

# TIME TO CHANGE FOCUS?

A Review of Immigrant Labour Market Barriers,  
Outcomes and the Role of Employers in Canada

Rupa Banerjee



Institute  
for Canadian  
Citizenship

Institut pour  
la citoyenneté  
canadienne

# Contents

- 3** Executive summary
- 5** Introduction
- 7** Canada's immigration system and newcomers' labour market barriers
- 10** Newcomer labour market integration and the evolution of Canada's economic immigration system
- 12** Evaluating immigrant labour market success in Canada
- 17** Conclusion and recommendations
- 18** References
- 19** About the author



# Executive summary

## Immigrant labour market barriers

Central to Canada's economy, immigration accounts for nearly all its labour force growth. Unlike most immigrant-receiving countries, Canada did not shut down or reduce immigration after the COVID-19 pandemic. In fact, annual immigration targets are higher than before the pandemic and are set to increase to 500,000 by 2025. The Canadian government has made it clear that immigrants will play a central role in Canada's post-pandemic economic recovery. But immigrants' ability to drive economic prosperity is contingent on finding skills-commensurate employment. This report reviews current research on immigrant labour market barriers and outcomes in Canada. The prevailing research demonstrates that despite being highly educated, immigrant workers face numerous barriers in the labour market. The literature identifies the following factors as contributing to the labour market disadvantage that skilled immigrants face:



**Devaluation of foreign credentials, particularly for racialized immigrants**



**Non-recognition of foreign work experience and Canadian experience requirements**



**Lack of social and professional networks, insufficient language fluency and lack of soft skills**

## Immigrant labour market outcomes

In response to the declining labour market position of immigrants in the 1990s, Canada's immigration system began to evolve from a one-step process in which newcomers are selected straight from abroad, to a largely two-step process which prioritizes the admission of international students and temporary foreign workers who already have experience in Canada. The goal of this policy shift was to alleviate the detrimental impact of foreign education and experience devaluation. Recent studies conducted by Statistics Canada show that, while there has been some improvement, labour market disparities of immigrants continue to be significant despite the introduction of two-step selection in the 1990s. Comparing labour market outcomes between immigrants and their Canadian-born counterparts, current research reveals that the following disparities remain:



**Employment rates have improved but remain lower for immigrants**



**The earnings gap is relatively unchanged over the past two decades**



**Underemployment remains a substantial problem for new immigrants**

## Where do we go from here? Recommendations for further research

While most research to date has focused on how immigrants' deficiencies contribute to their labour market disadvantage, there is a lack of empirical research into the employers' role. Poor integration of highly educated immigrant workers is also an economic cost, which is felt by employers. This presents an economic imperative to better understand and address the determining factors that keep immigrants from contributing their full potential in the labour market. Given that employers play a key role in both immigrant selection and integration, there is a crucial need to understand employers' perspectives, attitudes, and behaviours towards immigrant labour. Therefore, we recommend further research on the role of employers in affecting immigrant labour market outcomes in Canada. Research is needed across industries and sectors, in all geographic regions and at various levels of organizations in order to understand how businesses contribute to immigrant settlement and integration.



# Introduction

Over the past 15 years, Canada has consistently remained among the fastest-growing countries in the G7. Nearly 80 percent of the population increase has been attributable to the foreign-born, who arrive either as permanent or temporary immigrants (Statistics Canada 2022). As more baby-boomers retire over the next decade, Canada needs immigrants to support its tax base to fund public services such as healthcare. Moreover, the Canadian economy relies on immigrants to fill labour needs and boost trade ties around the world. Canada has long been considered a leader in the “global race for talent,” with a carefully designed selection system focusing on admitting high-skill immigrants to address economic needs. Nearly 60 percent of entrants in 2020 were admitted through the economic stream (Government of Canada 2021).

However, current research demonstrates that many skilled newcomers find a disconnect between the promise of the selection policy and the reality of the Canadian labour market. Newcomers are often relegated to low-skill, low-wage jobs outside their area of expertise (Banerjee, Verma, & Zhang 2019). The COVID-19 pandemic has shone a light on the inequities within the labour market, including the disadvantages faced by immigrants (Lamb, Banerjee, & Emanuel 2022). But the pandemic did not curtail Canadian immigration. In fact, the government increased immigration targets from 351,000 to 401,000 permanent residents in 2021, and the targets grew further to 431,000 in 2022 and 447,000 in 2023<sup>1</sup>. From these policy shifts, it is clear that the Government of Canada expects immigrants to drive the post-pandemic economic recovery.

Newcomers’ ability to fuel economic growth and prosperity is dependent on whether they can integrate into the labour market. While selection policy plays a crucial role in determining the skills that immigrants bring, integration policies and practices are just as crucial for ensuring that these skills are adequately utilized.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/notices/supplementary-immigration-levels-2021-2023.html>

Immigrant integration is often characterized as a “two-way street”, in which both newcomers and the host society must adjust or “meet in the middle”. In reality, the integration process is asymmetric: immigrants are expected to adapt to Canadian norms and values much more than Canadian society is expected to adjust for immigrants. Accordingly, most of the research on immigrant labour market outcomes has focused on the impact of immigrants’ skills, attributes, and behaviours on their employment success. There has been relatively little emphasis on whether/how host country institutions such as employers may hinder or facilitate newcomer integration.

According to a recent survey by the Business Council of Canada (2022), 80 percent of employers reported labour shortages in 2022, and two-thirds turned to the immigration system to recruit new workers. However, most of these employers prefer to hire temporary foreign workers rather than permanent immigrants. Despite their reliance on foreign talent, there is little evidence of how employers recruit and retain skilled permanent immigrants or the issues they encounter in hiring, managing, and promoting these workers. Given the central role employment plays in the settlement and integration process, there is a clear need for more data and analysis of employers’ role in skilled immigrants’ labour market outcomes.



**This report presents the current state of research on immigrant labour market outcomes in Canada. We start with an overview of Canada’s economic immigration system, followed by an outline of the main barriers and challenges that newcomers face within this system. We then explore the evolution of the immigration system and the policies designed to address deteriorating labour market integration before presenting the most recent evidence of immigrant labour market outcomes from Statistics Canada data. Finally, we provide recommendations for future research to improve our understanding of immigrants’ Canadian employment outcomes.**

# Canada's immigration system and newcomers' labour market barriers

The purpose of Canada's points system, adopted in 1967, was to admit immigrants based on human capital characteristics, such as age, education, language proficiency, and work experience (Sweetman 2017). The Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) was the main economic stream that utilized points to select immigrants. The FSWP was initially focused

on short-term labour market goals, with significant points allocated to specific 'high demand' occupations. Over the years, the points system was amended to place more emphasis on general human capital with the belief that this would lead to long-term economic integration (Ferrer, Picot & Riddell 2014). While these changes led to a significant increase in the education levels of new immigrants, they were generally ineffective in improving labour market integration (Reitz 2014). The 1980s and early 1990s saw a decline in the relative labour market position of economic immigrants (Aydemir & Skuterud 2005). The literature demonstrates that several factors contributed to the deterioration in immigrants' outcomes.



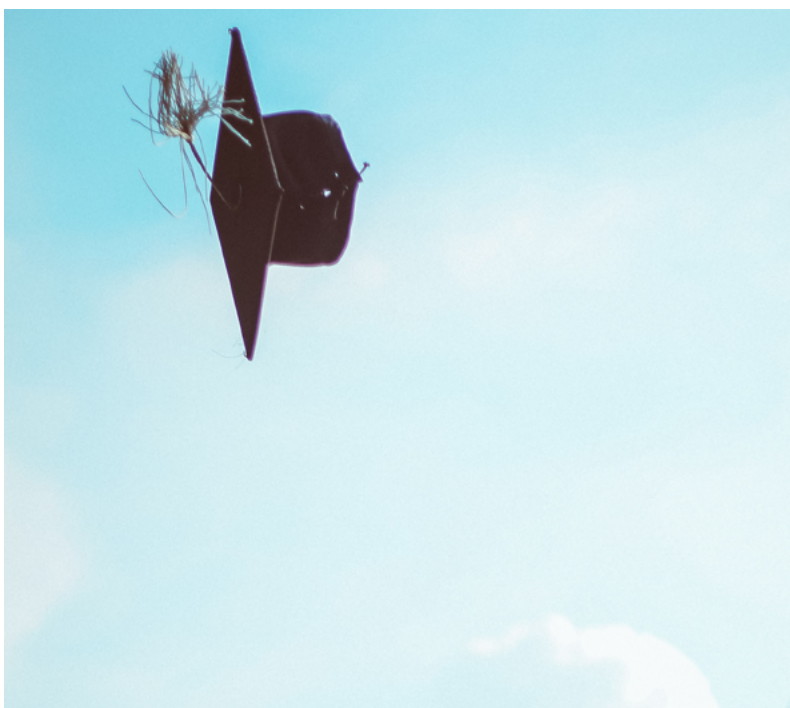


## Devaluation of foreign credentials, particularly for racialized immigrants

A substantial shift in the source countries of immigrants started in 1967 with the introduction of the points system and the removal of ethno-racial and national barriers in immigrant selection. According to the 1971 Census, more than 73 percent of newly arrived immigrants (arriving in the previous five years) were from Europe or the United States (Statistics Canada 2022). Over time, the source countries of newcomers shifted towards Asia, Africa and other non-traditional sources that historically were restricted from settling in Canada. By 2021, nearly 62 percent of new arrivals were born in Asia or the Middle East, and a further 16 percent arrived from Africa. Only about 10 percent of new immigrants in 2021 were born in Europe (Statistics Canada 2022).

There is clear evidence that racial minority immigrants, who tend to be from less developed countries, face more difficulties in the labour market than white immigrants (e.g., Lightman, & Good Gingrich 2018). The educational credentials of immigrants from less developed nations may be discounted because they are of lower quality (Li & Sweetman 2014) or are not transferable to the Canadian context (Warman, Sweetman, & Goldmann 2015). The literature shows that racial discrimination may also play a role in how these newcomers' qualifications and skills are viewed by employers (Picot & Sweetman 2005). Experimental studies have shown that latent racial bias negatively affects the evaluation of foreign credentials (Esses, Dietz, & Bhardwaj 2006). The level of credential devaluation depends on the country of education; schooling completed in Asia or Africa is most severely discounted, while education completed in the US, Oceania, or UK faces little to no discounting (Fortin, Lemieux, & Torres 2016).

Immigrants trained in regulated occupations face the additional hurdle of becoming accredited within their province. Studies have found that occupational licensing requirements prevent many immigrants from accessing work in their fields (Girard & Bauder 2007), but for the few who are able to make it in, occupational licensing leads to better employment outcomes over time (Gomez, Gunderson, Huang, & Zhang, 2015).







## Non-recognition of foreign work experience, Canadian work experience requirements

A related barrier for immigrants is the devaluation of foreign work experience. Studies have found that Canadian employers do not reward work experience acquired abroad, particularly if it was obtained outside of Europe or the United States (Aydemir & Skuterud 2005; Green & Worswick 2012). The devaluation of foreign work experience is intimately related to another obstacle confronting new immigrants: the requirement for Canadian experience to gain access to the labour market (Conference Board of Canada 2022).



## Lack of social and professional networks, insufficient language fluency and lack of soft skills

A lack of social and professional networks and language proficiency often exacerbate the Canadian experience barrier (Majerski 2019). Many immigrants are not aware of how to navigate the job search process (Akkaymak 2017) and lack the soft skills or tacit knowledge that employers place significant emphasis on (Sakamoto, Chin, & Young 2010). Soft skills, which include culturally embedded factors such as communication style, problem-solving and teamwork, are crucial predictors of success in the labour market (Succi & Canovi 2020). Newcomers are therefore often caught in a cycle of disadvantage: they lack the Canadian experience to gain employment commensurate with their skills, which traps them in low-wage 'survival jobs', resulting in the erosion of technical skills and the inability to build professionally relevant soft skills over time.



# Newcomer labour market integration and the evolution of Canada's economic immigration system

Canada's focus on bringing in highly educated immigrants has been a double-edged sword. On one hand, there is a significant body of evidence showing that highly educated and skilled immigrants are better able to weather unpredictable changes in the labour market and are more successful than less-educated immigrants in the long-term (Picot, Hou & Qiu 2016). On the other hand, the research makes clear that the devaluation of skills is particularly damaging to highly educated newcomers and results in "brain waste", which is costly not only in economic terms (see Reitz, Curtis, & Elrick 2014), but in psychological terms for immigrants and their families (Farivar, Cameron, & Dantas 2021).

As Canadian immigration policy continues to focus on admitting highly skilled newcomers, and the native-born population also becomes increasingly highly educated, some researchers question whether the economy can absorb these entrants. Hou, Lu & Schimmele (2020) show that the growth in highly educated jobseekers (both immigrant and Canadian-born) has outpaced the growth in high skill jobs in the Canadian labour market over the past decade.

The deterioration of immigrants' labour market integration led policymakers in the 1990s to explore a range of strategies for improving outcomes. Since foreign credential devaluation and the requirement to have Canadian experience were among the most significant barriers for newcomers, the government began to shift from a 'one-step' immigration process that largely admitted immigrants directly from their source country to a 'two-step' process in which many prospective immigrants first enter as temporary residents before applying for permanent resident status (Sweetman 2017). A two-step immigration process favours applicants who already have education and/or work experience from Canada before they become permanent residents. In theory, this should significantly reduce the disadvantage that immigrants face since they would already have local human capital.

The main two-step immigration pathways, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) and the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) have increased significantly in size and have collectively overtaken the FSWP to become the primary admission categories for permanent economic immigrants (Hou, Crossman & Picot 2020). The dominance of these two programs signals a marked change in Canada's immigration policy, from a 'human capital model', towards a more 'demand-driven model' which gives employers significant power to determine who will become a permanent resident.

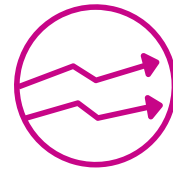
The demand-driven model became further entrenched with the launch of Express Entry in 2015. Express Entry (EE) is an online applicant management system that facilitates the processing of Canada's economic immigration programs. Applicants make an "expression of interest" to immigrate to Canada, enter the Express Entry pool and are ranked based on a Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS). The CRS assesses applicants' ability to become economically established in Canada by assigning a score for factors such as age (younger candidates receive higher points), language proficiency, education, Canadian work experience and having arranged employment (IRCC 2021a). Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) releases a minimum CRS score on a bi-weekly basis, inviting the highest-ranked applicants in the pool to apply for permanent resident status. Although EE does not mandate a job offer or employer sponsorship, pre-admission Canadian work experience is heavily rewarded. It is therefore not surprising that in 2020 over 60% of invitations to apply were issued to applicants who were already residing in Canada as temporary residents (IRCC 2021b).

In order to examine whether the shift to two-step immigration has reduced newcomer disadvantage, researchers have tracked immigrant labour market success over the past few decades. In the next section, we assess how immigrants' outcomes have evolved over time through a review of recent studies from Statistics Canada.



# Evaluating immigrant labour market success in Canada

Among the empirical studies measuring the labour market outcomes of immigrants, the most common indicators are:



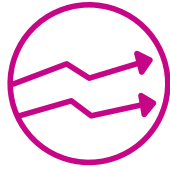
**Employment Rates**



**Earnings**



**Underemployment**

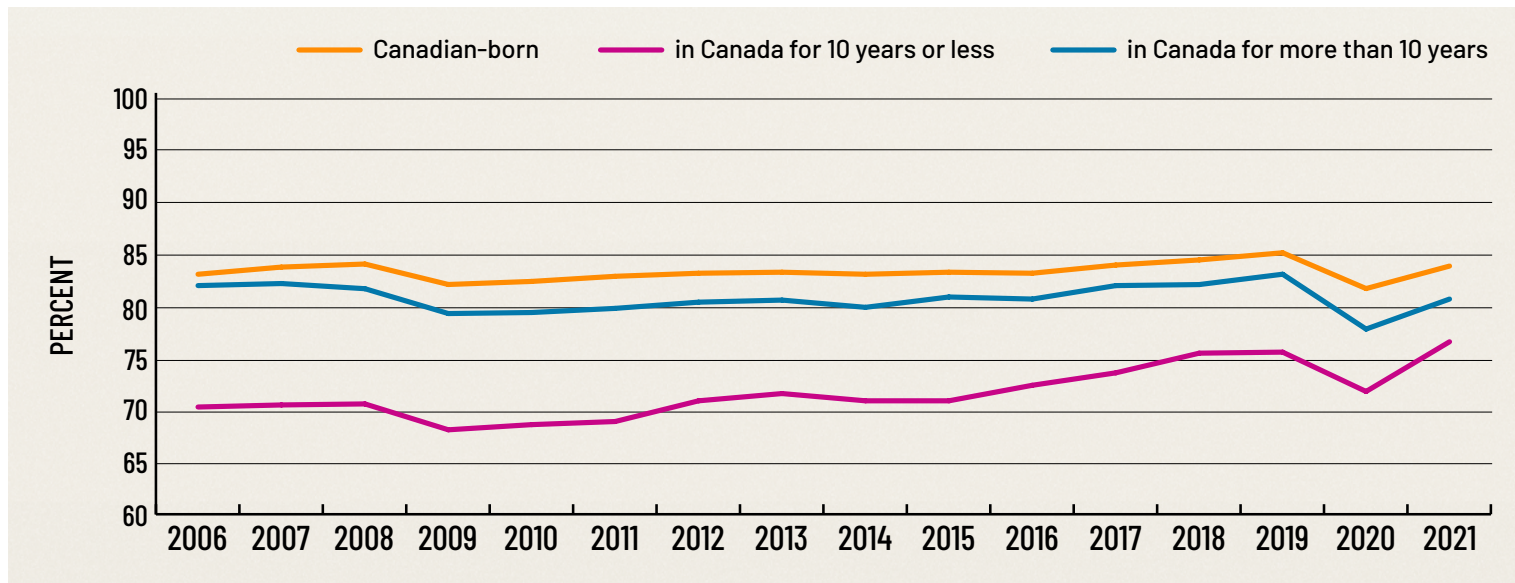


## Gradual improvement in employment rates, but disparities remain

Researchers at Statistics Canada have found that both recent immigrants (those in Canada 10 years or less) and long-term immigrants (in Canada longer than 10 years) face an employment gap relative to the Canadian-born population. However, this gap has been shrinking since 2006, as newcomers' employment rates have grown significantly faster than that of Canadian workers (Statistics Canada 2022). Figure 1 presents the employment rates of workers between the ages of 25 and 54 by immigrant status. The employment disparity between newly arrived immigrants, and Canadian-born workers decreased from 13 percentage points in 2006, to 7 percentage points in 2021. Long-term immigrants, however, did not experience a relative

improvement in their employment rates during this period. It is important to note that, as confirmed by Lamb, Banerjee, & Emanuel (2022), the COVID-19 pandemic did not differentially affect the employment rates of immigrant workers. All workers were negatively impacted by the COVID-19 crisis, but the gap between immigrant and Canadian-born did not widen significantly between 2019 and 2021. The consistent improvement in newcomers' employment rates is encouraging and suggests that policy amendments over the past two decades have succeeded in enabling more newcomers to fill crucial labour gaps. Still, disparities between immigrant and Canadian-born employment rates remain.

Figure 1: Employment Rates by Immigrant Status, 2006-2021



Source: Statistics Canada (2022) *Research to Insights: Immigration as a Source of Labour Supply*, Catalogue no. 11-631-X.  
<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-631-x/11-631-x2022003-eng.htm>

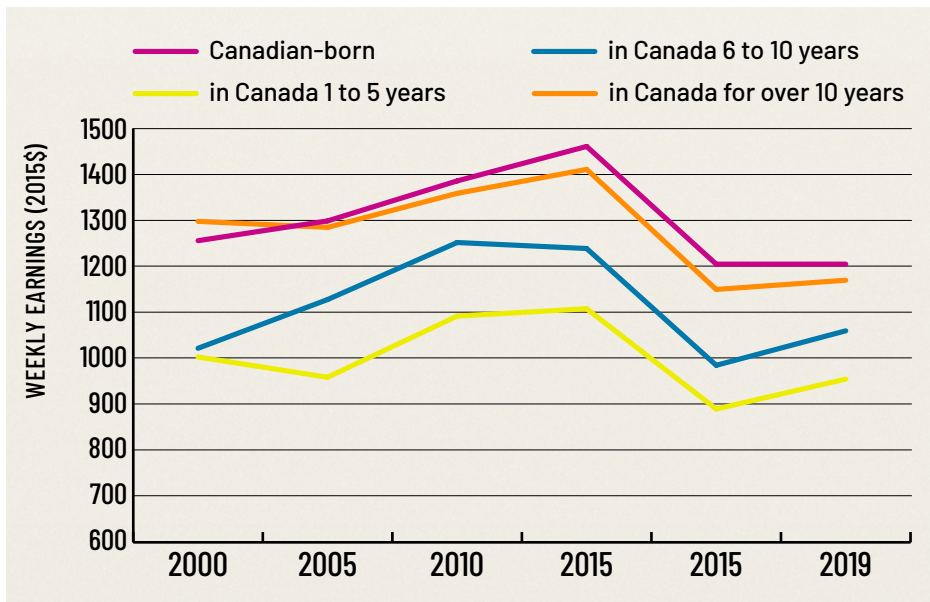


## Persistent earnings gaps

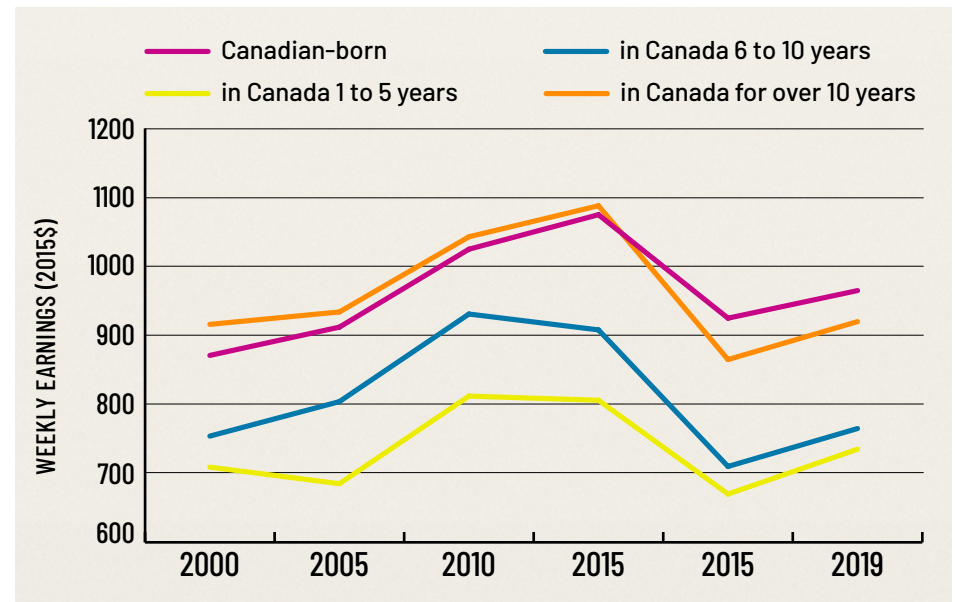
A recent study by Crossman, Hou and Picot (2021) examined the evolution of the immigrant-native-born earnings gap over the past two decades with the aim of understanding whether the declining outcomes that immigrants faced in the 1980s and 1990s persisted into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Figures 2a and 2b present the unadjusted weekly earnings of immigrant men and women over the 2000-2019 timeframe. From these figures we see that

in general, the relative earnings of immigrants deteriorated in the first 15 years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and then improved somewhat. The slight improvement since 2015 has been largely attributed to the growth in two-step immigration (Hou, Crossman & Picot 2020). Nonetheless, a substantial earnings gap remains in place for recently arrived immigrants.

**Figure 2a:**  
Average Weekly Earnings of Men by Immigration Status, 2000-2019



**Figure 2b:**  
Average Weekly Earnings of Women by Immigration Status, 2000-2019



Note: Analysis combines Statistics Canada, 2001, 2006 and 2016 Census of Population and 2011 National Household Survey with the 2016 and 2019 Labour Force Survey. 2000-2015 is compiled using Census data, while 2015-2019 is compiled using Labour Force Survey Data.

Source: Crossman, E., F. Hou, and G. Picot. (2021) "Are the gaps in labour market outcomes between immigrants and their Canadian-born counterparts starting to close?" *Economic and Social Reports*, Vol.36, pp. 1-19. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/36-28-0001/2021004/article/00004-eng.htm>

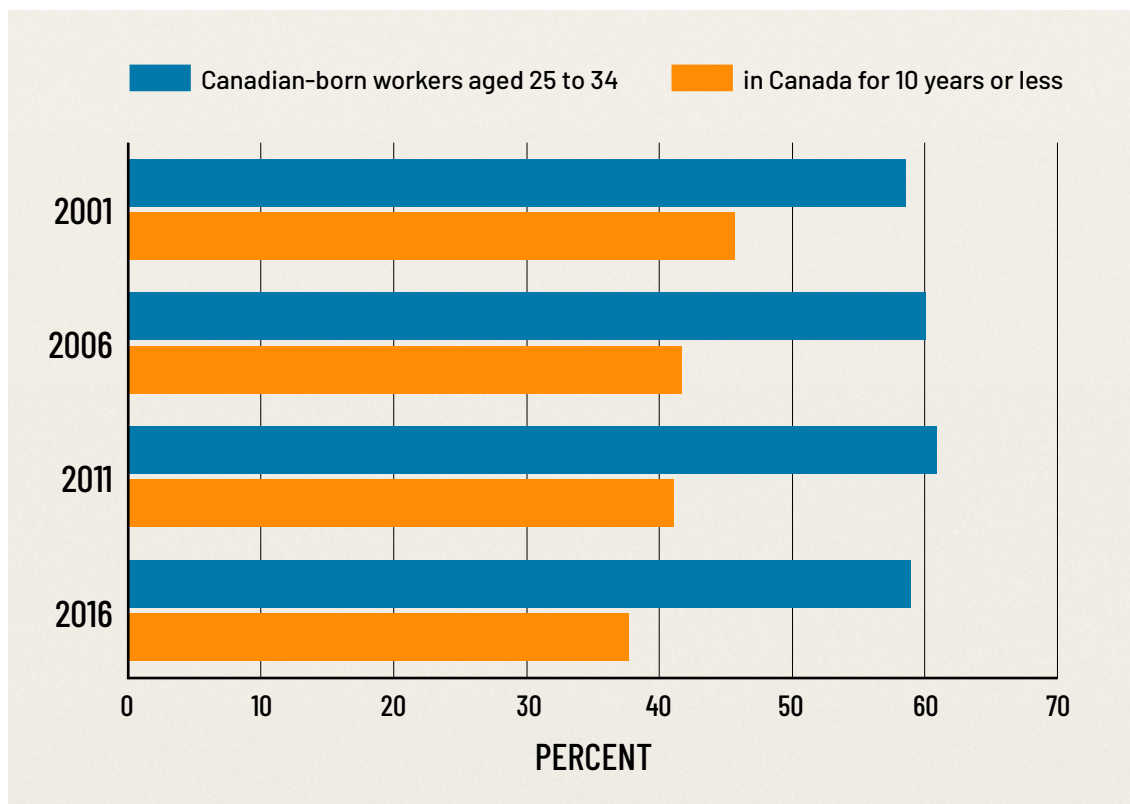


## Increasing underemployment

One of the most significant factors that emerges from the prevailing research as a key contributor to earning disparities for immigrants is the inability to find work that fits with education and skills. A number of studies have confirmed that immigrant workers are significantly more likely to be occupationally mismatched than native-born workers, and the wage penalty of that mismatch is also greater for immigrants (e.g. Aydede & Dar 2016; Banerjee et al. 2019).

Figure 3 presents the percentage of workers between the ages of 25 and 34 with at least a bachelor's degree who were working in a job that required university education in 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016. From this figure we can compare the job-education match of Canadian-born workers to that of immigrants. Overall, close to 60 percent of Canadian-born workers are educationally matched in their jobs. For recently arrived immigrants, the job-education match rate was about 45 percent in 2001. Over time, the match rate declined. By 2016, only about 37 percent of recent immigrant workers were in a job that matched their level of education. This means that more than 60 percent of newcomers experienced underemployment in 2016. Underemployment can have severe economic, psychological, and social consequences. It can diminish newcomers' career progression in the long-term and is extremely costly for Canada's economy (Reitz, Curtis, & Elrick 2014).

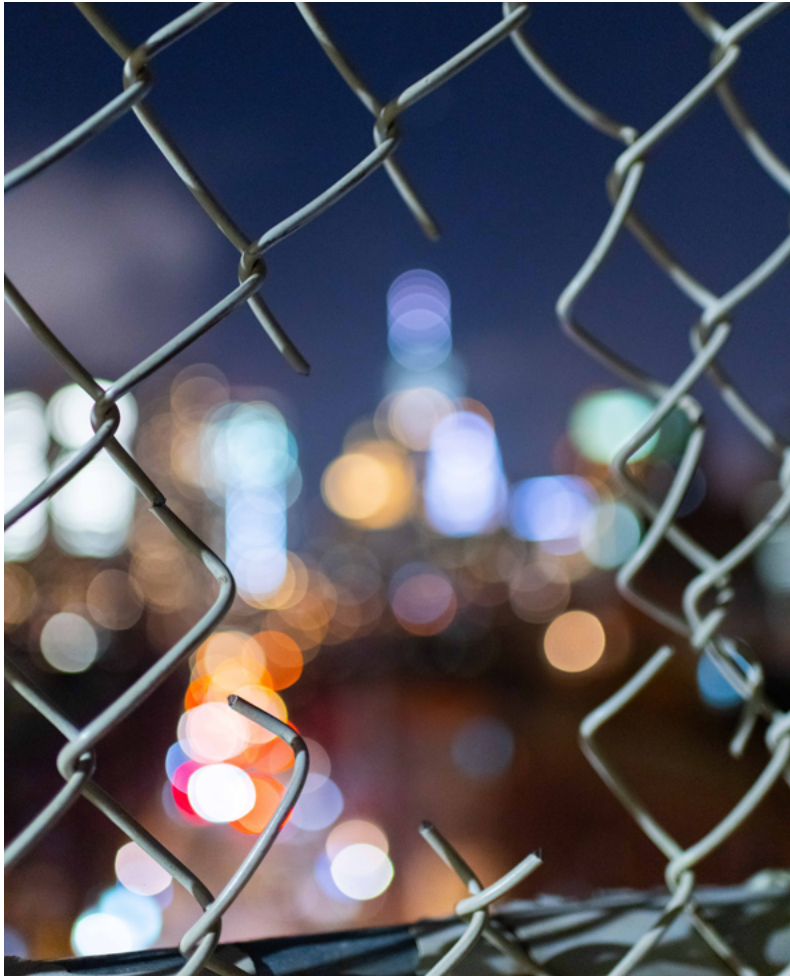
**Figure 3: Workers With at Least a Bachelor's Degree in Jobs Requiring University Education by Immigrant Status 2001-2016**



Source: Statistics Canada (2022) *Research to Insights: Immigration as a Source of Labour Supply*, Catalogue no. 11-631-X. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-631-x/11-631-x2022003-eng.htm>

## A gap emerging: The role of employers

The current literature and recent empirical data clearly show that skilled newcomers in Canada continue to face significant disparities in the labour market despite recent policy interventions. Although their employment rates have been improving over time, they experience a sizable earnings gap and are more likely than ever to be underemployed. Studies examining the reasons behind these disparities have looked at the impact of individual endowments, such as education, work experience and language skills (e.g., Fortin, Lemieux, & Torres, 2016), as well as contextual factors such as opportunity structures and labour market competition (e.g., Hou, Lu, & Schimmele 2020). However, even after the individual and contextual factors have been accounted for, a sizable immigrant disadvantage remains unexplained, particularly for racialized immigrants (Li & Li 2013). This suggests that the policies and practices of other key actors in the labour market – such as employers – also play a crucial role in immigrant integration.





# Conclusion and recommendations: Exploring the role of employers in immigrant labour market integration

This report demonstrates that the existing research has overwhelmingly focused on the impact of immigrants' individual endowments, such as education, work experience and language skills on their Canadian employment outcomes. While there have been some studies looking at the role of government policies and societal institutions, very few investigations have looked at the perspectives, attitudes and behaviours of employers and their role in immigrant labour market outcomes. Immigrant underemployment and "brain waste" come at an economic cost to Canada, a cost that is also borne by employers. Beyond understanding the disadvantages imposed on immigrants, there is also an economic imperative to better understand and address this issue at scale.



Most of the existing data on employers' perspectives of immigrant workers have been collected by employer associations or business councils (e.g., Business Council of Canada 2022). It is crucial to augment this data with arm's length research on the relationship between employers and immigrant labour, whether they be jobseekers or current employees.

We therefore recommend further analyses of the role that employers play in immigrant labour market integration. Research is needed across various geographic regions, sectors, and industries. Moreover, a range of both large and small employers must be engaged to develop transferable insights. We recommend that senior-level decision makers as well as more junior hiring managers should be canvassed to gain the broad perspective required for understanding the dynamics of large, complex organizations. A mix of quantitative (survey-based) and qualitative (interview-based) research is needed to understand this nuanced and complex issue. Given that employers play a key role in both immigrant selection and integration, there is a crucial need to employ innovative strategies to understand how employers might facilitate and/or hinder newcomer success.

# References

- Akkaymak, G. (2017). A Bourdieuan analysis of job search experiences of immigrants in Canada. *Journal of international migration and integration*, 18(2), 657-674.
- Aydede, Y., & A. Dar (2016). The cost of immigrants' occupational mismatch and the effectiveness of postarrival policies in Canada. *IZA Journal of Migration*, 5(1), 1-23.
- Aydemir, A., & M. Skuterud (2005). Explaining the deteriorating entry earnings of Canada's immigrant cohorts, 1966-2000. *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 38(2), 641-672.
- Banerjee, R., J. G. Reitz, & P. Oreopoulos (2018). Do large employers treat racial minorities more fairly? An analysis of Canadian field experiment data. *Canadian Public Policy*, 44(1), 1-12.
- Banerjee, R., A. Verma, & T. Zhang (2019). Brain gain or brain waste? Horizontal, vertical, and full job-education mismatch and wage progression among skilled immigrant men in Canada. *International Migration Review*, 53(3), 646-670.
- Banerjee, R., T. Zhang, & A. Amarshi (2022). Does Diversity and Inclusion Include Immigrants? Employer and Skilled Newcomer Perspectives. In *Academy of Management Proceedings* (Vol. 2022, No. 1, p. 16164). Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510: Academy of Management.
- Business Council of Canada (2022). Canada's immigration advantage: A survey of major employers. <https://thebusinesscouncil.ca/report/canadas-immigration-advantage/>. Accessed October 15, 2022.
- Conference Board of Canada (2022). The Canadian experience disconnect: Immigrant selection, economic settlement and hiring. [https://www.conferenceboard.ca/temp/5be7f365-b799-4f42-b424-c3b5c594032f/11818\\_ip\\_Canadian-Experience-Disconnect\\_oct2020.pdf](https://www.conferenceboard.ca/temp/5be7f365-b799-4f42-b424-c3b5c594032f/11818_ip_Canadian-Experience-Disconnect_oct2020.pdf). Accessed October 15, 2022.
- Crossman, E., F. Hou and G. Picot (2021). Are the gaps in labour market outcomes between immigrants and their Canadian-born counterparts starting to close? Economic and Social Reports, 1(4), 2563-8955. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/36-28-0001/2021004/article/00004-eng.htm>. Accessed October 17, 2022.
- Esses, V. M., J. Dietz, and A. Bhardwaj (2006). The role of prejudice in the discounting of immigrant skills. In *Cultural Psychology of Immigrants*, edited by R. Mahalingam, 113-30. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Farivar, F., R. Cameron, R., & J.A. Dantas (2021). Should I stay or should I go? Skilled immigrants' perceived brain-waste and social embeddedness. *Personnel Review*, 51(5), 1473-1490.
- Ferrer, A.M., G. Picot, and W.C. Riddell (2014). New directions in immigration policy: Canada's evolving approach to the selection of economic immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 48(3) 846-867.
- Fortin, N., T. Lemieux, & J. Torres (2016). Foreign human capital and the earnings gap between immigrants and Canadian-born workers. *Labour Economics*, 41, 104-119.
- Girard, E. R., & H. Bauder (2007). Assimilation and exclusion of foreign trained engineers in Canada: Inside a professional regulatory organization. *Antipode*, 39(1), 35-53.
- Gomez, R., M. Gunderson, X. Huang, & T. Zhang (2015). Do immigrants gain or lose by occupational licensing?. *Canadian Public Policy*, 41(Supplement 1), S80-S97.
- Government of Canada. (2021). 2021 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2021.html#pr>. Accessed on October 12, 2022.
- Green, D. A., & C. Worswick (2012). Immigrant earnings profiles in the presence of human capital investment: Measuring cohort and macro effects. *Labour Economics*, 19(2), 241-259.
- Hou, F., E. Crossman, & G. Picot (2020). Two-step Immigration Selection: Why Did Immigrant Labour Market Outcomes Vary by Admission Programs? Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-626-X – 2020015 - No. 117 <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-626-x/11-626-x2020015-eng.htm>. Accessed on October 17, 2022.
- Hou, F., Y. Lu, & C. Schimmele (2021). Trends in immigrant overeducation: the role of supply and demand. *International Migration*, 59(3), 192-212.
- IRCC (2021a). Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS) criteria: Express Entry. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/express-entry/eligibility/criteria-comprehensive-ranking-system/grid.html>. Accessed on October 20, 2022.
- IRCC (2021b) Express Entry year-end report 2020 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/express-entry-year-end-report-2020.html>. Accessed on October 20, 2022.
- Kang, S. K., K.A. DeCelles, A. Tilcsik, & S. Jun (2016). Whiteness résumés: Race and self-presentation in the labor market. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 61(3), 469-502.
- Lamb, D., R. Banerjee, & T. Emanuel (2022). New Canadians working amid a new normal: Recent immigrant wage penalties in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Canadian Public Policy*, e2022003. <https://www.utpjournals.press/doi/full/10.3138/cpp.2022-003>. Accessed on September 28, 2022.
- Li, P. S., & E.X. Li (2013). Decomposing immigrants' economic integration in earnings disparity: Racial variations in unexpected returns. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 45(3), 81-94.
- Li, Q., & A. Sweetman (2014). The quality of immigrant source country educational outcomes: Do they matter in the receiving country? *Labour Economics*, 26, 81-93.
- Lightman, N., & L. Good Gingrich (2018). Measuring economic exclusion for racialized minorities, immigrants and women in Canada: Results from 2000 and 2010. *Journal of Poverty*, 22(5), 398-420.
- Majerski, M. M. (2019). The earnings of immigrant and native-born men in Canada: The role of social networks and social capital. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 60(2), 314-336.
- Picot, G., & A. Sweetman (2005). The Deteriorating Economic Welfare of Immigrants and Possible Causes: Update 2005. Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series. Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE – No. 262. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2005262-eng.pdf>. Accessed on October 16, 2022.
- Picot, G., F. Hou, & H. Oju (2016). The human capital model of selection and immigrant economic outcomes. *International Migration*, 54(3), 73-88.
- Reitz, J.G. (2014). Canada: New initiatives and approaches to immigration and nation building. In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 3rd Edition, edited by J.F. Hollifield, P.L. Martin, and P.M. Orrenius. Stanford UP, 88-116.
- Reitz, J.G., J. Curtis, and J. Elrick (2014). Immigrant skill utilization: Trends and policy issues. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 15(1), 1-26.
- Sakamoto, I., M. Chin, & M. Young (2010). "Canadian Experience," employment challenges, and skilled immigrants: A close look through "Tacit Knowledge". Settlement of Newcomers to Canada, *Canadian Social Work*, 12, 145-151.
- Spence, M. (2002). Signaling in retrospect and the informational structure of markets. *American Economic Review*, 92(3), 434-459.
- Statistics Canada (2021). Longitudinal Immigration Database: Immigrants' income trajectories during the initial years since admission. The Daily. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/211206/dq211206b-eng.htm>. Accessed October 22, 2022.
- Statistics Canada (2022). Immigrants make up the largest share of the population in over 150 years and continue to shape who we are as Canadians. The Daily. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026a-eng.pdf?st=x17tdBkJ>. Accessed October 22, 2022.
- Succi, C., & M. Canovi (2020). Soft skills to enhance graduate employability: comparing students and employers' perceptions. *Studies in higher education*, 45(9), 1834-1847.
- Sweetman, A. (2017). Canada's Immigration System: Lessons for Europe? *Intereconomics*, 52(5), 277-284.
- Warman, C., A. Sweetman, A., & G. Goldmann (2015). The portability of new immigrants' human capital: language, education, and occupational skills. *Canadian Public Policy*, 41(Supplement 1), S64-S79.

# About the author

Rupa Banerjee is the Canada Research Chair in Economic Inclusion, Employment and Entrepreneurship of Canada's Immigrants and associate professor at Toronto Metropolitan University's Ted Rogers School of Management.



**Institute  
for Canadian  
Citizenship**

**Institut pour  
la citoyenneté  
canadienne**

## **Institute for Canadian Citizenship**

The ICC works to unlock Canada for newcomers, facilitating and encouraging the journey towards full and active Canadian citizenship.

## **Ideas & Insights at the ICC**

Working with partners and program participants, Ideas and Insights drives research and develops cutting edge insights on inclusion and citizenship in the 21st century. Ideas and Insights is led by George Carothers ([gcarothers@inclusion.ca](mailto:gcarothers@inclusion.ca)).

