. Future research on the distribution of earnings would be valuable for examining gender differences in earnings gaps. In addition, other strategies for disentangling the intersection of gender with other characteristics including nativity and race can be explored, such as comparing racial minority women with white men.

The findings show that while we have learnt much from this analysis, much still remains to be done to examine ascriptive earnings gaps. The large country differences underline the benefits of comparative research, particularly between Canada and the U.S. The results both confirm and counter expectations, suggesting that the intersection of race, gender, and nativity will remain important and challenging points for studying earnings gaps between different groups in many societies.

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Table 1 Descriptive Statistics for Selected Variables Used in the Analysis

	Canada			US		
Variable	Native-born Chinese	Immigrant Chinese	Native-born White	Native-born Chinese	Immigrant Chinese	Native-born White
Men						
Logged weekly earnings	6.72	6.55	6.83	6.91	6.68	6.80
Age	35.46	43.03	42.05	38.56	42.19	43.22
Less than HS	0.037	0.120	0.107	0.021	0.137	0.057
High school	0.191	0.213	0.393	0.079	0.157	0.261
Some post-secondary educ	0.228	0.185	0.252	0.183	0.119	0.299
Graduate degree	0.154	0.195	0.084	0.270	0.369	0.134
Bachelor's degree (reference)	0.391	0.288	0.165	0.447	0.217	0.250
Speak English (1 = yes)	0.977	0.901	1.000	1.000	0.924	1.000
Never married	0.558	0.181	0.359	0.452	0.188	0.214
Separated/divorced/widowed	0.038	0.057	0.127	0.061	0.049	0.141
Married (reference)	0.404	0.762	0.515	0.487	0.763	0.644
Years since immigration (centered)	—	15.80	—	—	18.13	—
Employed full-time (1 = yes)	0.914	0.925	0.946	0.946	0.938	0.959
Logged population size	14.56	14.76	13.88	15.19	15.32	14.26
Industrial diversity	0.940	0.940	0.933	0.914	0.913	0.907
% workers in science/technology	0.077	0.078	0.073	0.063	0.063	0.053
Logged Chinese population size	12.02	12.27	10.17	11.70	11.56	9.26
N	5,512	33,106	537,326	3,266	15,175	804,643
Women						
Logged weekly earnings	6.59	6.30	6.47	6.70	6.41	6.37
Age	35.47	42.37	42.21	38.63	42.20	43.60
Less than HS	0.023	0.134	0.075	0.013	0.140	0.038
High school	0.143	0.228	0.324	0.068	0.162	0.243
Some post-secondary educ	0.233	0.242	0.316	0.190	0.153	0.328
Graduate degree	0.166	0.125	0.091	0.272	0.277	0.143
Bachelor's degree (reference)	0.436	0.271	0.193	0.458	0.268	0.248
Speak English (1 = yes)	0.986	0.884	1.000	0.998	0.936	1.000
Never married	0.504	0.182	0.311	0.429	0.167	0.176
Separated/divorced/widowed	0.065	0.111	0.190	0.101	0.104	0.219
Married (reference)	0.431	0.707	0.499	0.470	0.729	0.606
Years since immigration (centered)	—	15.44	—	—	17.94	—
Employed full-time (1 = yes)	0.830	0.826	0.806	0.878	0.864	0.844
Logged population size	14.58	14.78	13.89	15.15	15.33	14.24
Industrial diversity	0.940	0.940	0.933	0.914	0.913	0.907
% workers in science/technology	0.077	0.078	0.073	0.063	0.062	0.053
Logged Chinese population size	12.09	12.32	10.17	11.71	11.58	9.24
N	5,222	35,076	541,299	3,147	15,702	791,163

Data Source: the 2006 Census of Canada, the 2005-2007 American Community Survey.

Table 2 OLS Models of Logged Weekly Earnings Among Native-Born Chinese and White Men (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Canada (1 = yes)	0.029	***	0.160	***	0.147	***	0.087	***
Chinese (1 = yes)	0.111	***	0.069	***	0.057	***	-0.030	**
Canada x Chinese	-0.226	***	-0.200	***	-0.155	***	-0.133	***
Age	—		0.014	***	0.012	***	0.012	***
Age square	—		-0.001	***	-0.001	***	-0.001	***
Less than HS	—		-0.630	***	-0.489	***	-0.473	***
High school	—		-0.433	***	-0.333	***	-0.319	***
Some post-secondary education	—		-0.287	***	-0.227	***	-0.216	***
Graduate degree	—		0.141	***	0.183	***	0.175	***
Bachelor's degree (reference)								
Speak English (1 = yes)	—		0.471	***	0.377	***	0.402	***
Never married	—		-0.332	***	-0.236	***	-0.246	***
Separated/divorced/widowed	—		-0.199	***	-0.157	***	-0.156	***
Married (reference)								
Working full-time, industry, occupation	—		—		Included		Included	
Logged population size	—		—		—		-0.027	***
Industrial diversity	—		—		—		0.206	**
% workers in science/technology	—		—		—		-0.046	
Logged Chinese population size	—		—		—		0.049	***
Intercept	6.801	***	6.181	***	5.528	***	5.257	***
R square	0.000		0.181		0.320		0.329	

[a] Models 3 and 4 control for working full-time, industry and occupation.

Data Source: the 2006 Census of Canada, the 2005-2007 American Community Survey.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

Table 3 OLS Models of Logged Weekly Earnings Among Native-Born Chinese and White Women (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Canada (1 = yes)	0.101	***	0.182	***	0.210	***	0.126	***
Chinese (1 = yes)	0.335	***	0.205	***	0.149	***	0.043	***
Canada x Chinese	-0.212	***	-0.177	***	-0.152	***	-0.126	***
Age	—		0.013	***	0.011	***	0.011	***
Age square	—		-0.001	***	-0.001	***	-0.001	***
Less than HS	—		-0.804	***	-0.575	***	-0.555	***
High school	—		-0.530	***	-0.423	***	-0.406	***
Some post-secondary educ	—		-0.308	***	-0.274	***	-0.260	***
Graduate degree	—		0.213	***	0.200	***	0.191	***
Bachelor's degree (reference)								
Speak English (1 = yes)	—		0.335	***	0.241	***	0.279	***
Never married	—		0.036	***	-0.029	***	-0.038	***
Separated/divorced/widowed	—		0.057	***	-0.022	***	-0.022	***
Married (reference)								
Working full-time, industry, occupation	—		—		Included		Included	
Logged population size	—		—		—		-0.041	***
Industrial diversity	—		—		—		0.188	**
% workers in science/technology	—		—		—		0.346	***
Logged Chinese population size	—		—		—		0.060	***
Intercept	6.369	***	5.775	***	5.648	***	5.456	***
R square	0.004		0.129		0.364		0.375	

[a] Models 3 and 4 control for working full-time, industry and occupation.

Data Source: the 2006 Census of Canada, the 2005-2007 American Community Survey.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

Table 4 OLS Models of Logged Weekly Earnings Among Chinese Immigrant and Native-Born White Men (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Canada (1 = yes)	0.029	***	0.159	***	0.146	***	0.085	***
Chinese (1 = yes)	-0.121	***	-0.203	***	-0.215	***	-0.292	***
Canada x Chinese	-0.155	***	-0.231	***	-0.154	***	-0.151	***
Age	—		0.014	***	0.012	***	0.012	***
Age square	—		-0.001	***	-0.001	***	-0.001	***
Less than HS	—		-0.624	***	-0.482	***	-0.466	***
High school	—		-0.433	***	-0.329	***	-0.315	***
Some post-secondary educ	—		-0.283	***	-0.223	***	-0.213	***
Graduate degree	—		0.143	***	0.185	***	0.179	***
Bachelor's degree (reference)								
Speak English (1 = yes)	—		0.412	***	0.207	***	0.235	***
Never married	—		-0.323	***	-0.232	***	-0.242	***
Separated/divorced/widowed	—		-0.196	***	-0.154	***	-0.153	***
Married (reference)								
Years since immigration (centered)	—		—		0.017	***	0.017	***
Working full-time, industry, occupation	—		—		Included		Included	
Logged population size	—		—		—		-0.027	***
Industrial diversity	—		—		—		0.156	*
% workers in science/technology	—		—		—		0.050	
Logged Chinese population size	—		—		—		0.049	***
Intercept	6.801	***	6.234	***	5.728	***	5.508	***
R square	0.004		0.181		0.322		0.330	

[a] Models 3 and 4 control for working full-time, industry and occupation.

Data Source: the 2006 Census of Canada, the 2005-2007 American Community Survey.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

Table 5 OLS Models of Logged Weekly Earnings Among Chinese Immigrant and Native-Born White Women (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Canada (1 = yes)	0.101	***	0.181	***	0.208	***	0.124	***
Chinese (1 = yes)	0.042	***	-0.027	***	-0.057	***	-0.152	***
Canada x Chinese	-0.214	***	-0.157	***	-0.137	***	-0.134	***
Age	—		0.013	***	0.011	***	0.011	***
Age square	—		-0.001	***	0.000	***	0.000	***
Less than HS	—		-0.793	***	-0.564	***	-0.545	***
High school	—		-0.528	***	-0.418	***	-0.401	***
Some post-secondary educ	—		-0.306	***	-0.269	***	-0.256	***
Graduate degree	—		0.218	***	0.201	***	0.193	***
Bachelor's degree (reference)								
Speak English (1 = yes)	—		0.127	***	0.084	***	0.116	***
Never married	—		0.038	***	-0.026	***	-0.035	***
Separated/divorced/widowed	—		0.057	***	-0.020	***	-0.020	***
Married (reference)								
Years since immigration (centered)	—		0.020	***	0.015	***	0.015	***
Working full-time, industry, occupation	—		—		Included		Included	
Logged population size	—		—		—		-0.041	***
Industrial diversity	—		—		—		0.171	*
% workers in science/technology	—		—		—		0.402	***
Logged Chinese population size	—		—		—		0.060	***
Intercept	6.369	***	5.993	***	5.809	***	5.648	***
R square	0.004		0.131		0.363		0.373	

[a] Models 3 and 4 control for working full-time, industry and occupation.

Data Source: the 2006 Census of Canada, the 2005-2007 American Community Survey.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

Table 6 OLS Models of Logged Weekly Earnings Among Chinese Immigrant and Native-Born White Men and Women (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

	Men				Women			
Variable	Child immigrants		Adult immigrants		Child immigrants		Adult immigrants	
Canada (1 = yes)	0.087	***	0.086	***	0.126	***	0.124	***
Chinese (1 = yes)	-0.083	***	-0.355	***	0.039	***	-0.202	***
Canada x Chinese	-0.114	***	-0.163	***	-0.153	***	-0.129	***
Age	0.012	***	0.012	***	0.011	***	0.011	***
Age square	-0.001	***	-0.001	***	-0.001	***	0.000	***
Less than HS	-0.473	***	-0.466	***	-0.554	***	-0.546	***
High school	-0.319	***	-0.315	***	-0.405	***	-0.401	***
Some post-secondary educ	-0.217	***	-0.213	***	-0.260	***	-0.256	***
Graduate degree	0.177	***	0.179	***	0.193	***	0.194	***
Bachelor's degree (reference)								
Speak English (1 = yes)	0.268	***	0.212	***	0.208	***	0.102	***
Never married	-0.246	***	-0.244	***	-0.038	***	-0.035	***
Separated/divorced/widowed	-0.157	***	-0.154	***	-0.022	***	-0.020	***
Married (reference)								
Years since immigration (centered)	0.003	***	0.018	***	0.007	***	0.015	***
Working full-time, industry, occupation	Included		Included		Included		Included	
Logged population size	-0.027	***	-0.027	***	-0.041	***	-0.041	***
Industrial diversity	0.201	**	0.154	*	0.181	**	0.172	*
% workers in science/technology	-0.044		0.036		0.348	***	0.391	***
Logged Chinese population size	0.049	***	0.049	***	0.060	***	0.060	***
Intercept	5.402	***	5.522	***	5.535	***	5.659	***
R square	0.329		0.330		0.375		0.373	

[a] Models control for working full-time, industry and occupation.

Data Source: the 2006 Census of Canada, the 2005-2007 American Community Survey.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

Appendix A1 Regression Models of Logged Weekly Earnings with Sample Selection Among Chinese Immigrant and Native-Born White Women (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

	Native-born				Immigrants and native-born			
Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Canada (1 = yes)	0.210	***	0.126	***	0.208	***	0.124	***
Chinese (1 = yes)	0.148	***	0.042	***	-0.059	***	-0.154	***
Canada x Chinese	-0.151	***	-0.126	***	-0.137	***	-0.134	***
Age	0.011	***	0.011	***	0.011	***	0.010	***
Age square	-0.001	***	-0.001	***	-0.001	***	-0.001	***
Less than HS	-0.581	***	-0.562	***	-0.569	***	-0.551	***
High school	-0.425	***	-0.407	***	-0.420	***	-0.402	***
Some post-secondary educ	-0.274	***	-0.260	***	-0.269	***	-0.256	***
Graduate degree	0.201	***	0.192	***	0.202	***	0.194	***
Bachelor's degree (reference)								
Speak English (1 = yes)	0.248	***	0.286	***	0.085	***	0.117	***
Never married	-0.027	***	-0.036	***	-0.025	***	-0.033	***
Separated/divorced/widowed	-0.020	***	-0.020	***	-0.018	***	-0.018	***
Married (reference)								
Years since immigration (centered)	—		—		0.015	***	0.015	***
Working full-time, industry, occupation	Included		Included		Included		Included	
Logged population size	—		-0.041	***	—		-0.041	***
Industrial diversity	—		0.175	*	—		0.159	*
% workers in science/technology	—		0.350	***	—		0.407	***
Logged Chinese population size	—		0.060	***	—		0.060	***
Intercept	5.430	***	5.241	***	5.601	***	5.440	***
rho	0.026	***	0.027	***	0.024	***	0.025	***
Model chi square	463990	***	489163	***	475973	***	500512	***

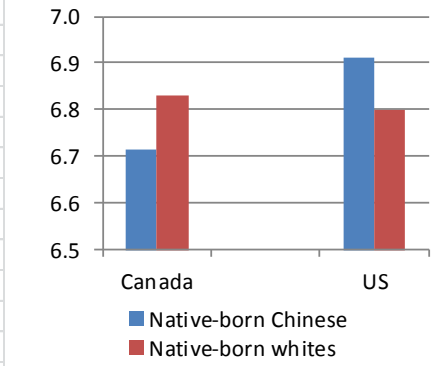
[a] Models control for working full-time, industry and occupation.

Data Source: the 2006 Census of Canada, the 2005-2007 American Community Survey.

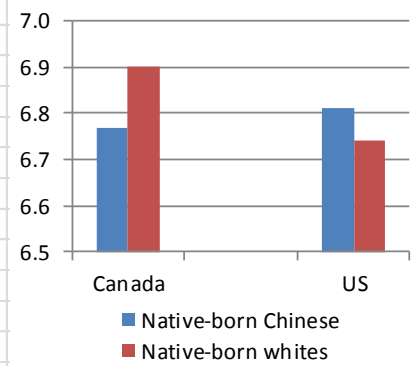
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

Figure 1 Interaction Effects of Race and Country on Logged Weekly Earnings Among Native-Born Chinese and White Men (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

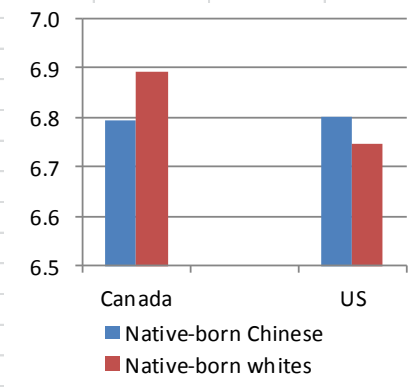
A - Base-line model



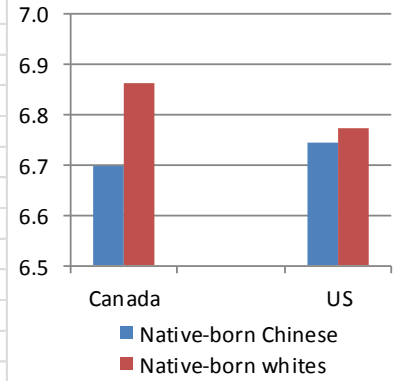
B - Add socio-demographics



C - Add full-time, industry, occupation



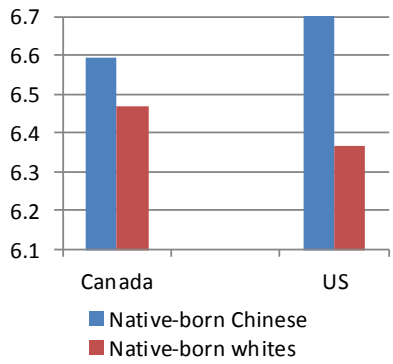
D - Add contextual variables



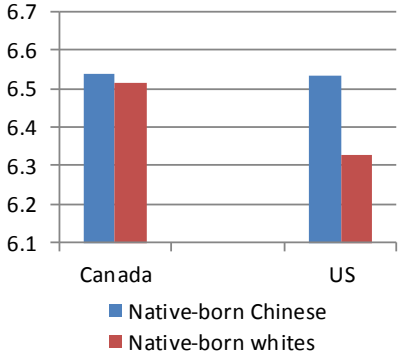
Data Source: Table 2.

Figure 2 Interaction Effects of Race and Country on logged Weekly Earnings Among Native-Born Chinese and White Women (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

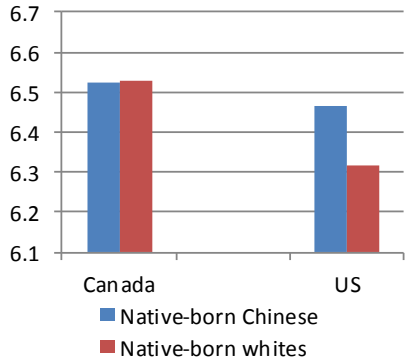
A - Base-line model



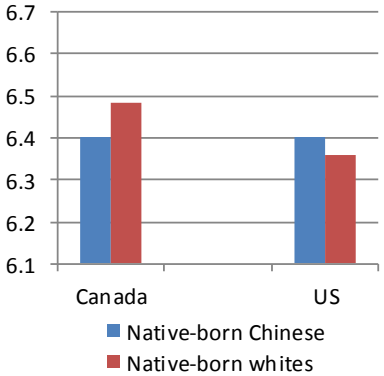
B - Add socio-demographics



C - Add full-time, industry, occupation



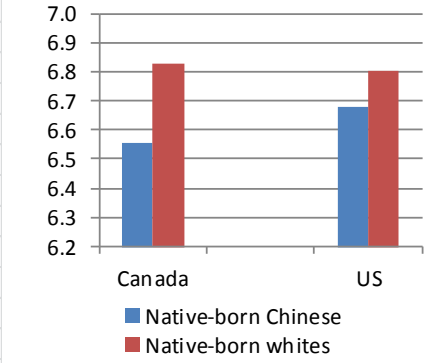
D - Add contextual variables



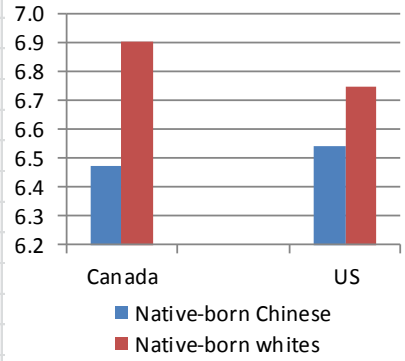
Data Source: Table 3.

Figure 3 Interaction Effects of Race and Country on Logged Weekly Earnings Among Chinese Immigrant and White Men (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

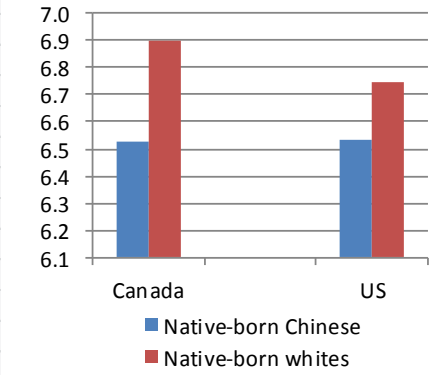
A - Base-line model



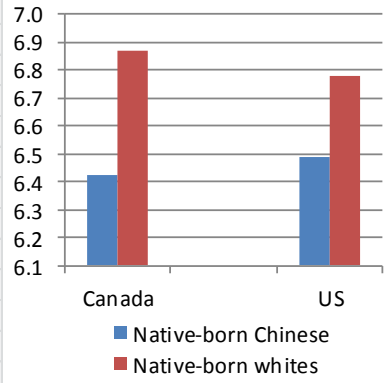
B - Add socio-demographics



C - Add full-time, industry, occupation



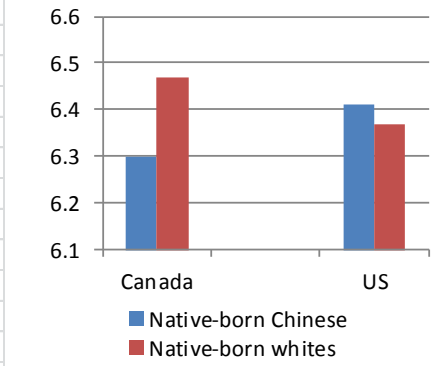
D - Add contextual variables



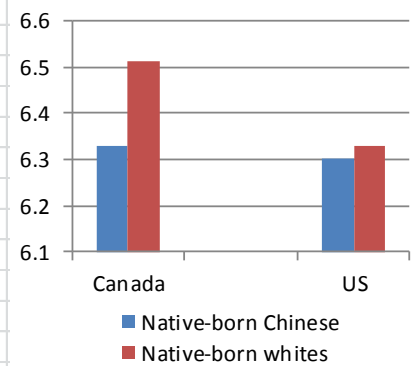
Data Source: Table 4.

Figure 4 Interaction Effects of Race and Country on Weekly Earnings Among Immigrant Chinese and White Women (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

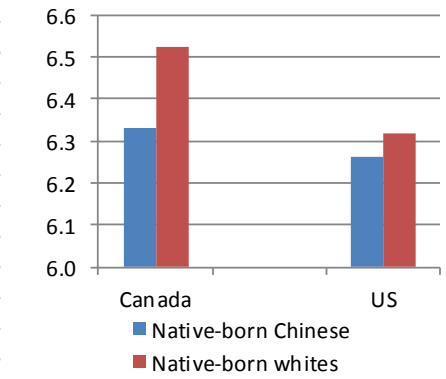
A - Base-line model



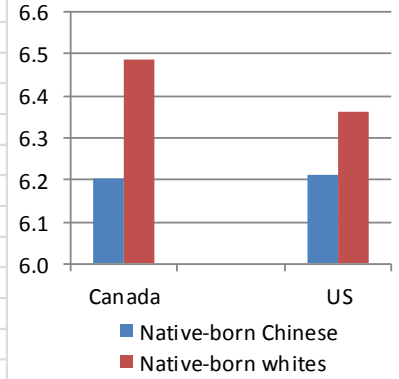
B - Add socio-demographics



C - Add full-time, industry, occupation



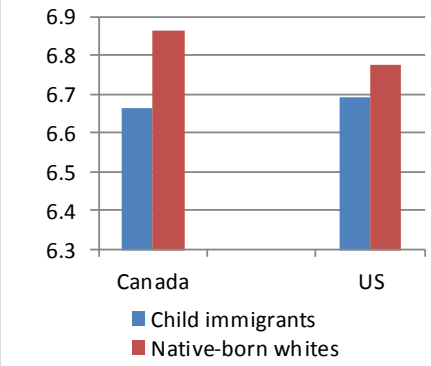
D - Add contextual variables



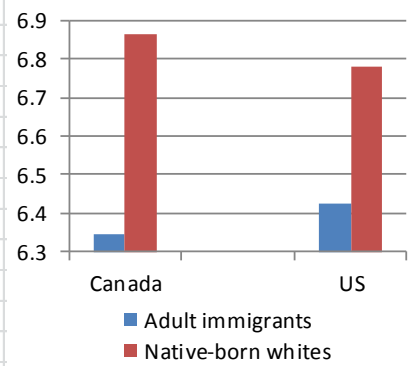
Data Source: Table 5.

Figure 5 Interaction Effects of Race and Country on Logged Weekly Earnings Among Immigrant and Native-Born White Men and Women (Age 25-64) in Canada and the US

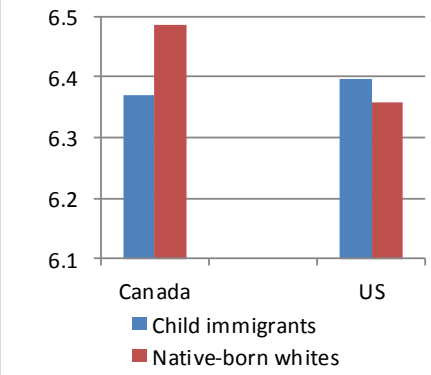
A - Child immigrants (men)



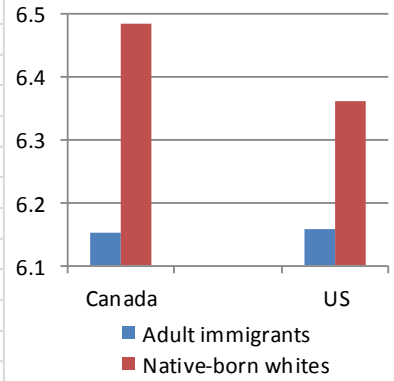
B - Adult immigrants (men)



C - Child immigrants (women)



B - Adult immigrants (women)



Data Source: Table 6.