

## Gender, Parenthood, and Employment During COVID-19: An Immigrant-Native Born Comparison in Canada

### Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has upended how we live and work. In Canada, the gender gap in employment among parents with young children widened substantially during the pandemic. Previous studies, however, examine parents in Canada without distinguishing them by immigrant status, although immigrant versus Canadian-born parents may have distinct work-family experiences. In this study, we investigate how the intersection of parental and immigrant statuses influenced change in gender employment gaps during the pandemic. Drawing on Labor Force Survey (LFS) microdata from March 2019 to February 2021, we examine the probability of employment by gender, parental status, and immigrant status. When comparing the school closure period (March to August 2020) relative to the same months in 2019 (pre-pandemic), immigrant women, irrespective of parental status, witnessed larger declines in employment than their male counterparts and non-immigrants, and the gender gap widened the most among recent immigrants with school-aged children. When schools gradually reopened (September 2020 to February 2021), employment recovered faster for recent than established immigrant mothers. Overall, our findings show that among parents of young children, the growing gender gap in employment during the pandemic was concentrated among immigrants, with immigrant mothers disproportionately disadvantaged. This study illuminates how the pandemic exacerbated intersectional inequalities based on gender, parenthood, and immigrant status.

**Keywords:** Immigration, parents, gender, employment, inequality, COVID-19.

### Résumé

La pandémie de COVID-19 a bouleversé notre façon de vivre et de travailler. Au Canada, le fossé entre les sexes en matière d'emploi chez les parents de jeunes enfants s'est considérablement enfoncé pendant la pandémie. Les études antérieures, cependant, examinent les parents au Canada sans distinction de leur statut d'immigrant, bien que les parents immigrants et les parents nés au Canada puissent avoir des expériences travail-famille différentes. Dans cette étude, nous examinons comment le croisement des statuts de parent et d'immigrant a influencé l'évolution des écarts d'emploi entre les sexes pendant la pandémie. En nous servant des micro-données de l'enquête sur la main-d'œuvre (EMOE) de mars 2019 à février 2021, nous examinons la probabilité d'emploi selon le sexe, le statut parental et le statut d'immigrant. Si l'on compare la période de fermeture des écoles (mars à août 2020) aux mêmes mois de 2019 (avant la pandémie), les femmes immigrées, quel que soit leur statut parental, ont connu des baisses d'emploi plus importantes que leurs homologues masculins et que les non-immigrants, et le fossé entre les sexes s'est le plus creusé chez les immigrants récents ayant des enfants d'âge scolaire. Lorsque les écoles ont progressivement rouvert (de septembre 2020 à février 2021), l'emploi s'est rétabli plus rapidement pour les mères récemment immigrées que pour celles établies. Dans l'ensemble, nos résultats montrent que, parmi les parents de jeunes enfants, l'écart croissant entre les sexes en

matière d'emploi pendant la pandémie était concentré parmi les immigrants, les mères immigrantes étant désavantagées de manière disproportionnée. Cette étude met en lumière la façon dont la pandémie a exacerbé les inégalités intersectionnelles fondées sur le sexe, la parentalité et le statut d'immigrant.

**Mots-clés :** Immigration, parents, genre, emploi, inégalité, COVID-19.



## INTRODUCTION

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The work and lives of Canadian workers were derailed at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. In March 2020, Canadian provinces issued wide-ranging public health orders in response to COVID-19. Many businesses closed, schools and childcare facilities stopped operation, and the national economy experienced a downturn. As unemployment rates skyrocketed, inequalities in employment also deepened (Chan, Morissette and Qiu 2020). During COVID-19, the employment of immigrants was hit harder than that of native-born Canadians because immigrants, especially immigrant women, were concentrated in sectors disproportionately affected by pandemic-related job losses, such as food and accommodation (Ferrer and Momani 2020; Scott 2021; Statistics Canada 2020a). Meanwhile, the gender gap in employment among parents of young children widened substantially during the pandemic, with mothers disproportionately pushed out of employment amid childcare centre and school closures (Fuller and Qian 2021; Qian and Fuller 2020).

While a growing body of research has explored the pandemic impacts on inequalities along dimensions of immigrant status or gender, intersectional analyses have been less developed. In particular, previous studies highlighting the growth of gendered inequalities among parents have not considered differences by immigrant status (Fuller and Qian 2021; Qian and Fuller 2020). This is a notable research gap given that immigrants represent a nontrivial share of the Canadian workforce and that immigrant parents may have distinct work-family experiences (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada 2021).

There is reason to expect that working immigrant mothers may be more severely impacted by the pandemic than other workers in Canada, but no quantitative research to date has explored this important facet of employment inequality. The intersectionality framework underscores that immigrant mothers' employment experiences are simultaneously structured by gender-, race- and nativity-based oppression (Flippen 2014). Even before the pandemic, immigrant women experienced higher rates of unemployment, low-wage or precarious work, and education/

skills mismatch, compared with both native-born women and immigrant men (Goldring and Landolt 2011; Nardon et al. 2021; Plante 2011; Yssaad and Fields 2018). Because of labour market segregation and discrimination based on gender, race, and immigrant status, visible minority immigrant women fare the worst in terms of employment, job security, and earnings (Evra and Kazemipur 2019; Frenette and Morissette 2005; Galabuzi 2006; Lightman and Gingrich 2013; Reitz and Banerjee 2007). As the pandemic disrupted formal care arrangements, access to networks of support for caregiving and household gender dynamics may also shape immigrant mothers' employment experiences during COVID-19 in distinct ways.

In this study, we draw on Labour Force Survey data from March 2019 to February 2021 to investigate how gender employment gaps during the pandemic varied at the intersection of parental and immigrant statuses. As parents of older and younger children face different caregiving constraints, we focus on parents with children under 13 years and differentiate between those with preschool and school-aged children (Fuller and Qian 2021; Qian and Fuller 2020). Because time since arrival in Canada likely impacts both employment opportunities and access to resources that can ease caregiving constraints (Gauthier 2016; Hum and Simpson 2004; Neufeld et al. 2002), we differentiate recent immigrants (landed 10 years or less prior) from established immigrants (landed over 10 years ago).

We find that during the school closure months, the gender employment gap widened the most among recent immigrant parents with school-aged children, whereas non-immigrant parents showed little or no growth in the gender gap. This finding suggests that among parents of young children, the growing gender gap in employment during the pandemic was concentrated among immigrants. We also find that during the school reopening months, employment recovered more slowly for established than recent immigrant mothers. These inequalities in employment by gender, parental status, and immigrant status were likely attributable to the insufficient supply of childcare and schooling services, unequal distributions of childcare and homeschooling responsibilities, and increasing financial insecurity of vulnerable households. Our findings illuminate how the pandemic exacerbated gender inequalities at the intersection of immigrant and parental statuses, thereby informing policies aimed at promoting an equitable post-pandemic recovery in Canada.

## BACKGROUND

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### ***Employment, Childcare, and Schooling During the Pandemic***

The COVID-19 pandemic profoundly affected the Canadian labour market. In response to COVID-19, all provinces declared states of emergency between March 17th and 22nd in 2020, closing schools and non-essential businesses.<sup>1</sup> As a result,

over one million individuals lost their jobs in March 2020, and the number went up to two million in April (Statistics Canada 2020b, 2020c). The monthly lay-off rates for March and April 2020 reached an unprecedented level of 12 percent, much higher than the lay-off rates of 2.5–3.5 percent in previous economic downturns (Chan, Morissette and Qiu 2020). The pandemic led to a 32 percent decline in aggregated weekly working hours between February and April of 2020 (Lemieux et al. 2020). Employment began to recover in May 2020 when provinces gradually lifted restrictions on non-essential businesses (Statistics Canada 2020d). The trend of economic recovery continued until October of 2020 when some provinces tightened restrictive measures again in response to a new wave of the pandemic that lingered into the early months of 2021 (Statistics Canada 2020e).

While a small proportion of childcare centres remained open for essential workers with children, the majority shut down from March to May 2020. After May 2020, childcare facilities and schools across Canada slowly resumed operation. The reopening of childcare facilities was, however, hindered by their economic hardships and understaffing (Childcare Research and Resource Unit 2020; Friendly, Forer and Vickerson 2020). Meanwhile, as early as June 2020, some provinces such as Quebec and British Columbia began experimenting with school reopening, but some parents did not enthusiastically embrace it because of concerns about the adequacy of safety measures (Armstrong 2020; Hunter 2020).

While schools reopened across Canada in September 2020 and have largely continued operation since, pandemic impacts on working parents did not simply disappear. Many jurisdictions and businesses continued to offer remote school and work options, some of which had significant uptake (Lamb 2021; Weikle 2020). It remained a challenging endeavour to ensure family safety during the prolonged pandemic (Statistics Canada 2020a). Qualitative research shows that Canadian mothers expressed hesitance to return to work out of concern that their children would not receive stable and safe care (Smith 2022). In addition, lengthy system-wide school closures recurred in some jurisdictions such as Ontario (Gallagher-Mackay et al. 2021). Children may also need to unexpectedly stay at home for a variety of pandemic-related reasons (e.g., COVID-19 exposures, COVID-19 symptoms, outbreaks in their classroom or school), which could further restrict parents from fully returning to work (The Canadian Press 2020a). Some parents also opted for remote schooling alternatives during the 2020/21 school year (Gollom 2021).

### ***Parental Gender Gap in Employment During the Pandemic***

Given the changes in employment, childcare, and schooling reviewed above, gender inequality issues have attracted much attention since the very beginning of the pandemic. Described as a “she-cession,” the COVID-19 pandemic has led to a

disproportionate decline in women's employment across the globe (Alon et al. 2021; Bluedorn et al. 2021; Yavorsky, Qian and Sargent 2021). Mothers with young children were particularly vulnerable to job loss and work hours reduction in the early months of the pandemic (Collins et al. 2021; Fuller and Qian 2021; Lemieux et al. 2020; Qian and Fuller 2020; Scott 2021).

Several conditions contributed to the employment losses of women, especially women with young children, during the pandemic. First, women were disproportionately employed in the service sector, which experienced the largest number of job losses among all industries (Grekou and Lu 2021). In addition, service workers in food and accommodations had a much more limited capacity to work remotely (Mehdi and Morissette 2021), which may compel women with childcare responsibilities to withdraw from work. Second, school closures intensified the burden of caregiving and schoolwork supervision borne by family members, and such increased load was unequally shouldered by women due to pre-existing gendered divisions of domestic labour (Haney and Barber 2022; Shafer et al. 2020). Although some fathers who worked from home increased their contribution to childcare during the first months of the pandemic, women continued to spend more hours on childcare than men (Johnston et al. 2020; Shafer et al. 2020).

An intersectional lens alerts us that the parental gender gap in employment may be configured by additional axes of social inequality such as immigrant status, race/ethnicity, and class. Less research, however, has explored the interconnections between parenthood and other dimensions of inequality in shaping the gender employment gap during the pandemic. In our study, we focus on immigrant status, a social category that is particularly important in immigrant-receiving countries like Canada.

### ***Immigration, Gender, and Employment in Canada***

Immigrant women face substantial obstacles integrating into the Canadian labour market. Immigrants routinely suffer from higher levels of unemployment and education/skills mismatch than native-born women (Plante 2011; Tastsoglou and Preston 2005). Compared with native-born women and immigrant men, immigrant women consistently earn lower wages, experience higher levels of job precarity, and have more difficulty advancing their careers (Banerjee and Lee 2015; Lightman and Gingrich 2018; Liu 2019; Wang 2021; Yssaad and Fields 2018).

Such disadvantages are exacerbated when discrimination based on gender and immigrant status is compounded with racism, as a large proportion of immigrants are visible minorities (Momani et al. 2021). For example, while immigrants with international qualifications and degrees commonly face undervaluation of their education and skills, such discrimination affects immigrant visible minority women

the most (Li 2003). Even when immigrant visible minority women obtain degrees and work experience in Canada, employers may still undervalue their qualifications (Reitz and Banerjee 2007). Systematic racism also operates through mechanisms such as institutional racial profiling for self-employed immigrants (Nkrumah 2022), discrimination based on language and speech accent (Creese and Wiebe 2012), and religious discrimination against groups like Muslim immigrants (Reitz et al. 2009). As these forms of racism often intertwine with social processes that exclude and devalue women workers, racialized immigrant women are particularly disadvantaged in the labour market (Lightman and Gingrich 2013).

Immigrant mothers face additional challenges in their work and family lives. Immigrant mothers not only experience cultural and language barriers to accessing childcare and career development services but may also receive insufficient informal childrearing support due to their limited social ties in the host society (Khanlou et al. 2017; Neufeld et al. 2002; Zhu 2016). Given the emphasis on children's educational achievements in immigrant families, immigrant mothers may feel greater pressure to devote time to home-based parental involvement, such as schoolwork supervision (Antony-Newman 2019). These conditions likely exaggerate unequal gendered power dynamics in the household and reinforce traditional gender roles, limiting immigrant mothers' capacity to fully actualize their labour market potential (Choi et al. 2014; Das Gupta 1994; Man and Chou 2020; Shan 2015).

The COVID-19 outbreak has disrupted immigrants', especially immigrant women's, work-family experiences. Immigrants were overrepresented in industries most affected by the pandemic, such as restaurants and accommodations (Yssaad and Fields 2018). As a result, immigrants experienced massive job losses overall, with an even higher unemployment rate among immigrant women than immigrant men from March to May 2020 (Ferrer and Momani 2020). Qualitative inquiries further shed light on other hardships experienced by immigrant women, including career interruptions, inability to manage both work and family obligations as remote workers, and difficulty maintaining their businesses, particularly amid a wave of anti-Asian racism fuelled by the pandemic (Béland et al. 2020; Guruge et al. 2021; Mo et al. 2020; Nardon et al. 2021).

Racialized immigrant communities suffered from significant economic instabilities when the pandemic hit. Local data in Toronto and Vancouver show that visible minority immigrants, especially black immigrants, experienced high rates of poverty and unstable housing (Mensah and Williams 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic also brought about a wave of xenophobia, overt racism against Asians, and anti-immigrant attitudes that caused many visible minority immigrants, especially Asian immigrants, to live in fear (Esses and Hamilton 2021; Wu et al. 2020). Racialized immigrant women's overrepresentation in jobs that required close interpersonal

contact, such as health care and social care, exposed them to not only increased health risk but also heightened the stress of working under a growing burden of interpersonal racism (Lightman 2022; Song et al. 2020). Additionally, compared to white immigrant women and non-immigrant women, a higher proportion of racialized immigrant women worked in jobs that could not be performed remotely, which were more vulnerable to pandemic-related job losses (Johnson 2022). While these studies illuminate particular gendered and racialized pandemic experiences among immigrants, they do not examine how employment patterns during the pandemic differed systematically by intersections of immigrant status, gender, and parental status, a gap we fill in the current study.

## DATA AND METHODS

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### *Data*

We draw on the public use microdata of Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey (LFS). The LFS provides monthly data representative of the Canadian working-age population.<sup>2</sup> It is designed as a rolling panel survey with six rotating groups in the sample. Each month, one-sixth of the sample is replaced. The LFS has supported a series of studies on the pandemic's labour market impact (see Brochu 2021 for a review).

We pool data from March 2019 to February 2021 ( $N = 2,240,721$ ) to investigate the probability of employment during the pandemic (March 2020 to February 2021), as compared to the pre-pandemic year (March 2019 to February 2020). We include only individuals who are currently employed or worked within the last year ( $N = 1,487,871$ ). Although data post-February 2021 are available, we do not include subsequent months because we would exclude potentially a large number of individuals who lost their jobs during the pandemic (after February 2020) and failed to find re-employment within a year. We further restrict our sample to individuals of prime working age (25–54 years) ( $N = 894,958$ ). To differentiate parents with intensive childcare demands that may compromise their capacity for work from those with children old enough to be left unsupervised, we focus on parents with their youngest child under age 13, consistent with previous research on gender employment gaps among parents (Fuller and Qian 2021; Qian and Fuller 2020). We combine individuals with no children and individuals whose youngest child is 18 and older to create our reference group of individuals with no childcare responsibilities.<sup>3</sup> Removing parents with the youngest child aged between 13 and 17 results in a sample of 808,033 observations. After the listwise deletion of cases with missing variables, our final sample size is 806,987: 404,731 in the year of March 2019 to February 2020 and 402,256 in the year of March 2020 to February 2021.

### **Variables**

Our primary dependent variable is employment (employed = 1, otherwise = 0). We do not examine unemployment as our dependent variable because it is less helpful in estimating the pandemic's labour market impact. As many employing organizations closed during the pandemic, individuals who experienced job loss may not actively search for jobs.

Our main independent variables are dummy indicators of survey period (pandemic vs. pre-pandemic) or survey month over the course of our observation period, gender (men, women – the only categories available in our data), immigrant status (recent immigrants, established immigrants, non-immigrants), and parental status (parents with school-aged children, parents with preschool children, individuals with no dependent children). For immigrant status, the LFS distinguishes between immigrants who landed over ten years ago and immigrants who landed within the past ten years. We label the former “established immigrants” and the latter “recent immigrants.” Non-immigrants refer to Canadian citizens by birth. For parental status, parents with school-aged children refer to individuals with a youngest child aged 6 to 12, and parents with preschool children refer to individuals with a youngest child under age 6.

We control for a number of demographic characteristics, including age, education, student status, marital status, and province of residence (including all ten provinces). Specifically, age is coded in five-year groups from 25 to 54. Education measures the highest educational attainment in three categories: high school or less, postsecondary credential, and university degree or equivalent. Marital status is classified into three categories: married/common-law, previously married, and never married. In addition, we control for several characteristics of the respondent's current or last job: the class of worker (public sector, private sector, self-employed), tenure (in months), part-time/full-time status, industry (21 categories), and occupation (40 categories). For those who are not currently employed, job characteristics reflect their last job. Descriptive statistics for all variables are presented in Appendix A.

### **Analytic Strategy**

We use logistic regression to model the log-odds of being employed and present our results in graphs. All our analyses are weighted and use robust standard errors. First, we estimate the difference in the predicted probability of employment between the school closure period of March to August 2020 and one year prior (March to August 2019). This analysis allows us to eliminate seasonal fluctuations in employment rates and isolate the impact of the pandemic in the period when caregiving constraints were most acute. Specifically, we run separate models by gender and parental status without controls while including the interaction term between survey period (the



pandemic school closure period vs. pre-pandemic) and immigrant status in each model. We graphically present the percentage point differences in employment between pre-pandemic and pandemic periods. We then run models with control variables to adjust for demographic and job characteristics. Second, we conduct parallel analysis to compare the school reopening period (September 2020 to February 2021) with the pre-pandemic months one year prior (September 2019 to February 2020). This allows us to see the extent to which initial pandemic impacts eased with the reopening of schools. Third, we examine how men's and women's employment changed month by month from February 2020 to February 2021 in models without and with controls. Models without controls allow for direct observation of raw differences in employment probability, and models with controls reveal differences in employment probability after demographic and job characteristics are accounted for. For all three sets of analyses, we graphically present results from models without and with controls.

Given the disproportionate impact of the pandemic's economic fallout on non-professional workers (Grekou and Lu 2021), we run supplementary models to further disaggregate our analysis in the third step by professional (managerial included) and nonprofessional (nonmanagerial included) occupations. Our results from these models without and with controls are presented graphically in Appendices B-E.

## RESULTS

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### *Sample Characteristics*

Table 1 presents summary statistics for key variables pooled across the observation months, including current employment status, education, age, and top industries of employment by gender, immigrant status, and parental status. Most of the individuals in our sample (86–95%) were employed. In terms of education, women in all but one subgroup have higher proportions of university graduates than their male counterparts, consistent with the national trend of women outnumbering men in attaining tertiary degrees (Guppy and Luongo 2015). Immigrants, especially recent immigrants, have much higher proportions (39–62%) of university graduates than non-immigrants (21–43%), attesting to Canadian immigration policy's recent focus on skilled immigration (Ferrer et al. 2014). As for age, parents were more concentrated in the middle age categories (35–44 years old), whereas individuals without young children in their care tend to fall into the youngest (25–29) and oldest (50–54) age ranges.

Industry of employment also shows visible differences by gender and immigrant status. Health care and social assistance were the top industry of employment for women, regardless of immigrant and parental statuses. Non-immigrant and

**TABLE 1.** Sample characteristics, pooled observations March 2019 to Feb 2021

<b>Panel A.</b> <b>Non-parents</b>	Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
Employment	0.91	0.89	0.91	0.91	0.89	0.92
<i>Highest educational attainment</i>						
High school or less	0.24	0.17	0.3	0.24	0.37	0.25
Postsecondary credential	0.26	0.27	0.31	0.33	0.42	0.42
University degree	0.5	0.56	0.39	0.43	0.21	0.34
<i>Five-year age group of respondent</i>						
25 to 29 years	0.25	0.25	0.17	0.13	0.24	0.22
30 to 34 years	0.27	0.24	0.15	0.11	0.17	0.14
35 to 39 years	0.17	0.14	0.13	0.08	0.12	0.1
40 to 44 years	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.11	0.1
45 to 49 years	0.1	0.14	0.17	0.2	0.14	0.17
50 to 54 years	0.11	0.13	0.29	0.38	0.22	0.27
<i>Top 3 industries of employment</i>	Retail trade	Health care and social assistance	Construction	Health care and social assistance	Construction	Health care and social assistance
	Transportation and warehousing	Accommodation and food services	Professional, scientific and technical services	Retail trade	Transportation and warehousing	Educational services
	Professional, scientific and technical services	Retail trade	Transportation and warehousing	Educational services	Manufacturing – durable goods	Retail trade

**TABLE 1.** Sample characteristics, pooled observations March 2019 to Feb 2021 (continued)

Panel B. Parents with preschool children	Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Employment	0.93	0.86	0.94	0.89	0.94	0.92
<i>Highest educational attainment</i>						
High school or less	0.18	0.12	0.26	0.16	0.28	0.17
Postsecondary credential	0.26	0.26	0.3	0.32	0.46	0.4
University degree	0.56	0.62	0.44	0.52	0.26	0.43
<i>Five-year age group of respondent</i>						
25 to 29 years	0.05	0.12	0.04	0.08	0.11	0.18
30 to 34 years	0.26	0.33	0.17	0.26	0.31	0.37
35 to 39 years	0.41	0.39	0.32	0.36	0.34	0.32
40 to 44 years	0.21	0.14	0.28	0.25	0.18	0.12
45 to 49 years	0.07	0.02	0.13	0.04	0.05	0.02
50 to 54 years	0.01	0	0.06	0	0.01	0
<i>Top industries of employment</i>	Transportation and warehousing	Health care and social assistance	Construction	Health care and social assistance	Construction	Health care and social assistance
	Professional, scientific and technical services	Accommodation and food services	Transportation and warehousing	Educational services	Public administration	Educational services
	Manufacturing – durable goods	Retail trade	Professional, scientific and technical services	Retail trade	Manufacturing – durable goods	Retail trade

**TABLE 1.** Sample characteristics, pooled observations March 2019 to Feb 2021 (continued)

<b>Panel C. Parents with school-aged children</b>	Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Employment	0.93	0.88	0.95	0.91	0.95	0.93
<i>Highest educational attainment</i>						
High school or less	0.18	0.14	0.23	0.19	0.27	0.2
Postsecondary credential	0.26	0.3	0.28	0.3	0.47	0.44
University degree	0.56	0.55	0.49	0.51	0.26	0.36
<i>Five-year age group of respondent</i>						
25 to 29 years	0.01	0.02	0	0.01	0.01	0.03
30 to 34 years	0.04	0.11	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.11
35 to 39 years	0.2	0.3	0.11	0.2	0.21	0.28
40 to 44 years	0.35	0.34	0.3	0.34	0.37	0.35
45 to 49 years	0.28	0.2	0.35	0.31	0.26	0.19
50 to 54 years	0.11	0.04	0.22	0.1	0.1	0.04
Top industries of employment	Professional, scientific and technical services	Health care and social assistance	Professional, scientific and technical services	Health care and social assistance	Construction	Health care and social assistance
	Manufacturing – durable goods	Retail trade	Construction	Retail trade	Public administration	Retail trade
	Health care and social assistance	Educational services	Manufacturing – durable goods	Educational services	Manufacturing – durable goods	Educational services

established immigrant women were also concentrated in industries severely impacted by the pandemic, including education and retail. Additionally, a large portion of recent immigrant women worked in accommodation and food services, consistent with other studies (Yssaad and Fields 2018). Women are concentrated in a smaller number of industries compared to men. Recent immigrant men, though, were more likely to work in professional, scientific, and technical services, whereas a higher proportion of non-immigrant and established immigrant men worked in construction.

**Year-Over-Year Analysis**

Our first analysis focuses on the probability of employment during the initial phase of the pandemic compared with the same months in the previous year. We first pool observations for the pandemic months of March to August in 2020, the lockdown stage of the pandemic and subsequent summer, when most schools were closed across Canada. We then calculate the difference in the probability of employment in these months relative to the same months a year prior (March to August in 2019) for groups that differ by gender, immigrant status, and parental status. Figure 1a presents this difference in percentage points based on models without controls, allowing us to observe raw differences in employment probability across groups. A negative value indicates that the probability of employment decreased during the pandemic relative to the same months in the prior, pre-pandemic year.

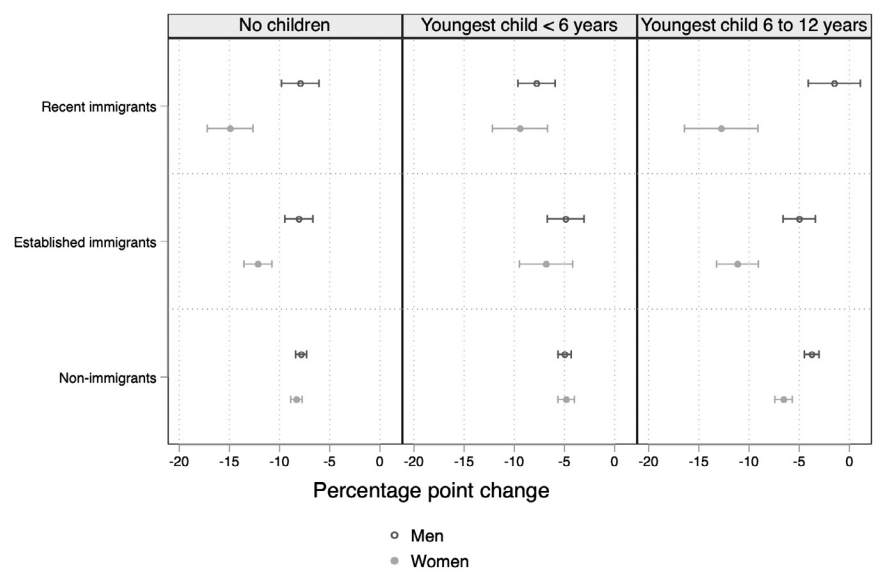


Fig. 1a. Percentage point change in the probability of being employed from March to August of 2019 to March to August of 2020, by gender, parental status, and immigrant status, without controls

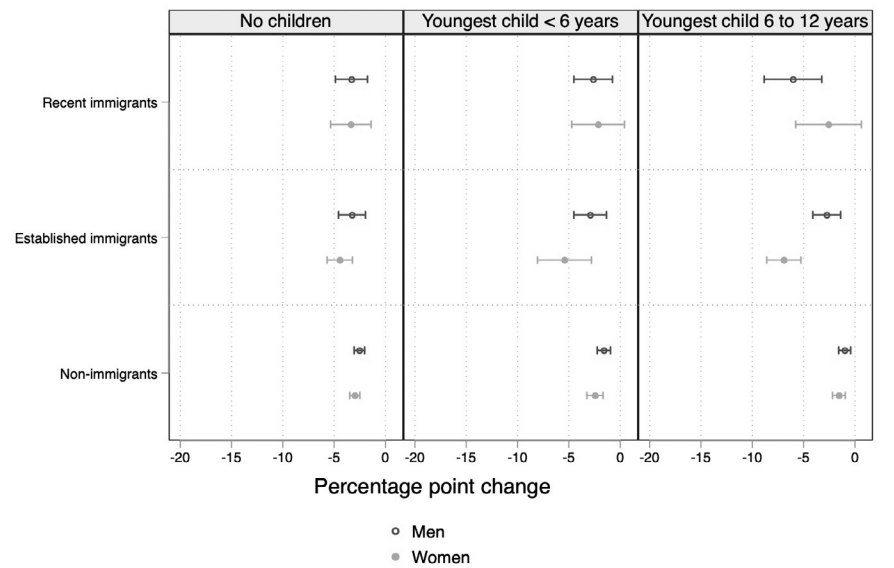


Fig. 2a. Percentage point change in the probability of being employed from September 2019 to February 2020 to September 2020 to February 2021, by gender, parental status and immigrant status, without controls

The pandemic was associated with a significant decrease in employment probability compared to the prior year among men and women of all nine groups (defined by parental and immigrant statuses) except for recent immigrant men with school-aged children. In five of the nine groups (i.e., parents of school-aged children regardless of immigrant status and immigrants without dependent children), women’s decline in employment was significantly greater than that of men, meaning that the gender employment gap widened to increasingly favour men during the pandemic.

When comparing the gender gap change within each immigrant-status group, we find that gender employment gaps grew most dramatically among those with school-aged children, highlighting the impact of school closures on gender inequalities in the labour market. Immigrant status mattered too. The growing gender gap among parents of school-aged children was most apparent for recent immigrants (11.3 percentage points), followed by established immigrants (6.2 percentage points), and then non-immigrants (3 percentage points). Immigrants without dependent children also witnessed a visible gender gap growth, especially for recent immigrants. Notably, we saw no evidence of increased gender gaps in employment among non-immigrants without dependent children. Parents with preschool children did not show significantly increased gender gaps either.

As schools and childcare facilities widely resumed operations after September 2020, gender employment gaps may have evolved. Figure 2a presents the differences

in the probability of employment between September 2020 to February 2021, when schools reopened, and September 2019 to February 2020 (models estimated without controls). For most groups, the probability of employment was still significantly lower relative to the pre-pandemic period, although of a much lesser magnitude than during the school closure phase. Changes in the gender employment gap were also smaller or even insignificant in the reopening phase. Recall that, during the school closure phase, the gender employment gap widened the most among recent immigrant parents with school-aged children. The gender employment gap in this group actually narrowed when we compare September 2020 to February 2021 to September 2019 to February 2020, with men experiencing greater declines in employment (6.0 percentage points,  $p < 0.05$ ) than women (2.6 percentage points,  $p > 0.05$ ). However, established immigrant mothers still suffered a greater decline in employment than established immigrant fathers, especially among those with school-aged children. The employment probability of established immigrant mothers with school-aged children, for example, dropped by 7.0 percentage points, which was more than twice the decrease experienced by their male counterparts (2.8 percentage points).

Taken together, Figures 1a and 2a demonstrate that the pandemic’s negative impact on employment differs by gender, immigrant status, and parental status. Immigrant women, especially immigrant mothers of school-aged children, experienced the largest

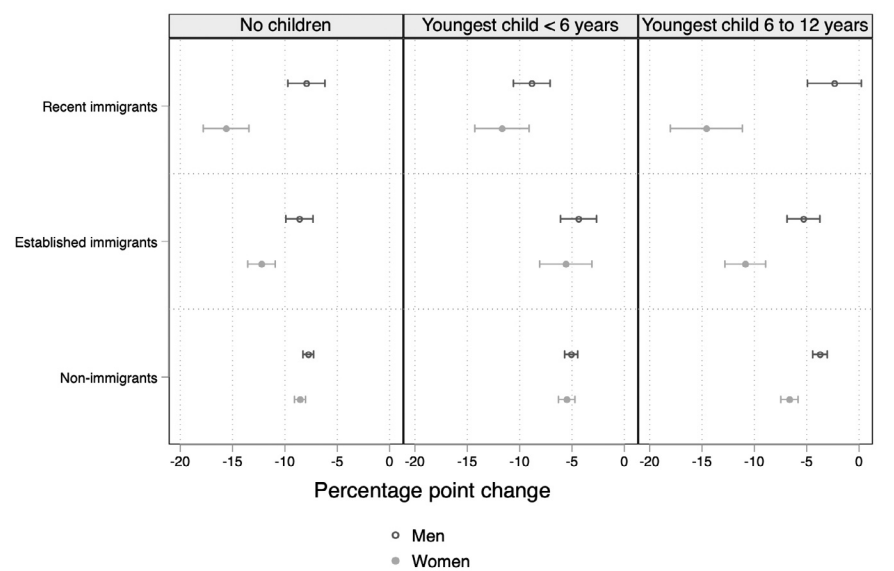


Fig. 1b. Percentage point change in the probability of being employed from March to August of 2019 to March to August of 2020, by gender, parental status, and immigrant status, with controls

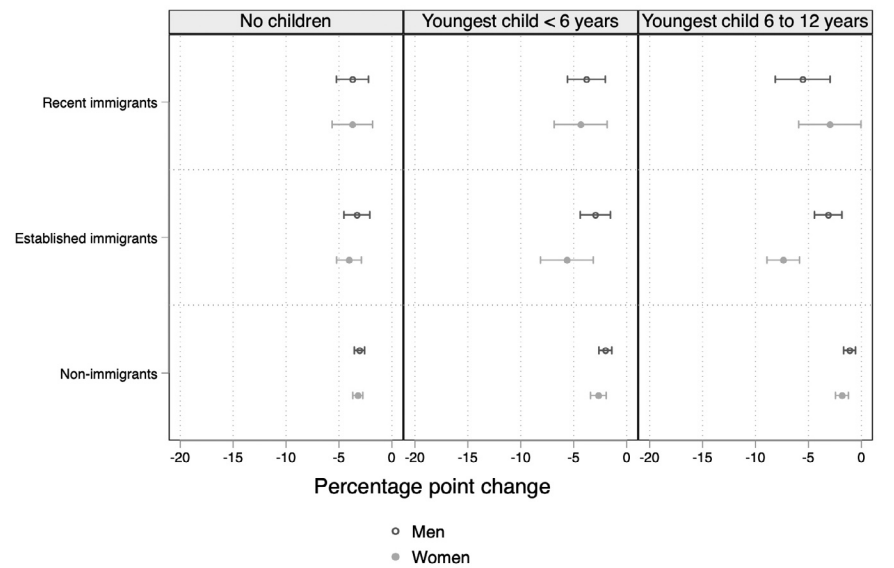


Fig. 2b. Percentage point change in the probability of being employed from September 2019 to February 2020 to September 2020 to February 2021, by gender, parental status and immigrant status, with controls

drop in employment during the pandemic. Adding controls to our models does not change this general picture, as shown in Figures 1b and 2b where we present the results from models controlling for demographic and job characteristics. Indeed, in the models with controls for the school closure phase (Figure 1b), the predicted declines in the employment probability of recent immigrant women of all parental statuses were slightly larger than in models without controls (Figure 1a), while for other groups, probabilities of employment were similar. For the school reopening phase, the predicted employment probabilities from models without and with controls (Figures 2a and 2b) were virtually identical.

**Monthly Trends**

In Figure 3a, we present the probability of employment by month, gender, immigrant status, and parental status from February 2020 to February 2021 to provide a more detailed picture of employment ebbs and flows (models estimated without controls). The two vertical lines in each graph separate the one-year period into three temporal segments: February 2020 as a pre-pandemic reference; March 2020 to August 2020, the school closure phase; and September 2020 to February 2021, the school reopening stage.

The employment probability of all groups of Canadian workers sharply declined during the first three months of the pandemic, hitting the lowest level



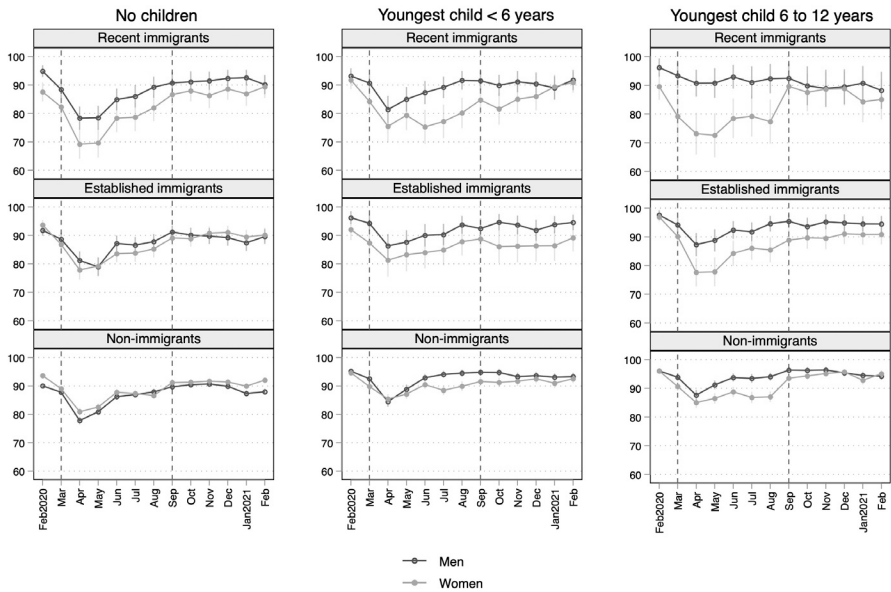


Fig. 3a. Probability of employment by gender, parental status, immigrant status, and survey month, February 2020 to February 2021, without controls

around April or May 2020. A gradual recovery of employment followed as the Canadian economy opened up. Recent immigrant fathers with school-aged children were a notable exception. Rather than a sudden dip in employment in early 2020, they instead suffered a gradual decline. Including controls for job and demographic characteristics (see Figure 3b) does not substantially change the trends we see, indicating that the changes and disparities in men’s and women’s employment cannot be explained by personal characteristics or differences in the types of jobs that mothers and fathers had.

Consistent with our previous analysis, we see considerable gender gaps in employment emerging in the school closure phase of the pandemic. Recall that individuals not attached to the labour market for an extended period are already excluded from our sample, which only consists of individuals who had been employed in the pre-pandemic year (March 2019 to February 2020). In our sample, only three groups showed significant gender employment gaps favouring men in February 2020: recent immigrants of school-aged children, recent immigrants without dependent children, and established immigrants with preschool children. The gender employment gaps in these three groups did not exceed 8 percentage points. Comparing across immigrant statuses within each parental status group, we find that the gender gap during the school closure period was largest among recent immigrants, followed by established immigrants and non-immigrants. We also see

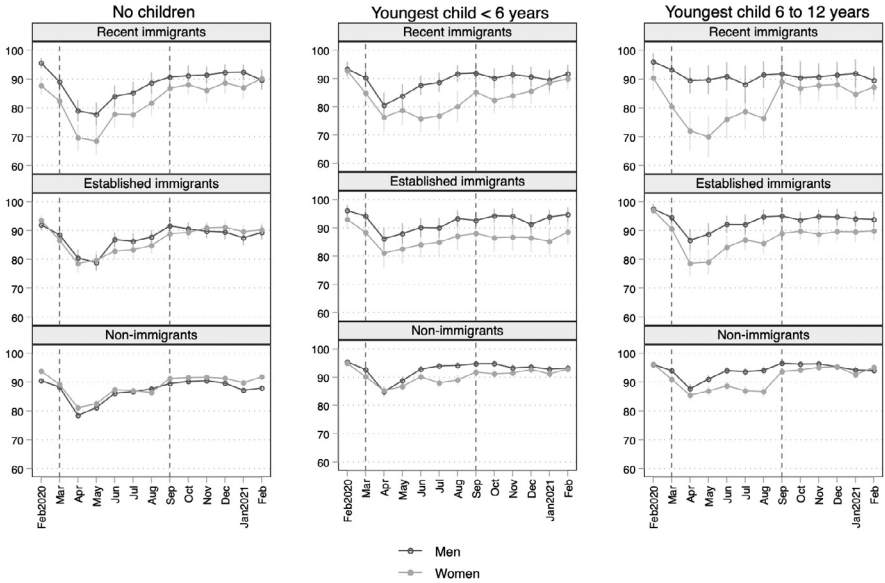


Fig. 3b. Probability of employment by gender, parental status, immigrant status, and survey month, February 2020 to February 2021, with controls

that within each immigrant status group, parents of school-aged children had a much larger gender gap than parents of preschool children and individuals without dependent children.

Considering immigrant and parental statuses together, we find that recent immigrants with school-aged children reported the largest gender gap across the pandemic months – reaching a full 18.2 percentage points in May 2020. In the same month, the gender gap in employment also peaked for established immigrants with school-aged children at 10.9 percentage points. For those with preschool children, the maximum gender gap occurred later. It was in June 2020 at 12.1 percentage points for recent immigrants with preschool children and in October 2020 (the school reopening phase) at 8.6 percentage points for established immigrants with preschool children.

The unmatched magnitude of the gender employment gap among recent immigrants with school-aged children in the school closure phase was driven mostly by the decrease in recent immigrant mothers’ employment probability, compounded with the relative stability of recent immigrant fathers’ employment. Indeed, recent immigrant fathers of school-aged children were the only group whose employment probability remained above 90 percent throughout the school closure phase. At the time when the largest gender gap occurred for each group, only 72.6 percent of recent immigrant mothers of school-aged children who had been employed pre-

pandemic reported being in employment in May 2020 (90.8 percent for their male counterparts), and 75.3 percent of recent immigrant mothers with preschool children in June 2020 (87.4 percent for their male counterparts). By contrast, the employment probability of established immigrant or non-immigrant mothers remained around or above 80 percent throughout this year.

Our results also reveal differences in the responsiveness to a shift towards school reopening among groups of varying immigrant and parental statuses. Most significantly, the gender gap of established immigrant parents narrowed much more slowly than that of recent immigrants and non-immigrants. For parents with school-aged children, the gender gap narrowed to 0.2 percentage point by November 2020 (widening to a small degree afterwards) among recent immigrants and to 1.2 percentage points among non-immigrants around the same time, while established immigrants showed a persisting gender gap of approximately 3.5 percentage points. The same pattern is also apparent among parents with preschool children. For this group, recent immigrants and non-immigrants reported no significant gender gaps by February 2021, but the gender gap between established immigrant fathers and mothers actually increased during the school reopening period. Thus, our finding highlights the necessity to distinguish between recent and established immigrants. The employment of established immigrant parents may appear more resilient than that of recent immigrant parents at the beginning of the pandemic, but it experienced a more persistent gendered impact of COVID-19.

To further unpack occupation-based differences in employment probability trends, we disaggregate individuals working in professional and managerial occupations from those in other occupations. In Appendix B, we present the probability of employment by month, gender, immigrant status, and parental status from February 2020 to February 2021 for professional/managerial workers without controls. For established immigrants and non-immigrants, employment probability remained more stable throughout the year than in the combined sample, and gender gaps were also typically smaller. The largest gender employment gap in any single month across these six groups existed among established immigrants with preschool children in March 2020 (10.8 percentage points), but the gap disappeared after schools reopened. By contrast, recent immigrant women (especially mothers) experienced drastic declines in employment in the school closure period, falling behind their male counterparts by 19.3 percentage points in May 2020. Controlling for demographic and job characteristics (Appendix C) does not change the trends or gender differences across immigrant and parental statuses for professional and managerial workers.

For individuals in nonprofessional/nonmanagerial occupations, a dramatic decline in employment in the school closure period can be observed for both men and women regardless of immigrant and parental statuses. As shown in Appendix D,

gender gaps in employment grew among all parents but were especially large among recent (maximum 19.0 percentage points) and established immigrant parents of school-aged children (maximum 21.9 percentage points). After schools reopened, employment largely recovered for all but established immigrant mothers with preschool children, whose employment fell until January 2021. The employment of established immigrant mothers with school-aged children did not decline in the school reopening period, but by February 2021, it still lagged behind that of their male counterparts. For most other groups (except non-immigrants with preschool children), the gender employment gaps had become similar to their pre-pandemic levels by February 2021. Adding controls (Appendix E) does not change the general employment trends for nonprofessional/nonmanagerial workers either.

In sum, professional/managerial workers experienced relative stability and smaller gender gaps compared with other workers, but immigrant and parental status mattered too. Recent immigrant mothers in both professional/managerial and other occupations experienced substantial employment declines and large gender gaps relative to their male counterparts during the school closure period. The gender gap in employment during the school reopening period was most pronounced among established immigrants in nonprofessional/nonmanagerial occupations.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

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Gender inequality in employment has emerged as a critical issue for Canadian society amid trends of declining employment during the pandemic (The Canadian Women's Foundation et al. 2020). Although existing studies have found that gender inequality in employment increased during the pandemic (Fuller and Qian 2021; Qian and Fuller 2020), we do not have sufficient knowledge about how the configuration of gender, parental status, and immigrant status as intersecting structures of oppression shapes employment during the pandemic. In this study, we bridge this gap in the literature by investigating how parental status and immigrant status together affect the gender gap in employment.

Our results demonstrate that among parents of young children, the growth of the gender gap in employment was most pronounced among immigrants. Recent immigrants with school-aged children experienced both the largest growth of the gender gap over the school closure period and the largest gender gap in any single month between February 2020 and February 2021. This is consistent with previous research findings on structural disadvantages associated with motherhood and immigration in the labour market (Banerjee and Lee 2015; Lightman and Gingrich 2018; Neufeld et al. 2002; Tastsoglou and Preston 2005; Yssaad and Fields 2018). Occupying a social position of intersecting marginalization, recent immigrant

mothers were likely influenced by both heightened job insecurity and elevated child-care burdens. The fact that recent immigrant mothers of school-aged children were more impacted than those with preschool children likely underscores homeschooling as a significant demand that weighs in on working parents' employment decisions. Helping children achieve academic excellence is a critical element of good parenting in immigrant families (Antony-Newman 2019). Highly educated immigrant mothers who work in lower-skill positions, a not-uncommon combination given the barriers faced by immigrant women in Canada (Premji et al. 2014), may be more likely to forego employment to prioritize their children's education.

We also report that recent immigrant mothers' employment recovered quickly in the school reopening period. This finding corresponds to previous studies linking the supply of childcare services with mothers' capacity to participate in the labour force (Collins et al. 2021; Phan et al. 2015; Suto 2009). Another relevant condition is that a large proportion of newly added jobs since September 2020 have been in service industries such as food and accommodations (Lundy 2020). Since recent immigrant women were already concentrated in these sectors before the pandemic, their rapid re-entry into the labour market may be associated with in-person non-front-line service jobs becoming available again. However, recent immigrant women's employment recovery does not necessarily equate with the restoration of their pre-pandemic employment and living conditions, as women with career disruptions often find themselves in worse working conditions or working fewer hours upon reemployment (Fuller and Qian 2022). Some skilled recent immigrant women who have entered new jobs after the initial closure period have complained about being trapped in downward career trajectories and "survival jobs" in the service sector (Nardon et al. 2021). Recent immigrant mothers' fast employment recovery may also reflect heightened financial insecurity in newcomer families during the lockdown months (Hou et al. 2020; LaRochelle-Côté and Uppal 2020; Men and Tarasuk 2021), which forced mothers to find ways to increase the family income however possible.

Despite the reopening of the economy, the ongoing pandemic continues to complicate individuals' work and family lives. Sending children to school or going back to face-to-face jobs are unavoidably associated with higher health risks for workers and their families, and recent immigrant families are unlikely to have the best resources to mitigate these risks. Some of the primary barriers to immigrants' access to health care services, such as language and knowledge barriers, afflict recent immigrants most profoundly (Kalich et al. 2016; Pandey et al. 2022). In short, more research is urgently needed to investigate if the vulnerability in employment has transmuted into other forms of inequality for recent immigrant mothers returning to employment.

Equally worth paying attention to is the experience of established immigrants. Contrary to the literature describing established immigrants as in similar employment

situations to native-born Canadians (Zietsma 2007), established immigrant parents experienced the pandemic differently from non-immigrants. Established immigrant parents of young children experienced a growth of the gender employment gap that resembled more closely the experience of recent immigrant parents than of non-immigrant parents, who had much smaller, in some cases negligible, gender disparities in employment. As immigrants integrate into the Canadian labour market, their earnings and skills increase, and many employment challenges (e.g., language barriers) begin to ease (Gauthier 2016; Hum and Simpson 2004). Nevertheless, highly-educated established immigrant women still exhibit higher levels of education/skills mismatch in the labour market than Canadian-born women (Adserà and Ferrer 2016). Thus, the pandemic and its associated economic downturns may have exposed the structural precarity of established immigrant women's employment (Liu and Guo 2021).

Moreover, during the school reopening period, established immigrant parents still suffered a significant gender gap in employment, when gender employment gaps almost disappeared among recent immigrant parents and non-immigrant parents. Notably, established immigrant mothers in nonprofessional/nonmanagerial occupations experienced stagnation and declines in employment after lockdown restrictions were lifted. This group of mothers might have left their jobs to protect their children from the high health risks associated with attending school and care facilities during this period. In Canada, in the time period of our study, COVID-19 cases began to increase again before the end of 2020, rose consistently over Thanksgiving and the Christmas season, and peaked in January 2021 (Johns Hopkins University 2022). To address increasing transmission risks, several provinces implemented stricter public health regulations in schools and even kindergartens (Warmington 2020), highlighting the increased risk facing children and their families (Zussman 2020). Because established immigrant mothers in non-professional jobs also likely experience job mismatch (Adserà and Ferrer 2016), they might deem it unworthwhile to stay in unskilled positions in the face of serious threats to their family's health. The decreased employment of established immigrant mothers threatens to marginalize them in the labour market. Unemployment may have a long-lasting impact on the employability of individuals (Brand 2015). Scholars have warned that long spells of unemployment are associated with losses of skills and human capital and are often viewed negatively by employers (Arulampalam 2001; Krahn and Chow 2016). Established immigrant mothers who have lost jobs and have not been reemployed may be susceptible to such "scarring effect" of prolonged unemployment.

Finally, the employment of several groups was relatively secure and stable amid the pandemic. Fathers were relatively insulated from the trend of declining employment

during the first year of the pandemic. One possibility is that employers may be particularly sympathetic to fathers' breadwinning responsibilities, especially during economic downturns, which in turn contributed to lower layoff rates of fathers with young children (Dias et al. 2020; Fuller and Qian 2022). Also, recent immigrant fathers with school-aged children stood out since they did not exhibit a sharp initial decline shared by all other groups during the school closure phase. This unique pattern might suggest that recent immigrant fathers were more attached to their employment and took on fewer care responsibilities than other groups of fathers (Mussino et al. 2018). In addition, the employment of recent immigrant fathers may have been affected by family and employer pressure. Research shows that despite few protective measures and significant health risks at their workplaces early in the pandemic, many immigrant workers involuntarily remained on their jobs, out of concern for the family financial situation or under pressure from their employers (LaRochelle-Côté and Uppal 2020; Mensah and Williams 2022; Solheim et al. 2022).

Our study points to several directions for future research. The Labour Force Survey has only started to collect data on race (under the label "visible minority") since July 2020. Therefore, we cannot meaningfully compare the employment probabilities of racialized groups before and after the pandemic. Existing scholarship on visible minority workers' pandemic experience suggests that they have suffered severe economic disadvantages, including job loss and poverty during the pandemic (Hou et al. 2020; Scott 2021). As many Canadian immigrants identify as visible minorities, it is important to incorporate the racial/ethnic dimension into the analysis of pandemic work-family experiences. Notably, the proportion of visible minorities among newly immigrated women has been steadily rising each year, reaching as high as 84% in 2016 (Momani et al. 2021). Future studies can investigate whether the dramatic decline in recent immigrant mothers' employment reflects the compounded effect of their visible minority identity, parental status, and immigrant status.

As demographic and job characteristics cannot explain the growth of gender employment gaps among immigrants, exploring other unaccounted aspects of immigration awaits future studies. Equally important as time since arrival in Canada, class of entry shapes immigrants' employment experiences. Immigrant women are disproportionately represented in the "dependent spouse" category, and these women face the greatest difficulty integrating into the labour market (Banerjee and Phan 2015; Raghuram 2000). The entry visa category also needs to be analyzed relationally, as immigration strategies of family units are shaped by pre-immigration family dynamics such as gender role ideology and couples' educational and earnings pairings (Phan et al. 2015). These family dynamics will in turn affect immigrant families' divisions of paid and unpaid labour in Canada. With linked data from the LFS and administrative records, future studies may be able to include predictors,

such as class of entry and pre-immigration work history, to better understand gender inequality in employment among immigrant parents.

All in all, through our intersectional approach, we provide a fuller understanding of the widened gender employment gap among parents of young children during the pandemic and point out that the growing gap was concentrated among immigrant parents of young children. Our study adds new insights into how the pandemic exacerbates multiple inequalities by gender, parenthood, and immigrant status.

## NOTES

1. There are exceptions to the nationwide school closure. Some provinces, such as British Columbia and Quebec, provided school services for children of essential workers (Sterritt 2020; The Canadian Press 2020b).
2. The LFS does not sample people living on reserves and other Indigenous settlements, people who are institutionalized, full-time members of the Canadian Forces, and residents of extremely remote regions or those with extremely low population (Statistics Canada 2017). Public use LFS files only include data from the ten Canadian provinces, and territorial data are published separately.
3. We recognize some parents with disabled children aged 18 or older may continue to have childcare responsibilities, but we are unable to isolate this group with our data.

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**SIQI (REBECCA) QIN** is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. Her research interests are in gender, work, mental health and inequalities.

**MANLIN CAI** is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. Her research focuses on migration, gender, work-family issues, and social inequality in Canada and China. Her paper with Dr. Yue Qian, “Digital ethnic enclaves: Mate preferences and platform choices among Chinese immigrant online daters in Vancouver,” is forthcoming in the *Canadian Review of Sociology*.

**SYLVIA FULLER** is Professor of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. Her research centers on understanding how labour market inequalities develop and erode, and the implications of changing employment relations and social policy for equity, economic security, and mobility.

**YUE QIAN** is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. Her research concerns inequality at the intersection of gender, family, and work. Currently, this work examines two lines of inquiries: (1) how couple dynamics in intimate relationships reflect and shape gender inequality in the broader society; (2) how social and mental health inequalities manifest and evolve in the COVID-19 pandemic.

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender (March 2019 to February 2021)

Panel A. Non-parents	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Employment	.91	.89	.91	.91	.89	.92
<i>Highest educational attainment</i>						
High school or less	.24	.17	.30	.24	.37	.25
Postsecondary credential	.26	.27	.31	.33	.42	.42
University degree	.50	.56	.39	.43	.21	.34
<i>Occupation at main job</i>						
Senior management occupations	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Specialized middle management occupations	.02	.02	.03	.03	.02	.03
Middle management occupations in retail and wholesale trade and customer services	.03	.03	.05	.03	.02	.02
Middle management occupations in trades, transportation, production and utilities	.02	.01	.04	.01	.04	.01
Professional occupations in business and finance	.04	.05	.04	.06	.03	.05
Administrative and financial supervisors and administrative occupations	.02	.07	.03	.08	.02	.10
Finance, insurance and related business administrative occupations	.00	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
Office support occupations	.01	.05	.01	.06	.01	.06
Distribution, tracking and scheduling co-ordination occupations	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01
Professional occupations in natural and applied sciences	.11	.05	.09	.04	.05	.02
Technical occupations related to natural and applied sciences	.05	.02	.05	.02	.05	.02
Professional occupations in nursing	.01	.02	.01	.04	.00	.04
Professional occupations in health (except nursing)	.01	.01	.02	.03	.01	.02
Technical occupations in health	.01	.03	.01	.03	.01	.04
Assisting occupations in support of health services	.01	.06	.01	.05	.00	.03
Professional occupations in education services	.02	.04	.03	.04	.03	.07
Professional occupations in law and social, community and government services	.02	.02	.02	.04	.02	.04
Paraprofessional occupations in legal, social, community and education services	.01	.04	.01	.04	.01	.04

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

Panel A. Non-parents	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Occupations in front-line public protection services	.00	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Care providers and educational, legal and public protection support occupations	.00	.03	.00	.02	.01	.03
Professional occupations in art and culture	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Technical occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
Retail sales supervisors and specialized sales occupations	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.04
Service supervisors and specialized service occupations	.06	.05	.04	.04	.03	.04
Sales representatives and salespersons – wholesale and retail trade	.03	.04	.03	.03	.04	.03
Service representatives and other customer and personal services occupations	.04	.07	.04	.06	.03	.06
Sales support occupations	.02	.04	.01	.02	.02	.03
Service support and other service occupations, n.e.c.	.06	.08	.04	.06	.04	.04
Industrial, electrical and construction trades	.06	.00	.07	.00	.11	.01
Maintenance and equipment operation trades	.04	.00	.04	.00	.07	.00
Other installers, repairers and servicers and material handlers	.02	.01	.02	.01	.03	.00
Transport and heavy equipment operation and related maintenance occupations	.08	.01	.07	.01	.07	.01
Trades helpers, construction labourers and related occupations	.01	.00	.01	.00	.02	.00
Supervisors and technical occupations in natural resources, agriculture and related production	.01	.00	.01	.00	.03	.00
Workers in natural resources, agriculture and related production	.01	.01	.01	.01	.02	.01
Harvesting, landscaping and natural resources labourers	.01	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Processing, manufacturing and utilities supervisors and central control operators	.01	.00	.02	.01	.02	.00
Processing and manufacturing machine operators and related production workers	.04	.03	.02	.02	.02	.01
Assemblers in manufacturing	.02	.01	.02	.01	.01	.00
Labourers in processing, manufacturing and utilities	.01	.02	.01	.01	.01	.00



**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

Panel A. Non-parents	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Industry of main job</i>						
Agriculture	.01	.01	.01	.01	.02	.01
Forestry and logging and support activities for forestry	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00
Fishing, hunting and trapping	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00
Mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction	.02	.00	.02	.01	.04	.01
Utilities	.01	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Construction	.09	.01	.11	.02	.15	.02
Manufacturing – durable goods	.08	.02	.08	.03	.08	.02
Manufacturing – non-durable goods	.07	.06	.05	.06	.05	.03
Wholesale trade	.03	.02	.03	.02	.04	.02
Retail trade	.10	.12	.08	.10	.09	.11
Transportation and warehousing	.10	.03	.10	.03	.07	.03
Finance and insurance	.05	.06	.05	.06	.03	.05
Real estate and rental and leasing	.01	.02	.02	.02	.02	.01
Professional, scientific and technical services	.11	.09	.10	.08	.06	.06
Business, building and other support services	.06	.05	.05	.05	.04	.03
Educational services	.04	.06	.04	.08	.04	.12
Health care and social assistance	.06	.22	.06	.24	.05	.24
Information, culture and recreation	.04	.03	.03	.03	.04	.04
Accommodation and food services	.09	.12	.06	.07	.04	.06
Other services (except public administration)	.03	.05	.03	.05	.04	.05
Public administration	.02	.03	.05	.05	.06	.07
Full time/part time	.91	.82	.92	.85	.92	.84
Tenure	44.28 (48.46)	43.37 (47.11)	80.24 (73.50)	88.39 (75.55)	83.80 (79.02)	87.93 (80.16)
<i>Class of worker, main job</i>						
Public sector	.11	.18	.15	.24	.16	.34
Private sector	.76	.74	.66	.63	.71	.57
Self-employed	.12	.07	.19	.12	.12	.09

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

Panel A. Non-parents	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Five-year age group of respondent</i>						
25 to 29 years	.25	.25	.17	.13	.24	.22
30 to 34 years	.27	.24	.15	.11	.17	.14
35 to 39 years	.17	.14	.13	.08	.12	.10
40 to 44 years	.10	.10	.10	.10	.11	.10
45 to 49 years	.10	.14	.17	.20	.14	.17
50 to 54 years	.11	.13	.29	.38	.22	.27
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married/common-law	.61	.67	.53	.60	.48	.58
Previously married	.05	.07	.09	.13	.07	.09
Never married	.34	.27	.38	.27	.45	.34
<i>Province</i>						
Newfoundland and Labrador	.01	.01	.01	.00	.04	.04
Prince Edward Island	.02	.02	.01	.01	.03	.03
Nova Scotia	.03	.03	.02	.02	.05	.06
New Brunswick	.02	.02	.01	.01	.05	.06
Quebec	.12	.11	.11	.10	.18	.18
Ontario	.27	.27	.41	.42	.26	.26
Manitoba	.15	.14	.10	.10	.08	.08
Saskatchewan	.09	.08	.04	.03	.07	.07
Alberta	.13	.15	.13	.12	.11	.10
British Columbia	.16	.17	.17	.19	.12	.12
<i>Current student status</i>						
Non-student	.95	.92	.96	.96	.97	.95
Full-time student	.03	.04	.02	.02	.02	.03
Part-time student	.02	.04	.02	.02	.01	.02

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

<b>Panel B.</b> <b>Parents with preschool children</b>	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Employment	.93	.86	.94	.89	.94	.92
<i>Highest educational attainment</i>						
High school or less	.18	.12	.26	.16	.28	.17
Postsecondary credential	.26	.26	.30	.32	.46	.40
University degree	.56	.62	.44	.52	.26	.43
<i>Occupation at main job</i>						
Senior management occupations	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Specialized middle management occupations	.02	.02	.04	.03	.03	.03
Middle management occupations in retail and wholesale trade and customer services	.03	.02	.04	.03	.02	.02
Middle management occupations in trades, transportation, production and utilities	.03	.01	.04	.01	.06	.01
Professional occupations in business and finance	.04	.05	.04	.07	.03	.05
Administrative and financial supervisors and administrative occupations	.02	.07	.03	.09	.02	.08
Finance, insurance and related business administrative occupations	.00	.02	.00	.02	.01	.02
Office support occupations	.01	.05	.01	.05	.01	.05
Distribution, tracking and scheduling co-ordination occupations	.02	.01	.02	.00	.01	.01
Professional occupations in natural and applied sciences	.11	.05	.12	.05	.07	.02
Technical occupations related to natural and applied sciences	.05	.02	.06	.02	.06	.02
Professional occupations in nursing	.01	.04	.01	.04	.00	.06
Professional occupations in health (except nursing)	.02	.02	.02	.04	.02	.04
Technical occupations in health	.01	.03	.02	.05	.01	.06
Assisting occupations in support of health services	.02	.09	.01	.06	.00	.03
Professional occupations in education services	.03	.04	.02	.06	.04	.11
Professional occupations in law and social, community and government services	.01	.02	.02	.04	.02	.06
Paraprofessional occupations in legal, social, community and education services	.01	.06	.01	.05	.00	.06

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

<b>Panel B.</b> <b>Parents with preschool children</b>	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Occupations in front-line public protection services	.00	.00	.01	.00	.02	.00
Care providers and educational, legal and public protection support occupations	.01	.02	.00	.02	.01	.02
Professional occupations in art and culture	.00	.00	.00	.01	.01	.01
Technical occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.02
Retail sales supervisors and specialized sales occupations	.02	.03	.04	.03	.03	.03
Service supervisors and specialized service occupations	.05	.04	.03	.03	.02	.03
Sales representatives and salespersons – wholesale and retail trade	.02	.03	.02	.02	.03	.02
Service representatives and other customer and personal services occupations	.03	.07	.02	.05	.01	.04
Sales support occupations	.01	.04	.00	.03	.01	.02
Service support and other service occupations, n.e.c.	.04	.07	.02	.03	.02	.03
Industrial, electrical and construction trades	.07	.00	.08	.00	.14	.00
Maintenance and equipment operation trades	.04	.00	.06	.00	.09	.00
Other installers, repairers and servicers and material handlers	.03	.01	.02	.01	.02	.00
Transport and heavy equipment operation and related maintenance occupations	.10	.01	.08	.01	.05	.01
Trades helpers, construction labourers and related occupations	.01	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Supervisors and technical occupations in natural resources, agriculture and related production	.00	.00	.01	.00	.03	.00
Workers in natural resources, agriculture and related production	.01	.00	.01	.01	.02	.00
Harvesting, landscaping and natural resources labourers	.00	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Processing, manufacturing and utilities supervisors and central control operators	.02	.00	.02	.01	.02	.00
Processing and manufacturing machine operators and related production workers	.04	.02	.02	.01	.02	.01
Assemblers in manufacturing	.02	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Labourers in processing, manufacturing and utilities	.02	.02	.01	.01	.01	.00

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

Panel B. Parents with preschool children	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Industry of main job</i>						
Agriculture	.01	.01	.01	.01	.04	.01
Forestry and logging and support activities for forestry	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00
Fishing, hunting and trapping	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00
Mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction	.02	.00	.02	.01	.06	.01
Utilities	.01	.00	.01	.00	.02	.01
Construction	.09	.02	.13	.02	.18	.02
Manufacturing – durable goods	.09	.02	.07	.02	.07	.02
Manufacturing – non-durable goods	.08	.05	.05	.04	.05	.02
Wholesale trade	.03	.01	.04	.02	.04	.02
Retail trade	.07	.11	.06	.09	.06	.08
Transportation and warehousing	.12	.03	.10	.03	.06	.02
Finance and insurance	.04	.06	.06	.08	.03	.05
Real estate and rental and leasing	.01	.02	.02	.02	.01	.01
Professional, scientific and technical services	.11	.08	.10	.07	.07	.06
Business, building and other support services	.04	.05	.04	.03	.03	.02
Educational services	.05	.08	.04	.09	.05	.16
Health care and social assistance	.07	.28	.07	.27	.05	.31
Information, culture and recreation	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03
Accommodation and food services	.07	.10	.04	.05	.02	.04
Other services (except public administration)	.03	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
Public administration	.02	.03	.06	.07	.08	.07
Full time/part time	.93	.76	.94	.77	.96	.78
Tenure	44.49 (42.83)	39.93 (41.59)	79.89 (64.27)	70.14 (58.14)	81.26 (66.48)	76.09 (60.34)
<i>Class of worker, main job</i>						
Public sector	.13	.24	.15	.30	.19	.40
Private sector	.72	.68	.62	.57	.66	.49
Self-employed	.15	.09	.22	.12	.15	.11

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender (March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

<b>Panel B.</b> <b>Parents with preschool children</b>	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Five-year age group of respondent</i>						
25 to 29 years	.05	.12	.04	.08	.11	.18
30 to 34 years	.26	.33	.17	.26	.31	.37
35 to 39 years	.41	.39	.32	.36	.34	.32
40 to 44 years	.21	.14	.28	.25	.18	.12
45 to 49 years	.07	.02	.13	.04	.05	.02
50 to 54 years	.01	.00	.06	.00	.01	.00
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married/common-law	.99	.95	.99	.91	.97	.89
Previously married	.01	.03	.01	.04	.01	.04
Never married	.00	.02	.01	.05	.02	.07
<i>Province</i>						
Newfoundland and Labrador	.00	.00	.00	.00	.03	.03
Prince Edward Island	.01	.01	.01	.01	.03	.03
Nova Scotia	.02	.02	.01	.01	.04	.05
New Brunswick	.01	.01	.01	.01	.05	.05
Quebec	.15	.16	.16	.14	.20	.22
Ontario	.26	.22	.38	.40	.25	.26
Manitoba	.16	.16	.11	.10	.09	.08
Saskatchewan	.12	.12	.04	.04	.08	.08
Alberta	.16	.15	.14	.13	.13	.11
British Columbia	.11	.13	.15	.15	.10	.10
<i>Current student status</i>						
Non-student	.95	.94	.97	.96	.98	.96
Full-time student	.03	.03	.01	.02	.01	.02
Part-time student	.02	.03	.01	.02	.01	.02

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

<b>Panel C.</b> <b>Parents with school-aged children</b>	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Employment	.93	.88	.95	.91	.95	.93
<i>Highest educational attainment</i>						
High school or less	.18	.14	.23	.19	.27	.20
Postsecondary credential	.26	.30	.28	.30	.47	.44
University degree	.56	.55	.49	.51	.26	.36
<i>Occupation at main job</i>						
Senior management occupations	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Specialized middle management occupations	.02	.02	.04	.03	.04	.04
Middle management occupations in retail and wholesale trade and customer services	.03	.02	.05	.03	.03	.02
Middle management occupations in trades, transportation, production and utilities	.02	.01	.04	.01	.07	.01
Professional occupations in business and finance	.04	.05	.04	.07	.03	.05
Administrative and financial supervisors and administrative occupations	.02	.06	.02	.07	.03	.10
Finance, insurance and related business administrative occupations	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
Office support occupations	.01	.04	.01	.06	.00	.06
Distribution, tracking and scheduling co-ordination occupations	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01
Professional occupations in natural and applied sciences	.11	.03	.13	.04	.06	.02
Technical occupations related to natural and applied sciences	.05	.01	.05	.01	.05	.02
Professional occupations in nursing	.01	.02	.01	.04	.00	.04
Professional occupations in health (except nursing)	.04	.03	.02	.03	.01	.03
Technical occupations in health	.01	.03	.01	.04	.01	.04
Assisting occupations in support of health services	.01	.09	.01	.06	.00	.03
Professional occupations in education services	.03	.04	.03	.05	.04	.10
Professional occupations in law and social, community and government services	.02	.02	.02	.03	.02	.05
Paraprofessional occupations in legal, social, community and education services	.01	.07	.01	.06	.01	.06

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

Panel C. Parents with school-aged children	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Occupations in front-line public protection services	.00	.00	.01	.00	.02	.00
Care providers and educational, legal and public protection support occupations	.01	.04	.00	.03	.01	.04
Professional occupations in art and culture	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Technical occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	.01	.02	.01	.01	.01	.02
Retail sales supervisors and specialized sales occupations	.03	.02	.03	.04	.03	.03
Service supervisors and specialized service occupations	.04	.04	.03	.03	.02	.03
Sales representatives and salespersons – wholesale and retail trade	.02	.02	.02	.03	.03	.02
Service representatives and other customer and personal services occupations	.02	.04	.02	.05	.01	.04
Sales support occupations	.01	.04	.01	.02	.00	.02
Service support and other service occupations, n.e.c.	.04	.10	.03	.05	.02	.03
Industrial, electrical and construction trades	.07	.00	.07	.00	.11	.01
Maintenance and equipment operation trades	.05	.00	.04	.00	.08	.01
Other installers, repairers and servicers and material handlers	.02	.00	.02	.01	.02	.00
Transport and heavy equipment operation and related maintenance occupations	.08	.01	.10	.01	.06	.01
Trades helpers, construction labourers and related occupations	.01	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Supervisors and technical occupations in natural resources, agriculture and related production	.01	.00	.01	.00	.04	.00
Workers in natural resources, agriculture and related production	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Harvesting, landscaping and natural resources labourers	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00
Processing, manufacturing and utilities supervisors and central control operators	.02	.00	.02	.00	.03	.00
Processing and manufacturing machine operators and related production workers	.04	.02	.03	.02	.02	.01
Assemblers in manufacturing	.02	.01	.02	.01	.01	.00
Labourers in processing, manufacturing and utilities	.01	.02	.01	.01	.01	.00



**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender  
(March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

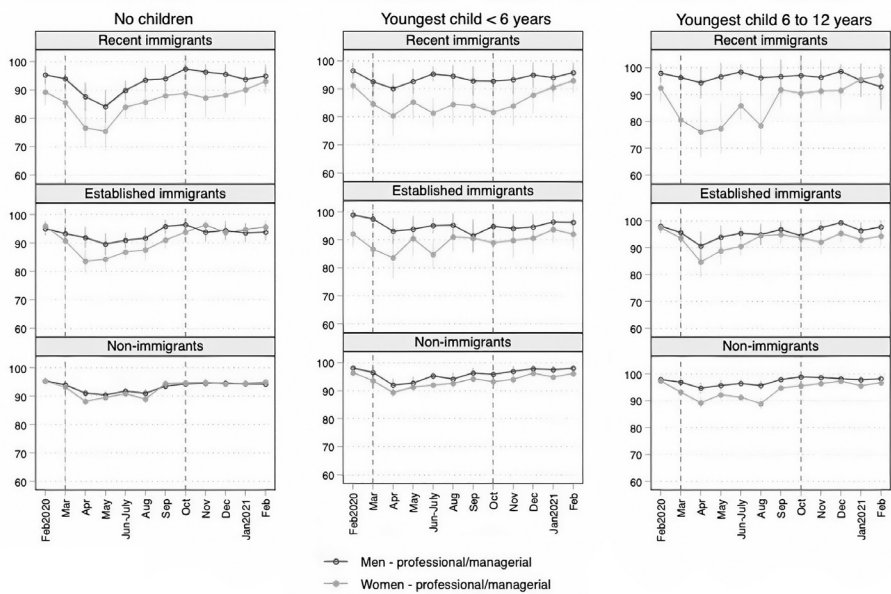
Panel C. Parents with school-aged children	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Industry of main job</i>						
Agriculture	.02	.01	.01	.01	.03	.01
Forestry and logging and support activities for forestry	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00
Fishing, hunting and trapping	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00
Mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction	.02	.01	.02	.01	.05	.01
Utilities	.01	.00	.01	.00	.02	.01
Construction	.08	.01	.09	.02	.15	.02
Manufacturing – durable goods	.10	.02	.09	.02	.08	.02
Manufacturing – non-durable goods	.08	.05	.06	.04	.05	.02
Wholesale trade	.03	.02	.04	.02	.05	.02
Retail trade	.09	.10	.07	.09	.07	.08
Transportation and warehousing	.09	.02	.13	.03	.07	.02
Finance and insurance	.03	.05	.05	.07	.03	.05
Real estate and rental and leasing	.02	.01	.02	.02	.01	.01
Professional, scientific and technical services	.11	.08	.10	.08	.07	.06
Business, building and other support services	.04	.04	.03	.04	.03	.03
Educational services	.04	.10	.05	.11	.06	.18
Health care and social assistance	.09	.29	.07	.26	.05	.26
Information, culture and recreation	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.03
Accommodation and food services	.06	.10	.05	.06	.02	.04
Other services (except public administration)	.03	.04	.03	.04	.04	.04
Public administration	.03	.03	.06	.05	.08	.08
Full time/part time	.91	.75	.94	.77	.96	.79
Tenure	53.08 (53.30)	46.87 (50.36)	103.50 (73.05)	84.94 (70.18)	111.58 (81.32)	99.01 (79.72)
<i>Class of worker, main job</i>						
Public sector	.12	.24	.18	.27	.21	.40
Private sector	.71	.67	.59	.57	.62	.47
Self-employed	.16	.10	.23	.16	.17	.12

**APPENDIX A.** Descriptive statistics, by parental status, immigrant status and gender (March 2019 to February 2021) (continued)

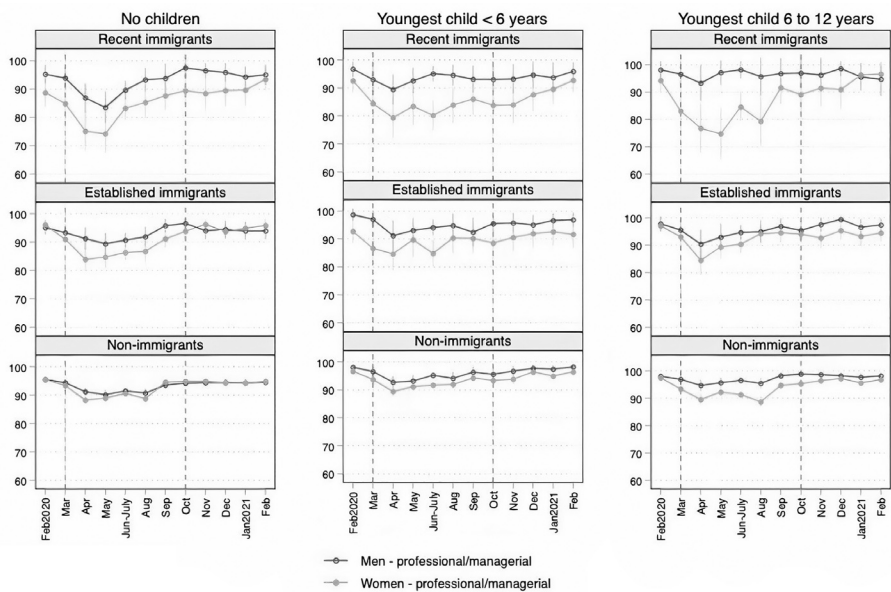
<b>Panel C.</b> <b>Parents with school-aged children</b>	Mean/Proportion					
	Recent immigrants		Established immigrants		Non-immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Five-year age group of respondent</i>						
25 to 29 years	.01	.02	.00	.01	.01	.03
30 to 34 years	.04	.11	.02	.04	.06	.11
35 to 39 years	.20	.30	.11	.20	.21	.28
40 to 44 years	.35	.34	.30	.34	.37	.35
45 to 49 years	.28	.20	.35	.31	.26	.19
50 to 54 years	.11	.04	.22	.10	.10	.04
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married/common-law	.98	.87	.97	.86	.92	.79
Previously married	.02	.09	.03	.09	.04	.10
Never married	.01	.04	.00	.05	.03	.10
<i>Province</i>						
Newfoundland and Labrador	.01	.01	.00	.00	.04	.04
Prince Edward Island	.02	.02	.00	.01	.03	.03
Nova Scotia	.02	.03	.01	.01	.04	.05
New Brunswick	.02	.02	.01	.01	.06	.06
Quebec	.12	.13	.13	.13	.21	.21
Ontario	.26	.24	.41	.40	.25	.25
Manitoba	.17	.17	.10	.10	.08	.07
Saskatchewan	.12	.11	.04	.03	.08	.08
Alberta	.15	.16	.14	.13	.11	.11
British Columbia	.11	.12	.15	.17	.10	.10
<i>Current student status</i>						
Non-student	.96	.93	.98	.97	.99	.96
Full-time student	.02	.04	.01	.01	.01	.01
Part-time student	.02	.03	.01	.02	.01	.02

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses

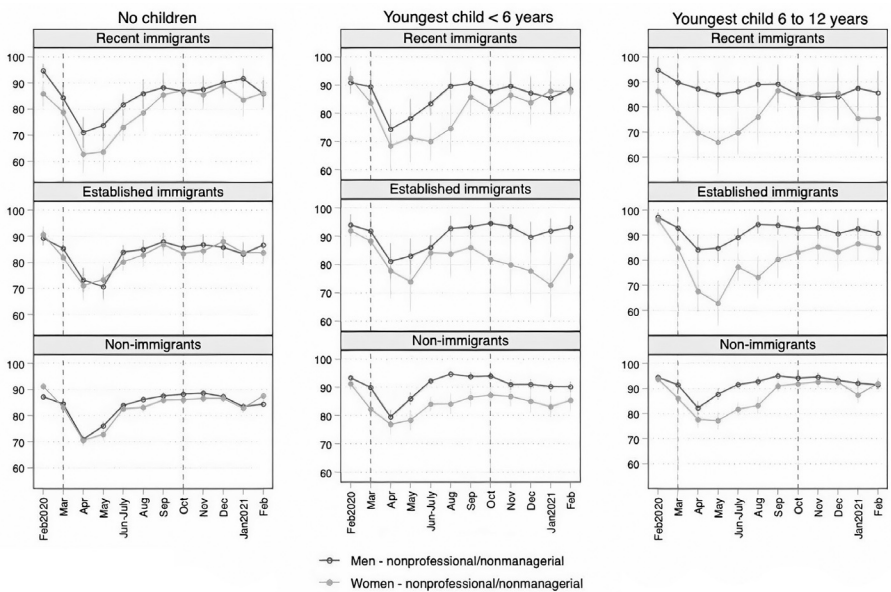
**APPENDIX B.** Probability of employment by gender, parental status, immigrant status, and survey month for workers in professional/managerial occupations, February 2020 to February 2021, without controls



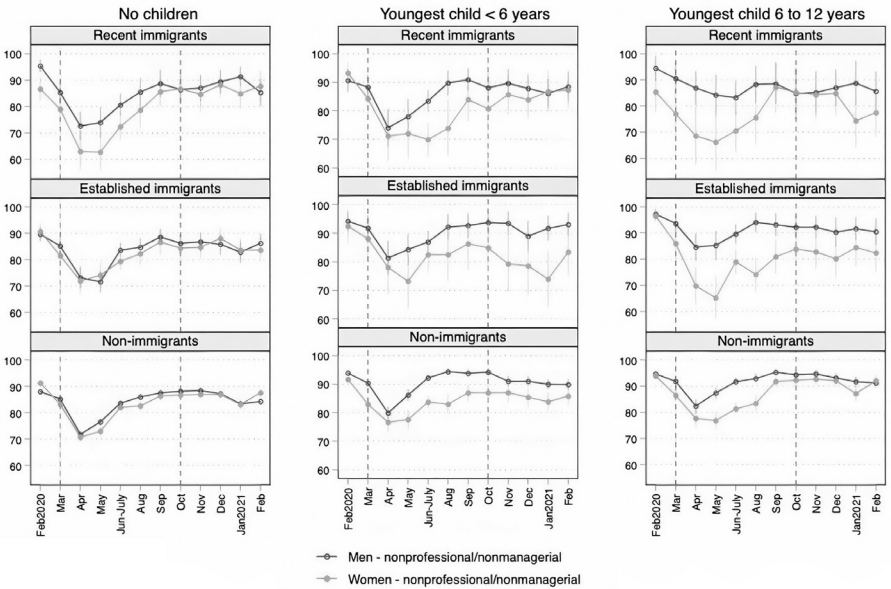
**APPENDIX C.** Probability of employment by gender, parental status, immigrant status, and survey month for workers in professional/managerial occupations, February 2020 to February 2021, with controls



**APPENDIX D.** Probability of employment by gender, parental status, immigrant status, and survey month for workers in nonprofessional/nonmanagerial occupations, February 2020 to February 2021, without controls



**APPENDIX E.** Probability of employment by gender, parental status, immigrant status, and survey month for workers in nonprofessional/nonmanagerial occupations, February 2020 to February 2021, with controls



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