

Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

August 2018

The Economic Integration of LGB Immigrants: The Role of Social Relationships

Sagi Ramaj, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Choi, Kate H., *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Sociology

© Sagi Ramaj 2018

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd>



Part of the [Gender and Sexuality Commons](#), and the [Migration Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ramaj, Sagi, "The Economic Integration of LGB Immigrants: The Role of Social Relationships" (2018). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 5536.
<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/5536>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlsadmin@uwo.ca.

Abstract

Using the 2008 and 2013 Canadian General Social Survey, I analyze economic outcomes—employment, income, homeownership—of Canadian lesbian, gay, bisexual (LGB) immigrants compared to their heterosexual and/or native-born peers. I explore how LGB immigrants differ from others in terms of sociodemographic traits, human capital, and social relationships, and how this produces economic disparities by sexual orientation and nativity status. Gay immigrants are faring as well, or better, in the labor market compared to heterosexuals and Canadian-born gays. Bisexual immigrants have a labor market disadvantage relative to heterosexuals and Canadian-born bisexuals. LGB immigrants are disadvantaged with regards to their homeownership attainment. Socio-demographic traits explain some of these economic disparities. Social relationships have mixed effects on the economic differences by nativity status and sexual orientation. Social networks have a minimal role in the disparities, but neighborhood detachment plays a large role in the lower homeownership attainment of LGB immigrants.

Keywords

LGB immigrants; immigrant integration; social networks; social capital; employment; income; homeownership; Canada

Acknowledgments

I must express gratitude to Dr. Kate Choi for being the best supervisor I could have asked for. I truly cannot express how immensely I have benefited from and enjoyed working with you. Your guidance and unwavering support has been invaluable to me, and I am a better scholar today having learned from you.

Thank you also to my second reader, Dr. Andrea Willson, for your very helpful comments, and your motivating enthusiasm for my work.

Many thanks to my examination committee, Dr. Michael Haan, Dr. Sean Waite, and Dr. Victoria Esses, for reading my thesis and offering very valuable feedback and questions.

There are many other faculty members, friends, and family who have been instrumental to the completion of this project. From writing sessions, to letting me freak out in your offices (a lot), to going on much needed non-school-related adventures, to the constant unconditional support and guidance, I have gone through this process feeling loved, supported, and uplifted by those around me.

Thank you to Statistics Canada and the Western University and University of Toronto Research Data Centres for providing me with access to the master files of the Canadian General Social Survey, without which this project would have been impossible.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, the Government of Ontario, and Western University's Sociology Department for supporting my research with generous funding.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
List of Appendices	viii
Chapter 1	1
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 References.....	6
Chapter 2.....	9
2 The Labor Market Outcomes of LGB Immigrants: The Role of Social Networks.....	9
2.1 Introduction.....	9
2.2 Objectives	10
2.3 Background.....	11
2.3.1 Theoretical Considerations	11
2.3.2 Immigrants and LGB People	14
2.3.3 LGB Immigrants	17
2.4 Hypotheses	18
2.5 Data and Measurement	19
2.5.1 Data.....	19
2.5.2 Analytical Sample.....	20
2.5.3 Dependent Variables.....	20
2.5.4 Independent Variables	20

2.5.5	Analytic Strategy	22
2.6	Results.....	23
2.6.1	Descriptive Results	23
2.6.2	Multivariate Results	29
2.6.3	Supplementary Analyses.....	37
2.7	Discussion and Conclusion.....	38
2.8	References.....	43
Chapter 3	49
3	The Homeownership Attainment of LGB Immigrants: The Role of Social Relationships	49
3.1	Introduction.....	49
3.2	Objectives	50
3.3	Background.....	51
3.3.1	LGB People and Immigrants in the Homeownership Literature	51
3.3.2	Housing and LGB Immigrants.....	56
3.4	Hypotheses.....	57
3.5	Data and Measurement	57
3.5.1	Data.....	57
3.5.2	Analytical Sample.....	58
3.5.3	Dependent Variable	59
3.5.4	Independent Variables	59
3.5.5	Analytic Strategy	61
3.6	Results.....	61
3.6.1	Descriptive Results	61
3.6.2	Multivariate Analysis.....	66
3.6.3	Supplementary Analysis	72

3.7 Discussion and Conclusion	73
3.8 References	77
Chapter 4	83
4 Conclusions	83
4.1 Summary of Findings	83
4.2 Contributions	84
4.3 Limitations and Future Directions	86
4.4 References	89
Appendices	90
Curriculum Vitae	98

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Percent distribution and means of respondent characteristics of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.....	25
Table 2.2 Odds-ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the likelihood of being employed.	31
Table 2.3 Ordinary least squares models for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the logged personal income.....	35
Table 3.1 Percent distribution and means of respondent characteristics of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.....	62
Table 3.2 Odds ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics, and neighborhood detachment on the likelihood of homeownership.	68

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Percentage of LGB and heterosexual immigrants and the Canadian-born who are employed.....	28
Figure 2.2 Mean income of LGB and heterosexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.	29
Figure 3.1 Percentage of LGB and heterosexual immigrants and the Canadian-born who are homeowners.	66

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Supplementary Tables for Paper 1.....	90
Appendix B: Supplementary Tables for Paper 2.....	93

Chapter 1

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Lesbian, gay, bisexual (LGB) immigrants have emerged in recent decades as a subpopulation of interest in migration studies and sexuality scholarship. This interest has emerged as a critique of the tendency in migration scholarship to focus on the experiences of heterosexual male economic migrants and the tendency in LGB studies to focus on white native-born LGB people (Cantu 2009; Epstein and Carrillo 2014; Manalansan 2006). Migration and sexual orientation are informed by intersecting and mutually reinforcing systems of power that create experiences and needs for LGB immigrants that are more than simply the sum of the general experiences of immigrants and LGB people at large.

“Sexual migration” is described by Hector Carrillo (2004) as migration that is motivated directly or indirectly by one’s sexuality, and empirical studies on LGB immigrants support this phenomenon (Adam and Rangel 2015; Cantu 2009; Kassan and Nakamura 2013; Morales, Corbin-Gutierrez, and Wang 2013; Nakamura, Kassan, and Suehn 2017; Thing 2010). Moving away from homophobic family, friends, coworkers, or source countries can provide a way for LGB people to more freely live their lives without having to hide their sexualities. Even migration that is primarily linked to economic factors, such as seeking better opportunities for employment, can be indirectly motivated by sexuality. For example, a migrant may move to find better employment because of homophobic work environments or a lack of anti-discrimination protection for sexual minorities (e.g. Lewis and Mills 2016). Likewise, migration that is primarily related to familial factors, such as moving to be with one’s partner, can also be related to sexuality, especially if the source country does not provide legal recognition of same-sex partnerships. For example, in Kassan and Nakamura’s (2013) interviews with Canadian immigrants in same-sex binational couples migrating from the US, all of the participants report leaving the US because they either could no longer legally remain there, or because they could not

legally sponsor their same-sex partner for immigration, a restriction same-sex couples in the US faced that was not lifted until 2013, post study-period (Nakamura, Kassan, and Suehn 2017).

Canada is an enticing destination for LGB immigrants because of various anti-homophobia laws and settlement and integration support for immigrants (Adam and Rangel 2015; Jordan and Morrisey 2013; Kassan and Nakamura 2013; Nakamura et al. 2017). Although other nations, such as the US, are also enticing for LGB immigrants (Hopkinson et al 2016; Howe 2007; Morales et al. 2013), Canada is a unique location for the study of this group. Canada has had federal legal recognition of marriage equality since 2005, a decade before the US (Equaldex 2017). In addition to prohibiting homophobic discrimination in the constitution, Canada has had legal protection against homophobic employment discrimination since 1996; in contrast, the U.S. only has this protection in select states, and has no constitutional prohibition of homophobic discrimination (Carroll and Itaborahy 2015). Additionally, every province and territory in Canada prohibits homophobic housing discrimination (e.g. refusing to sell or rent a unit to a same-sex couple); whereas, in the US, this varies by region (Equaldex 2017). Even at the interpersonal level, some nations that are lauded for their pro-LGB image, such as the US, push LGB people out due to homophobic attitudes and behaviours. Nakamura and colleagues (2017) find that many of their participants in binational same-sex couples who migrated from the US to Canada did so because of homophobic mistreatment that they experienced in the US, causing the country to feel unsafe to them. These official legal protections do not mean that discrimination against LGB people does not occur in Canada; however, their existence makes Canada an enticing destination for LGB migrants moving from locations, including other Western nations, without these protections.

Scholars contend that LGB immigrants, due to their dual marginalisation through homophobia and xenophobia—particularly in conjunction with other systems of oppression such as racism, sexism, and classism—have particular needs, experiences, and vulnerabilities in addition to the general issues that come with being LGB or an immigrant (e.g. Manalansan 2006). Despite this, has been no study that explores the

aggregate patterns of economic integration for LGB immigrants compared to other groups, nor the factors that influence these patterns.

My study will explore whether LGB immigrants are economically disadvantaged relative to heterosexuals and the Canadian-born, with a focus on the effect that social relationships have on influencing economic outcomes for LGB immigrants. Many studies regarding LGB immigrants are comprised of qualitative interviews regarding post-migration integration processes (Cantu 2009; Carrillo 2004; Chavez 2011; Kassan and Nakamura 2013; Logie et al. 2016; Masullo 2015; Morales et al. 2013; Nakamura, Chan, and Fischer 2013; Nakamura et al. 2017; Yee, Marshall, and Vo 2014). These studies consistently reveal that LGB immigrants feel particularly isolated from both LGB and immigrant or ethnic communities, in addition to isolation from the general population (e.g. Nakamura et al. 2013). Because numerous studies have shown that social resources can aid immigrants by providing information, economic, and psychological resources that facilitate positive economic outcomes (e.g. Lancee 2010; Lancee 2012), whether or not LGB immigrants have access to these resources is a cause for concern. By being isolated from various communities that may otherwise be useful in facilitating economic integration, LGB immigrants may be at a high risk of poor economic outcomes.

Through two integrated articles, the objective of this thesis is to examine how social relationships influence the economic outcomes—employment, income, and homeownership—of LGB immigrants, and how this group is faring compared to their heterosexual and/or native-born peers. I address the following overarching research questions.

1. Are LGB immigrants more economically disadvantaged relative to their heterosexual and/or native-born peers?
2. To what extent do group differences in sociodemographic traits contribute to economic disparities by nativity status and sexual orientation?

3. To what extent do group differences in social relationships (i.e. social networks and neighborhood attachment) contribute to economic inequality by nativity status and sexual orientation?

In Paper 1 (Chapter 2), I use data from the 2008 and 2013 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS) to examine the role of human capital and social networks in shaping labor market (employment and income) disparities by nativity status and sexual orientation. I find that gay immigrants do not have a labor market disadvantage relative to heterosexual or gay Canadian-born people, but they do have an advantage over heterosexual immigrants. This may be reflective of successful returns to gay immigrants' high educational attainment. On the other hand, bisexual immigrants have a labor market disadvantage relative to heterosexuals and Canadian-born bisexuals. Although bisexual immigrants also have high educational attainment, they appear to have low economic returns on their education. Although LGB immigrants are more socially isolated than heterosexuals and Canadian-born people, these group differences have a limited effect on LGB immigrants' labor market outcomes.

In Paper 2 (Chapter 3), I use data from the 2008 and 2013 GSS to assess the extent to which group differences in socio-demographic traits, social networks, and neighborhood detachment produce differences in homeownership attainment by sexual orientation and nativity status. Gay and bisexual immigrants have lower odds of homeownership compared to the other sexual orientation-nativity status groups. The sole exception is that Canadian-born bisexuals have the lowest odds of homeownership, likely due to their younger age composition and poor economic resources. Differences in socio-demographic traits (e.g. age, marital status) can explain the lower odds of homeownership for gay immigrants compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals, but can only partially do so for bisexual immigrants. Differences in social networks partially explain the low homeownership rates for bisexual immigrants, but not for gay immigrants. Conversely, neighborhood detachment explains the homeownership differentials between LGB immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals. This is unsurprising as LGB immigrants have high neighborhood detachment, which is significantly associated with lower odds of homeownership.

I conclude my thesis with Chapter 4, which provides an overview of the findings, contributions, and limitations of the project, and suggests future research directions that can further our understanding of the integration patterns of LGB immigrants.

1.2 References

- Adam, Barry D., and J. Christian Rangel. 2015. "The Post-Migration Sexual Citizenship of Latino Gay Men in Canada." *Citizenship Studies* 19(6-7):682-695.
- Cantu, Lionel. 2009. *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men*. New York: New York University Press.
- Carrillo, Hector. 2004. "Sexual Migration, Cross-Cultural Sexual Encounters, and Sexual Health." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 1(3):58-70.
- Carroll, Aengus, and Lucas Paoli Itaborahy. 2015. *State-Sponsored Homophobia: A World Survey of Laws: Criminalisation, Protection And Recognition Of Same-Sex Love*. ILGA.
- Chavez, Karma R. 2011. "Identifying the Needs of LGBTQ Immigrants and Refugees in Southern Arizona." *Journal of Homosexuality* 58:189-218.
- Epstein, Steve, and Hector Carrillo. 2014. "Immigrant Sexual Citizenship: Intersectional Templates Among Mexican Gay Immigrants To The USA." *Citizenship Studies* 18(3-4):259-276.
- Equaldex. 2017. "Equaldex." Retrieved from <http://www.equaldex.com/>
- Hopkinson, Rebecca A., Eva Keatley, Elizabeth Glaeser, Laura Erickson-Schroth, Omar Fattal and Melba Nicholson Sullivan. 2016. "Persecution Experiences and Mental Health of LGBT Asylum Seekers." *Journal of Homosexuality*. DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2016.1253392.
- Howe, Cymene. 2007. "Sexual Borderlands: Lesbian and Gay Migration, Human Rights, and the Metropolitan Community Church." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy: Journal of NSRC* 4(2): 88–106.
- Jordan, Sharalyn, and Chris Morrisey. 2013. "On What grounds?" *LGBT Asylum Claims in Canada. Forced Migration Review* 42:13-15.

- Kassan, Anusha, and Nadine Nakamura. 2013. ““This Was My Only Option”: Career Transitions of Canadian Immigrants in Same-Sex Binational Relationships.” *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling* 7:154-171.
- Lancee, Bram. 2010. The Economic Returns of Immigrants' Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: The Case of the Netherlands.” *International Migration Review* 44(1):202-226.
- Lancee, Bram. 2012. *Immigrant Performance in the Labour Market: Bonding and Bridging Social Capital*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Lewis, Nathaniel M, and Suzanne Mills. 2016. “Seeking Security: Gay Labour Migration And Uneven Landscapes Of Work.” *Environment and Planning A* 48(12):2484-2503.
- Manalansan, Martin F. 2006. “Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies.” *International Migration Review* 40(1):224-249.
- Morales, Alejandro, Edwin E. Corbin-Gutierrez, and Sherry C. Wang. 2013. “Latino, Immigrant, and Gay: A Qualitative Study About Their Adaptation and Transitions.” *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling*, 7:125–142.
- Nakamura, Nadine, Anusha Kassan, and Megan Suehn. 2017. “Resilience and Migration: Experiences of Same-Sex Binational Couples In Canada.” *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services* 29(2):201-219.
- Nakamura, Nadine, Eric Chan, and Benedikt Fischer. 2013. ““Hard To Crack”: Experiences Of Community Integration Among First- And Second-Generation Asian MSM In Canada.” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 19(3):248-256.
- Thing, James. 2010. “Gay, Mexican and Immigrant: Intersecting Identities Among Gay Men in Los Angeles.” *Social Identities* 16(6):809-831.

Yee, June Ying, Zack Marshall, and Tess Vo. 2014. " Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Essentialism: Incorporating Hybridity into New Conceptualizations of Settlement Service Delivery with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer Immigrant Young People." *Critical Social Work* 15(1):88-103.

Chapter 2

2 The Labor Market Outcomes of LGB Immigrants: The Role of Social Networks

2.1 Introduction

Canada's foreign-born population represented over 20% of its total population in 2016, highlighting its history as a popular immigrant destination (Statistics Canada 2017). Canada has long been a preferred destination among immigrants who perceive it as a welcoming place with ample integration support. Canada is particularly a favoured destination for lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) immigrants due to its federal marriage equality legislation since 2005, constitutional prohibition of homophobic discrimination, legal protection against homophobic employment discrimination since 1996, and the ability for citizens to sponsor same-sex partners for immigration (Adam and Rangel 2015; Carroll and Itaborahy 2015; Jordan and Morrisey 2013; Kassan and Nakamura 2013; Nakamura, Kassan, and Suehn 2017). LGB immigrants often migrate to Canada because they believe that the pro-LGB legislature and anti-discrimination laws will allow them to achieve economic mobility, safety, and positive social relationships (e.g. Adam and Rangel 2015).

LGB immigrants migrate to Canada to attain social and economic integration; however, their adaptation experiences may not always meet expectations. Specifically, LGB immigrants report that they feel isolated: ostracized by the LGB community, their ethnic community, and the general population in Canada (Kassan and Nakamura 2013; Lee and Brotman 2011; Logie et al. 2016; Nakamura, Chan, and Fischer 2013; Nakamura et al. 2017; Yee, Marshall, and Vo 2014). Although isolation is the overarching narrative of the LGB immigrant community, some LGB immigrants report being able to establish social ties, particularly with other LGB immigrants (e.g. Logie et al. 2016). It is well-established that social relationships are quintessential to the wellbeing of individuals, including immigrant integration, by providing informational, material, economic, and psychological resources that facilitate positive economic outcomes (e.g. Lancee 2010; Lancee 2012). Additionally, in Nakamura's et al. (2017) interviews with binational same-

sex couples in Canada, respondents attributed part of their difficulty integrating into the Canadian labor market to their lack of personal and professional networks post-migration. By being isolated from various communities that may otherwise be useful in facilitating economic integration, LGB immigrants may be vulnerable to poor labor market outcomes and poverty compared to heterosexual immigrants, the Canadian-born LGB population, and heterosexual Canadian-born citizens.

2.2 Objectives

Although there is an extensive literature documenting economic differentials between immigrants and the native-born (e.g., Kustec 2012), there has yet to be a study documenting the economic differentials between LGB immigrants, the native-born LGB population, and heterosexuals. Additionally, given the positive role that beneficial social networks have in supporting labor market success, LGB immigrants may be at a disadvantage if they are socially isolated. Although studies have explored the post-migration experiences of LGB immigrants that may give rise to adverse economic conditions, no study has analysed the role of social isolation in generating the economic differentials between LGB immigrants and their heterosexual and/or native-born counterparts.

The objective of the present study is to fill these gaps in the literature by examining how social relationships influence the employment rates and income of LGB immigrants, and how this group is faring compared to others. I address the following research questions: 1) Are LGB immigrants more economically disadvantaged relative to their heterosexual and/or native-born peers? 2) To what extent do group differences in human capital contribute to economic inequality by nativity status and sexual orientation? 3) To what extent do group differences in social networks contribute to economic inequality by nativity status and sexual orientation?

My study compares the employment rates and incomes of LGB immigrants with those of heterosexual immigrants, the native-born LGB population, and native-born heterosexuals. Insights obtained from this study will provide insight to support evidence-based

policymaking and practitioners who provide services to LGB people, immigrants, and LGB immigrants.

2.3 Background

2.3.1 Theoretical Considerations

The major theoretical frameworks that guide this study of the economic integration of LGB immigrants are intersectionality theory and social capital theory.

2.3.1.1 Intersectionality

The underlying assumption in migration research is the perception that an “immigrant” is heterosexual, usually male. Likewise, in the LGB scholarship, the “LGB person” is depicted as white and/or native-born. A major consequence of these assumptions is that it excludes the experiences of LGB immigrants (Cantu 2009; Epstein and Carrillo 2014; Manalansan 2006). Deviating from these conventions, intersectionality theory posits that systems of oppression are interlocking and mutually reinforcing (Crenshaw 1989, 1991). Stated differently, all immigrants face some level of xenophobia and all LGB people face some level of homophobia, but LGB immigrants’ lives are impacted by the interaction of xenophobia and homophobia. Heterosexual immigrants dealing with xenophobia or racism can turn to co-ethnic communities and Canadian-born LGB people can turn to LGB communities, but, LGB immigrants may find themselves particularly isolated due to the double marginalisation of their identities. Additionally, LGB immigrants are a heterogeneous group, and many other social forces such as racism, sexism, and ableism, will influence their adaptation processes. This raises concerns regarding the economic outcomes of LGB immigrants, and particularly whether they can establish and utilise social relationships to aid in their economic integration.

2.3.1.2 Social Capital Theory

Social relationships provide access to resources that help achieve economic success, and this may differ for LGB immigrants compared to others. Social capital theory guides the analysis of this mechanism. Drawing from Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988), social capital will refer to the collection of, or the capacity to gain, resources from

membership in social networks and social structures. These resources can be utilised by actors to fulfil goals, such as producing positive economic outcomes. Social capital furthers our understanding of the reproduction of social inequality, such as differences in employment and income, by showing how certain individuals and groups gain advantages in life from their social ties. Furthermore, social capital is also influenced by social inequality itself, which creates differential acquisition of these social resources that can aid in achieving one's goals. For example, for Coleman, an important feature of social ties that can facilitate social capital is "closure", which refers to the strength of ties in a network and the boundaries around which a social network is closed to outsiders. The function of closure is that it provides necessary sanctions regarding appropriate behaviour, which increases obligations between members and trustworthiness of members, and thus the distribution of resources. However, closure with regards to social relations can also act as a form of social exclusion, particularly by reinforcing conformity, attitudinal uniformity, and homogeneity, leading to the isolation of minority populations. For example, if within a particular ethnic community, "heterosexuality" is a point of conformity, and homophobia is an expected uniform attitude, this can lead to the ostracism of coethnic LGB immigrants within this community.

Empirical studies testing social capital theory have shown that the presence of social ties alone has limited impact on the economic outcome of immigrants. Instead, the characteristics of these networks produce differential returns (e.g. Kazemipur 2006; Nakhaie and Kazemipur 2013; Xue 2008). First, network size and composition determine the amount of emotional, material, and economic benefits accompanying social ties. The complexity of social capital is reflected in mixed accounts about the impact of social networks on economic wellbeing. Kazemipur (2006) finds that the social networks of Canadian immigrants are smaller than those of the native-born and yield much smaller economic pay-offs. Conversely, Xue (2008) finds that for Canadian immigrants, network size is inversely related to wages, likely due to competition within the network. Additionally, network proximity (i.e. how many of these ties live in the same city as the individual) explores the extent to which the individual has direct local access to networks or needs to search further for them (e.g. through the internet). Xue (2008) finds that having relatives and friends living nearby at time of landing in Canada is associated with

higher likelihood of employment. Therefore, it is important to measure the effect of network size and network proximity on the economic outcomes of LGB immigrants, to analyse whether their disadvantages in forming social ties harms them or provides non-competitive networks.

Next, the intensity and strength of networks is an important indicator of the potential for resource mobilization within a network. In his seminal works conceptualising the myriad relationships between our economic outcomes and our embeddedness within social networks and structures, Granovetter (1973, 1983, 1985) argues that it is important to understand how the strength and type of relationships influence their ability to be mobilized for economic means. Granovetter's central argument is that "weak" ties (e.g. acquaintances) can disseminate new information and resources by acting as bridges between "strong" ties (e.g. close relatives and friends); whereas, strong ties promote willingness and motivation to support one another. Empirical studies testing this theory have been mixed, but generally support the idea that both strong and weak ties are important for transmitting information and influence, simply in different ways (e.g. Bian, Huang, and Zhang 2015; Tian and Liu 2017; Xue 2008). Frequency of contact may also indicate the intensity of the network, and increased contact with friends is associated with higher likelihood of employment for immigrants (Xue 2008). Therefore, it is important to explore the effect of tie strength on the economic outcomes of LGB immigrants, because patterns of the composition of their networks are unknown, and it is uncertain whether they will be able to benefit from various relationship strengths in ways similar to other groups.

Finally, because individuals have differential acquisition of social capital, network diversity can determine the quality of resources within a network and the ways that they can be utilised for economic outcomes. If resources become concentrated in certain networks, then individuals who do not have access to these networks (whether because of spatial distance or social distance, i.e. social exclusion), will not have access to these resources. Therefore, individuals whose networks are resource-scarce and homogenous, may benefit from diversifying their networks. Empirical studies show that immigrants with diverse networks, such as ties that bridge across different ethnic groups, have a

greater likelihood of positive economic outcomes in Canada (Ooka and Wellman 2006; Nakhaie and Kazemipur 2013). However, xenophobia often prevents those social ties from being formed. Likewise, we cannot assume that sharing similarities in some respects, such as national origins or sexual orientation, will be enough to facilitate social ties, particularly if individuals differ in other ways from those groups into which they are trying to gain membership. Therefore, it is important to understand the network diversity of LGB immigrants, who may be isolated from multiple communities and concentrated in low-resource groups.

2.3.2 Immigrants and LGB People

Immigrants and LGB people are two marginalised and disadvantaged groups in Canada who are socially isolated from the mainstream society due to systemic xenophobia and homophobia. These poor social conditions can translate to adverse economic outcomes. Both immigrants and LGB people are more economically disadvantaged relative to the native-born and heterosexual population. Recent Canadian immigrants have lower employment rates and earnings, and higher poverty rates than the Canadian-born population (Ferrer, Picot, and Riddell 2014; Kustec 2012). Although this partly may be due to changes in the characteristics of immigrants, a key source of this differential may be discrimination and issues with access to labor markets (e.g. a lack of foreign credential recognition) (see Reitz 2007a, 2007b for a review). As discussed, differences in social network characteristics produce differential returns of social capital on economic outcomes. For immigrants, large, diverse, and resource-rich social networks are correlated with positive economic outcomes, such as employment (Nakhaie and Kazemipur 2013) and higher income (Kazemipur 2006). However, Kazemipur (2006) finds that compared to the Canadian-born population, immigrants have social networks that are smaller, more resource-scarce, and less ethnically-diverse. Therefore, the economic benefits of social ties are not as pronounced for immigrants as they are for the Canadian-born population. For many LGB immigrants, their initial social ties in a new country often consist of other LGB immigrants (e.g. Cantu 2009; Nakamura et al. 2017). Because they are doubly marginalised and isolated, it is probable that these social

networks of LGB immigrants will be even more ill-equipped to provide economic benefits compared to immigrants generally.

Similarly, there is an overall difference between the LGB population and their heterosexual counterparts with regards to various economic outcomes. However, an in-depth look suggests that there is heterogeneity within the LGB population with regards to these differentials. The LGB population is more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to experience poverty, as well as experience homophobic workplace discrimination, such as restricted upward mobility and abuse and harassment (Badgett, Durso, and Schneebaum 2013; Mallory and Sears 2015). With regards to personal income and employment, Canadian gay men are on average less likely to work full time and are estimated to have lower personal incomes compared to heterosexual men; whereas, lesbians are more likely to work full time and are estimated to have higher personal income compared to heterosexual women (Carpenter 2008; Waite and Denier 2015). However, another study finds that although there is an earnings premium for Canadian women in same-sex couples over women in different-sex couples, there are no statistical differences between men in different-sex or same-sex couples (Mueller 2014). Labor market disparities between LGB people and heterosexuals tend to decrease or disappear when comparing only unpartnered individuals or aggregating both coupled and uncoupled individuals, compared to only analysing coupled individuals (Aksoy, Carpenter, and Frank 2016; Carpenter 2008). One exception is that bisexual men face an earnings and employment penalty in both partnered and unpartnered samples, and the unpartnered sample drives the disparities (Aksoy et al. 2016). Conversely, there are no significant earnings disparities between bisexual and heterosexual women, although bisexual women are less likely to be working full time than heterosexual women (Aksoy et al. 2016). The findings that unpartnered bisexuals are more likely to face a labor market penalty compared to heterosexuals than are partnered bisexuals may be because the majority of partnered bisexuals have a different sex partner (Valfort 2017). This suggests that coupled individuals are not representative of the general LGB population. These patterns can partly be attributed to labor market discrimination, differences in

industry and sector (public versus private) of employment, an anticipated gender earnings gap¹, the presence of children², and differences in methodology of the studies.

In contrast to the studies on social capital and immigrant integration, however, there has been no research analysing the effect of social relationships on the income and employment patterns of LGB people. Whereas immigrants are likely to rely on kin networks for support (e.g. Boyd 1989), LGB people are more likely to rely on friends and partners than family, compared to their heterosexual counterparts (e.g. Dewaele et al. 2011). This is often due to homophobic prejudice from family members. Additionally, LGBT Americans report lower “social wellbeing” compared to their non-LGBT counterparts, which is measured as poorer reported social relationships and less perceived social support (Gates 2014). It is possible that because LGB people are more likely to utilise friendship networks for support, these networks may be more diverse than those of their heterosexual counterparts, and therefore may provide them with more economic benefits. However, these networks themselves may be difficult to build.

These economic outcomes come as a surprise given the reported high human capital, particularly educational attainment, of immigrants and LGB people. Canada’s point system for immigrant admission is designed to positively select migrants with high human capital (Ferrer et al. 2014; Picot, Hou, and Qui 2016). For example, the system awards more points to immigrants with higher levels of education and English or French proficiency, as a way to increase the likelihood that immigrants attain success in the labor market. Because the Canadian immigration system is designed to select individuals with higher human capital levels, immigrants average more education than their Canadian-

¹ Berg and Lien (2002) offer the “gender earnings gap hypothesis,” to explain wage differentials by sexual orientation and gender. They argue that if we assume a male-female earnings differential, lesbians will anticipate lower future household earnings and will choose to work more, therefore having higher individual earnings compared to heterosexual women. Conversely, gay men will anticipate higher future household earnings and will choose to work less, thereby having lower individual earnings compared to heterosexual men.

² Waite and Denier (2015) find that women in different-sex couples experience a motherhood penalty with regards to earnings; whereas, men in different-sex couples experience a fatherhood premium. Having children did not affect the earnings of men and women in same-sex couples.

born counterparts (Xue and Xu 2010). Likewise, because pursuing high educational credentials may act as a protective factor to mitigate perceived or anticipated discrimination in the labor market, gay Canadians have higher educational attainment relative to their heterosexual counterparts (Carpenter 2008). If LGB immigrants also have high human capital, it may offer them protection against poor labor market outcomes.

2.3.3 LGB Immigrants

As LGB immigrants share membership in both the immigrant and LGB communities, and therefore share the experiences of xenophobia and homophobia, they may experience similar outcomes with those two broad groups. Additionally, due to LGB immigrants' likelihood of having high human capital (e.g. Gates 2013), and the discrimination protection that is available to them in Canada, it is possible that LGB immigrants will not be any worse off than heterosexual immigrants or Canadian-born LGB people. Further, social isolation for LGB immigrants, although common, is not inevitable, and many are able to form close bonds post-migration (e.g. Logie et al. 2016). However, following intersectionality theory, we must contend with the interaction between being LGB and being an immigrant that may create unique patterns that are not simply the sum of the outcomes of LGB people and immigrants generally. In particular, qualitative interviews with LGB immigrants suggest that for the most part, they are isolated from the general population, their migrant or ethnic communities, and LGB communities (e.g. Nakamura et al. 2013). Additionally, as shown above, some economic patterns differ for LGB people and immigrants. For example, while both immigrant men and women fare worse than Canadian-born peers with regards to income, for LGB people compared to heterosexual people, this relationship differs by gender. Therefore, it is important to study LGB immigrants as a specific subgroup that may have unique outcomes.

The work by Gary J. Gates and colleagues (2011, 2013) offer the first quantitative analyses of the demographic composition of LGB immigrants. Both studies find that coupled LGB immigrants in the United States are largely male and young. Additionally, Gates (2013) compares foreign-born individuals in same-sex couples to those in different-sex couples and US-born citizens. He finds that both men and women in same-sex couples, regardless of citizenship, have higher proportions of college degrees

compared to those in different-sex couples, but citizens have higher education than non-citizens. A major exception is that non-citizen women in same-sex couples have the lowest proportion with college degrees at 22%. Additionally, he reports that foreign-born women in same-sex couples are more likely to be employed than those in different-sex couples, with the opposite pattern found for US-born citizens. Differences in personal income vary by citizenship status (with non-citizens earning less than citizens), and by the interaction between couple-type and gender (with men in same-sex couples reporting lower income than men in different-sex couples, and women in same-sex couples reporting higher income than women in different-sex couples, regardless of citizenship status). For those in the labor force, differences in income between individuals in same-sex and different-sex couples are the largest among foreign-born naturalised citizens.

The above are important findings that begin to reveal differences between the economic outcomes of LGB immigrants compared to other groups. However, both Konnoth and Gates (2011) and Gates (2013) limit their analyses to coupled individuals, and coupled LGB individuals are not representative of the entire LGB population (Carpenter 2008). Furthermore, Gates (2013) suggests that immigrants may be less likely than the native-born population to be a part of a same-sex couple. Therefore, it is important to include non-coupled LGB individuals. By using the Canadian General Social Survey (GSS), I have access to self-reported sexual orientation, allowing me to analyse both coupled and non-coupled LGB immigrants. Additionally, Gates (2013) shows that there are some differences between foreign-born individuals in same-sex couples, US-born citizens in same-sex couples, and different-sex couples. However, his analysis focuses on descriptive statistics, without multivariate analyses to understand the processes that may produce these differences, which my study provides.

2.4 Hypotheses

Based on the insights of the studies above, I have the following hypotheses. Hypotheses 1a and 1b are competing:

- 1a. There will be an interaction effect between nativity status and sexual orientation. Stated differently, dual membership in the LGB and immigrant communities will depress the prospects of employment and income even further.
- 1b. LGB immigrants will have negative economic outcomes compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals due to the effects of being LGB or an immigrant, but there will be no interaction effect between nativity status and sexual orientation.
2. LGB immigrants will have high human capital, and this will be beneficial for their labor market outcomes.
3. LGB immigrants will have weaker social network characteristics compared to their peers, and this will be disadvantageous in the labor market.

2.5 Data and Measurement

2.5.1 Data

To investigate the employment rates and income of LGB immigrants, and thus the extent to which sexual orientation and nativity status exacerbate economic inequality, I pool data from the 2008 and 2013 Canadian GSS. The GSS is a nationality representative, cross-sectional, and repeated survey of the non-institutionalized population in Canada aged 15 years and over (Statistics Canada 2010; Statistics Canada 2015). The 2008 and 2013 GSS are well-suited to my study because they provide valuable information on sexual orientation, nativity status, social networks, and economic outcomes. The 2013 GSS also oversamples both immigrants and youth. LGB immigrants tend to be younger than heterosexual immigrants (Gates 2013), therefore, this oversampling ensures that there are enough LGB immigrants for the present analysis.³ Analyses are weighted to ensure nationally representative estimates.

³ Despite the oversampling of immigrants and youths, the final sample sizes of gay and bisexual immigrants in my analytical sample (see below) are too small to further disaggregate gay and bisexual immigrants into divisions that would enhance our exploration of their labor market outcomes. This is discussed further in the Discussion section of the paper.

2.5.2 Analytical Sample

Because sexual orientation is not reported by respondents under 18 years old, my analytical sample is restricted to respondents who are 18 or over, without missing information on key covariates. With the exception of missing cases for income (see below for a description of the imputation methods used), all other missing cases are deleted from the analytical sample through listwise deletion. The total sample size is 36,400 (excluded respondents = 11,700). The sample (N) consists of 25,800 Canadian-born heterosexuals, 400 Canadian-born gays, 300 Canadian-born bisexuals, 9,600 heterosexual immigrants, 150 gay immigrants, and 150 bisexual immigrants. Ns are rounded to base 50 to meet confidentiality requirements of Statistics Canada.

2.5.3 Dependent Variables

My analysis focuses on two outcomes: labor force participation and income. *Labor force participation* is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent is employed or not.⁴ *Income* reports the respondent's logged income, adjusted to 2013 dollars.

2.5.4 Independent Variables

My independent variables are *nativity status*, and *sexual orientation*. *Nativity status* distinguishes the foreign-born from the Canadian-born. *Sexual orientation* categorizes respondents into three groups: heterosexual, lesbian/gay, or bisexual. I cross-class nativity status and sexual orientation to create a categorical variable distinguishing among (1) heterosexual Canadian-born, (2) gay Canadian-born, (3) bisexual Canadian-born, (4) heterosexual immigrant, (5) gay immigrant, and (6) bisexual immigrant.

To understand how social networks influence the employment rates and income of LGB immigrants, I measure various *social network characteristics*. *Network size* is measured using three dichotomous variables: (1) whether the respondent has over five relatives;⁵

⁴ This encompasses all paid labor, including part time work and self-employment.

⁵ All the social network variables regarding relatives refers to relatives with whom the respondent does not live.

(2) whether the respondent over four close friends; and (3) whether the respondent has over twenty acquaintances.⁶ Although the GSS contains exact number of ties, as is commonly used (e.g. Xue 2008), I instead use medians as a threshold to create dummy variables due to the right-skewness of the original variables. Because economic outcomes involve competing with others for scarce resources, where you stand compared to others with regards to beneficial resources (e.g. number of ties) is a salient indicator for my analysis. *Network proximity* is measured with three continuous variables indicating the proportion of (1) relatives, (2) close friends, and (3) acquaintances that live in the same city or local community as the respondent, relative to the total number of ties for each variable (Xue 2008). *Network intensity* is measured with six ordinal variables denoting (1) in person, (2) telephone, and (3) internet/email contact with friends (1= not in past month; 2= once a month; 3= few times a month; 4= once a week; 5= few times a week; 6= everyday), with the same measures for contact with relatives (Xue 2008).⁷ *Network diversity* is measured with three dichotomous variables indicating whether or not the respondent has any friends⁸ that differ from them in terms of (1) ethnicity, (2) sex, and (3) education (Kazemipur 2006; Ooka and Wellman 2006; Xue 2008). Interactions between gender and gender network diversity (for employment and income), and visible minority status and ethnic network diversity (for income) are included.

⁶ Following conventions in social capital research (e.g. Xue 2008), and as permitted by the data structure of the GSS, I differentiate between familial ties and friendship ties, further differentiating between acquaintances and close friends where possible.

⁷ Preliminary analyses were conducted using the 6 variables. Because certain variables had the same effect on the models and appeared to be measuring similar concepts based on Cronbach alpha calculations, I combine them into standardised scales in the final models. For the employment models, the final measures of contact are: (1) general internet contact, (2) phone and in-person contact with relatives, (3) phone contact with friends, and (4) in-person contact with friends. For the income models, the final measures of contact are: (1) general internet contact, (2) phone and in-person contact with friends, and (3) phone and in-person contact with relatives.

⁸ These are friends that the respondent has had contact with in the past month.

My models include *sociodemographic controls*. They are age (18-24; 25-34; 35-54; 55 and over), gender (male; female), visible minority status (yes; no)⁹, marital status (married; common law; widowed, separated, divorced; single, never married), residence in in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver (yes; no),¹⁰ and region of residence (Atlantic region; Quebec; Ontario; Prairie region; British Columbia).

I also account for *human capital* by controlling for respondents' *educational attainment* (less than high school; high school diploma; post-secondary, non-university; university degree). For my income models, I control for respondents' *employment*.

2.5.5 Analytic Strategy

I compare economic outcomes, sociodemographic characteristics, human capital characteristics, and social network properties of the nativity status-sexual orientation subgroups. Chi square and ANOVA tests are conducted to determine whether subgroup differences are statistically significant.

I estimate five logistic regression models predicting odds of having paid employment. Model 1 shows the zero-order association between the six subgroups and paid employment. Models 2 to 4 each successively add sociodemographic, human capital, and social network characteristics.

Analogous models are run using multivariate ordinary least squares linear regression (OLS) models to predict income. Due to the high missing cases on the income variable, as is common in all survey data, I use STATA's multiple imputation chain equations function to conduct OLS estimates for income. Multiple imputation creates multiple datasets to estimate values for missing data using the distribution of sample data, while incorporating randomness, individually analyzes them, and then combines the estimates

⁹ The Canadian Employment Equity Act (1995) defines visible minorities as non-aboriginal persons who are "non- Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." It mainly encompasses the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese.

¹⁰ These are three cities with high concentrations of LGB people and immigrants (Statistics Canada 2013, 2017b).

of the datasets to obtain overall estimates (White, Royston, and Wood 2011). To avoid bias in the estimates, the imputation model includes all covariates used in Model 4 (White et al. 2011). Forty-five imputations (m) are performed for the immigrant supplementary analysis, and 40 are performed for all other models. This keeps the largest fraction of missing information (FMI) divided by number of imputations (FMI/ m) at $< .01$ for all models (White et al. 2011). A seed of the random number generator was set to ensure reproducibility of results. Whether the respondent works full-time or has a partner with a university degree, and the number of adults in the respondent's household are used as auxiliary variables in the imputation model due to their correlation with income, and removed from the estimate models, to improve the imputations and decrease the standard error of the estimates (White et al. 2011). These multiple imputation estimates are similar to analyses run by simply removing the missing income cases. All analyses are weighted.

2.6 Results

2.6.1 Descriptive Results

Table 2.1 presents the percent distributions and means of respondent characteristics. LGB immigrants are more likely than heterosexual immigrants to be visible minorities and outside of prime working ages (i.e. 35-54 years of age). However, LGB immigrants are more likely than heterosexual immigrants to have university degrees. This is unsurprising given that the Canadian points system for immigrant admissions is designed to draw immigrants with higher levels of education (Ferrer, Picot, and Riddell 2014), and that LGB people tend to have higher educational attainment compared to heterosexuals (Carpenter 2008). Pursuing higher education can be a way for LGB people to mitigate anticipated employment discrimination. Additionally, it is possible that if LGB immigrants know that they wish to leave their countries due to homophobia, they may choose to pursue higher education to facilitate emigration (e.g. Adam and Rangel 2015). LGB immigrants are more likely than Canadian-born LGBs to have a university degree and to be married, although they have similar age compositions. Like all immigrants, LGB immigrants are more likely than Canadian-born LGBs to reside in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver: 59-66% of LGB immigrants vs. 34-49% of Canadian-born LGB people. These results are in line with the literature that shows that immigrants and LGB

people in general have high educational attainment (e.g. Carpenter 2008; Xue and Xu 2010); however, my results show that LGB immigrants have even higher education levels compared to their peers.

Table 2.1 Percent distribution and means of respondent characteristics of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.

	Canadian-born			Immigrant		
	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bi- sexual	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bi- sexual
Rounded unweighted Ns (to nearest 50)	25,800	400	300	9,600	150	150
Dependent Variables						
% Employed	68.0	74.7	61.1	64.0	73.0	60.0
Mean Income (natural log)	10.4	10.4	10.1	10.3	10.5	10.2
% Missing	19.4	14.2	29.1	24.1	26.4	20.4
Sociodemographic						
Age (%)						
18 to 24 years	13.5	22.5	30.1	8.7	21.8	12.7
25 to 34 years	18.8	23.0	27.6	18.2	30.0	37.6
35 to 54 years	37.9	36.2	24.3	40.4	35.2	26.2
55 years and over	29.9	18.3	18.1	32.7	13.0	23.5
% Female	51.1	37.2	63.8	49.8	35.5	46.7
% Visible minority	3.5	4.7	5.6	52.8	61.0	57.9
Marital status (%)						
Single, never married	24.5	59.9	47.5	19.1	56.0	39.2
Common-law	13.8	25.1	20.5	4.7	19.5	9.5
Widowed/separated/divorced	10.7	5.4	11.4	10.6	10.2	10.5
Married	51.0	9.7	20.7	65.6	14.4	40.9
% Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver	28.1	48.6	34.2	61.1	59.1	65.9
Region of residence (%)						
Quebec	26.3	33.4	24.3	14.7	9.3	17.9
Ontario	35.3	38.5	34.0	50.8	48.3	59.3
Prairie region	17.7	10.6	20.8	13.7	9.9	12.1
Atlantic region	8.4	6.6	8.6	1.8	5.0	0.9
British Columbia	12.3	10.8	12.3	18.9	27.5	9.8
Human Capital						
Education (%)						
Less than high school diploma	12.0	7.7	16.0	7.9	6.1	4.7
High school diploma	30.0	21.6	39.6	22.4	26.9	27.0
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)	32.6	27.5	24.8	27.3	19.0	19.2
University degree	25.4	43.2	19.5	42.5	48.1	49.2

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files

Notes:

Percentages, means, and ANOVA tests are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Chi-square tests and Ns are unweighted.

Chi-square and ANOVA tests are significant at the <0.01 level.

Table 2.1 Continued: Percent distribution and means of respondent characteristics of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.

	Canadian-born			Immigrant		
	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bi- sexual	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bi- sexual
Rounded unweighted Ns (to nearest 50)	25,800	400	300	9,600	150	150
Social Network Characteristics						
Network size						
% Above the median number of acquaintances (>20)	39.2	39.4	49.2	32.1	27.9	26.8
% Above the median number of close friends (>4)	51.2	58.0	55.4	46.8	59.7	43.6
% Above the median number of relatives (>5)	46.7	30.9	41.6	37.1	14.5	28.9
Network proximity (mean)						
Proportion of relatives living in same city/local community	0.51	0.45	0.48	0.42	0.39	0.27
Proportion of close friends living in same city/local community*	0.66	0.65	0.64	0.65	0.64	0.72
Proportion of acquaintances living in same city/local community	0.60	0.56	0.61	0.58	0.66	0.49
Frequency of contact with networks (scale 1-6)						
Contact with relatives, in-person	3.3	3.1	3.1	2.7	2.6	2.4
Contact with relatives, phone	4.1	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.5	3.7
Contact with relatives, internet	2.8	3.0	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.8
Contact with friends, in-person	4.1	4.2	4.3	3.7	4.0	3.8
Contact with friends, phone	3.8	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.9
Contact with friends, internet	3.3	3.9	4.0	3.2	3.3	3.7
Network diversity						
% Any educational diversity in friend group	79.5	74.8	87.0	76.9	76.4	83.1
% Any ethnic diversity in friend group	51.3	67.9	72.4	68.0	68.6	76.5
% Any gender diversity in friend group	81.6	89.4	90.1	78.8	89.1	87.0

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files

Notes:

Percentages, means, and ANOVA tests are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Chi-square tests and Ns are unweighted.

Chi-square and ANOVA tests are significant at the <0.01 level.

Immigrants have fewer familial ties relative to the Canadian-born, irrespective of their sexuality. LGB immigrants are the least likely to have over five close relatives and they have the lowest mean proportion of relatives in proximity, and mean phone and in-person contact with relatives. Only 15% of gay immigrants have over five close relatives, compared to 37% of heterosexual immigrants. LGB immigrants appear to make up for limited familial ties with a sizeable and tightly knit group of non-familial ties who reside in proximity. Gay immigrants are the most likely to have over four close friends (60%) and have the highest mean percentage of acquaintances living in their cities (66%). Bisexual immigrants on average have 72% of their close friends living in their cities, and they are more likely than heterosexual immigrants to have contact with friends. These results may reflect the tendency of LGB people to form “families of choice” of close friends due to rejection from familial ties (Dewaele et al. 2011).

LGB immigrants have less ties on each measure compared to Canadian-born LGBs. The sole exception is that gay immigrants are slightly more likely than Canadian-born gays to have more than four close friends. Likewise, LGB immigrants also have lower frequency of contact, on all measures, compared to Canadian-born LGBs. This corroborates studies that show that immigrants have less social ties than the Canadian-born population (Kazemipur 2006).

LGB people are more likely than heterosexuals to have ethnic or gender diversity in their friend groups. Immigrants are more likely to have ethnic network diversity than the Canadian-born, but less likely to have gender network diversity. Bisexuals are the most likely to have educational diversity amongst friends. The rich diversity in LGB immigrants’ networks may be beneficial by allowing them to diversify the different groups from which they gain resources. This reinforces the reports that although social isolation is common for LGB immigrants, many still form close relationships in Canada (e.g. Lee and Brotman 2011; Logie et al. 2016).

With regards to employment and income, Figure 2.1 shows that bisexual immigrants are the least likely to be employed, at only 60%. Gay immigrants, at 73%, are slightly less likely to be employed than Canadian-born gays, but are more likely than all other groups.

LGB immigrants have higher mean incomes compared to their Canadian-born counterparts (Figure 2.2), but heterosexual immigrants have mean incomes in between gay and bisexual immigrants. Multivariate models will further show the effects of key covariates on these outcomes.

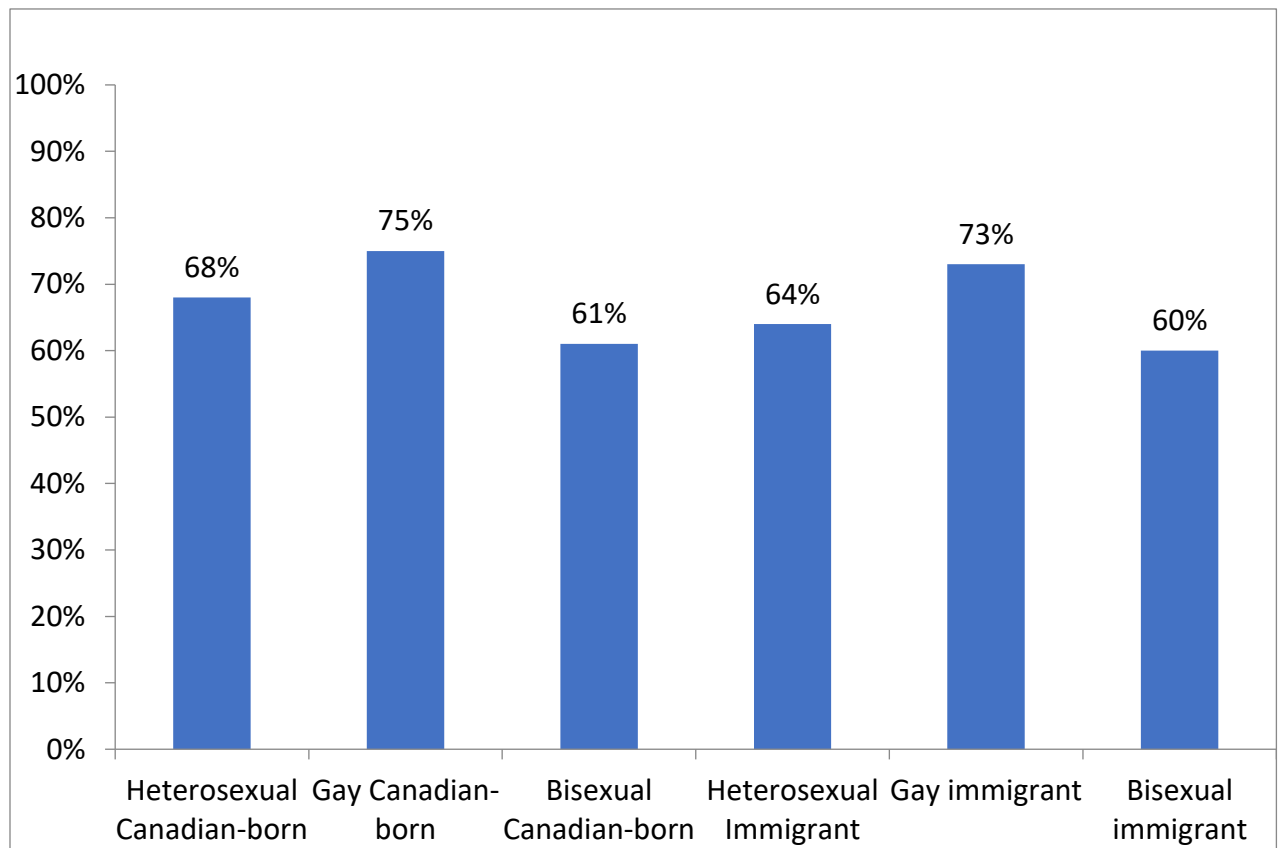


Figure 2.1 Percentage of LGB and heterosexual immigrants and the Canadian-born who are employed.

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

Percentages are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Chi square tests of group differences are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level.

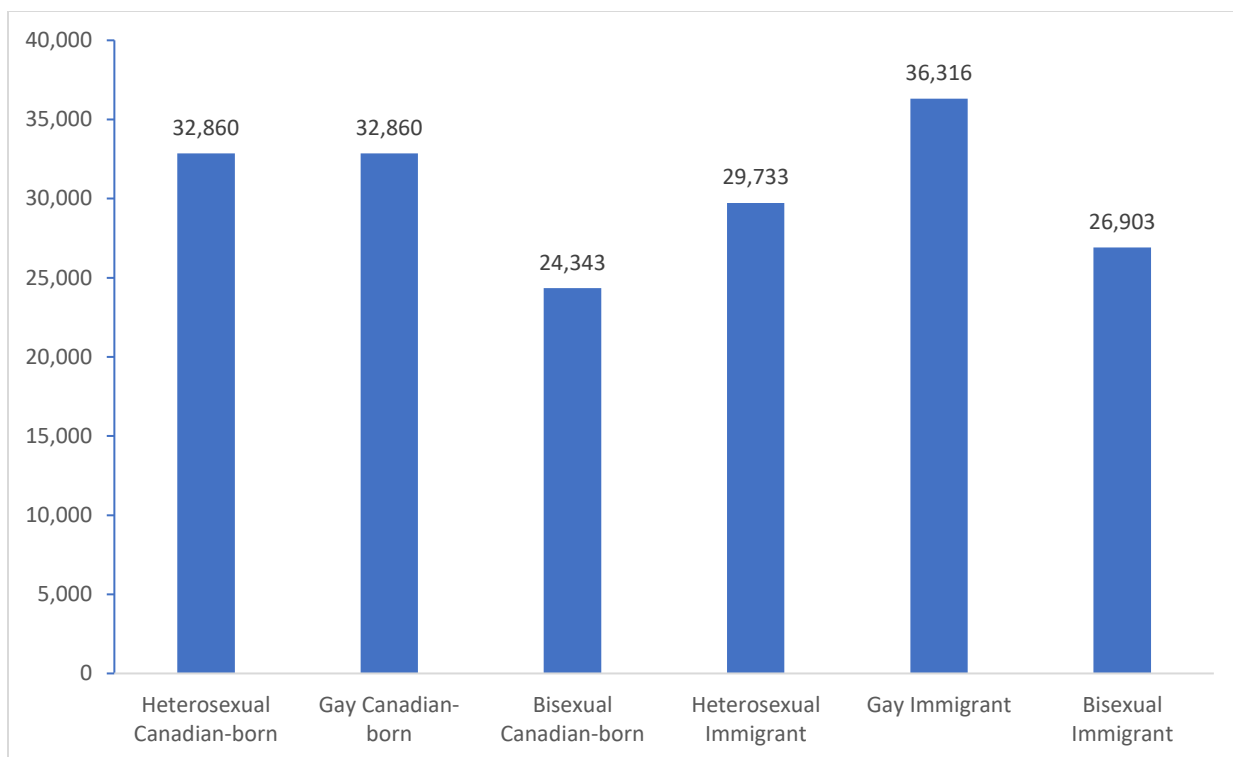


Figure 2.2 Mean income of LGB and heterosexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

Means and ANOVA tests of difference are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Group differences are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level.

2.6.2 Multivariate Results

Table 2.2 presents results from logistic regression models predicting the odds of being employed. All results are presented in the form of odds ratios. Model 1 documents the zero-order association between nativity status-sexual orientation and employment. The odds of being employed are 39% higher for Canadian-born gays than they are for Canadian-born heterosexuals. Conversely, Canadian-born bisexuals and heterosexual immigrants have 26% and 16% lower odds of employment relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals, respectively. Like their Canadian-born counterparts, the odds of employment for gay immigrants are higher than those of Canadian-born heterosexuals (27%). Similarly, bisexual immigrants are 29% less likely than Canadian-born

heterosexual counterparts to be employed. The odds of employment of gay and bisexual immigrants are not significantly different from the corresponding odds for Canadian-born heterosexuals. Based on both the magnitude and statistical significance of coefficients, these findings suggest that there are additive effects of being LGB or an immigrant on employment, as seen in previous studies (e.g. Carpenter 2008; Kustec 2012) but the two do not interact with each other.

Model 2 documents variations in employment odds between the subgroups, net of socio-demographic controls. Canadian-born gays no longer have an employment advantage over their heterosexual peers, net of socio-demographic differences. Canadian-born gays have higher proportions living in MTV regions and being in a common-law partnership compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals. These traits are associated with higher employment odds, and therefore may have been responsible for the significant employment advantage of Canadian-born gays. Socio-demographic differences suppress differences in odds of employment between Canadian-born heterosexuals and bisexual individuals irrespective of their nativity status. For example, net of socio-demographic controls, bisexual immigrants are 43% less likely than Canadian-born heterosexuals to be employed. This compares with 29% in the absence of these controls. Supplementary analyses reveal that most of the “suppressing” effect comes from residence in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver, which is associated with higher employment odds. Simply put, the employment rates of bisexuals would have been even lower had it not been for the fact that they are more likely than Canadian-born heterosexuals to reside in regions with better employment prospects. My results also reveal that being female, being a visible minority, and being single are all associated with lower odds of employment. There is a curvilinear association between age and employment odds. The odds of employment increase with age, peaks between 35 and 54, and decreases afterwards.

Table 2.2 Odds-ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the likelihood of being employed.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Sexual orientation and nativity status subgroups (Heterosexual Canadian-born)				
Gay Canadian-born	1.39**	1.09	0.99	1.01
Bisexual Canadian-born	0.74*	0.65**	0.70*	0.66**
Heterosexual Immigrant	0.84***	0.81***	0.77***	0.78***
Gay immigrant	1.27	0.90	0.86	0.92
Bisexual immigrant	0.71	0.57*	0.53**	0.55*
Demographic				
Age (35-54)				
18 to 24		0.47***	0.54***	0.46***
25 to 34		0.78***	0.75***	0.71***
55 and over		0.12***	0.13***	0.13***
Female		0.57***	0.55***	0.44***
Visible minority		0.87**	0.85**	0.87*
Marital status (married)				
Single, never married		0.82***	0.84***	0.81***
Common-law		1.23***	1.25***	1.27***
Widowed/separated/divorced		0.70***	0.75***	0.76***
Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver		1.29***	1.24***	1.23***
Region of residence (Prairie region)				
Quebec		0.68***	0.70***	0.77***
Ontario		0.74***	0.73***	0.73***
Atlantic region		0.64***	0.66***	0.65***
British Columbia		0.69***	0.67***	0.65***
Human Capital				
Education (University degree)				
Less than high school diploma			0.33***	0.36***
High school diploma			0.60***	0.63***
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)			0.86***	0.89***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)		0.97	0.92***	0.89***
Constant	2.12***	9.68***	4.50***	3.11***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes: Models 1-4 N to nearest base 50 = 36,400.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 2.2 continued. Odds-ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the likelihood of being employed.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Social Network Characteristics				
Network size				
Above the median number of acquaintances (>20)				1.07*
Above the median number of close friends (>4)				1.02
Above the median number of relatives (>5)				1.09**
Network proximity				
Proportion of relatives living in same city/local community				1.11**
Proportion of close friends living in same city/local community				1.08
Proportion of acquaintances living in same city/local community				1.13**
Frequency of contact with networks				
Internet contact, friends and relatives				1.11***
Contact with relatives, phone and in-person				0.95**
Contact with friends, phone				0.97**
Contact with friends, in-person				1.08***
Network diversity				
Any educational diversity in friend group				1.09**
Any ethnic diversity in friend group				1.14***
Any gender diversity in friend group				0.84**
Female * gender diversity in friend group				1.33***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)		0.97	0.92***	0.89***
Constant	2.12***	9.68***	4.50***	3.11***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes: Models 1-4 N to nearest base 50 = 36,400.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Model 3 adjusts for differences in human capital levels. Educational advantage suppresses employment differentials between Canadian-born heterosexuals and heterosexual/bisexual immigrants. For example, net of controls for human capital differentials, the odds of employment for bisexual immigrants are 47% lower than those of Canadian-born heterosexuals. By contrast, educational differences explain differences between Canadian-born heterosexuals and Canadian-born bisexuals. It is, however, noteworthy that explanatory and suppressing effects of human capital controls are very small, suggesting that the impact of education is already accounted for by socio-demographic characteristics, such as living in MTV regions.

Model 4 adds social network characteristics to the analysis. Although network characteristics render the difference in employment odds between bisexual immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals only marginally significant, they have little effect on the magnitude of the difference. Independent of controls for human capital and socio-demographic characteristics, social network differentials explain little of the poor employment outcomes of bisexual immigrants. Having over five close relatives and proportion of relatives and acquaintances living in proximity to the respondent—all properties where bisexual immigrants fair the worst—are positively associated with higher odds of employment.

Frequency of contact with networks is a significant predictor of employment. General internet contact, and in-person contact with friends is associated with higher odds of employment. All other contact is associated with lower odds. Educational and ethnic network diversity, which the majority of LGB immigrants report having, is also associated with higher odds of employment. The positive effect of network proximity, internet and in-person contact with friends, and ethnic network diversity on employment supports previous findings (e.g. Nakhaie & Kazemipur 2013; Xue 2008). When controlling for an interaction between gender and gender network diversity, gender network diversity is beneficial for women, but disadvantageous for men, in terms of employment. This suggests that it is friendship with men, a privileged group, that offers benefits for employment, and not gender network diversity itself.

Table 2.3 presents the results from ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models estimating income differentials by nativity status and sexual orientation. By taking the natural log of income, we can interpret the proportional change in income for a unit change in the covariate as 1 subtracted from the exponentiated coefficient $[\exp(\text{coefficient}) - 1]$ (Thornton and Innes 1989). Model 1 reports the zero-order relationship between the subgroups and income. Canadian-born bisexuals have the lowest and Canadian-born heterosexuals have the highest personal income. Canadian-born bisexuals earn 37% less than Canadian-born heterosexuals. In line with findings from prior work on the low earnings of immigrants in Canada (e.g. Kustec 2012), heterosexual immigrants earn 14% less income relative to their Canadian-born peers. By contrast, bisexual immigrants have an income advantage relative to their Canadian-born peers: they earn 6% more. This may be because bisexual immigrants tend to be older, more educated, and more likely to live in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver than Canadian-born bisexuals. The significant negative effects of being bisexual or an immigrant on logged income is unsurprising following previous studies (e.g. Carpenter 2008; Kustec 2012).

When adding sociodemographic characteristics in Model 2, the divergent income between Canadian-born heterosexuals and other groups decreases and loses significance. However, it does persist and remain significant for bisexuals and heterosexual immigrants. Net of socio-demographic controls, bisexual immigrants now have an income disadvantage relative to Canadian-born bisexuals. Similar to employment, lower income is associated with not being 35-54 years old, being female, a visible minority, single, and not living in the Prairie region. Conversely, living in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver is associated with 14% higher log income compared to living elsewhere.

Surprisingly, controlling for education and employment in Model 3 has only minimal impact on income differentials between bisexual immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals. Net of these controls, the income of bisexual immigrants is 23% percent lower than that of Canadian-born heterosexuals. In the absence of such controls, it was 25% lower. The limited impact of human capital controls emerges because of bisexual immigrant's lower returns to schooling: they are less likely to be employed than Canadian-born heterosexuals despite their higher levels of education.

Table 2.3 Ordinary least squares models for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the logged personal income.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Sexual orientation and nativity status subgroups (Heterosexual Canadian-born)				
Gay Canadian-born	-0.029	0.040	-0.064	-0.062
Bisexual Canadian-born	-0.465***	-0.195**	-0.074	-0.075
Heterosexual Immigrant	-0.155***	-0.148***	-0.162***	-0.142***
Gay immigrant	-0.020	0.123	0.067	0.097
Bisexual immigrant	-0.372***	-0.284**	-0.262**	-0.256**
Demographic				
Age (35-54)				
18 to 24		-1.135***	-0.904***	-0.928***
25 to 34		-0.152***	-0.152***	-0.170***
55 and over		-0.295***	0.174***	0.175***
Female		-0.554***	-0.484***	-0.604***
Visible minority		-0.264***	-0.267***	-0.496***
Marital status (married)				
Single, never married		-0.231***	-0.176***	-0.175***
Common-law		0.034	0.026	0.029
Widowed/separated/divorced		0.011	0.132***	0.138***
Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver		0.127***	0.038**	0.043***
Region of residence (Prairie region)				
Quebec		-0.269***	-0.189***	-0.196***
Ontario		-0.137***	-0.095***	-0.101***
Atlantic		-0.294***	-0.210***	-0.227***
British Columbia		-0.195***	-0.142***	-0.148***
Human Capital				
Employed			0.853***	0.846***
Education (University degree)				
Less than high school diploma			-0.772***	-0.745***
High school diploma			-0.496***	-0.481***
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)			-0.314***	-0.303***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)		0.054***	0.029**	0.018
Constant	10.371***	11.088***	9.833***	9.864***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes: Models 1-4 N to nearest base 50 = 36,400.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 2.3 continued. Ordinary least squares models for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the logged personal income.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Social Network Characteristics				
Network size				
Above the median number of acquaintances (>20)				0.033**
Above the median number of close friends (>4)				0.059***
Above the median number of relatives (>5)				-0.023
Network proximity				
Proportion of relatives living in same city/local community				0.005
Proportion of close friends living in same city/local community				0.069***
Proportion of acquaintances living in same city/local community				-0.051**
Frequency of contact with networks				
Internet contact, friends and relatives				0.030***
Contact with relatives, phone and in-person				0.035***
Contact with friends, phone and in-person				-0.002
Network diversity				
Any educational diversity in friend group				0.014
Any gender diversity in friend group				-0.034
Female * gender diversity in friend group				0.135***
Any ethnic diversity in friend group				-0.051***
Visible minority * ethnic diversity in friend group				0.308***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)		0.054***	0.029**	0.018
Constant	10.371***	11.088***	9.833***	9.864***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

Models 1-4 N to nearest base 50 = 36,400.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Social network characteristics explain little of the income differentials between bisexual immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals, and significant income differentials continue to exist between the two groups. Having over four close friends, over twenty acquaintances, a higher proportion of close friends living in your proximity, high internet contact, and high phone and in-person contact with relatives, are all associated with higher income. The interaction of visible minority status and ethnic network diversity shows that ethnic network diversity is associated with higher income for visible minorities, but not for non-visible minorities. Likewise, gender network diversity is beneficial for women, but not men, when it comes to income. This suggests that it is friendships with privileged groups who may have plentiful resources, such as men and white people, that supports labor market success for women and visible minorities.

2.6.3 Supplementary Analyses

In the above analyses, we use our 6 category variable of sexual orientation and nativity status. However, in a set of separate supplementary analyses, we use nativity status, sexual orientation, and the interaction between the two to derive both the main and interaction effects. The latter results are shown in Appendix A: Tables 2.4a and 2.4b. Only the interaction effects are shown, as the rest of the estimates are equivalent to Tables 2.2 and 2.3. Table 2.4a shows that there is no significant interaction between nativity status and sexual orientation regarding odds of employment throughout the models. Results from Table 2.4b show that there is no significant interaction between nativity status and sexual orientation regarding income. The exception is a positive gay * immigrant interaction effect in Models 3 and 4.

Appendix A: Tables 2.5a-2.5c report results for supplementary analyses conducted on immigrants only, adding migration variables to the main models. In addition to their high educational attainment, LGB immigrants are also more likely than heterosexual immigrants to be proficient in English or French (Table 2.5a). However, LGB immigrants have spent less time in Canada relative to heterosexual immigrants. The mean duration in Canada for heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants are 25, 20, and 17 years respectively.

Throughout the immigrant supplementary analysis models, bisexual immigrants have lower likelihood of employment compared to heterosexual immigrants, and gay immigrants have higher, but these results are not statistically significant. Table 2.5b shows that net of all covariates, duration in Canada is an important indicator of the economic outcomes of immigrants. For each subsequent year in Canada, the respondent is 6% more likely to be employed.

Throughout the immigrant models, bisexual immigrants have lower logged income compared to heterosexual immigrants, and gay immigrants have higher. Net of all covariates, English/French proficiency, admission through the points system, and longer duration in Canada are all associated with increases in income (Table 5c). The effects of socio-demographic, human capital, and social network characteristics are similar to the main analysis in Table 2.3. Small sample sizes may be partially responsible for the lack of significant differences in labor market outcomes between LGB and heterosexual immigrants.

2.7 Discussion and Conclusion

Using data from the 2008 and 2013 Canadian General Social Survey, I documented inequalities in labor market outcomes – employment and income—by nativity status and sexual orientation. Once these patterns are established, I also assessed the extent to which human capital and social network characteristics contribute to these differences. This study yielded several noteworthy findings.

Whether or not LGB immigrants as a whole have a labor market disadvantage relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals is unclear because there is heterogeneity between the labor market outcomes of bisexual and gay immigrants. The labor market outcomes of gay immigrants are not significantly different from those of Canadian-born heterosexuals. Additionally, although gay immigrants are fairing slightly worse compared to their Canadian-born counterparts regarding employment, their income differences with Canadian-born gays are minimal. However, they do appear to have a labor market advantage over heterosexual immigrants. These results are contrary to the prediction that

gay immigrants will lack labor market success due to their nativity status and sexual orientation (Hypothesis 1a and 1b). Instead, they appear to be doing equally well, or even better, than their peers with regards to employment and income.

By contrast, bisexual immigrants fair worse compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals on both employment (not statistically significant) and income (statistically significant). They additionally have poorer outcomes compared to heterosexual immigrants. Although bisexual immigrants have a slight income advantage relative to Canadian-born bisexuals, this becomes a persistent disadvantage once I control for socio-demographic differences. This is likely because bisexual immigrants tend to be older and live in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver compared to Canadian-born bisexuals. These findings support the view that nativity status and sexual orientation create labor market disadvantages for bisexual immigrants (Hypothesis 1a and 1b). Supplementary analyses (Tables 4a and 4b) show that there is no statistically significant interaction effect between being bisexual and being an immigrant. This supports Hypothesis 1b, which states that nativity status and sexual orientation produce additive effects, but do not interact with each other.

Nearly half of LGB immigrants in my sample have a university degree, giving them the highest educational attainment of all the subgroups (Hypothesis 2). However, although my findings show that bisexual and heterosexual immigrants would be even less likely to be employed if it were not for their high education, their poor economic outcomes suggest that they still have unsuccessful returns to education, which detracts from Hypothesis 2. This is unsurprising given the literature showcasing that Canadian immigrants have low returns to their high education (e.g. Kustec 2012). For bisexual and heterosexual immigrants, high education levels do not appear to mitigate potential labor market discrimination due to xenophobia. In contrast, high educational attainment may be a supportive factor of the economic success of gay immigrants. However, due to the lack of significance in the economic differentials between gay immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals, I cannot determine the extent to which high educational attainment is responsible for gay immigrants' apparent labor market success.

My results show that familial ties facilitate employment, and friendship ties are positively associated with income. In the case of both familial and friendship ties, bisexual immigrants are more socially isolated compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals. They are also more isolated than both heterosexual immigrants and Canadian-born bisexuals, which supports qualitative reports that LGB immigrants are particularly deprived of social ties (e.g. Nakamura et al. 2013).¹¹ Contrary to the prediction in Hypothesis 3, group differences in social networks characteristics explain little of the economic differentials between bisexual immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals. The limited effect of social networks on the labor market outcomes of bisexual immigrants is surprising given the literature documenting that social networks are an important determinant of labor market success (e.g. Nakhaie and Kazemipur 2013). Reasons for this require further consideration. My finding that bisexual immigrants have a persistent labor market disadvantage throughout the models also warrants further investigation into their challenges in the labor market.

Like all research, my study is not without limitations. First, it is possible that the shorter mean duration in Canada (17 years) of bisexual immigrants compared to heterosexual immigrants (25 years) means that my sample includes disproportionately large shares of recent immigrants. As duration in Canada is positively associated with labor market success (Tables 5b and 5c), it may be that bisexual immigrants' poor economic outcomes are reflective of their limited time in Canada, and therefore limited time for integration into Canadian society. It was not possible to further divide my sample by duration in Canada due to small sample sizes. Second, and relatedly, I cannot analyse economic patterns over time and across the life course, because the GSS is a cross-sectional survey. Future research on the economic trajectories of LGB immigrants and how they compare to their peers can bring important insights about socioeconomic mobility.

¹¹ In contrast, I find that gay immigrants are not as socially isolated as the literature would suggest. They are thriving with regards to their close friendship ties both in number and in having those ties in close proximity to them. This instead aligns with the “families of choice” hypothesis that LGB people are more likely to form close friendship ties than familial ties, due to homophobia from family (e.g. Cantu 2009; Dewaele et al. 2011).

Third, the GSS does not include information in whether the respondent has ties in their intended occupational field, and the 2013 GSS does not include information on whether the respondent knows people in certain occupations.¹² The lack of occupational specificity in my measures of social network characteristics may be partly why social networks have limited impact in my analysis.

Fourth, due to sample size restrictions, I am unable to examine how the labor market experiences of LGB immigrants living in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver differ from those who live outside of these regions. Living in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver is associated with positive economic returns in employment and income, likely due to the abundance of resources, work, and potential social ties in these areas. Additionally, my findings show that high shares of LGB immigrants live in MTV regions, giving them more opportunities for finding ties, especially with each other. Indeed, among the first ties that LGB immigrants make post-migration tend to be with other LGB immigrants (e.g. Cantu 2009; Lee and Brotman 2011). However, this means that LGB immigrants who settle outside of MTV regions (e.g. provincial nominees, sponsored refugees) are economically vulnerable. Future research should conduct analyses separately for LGB immigrants within and outside of MTV regions, to determine whether there are differences in their ability to obtain—and gain returns on—economic and social resources.

Fourth, although the literature shows that there exist gender differences in the economic outcomes of both LGB people and immigrants (e.g. Waite and Denier 2015; Xue 2008), I am unable to conduct separate analyses for men and women due to small sample sizes. The large effect of gender on economic outcomes, and the inconclusive results for both Canadian-born and immigrant gays—which is surprising given the documented labor market differences between gay and heterosexual people (e.g. Carpenter 2008)—, point to the potential that these gender differences are being obscured in my analyses.

¹² The 2008 GSS does include information on whether the respondent knows people in certain occupations, but sample size restrictions prevented me from conducting a supplementary analysis using solely the 2008 GSS.

Finally, I did not have sufficient sample sizes to divide gay and bisexual immigrants into those who are in the labor force and those who are not, although it is common practice to disaggregate the two (e.g. Gates 2013). More efforts should be made to create nationally-representative datasets that report sexual orientation, so that future research on LGB immigrants' economic outcomes is able to further disaggregate LGB immigrants to obtain a richer understanding of their integration patterns.

With the first study to explore the employment rates and outcomes of LGB immigrants, I contribute to migration and LGB scholarship by showing that bisexual immigrants are facing clear labor market disadvantages due to their nativity status and sexual orientation, while gay immigrants are not. I also show that bisexual immigrants are unable to gain returns on their high education levels, and that this cannot be explained by social network characteristics, which warrants further investigation. My findings can provide insight to support evidence-based policymaking and practitioners who provide services to LGB immigrants. For example, my findings point to a need for better incorporation of LGB immigrants' needs into the allocation of immigrant services funding. Mule and Gates-Gasse's (2012) roundtable discussants report that immigrant service providers are often unable to meet the particular needs of LGB immigrants. A mandate requiring training for service providers in understanding and respecting the experiences and needs of LGB immigrants—of which there is currently none in Canada—may be able to help mitigate the labor market challenges of bisexual immigrants.

2.8 References

- Adam, Barry D., and J. Christian Rangel. 2015. "The Post-Migration Sexual Citizenship of Latino Gay Men in Canada." *Citizenship Studies* 19(6-7):682-695.
- Aksoy, Cevat Giary, Christopher S. Carpenter, and Jeff Frank. 2016. "Sexual Orientation and Earnings: New Evidence from the UK." *European Bank for Reconstruction and Develop Working Paper*, no. 196.
- Berg, Nathan, and Donald Lien. 2002. "Measuring the Effect Of Sexual Orientation On Income: Evidence Of Discrimination?" *Contemporary Economic Policy* 20:394–440.
- Badgett, M. V. Lee, Laura E. Durso, and Alyssa Schneebaum. 2013. "New Patterns Of Poverty In The Lesbian, Gay, And Bisexual Community." *The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law*.
- Bian, Yanjie, Xianbi Huang, and Lei Zhang. 2015. "Information And Favoritism: The Network Effect On Wage Income In China." *Social Networks* 40:129-138.
- Bonikowska, Aneta, Feng Hou, and Garnett Picot. 2015. *Which Human Capital Characteristics Best Predict the Earnings of Economic Immigrants?* (Catalogue no. 11F0019M —No. 368). Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241-258 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson. New York: Greenwood.
- Boyd, Monica. 1989. "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas." *International Migration Review* 23(3):638-670.
- Cantu, Lionel. 2009. *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men*. New York: New York University Press.

- Carpenter, Christopher S. 2008. "Sexual Orientation, Work, and Income in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 41(4): 1239-1261.
- Carroll, Aengus, and Lucas Paoli Itaborahy. 2015. *State-Sponsored Homophobia: A World Survey of Laws: Criminalisation, Protection And Recognition Of Same-Sex Love*. ILGA.
- Chavez, Karma R. 2011. "Identifying the Needs of LGBTQ Immigrants and Refugees in Southern Arizona." *Journal of Homosexuality* 58:189-218.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94 Supplement: S95-S120.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989(1):139-167.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6):1241-1299.
- Dewaele, Alexis, Nele Cox, Wim Van Den Berghe, and John Vincke. 2011. "Families of Choice? Exploring the Supportive Networks of Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 41(2): 312-331.
- Epstein, Steve, and Hector Carrillo. 2014. "Immigrant Sexual Citizenship: Intersectional Templates Among Mexican Gay Immigrants To The USA." *Citizenship Studies* 18(3-4):259-276.
- Ferrer, Ana M., Garnett Picot, and Craig Riddell. 2014. "New Directions In Immigration Policy: Canada's Evolving Approach To The Selection Of Economic Immigrants." *International Migration Review* 48(3):846-867.
- Gates, Gary J. 2013. "LGBT Adult Immigrants in the United States." *The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law*.

- Government of Canada. 1995. *Employment Equity Act*. Statute of Canada, 1995, c. 44.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6):1360-1380.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1983. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 1: 201-233.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." *American Journal of Sociology* 91(3): 481-510.
- House, J. S., D. Umberson and K. R. Landis. 1988. "Structures and Processes of Social Support." *Annual Review of Sociology* 14:293-318.
- Jordan, Sharalyn, and Chris Morrissey. 2013. "On What grounds?" LGBT Asylum Claims in Canada. *Forced Migration Review* 42:13-15.
- Kassan, Anusha, and Nadine Nakamura. 2013. "'This Was My Only Option': Career Transitions of Canadian Immigrants in Same-Sex Binational Relationships." *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling* 7:154-171.
- Kazemipur, Abdolmohammad. 2006. "The Market Value Of Friendship: Social Networks Of Immigrants." *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 38(2):47-71.
- Konnoth, Craig J., and Gary J. Gates. 2011. "Same-sex Couples and Immigration in the United States." *The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law*.
- Kustec, Stan. 2012. *The Role of Migrant Labour Supply in the Canadian Labour Market*. Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- Lancee, Bram. 2010. The Economic Returns of Immigrants' Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: The Case of the Netherlands." *International Migration Review* 44(1):202-226.
- Lancee, Bram. 2012. *Immigrant Performance in the Labour Market: Bonding and Bridging Social Capital*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

- Lee, Edward Ou Jin, and Shari Brotman. 2011. "Identity, Refugeeness, Belonging: Experiences of Sexual Minority Refugees in Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology* 48(3):241-274.
- Logie, Carmen H., Ashley Lacombe-Duncan, Nakia Lee-Foon, Shannon Ryan, and Hope Ramsay. 2016. "It's For Us -Newcomers, LGBTQ Persons, And HIV-Positive Persons. You Feel Free To Be": A Qualitative Study Exploring Social Support Group Participation Among African And Caribbean Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual And Transgender Newcomers And Refugees In Toronto, Canada." *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 16(1):1-7.
- Mallory, Christy, and Brad Sears. 2015. "Evidence Of Employment Discrimination Based On Sexual Orientation And Gender Identity: An Analysis Of Complaints Filed With State Enforcement Agencies, 2008-2014." *The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law*.
- Manalansan, Martin F. 2006. "Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies." *International Migration Review* 40(1):224-249.
- Mule, Nick J., and Erika Gates-Gasse. 2012. *LGBT Asylum Seekers and Refugees: Round Table Dialogue with Service Providers and Conference Presentations*. Toronto: Envisioning Global LGBT Human Rights.
- Nakamura, Nadine, Eric Chan, and Benedikt Fischer. 2013. "“Hard To Crack”:
Experiences Of Community Integration Among First- And Second-Generation Asian MSM In Canada." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 19(3):248-256.
- Nakamura, Nadine, Anusha Kassan, and Megan Suehn. 2017. "Resilience and Migration: Experiences of Same-Sex Binational Couples In Canada." *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services* 29(2):201-219.

- Nakhaie, M. Reza, and Abdolmohammad Kazemipur. 2013. "Social Capital, Employment and Occupational Status of the New Immigrants in Canada." *International Migration and Integration* 14:419-437.
- Ooka, Emi, and Barry Wellman. 2006. "Does Social Capital Pay Off More Within or Between Ethnic Groups? Analysing Job Searches in Five Toronto Ethnic Groups." Pp 199-217 in *Inside the Mosaic*, edited by E. Fong. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Picot, Garnett, Feng Hou, and Hanqing Qui. 2016. "The Human Capital Model of Selection and Immigrant Economic Outcomes." *International Migration* 54(3):73-88.
- Reitz, Jeffrey G. 2007a. "Immigrant Employment Success in Canada, Part I: Individual and Contextual Causes." *International Migration and Integration* 8:11-36.
- Reitz, Jeffrey G. 2007b. "Immigrant Employment Success in Canada, Part II: Understanding the Decline." *International Migration and Integration* 8:37-62.
- Statistics Canada. 2010. *General Social Survey Cycle 22: Social Networks Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide*. (Catalogue no. 12M0022G). Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2013. *Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada*. (Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011001). Ottawa: Minister of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2015. *General Social Survey Cycle 27: Social Identity Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide*. (Catalogue no. 89M0032X). Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2017a. *Immigrant Population in Canada, 2016 Census* (Catalogue no. 11-627-M). Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2017b. *Same-Sex Couples in Canada in 2016*. (Catalogue no. 98-200-X2016007). Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.

- Thornton, Robert J., and Jon T. Innes. 1989. "Interpreting Semilogarithmic Regression Coefficients in Labor Research." *Journal of Labor Research* 10(4): 443-447.
- Valfort, Marie-Anne. 2017. "LGBTI in OECD Countries: A Review." *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*, No. 198. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Waite, Sean, and Nicole Denier. 2015. "Gay Pay for Straight Work: Mechanisms Generating Disadvantage." *Gender & Society* 29(4): 561–588.
- White, Ian R., Patrick Royston, and Angela M. Wood. 2011. Multiple Imputation Using Chained Equations: Issues And Guidance For Practice. *Statistics in Medicine* 30:377-399.
- Xue, Li. 2008. "Social Capital and Labour Market Outcomes of Recent Immigrants to Canada: Employment Entry, Wages and Duration of Access to the First Job in Intended Occupation." PhD dissertation, Department of Economics, University of Ottawa.
- Xue, Li, and Li Xu. 2010. *An Educational Portrait Of Postsecondary Educated Immigrants, 2006 Census*. (Ref. No. RR20120703). Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- Yee, June Ying, Zack Marshall, and Tess Vo. 2014. "Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Essentialism: Incorporating Hybridity into New Conceptualizations of Settlement Service Delivery with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer Immigrant Young People." *Critical Social Work* 15(1):88-103.

Chapter 3

3 The Homeownership Attainment of LGB Immigrants: The Role of Social Relationships

3.1 Introduction

Achieving homeownership is considered an important adult milestone, due to the status associated with being able to purchase a home, and the wealth accumulation that follows (Alba and Logan 1992; Ray 1998). Additionally, homeownership leads to establishing greater roots in society, resulting in greater political and voluntary participation (see Rohe, Van Zandt, and McCarthy 2001 for a review). Finding adequate housing is one of the first challenges an immigrant encounters when arriving in a new country, and eventual homeownership can signify successful economic integration into Canadian society. The homeownership rates for immigrants in Canada are declining, and are lower than the rates of the Canadian-born population (e.g. Haan 2005; Haan 2007b). Similarly, in the US, homeownership rates of unmarried gay couples are lower than those of married heterosexual couples, but higher than cohabitating heterosexual couples (Leppel 2007a; Leppel 2007b; Jepsen and Jepsen 2009). Arguably, lesbian, gay, bisexual (LGB) immigrants are at risk for particularly low homeownership rates, as they tend to possess traits associated with lower homeownership attainment (e.g. Alba and Logan 1992; Foote et al 1960). Specifically, relatively to Canadian-borns, LGB immigrants are younger, less likely to be married, and mainly visible minorities (Ramaj 2018). They may also be at higher risk of housing discrimination as immigrants, visible minorities, and sexual minorities (Friedman et al 2013; Murdie and Logan 2011).

What may compound LGB immigrants' risk for lower housing attainment is that they may have less access to social resources to overcome housing discrimination compared to heterosexual immigrants, such as knowing coethnic realtors (Haan 2007a). This may be due to social isolation caused by homophobia from coethnics and xenophobia from Canadian-born LGB people (Kassan and Nakamura 2013; Lee and Brotman 2011; Logie et al. 2016; Nakamura, Chan, and Fischer 2013; Nakamura et al. 2017; Yee, Marshall, and Vo 2014). Additionally, for LGB immigrants, choosing to purchase a home is further

complicated by the difficulty of choosing an area that will be accepting of them—for instance, they may face homophobia in ethnic enclaves, or xenophobia in LGB neighborhoods. Therefore, the compound disadvantage of homophobia and xenophobia may translate into LGB immigrants being both less likely to have resources to purchase a home if they aspire to do so, and less likely to want to live somewhere where there is uncertainty of acceptance.

3.2 Objectives

Although studies of homeownership have looked at differential attainment by nativity status or sexual orientation, no study has explored the homeownership differences between LGB immigrants and their peers. Additionally, Foote and colleague's standard consumer choice model of homeownership attainment has dominated this literature (e.g. Alba and Logan 1992; Foote et al. 1960). In this model, they view a "typical consumer" as a native-born, heterosexual household head. LGB immigrants deviate vastly from this "ideal" type and warrant our attention. Second, there have been no studies exploring the effects of alternative mechanisms, such as social networks or neighborhood detachment, on the homeownership inequality between LGB immigrants and others.

The objective of this study is to fill these gaps in the literature by examining the differences in homeownership rates by nativity status and sexual orientation, focusing on the housing attainment of LGB immigrants. I further analyse the effects of social networks and neighborhood detachment on divergent homeownership rates. I address the following research questions: 1) Do LGB immigrants have lower homeownership rates compared to their heterosexual and/or Canadian-born counterparts? 2) To what extent does the standard consumer choice model explain homeownership differentials between LGB immigrants and their heterosexual and/or Canadian-born peers? 3) To what extent do group differences in social networks contribute to differences in homeownership rates between LGB immigrants and their peers? 4) To what extent does neighborhood detachment contribute to divergent homeownership rates between LGB immigrants and their counterparts?

As the first study analysing the homeownership attainment of LGB immigrants compared to their peers, this study will provide insight to support evidence-based policymaking and service providers who support the housing attainment and neighborhood integration of LGB people, immigrants, and LGB immigrants.

3.3 Background

3.3.1 LGB People and Immigrants in the Homeownership Literature

There has been significant literature on the homeownership differentials between LGB people and heterosexuals, and between immigrants and the native-born. When comparing gay and heterosexual couples in the U.S., studies find that gay couples are less likely to own homes compared to married heterosexual couples, but more likely than cohabitating heterosexual couples (Leppel 2007a; Leppel 2007b; Jepsen and Jepsen 2009). Although the homeownership rates of immigrants once greatly exceeded those of the Canadian-born, this advantage is disappearing, and reversing, as immigrant homeownership rates are decreasing in Canada (Haan 2005). However, despite initial difficulty, Canadian immigrants are able to eventually integrate into the housing market. For example, in Haan's (2012) sample, the homeownership rates of immigrants steadily increased with duration in Canada, and eventually over half of the immigrants in the sample achieved homeownership after four years of Canadian residence. It is unknown whether LGB immigrants achieve this level of homeownership achievement as the general immigrant population.

The homeownership literature has long been dominated by the standard consumer choice theory. In this model, a "median housing consumer," or an "average" individual or household, makes purchasing decisions that are based on their preferences and needs, and are dependent on their financial resources (Alba and Logan 1992; Foote et al. 1960; Haan 2005). This model identifies several socio-demographic determinants of homeownership, which can encompass respondent traits, household characteristics, and economic resources. The following paragraphs outline several key socio-demographic traits

identified by the consumer choice theory as facilitating or hindering homeownership attainment.

Household formation is important – marital status, household size, and the presence of children can influence the need and ability to attain homeownership (Alba and Logan 1992; Foote et al. 1960; Haan 2005; Haan 2012; Leppel 2007b). For instance, a single childless individual may not have as strong an affinity for homeownership as a married couple with children, for whom owning a home may be a pre-requisite for raising a stable family. Additionally, income is necessary for homeownership; therefore, dual earner families and older individuals have a greater likelihood of homeownership because dual income households can pool resources and older individuals have presumably accumulated wealth over time (Alba and Logan 1992; Foote et al. 1960; Haan 2005; Haan 2012; Leppel 2007b). Since LGB immigrants are on average younger, less likely to be married (Ramaj 2018), and less likely to have children (Gates 2013) compared to heterosexual immigrants, LGB immigrants may be less likely to own their homes.

Race and ethnicity can shape values towards homeownership, as well as drive compositional differences among groups that influence homeownership rates. Indeed, non-Hispanic white people are consistently found to have higher homeownership rates compared to visible minorities, especially black and Hispanic people (Alba and Logan 1992; Leppel 2007b). LGB immigrants are more likely than their heterosexual or Canadian-born peers to be visible minorities (Ramaj 2018), which may present challenges in the housing market for them. Additionally, location of residence determines the housing market context of the respondent. Immigrants are less likely to own homes if they are living in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver (MTV) regions (Simone and Newbold 2014). LGB immigrants, like immigrants and LGB people in general, are more likely to live in MTV regions (Ramaj 2018; Statistics Canada 2013, 2017b), which may make LGB immigrants less likely to own their homes.

Education may be a particularly important determinant of housing attainment. In addition to increasing employment and income, higher education enhances one's knowledge of and ability to navigate the housing market and shapes tastes (Haan 2005; Leppel 2007b).

English proficiency is both a measure of assimilation and a resource for navigating the housing market and is also positively associated with homeownership (Alba and Logan 1992). LGB immigrants have high educational attainment compared to both their heterosexual and Canadian-born peers, and strong English/French skills compared to heterosexual immigrants, which may be beneficial for them in the housing market (Ramaj 2018).

Although supported by many studies examining likelihood of homeownership, the standard consumer choice theory has shown to be incapable of completely capturing the complexities of and changes over time in the housing experiences of some groups, such as recent immigrants and gay couples (Haan 2005; Jepsen and Jepsen 2009; Leppel 2007b). Indeed, the “median consumer”—a young white native-born husband-wife couple with 2-3 children—that Foote et al describe in 1960 may not accurately reflect an increasingly diverse Canadian population, with growing numbers of immigrants and LGB people (Statistics Canada 2017a, Statistics Canada 2017b). Additionally, LGB people and immigrants face challenges in the housing market that native-born white heterosexuals may not face, such as housing discrimination due to homophobia, xenophobia, or racism (e.g. Friedman et al 2013; Murdie and Logan 2011). Further, LGB immigrants will have additional concerns when choosing where to own a home, such as finding a neighborhood that is neither homophobic nor xenophobic. It is also possible that, as they deviate from this “typical consumer”, LGB immigrants simply may not aspire to homeownership as much as other groups.

Some researchers will complement consumer choice models with social capital theory, analysing the ways that social networks can provide resources to aid in the housing market. Social capital theory explores how the collection of, or the capacity to gain, resources from membership in social networks and social structures can help actors fulfil goals, such as attaining homeownership (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988). The properties of social networks also determine their usefulness for the actor, namely, network size and proximity (e.g. Kazemipur 2006; Xue 2008), network strength or intensity (e.g. Granovetter 1973, 1983, 1985; Tian and Liu 2017; Xue 2008), and network diversity (e.g. Ooka and Wellman 2006; Nakhaie and Kazemipur 2013). With regards to

homeownership, social networks can offer a way through which some of the resources and constraints in the standard consumer choice model can be mitigated or amplified. For example, social ties may be used by visible minorities or LGB individuals to mitigate potential housing discrimination, or can be a source for information on how to navigate the housing market for new immigrants. Although focusing broadly on Canadian immigrants' housing experiences and not specifically on homeownership, Ray (1998) and the studies reviewed by Murdie and Logan (2011) find that family, close friends, and acquaintances are all key to facilitating housing attainment for immigrants, even more so than formal information sources. Additionally, networks can also influence where one chooses to purchase a home. For example, in Sherrel's (2010) interviews with refugees in Winnipeg and Vancouver, respondents report that wanting to live near family, friends, and co-ethnics is a major factor in their housing decisions.

Some studies find that social networks can provide resources necessary for homeownership attainment. Haan (2007a) finds that ethnic group clustering in certain industries associated with homeownership (i.e. banking/finance, construction, and real estate) can sometimes strongly predict homeownership for Canadian immigrants, but results are not consistent across different time periods. LGB immigrants have friendship networks that are more ethnically diverse than those of heterosexual immigrants (Ramaj 2018), therefore they may not benefit from this ethnic clustering in homeownership-related industries. Röper, Völker, and Flap (2009) find that homeowners who have occupationally diverse social networks are more likely to have attained their home through social ties. Conversely, network size is positively associated with finding a home through social ties for renters, but not owners (Röper et al. 2009). However, Röper and colleagues only measure whether housing was found through a social contact, but there are other scenarios in which social networks can facilitate homeownership attainment, even if the individual finds the home through another means. For example, an individual might find their future home through a newspaper ad, but a friend or relative may then help them purchase the home by providing financial support. Haan (2007a) looks only at one measure of networks, group clustering in certain industries, and Röper and colleagues (2009) only predict the likelihood of finding housing through a social contact. I extend this literature by measuring multiple social network properties to provide a wider

understanding of the relationship between network characteristics and homeownership attainment.

Given that social isolation is a common adaptation experience described by LGB immigrants (e.g. Nakamura et al. 2017), it is not simply whether they have resources that is key for homeownership attainment, but also whether they want to purchase homes in certain neighborhoods. The attachment that someone has to their local community is an element of housing decisions that is particularly important for marginalised populations such as LGB people or immigrants, who must make housing choices while trying to lessen the amount of homophobia or xenophobia they face. LGB immigrants however, may find it difficult to use enclaves to do this because of their dually-marginalised identities, and their feelings of isolation from both the LGB and immigrant communities. LGB immigrants may be more likely to own homes in communities that feel trustworthy, safe, and where they have ties, because they will have reasons to be concerned for their safety in communities that heterosexual white non-immigrants do not have (i.e. homophobia and xenophobia).

Indicators of neighborhood attachment, such as trusting and knowing most of your neighbors and having a sense of belonging in your community are associated with homeownership for immigrants and the Canadian-born (Ray and Preston 2009).

Additionally, Ray and Preston (2009) find that recent immigrants¹³ are less likely than the Canadian-born to know most of their neighbors, whereas older immigrant groups, such as postwar immigrants, are equally as likely as Canadian-born respondents to know most of their neighbors. For LGB immigrants, they may even be even more likely than other immigrants to be detached from their neighborhoods due to homophobia. Subsequently, if LGB immigrants do not feel connected to their local communities, they may be less likely to aspire to homeownership.

¹³ They define these as immigrants with less than 10 years of residence in Canada.

3.3.2 Housing and LGB Immigrants

Little is known about the housing experience of LGB immigrants. Like newcomers in general, LGB immigrants often arrive in Canada with little social resources to help them navigate the housing system. Whereas immigrant service providers can be key source of information for immigrants in their housing searches, LGB immigrants cite that these practitioners are often unable to meet their specific needs as LGB immigrants, whether because they are simply ignorant or homophobic (Chavez 2011). Chavez's (2011) interviews with LGBT migrants in Arizona highlight that three quarters of their participants named family and friends as their main source of aid, not immigrant services. Indeed, social networks are found to provide information and resources to aid immigrants with their housing experiences (D'Addario, Hiebert, and Sherrell 2007; Ray 1998). However, given LGB immigrants' reports of isolation (e.g. Nakamura et al. 2017), they may not be as able as heterosexual immigrants to access social networks to gain these resources.

Still less is known about LGB immigrants' homeownership patterns. Konnoth and Gates (2011) are an exception. They compare the demographic profiles of three types of same-sex couples, disaggregated according to the partners' citizen status: (1) a citizen and non-citizen couple, (2) two non-citizens, and (3) one partner being a naturalised U.S. citizen. They find that almost two-thirds of same-sex couples consisting of a citizen and non-citizen are homeowners, compared to only 30% of dual non-citizen same-sex couples. This may suggest that LGB immigrants may be dually disadvantaged given their nativity status and sexual orientation. LGB immigrant couples may have less pooled economic and social resources to support homeownership attainment, and being partnered with a US-born citizen can offer advantages to LGB non-citizens in attaining homeownership. However, Konnoth and Gates do not compare the housing attainment of couples involving LGB immigrants with those of heterosexual and/or US citizen couples. Additionally, they use couples as their unit of analysis, when couples are not representative of the entire LGB population (Carpenter 2008), especially since, as Gates (2013) suggests, immigrants may be less likely to be a part of a same-sex couple than the native-born population. By using the Canadian General Social Survey (GSS), which

collects information on respondents' sexual orientation, I can analyse both coupled and non-coupled LGB immigrants, as well as make comparisons between LGB immigrants and their Canadian-born and/or heterosexual peers.

3.4 Hypotheses

Based on the insights of the studies above, I hypothesize the following:

1. LGB immigrants will have lower homeownership attainment compared to their heterosexual and/or native-born peers.
2. Due to the predicted compositional differences between LGB immigrants and other groups, the standard consumer choice models will explain some but not all the divergent homeownership rates.
3. Due to social isolation, LGB immigrants will have social networks that are less beneficial for homeownership compared to their peers, and this will partly explain their divergent homeownership rates.
4. Due to the dual-marginalisation of homophobia and xenophobia, LGB immigrants will have more neighborhood detachment compared to their peers, and this will be associated with lower homeownership attainment.

3.5 Data and Measurement

3.5.1 Data

To assess whether homeownership rates are lower for LGB immigrants than for other groups, I pool data from the 2008 and 2013 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS is a nationality representative, cross-sectional, and repeated survey of non-institutionalized individuals aged 15 years and over in Canada (Statistics Canada 2010; Statistics Canada 2015).

The 2008 and 2013 GSS are well-suited to my study for several reasons. First, they ask respondents to report their sexual orientation and nativity status. Second, they collect information about several determinants of homeownership: (1) socio-demographic and household characteristics, (2) economic resources, (3) social networks, and (4) neighborhood detachment. Additionally, the 2013 GSS oversamples both immigrants and

youth. Because LGB immigrants tend to be younger than heterosexual immigrants (Gates 2013; Ramaj 2018), these oversamples ensure that there are enough LGB immigrants for analysis.¹⁴ All estimates are weighted to ensure national representativeness.

3.5.2 Analytical Sample

My analytical sample is restricted to respondents who are aged 18 and over, without missing information on key covariates. These restrictions are driven in large part by data availability. The GSS only asks questions about sexual orientation to respondents 18 years and older. I exclude all cases with missing information on key covariates, except for cases with missing information on the respondent's personal income and perceived helpfulness of neighbors. Information about personal income is missing for 22% of the sample. Perceived helpfulness of neighbors is missing for 4% of the sample, but 11-12% of LGB immigrants. Listwise deletion of individuals with missing information about personal income and helpfulness of neighbors would render my sample of LGB immigrants too small for analyses. For neighborhood helpfulness, missing cases are kept as their own "missing" category.

For personal income, I use STATA's multiple imputation chain equations function. Multiple imputation estimates values for missing data using the distribution of sample data to create multiple datasets, while incorporating randomness, individually analyzes them, and then combines them to obtain overall estimates (White, Royston, and Wood 2011). Income is imputed using the full homeownership model and including auxiliary variables: whether the respondent works full time or has a partner with a university degree. Using all the covariates in the full models avoids bias in the estimates (White et al. 2011). Auxiliary variables are used in the imputations due to their correlation with income and removed from the estimate models, to decrease the standard error of the estimates (White et al. 2011). Fifteen imputations (m) are performed for the main models,

¹⁴ However, despite these oversamples, the final sample sizes of gay and bisexual immigrants in my analytical sample (see below) are too small to further disaggregate gay and bisexual immigrants into divisions that would enhance our exploration of their homeownership attainment. I discuss this further in the Discussion section of the paper.

and 20 are performed for the immigrant supplementary analysis. This keeps the largest fraction of missing information (FMI) divided by number of imputations (FMI/m) at < .01 (White et al. 2011). Estimates using imputed income yield similar results to estimates using mean substitution and a dummy flag for missing income.

Once I apply these restrictions, my total sample size is 38,300 (excluded respondents = 9,800). The analytical sample consists of 27,200 heterosexual Canadian-born, 400 gay Canadian-born, 300 bisexual Canadian-born, 10,100 heterosexual immigrants, 150 gay immigrants, and 150 bisexual immigrants. All Ns are rounded to base 50 to meet the confidentiality requirements of the Statistics Canada.

3.5.3 Dependent Variable

My study focuses on *homeownership*, a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the current dwelling is owned by the respondent's household.¹⁵

3.5.4 Independent Variables

Nativity status-sexual orientation is the independent variable. To construct this variable, I first created two dichotomous variables: *nativity status* (foreign-born vs. Canadian-born) and *sexual orientation* (heterosexual; gay/lesbian; bisexual). Then, I cross-classify them to create a six-category variable, distinguishing between (1) heterosexual Canadian-born, (2) gay Canadian-born, (3) bisexual Canadian-born, (4) heterosexual immigrant, (5) gay immigrant, and (6) bisexual immigrant.

I capture respondent *socio-demographic characteristics* using age (18-34; 35-54; 55 and over), gender (male; female), visible minority status (yes; no), number of adults in the household, number of minors in the household, marital status (married; common law; widowed, separated, divorced; single, never married), educational attainment (less than

¹⁵ This is the best approximation of homeownership in the available data. It is possible that this definition will include respondents over 18 who are living with a parent/guardian who owns the dwelling. However, the multivariate models control for factors that may be related to this scenario, such as age, marital status, and number of adults in the household. I cannot not account for respondents who may rent their current dwelling but own a dwelling elsewhere, as the survey only asks about ownership of the dwelling in which they currently reside.

high school; high school diploma; post-secondary, non-university; university degree), employment status, logged personal income (adjusted to 2013 dollars), living in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver (yes; no), and region of residence (Atlantic region; Quebec; Ontario; Prairie region; British Columbia). These variables are identified as key determinants of homeownership by the standard consumer choice model (e.g. Foote et al 1960).

Due to a lack of studies on social network characteristics' relationship to homeownership attainment, my measures of social networks follow Röper, Völker, and Flap (2009), and analogous studies on the effect of social network properties in shaping labor market outcomes (i.e. income and employment) of immigrants (e.g. Kazemipur 2006; Ooka and Wellman 2006; Xue 2008). I use the latter studies with the assumption that the properties of social networks that help facilitate labor market success may also support homeownership attainment. My analysis examines the role of *network intensity* and *network diversity* in generating group differences in homeownership rates. I capture *network intensity* using having over five close friends (yes; no)¹⁶, the proportion of the respondent's relatives that live in the same city as them, frequency of contact with friends, and frequency of contact with relatives (Röper, Völker, and Flap 2009; Xue 2008). *Network diversity* is measured as three dichotomous variables indicating whether or not the respondent has any friends¹⁷ that differ from them in terms of (1) ethnicity, (2) gender, and (3) education level (Kazemipur 2006; Ooka and Wellman 2006; Xue 2008).

I capture *neighborhood detachment* with (1) length of residence in the neighborhood (less than three versus three years or over), (2) perceived support from neighbors (believes

¹⁶ Although the GSS contains exact number of ties, as is commonly used (e.g. Xue 2008), I instead use the median as a threshold to create dummy variables due to the high right-skewness of the original continuous variables.

¹⁷ These are friends with whom the respondent has had contact in the past month. I conducted preliminary analyses using the original 5-category GSS variables that ranged from "no friends are different in terms of ..." to "all friends are different in terms of..." Through this, I found that the level of network diversity was not important, and as long as the respondent had *any* friends that differed from them on these traits, diversity had an effect on the model. Therefore, I use the dichotomous variables in my analysis for simplicity.

their neighbors help each other versus does not), (3) connections with neighbors (knows many/most neighbors versus does not), and (4) participation in at least one organization, such as a religious, immigrant, or cultural organization (yes; no).

3.5.5 Analytic Strategy

I begin by documenting variations in homeownership rate by nativity status-sexual orientation. I then estimate four logistic regression models predicting odds of homeownership to assess the extent to which socio-demographic characteristics, social networks, and neighborhood detachment explain group differences in homeownership rates. Model 1 shows the zero-order association between the nativity status-sexual orientation and homeownership. Model 2 adds socio-demographic controls to Model 1. Model 3 adds social network measures to Model 2. Model 4 adds measures of neighborhood detachment to Model 3. All analyses are weighted.

3.6 Results

3.6.1 Descriptive Results

Table 3.1 presents percent distributions and means of respondent characteristics. LGB immigrants are younger, more likely to be a visible minority, and less likely to be married relative to their heterosexual counterparts. For example, 52% of LGB immigrants are under 35, compared to only 27% of heterosexual immigrants. Thirteen percent of gay immigrants and 43% of bisexual immigrants are married, compared to 66% of heterosexual immigrants. Although all LGB immigrants have an educational advantage over heterosexual immigrants, gay immigrants outperform heterosexual immigrants in the labor market, but bisexual immigrants do not. Seventy-one percent of gay immigrants and 58% of bisexual immigrants are employed, compared with 64% of heterosexual immigrants. Additionally, the mean incomes of gay and bisexual immigrants are \$36,316 and \$26,903, respectively. This compares with \$29,733 for heterosexual immigrants. This means that bisexual immigrants are likely to not own their homes. Conversely, gay immigrants have demographic traits that make them at risk of lower homeownership attainment but possess economic resources that may make ownership possible if they strive for it.

Table 3.1 Percent distribution and means of respondent characteristics of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.

	Canadian-born			Immigrant		
	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bisex- ual	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bisex- ual
Rounded unweighted Ns (to nearest 50)	27,200	400	300	10,100	150	150
Demographic						
Age (%)						
18-34 years	32.1	44.2	58.4	26.7	51.7	51.7
35-54 years	37.6	37.3	23.7	40.1	33.5	26.0
55 years and over	30.3	18.5	17.9	33.2	14.8	22.3
% Female	51.1	36.5	64.1	49.6	35.5	48.6
% Visible minority	3.5	4.6	5.4	52.5	60.7	60.0
Marital status (%)						
Single, never married	24.4	59.5	48.3	19.1	57.2	38.0
Common-law	13.6	25.3	20.3	4.7	19.4	9.0
Widowed/separated/divorced	10.9	5.1	11.1	10.7	10.6	10.1
Married	51.1	10.2	20.3	65.5	12.8	43.0
% Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver						
27.9	47.9	33.8	60.6	60.0	63.1	
Region of residence (%)						
Quebec	25.8	33.1	22.9	14.5	9.2	17.0
Ontario	35.3	38.5	35.7	50.5	49.7	60.8
Prairie region	18.1	10.9	20.5	14.2	10.1	11.9
Atlantic region	8.5	6.5	8.9	1.8	5.1	1.0
British Columbia	12.4	11.0	12.0	19.0	25.9	9.4
Household Characteristics						
Number of adults (mean)	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.6
Number of minors (mean)	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.6
Economic Resources						
% Employed	67.5	74.6	60.9	64.0	71.2	57.9
Personal income (\$)	32860	32860	24343	29733	36316	26903
% Missing	20.0	16.5	29.2	24.5	26.8	19.4
Education (%)						
Less than high school diploma	12.2	7.3	15.4	7.9	7.0	4.6
High school diploma	30.0	21.3	41.2	22.3	27.3	29.6
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)	32.6	28.7	24.4	27.2	17.5	18.7
University degree	25.3	42.6	19.0	42.5	48.2	47.1

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files

Notes: Percentages, means, and ANOVA tests are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Chi-square tests and Ns are unweighted. Chi-square and ANOVA tests are significant at the <0.01 level.

Table 3.1 continued. Percent distribution and means of respondent characteristics of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants and the Canadian-born.

	Canadian-born			Immigrant		
	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bisex- ual	Hetero- sexual	Gay	Bisex- ual
Social Network Characteristics						
Network intensity						
% Above the median number of close friends (>5)	37.6	42.5	40.2	32.7	44.5	23.6
Percentage of relatives living in same city/local community (mean)	51.1	45.0	47.8	42.2	38.5	30.1
Frequency of contact with networks (scale 1-6)						
Contact with relatives, in-person	3.3	3.1	3.1	2.7	2.6	2.5
Contact with relatives, phone	4.1	3.9	4.0	3.9	3.6	3.8
Contact with relatives, internet	2.8	3.0	3.2	2.8	3.0	3.0
Contact with friends, in-person	4.1	4.2	4.3	3.7	4.0	3.9
Contact with friends, phone	3.8	4.0	4.0	3.8	3.9	4.0
Contact with friends, internet	3.3	3.9	4.1	3.2	3.3	3.8
Network diversity						
% Any educational diversity in friend group	79.3	75.3	86.1	76.6	75.9	83.2
% Any ethnic diversity in friend group	51.2	68.3	72.4	68.2	69.3	77.5
% Any gender diversity in friend group	81.6	89.6	90.0	79.0	89.2	83.6
Relationship to Community and Neighborhood						
% Tenure in neighborhood less than 3 years	18.6	25.8	31.0	24.7	37.4	37.7
% Think neighbors help each other in this neighborhood	81.3	76.8	75.6	79.7	70.2	72.0
Missing	2.8	3.2	4.6	5.0	12.3	10.9
% Respondent knows many or most of their neighbors	47.5	30.3	34.2	33.3	13.6	25.3
% Number of groups respondent involved in at least median, 1 group	68.7	70.2	59.5	61.5	61.0	66.8

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files

Notes: Percentages, means, and ANOVA tests are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Chi-square tests and Ns are unweighted.

All chi-square and ANOVA tests are significant at $p < 0.01$.

In line with prior work (e.g. Cantu 2009), my results show that LGB immigrants have fewer familial ties than heterosexual immigrants: they are less likely to reside near or have contact with their relatives. However, differences exist between the amount of potential social resources available to gay immigrants and bisexual immigrants. Bisexual immigrants are the most socially isolated. For example, they are less likely than heterosexual immigrants to have over five close friends (24%). Conversely, gay immigrants are more likely than heterosexual immigrants to have over five close friends (45%). LGB immigrants have more neighborhood detachment compared to heterosexual immigrants. For example, 14-25% of LGB immigrants know many or most of their neighbors, compared to 33% of heterosexual immigrants. These findings suggest that although both gay and bisexual immigrants tend to be detached from their neighborhoods, gay immigrants may have social ties that can provide them with more resources than bisexual immigrants do.

As mentioned, LGB immigrants are more likely than Canadian-born LGBs to have university degrees. However, LGB immigrants are 3-4% less likely than Canadian-born LGBs to be employed. LGB immigrants are more socially isolated relative to Canadian-born LGBs: they have lower percentages of their relatives in proximity, less contact with relatives, and less contact with friends. For example, the mean percentage of their relatives in proximity for LGB immigrants is 30-39%, whereas for their Canadian-born peers it is 45-48%. Relative to their Canadian-born counterparts, LGB immigrants are more detached from their neighborhoods: they are less likely to know many/most of their neighbors or find them helpful. This may be partially due to their shorter neighborhood tenure and limited exposure to Canadian society compared to Canadian-born LGBs. However, if we compare bisexual and gay immigrants, we find that this may not be the entire reason. Gay immigrants on average have longer neighborhood tenure and duration in Canada (see Table 3.3a) compared to bisexual immigrants. Yet, gay immigrants still have more neighborhood detachment compared to bisexual immigrants. For example, 14% of gay immigrants know many or most of their neighbors, compared to 25% of bisexual immigrants. Therefore, it is also possible that LGB immigrants' relatively higher neighborhood detachment compared to both their Canadian-born and heterosexual peers

may be related to the dual exposure of xenophobia and homophobia in their neighborhoods.

Overall, these findings suggest that bisexual immigrants are at a high risk of low homeownership attainment. The pattern is more mixed for gay immigrants: their demographic traits and neighborhood detachment deter homeownership, but their economic and social resources may help facilitate ownership should they choose to pursue it.

Figure 3.1 presents the homeownership rates for the six nativity status-sexual orientation groups. Regardless of nativity status, heterosexuals have the highest homeownership rates: 81% for Canadian-born heterosexuals and 75% for heterosexual immigrants. Bisexuals have the lowest homeownership rates, with bisexual immigrants (63%) being slightly more likely to be owners than their Canadian-born counterparts (60%). This is likely due to bisexual immigrants being on average older and married compared to Canadian-born bisexuals. Gays fair in the middle, with Canadian-born gays (69%) being more likely to own their homes compared to gay immigrants (66%).

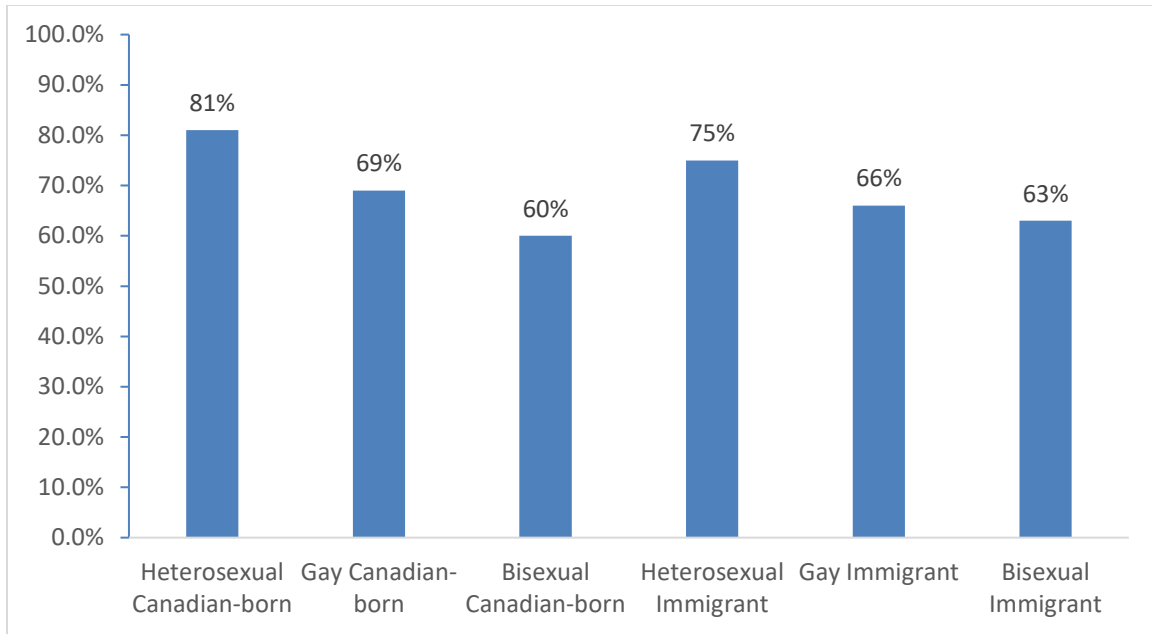


Figure 3.1 Percentage of LGB and heterosexual immigrants and the Canadian-born who are homeowners.

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

Percentages are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Chi square tests of group differences are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level.

3.6.2 Multivariate Analysis

Table 3.2 presents results from logistic regression models predicting the odds of homeownership. My results are presented in the form of odds ratios. Model 1 shows the zero-order association between nativity status-sexual orientation and homeownership. Homeownership rates are highest among heterosexuals. Canadian-born heterosexuals have the highest odds of homeownership, and heterosexual immigrants have 29% lower odds than them. The LGB population appears to be particularly disadvantaged in terms of homeownership, with 47-65% lower odds of homeownership compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals. However, within the LGB population, gays are more likely than bisexuals to own homes. For example, Canadian-born gays have 47% lower odds of homeownership compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals, and Canadian-born bisexuals

have 65% lower odds. This may be due to gays' stronger economic resources compared to bisexuals. When comparing nativity differentials within LGB populations, there is heterogeneity. Canadian-born gays have higher odds of homeownership compared to gay immigrants. This may be because Canadian-born gays are more likely to be older, employed, not a visible minority, and have less neighborhood detachment compared to gay immigrants. Conversely, within the bisexual population, it is bisexual immigrants who have the higher odds of homeownership. This is possibly because they tend to be older, university educated, and married compared to Canadian-born bisexuals. In sum, the odds of homeownership are highest among Canadian-born heterosexuals, followed by heterosexual immigrants, Canadian-born gays, gay immigrants, bisexual immigrants, and Canadian-born bisexuals.

Table 3.2 Odds ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics, and neighborhood detachment on the likelihood of homeownership.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Sexual orientation and nativity status subgroups (Heterosexual Canadian-born)				
Gay Canadian-born	0.53***	0.79*	0.82	0.85
Bisexual Canadian-born	0.35***	0.57***	0.61***	0.63**
Heterosexual Immigrant	0.71***	0.60***	0.65***	0.71***
Gay immigrant	0.46***	0.77	0.81	0.99
Bisexual immigrant	0.40***	0.51***	0.59**	0.70
Demographic				
Age (55 years and over)				
18-34		0.29***	0.29***	0.48***
35-54		0.57***	0.59***	0.73***
Female		1.06*	1.09**	1.08**
Visible minority		0.74***	0.76***	0.86**
Marital status (married)				
Single, never married		0.42***	0.40***	0.40***
Common-law		0.47***	0.47***	0.55***
Widowed/separated/divorced		0.35***	0.34***	0.37***
Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver				
Region of residence (Ontario)				
Quebec		0.67***	0.65***	0.67***
Prairie region		0.93	0.97	1.04
Atlantic region		0.90*	0.87**	0.83***
British Columbia		0.86**	0.90*	0.91
Household Characteristics				
Number of adults		1.71***	1.12***	1.58***
Number of minors		1.12***	1.67***	1.07***
Economic Resources				
Employed		1.28***	1.27***	1.25***
Logged personal income		1.18***	1.18***	1.18***
Education (University degree)				
Less than high school diploma		0.48***	0.45***	0.44***
High school diploma		0.75***	0.71***	0.70***
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)		0.89**	0.86***	0.82***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)		0.95	0.95	0.90***
Constant	4.19***	0.92	0.58***	0.37***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes: N to nearest base 50 = 38,300.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 3.2 continued. Odds ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics, and neighborhood detachment on the likelihood of homeownership

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Social Network Characteristics				
Network intensity				
Above the median number of close friends (>5)			1.20***	1.12***
Proportion of relatives living in same city/local community			1.37***	1.26***
Frequency of contact with networks				
Contact with relatives, in-person			1.11***	1.08***
Contact with relatives, phone and internet			0.80***	0.83***
Contact with friends, phone and in-person			0.99	0.92***
Contact with friends, internet			1.04***	1.04***
Network diversity				
Any educational diversity in friend group			0.83***	0.85***
Any ethnic diversity in friend group			0.85***	0.82***
Any gender diversity in friend group			1.13**	1.11**
Relationship to Community and Neighborhood				
Tenure in neighborhood less than 3 years				0.37***
Neighbors help each other in this neighborhood				1.85***
Missing				1.01
Respondent knows many or most of their neighbors				1.59***
Number of groups respondent involved in at least median, 1 group				1.28***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)		0.95	0.95	0.90***
Constant	4.19***	0.92	0.58***	0.37***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

N to nearest base 50 = 38,300.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Model 2 adds socio-demographic and economic controls previously identified by the standard consumer choice theory to be protective or risk factors of homeownership attainment. In line with past findings (e.g. Foote et al. 1960; Haan 2005), our results show that being 55 and older, married, living in Ontario, having a large family size, being employed, having higher personal income, and having a university degree are all associated with higher odds of homeownership. Conversely, being a visible minority or living in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver are associated with lower odds of ownership, as was expected (Alba and Logan 1992; Simone and Newbold 2014).

Adjusting for socio-demographic differences significantly reduces differences in odds of homeownership between Canadian-born heterosexuals and the LGB population. Net of these controls, Gay immigrants now have only 23% lower odds of homeownership compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals, and the relationship is no longer significant. This is a sizable reduction from gay immigrants' 54% lower odds in the absence of any controls.¹⁸ Bisexuals also have sizable reductions in their ownership differentials with Canadian-born heterosexuals. When controlling for socio-demographic traits, they have 43-49% lower odds of homeownership. In the absence of these controls, the odds were 60-65% lower. It is noteworthy that this differential remains statistically significant net of socio-demographic controls. In stark contrast with the patterns observed for the LGB population, socio-demographic differences suppress differences in homeownership odds between heterosexual immigrants and Canadian-born immigrants. Net of socio-demographic controls, heterosexual immigrants have 40% lower odds of homeownership compared to their Canadian-born peers. In the absence of these controls, they have 29% lower odds. Stated differently, heterosexual immigrants would have had even lower

¹⁸ Although respondent demographic traits, household characteristics, and economic resources are aggregated in the final version of the models, it is notable that in preliminary analyses disaggregating these groups of variables, socio-demographic traits alone can explain the significant lower odds of ownership of gay immigrants compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals, but neither economic nor household characteristics alone can. This suggests that the high human capital and strong economic resources of gay immigrants do not provide enough of a benefit to mitigate their lower homeownership odds compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals.

homeownership rates if it were not for the fact that they are more likely than Canadian-born heterosexuals to be 55 and older, live in Ontario, and have a university degree.

Model 3 introduces social network characteristics to the existing model. The addition of social network measures explains very little of the disparities in odds of homeownership. When controlling for social network characteristics, bisexual immigrants have 41% lower odds of homeownership compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals ($p < 0.05$), compared to 49% lower odds without these controls. Some social network properties are associated with higher odds of homeownership (e.g. having a sizable network). However, other properties are associated with lower odds of ownership (e.g. educational and ethnic network diversity). Bisexual immigrants' social isolation and educational and ethnic network diversity may be why social networks partly explain their lower odds of homeownership. Otherwise, the minimal effects of social networks on homeownership disparities, in conjunction with heterogeneity in the effects of different social network properties, suggests that this combination of positive and negative effects may be cancelling each other out in my analysis.

Model 4 introduces measures of neighborhood detachment to the previous model. When controlling for neighborhood detachment, bisexual immigrants have 30% lower odds of homeownership compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals, and the relationship is no longer significant. However, there are minimal differences in the ownership differentials between Canadian-born heterosexuals and heterosexual immigrants or Canadian-born bisexuals. Net of all covariates, Canadian-born bisexuals have 37% lower ownership odds and heterosexual immigrants have 29% lower odds compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals, and these sizable disadvantages remain significant. In a supplementary analysis, neighborhood detachment alone explains the significance of the 54% lower ownership odds of gay immigrants in the zero-order association. In the main models, net of all covariates, gay immigrants' homeownership odds are indistinguishable from Canadian-born heterosexuals.

Unsurprisingly, tenure in one's neighborhood for less than three years is associated with 63% lower odds of ownership compared to having lived in one's neighborhood for three

years or more. Believing that neighbors in your neighborhood help each other, knowing many/most of your neighbors, and being involved in at least one group are all associated with higher odds of homeownership. The higher neighborhood detachment that LGB immigrants have compared to other groups may be why Model 4 is able to explain the significance of the ownership differentials between bisexual immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals, and why neighborhood detachment alone can explain the significance of the ownership gap between gay immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals.

3.6.3 Supplementary Analysis

In supplementary analyses, I restrict my sample to the foreign-born population and compare the homeownership rates of LGB immigrants with those of heterosexual immigrants. I consider migration experiences in these models (see Table 3.3a for the migration variables included). LGB immigrants are more likely than heterosexual immigrants to be proficient in English or French (Table 3.3a). This is unsurprising, as LGB immigrants also have the highest education levels of the sample. However, LGB immigrants have spent less time in Canada relative to heterosexual immigrants, which may be partly responsible for their higher neighborhood detachment compared to heterosexual immigrants, as LGB immigrants on average have had less time to integrate into Canadian society.

In Model 1 for the immigrant supplementary analyses (not shown), both gay and bisexual immigrants have lower odds of homeownership compared to heterosexual immigrants, but this is only significant for bisexual immigrants.¹⁹ As expected, net of all covariates, duration in Canada and being admitted through the points system are positively associated with odds of homeownership (Table 3.3b). Surprisingly, English/French proficiency is associated with 30% lower odds of homeownership compared to not having official language skills. Some socio-demographic traits that had effects in the main models are not associated with ownership for immigrants, such as age, visible minority status, and number of minors in the household. Notably, neighborhood

¹⁹ This significance disappears when controlling for socio-demographic traits.

detachment is a significant predictor of ownership, even when controlling for duration in Canada. Immigrants who believe that their neighbors are helpful have 110% higher odds of homeownership compared to those who do not. This is an even higher differential than in the main models (Table 3.2), where respondents who believe they have helpful neighbors have 85% higher odds of ownership. This suggests that the effects of neighborhood detachment are not solely functions of duration in Canada, and they have distinct influences on the homeownership rates of immigrants.

3.7 Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, I use data from the 2008 and 2013 Canadian General Social Survey to examine disparities in homeownership attainment by sexual orientation and nativity status. Further, I assess the role of socio-demographic traits, social networks, and neighborhood detachment in explaining the documented group disparities. My analyses yield four noteworthy findings.

Our study offers mixed support for the prediction of Hypothesis 1, which suggests that LGB immigrants are at a disadvantage with regards to their homeownership attainment due to their sexual orientation and nativity status. On the one hand, the homeownership attainment of gay immigrants supports this view. They have a homeownership disadvantage relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals, heterosexual immigrants, and Canadian-born gays. On the other hand, the experiences of bisexual immigrants offer mixed support for Hypothesis 1. Although they are less likely than heterosexuals to own a home, they are slightly more likely to own their home compared to Canadian-born bisexuals.

As discussed, the standard consumer choice theory identifies several socio-demographic determinants of homeownership. The effectiveness of these socio-demographic traits in explaining the ownership disparities between LGB immigrants and others is unclear (Hypothesis 2). Gay and bisexual immigrants have similar disadvantageous socio-demographic traits relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals (e.g. being younger). However, apart from economic resources, these socio-demographic differences relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals are larger for gay immigrants than they are for bisexual

immigrants. This may be why, for gay immigrants, socio-demographic traits explain their significant homeownership disparities from Canadian-born heterosexuals. This is contrary to the view presented in Hypothesis 2, that the compositional differences between LGB immigrants and other groups will explain some, but not all, of the divergent homeownership rates. Conversely, for bisexual immigrants, controlling for socio-demographic characteristics explains some of their low homeownership attainment, which supports Hypothesis 2.

My findings offer mixed support for Hypothesis 3, which predicts that the disadvantageous social networks of LGB immigrants will be partially responsible for their low homeownership attainment. Bisexual immigrants are more likely to have traits associated with lower odds of homeownership. This may be why controlling for social network properties is able to explain some of the significant lower odds of homeownership for bisexual immigrants. On the other hand, social network properties account for very little of the ownership disparities between gay immigrants and Canadian-born heterosexuals, which detracts from Hypothesis 3.

LGB immigrants are significantly more detached from their neighborhoods compared to other groups, and this explains their homeownership disparities with Canadian-born heterosexuals, which supports Hypothesis 4. Due to the dual-marginalisation of homophobia and xenophobia, LGB immigrants may have a challenging time forming positive relationships to their local community. It is also possible that LGB immigrants' neighborhood detachment may be due to their shorter durations in Canada and their neighborhoods compared to their peers. However, even when controlling for duration in Canada and their neighborhoods, neighborhood detachment is a significant predictor of ownership. Additionally, gay immigrants have on average lived in Canada and their neighborhoods longer than bisexual immigrants, yet have more neighborhood detachment than them. Further, the mean duration in Canada for LGB immigrants is 17-21 years, which is a substantive amount of time. Therefore, we cannot disregard the explanation that LGB immigrants' neighborhood detachment may also be related to dual exposure to homophobia and xenophobia in their neighborhoods.

Like all studies, mine is not without limitations. First, the GSS is a cross-sectional survey, which prevents me from measuring the time-order of the effects of covariates on homeownership attainment. Certain measures, such as household characteristics and neighborhood detachment, may have a reciprocal relationship with homeownership, which I am unable to account for in my cross-sectional analysis. For example, it may be that having children or a close relationship with one's neighborhood leads to a greater desire of homeownership. It may also be true that owning one's home leads to the desire to have children or to form closer relationships with the neighborhood.²⁰ In future research, using longitudinal data to study the homeownership trajectories of LGB immigrants can help shed light on this issue.

Second, it is possible that some of the LGB immigrants in my sample who do not own their homes may simply not aspire to homeownership. I aimed to account for desire to own homes in their specific neighborhood by measuring neighborhood detachment, but I cannot account for a potential disinterest in homeownership in general. LGB immigrants, particularly as they deviate from the "typical" white heterosexual consumer, may simply prefer renting to owning their homes. Future research should explore LGB immigrants' feelings towards and goals regarding homeownership attainment to determine whether this is the case.

Third, my social network measures do not specify whether the respondent knows individuals in occupations that may aid in homeownership attainment (e.g. realtors, bankers). This is because only the 2008 (not the 2013) GSS includes information on whether the respondent knows people in certain occupations, so I am unable to use these measures in my analysis. This may explain the limited effect of social networks in explaining homeownership rates for gay immigrants.

²⁰ However, whether the neighborhood detachment of LGB immigrants leads to low ownership, or their low ownership leads to neighborhood detachment, the finding remains that LGB immigrants have both difficulty attaining homeownership and difficulty having positive relationships with their neighborhoods. The uncertainty of the time-order of the relationship does not detract from the concerning homeownership and neighborhood detachment disparities between LGB immigrants and others.

Fourth, I am unable to disaggregate my sample by those who live in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver, and those who do not, due to sample size restrictions. In my sample, high proportions of LGB immigrants live in MTV regions. In both the main analysis and the immigrant supplementary models, living in MTV regions is associated with lower odds of homeownership, potentially due to high housing costs. This may make the majority of LGB immigrants at risk of low ownership. On the other hand, it is possible that LGB immigrants are more likely to have neighborhood attachment or social ties when living in MTV regions, due to the abundance of LGB immigrants in those areas, which may encourage homeownership attainment. Future research should conduct separate analyses for LGB immigrants outside of and within MTV regions, to determine whether respondents in one region face more difficulties attaining homeownership.

I contribute to migration, LGB, and homeownership scholarship by showing that LGB immigrants are disadvantaged with regards to homeownership attainment due to their nativity status and sexual orientation. I also show that the consumer choice model is a salient predictor of ownership for gay immigrants, but less so for bisexual immigrants. Further, social networks cannot explain much of these homeownership disparities, but the high neighborhood detachment of LGB immigrants can. My findings can provide insight to support evidence-based policymaking, foster positive communities for LGB immigrants in their neighborhoods, and support practitioners who provide services to LGB immigrants. For example, LGB immigrants often find service providers unhelpful for navigating the housing market (Chavez 2011; Mule and Gates-Gasse 2012), and my findings show that LGB immigrants have lower homeownership rates than heterosexuals and the Canadian-born. Service providers' lack of training in understanding and respecting the experiences of LGB immigrants may render these practitioners unable to meet the specific needs of LGB immigrants, and a mandate requiring said training may rectify this. Additionally, community-level efforts to support the neighborhood integration of LGB immigrants may help them feel safe, comfortable, and accepted in their neighborhoods, and this may further encourage homeownership attainment.

3.8 References

- Alba, Richard D., and John R. Logan. 1992. "Assimilation and Stratification in the Homeownership Patterns of Racial and Ethnic Groups." *International Migration Review* 26(4):1314-1341.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241-258 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson. New York: Greenwood.
- Cantu, Lionel. 2009. *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men*. New York: New York University Press.
- Carpenter, Christopher S. 2008. "Sexual Orientation, Work, and Income in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 41(4): 1239-1261.
- Chavez, Karma R. 2011. "Identifying the Needs of LGBTQ Immigrants and Refugees in Southern Arizona." *Journal of Homosexuality* 58:189-218.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94 Supplement: S95-S120.
- D'Addario, Silvia, Dan Hiebert, and Kathy Sherrell. 2007. "Restricted Access: The Role Of Social Capital In Mitigating Absolute Homelessness Among Immigrants And Refugees In The GVRD." *Refuge* 24(1):107-116.
- Foote, Nelson N., Janet Abu-Lughod, Mary M. Foley, and Louis Winnick. 1960. *Housing Choices and Constraints*. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Friedman, Samantha, Angela Reynolds, Susan Scovill, Florence R. Brassier, Ron Campbell, and McKenzie Ballou. 2013. *An Estimate Of Housing Discrimination Against Same-Sex Couples*. Washington: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research.

- Gates, Gary J. 2013. "LGBT Adult Immigrants in the United States." *The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law*.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6):1360-1380.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1983. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 1: 201-233.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." *American Journal of Sociology* 91(3): 481-510.
- Haan, Michael. 2005. *The Decline of the Immigrant Homeownership Advantage: Life-Cycle, Declining Fortunes and Changing Housing Careers in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1981-2001*. (Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE — No. 238). Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- Haan, Michael. 2007a. "Do I Buy with a Little Help from My Friends? Homeownership-Relevant Group Characteristics and Homeownership Disparities among Canadian Immigrant Groups, 1971–2001." *Housing Studies* 22(6):921-944.
- Haan, Michael. 2007b. "The Homeownership Hierarchies of Canada and the United States: The Housing Patterns of White and Non-White Immigrants of the Past Thirty Years." *International Migration Review* 41(2):433-465.
- Haan, Michael. 2012. *The Housing Experiences of New Canadians: Insights from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)*. (Ref. No. RR20120301) Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- Kassan, Anusha, and Nadine Nakamura. 2013. "'This Was My Only Option': Career Transitions of Canadian Immigrants in Same-Sex Binational Relationships." *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling* 7:154-171.
- Konnoth, Craig J., and Gary J. Gates. 2011. "Same-sex Couples and Immigration in the United States." *The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law*.

- Lee, Edward Ou Jin, and Shari Brotman. 2011. "Identity, Refugeeeness, Belonging: Experiences of Sexual Minority Refugees in Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology* 48(3):241-274.
- Leppel, Karen. 2007a. "Home-Ownership Among Opposite- And Same-Sex Couples In The Us." *Feminist Economics* 13(1):1-30.
- Leppel, Karen. 2007b. "Married and Unmarried, Opposite- and Same-Sex Couples: A Decomposition of Homeownership Differences." *Journal of Housing Research* 16(1):61-81.
- Logie, Carmen H., Ashley Lacombe-Duncan, Nakia Lee-Foon, Shannon Ryan, and Hope Ramsay. 2016. "It's For Us -Newcomers, LGBTQ Persons, And HIV-Positive Persons. You Feel Free To Be": A Qualitative Study Exploring Social Support Group Participation Among African And Caribbean Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual And Transgender Newcomers And Refugees In Toronto, Canada." *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 16(1):1-7.
- Jepsen, Christopher, and Lisa K. Jepsen. 2009. "Does Home Ownership Vary By Sexual Orientation?" *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 39:307-315.
- Kazemipur, Abdolmohammad. 2006. "The Market Value Of Friendship: Social Networks Of Immigrants." *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 38(2):47-71.
- Mule, Nick J., and Erika Gates-Gasse. 2012. *LGBT Asylum Seekers and Refugees: Round Table Dialogue with Service Providers and Conference Presentations*. Toronto: Envisioning Global LGBT Human Rights.
- Murdie, Robert, and Jennifer Logan. 2011. "Precarious Housing & Hidden Homelessness Among Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Immigrants: Bibliography and Review of Canadian Literature from 2005 to 2010." *CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre: Working Paper Series*.
- Nakamura, Nadine, Eric Chan, and Benedikt Fischer. 2013. "'Hard To Crack': Experiences Of Community Integration Among First- And Second-Generation

- Asian MSM In Canada.” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 19(3):248-256.
- Nakamura, Nadine, Anusha Kassan, and Megan Suehn. 2017. “Resilience and Migration: Experiences of Same-Sex Binational Couples In Canada.” *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services* 29(2):201-219.
- Nakhaie, M. Reza, and Abdolmohammad Kazemipur. 2013. “Social Capital, Employment and Occupational Status of the New Immigrants in Canada.” *International Migration and Integration* 14:419-437.
- Ooka, Emi, and Barry Wellman. 2006. “Does Social Capital Pay Off More Within or Between Ethnic Groups? Analysing Job Searches in Five Toronto Ethnic Groups.” Pp 199-217 in *Inside the Mosaic*, edited by E. Fong. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ramaj, Sagi. 2018. “The Economic Integration of LGB Immigrants: The Role of Social Networks.” Unpublished manuscript.
- Ray, Brian K. 1998. “A Comparative Study of Immigrant Housing, Neighborhoods, and Social Networks in Toronto and Montreal.” *Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation*.
- Ray, Brian K., and Valerie Preston. 2009. “Are Immigrants Socially Isolated? An Assessment of Neighbors and Neighboring in Canadian Cities.” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 10:217-244.
- Rohe, William M., Shannon Van Zandt, and George McCarthy. 2001. “The Social Benefits and Costs of Homeownership: A Critical Assessment of the Research.” *Joint Centre for Housing Studies of Harvard University Low-Income Homeownership Working Paper Series*.
- Röper, Andrea, Beate Völker, and Henk Flap. 2009. “Social Networks and Getting a Home: Do Contacts Matter?” *Social Networks* 31:40-51.

- Sherrell, Kathy. 2010. "Legal Status, Place, Or Something Else? The Housing Experiences Of Refugees in Winnipeg and Vancouver." *Canadian Issues* Fall 2010(Special Issue on Newcomers' Experiences of Housing and Homelessness in Canada): 52-58.
- Simone, Dylan, and K. Bruce Newbold. 2014. "Housing Trajectories Across the Urban Hierarchy: Analysis of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, 2001–2005." *Housing Studies* 29(8):1096-1116.
- Statistics Canada. 2010. *General Social Survey Cycle 22: Social Networks Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide*. (Catalogue no. 12M0022G). Ottawa: Minister of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2013. *Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada*. (Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011001). Ottawa: Minister of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2015. *General Social Survey Cycle 27: Social Identity Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide*. (Catalogue no. 89M0032X). Ottawa: Minister of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2017a. *Immigrant Population in Canada, 2016 Census of Population*. (Catalogue number: 11-627-M). Ottawa: Minister of Industry.
- Statistics Canada. 2017b. *Same-sex Couples in Canada in 2016*. (Catalogue no. 98-200-X2016007). Ottawa: Minister of Industry.
- Tian, Felicia F., and Xin Liu. 2017. "Gendered Double Embeddedness: Finding Jobs Through Networks In the Chinese Labor Market." *Social Networks*.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2017.05.001>.
- White, Ian R., Patrick Royston, and Angela M. Wood. 2011. Multiple Imputation Using Chained Equations: Issues And Guidance For Practice. *Statistics in Medicine* 30:377-399.

Xue, Li. 2008. "Social Capital and Labour Market Outcomes of Recent Immigrants to Canada: Employment Entry, Wages and Duration of Access to the First Job in Intended Occupation." PhD dissertation, Department of Economics, University of Ottawa.

Yee, June Ying, Zack Marshall, and Tess Vo. 2014. " Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Essentialism: Incorporating Hybridity into New Conceptualizations of Settlement Service Delivery with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer Immigrant Young People." *Critical Social Work* 15(1):88-103.

Chapter 4

4 Conclusions

The objective of this thesis was to analyse how social relationships influence the economic outcomes of LGB immigrants, and how this group is fairing compared to others. The papers presented in this thesis utilise the 2008 and 2013 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS) to analyse economic outcomes—employment, income, homeownership—of LGB immigrants in Canada compared to their heterosexual and/or native-born peers. Specifically, I explore how LGB immigrants differ from others in terms of socio-demographic traits, human capital, and social relationships, and how these group differences produce economic disparities by sexual orientation and nativity status.

4.1 Summary of Findings

First, Paper 1 (Chapter 2) documents labor market (employment and income) inequalities by sexual orientation and nativity status. I then explore the extent to which human capital and social network characteristics contribute to these disparities. There is notable heterogeneity between the labor market outcomes of gay and bisexual immigrants. Gay immigrants do not have a labor market disadvantage relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals or Canadian-born gays. They do, however, appear to have a labor market advantage over heterosexual immigrants, on both employment and income. Conversely, bisexual immigrants have a labor market disadvantage compared to heterosexuals and Canadian-born bisexuals. The sole exception is that they have a slight income advantage over Canadian-born bisexuals, but this is explained by socio-demographic traits (e.g. bisexual immigrants tend to be older than Canadian-born bisexuals). LGB immigrants have high human capital, with over half of them having a universe degree. However, results are mixed regarding their returns to their high education levels in the labor market. Bisexual immigrants' poor labor market outcomes suggest that they have unsuccessful returns to education. On the other hand, high educational attainment may be supporting gay immigrants' labor market success. Surprisingly, social networks have a limited effect

on the labor market outcomes of LGB immigrants, even though bisexual immigrants are more socially isolated than both their Canadian-born and heterosexual peers.

Next, Paper 2 (Chapter 3) explores another indicator of economic success, homeownership attainment. I analyse whether the economic disparities documented in Paper 1, along with socio-demographic traits, social networks, and neighborhood detachment are producing differences in odds of homeownership by sexual orientation and nativity status. Gay immigrants are less likely to own their homes compared to heterosexuals and Canadian-born gays. Conversely, bisexual immigrants have an ownership advantage over their Canadian-born counterparts, but a disadvantage compared to heterosexuals. Socio-demographic traits (e.g. age, marital status) can explain the lower odds of homeownership of gay immigrants compared to Canadian-born heterosexuals. Bisexual immigrants' lower homeownership rates can only partly be explained by socio-demographic traits. Similarly to Paper 1, social networks provide a limited explanation for the homeownership disparities in Paper 2. Group differences in social networks can partially explain the lower odds of homeownership for bisexual immigrants, but not gay immigrants. LGB immigrants have significantly higher neighborhood detachment compared to other groups, and this explains their homeownership disparities with Canadian-born heterosexuals.

4.2 Contributions

My thesis contributes to the migration and LGB literatures by highlighting the socioeconomic disadvantage of LGB immigrants, who are dually marginalized as sexual minorities and immigrants (e.g. Cantu 2009; Manalansan 2006). Specifically, I provide the first quantitative analyses that compare the employment rates, income, and homeownership attainment of LGB immigrants to those of Canadian-born heterosexuals, Canadian-born LGBs, and heterosexual immigrants. My study is also the first to highlight differences within the LGB immigrant community by comparing the economic outcomes of gay immigrants with those of bisexual immigrants. My thesis highlights the fact that considerable heterogeneity exists in labor market outcomes and homeownership between gay and bisexual immigrants. Specifically, bisexual immigrants are significantly disadvantaged relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals on each of my measures of

economic inequality due to their sexual orientation and nativity status. Conversely, the patterns for gay immigrants are mixed: they face low homeownership rates compared to their Canadian-born and heterosexual peers, but not lower employment rates or income. Overall, these findings support the notion that it is worthwhile to explore the effects of both nativity status and sexual orientation on economic outcomes, in advancing our understanding of the adaptation experiences of LGB immigrants.

Another significant contribution of my thesis is the examination of LGB immigrants' social relationship patterns and their implications for their economic wellbeing. My findings confirm findings from previous qualitative reports that show that LGB immigrants are socially isolated, often due to exclusion from both LGB and migrant communities (e.g. Nakamura, Chan, and Fischer 2013). LGB immigrants are less socially connected than their heterosexual and/or Canadian-born peers in terms of both their social networks and neighborhood integration. The exception to this overall pattern is observed among gay immigrants, who have sizable network of close friendship ties. My examination of the role of social resources in generating economic disparities by sexual orientation and nativity status yields mixed results. Although the size, proximity, intensity, and diversity of an individuals' social networks influence labor market outcomes (e.g. Xue 2008), they explain little of the disparities in labor market outcomes by sexual orientation and nativity status. The same is also true for homeownership. Neighbourhood detachment, however, plays a significant role in homeownership attainment for LGB immigrants. Neighborhood detachment is associated with lower odds of homeownership attainment, and LGB have high neighborhood detachment compared to both their heterosexual and/or Canadian-born peers, potentially due to dual exposure to homophobia and xenophobia in their neighborhoods. Thus, in my models, controlling for neighborhood detachment is able to explain the homeownership disparities of gay and bisexual immigrants relative to Canadian-born heterosexuals. It is also possible that LGB immigrants do not have the same returns on social relationships as other groups do, and this requires further investigation. I also acknowledge the possibility that my measures of social networks may not be adequately capturing the dimensions of social networks quintessential for labor market outcomes and homeownership. My thesis demonstrates

that there is more to be learned about the relationship between sociality and economic outcomes for LGB immigrants.

The findings from my study can help inform policymakers and practitioners who provide services to LGB immigrants. The economic challenges of LGB immigrant that I document indicate a need for stronger incorporation of LGB immigrants into policies relating to funding for immigrant services in Canada. Although Canada has considerable settlement services for immigrants, there is no mandate that requires these service providers to receive education and training on LGB immigrants' needs and experiences. Therefore, any training available is done on a volunteer basis. This means that service provision capable of meeting the needs of LGB immigrants is sparse (e.g. Mule and Gates-Gasse 2012). Some LGBT service centres provide newcomer services for LGBT immigrants, however, LGBT organisations are not as well-funded as general newcomer services, so resources are limited (Yee, Marshall, and Vo 2014). In addition to efforts at the service provision level, efforts at the community level can also aid in fostering positive social and economic outcomes for LGB immigrants, particularly through promoting their neighborhood attachment and social relationships. For example, community education campaigns for the general population, migrant communities, and LGB communities can help foster new ties, or repair old ones, between LGB immigrants and others. If Canada is committed to its reputation as pro-LGB and pro-immigrant, it must commit to accepting and understanding the particular needs of LGB immigrants who enter the country seeking economic mobility and positive social relationships, and help support them in their integration into Canadian society.

4.3 Limitations and Future Directions

The specific limitations of Papers 1 and 2, as well as avenues for future research, are discussed in their respective chapters. Here, I provide an overview of the limitations across the two papers that prompt future directions for the study of LGB immigrants.

First, due to data limitations in the sample sizes of gay and bisexual immigrants, these two groups could not be disaggregated into further divisions that would have further provided a richer exploration of LGB immigrants' integration patterns.²¹ For example, understanding how the economic success of LGB immigrants differs between those that live in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver, and those who do not, would have added further nuance to our understanding of the economic outcomes of LGB immigrants. Living in MTV regions is associated with labor market success, likely due to the opportunities in these areas to find work, resources, and social ties. However, it is also associated with lower odds of homeownership, possibly reflective of high housing costs. My findings show that large shares of LGB immigrants live in MTV regions. This means that those who settle outside of these regions (e.g. provincial nominees outside of Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia) may have more of a difficulty forming social ties. They are also vulnerable with regards to the labor market, but may be more able to pursue homeownership. Future research should conduct analyses separately for LGB immigrants within and outside of MTV regions, to determine whether there are differences in their ability to obtain—and gain returns on—economic and social resources. Additionally, conducting analyses separately for men and women may also shed some light on the inconclusive results regarding the labor market outcomes of gay immigrants, which is surprising given the studies that document labor market differences between gays and heterosexuals (e.g. Carpenter 2008).

Second, my measures of social network properties are limited by data availability. For example, the 2013 GSS does not include information on the occupations in which the respondent has ties. Further, I do not have information on whether respondent social networks give them access to resources, such as information or support. My measures are conducted with the assumption that having access to social networks presumes the potential of having social resources, but further indicators of actual social resources

²¹ Additionally, gay and bisexual immigrants could not have been aggregated into one group to increase sample sizes, due to marked group differences between them.

would have provided a richer understanding of the social networks of LGB immigrants and their roles in economic success.

Third, the GSS is a cross-sectional survey, which does not allow me to analyse the effect of time on the social indicators and economic outcomes of interest. I am unable to measure changes in a respondent over time. This means that I cannot determine the time-order relationship between covariates and my economic outcomes, and therefore am unable to establish causality. For example, with regards to homeownership, although homeownership attainment is associated with neighbourhood detachment, I cannot determine whether having a positive relationship to their neighborhood causes a respondent to want to buy a home there, or whether owning a home in a certain area encourages them to pursue neighbourly behaviour. For the purpose of my study, the uncertainty of causality does not undermine my findings. Whether neighborhood detachment prevents homeownership, or renting causes neighborhood detachment, my results still show that LGB immigrants have high neighborhood detachment and low homeownership attainment. They reinforce each other and are both a cause for concern. Future research should employ longitudinal data to explore the ways that social forces and economic outcomes reproduce one another for LGB immigrants.

Additionally, by using a cross-sectional survey I was unable to measure patterns in economic trajectories, which may present a different story than simply measuring one point in time. Given that duration in Canada is a salient predictor for each of my measures of economic success, there is more to be learned about the integration process of LGB immigrants over time. Exploring the economic trajectories of LGB immigrants would provide meaningful insight on economic and social mobility. With longitudinal data, future research should analyse economic patterns over time and across the life course to understand the effect of time and life stages on the experiences of LGB immigrants.

4.4 References

- Cantu, Lionel. 2009. *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men*. New York: New York University Press.
- Carpenter, Christopher S. 2008. "Sexual Orientation, Work, and Income in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 41(4): 1239-1261.
- Haan, Michael. 2007. "Do I Buy with a Little Help from My Friends? Homeownership-Relevant Group Characteristics and Homeownership Disparities among Canadian Immigrant Groups, 1971–2001." *Housing Studies* 22(6):921-944.
- Manalansan, Martin F. 2006. "Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies." *International Migration Review* 40(1):224-249.
- Mule, Nick J., and Erika Gates-Gasse. 2012. *LGBT Asylum Seekers and Refugees: Round Table Dialogue with Service Providers and Conference Presentations*. Toronto: Envisioning Global LGBT Human Rights.
- Nakamura, Nadine, Eric Chan, and Benedikt Fischer. 2013. "'Hard To Crack': Experiences Of Community Integration Among First- And Second-Generation Asian MSM In Canada." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 19(3):248-256.
- Xue, Li. 2008. "Social Capital and Labour Market Outcomes of Recent Immigrants to Canada: Employment Entry, Wages and Duration of Access to the First Job in Intended Occupation." PhD dissertation, Department of Economics, University of Ottawa.
- Yee, June Ying, Zack Marshall, and Tess Vo. 2014. "Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Essentialism: Incorporating Hybridity into New Conceptualizations of Settlement Service Delivery with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer Immigrant Young People." *Critical Social Work* 15(1):88-103.

Appendices

Appendix A: Supplementary Tables for Paper 1.

Table 2.4a: Odds-ratio for the interaction effect between sexual orientation and nativity status on the likelihood of being employed

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Sexual orientation * Immigrant Interaction Effects				
Gay * immigrant	1.09	1.02	1.13	1.16
Bisexual * immigrant	1.14	1.08	0.98	1.07

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master files.

Notes: Only interaction effect between sexual orientation and nativity status shown. Rest of models are exactly the same as Table 2.2.

Table 2.4b: Ordinary least squares models for the interaction effect between sexual orientation and nativity status on logged personal income.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Sexual orientation * Immigrant Interaction Effects				
Gay * immigrant	0.164	0.232	0.294*	0.301**
Bisexual * immigrant	0.248	0.059	-0.026	-0.039

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master files.

Notes: Only interaction effect between sexual orientation and nativity status shown. Rest of models are exactly the same as Table 2.3.

*p<0.10, ** p<0.05

Table 2.5a: Percent distribution and means of migration variables of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants.

	Heterosexual	Gay	Bisexual
Rounded unweighted Ns (to nearest 50)	9,600	150	150
% Household has English and/or French proficiency**	65.7	72.4	72.2
Admission program (%)**			
Points system	34.0	37.7	33.3
Family reunification	32.0	15.6	27.9
Refugee	7.2	3.2	13.6
Other/missing	26.9	43.5	25.2
Duration in Canada (mean years)***	24.8	20.7	17.1

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master files.

Notes: Percentages, means, and ANOVA tests are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Chi-square tests and Ns are unweighted. ** p<0.05, *** p< 0.01

Table 2.5b: Odds-ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the likelihood of being employed for immigrants.

Model 4	
Sexual Orientation and Nativity Status Subgroups (Heterosexual immigrant)	
Gay immigrant	1.33
Bisexual immigrant	0.72
Demographic	
Age (35-54)	
18 to 24	0.25***
25 to 34	0.62***
55 and over	0.20***
Female	0.32***
Visible minority	0.92
Marital status (married)	
Single, never married	1.04
Common-law	1.16
Widowed/separated/divorced	0.82**
Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver	1.27***
Region of residence (Prairie region)	
Quebec	0.37***
Ontario	0.50***
Atlantic region	0.54***
British Columbia	0.46***
Human Capital	
Education (University degree)	
Less than high school diploma	0.43***
High school diploma	0.67***
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)	0.89
Migration variables	
Household has English and/or French proficiency	1.07
Admission program (Points system)	
Family reunification	1.14
Refugee	1.04
Other	1.05
Duration in Canada (years)	1.06***
Duration in Canada Squared	1.00***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

N to nearest base 50 = 9750.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 2.5b continued: Odds-ratio for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on the likelihood of being employed for immigrants.

	Model 4
Social Network Characteristics	
Network size	
Above the median number of acquaintances (>20)	1.06
Above the median number of close friends (>4)	0.86**
Above the median number of relatives (>5)	0.89
Network proximity	
Proportion of relatives living in same city/local community	1.11
Proportion of close friends living in same city/local community	1.04
Proportion of acquaintances living in same city/local community	1.21*
Frequency of contact with networks	
Internet contact, friends and relatives	1.19***
Contact with relatives, phone and in-person	0.94
Contact with friends, phone	1.03
Contact with friends, in-person	1.07***
Network diversity	
Any educational diversity in friend group	1.05
Any ethnic diversity in friend group	1.36***
Any gender diversity in friend group	0.78*
Female * gender diversity in friend group	1.556 **
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)	0.90
Constant	5.15***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

N to nearest base 50 = 9750.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 2.5c: Ordinary least squares models for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on logged personal income for immigrants.

Model 4	
Sexual Orientation and Nativity Status Subgroups (Heterosexual immigrant)	
Gay immigrant	0.125
Bisexual immigrant	-0.033
Demographic	
Age (35-54)	
18 to 24	-0.800***
25 to 34	0.006
55 and over	-0.018
Female	-0.480***
Visible minority	-0.318***
Marital status (married)	
Single, never married	-0.046
Common-law	0.002
Widowed/separated/divorced	0.149***
Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver	0.078**
Region of residence (Prairie region)	
Quebec	-0.245***
Ontario	-0.115**
Atlantic	-0.244**
British Columbia	-0.213***
Human Capital	
Employed	
Education (University degree)	
Less than high school diploma	-0.889***
High school diploma	-0.494***
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)	-0.271***
Migration variables (only applies to immigrant sample)	
Household has English and/or French proficiency	0.092***
Admission program (Points system)	
Family reunification	-0.110***
Refugee	-0.048
Other/missing	-0.181***
Duration in Canada (years)	0.030***
Duration in Canada Squared	0.000***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes: N to nearest base 50 = 9750.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 2.5c continued: Ordinary least squares models for the effects of respondent and social network characteristics on logged personal income for immigrants.

	Model 4
Social Network Characteristics	
Network size	
Above the median number of acquaintances (>20)	0.109***
Above the median number of close friends (>4)	-0.018
Above the median number of relatives (>5)	-0.070**
Network proximity	
Proportion of relatives living in same city/local community	-0.012
Proportion of close friends living in same city/local community	0.136***
Proportion of acquaintances living in same city/local community	-0.050
Frequency of contact with networks	
Internet contact, friends and relatives	0.040**
Contact with relatives, phone and in-person	0.018
Contact with friends, phone and in-person	-0.008
Network diversity	
Any educational diversity in friend group	-0.036
Any ethnic diversity in friend group	-0.090*
Any gender diversity in friend group	0.109***
Visible minority status * ethnic diversity in friend group	-0.186***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)	0.009
Constant	9.659***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes: N to nearest base 50 = 9750.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

Reference category in parenthesis unless indicated otherwise.

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Appendix B: Supplementary Tables for Paper 2

Table 3.3a. Percent distribution and means of migration variables of heterosexual, gay, and bisexual immigrants.

	Heterosexual	Gay	Bisexual
Rounded unweighted Ns (to nearest 50)	10,100	150	150
% Household has English and/or French proficiency**	65.9	72.4	69.2
Admission program (%)*			
Points system	33.8	35.7	31.6
Family reunification	31.7	16.6	31.0
Refugee	7.1	3.2	13.0
Other/missing	27.4	44.4	24.4
Duration in Canada (mean years)***	25.0	20.9	17.0

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master files.

Notes:

Percentages, means, and ANOVA tests are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Chi-square tests and Ns are unweighted.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 3.3b. Odds-ratio for the effects of sociodemographic traits, social network characteristics, and neighborhood detachment on the likelihood of homeownership for immigrants.

	Model 4
Sexual Orientation and Nativity Status Subgroups (Heterosexual immigrant)	
Gay immigrant	1.22
Bisexual immigrant	1.10
Demographic	
Age (55 years and over)	
18-34	0.78
35-54	0.90
Female	1.35***
Visible minority	0.95
Marital status (married)	
Single, never married	0.56***
Common-law	0.50***
Widowed/separated/divorced	0.39***
Living in Montreal-Toronto-Vancouver	0.60***
Household Characteristics	
Number of adults	1.53***
Number of minors	1.00
Economic Resources	
Employed	1.25**
Personal income (natural log)	1.16***
Education (University degree)	
Less than high school diploma	0.58***
High school diploma	0.80*
Post-secondary diploma (non-Bachelors)	0.82*
Migration Variables	
Household has English and/or French proficiency	0.70***
Admission program (Points system)	
Family reunification	0.81**
Refugee	0.39***
Other/missing	0.69***
Duration in Canada (years)	1.10***
Duration in Canada Squared	1.00***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

N to nearest base 50 = 10,300.

Region removed to simplify models because no effect models.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population. Ns are unweighted.

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p< 0.01

Table 3.3b continued. Odds-ratio for the effects of sociodemographic traits, social network characteristics, and neighborhood detachment on the likelihood of homeownership for immigrants.

	Model 4
Social Network Characteristics	
Network size, key network types only	
Above the median number of close friends (>5)	1.12
Network proximity	
Proportion of relatives living in same city/local community	1.30**
Frequency of contact with networks	
Contact with relatives, in-person	1.04
Contact with relatives, phone and internet	0.87**
Contact with friends, phone and in-person	0.86***
Contact with friends, internet	1.10***
Network diversity	
Any educational diversity in friend group	0.82**
Any ethnic diversity in friend group	0.88
Any gender diversity in friend group	1.25**
Relationship to Community and Neighborhood	
Tenure in neighborhood less than 3 years	0.59***
Neighbors help each other in this neighborhood	2.11***
Missing	1.38*
Respondent knows many or most of their neighbors	1.24**
Number of groups respondent involved in at least median, 1 group	1.26***
Cycle (cycle 22, 2008 survey)	0.78***
Constant	0.06***

Source: Canadian General Social Survey 2008 & 2013, Master Files.

Notes:

N to nearest base 50 = 10,300.

Region removed to simplify models because no effect models.

Models are weighted on geographic stratum, province, age, and sex to be representative of the Canadian population.

Ns are unweighted.

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p< 0.01

Curriculum Vitae

Name: Sagi Ramaj

Post-secondary Education and Degrees: The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2012-2016 B.A.

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2016-2018 M.A.

The University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
2018-Present Ph.D.

Honours and Awards:

Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)
Doctoral Fellowship
2018-2022

University of Toronto Sociology Admission Merit Award
2018

Dennis William Magill Scholarship in Canadian Society
2018

University of Toronto Recognition of Excellence Award
2018

SSHRC Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship
(Masters)
2017-2018

Ontario Graduate Scholarship (declined in lieu of SSHRC)
2017-2018

Ontario Graduate Scholarship
2016-2017

Canadian Sociological Association Outstanding Graduating
Student Award (Honors)

2017

UWO Social Science Dean's Entrance Award

2016

UWO Gold Medal Award

2016

UWO Dean's Honor List

2012-2016

Social Science Student Council's Leadership Award

2016

UWO In-Course Scholarships Year IV

2015

Shrimati Lajjawati Pathak Scholarship in Women's Studies

2015

Marlene Lee Scholarship in Sociology

2015

UWO In-Course Scholarships Year III

2014

The Western Scholarship of Excellence

2012

**Related Work
Experience**

Research Assistant

The University of Western Ontario

2015; 2017-2018

Teaching Assistant

The University of Western Ontario

2016-2017

Publications:

Ramaj, S. 2016. "Everyday Life and Mobile Technologies." *Sociological Imagination: Western's Undergraduate Sociology Student Journal* 5(1).