Immigrants and Precarious Employment: A Report from Peel Region

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INTRODUCTION

How are immigrants sorted into jobs within a labour market characterized by growing and deepening precariousness? The "Understanding Labour Markets for Immigrant Workers in Peel Region" project is addressing this pressing question through a new data source based on diverse migration and work history interviews with rich insight into the quality of immigrants' employment, and their strategies for navigating the stratified labour market.

The Peel Migration and Employment Database (PMED) is made up of 75 in-depth, interviews collected by University of Toronto Mississauga (UTM) undergraduate students as part of fourth year Sociology courses taught by Professor Cranford in 2016, 2018 and 2019. The Peel Social Labor, housed in the UTM Sociology Department, funded this project. There is insufficient qualitative research on immigrants' incorporation into the labour market, which is a cause for concern because such research is key to understanding how multiple dynamics work together to shape a complex phenomenon like this. There is also empirical value-added of this project since there is little research done on this question in Peel region, even though a significant number of immigrants now settle in Peel.[1]

UTM sociology students, including second author Ms. Tasmia Khan, have also analyzed subsets of these data, while post-doctoral researcher Dr. Yang-sook Kim and PhD student Ms. Youngrong Lee are developing an analysis of the multifaceted experiences of Peel immigrant workers with Professor Cranford. This report summarizes the initial stages of our work. We have written this as a clear- language report to share the main findings with the broader community, with the aim of developing these ideas for academic publications. Given we did not recruit a random sample, our findings are not statistically generalizable to the population of immigrants to Canada. Instead, these data illuminate the complexities of how multiple dynamics funnel different immigrants into precarious employment.

We have organized this report into five sections. The first section describes the methods of data collection and analysis. It then summarizes key characteristics of the sample including place of birth, age, marital and parental status. In this project, we define immigrants as those born in a country other than Canada, regardless of how long they have been in Canada. In each of the subsequent three findings sections, we use graphs to summarize the experiences of study participants and include select quotes from interviews to illuminate the multiple interacting dynamics shaping work trajectories and job quality.

The second section presents the findings on migration and citizenship, including reasons for leaving one's country and for coming to Canada, as well as the formal categories under which

people entered and the changes in their legal citizenship status over time. Most study participants departed their countries of birth due to economic constraints, although significant numbers left because of gendered family reasons and some due to political crises. Most study participants arrived in Canada in the past three decades during their prime working age. The majority came as economic immigrants, selected for their ability to contribute to the economy, but some came through family sponsorship or as refugees. In addition to the key facilitator of immigration policy, most participants came specifically to Canada because of ties with people already here, although ideas about Canada, as open, having opportunities, as democratic or safe also played a role for some.

The third section describes the labour market history of study participants by comparing jobs held in birth country, first job in Canada, other past jobs in Canada and current job (at the time of the interview). Our main finding is that immigrant workers born in a range of countries and from different class backgrounds experience considerable downward occupational mobility upon arrival in Canada. We also find that many people are stuck in jobs below their education and experience for significant periods.

The fourth section focuses on the "current" jobs held by study participants at the time we interviewed them. It analyzes the quality of these jobs based on a range of indicators of precariousness namely: class of worker (e.g. employed, self-employed, homemaker, student, retired, unemployed), form of employment contract (e.g. temporary and/or part-time), earnings level, basis of pay (e.g. commission, by contract, wage or salary) and earnings satisfaction, access to benefits, stability of schedule and unionization.

Racialization and gendering are themes that run throughout the findings. Gender inequalities in families shape women and men's distinct reasons for migrating, and their entry into the labor market in Canada. Canadian labor markets reflect the intersection of racialization and gendering, sorting immigrant men into downgraded manufacturing and insecure sales jobs and placing immigrant women into these jobs as well as the most precarious forms of paid social reproductive labor, that is the care and cleaning labor of sustaining people.

Existing studies have shown racial and gender inequalities shape the dynamics of getting a job among immigrants, and the quality of job one gets, revealing the role of employer discrimination and devaluation of immigrants' credentials and experience by employers and professional associations.[2] Our analysis of the nexus of gender, migration and precarious employment broadens these findings by looking at job quality along a broader range of dimensions of precariousness.[3] Our rich, in-depth interviews add depth to existing findings, illuminating multiple dynamics of gendered racialization fuelling precariousness, both implicit and explicit. We find extensive racializing interactions on the job with customers and co-workers as well as employers. We also uncover longstanding effects of gendered racialization well beyond the first jobs held in Canada. We only touch on these complex findings here, as they require more analysis. In conclusion, we address areas for future analysis and research.

METHODS & SAMPLE

The goals of the research were to understand the various barriers that immigrants face when trying to find a respectable job and how they navigate those barriers. Thus, UTM students collected qualitative, in-depth interviews able to uncover how multiple dynamics shape the incorporation of immigrants into precarious jobs upon arrival. We also designed interviews to gather information on whether immigrants remained in precarious employment over time or moved up, through retrospective migration and work history questions. The project started in 2016, and subsequent data were collected in 2018 and 2019 with the support from the Sociology Department's Peel Social Lab.[4]

Data Collection

The Peel Migration and Employment Database (PMED) is made up of 75 interviews collected by University of Toronto Mississauga (UTM) undergraduate students under the supervision of Professor Cranford, as part of two fourth year Sociology courses: Migrant Labour (SOC460) and Senior Seminar in the Sociology of Work (SOC 412). Students used their networks of family and friends to recruit immigrants mostly living in Peel Region, Ontario, Canada to participate in interviews. Overall, 41 UTM undergraduate students have contributed to data collection for this project.

Professor Cranford piloted this project in winter 2016 in the Senior Seminar on the Sociology of Work. At that time, she received ethics approval to use the interviews for future teaching and research if the study participant consented to it. Of the 30 interviews conducted in that seminar, 17 participants agreed to have their confidential interview used for future teaching and research, as did the student-researchers. We then renewed the ethics protocol, allowing for the building of the PMED. In Autumn 2018, Migrant Labour (SOC460) students each interviewed 2 immigrants. Out of the 52 interviews these student-researchers conducted, 45 people consented to have their confidential interview used for future research and teaching, with the student-researcher in agreement. In fall of 2019, students in the senior seminar on the Sociology of Work conducted 15 interviews, 13 of which had consent from the participants and student-researchers to be archived for future teaching and research.

Interviews were semi-structured, following an interview guide developed by Professor Cranford but requiring the student-researcher to add relevant probes to encourage study participants to emphasize what was important to them and to share experiences in depth (see Appendix D). The interview guide included questions about several dynamics that have been shown in existing research to shape immigrants' incorporation into the economy (like immigration policy and employer discrimination), detailed work history questions, and a series of questions about the degree of precariousness of their current job (at the time of the interview). Key sources used to develop the interview guide were Boyd (1989), Cranford and Vosko (2006).

Most of the interviews were conducted in English, but it was up to the study participant and student-researcher to determine the appropriate language. Several of the interviews were done in the study participant's primary language, either fully or partially, and translated into English by the student-researcher. When student-researchers were able and willing, they transcribed the interview verbatim in the original language and then translated it into English.

Research Ethics

The University of Toronto Human Research Ethics Board approved the ethics protocol. In this study, we define immigrants as anyone who was born in a country other than Canada, regardless of how many years they lived in Canada or whether they had become Canadian citizens. Additional limitations on the sample, for ethical purposes, were that the study participants had to be adults, and they could not have unauthorized citizenship status at the time of the interview.

Professor Cranford trained student-researchers on how to implement the ethics protocol, including how to gain informed consent, keep the data confidential and secure while transcribing and analyzing data, and to destroy the original audio recording after creating an anonymized transcript. Students were given a generic recruitment script and consent form to modify for their specific class and date of interview. They were trained and instructed to inform potential study participants about the purpose of the research, procedures for keeping their identity confidential, and the possibility of archiving their interview for future research and teaching upon recruitment (see Appendix A). After a person agreed to be interviewed, just before the interview, student-researchers were trained and instructed to reiterate this information in more detail, ask for formal consent and provide the participant with contact information (see Appendix B). As is accepted practice in Sociology, we obtained verbal consent and included it at the beginning of the transcript (see Appendix D).[5]

Professor Cranford also developed a process to guide ethical relations between professor and student-researcher. She assured students that their grade would not depend on a study participant consenting to the archiving of the interview for future research and teaching, and they could still do well in the class even if they only had permission to use their interviews for the class paper. Professor Cranford also asked student-researchers to fill out a form indicating whether they consented to archiving the interviews they conducted for future research and teaching, provided the study participant consented (See Appendix C).

This report is part of our commitment to make these data accessible and usable to students and the broader community, as well as other academics, within ethical constraints. This is also a major goal of the UTM Sociology Department's Peel Social Lab, which has funded most of the data collection for this project. In addition to the summary graphs and exemplar quotes in this report, we have constructed a table with detailed, yet confidential, information for each of the 75 participants. This table displays information on 16 key variables, allowing for future analysis by other researchers or students (See Appendix E). All study participants in the table and in this report have been given pseudonyms, most of which were picked by the student-researchers.

Data Analysis

Data collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews allow for an analysis of the multiple, intersecting dynamics that shape immigrants' incorporation into a given job. These include immigration policy, broad changes in the economy toward precarious employment, employer discrimination, and racialization by customers and co-workers, and the immigrants' own social networks, as well a range of indicators of the precariousness of their jobs in Canada.

Class time included workshops on research ethics and the skill of qualitative interviewing and analysis. Students learned how to analyze qualitative data in both the fourth-year courses where they collected the data, and in the Sociology department's Qualitative Analysis (SOC387) course. Professor Cranford revamped that required course to focus more on data analysis allowing students to analyze a sub-set of PMED interviews of their choice for their final project.

This report has also benefitted from the extensive work of three collaborators, who are co-authors of this report. PhD student Youngrong Lee helped develop a focused coding scheme with 16 major themes. This report includes theme related to the precariousness of the current job (at the time of the interview), which includes several dimensions. This coding drew from several key Canadian studies of precarious employment (Cranford and Vosko 2006; Goldring and Landolt 2011: Lewchuk et. al 2011; Rodgers 1989; Vosko 2006; Vosko and Zukewich 2006).

Dr. Yang-sook Kim helped develop a coding scheme to compare the industrial and occupational status of study participants in their birth country, first job in Canada, other past jobs in Canada, and current job in Canada. This required a detailed analysis of qualitative work histories to determine which category they fit best with in the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), and the National Occupation Classification (NOC) coding schemes. We use the NAICS to summarize the contribution of study participant to various industrial sectors.

We use the NOC to analyze the status of the occupation. The NOC has 100 major groups, which each include small unit groups with 3–4-digit codes (e.g. 6421 for Retail Salespersons). We took into consideration the detailed description of a given job at this 3–4-digit level in the NOC and matched it to the study participants' description of their jobs. We then matched these 3–4-digit codes to the equivalent 2-digit code (e.g., 64 for Sales Representatives and Salespersons - wholesale and retail trade). For this report, we aggregated the 2-digit categories into 9 major categories measuring occupational status, taking into consideration job description and skill level in the NOC. For example, we categorized Sales Representative and Salespersons as "Other Sales and Services," which includes sales and services jobs requiring secondary school and/or occupational specific training, or on the job training. Thus, retail salespersons in this report are included with other similar status jobs like building cleaner, or fast-food worker. However, we coded Specialized Sales and Services separately, which requires some college and includes occupations like chef and real estate agent. Similarly, we distinguished between professionals (e.g., Registered Nurses) and paraprofessionals (e.g., Nurse's Assistants) and technical workers (e.g., Phlebotomist). We also distinguished between senior and middle management and diverse

types of business owners.[6] We describe a few other specific coding decisions in footnotes where relevant.

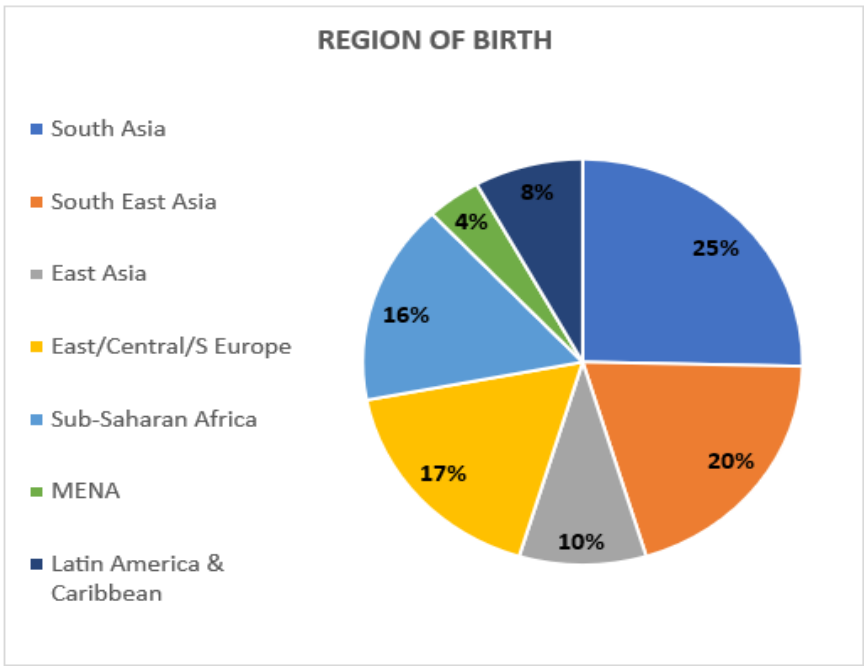
Ms. Tasmia Khan, one of the undergraduate student-researchers who has since graduated with a B.A., in Sociology also helped to analyze the data. Ms. Khan took primary responsibility for the earnings analysis and helped with the industry coding. Ms. Khan also took the lead on graphing the data and choosing illustrative examples to illustrate the complexity behind the summary of descriptive frequencies. We often edited quotes given space constraints.

Professor Cranford reviewed the coding of the collaborators. We discussed any discrepancies in coding and made final coding decisions jointly. Overall, if the interviewer did not ask someone a given question, we coded that variable as 'missing' only if we could not find valid information from another question. For example, there are several people for whom we only have information on one current occupation, but if they were not asked if they had multiple jobs, we coded them as 'missing' on that variable, not as having only one job.

We present the sample characteristics and summarize key findings in graphs of percentages. The denominator for the percentages varies based on the number of people for whom we have data on a given variable, or the number of people for whom the variable is relevant. For example, a question about earnings is not relevant for someone who is unemployed. In addition, some variables are not mutually exclusive, so the denominator is greater than the 75 study participants. For example, people often have multiple reasons for leaving their country, and immigrant workers often have multiple jobs. Attempting to measure the most important reason for migrating, or the quality of just the main job, would misrepresent the complexity of their migration and work as well as the breadth of precarious employment. We report the denominator for each graph, and any missing cases, in footnotes.

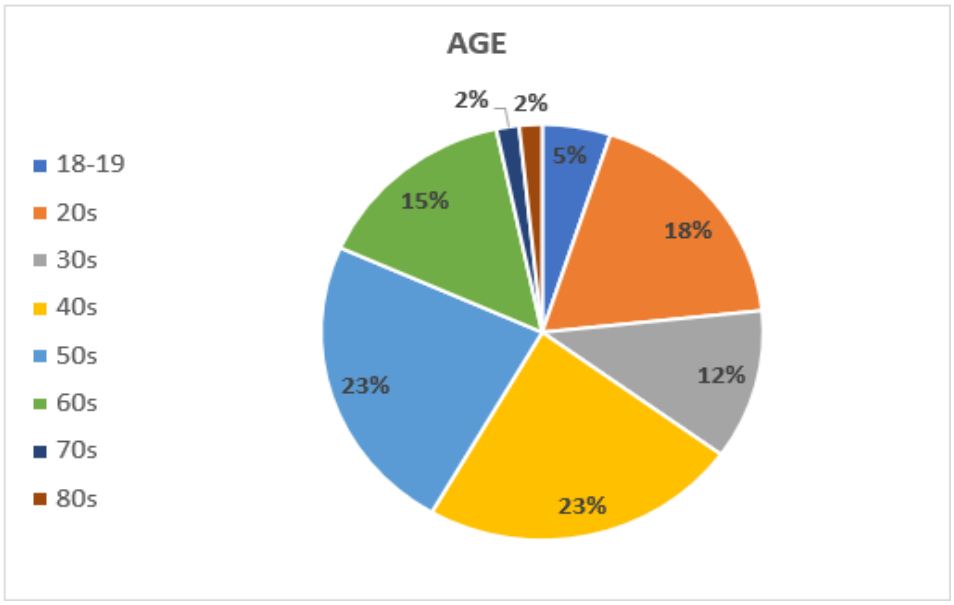
Sample Characteristics

In this section, we report the key demographic characteristics of our sample of 75 study participants, 45 of whom identified as women and 30 as men. Given we did not recruit a random sample our findings are not statistically generalizable to the population of immigrants to Canada, Ontario or Peel Region. In footnotes, we situate the sample within the broader relevant populations using official statistics.

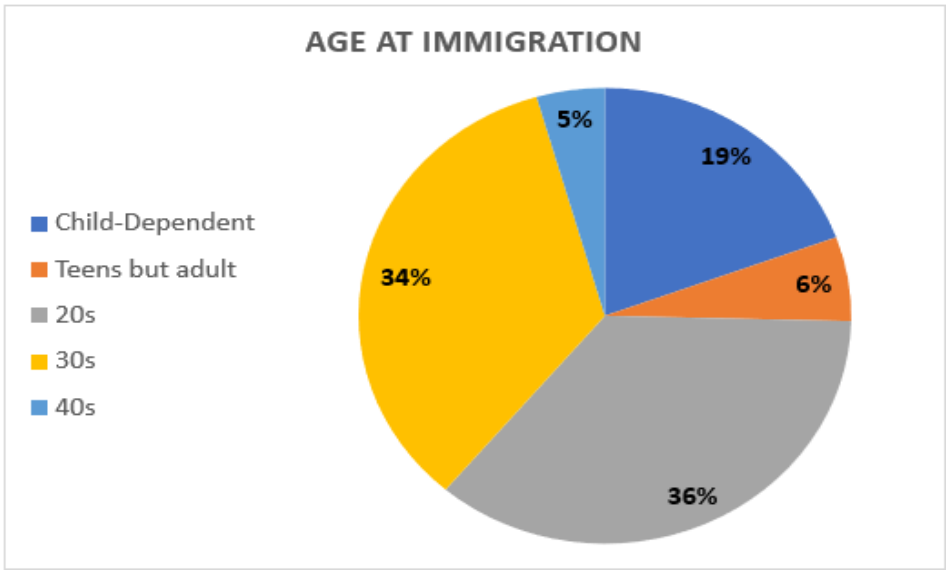


The study participants were born in a range of countries, although not one had origins in Northern or Western Europe.[7] A quarter of participants were born in South Asia (most in India or Pakistan but including Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Afghanistan). The second most common region of origin was South-East Asia, at one-fifth (mostly the Philippines, but including Malaysia, and Vietnam). In contrast, a much lower percent were born in East Asia (in the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong or South Korea). There was roughly equal percentages born in East, Central or Southern Europe (Poland, Portugal, Serbia, Romania or Ukraine), and Sub-Saharan Africa (most in Nigeria, but including Ethiopia, Ghana, Burundi, Kenya, Somalia and Zimbabwe). Only a small percent were born in Latin America or the Caribbean (Ecuador, Guyana, Jamaica or Trinidad), and even fewer in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region (Iran and U.A.E.). The predominance of immigrants from India, Pakistan and the Philippines are in line with the broader demographics of Peel Region,[8] which in turn reflects Canadian immigration policy that abandoned explicit national quotas based on race in the late 1960s in favor of preference for those who would meet labour market needs. Yet we also see in our sample immigrants from parts of Europe that continue to experience poverty and political crises.

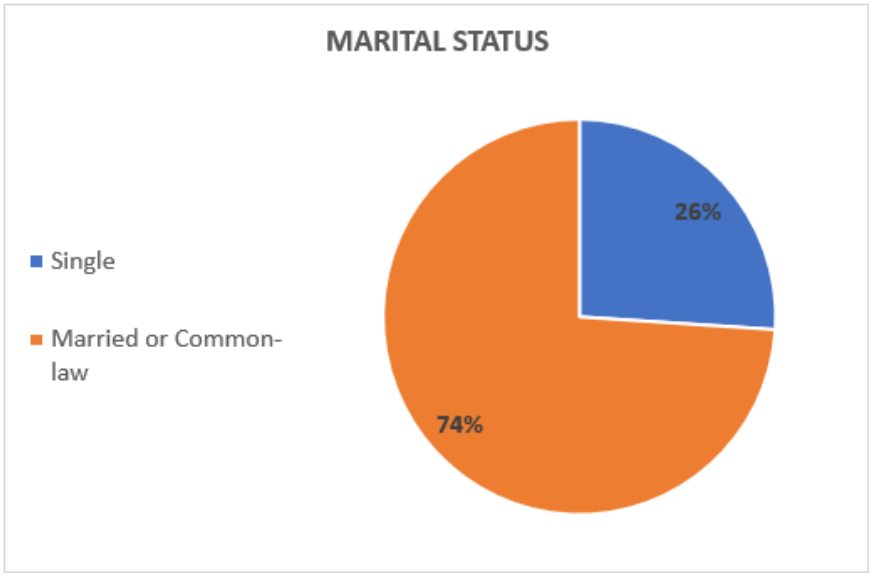
Most study participants migrated to Canada in their prime working age, which is in line with immigration policy that gives points for those in the ages seen to be the most productive in the paid labour force.[9] Specifically, over two-thirds arrived in their 20s or 30s, with another 12% arriving at 18 or 19; in contrast, only 5% arrived in their 40s. However, a full 15% arrived as child-dependents with their parents, ranging from age 5 to 17.



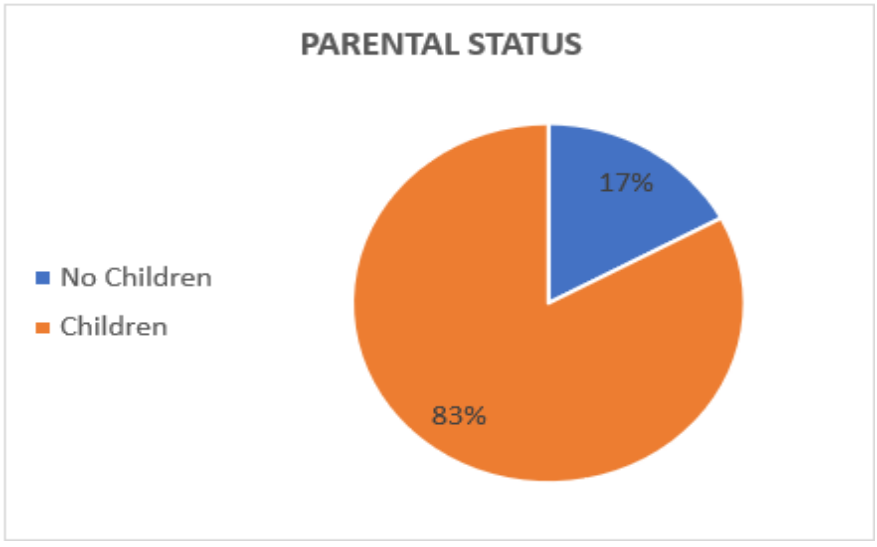
Most of the study participants were middle-aged when we interviewed them.[10] A full 46% were in their 40s or 50s, equally split between the two groups, and another 15% were in their 60s. In contrast, 12% were in their 30s, 18% in their 20s, and only 5% were in their teens but adults, at 18 or 19 years old. In addition, only 4% were in their 70s or 80s.



The great majority of the study participants were married or in common-law relationships.[11] Almost three-quarters were married, with only a couple common-law. Some migrated with their spouses. Others were single when they migrated but married in Canada. Just over a quarter of study participants were single when we interviewed them, the majority never married although there was one widow and a handful of people spoke about a divorce.

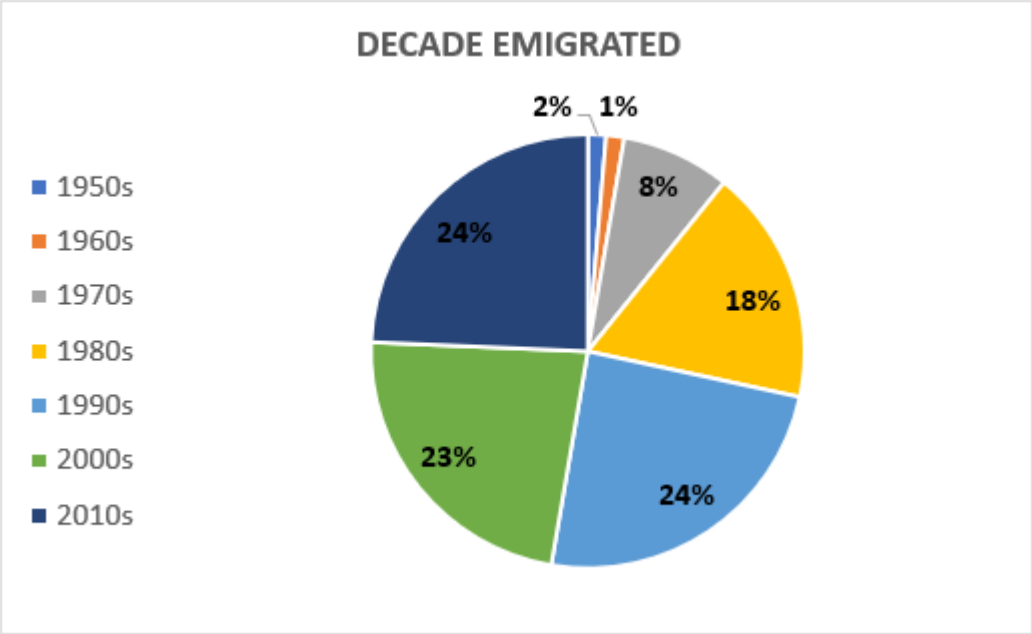


Most study participants had children, although they varied in ages from young children to adults.[12] Some people migrated with their children, white others had their children after migrating to Canada. With this overview of study participants' demographic characteristics in mind, we now delve more deeply into the main findings revealed in our analysis thus far, staring with migration and citizenship.



FINDINGS: MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP

In this section, we provide summary figures and illustrative quotes on the migration history and citizenship of study participants. We summarize the temporal context of their migration with variables on the year they emigrated or left their country and the year they immigrated or arrived in Canada. We also summarize key reasons for leaving their countries and for coming specifically to Canada. Finally, we report on citizenship status upon entry and at the time of the interview.



Most study participants left their countries of birth in the past three decades, with nearly a quarter leaving in the 2010s, 2000s, or 1990s.[13] A lower but still significant percent of study participants left their countries in the 1980s. Even smaller percentages of participants left their countries in the 1970s, 1960s, or 1950s. The earliest a study participant left their country of birth was 1954, while the latest was 2018 — the year we interviewed them.

Study participants most frequently gave economic or mobility reasons for leaving their country of birth.[14] Economic or mobility reasons included the need to send remittances to family who did not emigrate, the devaluation of one's currency, and the search for better educational and occupational opportunities. For example, when Raj who left Sri Lanka in 1986 was asked if he wanted to study any further in Canada, he said:

> "Nope. How can I? My family was struggling, and I had 3 sisters back home who needed … so as soon as I came to Canada, I had to right away find work and send money back home."

Foreign currency is valued when countries are pressured to devalue their currency. This in turn results in extremely low pay, even for professionals. For example, May who worked as a nurse in Canada and the Philippines, which she left in 1996, said:

> "But what I make here is much more than what I had made in the Philippines."

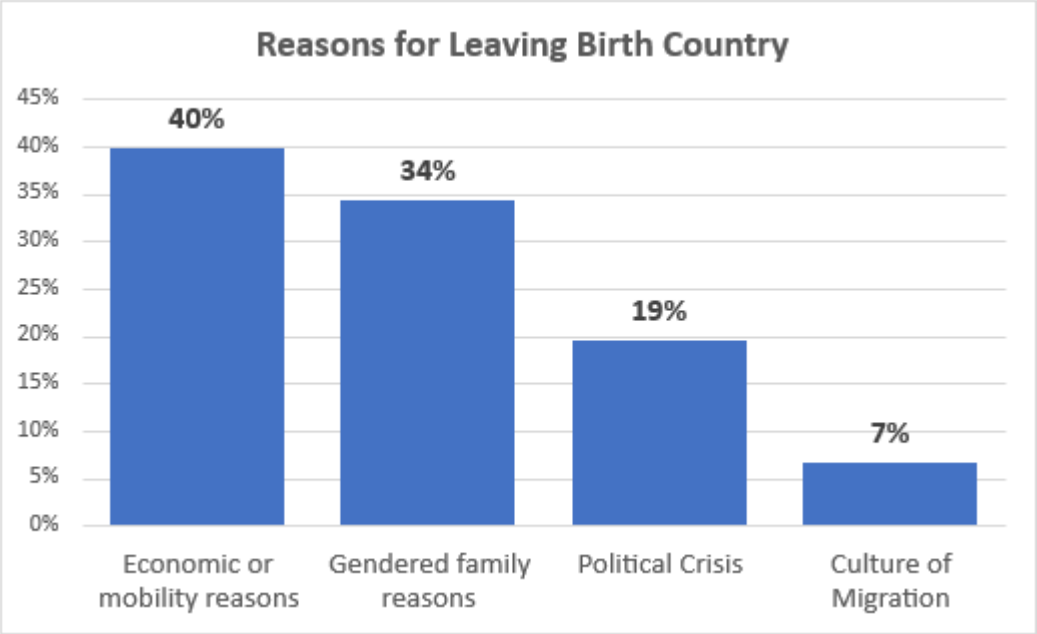
Study participants also mentioned leaving their countries due to lack of opportunity for work or education. For example, David said he left Trinidad in 1993 because:

> "Canada seemed to have so much more opportunity, plus I had a sense of adventure to see this new place. Plus, I had quite a couple people I was close with already here, so I figured why not."

One's own education was also a reason to migrate to Canada. Harini who left India in the late 2010s and came as an international student discussed:

> "Mostly because my parents wanted me to come here and get an education, I also wanted to see a different part of the world."

As these quotes illustrate, people have multiple reasons for leaving their country.



A considerable number of study participants mentioned gendered family reasons for leaving their country, including care responsibilities, the influence of their spouse, or seeking a better life for one's children. For example, Sofia who emigrated from Portugal in 1960 mentioned:

> "He [husband] had come before me while I stayed in Portugal to take care of my parents for a while. Later my mother came to live with us in Canada around 1969 after my father had passed away. She lived with my husband and I, and I stayed home to look after her and my son.

Sofia's experience illustrates continuity in gendered family responsibilities shaping migration: initially delaying it, but then prompting it. Although Sofia did not explicitly mention leaving Portugal due to gendered inequalities, she did have a gendered caregiver role there in comparison to her breadwinner husband who had migrated to Canada first in 1956. It can also be seen that Sofia's gendered duties remained afterwards: when Sofia's father, at the time being the dominant figure of the house, passed away and she had to carry the caregiver role once again when her own mother joined them in Canada while also looking after her son. Several participants noted that they only came to Canada because of their marriage and spousal sponsorship as their

husbands, and sometimes wives, had employment or educational opportunities in Canada. Ten study participants said their husbands sponsored them, while only two said their wives sponsored them (Appendix E). Similarly, all but one of the study participants who said they migrated because of their spouse was a woman. For example, when we asked Annie why she left China, she said:

> "It was because of my husband. He got his university degree here. However, he couldn't find a decent job in China. So, he wanted to come back. (So it was not your choice?). No. But I know English is very important. I feel it is a good choice for our children."

Annie not only confirmed her limited choice but also raised a second reason for migrating. Her consent to migration was not simply because of a duty to follow one's husband, but also connected to the future of their children. Indeed, many study participants said they came to Canada seeking a better life for their children. All but two of them were women with Paul noting the importance of Canadian health care for his child with a disability and Omar emphasizing his thoughts that his children "could do extremely well if they go to good universities and get good degrees." Overall, the interviews reveal a range of interwoven gendered family reasons for migrating, especially for women.

Political crisis was another reason study participants left their countries, including war, or a general lack of safety or security. For example, Priya explained why she left Sri Lanka as part of a conversation on how she felt about leaving.

> "Well I guess it was for the better because during that time there was so many conflicts back home between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. There was even a civil war and, unfortunately, many Tamils like myself were murdered and killed by the military. So when thinking about the future and my kids it was only best we start a family here and raise them in a new country."

The 'we' in the narrative was Priya and her husband, as she explained:

> "Well my husband, before marrying me, was working here and after marriage I had to follow him and come here as well."

As this quote and others reveal, leaving because of political crises intertwined with leaving due to the desire to secure the future of one's children, which the women in our study articulated most extensively. Other participants said that they emigrated due to safety concerns. For example, Jamilah who left Nigeria in 2008, described her reasons for leaving like this:

> "I think the major reason was safety because I had a very good job when I was living in Nigeria with a very comfortable life. But there wasn't safety in the country and the government was not ready to provide it for the citizens of my country."

While Jamilah contrasted her economic situation with the political context, for many they were entangled. For example, like Priya, Raj, spoke about how Tamils like himself were targeted by the government but emphasized how this political crisis led his father to push him to leave the country in order to find work and send needed money back to the family in Sri Lanka.

Finally, some described leaving due to a phenomenon called 'culture of migration' in migration scholarship: the notion that migration was normalized as something that everyone did.[15] For example, Ashish who left India in 1972 said:

> "There were a lot of people in India that would talk about North America, the States, and Canada and would say life is better here. They would say you can make a lot of money; it is a land of opportunity."

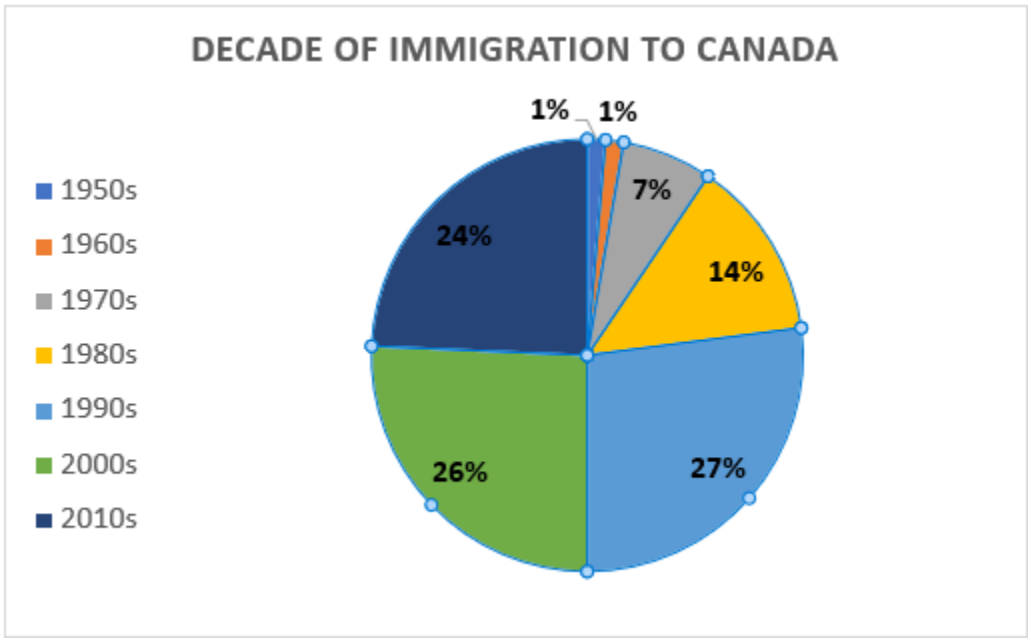
Ideas that North America would provide opportunity, coupled with more specific family networks, drew many study participants to Canada but some people went elsewhere first.

Seventeen study participants went to different countries before arriving to Canada (Appendix E). Some individuals moved back and forth from their birth countries to other countries. For example, Shan explained:

> "I immigrated here in 2000 from China, but my story is a little bit complicated. I first left China in 1990, went to [European country] for six years, went back to China, and then immigrated to Canada…I felt the most alienated and isolated of all my time in [European country]. I lost all my self-confidence and self-esteem…"

Others also talked about their unfortunate experiences in another country before coming to Canada. Such experiences were a reference point for these stepwise immigrants' initial views of Canada as relatively more democratic, peaceful and ethnically diverse. More broadly, these numerous dynamics in countries the interviewees lived in prior to Canada, whether their birth country or others, intermingled with Canadian immigration policy and ties to Canadians to shape immigration to Canada.

The great majority of study participants arrived in Canada in the past three decades.[16] Most arrived in the 1990s, but similar percentages arrived in the 2000s, or 2010s. Smaller percentages arrived in the 1980s and 1970s, with very few arriving in the 1960s or 1950s.



Reasons for coming to Canada of course overlap with reasons for leaving one's country, but with this variable, we capture the specific reasons to come to Canada as opposed to elsewhere.[17]

The most frequent response was that study participants came to Canada because they had ties, or networks, to people there. This includes those who came to Canada because their spouse, usually husband, had an opportunity in Canada. For example, Bolin who was born in China said,

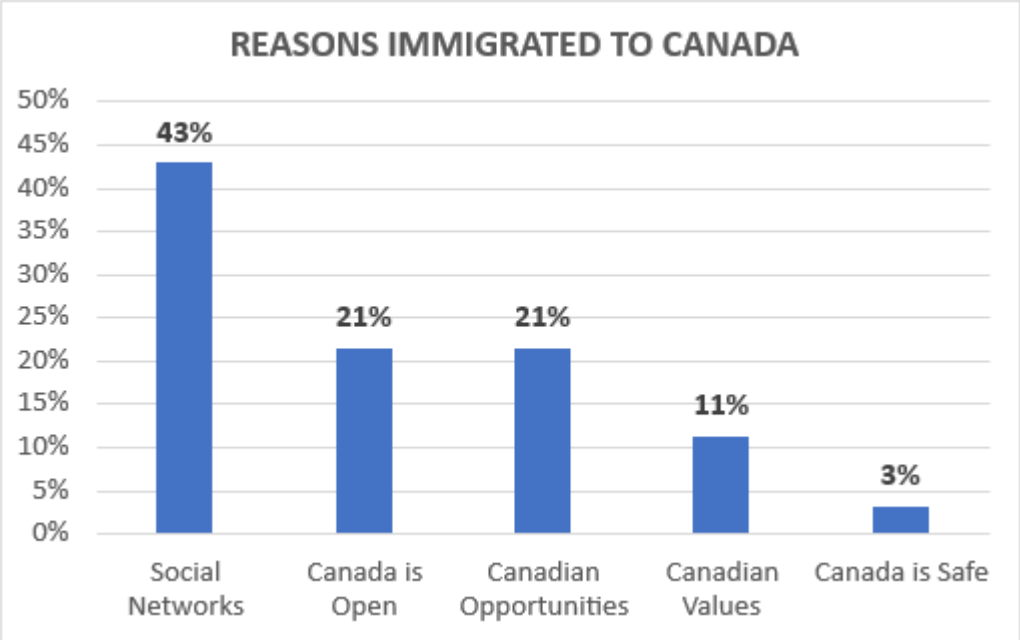
"I came because my husband got a scholarship, and then a job opportunity." When we asked her to speculate on whether she would have remained in China if he did not get a job, Bolin admitted she was "not sure" but also said, "I probably would stay in China." Participants also mentioned migrating to Canada because extended family made the move easier by providing crucial information or a place to stay. For example, Alex from Hong Kong said:

> "Because my older sister is here. And my second sister, and older brother said they would come here too. They came one year after I settled. And my ex-wife liked Canada more too."

As these examples suggests, chain migration – with migrants coming to join family and other family joining them – was not uncommon. Only a couple people mentioned having friends in Canada as a reason to migrate here, and this was coupled with another reason. For example, Clinton from Ghana said he migrated to Canada to complete his education but also noted:

> "My family friend introduced us to a school in Canada."

Clinton's friend facilitated his move to Canada by providing useful information.



Just over one-fifth of study participants mentioned that Canada was open, or easy to get into, as a reason for immigration to Canada. For example, Lena discussed:

> "I came to Canada through an immigration company, and they said that Canada was the easiest for my immigration papers to be approved. Even then, it took two years. Another reason for coming here was I knew that there was alot of Polish people here. It would be easier for me to meet and connect with them and feel less like a stranger."

Canada was the easier option for some due to immigration policies and processes but also important was existing ethnic communities.

Just over one-fifth mentioned that Canada provided more opportunity than their country of birth and compared to other countries as well. These participants felt there were more opportunities in

Canada for reasons such as education, health care, employment, and just a better quality of life in general. In terms of employment, Marly, who was born in the Philippines, mentioned:

> "Because there is work here. At home, even if you had a good education, there was no job opportunity. My husband found work quickly and I knew I could find work being trained as a nurse."

Toobah, who was from Afghanistan but lived 13 years in the U.S., noted:

> "I knew it would be better in terms of benefits to citizens. We get healthcare, employment benefits, and there is more government assistance. People here are kind and helpful. In the U.S it was hard; the government doesn't do much for people."

Many participants talked about positive things they had heard about Canadian opportunities as prompting them to immigrate to Canada.

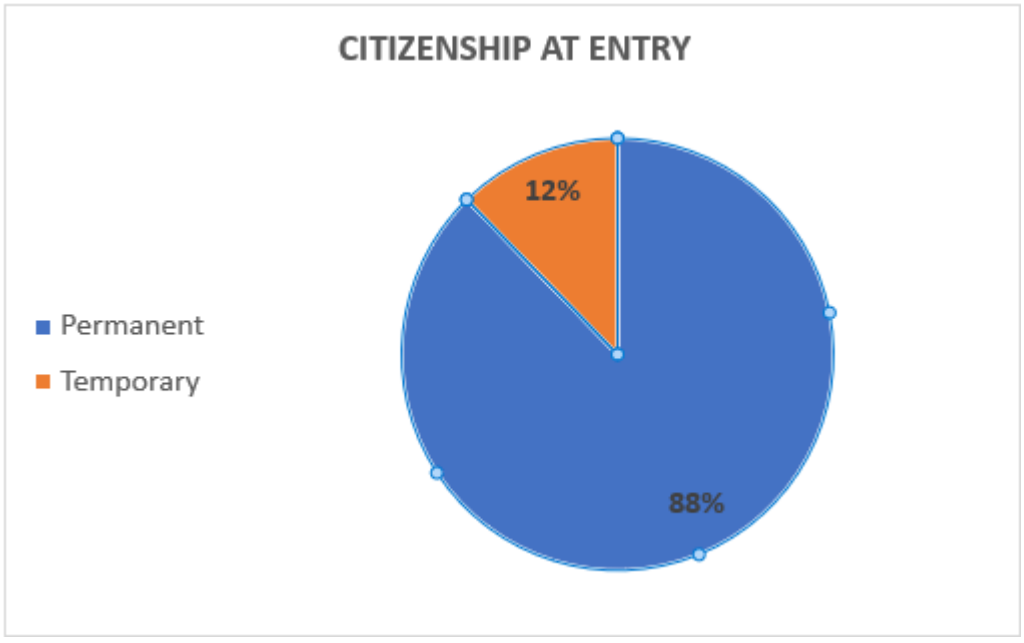
A smaller percentage of people mentioned reasons related to their view of Canadian values, which included ideas about Canada as more democratic. For example, Tobi who was born in Nigeria noted:

> "I came to Canada because it's a developed and free country. It's a country where human rights are respected… No, I left because I liked what Canada stood for and I wanted to become a part of the country and they supported my value system."

Some participants discussed immigrating to Canada due to the perception that there would be more multiculturalism compared to their own country or other countries where they lived, or might have moved. For example, Shideh, who left Iran in 1977 to study in Europe and lived there a decade, said:

> "Every day, I love it here. I'm Iranian by heritage and no one take it out of my heart, but I'm Canadian by choice. I had the opportunity to be [European nationality], we didn't want it.... In [European country] they treat you so badly."

Shideh recounted significant discrimination in Europe, which prompted her to migrate and settle in Canada. Although, as we will see, study participants also experienced discrimination in Canada.



The great majority of study participants entered Canada as permanent residents.[18] This is a relatively secure citizenship entry category, although the security of permanent residents does vary since the group includes political refugees, economic immigrants, and those sponsored by family.[19]

There were six refugees in our sample. For example, when we asked Cathy if she came under a certain immigration program, she said:

> "I came as a government refugee because Vietnam is a communist country and at that time, they were having a war, so I left Vietnam because I did not like the politics there."

Others who entered with permanent refugee status were from Ethiopia, Poland and Sri Lanka. Importantly, however, others who left their countries in part due to war and political conflicts, did not enter as refugees, such as Toobah who first migrated to Pakistan, Iran, and the U.S. after leaving Afghanistan, and Priya who left Sri Lanka during the war but entered Canada through sponsorship by her husband.

Economic immigrants can enter with permanent resident status if they are deemed to contribute to the Canadian economy through business or skills; 15 study participants entered as economic immigrants with permanent residency: one through the business class and the rest as skilled workers who came under the points system that allocates points for education, work experience and other factors. Many participants discussed earning points due to their high education and ability to speak English. Some highly educated participants felt that coming to Canada through the points system as skilled workers was easy and quick. For example, Irene, who was born in Malaysia and came in the mid 2010s, mentioned:

> "Basically, we [Irene and her husband] immigrated here based on the skills that we have. So, we have an immigration consultant that helps us with it. It goes by a point basis, there are many factors that determine this like age, kind of work, kind of experience, opening of different skill sets, different labour market… And I was under the IT skill… It just so happened that both of us had skill set matches, and exactly two opened up and offered by the government program."

The more qualifications the higher chance they had of earning points and immigrating to Canada with permanent residency status.

Others entered Canada with permanent resident status as dependents of a family member.[20] Ten participants came with their parents, although some of these parents originally entered with temporary status. For example, Jace, who was from the Philippines, explained how his mother came:

> "From Saudi, she moved to Canada to work as a live-in caregiver. From what I know, after a certain period of time, she is allowed to sponsor her family, and we came as landed permanent residents."

Many other participants mentioned that their parents came to Canada due to economic reasons and sponsored the rest of the family. Twenty-three participants entered through their spouse. There were 17 participants who were dependents of or sponsored by their husband and 6 were sponsored by their wife. For example, Jas who migrated from India in 2004 explained:

> "I came to Canada on a points system with my husband and daughter. We came on permanent residency. I was the dependent under my husband."

Again, the line between economic and family migrant is blurry. However, the policy mandates that there is a single applicant. As Jackie, who had a psychology degree from S. Africa where she worked with marginalized children, explained:

> "So they take all of the points, like my points and his points, and they see who has got the highest. And then take that applicant. He had the highest."

Given the gendered labour market funnelling women into carework and other devalued labour, this policy structures gendered dependency. Many women who came as dependents of their husbands were also highly educated like Jackie.

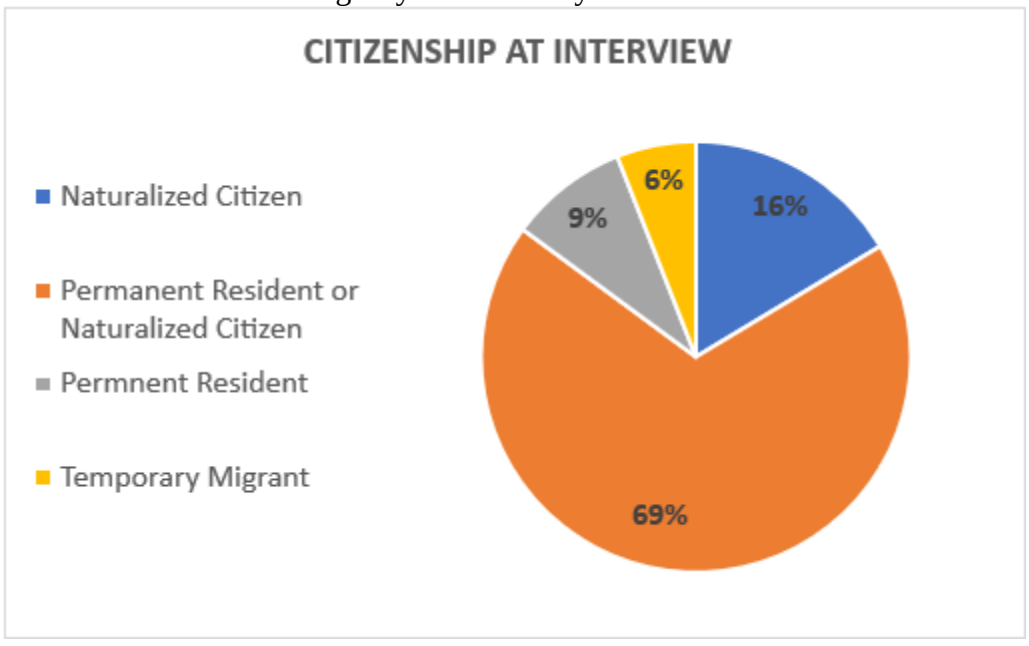
Only two participants came through more extended family, reflecting the reality that Canadian immigration policy has increasingly made it more difficult for people to sponsor siblings, grandchildren, grandparents or more extended kin.[21]

A significant minority arrived with temporary citizenship status. One participant arrived under an early temporary domestic worker visa tied to an employer. This participant, like Jace's mother, was able to obtain permanent resident status after a period of live-in work with a domestic employer but this option has wavered over time and is currently severely restricted.[22] The other 7 participants who arrived on a temporary visa were international students. For example, Sam said:

> "I came as an international student. I came straight to university from high school in Nigeria. Most will say I was fresh off the boat."

Ashley also came "with a student visa", and explained the process like this:

> "Well actually, when I came, I was coming to go to, like, a college for like one year-ish. And so I used an agency back in Kenya."



Most study participants had either naturalized citizenship or permanent residency status by the time we interviewed them.[23] Sixteen percent discussed becoming naturalized Canadian citizens.

For example, Ashish who migrated from India in 1972 as a permanent skilled economic immigrant described his experience of becoming a citizen as follows:

> "It was very easy. You had to be in the country four or five years before you could apply for Canadian citizenship. They put you through a workshop, they send you some books and tell you these are things you should know about Canada, and what are your responsibilities and duties, and what are the obligations of the country to you. What you need to be to go in the elections or whatever you have to do to become a citizen."

Most participants did not provide detailed enough information on their citizenship at the time of interview to indicate if they were permanent residents or naturalized citizens, but we did have enough to estimate that they were one or the other. Some gained permanent residency status even though they entered temporarily, such as Mark born in Ukraine who entered as an international student and explained:

> "… I was searching for 2 months after graduation, and eventually found a high skilled job to earn my PR."

Mark is referring to the immigration policy that requires international students to have Canadian experience in a skilled job in order to convert from temporary to permanent residency status.[24] Some international students, or their parents, felt that coming to Canada as a student in comparison to other countries provided a better chance for them to get permanent residency through the ability to work and obtain more points as well. Others entered as permanent residents and were still permanent residents when we interviewed them. A small group still had temporary status when we interviewed them, all international students. Thus, overall, 94% had either permanent residency or naturalized citizenship at the time of interview.

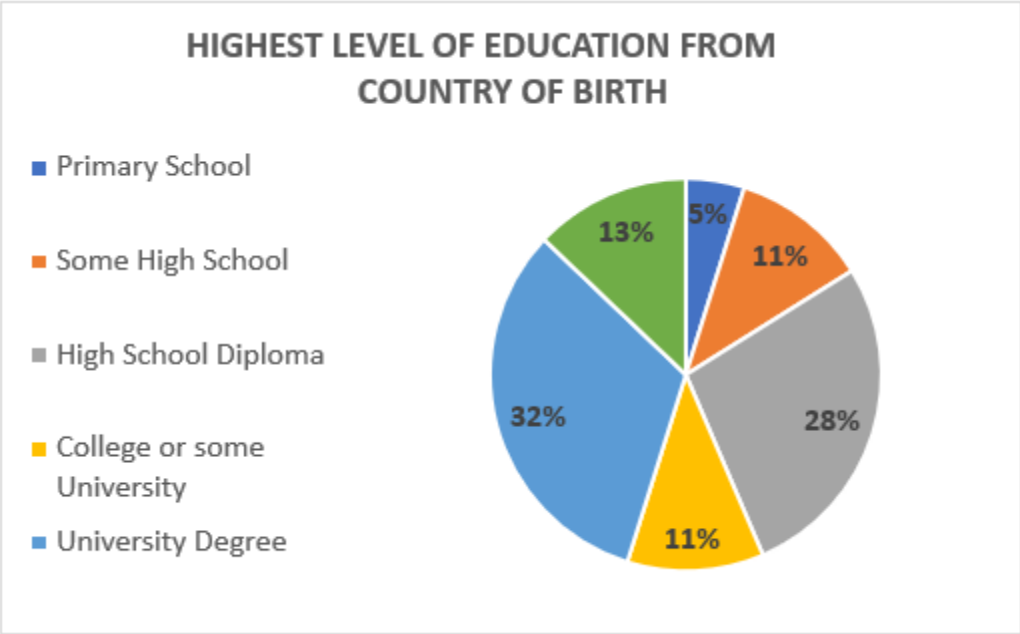
These findings show the importance of examining multiple dynamics shaping migration alongside formal policy constraints. Overall, most study participants entered in the past three decades at prime working age with relatively secure citizenship, since the majority arrived with permanent immigrant status. However, the largest category of permanent residents in our sample were sponsored by family thus introducing insecurity through dependency; and this dependency is gendered in that women were more likely to be the dependent than men, in our sample and others.[25] We were able to see this gendered dependency, and other complex dynamics, by looking at formal citizenship alongside reasons for leaving one's country. Immigration policies structure people's migration to Canada but they work with other dynamics to facilitate entry and settlement. We revealed a range of intersecting economic, political and gendered family reasons for emigrating. Citizenship at entry is more in line with reasons for coming specifically to Canada but social networks also play a key role across formal citizenship entry categories. Furthermore, formal citizenship is not static but changes over time. In our sample, the main direction of change was from less to more secure citizenship status: either moving from temporary migrant to permanent resident or from permanent resident, including dependents, to naturalized citizenship. However, secure citizenship status does not necessarily protect immigrants from precarious work.[26] Overall, the study participants were expecting open and welcoming integration into Canada but met a labour market structured by the growth of precarious employment with gendered and racialized dimensions. Next, we begin our dynamic analysis of intersecting migration and precarious employment by analyzing the labor market trajectories of study participants, tracing their occupations from their birth country to first and subsequent jobs in Canada alongside their education upon arrival and in Canada.

FINDINGS: LABOUR MARKET HISTORY

In this section, we describe the labour market history of the study participants, including their education and occupations from their country of birth, any additional education or training in Canada, and their first and subsequent occupations in Canada. Our comparison of jobs held in birth country, first job in Canada, other past jobs in Canada and current job (at the time of the interview) reveals how immigrant workers from a range of countries and class backgrounds experience considerable downward mobility upon arrival in Canada. This finding supports existing studies, yet our rich data reveal new dynamics. We find that many people become stuck in jobs below their education and experience for years and some moved downwards rather than displaying any visible upward mobility.[27] We also find ongoing effects of gendered racializing in the labour market dynamics of getting a job and in the experience on the job in relation not only to employers but also to customers and co-workers.

We start with education, which shapes immigrants' position in the labour market in complex and diverse ways. Standard economic theory views education as human capital that employers use to rationally sort workers into suitable labor market positions yet, as many sociological studies have shown, employers devalue education from countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean where the majority of immigrants in Canada are born.[28] Canada – like other advanced capitalist societies – is considered a knowledge-based economy; indeed, this is the assumption of immigration policy that selects the highly educated for permanent residence. Yet, the service sector jobs requiring high levels of education are inextricably linked to jobs requiring little education to service the lifestyles of knowledge workers, particularly as women have entered the professions in larger numbers, and these jobs – such as nannies, dog walkers, restaurant staff and taxi drivers, are filled predominately by immigrants.[29] A growing body of scholarship documents that professional immigrants often take such jobs upon arrival as "survival jobs"[30], but a key lingering question is whether they are able to move out of them over time, and if so how.

Key to answering this question is to distinguish between different types of immigrants. Scholarship on highly educated immigrants is crucial to understanding the racialization of professionals and their contradictory class mobility: for example, downward into survival jobs yet earning in currency worth more in the stratified global economy.[31] At the same time, in Canada and other immigrant receiving countries, there are still a significant number of immigrants who entered through family sponsorship, some of whom have lower levels of education.[32] As the economic structure is also changing, with the growth and spread of precarious employment, these lower educated immigrant workers may not only fill precarious service sector jobs but also might move backwards, or at least stand still, as well-paid, unionized manufacturing work has declined.[33] Put another way: are survival jobs a short-term phenomenon for immigrants, or are they stuck in them given the overall downgrading of employment and spreading of precariousness – and how does this vary for different groups of immigrants?



Study participants who left their country as adults fall into two major groups: those with a high school diploma or less, and those who attended or completed college, university or graduate school, with more in the latter group.[34]

Some study participants did not finish high school, and a few only attended primary school. For example, Humberto, who left Portugal in the mid-1950s when he was in his early 20s said:

> "Most of the people those days couldn't write or read. Most had to leave school at an early age like 7 or 10. Some didn't even go. Most just worked, worked, worked. I did go to school though for three years when I was younger."

While Humberto grew up in a period where education was not widespread in rural Portugal, others with less than high school education, (including one who only went to primary school) were in their 40s, 50s and 60s at the time of interview. Eleven percent attended some high school but were unable to finish. For example, Misha from Poland described:

> "I worked in an office. My father got me a job and we were very poor, and I was 17 so, I quit high school to work there."

Like Misha, most said they did not finish high school due to the need to work, although one person quit high school because she got married. Study participants with some high school from their birth country arrived in multiple decades (1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s) through various immigration pathways, including family sponsorship or as refugees.

Over a quarter of participants earned only a High School Diploma from their country of birth. For example, Alex who migrated in the late 1980s, when he was nearly 30, said:

> "I have my high school diploma from Hong Kong. But yeah back then not that many people cared about high level education; a high school diploma is enough. You need to be really smart to be in university. There was only one or two, I forgot, universities in Hong Kong at the time."

While university was reserved for the elite in 1970s Hong Kong, war also limited higher education. For example, Toobah was born in Afghanistan where she finished high school, but the need to keep migrating to avoid war hindered her further education, as she described:

> "We lived there [Kabul] until I graduated high school there. I lived there until I was 18 years old. And then, I was 19 when there was a very bad war in Afghanistan and then we moved from Afghanistan to Iran because of the war. It was a very bad war, and it wasn't safe anymore... We were in Iran for one year, then after a year, there was no education. They didn't let us to go to the school, to do something and so we moved to Pakistan... We were in Pakistan for two years... I didn't go to school [in Pakistan], I only took English courses at the school. I studied a lot of English at home too. But nothing else."

Study participants who only finished high school included those who arrived in multiple decades (1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, or 2010s) through family sponsorship or as refugees. This group also includes a handful who arrived as temporary migrants as international students who were pursuing higher education at the time of the interview.

Given the shift of Canadian immigration policy to recruitment of highly educated immigrants, current existing literature gives immigrants with low levels of education little attention, yet their experience in the labour market is essential to analyze if we are to understand the depth and spread of precarious employment.

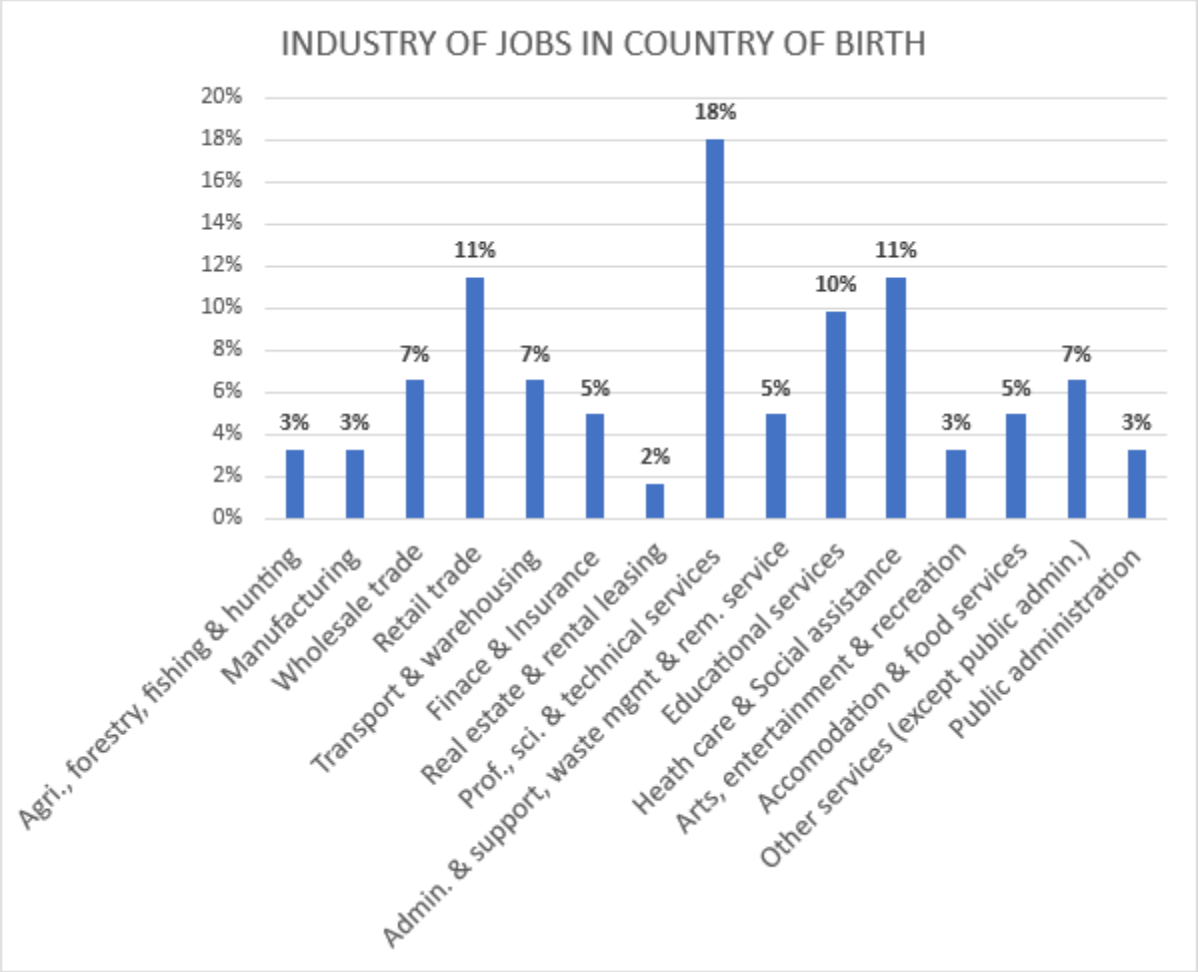
Over half of the study participants had college or university education in line with Canadian immigration policy that allocates points for high levels of education, and reflecting the reality that spousal dependents of highly educated immigrants are often highly educated as well.[35] Eleven percent attended college or some university but did not obtain a degree. Gendered labor markets funneled people into specific college courses. For example, Tegist who came to Canada from Ethiopia in the mid-1990s in her early 20s explained:

> "I finished school and then I did secretary education. I got the diploma for that and got married. I got married and then my husband had to come here, so I came too."

As Tegist's experience illustrates, gendered labour markets intersected with gendered family obligations to limit women's higher education and labor market participation in birth countries as elsewhere.[36] Despite limits to higher education for some, nearly half of study participants were highly educated.

Almost a third earned an undergraduate bachelor's degree, in areas such as education, engineering, computer science, nursing and psychology, while a smaller but not insignificant percent had post-graduate degrees including Master's in business management, chemistry, mathematics, and physiotherapy. A few study participants obtained high levels of education in European countries or the U.S. before migrating to Canada (Appendix E).

This substantial percentage of study participants with high levels of university education was reflected in the types of jobs they held in their birth countries; yet, again, we must also recognize the presence of immigrants with low levels of education and working class origins in Canada.

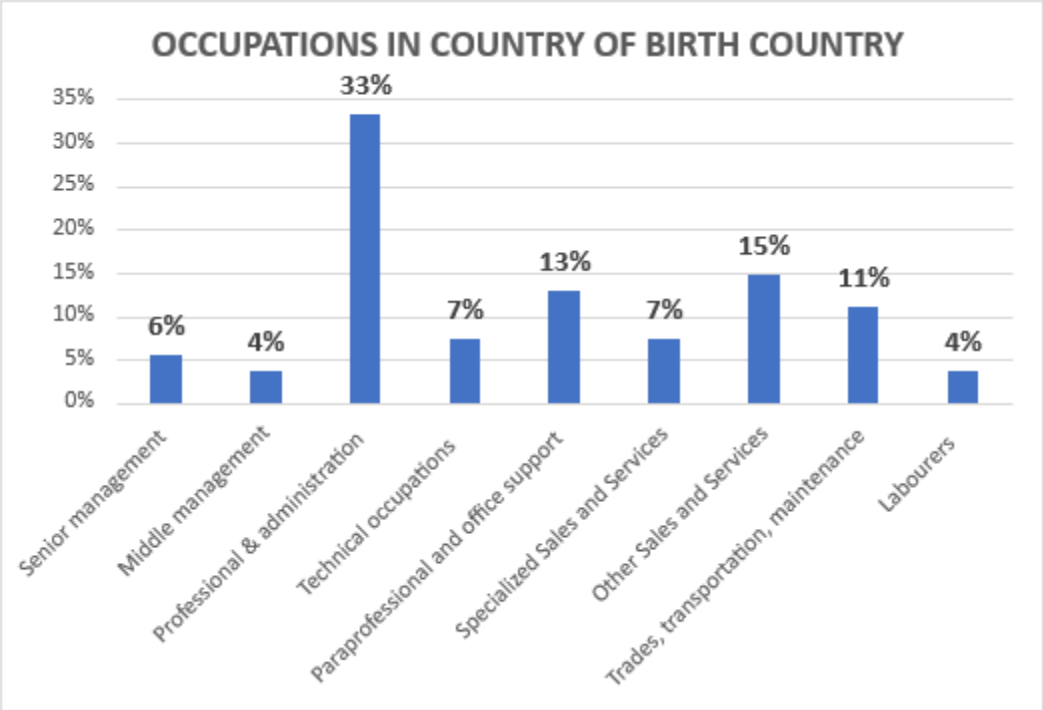


The great majority of study participants had paid work experience from their country of birth, although six (all women) were homemakers. Sofia and Humberto described working in the family economy for subsistence in 1940s and 1950s rural Portugal; Sofia sewed sweaters as a child, while Humberto worked on the land, growing food, and raising animals for family consumption, although he later worked for a bus company in Portugal, while Sofia became a homemaker. Twenty-three participants were students who had never worked for pay (some were in university or just finished high school, while others were dependent minors). Some students also mentioned that they had internships or did volunteer work, while others worked in family businesses. These students' unpaid work was a significant part of the family economy. For example, Nora from Guyana described her work in the family business as such:

> Whatever needed to be done, really. If my mom said: 'Grab those boxes of lace or fabric or whatever and take it to the market stall' or on weekends we would carry the boxes of goods around door to door. My mom worked really hard. Not a lot of people did that in Guyana. So, we'd follow her and carry boxes of goods, they called it haberdashery, and we'd go door to door.

We coded the few study participants who worked in family businesses unpaid, while students of various ages, in the industry variable to recognize its contribution to the economy.

Most study participants worked in Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services industries in their country of birth. [37] The next most frequent industries were many percentages points behind, with roughly equal proportions in Retail Trade, Health Care and Social Assistance and Educational Services. Most of the remaining study participants were spread across a variety of transportation, warehousing, and service industries. Industry measures the sector of the economy in which study participants were employed but does not capture the class status of their jobs. For this, we turn to occupation.



A good percentage of study participants came from the managerial or professional class in their birth country.[38] A few participants had senior manager jobs. For example, Ali described his first job in Pakistan like this.

> "I got a job in a bank as a solitaire senior relationship manager.... So, I was taking all the corporate accounts and liabilities and I was doing all the insurances as well."

A couple study participants had middle manager jobs. For example, Kiki worked as a human resources manager in a bank in Nigeria. A third of study participants jobs in their birth countries were as professionals or in administration and supervision. This category includes finance, insurance or related administration or supervision. For example, Maria, born in Ecuador, said:

> "I worked in the area of sales. I was a broker in a company of prepaid medicine. I sold insurance, so totally distinct than what I did here."

There were also several nurses and teachers in our study. For example, Alaya from Pakistan said:

> "In my country, I was a teacher and tutor on the weekends.... I taught math at grade school and tutored in math and Urdu."

Others were professionals in natural and applied sciences. For instance, Alvin from the Philippines said:

> "I'm a chemical engineer over there, so I work in a place of processing, dyeing of clothes and curtains, and they're for exports and of course on the sidelines, I got this tricycle."

Other professionals similarly could not survive on one job so they worked a second one, often in the informal economy, as was the case for Alvin who operated a taxi service or tricycle and Alaya who supplemented her formal teaching job with tutoring on the weekends.

There were also noteworthy percentages of study participants, nearly a quarter, with jobs in the middle of the occupational distribution, including Paraprofessional or Office Support Occupations and Trades, Transportation and Maintenance occupations. For example, Garald described his occupation as a mechanic in India like this:

> "I run my own business back home, for like 15 years so that's from where my actual experience came and that was a really skilled job."

Paraprofessional occupations include working in daycares, or taking care of small children, or administrative support work in offices. For example, Sofiya from India described her job as follows.

> "I did tuition; it is very big back home. Every day after school kids come to tuition; it is very big there; almost all the children go. I use to teach them and help them with their homework or any of their assignments. Back home there are lots of examinations and rankings of classes, not like here, so lots of kids needed tuition."

Fewer study participants worked in Technical occupations, such as medical technologist, or in Specialized Sales, like cook.

Despite significant numbers of professionals, paraprofessionals and tradespeople, we do see another cluster in "Other Sales and Service" jobs, which includes retail salespersons and sales support occupations (e.g. cashier), customer service and service support occupations (e.g. cleaners). This group includes Kasha who "worked in a Polish bakery before leaving to Canada" and Li Jing who "worked in a restaurant that sold only seafood" in China. Several were in these jobs as young adults.

Only two study participants were labourers in their birth country and one of them, Marisol, did factory work in the Philippines right out of high school but then moved into retail salesperson and office support jobs.

Overall, the study participants were concentrated in professional and middle-range occupations in their birth countries, although a few held managerial positions; but we also see another cluster at the lower, but not lowest, end of the occupational distribution in sales and service occupations. How much were they able to maintain, or improve, their occupational status through migration to Canada?

Many study participants changed occupations drastically upon arrival in Canada. Several women moved from paid workers to homemakers. For example, Jamilah was a banker in Nigeria but

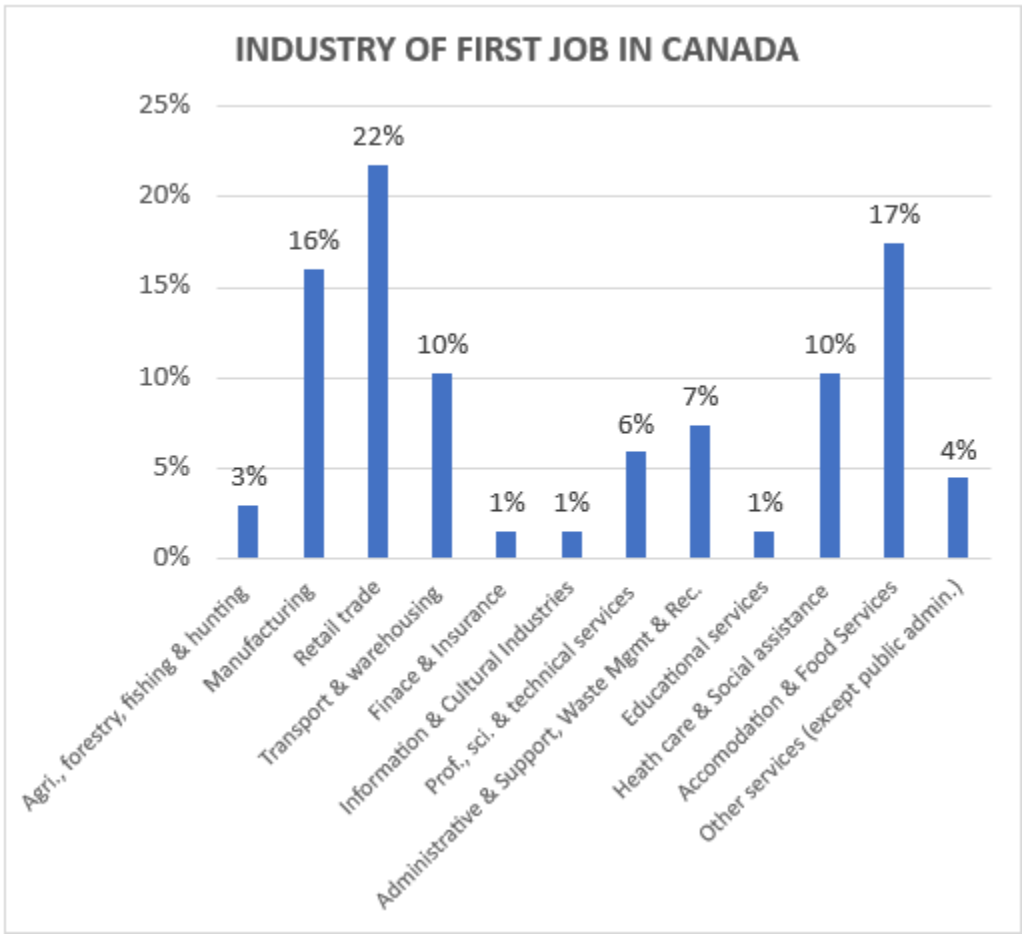
migrated to Canada with her children by herself. As a result, she stayed home with the children the first two years after migrating. Annie, who worked in a beauty salon in Vietnam, migrated with her husband but also became a "stay-home mom" upon migration.

> "I took one-year gap before I got my first job in Canada. I was a stay-home mom. I do not speak English; therefore, I was unable to prepare resume or attend any phone interview if that was in English. I feel a little depressed back then."

As this interview suggests, women's decisions to stay at home full time were shaped not just by their gendered duty, or desire, but also labour market constraints. Women described how the work of settling the family, especially the children, prohibited them from entering the paid labour force. Some participants were disappointed with not finding a paid job as it was difficult to survive on just their husband's income, yet they could not afford to pay for childcare. Other women were homemakers in their countries and their family continued to prioritize the husband's job and earnings upon arrival. For example, Priya from Sri Lanka said matter-of-factly:

> "I stayed home while my husband worked and then got pregnant with my first child."

Priya, and others, would only join the Canadian labour force after their children were older, as is the case for many women, immigrants or not.[39] Many other women juggled unpaid care work for the family with their first paid job in Canada.



There is a key shift in the industries that employed study participants in their birth country compared to their first jobs in Canada.[40] Despite industrial restructuring that has resulted in a decline in manufacturing and growth and diversification in the service sector in Canada and other wealthy, capitalist countries, significant percentages of study participants got their first jobs in Manufacturing, Transport & Warehousing industries. Study participants also got first jobs in the low wage service and sales industries, such as Accommodation & Food services, and Retail Trade. Finally, there were significant percentages in Health & Social Assistance. These trends begin to point to a complex relationship between immigration and broader changes in the economy. Immigrants are not simply incorporated into an economy characterized by *industrial* restructuring towards a knowledge economy – that is, a shift from manufacturing to service sector. Instead, they show up in the margins of the knowledge economy – either the statistical margins (i.e. the manufacturing sector), or the conceptual margins given the emphasis on professional service sector jobs but not how they are interconnected with low status service jobs.

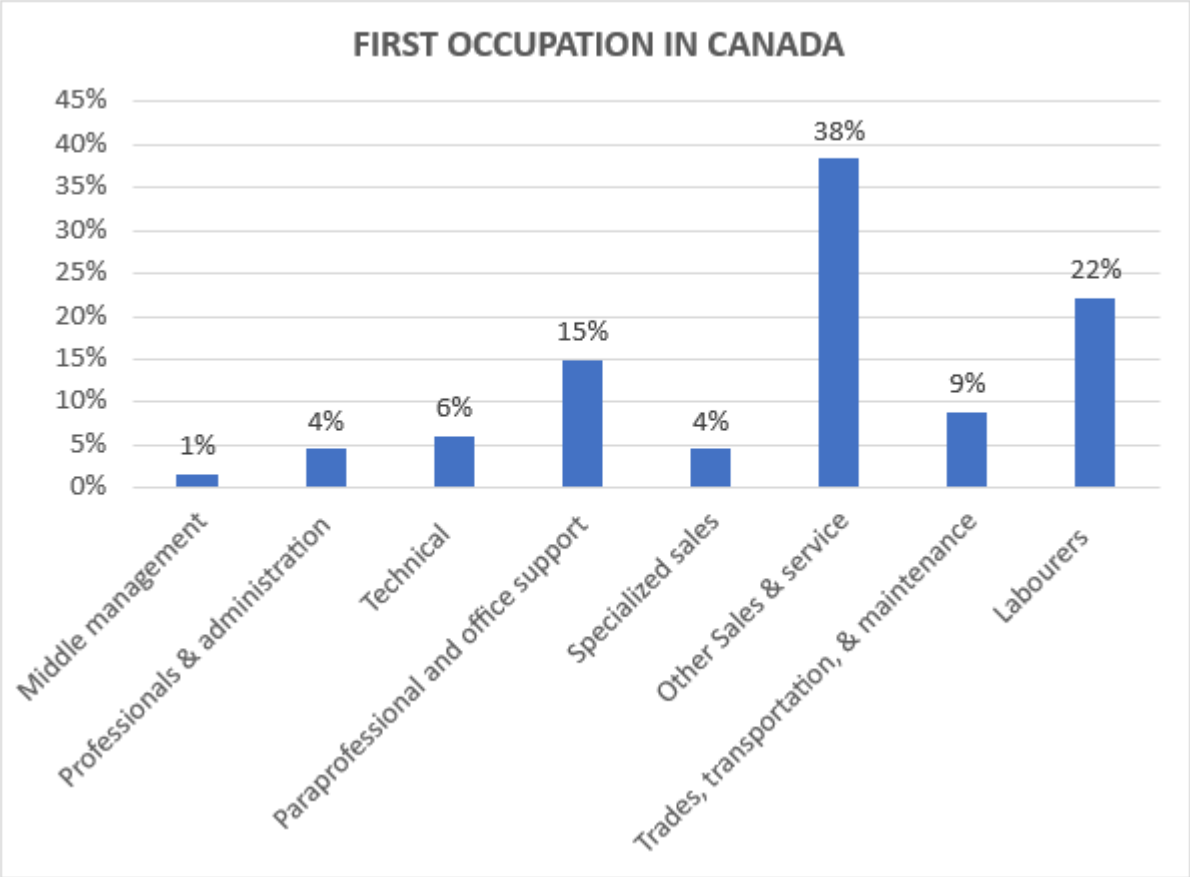
One way to see how immigrants are funnelled into the margins of an economy restructuring towards precariousness is to look at their uptake of volunteer work. We included volunteer work in our analysis of industry to recognize its contribution to the Canadian economy, and its restructuring toward greater precariousness. For example, Lazar who was a mechanical engineer in former Yugoslavia was a volunteer and described one of two positions in depth.

> "So, when I came to Canada, I came with a Master of Science in the Engineering faculty of HVAC which is heating, ventilation and air conditioning. It was '95, Canada was just coming out of a long recession so the market situation for engineers was not the best… Obviously, at that point the companies were looking for the main criteria for someone to get employed was so-called 'Canadian experience'… So, for me to get the first job I needed to enroll in a co-op program that was available for the new immigrants, for the people that just came to Canada to learn about the marketplace, Canada, way of life, relationships, requirements, criterion and so on.... You find this through the government organization… A lot of people from Eastern Europe, Asia, some from Africa and South America as well… So, I was volunteering for 6 months, I made no money what so ever and to support myself I had to deliver newspapers early in the morning which was not even minimum pay, this was just, just very low compensation of the work that was being done."

Lazar eloquently linked the context of economic decline in the 1990s with the ongoing requirement of employers for Canadian experience, which worked together to ensure his extensive education (which facilitated his entry into Canada), was not sufficient to land him a paid job in line with his training. A look at the occupational class of immigrants' first jobs in Canada provides further evidence of the complex relationship between immigration and economic restructuring toward growing precariousness.

Most study participants could not afford to stay at home full-time with their children, or volunteer in line with their education, and instead had to take survival jobs upon arrival.[41] Notably, there were much lower percentages of managerial and professional first jobs in Canada

among study participants, compared to jobs in birth country, and much higher percentages of paraprofessionals and office support, and especially sales and services and labourer jobs.



Most study participants experienced downward occupational mobility with migration. A handful of people in our sample moved from managerial or professional occupations to labourers as their first job in Canada. These labourer jobs are not the unionized, well-paid factory work with job security prevalent in the post-World War II period, but rather restructured, non-union jobs with low pay and poor conditions. For example, Omar who was in a senior management position in Pakistan, worked as a labourer in a factory upon arrival to Canada.

> "First job I did here in Canada was in a chemical factory. It was a laborious job. I used to work night shifts. I worked there for 3-4 days. As a place, it didn't feel very safe for me so I quit that job."

Omar described how the workers used chemicals without protective equipment, compelling him to quit. Others endured as labourers for years, like Maria who was a broker in a health care company in Ecuador but worked in a factory for four years in Canada. Several who migrated as children from upper- and middle-class families also worked their first jobs in factories.

A slightly larger group of study participants from managerial and professional classes in their birth country moved down to low-level sales and service jobs. These were often informal,

unregulated, jobs, including but not limited to those in the ethnic economy (Appendix E). For example, Alaya who was a teacher in Pakistan, could only find a job as a cook in a Pakistani restaurant. She found this job within a few months of arriving, through the family that she was living with, who knew the boss. Alaya was hired over the phone, and informed that she would be paid the minimum wage in cash, which she accepted given few options as a recent, divorced, racialized immigrant woman. Alaya described the conditions of work this this:

> "Now I wish I was paid more. I work hard and I already have problems with my arms. They make me cook more than the sisters and my arm hurts even more now."

Alaya still worked in this restaurant when we interviewed her 3 years later. Similarly, Abel, who was a bank audit examiner and accountant in the Philippines, took a job as a merchandiser at a chain retail store, working the night shift from 9pm - 6am and described:

> "For 7 years, I did manual labor at [Retail Store) and that was very tough for me."

A slightly smaller group from the managerial and professional class experienced less extreme downward mobility – to paraprofessional or technical jobs. For example, Marly and May were both Registered Nurses in the Philippines, but could only practice as Registered Practical Nurses, (classified as medical technologist), in Canada. In addition, Marly worked as an RPN at a Long-Term Care facility, which paid considerably lower than hospitals, and May only found RPN work on short terms contracts. These examples and others illustrate the importance of including the form of employment contract in our analysis of mobility.

Overall, the great majority of the study participants from managerial and professional classes in their birth country (16/20) experienced downward occupational mobility through their first job in Canada, while one exited the labour force for two years upon migration. A few of these study participants only lasted days, weeks or months as labourers or lower-level service workers. Yet the majority endured as labourers or lower level service workers for a year or more. Not one from this upper and middle class background experienced upward occupational mobility in their first job and only 3 experienced lateral mobility into jobs equivalent to the ones they held in their birth country.

Importantly, this analysis based on broad occupational categories mobility should be interpreted as a conservative estimate of downward mobility that allows us to compare general coding schemes across first job, other past jobs and current job. In other words, it *underestimates* the degree of downward mobility that could be revealed in more fine-grained analysis of people's description of their labour market aspirations and their conditions of work that would include additional dimensions beyond occupation. For example, Sandra was a chartered accountant in India but could only land a bookkeeping job upon arrival in Canada and is (conservatively) coded as lateral mobility in this analysis but her feelings about her mobility is worth quoting. When we ask Sandra what kind of job she hoped to have in Canada, she said:

> I was all excited and I thought I would get a big financial job when I landed in Canada. (Did the job in Canada meet your expectations?) Initially no. The reason behind was the 9-11. The job market went down and the unemployment rate rose to the highest. Professional

> people were working in the warehouses. I was lucky to grab a bookkeeping job at least in my accounting field.

As this quote suggests, we need to look not only deeper into the quality of a given job and its meaning, but also broader to the economic context that structures the jobs available to immigrants, professionals and working class alike.

The Canadian economy also benefitted greatly from the labour of immigrants who had lower middle-class occupations in their birth countries (Paraprofessional & Office Support, Technical, and Specialized Sales and Services), most of whom joined immigrants from the managerial and professional classes in low paid, often informal (unregulated), service and factory jobs upon arrival to Canada. A couple study participants moved from lower middle class jobs in their birth countries to labourer jobs. For example, Cathy was a custom dressmaker in Vietnam but her first job in Canada was on an assembly line for the night shift. One of the lasting effects of downward mobility is the sting of racialization, which is often a new experience for immigrants upon arrival. When we asked Cathy if she experienced racism at work, she said:

> Yes, at the factory. When I was at the worker compensation, my English isn't so fluent, so they pretend like they do not know what I am saying and will not prioritize my needs. They would say "But I gave you this job so what else do you want?" They felt like I expected too much when I told them I couldn't do something physically.

As Cathy's experience illustrates, racism can emanate not only from employers, who expect workers to be grateful for a job, even if it was unsafe, but also from institutions meant to protect workers, like the Workers Safety and Insurance Board that determines worker compensation upon injury at work. Many workers described unhealthy working conditions in their first Canadian jobs. For example, Sofiya was a private tutor in India, a job classified as paraprofessional, but her first job in Canada was as a restaurant worker, which she described as follows.

> "It is very fast paced, and the hours were very bad. Most of the time I would have to stay back for my shifts and come early."

Misha was an office worker in Poland but her first job in Canada was cleaning offices, which she did "for almost 15 years." Misha and Sofiya were two of a hand of study participants from lower-middle class occupations that experienced downward mobility.

Overall, just over half of study participants who were in lower middle-class jobs in their birth countries (Paraprofessional & Office Support, Technical, and Specialized Sales and Services) experienced downward mobility into their first job in Canada[42], while two exited the labour force for several years upon migration. As was the case for the managerial and professional class, most lower-middle class study participants were stuck as labourers or lower level service workers for a year or more. Not one from this lower middle-class background experienced upward occupational mobility in their first job but five experienced lateral mobility. Furthermore, these data start to reveal the dynamic of racialization, not only from employers but also from government offices meant to protect workers, and co-workers.

Despite the focus of the Canadian state on recruiting highly educated immigrants, working class immigrants (those who worked in Other Sales and Services, Trades, Transportation and Maintenance or as Labourers in birth country) still immigrate to Canada through family sponsorship and as refugees, and they too experience downward mobility upon arrival. For example, Alex had several jobs in Hong Kong, as a salesperson and a tricycle taxi owner and operator, but upon arrival in Canada he could only find a factory job making car windows, where he worked for a year. Women's choices on how long to stay in low paid jobs with poor conditions was shaped by their husband's navigation of the labour market and the household gender division of labour. For example Kasha, who worked in a bakery in Poland, got her first job in Canada as an informal, seasonal farm worker under conditions of family separation that those with other options refuse to tolerate.

> "It was very hard work and I had to be away from my family. I picked apples and worked early morning for cash. I didn't know English, but I worked with other Polish people, I only worked that during apple season... I didn't work for long because I wanted to be with my kids. I got a job first; my husband had to stay and watch the kids and he didn't like that. After he found a job, I quit and stayed at home."

Like Kasha, many women moved in and out of the paid labour force not simply due to a static gendered division of unpaid and paid labour, but in response to the intersection of their husband's labour market position, the conditions of paid work available and the cost of childcare.

Overall, there was little occupational mobility between birth country job and first job in Canada, even among this group from working class origins. Almost half (5/11) who were in working class jobs in their birth countries experienced downward mobility into their first job in Canada. Smaller proportions, (3/11) made lateral moves into similar status occupations or experienced upward mobility (3/11) but two of these were students in their birth countries while the mobility of the third was not significant.[43] This group was split, nearly evenly, on those who stayed in this first low-level job for a year or more compared to those who stayed for a shorter period.

It is important to recognize experiences of racialization upon migration to Canada, which occur not only through processes of downward mobility but also for those experiencing upward or lateral occupational mobility. For example, Harini, who worked as a babysitter in an ice cream parlor as a teen in India and came to Canada as an international student, described how she applied to "many places" when she first arrived in Canada but only got an interview at a fast food restaurant and did not get a call back. Harini interpreted this as a racializing experience.

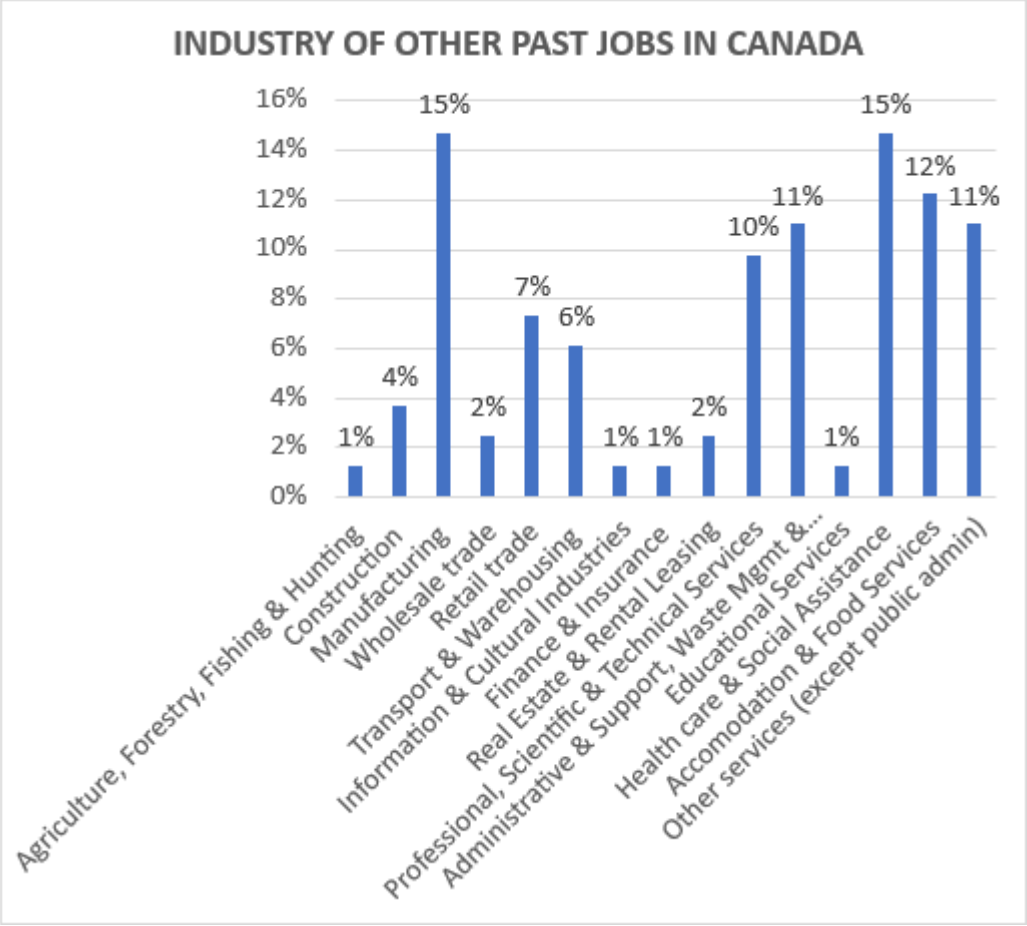
> "They said I didn't fit the criteria for the job but I know it must be because of my accent, when I was doing the interview the employer was white and they just seemed like they didn't like me or they couldn't always know what I'm saying."

Eventually, Harini got a job at a retail shop, considered a lateral move occupationally, but spoke at length about racialization at this job and its connection to her racialization in the labour market that limited her job options.

> "At this job, the racism is mostly from the customers that come in because [Place] doesn't have many people of colour. The customers are mostly white and I'm able to speak ok English, but I have an accent so sometimes people make commentary, or some

younger people will laugh a little. (What about from your employer?). Because of my race and he knows about my struggles from when I arrived to Canada in finding a job he knows I'll do any task he asks of me because I'm grateful that he hired me as I told him I was looking for a job really hard before he hired me… He gives me the jobs that no one wants to do and I'm one of the ones who isn't paid regularly but he knows I won't complain because I'm in Canada by myself and a job is necessary for me to get through my studies."

These and other experiences with racialization in the labour market, which limits labour market options, and racialization on the job from employers and customers complicates the analysis of occupational mobility and has lasting effects as people continue to search for better jobs.



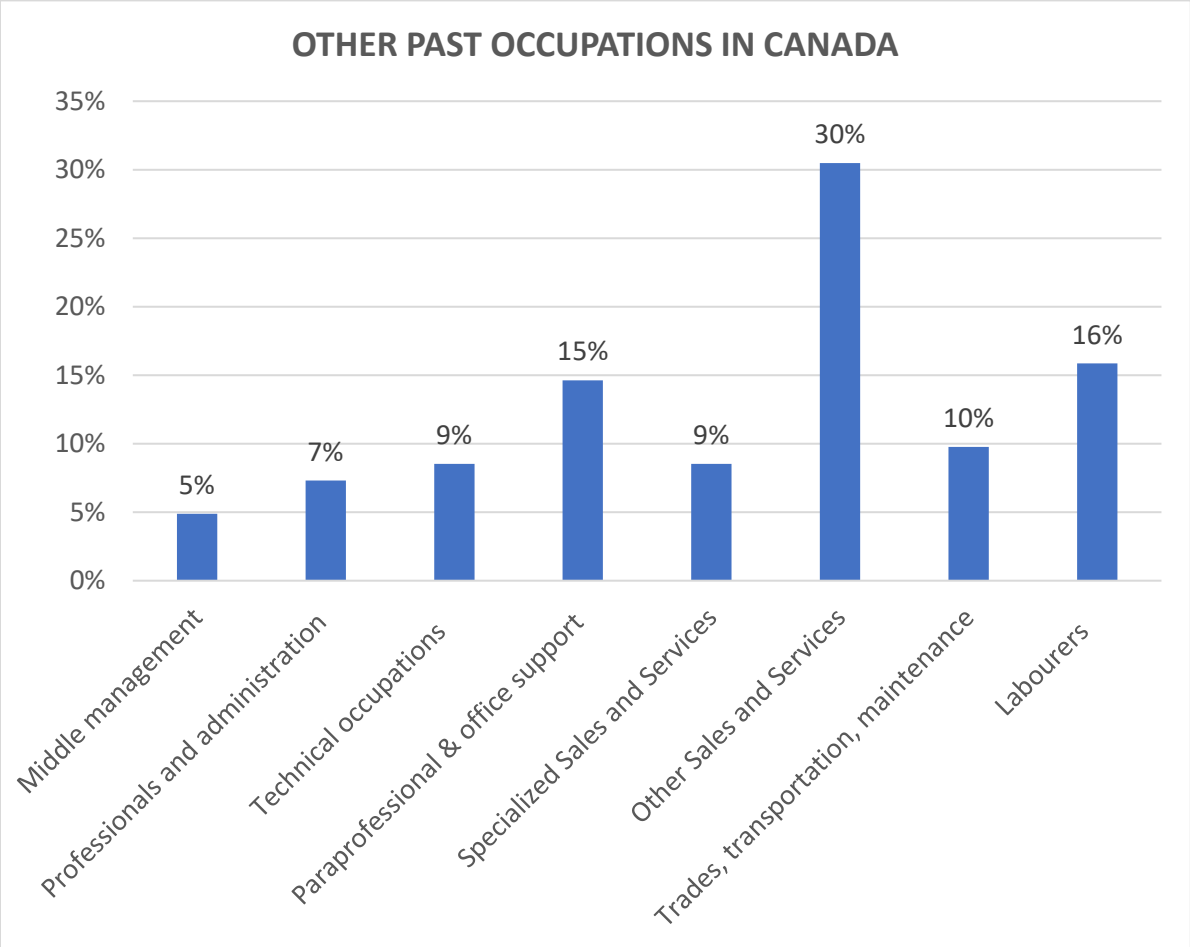
Most study participants had other occupations in Canada, in between their first job and their current job, and many had multiple jobs in between first and current job.[44] In comparison to the industries of participants' first jobs in Canada, we see only slightly less in Manufacturing, but a greater decline in Transport and Warehousing. Study participants found jobs in a broader range of service sectors but still concentrated within the competitive and low wage sectors: the percentage with jobs in Accommodation and Food Services declined but remained substantial,

while the percentage with jobs in ”Other Services" increased. Notably, however, jobs in Professional, Scientific and Technical Services also increased, and this does represent some occupational mobility.

Importantly, several study participants worked as volunteers, even after they had been in Canada for some time. For example, Toobah, who is from Afghanistan and lived in the U.S. for a time where she studied phlebotomy, worked as a volunteer in a clinic years after moving to Canada in an effort to move out of her first, grocery store cashier job. As she explained:

> “I volunteered in U.S when I first learned to be a lab technician... I was hoping that they would hire me, and they eventually did. Then I also volunteered here with [Lab] to understand the Canadian system more.”

Toobah did eventually get a job as a lab technologist in a clinic in Canada, but only after a stint of volunteer work. In fact, several study participants had to do a volunteer job in order to step into their field in Canada, suggesting that volunteer work is not voluntary for immigrants.



Comparing the overall occupations of study participants' first jobs in Canada to other past jobs in Canada (before the current one), suggests some mobility over time, but still considerable downward mobility.[45] There are slightly greater percentages in Middle Management and in Professional and Administration jobs. At the same time, the percentages of those in Other Sales and Service Occupations, that is the lowest status service jobs, is greater; while some have moved into Specialized Sales and Services, which include jobs like chefs and hairstylists. There also remain a significant percent of Labourers even beyond the first job. It is also important to compare these second (or sometimes also third, or fourth) jobs in Canada to birth country jobs in terms of occupational status since birth country jobs, not first jobs in Canada, is the reference point for most immigrants.

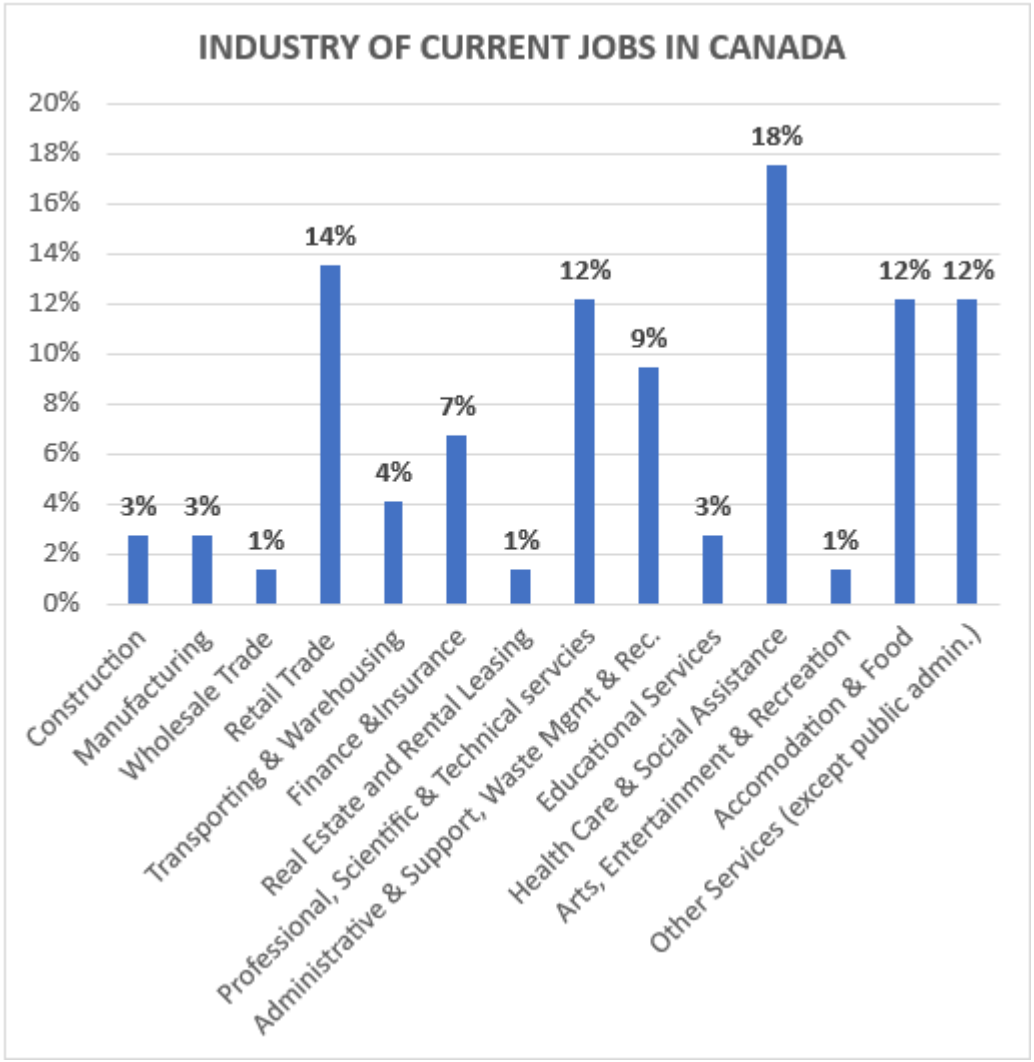
Over half of study participants from the managerial and professional class in their birth countries remained in jobs well below their education and experience beyond their first job in Canada although, most had experienced some mobility from their first job in Canada.[46] Overall, the women had a harder time climbing back up the occupational ladder, compared to the men, given the gendered labour market offering mostly devalued social reproductive jobs like cleaning and caring.[47] For example, Anka "did the papers in the mailbox" for her first job but moved to slightly less casual office and house cleaning jobs that were still well below the status of her job as an accountant in Poland. Similarly, Marie moved up from their first job in fast food to a Registered Practical Nurse, a technical position below her professional one as a Registered Nurse in the Philippines. Furthermore, Marie had to cobble together hours from three Long-term Residential Care facilities, as she explained:

"Casual, inter-facility so it is based on whichever calls first and your availability."

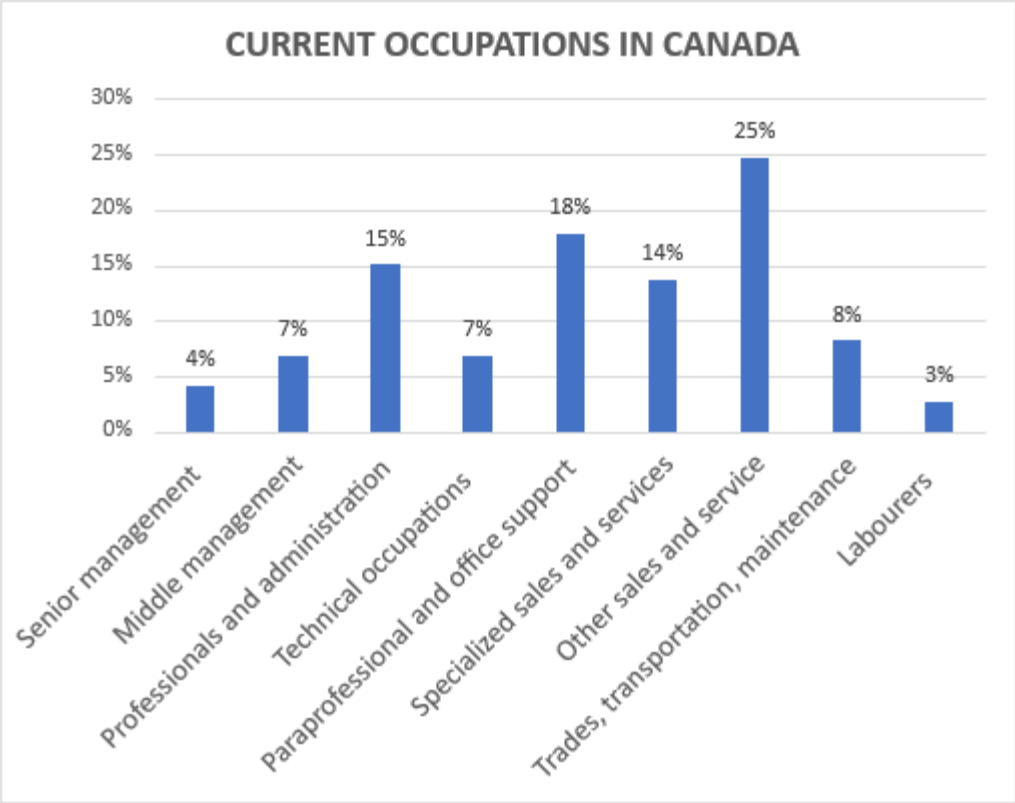
Again, when considering the quality of work, it is important to assess the employment contract, as well as the occupation. Only a few study participants from the managerial and professional classes were able to climb back up to equivalent positions to those they held in their birth countries and no one surpassed their birth country occupation from this group.[48]

In comparison with study participants from managerial/professional classes in their birth country, fewer study participants from lower middle class origins in their birth country remained in jobs well below their education and experience beyond their first job in Canada.[49] For example, Misha, who had an office job in Poland, could only get work as a house cleaner upon arrival in Canada, but moved into a retail clerk job in the Polish ethnic economy. This position represented mobility but still below her position in Poland.

Greater numbers of those from lower middle class and working class backgrounds were in positions equivalent to those in their birth countries, most after holding lower-level first jobs.[50] Yet still, only a few people from these classes experienced upward mobility compared to their birth country job.[51] Is upward mobility just a matter of time? Next, we probe this provocative question by looking at study participants' current occupation (at the time of the interview).



Most current jobs (at the time of the interview) held by study participants are in the service sector, with the highest percentages in Health Care and Social Assistance, followed by Retail Trade.[52] There are also significant percentages in Accommodations and Food and Other Services industries, which are comprised mostly of low wage, service jobs, but also Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services. These patterns are similar to those for jobs in between first and current, with the exception of growth in percentages in Retail Trade. Concomitantly, there was also a substantial decline in manufacturing jobs held by study participants currently compared to earlier. The concentration of the study participants in service sector jobs reflects industrial restructuring marked by the decline of manufacturing and growth of a range of service industries. It also reflects some occupational mobility but, again, looking inside the types of occupations immigrants hold, even after many years in Canada, suggests the need to consider how broader economic restructuring and the spread of precarious employment relations meet up with immigration and the intersecting processes of gendering and racialization.



The percentages of study participants' current jobs (at the time of interview) in both the highest status and lowest status were low.[53] This reflects a change from jobs in between first and current jobs, since there were senior managers and much fewer labourers among study participants' current jobs. Most jobs clustered at the lower middle end of the occupational distribution. A quarter of the jobs were in the low paid and low status Other Sales and Services, which include sales representatives and salespersons, sales support occupations. More towards the middle of the occupational status distribution, there were not insignificant percentages in Specialized Sales and Services, which includes jobs like cook and real estate agents, and Paraprofessional or Office Support jobs, with fewer in Trades, Transportation and Maintenance jobs. Furthermore, the percent of study participants with these middle status current jobs increased compared to other past jobs in between first and current jobs. More towards the top of the status hierarchy, study participants percentages in Middle management, which includes owners of small businesses, and Professionals and Administration also increased, indicating some upward mobility.

Notably, over half of the study participants from managerial and professional classes in their country of birth were unable to rise back up to the occupational status they held in their country.[54] This is significant since only three had lived in Canada for less than 10 years. For example, Sally's first job in Canada was engraving in a jewelry factory, although she quickly moved into an office job in that factory. Then Sally held a series of middle-level jobs: as a retail salesperson, a restaurant owner, before becoming a realtor. Yet, this job was lower status than her position as a teacher in Guyana. As this example suggests, there is a gendered pattern of

mobility as all but two of those who were still stuck in jobs below the ones they held in their birth countries were women.

Gendered homemaking and childcare duties held women back. For example, Jamilah migrated alone to Canada and remained a homemaker for 2 years, during which she also went to college to earn an Early Childhood Educator diploma in an attempt to get a job she could organize around her childcare duties, as she explained.

> Because I migrated alone as I told you earlier. I needed to have a schedule that would work with my children's schedule, you know they say 'family first.' So based on that, and I know I have a passion for children too, so I decided to go into the teaching career. So that I am not leaving my kids behind in the morning or during summer am not working and my kids are unattended to at home. That was the major reason I changed career paths and joined the teaching industry.

While this paraprofessional job in the "teaching profession with little kids" provided some flexibility, it was a step below her job as a banker in Nigeria.

There is a clear gendering in the labour market that disadvantages women compared to men, but immigrant men's downward trajectories are like women's, inflected with and exacerbated by racialization. For example, recall that Omar succumbed to only a few days of work as a labourer in a factory with unsafe conditions but he then held jobs as a warehouse worker, in telephone sales, and as an assistant manager at a real estate agency. By the time we interviewed him, 4 years after his arrival to Canada, Omar was a car sales consultant at a dealership, which was well below his senior management position as regional director in a government department in Pakistan. Omar was hesitant to say he had directly experienced 'racism' at work but described pervasive subtle racialization on the job.

> I do see racism, but that's hidden under beautiful words. […] I see colored people walk in or people from my ethnicity walk in and they will be comfortable talking to me. But I see people who are willing to buy cars and it's my turn to speak to a customer and a white person would come in and they wouldn't want to speak to me. They would want to speak to someone else.

Many mentioned ongoing racializing experiences, some not so subtle, from various actors in various jobs over long periods. For instance, Sofiya, who was a tutor in India, could only get a job as a fast-food worker upon arrival in Canada, then worked in factories, a call center and informal child care before landing a job as a retail salesperson by the time we interviewed her almost 20 years after her arrival in Canada. When we asked Sofiya if she ever experienced discrimination in her jobs, she started with her first job.

> "In my fast food job they were always yelling at me on the cash. This is when I was new to Canada and in fast food you must take orders fast on the cash, I was slow at times and my managers would be yelling and yelling to hurry because there is a line. Then later she

> would tell me I need to improve my English and get faster because my slowness will not cut it. I also did not eat the food there because they didn't have halal meet and many of the kids there would keep asking me and laughing when I told them what halal meat is.

Sofiya described racialization from co-workers as well as employers in this first job and elaborated the link between employer racialization to please (seemingly white) customers.

> "The worst time was when I called at an online call center and the supervisors would be very racist towards me. They would constantly get mad and listen to my phone calls with customers saying I am not talking properly, and I don't know what I'm doing. But it seemed like they just wanted to fire me, but they could not."

Finally, Sofiya described doing the more menial tasks in her current retail job, while younger, white employees were better paid, and promoted.

> "No, no one likes to clean so they avoid it and some of the girls try to ask to go home early when they are closing so they don't have to fold. I end up cleaning most the time when I'm closing along with another older co-worker… The girl that got promoted is white and my manager is also white. The other lady who gets paid more is also a white woman. I'm the only brown older woman working here, and she never offers me the promotion. … She said it's easier for customers to understand them and sometimes it's hard to know what I'm saying when I talk to fast or I'm talking too quietly, but I do not think that's true. Customers understand me fine and sometimes it's even good that I know Punjabi and Hindi, the girls will bring some customers who don't know English to me."

Sofiya illuminated the scope, depth and duration of racializing experiences in her work history, stemming from customers, co-workers and employers and deriving from a devaluation of her trilingual skills and the reinforcement of white privilege. These various forms of racialization and their link to precariousness, deserves further analysis.

Others were able to climb back up to a position equivalent to that of their birth country, albeit after years in lower-level jobs. Still, among the managerial and professionals classes less than half attained a job equivalent to their birth country status by the time of interview.[55] The question that remains is: how were some migrants able to achieve lateral or upward mobility compared to their birth country jobs, and what were the barriers that hindered others from doing so? One explanation, generally examined for professional immigrants, is the role of additional education or training in Canada, which we examine next.

There is a growing literature on professional immigrants' efforts, and struggles, to retrain in their field, or equivalent ones.[56] Our study points to a wider range of strategies to obtain education and training in Canada, in line with our broader sample of immigrants from various class backgrounds. In addition, our in-depth qualitative data excels at showing the multiple dynamics shaping retraining, or lack thereof, economic restructuring towards growing precariousness across the labour market and intersecting dynamics of gendering and racialization.

Nearly a quarter of study participants, 23%, said they did not take part in any education or training within Canada, and their reasons why point to a range of barriers. For example, Jackie said her university degree in psychology from southern Africa was not recognized in Canada and she did not go back to school because:

> "It was just going to be too expensive. It would have meant going to university full time, I just couldn't afford to do that."

Economic barriers intersected with gendered ones. It was a dominant pattern in our study that women took care of the children when the couple migrated together, and this hindered their ability to obtain additional education or training.[57] As Li Jing, who has a university degree from China, said:

> "I wanted to go school when I first arrived, but I didn't have the money to go. I also had [daughter], so I can't go now."

These gendered and economic barriers, coupled with lack of recognition of her degree from China, had a major effect on her career since Li Jing has only been able to obtain low-level service and sales jobs.

Others spoke of lack of recognition of earlier credentials that prohibited them from further schooling. Alvin, who had a degree in chemical engineering from the Philippines, articulated this as discriminatory:

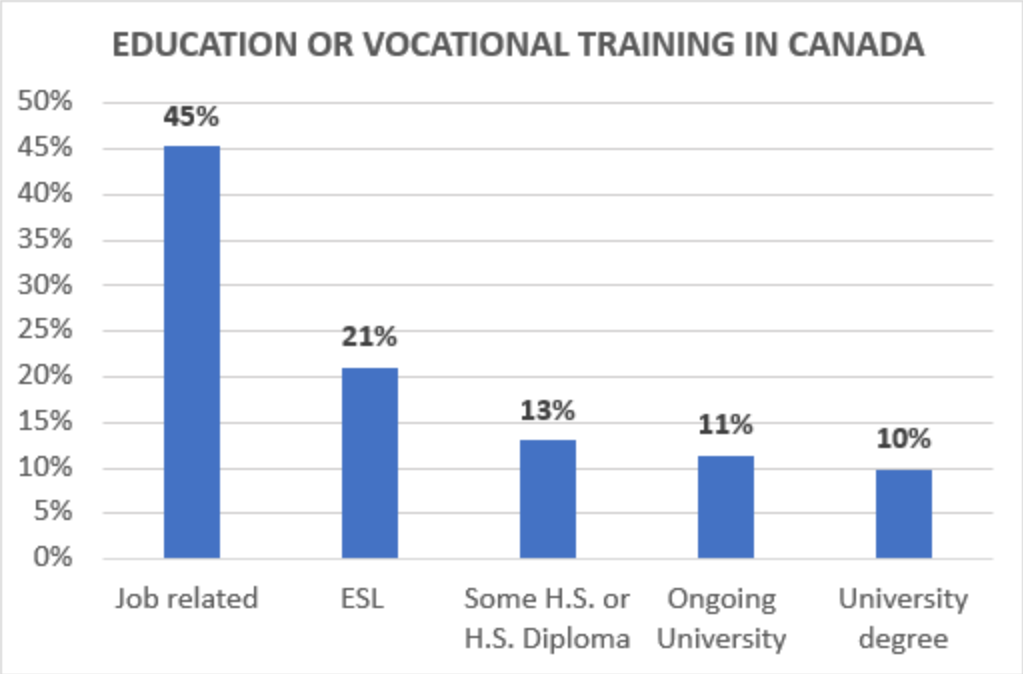
> "I intended to do my masters. As a matter of fact, I was accepted to [Ontario University] to continue adult education. But the thing is, I don't know if it's discrimination or what but they don't honor the certificate or degree from the third world country the same as their graduates over here... I belonged to top five in my class when I was studying back home."

Despite multiple barriers, many study participants engaged in some type of education or training in Canada.

Many remarked on the lack of recognition of their university credentials in Canada and the need to retrain. For example, Louise, who was a Registered Practical Nurse in Romania, could only get a job as a restaurant server upon arrival in Canada, but was able to move up to a medical assistant in a lab in her second job after taking related college courses. Marly and May, both RNs from the Philippines, could only find jobs in the more technical (and lower paid) RPN positions, experienced a long transition to more established nursing positions, after stints doing part-time work at hospitals. Marly explained that her Bachelors of Science Degree in Nursing from the Philippines was not fully recognized in Canada, requiring additional courses.

> "I took courses in colleges. Courses in oncology… how to take care…it was a certificate program leading to a nurse practitioner program at the time. And I attended seminars in nursing. Nursing seminars that were offered. So yes, I went back to school while the kids were small. At the same time, I worked part time."

Their long trajectory back up to the professional level they enjoyed in the Philippines was shaped by ongoing gendered homemaking and childcare responsibilities, as it is for most women. As May said when we asked if she had any other current jobs "being a mother is a full-time commitment."



Most of the education and training in Canada mentioned by study participants was job-related, defined as some university or college courses, a certificate or diploma or training designed for a specific occupation. [58] This definition of job-related education and training does not include general education as part of a university degree or on the job training without an educational or apprenticeship component. Job-related education and training made up 45% of the types of education and training study participants obtained in Canada and included courses and/or certificates related to health care and education support, cooking, hairstyling, real estate, office administration, data entry, word processing and computers, bookkeeping, marketing, and accounting, mechanics and driving instructor, labour relations and police officer certification. For example, Amika who migrated from Sri Lanka 12 years prior, got her first job as a machine operator in a factory, even though she owned and ran a school in Sri Lanka. This background, as well as employment precariousness in Toronto that resulted in a layoff, pushed her to go to college, as she explained.

> "While I was working at the factory job, I got my Early Childcare Assistant Certificate done by going to night school. Once I got laid off, I started to apply for positions."

Amika's first ECE position, however, was temporary, found through an employment agency.

While the journey of some, like Amika, was shaped by economic precariousness in Canada, others felt they had to take semi-professional or skilled trades courses to supplement training from their country that was not recognized in Canada. David from Trinidad mentioned:

> "Secondary education I did back home in Trinidad and same with the apprenticeship but then I also did some training to get certified in Canada too."

Many others like David attended either university or college to take extra courses to get certified within their field in Canada along with taking training programs. Some, however, were not able to mobilize additional training in the job market. For example, Misha who was born in Poland finished college courses in hairstyling but was unable to practice, as she explained.

> "I need my high school diploma to get my license to work in a salon... I need someone to teach me more and I need to work lots of hours. The salon has to sign for me. The college never told me; if I knew I needed my high school. I wouldn't of gone. This happened to lots of my friends at the school too."

Misha noted the difficulty of gaining high school equivalency in part because "English is a hard language. I can speak but reading and writing is very hard." Marisol, who has a university degree in secretarial management and administration from the Philippines, also found it hard to translate college courses in Canada into a better job because of gendered barriers.

> "When we got here, I kind of upgraded. I went to [college], took a couple classes and I went to all these community centres to upgrade. To upgrade myself, from the Philippines, although you have your degree but then when you come to Canada, they don't credit that, they credit you very little in order for that. Although in the Philippines, the medium on instruction is English but still coming here, I have to get a refresher course for math and I took a couple classes because I was hoping to get into computer but I only took one semester course, but my son was small and I was going to school from work its really late. By the time I get home, its 9:00pm and I have look after my son, he has to do his homework. So at the time, I was thinking: 'shall I improve myself or look after my son?' So I decided to drop my school and look after my son."

In addition to this variety of mostly semi-professional, support occupations and trades training, the job-related education and training category also includes two mentions of specific bridging programs required for certification of foreign credentials in professions, including for Physiotherapist and Registered Nurse. For example, Arjun who had a Master's degree in Physiotherapy from India did a 10-month bridging program at a university in Ontario. Arjun felt that "99% of the hands-on experience" from India he was using since "in terms of context of physiotherapy, there was nothing different." But the bridging helped with the "1% of the context, like cultural context, different racial context, ethical context," important for passing the licensing exam.

Immigration studies have focused on unrecognized university credentials, but the experiences of some in our study illuminate the devaluation of high school credentials, as well as college courses from countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. For example, Nora said:

> "I did a college course in Guyana after high school. In Canada, even though I was done high school and the college course, they made me go back to high school. They actually tried to put me in grade eight, but I didn't belong there. Then they put me in grade nine, and I was still too advanced for that, so I think I ended up doing two or three years of high school [in Canada]. But it was a commercial school, like a technical school, I guess. They specialized in the same sort of, you know, commerce and business."

A good number of people mentioned taking English as a second language courses, about one-fifth. For example, Lena from Poland said she knew some English but signed up for ESL classes at a college upon the advice of an immigration company. She explained that she had to pay $600 a month for these courses, and that "it took me four months before becoming quite fluent" to be able to work in retail and service jobs.

> "It felt more like a basic requirement. My English did improve quite a bit and I was in the higher-level classes so it just made my English more understandable and fluent. Looking

for jobs later, language is the basic requirement so I think I would have needed to have taken the classes just to get my foot through the door."

A smaller percent attended some high school in Canada, only one of whom did not earn a Canadian H.S. Diploma or equivalency, Anna from Portugal, who explained:

> "I went up to grade 10, and then I decided … cause my English wasn't that great when we first came [to Canada], and right away they put me in grade four, or no grade six when I came from grade four there [from Portugal], so it was hard. After when I was in grade ten, I decided you know what, I don't wanna go to school anymore, and I just quit..."

Some earned a High School equivalency but faced barriers to further education. For example, Tegist, from Ethiopia, said:

> Here, I upgraded my high school, but my child kept getting sick…I stopped when he got sick, on and off…until I just didn't go to college."

Gendered childcare responsibilities meant that Tegist took up a job in fast food. But these same responsibilities also funnelled Tegist into a 6 month training course for a highly feminized job, as she explained.

> "At [fast food restaurant], they told me to work night shifts, but I couldn't work night shifts. Because I have kids, the time didn't work for me, so I stopped working there and started taking the HCA [Health Care Aide] course."

Tegist's experience illustrates the interconnected gender division of labor at home and in the labour market that funnel women into caring work.

Other participants attended university in Canada: some were attending university at the time of the interview, including some who came as international students, while others had completed a university degree in Canada. However, even a Canadian degree was not enough for immigrants in today's precarious labour market. Some study participants lamented how much they paid to get a Canadian degree as international students and yet had to accept whatever job was available in order to get 'Canadian experience' that would count toward their permanent residency status.[59] For example, Andrew reluctantly started working at a café owned by his friend because he needed a job that Canadian government counted as "skilled" job. International students are a small part of our study sample and understanding their experience and trajectories warrants future research.

It is also important to analyze how broader economic restructuring and growing precarity limits the impact of immigrants' strategies to gain education and training in Canada. Mobility is not linear, always upward moving, even with additional education in Canada. Instead, immigrant workers, even those from the managerial and professional classes from English-speaking countries and with additional education in Canada, are vulnerable to shifts in the economy. For example, Abel's first job in Canada was as a "merchandiser" at a retail company, which was a position considerably lower than his job as a bank audit examiner with a CPA in the Philippines. Yet Abel was able to move up to an office administration job doing accounts payable, more in line with his experience and education, facilitated by earning an office administration diploma in Canada. Overtime, Abel was promoted to a higher accounts payable position working with more

vendors but notably, when we interviewed him he had recently retired but not entirely due to choice, as he described.

> "I worked in a construction company for almost 18 years but last March there was a company restructuring and my position got eliminated."

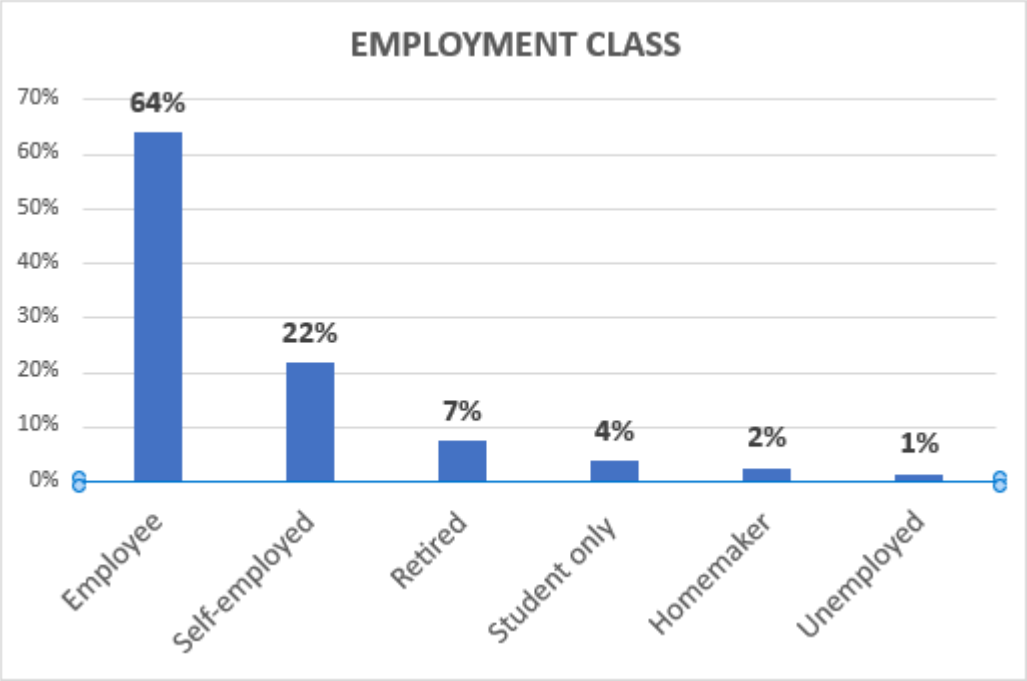
The way that economic restructuring shapes labour market trajectories deserves more analysis.

In this section, we have compared the occupations study participants held in their birth country to their first and subsequent occupations in Canada, focusing on the degree of mobility. Comparing occupational status, we have found significant downward occupational mobility with migration. The great majority from the managerial and professional classes in their birth country and just over half from the lower middleclass experienced significant downward mobility into their first Canadian job as labourers or low-level service workers. There was more upward and lateral mobility between birth country job and first job among those with working class origins, but still significant downward mobility among this group. Furthermore, over half from the managerial and professional classes were unable to rise back up to the occupational status they held in their birth country by the time we interviewed them and had lived in Canada 10 years or more.

It is also important to note, however, that mobility is not revealed fully through tracing changes in occupational status categories. Thus, we have weaved in the experience of working in various jobs and how it is gendered and racialized. Our analysis of in-depth interviews reveal both immigrants' educational strategies, and ongoing gendered and racialized barriers to translating Canadian education and training into occupational mobility for many. Our analysis of occupational mobility and educational strategies expose the importance of looking beyond single measures of mobility to examine both objective conditions of the work evident in the employment contract and workers' subjectivities in light of gendering and racialization. We now turn to examine more directly the degree of precarity of employment in the jobs held by study participants at the time we interviewed them, along a variety of dimensions.

PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT FINDINGS: CURRENT JOBS

In this section, we describe the jobs held by study participants at the time we interviewed them (hereafter 'current' jobs) focusing on the degree of precariousness of these jobs along a variety of dimensions. We begin with the employment class to describe study participants' positions inside, or outside, the labour force. In the remainder of this section, we focus on those in the labour force, starting with a discussion of multiple job holding. We then analyse the quality of study participants' current jobs along a series of objective and subjective variables including the degree of certainty of continuity work evident in the (temporary, or part-time) form of employment, scheduling stability, adequate earnings, the social wage through statutory and employer-provided benefits, and the regulatory protection of a union.

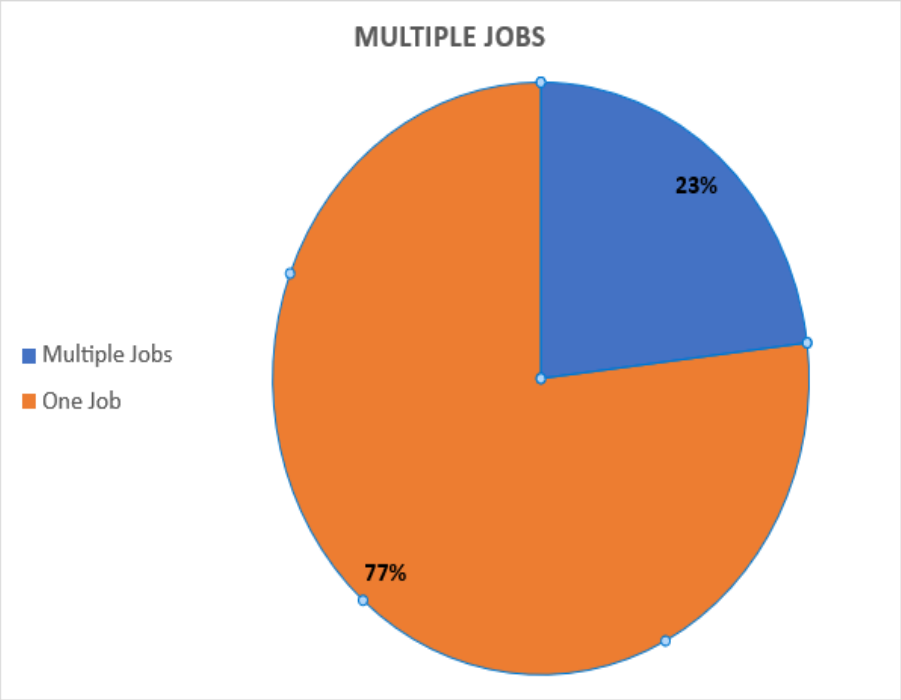


The great majority of study participants were in the labour force, at the time of the interview, but some were retired, students only (that is, not also working for pay), homemakers or unemployed. For example, when we asked Azhaar who was from Pakistan if she was employed, she said:

> "No. Well, does being a stay-at home mom count as employment? If yes, then I'm a full-time employee (laughs)."

We only classified people as unemployed if they were looking for work and were not students, but it is important to note all three of the participants who were students only at the time of the interview said they were also looking for work. For example, Lauren said she had a "stressful" time looking for work because she was "not hearing back." While we classified study participants as either in or out of the labour force, some had multiple jobs spanning the status of employee and self-employed. In the great majority of study participants' current jobs, they were

employees, although 22% were self-employed.[60] The remainder of this section reports on job characteristics of employees and self-employed, with a range of indicators measuring the degree of employment precariousness in all of their current jobs.



One indicator that a worker is precarious is the holding of multiple jobs in order to piece together a living.[61] Almost a quarter of study participants had multiple current jobs, while just over three quarters only had one current job. All but two people with multiple current jobs, held only two at one time. People had multiple jobs because they could not survive on one job, not because they took a second job as merely supplemental. For example, Alaya, born in Pakistan, was working at a restaurant as a cook and server while she also "put *mehndi* (henna art design) on for people at cultural events." When asked why she had two jobs, Alaya explained:

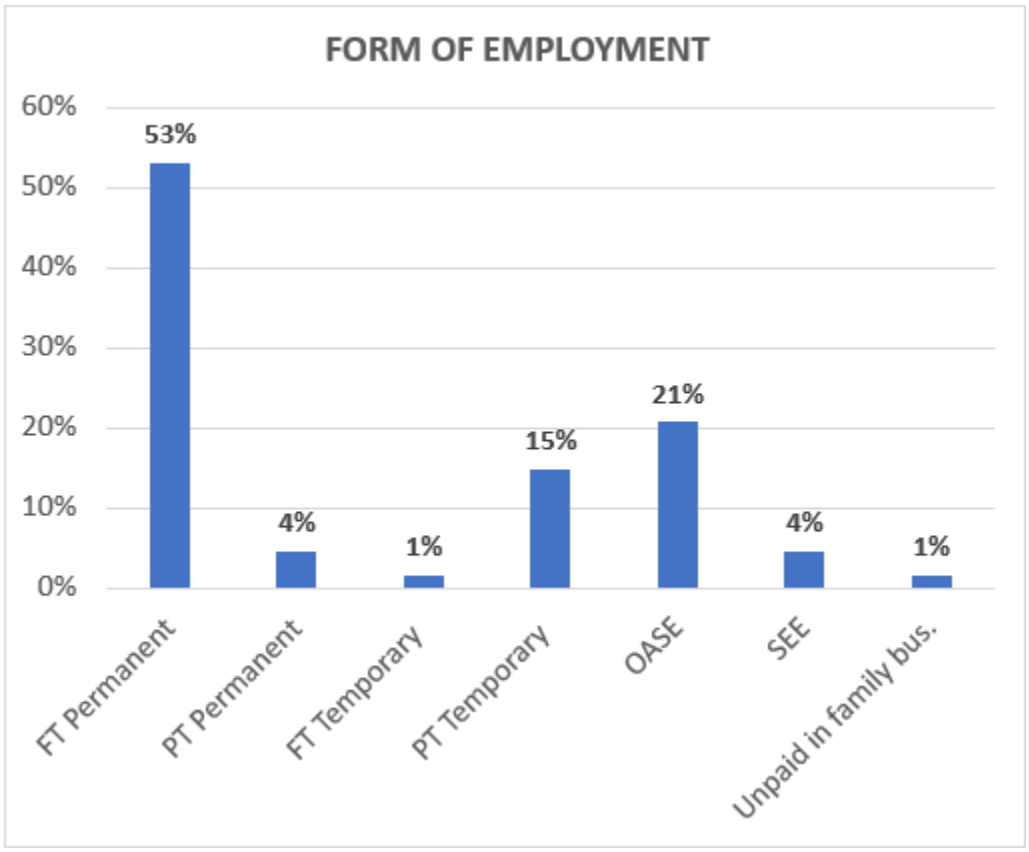
> "I needed more money to pay for my basement rent and food."

Although, as bonus, she explained mehndi was also something she "enjoyed doing." While some people, like Alaya, were able to combine a profession they enjoyed with another job, others cobbled together two minimum wage jobs. For example, Cathy, born in Vietnam and working as a waitress and a food court server said she had two part-time jobs: "because as part-time, I do not make a lot like full-time", especially since "basically, if they do not have a lot of customers, they would cut your hours." Even Sandra, born in India and working as a Vice-President of

Operations for a family-owned company also had her "own accounting and tax practice" since, she explained:

"The pay from one job is not enough."

As these examples illustrate, people take multiple jobs in large part because they can only find insecure, and low paid, forms of employment.



The degree of certainty of continuing work is widely regarded as the most important dimension of precariousness and is evident in the form of employment contract.[62] It is important to differentiate not only between employees and self-employed, but also to note variations within these two broad groups, since they reflect different degrees of certainty of continuity work, or employment security.[63]

Just over half of the current jobs held by study participants were full-time permanent, meaning that almost half were in less secure forms of employment. The most insecure form of employment for employees is both part-time and temporary positions[64]; these highly insecure employment forms made up 15% of the current jobs among our study participants. For example,

Misha, who was born in Poland, described her part-time temporary job as a food demonstrator as follows:

> "I work part-time, sometimes full-time hours and sometimes no hours. It depends on the month. In the summertime it's slow… It's not enough money and hours…"

Like Misha, others conveyed the insecurity of temporary part-time positions with fluctuating hours, and its implications for other dimensions of precarity, like earnings. The more secure, part-time permanent jobs only made up 4% of our sample. For example, Tegist, who was born in Ethiopia, described her job as a Health Care Aide at a Long Term Care Facility as

> "We're like full-time minus one day. They call it 0.9."

Tegist's hours, and those of other part-time permanent workers, did not fluctuate but as part-time workers they were not eligible for benefits. Indeed, employers often classify workers as part-time to avoid a commitment to give them additional hours, or benefits.[65]

Among the self-employed, own-account self-employment (OASE) is the most insecure.[66] These are self-employed contractors who have no employees; sometimes they are akin to workers but are classified by employers as 'independent contractors' because there is no, clear single entity that takes responsibility as the employer.[67] OASE made up just over one-fifth of the current jobs in our sample. The OASE described having autonomy over their work and hours but also touched upon the downsides of this form of employment. For example, Sally, who was born in Guyana, described her work as a realtor like this:

> "It's a self-motivating business because it's you who's responsible, you're like an independent contractor so it's you who sets your days, you schedule how you're going to work so the beauty of the job is that you can work any hour you choose. Of course, if you want to be successful you have to constantly work. The downside to that is that if you're constantly working, you have to work with clients' schedule too so sometimes you have to work holidays and all hours of the day."

Alex, born in Hong Kong and working as an owner and operator of a driving instructor business, also noted both the ability to decide his schedule and the instability of income.

> "I do get a certain number of customers each month. So I do get like ehh, a predictable amount of money per month. I lived in this [Chinatown] forever, since I come to Canada. I know friends in this [Chinatown], their kids will come to me. But yes it is unstable, I can't tell for sure how many customers will show up. And sometimes the kids will cancel a lesson last minute."

Operating with the ethnic economy, OASE like Alex are able to rely on social networks for referrals, but this does not guaranteed stability of earnings.

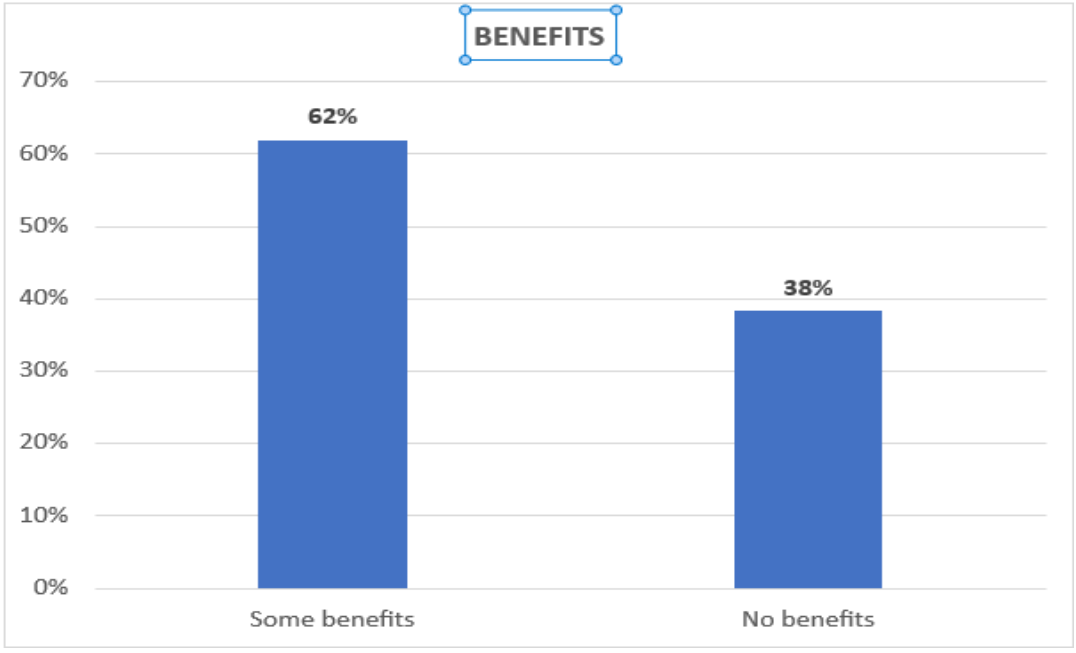
Self-employed employers, a small portion of the jobs in our sample, felt they had more autonomy and security income. For example, Shideh, who was born in Iran and operated a business with her husband stated:

> "I was helping in all aspects, as we hired more and more people, I just had to focus on accounting part of it. But it took a few years because I was doing everything in the office, we didn't have that many staff in the office, we had drivers on the road but now for, I don't know how many years, I just do the accounting."

Although Shideh was self-employed, this interview revealed that it takes some time to get to the point of being able to hire employees. Some of these businesses with employees were in the ethnic economy, where unpaid family labour is not uncommon. There was one person in our sample whose current jobs included working unpaid within a family business. Ariel from the Philippines worked as an assistant manager at a donut shop, as a personal support worker at a long-term care facility, and as an unpaid cashier at his family's restaurant

It is important to note that while full-time permanent jobs provide more employment security than temporary and part-time jobs and self-employment (especially OASE), full-time permanent jobs can still be precarious along other dimensions given a broader erosion of the standard employment relationship (SER). The SER is a full-time, continuous employment relationship where the worker has a single employer and works on that employer's premises under the employer's direct supervision. It is a normative model of employment in that labour protections and social benefits and entitlements are based on it but standards are eroding for increasing numbers of workers.[68] Some full-time permanent employees work too many hours. For example, Andrew, born in South Korea, shared that he would often work over-time going into 60 hours. Others cannot earn enough even with full-time hours. At the same time, however, the degree of certainty of continuing work correlates with other dimensions of precariousness including the social wage, which we turn to next.

The social wage is the package of statutory and employer provided benefits that shape the standard of living of workers and their households.[69] As such, lack of statutory benefits required by legislation for employees, like unemployment insurance, or extended benefits offered by employers, like dental coverage, are key indicators of precarious employment.



Most of the current jobs of study participants provided at least some benefits.[70] However, the amount and kid vary for managers vs. employees, and among employees depending whether they are full-time permanent. For example, Andrew, who was born in S. Korea and worked as a manager and cook at a café, explained how his vacation benefits were above those given to "regular workers":

> "Yes regular workers are getting paid for 15 days of vacation per year. I as a manager get paid for 20 days."

Similarly, Marly, who was born in the Philippines and a unionized RN at a long-term care facility described extensive benefits:

> "Dental… health benefits, all those prescription drugs… massage, physiotherapy, orthodontics, dental… it's one hundred percent…. the whole family… my husband and the kids until they're 21."

Several of those with benefits remarked on how they were not sufficient. For example, Priya, who was born in Sri Lanka and worked at both a factory and clothing store, said the following about her paid vacation time in the factory job:

> "I personally think it's not enough especially because this year I used it all up and normally I take days off during the holidays when my kids have no school, so because of that I wish its longer than just 10 days."

Having children also makes extended benefits especially important. Priya also noted the difficulties of having to pay 20% of the cost out of her pocket. In addition to variation in the amount of co-payment and coverage, others illuminated how employers structured work time so they would not be eligible for some statutory benefits. For example, when we asked Sofia, who was born in Portugal, if she worked overtime she said:

> "No they are very strict with overtime, people get in trouble if they work overtime. One time my co-worker did not finish her work and when she stayed back the manager had threatened to write her up the next day."

Jolmari who worked as a cook at two hotels discussed the mismatch of employer expectations around vacation and his transnational life:

> "Yeah, but it depends on your boss. Sometimes they won't let you take it all together. You can only take one week at a time. But, if I go back home (Philippines), I can take it. But it depends on if he (the Chef) lets me take it."

These data show how even with policies on vacation and overtime pay, in practice employers control workers' ability to use their benefits.

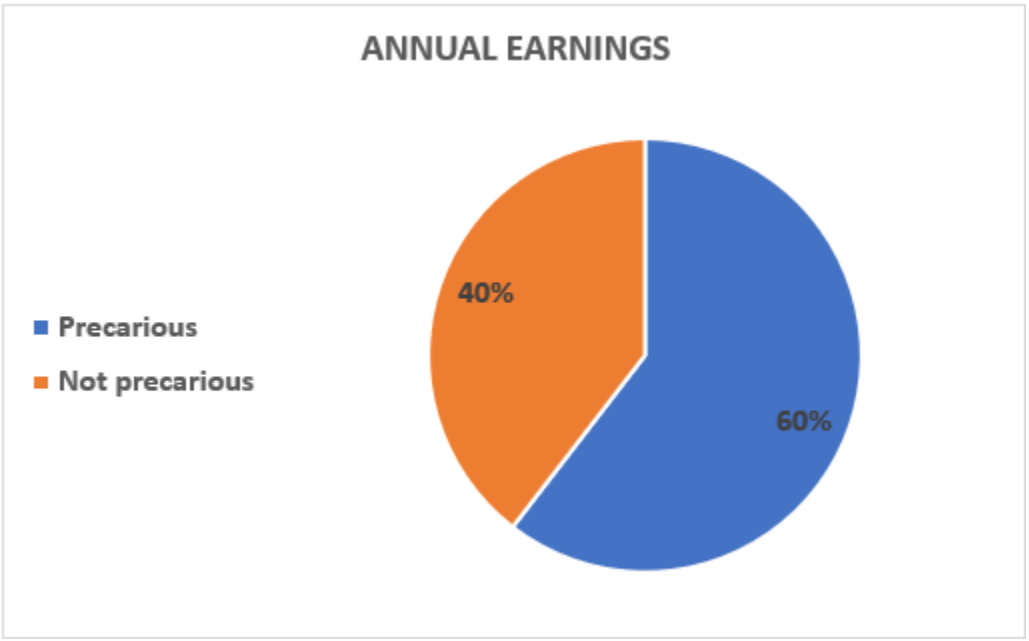
Just over a third said they did not have any statutory or extended benefits. For self-employed, temporary and part-time workers, statutory benefits are difficult to access. For example, when we asked Harini, who as born in India and worked part-time at a clothing store, if she received holiday pay, she responded:

> "Yes, certain holidays there is time and a half pay but for those days where minimal staff are put to work. I never work those days, only the older ones who have worked here for a long time do, it's not really fair."

Similarly, Arjun, who was born in India and worked as a physiotherapist in a clinic and through a home care company, said:

> "No, we don't have any benefits. We are self-employed so we are just paid whatever in our salary."

Those with multiple jobs cannot not add up their hours across the jobs to qualify for benefits. This means that self-employed, temporary or part-time workers with multiple jobs have to pay for, or pay more for, benefits, making it essential to examine another key dimension of precarious employment – inadequate earnings.



Low earnings are another key indicator of precarious employment.[71] We use annual earnings, rather than hourly wages, given that many people do not work full-time hours, and define precarious earnings here somewhat conservatively as below the average individual employment income in Toronto in 2018, which was $49,300.[72] For those study participants with multiple current jobs, we total their employment income from all their jobs when coding them as below this 2018 average, that is 'precarious', or above it.

Only 40% of the study participants did not have precarious earnings by this definition that is, they earned above the average. Most earning above average had landed full-time and permanent jobs by the time of our interview. For example, David, who was born in Trinidad and worked as a mechanic, described his earnings like this:

> "Last year it was almost $70 000. It all depends on experience, plus you get bonuses sometimes and tips also too."

A handful of study participants earning above average, however, were own account self-employed, including Lazar, a Serbian born in the former Yugoslavia, who was the highest earner in our sample.[73] By the time we interviewed him, Lazar was a senior project manager in the IT sector and reported earnings of "more than $200,000 a year." This was quite a move up from the newspaper delivery job he did upon arrival. For Lazar, volunteer work, social networks and switching from mechanical engineering to IT facilitated upward mobility. Lazar's experience underscores the need to look inside the oft-used category of 'non-standard' employment (as anything that is not the 'standard' full-time permanent job) and instead to distinguish lucrative, professional contract work from low wage contract and temporary work. A few study participants were only able to earn above average earnings by working multiple jobs. For

example, Jolmari who was born in the Philippines and worked as a chef, earned approximately $70, 000 a year, "depending on the year and my hours," but this was with the earnings of two jobs, each of which paid below the average. Jolmari worked 50 hours a week, 6 days a week at [Hotel 1], yet at $20/hr. it was "not enough," coming to approximately $45,000 a year, thus prompting him to take on a second part-time job at another hotel, where he only earned about $25,000 a year. Jolmari's experience also shows the need to look inside the "non-standard employment" category, which includes multiple-job holding, to understanding how workers attempt to piece together a living. Indeed, other workers still had precarious earnings even with multiple jobs.

Most study participants had jobs with precarious earnings at the time we interviewed them. Tellingly, a slight majority of the participants that had precarious earnings had full-time and permanent jobs.[74] For example, Raj who was born in Sri Lanka and worked in a factory between 40 to 48 hours a week, reported earnings of "between 30,000 to 35,000." Another group, however and one almost equivalent in size, earned below average because they had temporary and/or part-time jobs, or were own account self-employed. For example, Sofiya who was born in India and worked in retail, explained that her employer classified her as part-time but she often got "full-time hours." Nevertheless, even if the employer offered full-time hours consistently (which they did not) Sofia had precarious earnings, as she described:

> "Now with the minimum wage increase to $14 it should be about $22,000, if the hours are consistent."

Some own-account self-employed workers also earned below average. For example, Lena who was born in Poland and worked as a house cleaner, charged up to $30 an hour but at the time of the interview she explained:

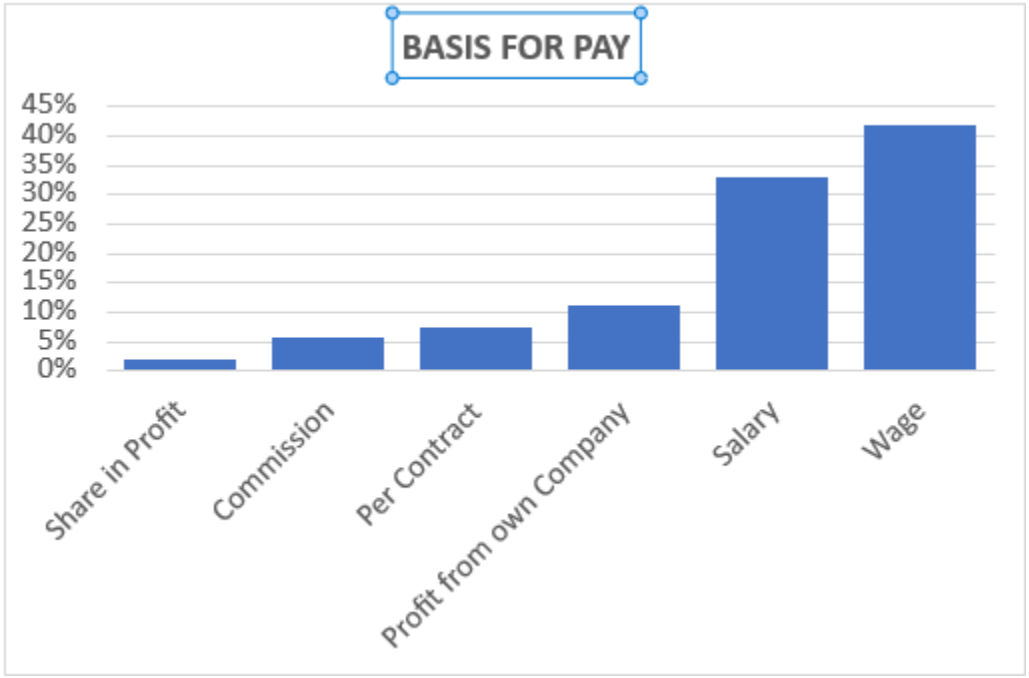
> "I only have 6 clients… and I work the six days of the week from 9-1."

This put Lena at precarious earnings. A handful of workers combined OASE with part-time and temporary jobs but still only had precarious annual earnings. For instance, Misha from Poland who was a food demonstrator and had a cash job as a caregiver described her annual earnings as:

> "I think about twelve thousand and maybe fourteen thousand with my cash job."

These findings underscore the need to look behind average earnings, and generic 'non-standard employment' categorization, to understand the various ways earnings are becoming more precarious.

Basis of payment is another indicator of precarious employment since it relates to the degree of stability in earnings.[75] Although we did not ask about cash payment, some workers mentioned it. Our data do allow us to examine other forms of payment, however. Most of the current jobs paid an hourly wage, while the next most frequent paid a salary.[76] Smaller proportions paid through one's own company profit or through a share of the profit in a family business.



In line with own account self-employment and temporary employment contracts, some jobs paid per contract or on a piece rate or through commission only. Omar who was born in Pakistan and worked in car sales, said:

> "I feel that there should be a minimum wage. Because this is fully 100% commission based…but still I would say winter is about to set in and there could be a time in November, December, January where very few customers walk in and we don't have as much sales. I mean I see if I can make $3000 if I sell 10-12 cars a month. If I'm not able to do it, I might not be able to make my expenses…"

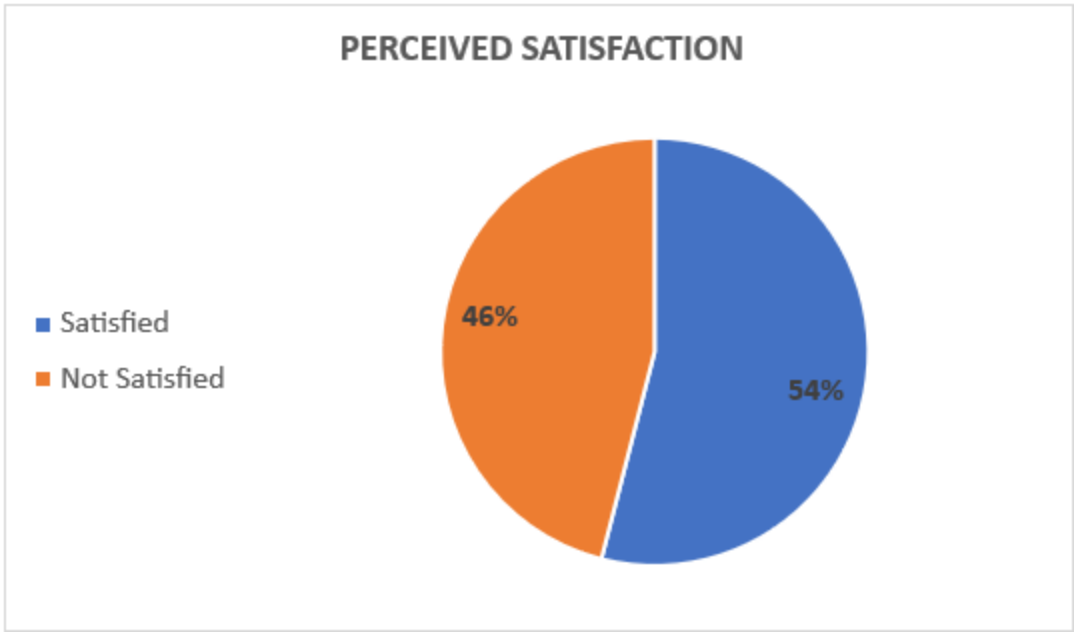
At the same time, many of those earning an hourly wage spoke of its precariousness due to a combination of low and stagnant wages. For example, Harini, who was born in India and worked as a 'sales associate' in a high end store, emphasized low pay in comparison with work effort.

> "The pay is minimum wage, and no one here gets raises… It's a retail job, I know it's minimum wage. I think all retail employees should be paid more because we do more than the owners do but that's just the way things are and how our society works."

In contrast, most who earned a salary described their earnings as not only higher but also more likely to be guaranteed. For example, Sandra, who was born in India and as Vice-President of Operations for a manufacturing company, noted matter-of-factly:

> "In a week my 40 hours is guaranteed. By the way I'm paid salary not on hourly basis."

So far, we have been discussing objective indicators of precarious earnings, both in terms of the level and basis of payment. Yet, workers bring different expectations to their jobs in light of their work history, thus warranting a subjective measure.[77]



Perceived satisfaction with earnings provides a subjective indicator of employment precariousness that can begin to tap into both relative opportunities and constraints.[78] A slim majority of jobs yielded satisfying earnings, in that study participants felt they either received sufficient bonuses and benefits or their pay was proportionate to their work position and difficulty level. For example, David who was born in Trinidad and worked as a mechanic, said:

> "More money is always nice right (*laughs*), but yeah, I'd say so. I get to do what I enjoy and me and my family live comfortably."

Like David, many qualified their satisfaction by noting that additional earnings would be welcome.

In contrast, just under half of the jobs did not pay satisfying earnings in that study participants felt the pay was not proportionate to increasing living expenses or equivalent to the average pay within their field of work, or the level of its difficulty. For example, Justin who was born in the Philippines who worked in a transportation hub said:

> "No because I am not being paid anywhere near the median salary of what people in my industry are paid. Because why? Because it is a private company, and they are cheap."

Similarly, Marie, who was born in the Philippines and worked as a nurse noted:

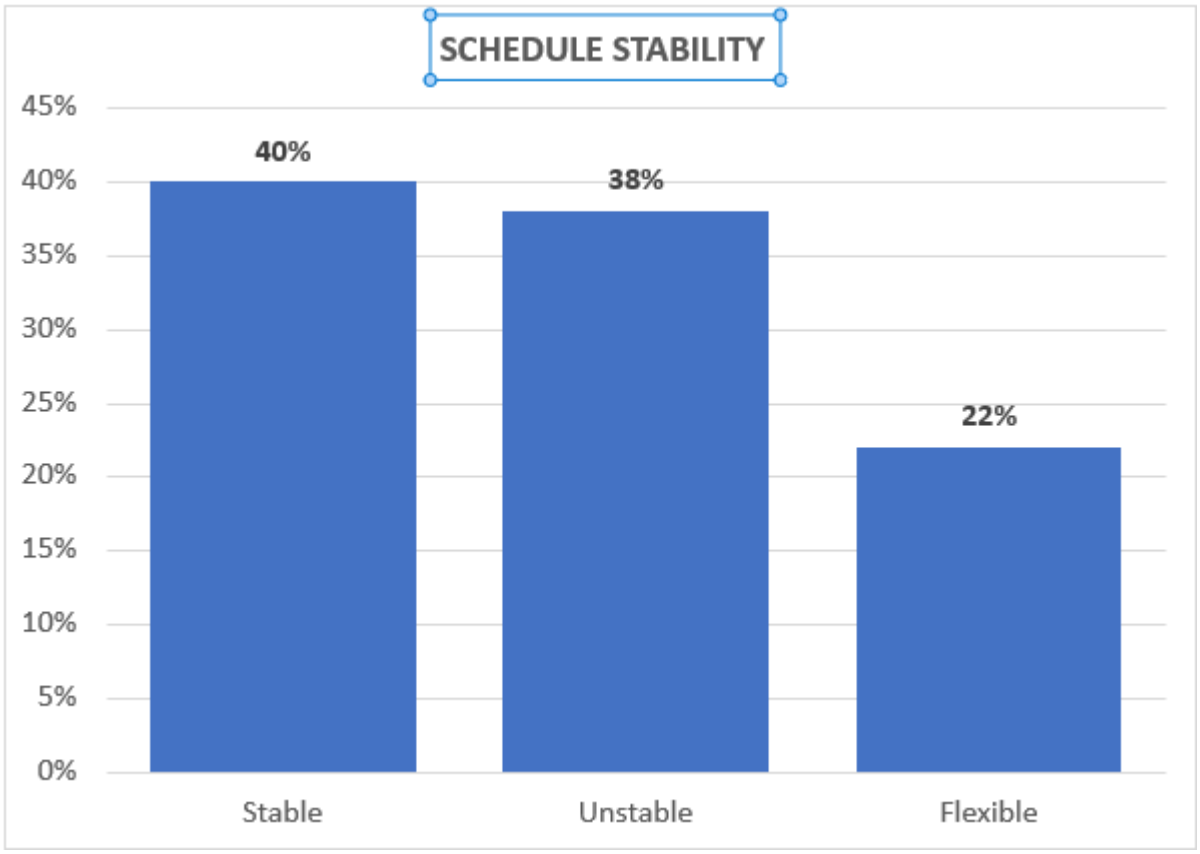
> "…All of us, the nurses, we don't think we are paid enough for what we're doing. 'Cause you're front liner, you're always in front of danger sometimes resident could hit you, kick you right? They could just verbally, like unacceptable, like they're aggressive right?"

It was difficult to classify one instance as either satisfied or dissatisfied, so we coded it as missing for the graph, but it is telling and thus worth quoting. Cathy from Vietnam, who was a server, said her pay was:

> "Not good enough but not too bad compared to other restaurants that pay very low."

This example is insightful since it contextualizes satisfaction within the constraints of the broader labour market, which is a dynamic that deserves more analysis.

Stability of one's schedule is another facet of precariousness. This dimension relates to quality of life, tapping into whether one can plan their daily lives and arrange them ahead of time.[79]



Study participants described 40% of their current jobs as having a stable schedule.[80] For example, Jas who was born in India and worked as an accounts payable administer for a food company, mentioned:

> "I start at 8:00 am every day and finish at 4:00pm… I work Monday to Friday."

Some part-time workers also described stable schedules. For example, Harini, who was born in India and was a student working retail said:

> "I work 3 days a week, he's usually good with my school schedule. He gives me 3 fixed days every week."

Yet sometimes a fixed schedule can make things difficult for parents, especially mothers who still endure most of the childcare.[81] Maza, who was born in Ethiopia and worked as a caretaker at a university, discussed her long-term fixed schedule and the hardships that came with it.

> "It's been about 6 years since I started. The work is tiring and difficult. With my current day routine, I work Monday to Friday, from 4:30pm to 1:00am, Friday from 3:30pm to 12am… The amount I sleep is very small. I get home at 1:00am but I don't sleep right away, usually I go to sleep at 2:00am and because my son has school at 7:00am the next day, I get up, make his lunch and take him to school. At 8:30am that's all done and only sometimes, I can sleep for two extra hours."

Although Maza had a stable long-term schedule, this schedule resulted in lack of sleep given the hours of evening work in concert with family obligations.

Study participants described nearly as many of their jobs as having unstable schedules, at 38%. For example, Maria who was born in Ecuador and worked as a personal support worker at a long term residential care facility said:

> "I put my availabilites and they are always calling me to cover shifts. When I cover shifts, I can cover in the morning, the evening or at night. Like it is 24 hours, that nursing home never closes."

Some employers, like Maria's, have a number of workers on call with varying schedules, in order to reduce costs of employing people full-time and permanent. Own account self-employed also have unstable schedules linked more directly to variation in demand for their services. For example, Anka, who was born in Poland and worked as a self-employed cleaner, said:

> "I have my clients, and uh, now I don't go every day, but before I have everyday houses to clean, and you know, it depends on the house how long I spend there, depending on the time. Sometimes is one house, sometimes two. And, my work is like this."

As these examples suggest, both employed and self-employed individuals can have unstable schedules due to either employers' decisions or clients' needs.

We classified those who described flexible schedules separately from unstable ones, defining flexible schedule as those workers were able to change based on their own needs. Study participants described only 22% of their current jobs as having flexible schedules. Shan, who was born in China and worked as own account self-employed in renovation noted some influence of clients.

> "It's quite hard to set a firm schedule because a lot of it is self-employment and setting my own hours. I basically just follow some fundamental principles. I would only start work after 9, because that's when any renovation work would be allowed to begin and try to end for the day before 8. Other than that, everything just depends on the availability of the client and how long the entire project would need to take.

At the same time, unlike some OASE, Shan emphasized how he had gained the ability to change his schedule based on family needs. When we asked if he worked every day of the week, he said:

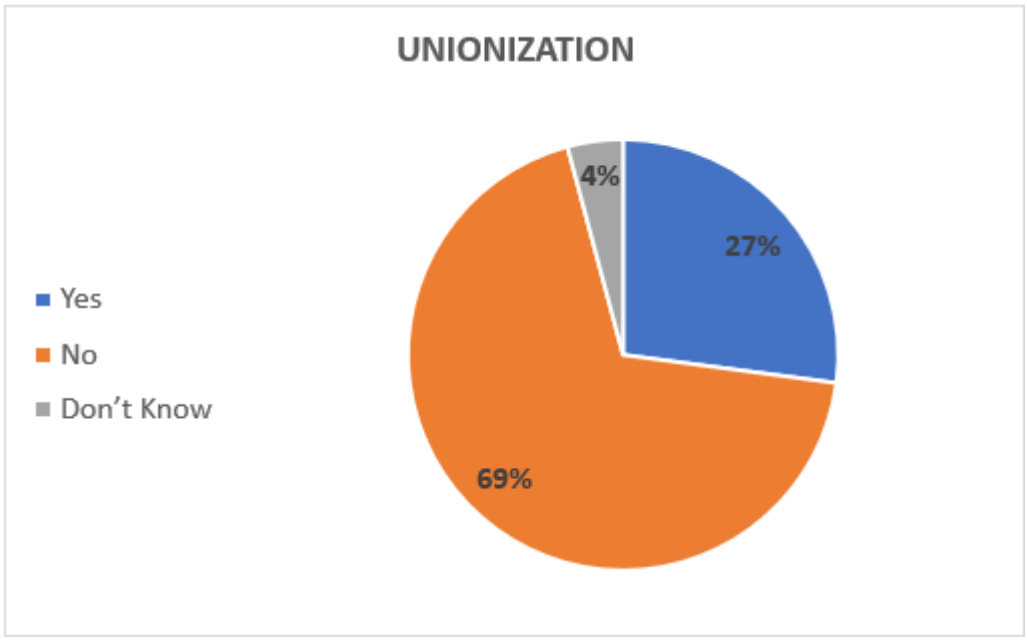
> "At first, I did and I continued that for maybe seven to eight years but it became too much and I wanted to spend more time with my family on the weekends. Now, I take all Sundays off and only work Mondays to Saturdays."

Professionals also describe having a flexible schedule. For example, Kiki who was born in Nigeria and worked as a project manager at a bank on a fixed-term contract said:

> "You are supposed to work 8 hours, not fixed hours per se. Its however it works for you. You can meet with your stakeholders at night as long as you are able to get the job done."

When we asked if she was able to change the schedule Kiki said: "It is up to me. Very flexible." A few employees felt their employers would easily alter shifts if they requested it. Unionization facilitates employees' ability to have a say over their schedules, and is a key dimension of precariousness that we turn to next.

A final indicator of precarious employment we considered is whether the job is unionized. Unionization taps into the dimension of control over when, where and how one's job is done, which is facilitated by job security; unionization is also a measure of regulatory protection through collective bargaining and thus correlates with a social wage and earnings to support a quality standard of living.[82]



Most current jobs held by study participants were not unionized.[83] Some interviewees simply stated that they were not unionized while others expressed opinions for or against unions. For example, Annie, who was born in China and working at a beauty salon in the ethnic economy, said the following when we asked if her job was unionized:

> "I think it should be. If it is unionized, we then have contract and we can negotiate our benefits."

On the other hand, 27% of current jobs were unionized which is right at the Ontario provincial unionization rate.[84] Some study participants engaged in union activities, and several noted the benefits of unionization. For example, Natalia, born in Portugal and working in caretaking, said the following when we asked if she and her co-workers pushed their union to negotiate a raise:

> "Well we do when we have our union meetings before our contracts, we kind of negotiate and they go to the table, they try their best to negotiate for the best contract and for… the main thing is job security for us."

Similarly, Marly, born in the Philippines and working as a nurse, described how the workers met to discuss their priorities:

> "We discuss benefits and raise and salary, sick calls and how many sick calls a year we get, and all that."

These quotes by Natalia and Marly show how the union is a way for workers to work collectively to gain more security.

Many study participants, whether unionized or not, appreciated unions as a mechanism to reduce precariousness, either by providing job security, better wages and benefits, or regulatory protection like paid sick days, and some control over their working conditions. In addition to these positive views of unionization, some people felt unions were outdated or only useful for factory workers; some complained about dues. A couple people did not know if they had a union or not. These findings suggest unions need to do more to organize immigrant workers, a topic that requires future research.

In this section, we have described study participants' jobs at the time we interviewed them, their "current" jobs, along several dimensions of precariousness, which together shape the experience of immigrant workers in precarious employment. A key dimension of precariousness is the degree of certainty of continuing work, or employment security, evident in the employment class and form of employment contract. Full-time permanent jobs provide more employment security than temporary and part-time jobs and self-employment (especially OASE). The degree of certainty of continuing work correlates with other dimensions of precariousness including the social wage, earnings, and unionization compounding the level of precariousness experienced by temporary and part-time employees and OASE. At the same time, full-time permanent jobs can still be precarious along other dimensions given a broader erosion of the standard employment relationship.[85] This underscores the importance of a union that could limit precariousness by both negotiating better benefits, higher wages and stable schedules in collective agreements but also helping workers enforce those agreements collectively.

CONCLUSION

In this report, we examined the pressing issue of how immigrants are sorted into jobs within a labour market characterized by growing and deepening precariousness in Peel Region, Ontario Canada, where growing numbers of immigrants settle. Here we summarized the initial stages of our research based on a rich, new data source developed by the project "Understanding Labour Markets for Immigrant Workers in Peel Region", funded by the University of Toronto, Mississauga (UTM) Sociology Department's Peel Social Lab. The Peel Migration and Employment Database (PMED) is made up of in-depth, interviews with immigrants collected by UTM Sociology students in 2016, 2018 and 2019. In this project, we defined immigrants as those born in a country other than Canada, regardless of how long they have been in Canada.

The PMED includes 75 study participants, 45 of whom identified as women and 30 as men; Most were in their 40s or 50s and married with children. Study participants were born in a range of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the majority in South Asian or South East Asian countries, while not one was born in Northern or Western Europe, in line with Peel Region demographics and Canadian immigration policy that abandoned explicit national quotas in favor of recruitment for labour market needs. Most study participants departed their countries of birth due to economic constraints, although significant numbers left because of gendered family reasons and some due to political crises. Most study participants arrived in Canada in the past three decades during their prime working age. The majority came as permanent immigrants:

mostly economic immigrants selected for their ability to contribute to the economy, but some through family sponsorship or as refugees. A small number came as temporary migrants, the majority as international students. In addition to the key facilitator of immigration policy, most participants came specifically to Canada because of ties with people already here, although ideas about Canada, as having opportunities, as democratic or safe also played a role for some.

The interviews represent a microcosm of expanding labour market precariousness and show the various ways it meets up with migration and intersecting dynamics of gendering and racialization. Findings show how immigrants get funneled into precarious segments of the labour market upon arrival, despite having permanent immigration status. Analysis of work histories reveal how some are able to move into better jobs over time but many professionals continue to face significant barriers to obtaining jobs equivalent to their education. Those from lower middle class or working class backgrounds were stuck in precarious jobs for significant periods, even while experiencing some mobility relative to occupations in their birth country. Our findings show how immigrants are not simply incorporated into an economy characterized by *industrial* restructuring towards a knowledge economy – that is, a shift from manufacturing to service sector. Instead, they are in line with critical migration studies that emphasize the relationship between migration and more widespread economic restructuring, meaning a break with the well-paid, unionized, secure jobs that became dominant in capitalist countries after World War II and the growth of precariousness across sectors since the mid-1970s.[86] Unlike many critical migration studies that focus on migrants who enter to work on temporary work visas or without state authorized status at all, our data show how growing precariousness shapes the jobs open to permanent immigrants as well, a trend noted in only a few studies.[87]

In this report, we analyzed study participants' "current" jobs (at time of interview), along several dimensions of precariousness, which worked together to shape the experience of immigrant workers in precarious employment. We found that only roughly half of study participants held full-time permanent current jobs, which provide more employment security than temporary and part-time jobs and self-employment (especially own account self-employment). Employment security correlates with other dimensions of precariousness including the social wage, earnings, and unionization compounding the level of precariousness experienced by temporary and part-time employees and the OASE.[88] At the same time, however, full-time permanent jobs can still be precarious along other dimensions given a broader erosion of the standard employment relationship. Our qualitative findings underscored the need to look behind average earnings, and the generic 'non-standard employment' category, to understand the multiple ways that workers attempt to piece together a decent living, and how growing overall precariousness in the labor market acts as a barrier to doing so.[89] Similarly, we find that even with policies on vacation and overtime pay, in practice management controls workers' ability to access the social wage, especially in non-unionized environments. This underscores the importance of a union with the enforcement power that could support workers to limit precariousness.

Explanations for these, mostly downward, labour market trajectories include those emphasized in existing scholarship like the mismatch between skills-based immigration policy and employers' discriminatory hiring practices. Employers' devaluation of immigrants' education and training from their birth country, and requirements for 'Canadian experience' are key mechanisms of downward mobility noted in existing literature.[90] Our analysis of the rich qualitative work

histories uncovered multiple ways that gender shapes the downward mobility of immigrant women, including the enduring effect of migrating as a dependent, its connection with childcare responsibilities, which in turn impact ability to engage in training in Canada, and employers' racialized gendered recruitment into low status cleaning, caring and service jobs. Our analysis of these rich qualitative data also uncovered subtle or indirect racialized exclusion from good jobs or recruitment into bad jobs, through the ways workers are treated by customers and co-workers, and the lack of intervention by employers.

Gendered racialization and mobility, their enduring effects, and the role of broader forces of economic restructuring toward spreading precariousness deserve further analysis, and the rich data that make up the PMED are well suited to uncover the manifold dynamics shaping work trajectories into jobs with multiple dimensions of precariousness. The analysis of mobility in this report is based on broad occupational status categories. As such, it should be interpreted as a conservative estimate of downward mobility that allows us to compare general coding schemes across birth country job, first job, other past jobs and current jobs in Canada. In other words, it *underestimates* the degree of downward mobility that would surely be revealed in more fine-grained analysis of people's description of their labour market aspirations and their conditions of work along additional dimensions beyond occupation. Our focus here was on the extent and form of precariousness of participants' current jobs, but even more people had jobs that were precarious along a variety of dimensions at some point in their work history in Canada. Future analysis will integrate our analysis of precariousness along multiple dimensions into our analysis of mobility. Our initial analysis uncovered longstanding effects of gendered racialization well beyond the first jobs held in Canada but we were unable to develop this analysis in this report. This report describes gendered dynamics but it does not explain how gender plays a role in pushing women outside labour market and putting them in precarious jobs. Additional analysis, not presented here, uncover how a gendered sense of caring duty has life-long impacts on women's work trajectory. It is mothers, not fathers, who the left labour market for years to raise children. Some women even considered "mother" their full-time job, whereas men mentioned breadwinning but not caregiving as a duty or job. This life-long gendered implication deserves further analysis. The ways in which racialized and gendered interactions with customers, co-workers and employers shapes job quality is also an area crying out for more systematic analysis than we were able to provide here.

Our findings also point to several avenues for future research. Our analysis shows how immigrants do volunteer work to gain 'Canadian experience,' thus suggesting a link between volunteer work, immigration, and economic restructuring towards growing precariousness. Volunteer work came up in many interviews even though we did not ask about it. Specific questions about volunteer work will be included in future interviews. Our findings also point to the importance of future research connecting precarious immigrant workers to precarious households and families. Several study participants mentioned children in their home countries. Some study participants who came as children with permanent status but sponsored by parents who were former temporary workers discussed their parents' migration histories but not in depth. International students described a different form of family separation with migration, with their families remaining in birth countries. However, our interview guide only included very general questions about whether people migrated with family or alone. Additional questions on whether children, or parents, (in addition to spouses) migrated with the study participant, and the ages of

family members who stayed beyond, or at the time of migration would augment our ability to analyze gendered migration and employment trajectories by including the family level of analysis. Work and immigration requirements for temporary migrant workers to live separately from their children is the subject of much research, but the broader linkage of immigration to precarious households is in its infancy. Finally, future interviews will include more specific questions on citizenship at the time of the interview. This would allow for a more robust comparison between the two relatively secure categories of permanent resident or naturalized citizen.

We have written this as a clear-language report to share the main findings with the community outside of academia. We would also like to make data like these even more accessible to the broader community. In our ethics protocol, we asked if study participants were willing to have their confidential interview archived for future research and teaching. In future interviews, we will ask study participants whether their confidential transcript can be made available to the public. We will also explore a method of writing composite migration and work history narratives, drawing on biographies of multiple study participants, to convey the complexity of experience while ensuring confidentiality. Additional interpretive lenses on these data will surely produce both greater understanding and the policy and social change necessary to challenge the nexus of immigration and precarious employment and its troubling racializing and gendering dimensions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Recruitment Script

I would like to interview you about your experiences finding employment in Canada as part of a course at UTM. The research focuses on how immigrants get jobs and does not include people that are in the country without legal status. I think an interview with you would help me learn about immigrant employment and about how to do sociology research, but if you do not want to participate, I can find someone else. If you do this interview, I will not share your real name or other identify information with anyone, not even the Professor. The interview will last about 1 hour. If there is any question that you do not want to answer or if you want to stop the interview, just let me know. This assignment will help me learn how to do research and to better understand how immigrants get connected with employment. If you agree, your interview (without any identifying information) could be archived for use in future classes and for publication in an academic journal or on a website. Would you be willing to participate? Do you have any questions?

Appendix B: Consent Form

[On UTM Letterhead]

[add date]

Thank you for participating in this interview! As we discussed, the research focuses on how immigrants get jobs and does not include people are in the country without legal status. It is part of a class assignment for Sociology [add course title] at University of Toronto, Mississauga (UTM). The purpose of the interview is to allow me to apply the theories that I have learned in class to real life experience and to learn how to conduct and analyze qualitative, sociological research.

The interview will last approximately one hour. It will follow a flexible format in order to allow you to give your own opinions. The interview will ask you about your migration history, your work history and about your current job(s), including their quality and how you got them. During the interview, you may choose to not answer certain questions if you wish. You may withdraw from the study during or immediately after the interview up until I hand in my paper**.**

I have minimized the possibility of risks to you for assisting with this project. If you agree to participate, I will keep your identity confidential. I would like to audio record the interview to ensure I document your experiences accurately. However, I will destroy the audio tape immediately after transcribing it. The transcript will not include your name, address, employer or any other personal identifying information. When I transcribe the information from the audio tape, I will assign you a fake name and change any identifying places or characteristics. Only data in this confidential format will be shared with my Professor and other classmates. I will only use the fake name and changed characteristics in the paper I hand in to my Professor. Although I will destroy the tape, I would like to keep the anonymous transcript indefinitely because there may be

an opportunity to use it in future classes. There may even be an opportunity to publish from this interview along with those collected by other students. Any publications from it, however, will only include the fake name. Once I turn on the tape, I will first ask you to state whether you consent to be interviewed for the purposes of my class; then I will ask if you consent to have your anonymous information included in future teaching and research publications.

The findings of this study may not benefit you directly. However, by participating in this study you will be assisting me in learning about immigration and about sociological research.

If you have any questions in the future or you wish to receive a copy of my paper, please feel free to contact me at [add phone number]. If you have any questions about this assignment or the course, you can contact Professor Cranford at 905-828-5410 or at c.cranford@utoronto.ca. If you have any questions about your rights as research participants, you can contact the Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273. The research ethics program may have confidential access to data to help ensure participant protection procedures are followed.

Sincerely,

[add student name]

Appendix C: Student Consent to Archive

[add course title and year]

Student consent to have their study participants' data archived for future research and teaching purposes IF the study participant also consents.

Student name: _____

____ YES, I consent to have archived for future research and teaching the anonymized transcripts based on the interviews I did as part of this class, if the study participants also consent.

____ NO, I do not consent to have archived for future research and teaching the two anonymized transcripts based on the interviews I did as part of this class, even if the study participant also consents.

Student signature:_____
Date: _____

Appendix D: Interview Guide

Words in italics are cues to you, or things you should modify based on the context

So, we've talked about the research, and you've agreed to participate but just so I have it on record:

Do you consent to do this interview?

Do you consent to have this a confidential version of this interview be used for future teaching and research?

General/Opening
Getting them to talk; follow up on issues that they themselves are interested in talking about; ask for examples; try to get in-depth information

Where do you currently work?

What do you do in a typical workday?

Do you have any other jobs currently?
If yes: Where?
What do you do in a typical day?
Why do you have [*two/three*] jobs?

Work history
How long have you been working at X (and Y if have two jobs)?

Where did you work before?

How long did you work there?

Where did you work before that?

How long?

What was your first job in Canada?

What occupation did you have in your country?

What kind of education or training do you have?

Probe: **In what field?**
Probe: **Where from?** (*Country*)
Probe if they have education or training in Canada as well
Probe: **What year did you finish?**

Do you feel you are using your education or training here?
Why?/why not?
How so? Could you explain?
What kind of job did you hope to have in Canada?

Could you compare your job in your country with your current job?

Which is better? Why?

<u>Getting the Job</u>
Ask AT LEAST about current job(s) and first one in Canada – if you have time ask about jobs in between too.

How did you find this job?
Probes:
Did you go through an agency or registry?
Did a settlement or other government worker tell you about it?
Did you find it through work of mouth?
Through who? Family? Friends? Co-ethnic acquaintances?
Did you respond to an ad in the newspaper?
Other?

Could you tell me about the hiring process?

Did you find it difficult, or easy, to find this job?
How so?

<u>Quality of the job</u>
Ask these questions about current job(s), previous job and first job in Canada
How is scheduling decided? i.e. scheduling/days and times
Probe: If you ever want to change the schedule, how do you do so?
Probe: Have you ever needed to change your schedule?
If Yes: what happened?

Who decides which tasks you will do? i
Probe: Can you refuse to do a certain task?

Who decides how a certain task is done?
Probe: Are you able to do things your own way?
Probe: Have you ever done so?
If yes: what happened?

How many hours do you usually work in a week in this job?
Do those hours stay the same, or do they change?
Probe: Oh so it always stays the same?
Probe: Oh, so it changes? Why? How Often?
Probe: Are your hours guaranteed? Why do they change?

Are you considered full-time, part-time, or some other category such as casual, on-call, temporary?
How much do you earn?
Probe: is that per hour? Or a salary?
Probe: Have you ever received a raise or not?

Do you feel you are paid enough?
Why or why not?

Do you ever work overtime?
If yes: Are you paid overtime? How much?
Do you have benefits?
If Yes: Which ones? Dental? eye? Pension? How many hours do you have to work to qualify? Do you have to pay to get these benefits?

Do you get paid vacation? How many days?

Do you get paid for holidays?

Have you ever been hurt on the job?
Probe (*if applicable*): Could you describe what happened?
Probe (*if applicable*): Were you compensated financially?

Have you ever had difficulties at work?
Probe: Could you give me an example?
Probe: with employers? Customers? Co-workers?
Probe: What did you do?
Have you ever experienced racism, even indirect racism, in relation to your work or no?
Probe: **Could you describe what happened?**
Probe: **At which job?** (past/present job)

Have you experienced sexism, even indirect sexism, in relation to your work, or no?
Probe: **Could you describe what happened?**
Probe: **At which job?** (past/present job)
Probe: **Have you ever been sexually discriminated against?**

Solutions to Potential Problems
Now I have some questions about solving problems at work.
Who do you go to with problems or issues regarding your job?
Probe**:** On which issues? Could you give me an example?
Probe: **Do you ever go to:**
Probe: other workers?
Probe: Ministry of Labour?
Probe: Union?
Probe: Do you go to anyone else?
Probe: supervisor or boss?

Have you ever been fired?
If yes: Could you describe the situation?

Is this job unionized?
If yes:
Were you active in unionizing?
Why/why not?
If yes: Could you tell me about that.
Do you participate in union activities today?
If yes: could you tell me about that?
Do you feel the union represents your issues/concerns or not?
Are there any issues that the union is currently pushing for?
Probe: Wages, benefits, less work, other?
If no:
Do you think it should be?
Why/why not?

<u>Background Information and Migration History</u>
Finally, I just have a few questions about you. We ask these questions to everyone to get a sense of people's backgrounds.
Where were you born?
What year did you come to Canada?
How old were you when you came?
Did you have family here when you arrived?
Did you come under a particular immigration program?
Were you sponsored by a family member?
Why did you leave your country?
Why did you come to Canada instead of somewhere else?

May I ask what your relationship status is? *(i.e. married, common-law, divorced, widowed, never married)*
If Partner: Where does your partner work? Doing what?
Probe: How much does your partner earn (hourly/weekly/monthly/ annually)?
Do you have children?

If yes: How many?
If yes: How old are they?
If yes: Was there a time when you stayed home with the kids?
May I ask how much you earn annually?
Have you ever been out of work and looking for work or wanting work?
Probe: **When was that?**
Have you ever been on Welfare?
Probe: **When was that?**
May I ask what year you were born?

Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

May I call you if I have any follow up questions?

Thanks for your time!

Appendix E: Summary Table of Study Participants

*See attached excel file

[1] According to the 2016 Census, there were 2,799,115 immigrants in the GTA, and 706,835 immigrants in Peel Region, thus Peel residents accounted for 25% of immigrants in the GTA 2016-immigration-ethnic-diversity.pdf (peelregion.ca).
[2] Ameeriar 2017; Bauder 2006; Creese and Wiebe 2012; Li 2001; Oreopolous 2011; Reitz et al 2014
[3] See also Rodgers 1989; Fudge and Vosko 2001; Cranford and Vosko 2006; Goldring and Landolt 2011
[4] https://www.utm.utoronto.ca/peel-social-lab/peel-social-lab
[5] If the participant did not want to be recorded, consent could be included in the student-researcher's interview notes.
[6] There are 3 types of business owners, and we tried to distinguish them in order to capture participants' mobility. Type A. Big company owner: Coded as "00. Senior management" (Example: - owner of metal company). Type B. Small family-owned business owner: Coded "06. Middle management occupations in retail and wholesale trade and customer services" or "07. Middle management occupations in trades, transportation, production and utilities." (Example: Self-employed home renovation project manager). *Note: managers hired by companies/large-scale business entities are also in this category. Type C. We decided to highlight occupation over employment class when they work by themselves (no organizing/management). For example, Lena is a self-employed house cleaner and her occupation is coded as "6731. Light duty cleaners." The major group where this specific unit group belongs to is "67. Service support and other service occupations." In our graphs, it is included in "Other Sales and Services."
[7] All 75 study participants disclosed their general region of birth, which is the denominator for this mutually exclusive variable, although 1 did not want to give the exact country.
[8] According to the census, 51.1% of Peel's residents were immigrants in 2016. The top country of birth was by far India (25.7%), followed by Pakistan, Philippines, Jamaica, China, Poland, U.K., Sri Lanka, Portugal and Guyana 2016-immigration-ethnic-diversity.pdf (peelregion.ca).
[9] 63 study participants disclosed their age at immigration, which is the denominator for this mutually exclusive variable.
[10] 60 study participants disclosed their age, which is the denominator of this mutually exclusive variable.
[11] 73 study participants disclosed their marital status, which is the denominator of this mutually exclusive variable.
[12] 70 study participants disclosed their parental status, which is the denominator of this mutually exclusive variable.
[13] 74 study participants disclosed the year they left their country, which is the denominator of this mutually exclusive variable.
[14] We have information on 108 reasons for leaving, which is the denominator of this variable.
This variable is not mutually exclusive as participants mentioned multiple reasons for leaving. We have missing data for 2 study participants as 73 disclosed why they left their country.
[15] Massey et. al 1987
[16] 74 study participants disclosed the year they came to Canada, which is the denominator for this mutually exclusive variable.
[17] We have information 98 reasons for coming to Canada, which is the denominator of this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as participants mentioned multiple, overlapping reasons for migrating to Canada. We have missing data for 2 study participants, as 73 disclosed why they left their country.
[18] The denominator of this mutually exclusive variable is 67. Although 73 study participants described their immigration history, some discussed specific policies while for others we inferred their entry category based on their description of reasons for migrating or process of migration; however, for 6 people the description was not detailed enough to infer the entry category, so we coded them as missing along with 2 others who did not provide any information on this variable.
[19] Of the 296,379 permanent residents admitted to Canada in 2016, approximately 53% were admitted under the economic class, 26% under the family class, (meaning joining family members already in the country), and 21% as refugees or on humanitarian or compassionate grounds (Immigration Refugees & Citizenship Canada, 2018 cited in Lightman et al 2021: 4). In Peel region in 2016, approximately 48% of immigrants were admitted through the economic class, 39% were sponsored by family and 12% entered as refugees. In Peel region, approximately 39% of the immigrant population were admitted through family sponsorship. 2016-immigration-ethnic-diversity.pdf (peelregion.ca). Currently, most economic immigrants are admitted under the Federal Skilled Workers' Program based on a points system that considers six selection criteria: 1) work experience; 2) education; 3) language ability; 4) age; 5) arranged employment; and 6) adaptability (Lightman et al 2021:4). Regulations in 1967 introduced the points system, although the specific criteria have been modified over time. In 2008, the government introduced the Canadian Experience Class, initially for skilled temporary foreign workers or international students that already had

a record of employment in Canada. In 2012, the FSWP, or the main points system-based economic immigration class, incorporated the notion of "Canadian experience" reducing the value of international education and work experience and adding 'Canadian experience' as a key criterion for immigrant selection (Bhuyan et al. 2017:48). Another current economic entry pathway into Canada is the Provincial Nominee Program, which extended the practice of leeway in immigrant selection only permitted for Quebec (since 1991) to other provinces in the late 1990s; PNP were estimated to represent a quarter of economic immigrants in 2013 (Seidle 2013). Neither refugees nor family class immigrants are subject to the points system. Family migration has been permitted throughout the 20th century but was formalized in the 1976 Immigration Act (Kelley & Trebilcock 2010, cited in Lightman et al 2021:5). While in the 1970s, between 40 and 50 per cent of immigrants entered Canada through in the family class, since the 1990s immigration policy has prioritized economic immigration, narrowed the relationships recognized for admission (i.e. from extended family to only spouses and minor children), resulting in a drop in family class immigrants (DeShaw, 2006; Gabriel, 2017 cited in Lightman et al. 2021:5).

[20] Here we include people who came at the same time as their spouse or parents but were the dependent on the application, and people whose spouse or parents came first and sponsored them later through the family class. In other words, we focus on dependency, not the specific policy regime, or timing of migration within the family, following the literature on gender and application status (Elrick and Lightman 2014). In 2016, approximately 42% of principal applicants arriving in Canada under the Federal Skilled Workers Program were women (Immigration Refugees & Citizenship Canada, 2018 cited in Lightman et al 2021:4). In Peel region, approximately 39% of the immigrant population were admitted through family sponsorship. 2016-immigration-ethnic-diversity.pdf (peelregion.ca)

[21] DeShaw, 2006; Gabriel, 2017 cited in Lightman et al. 2021:5.

[22] Arat-Koc 2014; Tungohan et al 2015

[23] The denominator for this mutually exclusive variable is 67. We have missing data for 8 study participants.

[24] See Bhyuan et al 2017

[25] See also Goldring and Landolt 2011; Elrick and Lightman 2014; Banerjee and Phan 2018

[26] See also Goldring and Landolt 2011; Banerjee and Phan 2015; Banerjee et al. 2018; Creese and Wiebe 2012; Lightman et al. 2021; Tungohan et al 2015

[27] See also Banerjee and Phan 2015; Banerjee et al. 2018; Goldring and Landolt 2011

[28] Li 2001; Reitz, Curtis and Elrick 2014; Ku et al 2019

[29] Sassen 1998

[30] Bauder 2006; Creese and Weibe 2012

[31] Ameeriar 2017; Parrenas 2015

[32] Ibid 19

[33] Meyers and Cranford 1998

[34] The denominator for this mutually exclusive variable is 62. We have missing data for 2 study participants and we coded 11 as Not Applicable because they left their country as dependent children.

[35] Banerjee and Phan 2015; Man 2019

[36] Cooke 2007; Ho 2006; Elrick and Lightman 2014

[37] We have data on 61instances of industry in country of birth, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held multiple paid jobs in their birth country. We have missing data for 2 study participants and we coded 26 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, unemployed (looking for work), or students (as minors or in university) who had never worked for pay. We made an exception for 4, who worked unpaid in family businesses while they were also students where we coded the business in the relevant industrial sector to recognize its contribution to the economy.

[38] We have data on 55 instances of occupation in country of birth, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held multiple paid jobs in their birth country. We have missing data for 1 study participant and we coded 30 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, students (as minors or in university) who did not work for pay, or unemployed (looking for work).

[39] Cooke 2007; Ho 2006; Elrick and Lightman 2014; Vosko and Zukewich 2006

[40] We have data on 69 instances of industry in first job in Canada, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held multiple first paid jobs at a time. We have missing data for 1 study participant and we coded 5 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, students who did not work for pay, retired, or unemployed (looking for work). We coded 2 adults who did significant volunteer labour in the sector in which they worked to recognize its contribution to the economy.

[41] We have data on 68 instances of occupation in first job in Canada, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held multiple first paid jobs at a time. We have missing

data was missing for 1 study participant and we coded 8 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, students who did not work for pay, including volunteers, retired, or unemployed (looking for work).

[42] 8/15

[43] Pedro, who cut sugar cane and laid track for transporting the cane in Ecuador, moved up, slightly, into a dishwashing position upon arriving in Canada.

[44] We have data on 82 instances of industry for in first job in Canada, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held multiple paid jobs in between their first and current one. We have missing data for 4 study participants and we coded 12 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, students who did not work for pay, retired, unemployed (looking for work) or because there was no mobility between first and current paid job. We coded 1 adult who did only volunteer labour, and 2 others who did both volunteer and paid work, in the sector in which they worked to recognize its contribution to the economy.

[45] We have data on 82 instances of occupations in between the first and current job in Canada, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held paid jobs in between their first and current one in Canada. Data was missing for 4 study participants and we coded 13 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, students who did not work for pay, including volunteers, retired or unemployed (looking for work).

[46] 13/20 in managerial/professional classes in home country, or 13/17 who did not move laterally from birth country occupation to first occupation. Three study participants from this managerial/professional class either moved up to an equivalent position for their first job, and remained there, while for one data was missing on jobs in between the first and current job.

[47] See also Creese and Wiebe 2012

[48] 3/20

[49] Just over one-fifth (3/14).

[50] Half (8/14) of those who had lower middle class jobs and a little over half (6/11) of those who held working class jobs.

[51] The remaining 3 study participants with lower middle class jobs in their birth countries, moved into equivalent status occupations for their first job in Canada, and remained in them or had missing data for jobs in between. The remaining 5 study participants with working class jobs in their birth countries, either experienced lateral moves that were consistently across working class jobs, left the labour market, or had missing information, except Pedro (See Appendix E). Pedro's case illustrates how mobility is not necessarily linear.

[52] We have data on 74 instances of industry for current job in Canada, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held multiple paid jobs at the time of the interview. There were no missing data but we coded 12 study participants as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, students who did not work for pay, retired or unemployed (looking for work).

[53] We have data on 73 instances of first occupation in Canada, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some study participants held multiple first paid jobs at a time. There were no missing data but we coded 12 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, students who did not work for pay, including volunteers, retired or unemployed (looking for work).

[54] 10/20 from managerial/professional class in total but 10/14 that did not move up or laterally in earlier periods.

[55] 7/20 from the managerial and professional class in birth country, or 7/17 of those from the managerial and professional class in birth country who had not moved up earlier. Recall that only three of those with middle class backgrounds still held "in between" jobs with lower status than their birth country jobs, but two of these climbed back up the occupational ladder to jobs equivalent to their birth country jobs by the time we interviewed them (the third who did not was Sofiya).

[56] Ameeriar 2017; Bauder 2006; Creese and Wiebe 2012

[57] See also Cooke 2007; Ho 2006; Man 2019

[58] We have data on 62 instances of education or training in Canada, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive since some people had several types of education in Canada. We have missing data for 7 study participants and 18 reported that they did not complete any education or training in Canada.

[59] Bhuyan et al. 2017

[60] The denominator for this variable is 83, which includes 12 who were students only (not working for pay), retired, homemakers or unemployed. Some study participants had multiple paid jobs so this variable is not mutually exclusive. We have information from all of the 75 study participants on this variable.

[61] We have information from 52 study participants on this topic, making up the denominator of this mutually exclusive variable. We have missing data for 11 study participants and 12 were categorized as not applicable as they were students only, homemakers, retired or unemployed (looking for a job).
[62] We have data on 68 instances of detailed data on form of employment, which is the denominator for this variable. This variable is not mutually exclusive since some people had multiple current jobs. We have missing data for 6 study participants and we coded 12 as Not Applicable because they were students only (not working for pay), homemakers, retired, or unemployed (looking for work).
[63] Vosko 2006; Rodgers 1989
[64] Cranford, Vosko and Zukewich 2003
[65] Kalleberg 2011
[66] Vosko and Zukewich 2006
[67] Cranford, Fudge, Tucker and Vosko 2005.
[68] Vosko 2006: 460
[69] Vosko 2006: 458.
[70] We have 68 instances of data on this variable, which is the denominator for the graph. This variable is not mutually exclusive since some people provided information on multiple current jobs. We have missing data for 14 study participants and we coded 12 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, retired, students not working for pay or unemployed (looking for work). We combine statutory and employer-provided benefits in this variable because our interviews did not consistently ask about each separately.
[71] We have 43 instances of data on this variable, which is the denominator for the graph. This variable is not mutually exclusive as it is based on earnings from all jobs. Data was missing for 20 study participants and we coded 12 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, retired, students not working for pay or unemployed (looking for work).
[72] See Cranford and Vosko 2006 for a similar approach. In our interviews, we asked the study participants about their annual earnings as well as their hourly wage for specific jobs. When they provided annual earnings, we used it in this variable. If they did not provide annual earnings, we estimated it based on other information in the interview, including whether the worker was classified as an employee or self-employed, temporary or permanent, and full-time or part-time, as well as more specific information on hours and days worked. All three study participants who were self-employed employers did not provide information on income so they were classified as missing for this variable. For 3 study participants, we only had weekly earnings; 2 of the 3 were full-time permanent employees so we multiplied weekly earnings by 12 to get an estimate of annual earnings; 1 of these 3 (Alex) was own account self-employed and described a weekly earnings *range* along with qualitative information about fluctuating earnings so we generated a rough average by multiplying the lower range by 6 months and the higher range by 6 months and added them up. For 6 study participants, we had to estimate annual earnings from the hourly wage. One of these (Anna) did not provide specific information on hours and days or weeks worked yet even if we assumed 4 weeks a month & 12 months a year, she would be below the average threshold. In short, in most cases these estimates produced figures that were clearly either above or below the threshold of precarious earnings used here ($49,300). Nevertheless, this variable on level of earnings should be used as a starting point and interpreted alongside hours stability variables. Although the interviews were conducted in either 2016, 2018 or 2019, we use the average individual employment income in Toronto for 2018 because most of the interviews were conducted in 2018, and since it is the most recent year Statistics Canada provides public data. See https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=1110023901&pickMembers%5B0%5D=1.17&pickMembers%5B1%5D=2.1&pickMembers%5B2%5D=3.1&pickMembers%5B3%5D=4.3&cubeTimeFrame.startYear=2014&cubeTimeFrame.endYear=2018&referencePeriods=20140101%2C20180101
[73] Annual earnings ranged from $12,000 a year for Anka who was a self-employed housecleaner to $200,000 for Lazar who was a project manager in the IT sector. Just over half (9) of those in the greater than average category earned over 80,000/hr. while the other half (8) earned between 50 and 70,000/year. Less than half (11) of those in the below average annual earnings group earned in the $40,000/year range, while the majority (16) earned in the $30,000 or $20,000 range, or even less.
[74] 14/26
[75] Goldring and Landolt 2011
[76] We have 55 instances of data about the basis for pay, which is the denominator for the graph. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some people provided information on multiple jobs. Data was missing for 10 study participants and we coded 12 as Not Applicable as they were homemakers, retired, students not working for pay or unemployed (looking for work).
[77] Kalleberg 2011

[78] We have 50 instances of data about satisfaction with earnings, which is the denominator for the graph. This variable is not mutually exclusive as some people provided information on multiple jobs. We have missing data for 14 study participants and we coded 12 as Not Applicable as they were homemakers, retired, students not working for pay or unemployed (looking for work).
[79] Lewchuk et al. 2011
[80] We have 55 instances of data about stability in schedule, which is the denominator for the graph. This variable is not mutually exclusive as a couple people provided information on multiple jobs. Data was missing for 12 study participants and 12 others were categorized as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, retired, students not working for pay or unemployed (looking for work).
[81] Cooke 2007; Ho 2006; Elrick and Lightman 2014; Vosko and Zukewich 2006
[82] Anderson, Beaton and Laxer 2006; Rodgers 1989; Vosko 2006
[83] We have 48 instances of data on this variable, which is the denominator for the graph. This variable is not mutually exclusive since some people provided information on multiple current jobs. Data was missing for 12 study participants and we coded 15 as Not Applicable because they were homemakers, retired, students not working for pay or unemployed (looking for work), or because they were self-employed employers (business owners) not able to unionize.
[84] See https://www.statista.com/statistics/442980/canada-union-coverage-rate-by-province/ for 2020 rates.
[85] Vosko 2006
[86] Cranford et al. 2005; Fudge and Strauss 2014; Goldring and Landolt 2011; Myers and Cranford 1998; Sassen 1988; Vosko 2006.
[87] Chun and Cranford 2018
[88] Cranford, Vosko and Zukewich 2003; Kalleberg 2011; Vosko and Zukewich 2006
[89] See also Vosko, Cranford and Zukewich 2003
[90] Creese and Wiebe 2009; Ameeriar 2017; Banerjee et al. 2018