Exploring Refugees’ Labour Market Experiences, Economic Success, and Integration Trajectories in Canada: The Implications for Achieving Social Justice

by

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ABSTRACT

Using the 2016 Canadian census data, which is for the first time linked with administrative data on tax and immigration, this study examines the labour market outcomes of two groups of resettled refugees, Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), within a social justice framework. While previous research has focused on employment status and earnings, this study included occupational status as well to broadly assess the economic integration of refugees resettled in Canada. This study focused on four factors, gender, admission category, location of study, and age of arrival in Canada, which have received limited attention in previous refugee research.

While existing research demonstrates the poorer economic outcomes of refugees compared to economic immigrants, the findings of subcategories of resettled refugees are descriptive, dated, and scant. My dissertation research reveals that nearly half of resettled refugees completed a postsecondary certificate, diploma, or degree, and over 65 percent of postsecondary graduates received their highest education in Canada. Yet, one third of resettled refugees were inactive in the labour market. While refugees are not admitted to Canada based on their financial or human capital, a considerable number of resettled refugees tended to seek self-employment instead of paid work. Refugee women were more disadvantaged in the Canadian labour market than refugee men. While PSRs fared better in finding a job and earned more than GARs, the picture is reverse regarding occupational status. A significant number of resettled refugees with foreign postsecondary credentials were working in low paying jobs, and the return on foreign university degrees was significantly lower than that on Canadian degrees. Age of arrival in Canada has an unanticipated association with employment status and employment income.

My dissertation research offers new insights about the challenges and barriers that refugees face to access employment, desirable occupations, and adequate earnings. The findings suggest the need to reduce the burden of economic integration on refugee individuals with a positive peacebuilding and social justice lens. This research contributes to the broad Canadian immigrant integration literature, and advances the literature on social justice and refugee integration within the global north host countries' contexts.

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MY STARTING POINT

My point of entry into the area of labour market integration research is rooted in my immigrant background. Despite the fact that immigrants and refugees live in a human rights tolerant and multicultural country many have been excluded from full participation in various spheres of the society and economy. My doctoral thesis topic choice stems from my personal observation of the issues facing Canadian immigrant and refugee communities that is based on pillars of social justice including equality, human rights, and multiculturalism. Through some preliminary research on immigration and integration issues during my coursework, my participation in some immigrant/refugee conferences, my observation of anti-immigrant and anti-refugee discourses in the media, public, and politics, professional involvement with the Canadian Association for Refugees and Forced Migration Studies (CARFMS), and my community involvement on some refugee integration related issues including the refugee myth along with my earlier work on policing, prisoners, informal settlements, and victims of overseas crime, my research interests deepened to view refugee integration from a social justice lens.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my thesis to my late mother **Munjuma Begum**, who was the big push for me to pursue my Ph.D., and to start the journey in Canada even though she did not witness the end of my Ph.D. journey.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOR	Adjusted Odds Ratio
BVOR	Blended Visa Office Refugee
CG	Constituent Group
CI	Confidence Interval
CMA	Census Metropolitan Area
CRA	Canada Revenue Agency
CS	Community Sponsor
CSS	Client Support Services
DCO	Designated Countries of Origin
ESDC	Employment and Social Development Canada
EU	European Union
FCR	Foreign Credential Recognition
G5	Group of Five
GAR	Government Assisted Refugee
GRSI	Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IHP	Interim Health Plan
ILF	Immigrant Landing File
IMDB	Longitudinal Immigration Database
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRB	Immigration and Refugee Board
IRCC	Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
LCR	Landed in Canada Refugee
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LSIC	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NOC	National Occupational Classification
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PACS	Peace and Conflict Studies
PR	Permanent Resident
PSR	Privately Sponsored Refugee
RDC	Research Data Centre
RAP	Resettlement Assistance Program
RAP SPO	Resettlement Assistance Program Service Provider Organization
RHRP	Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program
RRR	Relative Risk Ratio
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
RSTP	Refugee Sponsorship Training Program
SAH	Sponsorship Agreement Holder
SPO	Service Provider Organization
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the economic integration of resettled refugees in Canada, one of the Global North countries with a larger refugee resettlement program. Canada's commitment and model for the resettlement and integration of refugees has been praised globally (Alba & Foner, 2015; Hansen, 2018; IRCC, 2020a; Labman, 2019). The contexts of the global refugee crisis, refugee resettlement needs, and Canada's humanitarian and economic immigration objectives provide significant ground for a national level investigation of refugees' economic integration into Canada. With the pre-migration experiences of forced displacement, dispossession, and violence caused by war or conflicts, only a small number of refugees from millions who need resettlement can avail of third country resettlement options. Upon their arrival, some refugees struggle to integrate economically into the host society. This study centred in Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) examines the labour market outcomes of Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) within a social justice framework employing Canada's most recent 2016 Census data.

1.1. Refugee Resettlement: Global and Canadian Contexts

Refugees unlike non-refugee immigrants are forced to flee from their homes and take refuge in other countries/territories. Increasingly, global crises have resulted in millions of people from all walks of life having to leave their homes and countries displaced by wars to become refugees. Globally, refugees are required to seek protection from forced displacement, persecution, and human rights abuse in their home countries and navigate potential options for refugee settlement. During the post-migration stage, refugee challenges continue as they seek integration into their new setting.

1.1.1. Global Refugee Needs

The United Nations (UN) Refugee Agency has recorded in 2019 the highest number of refugees since the end of World War II (UNHCR, 2020a). In a decade of displacement (2010-2019), more than 50 million persons were forcibly displaced (UNHCR, 2020a). In 2019, out of 79.5 million

forcible displaced, 26.4 million were refugees, 4.2 million were asylum seekers, and 45.7 million were Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (UNHCR, 2020c). This global refugee crisis results from persecution, armed conflict, and human rights violations around ethnicity, nationality, identity, political opinion, or religion in the Global South (UNHCR, 2020c, 2020b). About half of the refugee population were children below 18 years of age (UNHCR, 2019b). In 2018, 1 out of every 108 people globally were forcibly displaced from their homes (UNHCR, 2019b, p. 4).

Refugee resettlement to a third country has, by now, become a predominant agenda for protecting international refugees because it is not possible for them to safely return home, as well because there are a lack of viable local solutions (Hagstrom, 2012; Hansen, 2018; UNHCR, 2016, 2020b). More than 85 percent of refugees remain in the Global South, and only one percent of refugees can avail themselves of third country resettlement options (Hansen, 2018; Ott, 2013; UNHCR, 2019c). The global refugee resettlement needs for 2020 is 1.44 million persons, which is 20 percent higher than the 2018 total resettlement needs (UNHCR, 2019c, p. 9). Despite the rise in total resettlement needs, the number of departures from refugee camps or non-camp settings for resettlement and the number of resettlement states has decreased. In 2016, the UNHCR referred 162,600 refugees to resettlement states, and 37 resettlement states received 189,300 refugees with or without UNHCR assistance (UNHCR, 2017). In 2018, the UNHCR referred 81,300 refugees, and 25 resettlement countries resettled 92,400 refugees (UNHCR, 2019b, p. 3). Over 63,000 refugees were resettled to 29 countries in 2019 (UNHCR, 2020b). Only 4.5 percent of the global resettlement needs were met in 2019 (UNHCR, 2020b).

Resettlement states resettle refugees on an annual quota or ad hoc basis (Hagstrom, 2012, p. 113). The UNHCR selects refugees based on eight resettlement needs criteria, and it processes refugees under urgent, emergency and normal priority (Hagstrom, 2012, p. 108). In 2018, 68 percent of UNHCR-referred refugees were selected based on legal and physical protection needs, including survivors of violence and torture, and vulnerable women and girls (UNHCR, 2019b, p. 32). In 2018, the UNHCR-referred refugees to Australia, Canada, and New Zealand for urgent and emergency priority resettlement were largely selected on the basis of legal/physical protection needs (UNHCR, 2019c, p. 16). With respect to 2020 resettlement needs, Africa (mainly for South Sudanese, Congolese, Central Africans, Eritrean, Somalis, and Sudanese refugees) is in the top region of asylum followed by Europe (for Syrian refugees in Turkey), MENA (the Middle East and North Africa for Syrians, Eritreans, Iraqis, and Sudanese), Asia and

the Pacific (for Myanmar and Afghans), and the Americas (for Columbia, Venezuela, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras) (UNHCR, 2019c, p. 11).

1.1.2. Global Options for Refugee Resettlement

Over a half century ago, with the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, the UN established the international refugee protection regime (Barnett, 2002; Goodwin-Gill, 2014; UNHCR, 2002, 2011). According to Article 1A (1) and Article 1A (2) of the 1951 Refugee Convention (The United Nations, 1951) and the 1967 Refugee Protocol, a refugee refers to any person who is outside their country of origin or habitual residence and is unable or unwilling to return there "owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (Hein, 1993). Under the Geneva convention (The United Nations, 1951), UNHCR, governments, and partners have adopted three durable solutions to refugees (voluntary return is the top priority followed by local integration, and resettlement in a third state) (Goodwin-Gill, 2014; Strang & Ager, 2010; UNHCR, 2015).

UNHCR defines resettlement as "the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status" (Labman, 2019, p. 2). In the postwar era, refugee groups, resettled in large numbers with the assistance of the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), include Europeans during 1947-1951; Ugandan Asians in the 1970s; Indochinese in the 1970s and 1980s; former Yugoslavians in the 1990s and 2000s; Sudanese and Somalis in the 2000s; Iraqis, Burmese, and Bhutanese from the 2010s; and Syrians in the 2010s (Hagstrom, 2012; Hansen, 2018; IOM, 2016; UNHCR, 2017). The United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Sweden are the top refugee resettlement states in the Global North. These countries have hosted tens of thousands of Syrians in response to the current Syrian civil war (Alderman & Bouniasfeb, 2016; IOM, 2016; UNHCR, 2017; Yardley, 2016). The United States received the highest number (96,900) of refugees in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017). In 2016, Canada resettled a record number (46,700) of refugees for the period since 1978 when the Immigration Act came into effect (Hyndman et al., 2017; IRCC, 2017f; Puzic, 2017). Three major refugee hosting countries – Canada, Australia, and the United States together have tended to resettle about 90 percent of the UNHCR resettlement referrals (Labman, 2019, p. 6).

1.1.3. Canada's Response to the Global Refugee Crisis

Canada has accepted refugees from each refugee movement in the post-World War II era (IRCC, 2020b; Picot et al., 2019). Since 1978, Canada has resettled refugees as a distinct class of immigrants (Epp, 2017; IRCC, 2020b). In 2018, Canada became the number one resettlement country toppling the United States as the key Western destination site by resettling 28,076 refugees (IRCC, 2020a). Canada is a traditional settler nation with a high immigration rate since its birth in 1867 (Guo, 2013; Yssaad, 2012). It is one of the OECD countries with the highest immigration flows relative to the size of the national population (Chatelaine, 2017; IRCC, 2017c; OECD, 2017). Australia, whose one-fourth population is foreign-born, is comparable to Canada' immigration inflows, yet the United States' absolute number (over 40 million) is higher than Canada or Australia, the two larger traditional immigrant and refugee hosting countries (Alba & Foner, 2015; Grenier, 2017). Due to the declining fertility rate from the mid-1960s onwards, and the aging of postwar baby boomers from the 1990s onwards, two-thirds of the current population growth results from net immigration (Yssaad, 2012; Yssaad & Fields, 2018). Immigrants represented 26 percent of the Canadian labour force in 2019 (IRCC, 2020a). The Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada's (IRCC) annual immigration plans since 2016 indicate the acceptance of about one percent of the total population (300,000) each year as permanent residents (PRs).

According to the 2016 Census of Population, Canada's total population is about 35 million, which is 10 times the size of the population recorded in the first census in 1871. According to the 2016 Census, Canada's total immigrant population is 7.6 million or 21.9 percent of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Over 15 percent of immigrants who entered Canada between 1980-2016 are refugees (Statistics Canada, 2017e). The number of children and youth has significantly grown over the last several years within the refugee population with children and youth comprising more than half of all new refugees (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yoshida & Amoyaw, 2020).

Refugees come to Canada in two ways (1) the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program (RHRP), and (2) the In-Canada Asylum Program (ICAP) (IRCC, 2020c; Korntheuer et al., 2017). Under the resettlement program, three resettled categories Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs), Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), or Blended Visa Office-Referred

Refugees (BVORs) seek protection from outside Canada. UNHCR, designated organization or private sponsors identify refugees, and the Canadian authority selects these refugees for resettlement (IRCC, 2020c; Reynolds & Hyndman, 2015). The Asylum Program provides protection to people making refugee protection claims from within Canada as they have a well-founded fear of persecution, or they are at risk of torture or cruel punishment in their home countries (IRCC, 2020c; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

Although the number of refugees resettled in Canada each year is small compared to the UNHCR-estimated resettlement needs, Canada has been praised globally for being one of the top Western refugee resettlement countries, and for its leadership in the privately sponsored refugee resettlement model (Hyndman et al., 2016; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Labman, 2019; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). The US has resettled about three million refugees since 1976 (Fix et al., 2017; Shaw & Poulin, 2015). As of 2017, Canada welcomed 1,088,015 refugees including refugee claimants (UNHCR Canada, 2019, p. 4). Among them, 327,000 refugees were sponsored by private sponsors to resettle in Canada between 1979 and 2019 (Martani, 2021, p. 1). Canada was the second largest resettlement country before the Trump administration, and it has become the top resettlement state among the Western refugee-hosting countries from 2017 onward (Labman, 2019; Labman & Pearlman, 2018; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). In 2019, Canada also resettled 30,087 GARs, PSRs, and BVORs, which was the highest number among the Western resettlement destinations (IRCC, 2020a). Canada's innovation and unique leadership of the private/community sponsorship program has now been replicated in other countries under the auspices of the United Nations and the European Union (Cameron & Labman, 2020; Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2019; Morris et al., 2021).

Canada is the only country that has an official Privately Sponsored Refugee (PSR) program since 1978 (Beiser, 2003; Hyndman et al., 2016). In 2013, during the Syrian refugee crisis, the Government of Canada introduced the BVOR program (Hyndman et al., 2014; IRCC, 2020c). Immigrant selection, settlement, and integration is the responsibility shared by federal, provincial, and territorial governments (Shields & Türegün, 2014; Tolley, 2011; Young et al., 2011). The Government of Quebec administers immigration to Quebec as per the 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord (Boudarbat, 2011). Compared to other resettlement countries, the private sector plays a significant role with regards to refugee selection, resettlement, and integration (Hagstrom, 2012; Hansen, 2018). Since 1978, Canada has admitted immigrants under three

admission categories (economic, family reunification, and refugees) to address three key immigration objectives, namely economic needs, family reunification, and humanitarian obligation. According to the Immigration Levels Plan for 2020-2022, Canada is targeting 49,700; 51,950; and 52,950 refugees including asylum claimants in 2020, 2021, and 2022, respectively (IRCC, 2020d). Different admission categories of refugees and the differences among refugee subcategories are discussed in the next chapter.

1.2. Research Objectives

The main objective of the study is to examine why some refugees achieved economic success and why others did not in Canada's labour market. The study aims to address the principal research question: How are resettled refugees currently faring in the labour market in Canada?

Compared to non-refugee immigrants, resettled refugees come to Canada from different sociocultural contexts with pre-migration exposure to trauma and refugee camps, and/or lack of education, training, or skills. Upon arrival, they face various problems such as learning a new language, finding employment and housing, and educating their children. The literature review chapter outlines how integration is a multidimensional and complex concept. Several well-established indicators of economic integration are examined in Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven by addressing the following sub-questions to answer the central research question.

1. What are the economic outcomes of Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) in Canada?
2. What are the facilitators or barriers to the participation of resettled refugees in the Canadian labour force?
3. To what extent do different factors influence the occupational status of resettled refugees in Canada?
4. What are the different correlates of resettled refugees' employment income in Canada?

The study tests the following hypotheses to determine the effects of type of sponsorship, gender, location of study, and age at arrival (i.e., the four focal independent variables of the study) through multivariate analyses of the employment status, occupational status, and

employment income of resettled refugees as a group (i.e., GARs and PSRs combined) controlling for the effects of all other factors included in the study:

- PSRs economically perform better than GARs.
- The economic outcomes for male refugees are better than those of female refugees.
- Refugees who received a Canadian education are doing better in the labour market than those who did not receive one.
- Refugees who arrived in Canada at a younger age are faring better economically than those who arrived at an older age.

Employing a nationally representative dataset (i.e., the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File), this thesis examines the economic inclusion/exclusion and the level of economic integration of resettled refugees that consist of a large number of visible minorities who have entered Canada since the 1980s. Both refugees and host communities view finding employment and earning an income as the first step of successful integration into a host society. It is pivotal if refugees find the job that is commensurate with human capital factors, particularly education. Upon arrival, refugees want to find employment and settle successfully in their new home. In a socially just and peaceful society, refugees achieve full integration to live a secure and dignified life, in an unjust society, they experience discrimination and disadvantages. In a socially just society, "all lives have equal value, equal opportunity and equal chances for success" (Ornstein, 2017, p. 546). If refugees are socio-economically excluded and are not treated as equal members of the society, this means they do not enjoy equality of outcomes, and they do not enjoy opportunities equally then that is a social justice issue.

To achieve the objectives of the study based on the stated research questions and the hypotheses formulated based on the literature review presented in the next chapter, four empirical chapters analyze the profile of GARs and PSRs, employment status, occupational status, and employment income of resettled refugees using the 2016 Long Form Census data.

1.3. Rationale and Significance for Undertaking the Research

Economists, sociologists, and the Canadian government have paid significant attention to the economic integration of immigrants, yet very few studies have focused exclusively on refugees

(Montgomery, 1986b; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Although some studies have investigated economic integration outcomes and patterns of refugees compared to other classes of immigrants, there is a lack of quantitative academic research on how GARs and PSRs' labour market integration occurs in Canada. The existing literature demonstrates a lack of a national-scale investigation of the economic experiences and integration trajectories of resettled refugees in Canada. Earlier studies of refugees' economic outcomes and labour market navigational experience focused on either a specific refugee category, province, city or region of residence, or the impact of certain factors or indicators of integration such as health, housing, and human or social capital (Hyndman et al., 2014; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yu et al., 2007). There are some studies based on descriptive analysis of government data (e.g., LSIC and IMDB) that portray GARs' poorer economic outcomes compared to PSRs (Hyndman, 2011; IRCC, 2011a, 2016c, 2016b, 2016a, 2017f; Yu et al., 2007). The previously generated literature based on census/administrative data is now dated (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017, p. 9).

So far, no national-scale research has analyzed the labour market integration of resettled refugees exclusively using current census data (i.e., the 2016 Census) and multivariate analysis. The existing literature lacks empirical studies using nationally representative datasets and multivariate analysis to explore the factors affecting the economic outcomes of resettled refugees (Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Yu et al., 2007). The 2016 Census's linkage with the Immigrant Landing File (ILF) provides an opportunity to compare socioeconomic outcomes of immigrants and refugees. Therefore, this research based on the long-form census data provides a logical step for creating new knowledge on resettled refugees' economic integration trajectories, as well as having a positive impact on policymakers to take pragmatic actions to improve labour market outcomes for refugees and immigrants in Canada within a social justice lens.

The social justice framework emphasizes the structural forces or contextual factors of the host society and the three overlapping theoretical constructs structural violence, segmented assimilation, and structuration that are used to inform this research to explore refugee economic integration in Canada. In the light of a social justice framework, current and future injustices, discrimination, economic exclusion, and oppression based on racial-ethnic identity, gender, and/or other social justice factors need to be addressed to ensure refugees' successful economic integration within the context of multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-cultural liberal-democratic

Canada. This study will fill a critical gap by conducting a national-scale investigation of the economic integration of resettled refugees in Canada. This study, a unique contribution to the broad Canadian immigrant and integration literature, also fills the void in the Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) literature on social justice and refugee integration as most studies on this topic are from sociologists and economists.

1.4. Dissertation Overview

This thesis consists of eight chapters. This first chapter provides an overview of the study context, introduces the research questions, and highlights the rationale for the study. The second chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study, and reviews the existing literature on the economic integration of immigrants and refugees within a social justice lens that are relevant to the study. Chapter three discusses the research approach, data sources, sampling, dependent measures and independent variables of interest, and analytic procedures used in the study. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters are the findings chapters based on the statistical analyses of the 2016 Census data. The fourth chapter describes the profile of the study population, and describes the economic outcomes of GARs and PSRs in Canada using descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses of the 2016 Census Microdata. The fifth chapter presents the analysis and predictors of the employment status of resettled refugees in Canada based on a binomial logistic regression analysis. Chapter Six examines the occupational status of refugees, and the likelihood of having managerial and professional jobs based on the results of a multinomial regression analysis. Chapter eight analyzes refugees' 2015 calendar year employment income using the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression method and discusses the factors that explain employment earnings differences among refugees in Canada. The eighth chapter summarizes the overall key findings of the study, discusses the policy implications, and suggests further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In the post-World War II era, immigrant integration has been a growing theoretical and empirical area of inquiry in various disciplines including sociology, anthropology, economics, demographics, and politics. A number of theoretical perspectives can be useful in a study centered in Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) to guide and interpret the analyses of employment income, employment status, and occupational status of resettled refugees that includes a large proportion of members of different visible minority groups. The empirical literature on refugee labour market integration is reviewed here to examine and discuss how existing research addressed the broad topic of the economic integration of refugees in Canada and other countries. This chapter reviews the theoretical literature on social justice, integration, and structural violence to develop a social justice framework to guide the research questions this study seeks to address. The focus of the review is to discuss the structural barriers and disadvantages to the economic integration of refugees in Canada.

2.1. Refugee Resettlement and Integration in Canada

Canada has accepted refugees since 1776, and as a distinct class of immigrants since 1978, and from each refugee movement since the World War II (Epp, 2017; IRCC, 2020b; Picot et al., 2019). During 1980-2016, more than 858,000 refugees made Canada a new home (Picot et al., 2019; Statistics Canada, 2017e). During the 1947-1981 period, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Chilean, Uganda-Asian, and Indochinese refugees resettled in Canada (Samuel, 1984). Vietnam, Poland and El Salvador were the major source countries during the 1980s; Somalia, Sri Lanka, Iraq, and the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s; Colombia, China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and Sri Lanka during the 2000s; and Iraq and Haiti in the early 2010s (Picot et al., 2019). Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Eritrea, and Democratic Republic of Congo were the major source countries of refugees to Canada from January 1, 2015, to May 10, 2016 (Houle, 2019). Canada's source countries for resettlement have changed along with the changes in the refugee-producing countries of origins.

The number of refugees resettled in Canada has fluctuated markedly from year to year with respect to the incidence of war, conflict, persecution, and human rights abuses. Two major refugee crises led Canada to resettle a large number of refugees in a short period of time over 60,000 Indochinese people entered Canada between 1979-1980, following the Vietnam War (Hou, 2017; Houle, 2019), and over 25,000 Syrians came to Canada between 2015-2016, following the Syrian civil war that started in 2011 (Hou, 2017; Houle, 2019). Among these recent Syrian arrivals, 53 percent were GARs, about 38 percent were PSRs, and about nine percent were BVORs (Houle, 2019). Among other major refugee inflows, the Khmer Cambodians in the 1980s, the Bosnians and Kosovars in the 1990s, Karen refugees in the 2000s were resettled in Canada (Agrawal, 2019; Picot et al., 2019; Watson et al., 2020).

Canada adopted the UNHCR definition, and resettles convention refugees (e.g., GARs, PSRs, BVORs) abroad through the UNHCR and any other overseas states (Korntheuer et al., 2017; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). According to Article 1A (1) and Article 1A (2) of the 1951 Convention (The United Nations, 1951) and the 1967 Protocol, a refugee refers to any person who is outside their country of origin and is unable or unwilling to return there "owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (Hein, 1993, p. 44).

Refugees coming to Canada are either determined overseas under Canada's resettlement program or inside Canada under its asylum system, and they are not selected based on their capacity for labour market success, rather they are chosen based on humanitarian reasons (Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Resettled refugees vary from asylum claimants (protected persons in Canada) in terms of their pre-migration trajectories and post-migration contexts. Resettled refugees are those "who have been selected abroad while outside of their home country or country where they normally lived and who were granted permanent status on the basis of a well-founded fear of returning to that country" (Statistics Canada, 2018c). The refugee category of protected persons in Canada (asylum claimants) and their dependants abroad includes "immigrants who applied for refugee protection status while in Canada and who were granted permanent status on the basis of a well-founded fear of returning to their country of origin as well as immigrants who were granted permanent resident status as their family members abroad" (Statistics Canada, 2018c). Refugee claimants first enter a Canadian port of entry legally with a different temporary visa and submitted claims for refugee

status upon arrival. Once accepted, they become landed immigrants under the protected persons in Canada admission category (IRCC, 2017e, 2017b, 2017a). If they are not accepted, asylum applicants may seek other in-land protection options such as the humanitarian and compassionate category.

Refugee claimants receive a work permit and remain as temporary residents until their claim is accepted as per the 1951 Convention (Korntheuer et al., 2017; Legrain, 2017; Wilkinson, 2017; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Resettled refugees come to Canada as GARs, PSRs, and BVORs, and enjoy the same rights and benefits as all other permanent residents, and receive income support for food, clothing, and housing. Compared to the economic, family class immigrants and asylum claimants whose city of initial settlement is self-chosen, the destination for refugee resettlement depends on the sponsors (IRCC, 2016c, 2019b; Kaida et al., 2020a). GARs are settled in provinces selected by the federal government based on the regional quota, although the IRCC adopts a matching principle based on a refugee's needs and community resources (IRCC, 2016c; Kaida et al., 2020a). Compared to PSRs, and other immigrants, GARs are more likely to migrate from their initial city of settlement due to unemployment (Kaida et al., 2020a). PSRs are resettled in the communities where their private sponsors (i.e., Sponsorship Agreement Holder (SPH), Group of Five, or Community Sponsors) are located (Hynie et al., 2019; Labman, 2019; Labman & Pearlman, 2018). GARs receive income support from the federal government under RAP, and PSRs from private sponsors.

Compared to resettled refugees, refugee (asylum) claimants cannot avail themselves of the government's Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) funded by the federal government or the Province of Quebec. Service Providing Organizations (SPOs) provide immediate and essential services (i.e., reception at port of entry, temporary accommodation, assistance in finding permanent accommodation, basic orientation, and links to settlement programming and federal and provincial programs) for up to six weeks (IRCC, 2016c). The federal government's RAP mainly focuses on GARs' immediate settlement needs and essential services such as income support for one year (except for refugees with special needs who are allotted up to 24-36 months) upon arrival for shelter, food and incidentals, the travel loans program, and the Interim Health Program (IHP) (IRCC, 2016c; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). PSRs are supported by private sponsors (such as private individuals or entitles like churches, mosques or synagogues, ethnic

associations, or universities) and the communities where they settled across the country (Hansen, 2018; IRCC, 2016c; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

The BVOR program matches refugees with private sponsors in Canada. BVORs receive income for six months from the federal government (RAP) and for six months from their private sponsors, as well as getting social and emotional support from their private sponsors for the first year after their arrival. The BVOR program sitting between the GAR and PSR program partnering between government and private citizens/organizations was introduced in 2013 during the Syrian refugee crisis (Labman, 2016; Labman et al., 2019; Labman & Pearlman, 2018; Morris et al., 2021). The BVOR program was considered to be a new joint or hybrid (50/50 financialization based) model of partnership between government and private citizens/organizations (Labman, 2016; Labman et al., 2019; Labman & Pearlman, 2018; Morris et al., 2021). However, these joint models have been undertaken as pilot programs for different refugee groups (with a different financial share between the state and private sponsors) in the past (Labman, 2016). While private sponsors used to choose refugees whom they intend to sponsor under the PSR model earlier, now under the BVOR model they match with the UNHCR referred refugees who are strangers to them (Labman, 2016; Labman & Pearlman, 2018; Morris et al., 2021).

The federal and provincial government's general settlement and integration services are catered to all permanent residents. These services include information and orientation, language training, labour market participation-related programs to facilitate community networks, job mentorship, job searches, as well as employment skill development (IRCC, 2012a; Schmidt, 2007; Shields & Türegün, 2014; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Protected persons are eligible for settlement and integration services (IRCC, 2011b, p. 5). Apart from the general settlement and integration process, immigrants and refugees are also eligible for various mainstream public services that are offered at either no cost or at subsidized fees such as various educational and special health care programs (Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2012; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Refugee claimants are considered international students for postsecondary education (VanderPlaat, 2017). The successes of the settlement and integration policies reflect the high demand for services, waitlists, and the higher level of satisfaction of the service users (IRCC, 2011b, 2012a; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

More than 70 percent of service users were very satisfied with the services they accessed, and over 60 percent of users were very satisfied with the extent to which the services met their needs (IRCC, 2011b, p. 26). In the Prairies, although about two thirds or more of Syrian refugees accessed settlement services, and increasingly accessed those services as they spent more time in Canada; gender, provincial and inter-city admission category differences are evident (Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017). Usually, in the first year when resettled refugees are on income support, they are likely to invest time in language training, and other settlement activities. Almost all the refugees accessed employment services during the 10-12 months after their arrival, yet the finding with regards to their lower access to employment services after the first year of entry demands further exploration (Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017).

Refugees continued to experience challenges in finding employment despite their increased length of stay in Canada. In Alberta, PSRs were more likely to experience difficulties in finding work than GARs were. The Syrian refugees reported their lack of official language proficiency, plus the lack of daycare, transportation to work, and foreign credential recognition as major challenges to their successful settlement in the Prairie provinces (Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017). These challenges were evident in the IRCC's own evaluations (IRCC, 2011b, 2016b, 2016c, 2017f), and in other research literature (Hyndman et al., 2014; Shields et al., 2014; Shields & Türegün, 2014; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yu et al., 2007).

While non-refugee immigrants have received much scholarly attention, refugee integration in general is less explored (Biles & Frideres, 2012; Hyndman et al., 2014; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Previous studies concentrate on immigrants' different issues/indicators of integration such as health, housing, employment, and human capital (i.e., education, language training) or social capital (Picot, 2008). Existing studies mostly focus on a particular refugee group (GARs, PSRs, or LCRs/asylum seekers) (Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014; Yu et al., 2007). Previous studies, predominantly qualitative in nature, largely investigate pre-and post-settlement refugee experiences of the difficulties they encounter in finding jobs, speaking fluently in both official languages, mental health issues, and accessing adequate housing (Hyndman et al., 2014; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yu et al., 2007). Many of these studies visualize how the media and public discourses represent refugees negatively, often as problem

people, while in reality most of them want to constructively contribute to society, not subsist on welfare assistance, and live with the stereotype of being unworthy citizens (Baffoe, 2013; Fast, 2013; Hathaway, 2007; Kanu, 2008; Kaplan, 2009; Sersli et al., 2010). According to an IRCC-commissioned refugee integration research synthesis of studies in Canada, a refugee research gap exists and more quantitative research using multivariate research is suggested to close that gap (Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014).

2.2. Refugee Economic Integration in Canada

Researchers have investigated refugee economic integration outcomes compared to immigrants and native-born citizens (Aydemir, 2011; Bevelander, 2011, 2016; Montgomery, 1986b; Ott, 2013; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Immigrants who landed in Canada during the early 1980s have experienced deteriorating economic outcomes compared to previous cohorts despite the increased inflow of skilled and educated immigrants along with increasingly empowering policies and programs (Ferrer et al., 2014; Fuller, 2015; Guo, 2013; Morissette & Sultan, 2013; Picot & Sweetman, 2012; Reitz et al., 2014; Sweetman & Warman, 2008). The earnings gap (Banerjee & Lee, 2015), chronic low-income (Picot, 2008), the lack of FCR (Foreign Credential Recognition) (Ferrer et al., 2014; Lauer et al., 2011; W. C. Smith & Fernandez, 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2016), downward occupational mobility (Reitz et al., 2014; Wilkinson et al., 2016; Xu, 2012), and the loss of the economic potential of skilled immigrants (Desjardins & Cornelson, 2011; Kelly, 2014; Reitz, 2001, 2007b; Reitz et al., 2014) have been the most salient issues in the Canadian immigrant labour market since the 1990s. Immigrants' declining labour market outcomes are attributed mostly to the quality of the human capital (education, language training) of immigrants coming from new non-European source countries, as well as the discrimination leveled against immigrants and visible minorities in Canada (Banerjee & Lee, 2015; Robson, 2013).

Canadian researchers have investigated the economic integration of refugees admitted since 1947 (Devoretz et al., 2004; Reynolds & Hyndman, 2015; Samuel, 1984; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). These studies focus mainly on employment, occupational status, and earnings, and were mostly conducted relative to non-refugee immigrants (Devoretz et al., 2004; Samuel, 1984; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Earlier cohorts of refugees performed worse compared to

economic class immigrants, they had comparable outcomes with non-economic immigrants, and the earnings of refugees were lower initially, rose remarkably, and even surpassed the earnings of Canadian-born citizens (Devoretz et al., 2004; Samuel, 1984). Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Chilean, Uganda Asian, and Indochinese refugees who resettled in Canada during the 1947-1981 period had difficulty getting their first job while economic class and family class immigrants were able to be employed one month after arrival, and both refugees and immigrants faced difficulties in entering their intended professions given their training and credentials (Samuel, 1984). The economic outcomes of refugees admitted during the 1980s and 1990s were not impressive as refugees took seven years to catch up to independent and family class immigrants (Devoretz et al., 2004). The entrance refugee category (GARs or PSRs), the time spent in Canada, and the location of settlement affected the economic performance of earlier cohort refugees (Devoretz et al., 2004). The integration period for recent cohorts of refugees has been increased to 12-20 years (Montgomery, 1986b).

Recent cohorts of refugees tend to have higher unemployment rates compared to other immigrant groups even five years after their arrival in Canada (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017, p. 9). For example, refugees who landed in Canada between October 2000-September 2001 had lower Labour Force Participation (LFP) rates compared to family class immigrants, although the earnings of members of these two groups were about the same after 2 years of arrival (Aydemir, 2011). At six months and two years after arrival, the employment rates for resettled refugees, who landed in 2001-2002, were 20 percent and 40 percent respectively, and 60 percent and 70 percent respectively for family class or skilled immigrants (Yu et al., 2007). This is also true for refugee youths living in Canada. In Alberta, refugee male and female youth aged 20 to 29 have lower rates of employment than native-born and immigrant-born youth (Wilkinson, 2008). Refugees youth's school-to-labor market transitions tend to have two contrasting outcomes given their knowledge of official language, educational success, and legal and migration trajectories (Wilkinson, 2008). Refugee youth who are more successful in schools, in learning a new language, and in adapting to Canadian culture are more likely to be successful in the labor market (Wilkinson, 2008, p. 155). On the other hand, refugee youth who fail to "fit in" are more likely to have low educational attainment, come into contact with the law, and access low-skilled and low-paid jobs (Wilkinson, 2008, p. 156).

GARs tend to have poor economic outcomes compared to PSRs (Devoretz et al., 2004; Hyndman, 2011; IRCC, 2016b; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c). According to government data (LSIC and IMDB) for the last 10 years (Hyndman, 2011; Yu et al., 2007) and IRCC's evaluations (IRCC, 2016c, 2017f), 50 percent of PSRs and 10 percent of GARs found employment in the first year upon arrival. However, Hiebert (2009) finds that the earnings gap between GARs and economic immigrants in Vancouver city is not wide, and GARs performed better than family reunion immigrants because GARs were eligible for language training. The early 1980s cohort of refugees demonstrated quicker earnings growth compared to the economic class (De Silva, 1997). The 1980 cohort of refugees doubled their income in 17 years (Devoretz et al., 2004). According to a recent study, refugees catch up to skilled workers' earnings level in 13 years (Watson et al., 2020). Among both resettled refugee groups, pre-IRPA (1992-2001) GARs may approach PSRs in 7 years, and post-IRPA (2002-2012) GARs may take more than 10 years to catch up to PSRs economically, according to the IRCC's own evaluation (IRCC, 2016b), while GARs' earnings may converge with PSRs' level in 13 years (Kaida et al., 2020c). The differences in employment and earnings outcomes between GARs and PSRs were attributed to human capital deficiencies (e.g., education, and language proficiency) and sponsorship conditions, such as private sponsors' social capital and the social capital generated by sponsored refugees (Dhital, 2015; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020c).

Many refugees experience a downward occupational mobility in Canada (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). According to the 2015 Western Canada Settlement Survey, 65 percent of refugee females and 54 percent of refugee males are working in jobs for which they are significantly overqualified (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Earlier cohorts of refugees also faced difficulties in entering their intended professions in terms of their pre-migration training and credentials (Devoretz et al., 2004; Samuel, 1984). Vietnamese refugees living in Alberta (Montgomery, 1986a), and refugees from the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, Central America, Africa, and Southeast Asia, for example, who landed in Alberta during the mid-1990s (Krahn, 2000) had lower levels of occupational mobility because of their language ability, lack of credentials, and lack of Canadian experience in the workplace.

A number of studies indicate that the human capital of refugees often does not function effectively in the employment integration process. Schooling and experience do not typically have any effect on short-term labour market outcomes, although schooling has a small positive

effect on weekly earnings (Aydemir, 2011, p. 473). Earlier cohorts of refugees received support from their strong community network (Samuel, 1984), and PSRs receive support from private sponsors in finding the first job (Devoretz et al., 2004). The links between social capital and refugee integration has been explored in several recent studies (D'Addario et al., 2007; Lamba, 2003; Lamba & Krahn, 2003; Li, 2004; Nanavati, 2009). Lamba (2003) concludes that refugees' familial and extra-familial ties (social capital) are significantly associated with their higher quality of employment. Because of structural barriers, many refugees find that their human capital is not valued in the labor market, and they utilize family and ethnic networks for employment. In another study, Lamba and Krahn (2003) note that refugees use their formal and informal networks (extensive stock of social capital) for solving their employment and other resettlement problems constrained by the systematic barriers created by the structural and institutional processes.

Earlier studies identify several factors associated with poor economic outcomes for refugees – the problem of Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR), the lack of language proficiency, the lack of Canadian work experience, the entrance category, time spent in Canada, and the location of settlement (Devoretz et al., 2004; Krahn, 2000; Montgomery, 1986a; Samuel, 1984). Beiser's (2003, 2006) longitudinal study of 1,348 Southeast Asian refugees (Chinese, Laotian, and Vietnamese) who arrived in Vancouver between 1979 and 1981 found that refugee employment is associated with a number of predictors such as sponsorship type (private versus government), gender, marital status, education, age, pre-migration and post-migration stressors, depression, history, and ethnicity. Apart from human capital factors, social capital plays a significant role in quality employment (Lamba, 2003; Lamba & Krahn, 2003). Education and language, FCR, and the economic conditions and time of arrival, type of sponsorship, the role of settlement services and economic integration policies are all potential explanatory factors accounting for differences in economic integration between refugees and other immigrants in Canada (Wilkinson, 2017; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

Economic recessions affect immigrants and refugees' labour market outcomes (Abbott & Beach, 2011a; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020). Two significant economic recessions that hit Canada during this period were 1991 and 2008 (Watson et al., 2020). Due to policy changes (e.g., selection policy change through the 2001 IRPA, the rules for income support for PSRs, or the income assistance amounts for GARs) from time to time, the characteristics of GARs and

PSRs, and their experiences are likely to be different (Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2016; Labman & Pearlman, 2018; Morris et al., 2021; Watson et al., 2020).

Although some academic researchers have investigated refugees' economic integration since the 1980s (Devoretz et al., 2004; Kalbach & Beiser, 2001; Samuel, 1984), past immigrant research has focused less on refugees. Refugees' labour market outcomes are the worst among all three immigrant classes, and they take time to catch up with the economic class (Abbott & Beach, 2011a; Dhital, 2015; Hiebert, 2009a; Mata & Pendakur, 2016; Wilkinson et al., 2016). Before the 2001 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), no study was exclusively on refugees except for the IRCC-supported regional study titled "Refugee Resettlement to Alberta" (B. Abu-Laban et al., 1999) and a specific refugee (Indochinese) group-based longitudinal study titled "Refugee Resettlement Program" (Beiser, 2006). Even before the 2010s, the IRCC did not have their own evaluations of resettlement programs on refugee subcategories at the national level (IRCC, 2021). However, some of the IRCC's own evaluation studies (IRCC, 2016b, 2016c), and some IRCC-backed regional level studies (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017) were exclusively centred on refugees in the 2010s. In the post-IRPA, IRCC's evaluation studies focused on refugee sub-categories and were mostly descriptive (IRCC, 2011a, 2016b, 2016c, 2019a). Interestingly, Statistics Canada's refugee-specific studies (i.e., studying refugees separately) have increased from the 2010s (Houle, 2019; Lu et al., 2020; Picot et al., 2019). Despite these new studies, GARs and PSRs are not much studied by academics (Dhital, 2015; Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014, 2016; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). One recent study examined the economic integration of resettled refugees, specifically GARs and PSRs, using a multivariate analysis with the IMDB (Kaida et al., 2020c). SyRIA.ITh is an ongoing longitudinal study on the Syrian refugee integration (Hynie et al., 2019).

2.3. Refugee Economic Integration in Other Countries

Although scholars and policymakers have paid much attention to the economic integration of immigrants (Bevelander, 2016; Bloemraad et al., 2008; de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010; Ott, 2013), refugees have still received less attention in the academic literature compared to immigrants' economic integration (Connor, 2010; de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010; Hyndman,

2011; UNHCR, 2013; Yu et al., 2007). A handful of academic studies on the economic integration of refugees in European countries such as in the Netherlands (de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010), Sweden (Bevelander, 2011; Bevelander & Lundh, 2007; Montgomery, 1986b; Rooth & Ekberg, 2006), Norway (Aalandslid, 2009), and the UK (Bloch, 2008; Cheung & Phillimore, 2014) used employment, earnings, and occupational status as the common measures of the economic integration of refugees. Some of these studies used government national-level datasets (Aalandslid, 2009; Montgomery, 1986b), and others used special surveys (Bloch, 2008; Connor, 2010; de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010; Waxman, 2001). Some of these studies exclusively focused on refugees (Bloch, 2008; de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010; Waxman, 2001), while others centered on government-assisted refugees and non-economic refugees (Montgomery, 1986b), and others centered on refugees, immigrants and native-born citizens (Aalandslid, 2009; Connor, 2010), and others on only principal refugee applicants (Waxman, 2001). However, these studies neither included enough refugees nor considered the factors that possibly affect refugees' labor market experience.

Most studies conducted in traditional immigrant countries find that refugees in these places hold an economically disadvantaged position or experience poor economic outcomes. The UNHCR's cross-national comparisons between Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States demonstrate that resettled refugees fare worse in measures of labor market integration compared to other immigrants in the short-term, even when controlling for differences in demographics such as age, education level, and level of host country language acquisition (Ott, 2013).

Different studies identify different factors that have positive impacts on the economic performance of refugees, such as, the length of their residence in the host country, and original national or cultural groups (Aalandslid, 2009); contact with natives (de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010); and level of family support (Connor, 2010). Depression, and mental health issues have negative effects on refugees' economic outcomes (Connor, 2010; de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010), having time spent in reception centres, and non-completion of the integration courses (de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010), non-recognition of foreign qualifications, and the experience of racial/cultural discrimination in the host country (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007), restrictive policies, and the neighbourhood effect (Connor, 2010). However, some studies find that the refugees' economic outcomes may not be associated with factors like the non-recognition of

foreign qualifications, time spent in detention camps, or the negative exit conditions (Waxman, 2001). Connor (2010) finds no refugee gap for the likelihood of their employment. Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007) found that recent refugees experience non-recognition of qualifications, discrimination by employers, and they concentrate in the secondary labour market. This is also reported in Bloch's (2008) study in the United Kingdom where a minority of refugees were engaged in the secondary sector. Bloch (2008) also noted that refugees experience job status decline as those with high levels of skills who are working in the United Kingdom are not in jobs commensurate with their skills and qualifications.

2.4. Social Justice as a Theoretical Framework

This study centered in Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) utilizes social justice as the overarching framework to address the central research question – How do refugees fare economically in Canada? Social justice, one of the oldest and widely used concepts in PACS, has no universal meaning or definition (Craig, 2018; Hurlbert et al., 2011; Reisch, 2002, 2007). Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle, religions, Indigenous peoples, social contractarians, utilitarians, libertarians, and contemporary theorists have used the social justice term for centuries (Hurlbert & Mulvale, 2011). In both the philosophical and academic literature, two intertwined social justice themes/pillars are formal or procedural, and distributive or substantive justice (Hurlbert, 2011). Social justice, part of the broader concept of justice, differs from private justice or legal justice (Miller, 1979). Social justice is the characteristic of market societies, unlike primitive and hierarchical/feudal societies, where the social structures are "created out of a series of contracts and exchanges between otherwise free and equal individuals" (Miller, 1979, p. 255). According to Miller (1979, p. 22), social justice is concerned with the distribution of benefits (intangible benefits such as prestige and self-respect) and burdens (disadvantages) throughout a society as it results from the major social institutions.

Social justice refers to "a set of ideas, values and social practices" to pursue justice by substantive justice standards and be informed by ethical practice (Hurlbert, 2011, p. 59). The term social justice is so popular today that neither the left nor the right, the secular or religious, disfavours it (Burchardt & Craig, 2008; Piachaud, 2008; Reisch, 2002). Social justice today is associated with terms like equality, equity, fairness, inclusion, diversity, civil rights and

citizenship (Byrne & Thiessen, 2020). The contemporary discussion of social justice relates to four overlapping or interdependent themes --- justice as desert (getting what one deserves), justice as fairness (treating equals equally), justice as equality (treating people equally with common standards), and justice as moral righteousness (Hurlbert & Mulvale, 2011, pp. 14–17). For the purpose of this framework, social justice is defined in the light of the pioneering social justice theory of John Rawls, David Miller, Amartya Sen, and Martha Nussbaum that critiqued Rawls, and the work of Gary Craig in the United Kingdom (UK) minorities' context. According to Craig's (2008) wide-ranging definition, social justice is "achieving equally socially just outcomes, in terms of meeting need or ensuring equality as citizens, in terms of status, opportunity and access" (p. 244). It means "the equal worth of all citizens; equal right to be able to meet their basic needs; need to spread opportunities and life chances as widely as possible; and requirement to reduce, and where possible, eliminate unjustified inequalities" (Craig, 2018, p. 5). In this study, social justice is used as distributive justice that is concerned with the fair and equitable distribution of benefits and burdens to ensure economic security, basic needs, as well as equality of outcomes, opportunities, and capabilities for all persons and groups. Under the overarching social justice framework, three main constructs – structural violence, segmented assimilation, and structuration are used to inform the research and interpret the findings of the study.

2.4.1. Social Justice

American philosopher John Rawls' (1971) *A Theory of Justice* has spurred contemporary discussion about social justice. Although Rawls (1971) does not much use the term social justice (Wolf, 2008), he views it as distributive justice – "the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social co-operation" (as cited in Burchardt & Craig, 2008, p. 4). "All primary goods – liberty and opportunity, income, wealth, and the social bases of self-respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of those goods is to the advantage of the least favoured" (Sen, 2002 as cited in Piachaud, 2008, p. 36). Primary goods are a set of resources that everyone needs (Burchardt & Craig, 2008). To promote distributive justice, the state requires a

number of institutions including a just constitution to secure liberties and equal citizenship, a fair equality of opportunity, and government guarantees (Piachaud, 2008, p. 36).

Differing from earlier social contract theories such as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, Rawls' version of modern liberalism is in reaction to classical liberalism and criticizing utilitarianism in which he emphasizes two principles of social justice in order of priority (Burchardt & Craig, 2008; Craig, 2018; Parvin, 2018; Piachaud, 2008; Wolf, 2008). First, the equality principle so that "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for all" (Wolf, 2008, p. 18). The second principle has two parts separating into two principles (Rawls, 1971, p. 6 as cited in Burchardt & Craig, 2008, p. 4). The first part is the difference principle – any deviation from total equality in the distribution of primary goods must be arranged for the greatest benefit of the least advantaged (Wolf, 2008, p. 18). Rawls argues that the equality principle-based society cannot be efficient unless the worst-off is treated well. The third principle is the fair equality of opportunity or the arrangement of any positions and offices of public responsibility or private advantage should be open to all under conditions of "fair equality of opportunity" (Rawls, 1971, p. 302 as cited in Piachaud, 2008, p. 36).

Rawls' theory, according to Miller (1979), is more a modification of utilitarian theory and less a radical alternative to utilitarianism. Miller (1979) develops a substantive theory of social justice based on three criteria of ordinary perception of justice --- rights, desert, and needs. Examining both systematic theories of justice, namely utilitarianism and social contract theory, Miller (1979) finds none of them satisfactory as they cannot meet with the distributive principles of rights, desert, and need. Miller contends that Rawls' two principles are not strictly distributive. Although Rawls (1971) claims his theory speaks of individual rights, Miller (1979) finds rights receive no weight in Rawls' theory. The difference principle does not consider the idea of desert, and the fair equality of opportunity principle requires the use of the desert principle despite his rejection of the notion of desert. The difference principle allows the arrangement of inequalities to benefit the worst-off that will normally satisfy their basic needs, yet it does not prescribe the distribution of resources according to need. Thus, in regards to needs, Rawls' theory does better than utilitarianism does (Miller, 1979, p. 48). The utilitarian theory, according to Miller (1979, p. 50), is forward-looking as it evaluates actions to be right or wrong based on future effects. The same goes with Rawls except for the fair equality of opportunity principle, which is based on the

notion of desert. Utilitarianism is aggregative as it judges actions based on the net amount of happiness, yet Rawls' theory is not strictly aggregative as it does not endorse the few to be deprived in order to obtain a greater balance of happiness for the many (Miller, 1979, p. 50).

Nobel Prize-winning economist and philosopher Amartya Sen (Sen, 2009) was greatly influenced by Rawls' central idea that justice has to be seen in terms of the demands of fairness. Sen diverges from transcendental institutionalism (emphasis on just institutions) held by Rawls and his predecessors in the Enlightenment thinkers that were embedded in the social contract tradition. A theory of social justice "must have something to say about choices that are actually on offer and not just to keep us engrossed in an imagined and implausible world of unbeatable magnificence" (Sen, 2009). Refuting utilitarian and resource-based justice concepts, Sen's (1992, 1999 as cited in Piachaud, 2008, p. 37) version of the capability approach suggests that all should have certain capabilities, and a person's well-being needs to be measured in terms of "capability to function", not in terms of the resources a person possesses. Sen (1992 as cited in Wolf, 2008, p. 23) defines capability as the freedom to achieve a functioning that is what a person can "do or be: achieve nourishment, health, a decent life span, self-respect and so on." Sen (1992, p. 7) argues that equality of opportunity cannot capture equality of freedom since the standard policy conception of equality of opportunities is confined to equal availability of some particular means or equal applicability/non-applicability of some specific barriers/constraints (Piachaud, 2008, p. 38). However, the list of human functionings, and the meaning of equality from a pluralist lens is the problem with Sen's theory.

To address the problem with Sen's functioning, Martha Nussbaum's (2003) (as cited in Piachaud, 2008, p. 37) capability theory includes ten capabilities. Rawls' primary goods and Sen's capabilities are more about opportunities than outcomes (Piachaud, 2008, p. 45). According to Rawls and Sen, it is important to distinguish between equitable and inequitable inequalities to recognize that inequality and inequity are different. Equality of opportunities and capabilities can make inequalities in outcomes (e.g., income) less in extent and of low concern (Piachaud, 2008, p. 46). Based on this discussion, Craig's (2008, 2018) definition of social justice as achieving equality of outcomes, equality of opportunities, equality of status, and equality of access is found to be very useful.

2.4.2. Integration

The refugee is the product of conflict and violence such as war, ethnic conflict, persecution or violation of human rights, and third country resettlement provides protection to refugees that are most at risk (UNHCR, 2019b, 2019c). Compared to immigrants, refugees are forced to flee their homes because of persecution or having a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, and pre-migration exposure to torture/violence/trauma, camp living, and loss of human capital characteristics. Canada's refugee population will continue to grow because of its response to the global refugee crisis. Canada's "whole society" approach to immigration and integration centers on newcomer's economic self-reliance and successful integration (IRCC, 2020a). Despite Canada' long history of immigration and integration along with its academic and policy rhetoric of the two-way integration process (Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2017; Kymlicka, 2012; Wilkinson, 2013), immigrants and refugees in the post-1980s period are not well integrated into the Canadian labour market in terms of the fundamental indicators of labour market integration such as earnings, and employment (Ferrer et al., 2014; Fuller, 2015; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Wilkinson, 2008). Immigrants and refugees share some integration experiences like the challenges they encounter in speaking the host country's language, learning a new culture, receiving recognition for their foreign credentials, having Canadian work experience, encountering discrimination and negative stereotyping and misperceptions about immigrants among the host communities. Yet studies are limited on refugees. Upon their arrival into their new home, refugees desire to succeed economically, and they want to have peaceful and prosperous lives.

This study examines resettled refugees' economic integration in terms of employment status, occupational status, and employment earnings within a social justice framework. In this study, the term "integration" is understood as a policy goal, an expected outcome, and a process involving both the newcomers and the host communities in recognizing their mutual rights and obligations so that newcomers can meet their needs by participating as full and equal members of the society. Consequently, Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework, which is briefly discussed below, is useful as it measures integration with ten critical indicators, that are

comprehensive, widely used, flexible and adaptive, and can be understood from a social justice lens[i].

Integration is a loaded term yet it is a widely used term (Alba & Foner, 2015; Donato & Ferris, 2020; Favell, 2019; Saharso, 2019; Schinkel, 2018; Schneider & Crul, 2010). Even those who use 'assimilation', agree that 'integration' is the common vocabulary in both sides of the Atlantic (Alba & Foner, 2015). Integrations means different things to different actors, for e.g., the newcomers, the host communities, the governments, the policymakers, and the practitioners. The integration construct is multidimensional and complex, and it is measured with multiple indicators (Ager & Strang, 2008; Alba & Foner, 2015; Castles et al., 2002; Collins, 2013; Ott, 2013; Wilkinson, 2013). Integration is usually referred to as processes that increase immigrants and their children's opportunities to participate in the labour market, education, politics, and housing markets (Alba & Foner, 2015; Spencer, 2011). According to Berry (1997, 2001), integration refers to the mutual accommodation between a dominant society and acculturating groups, the retention of the distinct identities of the non-dominant groups, and their full participation in the receiving society. Although the term "integration" has been widely and popularly used, many argue against using it as it has been abused and racialized, and has become akin to the other popular concept of "assimilation" (Favell, 2019; Schinkel, 2013, 2018). In contrast, this thesis uses "integration" because of its higher theoretical baggage over other concepts like inclusion, insertion, or adaptation (Favell, 2019), or over assimilation (Alba & Foner, 2015), especially in the context of Canadian academic and policy discourses (Berry, 1997, 2001; Dandy, 2009; IRCC, 2017c; Kymlicka, 2010, 2012; Wilkinson, 2013).

The latest Canadian legislation, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) of 2001), that governs the immigration system, settlement, and integration cherishes "successful integration" of immigrants and refugees as the core policy objective (Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2017; Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014; Yu et al., 2007). According to the IRPA, "integration involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Canadian society" (Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2017). Ager and Strang (2008) view refugee integration as "achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups within the community; and structural barriers to such connection related to language, culture and the local environment" (p. 166). Achievement in four areas –

employment, housing, health, and education are represented as "means and markers" and "public outcomes" (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 169). They are the key objective indicators to measure integration (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008). They can serve as a means to the end of integration, and as a means of achievement in other areas (Craig, 2015, p. 22). Ager and Strang (2008) contend that social bridges, social bonds, and social links (social connection), language, and cultural knowledge, and safety and stability (facilitators), and rights and citizenship (foundation) are three other domains of integration.

The focus of this study is the economic, employment, or paid labour market integration of resettled refugees in Canada. According to Ager and Strang's (2008) framework, employment rates, earnings and under-employment and self-employment are useful indicators of employment integration (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008, p. 314). Refugees have to achieve adequate income, and meaningful jobs in order to live a secure and dignified life. Employment is the key to achieving different aspects of wellbeing such as economic independence, self-reliance, self-esteem, and social connections (Ager & Strang, 2008; Hyndman & Hynie, 2016; E. S. Lee et al., 2020; van Tubergen, 2006; Wilkinson, 2008; Wilkinson et al., 2016), all of which are components of social justice. Many of the dimensions of social justice factors belong to two categories that may overlap or intersect traditional factors like class or socioeconomic status that are based on achieved attributes, and contemporary factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, age, ability, and sexuality, which are often given at birth with people having little or no control over these bases of social inequality (Grabb, 2017; Grabb et al., 2017; Reisch, 2007). Many resettled refugees may experience discrimination, racism, non-recognition or devaluation of their foreign credentials, negative stereotyping, and scapegoating because of different structural factors or institutional practices. This thesis explores the economic integration of resettled refugees in Canada by focusing on three interlocking theoretical perspectives (structural violence, segmented assimilation, and structuration) together within a social justice framework.

2.4.3. Structural Violence

Galtung's (1964, 1990, 1996) construct of structural violence is used here for understanding invisible, indirect forms of structural and cultural violence that constitute social injustice and that are embedded in institutions that stunt people's development. Violence and peace are explored

extensively by Galtung (1964, 1990, 1996). Violence can take three forms, namely direct (physical violence that includes murder, assault, rape, torture, hate crimes, ethnic violence); structural (resulting from the uneven distribution of resources caused by the social, political, and economic mechanisms in a society); and cultural (including religion, language, symbols, and ideology) (Byrne & Senehi, 2012, pp. 34–36; Reimer et al., 2015, p. 24). Poverty, unemployment, and discrimination are overt and more subtle forms of violence, and socioeconomic and political conditions sustain this structural violence to the advantage of some and the exclusion of others (Opotow, 2001).

Refugees were forced to flee their country of origin because of organized violence in the form of war, persecution or human rights abuses, which is direct violence as conceptualized by Galtung (1969). Under the international protection regime undertaken by the United Nations (UN) (The United Nations, 1951), the resettlement of refugees into the host societies enables refugees to make host countries their new home. Yet, upon arrival into host societies, refugees experience invisible and hidden structural and cultural violence in the society, polity, and economy that is social injustice (Galtung, 1969, 1990). Peace scholar and the founder of peace studies Johan Galtung equates social justice with positive peace, that is, the elimination of all forms of institutionalized and hidden violence in society. The resettlement of refugees as permanent residents and citizens in Canada is negative peace, that is, the absence of direct or physical violence in Canada, within Galtung's (1969, 1990) framework. The absence of structural violence or social injustice is positive peace or social justice (Galtung, 1969, pp. 172, 183).

Canada, one of the major refugee-hosting countries in the West, is globally known for its multiculturalism facilitated by its diverse immigrant communities (Berry, 2013; IRCC, 2017e; Shields et al., 2016). From the 1960s onwards, Canada has shifted from a racist and exclusionary conformity model towards multiculturalism and anti-racism as reflected in the subsequent policies and laws regarding equality rights, multicultural rights, human rights, and employment equity (Garcea & Hibbert, 2011; Jakubowski, 1997; Kallen, 2003; Kretsedemas, 2015; Siemiatycki, 2015). However, Canadian sociologist John Porter used the term "vertical mosaic" to refer to the social inequality on political, economic, and social dimensions among the Charter groups, (i.e., English and French), immigrants and Aboriginals fifty years ago, which is still relevant for Canada today (Grabb et al., 2017; Jedwab & Satzewich, 2015; Kallen, 2003). Based

on a national survey conducted over 10 years, Porter (1965), in *The Vertical Mosaic*, associated ethnocultural factors to the ethnic ranking of the aforementioned three groups into the top, middle, and bottom respectively (Kallen, 2003, p. 91). Canada's racelessness is, in fact, a myth and racism is a reality (Wallis & Fleras, 2009). According to Reitz and Banerjee (2017), more than 80 percent of recent immigrants are visible minorities who generally have much lower economic outcomes (p. 175). Despite the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, visible minorities are excluded from certain positions and jobs that suggests the presence of discrimination and racism in Canada (Aylward, 2009, p. 214). The persistence of economic exclusion based on race and ethnic identity can be tied to the poorer economic outcomes of recently arrived newcomers' in Canada (Kazemipur, 2004, 2014; Kumar, 2020; K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Reitz, 2007a; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017).

In a socially unjust society, the differences between a dominant and subordinate group lead to "institutional racism, class consciousness, or economic warfare" (Ornstein, 2017, p. 547). Following critical race theory, and two conflict theories, namely internal colonialism (Hechter, 1975) and the theory of the split labour market (Bonacich, 1972), Canada's racial and ethnic immigrant minorities' labour market success have been hampered by ethnic disadvantages, racist attitudes and reinforced racial identities, and institutional racism and latent discrimination (Brym et al., 2019). Two major arguments regarding immigrants' economic integration in Canada are important here. First, economists attribute the lower labour market return to immigrants' overseas education (Bonikowska et al., 2015; Sweetman et al., 2015). This type of devaluation of the quality of foreign credentials from a particular country without evidence or data indicates unfairness and stereotyping. Sociologists' argument for immigrants' lower earnings, precarious employment, concentration in the secondary labour market, and poor labour market outcomes point to racial discrimination embedded in the labour market (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Reitz, 2007b; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017; Yoshida et al., 2015).

Galtung's construct of structural violence assists in explaining refugee's experiences of racial and ethnic inequalities, racism, discrimination, and ethnic disadvantages in the Canadian labour market with regards to their visible minority status, location of study, foreign credential, and knowledge of official languages as discussed in the literature review on refugee economic integration in Canada. In the midst of prevailing destructive discourses against immigrants and refugees in politics, the media, and the public (Baffoe, 2013; Fast, 2013; Hathaway, 2007; Kanu,

2008; Kaplan, 2009; Krahn, 2000; Sersli et al., 2010; Wilkinson, 2008), Galtung's theory of structural violence can inform how mainstream society holds myths and stereotypes against refugees. The structural violence theory (Galtung, 1964, 1969, 1990, 1996) highlights the need for understanding invisible, indirect forms of structural and cultural violence that constitute social injustice. Hence, positive peacebuilding or social justice is essential for the full economic integration of refugees in in Canada.

2.4.4. Segmented Assimilation

This construct is used to explain the failure of the classic assimilation model and the human capital theory to consider the nonlinearity of integration (for e.g., downward, upward, selective), and the structural and contextual factors like ethnic disadvantages caused by persistent discrimination and institutional impediments (Brown & Bean, 2006; J. Lee & Bean, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Waters & Jiménez, 2005), and the mode of incorporation, family structure, and parents' human capital (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). The human capital theory (Becker, 1964, 1971) and the classic assimilation model (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003) focuses on individual (human capital) characteristics or attributes (for e.g., education, language skills, and work experience) for the successful integration of immigrants into the host society. The human capital theory argues that the newly arriving immigrants often lack individual skills, and many immigrants upgrade their human capital over time, assimilate into the host society, and achieve upward mobility in the labor market (Borjas, 1985; Chiswick, 1978). Language skills (proficiency in the host country language), and labor market experience in the host country are positively linked to immigrants' economic success and economic integration (Chiswick et al., 2005). Cross-sectional studies on the economic integration of immigrants of the 1960-1980 cohorts attribute the differences in integration outcomes of immigrants in the US and Canada to observed human capital characteristics (particularly education), as well as to the institutional factors relating to source countries, admission policies, and labor market contexts for Canadian advantage (Borjas, 1985, 1993; Chiswick, 1978).

According to the classic assimilation model, also known as the melting pot model proposed by the early sociologists of the Chicago School (Park & Burgess, 1921; Gordon, 1964 as cited in Schunck, 2014, p. 13), the longer immigrants spend time in the host society, the more

they reduce language and cultural impediments to their success, the more they acquire social and human capital, the more they succeed in finding a job of their own to begin their upward mobility (Kazemipur, 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Waters et al., 2010). Although the classic assimilation model is successful in explaining the economic assimilation of postwar European immigrants in the US (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003), it fails to explain the integration of contemporary (post-1965) non-European immigrants whose circumstances are different from their predecessors (DeWind & Kasinitz, 1997; Kazemipur, 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). According to the segmented assimilation approach, those with advantages in human capital assimilate, acculturate, and integrate into the American middle class, while those with ethnic disadvantage because of poverty and racialization acculturate and assimilate into the urban underclass, and face downward mobility (Alba & Nee, 1997; Brown & Bean, 2006; García, 2017). Immigrants take another path, selective assimilation, in which they deliberately preserve their own culture and values, and view limited assimilation as beneficial, and economic integration or upward mobility happens (García, 2017; Xie & Greenman, 2005).

As demonstrated in the literature reviewed, many refugees are highly educated, skilled, proficient in language, and established in Canadian society. They are also engaged in precarious jobs, are employed in the secondary labour market, and they could not find jobs immediately upon arrival. A wider earnings gap exists between refugees and non-immigrants, i.e., actual outcomes do not reflect expected outcomes as suggested by traditional assimilation theory or human capital theory. The segmented assimilation model, empirically tested in the context of the US's contemporary immigrant children's educational and occupational integration (Portes, 1997; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006, 2014; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Xie & Greenman, 2005) can explain the multiple trajectories of refugees in Canada. The normative classic assimilation model fails to consider the context of reception, discrimination and perception of the host society that lead to non-linear integration pathways (Alba & Nee, 2003; Portes et al., 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). Refugees' knowledge of the official language (English/French), educational success, and legal and migration trajectories influence their labor market transitions in Canada (Kazemipur, 2004; Wilkinson, 2008; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Refugees' occupational standing at the bottom of the labour market, lower labour force participation rates, employment in precarious or undesirable jobs that may not be chosen by the natives, and employment in jobs not commensurate with their qualifications as per Canada's National Occupational Classification

(NOC) Skill levels may speak to their disadvantages, and discrimination, leading to segmented assimilation, and over time to "permanent subordination and disadvantage" for different refugee groups (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). Refugees' multiple integration pathways into the labour market can be understood within the segmented assimilation perspective (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007; García, 2017). The split labour market theory, the segmented labour market perspective, or the dual labour market approach, some of which are highlighted earlier and below, also suggest how immigrants experience segmentation in the labour market (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007).

Split, or dual, or labour market segmentation approaches were developed to critique human capital theory to consider non-human capital factors or the economic sources of discrimination such as stereotyping, cultural judgment, and cultural capital (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Cardozo & Pendakur, 2008; Samers, 2014). However, these theories ignore structural factors like policies (such as immigration, labour market, welfare), citizenship, or social reproduction (Samers, 2014). The dual labour market approach associates the concentration of immigrants in secondary jobs to employers' view of newcomers accepting low-wage jobs (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Samers, 2014). The labour market segmentation approach, also known as statistical discrimination in labour market economics, attributes the processes of discriminatory behavior in hiring or promoting immigrants based on prejudicial stereotypes about the characteristics of the groups rather than based on human capital factors (Samers, 2014). The cultural capital or embodiment approach, another variant of the labour market segmentation approach, uses employers cultural judgements based on people's accent, dress, and immigrants' nonverbal behavior to explain labour market segmentation (Bauder, 2005). Segmentation occurs as employers look for a particular set of traits, which go beyond ethnic or racial stereotyping as suggested by other segmentation approaches (Samers, 2014).

The theory of the split labour market (Bonacich, 1972 as cited in Brym et al., 2019, p. 262) emphasizes the disadvantages of race and ethnicity and links social structural barriers including conflict over competing for jobs, the development of racist attitudes, and the reinforcement of racial identities between members of dominant races and members of ethnic minorities with the integration of racial and ethnic group member into the labour market. Critical race theory's focus on institutional racism and latent discrimination of which many people, particularly those in dominant positions, are not aware but it occurs because of embedded

practices (Galtung's structural violence idea). Functionalists advocate for policies based on meritocracy or colour-blind policies to ensure refugees educational or labour market success, yet critical race scholars argue "apparently neutral policies framed in terms of 'merit,' 'colour blindness,' 'equity,' 'opportunity' and the like actually reproduce privilege, establishes a subtle form of racism and inhibits serious reform" (Brym et al., 2019, p. 269). Intersectionality theory, originated by critical race theorists (Gillborn, 2015), also provides the importance of examining the effects of two or more variables such as visible minority status, and gender on the economic outcomes, which is multiplicative, not additive (Brym et al., 2019; Kaushik & Walsh, 2018; Wilkinson, 2003). The segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Zhou, 1993) is a broad perspective that is open to alternative interpretations that considers both the process and outcomes of assimilation compared to classic assimilation theory that focuses on the assimilation process (Xie & Greenman, 2005, p. 4) that is useful in understanding different integration trajectories of different immigrant groups based on structural conditions or contextual factors such as ethnicity, social capital, cultural capital, or the preoccupation with economic survival, as well as gender, cultural or economic barriers (Kanu, 2008; Michael, 2011; Xie & Greenman, 2005).

2.4.5. Structuration

The theory of structuration (Giddens, 1979, 1984) emphasizes the interplay of both structural forces and individual agency. This theoretical construct is used here to explain the facilitating and constraining role of Canadian policies and programs (i.e., structures) on individual (refugee) agencies. Giddens (1984) ties human agency to action that requires to be understood in relation to structures defined as rules and resources. Peoples' agencies are enabled and constrained by structures. As individuals are knowledgeable about the institutions, and the consequences of their actions, they situate their actions within the structures (Lamba, 2003, p. 48). The capability to make a choice and the exercise of power are the essential features of agency (Giddens, 1984). Resources are the bases of power that allow individuals to make options or choices (Giddens, 1979, as cited in Lamba, 2003). The rules generate practices that produces and reproduces social systems. "Power is not a resource itself," and a resource is the vehicle through which power is exercised (Giddens, 1979, as cited in Lamba, 2003, p. 48). Refugees' capital (human or social) in

Gidden’s (1979) view, is a resource. In the Canadian structural context, refugees lose or lack resources because of their lack of Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR), and the underutilization of skills because of the external structural barriers, for example, the rules that regulate the FCR procedures.

Refugees’ human capital resources such as their foreign education and work experience, and knowledge of the host country’s official language determine their actions while the structures may limit how refugees’ human capital resources are used (Lamba, 2003, p. 49). Despite the altered distribution of resources and the unbalanced distribution of power in all social systems, actors who are ostensibly powerless like refugees are active agents who are “ able to mobilize resources whereby they carve out ‘spaces of control’ in respect of their day-to-day lives and in respect of their activities of the more powerful” (Giddens, 1982, p. 198, as cited in Correa-Velez et al., 2015, p. 333).

Canada introduced non-discriminatory immigration policy in the 1960s followed by multiculturalism policy in the 1970s, state policies of welfare, the Employment Equity Act of 1995, and immigrant and refugee integration policy (e.g. IRPA of 2002) to foster self-sufficiency and substantive citizenship in the 1990s and afterwards (Y. Abu-Laban, 1998; Berry, 2013; Hawkins, 1991; Kymlicka, 2008). Canada’s policies have adopted a contemporary understanding of integration as the two-way street process – mutual accommodation as opposed to assimilation – a one-way accommodation with emphasis placed upon successful integration (Berry, 1997; Biles et al., 2008; Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2017; Hyndman, 2011; Kymlicka, 2010, 2012; Wilkinson, 2013). Canada’s pluralist immigrant integration approach is facilitated by empowering programs such as settlement (that includes language training, employment skills), Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR), and labour market, health, education, and social services (Andrew & Hima, 2011; Shields et al., 2016; Shields & Türegün, 2014; Tolley, 2011).

Given its growing multiethnic and multicultural population character, Canada has implemented a wide range of “diversity-and equity-enhancing measures” embracing multiculturalism, inclusive citizenship, human rights, and settlement services for newcomers (Siemiatycki, 2015, p. 113). These policies are based on the pillars of equity, justice and participation, which are the ethos of social justice as discussed earlier. The employment equity act and other affirmative action policies such as government-subsidized job training and childcare, and the creation of a system for efficiently upgrading foreign credentials to meet

Canadian standards are policies designed to increase ethnic and racial equality and to benefit disadvantaged minority group members in Canada (Brym et al., 2019; IRCC, 2012b). The Canadian Human Rights Act prohibits discrimination in areas of federal jurisdiction, and the Employment Equity Act of 1995 "calls for equality in the workplace and, in support of that goal, the correction of the conditions of disadvantage experienced by Aboriginal peoples and members of visible minorities" (IRCC, 2012b, p. 17). The Canadian Constitution or Bill of Rights has cherished equality rights to ensure equality of access for everyone to resources and opportunities (Hurlbert et al., 2011). Formal or procedural justice concerned with equal treatment, fairness, and desert is embedded in Canadian policies, and substantive or distributive justice is typically interwoven within its liberal democratic institutions (Hurlbert, 2011).

Canada's multiculturalism policy is based on diversity (acceptance and recognition of cultural differences), equity, and inclusion (the elimination of barriers such as discrimination to equitable participation in the labour market, politics, and the society) (Brym et al., 2019; Kallen, 2003). Multiculturalism policy also emphasizes the social and economic integration of newcomers into the larger society (Berry, 2013; Elke, 2014), yet racial and ethnic inequalities continue to persist. Canada's race-neutrality (colour-blindness) and liberal universalism tenants claim that "race no longer matters because people are fundamentally the same under the skin and before the law" (Wallis & Fleras, 2009, p. 252). Multiculturalism as the "Samosas and Saris" version of understanding difference (Dei, 2009, p. 234) celebrates diverse cultures and emphasizes rooting out intolerance, discrimination, and a lack of goodwill without necessarily responding to power issues of difference which is why differential and unequal treatment based on ethnicity, language, culture, religion, race, and color do exist (Dei, 2009, pp. 235–236). "Multiculturalism fits tightly into a capitalist paradigm of rights in place of responsibilities, and it relies on myths pertaining to social mobility" (Dei, 2009, p. 234). Multiculturalism exhibits symbolic equality yet it does not realize material and cultural equity (Dei, 2009, p. 234). The Charter is yet to be effectively used to combat racism (Aylward, 2009, p. 216). Human rights legislation is problematic because many race-based human rights complaints do not get to the inquiry stage (Aylward, 2009, p. 216).

Unlike immigrants who are selected for economic objectives, refugees are resettled in Canada on humanitarian grounds (Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Picot et al., 2019). Once refugees' status is finalized upon arrival, their rights are like immigrants and those born in

Canada "where all citizens are theoretically equal under the law, and where all are supposed to enjoy equal treatment, or at least equal opportunity, as they pursue their life's dreams" (Grabb et al., 2017, p. 127). However, the immigrant labour market's salient issues such as the earnings gap (Banerjee & Lee, 2015), chronic low-income (Picot, 2008), the lack of FCR (Ferrer et al., 2014; Lauer et al., 2011; W. C. Smith & Fernandez, 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2016), job status decline (Reitz et al., 2014; Wilkinson et al., 2016; Xu, 2012), and the loss of the economic potential of skilled immigrants (Desjardins & Cornelson, 2011; Kelly, 2014; Reitz, 2001, 2007b; Reitz et al., 2014) despite the increased inflow of high educated and skilled immigrants and empowering policies and programs (Ferrer et al., 2014; Fuller, 2015; Fuller & Martin, 2012; Guo, 2013; Morissette & Sultan, 2013; Picot & Sweetman, 2012; Reitz et al., 2014; Sweetman & Warman, 2008) can explain refugee integration trajectories in the light of policy constraints and refugee agencies as expounded by Giddens' structuration theory. However, many institutions and policies may be framed on principles of "merit," "colour blindness," "equity," and "opportunity," which may perpetuate inequalities, and critical race theories advocate for institutional reform to address institutional racism and hidden discrimination (Brym et al., 2019, p. 269). Giddens' theory can assist the need to create culturally appropriate policies to address institutional barriers affecting their economic integration.

Following Giddens (1979, 1984), refugees draw upon rules and resources (i.e., structures) in exercising their agency. Upon arrival in Canada, many refugees find federal and provincial government's refugee resettlement assistance and general settlement and integration services (that are briefly discussed in the next section) inadequate or that they do not have access to these services that are relevant for employment and labour market integration (Hiebert, 2009a; IRCC, 2011b, 2012a, 2016c; Kantor & Einhorn, 2017; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). When income support under the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) for GARs, and sponsor's income support for PSRs (Biles & Frideres, 2012; Hyndman et al., 2014; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017) ends, refugees exercise their agency and demonstrate resiliency to succeed in their new home. Some refugees improve their official language skills, receive education in Canada and take courses for credential recognition for professional or regulated occupational employment. Many refugees take on survival jobs even by working in more than one job, working overtime, or working in jobs not commensurate with their skills and training. Despite having higher education and a higher socioeconomic status back home, many newcomers engage in precarious jobs.

These challenges and structural barriers are explained by the segmented labour market theory. Despite these barriers, refugees as active rather than passive agents struggle for successful resettlement (Lamba & Krahn, 2003). Many refugees sacrifice their comfort for their kids' future. They invest in their children's future education and employment opportunities. Nourpanah (2014) finds that Afghan GARs in Halifax are aware of structural barriers and injustices. Yet, they are knowledgeable actors, highly conscious of their identity, culture, and the future of their children and are aware of the stereotypes used against them by mainstream society (Nourpanah, 2014). To secure quality employment amidst structural barriers, refugees in Alberta resorted to social capital i.e., empowering network structures (Lamba, 2003). The theory of structuration can illuminate how refugees exercise their agencies in the structural limitations of refugee integration.

2.5. Conclusions

This chapter provides a review of the theoretical and empirical literature to inform and guide this thesis research. Most integration studies in Canada, similar to what occurs in other countries, have been conducted on immigrants with limited attention paid to refugees, and these studies focused on the refugees' mental health, and language. Most studies focused on a particular refugee group, region, or small sample. A national level investigation of the economic integration of resettled refugees has been very rare. Social justice is an appropriate theoretical framework to understand refugee economic integration in Canada. Social justice traditionally focuses on class and economic inequality problems, and recently extends to race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. Within the social justice framework, the three overlapping constructs of structural violence, segmented assimilation, and structuration are useful to interpret social injustices and structural inequalities affecting the integration of refugees in the Canadian labour market. The analysis of the data with regards to economic outcomes and the determinants of labour market integration based on this social justice framework suggest the need to promote social justice for refugees living in Canada.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

To examine the economic outcomes of resettled refugees at the national level, this study uses a quantitative approach with a cross-sectional research design employing Canada's most recent census held on May 10, 2016. So far, no research has analyzed the labour market integration of resettled refugees exclusively using current and nationally representative data (i.e., Canada's latest census) and multivariate research analysis. The 2016 Census is released for the first time with the admission category variable for use by academic researchers. The target population for this research consists of resettled refugees who entered Canada under the admission category of government-assisted refugees (GARs) and privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) from 1980 to 2016. To meet the objectives of this study, the multivariate analyses use three dependent variables, namely, employment status (categorical), occupational status (categorical), and employment income (numerical), four independent variables of interest, and five control variables related to demographic, visible minority status, immigration, education, and geography of current residence.

3.1. Data Sources

This study uses data from the single dataset - the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File (100 percent of the long form respondents), which was released through Statistics Canada's Research Data Centre (RDC) Program. The 2016 Long Form Census (based on a random sample of 25 percent of the Canadian population) contains 8,651,677 observations and 666 variables including the admission category variable and income data (Statistics Canada, 2018a). Statistics Canada used a random sample for the mandatory long-form census. The mandatory long-form census surveyed only private households, including those living in private dwellings attached to collective dwellings in Canada, and excluding households living in collective dwellings, outside of Canada, or incompletely enumerated Aboriginal reserves and settlements as of May 10th, 2016 (the reference day) to gather demographic, educational, cultural, and socioeconomic information.

In 2016, the Census added the admission category variable by linking with the IRCC's administrative records of immigrants and refugees admitted since 1980 as permanent residents

under three main categories (economic, family sponsored, and refugee) (Statistics Canada, 2018e, 2018d). In 2016, for the first time, the Census Programs gathered income data from the Canada Revenue Agency's (CRA) personal income tax and benefit files for the tax year 2015 for the entire population aged 15 years and older. The Census Program asked income-related questions on the long form sample in previous censuses, and the 2016 Census collected 100 percent data from CRA's administrative tax and benefit records. In 2016, for the first time, Statistics Canada replaced income-related questions on the 2011 National Household Survey questionnaire and on previous censuses (Statistics Canada, 2018d, p. 6). This integration of income data from CRA reduces the burden on Canadians, manages collection costs and increases the quality and quantity of the income data (Statistics Canada, 2017j).

I accessed the 2016 Census Long Form Microdata File at the RDC at the University of Manitoba from December 2018, after receiving permission from Statistics Canada with the approval of my proposal to access the confidential micro-level master data for this thesis. It is important for researchers to access data at the level of exact unit of analysis of their interest. The 2016 RDC master file provides the microdata at the person level or individual household level for research purposes (Statistics Canada, 2020). Statistics Canada's restricted microdata access program through the RDCs allows accredited researchers to access the microdata.

The Census of Population is a cross-sectional survey conducted every five years by Statistics Canada, the national statistical agency of Canada. The 2016 Census of Population includes immigrants who landed in Canada on or prior to May 10, 2016, the reference date for the 2016 Census (Statistics Canada, 2018c). The 2016 Census enumerates non-immigrants, immigrants and non-permanent residents aged 15 years and over in private households (Statistics Canada, 2018b). The 2016 Census was conducted to collect a complete questionnaire from of each of the 15.4 million dwellings (including private households, collective households and households outside Canada) in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2018b). Most households (75 percent) received a short-form questionnaire to provide basic information. The long-form questionnaire was distributed to one-quarter of the households (25 percent) to gather detailed demographic and socioeconomic data including labour market activities during the week prior to enumeration and in the previous year on the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2018d). Governments, businesses, associations, and community organizations make important decisions for their respective jurisdictions based on information from the census. Complementing the data collected

by the short-form questionnaire, the long-form questionnaire gathers information on the entire Canadian population's demographic, social and economic characteristics including activities of daily living, sociocultural information, mobility, place of birth, education, labour market activities, and housing (Statistics Canada, 2018d).

The 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) adopted the voluntary long form census, and the previous mandatory 2006 Long Form Census covered 20 percent of private households (Statistics Canada, 2017b). The 2016 Census Program returned to the mandatory Long Form Census amid the huge criticism of Canadian statisticians, demographers and researchers for the withdrawal of the mandatory long form in the 2011 census (Grenier, 2017). The 2016 Census mandatory long-form survey had a high response rate of 96.9 percent, while the 2011 NHS had a response rate of 68.6 percent (Statistics Canada, 2018d). The use of the wave methodology (contacting non-respondent household at key times to remind them of completing the survey) and different collection methods (e.g., mail-out, List/leave, Canvasser), and the option of responding online, completing a paper questionnaire (mail-back) or contacting the Census Help Line minimized the non-response rate, and increases the data quality.

Most of the earlier studies used the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) that has the admission category of immigrant and refugee subcategories that is now linked to the 2016 Census, which is now also linked to the CRA's income data. Moreover, the census collects detailed information on many variables including education, occupation, earnings, language competence, demographics, and year of landing while the IMDB or LSIC cannot be used to examine the labour market integration of refugees in relation to postmigration human capital achievement and other characteristics at the national scale (Devoretz et al., 2004; Hiebert, 2009b; Picot, 2008; Sweetman & Warman, 2008).

The IMDB was the primary data source with detailed admission categories based on the IRCC's Immigrant Landing File (ILF) that included all immigrants that landed in Canada since 1980, with limited socioeconomic variables such as pre-migration human capital i.e., levels of education, official language proficiency, and demographic characteristics at the time of landing, and CRA's taxation data since 1982 (Devoretz et al., 2004; Dhital, 2015; Evra & Prokopenko, 2017; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Montgomery, 1986b). In addition, the LSIC was another widely used short-term (4 years) longitudinal data on a recent cohort (Landolt et al., 2021; Statistics Canada, 2007; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). A handful of

studies used LSIC data, which is designed for a specific recent cohort of immigrants including refugees in the early 2000s focusing on short-term economic trajectories (Aydemir, 2011) that omitted refugee claimants, i.e., refugees who landed and applied in Canada (Sweetman & Warman, 2013), and is dated already (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

Given the Census's collection of detailed information and the addition of the new immigration variable based on the IRCC's administrative records and the integration of CRA's income tax files like the IMDB, the 2016 Census dataset provides a logical step to conduct a national scale investigation of the economic integration of refugees. My study is based on the 2016 census data that were collected at one point of time. Longitudinal data are collected at more than one point of time (e.g., IMDB, LSIC). As integration is a long-term process, longitudinal data is important to understand the tracks of or changes in economic outcomes over time and labour market trajectories along with the census data.

3.2. Study Sample

For this investigation of the economic integration of resettled refugees, the unit of analysis is the individual. The target population for this study is resettled refugees who were admitted as permanent residents under government-assisted refugees (GARs) and privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) admission category between January 1, 1980 and May 10, 2016 and who were still living in Canada on the census day of 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2018c). The size of the study sample (weighted) is 397,635 (215,440 males, and 192,185 females) including 214,740 GARs and 182,895 PSRs. The sample includes adult refugees who were within the age bracket of 25-64 years in 2016. Individuals within this core working age are part of the labour force, i.e., they are most likely to be active in the labour market and are less likely to be in school (Frank, 2013). Literature suggests that foreign-born children have a lesser tendency than the Canadian born youth to work during their high school and postsecondary schooling (Wilkinson et al., 2010). Therefore, the sample focuses on prime working age (25 and 64 years) that is similar to some other studies on immigrants and refugees' economic integration (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Frank, 2013; Kaida et al., 2020c; Mata & Pendakur, 2016). Refugees tend to work even after the retirement age. This is also true even for the Canadian overall population. According to the 2016

census, about 20 percent of the Canadian population aged 65 and older worked in the census week (Statistics Canada, 2017i).

The other sub-category of resettled refugee, Blended Visa Office-Referred refugees (BVORs), is excluded from this study as the size is small, and this hybrid BVOR program (blending the GAR and PSR programs) is a very recent category introduced in 2013 with the Syrian refugee crisis (Hyndman et al., 2014, 2016). Landed-in Canada Refugees (LICRs) are also excluded from the study population as they exhibit distinctive pre- and post-migration characteristics such as refugee claim process, and landed immigrant status. Although the number of asylum seekers (refugee claimants) category consist of two sub-categories (protected persons in Canada, and dependents of protected persons abroad), often designated as LICRs, is quite large, this study does not include them because of their differential migration routes and characteristics for which the economic outcomes of LICRs cannot be compared to the economic outcomes of resettled refugees.

3.3. Study Measures

The principal objective of the study is to examine the labour market outcomes of GARs and PSRs, and to investigate how gender, admission category, age at arrival, and education in Canada (the major variables of interest) affect refugees' employment, occupation, and income, which are considered important indicators of economic integration and social justice. Three dependent measures - employment status, occupational status, and employment income, as discussed below, are derived from variables available from the 2016 Census Long Form Microdata File (Appendix 1).

Nine independent variables were used to estimate multivariate statistical models on the three dependent variables. The independent variables used in this study were created based on the responses to the Census questions (Appendix 1) on demographic characteristics (e.g., sex, marital status); ethnic origin and visible minority (e.g., visible minority status); place of birth, immigration and citizenship (e.g., age at the time of immigration, admission category, knowledge of official languages, year of immigration); education (e.g., highest certificate, diploma or degree, location of study); and geography (e.g., CMA or CA of current residence) (Statistics Canada, 2018a).

3.3.1. Dependent Variables

Employment Status

Employment status is one of the widely used indicators of the economic integration of immigrants and refugees (Bevelander, 2016; Ewoudou, 2011; Ott, 2013; Picot, 2008; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). A dichotomous dependent variable, 'employment status,' is created from the long form census variable 'labour force status' to analyze the likelihood of being unemployed, and being employed. The categorical variable 'lftag' (labour force status) available in the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File was derived from the responses to six census questions (Appendix 1): Hours worked for pay or in self-employment (Question 30), On temporary lay-off or absent from job or business (Question 31), New job to start in four weeks or less (Question 32), Looked for full-time or part-time paid work in the past four weeks (Question 33), Reasons unable to start a job (Question 34), and When last worked for pay or in self-employment (Question 35) (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 240). According to the 2016 Census Dictionary, the variable 'labour force status' refers to whether a person was employed, unemployed, or not in the labour force during the reference period (Statistics Canada, 2018d). The 'labour force status (lftag)' variable with 21 values detailing different categories of persons that comprise the labour force (i.e., who are already employed or are available to contribute to the production of goods and services falling within the System of National Accounts production boundary) and who are out of the labour force, is the first time directly available in the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File (Appendix 1); earlier researchers used other variables (such as Class of Worker) to create the measure of employment status (Akbar, 2019). For my multivariate analysis, I used 'employment status' as a dichotomous variable (coded as 0 unemployed, 1 employed).

'Employed person' refers to those who, during the reference period, (a) did any work at all at a job or business, that is, paid work in the context of an employer-employee relationship, or self-employment. This also includes persons who did unpaid family work, which is defined as unpaid work contributing directly to the operation of a farm, business or professional practice owned and operated by a related member of the same household; or (b) had a job but were not at work due to factors such as their own illness or disability, personal or family responsibilities, vacation or a labour dispute (Statistics Canada, 2017j, 2018c). The employed persons category

excludes persons not at work because they were on layoff or between casual jobs, and those who did not then have a job even if they had a job to start at a future date.

The ‘Unemployed’ category consists of persons who, during the week of May 1-7, 2016, were without paid work, were available for work and had actively looked for paid work in the past four weeks. There are two components of the ‘unemployed’: those persons who did not work during the reference week because they had been laid off from a job to which they expected to return; and persons who did not work during the reference week, yet had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less. In both cases, the persons had to be available for work in the reference week. ‘Availability for work,’ is based on the individual’s responses to Question 33 (Did this person look for paid work during the four weeks from April 10 to May 7, 2016?) and Question 34 (Could this person have started a job during the week of Sunday, May 1 to Saturday, May 7, 2016 had one been available?), as well as Question 29 (School attendance). Those who are not in the labour force includes persons who never worked, or last worked in 2015, 2016, or before, but were not looking for work (Statistics Canada, 2017j, 2018c).

Occupational Status

A multinomial dependent variable ‘occupational status’ is created from the variable ‘NOC-Skill category’ (‘noc16skill’) available in the RDC census master file to analyze the likelihood of being employed in managerial/professional jobs, being employed in trades jobs, and being employed in unskilled jobs. The nominal categorical dependent variable ‘occupational status’ is coded as 0 employed in low skilled (NOC C and D) jobs, 1 employed in trades (NOC B) jobs, 2 employed in managerial/professional (NOC A) jobs. The original categorical variable ‘noc16skill’ available in the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File is derived from two long-form census questions 38 (What was this person's work or occupation?), and 39 (In this work, what were this person's main activities?) (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 245). The variable – ‘noc16skill’ Occupation (skill groups) has seven values (-5 Did not work in 2015 and 2016, -3 Not applicable, <15 years, 1 Skill level A Managers, 2 Skill level A Professionals, 3 Skill level B College or apprenticeship training, 4 Skill level C High School or job-specific training, 5 Skill level D On-the-job training) (Appendix 1). I recoded ‘noc16skill’ five skill levels into three

occupational categories. I merged skill level A managers, and Skill level A professionals into high skilled jobs representing high paying and high-status jobs. I merged two low skill levels (i.e., skill level C that usually require a high school diploma, and skill level D that usually does not require high school but does require on-the-job training) into 'low skilled occupation' representing low paying low status jobs that may require high school or less education/on-job-training. The skill level B occupations that usually require below bachelor's level education (college diploma, trades certificate, apprenticeship training) is considered the second category of occupational status.

The descriptive data show that skill level A managers is small like skill level A professionals that usually require a university degree (at least a bachelor's degree), and resettled refugees are concentrated in skill level C and D jobs that require high school or less education. Skill level B (trades/technical occupation group) differs from professional-managerial occupational group (skill level A jobs), and low skilled (NOC C, and NOC D skill level) jobs. Although skill level A managerial occupation groups does not specify an educational requirement, these management positions require an extensive level of experience and skills. Skill level A professionals and skill level B workers can move up to skill level A manager positions that cannot be determined because of the limitation of the data.

Refugees' occupational status has received very limited attention in quantitative research unlike immigrants (Frank, 2011, 2013; Mata, 2019; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012; Wilkinson et al., 2016). Occupational status cannot be defined or measured uniformly. Researchers have measured this variable in different ways in different studies depending on the availability of data, as occupational mobility based on pre- and post-migration occupation (Adamuti-Trache, 2016; Frank, 2013; Krahn, 2000; Wilkinson et al., 2016), education-job mismatch upon arrival (Aydede & Dar, 2011; Chen et al., 2010; Ewoudou, 2011; Frank, 2013) or the occupational prestige of the current occupation based on standardized socioeconomic scores of occupations (Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012), or current occupational status in terms of type of occupation whether professional/managerial job or not (Banerjee & Verma, 2009). I measured occupational status as a categorical variable (professional/managerial, skilled trades, and low-skilled) instead of binary categories (professional/managerial, and non-professional/managerial). About 30 percent of my study population were employed in the skill level B occupations requiring less

than a university degree but above a high school diploma, I treated it as a separate occupational status category.

According to the 2016 Census dictionary, ‘occupation’ refers to the kind of work (tasks, duties and responsibilities) performed in a job, and a set of jobs that are sufficiently similar in work performed (Statistics Canada, 2018c). Occupations are generally homogeneous with respect to skill type and skill level, and skill applies to an ability to perform a task or set of tasks, as acquired through formal or informal education and/or training, work or life experience, or other means (Statistics Canada, 2018c). The NOC identified many occupations (as reflected in the volume of NOC codes) under different occupational niches, and occupational sectors (Employment and Social Development Canada & Economic and Social Development Canada, 2021). According to the National Occupational Classification (NOC) structure, five skill groups, NOC A (includes two A skill levels - professionals, and managers), NOC B, NOC C, and NOC D based on skills that apply to an ability to perform a task or set of tasks, as acquired through formal or informal education and/or training, work or life experience, or other means (Employment and Social Development Canada & Economic and Social Development Canada, 2021).

Although NOC classifications of occupations, skill levels, and types of activities are not clear cut, the combinations of five skill levels may not be appropriate because of the differences with respect to educational and/or training requirements. Two opposite groups can be skill level A (high-skilled, professional managerial) jobs usually requiring university degree and/or extensive experience, and skill level C and D (low-skilled) jobs requiring high school diploma or on-job-training), B skill level jobs (skilled trades and technical work requiring college diploma or apprenticeship certificate) may lie in between as they do not seem proper to merge with either professional and managerial or non-professional and non-managerial skill levels.

Employment Income

Annual earnings or employment income is one of the important indicators of integration of immigrants and refugees into the paid labour market. The dependent variable ‘employment income,’ which is a continuous variable, was the variable ‘Wages, salaries, and commissions’ (wages) that was available in the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File (Statistics Canada,

2017g). It includes all income received as wages, salaries, and commissions in 2015 (before deductions for such items as income taxes, pension plan contributions and employment insurance premiums) from paid employment during the reference period, i.e., 2015 calendar year (Appendix 1). While other employee remuneration such as security options benefits, board and lodging and other taxable allowances and benefits are included in this source, employers' contributions to pension plans and employment insurance plans are excluded. Other receipts included in this source are military pay and allowances, tips, commissions and cash bonuses associated with paid employment, benefits from wage-loss replacement plans or income-maintenance insurance plans, supplementary unemployment benefits from an employer or union, research grants, royalties from a work or invention with no associated expenses and all types of casual earnings during the reference period (Statistics Canada, 2018c).

The first-time integration of 100 percent data from the Canada Revenue Agency's (CRA) personal income tax and benefit files with the 2016 Census of Population, for the first time, linked the census to CRA for the entire population aged 15 years and older, so the variable 'wages' is found appropriate to analyze refugees' annual income (i.e. gross wages and salaries before deductions for such items as income taxes, pension plan contributions and employment insurance premiums) given the quality of data based on CRA's tax files (Statistics Canada, 2017g). Another variable 'empin' (employment income), available in the RDC master file that includes wage income, and net self-employment income received in the 2015 calendar year[ii], was not considered to use in this study as self-employed workers' conditions are much different (such as negative income reporting, unexposed to the paid labour force, or unknown if some individuals are working in both sectors at the same time) than those that are salaried/waged (Ewoudou, 2011; Plante, 2011). I chose the variable 'wages' as most refugees were employed in the waged employment, the largest sector in the labour market (Ewoudou, 2011; Hou & Picot, 2014; Mata & Pendakur, 2016). The descriptive data show that self-employed refugees comprise a small portion (about 15 percent) of all resettled refugees, and besides, the accuracy of self-reported earnings of the self-employed workers is one of the issues associated with the underestimation of self-employment income (Ewoudou, 2011; Plante, 2011).

The target population for the income analysis includes refugees who earned between $1,000 and $199,999 in 2015 to exclude extremely low income and high income. The threshold of $1,000 was imposed in several studies to exclude low-wage employment that does not

indicate strong labour market attachment (Evra & Kazemipur, 2019; Hou & Picot, 2014; Kaida et al., 2020b). Data from the census show that about 23 percent of my study sample had annual wage earnings below $1000. To avoid the influence of outliers, some studies on employment income (including self-employment income) of immigrants/refugees were capped at $300,000 (Hou & Picot, 2014; Kaida et al., 2020c). I capped $200,000 as the upper limit for refugee earnings from waged employment (excluding self-employment) to restrict my sample for income analysis because the descriptive data reveals that less than one percent of my study population had an income of $125,000 and above (Table 4.1).

As the income data for the 2016 Census were collected for the 2015 income calendar year, this analysis excludes GARs and PSRs who were admitted in 2015 and 2016 as they might not have had the full year income for 2015 (Houle, 2019). The income analysis excludes refugees in Yukon, Nunavut, and the Northwest as the territories have a small number of observations, and have different geographic, policy, and labour market contexts in comparison with the provinces. In the income analysis using an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression technique, the natural log of wages was used as the dependent variable given the use of this approach for immigrants' income analysis in different studies (Evra & Kazemipur, 2019; Ewoudou, 2011; Hou & Picot, 2014; Kaida et al., 2020c; Li, 2001b; Prokopenko, 2018).

3.3.2. Independent Variables

Admission Category

The variable 'admission category' was derived from the variable 'immprog' (admission category-detailed), available in the Long Form Census Microdata File (Appendix 1). "Admission category" refers to the name of the immigration program or group of programs under which an immigrant has been granted for the first time the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 137). The 2016 Census of Population Program for the first-time added information on the admission category through a record linkage of the landing data of the Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). IRCC collects data on admission category using administrative records for immigrants including refugees admitted to Canada since 1980. "Immigrant" refers to a person who is, or who has ever

been, a landed immigrant or permanent resident. Such a person has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship by naturalization are included in this group (Statistics Canada, 2018a).

This 'admission category – detailed (immprog)' variable is used to select the sample of resettled refugees who entered Canada as GARs and PSRs between January 1, 1980 and May 10, 2016[iii] (Statistics Canada, 2018a). This study creates a dichotomous variable – Refugee Admission category (immiprog1) by recoding the original codes (321000 = GRAs, 322000 = PSRs) as 0 = GARs and 1 = PSRs to measure the effect of type of refugee sponsorship/resettlement program on economic outcomes (Appendix 1). The census variable – 'immprog' has 29 values (1 = Non-immigrants, 2 = Immigrants who landed before 1980, 3 = Non-permanent residents, and the remaining for 26 admission categories under which an immigrant landed in Canada from January 1, 1980 to May 10, 2016 (Appendix).

Gender

The census variable 'sex' (sex), which is coded as 1 Female and 2 Male (Statistics Canada, 2018a), is used as a principal variable of interest in this study to observe the differential effect it has on the economic outcomes of resettled refugees.

Location of Study

Education, an important factor affecting immigrant economic integration as proposed by human capital theory (Becker, 1964), has been the most widely used a human capital factor in the immigrant integration literature. Location of study (highest level of education) is a principal variable of interest for this study to examine the influence of education in Canada on refugees' economic outcomes, which was rarely been focused on by other studies for refugees exclusively. According to the 2016 Census dictionary, location of study refers to the location of the institution granting the certificate, diploma or degree, not the location of the person at the time he or she obtained the qualification or was attending the institution (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 30). For this study, a new variable 'location of study' (locdegpse) is created by combining two variables - 'summary location of study variable' (loc_st_res) and 'summary Highest certificate, diploma or

degree' (hccd_7v), available in the 2016 Census Microdata File, with six categories (coded as 0 No high school diploma or equivalency certificate, 1 High school diploma or equivalency certificate; 2 Postsecondary education without a bachelor degree obtained outside Canada, 3 Postsecondary education without a bachelor degree received in Canada, 4 Postsecondary education with a bachelor degree obtained outside Canada, 5 Postsecondary education with a bachelor degree received in Canada (Appendix 1).

According to the 2016 Census Dictionary, 'Highest certificate, diploma or degree,' broadly conceptualized as 'Educational attainment' refers to the highest level of education that a person has successfully completed. High school, trades, college, university constitute a general hierarchy of educational attainment yet may not fit all programs (for example, "a person with an apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma may not have completed a high school certificate or diploma, nor does an individual with a 'master's degree' necessarily have a 'certificate or diploma above bachelor level") perfectly (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 27). I categorized location of study by levels of postsecondary education (college or trades, i.e., below university degree), and university degree (bachelor's and above), and keeping high school diploma, and less than high school diploma. The high school diploma category or less than high school education category did not have data on the location of study because the census only collects data on the location of post-secondary education (Statistics Canada, 2018a).

The 2016 Census RDC Master File has three variables related to location of study – Location of study (loc_study) derived from the census question 28; Location of study compared with province or territory of residence - with countries outside Canada (loc_st_res_oc), which is derived from Location of study, and Province or territory of residence; and Location of study compared with province or territory of residence - Summary (loc_oc_res), derived from the census question 28 and Province or territory of residence. The 2016 Long Form Census has three educational attainment variables - Highest certificate, diploma or degree (hcdd), Highest certificate, diploma or degree – Summary with university detail (hcdd_14v), Highest certificate, diploma or degree - Summary (hcdd_7v), derived from the educational qualifications' questions (25, 26a), 26b) and 26c)), which asked for all certificates, diplomas and degrees to be reported (Appendix 1). These variables were used in Chapter Four to describe the study population. As the descriptive data show a very small number of refugees received their postsecondary education from the USA, the UK, Western and Northern Europe, and Australia and New Zealand

unlike non-refugee immigrants, this study did not include another category for my variable of interest. Some research on immigrants demonstrate graduates from these countries enjoy labour market advantages similar to Canada-educated graduates (Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Ewoudou, 2011).

Age of Arrival in Canada

This is one of the variables of principal interest in examining the effects of the age at arrival on the economic outcomes of resettled refugees. This variable is also important to understand the forced migration situation of children who arrived in Canada, which has implications for their successful integration into host communities. The Long Form Census variable “Age at immigration” (age_imm) is derived from the immigrant’s date of birth and year of immigration based on the census questions 3 and 15 (Appendix 1). Respondents who answered ‘Yes’ to the landed immigrant status question (Question 14) were asked to answer the year of immigration question (Question 15).

According to the 2016 Census dictionary, age at immigration refers to the age at which an immigrant first obtained landed immigrant or permanent resident status (Statistics Canada, 2018a, p. 138). The immigrant literature suggests that the younger the age at arrival the more integrated the person is due to investment in human capital including education, language training, and work experience, which is also supported by classical assimilation theory. One of my hypotheses as presented in Chapter One is to examine the effect of Age at arrival on resettled refugee’s economic outcomes in Canada. Age, and Age at arrival are highly correlated (Pearson $r>0.70$), and age and education are likely to be correlated. Hence, Age is not included in the analysis. The literature suggests that age is one important factor affecting refugee integration into a host society.

Marital Status

The census variable - Legal marital status (marst) with five categories (coded as 1 Never married (including living common law), 2 Married, 3 Separated (including living common law), 4 Divorced (including living common law), 5 Widowed (including living common law) is derived

from the census questions 4 and 5 (Appendix 1). The variable – marst, available at the Long Form Census Microdata File, is used as a transformed variable – Marital status (marst1) by recoding into 3 categories (0 Never Married, 1 Currently Married, 2 Separated, Divorced, or Widowed). According to the 2016 Census Dictionary, 'legal marital status' refers to the marital status of the person under the law not taking into account common law status, including same-sex marriage that has been legal in all provinces and territories of Canada since 2005 (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 48).

Racialized Minority Status

This study uses racialized minority status in multivariate analyses of employment, occupation and earnings. This study uses racialized (visible) minority status to understand ethnicity, which is a social justice factor. This variable has been of key interest for immigrant integration researchers. Research suggests that racialized or visible minority communities poorly integrate in the host country labour market compared to non-racialized communities. The census collects data on Canada's visible minority population as defined for federal employment equity purposes under the Employment Equity Act (Statistics Canada, 2017n). Governments, businesses, community groups, health care providers, researchers and a variety of organizations use the visible minority population data throughout the country to ensure equal opportunity for everyone under the employment equity mandate. Based on two census questions, namely 19 on population group and 18 on Aboriginal group, the variable – visible minority (dvismin) is derived, according to the 2016 Census Long Form Microdata File.

According to the 2016 Dictionary, 'visible minority' refers to whether a person belongs to a visible minority group and, if so, the visible minority group to which the person belongs (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 151). According to the Employment Equity Act, the visible minority population mainly consist of groups or persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour (Statistics Canada, 2018a). In Question 19, respondents were asked to indicate to which population group they belong from the listed ten population groups (coded 1 to 10 in the visible minority variable) or specified as write-in responses for unlisted groups (Appendix 1). 'Population group' refers to the population group or groups to which the person belongs (Statistics Canada, 2018c, p. 150). Respondents who

reported being Aboriginal in Question 18 are included in the category 'Aboriginal peoples.' These respondents were not required to answer the population group question (Question 19). In this study a dummy variable – Racialized minority status (dvismin1) is created from the variable – Visible minority (dvismin) by recoding as 0 Racialized minority (merging groups of South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, and Other visible minorities) and 1 Not a visible minority (Caucasian). The census's derived variable - dvismin has 14 categories with codes 1=South Asian, 2=Chinese, 3=Black, 4=Filipino, 5=Latin American, 6=Arab, 7=Southeast Asian, 8=West Asian, 9=Korean, 10=Japanese, 11 Visible minority, n.i.e. (not included elsewhere), 12=Multiple visible minorities, 13=Other (not a visible minority), 14= Aboriginal peoples (Statistics Canada, 2018a). The category 'Visible minority, n.i.e.' includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as 'Guyanese,' 'West Indian,' 'Tibetan,' 'Polynesian,' 'Pacific Islander,' and the category 'Multiple visible minorities' includes respondents who reported more than one visible minority group by checking two or more mark-in circles, such as 'Black' and 'South Asian' (Statistics Canada, 2017n).

Multiple responses to the census question 19 and write-in responses followed employment equity definitions. Persons who reported 'Latin American' and 'White,' 'Arab' and 'White,' or 'West Asian' and 'White,' as well as persons who reported 'Latin American,' 'Arab' or 'West Asian' and who provided a European write-in response such as 'French' were excluded from the visible minority population, and are not included in the 'Not a visible minority' category (Statistics Canada, 2017n). However, persons who reported 'Latin American,' 'Arab' or 'West Asian' and a non-European write-in response are included in the visible minority population. For example, respondents who checked 'Latin American' and wrote in 'Peruvian' are included in the 'Latin American' count. Respondents who reported 'Arab' and wrote in 'Lebanese' are included in the 'Arab' count. Respondents who reported 'West Asian' and wrote in 'Afghan' are included in the 'West Asian' count.

Knowledge of Official Languages

The variable – Knowledge of official languages (OLN) (coded as 1 English only, 2 French only, 3 English and French, 4 Neither English nor French) as available in the 2016 Census Long Form Microdata File is used as a control variable. This variable is derived from the census question 7

(Appendix 1). According to the 2016 Census Guide (Statistics Canada, 2018a), “Knowledge of official languages” refers to whether the person can conduct a conversation in English only, French only, in both or in neither language. This variable provides self-reported data about respondents’ language ability. The census collects this data as of the census day and the IMDB collects the data on language at the time of immigration. Official language skill is well established as an important human capital variable, which has been identified as a strong predictor for economic and social integration.

City of Residence

Geographic location is a very important variable for refugee resettlement and integration as it can reflect contextual or policy differences that may affect the labour market integration of refugees (Hou, 2017; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kaida et al., 2020c). This study uses the variable ‘Census metropolitan area or census agglomeration of current residence (cma)’, available in the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File (Appendix 1), to create a new variable ‘city of current residence’ (cma3) by recoding the census variable (cma) into 4 categories 0 = small CMAs, urban areas, or rural areas, 1= mid-sized CMAs (Quebec, Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Windsor, Winnipeg), 2 = larger CMAs (Ottawa-Gatineau, Calgary, Edmonton), and 3 = Gateway CMAs (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver). Sociologists have increasingly focused on CMAs (a large urban area of at least 100,000 population, known as the urban core, along with adjacent urban and rural areas that are highly integrated into the urban core) than on cities because of the expansion of the suburbs (Brym et al., 2019, p. 522). A CA has a population of at least 25,000 and fewer than 50,000, with at least 10,000 in the core (Statistics Canada, 2018a, 2018c). All areas inside the CMA or CA that are not population centres, i.e., settlements outside a CMA or a CA are rural areas. Metropolitan influence zones (strong, moderate, and weak) are outside CMAs and CAs.

According to the 2016 Census RDC Master File, the ‘cma’ variable has values for 35 census metropolitan areas (CMAs), and 120 census agglomeration areas (CAs), and 4 other values for Strong metropolitan influenced zone (MIZ), moderate MIZ, Weak MIZ, and no MIZ. The census variable - cma is found more appropriate than the other available variable ‘province of residence’ (pr), which has also been widely used in economic integration research, given the

settlement of GARs and PSRs in cities on grounds of refugee quota, dispersion policy, refugee special needs, and matching criteria. According to the 2016 Census, CMAs had higher proportion of working-age population (aged 15 to 64) than in non-CMAs (67.8 percent versus 63.4 percent) because of the pull factors like the presence of educational institutions and stronger economic activity (Statistics Canada, 2017m).

Time in Canada since Landing

Time spent in Canada has been a well-established factor affecting immigrant and refugee integration in the host countries. Length of stay is commonly used in research on integration as the longer an immigrant resides in a new country, the more he/she will be integrated, as also suggested by classical assimilation theory. For the first time the 2016 Census integrated IRCC immigration records of immigrants and refugees since 1980 (Statistics Canada, 2018a). The variable 'Year of Immigration' (yrim) available in the 2016 Census Long Form Microdata File allows me to measure the length of residence in Canada for refugees who landed in Canada during the period from January 1, 1980 to May 10, 2016 (Appendix 1). 'Year of immigration' refers to the year in which the immigrant first obtained landed immigrant or permanent resident status (Statistics Canada, 2018a). By subtracting the year of immigration from the census year, the variable – time in Canada since landing is created. This variable can be a proxy for many factors – observable (period of immigration) and unobserved (such as subjective factors or acculturation), is used as a control variable.

3.4. Analytic Techniques

Four research questions as outlined in Chapter One address the research objective. Four hypotheses stated below the research questions there aimed to test the independent effects of four focal independent variables (gender, admission category, location of education, and age of arrival to Canada) controlling for the effects of other factors which were selected based on the literature review and the availability of the data from the 2016 Census Microdata File. To answer research questions two to four, multiple logistic and OLS regressions were used. For each of these three research questions, multivariate analyses were conducted on resettled refugees as a

group (i.e., GARs and PSRs combined). First, the analysis was conducted on the total sample. Analyses were then conducted on the sex-disaggregated data (female and male). I did not conduct the analysis separately for GARs and PSRs. The inclusion of the admission category (GARs and PSRs) as one of the independent variables provides insights about the effects of type of sponsorship, and other explanatory factors on each of the three outcomes of interest (employment status, occupational status, and employment income) controlling for the effects of the other factors that are included in each multivariate analysis. In each of the data chapters, the differences are highlighted in the findings between GARs and PSRs, and the non-comparability issues without including pre- and post-migration observable and unmeasured factors are highlighted.

I used SPSS version 26 and Stata version 16 in analyzing the data. I mostly used Stata given its flexibility in generating new variables, ease of using commands and syntax, and analyzing data. All the final results were weighted as per Statistics Canada's policy, and vetted by the RDC analyst. As my unit of analysis is individual, I used the weight variable 'compw2', which is the person weight variable (Statistics Canada, 2018d). Weighting enables the study sample to be representative of the target population. The long-form census is based on a 25 percent of random sampling of private dwellings, and the final responses to the long-form questionnaire are weighted so that they represent the Canadian population living in private dwellings (Statistics Canada, 2018d, p. 21).

I accessed the unweighted data from the RDC master files and reported the weighted sample size and outputs as per the policy of Statistics Canada. As my unit of analysis is individual, a person weight variable 'compw2' provided in the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File is used. Unweighted estimates represent the sample and weighting variable produces estimates to represent the entire population (Statistics Canada, 2018d, p. 21). As required by Statistics Canada, only weighted results are released from the RDC vetted by the RDC analyst to maintain the confidentiality of the respondents. The 2016 Long Form Census Microdata file offers the advantage of accessing person-level data over the Public Use Microdata Files (PUMFs) that are non-aggregated but are modified data available to institutions and individuals as a subscription-based service.

There were no ethical concerns with the use of the secondary quantitative data. Statistics Canada maintains ethical standards, protects the confidentiality of survey respondents, ensures

privacy, as well as ensuring that other ethical issues during different stages of the research are followed such as collecting, releasing, and publishing the data (Statistics Canada, 2017k). I accessed the data through the Statistics Canada's Research Data Center (RDC) at the University of Manitoba. I analyzed and reported on the data in my thesis in complete compliance with Statistics Canada's rules and guidelines (e.g., weighted frequencies, rounding, and exact sample size). Statistics Canada's vetting procedures before releasing the data ensures confidentiality in the case of using income variable and observations below a certain number.

The study sample was used for descriptive analyses of three dependent variables -- employment status, occupational status, and employment income. To estimate multivariate statistical models on three dependent variables, the analysis of the employment status sample was restricted to resettled refugees who were active in the labour market, i.e., to GARs and PSRs resettled in Canada from 1980 to 2016 who are employed and unemployed excluding unpaid family workers. The sample for the analysis of occupational status was restricted to refugees who were employed in the previous analysis. The sample for employment income analysis was restricted to refugees who are paid employees excluding self-employment income and the sample restricted to GARs and PSRs who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2014 living in ten provinces (excluding territories), earned between $1,000 and $199,000 as wages, salaries and commissions in the 2015 calendar year.

To address the first research question "What are the economic outcomes of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) in Canada?," descriptive analysis is used. Weighted frequencies and descriptives were run for categorical and numerical variables respectively. Depending on the appropriate levels of measurement of variables, the Chi-square test and Pearson correlational analysis were used to examine the bivariate association between refugees' characteristics and the measures of economic outcomes. Descriptive statistics were used for continuous variables – Employment income, Natural logged income, age, age at immigration, and the number of years living in Canada. Pearson correlational analyses were used to examine the bivariate associations among continuous (Age of arrival in Canada, Time in Canada since landing, and Employment income) and dummy variables (Admission category, Gender, Racialized minority status). Weighted frequencies (univariate analyses) and cross-tabulations helped me to estimate proportion of the study population who are currently

employed, and unemployed, and the proportion of population who are working in low killed, trades, and professional/managerial jobs.

To address the second research question "What are the facilitators or barriers to the participation of resettled refugees in the Canadian labour force?," a binary logistic regression is used to predict the employment of resettled refugees. The multivariate analysis was not conducted by admission category (GARs versus PSRs). The model was first applied to resettled refugees as a group, and then separate regressions were estimated for men and women. Logistic regressions are a robust analysis technique that allows us to measure the effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable, while controlling for the effects of all other independent variables. In logistic regression, a dependent variable is predicted by a linear combination of independent variables (Kohler & Kreuter, 2012, p. 341). A binary logistic regression was used here as the appropriate technique because the outcome of interest 'employment status' is a dichotomous categorical variable. Multivariate logistic regression analyses are conducted to determine the factors that had a statistically significant independent effect of the outcome of interest, employment status. In Stata, out of two commands (e. g., 'logit', and 'logistic' that report actual b's and odd ratios respectively) for fitting logistic regression models, I used 'logistic' to report the odd ratios (Kohler & Kreuter, 2012, p. 354). The odds of an outcome being present as a measure of association is widely used by researchers to interpret the data. The factors that were found statistically significant and predicted a refugee being in the employed category are determined as facilitators, and those statistically significant factors that predicted a refugee being in the unemployed category are determined as barriers.

This multivariate analysis restricted the sample to the active labour force (employed and unemployed) refugees. In this Binary Logistic Regression design, the categorical dependent variable – Employment status is dichotomous (0 = Unemployed, 1 = Employed), and the nine independent variables include quantitative (Age at arrival, Number of years living in Canada), categorical (binary) predictors (Admission category, Gender, Visible minority status), and dichotomous or dummy coded categorical (Location of education, Marital status, Knowledge of official languages, Census metropolitan areas of residence.

Descriptives shows that both quantitative variables 'age of arrival in Canada' and 'time in Canada since landing' are normally distributed. Cases or outcomes coded as 1 are referred to as the response group, comparison group, or target group (representing the expected, hoped-for, or

desired result or the centrepiece of the research). Cases or outcomes coded as 0 are called the reference group, base group, or control group. These outcomes represent the alternative result). The advantage of using the 1 and 0 coding scheme is that the mean of the dependent variable is equal to the proportion of 1s in the distribution.

To address the third research question "To what extent do different factors influence the occupational status of resettled refugees in Canada?," a polytomous logistic regression is estimated with the multinomial response variable, 'occupational status,' where the dependent variable equals 0 if a refugee is working in a low-skilled job, equals 1 if a refugee is working in a trades jobs, equals 2 if a refugee is has a professional or managerial job. To address this research question, the multivariate analysis was separately analyzed by gender not conducted by admission category (GARs versus PSRs). The model was first applied to resettled refugees as a group, and then separate regressions were estimated for men and women. As the outcome of interest 'occupational status' is a multinomial unordered categorical variable, a multinomial logistic regression was the appropriate technique to use. This polytomous logistic regression design separately analyzes the odds of working in a less skilled job, working in a trades job, and working in a managerial or professional job for resettled refugees in Canada. This multinomial logistic regression model was based on the employed refugees, and two separate analysis were conducted for male and female. The multinomial logistic regression analyses were conducted to identify the important factors for the likelihood of working in high paying professional or managerial jobs, and the likelihood of being employed in low paying skilled (trades) and low skilled jobs, and whether the model results in supporting the formulated hypotheses regarding refugee admission category, gender, age at arrival in Canada, and education in Canada. The model building process studies several metric and dichotomous variables and controls the effects of other variables that may influence the outcome variable.

To address the fourth research question "What are the different correlates of resettled refugees' employment income in Canada?," an Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression model is estimated by using a continuous variable natural logarithm of 'wages, salaries and commissions' (wages) as the dependent variable. The multivariate analysis of employment income was not conducted by admission category (GARs versus PSRs). The model was first applied to resettled refugees as a group, and then separate regressions were estimated for men and women. Since the outcome variable 'employment income' is continuous, OLS regression is an appropriate method

for statistical analysis, and allows us to measure the effect of each independent variable on employment income taking into consideration the effect of the other independent variables.

To determine the relative extent to which multiple predictors (demographic, ethnic, immigration, human capital, and geographic related characteristics) in combination explain employment income (i.e., annual wage earnings) differences within resettled refugees, this income analysis was based on refugee workers who entered Canada from 1980 to 2014 living in ten provinces as on the census day and earned between $1,000 and $199,999 in 2015. Almost a quarter of resettled refugees had below $1,000 earnings and less than 0.5 percent had $200,000 or over income (Table 4.1). Data on 'wages' include paid employment earnings of refugees whose primary source of employment income is waged employment, thus excluding self-employment income from this multivariate analysis. Some resettled refugees may have both sources of income, but the variable 'wages' captures waged employment income received as wages, salaries and commissions in the 2015 calendar year in the analysis. This 'wages' variable is from the CRA's taxation data, available in the 2016 census data for the first time because of the integration of the CRA's tax file with the Census program in 2016, like the linkage of CRA's taxation data with the IMDB. This analysis was also run separately for male and female.

3.5. Conclusions

This chapter provides a description of the dataset employed in the study, the target population of the study population, selected measures (dependent and independent variables), and the statistical analysis techniques used (descriptive analysis, and multiple regressions) in the study. To address the first objective, a descriptive analysis of the characteristics and variables were outlined in Chapter Four. Chapters Five to Seven presents multivariate research designs on resettled refugees' employment status, occupational status, and employment earnings respectively to examine the factors affecting these economic outcomes.

CHAPTER FOUR: PROFILE OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTED AND PRIVATELY SONSORED REFUGEES, AND THEIR ECONOMIC OUTCOMES IN CANADA

This chapter addressed the first research question "What are the economic outcomes of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) in Canada?". Chapter Four first presents the characteristics of the study population, before going into more detailed analyses of their economic outcomes later in this chapter and the following three chapters to address the four research questions formulated in Chapter One. This study is one of the first national level investigations exclusively of GARs and PSRs, the two major resettled refugee groups, based on Canada' most recent 2016 Census data linked for the first time with landing data, and taxation data. Various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of GARs and PSRs are described to provide a general overview of the study population and their labour market situation. Then, I describe the economic outcomes of GARs and PSRs based on a descriptive analysis. The chapter ends with a conclusion highlighting the key characteristics of GARs and PSRs, and the major descriptive findings regarding their economic integration in Canada.

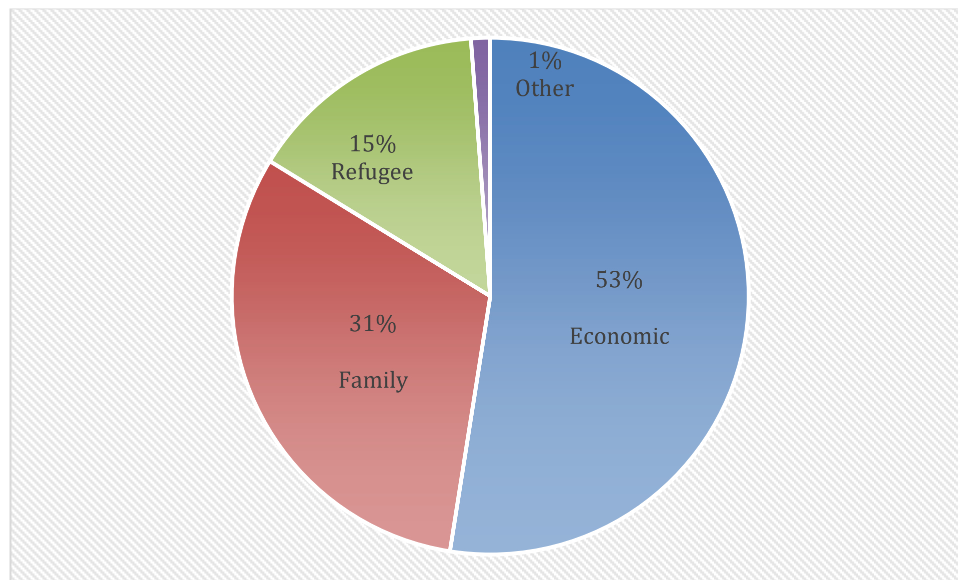
4.1. Who are the Resettled Refugees to Canada?

In 2016, Canada had 7.6 million foreign-born immigrants that constituted 21.9 percent of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2013, 2017a). Out of total of 570,3615 permanent residents who landed in Canada between January 1, 1980, and May 10, 2016, a total of 858,855 were refugees comprising about 15 percent of this immigrant population (Figure 4.1). Meanwhile, more than half of all immigrants (299,4130) were admitted as economic class immigrants that includes both principal applicants and their dependents, and little less than one-third of all immigrants (178,2485) landed in Canada under the family reunification admission class, and only about 1.20 percent of landed immigrants were admitted as humanitarian and compassionate cases, and those who were not included elsewhere (Figure 4.1).

Canada has inherited a multi-faceted refugee resettlement program since the 1980s. Most refugees (62.12 percent) admitted to Canada during 1980-2016 came under the refugee resettlement program, and the remaining 38.88 percent were admitted under the in-Canada

asylum system (Figure 4.2). Canada selects designated class refugees (for example women at risk), exclusive of the UN refugee definition (Wilkinson, 2001, p. 5). According to the 2016 Census Public Use Microdata File (PUMF), three-fourths of the total 325,345 refugee claimants were admitted as protected persons in Canada, and the remaining 25 percent of asylum claimants were admitted as dependents abroad of a protected person in Canada.

Figure 4. 1 Canadian Immigrant Population as on May 10, 2016



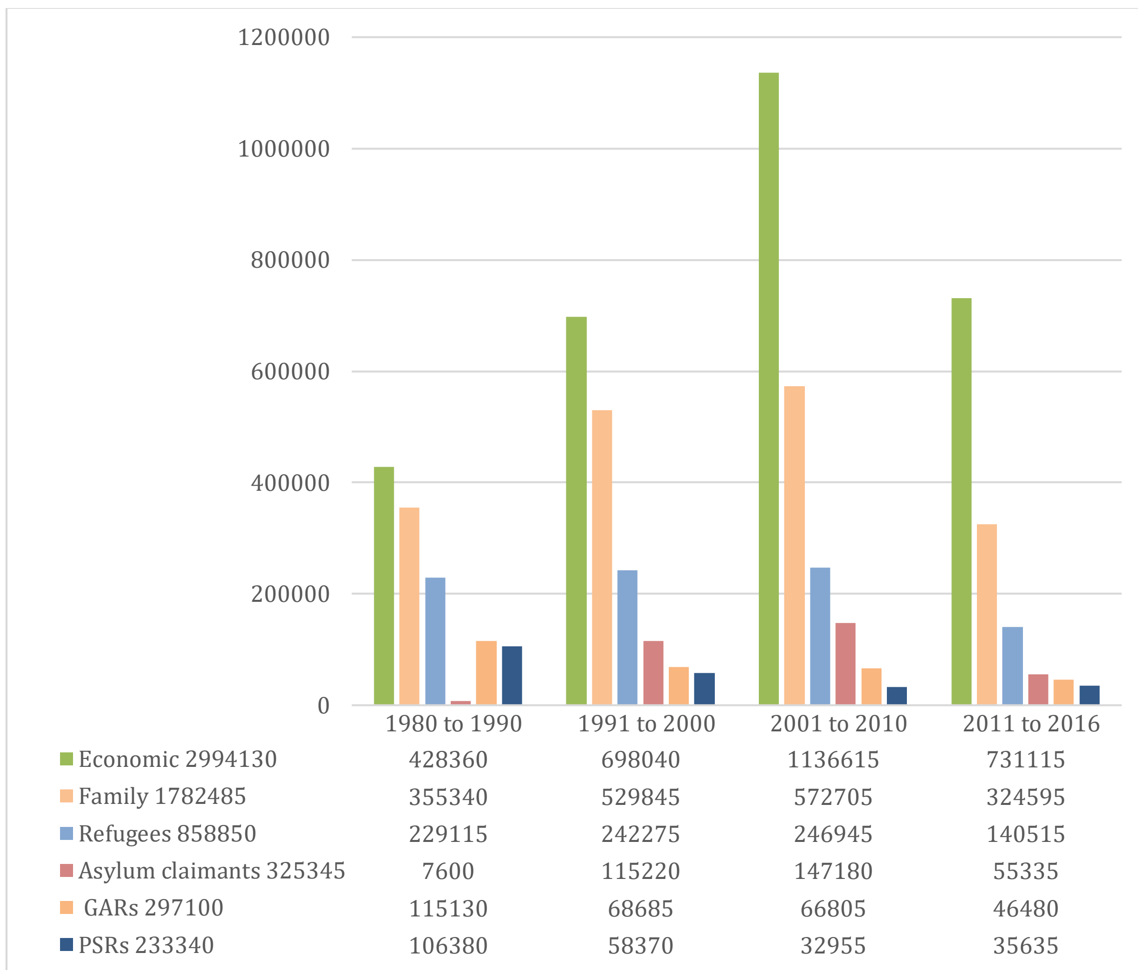
Source: Adapted from the 2016 Census Public Use Microdata File, Statistics Canada

According to the 2016 Census, there were 533,510 resettled refugees including 297,100 GARs, 233,340 PSRs, and 3,060 BVORs. GARs are generally selected based on the UNHCR's resettlement needs (Morris et al., 2021), especially after the 2001 IRPA that removed the 'ability to fit in' criteria for refugee resettlement (Hyndman, 2011; IRCC, 2016b). PSRs are supposed to be less in numbers than GARs under the principle of additionality, i.e., refugees in the PSR program to be resettled in addition to those arriving under the GAR program (IRCC, 2016b, p. 2). Yet PSRs superseded the number of GARs since the last Conservative government and continues as reflected in Figure 4.2 and in Canada's Annual Reports to Parliament on Immigration since the last Liberal government (Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2016; Morris et al., 2021), as well as the 2021-2023 Immigration Levels Plan (IRCC, 2020a).

During January 1, 1980 and May 10, 2016, this study's focul period, Canada's formalized refugee resettlement program started with the Indochinese intake in the 1980s up

until the most recent large-scale Syrian refugee inflows in the 2010s (Agrawal, 2019; Hou, 2017; Houle, 2019; Morris et al., 2021; Picot et al., 2019). With the Indochinese as a test case for the private sponsorship program, private sponsors (as group of five citizens/PRs, community group, or organization) have sponsored refugees (PSRs) in addition to GARs under the government's (federal government and the Quebec government) resettlement program (Labman, 2016; Labman & Pearlman, 2018; Morris et al., 2021; Shields & Türegün, 2014; Tolley, 2011; Watson et al., 2020; Young et al., 2011).

Figure 4. 2. Number of Immigrants and Refugees (including GARs, PSRs, and Asylum Claimants) Admitted in Canada 1980-2016



	1980 to 1990	1991 to 2000	2001 to 2010	2011 to 2016
Economic 2994130	428360	698040	1136615	731115
Family 1782485	355340	529845	572705	324595
Refugees 858850	229115	242275	246945	140515
Asylum claimants 325345	7600	115220	147180	55335
GARs 297100	115130	68685	66805	46480
PSRs 233340	106380	58370	32955	35635

Source: Adapted from the 2016 Census Public Use Microdata File, Statistics Canada

This study includes GAR and PSRs resettled in Canada from 1980 to 2016. Refugees are not admitted through human capital (education, language, or other assets) or economic criteria compared to the economic class as they are admitted on humanitarian grounds, as they may not have all the skills required to succeed in the Canadian labour market (Statistics Canada, 2017d). This study excludes asylum (refugee) claimants given their differential migration routes and experiences, and the hybrid resettled BVOR category introduced during the Syrian crisis (Labman & Pearlman, 2018) given its small size.

In an equitable and socially just society, any immigrant group deserve to have employment, occupation, and income parity in the labour market, yet this has not been the case for some refugees resettled in Canada. Past research suggests that refugees have experienced the lowest economic outcomes in comparison to the benchmark economic class of immigrants. Given the most recent available census data in 2016 linked for the first time with two administrative data, namely the IRCC's landing data since 1980, and the CRA's income data for the 2015 calendar year, this research offers a broader assessment of the economic outcomes specifically of two refugee sub-categories (i.e., GARs and PSRs).

4.2. Characteristics of the Study Population

The study population includes 397,635 resettled refugees (215,440 males, and 192,185 females) comprising two main groups of resettled refugees, Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2016 and were aged 25-64 years as of Canada's most recent census day, May 10, 2016. The descriptive data in Table 4.1 summarizes the characteristics of the study sample. It shows that the study sample has a larger number of GARs (214,740) than PSRs (182,895), which reflects the distribution and proportion of GARs and PSRs in the total resettled refugee population (Figure 4.2). While Canada had admitted more resettled refugees under the GAR program over the years, it has increased the number of PSRs in recent years (Figure 4.2). Although GARs had been the largest resettled category, the admission under the PSR program has exceeded the GAR program in 2013 during the Stephen Harper's government, and since than the principle of additionality (i.e., the acceptance of PSRs in addition to the number of GARs) seems to be continuously aberrated (Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2016, 2019; Labman & Pearlman, 2018). This has become a

concern to many academics, and refugee advocates for violating the principle of additionality through the PSR program (Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019).

The study sample has more males than females (54.18 percent and 45.82 percent respectively). The sample is restricted GARs and PSRs aged between 25-64. Many academic and Statistics Canada researchers designated the 25 to 64 age group as the core-working age population (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Frank, 2013; Kaida et al., 2020c; Mata & Pendakur, 2016). Canada's working-age population includes individuals aged 15 and over (Hou & Bonikowska, 2016a; Statistics Canada, 2017i; Yssaad & Fields, 2018), which is also the target population of the 2016 Census, and the CRA's administrative file. Individuals aged 25 to 64 are less likely to be in school (Deng, 2021; Ewoudou, 2011; Frank, 2013; Hou & Picot, 2014). Besides, immigrant children are less likely compared to the Canadian born youth to work during their high school and postsecondary schooling (Wilkinson et al., 2010). I did not include GARs and PSRs aged below 25 years-of-age as some refugees may be attending at school, especially for those arriving from refugee camps or refugee-like situations that might have disrupted their schooling and work experience. Refugees who reached the retirement age (65 years) are not included in the sample although it is not uncommon that refugees continue to work in their 70s. About one-fifth of the Canadian population aged 65 and older were in the workforce in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017m). Some elderly refugees who have poor mental and physical health issues (Beiser, 2009; Hynie et al., 2019) remain out of the labour force. In 2016, the proportion of the working age (15 to 64) population in the refugee class was the higher (by about 85 percent) than Canada's overall proportion (66.5 percent) in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017i). The proportion in the economic class, and the family class were similar (about 80 percent). The higher proportion of the working age population among PSRs compared to GARs (85 percent versus 79 percent) implies that PSRs tend to be participating more in the labour force compared to GARs.

Table 4.1 below shows that the study population's mean age of arrival in Canada is 21.70 years (SD = 11.27 years) and males' mean age of arrival in Canada is less than two years higher than that of females. About 26.5 percent of the study population came to Canada as childhood refugees, about 27.5 percent of the sample landed in Canada aged between 15 and 24 at the time of landing. Among childhood refugees, the female numbers were slightly higher than males (Table 4.1). More than one third of resettled refugees that arrived were in the prime working age cohort (25-34). Only a small number of refugees (about 12 percent) arrived in Canada were in

the older age cohort (35 to 64). This is similar to those earlier refugees that resettled in Canada two decades ago (between 1980 and 2000) that comprised about 32 percent of GARs and PSRs that arrived aged between 0 and 17 at the time of landing, and 18 percent were aged between 18 and 24 at the time of arrival (Hou & Bonikowska, 2016a).

Table 4.1 below highlights that resettled refugees include a higher proportion (about 33 percent) of resettled refugees that obtained their postsecondary education in Canada. Females' postsecondary completion rates were higher compared to males (about 45 percent versus about 30.5 percent). Among foreign postsecondary graduates, refugee men were slightly higher than refugee women (Table 4.1). The proportion of Canadian postsecondary graduates was a little higher than the proportion of Canadian postsecondary graduates in the refugee class that includes asylum claimants (30.5 percent) (Statistics Canada, 2017d). The proportion of those that had postsecondary education in my study population was about 49 percent, which was a little lower than the overall Canadian population (54 percent) in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017d). Among the Canadian population aged 25-64, 22.4 percent had a college diploma, 10.8 percent had an apprenticeship or other trades certificate, and 28.5 percent had a university degree as the highest educational qualification in 2016. Among the resettled refugees, 8.6 percent had a trades/apprenticeship, 19.6 percent had a college diploma, and 18.2 percent had a university degree. As expected, the proportion of university degree holders among resettled refugees was much lower (18.23 percent) compared to the proportion of university degree in the overall immigrant population aged 25 to 64 (about 40 percent) (Statistics Canada, 2017d).

Table 4.1. Characteristics of the Study Population

Variables	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
Admission category (N = 397,635)			
GARs	55.33	52.88	54.00
PSRs	44.67	47.12	46.00
Location of study (N = 397,635)			
No high school diploma	25.46	23.16	24.22
High school diploma	24.32	28.57	26.62
Foreign trades certificate or college diploma	8.16	9.94	9.12
Canadian trades certificate or college diploma	23.11	20.69	21.8
Foreign university (at least a bachelor's) degree	7.19	8.00	7.63
Canadian university (at least a bachelor's) degree	11.76	9.63	10.61
Age of arrival in Canada (N = 397,635)			

0 to 14	24.45	21.49	22.85
15 to 24	24.95	25.68	25.34
25 to 34	33.21	35.84	34.64
35 to 44	12.91	13.07	13.00
45 to 65	4.47	3.92	4.17
Racialized (Visible) minority status (N = 397,635)			
Not-visible minority	29.21	28.52	28.83
Visible minority	70.79	71.48	71.17
Marital status (N = 397,635)			
Single/never married	23.12	26.25	24.82
Married/common law relationship	57.42	62.69	60.28
Separated/divorced/widowed	19.46	11.06	14.91
Knowledge of official language (N = 397,635)			
English only	74.48	79.14	77.00
French only	5.94	4.08	4.94
Both English and French	10.15	10.67	10.43
Neither English nor French	9.43	6.11	7.63
City of residence (N = 397,635)			
Small CMA, urban, or rural areas	12.49	12.77	12.64
Mid-sized CMA	17.18	15.99	16.53
Larger CMAs	18.25	17.98	18.10
Gateway CMAs	52.08	53.26	52.72
Time in Canada since landing (N = 397,635)			
0 to 4 years	7.42	6.75	7.06
5 to 10 years	11.61	9.70	10.58
Over 10 years	80.96	83.55	82.36
Employment status (N = 397,635)			
Not in the labour force	32.64	17.88	24.64
Unemployed	5.61	6.39	6.03
Employed	61.75	75.73	69.33
Occupational status (N = 305,705)			
Low skilled occupations	51.94	47.11	49.10
Skilled trades occupations	26.05	32.95	30.11
Professional and managerial occupations	22.00	19.94	20.79
Employment income (N = 257,385)			
$1000 to $2499	2.71	1.69	2.13
$2500 to $9999	10.55	7.02	8.56
$10000 to $24999	23.07	16.33	19.27
$25000 to $49999	37.81	33.68	35.48
$50000 to $74999	15.99	22.85	19.86
$75000 to $99999	6.55	11.02	9.07
$100000 to $124999	2.09	4.45	3.42
$125000 to $199999	1.23	2.95	2.20

Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

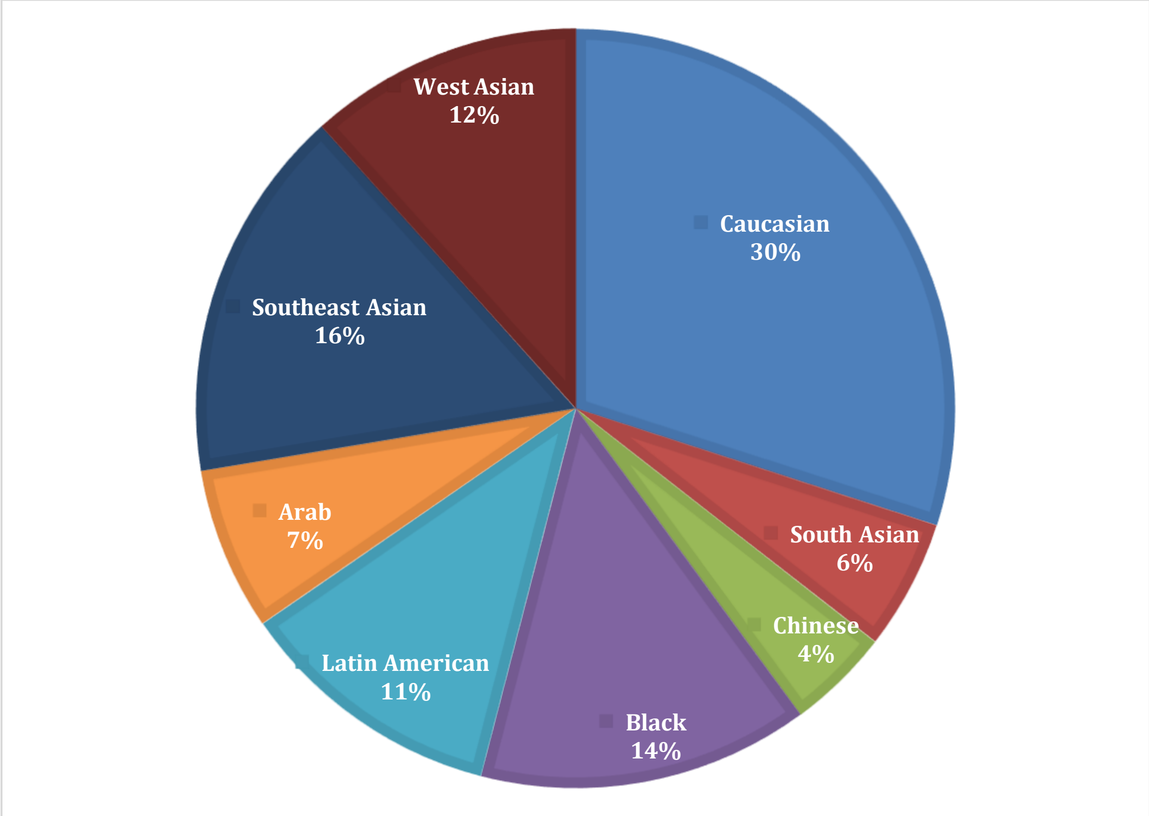
Overall, the majority of resettled refugees aged 26-64 were high school graduates, followed by less than high school, postsecondary education (with no bachelor's degree) from Canada, postsecondary education (with a bachelor's degree) from Canada, and the number of foreign postsecondary graduates are the lowest in number in the sample (Table 4.1). Half of Syrian refugees and refugees from other countries who landed in Canada during 2015-2016 aged 20-59 had no certificate, diploma or degree (Houle, 2019). Syrian women were more educated than Syrian men (Houle, 2019). The higher proportion of refugees with no high school education indicates the experience of higher unemployment (11.7 percent versus 5 percent for college diploma or university degree holders in 2011) than higher levels of education (Ferguson & Wang, 2014).

As outlined in Table 4.1 above, more refugees are married (more than 60 percent) than never married and separated/widowed/divorced. While the proportion of males was higher compared to females in the single and married categories, more refugee women were separated/divorced/widowed than refugee men. About 66 percent of resettled refugees had no children aged below 15. The difference between male and female refugee proportions was small (66.83 percent versus 64.70 percent). The difference in proportions between male and female refugees who had children aged below 15 was the same (33 percent and 35 percent respectively). My analysis also finds that only 17 percent of resettled refugees had children aged between 0-5. The non-significant bivariate correlation between employment income and the presence of children and the age of the youngest children among resettled refugee population indicates that marital status or having children in the family are weakly associated with paid employment, although women's employment might be more affected due to childcare (Moyser, 2017).
More than 87 percent of refugees had knowledge of English. The study sample only included 9 percent Francophones (i.e., French-speaking), most of whom might have resettled in the province of Quebec. Among those refugees who did not report knowledge of any official language, women were a little higher than men (9.43 percent versus 6 percent).

Table 4.1 also indicates that the study sample has a higher proportion of racialized minority refugees compared to non-racialized (Caucasian) refugees (about 71 percent versus 29 percent). According to the 2016 Census, the visible minority population comprise 22.3 percent of the Canadian population, and the three major groups included South Asian, Chinese, Black, and Filipino (Statistics Canada, 2017e). Among ten identifiable visible minority groups in my study

population, Southeast Asians, Blacks, West Asian, Latin American, Arabs, South Asian, and Chinese had higher proportion of resettled refugees (Figure 4.3). Among other refugee groups, Korean, Japanese, and Filipinos contained small numbers of refugees. The government's Employment Equity Act mandates the federally regulated public sector to ensure employment equity for four designated groups including members of visible minorities, persons with disabilities, women, and Indigenous peoples (Ministry of Labour, 2019). This sector representing about 4 percent of the Canadian labour force with more than 600 employers includes banking and financial services, communications, transportation, public administration, and a few other industrial sectors.

Figure 4. 3. Major Racialized (Visible) Minority Groups of Resettled Refugees (N = 382,660)

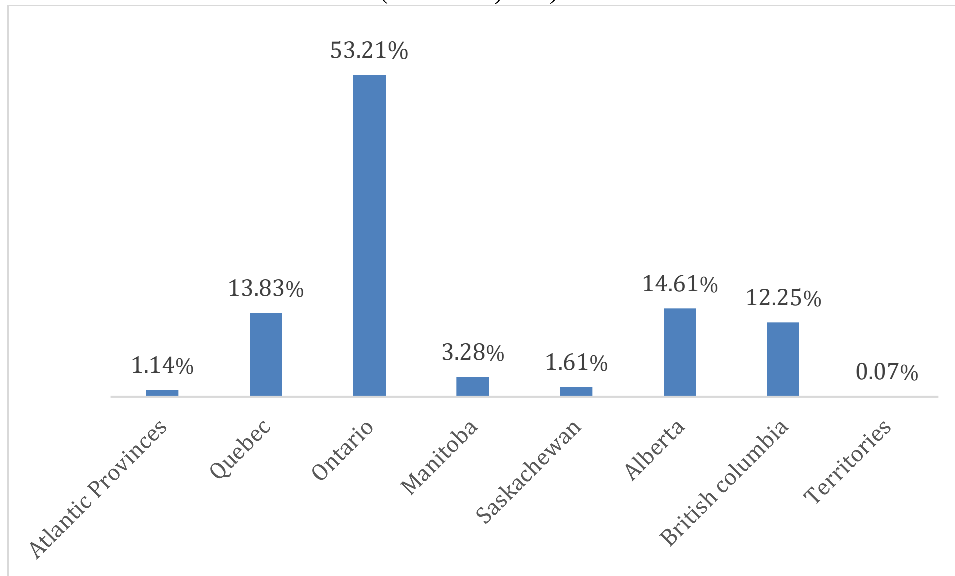


Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

The descriptive statistics suggest that more than 87 percent of the resettled refugees were living in the twelve largest CMAs in 2016 (Table 4.1). More than half of all resettled refugees

were living in three gateway CMAs (Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, as often abbreviated as MTV), followed by three larger CMAs (Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa-Gatineau) with about 18 percent of the study population, and mid-sized CMAs (Quebec City, Hamilton, Kitchener –

Figure 4. 4. Resettled Refugees Landed in Canada between 1980-2016 by Province/Territories of Residence (N = 397,635)



Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

Cambridge – Waterloo, London, Windsor, and Winnipeg) with about 16.50 percent of the study population, and small CMAs/non-CMAs about 13 percent of the study population (Table 4.1). In Canada, overall 35.6 percent of the total population lived in three gateway CMAs in 2016, but the immigrant proportion was higher (61.4 percent) than the overall proportion with 35.9 percent of immigrants residing in Toronto, 13.1 percent dwelling in Vancouver, and 12.4 percent were located in Montreal (Statistics Canada, 2017e). According to the 2016 Census data, Toronto alone was the home for over one-third of all of those resettled refugees living in gateway cities followed by Montreal, Vancouver, and seven other larger urban areas (Jedwab, 2018, p. 40). Using the IMDB (Longitudinal Immigration Database), Kaida, Hou, and Stick (2020c, p. 11) showed that more than 90.5 percent of GARs and PSRs who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2009 were living in CMAs with over 49 percent residing in gateway cities, about 27 percent dwelling in 6 larger CMAs (Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Quebec City, and Winnipeg) and about 15 percent located in small CMAs, and less than 0.5 percent were in other areas. In another study of Vietnamese refugees to Canada, Hou (Hou, 2017) finds that employment rates,

and annual earnings outcome differ by the gateway cities, second-tier cities (including the CMAs of Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Quebec City), small CMAs, small urban areas (CAs), and rural areas. Female and male refugees do not vary significantly with respect to their city of residence.

In Canada, more than half of the refugees were resettled in Ontario followed by Alberta, Quebec, and British Columbia (Figure 4.4). The share of refugees residing in four Atlantic provinces is below Saskatchewan, and three territories had very small number (295). Refugee women outnumbered refugee men in all these provinces and territories except for Ontario where refugee men were remarkably higher compared to refugee women (58.88 percent versus 48.38 percent). The proportions of women were over three percent in Alberta and British Columbia, and around one percent or below in other locations. Three gateway CMAs, and three larger CMAs host the majority of refugees living in four provinces (Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, and British Columbia). Out of six mid-sized CMAs, all are located in Ontario except for Winnipeg. Place of residence (city, province) is an important factor in the study of the economic integration of refugees and immigrants. Given the concentration of refugees in larger urban centres, the city of one's residence is used as a predictor in multivariate analyses.

The weighted frequency table (Table 4.1) shows that more than 80 percent of refugees (both male and female) were established immigrants (of more than 10 years) in terms of years since landing in Canada as defined by Statistics Canada. Around one-tenth of resettled refugees were recent immigrants (5 to 10 years) (11.61 percent female and 9.70 percent male), and about seven percent were among very recent arrivals (0 to 4 years). The proportion of women was slightly higher than men among recent refugee arrivals and very recent refugee immigrants, and the proportion of men were higher by three percentage points among established refugee immigrants (Table 4.1). As expected, many of the study population would be naturalized citizens because of their longer duration of residence in Canada. The descriptive data show that 85 percent of the resettled refugees are naturalized citizens, which is close to the proportion of immigrants (85.8 percent) as of 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017e).

The data also indicate that about four percent of all resettled refugees landed in Canada prior to 16 months (from January 1, 2015 to May 10, 2015), when they might not be in the labour force. Their first year of resettlement assistance with income support from sponsors is intended for GARs and PSRs to invest in upgrading their skills and receiving services toward achieving

self-reliance (Hyndman, 2011; IRCC, 2016b; Watson et al., 2020; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). The income analysis in Chapter Seven excludes those who landed in Canada so that refugees could have a full year (2015) for earning an income.

My descriptive analysis show that the labour force participation rate, employment rate, and unemployment rate of resettled refugees aged 25 to 64 in 2016 were 75.4 percent, 69.3 percent, and 8.0 percent respectively. The respective rates of the Canadian population of the same age group (25-64) in 2016 were 80.6 percent, 75.4 percent, and 6.4 percent respectively (Statistics Canada, 2017e). The unemployment rate for refugees (including resettled and asylum refugees) aged 25 to 54 was 9 percent, and the unemployment rate of an earlier cohort of refugees (landed in Canada between 1981 and 1990) was similar to that of Canadian-born citizens (6 percent) in 2016 (UNHCR Canada, 2019, p. 5). In 2016, almost a quarter of the study population were not in the labour force (Table 4.1). More women were outside the labour force compared to men (32.64 percent versus 17.88 percent). Among employed refugees, women were less employed than men (Table 4.1). This gender difference reflects a similar pattern with the overall Canadian population, yet the proportion of resettled refugee women aged 25-64 that were active in the labour force in 2016 (66.36 percent) was lower than the proportion of Canadian women aged 25-54 in general (82 percent) in 2015 (Moyser, 2017). The data also reveals that over 84 percent of resettled refugee workers aged 25-64 in my study sample worked full-time weeks (at least 30 hours per week) in 2015 (women 76.85 percent and men 89.74 percent).

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) noted that the proportion among Canadian workers aged 25-54 who usually worked 30 hours or more per week was 73.1 percent (male 82 percent, female 64.2 percent) in 2014 (Morissette et al., 2015, p. 2). More female refugees (23.15 percent) were in the part-time workforce than male refugees (10.26 percent). The proportion of full-time week workers among refugee women was lower compared to refugee men (76.85 percent versus 89.74 percent). The lack of full-time suitable work, and caring for children were mainly cited by workers as some of the reasons for their lack of participation (Patterson, 2018). Having young children, and/or high-earning spouses were the key reasons for the higher rate of part-time workers among Canadian married women (Moyser, 2017; Patterson, 2018). Refugee women might not afford full-time work because they had fewer working hours compared to men as they spent more time in housework and childcare, as well as offsetting high day care fees in some

CMAs (Moyser, 2017). Self-employed, temporary employees, and multiple job-holders were also prone to part-time work (Patterson, 2018).

The descriptive data reveals that about 15 percent of the study sample were self-employed, and the remaining are paid employees. Among paid workers, refugee women outnumbered refugee men (89.87 and 81.72 percent respectively), and as indicated earlier, refugee women tended to work part-time compared to refugee men. Yet, as expected, more males were self-employed than females (18.28 percent versus 10.13 percent), and this pattern is also found among Canadian women paid workers in general (Moyser, 2017). According to the 2016 Census, the proportions of paid employees and self-employed workers in the Canadian population were 87.3 percent and 12.7 percent respectively (Statistics Canada, 2017e). This study does not disaggregate the analysis of labour market outcomes by paid employment and self-employment, and future research is needed as refugee ethnic entrepreneurship is rarely studied in Canada (Bauder, 2008; Hou & Wang, 2011; Li, 2001b; Nakhaie et al., 2009).

The multivariate analysis of employment status in the next chapter restricted the sample to the active labour force (i.e., who were working or were available for work in the census reference week). Due to data limitation, details about those who were inactive is not available, yet it is important to investigate those who are outside the labour force. Some of the refugees might be in school, or they are elderly, disabled, or ill, retired from work, homemakers, or taking care of children. The unemployed persons and those who are inactive (out of the labour market) vary in terms of the disposable time used (e.g., the unemployed tend to use their time for job searching) so they cannot be aggregated into a single category to analyze the labour market dynamics (Ewoudou, 2011). Some scholars claim that among immigrants those who are in the 'not in the labour force' category might give up looking for work yet could work if jobs are available (R. Pendakur, 2020). In a recent study, the inactive labour force (except for those attending schools) and the unemployed were included in the "not being employed" category for a multivariate analysis of the employment status of immigrants including refugees (R. Pendakur, 2020).

In occupational status terms, nearly half of the resettled refugees who found a job were concentrated in low skilled jobs, and the remaining were found in skilled trades jobs, and high skilled jobs (Table 4.1). Gender-wise, more women were employed as professionals or managers than their male counterparts, yet more men were located in skilled trades than women. According

to the 2016 Census Data, about 18 percent of refugee men and 27 percent of refugee women aged 25-64 who landed in Canada between 1981-1990 worked in the Trades and/or Sales and Services industry that comprise the lowest paid occupations, and the proportions for the 2011-2016 cohort were 32 percent and 46 percent respectively (Mata, 2019). The sales and services niches included jobs as cashiers, cleaners, caretakers, store clerks, taxi drivers, and cooks for which no postsecondary education is required (Mata, 2019). This issue of underemployment and skill underutilization among immigrants has been a key topic in Canada since the 2000s (Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Reitz, 2001; Reitz et al., 2014). One of the major goals of my multivariate analysis is to examine if resettled refugees are working in occupations that are commensurate with their education, and how gender, admission category, the location of study, and age of arrival in Canada predict their occupational status controlling for other factors.

The majority of the refugee workers had lower levels of personal waged earnings in the 2015 calendar year (Table 4.1). The average personal employment income from wages was about $43,704 (Standard Deviation = $30,137 approx.) in 2015 for resettled refugees aged 25-64 who landed between 1980 and 2014. In 2015, refugee women's average waged income was about $38,279 (Standard Deviation = $27,700 approx.), and men's mean personal income was $49,128 (standard deviation = $32,575). The gender gap in earnings reflect a similar fact for the general population, yet refugee earnings (both men and women) were lower compared to non-refugee population. According to the data from the Longitudinal Worker File based on T4 reported earnings by Canadian workers aged 25-64, men earned an average $67,700, and women earned $46,400 in 2015 (Bonikowska et al., 2019). Table 4.1 shows that about two-third of resettled female and male refugees earned below $25,000, for both female and male. About one third of refugee paid workers (excluding unpaid family workers, and self-employed workers) earned $50,000 and above. Very few workers (about six percent) had earned over $100,000. Around two percent had an income of $125,000 and $199,999. Data also demonstrates that more refugee men were in the higher employment income brackets (Table 4.1).

I also present here two other indicators of economic status of my study population that are related to labour market outcomes. Little over one-tenth of resettled refugees (about 12 percent) received social assistance in 2015. In Canada, 14.2 percent were located in the low-income cut off (Statistics Canada, 2017e). Among resettled refugees receiving social assistance, the proportion of refugee women was slightly higher than refugee men (13.48 percent versus

10.77 percent). Among refugees, women tend to be more vulnerable, and lack human capital, and GARs are in general selected as part of the UNHCR's priority resettlement criteria (Boyd, 1999; Dhital, 2015; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kaida et al., 2020b; Lu et al., 2020). As a result of a selection policy change through the 2001 IRPA, GARs arriving in Canada from 2002 onward may be more likely to collect social assistance (Lu et al., 2020). Existing research shows that refugees collect social assistance in the initial years because of economic reasons (finding no employment and/or inadequate employment income) (Bevelander & DeVoretz, 2008; IRCC, 2016b). Although GARs compared to PSRs are more likely to collect social assistance, and but such reliance on welfare has declined over time along with an increased incidence of employment and earnings (Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020). About 60 percent of resettled refugees owned their home in 2015.

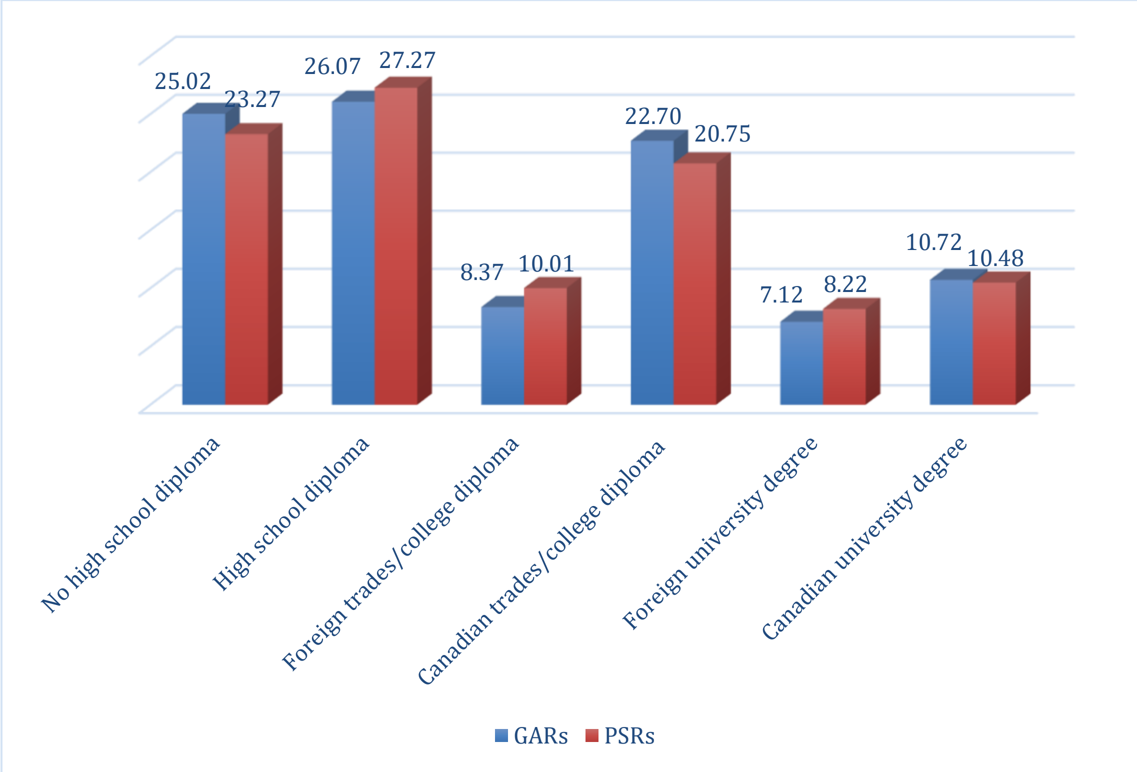
About 60 percent of the study group owned a home in Canada. As my descriptive data indicates, the gender difference in home ownership among resettled refugee population was nearly equivalent (about 59 percent for female refugees and about 61 percent for male refugees). According to the 2016 Census, 67.8 percent of the Canadians owned their own home (Statistics Canada, 2017e). According to the 2016 Census, 69 percent of the households owned their homes in Canada, and immigrants had a slightly higher home ownership rate than Canadian-born citizens (68 percent versus 70 percent) (R. Pendakur, 2020). UNHCR Canada (2019) reports that 65 percent of refugee families who have been living in Canada for 10 years or more resided in their own homes, compared with 79 percent of Canadian-born citizens, and about one-third of refugee families that were able to buy their home within their first five years of being in Canada. Refugees' higher rates of employment, lower rates of collecting social assistance, and higher rates of home ownership reflect their motives and attitudes to becoming self-reliant and contributing citizens to the Canadian economy that also debunk the myths that refugees are draining the Canadian welfare system, and that they do not pay taxes (UNHCR Canada, 2019).

4.3. Socioeconomic and Demographic Descriptors and Economic Outcomes of GARs and PSRs

In the study sample, there are 214,740 GARs and 182,895 PSRs aged between 25 and 64, and males outnumber females in both resettled refugee sub-categories. Among the GARs, 53 percent

are males and 47 percent are females. Among the PSRs, 55.5 percent are males and 44.5 percent are females. The data does not indicate a considerable gap between these two groups with regards to education (Figure 4.5). However, resettled refugees who landed in Canada between 2011 and 2016 demonstrate a significant difference in their levels of education (Houle, 2019; Hynie et al., 2019; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Jedwab, 2018). My study did not analyze the different cohorts of refugees separately.

Figure 4. 5. Location of the Highest Level of Education of GARs and PSRs (%)



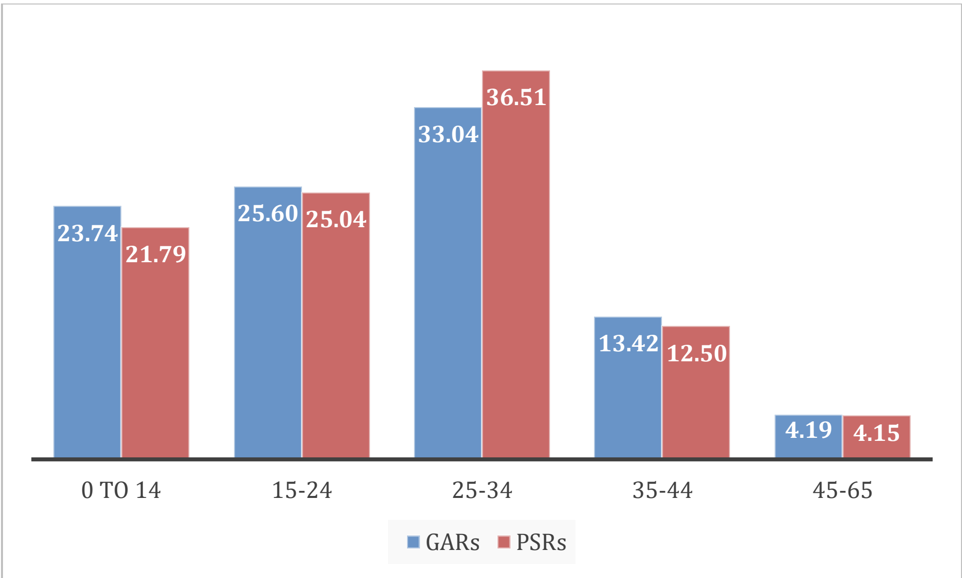
Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

Among resettled refugees who landed in Canada between 2011 and 2016 and were aged 25-54 on the 2016 Census day, PSRs were almost double the number of GARs holding a university certificate, diploma or degree at the bachelor level and above (16.5 percent versus 8.5 percent (Jedwab, 2018, p. 44). More than 70 percent of GAR Syrian men and women aged 20 to 59 who landed in Canada between 2015 and 2016 had no high school diploma while the proportions for PSR Syrian men and women were 16.7 percent and 36.2 percent respectively (Houle, 2019, p. 8). Among non-Syrian refugees who landed in Canada between 2011 and 2016,

the gap was a little over 10 percent (Houle, 2019, p. 8). These findings also indicate that the level of human capital may vary across refugee groups, and the period of arrival in Canada.

With respect of their age of arrival, GARs and PSRs do now show much difference except in the 25-34 age of arrival category where PSRs were about 3.5 percent higher than GARs (Figure 4.6). The proportion of childhood refugees (arrived at ages between 0 and 14) among the Syrians who landed in Canada between 2015 and 2016 was much higher (53.8 percent for GAR Syrians and 33.4 percent for Syrian PSRs) than non-Syrian refugees (33.3 percent for GARs and 28.2 percent for PSRs) (Houle, 2019, p. 8).

Figure 4. 6. Age of Arrival in Canada of GARs and PSRs (%)



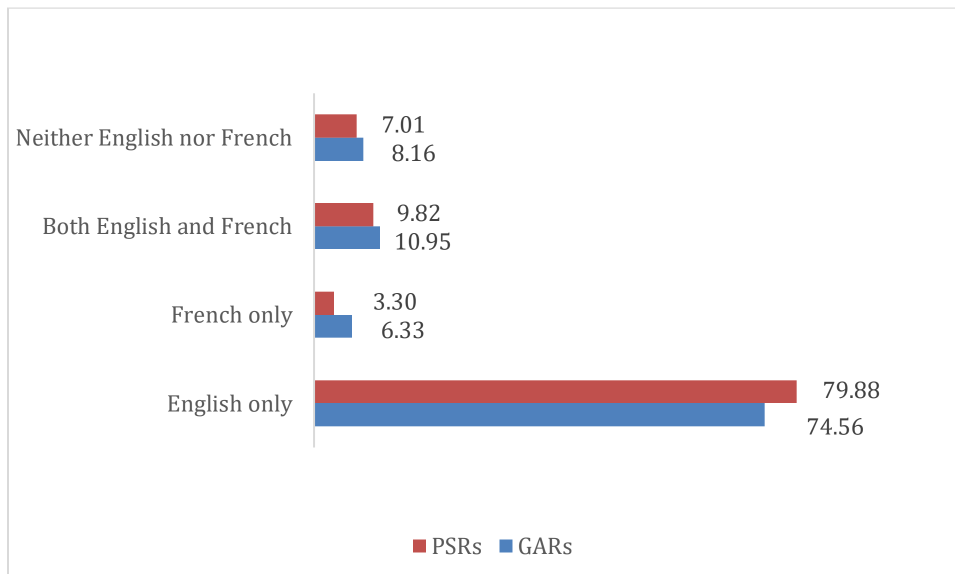
Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

The data also shows that the gap in knowledge of official language between GARs and PSRs is not much wider except for a five-point gap in English (Figure 4.7). Similar to the levels of the education factor, the gap in official language proficiency among the recent arrivals (who landed in 2011-2016) aged 25-54 was quite large (Houle, 2019; Jedwab, 2018). PSRs had a 16 percent higher proportion than GARs (Jedwab, 2018, p. 44). Among Syrian refugees resettled in Canada between January 1, 2015 and May 10, 2016, about 21.2 percent of GAR Syrians knew English or French while 67.2 percent of PSR Syrians knew English or French (Houle, 2019). Among non-Syrians who landed in Canada at the same time the proportion was 69.1 percent for

GARs and 83.2 percent for PSRs (Houle, 2019, p. 8). This is because Syrian GARs had a low level of knowledge of official languages (IRCC, 2016c). Nationally, the Syrians had higher rates of reporting of the neither English nor French category (83.6 percent for GARs, 18.2 percent for PSRs) (IRCC, 2016c, p. as cited in Hynie et al, 2019, p. 40).

Descriptive data also shows that GARs and PSRs do not differ by racialized status and marital status. PSRs were more non-racialized than GARs (30.35 percent versus 27.54 percent). Among refugees resettled during 1980-2016 aged between 25-54 as of the 2016 Census day, the difference among Black, West Asian, South Asian, and Arab racialized (visible) minority groups were not sharp; yet among the recently arrived (landed in 2011-2016) refugees, Blacks were more in the PSR category than the GAR category (28 percent and about 24 percent), and the same was the case for West Asians (15 percent PSRs and about 10 percent GARs) while South Asians were more in the GARs than PSRs category (about 10 percent and about 4 percent respectively) and the same for Arabs (42.5 GARs and about 29 percent PSRs) (Jedwab, 2018, p. 45). Among the countries of origin, more refugees were resettled in Canada as GARs from Vietnam, Bosnia and Herzegovina, El Salvador, and Syria than they are as PSRs while PSRs outnumbered GARs for resettled refugees coming from Poland, Iraq, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Pakistan (Jedwab, 2018, p. 41).

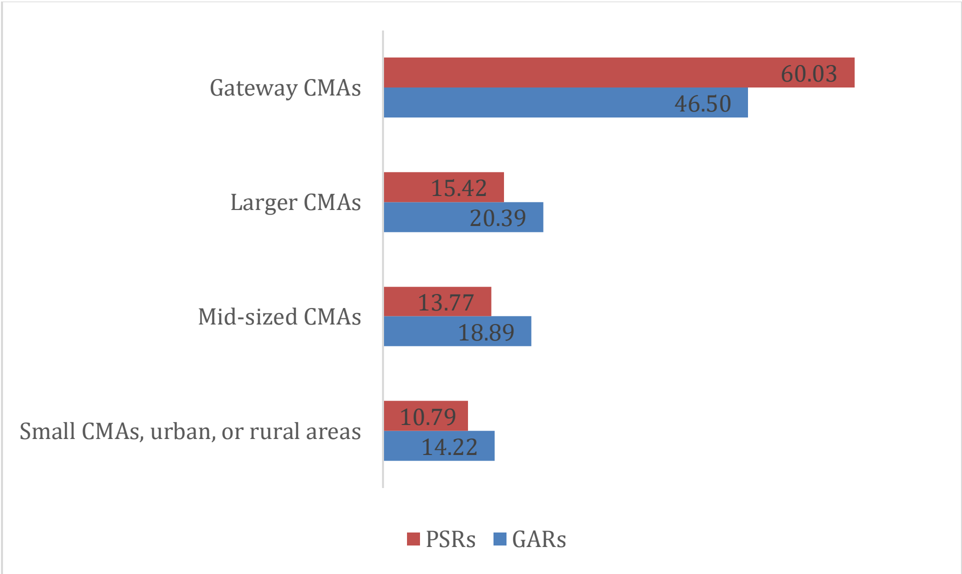
Figure 4. 7. Knowledge of Official Languages of GARs and PSRs (%)



Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

About 70 percent of PSRs were married and about 59 percent of GARs were married. The difference in the separated/divorced/widowed category was one percent; it was higher for GARs than PSRs (15.34 percent versus 14.40 percent). The difference in the single/never married category was 2 percent (25.81 percent for GARs and 23.64 percent for PSRs). A recent study of Syrian refugees from six cities in the three largest immigrant hosting provinces (e.g., British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec) finds that the number of single adults were higher for PSRs than GARs (57 percent versus 47 percent) (Hynie et al., 2019, p. 37), which is consistent with the findings of the statistics Canada's study of a recent cohort of Syrian refugees (Houle, 2019).

Figure 4. 8. City of Residence of GARs and PSRs (%)



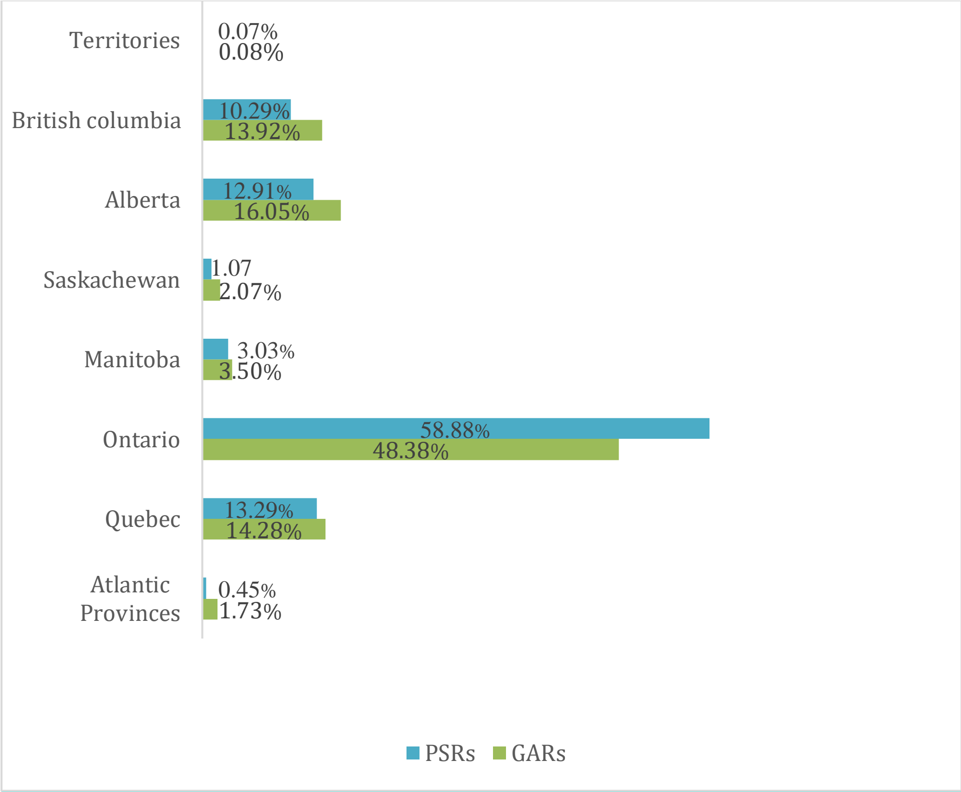
Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

Among Syrians, GARs had more couples with children than PSRs (59 percent versus 77.8 percent), although non-Syrians in the same cohort had a 4 percentage points difference (59 percent versus 63.2 percent) (Houle, 2019, p. 8). These findings indicate that different refugee groups in different cohorts may have different family characteristics, apart from the differences in the definition of marital status and the age group of the study population.

The data on the location of residence in Figure 4.8 above show a stark difference with more PSRs located in three gateway cities than GARs, and the opposite is true for other areas of

residence in 2016. According to the 2016 Census, among the top ten resettled refugee receiving cities, Toronto and Montreal had more PSRs than GARs, and Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa, Hamilton, Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, London, and Winnipeg had more GARs than PSRs in 2016 (Jedwab, 2018, p. 42). PSRs who were admitted to Canada during January 2015 and January 2018, selected Oshawa, Guelph, St. Catherine's-Niagara, Sherbrooke, and Belleville as other destinations (Jedwab, 2018, p. 42). Resettled refugees had a higher secondary migration rate compared to economic immigrants, and GARs were more likely to leave their initial destinations than PSRs and economic class immigrants might be due to social and economic reasons (Kaida et al., 2020a).

Figure 4. 9. Province/Territory of Residence of GARs and PSRs



Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

The refugee's initial destinations depend on the governments and sponsors, and they may move because of unemployment or other perceived or real issues (Haan, 2008; Kaida et al.,

2020a; Krahn et al., 2005). Figure 4.9 above shows that the proportion of PSRs living in Ontario was 10 percent higher than GARs, but in other locations GARs outnumbered PSRs. The higher number of PSRs suggest that most of the private sponsors were from Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, and British Columbia.

Table 4. 2. Employment Status, Occupational Status and Employment Income of GARs and PSRs

	GARs N (%)	**PSRs** N (%)	**ALL** N (%)
Employment Status (N = 397635)			
Not in the labour force	57760 (26.90)	40225 (21.99)	97985 (24.64)
Unemployed	13360 (6.22)	10630 (5.81)	23985 (6.03)
Employed	143625 (66.88)	132040 (72.19)	275670 (69.33)
Occupational Status (N = 397635)			
Low skilled occupations	78000 (48.70)	72100 (49.55)	150100 (49.10)
Skilled trades occupation	48790 (30.46)	43255 (29.72)	92050 (30.11)
Professional and managerial occupations	33390 (20.85)	30165 (20.73)	63555 (20.79)
Employment income (N = 257385)			
$1000 to $2499	3110 (2.29)	2385 (1.96)	5495 (2.13)
$2500 to $9999	12190 (8.99)	9845 (8.09)	22035) (8.56)
$10000 to $24999	26415 (19.47)	23185 (19.05)	49605 (19.27)
$25000 to $49999	47630 (35.11)	43700 (35.90)	91330 (35.48)
$50000 to $74999	26555 (19.57)	24560 (20.18)	51115 (19.86)
$75000 to $99999	12510 (9.22)	10830 (8.90)	23340 (9.07)
$100000 to $124999	4465 (3.29)	4340 (3.57)	8805 (3.42)
$125000 to $199999	2785 (2.05)	2885 (2.37)	5670 (2.20)

Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

GARs are more likely to be inactive compared to PSRs (about 27 percent versus about 22 percent). The employment gap between PSRs and GARs is over five percentage points (Table 4.2). PSRs were more likely to be employed than GARs, and less likely to be unemployed and out of the labour force than GARs (Table 4.2). The bivariate relationship between employmentstatus and admission category was statistically significant (Pearson Chi square = 116.313, df = 1, $p<0.001$). The multivariate analysis of employment status in Chapter Five restricted the sample to the active population group (i.e., employed and unemployed) due to the limitation of the data with regards to the diversity of the out of labour force category of refugees. Further research is recommended to examine refugees who were out of the labour force despite being in the core working age group given the size of the inactive population (about 25 percent).

With respect to occupational attainment, the PSRs were more likely to be in the low skilled (skill level C and D) occupations than GARs, and the gap is a little over one percentage point, but the GARs were slightly more clustered in skilled trades (skill level B) occupations and high skilled jobs, i.e., (skill level A) occupations (Table 4.2). The bivariate relationship between occupational status and admission category was statistically significant (Chi square = 28.941, df = 2, $p<0.001$). Descriptive data also show that PSRs earned more than GARs. The Pearson correlation between employment income and admission category was statistically significant. The independent sample t-test also suggests that PSRs' mean employment incomes were significantly higher than GARs. The difference in employment income between GARs and PSRs in each income bracket is not wide, around a percent or below (Table 4.2). In 2015, 65.86 percent of GARs and 64.99 percent of PSRs were in waged income groups below $50,000. However, GARs tend to be more concentrated in lower income groups (below $50,000) than PSRs. PSRs tended to be more in income brackets from $50,000 to $74,999 than GARs except for the income bracket $75,000 to $99,999 (more GARs than PSRs).

4.4. Discussion

One key question in Canada that has been asked by policymakers and researchers for years is: how GARs and PSRs fare economically in Canada. Yet, studies comparing the economic outcomes of different refugee sub-categories exclusively were limited (exceptions: Dhital, 2015; Kaida et al., 2019). Quantitative research of GARs and PSRs using multivariate analysis was

scant (Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kaida et al., 2020c; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yu et al., 2007). Most prior studies have examined a one or two indicators of economic integration, such as employment, and/or earnings (Picot, 2008; Sweetman & Warman, 2013). I used three indicators – employment status, occupational status, and employment income in order to have a broader understanding of the labour market integration of refugees resettled in Canada from 1980 to 2016 at the national scale using the recently available Canada's most recent 2016 census. This chapter first highlights the differences in characteristics observed between male and female refugees, and between GARs and PSRs profiles, and then describes their employment status, occupational status, and employment income to address the first research question.

The descriptive data presented in my study incudes several characteristics available from the census data. The descriptive analysis demonstrates noticeable differences by gender on most socio-demographic, immigration, and labour characteristics, yet there were no stark differences by admission category. The data reveals stark differences between the male and female sub-populations with respect to admission category, location of study, marital status, and knowledge of official language, yet there was no remarkable difference with respect to racialized status, and city of residence. However, slight differences between refugee men and women were found in regard to age of arrival, and time in Canada since landing (Table 4.1). PSRs and GARs differ on some characteristics relating to human capital variables (education, language ability), demographic characteristics (racialized status, marital status), the immigration variable (age of arrival), and contextual factors (city of residence).

The study population comprises of more males than females, and more GARs than PSRs. Refugee resettlement has been largely male-dominated, and it has emphasized women at risk (Boyd, 1999). The 2001 IRPA has changed the refugee selection policy to resettle refugees based on humanitarian protection needs replacing the pre-IRPA emphasis placed upon their ability to fit in upon arrival in Canada (Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020; Yu et al., 2007). Women at risk and more vulnerable refugees have been given prominence under the GAR program in recent years (IRCC, 2016b; Martani, 2021). The higher proportion of GARs compared to PSRs is anticipated since PSRs are resettled in addition to GARs (IRCC, 2016b). In the GARs category, females outnumbered males, and the reverse was the case for PSRs. This finding suggest that women at risk and more vulnerable refugees might have arrived under the GAR program in recent (post-IRPA) years (IRCC, 2016b; Martani, 2021).

The study population had a larger proportion of married refugees. More PSRs were married compared to GARs. The proportion of separated, divorced, or widowed individuals was higher among refugee women compared to refugee men. This might be due to the loss of individual's spouses in violent conflicts in their home countries. The Canadian legal and social system empowered them to make the choice to divorce abusive spouses or Canada and UNHCR priorities for resettlement include women in risk situations.

The higher proportion of refugee men had a high school diploma compared to their counterparts, and the higher proportion of refugee women had less than high school education compared to refugee men. Yet the proportion of Canadian postsecondary graduates was higher among refugee women than refugee men, and the reverse was evident with respect to those who had had foreign postsecondary education. Females' higher postsecondary completion rates compared to males reflects the overall gender difference in postsecondary completion rates (Brym et al., 2019). The gender difference in post-migration education implies that refugee male breadwinners had to start working immediately upon landing while their spouses might have had the opportunity to upgrade their educational credentials understanding the importance of Canadian education for better labour market outcomes. PSRs tend to have foreign postgraduate education while GARs tend to have Canadian education, which suggests that PSRs do not tend to invest in postmigration education. Earlier studies suggest that PSRs quickly enter the labour market with the help of private sponsors (IRCC, 2016b; Kantor & Einhorn, 2017). GARs may spend the early years upgrading their skills and acquiring jobs training (Hiebert, 2009a). Among the recent arrivals, particularly among Syrian refugees, who landed in Canada between 2011 and 2016, PSRs' educational attainment was substantially higher compared to GARs (Houle, 2019; Hynie et al., 2019; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Jedwab, 2018).

It appears that resettled refugees tend to complete a trades or college diploma rather than a university degree upon arrival in Canada. This might be due to the costs of university education in terms of tuition fees and the time requirement needed to graduate, foreign educational credential issues, and/or the high demand for skilled trades in the Canadian economy. However, many refugees' high level of human capital, and postmigration education in Canada suggest that refugees wanted to restart their Canadian lives despite their past unique experiences of war, violence, persecution, and trauma, and this reality challenges the myth that refugees are not educated and are a burden to the economy (Best & Yachoua, 2015; Hathaway, 2007; Kanu,

2008; Kaplan, 2009; Puzic, 2015; Sersli et al., 2010; UNHCR, 2019a). More than one-third of resettled refugees obtained postsecondary education upon their arrival in Canada despite their lack of financial resources and documentation to prove their educational or occupational credentials, and pre-migration disruption of their education and/or work, and their deficiency in both official languages, which stipulate that resettled refugees want to contribute as constructive and productive members of the society just like other Canadians.

Although the gender difference with regards to age of arrival is not wide, the female numbers were slightly higher than males among childhood refugees (who landed in Canada at ages between 0 to 14). The arrival of a large proportion of resettled refugees in Canada as childhood refugees and youth (0 to 24) reflects the UNHCR's age composition of refugees globally (UNHCR, 2019c). The recently arrived Syrian refugees are younger than the refugees from other countries (Houle, 2019; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017). PSRs outnumbered GARs in the 25-34 age of arrival category. The higher proportion of the study population who landed at a younger age indicates that the labour force potentials of resettled refugees to contribute to the Canadian economy's labour force as well as by paying taxes (UNHCR Canada, 2019; Wilkinson et al., 2019). The higher proportion of resettled refugees arriving at the prime working age (25 to 34) might have participated in the labour force immediately upon their arrival and gained Canadian work experience. Childhood refugees (aged 0-14) or refugee youth or younger adult refugees (aged 15-24) tend to more easily integrate as they have access to local education, host country language proficiency, and work experience (Boyd & Tian, 2016; Rumbaut, 2004).

Most resettled refugees had an English language ability, and women outnumbered men among those who did not report knowledge of one of Canada's official languages. Some of the gender differences seem to be due to resettled refugee men's higher proficiency in Canada's official languages (Beiser & Hou, 2001). PSRs tend to be more knowledgeable in English compared to GARs, which is consistent with PSRs' higher educational levels compared with GARs. Earlier studies also found that refugee women had lower levels of official language proficiency than refugee men, and GARs were less knowledgeable of one of Canada's official languages compared to PSRs (Beiser, 2009; Devoretz & Pivnenko, 2004; Dhital, 2015; IRCC, 2016b; Samuel, 1984). Although there was no remarkable difference in between male and female refugees' racialized (visible) minority status, PSRs were more non-racialized than GARs. The

higher proportion of racialized refugees in the study population represents the proportion of visible minority population in the general immigrant population suggesting that racialized refugees are likely to experience worse labour market outcomes compared to non-racialized (Mata & Pendakur, 2016; Ng & Gagnon, 2020; K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 2010; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017).

According to the data used in this study, an overwhelming majority of refugees were living in 35 CMAs (gateway, larger, and mid-sized) in 2016, and a very small proportion of resettled refugees lived outside CMAs. Male and female refugees did not differ much in terms of their place of residence. Yet, a stark difference was found between GARs and PSRs with more PSRs located in three gateway cities compared to GARs. This could be due to the concentration of private sponsors in those three major CMAs (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver), and the regional dispersion policy of GARs resettlement outside of those CMAs (Agrawal, 2019; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kaida et al., 2020a). GARs are sent to 36 cities served by 32 RAP SPOs based on the government's refugee dispersal policy along with its regionalization policy while PSRs are more spread out across the country (300 cities and municipalities) based on the location of sponsors (Abid, 2020; Jenkins, 2019). GARs are matched to destined cities to meet medical and health needs in addition to other matching criteria such as family ties, language, and ethnocultural communities (Abid, 2020; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020a). CMAs are the labour market sites with functional characteristics, and the gateway cities and larger second tier cities tend to have specialized services and facilities including the concentration of co-ethnic networks, and are internationally known metropolises (Abid, 2020; Bloem & Loveridge, 2017; Haan, 2008; Kaida et al., 2020a; Krahn et al., 2005). The geographical integration of adjacent urban and rural fringes with CMAs, and their labour market potentials may motivate refugees and immigrants to live in larger CMAs (Brym et al., 2019; K. H. Choi et al., 2021; Haan, 2008; Kelly, 2014).

Although the gender difference in the number of years in Canada is not much noticeable, the longer duration of the majority of the study group living in Canada suggests that with time spent in Canada, refugees' employment and earnings outcomes improved, dependence on social assistance decreased, and their human capital improved (Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020b; Lu et al., 2020; Prokopenko, 2018), and many of the study population have become naturalized citizens by now. Canada's higher rates of naturalization among refugees and immigrants, and the positive impact of citizenship in their socioeconomic integration

(Bloemraad, 2006; Devoretz & Pivnenko, 2008; Kymlicka, 2010; Shields et al., 2014) means that naturalized resettled refugees would have value to employers, as well as familiarity with the labour market's rules; whether employers use citizenship status in hiring and making salary decisions is questionable (Bloemraad, 2008, p. 18).

The descriptive findings present a mixed or uneven picture about the economic outcomes of resettled refugees. The descriptive data show that the modal category for one's employment status is the employed category followed by out of the labour force category and the unemployed category (Table 4.1 and 4.2). The data reveals that more than two-thirds of resettled refuges were employed, which indicates resettled refugees' higher labour force participation in Canada. The gap in employment rates between my study group and the Canadian population aged 25-64 is only about 6 percentage points (69.33 percent and 75.39 percent respectively). Both male and female refugees in my study sample were significantly active in the labour market (Table 4.1). The data also illustrates that the proportion of self-employment among my study group was 15 percent, and over 60 percent of resettled refugees owned a house in 2016, which indicates resettled refugees' financial and community belongingness, resiliency and agency (UNHCR Canada, 2019).

Resettled refugees have higher rates of labour force participation, human capital, and home ownership, as well as lower levels of rates of receiving social assistance. Yet many experience various myths and negative stereotypes such as they are economic burdens, they are lazy, they do not want to work, they drain the welfare system, they do not pay taxes, and they get more assistance than pensioners do (Best & Yachoua, 2015; Hathaway, 2007; Kanu, 2008; Kaplan, 2009; Puzic, 2015; Sersli et al., 2010; UNHCR, 2019a). In a racially and culturally diverse society like Canada, different racial and ethnic markers or other ascriptive traits, such as gender, disability, sexual orientation, and elderly over which nobody has any control are used to construct myths and stereotypes (Brym et al., 2019; Grabb et al., 2017). Myths and stereotypes affect inter-personal and intergroup relations leading to different forms of violence – structural, cultural and physical, as conceptualized by Galtung (Galtung, 1969, 1996).

The data analysis shows that PSRs were more likely to be employed than GARs, and PSRs had a significantly higher level of earnings compared to GARs (Table 4.2). These results are also consistent with the prior studies that used the LSIC, and IMDB data (Hyndman, 2011; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Watson et al., 2020; Yu et al., 2007), IRCC's descriptive

evaluation studies (IRCC, 2016c, 2017f), and some regional studies (Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). GARs and PSRs resettled from different refugee movements including the first Indochinese in the 1980s (Beiser, 2003, 2009; Beiser & Hou, 2001; Hou, 2017), the last Syrian refugees (Agrawal, 2019; Houle, 2019; Hynie et al., 2019; IRCC, 2016c, 2019a; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017), and other groups (a mix of Iraqis, Afghans, Colombians, Eritreans and more) (Hyndman et al., 2017) followed a similar pattern. Several differences are noticeable in terms of PSR's quickly becoming more self-supporting than GARs, For example, PSRs have a higher level of satisfaction with immediate and essential needs compared to GARs (IRCC, 2016c, 2017f), and GARs have lower levels of education, and higher rates of serious health problems in contrast to PSRs (Beiser, 2009; Dhital, 2015; Kaida et al., 2020c).

One third of resettled refugees were unemployed, or out of the labour force. Women were slightly more unemployed than men. GARs were more unemployed in contrast with PSRs. The unemployment rates for resettled refugees and the Canadian population differed slightly (8 percent and 6.4 percent respectively). This narrow gap in unemployment rates suggest that refugees are not a burden on Canadian taxpayers given their labour market contributions (UNHCR Canada, 2019). However, a significant portion of refugees in the core working age (25 to 64) who are not in the workforce suggests that many resettled refugees may experience labour market challenges and structural barriers. Various studies indicated the potential factors affecting refugees' economic outcomes in Canada including pre-migration trauma and mental health, and lack of social capital (Beiser, 2009; Devoretz & Pivnenko, 2004; Samuel, 1984), education and official language knowledge (Dhital, 2015; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c), region of origin, foreign credential recognition, region of settlement, years living in Canada (De Silva, 1997; Devoretz et al., 2004; Mata & Pendakur, 2016), and settlement and integration services (Hiebert, 2009a).

Although many refugees earned a wage from paid employment, half of the study population had lower levels of earnings (mean annual income = $43,704, $38,280 for women, and $49,128 for men) in 2015. Only about 12 percent of all resettled refugees received social assistance in 2015 while earlier studies indicate the higher rates (25 percent) of collecting social assistance among resettled refugees who had been in Canada over 10 years (IRCC, 2016c). Refugees who do not report employment/income tend to collect social assistance (Devoretz et

al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020). In the modal category ($45,000 to $69,999), PSRs outnumbered GARs, and both groups had similar levels of income in the next modal category ($70,000 to $99,999).

Recently arrived GARs (2009-2010) registered the lowest incidence of earnings that could be due to the arrival of more vulnerable refugees resulting from IRPA policy change (Lu et al., 2020, p. 20). The 2016 Census data shows that among refugees who were resettled in Canada during the period 2011-2016, PSRs have more human capital than GARs in terms of their level of education, and knowledge of the official language (Houle, 2019; Hynie et al., 2019; IRCC, 2016c; Jedwab, 2018). This GAR-PSR difference is because of the larger proportion of Syrians coming to Canada with a university degree through the private sponsorship program (IRCC, 2016c), and also as a result of the increased number of vulnerable refugees coming to Canada under the government assisted refugee program due to the change in the selection policy through the 2001 IRPA (Hyndman, 2011; IRCC, 2016b; Lu et al., 2020; Martani, 2021). However, longitudinal studies in the post-IRPA period find that GARs and PSRs' wider earnings gap may disappear in 10 years and below (Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b) and some studies indicate the convergence may happen in 13 years (Kaida et al., 2020c; Watson et al., 2020), which is also consistent with earlier longitudinal studies that included pre-IRPA GARs and PSRs suggesting that resettled refugees (GARs and PSRs) might approach economic class immigrant or fare better than family class immigrants (De Silva, 1997; Devoretz & Pivnenko, 2004; Hiebert, 2009a; Montgomery, 1986b). My study did not analyze refugees' economic outcomes who resettled in Canada before IRPA and those who resettled after IRPA, which warrants further investigation.

Overall, resettled refugees were disproportionately concentrated in low-skilled low-paying jobs. More than half of the resettled refugee workforce were working in Skill level C and D occupations. The higher proportion of resettled refugees with high school or below education might have ended up in unskilled and low-paying ("bad") jobs in the Canadian labour market given the Canadian economy's increased transformation into a knowledge-based and service economy since the 1980s due to deskilling and labour market segmentation between the primary and secondary labour market (Brym et al., 2019; Frank, 2013; Mata, 2019). The descriptive data shows that PSRs were slightly more concentrated in low-end occupations compared to GARs.

While PSRs registered a higher incidence of employment and earnings, the descriptive analysis of their occupational status does not provide a similar employment and earnings

outcomes for PSRs as they are less likely than GARs to be employed in managerial and professional occupations (i.e., high status jobs). The descriptive analysis reveals that PSRs experienced higher incidence of employment than GARs, yet occupational status and employment income outcomes do not consistently present the PSRs' economic advantages over GARs as is evident in earlier research (Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020c; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020). This occupational analysis provides a grim picture that was not unpacked more in earlier studies, and the multivariate analysis of occupational status in Chapter Six offers some new insights about resettled refugees' occupational status.

Finding employment and earning an income are considered as the first step to full participation in the host society (Hynie et al., 2016). Levels of income depend on the type of job. If refugees are employed in jobs below their qualifications, they cannot move upward in the occupational ladder or they do not enjoy equality of opportunities in the labour market, then they will continue to experience a lower average income than the Canadian average. Occupational outcomes suggest the existence of a segmented labour market, and this may provide insights into refugees' spending a longer time in catching up to the earnings of the economic class immigrants as evident from longitudinal studies on recent cohorts (Lu et al., 2020; Montgomery, 1986b; Picot et al., 2019; Watson et al., 2020; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017) and on previous cohorts (Abbott & Beach, 2011a; De Silva, 1997; Devoretz et al., 2004; Li, 2003).

The evaluation of both refugee population groups is of great interest to policy makers, researchers and practitioners (Beiser, 2009; Dhital, 2015; Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020b; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Yet, a comparison of economic outcomes between GARs and PSRs may be incorrect unless many other factors, such as pre-migration camp experiences, duration of displacement, time in camps, disruptions of schooling, and work experiences are adjusted for (Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019; Kaida et al., 2020c). In a recent study of Syrian resettled refugees, data shows that GARs and PSRs vary by their pre-migration area of residence (59 percent of GARs that lived in larger urban center versus 80.3 percent lived in small urban center), average time displaced (38 months for GARs, 19.5 months for PSRs, average time spent in refugee camps (3.3 months for GARs, 0.8 months for PSRs), religion (among 97.2 percent of Syrians were GARs, 77.6 percent of PSRs were Christians), and also health issues, and social networks, pre-migration occupation, and post-migration (Hynie et al., 2019), were important variables, which suggest these may affect the

GAR-PSR gap in economic outcomes. Although many of the pre- and post-migration factors cannot be measured and/or many of the factors are not readily available in the dataset, a comparison of both groups is needed for policy planning and programming. Using the 2016 Census data, this descriptive analysis with regards to observable characteristics, and the multivariate analyses including the dichotomous admission category (GAR and PSR) as one of the four variables of interest, provides some insights about the role of admission category with regards to the economic integration of resettled refugees, and adds to the existing scant research on economic integration and social justice.

4.5. Conclusions

Chapter Four provides an overview of the study population. The profiles of GARs and PSRs reveal some observable demographic, human capital, and socioeconomic characteristics that are important to understand the economic integration of refugees to Canada. In Canada, refugees are often compared with non-refugee immigrants, particularly the economic class immigrants as benchmark. Given the limited quantitative research using multivariate analysis, the timely availability of the latest (2016) census with quality socioeconomic and income data, ensured that my study focused exclusively on two major resettled refugee groups. Prior to 2016, the census was not linked to the admission category variable (the landing data file of IRCC), and the taxation data (individual tax files of CRA). The descriptive analysis of labour market outcomes of the two study refugee groups shows that PSRs economically perform better than GARs, and this finding is consistent with the available studies. However, taking various pre- and post-migration characteristics into account comparing GARs with PSRs can provide more valid results.

The next three chapters examine the economic integration of resettled refugees (GARs and PSRs combined in regression models, and separate models for female and male refugees, and not separately for PSRs and GARs). Findings from the multivariate analysis of employment status, occupational status, and employment income of resettled refugees (GARs and PSRs as one group) with nine predictors including admission category in the next three empirical chapters provide a broader assessment of resettled refugees' economic integration using the most recently available census confidential data file.

CHAPTER FIVE: FACTORS INFLUENCING THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF REFUGEES RESETTLED IN CANADA

What are the facilitators or barriers to the participation of resettled refugees in the Canadian labour force? This research question is addressed in this chapter. Employment (i.e., finding a job) is an important aspect of the economic integration of any immigrant group. Refugees' participation in the labour market as opposed to being inactive (out of the labour force) is expected by both refugees and the host communities. While existing research demonstrates the poorer economic outcomes of refugees than economic class immigrants, less is known about the labour market outcomes of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored refugees (PSRs). The findings of employment on refugee subcategories are descriptive, dated, and scant. Refugees as a class were often compared to the economic class or the family class of immigrants as the benchmark primarily because of the paucity of data on the admission categories of refugees. This study was able to focus exclusively on two resettled refugee sub-categories (GARs and PSRs) because for the first time Canada's 2016 census made it possible to classify immigrants and refugees that arrived as of 1980 according to the category under which they were admitted to Canada.

This chapter analyzes the employment status of resettled refugees through a multivariate analysis including a dichotomous dependent variable 'employment status,' and nine predictors, which are just a few out of the many important factors that might affect refugees' employment outcomes. This chapter first highlights the univariate and bivariate analyses for the variables used in the binary logistic regression, and outlines the results of the logistic analyses. Then, the main findings on resettled refugees' employment status are discussed in the context of current Canadian immigration literature, and in relation to the social justice framework. This chapter ends with a conclusion section summarizing the key findings of the employment analysis paving the way forward for the analysis of occupational status in the next chapter.

5.1. Descriptive Results

Table 5.1 outlines the bivariate analysis of four focus predictor variables and the dependent variable 'employment status'. It suggests the number of unemployed refugees is very low (eight

percent) compared to the number of employed refugees (92 percent). It also shows that employment status varies by refugee admission category, gender, and location of study. Refugee men were less likely to be unemployed than refugee women and refugee women were more likely to be unemployed than refugee men. This bivariate association is statically significant (Chi-square = 30.574, df = 1, $p < 0.001$). GARs were more likely to be unemployed than PSRs, and GARs were less likely to be employed than PSRs (Chi-square = 116.313, df = 1, $p < 0.001$). Refugees with no high school diploma were the most likely category to be unemployed followed by high school diploma, foreign trades certificate or college diploma holders, foreign university degree holders, Canadian trades certificate or college diploma, and Canadian university degree holders (Table 5.1). Canadian trades certificate/college diploma holders were more likely to be employed than foreign university degree holders. Even, the gap between high school diploma holders and foreign university degree holders was minimal (91.60 percent versus 91.87 percent). The bivariate association between location of study and employment status is statistically significant (Chi-square = 909.144, df = 5, $p < 0.001$). This finding indicates the devaluation of foreign academic credentials. With respect to age of arrival in Canada, the older the age of arrival the higher the unemployment rates, and the younger the age of arrival the higher the employment rates (Chi-square = 1407.556, df = 4, $p < 0.001$). Those who landed in Canada before the age of 45 were at least 10 percentage points more likely to be employed than the oldest age of arrival category (45 to 64) (Table 5.1).

Results from the bivariate analyses indicate that employment status was significantly associated with four predictors of interest, and a multivariate analysis of employment status can examine the effects of the independent effects of each of the independent variables controlling the effects of all other factors. A binary logistic regression is a robust analysis technique to predict membership in one of the two categories that constitute the outcome variable, i.e., to determine which of the variables affect the probability of a particular outcome (Meyers et al., 2017; Munro, 2005a). The next section reports the results of the binary logistic regression to address the second research question.

5.2. Results of Binary Logistic Regressions

A binary logistic regression was used to model the binary variable of employment status (using 'employed' as the target category, and 'unemployed' as the reference category) of GARs and PSRs living in Canada in 2016. This analysis was based on a subsample of GARs and PSRs who were active labour force participants during the reference week (May 1-7, 2016), and excluded inactive refugees who were not in the labour force. 'Employed' includes refugees who worked for pay or self-employment or had a job but were not at work during the reference week, and 'unemployed' includes refugees who looked for a job or were on temporary lay off during the reference week.

Table 5. 1. Employment Status by Gender, Admission category, Location of Study, and Age of Arrival in Canada (N = 298805)

Employment status							
		Gender					
	Female	Male	Total				
Unemployed	8.33	7.77	8.00				
Employed	91.67	92.23	92.00				
		Admission category					
	GAR	PSR	Total				
Unemployed	8.51	7.44	8.00				
Employed	91.49	92.56	92.00				
	Location of study						
	No high school diploma	High school diploma	Foreign trades/college diploma	Canadian trades/ college diploma	Foreign university degree	Canadian university degree	Total
Unemployed	10.54	8.40	7.45	7.10	8.15	5.58	8.00
Employed	89.45	91.60	92.55	92.90	91.87	94.42	92.00
	Age of arrival in Canada						
Unemployed	0 to 14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-65	Total	
Employed	7.21	7.49	7.76	9.81	20.08	8.00	
	92.79	92.51	92.25	90.19	79.92	92.00	

Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

The predictor variables in this study were the binary variables of admission category, with private sponsorship type as the focus category, gender, with males as the focus category, visible minority status, with visible minority group as the focus category, categorical variables of

location of study, marital status, knowledge of official language, and census metropolitan area of residence, and the continuous variables of age at arrival, with values ranging from 0 to 62 years of age at landing in Canada, and length of stay in Canada, with values ranging from 0-36 years since landing. The model is first applied to male and female refugees as a group, and then separate regressions were estimated for men and women. Table 5.2[*] displays the results of the logistic regression estimation with the adjusted odds ratio (AOR) and the 95 percent confidence intervals (CI) for odds ratios for each predictor. The odds ratio for any single predictor variable is referred to as an adjusted odds ratio to indicate the contribution of a particular variable when other variables are controlled for or held constant (Meyers et al., 2017, p. 355).

As shown in Table 5.2, resettled refugees' likelihood of employment significantly differed by their gender. Specifically, being a male refugee had significantly increased the odds of having a job compared to a female refugee (AOR = 1.089, 95 percent CI = 1.027-1.154), controlling for the effects of the other predictor variables. The hypothesis regarding the independent effect of gender on the labour market outcomes (employment status here) is supported by the data.

Table 5. 2. Factors Associated with the Employment Status of Resettled Refugees

Independent Variables	Total Sample	Female	Male
	Odds Ratio (95% CI)	**Odds Ratio (95% CI)**	**Odds Ratio (95% CI)**
Gender			
Female	1		
Male	1.0888(1.0274-1.1538)**		
Admission category			
GARs	1	1	1

[*] The likelihood-ratio chi-squared value, which is an indicator of the quality of the overall model is reported here in Table 5.1 (Kohler & Kreuter, 2012, p. 364). The log-likelihood based pseudo R-square value does not represent the proportion of explained variance like the ordinary least square R-square vale. Although there is no consensus about goodness-of-fit benchmark values for the logit models, the pseudo R-square is influenced by study design characteristics including sample size, the number of independent variables, scale coarseness (the number of categories of the dependent variable) similar to the impact on R-square in OLS regression (Hemmert et al., 2018, pp. 507–510). The value of McFadden's pseudo R-square increases with the smaller sample size, and the distribution of observations across categories of dependent variables (stronger asymmetry of observation) (Hemmert et al., 2018, p. 511). STATA's default McFadden's pseudo R-square is not reported here as McFadden's values may not be appropriate for evaluating different regression models based on the same data set by means of pseudo R-square given the susceptibility to a large sample size (n>200), and/or the strongly asymmetric distribution of observations to categories (Hemmert et al., 2018, p. 524).

PSRs	1.1286 (1.0656-1.19528)***	1.0446 (0.9566-1.1407)	1.1816 (1.0954-1.2747)***
Location of study			
No high school diploma	0.8708 (0.8013-0.9463)**	0.8741 (0.7670-0.9963)**	0.8640 (0.7752-0.9629)**
High school diploma	1	1	1
Foreign postsecondary certificate or diploma	1.0124 (0.9039-1.1338)	1.2132 (1.006-1.4624)**	0.9150 (0.7932-1.0555)
Canadian postsecondary certificate or diploma	1.1117 (1.0247-1.2061)**	1.29456 (1.1445-1.4642)***	0.9844 (0.8839-1.0964)
Foreign university degree	0.9587 (0.8548-1.0753)	1.0180 (0.8537-1.2140)	0.9266 (0.7966-1.0779)
Canadian university degree	1.3605 (1.2152-1.5231)***	1.4360 (1.2175-1.6937)***	1.3185 (1.1283-1.5408)**
Age at immigration	1.0006 (0.9971-1.0042)	1.0102 (1.0047-1.0158)***	0.9927 (0.9881-0.9973)**
Racialized minority status			
Non-racialized minority	1	1	1
Racialized minority	0.7651 (0.7127-0.8215)***	0.7343 (0.6575-0.8200)***	0.7884 (0.7184-0.8654)***
Marital status			
Single/never married	0.6625 (0.6182-0.7100)***	0.8951 (0.8034-0.9971)**	0.5236 (0.4787-0.5727)***
Separated/divorced/widowed	0.7427 (0.6835-0.8070)***	0.8427 (0.7509-0.9457)**	0.6580 (0.5843-0.7408)***
Married/common law relationship	1	1	1
Knowledge of official language			
English only	1	1	1
French only	0.7313 (0.6487-0.8243)***	0.7626 (0.6451-0.9015)**	0.7090 (0.5972-0.8417)***
Both English and French	0.8744 (0.7994-0.9565)**	0.9421 (0.8182-1.0847)	0.8332 (0.7418-0.9359)**
Neither English nor French	0.5946 (0.5242-0.6746)***	0.5677 (0.4714-0.6836)***	0.6131 (0.5154-0.7293)***
Census metropolitan area (CMA) of residence			
Small CMA, urban, or rural areas	1.0518 (0.9594-1.1531)	1.1757 (1.018-1.3570)**	0.9787 (0.8679-1.1036)
Mid-sized CMA	1.0707 (0.9832-1.1659)	1.1551(1.0149-1.3146)**	1.0146 (0.9058-1.1364)
Larger CMAs	0.8327 (0.7744-0.8954)***	0.9705 (0.8676-1.0855)	0.7472 (0.6793-0.8219) ***
Gateway CMAs	1	1	1
Number of years living in Canada	1.0348 (1.0311-1.0386)***	1.0517 (1.0457-1.0576)***	1.0230 (1.0182-1.0279)***
Intercept	7.2680 (6.0640-8.7111)***	3.5087 (2.6849-4.5852)***	13.96138 (11.06702-17.6127)***
Log pseudo likelihood	-80422.932	-33494.178	-46625.734
Model Chi Square	Wald chi2 (18) = 1333.95***	Wald chi2 (17) = 723.14***	Wald chi2 (17) =777.57***

*p<0.005 ***p<0.001, 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval

The admission category under which the refugee is resettled in Canada affects the odds of employment. Adjusting for the effects of the other variables (gender, place of study, age at arrival, visible minority status, marital status, knowledge of official language, census metropolitan area of residence, and number of years living in Canada), the PSRs had approximately 1.13 times the odds of finding employment compared to GARs [Adjusted Odds Ratio (AOR) = 1.13, 95 percent Confidence Interval (1.066-1.195)]. The multivariate analysis here confirms the findings of the descriptive analysis with respect to admission category for refugee men, but not for refugee women. For male refugees, being a PSR increased the likelihood of having employment compared to GARs (AOR = 1.181, 95 percent CI = 1.095-1.275). The hypothesis regarding the type of sponsorship on employment success is valid for the male and female model, as well as for the male model, but not for the female model.

With respect to education, Table 5.1 shows that refugees who had less than high school education had significantly decreased odds of having a job compared to refugees who had completed high school (AOR = 0.871, 95 percent CI (0.801-0.946), controlling for the effects of the other factors. Foreign university degree was nonsignificant in the aggregate model and the separate model. Foreign college diploma or apprenticeship certificate was nonsignificant for the male and female model as well as the male model, but it was significant for the female model. Having a Canadian university degree increased the odds of employment for the separate models for men and women as well as in the aggregate model. Yet acquiring a Canadian college or vocational diploma increased the odds of having a job for refugee women but not for refugee men.

This analysis shows that age at arrival did not have a significant independent effect on employment status in the aggregate (male and female) model (AOR = 1.001, 95 percent CI = 0.997-1.004). Separate models for men and women show that the effect of age at arrival on employment status differed significantly by gender. Female refugee's older age of arrival significantly predicted employment success. If a female refugee's age at arrival increases by one year, the odds of her employment increases by 1.01 times [AOR = 1.010, 95 percent CI (1.005-1.016). The odds ratio of 0.993 (95 percent CI (0.988-0.997) in the male model indicates that if a male refugee's age at arrival increases by one year, the odds of his employment decreases by 0.99 times. The odds ratio for the variable 'age of arrival in Canada,' which is often used as a proxy for potential foreign or host country work experience or human capital improvement, may

reflect difficulties childhood refugees experience or refugee youth encounter in the labour market, or the differential trajectories for refugees who enter Canada at a younger age versus as an adult. Although the analysis confirms the expected result for refugee men, refugee women may have vulnerabilities like female only arrival at an older age.

Among the other factors, being a racialized (visible) minority significantly reduced the likelihood of being employed, controlling for the effects of the other factors [AOR = 0.765, 95 percent CI (0.713-0.822)]. This pattern holds true for the separate models for men and women, as well as in the aggregate model [Female Model: AOR = 0.734, 95 percent CI (0.658-0.820); Male model: AOR = 0.7884, 95 percent CI (0.718-0.865].

The likelihood of being in the workforce for resettled refugees increase with being married. Refugees who were never married significantly decreased their odds of being employed compared to the married respondents [AOR = 0.662, 95 percent CI (0.618-0.710)]. The odds of being employed for refugees who were separated, divorced or widowed were smaller than those who were married when all the other factors were controlled for [AOR = 0.743, 95 percent CI (0.684-0.807)]. In separate analyses for female and male refugees, the findings are consistent with the aggregate model. Single or never married women refugees had a lower odds ratio than married women [Female Model: AOR = 0.895, 95 percent CI (0.803-0.997); Male model: AOR = 0.66798, 95 percent CI (0.630-0.708]. Women refugees who were separated, divorced or widowed had a lower odds ratio than married women [Female Model: AOR = 0.843, 95 percent CI (0.751-0.946); Male model: AOR = 0.868, 95 percent CI (0.812-0.928]. This finding suggests having children, particularly pre-school aged children, does not affect refugees' employment status, even for refugee women.

The odds of being employed for refugees who had knowledge of French only were lower than those who had knowledge of English only when all other factors were controlled for[AOR = 0.731, 95 percent CI (0.649-0.824)]. Those with knowledge of both English and French had significantly decreased their odds of having employment compared to the English only respondents [AOR = 0.875, 95 percent CI (0.799-0.957)]. Refugees who had neither English nor French knowledge had the lowest odds of finding employment in comparison to those who had knowledge of English only [AOR = 0.595, 95 percent CI (0.524-0.675)]. Separate analyses show that female refugees who were bilingual did not significantly increase their odds of being

employed compared to English only female respondents [AOR = 0.942, 95 percent CI (0.818-1.085)]. Male refugees show similar findings to the main model.

Refugees who had lived in small CMAs had not significantly increased their odds of having employment compared to those who had lived in one of the three gateway CMAs (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver) when all other factors were controlled for [AOR = 1.052, 95 percent CI (0.959-1.153)]. Refugees who had lived in one of the six mid-sized CMAs (Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, Quebec City, Windsor, London, Hamilton, Winnipeg) had not significantly increased their odds of having employment compared to those who had lived in the gateway CMAs [AOR = 1.071, 95 percent CI (0.983-1.166)]. Refugees who had lived in one of the three larger CMAs (Ottawa-Gatineau, Calgary, Edmonton) had significantly decreased their odds of finding work compared to those who had lived in the gateway CMAs [AOR = 0.833, 95 percent CI (0.774-0.895)]. Separate logistic regression models for female and male indicate that female refugees residing in small CMAs had increased their odds of having employment compared to female refugees who had lived in the gateway cities. The same is true for female refugees living in mid-sized cities.

Table 5.2 shows that for every year in Canada since landing the odds of finding employment is increased by 1.0035 for GARs and PSRs in all three models, despite adjusting for variations in other variables. This finding probably suggests that over time refugees gain more Canadian work experience, human capital (education and learn the official language), and derive benefits from general settlement services, and refugee resettlement assistance programs.

5.3. Discussion

Drawing on the most recently available official national level data, Canada's 2016 Census, the multivariate analysis conducted in this chapter addresses the second research question that concerns 'employment status,' one of the three indicators of 'economic integration' to obtain a broader assessment of GARs and PSRs' labour market experiences in Canada. My analysis focused on two categories of employment status, employed and unemployed, and assessed the independent effects of nine predictors that are only some of many factors, yet important variables available from the 2016 confidential data file and are informed by the literature and theories on immigrant integration into the traditional countries of immigrants including Canada.

Past research as reviewed in Chapter Two suggests that immigrants in general and refugees in particular experience higher unemployment rates compared to Canadians born in Canada. Findings from the multivariate analysis in this chapter uphold the conclusions of previous studies on gender, admission category, levels of education, racialized minority status, time spent in Canada, with some interesting caveats. As expected, the analysis confirms that gender has substantial impacts on refugees' employment, and supports the hypothesis, and is consistent with previous studies (Moyser, 2017; Tastsoglou & Preston, 2005; Wilkinson et al., 2014; Xue, 2008). Refugee women were less likely to be employed than refugee men controlling for the effects of sociodemographic, human capital, and contextual factors included in this study, and this might suggest that women are less likely to have recognized credentials or upgraded human capital. This is due to their preoccupation with traditional gender roles such as homemaking and caregiving that affect their availability for learning the official language or acquiring other employment skills; gaining local work experience and/or working full-time; gender stereotyping about male and female capabilities; women's limited or lack of social networks; poor health; frequent work absences and disruptions due to personal sickness and caring for an ill child; child bearing; and the intersectionality of race, immigrant status, and gender (Boyd, 1999; Brym et al., 2019; Lauer et al., 2011; Moyser, 2017; Tastsoglou & Preston, 2005). In many cultures from which refugees come to Canada, cultural expectations are that men should be working, women should be at home, and women sacrifice for their husband's career growth that affect their employment status (Akbar, 2019; Xue, 2008).

Relatively little research from the past, mostly descriptive and dated, including academic and IRCC-backed studies using both cross-sectional and longitudinal data suggest that PSRs were more likely to be employed than GARs (Beiser, 2003; Devoretz et al., 2004; Hyndman, 2011; IRCC, 2016c, 2016b, 2017f; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020c; Yu et al., 2007). There is little research from other countries available to compare between GARs and PSRs since the PSR category is unique to Canada yet some countries including Australia, the UK, and a few other European countries have permanently established it in recent years (Cameron & Labman, 2020; Hyndman et al., 2016; Morris et al., 2021). Findings from both the descriptive analysis and multivariate analysis on employment status are consistent with the previous studies. The new finding from this study that female PSRs were not significantly more employed than female

GARs suggest that more attention should be paid to the factors that may explain the differences between GARs and PSRs resulting in the differences in employment success by gender.

Several studies on earlier and recent cohorts of refugees suggest that many GARs' unique pre-migration camp experiences, health and other vulnerabilities, as well as post-migration experiences like the lack of social capital and extended support after one year compared to PSRs, lower educational levels, host country language barriers, and lack of financial resources, and access to settlement and integration services may affect GARs' employment disadvantages in the Canadian labour market (Beiser, 2003; Devoretz et al., 2004; Hyndman et al., 2016; Kaida et al., 2020c; Lamba, 2003; Samuel, 1984; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Given the differences between GARs and PSRs in many pre- and post-migration characteristics (measurable, and unmeasured), such a comparison is challenging as the selection process for resettlement and premigration characteristics and experiences are different (Cameron & Labman, 2020; Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2016, 2019; Labman & Pearlman, 2018), and will not be valid unless these factors are taken into account (Hyndman et al., 2016). In this context, this chapter provides a partial analysis, which is more feasible than a comprehensive one, as no single study can consider all of the factors, or many of the factors that are unmeasured, and even if observable they may not be available in the data set.

Unlike many of the past studies on refugees resettled in Canada, this study uses the location of study as a focus predictor given the census's inclusion of the location of highest postsecondary education from the 2006 Census. In this data analysis, the variable also serves as a proxy for refugees' levels of education. Although refugees are not selected on economic and human capital criteria like the independent class, many refugees came to Canada with foreign postsecondary education, and many received Canadian education in postsecondary institutions. Descriptive analysis from the previous chapter shows that the proportion of GARs and PSRs who obtained their postsecondary education in Canada was higher than those who obtained their degrees from overseas. This finding implies that they want to be productive and contributing citizens rather than being relying on social assistance. The multivariate analysis finds that refugees who have less than high school fare worst on the job market, and refugees who have postsecondary schooling fared better compared to those who had high school education. This finding supports human capital theory that the higher the levels of education the higher the employment success. Yet, findings from the multivariate analysis indicate that GARs and PSRs'

higher levels of education (college diploma or equivalent, and university degree), and their foreign credentials do not guarantee their employment in Canada pointing to the limitations of human capital and assimilation theories for refugees. As expected, refugees invest in human capital (host country education, and learning a host country language) and acculturate over time as proposed by the classical assimilation theory.

Yet highly educated refugees' failure to find a job implies that their foreign credentials might not be recognized by Canadian regulatory bodies or employers (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ewoudou, 2011; Sweetman, 2014; Sweetman & Arthur Sweetman, 2004). This devaluation of refuges' human capital, and employers' preference for and bias towards Canadian education indicates the presence of structural barriers including racial discrimination, negative stereotyping of foreign education, and prejudice about refugees ethnocultural characteristics, as indicated by different variants of labour segmentation approaches (Bauder, 2005; Brym et al., 2019; Cardozo & Pendakur, 2008; Samers, 2014). These hidden, indirect, invisible, and institutionalized form of inequalities and injustices explain refugees' experiences of structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1964, 1969, 1990, 1996).

The FCR has been remained as one of the most salient issues concerning the economic integration of refugees and immigrants, job status decline, and underutilization of immigrant skills (Desjardins & Cornelson, 2011; Ferrer et al., 2014; Lauer et al., 2011; Reitz et al., 2014; W. C. Smith & Fernandez, 2017; Sweetman et al., 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2016). For some refugees, lack of knowledge about the Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR) mechanism, inadequate financial resources to pay service fees and do bridging courses are some of the reasons for non-recognition of FCR as is evident in some studies on refugees (Houle & Yssaad, 2010; Hyndman et al., 2014; Kelly, 2014). Compared to refugee men, refugee women's foreign and Canadian college or vocation credentials' statistically significant advantage in the labour market may suggest the availability and cultural acceptance of females in the traditional male-dominated employment niches apart from female-dominated niches such as hair stylists, estheticians, and educational assistants (CBS News, 2020; Moyser, 2017; Weikle, 2019b; Xue, 2008).

The next chapter provides more insights on the occupational status of GARs and PSRs. The findings that employment-unemployment segregation, devaluation of human capital, and employment advantages over Canadian postsecondary schooling are consistent with the findings

of several studies conducted primarily on immigrants pointing to the existence of racial discrimination, structural inequalities, and negative evaluation of quality of education received from non-European source countries (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Grabb et al., 2017; Li, 2003, 2004; Ng & Gagnon, 2020; R. Pendakur, 2020; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017; Wallis & Fleras, 2009). The control variable 'racialized minority status' was found to be a strong factor predicting employment. This finding is consistent with the findings on economic exclusion of immigrants based on race and ethnic identity (Kazemipur, 2004, 2014; K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Reitz, 2007a; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017), what Porter (1956) referred to as the racially and ethnically stratified Canada or as the 'vertical mosaic' fifty years ago (Grabb et al., 2017; Jedwab & Satzewich, 2015; Kallen, 2003).

As a result of the afore-mentioned structured constraints and blocked opportunities, the findings from this data analysis suggest the relevance of segmented assimilation theory, ethnic enclave thesis, blocked mobility theory, critical race theory, split labour market theory, and labour market segmentation theory to understand refugees' employment outcomes in Canada. Structuration theory also explains the actions taken by refugees to upgrade human capital, and prepare for the labour market knowing the structural constraints, and despite having their resources limited by structures such as regulatory bodies and employers, refugees resort to their formal and informal networks (extensive stock of social capital) for solving their employment and other resettlement problems in Canada (Lamba, 2003; Lamba & Krahn, 2003; Nourpanah, 2014). Despite the unbalanced distribution of power in the society, powerless refugees navigate the labour market as active agents who are " able to mobilize resources whereby they carve out 'spaces of control' in respect of their day-to-day lives and in respect of their activities of the more powerful" (Giddens, 1982, p. 198, as cited in Correa-Velez et al., 2015, p. 333). As reviewed in Chapter two, these theories inform my study and help to interpret the findings.

For resettled refugees in Canada, this data analysis also provides new insights regarding age at arrival, marital status, and city of residence. When their demographic, socioeconomic and contextual characteristics are adjusted for, the age of arrival for refugee men and women does not significantly predict employment success. Younger age of arrival in Canada, particularly those who arrived before the age of 18 rather than as adults are expected to quickly integrate into the workforce. The study sample included refugees currently aged 25-64 (includes young, middle, and older adults) who arrived in Canada aged between 0 and 64. As shown in Table 4.1,

about one-third of GARs and PSRs arrived as childhood/half-second generation/one-and-half generation refugees. Most earlier studies on intergenerational (parental and children) analysis finds non-linear differences in educational and economic outcomes between first and one-and-half (1.5) and/or second generation with respect to age of arrival in Canada given variation in experience and adaptive outcomes (Boyd, 2002; Boyd & Tian, 2016; Hou, 2017; Hou & Bonikowska, 2016a, 2016b), and in the United States (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Rumbaut, 2004). This study cannot distinguish between refugees and their offspring because of the data limitation. Nevertheless, the finding with respect to the age of arrival in Canada does not suggest the expected employment outcomes as per classic assimilation theory (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003) that suggests the younger the age at arrival the more integrated the person is due to investment in human capital including education, language training, and work experience. Rather childhood refugees experienced segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997).

The independent effect of age of arrival may not be separated unless a few other factors including age and generational characteristics are taken into consideration. Because of this differential integration trajectories between parents and childhood refugees, past research might not include GARs and PSRs aged before 20 at landing in Canada (Kaida et al., 2020c). However, refugee women's older age at arrival predicting employment may suggest their engagement in self-employment or businesses. The skilled trades employment sector may attract refugee women to work as hairstylists, beauticians or education assistants (Red Seal, 2021; Weikle, 2019b, 2019a). Women aged older at arrival indicate their experience and skills to open up a business as suggested by ethnic enclave or the blocked mobility thesis. Recent studies suggest that the rapidly growing gig employment that over-represents racialized immigrants indicates that they are already in precarious low-paying gig employment (Bajwa et al., 2018; Jeon et al., 2019; Jeon & Ostrovsky, 2020; Kostyshyna & Luu, 2019). Discriminating between waged employment, self-employment, full-time, part-time, or precarious employment (e.g., temporary, casual, or gig employment) may provide more valuable information. The next chapter on occupation status may add more insights to the findings of this chapter.

Another interesting finding is that refugee's that are married does not affect refugees' their employment opportunities in Canada, and this relationship does not differ by gender. Marital status, which can be a proxy for the presence of children, particularly pre-school age, so that many immigrant women cannot work (Moyser, 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2014). Single and

separated/divorced/widowed refugees had lower probabilities of employment. While the descriptive analysis does not show an association between official language proficiency and employment status, the multivariate analysis shows the higher chances of being employed for having English or both English and French language skills for both refugee men and women. Knowing French predicts lower employment success, which may suggest the provinces or cities of resettlement are predominantly English-speaking and Francophonie refugees find limited opportunities that require French (Boudarbat, 2011). If they are resettled in the Province of Quebec, and special employment integration programs are undertaken for French-speaking refugees, they might be faring better. Although refugee resettlement for Quebec is independent of the federal program, and limited in the province (Adèle Garnier & Labman, 2020; Labman, 2016), separate studies by provinces and knowledge of the official language can provide more valuable information on employment experiences.

This study provides a mixed finding for refugees with respect to place of residence, particularly for refugee women, in comparison to prior immigrant economic integration studies. As a control variable, the geography of residence is a widely used factor affecting the economic integration of immigrants including refugees as the areas of residence (province or CMAs) that reflect local economic and labour market conditions (Hou, 2017; Houle, 2019; Kaida et al., 2020a, 2020c; R. Pendakur, 2020; Xue, 2008). The predictor 'city of residence' used here may be a proxy for other factors like access to social capital or co-ethnic networks, access to settlement and integration services including physical or mental health facilities, and secondary migration. The descriptive analysis finds that more than 90 percent of resettled refugees (PSRs out-numbered GARs) were living in CMAs in 2016 (Table 4.1). Resettled refugees tend to live in three traditional gateway cities and other larger CMAs due to various 'push' and 'pull' factors including resettlement policies for GARs and PSRs, the availability of RAP Service Providing Organizations (SPOs), the availability of more economic opportunities in larger cities, the level of familiarity about the cities they reside in, the availability of health care needs for vulnerable and disabled refugees, and access to extensive co-ethnic and social networks (Haan, 2008; Houle, 2014, 2019; Jedwab, 2018; Kaida et al., 2020a, 2020c; Simich, 2003).

The multivariate analysis controlling for the effect of all other eight variables show that the effect of living in the three traditional gateway cities (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver) are more likely than other urban areas guarantee employment prospects for resettled refugees for

both men and women in general. Yet separate models by gender show that refugee women living in mid-sized and small CMAs had significantly higher employment probabilities. One possibility for the disadvantages that refugee women face in three first-tier or gateway cities might be the competition among working age women, and the limited opportunities for many refugee women as they dominate occupational industries such as caregiving, accommodation and food services, and educational services (Moyser, 2017). Another possibility is that non-gateway cities may offer refugees' employment to match their human capital (Haan, 2008). The next chapter considers a multivariate analysis of occupational status with the same nine predictors used here that can offer more insights regarding the 'city of residence' variable.

Another control variable 'time in Canada since landing' strongly affects employment probabilities controlling for the effects of the other eight predictors. Similar to past research on immigrant and refugee integration studies, this finding suggests both refugee men and women improve their human capital including official language skills, work experience, and labour market information, and acculturate as they spend time in Canada (Bevelander, 2016; Li, 2001b; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Xue, 2008). Yet some refugees may experience restricted opportunities to obtain their foreign education recognized or valued by employers as experienced by earlier cohorts (Devoretz et al., 2004; Samuel, 1984) and recent cohorts (Kelly, 2014; Shields et al., 2014; Wilkinson, 2017). They may not enjoy equal opportunities in the open labour market as suggested by classical assimilation or human capital theories.

Human capital theory stresses on individual skills that the newly arriving immigrants often lack, and many immigrants upgrade their human capital over time, assimilate into the host society, and achieve upward mobility in the labor market. Given the prevalence of racial discrimination (Grabb et al., 2017; Ng & Gagnon, 2020; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017; Wallis & Fleras, 2009), refugees may resort to social capital to offset the labour market and structural barriers to finding employment as suggested in various studies on the role of social capital for immigrant and refugee integration (D'Addario et al., 2007; Devoretz et al., 2004; Kazemipur, 2004, 2014; Lamba, 2003; Lamba & Krahn, 2003; Li, 2004; Nakhaie, 2018; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012; Nanavati, 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Samuel, 1984), and also by theories of segmented assimilation developed by Portes and Zhou, ethnic enclaves developed by Zhou, minority disadvantage developed by Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014, p. 75).

5.4. Conclusions

Using the 2016 Census microdata file, linked for the first time to the admission categories of immigrants, this chapter examines facilitators and barriers to the employment of resettled refugees within a social justice framework. I conducted logistic regression analysis on GARs and PSRs aged 25-64 who landed in Canada between1980 and 2016. This study finds refugees' likelihood of having employment significantly differs by their gender, admission category, location of study, and age at arrival when their demographic, socioeconomic and contextual characteristics are considered. I also find that women PSRs did not fare any better than their GAR counterparts, refugee women's older age at arrival significantly predicted employment success, and their university degree did not significantly predict their probability of finding employment unlike refugee men.

This study suggests that human capital factors alone cannot explain the employment status of refugees, yet discrimination in different forms prevailing in the labour market affects resettled refugees' economic well-being, true successful integration, and equality of opportunities in an officially established socially just society like Canada. The study findings suggest that employers have prejudice and negative stereotypes, there are myths in the public discourse, and racial discrimination exist that are informed by the theories of structural violence, the non-recognition of foreign credentials by the competent institutions informed by the different forms of labour segmentation theories, and the experience of restricted opportunities and structural barriers informed by the segmented assimilation theories that have serious implications for policy and demand further research in Canada. The discounting of foreign credentials, gender differences, age of arrival in Canada, and location of residence must be addressed from a social justice lens. As finding employment is the first step that allows refugees to assess occupation and earnings, the next two chapters outline the results of multivariate analyses on occupation and employment income of GARs and PSRs in Canada.

CHAPTER SIX: FACTORS AFFECTING THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF RESETTLED REFUGEES IN CANADA

This chapter addresses the third research question of the study – To what extent do different factors influence the occupational status of resettled refugees in Canada? Although a growing number of studies have assessed the economic integration of immigrants and refugees in terms of two widely used labour market outcomes – employment status (that was examined in the previous chapter), and employment earnings (that is explored in the following chapter), this study examines another indicator - occupational status that has thus far received limited attention in the refugee economic integration studies. Chapter Six first reports the descriptive statistics, and the results of the multinomial logistic regression analysis on occupational status (i.e., the type of job based on one's occupational skill level). The next section discusses the research findings with relevant literature. The chapter concludes by summarizing the key observations from the data analysis.

6.1. Descriptive Results

As shown in Table 6.1, refugee women were more likely to be clustered in in low-paying, low status jobs represented by the low skilled level (skill levels C and D) occupations compared with refugee men (about 51 percent compared to about 47 percent). Male refugees were more likely to be employed in skilled trades than female refugees (about 33 percent compared to about 26 percent). Refugee women were more likely to be employed in high skilled occupations that are high status and high paying jobs (about 23 percent) than their male counterparts (about 21 percent). The bivariate association between gender and occupational status was statistically significant (Chi-square = 1312.340, df = 2, $p<0.001$). Among the two major refugee categories admitted to Canada as Government Assisted Refugees (GARs), and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), PSRs were concentrated more in low-paying, low status jobs than their GARs counterparts (about 49 percent compared to about 48 percent). GARs were more likely than PSRs to be in skilled trades (Skill level B) occupations (30.55 percent versus 29.80 percent). GARs also clustered more in professional managerial occupations than PSRs (21.55 percent and 21.31 percent). Chi-square test shows the bivariate association is statistically significant (Chi-

square = 28.941.340, df = 2, p<0.001). This finding indicates PSR's poorer occupational outcomes in comparison with GARs, although the differences in percentages between GARs and PSRs are very small.

Table 6. 1. Occupational Status by Gender, Admission Category, Location of Study, and Age of Arrival (N = 274,900)

Occupational status							
		Gender					
	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)				
Low skilled occupations	50.95	46.60	48.38				
Skilled trades occupations	26.37	32.82	30.19				
High skilled occupations	22.68	20.58	21.44				
			Admission category				
	GAR (%)	PSR (%)	Total (%)				
Low skilled occupations	47.90	48.89	48.38				
Skilled trades occupations	30.55	29.80	30.19				
High skilled occupations	21.55	21.31	21.44				
		Location of study					
	No high school diploma (%)	High school diploma (%)	Foreign trades/ college diploma (%)	Canadian trades/ college diploma (%)	Foreign university degree (%)	Canadian university degree (%)	Total (%)
Low skilled occupations	69.11	63.95	51.22	39.90	31.70	13.27	48.38
Skilled trades occupations	24.91	25.43	34.48	42.40	27.10	22.02	30.19
High skilled occupations	5.98	10.61	14.31	17.69	41.18	64.71	21.44
	Age of arrival in Canada						
	0 to 14 (%)	15 to 24 (%)	25 to 34 (%)	35 to 44 (%)	45 to 65 (%)	Total (%)	
Low skilled occupations	33.59	49.66	54.06	60.70	68.61	48.37	
Skilled trades occupations	32.96	30.96	28.97	26.03	24.39	30.19	
High skilled occupations	33.44	19.37	16.97	13.28	7.00	21.44	

Source: Adapted from 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

Bivariate analyses also show a statistically significant association between location of study and occupational status (Chi-square = 71231.545, df = 10, p<0.001), and between age of arrival in Canada and occupational status (Chi-square = 12955.009, df = 8, p<0.001). Table 6.1 shows that refugees with higher levels of education were less likely to be employed in low skilled occupations. For skill level B occupations which require a trades certificate or college diploma, refugees with a foreign trades certificate/college diploma credential were less employed in skilled trades (34.48 percent) compared to refuges who had a similar credential received in Canada (42.40 percent). Likewise, refugees with a foreign university degree were less likely to be in high skill occupations (professional/managerial jobs) compared to refugees with a Canadian university degree (41.18 percent versus 64.71 percent). This finding also highlights the significance of the Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR) issue. With respect to age of arrival in Canada, refugees who landed in Canada at an older age were more likely to be in low skilled jobs than those who arrived at a younger age (Table 6.1). Refugees who came to Canada at a younger age were more likely to be in skilled trades than those who arrived at an older age. As expected, refugees who landed in Canada at a younger age were more likely to be employed in high skilled jobs than those who arrived at an older age (Table 6.1).

6.2. Results of Multinomial Logistic Regressions

A multinomial logistic regression was used to predict occupational status represented by three categories (working in low skilled jobs, working in skilled trades jobs, and working in high skilled jobs) to address the third study objective. This multinomial logistic regression employed nine independent variables[†] (predictors that are all entered together) and two models are estimated: low skilled (Skill level C and D) occupations relative to high skilled (Skill level A) occupations, and trades (Skill level B) occupations relative to high skilled (Skill level A) occupation[‡]. The multinomial logit model fit information (Wald Chi-Square, Log

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[†] Each category of the 'location of study' 'marital status', knowledge of official languages,' and 'city of residence' variables represents a dummy variable, and is compared to the baseline category.
[‡] I used the outcome variable 'occupational status' as a nominal categorical variable to conduct multinomial logistic regression to examine three types of occupations, low skilled, skilled trades/technical, and managerial/professional. Although skill levels can be considered ordered

pseudolikelihood) indicates that using the set of nine predictors can predict a better than chance level[§]. In other words, based on the likelihood ratio chi-square tests, the models containing the full set of predictors represent a significant improvement in fit relative to the intercept-only, or null models (no predictors). The model is first applied to male and female refugees together, and then separate regressions are estimated for men and women[**]. The results include relative risk ratios (RRR)[††] and 95 percent confidence intervals[‡‡] (CI) (Table 6.2, Table 6.3).

Employment in the Low Skilled (Skill Level C or Skill Level D) Occupations

Table 6.2 presents the relative risk ratios, and the 95 percent confidence intervals for each predictor contrasting the focus category ‘working in a low skilled occupation’ to the reference category ‘working in a high skilled occupation.’ This study finds that eight predictors, for e.g.,

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categorical, yet for my dependent variable multinomial logistic regression is appropriate as its three levels are nominally recoded to distinguish three types of jobs. For an ordered categorical outcome variable, ordinal logistic regression might be a reasonable approach under the assumption of proportional odds “the effects of any and all independent variables are the same regardless if what two groups are being compared.” For my response variable, this assumption does not seem to be viable.

[§] Log-likelihood based pseudo R-squared (McFadden’s pseudo R-squared is default in Stata) values do not represent the proportion of explained variance like ordinary least square R-squared. There is no consensus about its goodness-of-fit benchmark values as pseudo R-squared can be influenced by study design characteristics including sample size, the number of independent variables, and scale coarseness (the number of categories of the dependent variable) like the impact on R square in OLS regression (Hemmert et al., 2018, pp. 507–510).

[**] The likelihood-ratio chi-squared value is an indicator of the quality of the overall model (Kohler & Kreuter, 2012, p. 364). The Log Likelihood Ratio can be used to evaluate “whether or not the set of predictors improves prediction of the dependent variable better than chance” (Meyers et al., 2017, p. 363). McFadden’s pseudo R-square indicates the proportionate improvement in model fit relative to the null model (Pituch, K.A., & Stevens, 2016). So, based on McFadden’s pseudo R-square, it can be said that the female and male (full) model containing all predictors represents a 13.68 percent improvement in fit relative to the null model (Table 6.2).

[††] I used the Stata and its suggested term ‘Relative Risk Ratio (RRR). The exponentiated regression slopes or coefficients (RRR) are termed as Odds Ratio (OR) in SPSS.

[‡‡] The RRR of 1indicates no relationship between the independent variable and the likelihood/risk of falling into the comparison group in relation to the baseline group. The MRR of greater than 1/less than 1 indicate with increasing values on the independent variable that there is an increased (if MRR is greater than 1)/ decreased(if MRR is less than 1) likelihood/risk respectively of a case falling into the comparison/focus category and decreased (if MRR is greater than 1)/increased (if MRR is less than 1) risk of falling into the baseline category.

gender, location of education, age of arrival in Canada, racialized minority status, marital status, knowledge of official language, city of residence, and length of time in Canada since landing, are significantly associated with the likelihood of working in low status (skill level C and D) occupation relative to working in high skill (skill level A) occupations in the full model, as well as for the female model and the male model (Table 6.2). The admission category was found to be statistically nonsignificant in the female and male model as well as in the female model, but it was significant in the male model (Table 6.2).

Refugee men are less likely than refugee women to be working in less skilled jobs relative to high skilled occupation. For males relative to females, the relative risk of working in low skilled occupations relative to high skilled occupations would be expected to decrease by a factor of 0.735 given all other predictor variables in the model are held constant (95 percent CI = 0.700, 0.771).

Table 6. 2. Logistic Regressions showing Relative Risk Ratios and 95 percent Confidence Intervals (CI) of working in Low Skilled Occupation, associated with various levels of Independent Variables, for Resettled Refugees who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2016

Independent Variables	**Low skilled (skill level C and D) occupation [a] Relative Risk Ratio (95% Confidence Interval)**		
	Total Sample	**Female**	**Male**
Gender			
Female	1		
Male	0.7345 (0.6996, 0.7711)***		
Admission category			
GARs	1	1	1
PSRs	1.0354 (0.9873, 1.0858)	0.9857 (0.9156, 1.0612)	1.0757 (1.0107, 1.1450)*
Location of study			
No high school diploma	1.6113 (1.4640, 1.7733)***	1.9648 (1.6444, 2.3477)***	1.4733 (1.3138, 1.6521)***
High school diploma	1	1	1
Foreign postsecondary certificate or diploma	0.5969 (0.5416271, 0.6578)***	0.5334 (0.4563, 0.6234)***	0.6323 0.5583, 0.7161)***
Canadian postsecondary certificate or diploma	0.4209 (0.3927-0.4511)***	0.414763 (0.3711, 0.4636)***	0.4230 (0.3865, 0.4629)***
Foreign university degree	0.1137 (0.1042-0.1241)****	0.0960 (0.0831, 0.1109)***	0.1269 (0.1137, 0.1417)***
Canadian university degree	0.0447 (0.0410, 0.0488)***	.039241 (0.0343, 0.0450)***	0.0507 (0.0452, 0.0567)***
Age of arrival in Canada	1.0295 (1.0265, 1.0325)***	1.0243 (1.0196, 1.0290)***	1.0336 (1.0296, 1.0375)***
Racialized minority status			

Non-racialized minority	1	1	1
Racialized minority	1.7772 (1.6822, 1.8659)***	1.7861 (1.6482, 1.9356)***	1.7480 (1.6327, 1.8716)***
Marital status			
Single/never married	1.6545 (1.5526, 1.7631)***	1.3862 (1.2589, 1.5265)***	1.8851 (1.7315, 2.0522)***
Separated/divorced/widowed	1.2321 (1.1474, 1.3231)***	1.1319 (1.0248, 1.2502)*	1.3333 (1.2018, 1.4791)***
Married/common law relationship	1	1	1
Knowledge of official language			
English only	1	1	1
French only	1.4023 (1.2163-1.6168)***	1.1541 (0.9470, 1.4064)	1.6602 (1.3520, 2.0387)***
Both English and French	0.8976 (0.8358-0.9639)**	.8641 (0.7738, 0.9649)**	0.9135 (0.8319, 1.003)
Neither English nor French	1.5451 (1.2343-1.9342)***	1.4771 (1.0199, 2.1391)*	1.5368 (1.1569, 2.0414)**
Census metropolitan area (CMA) of residence			
Small CMA, urban, or rural areas	1.2788 (1.1855-1.3793)***	1.2239 (1.0869, 1.3782)***	1.3121 (1.1889, 1.4481)***
Mid-sized CMA	1.4833 (1.3826-1.5914)***	1.3753 (1.2347, 1.5319)***	1.5616 (1.4230, 1.7137)***
Larger CMAs	1.0466 (0.9812-1.1163)	0.9885 (0.8948, 1.0920)	1.0855 0.9973, 1.1816)
Gateway CMAs	1	1	1
Time in Canada since landing	0.9734 (0.9702-0.9767)***	0.9678 (0.9628, 0.9732)***	0.9772 (0.9730, 0.9813)***
Intercept	3.6892 (3.1648-4.006)***	5.2894 (4.1498, 6.7421)***	2.1094 (1.7311, 2.5703)***
Logpseudo likelihood	-247499.63	-97810.964	-149020.52
Wald chi2	Wald chi2 (36) 14135.65***	Wald chi2 (34) 6050.37***	Wald chi2 (34) 8040.98***
Pseudo R2	0.1368	0.1538	0.1258

*p<0.05 **p<0.01***p<0.001, 95% CI = 95 percent Confidence Interval
a The reference category represents those who were working in professional/managerial occupations

Although the admission category was statistically nonsignificant with occupational status in the female and male refugee model, and in the female model, it was significant in the male model (Table 6.2). The relative risk for Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) is 1.076 times that of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) indicating that PSRs are at a greater risk of falling into the 'low skilled occupation' category' and at a lower risk of being employed in managerial/professional jobs (Table 6.2).

With respect to education, all the dummy variables representing the categories of 'location of study' were significant in the main model, in the female model and in the male

model (p = 0.001). Refugees with no high school diploma are at greater risk of working in low skilled jobs (relative to professional/managerial jobs) and refugees with postsecondary below bachelor's and a university degree are at lower risk of working in low-skilled jobs.

With respect to 'age of arrival in Canada' predictor variable, for every 1-year increase in age at arrival (i.e., if an individual arrives 1 year later), the odds of working in low-paid less skilled jobs rather than in high skilled jobs goes up 1.03 times. This finding suggests that refugees who arrived in Canada at a younger age are less likely to be in low status jobs.

Racialized refugees were more likely than non-racialized refugees to be working in low status jobs rather than in NOC A skill level jobs (AOR = 1.77, 95 percent CI = 1.682, 1.866). This relationship is true for the female model and the male model as well (Table 6.2). Being single and separated/divorced/widowed increased the likelihood of working in low paying jobs relative to high skilled jobs in the female and male model, as well as for the female model and the male model (Table 6.2). Francophones and those who did not have knowledge of any official language were more likely to be in low skilled jobs. Bilingual refugee women were less likely to be working in low skilled occupations than in high skilled jobs, yet refugee women who only have knowledge of the French language were 1.15 times more likely to be working in less skilled than in professional jobs.

Compared to refugees living in gateway CMAs (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver), those who were living in small CMAs (AOR=1.279, 95 percent CI = 1.186, 1.380) and mid-sized CMAs (AOR = 1.483, 95 percent CI = 1.383, 1.591) were more likely to be working in less skilled occupations. Living in three larger CMAs (Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa-Gatineau) did not differ significantly from those living in three gateway CMAs (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver) in the full model, and also for the female model and the male model (Table 6.2). Spending more time in Canada decreases the likelihood of being employed in C and D skill level jobs (RRR = 0.97, 95 percent, CI = 0.97, 0.98). This relationship holds true for the female model and the male model as well.

Employment in the Skilled Trades/Technical (Skill Level B) Occupations

Table 6.3 outlines the relative risk ratios, and the 95 percent confidence intervals for each predictor contrasting the focus category 'working in skilled trades jobs' to the reference category

‘working in high skilled jobs.’ This study finds that gender, four out of five dummy variables of location of study (for e.g., no high school, Canadian college diploma/apprenticeship/trades, foreign university degree, and Canadian university degree), age of arrival in Canada, racialized status, one dummy variable of marital status (single or never married), all three dummy variables of knowledge of official languages, and one dummy variable of city of residence (living in mid-sized cities), and time in Canada since landing were significantly associated with the likelihood of working in Skill level B occupation rather than in Skill level A occupation, despite adjusting for variations in other variables.

Yet in the female model, three dummy variables of location of study (no high school, Canadian college or trades, and Canadian university), and one dummy variable of knowledge of official language (English only) was significant. No dummy variable of city of residence was significant in the female model. For the male model, three dummy variables of location of study (no high school, Canadian college or trades, and Canadian university), one marital status dummy variable (single/never married), two official language dummy variables (French only, and Neither English nor French), and one dummy variable of city of residence (mid-sized cities) were significantly associated with the likelihood of working in trades occupation relative to high skilled occupation.

Table 6. 3. Logistic Regressions showing Relative Risk Ratios and 95 percent Confidence Intervals (CI) of working in Skilled Trades Occupation, associated with various levels of Independent Variables, for Resettled Refugees who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2016

Independent Variables	**Working in skilled trades (skill level B) occupation[a] Relative Risk Ratio (95% Confidence Interval)**		
	Total Sample	**Female**	**Male**
Gender			
Female	1		
Male	1.1651 (1.1086-1.2246)***		
Admission category			
GARs	1	1	1
PSRs	0.9867 (0.94028-1.0353)	0.9583 (0.8886, 1.0335)	1.0098 (0.9484, 1.0752)
Location of study			
No high school diploma	1.6074 (1.4510-1.7806)***	01.5221 (1.2522, 1.8502)***	1.6312 (1.4461, 1.8400)***
High school diploma	1	1	1
Foreign postsecondary certificate or diploma	1.0128 (0.9148-1.1213)	0.8628 (0.7271, 1.0238)	1.0925 (0.9615, 1.2414)

Canadian postsecondary certificate or diploma	1.0968 (1.0203-1.1790)**	0.9663 (0.8563, 1.0905)	1.1910 (1.0872, 1.3048)***
Foreign university degree	0.2676 (0.2440-0.2935)***	0.3274 (0.2815, 0.3809)***	0.2335 (0.2077, 0.2626)***
Canadian university degree	0.1665 (0.1536-0.1804)***	0.1826 (0.1600, 0.2083)***	0.1471 (0.1324, 0.1634)***
Age of arrival in Canada	1.0102 (1.0072-1.0131)***	1.0059 (1.0012, 1.011)*	1.0140 (1.0102, 1.0179)***
Racialized minority status			
Non-racialized minority	1		1
Racialized minority	1.1422 (1.0850-1.2023)***	1.1844 (1.0924, 1.2842)***	1.1230 (1.0501, 1.2001)***
Marital status			
Single/never married	1.3536 (1.2700-1.4427)***	1.3126 (1.1919, 1.4456)***	1.4100 (1.2946, 1.5358)***
Separated/divorced/widowed	1.0654 (0.9894-1.1472)	1.0639 (0.9585, 1.1810)	1.1018 (0.9907, 1.2253)
Married/common law relationship	1		1
Knowledge of official language			
English only	1	1	1
French only	1.2932 (1.1163-1.4983)***	1.4338 (1.1719, 1.7544)***	1.1894 (0.9601, 1.4735)
Both English and French	0.8461 (0.78838-0.9080)***	0.9196 (0.8272, 1.0224)	0.7890 (0.7178, 0.8673)***
Neither English nor French	1.6775 (1.3301-2.1157)***	1.4407 (0.9717, 2.1360)	1.7803 (1.3328, 2.3781)***
Census metropolitan area (CMA) of residence			
Small CMA, urban, or rural areas	1.0274 (0.9507-1.1102)	0.9636 (0.8512, 1.0910)	1.0758 (0.9733, 1.1890)
Mid-sized CMA	1.1464 (1.0668-1.2319)***	1.0696 (0.9567, 1.1956)	1.2054 (1.0968, 1.3248)***
Larger CMAs	1.0311 (0.9661-1.1005)	0.9923 (0.8970, 1.0990)	1.0660 (0.9790, 1.1608)
Gateway CMAs	1		1
Time in Canada since landing	0.9831 (0.9787-0.9865)***	0.9775 (0.9720, 0.9830)***	0.9871 (0.9828, 09914)***
Intercept	2.1705 (1.8562-2.5380)***	2.8516 (2.2164, 3.6689)***	2.0384 (1.6694, 2.4890)***
Logpseudo likelihood	-247499.63	-97810.964	-149020.52
Wald chi2	Wald chi2 (36) 14135.65***	Wald chi2 (34) 6050.37***	Wald chi2 (34) 8040.98***
Pseudo R2	0.1368	0.1538	0.1258

*p<0.05 **p<0.01***p<0.001, 95% CI = 95 percent Confidence Interval
a The reference category represents those who were working in professional/managerial occupations

The RRR (Relative Risk Ratio) for gender indicates that the relative risk for refugee men is 1.17 times that of refugee women suggesting refugee men are at a greater risk of working in

skilled trades occupation and at a lower risk of working in professional/managerial occupation, despite adjusting for variations in other variables (Table 6.3). Being a PSR or a GAR did not affect the likelihood of being employed in skilled trades (Skill level B) occupation relative to high skilled occupation in the main model, as well as in the separate models for female and male (Table 6.3).

With respect to five dummy variables of 'location of study,' four dummy variables were significant in all three models. The RRR of foreign trades/college diploma was nonsignificant in all three models (Table 6.3). For female workers, the dummy variable of Canadian trades/college diploma was also nonsignificant. The RRR of Canadian trades/apprenticeship indicates that the risk of working in skilled trades (relative to the risk of working in professional/managerial) for refugees with a Canadian college diploma/trades certificate is 1.10 times that of refugees with a high school diploma, despite adjusting for variations in other variables. For male workers, the RRR for a Canadian trades/apprenticeship/college diploma is 1.19 (Table 6.3). The RRR of a foreign university degree dummy variable, and a Canadian university degree dummy variable compared to the reference groups (high school diploma) indicate that refugees with university degrees are at lower risk of working in skilled trades and at greater likelihood of working in the professional/managerial occupation in the main model, as well as in the female model and the male model (Table 6.3).

Regarding the 'age of arrival in Canada' variable, for each 1-year older at arrival in Canada, refugees' likelihood of working in skilled trades jobs increased by 1.01 times contrasting with high skilled (professional/managerial) jobs in the female and male model, despite adjusting for variations in other variables. This pattern of relationship is also the same for the female model and the male model (Table 6.3).

Being a bilingual in Canada decreased the probability of working in trades jobs rather than working in professional jobs in the main model as well as in the male model, but not for the female model (Table 6.2). Having a French only language increased the likelihood of working in skilled trades rather than working in professional jobs for the main model and for the female model, but not for the male model (Table 6.3). For refugee women with French only knowledge, the RRR of 1.15 indicates refugee women with French knowledge are at risk of 1.15 times that of refugee women with English only (Table 6.3). Bilingual refugee men were less likely to be in

trades jobs (RRR = 0.79, 95 percent CI = 0.72, 0.87) rather than in professional/managerial jobs (Table 6.2).

Living in mid-sized cities significantly increased the risk of working in trades jobs rather than in high skill jobs in the main model, and in the male model. The risk for refugees living in mid-sized cities is 1.15 times that of living in gateway cities in the main model, and 1.21 times in the male model (Table 6.3). For refugee women, all three city of residence dummy variables were not significantly associated with the likelihood of working in trades jobs relative to high skilled jobs, while for refugee men two dummy variables (for e.g., small CMAs, and Larger CMAs) were nonsignificant (Table 6.3). Table 6.3. shows that for every year in Canada since landing, the relative risk of working in skilled trades is decreased by about 0.98 for refugees in all three models, despite adjusting for variations in other variables. This relationship also holds true for the female model and the male model (Table 6.3).

6.3. Discussion

Using the 2016 Long Form Microdata File, this study addressed the third research question by identifying the factors that affect the occupational status of resettled refugees (i.e., GARs and PSRs). Like elsewhere, numerus Canadian researchers in the past has paid more attention to employment and/or earnings (Picot, 2008), with less focus has been on occupational status. Although some recent research has focused on immigrants' occupational status (Frank, 2011, 2013; Mata, 2019; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012; Wilkinson et al., 2016), refugees' occupational status has received very limited attention in quantitative research using the nationally representative Canadian census data. Most of the Canadian academic literature measures occupational status either in terms of occupational attainment (i.e., what occupation they had prior to their arrival in Canada and where they work upon arrival) (Adamuti-Trache, 2016; Frank, 2013; Krahn, 2000; Wilkinson et al., 2016), education-job mismatch upon arrival (Aydede & Dar, 2011; Chen et al., 2010; Frank, 2013) or the occupational prestige of the current occupation based on standardized socioeconomic scores of occupations (Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012).

My outcome of interest (occupational status) measures the current occupation of the refugees, and includes three types of jobs: professional-managerial (skill level A), skilled trades

(skill level B), and less skilled (skill level C and D) based on the National Occupational Classification's (NOC) skill groups (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2021c). Given the distribution of refugees in different skill level occupations, I measured occupational status as a multinomial outcome variable. Another study of immigrants used it as a dichotomous variable (working in a professional or managerial job or those working in a non-professional or managerial jobs) (Banerjee & Verma, 2009). About 30 percent of the resettled refugees were working in skill level B (skilled trades) jobs, and about 21 percent were employed in high status, high paying (managerial and professional occupations) jobs represented by skill level A. This finding debunks the myths and negative stereotypes about refugees that they are unskilled, do not know English and lack human capital. My multivariate analysis offers some new insights about refugees' job-education mismatch that has been rarely studied. My findings also suggest that refugees experience of structural violence in the labour market, myth busting and educational programs, as well as FCR services are essential to address the structural barriers and challenges they face when applying a social justice (positive peace) lens.

As shown in Table 6.1, about 48 percent of all employed refugees found work in low-end (i.e., low-skilled) occupations represented by the low skill level (skill level C and D). My study uncovered the concentration of resettled refugees in unskilled jobs (NOC C and D skill level occupations) for which many are overqualified because of non-recognition or devaluation of foreign credentials. This finding suggests that the non-recognition and devaluation of foreign educational qualifications have received increased attention in immigrant and refugee integration literature because of education-job mismatch, overqualification, underemployment, and skill underutilization (Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Krahn, 2000; Reitz et al., 2014; Sommer, 2021; Wilkinson et al., 2016).

In an earlier study, refugees resettled in Alberta experienced downward occupational mobility due to a systematic barrier related to foreign credential recognition (Krahn, 2000). According to the IRCC's own evaluation study, Syrian GARs and PSRs who landed in 2015 and 2016 who were employed ended up in low-skilled jobs (IRCC, 2016c). According to the 2016 Census, both GARs and PSRs cluster in low-status low-paying jobs (Mata, 2019) . The evidence from the multinomial logistic regression models (Table 6.2 and Table 6.3) indicated that resettled refugees with Canadian education experience enjoy better outcomes than refugees with foreign credentials compared to those with a high school diploma taking into consideration other

sociodemographic, human capital, and contextual factors. The hypothesis with respect to education in Canada is supported by the findings of this study. This finding is consistent with the results from earlier research that focused primarily on highly educated immigrants (Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Houle & Yssaad, 2010; Plante, 2011; Prokopenko, 2018).

In Canada, many immigrants including refugees fail to find work in occupations for which they are trained despite having labour market relevant education, training, skills and experience (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2011; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer et al., 2014; Fortin et al., 2016; Frank, 2013; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Using the 2016 Census data, Mata (2019) finds that refugee workers are least likely to be in the higher paid and higher status jobs located in the Sciences, Business, Management, and Trade niches, and are more likely to cluster in the Trades and/or Sales and Services niches, and many were concentrated in secondary market jobs as well as survival jobs. Most of these jobs are “bad jobs” characterized by poor pay, job insecurity, little scope for growth and advancement, and limited benefit packages (Brym et al., 2019; Mata, 2019). Refugees’ active labour force participation suggests that they have an economic survival strategy as well as having dignity, self-respect, and self-worth by joining the workforce and not becoming welfare dependent (Mata, 2019). Resettled refugees’ representation in the low status low skilled jobs reflect occupational disadvantages and occupational immobility in the segmented and highly stratified labour force (Brym et al., 2019; Mata, 2019).

My study findings show that among the resettled refugees who were employed on the census week (May 1-7, 2016) experienced finding it difficult to find a desirable occupation that is commensurate with their qualifications. Some refugees with qualifications land in precarious low status employment that suggest that those refugees could not explore their full human potential due to institutional and structural barriers, which stem from the invisible structural violence grounded in Galtung’s (Galtung, 1996) social justice theory. My findings suggest that some of these structural barriers and challenges were linked to refugees’ ascribed characteristics such as racialized status, and achieved characteristics such as location of education with which they have no control. The partial findings of this study that higher returns in the labour market was associated with postsecondary education than with high school or less education, and knowledge of official language than having no knowledge of the official language confirm and support the widely used and popular human capital theory (Becker, 1964). While human capital

theory values on the level of education, my findings with respect to location of study suggest that the human capital model is inadequate to explain the lower return of foreign postsecondary education, which is also evident in past research (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011; Anisef et al., 2003; Ferrer et al., 2014; Ferrer & Riddell, 2002, 2008; Girard, 2010b; Li, 2003; Phythian et al., 2011). This study uses the social justice framework to dig into the non-human capital and structural barriers that refugees experience in the host country labour market.

In Canada, resettled refugees who escaped direct violence (i.e., war, persecution, and torture) were offered the protection with rights and services that other non-refugee immigrants do enjoy. In addition, refugees were offered additional refugee settlement and integration services including reception, orientation, immediate assistance upon arrival with housing, health, education, and referrals to essential government services, as well language training, income support, and employment services (Hynie et al., 2019; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). In their new home, refugee resettlement, financial assistance, and integration programs including employment services address refugees' immediate needs. Many find a job and earn as they are expected to so by the resettlement policies to achieve self-sufficiency by the end of the sponsorship period. In Galtung's view, refugees do not experience direct violence here. Yet some refugees experience various social barriers, structured inequities and social exclusion to find a job, to get their foreign qualification recognized, and to explore their full human potential. These experiences of resettled refugees constitute negative peace (i.e., the absence of direct violence) (Galtung, 1969).

Refugees' experience of structural violence and social injustices in the labour market can be understood by a few other labour market discrimination theories, such as the dual labour market, the split labour market, cultural capital, critical race, and intersectionality. Gidden's (1979, 1984) structuration theory helps to understand how refugees exercise human agencies amidst the structures that deny them human capital to find work or to work in desirable occupations by mobilizing their available resources while knowing all of the structural barriers affecting their labour market success. Despite the empowering role of the structures like resettlement sponsorship systems, settlement, and integration programs, and generalized public services (such as education), some refugees upgrade their human capital to overcome the barriers created by the licensing/regulatory bodies and employers. Because of the non-recognition of foreign trades or professional credentials by Canadian licensing bodies and/or other ascribed characteristics, such as race, many refugees failed to achieve upward occupational mobility, and

some were forced to give up looking for regulated professions, join part-time, temporary, precariat or non-standard work. Four main forms of non-standard work include: “part-time employment, multiple job-holding, own-account self-employment, and temporary work” (Lehmann & Adams, 2017, p. 79).

The split labour market theory (Bonacich, 1972) points to the inadequacy of the human capital theory as the split labour market may favor one group (Canadian-born) to enjoy high paying jobs and another group (foreign-born) that work for low pay (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009, p. 370), or the jobs located at the bottom of the society are not for the native-born and refugees provide a supply for those undesirable jobs (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). The labour market shelter theory claims that professional associations impose various regulations and requirements to block the new entrants to access the regulated professions (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Professional associations act as labour market shelters (i.e., maintaining their jobs competitiveness and ensuring demand in the labour market), imposing credential inflation (i.e., increased credential requirements) or restricted policies that constrain newcomers from entering these jobs (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). These are instances of social exclusion that limit access to those professional and regulated professions or trades which pay more and have a higher status (Bauder, 2005; Frank, 2011, 2013; Girard & Smith, 2009; Li, 2003; Reitz, 2001; Xue, 2008). Refugees may lack cultural capital that match to professional jobs, and they may lack social capital to explore those high paying job opportunities (Bauder, 2005; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007).

The segmented or dual labour market theory also points to labour market discrimination for which some groups, such as racialized minorities, women, refugees and immigrants cluster in the secondary labour market, and they cannot not enter the primary labour market despite having qualifications (Bauder, 2005; Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Chen et al., 2010; Krahn, 2000; Mata, 2019; Sommer, 2021; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). My study shows that foreign educated, racialized, and female refugees experienced greater risks of working in the jobs typical of the secondary labour market rather than in professional and good jobs. Gaining FCR (Foreign Credential Recognition) is likely to be more challenging for resettled refugees than other immigrants as regulatory bodies ask for refugees to submit transcripts, take examinations, acquire Canadian work experience, and take language tests (Girard, 2010a). Some sociologists note that the lack of social capital, internal labour market shelters, and the limited number of

entry jobs in the primary labour market are the social barriers that limit many secondary labour market workers to move into the primary labour market jobs ("good jobs") (Brym et al., 2019).

Past research indicates employers' bias and use of cultural capital, soft skills, lack of Canadian experience, or the lack of familiarity with professional jargon and vocabulary are social inclusion barriers that limit equal opportunity, marginalize racialized refugees, and force them to remain at the bottom of the labour market (Bauder, 2005; Brym et al., 2019; Cardozo & Pendakur, 2008; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007; Oreopoulos, 2011). Due to the loss of human capital, refugees may end up in jobs for which they are overqualified driven by the economic sources of discrimination in the split or dual or segmented labour market (Cardozo & Pendakur, 2008). Cardozo and Pendakur (2008) argue that foreign credentials matter for occupations regulated by professional organizations, and ethnicity and immigrant status matter more than non-recognition of credentials. Val Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007) argues that refugees are like reserve labour that are endless supply for undesirable jobs for which they are overqualified, which ultimately leads certain ethnic groups to segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993), i.e., "permanent subordination and disadvantage" (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). The labour market theories discussed earlier, critical race theory, and intersectionality theory also inform resettled refugees' experience of discrimination and oppression due to gender and racialized status, which are ascribed factors of social justice (Grabb et al., 2017; Lehmann & Adams, 2017).

This analysis of the data detected gender differences in occupational status despite controlling for the observable factors including human capital, immigration, labour, and demographic characteristics. The study finds that refugee women cluster in low paying and low status jobs compared to male refugees relative to high status jobs, although women compared to men are at the greater risk of falling into skilled trades relative to high status jobs than males taking the effects of other factors into consideration. The study hypothesis regarding gender on occupational status is supported by these results of the study. This gender difference finding suggests a gender-occupational segregation that divides the jobs for women and men into low-skill level occupations and high skill level occupations (Brym et al., 2019; Mata, 2019; Moyser, 2017). Refugee women's unaffordability to work full-time because of family obligations, such as housework and caring for family members, frequent disruptions in married women's careers due to absences because of their or their children's illness, gender cultural patriarchal norms that see

women's place as being in the home and/or income as supplemental, and finding it hard to find the time to do job upgrading training (nonformal schooling) or to attend employment services, as well as having limited financial resources, and social networks, and the social non-acceptance of skilled trades (CBS News, 2020; Moyser, 2017; Weikle, 2019b, 2019a), may affect refugee women's pathways for working in professional or managerial jobs.

There could be other observable characteristics or unmeasurable factors to take into consideration to examine the gender difference. The differences in the occupational status of women and men can be affected by field of study, industry of occupation, the nature of occupation (regulated or unregulated) and work experience as evident in immigrant economic integration research (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Y. Choi et al., 2021; Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Lo et al., 2010; Statistics Canada, 2017h). Further research can include these unmeasured factors and conduct sub-group analysis that may provide more insights about gender differences.

My multivariate analysis unpacks another interesting finding that PSRs' economic advantage over GARs in earnings and employment does not necessarily mean that PSRs' occupational status is better than GARs. My study reveals that male PSRs perform worse in their occupational status compared to male GARs, and that no significant difference exist between GARs and PSRs in occupational status that contradict the findings from past studies (Kaida et al., 2020c; Lu et al., 2020; Picot et al., 2019; Watson et al., 2020; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). This study found that PSRs had fared better in employment and earnings outcomes. So, the hypothesis regarding the effect of admission category on occupational status was not supported by this study. Earlier studies, both descriptive and multivariate based on longitudinal data, indicate the narrowing down of the GAR-PSR gap in the long term (IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020b; Lu et al., 2020; Mata & Pendakur, 2016; Watson et al., 2020). Access and use of settlement and integration services may explain GARs' better occupational outcomes than PSRs. This information on the use of services was not possible to explore because of the data limitation.

Future research must include resettled refugees' access to services to examine GAR-PSR gap. In Vancouver, GARs' earnings approach economic class immigrants' level over time and GARs' use of integration services, particularly language training during the sponsorship period, played a strong role in increasing their earnings over time (Hiebert, 2009a; Hyndman & Hynie, 2016). On the other hand, because they have social capital, PSRs quickly start jobs, and are

mostly entrapped into the survival jobs, and many may not be able to improve their official language skills and employment services that are intended for refugees to be utilized in the first year of their arrival when they receive income support, and some may shift away from employment to social assistance at the end of the sponsorship period (usually from month 13) (Kaida et al., 2020c; Kantor & Einhorn, 2017; Mata, 2019). A large number of PSRs are sponsored by former PSRs, or they have known ethnic connections, and social networks advantage PSRs in finding jobs rapidly in destined communities (Hynie et al., 2019; Kaida et al., 2020c; Morris et al., 2021).

PSRs and GARs are heterogenous and members of each groups are non-monolithic (Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019; Labman, 2019; Picot et al., 2019). The PSR-GAR gap might be due to various (pre- and post-migration) characteristics that may go beyond the standard human capital, demographic, or socioeconomic factors that are included in this study, such as pre-migration camp experiences, lost schooling of kids, lost credential documents, disruptions of work, pre-migration trauma, post-migration mental health and access to integration services, and selection policy change through the IRPA (Beiser, 2009; Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie, 2018a; Hynie et al., 2016, 2019; Kaida et al., 2020c; Krahn, 2000; Oda et al., 2019). Previous studies of immigrants found the role of pre-migration human capital in post-migration investment in postsecondary education and labour market earnings (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2011; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer et al., 2014; Fortin et al., 2016; Frank, 2013; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

Further studies must examine the occupational status of GARs and PSRs by fields of studies and occupational niches, which are not included in this study. GARs and PSRs' overrepresentation in the low-paying, low status jobs suggests that their experiences of occupational difficulties could be associated with human capital deficiency, sponsorship conditions, and job market familiarity (Kaida et al., 2020c; Mata, 2019). Findings from this chapter suggest the specific needs and circumstances of GARs and PSRs regarding foreign credential assessment, licensing, employment services, health, and financial assistance must be addressed for improving the occupational outcomes of refugees in Canada from the social justice perspective. GARs' vulnerabilities and contexts must be taken into consideration as they are selected based on UNHCR resettlement criteria, and they may not have pre-existing family or ethnic networks (Hynie et al., 2019; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020c; Labman, 2019).

The unrealistic expectation of becoming self-reliant/independent after a year, inadequate financial support, the welfare dilemma, transportation to work, access to integration services (including English and employment, foreign credential recognition) or lack of awareness about these settlement and integration services are echoed in the IRRC-backed evaluation studies (IRCC, 2016c, 2016b) and other studies including with recent Syrian arrivals (IRCC, 2019a; Kantor & Einhorn, 2017; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

My results show that age of arrival in Canada is a significant predictor of occupational status, i.e., those who arrive older are more likely to be working in low status jobs relative to high status jobs, and likewise they are more in trades jobs rather than in high status jobs, for bother male and female, controlling for the effects of other factors. This finding supports my hypothesis. Earlier Canadian studies on immigrants find that age of arrival in Canada is negatively associated with earnings, although the pattern of the association is not linear in relation to other variables such as education, acculturation, visible minority status, English as the mother tongue, foreign work experience, and location of study (Fortin et al., 2016; Schaafsma & Sweetman, 2001). Unlike the effect of age of arrival on employment (non-significant) and earnings (significant but unanticipated direction) evident in this study, the occupational status finding with respect to age of arrival in Canada suggests that refugees who were employed in high-skilled jobs (i.e., jobs that are commensurate with education and training) came to Canada at a younger age and gained Canadian education, work experience, and familiarity with the labour market, skills in job search strategies, writing resumes, and preparing for interviews, as well as developing cultural capital and soft skills, a better accent, and establishing social networks to get information about good jobs.

Immigrants who arrived in their pre-teen years earned more than those who arrived in their teen years that might be related having an easier acculturation process (Schaafsma & Sweetman, 2001). Childhood refugees do not exhibit similar experiences (Hou, 2017; Hou & Bonikowska, 2016b; Wilkinson, 2008). As childhood refugees do not experience similar foreign credential barriers like their parents, their arrival at a young age advantage them to work in desirable occupations (Cardozo & Pendakur, 2008). Because of the different experiences child immigrants and those who arrive as adults have, some studies exclude childhood immigrants or refugees from their analysis (Fortin et al., 2016; Kaida et al., 2020b). My findings cannot

confirm the differences in occupational outcomes between refugees who landed in Canada as children or younger adults and adults. More research is needed to explore this issue.

As with the incidence of employment, racialized status was a significant factor predicting the occupational status of resettled refugees controlling for all other factors. Racialized status is an ascribed status and its concomitant characteristics may include various ethnic and cultural markers such as language/accent, religion, skin color, and many others over which individuals have no control (Grabb, 2017; Grabb et al., 2017; Lehmann & Adams, 2017; Ng & Gagnon, 2020; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017). The differences in economic outcomes between different refugee groups is evident in Canada (Beiser, 2009; Hou, 2017; R. Pendakur, 2020; Picot et al., 2019). Cultural difference is one of the important yet unobserved factors that may explain why refugees from the former Yugoslavia, Poland and Columbia have better outcomes than refugees coming from African or Asian countries (Picot et al., 2019). Sociologists tend to see cultural difference as a source of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination, and a topic in race and ethnic relations (Brym et al., 2019). In Peace and Conflict Studies, cultural markers, like religion, or ethnicity, constitute social identity that can lead to conflict (Augsburger, 1992; Avruch, 1998).

Employers' devaluation of refugees' foreign credentials without evidence or knowledge of the refugees' lack of cultural capital (i.e., Canadian labour market rules) because of their origin or place of birth, and anti-refugee myths and stereotyping that represent the employers' prejudiced attitudes can be explained by several theories such as social identity, split labour market, or group conflict theory (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013, p. 208). Critical race theory points to the latent discrimination experienced by racialized people from the common institutional practices about which individuals holding positions in those institutions may be unaware of by applying the principle of merit or colour blindness without considering the principle of equal footing of the underprivileged (Brym et al., 2019, p. 268). Given the under-representation of racialized people in the federal public sector, the employment equity program was introduced to increase ethnic and racial equality (Brym et al., 2019; Employment and Social Development Canada, 2019; Ng & Gagnon, 2020).

Intersectionality theory claims that the effects of class, race, and gender on discrimination and oppression are multiplicative (Brym et al., 2019, p. 258). Racialized refugees can experience the intersectional effects of being racialized, being foreign-born, being a refugee, being a poor, having a non-Canadian credential, and being a religious minority. Some studies find that women

from religious minorities fare worse in the labour market because of their religious background,, for example, Muslim women who wear the hijab for women (Kazemipur, 2014; Perry, 2015; Reitz et al., 2015, 2017). As discussed earlier, certain ethnic groups may be overrepresented in the lower echelon of the society, and experience disadvantages and discrimination, leading to different paths to integration, often theorized as segmented assimilation (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007; Hou, 2017; Kazemipur, 2014). More than 70 percent of my study population are members of racialized minority groups including seven large groups namely, Chinese, Black, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Latin American, and South Asian. This was not my focus variable so that further research needs to include different visible minority groups.

Consistent with past research, my results show that knowledge of one or both official languages significantly predict occupational status taking other sociodemographic, migration, and human capital factors into consideration. Knowledge of English or the dominant language of the region were associated with better labour market outcomes (Akbari, 2011; Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Bonikowska et al., 2011). Knowledge of English only increases the risk of falling into the low skilled category relative to high skilled jobs, and the risk of falling into the skilled trades jobs rather than high skilled jobs. This suggests that the French-speaking refugees might not be destined in regions where French is the dominant language, and are in regions where French speaking jobs are limited or the region (e.g., Quebec) where French is the key to labour market success is not able to offer adequate opportunities to grow and work. English as the mother tongue matters more but it is not known from the data (Schaafsma & Sweetman, 2001). The census measure of knowledge of language is self-reporting on a question asking about the ability to speak in English or French to conduct a conversation (Appendix 1).

Consistent with the results from Chapters Four, Five, and Seven, being single/never married, and being separated/divorced/widowed increase the risk of falling into the low status jobs holding the effects of other variables constant. Several refugee situations may explain my findings. Married men or women's better outcomes suggest that marital status does not affect refugees due to due to traditional gender roles and the division of labour (i.e., breadwinning versus housework) that is also true for the Canadian overall population (Moyser, 2017). Despite the fact that refugees hail from traditional values oriented and collectivist cultures emphasizing upon marriage and gender norms, my finding suggests that spouses share responsibility for

housework and/or childcare and provide emotional support to each other in achieving better occupational outcomes.

Another explanation may refer to the economic hardships. Both spouses need to work together to achieve self-sufficiency. Single parent workers tend to work part-time, and child care is one of the reasons that affect their full-time employment, particularly for many women belonging to the core working age (25-64) bracket (Moyser, 2017; Patterson, 2018). As some refugees might have lost their spouses in the war and conflict that displaced them in the first place, and forced them to seek refuge and come to Canada with children, they may lack time for career growth as they must care for their children (Moyser, 2017), and because of the disruptions in work, training, and affordability to work full time, a single male parent or mother with children are at a greater risk of working in the low-skilled occupations relative to high skilled occupations. Structuration theory helps to understand the findings that refugees exercise agencies mobilizing their resources at their disposal knowing all difficulties and barriers affecting their employment and earnings, and despite their aspirations for upgrading skills and human capital, they resort to survival jobs and sacrifice for their kids (Nourpanah, 2014). Some use social networks to find desirable jobs after failing to utilize their human capital due to the labour market segmentation and internal labour market shelter as discussed earlier (Krahn, 2000; Lamba, 2003; Lamba & Krahn, 2003)

My analysis provides uneven results with respect to city of residence. I consider this predictor to focus on CMAs as a majority of refugees are living in CMAs that parallel to labour markets in Canada (K. H. Choi et al., 2021). Living in mid-sized, and small CMAs compared to gateway cities increase the risk of falling into the low skilled occupation category relative to the high skilled category, and the risk of falling into the skilled trades occupation category rather than into the high skilled occupations category suggest that the limited opportunities exist for professional/managerial occupations exist in non-Gateway cities. Living in larger cities (for e.g., Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa-Gatineau) was not significant compared to living in gateway cities (Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver). Separate analysis by gender shows that none of the city of residence dummy variables are significant to predict the relative risk of falling into the skilled trades relative to high status jobs. The finding suggests refugees may resort to secondary migration from non-gateway cities to gateway cities to seek better jobs.

This study does not examine the mobility status of refugees but past research indicates the rate of secondary migration is higher among resettled refugees from original destinations to gateway cities due to unemployment, lack of welcoming communities, lack of co-ethnic communities, and limited facilities and services in the smaller urban centers (Haan, 2008; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020a). Besides, initial settlement destinations are not self-chosen for resettled refugees compared to economic class immigrants, and refugees tend to move to larger urban centers where co-ethnic communities including friends and families are residing within 10 years of landing (Kaida et al., 2020a). Further studies need to examine the economic integration of refugees by different tiers of cities. As the refugee destinations are based on regional quotas with regards to demographic, economic, and ethnic connections criteria, the secondary migration may affect the goal of the geographic dispersal policy. Adequate services and needs targeting refugees in small urban centers are imperative.

Resettled refugees' duration of residence in Canada was found to be a very significant factor affecting their economic integration for both sexes, and this finding is consistent with past research on refugees and other immigrants. With time spent in Canada, refugees may overcome various challenges or barriers such as the familiarity with the jobs market (Mata, 2019), labour market rules or cultural capital (Bauder, 2005), the lack of Canadian work experience, employment services, or do necessary training or licensing to practice professions/trades (Bauder, 2005; Bernard, 2008; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Frank, 2013; Girard & Smith, 2012), which are not known from the census data. As outlined in Chapter Four, the benefit of citizenship in the hiring process depending on the use of citizenship status by employers to take decisions (Bloemraad, 2006, 2008). Past studies also suggest that over time refugees and immigrants improve human capital for economic reason (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2013; Anisef et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Prokopenko, 2018).

About 66 percent of all postsecondary graduates in my study population received Canadian education so that they had a reason to find a job, earn more, and work in a desirable occupation. Refugees might need more time to overcome pre-migration trauma or health issues because of their forced migration circumstances, tor losing their documents of proof of their pre-migration credentials, or because of their encampment living or because of disruptions in education and work for protracted periods as highlighted earlier. As more time is spent in Canada since landing, refugees tend to become more familiar with the Canadian labour market, building

social networks, capturing resume writing skills, improving interview skills, and learning professional vocabulary or jargons (Bauder, 2005; Watson et al., 2020).

In my multivariate analyses of all three outcomes of interest, my focus was to examine the main effects of nine predictor variables. I measure the location of study based on Canadian and foreign postsecondary education. Future studies can dissect the analysis of regions or countries. Some studies include the USA, the UK, Western and Northern Europe, Australia and New Zealand as one category, as the education one receives in these countries is as valued as Canadian education (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Due to the very small number of refugees who were educated in these countries, my study did not include these countries as a separate category. I also did not include any interactions between variables, and this might be another limitation, although I explored the possible interactions between my four focus variables, as well as the collinearity issues among all independent variables. The outputs did not vary much, and even the quadratic terms for age of arrival in Canada, and time in Canada since landing, and the interaction between these numeric variables were found to be non-significant. Given the potential gender differences in the economic outcomes of resettled refugees, separate models for male and female were conducted. Another limitation of my study could be associated with the inability to control for the unobserved characteristics of individuals including motivation, aspirations, and abilities, and mental health that can influence economic outcomes (Picot et al., 2019; Prokopenko, 2018).

6.4. Conclusions

One of the popular topics that concerns policymakers and academics in Canada is job-education mismatch among highly educated and skilled immigrants. My analysis in this chapter advances the existing body of knowledge with an exclusive focus on resettled refugees. Although refugees are not admitted to Canada based on economic or human capital criteria, many refugees came to Canada with high levels of human capital, and/or upgrade upon arrival. More than two-thirds of all resettled refugees were employed in the census week. Among the active labour force (i.e., those who were employed, and who looked for work), more than 90 percent of refugees were working in the census week. The multivariate analysis shows that being female, having a foreign postsecondary education, and arriving at an older age in Canada were significantly associated

with the likelihood of working in low skilled (C and D skill levels) occupations relative to high skilled (A skill level) occupations. The risk of refugees with a foreign college diploma or certificate falling into the category of skilled trades (B skill level) occupations relative to high skilled (skill level A) occupations was not different from refugees with a high school diploma, for both women and men.

While it is well established in past research, as well as it is evident from my data analysis that PSRs are more likely to be employed, and earning more than GARs, this occupational status analysis provides a striking finding that PSRs' occupational attainment did not significantly differ from that of GARs. Even male PSRs are at a greater risk than male GARs to be employed in low skilled jobs relative to professional/ managerial jobs. Differences exist on different levels of control predictors (e.g., racialized minority status, marital status, knowledge of official languages, and city of residence). Racialized minority status, and less time in Canada since landing were associated with the likelihood of working in less skilled jobs relative to high skilled jobs. This study offers a new insight into the existing body of knowledge by examining occupational status, in addition to the two widely used measures, employment status as included in the Chapter five, and employment income examined in Chapter seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PREDICTORS OF EMPLOYMENT INCOME OF REFUGEES RESETTELD IN CANADA

This chapter answers to the fourth research question – What are the different correlates of resettled refugees' employment income in Canada? A multiple regression analysis is used to enhance our understanding of the factors determining resettled refugees' employment income in Canada. This chapter is divided into three parts. First, the results from the descriptive statistics on the quantitative variables and bivariate analyses are presented. Second, the results from the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis for employment income are outlined. In the following discussion section, the data is interpreted, and the findings are explained, and the conclusions section summarizes the findings based on the analysis of the employment income of resettled refugees in the Canadian labour market.

7.1. Descriptive Results

This study analyzes resettled refugees' employment income from paid jobs measured on the basis of 'wages, salaries, and commissions' measure directly available in the 2016 Census Long Form Census Microdata File. The 2016 Census for the first time collected the income variables from the Canada Revenue Agency's (CRA) taxation data for the calendar year 2015[§§]. I used the continuous variable 'employment income' that includes annual waged earning (wages, salaries, and commission received in 2015) of paid employees[***]. Self-employed workers may claim

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[§§] The 2016 Long Form Census derived income variables for the first time solely from the CRA administrative data (including T1, T4 and records from other tax files) that increased the quality and quantity of income data, and made it possible to cross-reference income data with many labour and socioeconomic variables (Statistics Canada, 2017j, 2018c). This study uses Statistics Canada's definition of employment income from 'waged, salaries and commissions,' although the definitions may vary across data sources.

[***] As outlined in Chapter Three, the employment income measure in this study is based on the waged employment income earned in 2015. The typical approach is to use wage earnings to make earnings of different groups more comparable by excluding self-employed people (Statistics Canada, 2017c), and the self-reporting of self-employment income involves accuracy issues (Ewoudou, 2011). Negative income was associated with self-employment income, and wage cannot be negative. I used the 'wages' variable that excludes self-employment income. I did not use the variable 'employment income' (empin) available in the data set that includes waged income and net self-employment income given the negative values, and because of the

expenses for their businesses and negative self-employment income is frequently reported in the tax returns filed to the CRA (Plante, 2011). Some workers may have earnings from both sources, and some self-employed workers may choose to pay themselves through salaries (Li, 2001a). The data on employment income (gross pay before taxes received in 2015) excludes self-employment income[†††].

According to the 2015 taxation data, about one-fifth of the resettled refugees in the study sample reported no waged income. Less than 0.05 percent earned $200,000 and above. Even refugees who earned $150,000 and over did not constitute one percent of the study population. A very tiny portion of refugees reported a waged income of over $800,000 from waged employment in 2015. This income analysis restricted the sample of GARs and PSRs to those who had a yearly income between $1,000 and $199,999[‡‡‡] received as wages, salaries, and commissions in 2015, were living in ten provinces and who landed before 2015[§§§]. This restriction of the sample also includes resettled refugees eligible for at least one year of financial support from their respective sponsors (government or private sponsors) and are expected not to be working. I excluded employment waged income below $1,000 to address the skewness of the

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differential experiences between paid employees and self-employed individuals. As waged income the primary source of income of the majority of Canadian tax filers (Fecteau & Pinard, 2019), I used annual wage earnings as the measure of employment income. The descriptive data shows about 15 percent of resettled refugees were self-employed. Self-employed refugees' labour market experiences differ from the paid employees (Akbar, 2019; Fonseca et al., 2020; Hou & Wang, 2011; Jeon et al., 2019; Li, 2001b; Wayland, 2011).

[†††] I checked the variable 'employment income' (empin), available in the 2016 Long Form census Microdata File, which includes waged income, and net self-employment income, and initially considered to use 'empin' as my dependent variable. The descriptives show about 15 percent of the study sample who were self-employed and the 'empin' variable had negative income indicating the reporting of negative self-employment earnings by self-employed workers.

[‡‡‡] All income data is in Canadian dollars in this study.

[§§§] As the income data for the 2016 Census are collected for the 2015 income calendar year (Statistics Canada, 2017j), the sample excludes those admitted in 2015 and 2016 to have the full year income of GARs and PSRs for the reference year 2015 (Statistics Canada, 2018c). The study sample included resettled refugees who might be in their first or second year in Canada when they are not expected to be at work yet they utilize the time for upgrading their skills while taking advantage of settlement and integration services. For better understanding the resettled refugees' labour market outcomes, further studies need to control for the first year or the first and second year when GARs and PSRs are on income support from government or private sponsors respectively.

dependent variable and some studies also imposed this threshold to exclude short-term, low-wage employment that does not signal strong labour market attachment (Evra & Kazemipur, 2019; Prokopenko, 2018).

Table 7. 1. Mean, Standard Deviation, Skewness, and Kurtosis for Continuous Variables for Resettled Refugees Aged 25-64 who Landed in Canada between 1980 and 2014 and were living in 10 Provinces, Paid Workers, and Earned between $1,000 and 199,999 in 2015

Variables	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
All (N = 254715)				
Employment income	43704.01	30137.34	1.22	2.25
Natural logged employment income	10.39	0.91	-1.15	1.55
Age of arrival in Canada	21.70	11.27	-0.07	-0.59
Time in Canada since landing	23.53	8.77	-0.70	-0.32
Female (N = 111505)				
Employment income	38279.62	27699.88	1.37	2.93
Natural logged employment income	10.23	0.92	-1.07	1.21
Age of arrival in Canada	20.82	11.29	-0.03	-0.73
Time in Canada since landing	23.59	8.52	-0.66	-0.31
Male (N = 143210)				
Employment income	49128.41	32574.80	1.08	1.58
Natural logged employment income	10.52	0.87	-1.25	2.01
Age of arrival in Canada	22.39	11.20	-0.10	-0.48
Time in Canada since landing	23.47	8.96	-0.73	-0.34

Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

Among nine socio-demographic, human capital, and immigration-related variables (Table 7.1), there were two numeric variables: age of arrival in Canada that ranges from 0 to 62, and time in Canada since landing that ranges from 0 to 36. The average age of the sample population aged 25-64 used in this analysis was about 45 years (standard deviation = 11 years approx.). As shown in Table 7.1, the average personal waged employment income is below $45,000, and refugee women's income is nearly $11,000 lower than that of refugee men. All numeric variables were nearly normally distributed (Table 7.1). The correlational analysis show that age of arrival was negatively associated with employment income, and time in Canada since landing was positively correlated, and both age of arrival in Canada, and time in Canada were significantly correlated with employment income at $p<0.001$ level. Table 7.2 shows that refugee men are more likely to be in higher income brackets ($45,000 and above) than refugee women, and refugee women are more likely to be lower income brackets (below $45.000). According to the Chi-

square test, gender and employment income was found statistically significant (Chi-square = 8113.243, df = 7, p < 0.001).

Table 7. 2. Crosstabulations between Gender and Employment Income, between Admission Category and Employment Income, and between Location of Study and Employment Income for Resettled Refugees Aged 25-64 who Landed in Canada between 1980 and 2014 and were living in 10 Provinces, Paid Workers, and Earned between $1,000 and 199,999 in 2005 (N = 254715)

	Gender		
Employment income	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
$1000 to $2499	2.64	1.57	2.04
$2500 to $9999	10.36	6.68	8.29
$10000 to $24999	23.07	16.14	19.18
$25000 to $44999	31.67	27.20	29.16
$45000 to $69999	20.33	26.37	23.72
$70000 to $99999	8.60	14.57	11.96
$100000 to $124999	2.09	4.48	3.44
$125000 to $19999	1.23	2.99	2.22

	Admission category		
Employment income	GARS (%)	PSRs (%)	Total (%)
$1000 to $2499	2.21	1.84	2.04
$2500 to $9999	8.85	7.66	8.29
$10000 to $24999	19.47	18.85	19.18
$25000 to $44999	28.70	29.68	29.16
$45000 to $69999	23.60	23.86	23.72
$70000 to $99999	11.82	12.12	11.96
$100000 to $124999	3.29	3.60	3.44
$125000 to $19999	2.06	2.40	2.22

	Location of study						
Employment income	No high school diploma (%)	High school diploma (%)	Foreign trades/ college diploma (%)	Canadia n trades/ college diploma (%)	Foreign university degree (%)	Canadian university degree (%)	Total (%)
$1000 to $2499	2.71	2.28	1.83	1.88	1.79	1.17	2.04
$2500 to $9999	10.64	9.29	7.85	7.36	7.67	5.56	8.29
$10000 to $24999	17.38	16.97	14.70	11.14	19.18	11.14	19.18
$25000 to $44999	30.07	27.37	23.10	16.82	29.16	16.82	29.16
$45000 to $69999	26.04	27.17	22.51	24.41	23.72	24.41	23.72
$70000 to $99999	12.29	13.61	18.22	24.66	11.96	24.66	11.96
$100000 to $124999	3.10	3.82	6.59	9.11	3.44	9.11	3.44
$125000 to $19999	1.46	1.81	5.42	7.13	2.22	7.13	2.22

Source: Adapted from the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, Statistics Canada

Table 7.2. below shows that PSRs were just around one percentage points higher than GARs in each income bracket, and the association between admission category and employment income was also statistically significant (Chi-square = 241.016, df = 7, p < 0.001). The bivariate association between location of study and employment income was also statistically significant (Chi-square = 29420.579, df = 35, p < 0.001). As shown in Table 7.2, refugees' earnings go higher with higher levels of education, yet there are discrepancies in the pattern of relationship. For example, the proportion of foreign below bachelor's degree holders, or university degree holders (bachelor's and above) were much lower than Canadian postsecondary graduates in the employment income brackets containing an annual personal income of $70,000 and above. Discrepancy also occur among foreign postsecondary graduates as the proportions of foreign university degree holders were much lower than foreign trades certificate or college diploma holders. While more refugees with high school or less education were located more in higher income brackets ($45,000 and $99,999), refugees with postsecondary education were found in the lower income brackets ($25,000 - $44,999). This data suggests that some highly educated Canadian refugees may experience underemployment and skill underutilization problems leading to low earnings.

7.2. Results of Multiple Regressions

In addressing the fourth research question, I examined the factors that influence resettled refugees' (GARs and PSRs) paid employment income in Canada. Multiple regression analysis was conducted using an OLS estimation of the dependent variable – the natural logarithm of employment income[****] (annual earnings from wages, salaries and commissions received in 2015), and nine predictors including two quantitative (numeric) variables and seven qualitative variables that were entered simultaneously for the female and male model[††††]. Separate models

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[****] The natural log of 'employment income' is used here as most studies on earnings use the logarithm approach (Ewoudou, 2011; Kaida et al., 2020c). The natural logarithm of employment income provides a better regression "fit," although it is more difficult to interpret than actual earnings (Li, 2001a, p. 28).

[††††] To check multicollinearity issues in Stata, I used the command 'estat vif' to obtain Tolerance and Variation Inflation Factor (VIF) values for all predictors, and the output shows that none of the nine predictors has a VIF value over 10 that deserves further consideration (Mitchell, 2015, p. 487). VIF values were below 1.5, and Tolerance (1/ VIF) values were above 0.5 and below 1

were run for females and males as well. Specifically, my analysis explores how gender, the admission category, location of study, and age of arrival in Canada (four focal predictors) affect annual earnings. The overall model was found to be statistically significant (F-value = 564.46, df = 18, p<0.001). Separate models were also statistically significant (F-value = 258.57, df = 17, p<0.001 for the female model, and F-value = 267.48, df = 17, p<0.001 for the male model. The least square regression analyses show that all four independent variables (gender, admission category, location of study, and age of arrival in Canada) were statistically significant at the chosen alpha level (p<0.05) in the female and male model (Table 7.3). Although the age of arrival was statistically significant, the sign was expected to be negative as is evident in most of the literature on immigrants' economic integration. Thus, three of the four hypotheses were supported by the findings from the female and male model. Five other control variables (racialized minority status, marital status, official language skills, city of residence, and time in Canada since landing) were significantly associated with employment income in the female and male refugee models (Table 7.3). When analyzed employment income separately for female and male refugees, gender differences on postsecondary college or trades diploma, being single or never married, being separated, widowed or divorced, and living in small CMAs/other urban or

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for all predictors in all three regression models indicating no problem with multicollinearity(Munro, 2005b, p. 272). Before the regression analysis, the correlational analysis show the strong correlation between two numeric predictors (Pearson r = 0.49, p<0.001) but not the high correlation (>0.85) that is an indication of the collinearity problem (Munro, 2005b). I used both predictors in my analysis as 'age of arrival in Canada' that is one of my four focal independent variables, and the control variable 'time in Canada since landing' is one of the important and standard explanatory variables used as a control variable in the immigrant integration research. Analysing residuals, I checked the assumptions of normality, linearity, and heteroscedasticity. In Stata, I used the 'rvfplot, yline(0)' command to test the linearity assumption. The output does not show a U-shaped pattern of the residuals suggesting that the relationship between the predictors and outcome is not violating the linearity assumption (Mitchell, 2015, p. 474). There might be a little concern that residuals are not equally distributed above and below the zero line, the use of 'vce(robust)' option in the 'regress' command took care of the assumption of heteroskedasticity, or the homogeneity of the variance assumption (Mitchell, 2015, p. 271). For evaluating the normality of the residuals assumption, I used the 'kdensity' command with the 'normal' option in Stata that provides a graph showing a normal curve overlay over the standardized residuals (Mitchell, 2015, p. 490). It was clear to the eye that the distribution of the residuals from this regression analysis did not substantially indicate any issue with normality. The 'pnorm' and 'qnorm' command in Stata a histogram of standardized residuals is also examined. To check the normality of residuals assumption, both visual and descriptive tests were conducted.

rural areas were found to be nonsignificant for female refugees. For refugee men, age of arrival in Canada, and living in mid-sized cities were non-significant (Table 7.3).

Table 7. 3. Multiple Regressions showing Unstandardized Coefficients (b) and 95 percent Confidence Intervals (CI) predicting Employment Income (natural logged) for Resettled Refugees[‡‡‡‡] who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2014, were living in 10 Provinces, and had a Waged Earning (No Self-employment Income) of $1,000 and $199,999[§§§§] in 2015

Independent Variables	Total Sample	Female	Male
	Coefficients (95% CI)	**Coefficients (95% CI)**	**Coefficients (95% CI)**
Gender			
Female	0		
Male	0.3160 (0.3021, 0.3299)***		
Admission category			
GARs	0	0	0
PSRs	0.0397 (0.0259, 0.0534)***	0.0303 (0.0092, 0.0515)**	0.0435 (0.0255, 0.0615)***
Location of study			
No high school diploma	- 0.0859 (- 0.1069, - 0.0649)***	- 0.1297 (- 0.1638, - 0.0956)***	- 0.0622 (- 0.0888, - 0.0357)**
High school diploma	0	0	0
Foreign postsecondary certificate or diploma	0.06349 (0.0361, 0.0909)***	0.0434 (- 0.0001, 0.0869)	0.0789 (0.04369, 0.1140)***
Canadian postsecondary certificate or diploma	0.2033 (0.1842, 0.2223)***	0.1902 (0.1608, 0.2197)***	0.2179 (0.1929, 0.2428)***
Foreign university degree	0.2527	0.3008	0.2166

‡‡‡‡ According to the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File, the weighted sample size of resettled refugees (GARs and PSRs) is 254,715 (111,505 females, and 143, 210 males). The exact sample sizes (unweighted sample sizes) are not released because of Statistics Canada's policy. Despite the restriction of the sample for the income analysis, the sample sizes were large enough for all models.

§§§§ This analysis included resettled refugees who had a waged income between $1,000 and $200,000 in 2015 to address the influence of outliers and influential cases. The skewness and kurtosis for unlogged annual earnings is positive 1 and positive 5 respectively. The skewness and kurtosis for logged wages was negative 1, and positive 4 respectively. The descriptive statistics of the dependent variable 'wages' had a huge number of zero income earners (more than 20 percent) and about a half percent of cases had an extreme high income ($200,000 and over). Using the box plot and histogram as well as the descriptives of the 'wages' variable, the inclusion of income above $125,000 may affect my analysis. I used the truncation of income with $1,000 and $199,999 that provides a nearly normally distributed 'employment income' variable in the full sample, as well as for male and female separately, otherwise I would have to reduce the sample size. One recent study using the IMDB analyzed employment earnings of GARs and PSRs removing cases over $300,000, and employment status based on an annual earning of at least $1,000 (Kaida et al., 2020b). I also checked the results of this analysis using a truncated regression in Stata that is an option for a truncated outcome variable, but I found the similar results on the coefficients, so I chose the popular OLS for my study.

	(0.2220, 0.2834)***	(0.2525, 0.3491)***	(0.1770, 0.2563)***
Canadian university degree	0.5221 (0.4976, 0.5466)***	0.6031 (0.5663, 0.6400)***	0.4496 (0.4167, 0.4825)***
Age of arrival in Canada	0.0045 (0.0037, 0.0054)***	0.0098 (0.0085, 0.0111)***	0.0004 (- 0.0006, 0.0015)
Racialized minority status			
Non-racialized minority	0	0	0
Racialized minority	- 0.1758 (- 0.1916, - 0.1500)***	- 0.1643 (- 0.1886, - 0.1400)***	- 0.1807 (- 0.2015, - 0.1600)***
Marital status			
Single/never married	- 0.1144 (- 0.1321, - 0.0966)***	- 0.0035 (- 0.0237, 0.0307)	- 0.2151 (- 0.2383, - 0.1919)***
Separated/divorced/widowed	- 0.0904 (- 0.0694)***	- 0.0285 (- 0.0571, 0.0001)	- 0.1588 (- 0.1900, - 0.1276)***
Married/common law relationship	0	0	0
Knowledge of official language			
English only	0	0	0
French only	- 0.2338 (- 0.2675, - 0.2001)***	- 0.2077 (- 0.2563, - 0.1591)***	- 0.2542 (- 0.3008, - 0.2077)***
Both English and French	- 0.0768 (- 0.0986, - 0.0550)***	- 0.0199 (- 0.0531, 0.0133)	- 0.1230 (- 0.1518, - 0.0942)***
Neither English nor French	- 0.2019 (- 0.2397, - 0.1642)***	- 0.1861 (- 0.2419, - 0.1302)***	- 0.2159 (- 0.2672, - 0.1646)***
City of residence			
Small CMA, urban, or rural areas	0.0586 (0.0363, 0.0810)***	0.0326 (- 0.0017, 0.0670)	0.0776 (0.0483, 0.1068)***
Mid-sized CMA	0.0242 (0.0048, 0.037)*	0.0378 (0.0080, 0.0678)**	0.0142 (- 0.0113, 0.0398)
Larger CMAs	0.1718 (0.1534, 0.1901)***	0.1694 (0.1413, 0.1975)***	0.1750 (0.1509, 0.1990)***
Gateway CMAs	0	0	0
Number of years living in Canada	0.0237 (0.0228, 0.0246)***	0.0297 (0.0282, 0.0311)***	0.0191 (0.0179, 0.0202)***
Intercept	9.5560 (9.5118, 9.6002)***	9.2484 (9.3156)***	10.1150 (10.0584, 10.1715)***
F	F(18) = 564.46	F(17) = 258.57	F(17) = 267.48
R-squared[*****]	0.1558	0.1534	0.1283

*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval

[*****] Given the complexity of lineal modelling with numeric variables (including variables like age of arrival in Canada, and time in Canada since landing) and categorical predictor variables, and the potential of many other measurable and unobservable factors that are not considered here may affect employment income (Hyndman et al., 2016; Kaida et al., 2020c), the adjusted R-squared value appear to be not higher given the expected benchmark for strong relationships. The overall model explains 15.58 percent of the variance in employment income in the female and refugee model, 15.34 percent in the female model, and 12.83 percent in the male model. As the goal of the analysis is to understand the variables that significantly predict employment income, the overall model fitness (F-values) statistics is used here.

Gender was found to be a strong predictor of employment income (beta = 0.3160, 95 percent CI = 0.3021, 0.3299) holding for the effects of all other predictors. In dollar terms, the income difference was estimated to be $12,346.10 more for refugee men. The admission category also significantly predicted a variation in employment income between GARs and PSRs. Being a PSR is positively associated with employment income (beta = 0.3966, 95 percent CI = 0.0259, 0.0534). In dollar terms, the difference was estimated to be $967.97 higher for PSRs on average. PSRs' earning advantage also holds true for both the female model and the male model (Table 7.3).

The location of education that measures both levels of education and location of postsecondary education significantly predict employment income with higher earnings associated with higher levels of education holding the effects of other variables constant (Table 7.3) [†††††]. The relative influence of Canadian education for both below bachelor's level (Beta = 0987, p<0.001) and Canadian university degree (0.1970) on employment income were significantly higher than the influence of foreign college or vocational education (Beta = 0.1950, p<0.001), and foreign university degree (Beta = 0.0722, p<0.001) in comparison with high school graduates. While foreign postsecondary education with below bachelor's degree significantly predicted refugee males' employment earnings (beta = 0.0789, p<0.001) the p-value testing the beta coefficient for the same education compared to high school diploma holders did not significantly differ for female refugees (beta = 0.0434, p = 0.051).

[†††††] Unstandardized coefficients, and 95 percent Confidence Intervals are reported to outline the regression results. For some illustrations, some results from pairwise comparisons and standardized coefficients (Beta) were used. Pairwise comparisons show significant differences between Canadian education and education received outside Canada. Among the four focal predictors in the all refugee (female and male) model, the relative influence of Canadian university degree was the highest (Beta = 0.1970, p<0.001) followed by being male (Beta = 0.1729, P<0.001), Canadian trades or college diploma (Beta = 0.0987, p<0.001), foreign university degree (Beta = 0.0722, p<0.001), age of arrival in Canada (Beta = 0.0564), foreign college diploma or trades certificate (0.0195, P<0.001), and being PSR (Beta = 0.0218, p<0.001), and no high school diploma (Beta = - 0.0368, p<0.001). Among the five other explanatory factors in the overall model, time in Canada was the strongest predictors of employment income (Beta = 0.2291, p<0.001) followed by being a racialized minority (Beta = -0.0892, p<0.001), living in larger CMAs (Beta = 0.0750, p<0.001), and being single or never married (Beta = -0.0558, p<0.001).

Age of arrival in Canada was positively associated with employment income in the female and male model, and the female model, yet the relationship was statistically nonsignificant in the male model (Table 7.3). The bivariate correlational analysis shows a negative correlation between employment income and age of arrival in Canada, yet the multivariate analysis even with the presence of covariate time in Canada since landing, and other standard explanatory factors including location of study, the positive association between age of arrival in Canada and employment income indicate that those who arrive at older ages they have higher employment earnings. In dollar terms, an increase of an average $102.92 in annual income was associated with a one-year increase in age of arrival in Canada.

Controlling for the effects of all other predictors, being a racialized minority predicted lower earnings in the female and refugee model, as well as for the female model, and the male model (Table 7.3). While being single or never married, and being separated, widowed, or divorced were negatively associated with employment income in the female and male model, and in the male model, yet this pattern is statistically nonsignificant for the female model (Table 7.3). Refugees who had knowledge of French only, knowledge of both English and French, and no knowledge of an official language had lower levels of waged earnings compared to those who had English only. This relation was statistically significant in the full model, and in the male model, yet it was nonsignificant in the female model (Table 7.3). Refugees who were living in larger CMAs, mid-sized CMAs, and small CMAs/other areas compared to gateway cities had higher levels of income in the female and male models. Separate models for female and male refugees indicate that living in small CMAs did not significantly predict income for women, and living in mid-sized CMAs did not significantly predict income for refugee men.

The unstandardized coefficient for the predictor ‘time in Canada since landing’ shows that for each additional year living in Canada increased by 0.02369 units in logged earnings in the female and male model, 0.2967 units in the female model, and 0.0191 units in the male model. In dollar terms, each year increase in length of stay predicted an average of $754.20 increase in annual earnings for resettled refugees in 2015.

7.3. Discussion

A growing body of research has centered on the employment earnings to address labour market outcomes of immigrants in Canada (Ferrer et al., 2012; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; R. Pendakur, 2020; Picot & Sweetman, 2012). Little is known about how specific refugee categories have fared economically in Canada (Dhital, 2015; Kaida et al., 2020c). A handful of quantitative studies has studied refugee earnings in the past (De Silva, 1997; Devoretz et al., 2004; Hiebert, 2009a; Mata & Pendakur, 2016; Montgomery, 1986b; Watson et al., 2020). Earlier research has primarily used IMDB data, and compared refugee's earnings outcomes with the economic class or family class as the benchmark. Past research on the earnings behaviour of refugees and immigrants using the IMDB[‡‡‡‡‡] primarily and the LSIC, a specific cohort based data set, have demonstrated that refugees have fared the worst among all three immigrant classes in Canada (Abbott & Beach, 2011a, 2011b; Aydemir, 2011; Mata & Pendakur, 2016). While immigrant earnings research has investigated refugees as a single category, the post-IRPA has witnessed increased quantitative research concerning the economic outcomes of different refugee subcategories in comparison with other immigrant classes (Kaida et al., 2020b; Mata & Pendakur, 2016).

The focus of this analysis is the employment income from paid jobs specifically of two subcategories of resettled refugees based on the 2015 income data from CRA.
Prior to 2016, the census data did not have an admission category variable, and it did not integrate the CRA's taxation data either. Despite this, an exclusive study of resettled refugees' labour market outcomes using the 2016 census is not yet available except for a Statistics Canada's study on the employment of Syrian refugees who arrived in Canada in 2015 and 2016 in Canada (Houle, 2019). Another study using the 2016 Census data investigated the labour market outcomes of Afghan refugees compared with refugees, Canadian-born and other immigrant classes (R. Pendakur, 2020). While the longitudinal data (IMDB) is able to provide an earnings trend or convergence over time, my study using the cross-sectional census data of

[‡‡‡‡‡] The IMDB, which has been integrated with two administrative data sets (taxation data, and landing data), is a comprehensive data source for investigating economic outcomes of immigrants and refugees who landed in Canada since 1980 (Statistics Canada, 2017l).

refugees who resettled in Canada between 1980 and 2014 provides some interesting insights about the effects of four variables of interest on employment income taking some standard socio-demographic, human capital, and contextual variables into consideration.

The results from my descriptive and multivariate analyses show that PSRs earn more than GARs, for both men and women, and this finding is consistent with the findings of the previous research, based on descriptive and/or multivariate analysis, that exclusively studied refugee sub-categories primarily using the IMDB data (Dhital, 2015; IRCC, 2016c, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020c). A very recent study focused exclusively on GARs and PSRs (Kaida et al., 2020c) suggests the earnings gap between GARs and PSRs may disappear in 13 years. According to the IRCC's evaluation study of resettled refugees, the catch up time is 10 years (IRCC, 2016b). Other studies that compared different subcategories of refugees with other immigrant classes find the PSR-GAR earning gap over time narrows (Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Lu et al., 2020; Samuel, 1984; Watson et al., 2020). Most of these longitudinal studies suggest that resettled refugees' earnings may catch up to economic class immigrants within 7 to 15 years.

In a recent study, Watson and Lee (Watson et al., 2020) find that GARs and PSRs catch up to the Federal Skilled Worker (FSW) in 15 years. According to another Statistics Canada's recent study on three sub-categories of refugees, Lu, Gure, and Frenette (2020) found that PSRs and refugee claimants who landed in Canada between 2009 and 2010 were less likely than GARs to rely on social assistance and more likely to report employment income. According to Wilkinson and Garcea (2017), and Bevelander and Bevelander (1986b), the catch up time for refugees is 12-20 years. In studies on earlier cohorts of refugees, De Silva (1997) found 13 years, and Devoretz, Pivnenko, and Beiser (2004) found 7 years that refugees took increase their earnings. One recent 2016 census based study shows that refugee class immigrants earned 13 percent less (about 22 percent less for refugee men) compared to the economic class controlling for age (also age squared), years in Canada (also its squared term), knowledge of an official language, level of education, marital status, number of children, and CMA of residence (R. Pendakur, 2020).

So, PSRs experience short-term economic advantage over GARs, but not in the long-term (Hyndman & Hynie, 2016; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020b). PSRs quickly enter into the first job and earning an income more than GARs with the aid of private sponsors, and they do not use the first year for language training and employment services (Hiebert, 2009a; Hyndman &

Hynie, 2016). Past research attributes the PSR-GAR earnings gap to PSRs' advantage of private sponsors as social capital (Beiser, 2009; Devoretz et al., 2004; Lamba, 2003; Lamba & Krahn, 2003; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012; Samuel, 1984).

My finding suggests that the positive discourse about the private sponsorship program in the public, media and policymaking circles warrant further rigorous investigation. As past longitudinal studies considered only the known factors (such as education, language, duration of residence in Canada, location of residence in Canada, gender, age of arrival in Canada, and marital status) upon landing, there are many other factors to consider to evaluate the effectiveness of the GAR and PSR programs. My analysis of occupational status from the previous chapter also reveals that occupational attainment did not differ by admission category (i.e., type of sponsorship). Yet male GARs significantly fared better than male PSRs, which suggest PSRs might have accepted low-skilled jobs that do not correspond to their qualifications, so that they might not advance in their careers compared to GARs (Hyndman & Hynie, 2016). My multiple regression analysis using 2015 employment income (income from wages, salaries and commissions) available from the 2016 long form census confidential file that the earnings difference could be less $1,000 on average between GARs and PSRs. I admit that my analysis might have some influence from extreme cases despite the truncation of the employment income variable[§§§§§]. However, my finding seems to suggest a similarity with the findings of a study on

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[§§§§§] The descriptives of residuals of the logged employment income of the original variable (truncated at $1,000 to $199,000) run on Stata show a skewness of – 1.38, which is below that conservative threshold of 2.5, and a kurtosis + 5.34, which is over the threshold, while the unlogged employment income, and logged employment income before the regression model run on SPSS was even below 2 (Table 7.1). A residual plot analysis also shows that my OLS does not violate the linearity, and heteroscedasticity assumptions. A kernel density plot also suggests the normality of the residuals against fitted values except for a visible amount of peakness (kurtosis which is measured relative to skewness). VIF measures (VIF below 1.5, and tolerance below 1 on all predictors) also confirm that multicollinearity assumption was maintained. The use of robust standard errors in Stata also take care of the violation of the homogeneity of variance (Mitchell, 2015). The descriptive data shows that the range of income is between $0 and $800,000 but I included income earners of $1,000 and $199,000 to have a sizeable sample. Some studies used the minimum threshold of $1,000 to exclude low-waged workers and to define employed status, and to cap at $300,000 for employment income (that includes self-employment income) to avoid the influence of extreme cases (Evra & Kazemipur, 2019; Kaida et al., 2020c; Prokopenko, 2018). For my waged income given the concentration of refugees in low-income brackets, I truncated at $1,000 and $200,000 although my descriptives show that about 2.04 percent and 2.2 percent of all refugees in my study sample earned an income of below $2,500,

earnings of different categories of immigrants aged 25-64 who landed between 1990 and 2007 using the IMDB data (Mata & Pendakur, 2016). Compared to the earnings of skilled immigrants, GARs and PSRs' earnings were significantly lower (the coefficients were -11047, and 10,371 respectively) controlling for other factors, which suggest a gap below $1,000 for GARs and PSRs (Mata & Pendakur, 2016, p. 836).

Hyndman and her colleagues (2016) alert us that GARs and PSRs are not comparable and any comparison between them without taking into consideration various pre- and post-migration factors would not provide valid results. GAR's economic disadvantage could be related to pre-migration trauma, camp experiences, and disruption of work experiences, as well as post-migration health status, social capital, and work experience (Beiser, 2009; Devoretz et al., 2004; Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie, 2017; Hynie et al., 2016; Labman, 2016, 2019; Samuel, 1984), which were not studied in this thesis due to the limitation of the data used in this study. Several studies have revealed that refugees' pre-migration exposure to trauma and violence, and their health status (Beiser, 2009; Hynie, 2018a), inadequate income support (IRCC, 2016b, 2016c), and lack of resources for large sized families (Dauphin & Veronis, 2021), are pertinent issues for GARs' post-migration settlement in Canada. While 87 percent of PSRs felt the income support and in-kind support received from sponsors covered their basic necessities, only 53 percent of GARs felt that the level of RAP income support was adequate to cover their essential needs (IRCC, 2016b, p. 29).

More research is needed to understand the links between the conditions generated by sponsorships, use of settlement and integration services, and economic outcomes (Hyndman & Hynie, 2016), since the census data did not did not have information on the use of settlement and integration services, and social networks or social capital contexts. In a study on Vancouver City's immigrants, Hiebert (2009) finds that the earnings gap between GARs and economic immigrants is not wide, and GARs performed better than family class immigrants. Hiebert (2009) attributes the language training and other settlement services to GAR's better performance. The gap in language training referrals was almost closer for GARs and PSRs (86

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and over $125,000 respectively, and some extreme cases could affect my analysis. My sample restriction (including wages and salaries, not self-employment income) may have a potential sample selection bias as well (Skuterud, 2010). Despite meeting all the assumptions of multiple regression, future analyses can treat the influential cases to compare between models with, and without extreme cases.

percent versus 84 percent), yet the gap in referrals to employment services was very wide (44 percent versus 84 percent) (IRCC, 2016b, p. 29). GARs compared to PSRs accessed employment services in delays (IRCC, 2016b), which may affect the GAR-PSR earnings gap. The level of RAP income support to meet essential needs was insufficient, and the time and support for immediate RAP services (including temporary accommodation) for about two weeks needs to be extended given the GARs' specific needs.

Because of the refugee selection policy change through the IRPA 2001, the earnings gaps may happen between GARs and PSRs in the post-IRPA period as pre-IRPA GARs were selected on their ability to integrate, and post-IRPA GARs were the most affected and vulnerable refugees (Hyndman et al., 2014; IRCC, 2016b; Lu et al., 2020). My data analysis controlled for the number of years in Canada. More than three quarters (76.35 percent) of all refugees in my study sample landed in Canada between 1980 and 2001, and the remaining in the post IRPA period. My findings suggest policy initiatives embedded within a social justice framework should focus on employment services, health services, and financial resources that can address a human capital deficiency and other specific needs as well as the vulnerabilities of post-IRPA GARs (Dauphin & Veronis, 2021; Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Jedwab, 2018; Lu et al., 2020; Yu et al., 2007).

About one fifth of resettled refugees, mostly comprised of GARs, had less than a high school education. Canada is a post-industrialist society, and its knowledge-based economy grew from the 1970s that requires a highly educated and skilled labour force. A sizeable proportion of refugees with no postsecondary education would be less in demand in the current labour market. However, one third of refugees (GARs and PSRs are in equal proportions) upgraded their postsecondary education upon arrival in Canada. Refugees' post-migration education significantly increased their employment opportunities and earnings (Prokopenko, 2018) as is evident in research with highly educated immigrants in Canada (Anisef et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020). Pre-migration education and work experience, access to post-migration education, post-migration occupation, and Canadian work experience are other factors that can affect the earnings gap between GARs and PSRs, and these issues are well-established in immigrant research (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Frank et al., 2013). Yet these variables are not available in my data. A social justice perspective must incorporate

GARs' needs and deficiencies into refugee resettlement and integration planning and programs to ensure equality of opportunities and equal footing for all Canadians. Otherwise, GARs would turn out to be more marginalized and experience segmented assimilation with downward mobility unless equitable opportunities for labour market success are met for all population groups.

The literature suggests PSR program as an effective resettlement model and one of the reasons for this is the engagement of non-government actors (e.g., private citizens, community groups, or faith-based agencies) and the social capital of private sponsors in the admission and integration of refugees in Canada that has attracted many other countries to adopt this model as a best practice that was recently advocated for by the United Nations (Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2019; Labman & Pearlman, 2018). Many studies of immigrants and refugees underscored the importance of social networks or social capital in employment or social integration (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Evra & Kazemipur, 2019; Kaida et al., 2020c; Lamba & Krahn, 2003; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012). Despite the PSRs' social capital advantage, some recent research suggests that both resettled refugee groups experience similar challenges (Agrawal, 2019; Beiser, 2009). Although my study did not include a measure of social capital in my study, some studies indicate that GARs lack social capital compared to PSRs yet they develop social capital over time (Watson et al., 2020). GARs' secondary migration behaviour partly suggest the importance of social capital (IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020a).

The IRCC's Matching Center's efforts are to resettle GARs in the communities where they may have relatives/friends. About 41 percent of GARs who moved in their first year of arrival from their communities where they were originally destined to the migrated new communities reported that they did so to be closer to friends and families (IRCC, 2016b, p. 25). All forms of social capital may not positively affect employment income (Evra & Kazemipur, 2019). Some private sponsors' interference in refugees private affairs or the breaking down of private sponsorship agreements suggest that social capital may not always be a positive facilitator for all PSRs (Agrawal, 2019; Kantor & Einhorn, 2017). It is also felt that more than 60 percent of PSRs were known by the private sponsors, and this raises a concern that PSR is more a vehicle of family reunification and may not serve the UNHCR protection needs for the most

affected and vulnerable refugees (Cameron & Labman, 2020; IRCC, 2016b; Labman, 2016; Morris et al., 2021).

The gender wage gap as evident from my analysis mirrors the past research regardless of whether the group was an immigrant, refugee, or a Canadian-born population. Given the strong influence of gender on earnings controlling for the effects of other predictors (racialized minority status, levels of education, language skills, marital status, refugee sponsorship category, city of residence, length of stay in Canada, and age of arrival in Canada), refugee women might have on average over $12,000 less annual waged earnings than refugee man in 2015. My finding suggests there are other structural factors and social forces unmeasured in my analysis that can explain the employment income gap between male and female refugees in Canada. Earnings depend on some measurable post-migration factors, such as employment, occupation, work experience, and informal trainings, which were not controlled for in this analysis. Although pre-migration factors also affect earnings, the Census does not collect those data. Refugee women may not afford to work full time full year, and they may not find work in standard jobs, or they may not have other choices than working in temporary and precarious jobs due to the lack of time for skills upgrading, frequent disruption in their careers as they provide care work or household work (Moyser, 2017; Pelletier et al., 2019; Tastsoglou & Preston, 2005).

Although the correlational analysis does not show a significant association between the presence of children aged 5 or below (17 percent of the population had at least one child), and the presence of children aged below 15 (34 percent of the study sample had at least one child) and employment income, women's earnings may differ from men's as a result of the presence of children in their lives that need to be taken care of (Moyser, 2017; R. Pendakur, 2020). I did not control for the number of children, and marital status was thought of a being a proxy to understand the effect of having children on the economic outcomes. Pendakur (R. Pendakur, 2020) found that having children affected immigrant women more than men, and having three children reduced immigrant women's earnings almost double of the women having one child. In my separate analysis for refugee women, the single or never married status dummy variable was found to be non-significant, yet it was significant for refugee men. Refugee wives' earnings may be affected by factors like pre-migration labour force participation, family size, husband's earnings, husband's education, and gender role attitudes (Frank & Hou, 2015a).

The gender difference in occupational status as evident from my analysis in Chapter Six, coupled with my findings in this chapter suggests that due to traditional sociocultural norms, source country labour market experience, and contemporary gender division of labour (Frank & Hou, 2015b; Morissette et al., 2015; Moyser, 2017; Patterson, 2018), refugee women are more concentrated in the less rewarding low-skilled occupations rather than in the high paying managerial and professional or skilled trades occupations that may contribute to the refugee gender gap in annual waged earnings. Research also suggests that refugee women workers are overrepresented in gender segregated occupational niches such as low-paying sales and services positions (Mata, 2019). Due to labour market segmentation, women are concentrated in 'bad jobs' including part-time, temporary, non-standard and precarious jobs (Lehmann & Adams, 2017), that are typically located in the secondary labour market and pay poorly, require little formal education, are unskilled and insecure, provide scanty fringe benefits, and have limited mobility prospects (Brym et al., 2019; Mata, 2019).

As found in my analyses of employment and occupational status in previous chapters, the results from this employment income analysis also confirms the past immigrant economic integration research in the human capital tradition (Becker, 1964) that higher levels of earnings were associated with higher levels of education, for both men and women. Yet the surprising finding comes with respect to location of education that refugees' foreign education incurs an earnings penalty while Canadian education provides a premium to earnings. This finding is also consistent with past research (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Ewoudou, 2011; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Fortin et al., 2016; Girard & Smith, 2012; Houle & Yssaad, 2010; Phythian et al., 2011). For resettled refugees, the waged annual income difference could be on average $6,000 between college diploma/trades certificate holders, and over $11,500 (high school diploma holders as the reference group). While immigrants arrive with a higher educational level, many of them enrol in postsecondary schooling primarily driven by economic reasons as they experience an FCR barrier, and post-migration education positively increase earnings (Anisef et al., 2011; Banerjee & Lee, 2015; Banerjee & Verma, 2009, 2011; Phythian et al., 2011).

There are some studies showing that postsecondary education received in non-English speaking or developing countries are acutely devalued in the Canadian labour market because of the lower quality of foreign education (Anisef et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2009, 2011;

Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Girard, 2010a; Sweetman & Arthur Sweetman, 2004), which is not based on evidence or investigation but on prejudice (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Although past research shows that immigrants who received education in the United States, the United Kingdom, Western and Northern Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada are similarly valued (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). However, my study sample had a very small number of refugees who obtained education from these countries so I did not control for or analyze them as a separate category in this analysis. Other studies strongly suggest labour market discrimination that affect immigrant earnings in Canada (Li, 2001a, 2003). The issue of credentialism or the devaluation or non-recognition of the foreign education of immigrants (Picot, 2008; Reitz et al., 2014) is one of the structural barriers that block many immigrants from getting out of the "job ghettoes" of the secondary labour market. Dual labour market or segmented labour market theories suggest the workings of two relatively separate segments – primary and secondary labour markets representing good and bad jobs respectively (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009).

The finding that a Canadian university degree (bachelor's degree or higher) and college or vocational diploma had stronger positive effects on employment earners, and the lower transferability/portability of foreign credentials (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011; Anisef et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer et al., 2014; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008) suggest that the human capital model is inadequate to explain the social barriers that limit access for many qualified refugees and immigrants access to the occupations for which they are qualified (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Krahn, 2000). The devaluation or non-recognition of foreign credentials can be explained by the split labour market theory that focuses on immigrants work for low pay compared to the Canadian-born worker, and the labour market shelters theory that claims that professional associations act as internal labour markets/labour market shelters that use regulations and credential inflation so that immigrants cannot enter into certain professions or it keeps them into the secondary labour market (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). My findings advance past refugee research on postmigration education and foreign credential recognition.

Another finding from the female model showed that refugee women's foreign college or trades diploma had no effect on employment earnings compared to having a high school diploma, while a Canadian college or trades diploma significantly increased their earned wages.

Those who have a college or trades diploma earn more than those with a high school diploma, for both men and women. One possible reason could be that refugee women's inability to utilize a foreign trades certificate or college diploma in Canada either may be due to the non-recognition or non-licensing of their occupation, which is not unpacked from my data. Past research suggests that many immigrant women fail to practice their professions due to the lack of FCR, and they work in occupations unmatched to their education (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ewoudou, 2011; Fortin et al., 2016; Plante, 2011). Refugee women with a college diploma might have ended up finding a job in low skilled occupations or low paying industries despite having trades certificates. Refugee women's trades certificates or apprenticeship training received outside Canada might be in low-paying trades such as hair styling, which might not pay better than the jobs high school graduates do.

With respect to age of arrival in Canada, the multivariate analysis shows a striking result for the resettled refugee employment income. The predictor, age of arrival in Canada, was expected to be negatively associated with employment earnings as past research demonstrates that immigrants who come to Canada at young ages are likely to perform better in the labour market (Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Schaafsma & Sweetman, 2001). Immigrants who arrive at young ages obtain their education in Canada, have a Canadian experience, and learn new skills and earn more compared to those who arrive at older ages (Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Phythian et al., 2011; Schaafsma & Sweetman, 2001). The descriptive data shows a high proportion of refugees arrived in Canada as childhood refugees. So, among refugees who arrived as children (0-17), they may have different experiences than those who arrived as adults, which need further investigation. Some studies included refugees who arrived as adults (Kaida et al., 2020c). As my finding suggests refugees who arrived in Canada at an older age had higher earnings taking into consideration all of the effects of all other factors. One potential explanation could be the non-consideration of the different stages of settlement/integration affecting immigrants' economic experiences differently (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Another reason could be the inclusion of childhood refugees, whose experiences cannot be similar to child immigrants or second general immigrant children. Consequently, further studies need to analyze the employment outcomes of childhood refugees and adult refugees separately.

Studies on immigrant youth in the United States and Canada demonstrate a nonlinear picture in regards to integration (Boyd & Tian, 2016; Hou & Bonikowska, 2016a; Rumbaut,

2004; Wilkinson, 2008). There is a very limited number of studies on childhood refugees' labour market experiences (Hou & Bonikowska, 2016a, 2016b). While childhood refugees gain Canadian credentials and tend to not experience foreign credential issues compared to refugees who arrived as adults, my finding does not suggest this is the case. Given refugees' unique forced migration circumstances, lack of resources, and lack of cultural and social capital, many refugee children may drop-out of high school or from postsecondary education, although the drop-out rates are lower than non-refugee children (Hou & Bonikowska, 2016b; Lauer et al., 2011). Despite their aspirations and motivations, refugee children may be forced to join the workforce to support families.

Yet the effect of age of arrival in Canada on refugee earnings was not even statistically significant for the male model. So, the effect of the age of arrival variable on refugee earnings behaviour warrant further investigation. As this study was based on cross-sectional data, the levels of income at the initial years of earnings, the earnings growth, and the contribution of age of arrival to the earnings trajectories cannot be determined here. While existing studies using longitudinal data (such as IMDB or LSIC) demonstrate that refugees' earnings over time catch up to the economic class of immigrants (De Silva, 1997; Devoretz et al., 2004; Lussenhop, 2017; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017), the effect of age of arrival on refugee earnings cannot be the same for childhood refugees and refugees who arrived as adults. As my analysis includes a significant number of childhood refugees (who arrived at ages between 0 and 17), their Canadian schooling might explain better earnings as immigrant youth, particularly 1.5 generation children have exhibited better performance in education and the labour market in Canada (Boyd, 2002; Boyd & Tian, 2016; Kymlicka, 2010), and in the United States (Rumbaut, 2004).

However, some Canadian studies on refugee youth and childhood refugees demonstrated uneven outcomes concerning educational and school-to-work transitions (Bucklaschuk et al., 2012; Hou & Bonikowska, 2016b; Wilkinson, 2008). Refugees with a younger age of arrival in Canada may experience a lack of Canadian work experience, and may need to obtain Canadian schooling that may restrict their time to find job references, have social networks to provide employment information, and have on-job training/skills as they may also experience discrimination because of skin colour, accent, and official language proficiency (Lauer et al., 2011). Due to having limited financial resources, childhood refugees or refugee youth may experience challenges or struggle to continue in their schooling. Refugee youth may face barriers

due to their non-recognition of foreign education or experience. Many refugee children may be forced to work at an earlier age despite their educational aspirations to earn a postsecondary degree. Again, refugee youth from different ethnic groups may experience different challenges in the labour market as black youth, both male and female, experience lower postgraduation rates (Turcotte, 2020). Besides, a significant amount of studies on immigrant children's economic integration has been theorized as per the segmented assimilation theory (Portes et al., 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997) as opposed to linear trajectories proposed by the classic assimilation theory (Alba & Foner, 2016; Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003). Using the IMDB, Kaida and her colleagues (2020c) excluded GARs and PSRs who arrived in Canada before the age of 20 as childhood refugees' experiences would be different than adults. My findings suggest there could be unmeasured factors at work, and further research may conduct separate analyses for childhood refugees, and refugees who arrived in Canada as adults.

My analysis controlled for education, and did not control for field of study, occupation, industry, and work experience, which are strong determinants of immigrant earnings (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Lo et al., 2010). My multivariate analysis controls for several factors. It is not known if refugee women's foreign credentials are recognized, if they are working in occupations for which they are trained in, if they were working full time, or if they are working in regulated or unregulated occupations. In addition, the priority for family survival over achieving postmigration human capital may affect refugee's earnings as they lack the financial resources to get their diplomas recognized, or to pay the necessary fees to complete the bridging courses to obtain a license to practice the professions for which they were trained. Future studies should investigate these important components of postsecondary education and foreign credential recognition (Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Girard, 2010a, 2010b; Girard & Smith, 2012).

In Canada, the postsecondary graduation rates are higher for females than males in general, yet women are less represented in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and maths) occupations (Brym et al., 2019). Women's fields of study are low-paying compared to men's (Lo et al., 2010). Refugee women tend to be studying in low-paying fields of study such as administrative and secretarial science while refugee men tend to obtain high-earning degrees in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine and optometry, pharmacy, and law (Lo et al., 2010). Refugee women's lower earnings could also be due to their clustering in low-paying industries and less skilled occupations compared to men as evident from the results found in Chapter Six.

Refugee women's labour market disadvantages can be multiplicative because of the intersectionality of different layers of immigration status, racialized status, poverty, and health (Brym et al., 2019). Women's overrepresentation in the jobs typical of the secondary labour market and lower earnings can be explained with the segmented labour market approach, critical race theory, and intersectionality theory (Brym et al., 2019; Mata, 2019).

My findings also highlight that the labour market cultural barriers are another potential factor that may affect refugee earnings (Bauder, 2005). Employers' perception of the lack of language skills and soft skills to perform jobs in the hiring process ensure that many skilled applicants never reach the interview stage (Oreopoulos, 2011), and this can disadvantage resettled refugees. Sociologists attribute 'cultural capital,' which is defined by Bourdieu (1998) as "the stock of learning and skills that increase the chance of securing a superior job" and the credential inflation (i.e., the requirements of more certificates and degrees to qualify for specific jobs) to the labour market outcomes (as cited in Brym et al., 2019, pp. 448–449). Bauder (2005) finds that Canadian immigrants face the dominating workplace norms and hiring practices that can act as barriers apart from other typical obstacles, such as human capital deficiencies, lack of FCR, and ethnic and racial discrimination. Bourdieu's (1977, pp. 18) concept of 'habitus,' defined as "a system of schemes of perception and thought" that "acts ... as an organizing principle" of behaviour (as cited in Bauder, 2005, p. 82) is also used to understand the integration process.

Bauder (2005) observes that a non-congruence exists between the dominating labour market rules and practices and immigrants' 'habitus.' The NOC of Canada does not have any mechanism to minimize the unfair subjective evaluations of employers in hiring individuals in occupations despite meeting the measurable requirements such as education and training (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2021b). Refugees are less likely to be familiar compared to other immigrants of dominating labour market rules and practices, and they often mobilize ethnic and family networks to generate employment strategies (Bauder, 2005). In response to the labour market barriers, refugees may navigate the employment opportunities in specific labour market segments and occupational niches (Bauder, 2005; Brym et al., 2019; Mata, 2019). Amidst structural context and barriers, refugees use their social capital to find employment (Bauder, 2005; Lamba, 2002; Lamba & Krahn, 2003), or they are forced to give up looking for paid jobs and resort to self-employment (Bauder, 2008; Li, 2001b), or they are forced

to find jobs for which they are overqualified (Krahn, 2000; Mata, 2019; Nourpanah, 2014). Many refugees cannot but to choose to access welfare at least in the initial years (IRCC, 2016b; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020). Structuration theory (Giddens, 1979, 1982, 1984) helps us to understand that refugees' agency is being knowledgeable of barriers and uncertainties so that they do not give up doing whatever they have to and can do such as taking unskilled, survival or undesirable jobs despite having qualifications for higher skilled occupations.

Within resettled refugees, racialized refugees fared worse than non-racialized refugees in Canada controlling for the effects of other factors. The payoffs for racialized minority status are the same for male and female refugees. This finding is consistent with numerous research carried out in the past suggesting racialized immigrants' disadvantages and discrimination as ever-present in the Canadian labour market (Mata & Pendakur, 2016; Ng & Gagnon, 2020; Oreopoulos, 2011; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017; Skuterud, 2010). Although the Employment Equity Act is intended to address visible minority, gender, and disability, government, and some private sector employers are responsible, yet the remaining labour market is not under the radar of the Employment Equity obligations. Inequities in the employment opportunities of racial minorities led to the recommendation for introducing employment equity legislation in the 1990s (Skuterud, 2010). The 2016 census and Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) indicated that racialized immigrants' labour market incomes have not improved despite years of government policy and programming (Ng & Gagnon, 2020). Racialized refugees' poorer labour market outcomes such as earnings as evident from my study reflect their experience of social injustice and structural inequities according to Galtung's (Galtung, 1996) positive peace theory.

The labour market theories relating to racial discrimination as used in the previous chapter can explain the lower levels of employment for resettled refugees. The split labour market theory (Bonacich, 1972) is about inter-group conflict in the labour market based on perceived threat between racialized and non-racialized groups. This theory suggests that refugees would be working as cheap labour in contrast to the dominant group. Refugees' experiences of the non-recognition of foreign qualifications because of the regulations and the imposition of additional credential requirements (i.e., credential inflation) limit the access of qualified refugees to access professional positions, which can be explained by the labour market shelter theory (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Krahn et al., 2000; Mata, 2019) that forces them to work in survival jobs or bad jobs that pay poorly. Dual or segmented labour market theory

argues that refugees, immigrants, and racialized minorities experience labour market discrimination that bar them exiting from the secondary (bad jobs) to primary labour market (good jobs) (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Most of the secondary labour market jobs are precarious, and because of the social barriers, refugees concentrate in survival jobs, low-paying and low status jobs in the secondary labour market (Mata, 2019).

Among other control variables, I used years in Canada[******], official language knowledge, city of residence, and marital status, and these variables are also used to examine the labour market outcomes of immigrants, particularly Afghan immigrants, using the 2016 Census data (R. Pendakur, 2020). My study shows that with time spent in Canada, refugees improve their earnings, and the payoff for time in Canada since landing is similar in direction and magnitude for both female and male refugees. This finding confirms the results from past studies (Ewoudou, 2011; R. Pendakur, 2020; Plante, 2011)

Being single or separated/divorced/widowed refugees (as compared to being married) was negatively corelated with earnings for both men and women. My finding partially supports the finding from a 2016 census-based study on immigrants including refugees. As compared to being single, married women had lower earnings (R. Pendakur, 2020). Contrary to my findings, Pendakur (R. Pendakur, 2020) finds that single and divorced men performed better in the labour market. This finding suggests, as discussed in earlier empirical chapters, married refugees' agencies to establish and integrate successfully in Canada despite having various disadvantages. This finding also debunks the traditional gendered division of labour argument that married couples may act as a source of emotional support for each other's work, and share responsibility for children and household work. As my study shows, more than 60 percent of the study population own a house, or have a mortgage payment that is a big expense. Both sets of couples work to earn enough for family expenses, children's education, and a future emergency fund. My study did not include household status (single parent or family) and the presence of children that can affect employment, earnings, and home ownership (R. Pendakur, 2020). My finding regarding refugees who are divorced/separated/widowed suggest that they may have children for

[******] Some studies use the cubic/quadratic term in the equation (R. Pendakur, 2020). The use of the quadratic term in my equation appears to be statistically not affecting my models, and the quadratic term was later removed from the model as Mata and Pendakur (2016) did the same.

which they cannot work full-time or they lack time to develop a career because of childcare (Moyser, 2017; Patterson, 2018).

My results reveal that the payoff for speaking English was similar in direction and magnitude for refugee men and refugee women. This is consistent with earlier studies (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Mata & Pendakur, 2016; R. Pendakur, 2020; Plante, 2011; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). The unexpected finding was that both male and female refugees who speak French or are bilingual were less likely to have higher earnings. Conversely, Pendakur (R. Pendakur, 2020) finds that the ability to speak French and to have bilingual proficiency positively impacted immigrants' employment and income. The finding from my analysis suggests that most of the refugees that speak French may find limited job opportunities in Canada, and most of the Francophone resettled refugees might reside in Quebec or in other French dominant labour market cities. Compared with other provinces that are under the Federal government jurisdiction, Quebec is independent in governing its immigration and refugee resettlement programs. This finding also points to the importance of the training of the dominant language of the region (Akbari, 2011). It may also be possible that refugees that resettle in Quebec experience more challenges than other provinces (Boudarbat, 2011).

City size is associated with immigrant settlement, integration and social inclusion (Bonifacio & Drolet, 2017). Each city is a separate labour market with its own sociodemographic composition, and reveal earnings disparity that is spread across cities (Cardozo & Pendakur, 2008). I included the 'city of residence'[††††††] variable to focus on CMAs as they are roughly equivalent to the labour market (K. H. Choi et al., 2021). For resettled refugees, one's region of residence provides an interesting (and mixed) finding. The main finding is that compared to refugees who are currently living in the three gateway cities (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver), refugees living in larger CMAs (Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa-Gatineau), and refugees living in small CMAs, urban areas or rural areas were more likely to have higher levels of income in 2015

[††††††] I define 'city of residence' following Statistics Canada's classification of the Canadian urban system using the functionality criteria rather than political criteria. Other definitions of cities ignore the availability, number and quality of services and amenities (Bonifacio & Drolet, 2017, p. 5). According to the 2016 Census, most refugees were living in CMAs and CAs. There are 35 CMAs in Canada in 2016. First-tier cities are gateway cities; second-tier cities include Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Ottawa-Gatineau; and third-tier cities are those with populations less than 100,000. The classification of cities is not static.

controlling for all other factors. My findings suggest that refugee resettlement in non-gateway cities can promote refugees' economic well-being. In income terms, residents in larger CMAs had increased their income by $6,809 than refugees in residing in three traditional immigrant receiving cities. The payoff for living in small CMAs, CAs, or rural areas was associated with a $2,066 higher income compared to living in three first-tier cities. The coefficient for mid-sized cities (Winnipeg, Quebec City, Hamilton, Windsor, London, and Kitchener) was negative yet not statistically significant. My results support Pendakur's (R. Pendakur, 2020) findings that immigrants that live in larger CMAs (Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa-Gatineau) had positive impact on employment and earnings. Using the 2016 Census, Pendakur's (R. Pendakur, 2020) finds that both male and female immigrants living in larger CMAs and in selected mid-sized CMAs compared to those living in outside selected CMAs had higher earnings, yet my study finds the payoff for male refugees living in mid-sized refugees was non-significant. Pendakur also finds that female immigrants living in gateway cities had lower earnings in contrast with male immigrants. According to Haan's (2008) study, the income difference between gateway and non-gateway city was not significant yet the employment mismatch differed significantly, and racialized minority status explained the earnings difference among immigrants in gateway and non-gateway cities. Refugees may experience fewer resources and limited opportunities in small cities, and members of racialized group members may face racism as barriers to equity in the labour market (Bonifacio & Drolet, 2017). As discussed earlier, resettled refugees may opt for secondary migration and find better economic opportunities to be close to family/ethnic networks (IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020a). Some studies point to concerns over the availability of specific health facilities in certain cities where GARs are destined (Beiser, 2009; Hynie, 2018a; Hynie et al., 2019).

My income analysis incurs several limitations regarding data, methods, and findings. First, I only considered resettled refugees' personal annual gross earnings received as wages, salaries and commissions (no self-employment income) in 2015. I excluded self-employment income since self-employed refugees' experiences differ from paid workers. Self-employed workers may report expense claims and have a negative income (Plante, 2011). Some studies also focused on waged employment income (Mata & Pendakur, 2016; K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Plante, 2011; Skuterud, 2010). The largest sector of Canada's labour force is the wage sector, and over 85 percent of resettled refugees were paid employees in the census week. Future

study needs to separately analyze the earnings behaviour self-employed refugees (about 15 percent of the study sample). The attitudes of self-employed resettled refugees and the factors explaining the propensity to self-employment may provide further insights about their labour market integration in Canada (Bauder, 2008; Li, 2001b). Racialized minority workers might be more prone to self-employment for high earnings (K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998).

I also did not examine refugee earnings by type of worker (e.g., full-time, or part-time status). Job or work characteristics (such as industry, full-time/part-time status, weeks worked affect earnings of immigrants (K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 2010). About 16 percent of the study population were part-time workers (usually they worked 30 hours or less a week in their main paid job). I also did not include refugees who landed in 2015 and 2016 as they might not have a full year income for the 2015 calendar year (Houle, 2019). This restriction for income analysis excludes refugees (about 4 percent of the study population, 4.26 percent of refugee women, and 3.99 percent of refugee men) who were resettled in Canada within the last 16 months (from January 01, 2015 to May 10, 2016).

I also did not control for refugees who are either in the first year or first two years when they are on income support under the refugee resettlement program, when they are expected to upgrade their language and employment skills, and when they are not supposed to be in the labour market. Some scholars suggest the first two years are critical for newcomers for settling into a new and unfamiliar country, and this time needs to be considered for the income analysis (Mata & Pendakur, 2016). For resettled refugees, the first year is intended for adaptation to the new home milieu, and to utilize the time accessing to language, employment and other settlement services so that they become self-reliant from month 13 (IRCC, 2016b). GARs' later years' positive and better outcomes were found to be associated with language training and employment services use (Hiebert, 2009a). Like other immigrants, refugees are eligible for settlement and integration services for the first three years or until they become citizens as well. Resettled refugees can also enjoy public education and federal/provincial services. About one-third of the study population earned their Canadian postsecondary education upon arrival.
Over time, refugees develop human capital to advance economic opportunities (Prokopenko, 2018; Watson et al., 2020). Almost half of the study population had high school and below education. So, future studies can analyze separately by high educated and low educated refugees, and the analysis of refugees' economic outcomes with respect to location of high school, which

was not available from the 2016 Census data, that may provide more insights about the economic outcomes for those who earned a high school diploma in Canada and who obtained a high school diploma overseas. Future research must include refugees' mental health, and disability factors as research suggest that we need to pay attention to their unique experiences of violence, trauma, and health needs (Beiser, 2009; Hynie, 2018a; Hynie et al., 2019; Ziersch et al., 2020). Government planning and programming must integrate and embed a social justice framework and practices within healthcare to meet specific health services and needs for refugees as health is a social justice issue (Chung et al., 2008; Yanicki et al., 2015). Despite the fact that GARs have disadvantaged social and psychological backgrounds, they fare reasonably better than family class immigrants in employment earnings (Hiebert, 2009a; Montgomery, 1986b).

I also restricted my income analysis to resettled refugees who earned between $1,000 and $200,000 in wages, salaries, and commissions in 2015. My study excluded refugee earnings below $1,000, that constitute about 23 percent of the study population, and those who earned $200,000 and over (that comprise about half a percent of the study population). The OLS estimates of the earnings equations of refugees who are employed in the wage sector may be biased because those who are paid waged earners, those who are unemployed, and those who are out of the labour force are collectively dissimilar (Plante, 2011, p. 43). Due to this selection/truncation, the OLS estimation may be biased (K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, p. 523), and the issue of endogeneity may also impact the regression analysis (Heckman, 1979; Skuterud, 2010).

There are some other factors that are either not available from the data or are not included in my study. No single study can capture all of the explanatory factors as a single study, and hence my study is partial in the sense that many observable and unobservable factors may affect the complex construct of labour market integration (Potocky & Mcdonald, 1995). Although my study findings suggest that there is labour market discrimination, I did not include factors like place of birth or racialized groups that may affect earnings differently (Mata & Pendakur, 2016; K. Pendakur & Pendakur, 2010; Skuterud, 2010). A study of refugees from 13 countries/regions demonstrate that certain groups experience worse outcomes compared to others (Picot et al., 2019). Future research can analyze refugee employment outcomes by including occupation, and industry of employment, and post-migration education to shed light on earnings and labour

market discrimination. Further studies can also address subjective aspects of discrimination experienced in the labour market using mixed methods/qualitative approaches.

Although my analysis met all assumptions of multiple regressions as detailed in the footnotes in the empirical chapters, my analysis exhibited minor deviations from the normality assumptions (kurtosis of residuals over the conservative threshold of 2.5) that might be due to the inclusion of refugees who earned over $125,000 and extreme cases with refugees' earning below $2,500 compared to the mean income (about $43,000) in 2015 (Table 7.1). Despite these issues, the results of this multivariate analysis of the target population's earnings, one of the primary indicators of economic integration, is based on a very reliable and high quality CRA's taxation data integrated for the first time with the 2016 census data.

7.4. Conclusions

Past research has demonstrated that refugees earn less than economic class immigrants. My goal in Chapter seven was to show the correlates of resettled refugees' earnings in Canada. The descriptive data demonstrates that many refugees tend to earn from a paid labour market, although many refugee workers are likely to have lower levels of earnings. This study restricted the sample to refugees who resettled in Canada between 1980 and 2014 so that the analysis includes refugees with a full year of paid employment income (waged income, not self-employment income) for the 2015 calendar year.

The multivariate analysis included some important factors to predict employment income adjusting for differences in the key determinants such as years in Canada, knowledge of official language, marital status, visible minority status, and city of residence. The finding on the effect of location of study, and age of arrival in Canada are rarely studied in prior refugee economic integration research. Overall, this study adds to the extant quantitative research on earnings exclusively for resettled refugees using the nationally representative census data with high quality CRA's income data for the first time integrated with the Canadian census in 2016.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS: REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT, SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

In this dissertation, I analyzed data from the most recent Census of Population to study the economic integration of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) in Canada. The goal of this national scale investigation was to conduct a broader assessment of GARs and PSRs based on three indicators in a single study – employment status, occupational status, and employment income, and their connection to social justice, while previous research overwhelmingly focused on their employment status and/or income. This study adds to the existing research in several ways in terms of the indicators and variables addressed in economic integration, the use of secondary data, the geographic scale of analysis, sample size, and policy and research implications, that will be highlighted in this conclusions chapter. I, first, outline the overall key findings of the study. Then, I discuss its policy implications for Canada as well as implications for PACS. Finally, I suggest a future research agenda for studying resettled refugees' integration into the Canadian labour market.

8.1. How are Resettled Refugees Faring Economically in Canada? Overall Key Findings

The Canadian research overwhelmingly focused on the economic outcomes of immigrants with refugees as one group or entry class, and compared refugees with either the economic class or the family class of immigrants (Abbott & Beach, 2011b, 2011a; Aydemir, 2011; Devoretz et al., 2004; Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014; Mata & Pendakur, 2016; Montgomery, 1986b; Sweetman & Warman, 2013). The existing research demonstrates the poorer economic outcomes of refugees (as an entry class) compared to the economic class immigrants in Canada (Hyndman, 2011; Picot, 2008; Sweetman & Warman, 2008; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yu et al., 2007). The refugee-non-refugee immigrants' gap in economic outcomes is well established in other Western host countries as well (Bevelander, 2016; Donato & Ferris, 2020; Ott, 2013). As expected, past Canadian research identifies human capital deficits (i.e., level of education, official language skills) primarily among refugees. The most common approach is using a benchmark to compare the labour market experiences of an immigrant group with native-born or other immigrant groups within the host country (van Tubergen, 2006, p. 1). In contrast, my study

did not use any benchmark, rather it examined how some refugees are faring better than others adjusting for differences in key individual and contextual characteristics.

My thesis is centered in Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) and contributes to the gap in quantitative research on GARs and PSRs exclusively by gauging how resettled refugees are faring in the Canadian labour market from a social justice lens, i.e., if resettled refugees' labour market outcomes are fair and equitably distributed, and if they share equality of opportunity, status, and access in the labour market. In doing so, my thesis research conducted a national level investigation using a new data resource developed by Statistics Canada linking the census data with two administrative datasets (taxation data from CRA, and admission data from IRCC). Before 2016, the Census did not have information on admission categories, and it burdened individuals to self-report their income on the census questionnaire (Jedwab, 2018; R. Pendakur, 2020; Sweetman & Warman, 2013).

Prior research suggests that the complex multidimensional construct of economic integration can have different indicators (Ager & Strang, 2008; Alba & Foner, 2015; Castles et al., 2002; Collins, 2013; Ott, 2013; Wilkinson, 2013). Numerous ascribed demographic characteristics (age, gender, ethnicity, place of birth), achieved personal attributes (human capital variables), migration factors (age of arrival, years since immigration, pre-migration characteristics), and contextual factors (place of residence, social networks, sponsorship, access to settlement and integration services) can influence refugees' labour market integration in a host country (Ager & Strang, 2008; Castles et al., 2002; Donato & Ferris, 2020; Hyndman et al., 2016; E. S. Lee et al., 2020). This thesis examined three dimensions of labour market integration - employment, occupation, and income, which are rarely combined in past immigration research, to conduct a broader assessment of the labour market integration of resettled refugees and their connection to social justice in a single cross-sectional study. Again, a single study cannot be considered comprehensive enough to assess and analyze the economic integration of refugees as many factors may impact their economic integration that is a complex, multidimensional construct, for which a partial analysis is more practical and feasible as evident in the academic literature that different studies focus on different predictors of economic integration (Potocky & Mcdonald, 1995).

This thesis addressed nine independent variables in resettled refugees' labour market integration and some of these have received only limited attention by scholars, such as admission

category (government assisted, privately sponsored), location of study (Canada, foreign), and age of arrival in Canada. My study's four focus variables of interest are gender, admission category, location of study, and age of arrival in Canada. The other five independent variables included in the study are racialized minority status, marital status, knowledge of official language, city of residence, and time in Canada since landing. The same set of nine predictors are included in all three multivariate analyses.

To achieve the first objective, a descriptive analysis of the study population characteristics and the economic outcomes of GARs and PSRs was conducted. My descriptive analyses as detailed in Chapters Four to Seven, provides a background for my multivariate analyses to examine resettled refugees' economic integration by adjusting for the differences in the key determinants included in the study. In my multivariate analyses, the models are first applied to GARs and PSRs together to address the research questions second to four. The admission category was included as a focal independent variable in all three analyses. Given the potential differences in labour market outcomes by gender, separate models were run for male and female separately.

The descriptive analysis shows a mixed (i.e., positive and negative) picture about the economic outcomes of resettled refugees, which suggests refugees' labour market participation relates to social justice issues. The resettled refugees have higher rates of labour force participation, human capital, and home ownership, as well as lower rates of receiving social assistance that counteract the prevailing myths and negative stereotypes that they do not want to work, pay taxes, drain the welfare system, and receive financial assistance more than Canadian pensioners do (Best & Yachoua, 2015; Hathaway, 2007; Kanu, 2008; Kaplan, 2009; Puzic, 2015; Sersli et al., 2010; UNHCR, 2019a). Despite the fact that an overwhelming proportion of the study population were established immigrants (i.e., who had lived in Canada for over 10 years) and Canadian citizens, the labour market outcomes of resettled refugees point to the possibility that various social barriers and systematic injustices prevail in the society.

The concentration of a large proportion of highly educated resettled refugees in less skilled jobs may refer to the structural barriers and social inequities they face, which refer to social injustice issues. For example, the devaluation of their human capital and the non-recognition of their foreign credentials may prevent resettled refugees from utilizing their full human potential in their new home. The labour market outcomes of resettled refugees do not

reflect a Canadian policy of successful integration as embedded in the latest immigration and integration policy, namely, the 2001 IRPA. This is also evident in other multiculturalism, human rights, and employment equity policies that emphasize social justice for all citizens. Prejudice and stereotyping are structural issues, and these types of anti-refugee destructive narratives in the public arena, the media or political discourses may affect intergroup relations in a multiethnic country. This constitutes structural violence according to Johan Galtung's (Galtung, 1969) theory of social justice. Thus, my study finds that human capital theory and classic assimilation theory are inadequate in explaining resettled refugees' poorer economic outcomes in Canada. Structural violence, segmented assimilation, and structuration theories are found to be very useful constructs in explaining the study findings within a framework of social justice, i.e., the fair and equitable distribution of benefits and burdens in the labour market. Results from the multivariate analyses presented in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven unpacked some of the deeper social justice issues facing resettled refugees in the Canadian labour market. Nine key findings emerged from this study.

First, male refugees are more advantageous compared to female refugees in the labour market. A gender difference was evident in all three labour market outcomes, employment status, occupational status, and employment income, analyzed in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven respectively. The descriptive analysis shows differences in the independent variables by gender (Table 4.1). Controlling for the effects of all other eight predictors, refugee men are more likely be employed, to be working in high skilled occupations, and to be earning more in comparison with refugee women. Women's poorer employment outcomes may be due to traditional gendered roles (i.e., breadwinning and homemaking), cultural expectations that women sacrifice for their husband's careers, caring work for children, and the intersectionality of race, immigrant status, and gender (Akbar, 2019; Boyd, 1999; Brym et al., 2019; Lauer et al., 2011; Moyser, 2017; Tastsoglou & Preston, 2005; Xue, 2008). Gender occupational segregation may also reflect the traditional gender norm-driven industrial sectors, the cultural expectations that women should not to be in certain professions (e.g., male-dominated skilled trades), and to be concentrated in certain professions (e. g., caring or hairstyling), and the concentration in non-STEM fields of study (Brym et al., 2019; CBS News, 2020; Mata, 2019; Weikle, 2019b). Gender norms (i.e., women expected to be at home and men expected to be the breadwinners), gender roles (homemaking and caregiving by women), lack of affordability for women to work full-time

due to their care work for children or other family members as well as their overrepresentation in precarious temporary, non-standard work have been widely discussed as some key reasons for varying degrees of labour market integration among immigrants and the Canadian-born as well (Bucklaschuk et al., 2012; Moyser, 2017; Pelletier et al., 2019).

Refugee women's labour market barriers warrant special research and policy focus to address the intersectionality issues that promote social injustice. Intersectionality theory suggests that gender inequality cannot be explained solely with one dimension (e. g., gender) as the multiplicative effects of different factors (such as class, race, poverty, education, and area of residence) need to be considered as well (Brym et al., 2019). For example, my study suggests that being a woman, and living in gateway cities and larger cities (i.e., Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa-Gatineau) increase challenges for refugee women to find a job controlling for all other factors. Women were more likely to be employed in non-gateway cities and small CMAs. Again, refugee women living in small CMAs were more likely to be located in low-skilled occupations rather than in high skilled occupations. However, refugee women that lived in larger CMAs was significantly associated with their higher employment income.

Second, PSRs fare better in employment status and employment income, yet they fare worse in occupational status compared to GARs. The descriptive data shows small differences in most of the characteristics between GARs and PSRs. Adjusting for the differences in the key determinants included in the study, PSRs were more likely to be employed, and have higher levels of employment income compared to GARs. My findings on the PSR-GAR gap on employment status and employment income are consistent with the results from past research, i.e., IRCC's evaluation studies, regional studies funded by the IRCC or studies on specific group (e.g., Syrians) using IMDB data (Beiser, 2003; Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Lu et al., 2020; Samuel, 1984; Watson et al., 2020). My findings suggest GARs and PSRs, as also evident from the descriptive analysis under this study, may not be comparable given the premigration differences such as urban residence, refugee camp experiences, and length of displacement if not taken into consideration (Hynie et al., 2019), aside from the differences in selection policy and their vulnerability (medical and disability conditions, single parents with young children) (Hyndman et al., 2016). However, my findings provide a new insight that the refugee admission category was not a significant predictor of occupational status, yet male GARs

significantly had better occupational outcomes than male PSRs. PSRs may find a job quickly with the help of sponsors, and they may earn more from working in undesirable jobs or from multiple jobs as they may tend to accept jobs early (Hyndman & Hynie, 2016). Yet PSRs may not be satisfied with the work they perform as they may be trapped in odd jobs and cannot upgrade their human capital for occupational upward mobility.

As my analysis revealed, PSR's risk of working in low-status jobs suggest that PSRs tend to focus on work immediately after arrival in their destined communities with the help of sponsors, and got stuck in minimum wage jobs despite having higher human capitals than GARs (Hyndman & Hynie, 2016; Jedwab, 2018; Kantor & Einhorn, 2017). Private sponsors' close ties with refugees and direct observations of their economic struggles help them in finding a job quickly, but the notion of self-reliance and successful integration may not be met unless they work in desirable occupations that are commensurate with their human capital. While PSRs have short-term advantages as they quickly find work, earn more income, long-term outcomes are similar as evident in longitudinal data mentioned earlier (Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020c; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020). IRCC's own evaluation indicates that the GARs' earnings will approach the PSRs' level in 5 years, yet both groups experience lower levels of earnings after 10 years (IRCC, 2016b). A recent study exclusively comparing between GARs and PSRs found that the convergence time is 13 years (Kaida et al., 2020c).

As some GARs lack social capital, and are deficient in human capital, particularly as they are less knowledgeable about the official language, their specific needs including income support, mental and physical health, language training, and employment services (Beiser, 2009; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c) must ensure equity issues that are embedded within the social justice perspective. The results from my multivariate analysis on occupational status cannot be confirmed with any recent Canadian studies since no such study comparing occupational status between GARs and PSRs is available for review so far (Krahn, 2000; Mata, 2019), and relevant literature outside Canada is absent as PSRs are a newly introduced resettlement category for some countries. Overall, there are very few studies comparing between the GAR and PSR program, and more research is needed to explore the role of certain elements/aspects contained within these programs that lead to the successful integration of resettled refugees in Canada. Further analysis must control for potential pre-migration factors such as urban residence,

overseas camp experiences, and length of displacement may disadvantage GARs in the labour market (Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019).

Third, refugees with Canadian postsecondary education have a higher return on economic outcomes compared to refugees with foreign education. My findings with respect to education confirm partially human capital theory that higher labour market outcomes (employment, occupation, and income) go hand-in-hand with higher levels of schooling. My findings, however, suggest the payoffs for having a foreign college/trade credential or university degree (bachelor's and above) were substantially low compared to credentials received in Canada. This finding is consistent with the finding of a recent study focused on refugees' postmigration education and labour market outcomes (Prokopenko, 2018), and another study on refugees' experience of foreign credential barriers and occupational status decline (Krahn et al., 2000), as well as numerous studies that focused on immigrants, primarily postsecondary graduates (Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Ewoudou, 2011; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Phythian et al., 2011; Sweetman, 2014; Sweetman & Arthur Sweetman, 2004). The human capital theory fails to explain refugees' occupational status decline and lower employment earnings despite their having higher levels of human capital.

My findings on the Canadian – foreign credential gap suggest that refugees' experiences of structural discrimination and inequities are related to segmented labour market theory, split labour market theory, and critical race theory as illustrated earlier. The devaluation of refugees' foreign human capital, employers' bias towards Canadian education, and non-recognition of foreign credentials by regulatory bodies or professional organizations driven by FCR structural barriers, negative stereotyping of foreign education, prejudice about refugees' ethnocultural characteristics, and racial discrimination as claimed by different variants of labour segmentation approaches are some factors that discriminate against refugees in the labour market (Bauder, 2005; Brym et al., 2019; Cardozo & Pendakur, 2008; Samers, 2014). These findings suggest the presence of hidden, indirect, invisible, and institutionalized form of inequalities and injustices, or structural violence (Galtung, 1964, 1969, 1990, 1996).

My findings with respect to the location of study suggest that foreign credential assessment bodies, licensing authorities, and employers must incorporate a social justice approach into their practices that empower refugees. For example, positive peacebuilding among refugees should include equality of opportunities in the Canadian labour market that must be

ensured by providing access to different bridging programs; appropriate skills training: financial assistance to pay fees for exams, courses, and service charges; and to educate employers with adequate information about different education systems and best practices so that hard-earned foreign credentials become valued. This will ensure that hardworking refugees can practice in their professions and trades in Canada so that they have self-worth and can live in dignity, and become self-supporting as they use their full human potentials.

Fourth, age of arrival has an unanticipated association with employment status and employment income. My study findings (the non-significant association between age of arrival and employment status, and the significant positive association between age of arrival in Canada and employment income) do not suggest the expected findings (i.e., the younger the age of arrival in Canada the higher the employment success, and employment earnings). However, the association between older age of arrival and employment in low-skilled occupation relative to professional/managerial occupation, and the older age of arrival in Canada and employment in skilled trades occupations rather than professional/managerial jobs are my anticipated findings.

My findings seem to be inconsistent with previous studies' findings that focused on the 1.5- or second-generation Canadian immigrant children. Childhood refugees and refugees who arrived as adults may experience differential trajectories in the labour market in contrast with non-refugee immigrants and their offspring (Boyd, 2002; Boyd & Tian, 2016; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Rumbaut, 2004). The few studies of refugees who resettled as childhood refugees and refugee youth illustrate that refugee youth fare worst compared to the 1.5 or second generation immigrant children (Boyd & Tian, 2016; Hou & Bonikowska, 2016b; Wilkinson, 2002, 2008; Yoshida & Amoyaw, 2020), suggesting that while some refugee children may succeed, others may not in education and labour market as explained by the segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). My findings suggest that the assumptions of the classic assimilation theory for immigrant children (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003; Waters et al., 2010) does not apply to my study group as it is expected that by the time children enter adulthood they better acculturate through host country education, language training, and work experience facilitating their successful integration into the labour market. Refugee youth tend to be less knowledgeable in Canada's one of official languages, and their pre-migration experience including trauma may affect their educational and labour market transitions (Hou & Bonikowska, 2016a; Wilkinson, 2008). Parents' cultural expectations from Asian countries of

Asia and other continents in the Global South do not support children to be working during their school age, yet some refugee youth upon arrival may need to work, or they decide to drop from high school or university (Hou & Bonikowska, 2016b; Wilkinson, 2008; Wilkinson et al., 2010).

My sample included resettled refugees currently aged 25 to 64 who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2016 aged between 0 and 64. Past studies of refugees did not include age of arrival, and restricted the sample of refugees who arrived as adults since childhood refugees and refugees who arrived as adults might experience labour market integration differently (Kaida et al., 2020c; Prokopenko, 2018). Further research on childhood refugees and refugee youth are essential to confirm my finding, and to understand their labour market integration challenges as well as educational integration trajectories (Wilkinson, 2002, 2008).

Fifth, living in mid-sized cities compared to residing in three traditional gateway cities facilitates refugee economic integration. My study provides an interesting finding with respect to place of residence in Canada. Although living in six midsized CMAs (i.e., Winnipeg, London, Quebec City, Hamilton, Windsor, and Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo) consistently provided strong evidence facilitating employment and earnings it did not predict employment in professional/managerial occupations. My findings reveal that refugee women were advantaged in small and midsized CMAs, and those living in mid-sized CMAs earned a significantly higher levels of income. Refugee men living in smaller CMAs/non-CMAs, and residing in larger CMAs (Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa-Gatineau) had a significantly higher levels of earnings, yet they were disadvantaged in larger CMAs (i.e., Edmonton, Calgary, Ottawa-Gatineau) in finding a job. Refugee men living in mid-sized cities increased their risk of working in skilled trades rather than professional managerial jobs. The occupational status disadvantages in the gateway cities is evident in immigrant studies (Frank, 2011, 2013).

Earlier studies specify that resettled refugees experience secondary migration from their destined cities due to limited educational and labour market opportunities (Krahn et al., 2005), and lack of family or ethnic networks (IRCC, 2016b). Consequently, my findings highlight the need for further investigation into the refugee dispersal policy, the regionalization policy, and the mismatches between refugees and employment opportunities in resettlement locations across the country. GARs may experience labour market challenges in smaller Canadian cities and municipalities and can experience social isolation due to the lack of co-ethnic networks (Abid, 2020; Jenkins, 2019). Refugees' needs such as housing, childcare, and local transportations

warrant to be investigated as these issues are identified in IRCC's own evaluation and other studies (Carter et al., 2009; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Sherrell et al., 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2019), as well as in other countries such as Australia (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). Syrian refugees in the Prairies identified challenges like inadequate access to services in larger CMAs (Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017). The government must implement support mechanisms to facilitate the success of regionalization policy and benefit refugees accessing appropriate employment and life satisfaction.

Sixth, racialized status is a strong predictor of refugee economic integration. My multivariate analyses provided consistent evidence about the influence of racialized (visible) minority status on all economic outcomes (employment, occupation, and income) for both refugee men and women controlling for the effects of other factors suggesting the presence of racial discrimination in the labour market. Similar findings also persist in other refugee hosting countries. A study of three visible refugee groups in Australia found the degrees of disadvantages multiplied for the two racialized groups through the devaluation of human capital, employers' discriminatory treatment, and structural inequality of opportunity, and labour market segmentation due to visible difference leading to segmented assimilation (Colic-Peisker et al., 2003; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007).

Occupational downward mobility in Sweden among refugee groups (Ethiopians/Eritreans, Chileans, Iranians, and Romanians/Hungarians) were due to the lack of international transferability of human capital and/or discrimination (Rooth & Ekberg, 2006). In a recent study of 13 refugee groups in Canada, differences in labour market outcomes were attributed to ethno-cultural difference (Picot et al., 2019). My findings suggest that intersectionality theory and the multiplicative effects of being a racialized refugee, are combined with other factors such as being a woman, having a degree earned outside Canada, and/or arriving in Canada at an older age. Further research needs to use the interaction terms between the variables such as racialized status, gender, location of study, age of arrival, and examine differences in outcomes across different refugee groups.

Seventh, a person who is married was a strong predictor of refugee economic integration. With respect to marital status, my study provides some interesting findings that seem to be inconsistent with evidence from some other studies of immigrants. Being married was significantly associated with employment, employment in professional/managerial jobs, and

increased earnings. Being married relates to childcare responsibilities and home making that affect women's affordability to work full-time, and to have a professional career (Moyser, 2017; Patterson, 2018; Wilkinson et al., 2014). My findings also indicate that those refugees who never married and were single or a single parent may experience barriers and challenges that need to be addressed (Beiser, 2003; Beiser & Hou, 2006; Boyd, 1999; Patterson, 2018; Tastsoglou & Preston, 2005).

Eighth, knowledge of English was the key for refugees' labour market success. With respect to the refugees' knowledge of official languages, their knowledge of English only is consistently significant with employment, employment income, and employment in professional/managerial jobs. Surprisingly, those that were bilingual or had a knowledge of French only do not fare better in the job market rather they had lower employment chances. My findings may suggest that the mismatches between the dominant language and knowledge of the official language, and the mismatches between knowledge of the official language and the availability suitable jobs may influence refugees' labour market outcomes (Akbari, 2011; Boudarbat, 2011; Houle, 2014). More research that includes provincial analysis of refugees' economic integration and by cities of residence can provide refugees labour market experiences with respect to knowledge of official languages.

Nineth, time spent in Canada influenced all indicators of economic integration. The number of years in Canada was found to be a strong predictor of employment status, occupational status, and employment income controlling for the effects of the other factors included in the multivariate analysis. These findings are consistent with past studies on immigrants and refugees that improve one's human capital, earnings, and occupational status with time spent in Canada (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2013; Anisef et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Ewoudou, 2011; R. Pendakur, 2020; Plante, 2011; Prokopenko, 2018) to overcome various challenges or barriers such as the non-recognition of foreign education, or employers' devaluation of foreign credentials (Bauder, 2005; Bernard, 2008; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Devoretz et al., 2004; Frank, 2013; Girard & Smith, 2012; Kelly, 2014; Samuel, 1984; Shields et al., 2014; Wilkinson, 2017), and racial discrimination (Grabb et al., 2017; Ng & Gagnon, 2020; Reitz & Banerjee, 2017; Wallis & Fleras, 2009).

My findings suggest that resettled refugees may dispose of their time to get their foreign credential recognized, identify an appropriate postsecondary program, upgrade official language

skills, build social networks to get employment information/help, improve job search strategies, familiarize themselves with the labour market and workplace culture, gain Canadian work experience, and acculturate as more time is spent living in Canada (Bauder, 2005; Bevelander, 2016; Li, 2001b; Mata, 2019; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Xue, 2008). My findings also suggest that human capital and classic assimilation theory may partially explain refugees' post-migration human capital achievement, and employment and earnings for some refugees as time spent in Canada. Yet other refugee's employment in low-paying unskilled jobs, despite having higher levels of human capital, self-employment, or giving up to find employment, may be explained by theories of segmented assimilation, structuration, social capital, and ethnic enclaving (Bonacich, 1972; Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Lamba & Krahn, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

8.2. Implications for Policymakers and Practitioners

Academic studies, and government reports indicate that immigrant and refugee integration are important policy and research issues for Canada (Bloemraad, 2006; Canadian Council for Refugees, 2015; Hyndman, 2011; Hyndman et al., 2014; Wilkinson, 2008; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yu et al., 2007). Canada's immigration policy mainly administers three objectives: to meet labour market needs, to support family reunification, and to resettle refugees on humanitarian grounds, with the policy goal to successfully integrate newcomers as a two-way street process (Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2017). Among Canada's 7.5 million immigrants, 15 percent of them are refugees (Statistics Canada, 2017f). The government's immigration plans suggest that the share of refugees will continue to be significant in the years to come (IRCC, 2020a).

Canada's refugee resettlement policies under government assistance and private sponsorship have received global attention at the United Nations and European Commission levels, and its private sponsorship model has been increasingly exported to other countries (including the UK, Germany, Sweden) in recent years as a best practice for refugee resettlement and integration (Hansen, 2018; Hyndman et al., 2016; Labman, 2019; Pohlmann & Schwiertz, 2020). Despite the concentration of empirical studies on immigrants' economic success, refugees' employment experiences and economic integration issues remain a very under-

researched topic within the Canadian context (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2015; Hyndman et al., 2014; Pressé & Thomson, 2008; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017; Yu et al., 2007). Based on the findings of this study within the study's limitations, a number of policy recommendations are put forward for the policymakers, professional licensing or regulatory bodies, educational institutions, employers, and practitioners employing a social justice approach.

Debunking Myths and Stereotypes

As revealed from the study, refugees' successful integration may be affected if facts about resettled refugees' labour market experiences are not communicated to the public, the media, and politicians. Anti-refugee narratives, myths, and negative stereotyping are prevailing, and racial discrimination, and inequalities based on ascribed characteristics such as ableism, gender, and ageism, as well as location of study can influence public perceptions, the media, policies and host communities' reception and support (Hansen, 2018). There are prevailing anti-refugee discourses in the media, politics, and the public that often frame refugees as uneducated people, unskilled, and unwilling to work (Baffoe, 2013; Hathaway, 2007; Kanu, 2008; Kaplan, 2009; Sersli et al., 2010), which reflect direct as well as structural violence (Galtung, 1996) that must be addressed through adequate policy measures.

The higher labour force participation and employment rates of resettled refugees aged 25-64 and the higher proportions of home ownership and the lower rates of social assistance collection among resettled refugees, compared with the Canadian population aged 25-64, counter the negative stereotyping and myths that refugees are economic burdens, they are lazy, they do not want to work, they drain our welfare system, they do not pay taxes, and they get more assistance than our pensioners do (Best & Yachoua, 2015; Canadian Council for Refugees, 2013; Hathaway, 2007; Kanu, 2008; Kaplan, 2009; Puzic, 2015; Salehyan, 2019; Sersli et al., 2010; UNHCR, 2019a). Given that the majority of resettled refugees with youth inflows (before their 29th birthday) indicates their longer employment potentials before the age of retirement as well as their ability to pay more taxes compared to what is invested in their settlement and integration services (UNHCR Canada, 2019; Wilkinson et al., 2019; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

Myth busting programs about refugees need to include educational and awareness programs for employers who recognize the value of human capital for unregulated occupations.

Labour market discrimination studies indicate employers' pre-judgement, bias and stereotyping of refugee without evidence of their skillsets, quality of education systems, cultural capital, and experience (Bauder, 2005; Legrain, 2017; Reitz et al., 2014). Employers need to be educated about pre-migration refugee circumstances, foreign credentials, and educational systems so that they do not undermine resettled refugees' skillsets, qualifications, cultural capital, and other employment potentials of resettled refugees. The education of employers is the key to ensure social justice to ensure resettled refugees' employment success so that when employers hire employees that their subjective assessments do not go beyond the evaluation of formal credentials (education and/or license requirements) as suggested by the National Occupational Classification (NOC) structure of Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC).

Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR)

The higher unemployment rate of the study population compared to the general population aged 25 to 64 (6.4 percent), and the concentration of refugees in low status jobs indicates that resettled refugees may experience various labour market challenges and barriers. These include the occupational mismatch and lower levels of income from paid jobs despite their high labour force participation rate, employment rate, and human capital levels. The analysis of the 2016 Census data reveals that refugees with a foreign postsecondary education are more disadvantaged than those having a Canadian education. The FCR has been a very widely used policy issue in Canada (Aydede & Dar, 2011; Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Frank, 2013; Kelly, 2014; Plante, 2011; Sweetman, 2014), as well as in Germany (Sommer, 2021), Australia (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007), and other countries (Bevelander, 2016; de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010; Rooth & Ekberg, 2006).

Employment and Social Development Canada's (ESDC) Foreign Credential Recognition Program (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2021a) must undertake necessary policy measures targeting refugees that consider their circumstances (including forced displacement, the collection of documents verifying credentials, and time in displacement and in camps). The ESDC needs to raise awareness among resettled refugees about the FCR program, and create awareness among the regulatory bodies, educational institutions, and employers about the foreign credentials, the quality of education systems, and the best practices for bridging the

gap between their earned credentials and the Canadian labour market needs. The FCR can contribute to refugees' economic outcomes and in their achieving social justice through utilizing their full potential (including human capital). Consequently, the FCR for postsecondary educated refugees need be less complex and have support mechanisms given the challenges and barriers facing immigrants (Hawthorne & Lesleyanne Hawthorne, 2007; Houle & Yssaad, 2010; Kelly, 2014; Melchers & Schwartz, 2011). As FCR is not an SPO (Service Providing Organizations) mandate, refugee settlement and integration services should include FCR referrals targeting refugees along with employment services and language training (IRCC, 2016b; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017).

The finding that Canadian education advantages refugees over others who could not afford completing an education in Canada supports the findings from studies on immigrants (Adamuti-Trache, 2016; Anisef et al., 2003; Banerjee & Verma, 2011). Those who lack financial resources need support to acquire an education in Canada. This study suggests that assisting refugees with FCR should provide them with support for bridging courses, exam/licensing fees for educated refugees, and providing necessary support to those who could not afford post-migration education upon their arrival despite being motivated to acquire the necessary qualifications will ensure their economic inclusion, better social and economic integration outcomes, and a better health status leading to promoting social justice (Beiser, 2009; Beiser & Hou, 2001; Krahn et al., 2000; Wilkinson et al., 2019).

Access to Settlement and Integration Services

Although my study did not measure use of settlement and integration services directly, the study findings suggest access to those services influence labour market outcomes (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). IRCC's own evaluation and IRCC-backed regional studies indicate RAP income support are inadequate to meet GAR's needs (IRCC, 2016c, 2016b; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Post-IRPA GARs or other vulnerable refugee groups like Kosovars, Iraqis, and Syrians may need additional RAP and other settlement and integration services (Hyndman et al., 2016; IRCC, 2016c; Wilkinson et al., 2019). Given pre-migration vulnerabilities including mental or physical health needs, and the delay in entering the labour market, some refugees may experience poverty, rely on social assistance, and find difficulty to pay extra costs like repaying their travel

loans immediately upon arrival (Beiser, 2009; IRCC, 2016b; Pressé & Thomson, 2008). Before the IRPA 2001, Canada selected those refugees who can integrate into Canada (ability to establish in Canada criterion), and its abolition tend to bring more vulnerable and high-needs GARs in the post IRPA period, although such ability to fit in criterion was relaxed even before IRPA in times of crisis for certain groups (e.g., the Kosovars in the 1990s) (Hiebert, 2009b). As the data reveal, GARs who arrived recently (2006-2011) may experience more challenges in speaking official language, and finding a job because of a large proportion of them with high school diploma or less education compared to PSRs who tend to have higher rates of postsecondary education, and levels of knowledge of official languages (Jedwab, 2018). The study findings suggest that the Canadian government must adopt a social justice approach to address structural barriers to facilitate successful integration of immigrants and refugees that are deemed critical in Canadian policy documents.

Refugee Dispersal

Based on my findings with respect to cities of residence, refugee dispersal policy must consider the local labour market needs, especially for post-IRPA high-needs GARs (Agrawal, 2019; Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019). GARs are resettled in 34 communities outside Quebec and supported by 32 RAP SPOs (Abid, 2020). Syrian GARs were destined in all CMAs while PSRs were settled in 300 cities and municipalities in 2015 and 2016 (Jenkins, 2019). For destining GARs in Canada, the Matching Center of the IRCC so far factor family connections, ethno-cultural communities, official language, healthcare needs, and the availability of RAP SPOs, and the regionalization policy of the government to address depopulation in smaller cities and offloading the pressure off from the three gateway cities (Abid, 2020; IRCC, 2016b; Jenkins, 2019; Kaida et al., 2020a; Krahn et al., 2005), but also need to consider local employment conditions such as job opportunities, availability of entry-level jobs, and skilled occupations so that jobs match refugees' skills and attributes, and employers also need to be aware of refugee potentials (Bansak et al., 2018; Krahn et al., 2005; Legrain, 2017). As this study finds female refugees' better employment and earnings outcomes in small CMAs or rural areas that suggest that they are disadvantaged in the larger CMAs.

The federal government must include necessary policy measures that are imperative to address the labour market challenges GARs may experience in smaller Canadian cities and municipalities. These are linked to the lack of family or co-ethnic networks, non-welcoming community contexts, or limited employment opportunities, or children's educational opportunities (Abid, 2020; Bansak et al., 2018; Jenkins, 2019; Kaida et al., 2020a; Krahn et al., 2005). The descriptive data show PSRs tend to be in gateway cities compared to GARs and performed better in employment and earnings outcomes due to their sponsors' social networks and ties with destined communities. Given the secondary migration among GARs from small cities due to isolation caused by the lack of co-ethnic networks (Abid, 2020; IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020a), employers and local host communities need to be welcoming and aware of refugee potentials through community engagement programs (e. g., the Host Program), otherwise refugee newcomers may experience prejudice and negative stereotyping in those communities. Availability of affordable housing, daycare, and transportation can be other to address mismatches as discussed earlier (Carter et al., 2009; IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Sherrell et al., 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2019). The use of flexible data-driven algorithm to match refugees to jobs across resettlement locations (Bansak et al., 2018) can facilitate effective refugee dispersal policy and labour market success for GARs in Canada.

Needs-Based Employment Services

Employment is not just about the means of earning an income to meet one's basic human needs (J. W. Burton, 1990; Galtung, 1969; Galtung & Burton, 1990) it is also related to refugee's self-worth, identity, sense of belongingness, and their quality of life. Refugees are not resettled in terms of economic policy objectives like the skilled workers or business category. However, they wish to be self-reliant after month 12 months in line with the Canadian policies' emphasis on successful integration. This is facilitated by various refugee-specific programs like the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), income support or settlement and integration programs including language training, employment services, and foreign credential recognition apart from some generalized programs such as education, and healthcare (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Refugees will depend on social assistance when they cannot find a job or work in jobs for which they are overqualified because of non-recognition of human capital, and devaluation of their

skills and experience (Devoretz et al., 2004; IRCC, 2016c, 2016b; Lu et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2020). In addition, their health will be affected as employment, income and occupation are important factors according to the social determinants of health framework (Beiser, 2009; Hyman et al., 2000; Hynie, 2018a).

Refugee needs-based employment services must be designed with language and skill training to meet local economy demands so that they can smoothly transition to "month 13". PSRs and GARs are supposed to utilize the time in the first year to upgrade language skills and access employment services and job training, yet 'month 13' appears to be more challenging for many refugees, especially for those less educated refugees (IRCC, 2016b, 2016c; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017). Among some common challenges identified are lack of awareness about the settlement services, inadequate income support, and inadequate services facing resettled refugees pre-2015 cohorts (IRCC, 2016b) and recent Syrian refugee cohorts (IRCC, 2016c, 2019a; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Riziki, Abdul-Karim, et al., 2017). GARs were more likely that PSRs to access settlement services in the initial years. In Vancouver, GAR's initial year investment in language and settlement activities helped them to performs like the economic class immigrants (Hiebert, 2009a). Syrians PSRs tend to experience more difficulties than their GAR counterparts in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba while they have better language skills and education (Agrawal, 2019; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017). This study suggests adequate policy measures for less educated resettled refugees to access employment services and skill training in the initial years as more than half of the study population had high school or less education that disadvantage them in the contemporary knowledge-based and skill-intensive Canadian labour market as explained earlier with the aid of dual or segmented labour market theories (Brym et al., 2019; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Mata, 2019).

Precariousness in employment is a major concern for academics, policymakers, and workers (Jackson & Bauder, 2013; Kalleberg, 2009; Lewchuk, 2017; Wilson & Ebert, 2013). Many immigrants, women and minorities are overrepresented in such non-standard work in Canada (Brym et al., 2019; Lehmann & Adams, 2017). The rising gig sector has become a source of self-employment sector for many newcomers in Canada (Jeon et al., 2019; Jeon & Ostrovsky, 2020). While one third of refugees (GARs and PSRs) upgrade human capital by doing a university or vocational education but some of them may not be able to do so despite

aspirations for occupational mobility due to the lack resources or information. So, policy should look at those who are unemployed, those who are less educated and less proficient in official language, or those who are employed but not in jobs commensurate to their foreign human capital to provide support tailored to their needs such as licensing, bridging courses, paying fees, and job training. As the study shows a good number of refugees are in skilled trades or skill B level jobs, this study suggests necessary policies to help refugees undertake apprenticeship certificate as some of the refugees may not be aware of the potential of this sector and about the government's huge incentives to attract tradespersons. Women's overrepresentation in low-skilled jobs suggest policies targeting refugee women for skilled trades training and side by side addressing gender stereotyping, discrimination, social norms discouraging women to be in male-dominated trades or accepting traditional women-dominated trades, and childcare support for mothers with children.

Several recent empirical studies in the USA and Canada explain that the immigration-crime relationship based on a segmented assimilation model, and immigrant revitalization thesis indicate that immigrant children or adult immigrants may engage in crime because of their limited access to opportunity structures in the labour market due to unemployment and discrimination (Adelman et al., 2017; Chouhy & Madero-Hernandez, 2019; Jung, 2020; Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). The poor integration of refugee children and youth into schools and the labour market may also lead them to engage with gangs and other social ills resulting from the non-satisfaction of their basic human needs as a result of structural violence (Fast, 2017).

Some of the international best practices are highlighted here. Several countries in Europe (e.g., Sweden, Germany, Finland, Denmark) have developed new programs and incentive-based policies (i.e., cash bonuses for language training) that appear to be much more effective at fostering the economic integration of refugees in Canada given their different levels of human capital, particularly for less-educated refugees, such as language training, adult education, and/or labour market preparatory activities (Qi et al., 2021; Sommer, 2021). The Canadian government should work to implement similar policies to ensure that the recent influx of refugees and all future cohorts experience successful economic success upon their arrival to Canada. Although the labour market integration of refugees in one country cannot be comparable due to differential size and composition of refugee flows (Poutvaara, PaWech et al., 2016), Canada, the USA, and Australia have received more refugees through a planned resettlement program.

Recently arrived refugee groups (e.g., Bhutanese, Burmese, Liberians, and Somalis) may have more disadvantages upon arrival, as well as among some long-resettled groups (e.g., Cubans, Vietnamese) (Capps et al., 2015). Syrians (Houle, 2019; Hynie et al., 2019; Jedwab, 2018; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017) and Yazidis/Iraqis (Hyndman et al., 2016; Wilkinson et al., 2019) lack human capital and are in more mental and physical health needs compared to other refugee groups. Policies and programs play a significant role apart from refugees' personal characteristics and human capital (Legrain, 2017). The results of the study suggest some of the best practices from other countries despite the diversity of refugees in terms of skills, attributes, and needs. Canada like the UK, mainstreams settlement services for refugees and other immigrants, unlike Italy that as separate programs for refugees (Legrain, 2017). Targeted support for refugees like Germany, Spain, France, Sweden, and Netherlands are essential (Legrain, 2017).

Some research suggests systematic assessment of refugees' skills, education and competencies, and job training for appropriate skills including job searching strategies, resume building, and finding local job opportunities tailoring to diverse refugee skills and educational levels is important (Legrain, 2017). Resettled refugees' assessment can be conducted before their arrival when they are in refugee camps or in countries of asylum. A database of refugees' human capital, skill and potential before arrival developed by UNHCR or IRCC can be used for FCR upon arrival. This database can facilitate skilled refugees to access the recently introduced Canada's project for refugees to access economic pathways such as the Provincial Nominee Program or the federal economic program, e.g., Atlantic Pilot Program (IRCC, 2020e). As I revealed in this study, many resettled refugees have extensive range of skill and credentials, yet refugees may lack the ability to equitably access the economic stream immigration of Canada as it was not designed to consider refugees who are in camp displacement contexts (C. D. Smith & Wagner, 2021). Refugees may have issues with passports, and financial solvency to qualify for the economic stream (C. D. Smith & Wagner, 2021).

Language training for those with no functional literacy and numeracy or less educated refugees, or and those with a postsecondary education need to be tailored accordingly. Individualized strategy tailored to individual refugee circumstances is found effective as in Sweden, Finland, Italy, Belgium, Spain where refugees receive assessment followed by appropriate training (Legrain, 2017; Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2018). For post-IRPA disadvantaged

GARs, or other vulnerable refugees, individualized integration plan can substantially improve labour market outcomes. Given the importance of local experience, Matching Grant Program or Wilson-Fish Program in the US, or subsidized new-start jobs like Sweden and Germany that allow refugees gain experience/internship/apprenticeship for which certain months' wage/salary to be paid by governments, and well-designed mentoring programs for skilled refugees in Germany where companies provide internships and apprenticeships targeting skilled refugees, job-search counseling as done in Austria, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden, and work placement such as Nova Scotia's six weeks work placements where refugees get unpaid work experience and increase professional contacts and references (Legrain, 2017). Use of apps in Germany and online services in the USA, the UK, and Denmark to match refugees to jobs are examples for job matching best practices (Legrain, 2017). A flexible data-drive approach to match refugees to resettlement locations based on multiple criteria and constraints used by nine voluntary agencies in the USA in cooperation with the Department of State (Bansak et al., 2018) Research shows refugees who undertook these programs subsequently were very successful to find a quality job (Legrain, 2017).

8.3. Implications for Future Research

Given the limitations of the study, and the gaps in research, I now present some critical research questions to be considered as part of a future research agenda. Ten topics relating to the economic integration of resettled refugees appear to call out for special attention.

Refugee Entrepreneurship/Self-employment

One key research question is: what are the economic integration experiences of self-employed refugees in Canada? Further research should explore the employment earnings for self-employed refugees. Self-employed refugees' labour market experiences differ from the paid employees (Akbar, 2019; Fonseca et al., 2020; Hou & Wang, 2011; Jeon et al., 2019; Li, 2001b; Wayland, 2011). While immigrants' propensity to seek self-employment has attracted Canadian researchers (Li, 2001b), Canadian research is very limited in analyzing refugee entrepreneurship (Bauder, 2008; Green et al., 2016). There are some studies on refugee self-employment

conducted in some European countries, while Canada has little to no research. The descriptive data show that about 15 percent of the resettled refugees aged 25 to 64 were self-employed in 2016. Immigrant research in the USA and Canada indicate that many immigrants join self-employment as a mode of economic integration because of push/pull factors (Li, 2001b).
The rising gig sector may be a source for the self-employment sector (Jeon et al., 2019; Jeon & Ostrovsky, 2020), which is often characterized by flexibility-precarity trade-offs (Bajwa et al., 2018; Goods et al., 2019; Pichault & McKeown, 2019; Wood et al., 2019). Some gig workers provide professional, scientific and technical services, and many gig workers were located in arts and entertainment, in service industries, in transportation, and in retail trade, administrative and support services (e.g., tour operators, providers of cleaning services) and other services (e.g., cooks, maids, nannies). However, immigrants and refugees might be overrepresented in the most precarious gig work (Jeon & Ostrovsky, 2020). Given the proportion of self-employed refugees, it is imperative to unpack the factors determining resettled refugees' self-employment earnings.

This study could not separately examine if their experiences differ from paid employees on employment and occupational status as well. The cross-sectional census data with the admission variable and taxation data is now a potential data source to investigate refugees' entrepreneurship. Future research can unpack self-employed refugees' experience and examine some of the explanations of the enclave thesis, blocked mobility, and the ethnic disadvantage model apply to refugees living in Canada. Further research could also explore employment incomes for both paid employees and self-employed because many refugees had both sources of income available to them. A separate analysis of all three indicators (employment, occupation, and income) are imperative to better understand refugees' economic integration that better inform policies and practices.

Refugees Not in the Labour Force

Another critical research question from a social justice lens is: why are some refugees not active in the labour market? This study finds that about a quarter of resettled refugees are out of the labour force. Due to my data limitation, I could not derive the characteristics of inactive refugees aged 25-64 who are supposed to be active in the labour force, except for those who are elderly, retired, full-time students, or with physical or live with mental health issues. Given each person's

prime working age (25-64), the proportion of refugees that are out of the labour force is a concern as many may want to work and they give up when jobs are available to them (R. Pendakur, 2020). This category constitutes a large proportion of resettled refugees, evidence-based research is necessary to plan policies and programs to improve their well-being. Since there are distinguishable behaviours between unemployed refugees (who dispose their time to search for jobs), and those who are out of the labour force (who may give up looking for jobs, or who are elderly, homemaker, student, sick, or retired), unemployed and out of labour force categories need to be treated separately (Ewoudou, 2011).

There could be some inactive refugees who wanted to work but did not find jobs because of language barriers, employers' bias against elderly (i.e., ageism), or the disabled (i.e., ableism), or due to a lack of skills. Consequently, it is urgent to investigate and address these issues from a social justice paradigm. Ageism, ableism, gender stereotyping, and heteronormativity may affect the labour market participation of the elderly, people living with disabilities, sexual minorities, and women in Canada (Brym et al., 2019). Without including this out of labour force group of refugees, social injustice and inequalities will remain intact and society will not benefit economically from their full participation. Unfortunately, they will also experience stereotyping and dehumanization as we discussed earlier. More research on the inactive but core working aged refugee population can improve economic integration policies and practices for refugees living in Canada.

Comparison among Refugee Sub-categories

Although the economic integration research on refugees exclusively is very limited in comparison to immigrants living in Canada, most studies focusing on specific sub-categories of refugees are based on descriptive and longitudinal data as discussed earlier. GARs and PSRs are Canada's main resettled refugee sub-categories that have been considered as best practices by the United Nations and some other Western countries. One study focused on refugees that compared GARs and PSRs (Kaida et al., 2020b), another compared three refugee sub-categories (Dhital, 2015). In addition, one study included the IRCC's own evaluation of three resettled refugee sub-categories (IRCC, 2016b), while another study centred on the Indochinese refugees (Beiser, 2009), and yet another concentrated on recently arrived Syrian refugees (Hynie et al., 2019).

Other studies were conducted with refugees as one class or as refugee sub-categories with an economic class or family class as the benchmark. Most of these studies used IMDB and LSIC at national level studies. Although GARs and PSRs are not comparable in many ways as discussed earlier, more research needs to evaluate the economic outcomes comparing between GARs and PSRs taking more unmeasured pre-and post-migration factors into consideration. Future research comparing refugee subcategories are important for policy and program planning as refugees have different types of experiences in the labour market, and they require different types of services.

Childhood Refugees and Refugee Youth

Another very important research agenda is about the refugees who arrived as children or young adults. A high proportion of refugees arrived at a young age, little is known about their education and how they transition from school to work. The research questions remained unanswered with the data used in this study is: how childhood refugees fare economically in Canada? How does the economic integration of refugee youth vary from their parents/older refugees? These questions may unpack the relevance of segmented assimilation theory within the refugee children's context. This study uses the age of arrival in Canada as a focal variable in ratio scale level but could not examine how resettled refugees who arrived as childhood fare in the Canadian labour market compared to their parents. Given the huge number of childhood refugees as evident from my descriptive data, further research should examine childhood/1.5 generation refugees' labour market experiences. Globally, half of the refugee population are children below 18 and among the 1.44 million refugees in need of resettlement, and childhood refugees would be in need for protection (UNHCR, 2019b). Recent Syrian arrivals also have the higher proportion of childhood refugees (Houle, 2019; IRCC, 2016c; Wilkinson, Garcea, Bhattacharyya, Abdul-Karim, Riziki, et al., 2017). Past research on childhood or 1.5 generation refugees suggest non-linear trajectories compared to 1.5 generation or second generation immigrants in Canada (Boyd & Tian, 2016; Hou, 2017; Hou & Bonikowska, 2016b).

Occupational Status

There is dearth of literature on refugee occupational status, although very few studies examines occupational status decline compared to pre-migration occupation due to systematic barriers like devaluation of human capital (Krahn, 2000) and the concentration in low-paying jobs in the sales and service sector due to labour market segmentation (Mata, 2019). Further research on occupational status comparing between GARs and PSRs is deemed urgent as this indictor had received less attention. As the study finds a gap in refugee occupational status research, further research needs to compare how PSRs' occupational status differs from GARs'. PSR's employment and earnings advantage over GARs blatantly suggest social capital for the difference (IRCC, 2016b; Kaida et al., 2020c). Some studies suggest GARs and PSRs may vary because of differential access and/or use of settlement and integration services (Agrawal, 2019; Hiebert & Sherrell, 2009; IRCC, 2016b). More research is needed to compare between GARs and PSRs for policy implications despite the presence of numerous pre- and post-migration factors all of which cannot be taken into consideration in a single study because of data limitation and/or unobservable factors. So, further research needs to examine the differences between GARs and PSRs with respect to social networks, and use of employment and language training services affecting occupational status differently for GARs and PSRs

Although resettled refugees have unique forced migration experiences unlike other immigrants, they share many things, and many factors that influence economic class immigrants' economic integration may apply to refugees. This study could not examine if refugees find work in the jobs they had experience or the field of study in their home countries. Because of the data limitation, this study could not include work experience, occupational status, or field of study prior to the arrival in Canada. This study even could not use Canadian work experience or industry or occupational groups to examine employment status, occupational status, or employment income. This study could not include some variables like citizenship status, place of birth, ethnic group, period of arrival, province, social assistance, home ownership, number of children and household level variables that are likely to affect refugees' experiences in the labour market. These are some of the factors that are examined in past research on immigrants' economic integration. Future research can examine: whether and to what extent do these factors influencing non-refugee immigrants' labor market integration apply to refugees in Canada?

Foreign Credential Recognition

Further research using mixed methods can inform policies about the lack of knowledge of the credential recognition mechanisms, the reasons for those who were not able to further upskilling/training, the experiences with professional associations/regulatory bodies/educational institutions/government agencies. While a large proportion of refugees obtained postsecondary education in Canada, many refugees might not afford despite their understanding of the importance of Canadian education. Importantly, such research can dig into the pathways to economic success including the social networks or social and cultural capital built in the institutions of postsecondary education in Canada (Phythian et al., 2011). Financial resources, pre-migration human capital, postmigration work experience, occupation, and age of arrival in Canada can be factored into this line of inquiry (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2011).

Place of Residence

The study finding on the variation in economic outcomes by cities of residence suggest more research is needed to examine how resettled refugees fare economically in larger CMAs compared to smaller CMAs. My findings suggest more research can explore the employment opportunities, and adversaries linked to ethnocultural networks in those small cities. Further research can exclusively focus on refugees' secondary migration and refugees' matching to job opportunities amidst the refugee dispersal and the regionalization policy (Abid, 2020; Bansak et al., 2018; Bloem & Loveridge, 2017; Haan, 2008; Kaida et al., 2020a; Krahn et al., 2005). Such research can improve policies and programs for successful refugee economic integration. Another gap in refugee research was how refugees resettled in Quebec fare compared to other provinces as Quebec's independent refugee resettlement program differ from the federal government's resettlement that includes other provincial and territorial jurisdictions. The census provides data on all refugees, but separate analysis warrant special attention as some studies suggest poorer experiences among refugees in Quebec (Boudarbat, 2011; Devoretz et al., 2004). It is also important to know if refugees match to family, linguistic in their destined communities, and ethnocultural ties. My findings also suggest French speaking refugees might not fare because

they were destined in communities where suitable jobs are lacking, or those resettled in Quebec may experience language barriers (Boudarbat, 2011; Dauphin & Veronis, 2021; Houle, 2014).

Use Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research

Another important research agenda is to conduct qualitative and mixed-methods research on the economic integration of resettled refugees in Canada to shed light on refugees' employment experiences that may not otherwise be reflected in objective measures of their employment status, earnings, and occupational status. An in-depth understanding of the experiences of GARs and PSRs navigating the labour market in Canada can gather the firsthand knowledge gathered through qualitative interviews, focus group, and other appropriate qualitative methods. A mixed-methods (combining quantitative and qualitative) research design is more useful as qualitative data can buttress the quantitative data analyses (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2013).

Qualitative research can generate rich and detailed descriptive data concerning people's understandings, perceptions, and experiences about labour market integration, which may not be easily handled by quantitative research's evidence-based data and statistical procedures (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Patton, 2015). Semi-structured open-ended qualitative interviews can be used to gather refugees' stories about what it looks like to be a refugee in Canada, what struggles refugees experience economically, how their labour market trajectories make them feel, how those experiences make their families feel, and how these have affected their wider integrational experiences, and changed their future to assist in understanding refugees' views about the degree and experience of labour market integration in Canada.

The research question can be: what is the experience of resettled refugees in navigating the labour market in Canada? Satisfaction, perception of labour market success, or barriers to labour market integration may not be fully understood by solely analyzing quantitative data, but qualitative data may grasp issues involving discrimination, or employer assessment of foreign credentials of immigrants (Reitz, 2007a, p. 12). The objectified outcomes such as the pursuit of a university degree, or income may partially measure successful integration, but personal definitions of success, and experiences of discrimination, the role of family and ethnic networks can be best understood through the information gathered using semi-structured qualitative interviews (Bloch, 2007; Eastmond, 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2010).

Cohort Analysis/Sub-group Analysis

This study suggests future research should carry out a cohort analysis of refugee economic integration since different refugee groups come from different conflict zones at different times which exhibit different types of selection policy contexts such as IRPA, economic conditions in Canada such as recession or the welcoming contexts of different refugees such as the Indochinese in the 1980s and the Syrians in the 2010s. Some researchers have used a synthetic cohort approach in a few studies in Canada to maximize Census' detailed information (Hou, 2017). Given the inclusion of landing data and taxation data from 2016, future research can benefit from this approach. While IMDB has been tremendously used in past research, it does not have information on various variables, particularly, post-migration human capital achievement. Using both the IMDB and the Census future research can examine the economic integration trajectories and the effects of refugees' characteristics at the time of landing and how post-migration achievement have contributed to the economic integration experiences and trajectories.

Introducing a New Dataset to conduct Cross-sectional and Longitudinal Research

Given refugees unique experiences and integration circumstances, this study recommends the Canadian government introduce a separate survey of refugees, and create a longitudinal database given Canada's admission plan of refugees following the policy objective of refugee resettlement. Statistics Canada and IRCC can introduce a longitudinal database for refugees. The IMDB does not have information about post-migration human capital information (Statistics Canada, 2017l). The LSIC is on a specific cohort of immigrants for a short term period (4 years since landing) (Statistics Canada, 2007) and is dated by now. The Refugee Resettlement Program is specific refugee group-based longitudinal data (Beiser, 2003, 2009). As refugee experiences differ from non-refugee immigrants, a new data set on refugees with characteristics at the time of landing and post-migration characteristics would address the gap and the paucity of data for rigorous refugee integration research for each of the refugee admission categories. The new data source can be useful to examine the different aspects of economic integration given the multiple

aspects of the economic integration (Potocky & Mcdonald, 1995). The dataset also can include different factors that have not been addressed in earlier research. As the existing datasets may not have many of the pre-migration and post-migration factors, a longitudinal database for different refugee subcategories in Canada is imperative for effective policy planning and programming. The separate dataset may include characteristics of refugees (e.g., sexual orientation, religion, displacement duration, time in camp, exposure to violence) can provide more information about refugees for research. This new dataset would allow to conduct cross-sectional and longitudinal research to examine and compare the economic outcomes of refugees admitted under different admission categories given the differences in selection process, pre-migration circumstances, post-migration contexts, policy, and economic conditions in mind.

While IMDB and the Census are only the nationally representative sources of data to date to examine socioeconomic experiences of immigrants and refugees, the variables and definitions of variables may not be the same. Therefore, the mixed use of both data sets is important but technically challenging to triangulate data from different sources. Other datasets like the LSIC, which is based on only a recent cohort is dated, and the other dataset is based on a specific group (the Indochinese), and few recent studies funded by IRCCC are regional (refugees to Alberta, to Prairies) or on specific refugee groups (Syrians, Yazidi) that are primarily descriptive. The LSIC's advantage over IMDB and Census, longitudinal but short-term data, lies in its detailed information of immigrants including their reasons for migrating, education inside and outside Canada, recognition of credentials, job history, occupation, income, admission category, and non-economic aspects many of which are not captured in earlier censuses or IMDB (Adamuti-Trache, 2016; Anisef et al., 2011; Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Lauer et al., 2011; Xue, 2007, 2008). The new data set proposed here can build on LSIC, IMDB, and Indochinese longitudinal dataset, and internationally refugee specific data set as introduced in some European countries, for example, the inclusion of survey of refugees into the SOEP (Socioeconomic Panel) (Degler et al., 2016; Goebel et al., 2019; Löbel & Jacobsen, 2021).

This study suggests future research should carry out a cohort analysis of refugee economic integration since different refugee groups come from different conflict zones at different times which exhibit different types of selection policy contexts such as IRPA, economic conditions in Canada such as recession or the welcoming contexts of different refugees such as the Indochinese in the 1980s and the Syrians in the 2010s. Some researchers have used a

synthetic cohort approach in a few studies in Canada to maximize Census' detailed information (Hou, 2017). Given the inclusion of landing data and taxation data from 2016, future research can benefit from this approach. While IMDB has been tremendously used in past research, it does not have information on various variables, particularly, post-migration human capital achievement. Using both the IMDB and the Census future research can examine the economic integration trajectories and the effects of refugees' characteristics at the time of landing and how post-migration achievement have contributed to the economic integration experiences and trajectories.

8.4. Implications for Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS)

The United Nations refugee agency has recorded an unprecedented number of conflict-induced refugees, many of whom are in need of protection through third country resettlement (UNHCR, 2020b, 2020c, 2021). Refugees seek refuge in Canada and other Western resettlement countries to protect themselves against persecution, violence, and conflict resettlement (Hansen, 2018; UNHCR, 2019c). So, the term 'refugee' refers to a certain kind of person or situation (Black, 2001, p. 65), and associates with pre-migration experiences of forced displacement, exposure to direct or indirect violence, trauma, as well as disruptions of education, work, and peace (Beiser, 2009; Clark & Simeon, 2016; Donato & Ferris, 2020; Hynie, 2018b).

The growing multidisciplinary Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) discipline addresses various conflict and peacebuilding issues including refugees, who are the products of conflicts, primarily in the context of Global South (Bradley et al., 2019; Braithwaite et al., 2019; Haffar, 2016; Hayes et al., 2016; Reimers, 2016; Thor Dahlman, 2016). Grounded in numerous peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation theories with theoretical concepts including human needs (J. W. Burton, 1990; Galtung, 1979), and human security (Lederach, 1995; Sen, 2009), PACS practitioners have learned from and engaged with refugees in different settings such as displacement situations in urban centres, in refugee camps, and in Northern resettlement countries (Hayes et al., 2016).

PACS scholars and practitioners have studied refugees widely living in conflict zones, countries of asylum or in resettlement countries to investigate their role in peacebuilding and development in their homeland (Endale, 2016; Hayes et al., 2016). However, some scholars

linked the effective integration of refugees resettled in Western resettlement countries (i.e., access to the social, economic, and political opportunity structures) to increased levels of participation in peacebuilding and development in their countries of origin (Endale, 2016). Some studies focused on local peacebuilding, i.e., the host communities efforts in building social capital and trust at the intergroup level, and in transforming intercultural tensions between local people and refugee newcomers (Reimers, 2016), as well as addressing limited integration opportunities for refugee children in schools (Hayes, 2016). Very few PACS studies have focused on the refugee integration in the Global North resettlement countries. However, there is an increased interest in studying the implications of refugees living in host communities despite the nascent scholarship on refugee migration in PACS (Braithwaite et al., 2019). My study examined refugees' economic integration from a social justice lens and adds to the PACS scholarship on refugee integration and social justice.

Employment is a key indicator of successful integration, which is intricately linked to well-being (Hynie, 2018b). Economic integration, broadly falling under refugee integration, is intricately related to social and political integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). Successful refugee integration requires refugees to build skills and knowledge, and the communities and institutions require that refugees can equally access services and opportunities tailored to their needs (Ager & Strang, 2008; Hyndman & Hynie, 2016). A socially just society equitably shares the burdens and benefits of the society. Canadian policies and programs exist to support "successful integration" of refugees (i.e., equitable access to opportunities and resources, participation in the community and society, and feeling of belonging and security in their new home) in Canada (Hynie, 2018b). This study identifies the complexity of observable and invisible factors and the multiplicity of structural barriers that affect refugees' labour market integration for which social justice (to be able to fully participate as equal members in the economy and society utilizing their full human potential) is not achieved. Galtung's positive peace or social justice lens (Galtung, 1969; Opotow, 2007) is relevant here.

"Conflict arises in different contexts, and occurs at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, inter-group, organizational, and international levels" (Sandole et al., 2009, p. 3). My study findings about unemployment, undesirable employment, and inadequate earnings suggest that resettled refugees' experience of structural conflicts embedded in the labour market institutions and structures that devalue refugees' human capital, and cultural capital, and exclude them from

because of their lack of Canadian work experience, and/or Canadian credential, or because of the non-recognition of foreign educational qualifications (Bauder, 2005; Hyndman & Hynie, 2016; Krahn et al., 2000; Kumar, 2020; Prokopenko, 2018). The myths and negative stereotyping of refugees as an economic burden, and welfare dependents in the public, political and the media discourses (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2020; Esses et al., 2008, 2013, 2017; UNHCR Canada, 2019) not only echo structural and intergroup conflicts, they also affect refugee integration in their new home country.

Some refugees in contrast with economic class immigrants hold lower levels of education and knowledge of the official languages. They have a limited social network, and suffer from mental and psychological health issues because of their pre-migration vulnerabilities (Beiser, 2009; Hyndman et al., 2016; Hynie et al., 2019). Among the federal and provincial governments constraining policies, and programs, refugees' agencies are limited in some ways such as not being able to find jobs in their desirable occupation. Or refugees cannot practice their professions or trades they are trained in because of the credential inflation or licensing barriers, yet refugees are also disempowered in other way like resorting to survival jobs, or needing to have multiple jobs, mobilizing resources at their disposal, and/or sacrificing their lives for their children's better future (Hyndman & Hynie, 2016; Krahn et al., 2000; Lamba, 2003; Mata, 2019; Nourpanah, 2014).

My study is centred in PACS and it employed evidence-based quantitative research methods of research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) for a 'critical systematic inquiry' based on 'WHAT-WHY-HOW reconstructed logic' bridging the theoretical and empirical domains of inquiry (Sandole, 2009, p. 420) to understand structures and institutions that affect refugees' successful labour market integration, i.e., their higher rates of unemployment, lower rates of labour force participation, employment in low-skilled occupations and over-qualification, and lower income. If refugees cannot equally participate in the labour market and fail to utilize their full human potential because of structural barriers and structural violence, ensuring social justice for resettled refugees cannot be realized. This study finds that PACS core concepts such as structural violence, negative peace, and social justice appear to be useful to understand the plight of resettled refugees in Canada (Byrne & Senehi, 2012). This research explored positive peace with regards to Canadian refugees, i.e., "the absence of domination and the presence of social justice" (Galtung (1969) as cited in Senehi, 2020, p. 46). More work in the area of refugee

integration and social justice can address PACS' growing interest in social justice as well as critical and emancipatory peacebuilding issues in the global north in the twenty first century (Byrne et al., 2020). Despite the fact that Canada is a liberal, human rights-tolerant, and multiethnic multicultural immigration host country, my study findings suggest that resettled refugees do not enjoy equality of opportunities in the Canadian labour market as they experience numerous social barriers and systematic inequities to access desirable and quality employment and adequate income. "PACS researchers seek a society characterized by equality and mutual recognition where no one is marginalized because of who they are" (Senehi, 2020, p. 47). Unless conditions are generated for refugees to rebuild their lives and livelihoods, they will not fully become Canadians.

This study offers evidence of resettled refugees' economic outcomes, and evidence-based policy recommendations from a social justice perspective. My research, using the individual-level data on the economic integration of resettled refugees, can add to the newly emerging PACS literature on the implications and consequences of refugee settlement and integration in Western resettlement host societies, and it can engage policymakers and the public to dispel some of the myths about refugees as well as inform public debates about refugee resettlement (Braithwaite et al., 2019; Salehyan, 2019).

8.5. Conclusions

The thesis has contributed to the study of refugees and immigrant integration, and to PACS. Generally, refugees come to Canada from different conflict-torn zones under humanitarian or protection objectives and fit into three main categories, namely GARs, PSRs, and Landed in Canada Refugees (LCRs) (IRCC, 2005, 2012f, 2012d, 2012c, 2012e, 2013, 2015, 2017d). During the Syrian refugee crisis, the Canadian government introduced another category called Blended Visa Office-Referred or VRO (Hyndman et al., 2014, 2016; IRCC, 2017e). As there is a very limited number of quantitative studies using multivariate analysis on refugees' sub-categories exclusively, this study adds to the Canadian studies literature. The 2016 Census' linking for the first time with the IRCC's admission category data and CRA's 2015 income data allowed me to investigate labour market experiences of two major classes of refugees who resettled in Canada from 1980 to 2016. Unlike past research using longitudinal data based on

refugees' characteristics at their time of landing, the thesis is a national level study using the most recently available census data examining the labour market integration of refugees in relation to postmigration human capital and other characteristics.

The thesis examined resettled refugees' economic integration on three dimensions including occupational status compared to past research that mostly assessed employment and/or employment income. While the results of the study may debunk myths and negative stereotyping about refugees illustrating refugees' higher employment and higher educational levels, necessary policy measures need to address structural barriers and social injustices caused by the devaluation of foreign human capital, and the failure to ensure equal opportunities for all refugees to find employment, work in desirable jobs that match their education, and earn an adequate income. GARs and PSRs face numerous pre- and post-migration factors such as lack of social capital, sectarianism, health complications, and negative refugee camp experiences. These experiences cannot be measured by a census or other available datasets. The comparison between major refugee groups is imperative from a policy and programming perspective. This study also suggests creating a refugee-specific longitudinal database for Canada that already exists in the UK, Germany, and Sweden for effective policy planning and programming based on updated evidence over time.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Variables and Codes Used in the Study

Derived variables directly available in the dataset/ Original census questions	Response categories	Original variable	Original Variable label	Original variable Codes	Revised variable	Label	Codes
Dependent Variable: Employment Status							
2016 Census Long Form Microdata File 2016 Census of Population questions, long form Questions 30-35 Questions below from which lf71 is derived	-3 Not applicable, less than 15 years 1 Employed - Absent in reference week - Armed Forces 2 Employed - Absent in reference week – Civilian 3 Employed - Unpaid family worker 4 Employed - Paid - Armed Forces 5 Employed - Paid – Civilian 7 Not in labour force 9 Unemployed - Looked for work – Experienced 10 Unemployed - Looked for work – Inexperienced 11 Unemployed - On temporary layoff	lftag	Labour force status	Not applicable	lftag_lfs lftag_lfs2	Employment status	0 = Out of labour force 1 = Unemployed 2 = Employed 0 = Unemployed 1 = Employed
30. During the week of Sunday, May 1 to Saturday, May 7, 2016, how many hours did this	1: Number of hours (to the nearest hour). Go to question 36; OR 2: None. Continue with the next question						

person spend working for pay or in self-employment?							
31. During the week of May 1 to May 7, 2016, was this person on temporary lay-off or absent from his/her job or business?	1: No 2: Yes, on temporary lay-off from a job to which this person expects to return 3: Yes, on vacation, ill, on strike or locked out, or absent for other reasons						
32. During the week of May 1 to May 7, 2016, did this person have definite arrangements to start a new job within the next four weeks?	1: No 2: Yes						
33. Did this person look for paid work during the four weeks from April 10 to May 7, 2016?	1: No. Go to question 35. 2: Yes, looked for full-time work 3: Yes, looked for part-time work (less than 30 hours per week)						
34. Could this person have started a job during the week of Sunday, May 1 to Saturday, May 7, 2016 had one been available?	1: Yes, could have started a job 2: No, already had a job 3: No, because of temporary illness or disability 4: No, because of personal or family responsibilities 5: No, going to school 6: No, other reasons						
35. When did this person last work for pay or in self-	1: In 2016. Continue with the next question. 2: In 2015. Continue with the next question.						

employment, even for a few days?	3: Before 2015. Go to question 49. 4: Never. Go to question 49.						
Dependent Variable: Occupational Status							
2016 Census of Population questions, long form Questions 38 and 39	1 Skill level A Managers 2 Skill level A Professionals 3 Skill level B College or apprenticeship training 4 Skill level C High school or job-specific training 5 Skill level D On-the-job training	noc16skill	NOC-Skill level category	-5 Did not work in 2015 and 2016 -3 Not applicable, < 15 years 1 Skill level A Managers 2 Skill level A Professionals 3 Skill level B College or apprenticeship training 4 Skill level C High school or job-specific training 5 Skill level D On-the-job training	nocjobtype2 nocjobtype3	Occupational status	0 = Low skilled jobs (Skill level C and D occupations) 1= Skilled trades jobs (Skill level B occupations) 2 = Professional /managerial jobs (Skill level A occupations)
38. What was this person's work or occupation?	1: Occupation						
39. In this work, what were this person's main activities?	1: Main activities						
Dependent Variable: Employment Income							
Linked administrative data	Positive dollar value or nil	wages	Wages, salaries and commission		Wages lnwagest	Employment income	

Variable derived based on administrative tax and benefit records received from the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA)						Natural logged wages	
Independent Variables							
Linked administrative data	1 Non-immigrants 2 Immigrants who landed before 1980 3 Non-permanent residents 111100 Federal skilled workers 111500 Quebec skilled workers 112000 Skilled trades workers 113000 Canadian experience class 114000 Caregivers 121100 Federal entrepreneurs 121500 Quebec entrepreneurs 122100 Federal investors 122500 Quebec investors 123100 Federal self-employed 123500 Quebec self-employed 130000 Provincial and territorial nominees 210000 Sponsored spouses or partners 220000 Sponsored parents or grandparents 230000 Sponsored children 240000 Sponsored intercountry adopted children	immprog	Admission category	321000 Government-assisted refugees 322000 Privately sponsored refugees	immprog 1	Admission category	0 = GARs 1 = PSRs

	250000 Public policy or humanitarian and compassionate cases sponsored by family 260000 Immigrants sponsored by family, not included elsewhere 311000 Protected persons in Canada 312000 Dependants abroad of a protected person in Canada 321000 Government-assisted refugees 322000 Privately sponsored refugees 323000 Blended visa office-referred refugees 411000 Humanitarian and compassionate cases 412000 Public policy cases 420000 Other immigrants, not included elsewhere						
2. What is this person's sex?	1=Female 2=Male	sex	Sex	1=Female 2=Male	sex	Gender	1= Female 2 =Male
2016 Census RDC file Highest certificate, Diploma or degr Census questions 25-26 stated below Certificates, diplomas and degrees (Questions 25,26a , 26b and 26c)	-3 Not applicable (< 15 years) 1 No certificate, diploma or degree 2 Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate 3 Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma 4 College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma 5 University certificate or diploma below bachelor level 6 University certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above	hcdd_7v	Highest certificate, diploma or degree	-3 Not applicable (< 15 years) 1 No certificate, diploma or degree 2 Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate 3 Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	locdegpse	Level of education and Location of study	0 = No high school diploma 1 = High school diploma 2 = Foreign postsecondary certificate or diploma 3 = Canadian postsecondary certificate or diploma 4 = Foreign university (at least a bachelor’s) degree

Major field of study (Question 27) Location of study (Question 28) School attendance (Question 29)				4 College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma 5 University certificate or diploma below bachelor level 6 University certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above			5 = Canadian university (at least a bachelor’s) degree
25. Has this person completed a high school (secondary school) diploma or equivalent?	1=Yes, high school diploma 2=Yes, high school equivalency certificate 3=No						
26.a. Has this person completed a Registered Apprenticeship or other trades certificate or diploma?	1=Yes, high school diploma 2=Yes, high school equivalency certificate 3=No						
26.b. Has this person completed a college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma?	1=Yes, Certificate of Apprenticeship or Certificate of Qualification (Journeyperson's designation) 2=Yes, other trades certificate or diploma 3: No						

26.c. Has this person completed a university certificate, diploma or degree?	1=Yes, certificate or diploma from a program of less than 3 months 2=Yes, certificate or diploma from a program of 3 months to less than 1 year 3=Yes, certificate or diploma from a program of 1 year to 2 years 4=Yes, certificate or diploma from a program of more than 2 years 5=No						
2016 Census RDC file Census Questions 25, 26a, 26b, 27, 28, and 29	-5 No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree -3 Not applicable (< 15 years) 1 Same as province or territory of residence 2 Different than province or territory of residence 3 Outside Canada	loc_st_res	Location of study compared with province or territory of residence	-5 No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree -3 Not applicable (< 15 years) 1 Same as province or territory of residence 2 Different than province or territory of residence 3 Outside Canada			
2016 Census RDC file Derived variable: Question 28 and province or territory of residence	loc_st_res_oc	-5 No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree -3 Not applicabl	Location of study compared with province or territory of residence - with countries outside Canada	-5 No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree -3 Not applicable (< 15 years)			

		e (< 15 years) 1 Same as province or territory of residence 2 Different than province or territory of residence …		1 Same as province or territory of residence 2 Different than province or territory of residence …				
28. In what province, territory or country did this person complete his or her highest certificate, diploma or degree?	1=In Canada — specify province or territory 2=Outside Canada — specify country							
2016 Census RDC microdata file Question 29	-3 Not applicable (< 15 years) 0 Did not attend school 1 Attended school	attschsum	School attendance summary	-3 Not applicable (< 15 years) 0 Did not attend school 1 Attended school	attschsum	School attendance summary	0 Did not attend school 1 Attended school
29. At any time since September 2015, has this person attended a school, college, CEGEP or university?	-3 Not applicable (< 15 years) 0 Did not attend school 1 Elementary or secondary school	attsch	School attendance					

	2 Technical or trade school, community college or CEGEP 3 University 4 Elementary or secondary school and technical school or trade school or community college or CEGEP 5 Elementary or secondary school and university 6 Technical school or trade school or community college or CEGEP and university 7. Elementary or secondary school and technical school or trade school or community college or CEGEP and university						
3. What are this person's date of birth and age?	1 = Day month year 2. Age	age_imm	Age at immigration		age_imm	Age at immigration	Year
15. In what year did this person first become a landed immigrant?		yrim	Year of immigration				
13. Of what country is this person a citizen?							
14. Is this person now, or has this person ever been, a landed immigrant?							
15. In what year did this person first become a							

landed immigrant?							
2016 Census RDC file Derived variable Census question 18 and 19	1=South Asian 2=Chinese 3=Black 4=Filipino 5=Latin American 6=Arab 7=Southeast Asian 8=West Asian 9=Korean 10=Japanese 11 Visible minority, n.i.e.(not stated elsewhere) 12=Multiple visible minorities 13=Other (not a visible minority) 14= Aboriginal peoples	dvismin	Visible minority	1=South Asian 2=Chinese 3=Black 4=Filipino 5=Latin American 6=Arab 7=Southeast Asian 8=West Asian 9=Korean 10=Japanese 11 Visible minority, n.i.e .(not stated elsewhere) 12=Multiple visible minorities 13=Other (not a visible minority) 14= Aboriginal peoples	dvismin1	Racialized minority status	0 = Non-racialized 1= Racialized
18. Is this person an Aboriginal person, that is, First Nations (North American Indian), Métis or Inuk (Inuit)?	1=No, not an Aboriginal person 2=Yes, First Nations (North American Indian) 3=Yes, Métis 4=Yes, Inuk (Inuit)						
19. Is this person:	1=White						

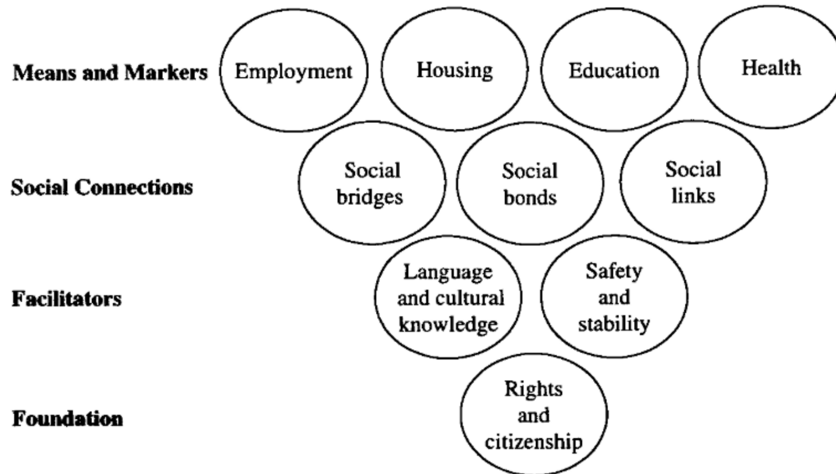
	2=South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.) 3=Chinese 4=Black 5=Filipino 6=Latin American 7=Arab 8=Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai, etc.) 9=West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan, etc.) 10=Korean 11=Japanese 12=Other – specify						
4. What is this person's marital status?	1: Never legally married 2: Legally married (and not separated) 3: Separated, but still legally married 4: Divorced 5: Widowed	marst	Legal marital status	1 Never married (including living common law) 2 Married 3 Separated (including living common law) 4 Divorced (including living common law) 5 Widowed (including living common law)	marst2	Marital status	0 = Single or never married 1 = Married 2 = Separated/ divorced/widow ed
7. Can this person speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?	1=English only 2=French only 3=Both English and French 4=Neither English nor French	oln	Knowledge of official language	1=English only 2=French only	oln	Knowledge of official language	1= English only 2 = French only 3 = Both English and French

				3=Both English and French 4=Neither English nor French			4 = Neither English nor French
2016 Census RDC file Refers to the census metropolitan area (CMA), census agglomeration (CA), or non-CMA/CA of current residence (on May 10, 2016)	0 Territories (outside CAs) 1 CMA/CA 2 3 . . 995 CMA/CA 996 Strong metropolitan influenced zone 997 Moderate metropolitan influenced zone 998 Weak metropolitan influenced zone 999 No metropolitan influenced zone	cma	Census metropolitan area or census agglomeration of residence (2016)		cma3	Census metropolitan area (CMA) of residence	0 = Gateway CMAs (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver) 1 = Larger CMAs (Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa-Gatineau) 2 Mid-sized CMAs (Quebec City, Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Windsor, Winnipeg 3 = Small CMA, urban, or rural areas
15. In what year did this person first become a landed immigrant?	Year	yrim	Year of immigration		time1	Time in Canada since landing	Year
13. Of what country is this person a citizen?	1=Canada, by birth 2=Canada, by naturalization 3=Other country – specify:						
14. Is this person now, or has this person ever been, a landed immigrant?	1=No 2=Yes						

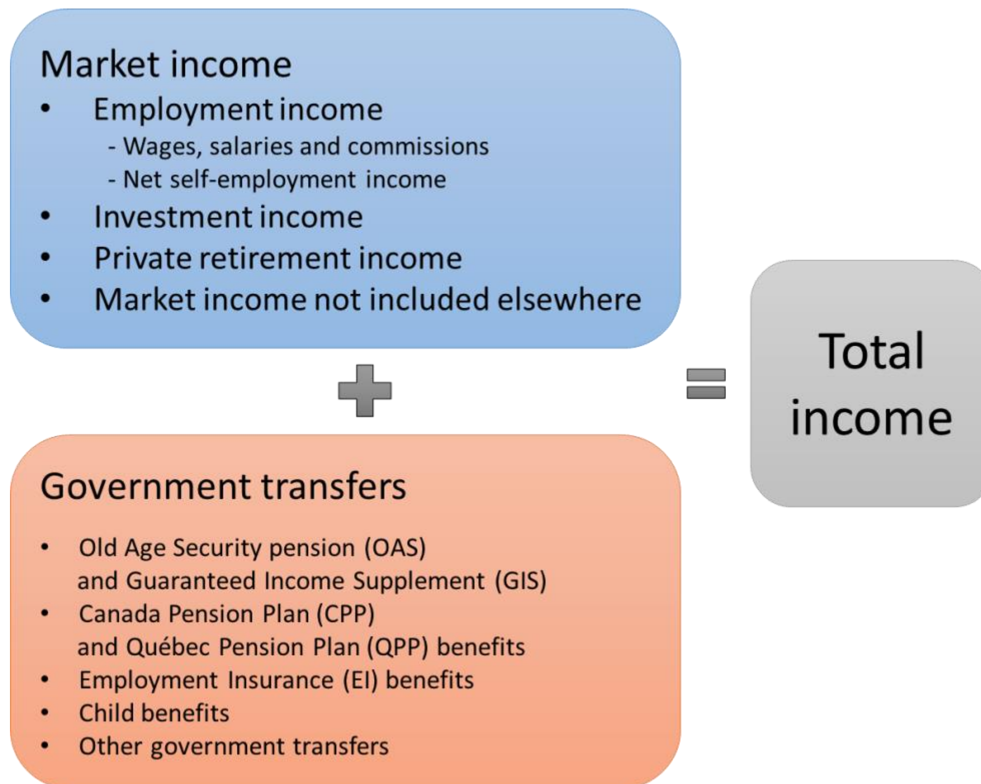
FOOTNOTES

[i] Ager and Strang's (2008) Conceptual Framework of Refugee Integration

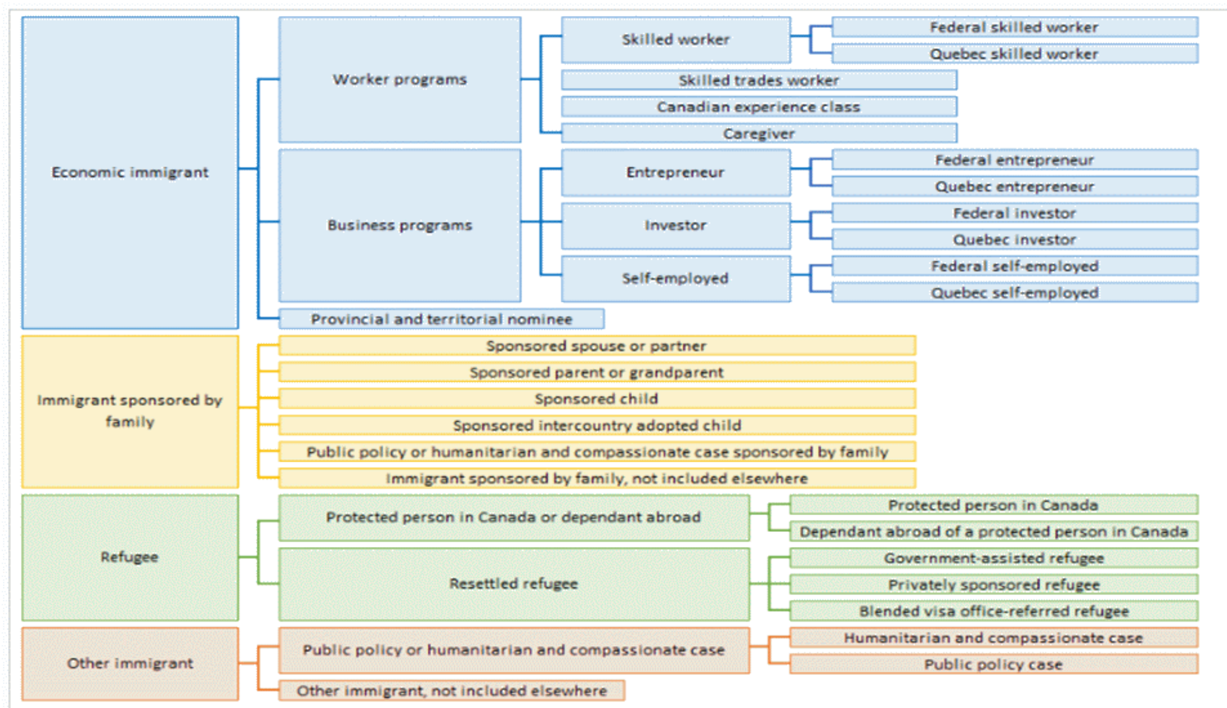
The Indicators of Integration Framework (Ager and Strang 2004)



[ii] CRA's Income Variables available in the 2016 Long Form Census Microdata File



[iii] **Admission Category**



Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2018e)