



Does Care Count for Less? Tracing the Income Trajectories of Low Status Female Immigrant Workers in Canada, 1993–2015

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Received: 4 February 2020 / Accepted: 28 February 2021 / Published online: 01 April 2021

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Abstract

Canada has long relied on women from poorer countries to fill gaps in its paid care market. Yet little is known about the upward or downward trajectories of immigrant women who arrive intending to work in lower status jobs in care. Using a unique administrative dataset (the Longitudinal Immigration Database), the author estimates a series of growth curve models of employment income for 220,265 non-professional, non-managerial immigrant women working in Canada between 1993 and 2015. Results reinforce prior suggestions of a “care [wage] penalty”, as all intended care workers, besides nurse aides, fare worse over two decades in the labour market than comparable intended non-care workers. Yet entry class is also found to play a role. Women who arrive to Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program—which has the explicit goal of providing in-home care for children, the elderly, and people with disabilities—have higher employment income than comparable immigrant women reporting the intention to work in homecare who entered via the family reunification and economic immigration streams.

RÉSUMÉ

Le Canada compte depuis longtemps sur les femmes des pays plus pauvres pour combler les lacunes de son marché des soins rémunérés. Pourtant, nos connaissances sont limitées sur les trajectoires ascendantes ou descendantes des immigrantes qui arrivent avec l'intention d'occuper des emplois de statut inférieur dans le secteur des soins. À l'aide d'une base de données administratives uniques (la base de données longitudinale sur l'immigration), l'auteur estime une série de modèles de courbe de croissance du revenu d'emploi pour 220 265 immigrantes non professionnelles et non gestionnaires travaillant au Canada entre 1993 et 2015. Les résultats renforcent les suggestions antérieures d'un « pénalité de soins », car tous les soignants visés, outre les

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aides-soignantes, réussissent moins bien sur le marché du travail sur deux décennies que les travailleurs non soignants visés comparables. Pourtant, la classe d'entrée joue également un rôle. Les femmes qui arrivent au Canada par le biais du Programme des aides familiaux résidents – dont l'intention explicite est de fournir des soins à domicile aux enfants, aux personnes âgées et aux personnes handicapées – ont un revenu d'emploi plus élevé que les femmes immigrantes comparables déclarant l'intention de travailler dans les soins à domicile qui sont entrés via les volets du regroupement familial et de l'immigration économique.

Keywords Labor migration · Gender and migration · Longitudinal analysis in demographic research

MOTS-CLÉ Migration et travail · Migration et genre · Analyse longitudinale dans la recherche démographique

1 Introduction

In Canada, for the last several decades considerable attention has been paid to an impending “crisis” in care provisioning for vulnerable sectors of society, including children, the elderly, and people with disabilities (Forbes & Neufeld, 2008; Robson, 2019). Following other wealthy nations, Canada has attempted to “fill” this gap in the labour market with immigration from Global South countries, facilitating a primarily female workforce to do the physically demanding and emotionally difficult work of providing low-wage paid care. In particular, Canada’s Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), initiated in 1992 as part of the broader Temporary Foreign Worker Program, was touted by the federal government as a uniquely Canadian solution to meet the childcare needs of working parents and the elder care needs of an aging population¹ (Faraday, 2012). Far less is known about the women who come to Canada through other immigration streams with a similar intention to work in low-skill occupations in health, education, and domestic services (“care work”).

In Canada as well as internationally, scholars have documented the feminized and racialized patterns of migrant women working in low-status care (e.g., Birdsell Bauer & Cranford, 2017; León, 2016; Ranci et al., 2019), as well as the “care [wage] penalty” that is commonplace in low-skill caring industries (Budig et al., 2019; Duffy & Armenia, 2019; Lightman, 2019). Yet, to date, there has been no comprehensive longitudinal examination of the income trajectories of immigrant women who come to Canada reporting the intention to work in care. Thus, while qualitative studies have provided rich descriptions of employment barriers experienced by LCP women, their downward mobility and deskilling, and the ongoing impacts of arriving as “citizens in waiting” (Foster, 2018; Hodge, 2006; Schwiter et al., 2018; Tungohan, 2018), much remains unknown regarding the long-term labour market outcomes of low-status

¹ The LCP was reformed in 2014, in part due to critiques from caregivers and their advocates that the live-in component created scenarios of employer exploitation and abuse (Banerjee et al., 2018; Tungohan et al., 2015).

women who enter Canada with the intention to work in care, both inside and outside the LCP program.

As of 2016, newly released administrative data from Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada has facilitated unique longitudinal analyses, providing a census of immigrants who landed in Canada, beginning in 1980, that is linked with annual tax records. This article uses this Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) to provide empirical evidence of how immigrant women intending to work in lower status care in Canada's labour market have fared in terms of employment income over the past two decades. Specifically, using descriptive analyses and multilevel modeling to estimate growth curve models, I address the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of immigrant women who report the intention to work in lower status care at time of landing in Canada, both inside and outside the LCP?;
2. Do the employment income trajectories of immigrant women intending to work in different types of care occupations at landing differ from those of equivalent lower skill immigrant women in Canada over time?; and finally,
3. Over the past two decades, are women within the LCP better or worse off financially than otherwise comparable immigrant women intending to work in care?

Ultimately, I demonstrate a gap in employment income between immigrant women intending to work in low-status care jobs and otherwise comparable immigrant women at time of entry into the labour market, which increases over time. I also find that all care work is not equal, as the characteristics and employment income trajectories of immigrant women intending to work in different types of non-professional, non-managerial caring occupations are variable—nurse aides fare best overall, while light duty cleaners, or indirect care workers, fare worst. In addition, I show that women intending to work in care inside and outside the LCP entry class have distinct characteristics and employment income trajectories; over two decades in the labour market, I find that LCP immigrant women who intend to work as nurse aides fare worse than comparable women entering Canada through other immigration streams. However, the reverse is true for those women intending to work in private homes caring for children, the elderly, or people with disabilities, the express intention of the LCP. Thus, altogether, the data reinforce prior suggestions that immigration policies shape labour market outcomes in Canada, with intersectional effects tied to gender, country of origin, and class (e.g., Elrick & Lightman, 2016; Tungohan et al., 2015).

2 Female Immigrant Workers and Canada's Shifting Care Policy Landscape

While Canada is often lauded for having an immigration program that successfully balances economic, humanitarian, and family reunification needs, over the past 40 years all immigrants in Canada have seen a consistent and disproportionate decline in their earnings relative to non-immigrants upon entering the workforce (Banerjee, 2009; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2015). Female and racialized immigrants, in particular, are unlikely to reach financial parity with their Canadian-born counterparts during their

working lives (Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2018; Javdani & Pendakur, 2014). In addition, considerable evidence demonstrates that immigration policies are shaping mechanisms, creating specific relationships between immigrants and the state, as well as among immigrants, which often disadvantage lower skill and female populations (Elrick & Lightman, 2016; Fuller, 2015). Married or common-law women who immigrate to Canada, in particular, often join the labour market primarily to support their partners' investment in local skills, taking on "survival" jobs that are well below the skill and remuneration levels that are commensurate with their human capital (Adserà & Ferrer, 2016; Ferrer et al., 2014).

In conjunction with these labour market disparities, feminist scholars have long identified a particular financial disadvantage associated with paid care work, or a "care [wage] penalty" (Bourgeault & Khokher, 2006; Dodson & Zinca, 2007; England et al., 2002). Typically, three main explanations are provided for this devaluation: First, the characteristics of care workers themselves, in particular their sex, race, and immigrant status, lead to labour market disadvantages (Duffy & Armenia, 2019; Lightman, 2019). Second, individuals are often negatively selected into care work based on low levels of education and other human capital, resulting in lower wages (Budig et al., 2019; England, 2005). Finally, the nature of care work itself devalues earnings, as it is disproportionately precarious and part-time, female-dominated, and/or located in the unsubsidized private sector (Birdsell Bauer & Cranford, 2017; Budig & Misra, 2010; Michel & Peng, 2012).

In Canada, over the past decade, there has been growing reliance on temporary foreign workers and increasing application of "two-step" pathways to permanent residency. Such immigration policies predicate achievement of permanent resident status (the second step) on successful completion of a period of employment in Canada as a temporary foreign worker (the first step) (Goldring & Landolt, 2012; Hennebray & Preibisch, 2012). Canada's LCP, in place in its original form from 1992 to 2014, is a prominent example of such "two-step" pathway. Immigrants entering Canada via the LCP were required to arrive with a written contract from their employer, the completion of the equivalent of a Canadian secondary school education, at least 6 months' training or at least 1 year of full-time paid work experience as a caregiver or in a related field or occupation, good knowledge of at least one of Canada's official languages, and a work permit issued by the Canadian government (Atanackovic & Bourgeault, 2014). As noted by Hodge (2006), these requirements effectively barred women from many economically marginalized countries from migrating through the LCP, due to a lack of access to Western education or a lack of accepted credentials.

Under the LCP, immigrant caregivers were required to provide personal care for children, seniors, or people with disabilities while living on-site, often in the private home of their employer, with a closed work permit that was tied to their employer. After completing 24 months of registered service within a period of four consecutive years, immigrant caregivers in the LCP could apply for permanent residency from within the country and subsequently sponsor their immediate family members from abroad (Brickner & Straehle, 2010; Hanley et al., 2017). Existing literature suggests that social networks and employment matching, primarily for women from the Philippines, led some female immigrants to view the LCP as their most viable path to achieving permanent residency in Canada (Atanackovic & Bourgeault, 2013; Coloma et al., 2012). However, specific drawbacks of the LCP included unscrupulous recruiters

and employers, and long waits for family reunification. This led to widespread criticism of the LCP as being exploitative to (mainly female) migrants and leading to deskilling and downward economic mobility over time (Alboim & Cohl, 2012; Tungohan et al., 2015).

The visibility of this immigration program has led the LCP to be the focus of most literature examining Canada's shifting care policy landscape to-date. Yet, undoubtedly, many Canadian immigrants work in low-status paid care who did not land via the LCP (e.g., those who arrived via family reunification or as economic immigrants). Such women may have not met the requirements of the LCP or been unwilling to tie themselves to in-home care with a single employer for a protracted period of time. Nonetheless, until now there has been no comprehensive longitudinal examination of the employment income trajectories of immigrant care workers, nor data on income disparities between women intending to do similar work inside and outside the LCP. The following section outlines the various ways care work has been operationalized in previous studies, and it presents the care classification scheme devised for this analysis.

3 Operationalizing Low-Status Care

While there is widespread agreement that care work is both highly feminized and financially and socially undervalued (Budig et al., 2019; Duffy & Armenia, 2019), the concept of paid care is operationalized in highly divergent ways. In particular, some scholars take a broader definition of care work, including both regulated and unregulated occupations that provide a service that helps “develop [people’s] capabilities” (England et al., 2002), while other scholars conceptualize care work in a narrower fashion, focusing exclusively on low-status female workers, primarily in health, childcare and domestic services (Anderson & Hughes, 2010; Van Hooren et al., 2018).

As a second point of contention, some scholars focus on “direct care” occupations (also termed “nurturant care work” and “interactive care work”), which is typically defined as employment that involves face-to-face personal interactions with children, the elderly, or people with complex healthcare needs (England et al., 2002; Folbre, 2012). However, other researchers focus primarily on “indirect care work” (also termed “reproductive labour” and “care support work”), which is commonly conceptualized as providing auxiliary support for those providing direct care. Duffy (2011), in particular, notes that the latter (indirect care work), has been throughout history disproportionately the purview of racialized populations and lower skill female immigrants in the United States, who do the “dirty” and backroom paid care jobs, and make the lowest wages. In Canada, Armstrong and Armstrong (2009) similarly argue that auxiliary care professions in institutional settings such as hospital cleaners and cafeteria workers are an essential, but devalued, component of the care economy.

For the present analysis, the concept of care work was operationalized using the “intended occupation” variable within the landing file of the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). As the focus is on non-professional, non-managerial immigrants, I focus on care work jobs typically characterized by higher turnover rates and lower entry barriers, as compared to professional jobs in care such as doctors, teachers, or psychologists (Barron & West, 2013; Duffy, 2011). Specifically, care work is operationalized as immigrants who reported the intention at landing in Canada to work in one of four

Table 1 Details of care work classification scheme, Longitudinal Immigration Database

Intended occupation at landing to Canada based off of the 4-digit National Occupation Code	Nurse aides, orderlies and patient service associates; other assisting occupations in support of health services (NOC code 3413 and 3414)	Early childhood educators and assistants; elementary and secondary school teacher assistants (NOC code 4214 and 4413)	Home childcare providers and home support workers (NOC codes 4411 and 4412)	Light duty cleaners (NOC code 6731)
Examples of included occupations	Long-term care aide, nursing attendant, orderly, patient care aide, resident care aide—medical, hospital attendant; rehabilitation assistant; clinical laboratory helper; therapist assistant	Child care worker assistant, daycare helper, daycare teacher, early childhood assistant, preschool helper; educational assistant; homework assistant; elementary school teacher's aide	Babysitter, nanny, child care live-in caregiver, home support worker, family caregiver, housekeeper, live-in caregiver - seniors, personal aide, respite worker	Hospital cleaner, hotel cleaner, house cleaner, housekeeping aid, office cleaner, sweeper

Classification scheme developed by the author. Further details on the NOC codes is available at: <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p3VD.pl?Function=getVD&TVD=122372>

lower skilled, highly feminized occupational groupings. These include (1) nurse aides; (2) early childhood educators and teachers' assistants ("daycare"); (3) in-home care providers for children, the elderly, and people with disabilities ("homecare"); and 4) light duty cleaners. Notably, the latter grouping includes cleaners in both institutional settings and private residences, and is the only category considered "indirect" care, as it does not involve face-to-face work with care recipients. Table 1 provides expanded details on the care work classification scheme developed and applied, with examples of included occupations.²

Combined, the four groupings of care workers in Table 1 represent 27% of the female immigrant population analyzed.³ While the majority of LCP immigrants would be expected to state that their intention is to work in homecare (as this is a requirement of their two-step immigration pathway to achieving permanent residency), it is conceivable that these women would choose other care work options, as a strategy to highlight their longer-term intention to work in another occupation or to recognize their existing training or credentials.

Due to the nature of the intended occupation variable in the IMDB, a limitation of this analysis is that it is not possible to determine whether these women did indeed end up working in caring occupations over time in Canada. Thus, a major drawback of this

² By comparison, the top five intended non-caring occupations for the sample of non-professional, non-managerial immigrant women at landing between 1993 and 2015 were administrative assistants (17%); administrative officers (4.2%), accounting technicians and bookkeepers (3.5%), tailors, dressmakers, furriers, and milliners (3.4%) and general office support workers (3.3%).

³ Within the total non-professional, non-managerial sample, only 3% of immigrants reporting these intended occupations between 1993 and 2015 were male. Consequently, the empirical analysis in this study focuses on the female population only.

analysis is that an unknown proportion of immigrant women who intended to work as caregivers likely either did not do so at any point or moved into other types of work over time in Canada. However, qualitative Canadian literature suggests a path dependency element, as women who enter Canada working in low skill care, due to challenges in credential recognition, family sponsorship obligations, and deskilling that often occurs, tend to continue working in these types of caring occupations over time (Hanley et al., 2017; Tungohan et al., 2015). Thus, given existing data limitations, I seek to examine the characteristics of immigrant women who report the intention to work in one the four selected types of lower skill care, both inside and outside of the LCP, and examine how their employment income compares to otherwise comparable immigrant women over time. The goal is to assess, to the degree possible, whether women who immigrate to Canada with the intention of working in paid care occupations gain or lose ground in terms of employment income over time in the labour market.

4 Data and Measures

The IMDB is a comprehensive source of data on the socio-economic outcomes of the tax-filing immigrant population who landed in Canada beginning in 1980, collected by government agencies. Available to researchers as of 2016, the IMDB combines administrative data from anonymized immigrant landing files with tax data files collected on an annual basis (Statistics Canada, 2017). It contains annual information on the wages and self-employment income of immigrants pre- and post- the achievement of permanent residency, as well as information on their intended occupation and skill level upon landing in Canada.

Notably, the IMDB addresses limitations in previous quantitative studies of immigrants in Canada in four specific ways: (1) The data are administrative and thus more easily provide information that is sensitive or difficult to collect with a high degree of accuracy (e.g., income), as compared to self-reported surveys (Meyer & Mittag, 2015). (2) Administrative data also address concerns about survey bias or non-response rates, providing more precise information on self-employed and low-income populations, where care work is overrepresented (Anderson & Hughes, 2010; Hurst et al., 2014). (3) The IMDB comprises all immigrants in Canada who file taxes and landed in Canada from 1980 onwards.⁴ As such, it uniquely accommodates analyses of different immigrant entry categories, allowing for a precise focus on sub-populations, such as lower skilled female workers. (4) The IMDB is longitudinal. Comparable Statistics Canada datasets (e.g., the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Canada) encompass only a few waves of data collection, providing a series of snapshots in time rather than a long-term profile. Given its extensive timeframe (over three decades), the IMDB allows researchers to more accurately measure the upward or downward economic mobility of immigrants throughout their time in the Canadian labour market. Altogether, these factors make the IMDB an ideal tool to trace the employment income trajectories of

⁴ The IMDB does not include undocumented or illegalized immigrants, as they do not file taxes. These individuals likely comprise a significant proportion of the immigrant population in Canada's larger cities (see Sidhu, 2013).

lower skill female migrants intending to work in care in Canada, beginning with the introduction of the LCP.⁵

For this analysis, given substantive evidence of the overrepresentation of migrant and racialized women working within low skill paid care (e.g., Budig & Misra, 2010; Michel & Peng, 2012), the selected population is a rolling sample of women of working age (25–65) at the point of their entry into the Canadian labour market, whose skill level at time of landing was not designated “professional” or “managerial” and who had been filing taxes in Canada (as of 1993) for 1 year or longer. Individuals whose skill level at landing was designated “retiree” were excluded, as were those with missing information on their intended occupation. Refugees were also excluded, as the unique circumstances surrounding their entry into the labour market typically make their income trajectories distinct (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018). The resultant population for analysis is 220,265 immigrant women who landed in Canada between 1993 and 2015.

The principal independent variables measure (a) the intended occupation of the respondent and (b) their entry class at landing. I use both a dichotomous and a categorical measure to operationalize my classification of different types of lower status care (with the reference category being the intention to work in a non-caring occupation), as well as a dichotomous variable measuring whether the immigrant entered Canada through the LCP or through a different entry class (e.g., through family reunification or as an economic immigrant). Notably, within the IMDB, individuals who list a specific intended occupation on their landing file were required to prove that they had obtained the necessary educational qualifications, as well as a minimum of 1 year of experience in the field. Thus, it is considered a conservative measure of occupation and results may, if anything, underestimate the number of women who end up working in lower status care after arrival in Canada (Evra & Prokopenko, 2018).

The dependent variable is the reported annual employment income (AEI) of respondents, including wages and salaries, commission, and self-employment income. This information is collected in the IMDB via individual tax files on an annual basis, and I adjust for inflation across years using the 2015 Consumer Price Index, excluding individuals with \$0 reported income for that person-year. The choice of controls is guided by the literature on the economic integration of female immigrants in the Canadian context: the time-stable measures included from the landing file data are: age at landing and country of birth (here used as the closest proxy available for capturing race/ethnicity, as this information is not collected in the IMDB, with “the Philippines” as the reference category) and human capital, measured via years of schooling completed at landing and official language proficiency (the reference category is “no official language proficiency at landing”). In addition, using the linked tax file data I include several time-varying controls that are measured on an annual basis within my models. These include age, number of children aged 16 years or less, marital status (with “married/common-law” as the reference category), and province of residence (with “Ontario” as the reference category). I also address relevant labour market factors, with a control for whether an individual reported

⁵ The analysis for this paper begins in 1993, 1 year after the introduction of the LCP, in order to allow all immigrants in the sample sufficient time in the labour market for accurate measurement of annual employment income in the tax file data.

tuition income on their tax form or not each year (the reference is “no tuition payments”), as a proxy for being enrolled in school, as well as a dichotomous control for whether the individual reported self-employment income each year (the reference category is “no self-employment income”). I control for time in the Canadian labour market (measured as time since the respondent’s first tax form submission, which for LCP immigrants is prior to the achievement of permanent residency) and its square, in order to account for the time needed to transition into a new labour market and its nonlinear effects. Finally, I control for year of landing in Canada (to address cohort effects), and include series of year dummies, to account, as much as possible, for the macro effects of the economy.

5 Data Analysis Strategy

Initially, cross-sectional descriptive analyses capture a profile of the target population of non-professional non-managerial immigrant women at time of landing in Canada. Subsequently, given the longitudinal nature of the data, I employ multilevel modeling (MLM)⁶ to estimate growth curve models of individuals’ mean annual employment income (AEI). Such models are widely used to examine the unique trajectories of individuals and groups in repeated measures data (Banerjee, 2009; Bierman, 2014). The MLM permits the study of individual change in AEI over time in the Canadian labour market, as well as measurement of how changes over time differ across groups. Further, the MLM accommodates the examination of how time-stable and time-varying factors both influence the outcome. I use the time-stable variables to account for variability in the slope, thereby creating cross-level interactions.

The model that is fundamental to this paper’s analyses is:

$$\text{Income}_{it} = \beta_{0i} + \beta_{1i}\text{Time}_{it} + \beta_{2i}\text{Time} * \text{Time}_{it} + e_{it} \quad (1)$$

$$\beta_{0i} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}\text{FirstTaxYear}_i + \gamma_{02}\text{WorkinCare}_i + \gamma_{03}\text{LCPstatus}_i + \sum \gamma_{0q}Z_{qi} + w_{0i} \quad (2)$$

$$\beta_{1i} = \gamma_{34} + w_{1i} \quad (3)$$

Equation 1 is the Level-1 or within-person model, which estimates AEI (Income_{it}) as a nonlinear (squared) function of the number of years in the Canadian labour market since the respondent’s first tax form submission in Canada. Because Time_{it} is the time since entering the labour market in Canada for respondent i at time t , the associated coefficient, β_{1i} , indicates the expected rate of increase/decrease in AEI per year since their first tax year in Canada for person i . The coefficient β_{0i} is the intercept, which can be interpreted as the expected AEI for person i at 1 year since entering the labour market, in the case of a non-professional non-managerial female immigrant who did not report the intention to work in care.

⁶ MLM is appropriate for the IMDB, in part, because it incorporates all individuals in its estimation of trajectories, regardless of the number of waves in which the respondent participated, thereby addressing concerns about data attrition and periods outside the labour market (Fairbrother, 2014).

Equation 2 indicates that this intercept varies by person-level (i.e., time-stable) characteristics, such as intended occupation at landing and entry class, with γ_{0i} indicating the mean difference in AEI for each year of potential entry into the labour market (or first tax year); γ_{0q} is the coefficient for person-level covariates, such as number of children, marital status and self-employment income. Further, w_{0i} indicates residual random variation in the intercept across respondents. Finally, Equation 3 models the slope for time in the labour market, β_{1i} , and γ_{34} indicates the expected squared rate of change per year in the labour market (the cross-level interactions), while w_{1i} indicates that this rate of change is expected to vary across individuals.

Using this model as a basis, I subsequently present a series of analyses. The focal variables capturing care work or entry class all have interactions with “*Time*” and its square. The first model (Model 1) examines AEI for women intending to work in care as compared to women intending to work in non-caring occupations, with all time-stable and time-varying controls included. The second model (Model 2) is similar to Model 1, but it uses the categorical (rather than dichotomous) measure of intended occupation to disaggregate the employment income trajectories of women intending to work in different types of care, again compared to those intending to work in a non-caring occupation. Finally, the remaining models (Models 3–6) are run on each of the four groups of intended care workers separately, to compare the AEI of women who entered through the LCP to the those arriving via other entry classes, again with all controls included.

6 Descriptive Result

Initially, descriptive landing file data provides an overview of the characteristics of lower status immigrant women in Canada. Table 2 compares non-professional non-managerial immigrant women who report the intention to work in any of the four selected types of lower status care to those who report the intention to work in non-caring occupations from 1993 to 2015, and then further stratifies the sample of intended care workers to compare those who entered via the LCP to those who entered through other immigration entry classes. These pooled data confirm the findings of previous studies suggesting that female care workers in Canada disproportionately arrive through the LCP (81% of women reporting the intention to work in lower status care within the selected population) (Banerjee et al., 2018). In addition, the intended care workers are: more likely to be principal applicants than women reporting the intention to work in other non-professional non-managerial occupations (97% vs. 84%), more likely to report proficiency in either English or French (97% vs. 86%), less likely to be married or in a common-law relationship at time of landing (38% vs. 60% for women not intending to work in care), and more likely to report their highest level of education as a trade certificate or non-university diploma (33% vs. 28%) or a bachelor’s degree (43% vs. 38%) at landing. Three quarters of the women reporting the intention to work in care come from the Philippines (overwhelmingly through the LCP), as compared to only 12% of immigrant women reporting the intention to work in non-caring occupations.

Among intended care workers, Table 2 also indicates that those who entered via the LCP are more likely to be principal applicants than those who came through other

Table 2 Characteristics of low-status migrant women reporting the intention to work in care vs. non-care occupations at time of landing in Canada (1993–2015)

	Non-care work (%)	All care work (%)	Care work: non-LCP migrants ^a (%)	Care work: LCP migrants only ^b (%)
Immigration category				
LCP	0.5	81		
Non-LCP	99.5	19		
Family status				
Principal applicant	84	97	86	99.8
Other	16	3	14	0.2
Official language proficiency				
Yes	86	97	87	99.9
No	14	3	13	0.1
Marital status				
Married/common-law	60	38	60	32
Other	40	62	40	68
Level of education				
High school degree or less	26	22.5	36	19
Trade certificate/non-university diploma	28	32.8	28	34
Bachelor's degree	38	42.8	31	46
Master's degree or doctorate	8	1.8	5	1
Country of birth				
Philippines	12	75	24	88
China	10	1	3	1
United Kingdom	2	1	2	0.8
Jamaica	2	2	6	0.9
India	7	2	5	1
United States	2	0.4	2	0.01
Hong Kong	5	0.2	0.4	0.1
Vietnam	3	0.1	0.6	0.03
Morocco	3	0.4	2	0.2
France	4	0.8	4	0.1
Others	49	16	51	8
Total N	173,040	63,365	12,315	51,050

^a“LCP” is defined here as persons who landed in Canada via the Live-in Caregiver entry class between 1993 and 2015

^b“Non-LCP” is defined here as persons who landed in Canada via an entry class other than the Live-in Caregiver Program between 1993 and 2015 (e.g., through family reunification or as an economic immigrant). Refugees were not included in the analysis

immigration entry streams (99.8% vs. 86%), and more likely to have official language proficiency (99.9% vs. 87%). Intended care workers arriving through the LCP are also less likely to be married at landing than women entering Canada through other immigration entry streams and have higher overall levels of education (with 46%

Table 3 Characteristics of migrant women reporting the intention to work in different types of low-status care at time of landing in Canada (1993–2015)

	Nurse aides (%)	Daycare and teacher assistants (“Daycare”) (%)	Home childcare providers and home support workers (“Homecare”) (%)	Light duty cleaners (%)
Immigration category				
LCP	23	3	94	20
Non-LCP	77	97	6	80
Family status				
Principal applicant	83	87	99	93
Other	17	13	1	7
Official language proficiency				
Yes	89	92	99	86
No	11	8	1	14
Marital status				
Married/common-law	63	61	34	40
Other	37	39	66	60
Level of education				
High school degree or less	20	15	21	50
Trade certificate/non-university diploma	41	39	34	19
Bachelor’s degree	36	41	44	30
Master’s degree or doctorate	3	13	1	1
Country of birth				
China & Hong Kong	3	6	1	1
India	6	9	1	1
Jamaica	4	2	1	6
Philippines	32	10	84	56
United Kingdom	2	3	1	1
Others	53	70	12	35
Total N	3260	3715	52,750	3640

having completed a bachelor’s degree at landing, as compared to 31% among non-LCP immigrant women intending to work in care). LCP women are also far more likely to have been born in the Philippines.

Table 3 presents differences in the characteristics of women reporting the intention to work in the four different types of lower status care considered. Intended nurse aides are the smallest group ($N = 3260$) and intended homecare providers the largest group ($N = 52,750$) in our analytical sample. Here, the data again suggest meaningful disparities across groups. Not surprisingly, women entering Canada through the LCP are most likely to report the intention to work in home-based care with children, the elderly, or people with disabilities (“homecare”) as their intended occupation (at 94%), as this is the express



Fig. 1 Median annual employment income of low-status migrant women in Canada 1993–2015

intention of this entry class. LCP immigrant women are least likely to report the intention to work as daycare and teachers' assistants ("daycare") (at only 3%). This table reinforces the prior suggestion that some LCP immigrant women may choose to report their intention to work in caring occupations outside of homecare, perhaps as a strategy to facilitate their longer-term intention to work in another occupation or to recognize their existing training or credentials in a different field (e.g., nursing) (Salami & Nelson, 2014; Tungohan et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the data here only allow for conjecture on the precise rationales behind this decision.

The immigrant women reporting the intention to work in all four types of care are overwhelmingly principal applicants⁷ and the vast majority (86% or higher) report proficiency in one of Canada's official languages. Those women reporting the intention to work as nurse aides are most likely to be married/common-law at time of landing (at 63%), as compared to only 34% of women reporting the intention to work in homecare. The immigrant women reporting the intention to work as nurse aides are most likely to have a trade certificate or non-university diploma as their highest level of education (at 41%), while those reporting the intention to work in daycare or homecare are most likely to have a bachelor's degree at landing (at 41% and 44% respectively). Notably, half of the women reporting the intention to work as light duty cleaners have only a high school degree or lower at time of landing. Finally, in terms of country of birth, the Philippines is unsurprisingly the dominant source country for women intending to provide in-home care (at 84%), and, to a lesser degree, for light duty cleaners (at 54%).

⁷ Note that the intended occupation field is mandatory for principal applicant immigrants within the economic entry categories, in part explaining its high prevalence within the study population.

However, women from the Philippines make up less than a third of the women who report the intention to work as nurse aides or in daycare.

The final descriptive data, presented in Fig. 1, uses the annual tax files (pooled person-years) to compare the median employment income of women reporting the intention to work in care versus those intending to work in non-caring occupations for the all relevant years since the introduction of the LCP program (1993 to 2015). Here, the data indicates that in the first year of analysis (1993), the intended care workers' median income is more than twice as high as that of intended non-care workers. Yet, 6 years later (in 1999), it is equal. Subsequently, from 2000 onwards, the trend reverses, with the median incomes of non-professional non-managerial immigrant women reporting the intention to work in a non-caring occupation higher than that of those reporting the intention to work in a caring occupation. The largest gap is found in 2007, when the intended care workers' median income is roughly only 80% as high as that of intended non-care workers.

Together, these descriptive data suggest that any care work advantage in AEI is diminished or eliminated entirely over the time period analyzed, with preliminary evidence of an emerging care [income] penalty. At the same time, it is clear that the profile of immigrant care workers is diverse and varies by type of intended occupation. Migrant women intending to work as light duty cleaners (a non-direct form of care) have the lowest levels of education, while intended homecare workers, not surprisingly, primarily comprise LCP Filipina women. Most direct care workers have relatively high levels of human capital. In the following section, I proceed to multivariate analyses to examine in more detail the relationship between intended care work, LCP status, and individual economic outcomes, while controlling for relevant personal characteristics, human capital, and employment factors.

7 Multivariate Analysis

To best illustrate how the AEI trajectories vary based on intended occupation and entry class for low-status immigrant women in Canada, the key results of the growth curve models are displayed graphically in Figures 2-4 below, while the tables with the corresponding regression coefficients can be found in the appendices. The figures present marginal plots of AEI for the selected groups, holding all control variables at their mean. To begin, Fig. 2 compares the AEI trajectories of intended care workers to non-care workers. Two major findings are of note: (1) Initially, upon entering the labour market, care workers appear to have a marginally higher income than non-care workers, controlling for personal characteristics, human capital, and employment factors, with the gap closing after four years in the labour market. Subsequently, however, the trend reverses, with the predicted AEI of intended care workers less than that of intended non-care workers. Thus, there is evidence of an emerging income penalty for intended care workers in Canada over time in the labour market (Appendix Table 4 confirms a significant care income penalty of \$-1160 at time of landing in AEM, with a subsequent penalty of \$-514 each year in the labour market). (2) In addition, the AEI upward income trajectory in the labour market over time is steeper for intended non-care workers than intended care workers. This aligns with prior research which demonstrates that there is a “sticky floor” for care work, with lesser upward

mobility (or relative downward mobility) for women who work in highly feminized caring occupations (Christofides et al., 2013; Tungohan et al., 2015).

Figure 3 presents the predicted AEI trajectories of immigrant women intending to work in the four different types of care, contrasted again with comparable intended non-care workers and holding all controls at their mean. Here, the results indicate disparate employment income trajectories within the intended care worker sub-groups (see Appendix Table 5). Notably, intended nurse aides have the lowest predicted AEI upon entering the Canadian labour market (with a \$-2158 income penalty compared to non-care workers at time of landing), but by the end of the 23-year time period examined, they emerge with the highest predicted AEI of all groups, including intended non-care workers (with a \$501 income bonus compared to non-care workers for each year in the labour market). Thus, they appear to fare best over time among low-status female immigrants in terms of AEI. This aligns with prior research noting the high demand for foreign nursing and supportive occupations within the Global North due to ongoing healthcare shortages (Moyce et al., 2016; Rutter, 2006).

The reverse is true for the intended light duty cleaners (the group with the lowest mean levels of education upon landing). These women have the highest predicted AEI upon entering the labour market among care workers, but, subsequently, their AEI trajectory is more muted than for the other groups, and over time their economic prospects appear worst. This speaks to potentially limited upward employability for this group and, perhaps, fewer transferable skills within non-direct care. Finally, the predicted AEI trajectories of intended daycare and homecare workers suggest that both groups of women fare worse than comparable intended non-care workers over time (as

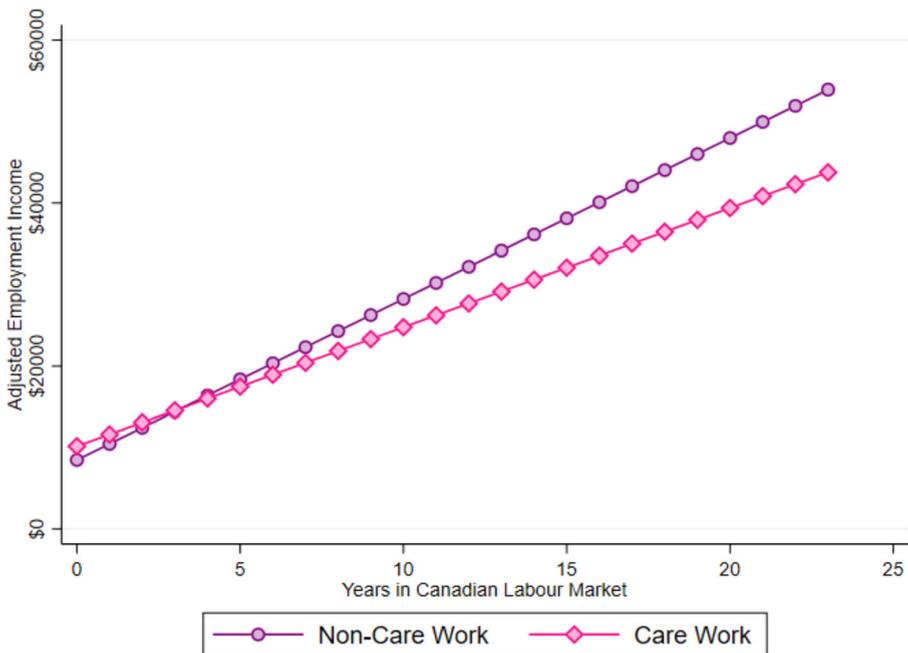


Fig. 2 Predicted annual employment income by time in the Canadian labour market for low-status migrant women—intended care workers vs. intended non-care workers (dichotomous measure)

well as doing worse than intended nurse aides, who have lower mean levels of education at landing than these two groups). As these individuals represent the majority of the total intended care worker population, their results speak, again, to an employment income penalty for women intending to work in low-status jobs in health and education, as well as in domestic services (in the case of the light duty cleaners), that increases over time. Thus, Fig. 3 suggests that while there is variation in the AEI of intended care workers, occupations that require work in private homes with vulnerable populations (the identified priority of the LCP program), as well as those in auxiliary support for care, tend toward ongoing and growing disadvantages in AEI for immigrant women over time in the Canadian labour market.

The final figure, Fig. 4, presents four marginal plots, examining the predicted AEI trajectory of LCP versus non-LCP immigrant women within each of the four groups of intended care workers (see Appendix Table 6). This allows addressing the last research question, examining whether women who come through the LCP fare better or worse in terms of employment income over time in the labour market than otherwise comparable migrant women. As noted by the variable trends within each plot, it is clear that the results differ based on the intended occupation. Controlling for human capital and personal characteristics, as well as employment factors, women coming through the LCP who intend to work as nurse aides, in daycare, or as light duty cleaners, fare worse than comparable women who enter through other immigration streams, with the disadvantage increasing over extended time in the labour market for nurse aides. Yet perhaps more significant is the case of intended homecare workers. Here, the data demonstrate an initial and ongoing advantage in terms of AEI for LCP women as compared to equivalent non-LCP women (with a \$877 income advantage compared to non-care workers at time of

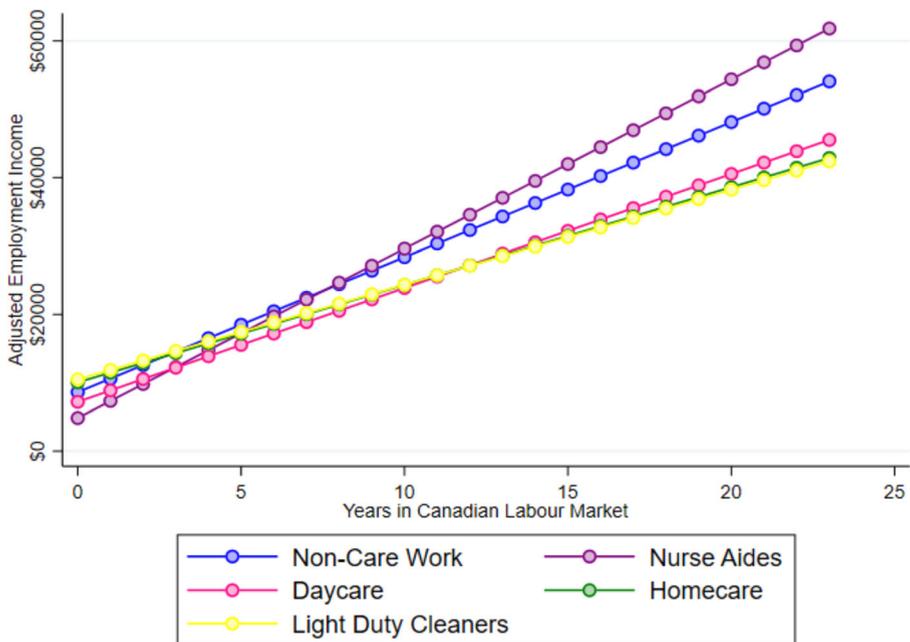


Fig. 3 Predicted annual employment income by time in the Canadian labour market for low-status migrant women—intended care workers vs. intended non-care workers (categorical measure)

landing that increases by \$343 with each additional year in the labour market). This finding is meaningful, given the high overrepresentation of LCP women within this group, and the express focus of policy on facilitating in-home child and elder care work by LCP immigrants. Given that prior research on care in Canada has disproportionately focused on LCP women, this suggests that it is women in other entry categories doing this type of job who may be the most vulnerable and fare worst in terms of their income trajectories. Additionally, Fig. 4 again reinforces the finding that indirect care, regardless of entry class, leads to lower levels of remuneration than care that entails face-to-face interactions.

8 Discussion and Conclusions

This article exploits a unique longitudinal administrative dataset (the IMDB) to examine the characteristics and employment income trajectories of non-professional, non-managerial immigrant women who reported their intended occupation upon landing in Canada, beginning at the introduction of the LCP, using data from 1993 to 2015. The focus was on women intending to work as nurse aides, daycare and teachers' assistants, home support workers, and light duty cleaners to highlight the employment income disparities within and across low-status workers. Given limitations of prior datasets, the analyses here provide a richer description of the care landscape in Canada, examining the ongoing effects on income of intending to work in the fields of health, education and domestic services that are internationally undervalued, and disproportionately performed by Global South women within wealthy nations. As well, the data highlight that the majority of intended care workers in Canada entered via the LCP between 1993 and 2015.

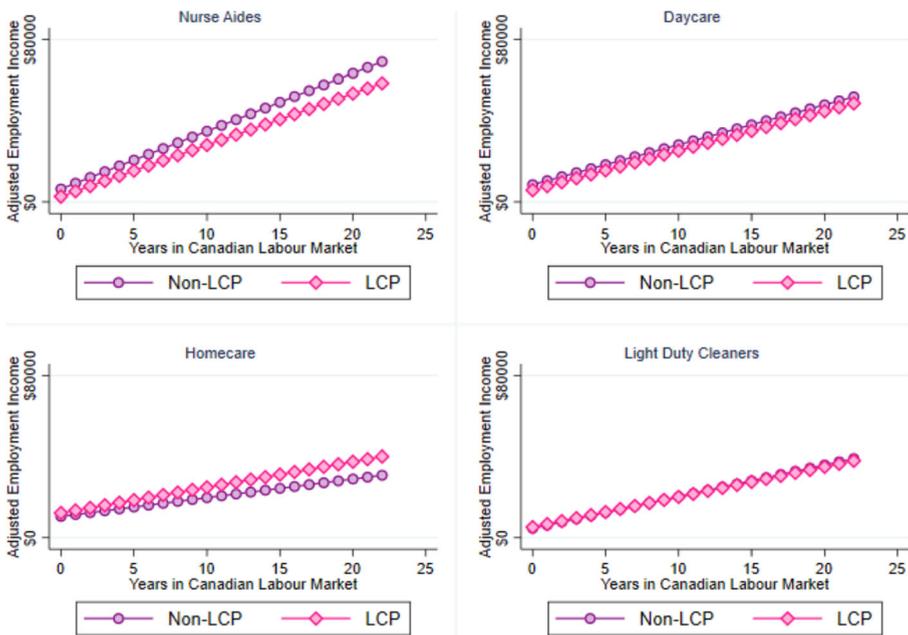


Fig. 4 Predicted annual employment income by time in the Canadian labour market for low-status migrant women—LCP vs. non-LCP, four intended care work occupations

The analytical strategy was to focus on “like with like”, selecting a population of non-professional, non-managerial immigrant women of typical working age, who did not arrive in Canada as refugees or “retirees.” The descriptive analysis supports prior suggestions that immigrant women disproportionately perform low status care work in Canada, specifically in occupations with low levels of remuneration and limited social closure (Barron & West, 2013). Without controlling for other factors, non-professional, non-managerial immigrant women in Canada who intend to work in care disproportionately enter through the LCP entry class, from the Philippines, and have high levels of official language proficiency and education at landing. Yet within intended care workers, variation is observed: the Philippines is the birth country of the majority of intended homecare workers and women intending to work as light duty cleaners, but not for intended nurse aides or daycare and teachers’ aides. Half of the intended light duty cleaners have their highest level of education at landing reported as a high school degree or lower, while over 40% of immigrant women intending to work in private homes, either with children, or in a support capacity for elderly persons or persons with disabilities, land in Canada with a bachelor’s degree or higher. Overall, the combined population of care workers who landed in Canada between 1993 and 2015 is demonstrated to be diverse, even given a relatively narrow focus on lower skill immigrant women.

The subsequent multivariate analyses examines predicted AEI trajectories over time in the Canadian labour market, while controlling for both time-varying factors such as age, marital status, enrollment in education, province of residence, and self-employment income, as well as time invariant factors such as country of birth, and years of schooling completed prior to landing, along with official language proficiency at landing. In addition, the models account for the ongoing and non-linear effects of time in the labour market on employment income, as well as cohort effects.

Together, the results reinforce suggestions of a “care [income] penalty” in Canada for immigrants, as I demonstrate a growing gap in AEM over time in the labour market between immigrant women who reported the intention at landing to work in low-status care jobs and otherwise comparable immigrant women who reported the intention to work in non-caring occupations. In addition, the results bolster prior research suggesting variation within low skill care work; nurse aides are found to fare better than comparable immigrant women who report the intention to work in a non-caring occupation, while all three other groups of intended care workers fare worse, with the least upward mobility experienced by light duty cleaners. This latter finding, in particular, reinforces suggestions by Duffy (2011) and Armstrong and Armstrong (2009) of lower mobility within non-direct forms of care.

Finally, in addressing my third research question, I focused on the difference between women inside and outside the LCP. I find that over two decades in the labour market, LCP immigrant women who intend to work as relatively higher paid nurse aides fare worse than comparable women entering Canada through other immigration streams. However, the reverse is true for those women intending to work in home-based care for children, the elderly and people with disabilities. LCP immigrants in homecare fare better upon initially entering the labour market and the gap widens over time between comparable women who arrive in Canada through other immigration streams, reinforcing suggestions that immigration policy shapes labour market outcomes in Canada, with effects that are tied to gender, country of origin, and class. As well, in terms of relative income, I find that care workers intending to work within

private homes or in indirect forms of care tend to earn less than women who work in care jobs located in institutions, again suggesting both variation within and across types of care work in Canada.

These findings are meaningful in the current policy context. In Canada, investment in supportive policies for women, who disproportionately provide both paid and unpaid care, in terms of maternity, childcare, and disability supports, as well as broader labour policies reinforcing the need for permanent, well-paid, and meaningful employment within health, education, and domestic services are essential to addressing the care penalty that is established and moving towards an inclusive post-pandemic economic recovery plan. However, potential progress is notable within recent reforms to the LCP. As of 2014, the live-in component of the reimagined Caregiver Program in Canada was removed, decreasing a major element of worker vulnerability. Yet, at the same time, new caps were implemented to the number of caregivers who could gain permanent residency each year. Five years later, in June 2019, a new pilot program for home childcare providers and home support workers was announced, which allows family to accompany principal applicant LCP migrants to Canada and be offered open work and study permits to keep the immediate family together, something that had previously only been available to the family of “high-skill” immigrants (Keung, 2019). Of course, such changes remain vulnerable to changing political whims, and global trends toward limiting permanent migration within the Global North.

Overall, this article provides further evidence of the devalued nature of low-status care in Canada, and the ongoing labour market impacts of intending to work in essential but low-status jobs in health, education, and domestic services, as well as entry through specific immigration pathways developed expressly to fill established gaps in paid care. Future Canadian research, policy, and advocacy work will require data which allows a focus on the occupational mismatch between intended and actual jobs held by immigrant care workers, as well as the double (or triple) disadvantage faced by immigrant and racialized female care workers over time.

Appendix 1

Table 4 Growth curve model measuring annual employment income trajectory for migrant women intending to work in care (dichotomous measure), 1993–2015

Model 1 Binary care work classification, total sample (2,264,480 observations used, 220,265 subjects)		
Fixed effects		
<i>Initial status</i> , π_{0i}	<i>B</i> (\$)	<i>SE</i> (\$)
Intercept, β_{00}	816820***	32,741
<i>Focal variables</i>		
Intended care workers ^b , β_{01}	−1160***	102
Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver program, β_{02}	−2698***	114
Year of landing, β_{03}	−407***	16

Table 4 (continued)

Model 1 Binary care work classification, total sample (2,264,480 observations used, 220,265 subjects)

<i>Individual characteristics</i>		
Tuition, β_{04}	-1***	0.008
Landing age, β_{05}	46***	12
Self-employed ^d , β_{06}	3262***	34
Age, β_{07}	-41**	12
Total number of kids (<16 years), β_{08}	2466***	16
Marital status ^e , β_{09}	-143**	49
Years of schooling, β_{10}	239***	7
Family status, β_{11}	728***	75
Official language ^f , β_{12}	1575***	84
<i>Birth country^g</i>		
China, β_{13}	-4658***	106
UK, β_{14}	2474***	159
Jamaica, β_{15}	-1985***	164
India, β_{16}	-1503***	110
United States, β_{17}	2291***	177
Hong Kong, β_{18}	-4620***	143
Vietnam, β_{19}	-3903***	180
Morocco, β_{20}	-6010***	183
France, β_{21}	2090***	142
Other, β_{22}	-2671***	72
<i>Province of residence^h</i>		
Newfoundland and Labrador, β_{23}	-1033*	401
Prince Edward Island, β_{24}	-1908***	525
Nova Scotia, β_{25}	-1429***	216
New Brunswick, β_{26}	-1248***	278
Quebec, β_{27}	-3358***	66
Manitoba, β_{28}	-2439***	106
Saskatchewan, β_{29}	437**	128
Alberta, β_{30}	2265***	62
British Columbia, β_{31}	-119*	56
NWT and Nunavut, β_{32}	7643***	417
Yukon, β_{33}	2562***	440
<i>Linear rate of change, π_{1i}</i>		
Intercept—time since first tax year, β_{34}	1976***	14
<i>Focal variables</i>		
Intended care worker ^b , β_{35}	-514***	14
Squared Rate of Change, π_{2i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)
Intercept—squared of time since first tax year, β_{36}	-70***	0.5
<i>Focal variables</i>		
Intended care workers ^b , β_{37}	-40***	0.5

Table 4 (continued)

Model 1 Binary care work classification, total sample (2,264,480 observations used, 220,265 subjects)

Random effects	
Var (years since arrival)	4,543,253
Var (constant)	7.33e+07
Cov (years since arrival, constant)	-3,829,835
Var (residual)	1.09e+08
Log likelihood	-24,573,051

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ ^a Total sample: women only; age between 25 and 65; non-professional and non-managerial^b Reference category is "other intended occupations"^c Reference category is "other classes"^d Reference category is "not self-employed"^e Reference category is "not married, not common law partner"^f Reference category is "neither English nor French"^g Reference category is "Philippines"^h Reference category is "Ontario"

Appendix 2

Table 5 Growth curve model measuring annual employment income trajectory for migrant women intending to work in care (categorical measure), 1993–2015

Model 2: Categorical care work classification, total sample a (2,264,480 observations used, 220,265 subjects)

Fixed effects		
<i>Initial status, π_{0i}</i>	<i>B</i> (\$)	<i>SE</i> (\$)
Intercept, β_{00}	817242***	32,743
<i>Focal variables</i>		
Care work classification ^b		
Nurses assistants and aides, β_{01}	-2158***	230
Daycare and teachers assistants, β_{02}	-1883***	222
Home childcare provides and home support workers, β_{03}	-1559***	150
Light duty cleaners, β_{04}	-1120***	213
Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver program, β_{05}	-2261***	153
Year of landing, β_{06}	-408***	16
<i>Individual characteristics</i>		
Tuition, β_{07}	-1***	0.008
Landing age, β_{08}	46***	12
Self-employed ^d , β_{09}	-3262***	34
Age, β_{10}	-41**	12
Total number of kids (<16 years), β_{11}	-2468***	16

Table 5 (continued)

Model 2: Categorical care work classification, total sample a (2,264,480 observations used, 220,265 subjects)

Marital status ^e , β_{12}	-153**	49
Years of schooling, β_{13}	237***	7
Family status, β_{14}	754***	75
Official language ^f , β_{15}	1597***	84
Birth country ^g		
China, β_{16}	-4669***	106
UK, β_{17}	2462***	159
Jamaica, β_{18}	-2009***	164
India, β_{19}	-1508***	110
United States, β_{20}	2265***	177
Hong Kong, β_{21}	-4644***	143
Vietnam, β_{22}	-3913***	180
Morocco, β_{23}	-6023***	184
France, β_{24}	2078***	142
Other, β_{25}	-2688***	72
Province of residence ^h		
Newfoundland and Labrador, β_{26}	-1004*	401
Prince Edward Island, β_{27}	-1922***	525
Nova Scotia, β_{28}	-1424***	216
New Brunswick, β_{29}	-1243***	278
Quebec, β_{30}	-3360***	66
Manitoba, β_{31}	-2438***	106
Saskatchewan, β_{32}	435**	128
Alberta, β_{33}	2270***	62
British Columbia, β_{34}	-116*	56
NWT and Nunavut, β_{35}	7642***	417
Yukon, β_{36}	2579***	440
Linear rate of change, π_{1i}	<i>B</i> (\$)	<i>SE</i> (\$)
Intercept—time since first tax year, β_{37}	1977***	14
<i>Focal variables</i>		
Care work classification ^b		
Nurses assistants and aides, β_{38}	501***	63
Childcare and teachers assistants, β_{39}	-309***	65
Home childcare providers and home support workers,	-548***	15
Light duty cleaners, β_{41}	-1120***	213
Squared rate of change, π_{2i}	<i>B</i> (\$)	<i>SE</i> (\$)
Intercept—square of time since first tax year, β_{42}	-70***	0.5
<i>Focal variables</i>		
Care work classification ^b		
Nurses assistants and aides, β_{43}	-87***	3
Childcare and teachers assistants, β_{44}	-65***	3
Home childcare providers and home support workers, β_{45}	-38***	1

Table 5 (continued)

Model 2: Categorical care work classification, total sample a (2,264,480 observations used, 220,265 subjects)

Light duty cleaners, β_{46}	-38***	2
Random effects		
Var (years since arrival)	4,541,755	
Var (constant)	7.33e+07	
Cov (years since arrival, constant)	-3,844,264	
Var (residual)	1.09e+08	
Log Likelihood	-24,572,818	

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

^a Total sample: women only; age between 25 and 65; non-professional and non-managerial

^b Reference category is “other intended occupations”

^c Reference category is “other classes”

^d Reference category is “not self-employed”

^e Reference category is “not married, not common law partner”

^f Reference category is “neither English nor French”

^g Reference category is “Philippines”

^h Reference category is “Ontario”

Appendix 3

Table 6 Growth curve models measuring annual employment income trajectories for LCP migrant women reporting four types of intended care work, 1993–2015

Model 3: Nurse Aides, 27,839 observations used, 3030 subject			Model 4: Daycare, 25,500 observations used, 3415 subjects		
Fixed effects			Fixed effects		
<i>Initial status, π_{0i}</i>	<i>B (\$)</i>	<i>SE (\$)</i>	<i>Initial status, π_{0i}</i>	<i>B (\$)</i>	<i>SE (\$)</i>
Intercept, β_{00}	480,917	276,010	Intercept, β_{00}	393,496	221,871
<i>Focal variables</i>			<i>Focal variables</i>		
Entry class ^c			Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver program, β_{01}	-4011***	781	Live-in caregiver program, β_{01}	-2840**	986
Year of landing, β_{02}	-240	139	Year of landing, β_{02}	-193	111
<i>Individual characteristics</i>			<i>Individual characteristics</i>		
Tuition, β_{03}	-2***	0.07	Tuition, β_{03}	-1***	0.05
Landing age, β_{04}	291**	97	Landing age, β_{04}	-14	88
Self-employed ^d , β_{05}	2120***	302	Self-employed ^d , β_{05}	3676***	259
Age, β_{06}	-220*	94	Age, β_{06}	-42	85
Total number of kids (<16), β_{07}	2106***	124	Total number of kids (<16), β_{07}	2607***	115
Marital status ^e , β_{08}	1192**	405	Marital status ^e , β_{08}	-1018**	326

Table 6 (continued)

Model 3: Nurse Aides, 27,839 observations used, 3030 subject			Model 4: Daycare, 25,500 observations used, 3415 subjects		
Years of schooling, β_{09}	282***	61	Years of schooling, β_{09}	124**	39
Family status, β_{10}	-1236*	571	Family status, β_{10}	586	478
Official language ^f , β_{11}	1394*	681	Official language ^f , β_{11}	1546**	579
Birth country ^g			Birth country ^g		
China, β_{12}	-5419***	1294	China, β_{12}	-5145***	827
UK, β_{13}	-4945***	1282	UK, β_{13}	677	898
Jamaica, β_{14}	-3157**	1061	Jamaica, β_{14}	-2396*	1124
India, β_{15}	-236	935	India, β_{15}	-4186***	723
United States, β_{16}	-1474	1214	United States, β_{16}	-3240**	997
Hong Kong, β_{17}	-3008	3230	Hong Kong, β_{17}	-4028	2178
Vietnam, β_{18}	-5729*	2462	Vietnam, β_{18}	-3228	2044
Morocco, β_{19}	-6287***	1716	Morocco, β_{19}	-2842*	1190
France, β_{20}	-71	1166	France, β_{20}	831	782
Others, β_{21}	-3014***	651	Others, β_{21}	-1780**	543
Province of residence ^h			Province of residence ^h		
Newfoundland and Labrador, β_{22}	2870	5349	Newfoundland and Labrador, β_{22}	1406	1796
Prince Edward Island, β_{23}	-1590	2117	Prince Edward Island, β_{23}	-4060	3051
Nova Scotia, β_{24}	5529***	1242	Nova Scotia, β_{24}	843	1222
New Brunswick, β_{25}	3442*	1745	New Brunswick, β_{25}	-2670	1462
Quebec, β_{26}	3858***	541	Quebec, β_{26}	2950***	425
Manitoba, β_{27}	-1300	743	Manitoba, β_{27}	-1247*	593
Saskatchewan, β_{28}	3216**	967	Saskatchewan, β_{28}	1870	993
Alberta, β_{29}	3349***	527	Alberta, β_{29}	5155***	431
British Columbia, β_{30}	736	555	British Columbia, β_{30}	825	422
NWT and Nunavut, β_{31}	10057*	4521	NWT and Nunavut, β_{31}	9022*	3641
Yukon, β_{32}	9958	6196	Yukon, β_{32}	3541*	1703
Linear rate of change, π_{1i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)	Linear rate of change, π_{1i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)
Intercept—time since first tax year, β_{33}	2854***	127	Intercept—time since first tax year, β_{33}	1972***	89
<i>Focal variables</i>			<i>Focal variables</i>		
Entry class ^c			Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver program, β_{34}	-316*	158	Live-in caregiver program, β_{34}	-24	264
Squared rate of change, π_{2i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)	Squared rate of change, π_{2i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)
Intercept—square of time since first tax year, β_{35}	-75***	4	Intercept—square of time since first tax year, β_{35}	-64***	4
<i>Focal variables</i>			<i>Focal variables</i>		
Entry class ^c			Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver P program, β_{36}	-70***	9	Live-in caregiver P program, β_{36}	-62***	15
Random effects			Random effects		

Table 6 (continued)

Model 3: Nurse Aides, 27,839 observations used, 3030 subject			Model 4: Daycare, 25,500 observations used, 3415 subjects		
Var (years since arrival)	5,830,408		Var (years since arrival)	3,156,289	
Var (constant)	6.75e+07		Var (constant)	4.55e+07	
Cov (years since arrival, constant)	-3,871,360		Cov (years since arrival, constant)	-3,419,240	
Var (residual)	9.06e+07		Var (residual)	7.17e+07	
Log likelihood	-300,113		Log likelihood	-271,610	
Model 5: Homecare, 692,780 observations used, 52,405 subjects			Model 6: Light Duty Cleaners, 41,510 observations used, 3485 subjects		
Fixed effects			Fixed effects		
<i>Initial status, π_{0i}</i>	<i>B (\$)</i>	<i>SE (\$)</i>	<i>Initial status, π_{0i}</i>	<i>B (\$)</i>	<i>SE (\$)</i>
Intercept, β_{00}	1,130,502***	47,689	Intercept, β_{00}	57,4973***	163,615
<i>Focal variables</i>			<i>Focal variables</i>		
Entry class ^c			Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver program, β_{01}	877***	165	Live-in caregiver program, β_{01}	-2177***	514
Year of landing, β_{02}	-567***	24	Year of landing, β_{02}	-285**	82
<i>Individual characteristics</i>			<i>Individual characteristics</i>		
Tuition, β_{03}	-1***	0.01	Tuition, β_{03}	-1***	0.06
Landing age, β_{04}	60***	17	Landing age, β_{04}	63	54
Self-employed ^d , β_{05}	-2514***	51	Self-employed ^d , β_{05}	-2351***	199
Age, β_{06}	-12	16	Age, β_{06}	-42	53
Total number of kids (<16), β_{07}	-2532***	22	Total number of kids (<16), β_{07}	-2040***	77
Marital status ^e , β_{08}	1184***	50	Marital status ^e , β_{08}	308	238
Years of schooling, β_{09}	131***	11	Years of schooling, β_{09}	61	42
Family status, β_{10}	-2 62	262	Family status, β_{10}	-308	494
Official language ^f , β_{11}	1692***	290	Official language ^f , β_{11}	496	420
Birth country ^g			Birth country ^g		
China, β_{12}	-2491***	211	China, β_{12}	-5098***	1198
UK, β_{13}	915***	242	UK, β_{13}	-920	1559
Jamaica, β_{14}	0.5	202	Jamaica, β_{14}	-1454**	524
India, β_{15}	-477**	183	India, β_{15}	-2430**	923
United States, β_{16}	2103*	843	United States, β_{16}	-2536	2377
Hong Kong, β_{17}	-249	600	Hong Kong, β_{17}	4259	3639
Vietnam, β_{18}	-434	929	Vietnam, β_{18}	-469	1799
Morocco, β_{19}	-1687**	562	Morocco, β_{19}	-2105	1348
France, β_{20}	1043*	483	France, β_{20}	-1258	2272
Others, β_{21}	-535***	80	Others, β_{21}	-3211***	302
Province of residence ^h			Province of residence ^h		
Newfoundland and Labrador, β_{22}	-712	674	Newfoundland and Labrador, β_{22}	-1986	1747
Prince Edward Island, β_{23}	2042**	786	Prince Edward Island, β_{23}	-2805	1941

Table 6 (continued)

Model 3: Nurse Aides, 27,839 observations used, 3030 subject			Model 4: Daycare, 25,500 observations used, 3415 subjects		
Nova Scotia, β_{24}	-30	368	Nova Scotia, β_{24}	-3081*	1232
New Brunswick, β_{25}	-313	492	New Brunswick, β_{25}	5386**	1791
Quebec, β_{26}	1071***	76	Quebec, β_{26}	1342***	346
Manitoba, β_{27}	175	190	Manitoba, β_{27}	2397**	850
Saskatchewan, β_{28}	1716***	183	Saskatchewan, β_{28}	1410**	528
Alberta, β_{29}	2344***	59	Alberta, β_{29}	2232***	355
British Columbia, β_{30}	278***	52	British Columbia, β_{30}	1669***	409
NWT and Nunavut, β_{31}	6818***	391	NWT and Nunavut, β_{31}	9227**	2720
Yukon, β_{32}	3566***	744	Yukon, β_{32}	1047	1133
Linear rate of change, π_{1i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)	Linear rate of change, π_{1i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)
Intercept—time since first tax year, β_{33}	924***	46	Intercept—time since first tax year, β_{33}	1565***	78
<i>Focal variables</i>			<i>Focal variables</i>		
Entry class ^c			Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver program, β_{34}	343***	44	Live-in caregiver program, β_{34}	-76	102
Squared rate of change, π_{2i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)	Squared rate of change, π_{2i}	B (\$)	SE (\$)
Intercept—square of time since first tax year, β_{35}	-32***	1	Intercept—square of time since first tax year, β_{35}	-73***	2
<i>Focal variables</i>			<i>Focal variables</i>		
Entry class ^c			Entry class ^c		
Live-in caregiver program, β_{36}	-25***	1	Live-in caregiver program, β_{36}	-54***	3
Random effects			Random effects		
Var (years since arrival)	2,950,040		Var (years since arrival)	2,775,166	
Var (constant)	1.80e+07		Var (constant)	3.33e+07	
Cov (Years since arrival, constant)	-4,089,769		Cov (years since arrival, constant)	-4,211,720	
Var (residual)	5.94e+07		Var (residual)	5.14e+07	
Log likelihood	-7,285,970		Log likelihood	-434,605	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ ^a Total sample: women only; age between 25 and 65; non-professional and non-managerial^b Reference category is "light duty cleaners"^c Reference category is "other classes"^d Reference category is "not self-employed"^e Reference category is "not married, not common law partner"^f Reference category is "neither English nor French"^g Reference category is "Philippines"^h Reference category is "Ontario"

Funding This study was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (File no: 430-2018-00062).

Declarations

Conflict of Interest The author declares no conflict of interest.

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