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An intersectional pathway penalty: Filipina immigrant women inside and outside Canada's Live-In Caregiver Program

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Abstract

This study uses Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Immigration Database to examine the 'intersectional pathway penalty' experienced by immigrant women from the Philippines entering Canada between 1996 and 2016 through three immigration categories. Estimating a series of growth curve models of employment income for 642,885 women, we compare Filipina immigrants' earnings trajectories with female immigrants from other source countries to highlight how country of origin intersects with entry class to affect immigrant women's post-migration labour market integration. Viewed through the lens of intersectionality, our results indicate that processes of differentiation tied to race and immigrant status result in Filipina women outperforming comparable women from other sources countries within the Live-in Caregiver Program, where earnings are consistently lowest. However, within the higher earning Federal Skilled Worker Program entry class, Filipinas experience downward labour market mobility relative to women from other source countries, ultimately emphasizing the devalued nature of care work.

[Correction added on 16 April 2021, after first online publication: The affiliations for Rupa Banerjee, Conely de Leon and Philip Kelly were updated in this version.]

INTRODUCTION

The present study examines how Filipina immigrants' pathways to settling in Canada, determined by entry class, affect their labour market integration relative to other female immigrants. In so doing, we aim to provide empirical evidence of the intersectional processes of differentiation, tied to race and immigrant status, that result in relative downward mobility for women entering Canada to perform work in care. Historically, the experiences of (racialized) immigrant women were largely overlooked or oversimplified in research on migration and work (e.g. Li, 1978; Porter, 1965, Richmond et al., 1980), due to a prioritization of the experiences of male immigrants who were typically conceived of as the primary mover and main earner. However, since the early 1980s, many studies have incorporated an examination of gender differences in immigrant labour market outcomes (e.g. Banerjee & Phan, 2015; Elrick & Lightman, 2016; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008), with more recent studies shifting from simply comparing outcomes by gender to investigating the complexities of immigrant women's experiences navigating gendered, racialized and classed systems of domination in paid work (see Banerjee, 2019; Dhamoon, 2011; Nawyn, 2010). We suggest that the effect of intersectional processes of differentiation can be seen in every aspect of migration, from the decision to emigrate, to the entry class through which a person immigrates, to post-migration settlement and employment experiences.

The Philippines, in particular, is now regularly among the top source countries for new immigrants arriving in Canada. Women represent a significantly larger proportion of immigrants from the Philippines (close to 60%) than other immigrant groups (Yssaad & Fields, 2018). Yet, there is a paucity of large-scale and longitudinal quantitative analyses of Filipina immigrants' multifaceted experiences in the labour market. In this study, we aim to address two gaps within the scholarly literature. First, most studies fail to apply an explicitly intersectional analysis to the impact of entry class on labour market trajectories in Canada and internationally. Second, the longer-term economic outcomes of Filipinas arriving via the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP), a 'two-step' immigration pathway, remain largely unknown, in comparison to both Filipinas who enter under other immigration entry streams, and women arriving from other source countries with equivalent human capital. Consequently, our study addresses two key research questions:

1. In what ways does Canada's gendered, racialized, and classed immigration system structure migration pathways, and how do these migration pathways in turn affect post-migration integration, as measured by employment income over time?
2. Do Filipina women, as a feminized and racialized immigrant labour force in Canada, have distinctive labour market trajectories as compared to women from other source countries and across various immigration entry streams?

Using newly released longitudinal administrative data from Statistics Canada, we compare the labour market trajectories of Filipina and non-Filipina women of typical working age (25–64 years) who immigrated to Canada between 1996 and 2016 either as principal applicants in the Federal Skilled Worker (FSWP) category, principal applicants in the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), or through the Family Class (FC) as spouses/common law. This population is selected in order to compare outcomes across highly feminized entry streams (LCP and FC) and for women who entered Canada based on specific assessments of their relevant training and human capital, both to provide care work and otherwise (LCP versus FSWP).

Our results suggest that over two decades, entry class has had substantive and ongoing effects on labour market earnings for immigrant women, even when controlling for work experience prior to achieving permanent residence in Canada, human capital, and personal and family characteristics. In particular, we provide two key findings. First, women who came through the LCP, typically with the intention at landing to work in in-home care supporting children, the elderly and people with disabilities, earned less both initially and over the long term than comparable women arriving via other entry classes. This reinforces prior suggestions of a 'care [wage] penalty' and

the devalued nature of work in care (Lightman, 2019; Tungohan et al., 2015). Second, Filipina women, as a feminized and racialized immigrant labour force in Canada, have had different labour market trajectories than women from other source countries. Filipina women consistently outperform non-Filipina women in the lower wage LCP entry class within which they numerically dominate. Within the much higher earning FSWP entry class, however, Filipinas only initially have an income advantage. After five years in the labour market, this trend reverses, with Filipina women faring substantially worse than comparable non-Filipina FSWP women over time. Together, these results indicate what we term an 'intersectional pathway penalty'. In other words, our analysis reinforces suggestions that immigration pathways shape immigrant labour market outcomes, both at time of landing and over time, with gendered and racialized processes of differentiation influencing employment income trajectories over two decades.

These findings are relevant for scholars and policymakers in the field of immigration in an international context, as well as for immigrants themselves and their advocates. While Canada has been lauded as having an immigration system that other countries such as the United States should follow (Tepperman, 2017), our results highlight failings in Canada's 'model' immigration system (Reitz, 2012) – notable for countries considering adopting a similar system. In addition, as immigrant-receiving states continue to see significant growth in so-called 'two-step' immigration pathways (which make permanent residence conditional on a period of work in the country), the results presented here for LCP immigrants are likely of relevance to countries with similar segmented pathways for immigrants. We thus aim to further understanding of the impact of different modes of immigrant entry, which have attendant variation in rights, entitlements and, ultimately, long-term economic outcomes.

APPLYING AN INTERSECTIONAL LENS TO LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES

In part due to ongoing evidence of disparities in the labour market between immigrants and non-immigrants, there is growing understanding in Canada that processes of racialization dovetail with gender, entry class and country of origin to shape experiences at work (Lightman & Good Gingrich, 2018; Tungohan et al., 2015). Intersectional analysis highlights how social groups' various identities (e.g. being a Filipina woman), categories of difference (e.g. race, class, gender) and 'processes of differentiation' (e.g. racialization and gendering) work in conjunction with 'systems of domination' (e.g. racism, patriarchy) (Dhamoon, 2011). The lens of intersectionality helps to explain why different social groups have such distinct experiences during the migration process.

In the case of Filipina LCP immigrants, intersectional analysis contextualizes the challenges that these women face, underscoring how systems of domination, such as racism, sexism, and settler colonialism, underlie Canadian nation-building and immigration policies, such that different immigrant groups are placed in racialized labour hierarchies (Abu-Laban, 1998; McElhinny et al., 2012; Walia, 2010). Specifically, such racialized labour hierarchies explain why British, Irish and European migrant domestic workers from the mid-19th to mid-20th century were automatically granted Canadian citizenship, while Caribbean and Filipina migrant domestic workers from the 1950s onwards have had to pass additional criteria before being able to do so (Arat-Koç, 2001; Macklin, 1994; Tungohan, 2012). Canada's 'new' Caregiver Program, established in 2013, with minor policy changes added as recently as 2019, is still dominated by women from the Global South and imposes additional criteria such as language and licensing requirements, thereby showing the continuation of racialized labour hierarchies in migrant care work (Faraday, 2016).

Intersectional analysis additionally reveals the multiple and overlapping forms of disadvantage that immigrant women face in the labour market. In addition to the broader challenges faced by all immigrants such as the devaluation of foreign credentials and work experience (Aydede & Dar, 2017; Fortin et al., 2016; Li & Sweetman, 2014), intersectional analysis underscores how immigrant women often face a 'double disadvantage' or even 'triple disadvantage' – as immigrants, women *and* racialized minorities (Raijman & Semyonov, 1997). Immigrant women in Canada are found to have higher rates of unemployment and lower earnings than immigrant men, as well as

native-born women and men, while racialized immigrant women are significantly more likely than their white counterparts to work in precarious jobs (Chui & Maheux, 2011). As of 2017, the unemployment rate of female immigrants in Canada was nearly double that of their native-born counterparts (7.2 per cent versus 4.3 per cent) (Yssaad & Fields, 2018).

Drawing on the above literature, we suggest that the intersectional pathway penalty experienced by immigrant women is influenced by many factors including country of origin, race, family status and immigration category (see Boyle et al., 2001; Elrick & Lightman, 2016). Thus, intersectional analysis provides an illuminating lens through which to understand the experiences of diverse groups of immigrant women. By focusing on interlocking structures, social processes and overlapping social categories, intersectionality reveals their specific and distinct experiences with immigration. Rather than assuming that immigrant women are all similarly disadvantaged, an intersectional approach shows the relevance of context-specific processes of differentiation and systems of domination on immigrants' social locations, the nature of their work and, ultimately, their income trajectories.

IMMIGRANT ENTRY CLASSES IN CANADA

In this study, we focus on differences in economic integration within and across immigrant entry classes in Canada for immigrants who have received permanent resident (PR) status. Internationally, the social processes by which immigrants are received and incorporated into their destination societies are impacted by factors such as the pre-existing racial composition of the society, changing international relations and government policies, and labour market characteristics (Portes, 1995; Reitz, 2002). Yet, recent literature on 'super-diversity' highlights the need to examine differences *within* ethnic groups (Crul, 2016; Vertovec, 2007). By examining the dynamics of labour market integration for Filipina immigrants across entry classes and comparing the experiences of women arriving from other source countries over time, we intentionally situate entry class, in conjunction with gender and race, at the centre of this analysis.

As context, we provide an overview and justification of the three categories of immigrant entry examined in this paper. In 2016, among 296,379 permanent residents admitted to Canada, 52.6 per cent were admitted under the economic entry class and 26.3 per cent were admitted under the family class to join family members already in the country. The remainder were admitted as refugees or on humanitarian or compassionate grounds (Immigration Refugees & Citizenship Canada, 2018). Within Canada's economic stream, Federal Skilled Workers, the first entry class we examine, were the largest category. These migrants are selected based on a points system that assesses applicants on six selection criteria: 1) work experience; 2) education; 3) language ability; 4) age; 5) arranged employment; and 6) adaptability. About 42 per cent of principal applicants arriving in Canada under the FSWP category in 2016 were women (Immigration Refugees & Citizenship Canada, 2018).

By contrast, in 2016, a full 94 per cent of the 6,835 principal applicants in the Live-In Caregiver Program entry category, the second economic entry class we examine, were women (Immigration Refugees & Citizenship Canada, 2019). Unlike immigrants entering Canada through the FSWP, LCP principal applicants were required to complete the terms of their two-year live-in work contracts before applying for permanent residency for themselves and their families. As a result, LCP migrants are often characterized as 'citizens-in-waiting' (Tungohan et al., 2015) due to their 'two-step' pathway to permanent residency (Goldring & Landolt, 2012). Because the terms of the LCP specify that caregivers' work permits are tied to their employers, researchers and policymakers have criticized the programme for placing caregivers in situations where the balance of power is disproportionately skewed towards their employers (Banerjee et al., 2018; Brickner & Straehle, 2010; Faraday, 2012) and have noted how prohibitions against caregivers bringing their families with them while under the LCP lead to much hardship for caregivers and may lengthen their adjustment period (Spitzer & Torres, 2008).¹

Finally, the Family Class (FC) entry category, the third entry class we examine, was first formalized in the 1976 Immigration Act, although allowance for family reunification existed in Canada throughout the 20th century

(Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). Unlike economic stream immigrants such as skilled workers, family class immigrants are not subject to the points system. Instead, immigrants arriving through this stream simply need to pass basic criminal, security and health checks (Neborak, 2013). The number of family class immigrants admitted has varied over time, and so have the relationships that are recognized, ranging from only spouses and minor children to family members of any kind (DeShaw, 2006). In the 1970s, between 40 and 50 per cent of immigrants entering Canada were in the family class. However, starting in the 1990s, immigration policy has prioritized economic immigration as a strategic response to labour market shortages. Accordingly, the numbers of FC immigrants have dropped significantly (Gabriel, 2017).

Major economic entry pathways into Canada that are not the focus of the present study include the Provincial Nominee Program and the Canadian Experience Class. While these immigration programmes have grown in size over the past decade, neither have been in existence for the full period covered by this study. FSWP and FC remain the two largest categories for principal applicants in general, while the LCP is significant here because of the dominance of Filipina immigrants arriving through the programme.

PROCESSES OF DIFFERENTIATION TIED TO ENTRY CLASS

Immigration scholars and policymakers internationally note that different modes of immigrant entry have significant variation in rights and entitlements, and, ultimately, influence long-term economic outcomes (Banerjee, 2019; Elrick & Winter, 2018). In Canada, despite the government's focus on skilled immigration streams, empirical studies examining the effect of immigration category on post-migration integration in the Canadian context have found mixed results. Aydemir (2011) found that although immigrants entering as principal applicants in the FSWP category had more favourable human capital attributes, this did not necessarily result in improved labour market outcomes. More recently, Mata and Pendakur (2017) found that principal applicants in the skilled worker category not only start off with advantage, but also experience faster earnings growth over time, while Warman, Webb, and Worswick (2019) found that immigrants who arrived under the skilled worker category, either as adults or as children with their families, had significantly higher earnings relative to those arriving through the FC.

For female immigrants in particular, the ability to migrate as economic principal applicants is influenced by the gendered division of labour worldwide, the labour market needs of the receiving country, and how much society values skills in traditionally female 'caring' occupational sectors (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). For example, significant numbers of female immigrants are trained in health occupations such as nursing (Moyce et al., 2016). Yet despite nursing shortages in Canada, a large proportion of these workers enter through less-skilled entry streams such as the LCP and therefore experience significant deskilling and lower earnings (Kelly et al., 2009; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). Regulations that consider degrees from Global South countries such as the Philippines as not being on par with degrees in Canada also make entry streams such as the LCP more viable for these workers. In addition, immigration policies that focus on 'skilled migration' often fail to recognize the human capital of immigrant women, since the concept of skill is not gender neutral and female occupations are often defined as less skilled (Abu-Laban, 1998; Kofman & Raghuram, 2005; Lightman, 2017). Thus, processes of racialization and gendering combine to affect the high numbers of Filipina women in less-skilled entry streams in Canada.

Notably, most previous studies have failed to apply an explicitly intersectional analysis to the impact of entry class on labour market trajectories, in part motivating the present study. To date, the intersecting effect of gender and immigrant entry class on integration outcomes has only been examined in the context of 'tied-mover status' (someone whose entry to the country of migration is tied to the evaluation of their primary applicant spouse/partner). While such studies find that women are more likely than men to arrive as 'tied movers' with associated lower labour market returns (Banerjee & Phan, 2015; Elrick & Lightman, 2016), in this paper we focus on women who arrive in Canada as *principal applicants* across three entry classes. We are particularly interested in the earnings trajectories of Filipina principal applicants in the LCP relative to their counterparts entering through the FSWP

and the FC. Moreover, we examine how these trajectories compare with female principal applicants from other source countries.

DATA AND MEASURES

Our study utilizes a unique data set to measure and analyse the employment income of racialized immigrant women in Canada over three decades: the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). The IMDB is a comprehensive source of data, collected by government agencies, on the socio-economic outcomes of the tax filing immigrant population who landed (i.e. were granted PR status) in Canada beginning in 1980. 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 permanent resident immigrants beginning in 1982, as well as detailed demographic information at their time of landing. It thus provides a unique opportunity to examine the upward or downward mobility of distinct population subgroups and different entry categories of immigrants over an extended time period.

For this analysis, given substantive evidence of the overrepresentation of women immigrating to Canada through the LCP (Banerjee et al., 2018; Tungohan et al., 2015), the selected population is a rolling sample of women of typical working age (25 to 64 years) who immigrated to Canada between 1996 and 2016 either as principal applicants in the Federal Skilled Worker (FSWP) category, principal applicants in the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), or through the Family Class (FC) as spouses/common law. Refugees and dependent applicants in the FSWP and LCP are excluded, due to the unique circumstances surrounding their entry into the labour market which makes their income trajectories distinct (Elrick & Lightman, 2016, Banerjee and Phan, 2015). Women whose skill level at the time of arrival was designated as 'retiree' or 'student' are also excluded. The resultant population for analysis is 642,885 immigrant women.

The main independent variables measure (a) the entry class of the immigrant woman and (b) their birth country. In the former case, we compare immigrants in the FSWP, LCP and FC entry classes (FSWP is the reference category). In the latter case, we dichotomize birth country to compare women from the Philippines to women coming from all other countries (Filipina is the reference category). The dependent variable represents mean monthly employment income (MEI) for each year, adjusted for inflation to constant 2016 dollars. Those reporting zero employment income in a particular year are removed from the analysis for that year, but they remain in the analysis for other years in which non-zero income is reported.

The choice of controls is guided by existing scholarship suggesting that intersectional systems of domination lead ascriptive characteristics, family constellation and human capital to play a role in labour market outcomes (Aydemir, 2011; Banerjee & Phan, 2015; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2015). The following time-stable variables, as assessed at the point when they receive PR status, are controlled for using the landing file data: age at landing, education at landing, self-reported official language fluency, year of landing (to address cohort effects), skill level at landing ('clerical/intermediate' is set as the reference as this is the most common response for LCP immigrants) and number of work permits held prior to landing. In addition, we control for the following time-varying variables measured at each year through the tax file data: age, marital status (married/common law is the reference category), number and age of children, reporting self-employment income (no self-employment income is the reference category), claiming a tuition credit as a proxy for being enrolled in schooling (with no tuition credit as the reference category) and location (city) of settlement (with Toronto as the reference). Finally, our models include dummy variables for each year of labour market income (to control for macro-level economic effects) and continuous variables for time since arrival in Canada (measured based on the individuals' first tax year, which is prior to landing for immigrants who hold a work permit before attaining permanent resident status), as well as its square, to examine interactions with time and address the non-linear relationship between MEI and length of time in the labour market for immigrant women.

Data analysis strategy

Initially, cross-sectional descriptive analyses capture a profile of Filipina and non-Filipina immigrant women in the three entry classes of interest (FSWP, LCP and FC) at time of landing in Canada. Subsequently, given the longitudinal nature of the data, we employ multilevel modelling (MLM)² to estimate growth curve models of individuals' mean monthly employment income (MEI). Such models are widely used to examine the unique trajectories of individuals and groups in repeated measures data (Bierman, 2014; Elrick & Lightman, 2016). The MLM permits the study of individual change in MEI over time in the Canadian labour market, as well as measurement of how changes with time differ across groups. Further, the MLM accommodates the examination of how time-stable and time-varying factors both influence the outcome. We use the time-stable variables to account for variability in the slope, creating cross-level interactions.

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

$$Income_{ti} = \beta_{0i} + \beta_{1i}Time_{ti} + \beta_{1i}Time_{ti} * Time_{ti} + e_{ti} \quad (1)$$

$$\beta_{0i} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}LandingYear_i + \gamma_{02}EntryClass_i + \gamma_{03}FilipinaStatus_i + \sum \gamma_{0q}Z_{qi} + w_{0i} \quad (2)$$

$$\beta_{1i} = \gamma_{23} + \gamma_{24}LandingYear_i + \gamma_{25}EntryClass_i + \gamma_{03}FilipinaStatus_i + w_{1i} \quad (3)$$

Equation 1 is the Level-1 or within-person model, which estimates MEI ($Income_{ti}$) as a non-linear (quadratic) function of the number of years since the respondent's first tax form submission in Canada. Because $Time_{ti}$ 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 MEI 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 MEI for person i at 1 year since entering the labour market, for a FSWP female immigrant born in the Philippines (the reference category).

Equation 2 demonstrates that this intercept varies by person-level (i.e. time-stable) characteristics, such as age at landing, number of work permits held prior to landing and education level at landing, with γ_{01} indicating the mean difference in MEI 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 marital status and annual 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_{23} indicates the expected non-linear 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, we present a series of analyses. All independent variables included have cross-level interactions with 'Time' and its square to account for non-linear effects over years in the labour market.³ The first model (Model 1) is pooled to examine the MEI for all women in the sample, comparing LCP and FC migrants to FSWP migrants, with all time-stable and time-varying controls included (see Table A1). Our next set of models (Models 2-4) separately examine the earnings trajectories for female FSWP immigrants, LCP immigrants and FC immigrants (see Table A2). In these models, we focus on the intersecting effects of being Filipina on the earnings trajectories of each group, with the same controls applied as in Model 1.

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Our descriptive analyses reveal measurable differences between our three entry classes in the population of analysis. Table 1 presents data on the human capital, ascriptive characteristics and work experience in Canada of FSWP, LCP and FC women at time of landing, using the pooled sample from 1996 to 2016. These data show that, overall, FSWP and LCP principal applicant women arrive in Canada with higher levels of human capital at landing

than FC spouses and partners. LCP women have the highest levels of official language proficiency (at 97.8%), as compared to 89.5% for FSWP and 74.3% for FC immigrant women. LCP women also have the highest proportion arriving in Canada with a bachelor degree completed, although FSWP arrivals have a much higher proportion landing with a graduate degree. LCP women disproportionately land with their skill level assessed at 'intermediate/clerical workers', while FSWP women are most likely to be assessed as 'professional', and the majority of FC women arrive designated as 'new workers' or 'non-workers'.

In terms of ascriptive characteristics, LCP women, not surprisingly, disproportionately arrive from the Philippines (at 89.7%), while China is the top birth country for women in the other two categories, where there is much greater diversity of source countries. As anticipated, FC spouses/dependents are the most likely to be married/common law at landing, while LCP women are least likely. Finally, in terms of work experience in Canada prior to landing, the LCP group is distinctive again. The overwhelming majority of LCP women have tax records prior to landing and a work permit prior to landing (at 99.3% and 99.0%, respectively), reflecting prior in-home work in Canada as a requirement for permanent residency applications under this entry class. A far smaller proportion of the other two groups have either a tax record or a work permit prior to landing.

Altogether these descriptive data suggest that LCP women are distinctive in terms of their racial homogeneity (or racialized status), high levels of official language proficiency, and distinct skill and education profile, as well as in terms of their prior work experience in Canada before landing.

Next, Figure 1 compares the mean monthly employment income (MEI) by year for the three entry classes examined. Here, the data show that FSWP women have the highest MEI over each year of analysis, with the gap increasing over time. While for just under half of the years LCP women, on average, have a marginally higher MEI than FC women, there is no consistent trend. In total, over the twenty-year time frame, FSWP women have a MEI that is 49% higher, on average, than LCP women and 53% higher than FC women. We also note that across entry classes female immigrants have employment income that is well below the national average, and close to the poverty line in certain cases.

Next, we turn to the results of our growth curve models, to examine more closely the relationship between entry class, birth country and individual economic outcomes. Of particular interest here is how processes of gendering or racializing combine with immigration policy to impact upward or downward MEI trajectories, over and above what would be expected given each group's human capital.

MULTIVARIATE RESULTS

To best illustrate how the MEI trajectories of immigrant women in Canada vary based on entry class and country of origin, the key results of our growth curve models are reported using figures within the text, with the full regression tables provided in appendices. The figures present the predicted non-linear MEI trajectories of immigrant women by entry class or country of origin by number of years in the Canadian labour market with all controls applied (see Table A1).

To begin, Figure 2 compares the MEI of LCP immigrants to equivalent female immigrants in the FSWP and FC. Three key findings are apparent. First, LCP immigrants have far lower income trajectories than comparable FSWP and FC female immigrants, both upon landing and over time in the labour market, whereby the gap widens. Thus, we see concrete evidence of the devaluation of feminized work in care or a 'care penalty' (Lightman, 2019), and the ongoing impact of entering Canada via the LCP. Second, while FSWP and FC female immigrants make similar MEI upon entering the labour market, a gap quickly emerges over time, with FC immigrants earning less on average after only 1 year in the labour market. Here, again, we see how entry class has an ongoing independent effect on women's earnings, net of personal characteristics and human capital, with those coming as 'tied movers' experiencing an income penalty. Third, LCP caregivers are not permitted to take educational courses longer than six months during their mandated in-home work period (Banerjee et al., 2018), limiting their ability to upgrade their

TABLE 1 Characteristics at landing of immigrant women in Canada by entry class (1996–2016)

| | Federal Skilled Worker Program – Principal Applicants | Live-In Caregiver Program – Principal Applicants | Family Class – Spouses/Partners |
|---|--|--|------------------------------------|
| Ns (unweighted, rounded) | 239,245 | 85,970 | 322,295 |
| Percentages | | | |
| Total Sample | 37.0 | 13.3 | 49.7 |
| Language | | | |
| Speak either or both official languages | 89.5 | 97.8 | 74.3 |
| Highest Level of Education | | | |
| Secondary school or less | 6.5 | 6.7 | 31.6 |
| College degree/some University | 15.9 | 34.8 | 25.1 |
| BA | 48.9 | 57.4 | 31.9 |
| MA | 24.6 | 1.0 | 10.3 |
| PhD | 4.1 | 0.1 | 1.1 |
| Skill Level at Landing | | | |
| Managerial | 6.4 | 0.1 | 0.8 |
| Professional | 58.1 | 1.6 | 5.1 |
| Skill/Technical Worker | 25.6 | 0.5 | 3.4 |
| Intermediate/Clerical Worker | 4.8 | 48.5 | 2.9 |
| Elementary Labourer | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 |
| New Workers/Non-Workers | 5.0 | 49.0 | 87.4 |
| Top Five Birth Countries | | | |
| 1 | China (17.3) | Philippines (89.7) | China (11.9) |
| 2 | India (8.9) | China (1.4) | India (9.9) |
| 3 | Philippines (8.0) | India (1.3) | United States (6.5) |
| 4 | France (5.6) | Slovakia (0.6) | Philippines (6.1) |
| 5 | Iran (5.2.) | Peru (0.5) | Pakistan (3.9) |
| Marital Status at Landing | | | |
| Married/Common law | 54.7 | 38 | 98.8 |
| Single/Separated/ Divorced/Widowed | 45.3 | 62 | 8.2 |
| Tax Records & Work Permits | | | |
| Tax record available prior to landing | 25.4 | 99.3 | 40.1 |
| Had work permit prior to landing | 17.8 | 99 | 21.9 |
| Means (SD) | | | |
| Age at Landing | 34.2 (6.4) | 36.7 (7.5) | 32.6 (7.3) |
| Years of Schooling at Landing | 16.1 (3.8) | 13.6 (2.5) | 13.6 (4.6) |

Notes: IMDB population included above comprises women whose age of arrival to Canada was 25–64 years, who landed between 1996 and 2016, and whose skill level at landing was not designated 'retiree' or 'student'. N's are rounded according to Statistics Canada specifications.

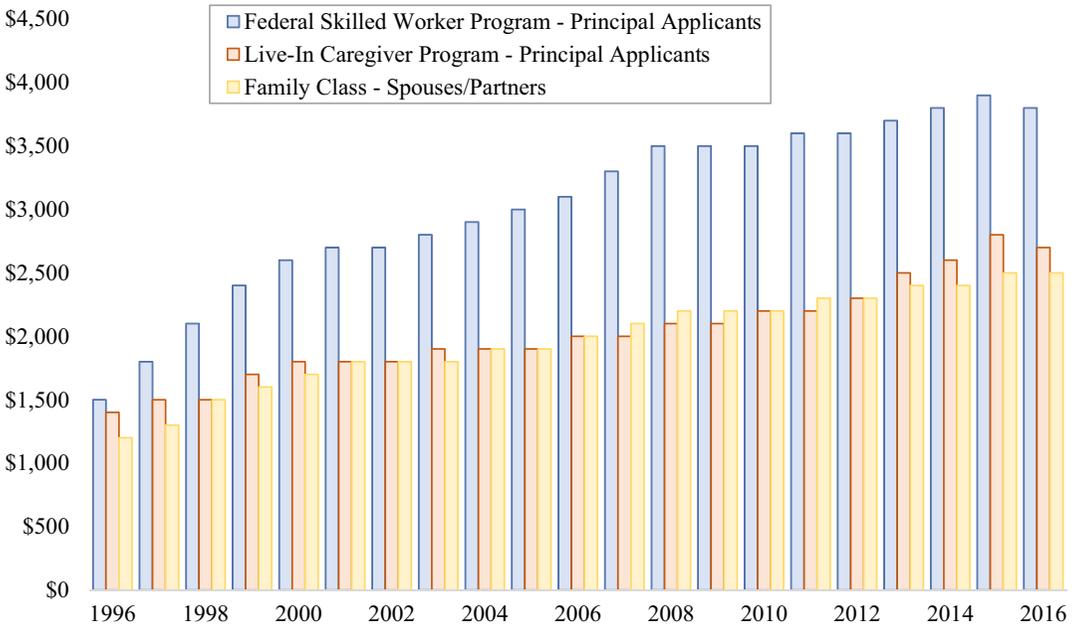


FIGURE 1 Mean Monthly Employment Income, 1996–2016, Immigrant Women in Canada, by Entry Class (\$2016)

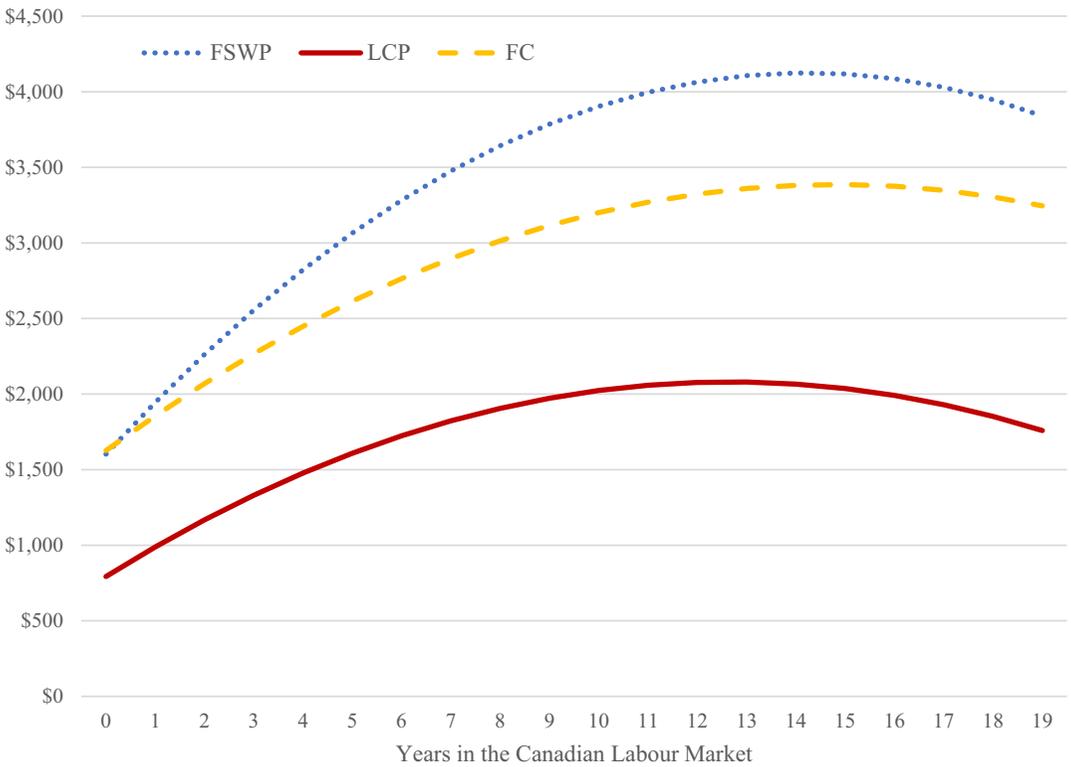


FIGURE 2 Mean Monthly Employment Income Trajectories by Entry Class, Immigrant Women in Canada (\$2016)

skills or retrain while in the programme. This potentially helps to explain their ongoing downward mobility in the labour market relative to other entry classes. Finally, the non-linear trajectories in Figure 2 and elsewhere reinforce prior findings suggesting an initial increase in earnings over time in the labour market that diminishes and/or reverses over the longer term – likely due, in part, to ageing and the associated diminishing number of hours in the labour market, and/or age discrimination and deskilling processes (Ferrer, 2017, Ferrer et al., 2017).

Concretely, Figure 2 demonstrates that while FSWP female immigrants make, on average, about \$1603 and FC immigrants make \$1626 in MEI (very slightly more than FSWP immigrants) upon entering the labour market, equivalent LCP immigrants make only \$793 per month on average when they first arrive (with all controls applied). However, as FSWP immigrants have steeper income growth over time than either of the other two groups and LCP immigrants have the most limited upward mobility in the labour market, this suggests that net of work experience prior to landing, human capital and family characteristics, entry class plays an important role affecting economic integration outcomes for immigrant women in Canada. By the end of the 20-year time period examined, FSWP immigrants make about \$3840 monthly on average, while FC immigrants make \$3245 (85% as much as comparable FSWP women) and LCP immigrants make only \$1758 per month on average (46% as much as comparable FSWP immigrants).

Next, Figures 3–5 present results from models examining disparate outcomes for Filipina as compared to non-Filipina immigrants in each of the three focal entry classes. Here, we aim to examine the processes of differentiation that benefit or disadvantage (racialized) women coming from specific countries. Figure 3 models the MEI trajectories of FSWP female immigrants only, comparing those who arrive from the Philippines to those coming from other countries (see Table A2). Here, the data show that Filipina principal applicants in the FSWP earn about \$1850 per month on average when they first land, while non-Filipina principal applicants earn about \$1473 per month. This initial advantage for Filipina immigrants is statistically significant, but reverses over the survey period. In fact, after 12 years in the labour market, Filipina incomes start a marked downward trend. After 20 years, Filipina FSWP immigrants earn \$2957, on average, while non-Filipinas earn \$4519 (1.5 times more).

The intersectional pathway penalty we see in Figure 3 for Filipinas can be attributed to several potential factors. First, the position of the Philippines in the global economic order leads most Filipina immigrants to arrive in Canada without significant financial assets. Moreover, Filipina immigrants often shoulder significant remittance obligations which further adds to their financial burden (Novek, 2013). These factors may prevent them from pursuing educational upgrading courses and exacerbate the need to accept a ‘survival job’ immediately upon arrival (Kelly et al., 2009). A second explanation, suggested by some qualitative studies, is that within workplaces, Filipina staff are being overlooked for promotions because of race-based assumptions about who ‘fits’ a managerial profile (Terry, 2014). Third, Novek’s (2013) qualitative study of Filipina immigrants shows how accreditation requirements, the non-recognition of Philippine degrees, and language requirements that mandate high levels of spoken English, impede access to managerial and professional labour markets. To get work, the Filipina women in Novek’s study relied on the referrals of their social networks, who primarily worked in the relatively lower-paid care work sector. Fourth, it is possible that Filipina workers, who are overrepresented in hospitality and care work, may also therefore be overrepresented in minimum wage jobs. As Dionne-Simard and Miller (2019) show, minimum wages increased at a slower rate than wages in general in Canada from the late 1990s until around 2007.

Conversely, in the LCP only model (see Figure 4), Filipina principal applicants are found to earn \$1041 per month on average in MEI when they first land, while non-Filipina principal applicants only earn about \$810 per month (78% as much). The earnings gap between Filipina and non-Filipina immigrants is statistically significant and remains fairly constant over the 20-year survey period. By year 20, Filipina LCP immigrants earn \$2125 per month on average, while non-Filipina women earn \$1844 monthly on average (87% as much). Thus, within the LCP pathway, Filipina immigrants experience an initial and ongoing income advantage over comparable non-Filipina LCP immigrants. This disparity may be explained, in part, by the very strong English language skills held by many

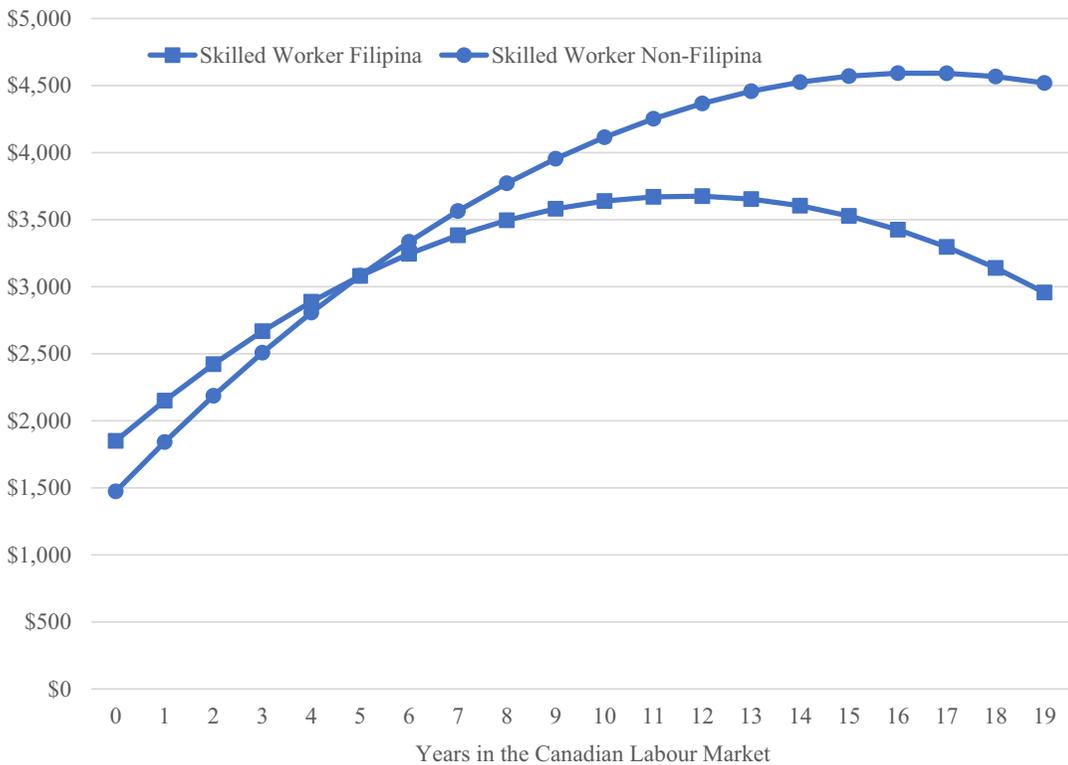


FIGURE 3 Mean Monthly Income Trajectories for FSWP Filipina vs. Non-Filipina, Immigrant Women in Canada (\$2016)

Filipinas in the LCP that are highly valued by employers (Banerjee et al., 2018). In addition, this finding may be due to the dominance of Filipinas in the LCP pathway which likely results in better developed social networks within the kinds of care work settings where LCP immigrants find employment. These social networks may consequently create advantages in securing better paid employment over time, albeit in a very low-paid sector.

Finally, from the FC only model (see Figure 5), the data demonstrate that Filipina FC applicants actually earn slightly less than comparable non-Filipinas when they first enter the labour market and this difference is statistically significant. Filipinas earn about \$1398 per month on average when they first land, while non-Filipina principal applicants earn about \$1547 per month. After 2-3 years, the situation is reversed, with Filipina FC immigrants earning more than their non-Filipina counterparts. By the end of the survey period, however, the gap between these two groups has essentially disappeared (Filipinas earn \$3467 per month on average and non-Filipinas earn \$3422 per month on average). Thus, within the FC the effect of Filipina status only appears marginally meaningful. This might reflect the fact that although FC immigrants are disadvantaged as 'tied movers', their circumstances vary widely, and the pathway itself is less predictive of labour market outcomes than in either the FSWP or the LCP.

As our last visual presentation (see Figure 6), the previous three graphs are combined into one to illustrate the income trajectories of all groups of women included in Figures 3-5. Here, it is demonstrated that non-Filipina FSWP women do by far the best over time in the labour market, while LCP workers fare the worst (both Filipina and non-Filipina). As well, we see that while Filipinas have a consistent advantage within the lower-paid LCP entry class, their advantage in the FC entry class is marginal. In the highly paid FSWP class, they start off faring better than non-Filipinas, but this advantage disappears and reverses over time. Thus, we see that in higher earning entry classes, being Filipina is typically a disadvantage, while in the lower earning LCP entry class, being Filipina is an advantage.

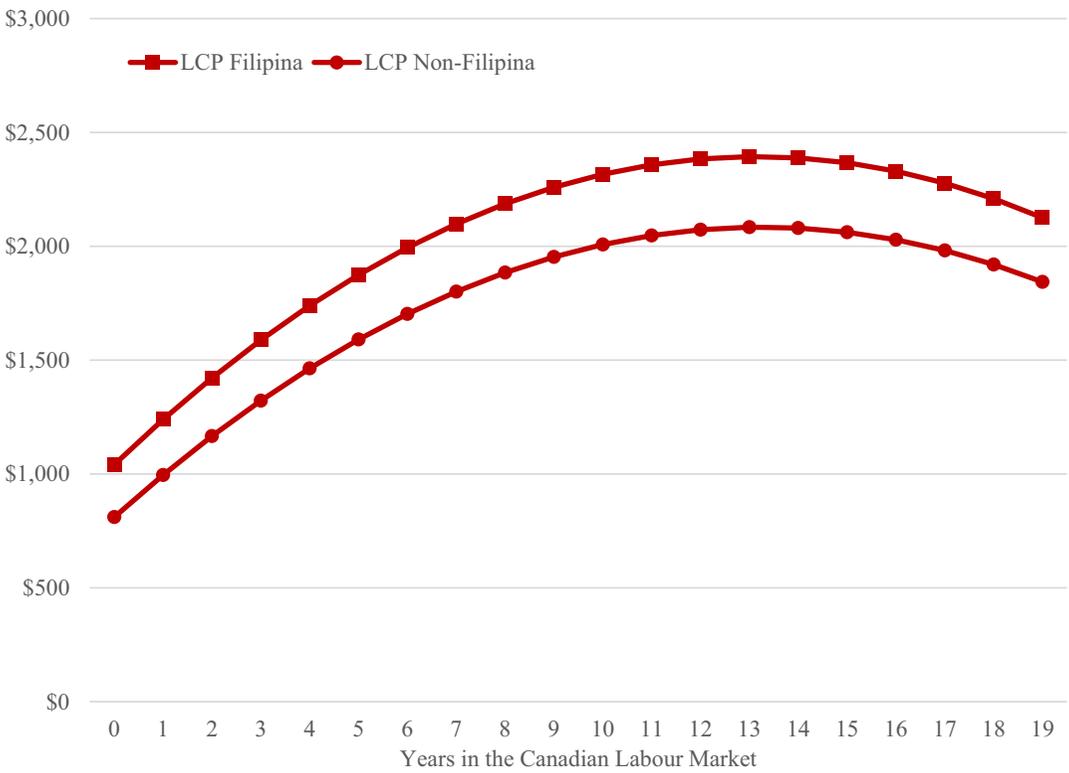


FIGURE 4 Mean Monthly Income Trajectories for LCP Filipina vs. Non-Filipina, Immigrant women in Canada (\$2016)

This is an intriguing finding, and may speak to the ways in which Filipina identity is racialized in the Canadian labour market – as constituting a superior workforce in low-paid jobs that are constructed as low-skilled; but as less ‘suited’ to the higher strata of the workforce where different kinds of cultural capital and social networks are valorized. Thus, altogether, the data reinforce suggestions that immigration policies shape labour market outcomes in Canada, with intersectional effects that lead to ongoing stratification along gender, class and racial lines.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study foreground the ‘intersectional pathway penalty’ that exists for immigrant women in Canada: race intersects with immigration pathways and labour market policies to shape women’s economic outcomes. Our descriptive statistics highlight several differences in the characteristics of women arriving through the three pathways. Women in the LCP are very similar to those in the FSWP in terms of their likelihood of having post-secondary education, and both are far more likely to have tertiary education than women in the FC. That said, women in the FSWP are more likely to have graduate degrees. At the same time, women in the LCP have a higher likelihood of fluency in an official language – reflecting their two-step immigration process which results in them having already lived in Canada for several years before they achieve permanent residency. The LCP is also overwhelmingly dominated by women from the Philippines, while the source countries for other pathways are far more diverse.

Our model results examine employment income trajectories over two decades, 1996–2016, for the same three immigration entry classes. Taking an intersectional approach to the data analysis, we show that processes

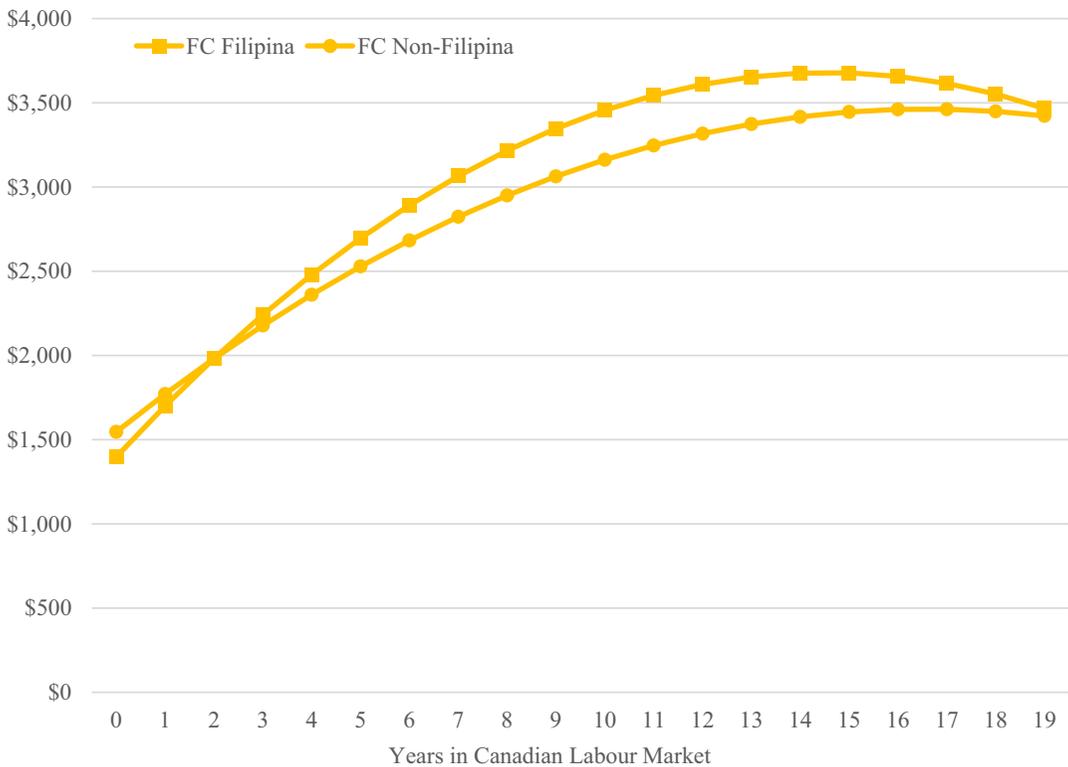


FIGURE 5 Mean Monthly Income Trajectories for FC Filipina vs. Non-Filipina, Immigrant Women in Canada (\$2016)

of differentiation tied to gender, race and immigration pathway result in distinct labour market trajectories for women in the LCP and for Filipina women in particular. Entry class is found to have substantive and ongoing effects on labour market income for immigrant women, even when controlling for work experience prior to achieving permanent residence in Canada, human capital, and personal and family characteristics.

Our major findings are twofold. First, we demonstrate that women who came through the LCP made less both initially and over the long term than comparable women arriving via other entry classes. This reinforces prior suggestions of a 'care penalty' and the devalued nature of work in care (Lightman, 2019; Tungohan et al., 2015). Second, we find that Filipina women, as a feminized and racialized immigrant labour force in Canada, have had different labour market trajectories than women from other source countries. While in the Family Class being Filipina appears to be only marginally impactful, for Filipina skilled worker immigrants it is a quite different story. In the FSWP, we find that Filipina immigrants get 'stuck' in low wage occupations and/or lack the career progression opportunities enjoyed by other comparable immigrants within this class. Five years after landing, Filipina women start to fare substantively worse than comparable non-Filipina FSWP women. After 20 years, non-Filipina women are earning 50 per cent more than Filipinas. However, in the LCP pathway, Filipina immigrants outperform female immigrants from other source countries, albeit at very low income levels. We suggest that this finding is likely due to the dominance of Filipinas within this stream, which allows them to leverage their social networks to find relatively better employment.

The results are relevant within an international context. Our data underscore the ways in which the international gendered devaluation of care work combines with ongoing labour market deskilling of female racialized immigrants (Adhikari & Melia, 2015; Bidwell et al., 2014; Lightman, 2020); in Canada, this dynamic leads to disadvantages for Filipina women in particular. The results may also suggest that the association of Filipina women with low-paid care work has a wider stigmatizing effect even for those who don't enter through the LCP pathway, but

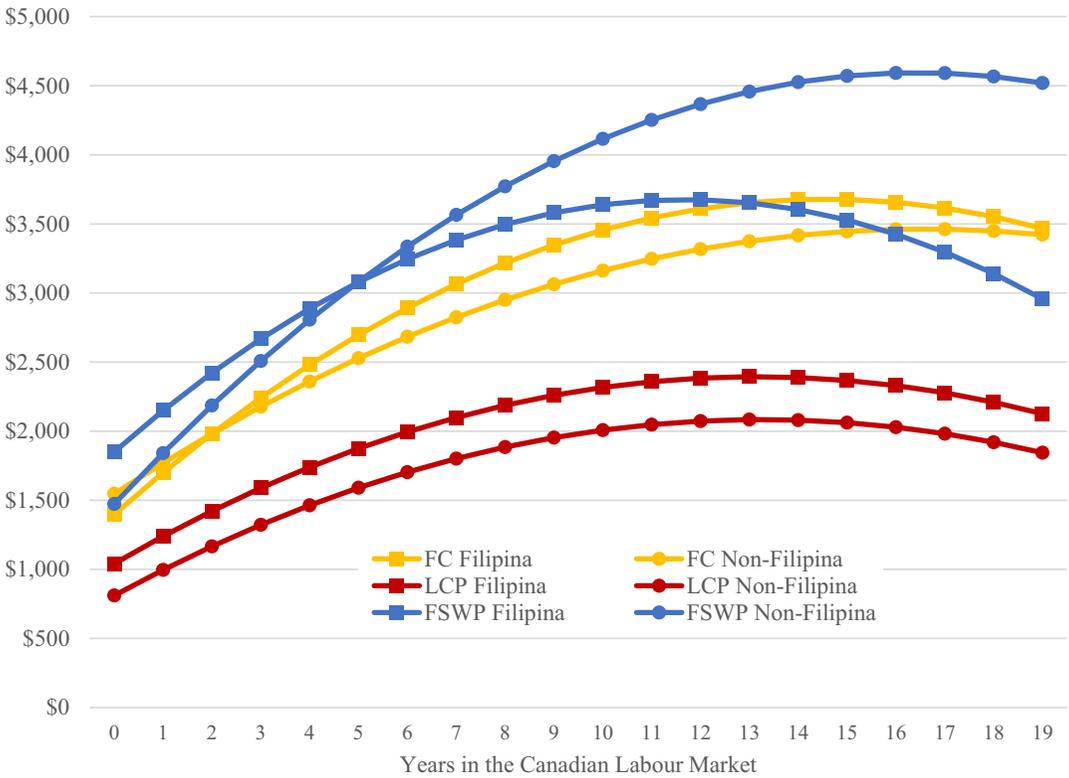


FIGURE 6 Mean Monthly Income Trajectories for Filipina vs. Non-Filipina, by Entry Class, Immigrant Women in Canada (\$2016)

whose upward mobility in the labour market is nevertheless truncated by systems of domination that produce assumptions based on race and gender. Thus, we provide further evidence of the problems within Canada’s ‘model’ immigration system, the ongoing impacts of entering via a ‘two-step’ pathway, and the importance of measuring the longer-term economic implications of different modes of immigrant entry – all significant to immigrant-receiving countries with similar systems to Canada or to those who are considering adopting them.

Together, our results imply an ‘intersectional pathway penalty’. The data demonstrate that both entry class and country of origin have independent and ongoing effects on employment income trajectories for racialized immigrant women. While there is concrete evidence of a ‘care penalty’ within the LCP entry class (for both Filipina and non-Filipina women), the data also illuminate how intersectional identities, categories of difference and processes of differentiation are reinforced by existing immigration pathways (Dhmoon, 2011). Thus, we see a path dependency element within these results which negatively impacts ‘tied movers’ and care workers.

For policymakers, this analysis suggests both a need to address intersectional biases built into existing immigration policies and a need for proactive measures to combat gendered and racialized labour market disparities (for both immigrants and non-immigrants) resulting in the devaluation of essential work in care. In the former case, greater attention should be paid to the negative implications of two-step permanent residency and of arriving as a ‘tied mover’ (specifically for women and their families), along with consideration of how to ‘de-masculinize’ priority occupations under the FSWP. In the latter case, policymakers are best served by reviewing existing intersectional scholarship on gender, work, and care, which reinforce many of the findings of this study.

To conclude, we note two existing limitations within the IMDB data set and our analyses. First, due to the administrative nature of our data set, we are unable to control for the number of hours worked per month by

each individual. Second, we cannot separately model different countries of origin outside of the Filipina/non-Filipina divide within the LCP due to sample size considerations. For reasons of consistency, and due to the intentional focus on care work within this analysis, we maintain this dichotomized categorization of country of origin within all of our models. To address this limitation, future research on the intersectional pathway penalty can examine more precisely how race intersects with the intended and actual occupations of female immigrants. In particular, the question of why Filipina women in the FSWP pathway might see a decline in average incomes, and a widening income gap relative to non-Filipina women in the same pathway, is a question that likely requires detailed qualitative research. More broadly, future research needs to ask how gendered valuations of work, and labour market sorting according to entry pathway, combine with systems of domination to result in gendered, racialized and class disparities for female immigrants from a wider range of source countries within Canada's labour market.

Peer Review

The peer review history for this article is available at <https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/imig.12851>.

ENDNOTES

1. In October 2014, the federal government announced a number of changes to the LCP and renamed it the Caregiver Program (CP). Further changes were introduced in 2019. Nevertheless, there were significant backlogs in the processing system so most immigrants who received permanent resident status, even up to 2016, had been processed through the pre-2014 version of the programme. In this study, we therefore continue to refer to the LCP.
2. MLM is also appropriate for the IMDB 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.
3. As we include 'time squared' in our models, interacted with each of the focal variables, we are unable to include interactions between entry class, country of origin and time squared, as this would necessitate a four-way interaction which is not feasible to interpret here.

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APPENDIX

TABLE A1 Quadratic Probability Growth Curve Model of Mean Monthly Employment Income (in \$2016) for Female Immigrants in Canada by Entry Class and Time in the Labour Market, 1996–2016

| | Coefficient | SE |
|---|-------------|---------|
| Fixed Effects | | |
| Intercept | 1603*** | 28 |
| Covariate effects | | |
| Immigrant Entry Category (FSWP =ref) | | |
| LCP | -810*** | 19 |
| FC | 23 | 12 |
| Country of Birth (Philippines =ref) | | |
| Non-Filipina | -227*** | 12 |
| Marital Status (ref =married/common law) | | |
| Widowed/divorced/ separated | 88*** | 5 |
| Single | 127*** | 5 |
| Number of children aged 16 or younger | -377*** | 2 |
| Declared self-employment income (ref =none), measured annually | -284*** | 3 |
| Reported tuition payment (ref =none), measured annually | -412*** | 3 |
| Number of work permits held prior to landing | 287*** | 3 |
| Linear Slope | 355*** | 4 |
| Covariate effects on change in MMI over time in the labour market | | |
| Immigrant Entry Category (FSWP =ref) | | |
| LCP | -152*** | 3 |
| FC | -117*** | 2 |
| Quadratic slope | | |
| Covariate effects on change in MMI over time in the labour market | | |
| Immigrant Entry Category (FSWP =ref) | | |
| LCP | 6*** | 1 |
| FC | 5*** | 1 |
| Number of respondents | | 642885 |
| Number of Observations | | 3903700 |

Note: Controlling for age, landing age, level of education at landing, official language proficiency at landing, skill level at landing, city of residence (measured annually), tax year and interaction of time in the labour market with tax year.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

TABLE A2 Quadratic Probability Growth Curve Model of Mean Monthly Employment Income (in \$2016) for a) FSWP b) LCP and c) FC Female Immigrants in Canada by Time in the Labour Market, 1996–2016

| | FSWP | LCP | FC |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) |
| Fixed Effects | | | |
| Intercept | 1850*** (60) | 1041*** (36) | 1398*** (36) |
| Covariate effects | | | |
| Country of Birth (Philippines =ref) | | | |
| Non-Filipina | -377*** (25) | -231*** (17) | 149*** (17) |
| Marital Status (ref =married/common law) | | | |
| Widowed/divorced/separated | 109*** (11) | 101*** (10) | 62*** (7) |
| Single | 134*** (8) | 89*** (6) | 74*** (8) |
| Number of children aged 16 or younger | -427*** (4) | -404*** (3) | -329*** (2) |
| Declared self-employment income (ref =none), measured annually | -378*** (6) | -212*** (6) | -218*** (5) |
| Reported tuition payment (ref =none), measured annually | -417*** (5) | -385*** (5) | -391*** (5) |
| Number of work permits held prior to landing | 464*** (94) | 83*** (3) | 256*** (3) |
| Linear Slope | | | |
| Covariate effects on change in MMI over time in the labour market | | | |
| Country of Birth (Philippines =ref) | | | |
| Non-Filipina | -28* (5) | -14 (4) | -82*** (4) |
| Quadratic slope | -13*** (0.2) | -8*** (1) | -11*** (0.2) |
| Country of Birth (Philippines =ref) | | | |
| Non-Filipina | 2*** (0.3) | 0.6** (0.2) | 4*** (0.3) |
| Number of respondents | 236,810 | 85,730 | 320,345 |
| Number of Observations | 1,606,130 | 517,235 | 1,780,335 |

Note: Controlling for age, landing age, level of education at landing, official language proficiency at landing, skill level at landing, city of residence (measured annually), tax year and interaction of time in the labour market with tax year.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.