

# Building the evidence base about economic, health and social inequities faced by LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada

## Phase 1 Report



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## INTRODUCTION

Research shows that, as a group, gender and sexual minorities in Canada – including lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and Two-spirit (LGBTQ2S+) identified people – are more likely to live in poverty, face greater barriers to employment (including stigma and discrimination), and earn less at work, despite often having higher levels of education than their cisgender, heterosexual counterparts.<sup>1-4</sup> In addition, gender and sexual minorities tend to report poorer health, mental health and social outcomes, including greater rates of social exclusion.<sup>5-8</sup>

This is an emerging area of research, and significant knowledge gaps remain. Much of the existing research focuses on the LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals as a group, failing to examine differences in outcomes within this diverse community. Further, there is still considerable progress to be made in terms of drawing connections between economic (including labour market), health, and social outcomes for gender and sexual minorities, despite the fact that these disparities are likely mutually reinforcing.<sup>9,10</sup> Research on outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ identified people in Canada that takes an explicitly intersectional approach – recognizing particular outcomes resulting from an individual occupying multiple social locations – is also scarce.

Importantly, these gaps can be partially explained by the lack of high-quality data on gender and sexual orientation in Canada, serving as a major barrier to comprehensively understanding LGBTQ2S+ individuals' experiences.<sup>11</sup> Overall, LGBTQ2S+ people do not find themselves represented in national survey data in Canada, and when there is opportunity to identify, questions are frequently limited to sexual identity.<sup>12</sup> One major implication of this is that individuals who identify under the trans umbrella (including transgender, non-binary, and genderqueer) are excluded from self-identifying, and remain invisible in terms of population-level research. Moreover, much of the existing work relies on samples of same-sex couples. This results in the exclusion of single LGBTQ2S+ individuals, the ongoing reliance of sex rather than gender as a measure, and the methodological erasure of bisexual individuals through the aggregation of bisexual people within either opposite sex or same sex couples.<sup>11</sup>

*Canada's First Poverty Reduction Strategy* identifies LGBTQ2S+ people as being at greater risk of poverty, and aims to address barriers that prevent LGBTQ2S+ people from equal participation in the labour market as one means of alleviating income insecurity. In this context, the gaps in both the data landscape and literature point to the urgent need for research that identifies key determinants of economic outcomes for gender and sexual minorities, with a view to positioning these outcomes within a broader framework that also considers social and health inequities. There is noted value in mapping these outcomes and their determinants in relation to Canada's current data landscape, highlighting recommendations for population-level surveys that would expedite this type of research. This project, described subsequently, aims to achieve this.

## THIS PROJECT

Funded by Women and Gender Equality Canada (WAGE), the project *Building the evidence base about economic, health and social inequities faced by LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada* is led by the Social Research Demonstration Corporation (SRDC), in partnership with Dr. Sean Waite at the University of Western Ontario, Pride at Work Canada (PAWC), and the Labour Market Information Council (LMIC). The project aims to address four key research questions, outlined in Table 1 below. Two of these questions are addressed in this report.

**Table 1** Project research questions

Research question	Relevant phase(s)
What are key determinants of economic and labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+-identified individuals in Canada?	1
What nationally, provincially, and/or territorially representative datasets exist that allow for the exploration of the relationship between an LGBTQ2S+ identity and labour market outcomes?	1
What is the association between these determinants and economic outcomes such as labour force status, earnings, household income, and total income?	2
What are the experiences of employment (and career pathways) for LGBTQ2S+-identified individuals who are currently employed?	3

The project is occurring over multiple phases, Phase 1 being a comprehensive LGBTQ2S+ data scoping exercise, conducted to provide a map of available data in Canada, including data gaps and opportunities. In particular, Phase 1 has two broader objectives of identifying:

1. Databases used for quantitative analyses of gender and sexual minority labour market outcomes in Canada; and
2. Key determinants of positive labour market and health/ well-being outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ identified people in Canada.

This report serves as the final deliverable for Phase 1, and includes (1) the results of the data scan, (2) key indicators/variables for inclusion in the data scan, (3) the database of available resources and datasets, (4) the framework of determinants of labour market participation and broader outcomes, and (5) access to confidential microdata. A summary of the Phase 1 tasks informing this deliverable and their status are available in Table 2. Subsequent Phases 2

(Quantitative data analysis, reporting and approval) and 3 (Focus group interviews – exploration of experiences of LGBTQ2S+ employees across various employment organizations and industries) will follow over the course of the project.

**Table 2** Tasks for Phase 1 – Comprehensive LGBTQ2S+ data scoping exercise

Task description	Status
Kick-off meeting with Pride at Work Canada and Labour Market Information Council	Complete
Determine inclusion/exclusion criteria for literature synthesis and jurisdictional scan	Complete
Define preliminary scope of data scan in partnership with Pride at Work Canada and Labour Market Information Council	Complete
Identify and conduct interview with 6-8 key informants to complement the literature review	Complete
Conduct data scan and explore linkages of Statistics Canada (STC) datasets (minimum of three STC datasets: the census, the Canadian Community Health Survey, and the Labour Force Survey)	Complete
Synthesize existing key informant interview data, including key indicators/variables for inclusion in data scan	Complete
Obtain access to confidential microdata through STC's research data centre (RDC)	Complete
Draft literature review, including key indicators/variables for inclusion in data scan	Complete
Finalize scope of data scan	Complete
Draft database of available resources and datasets to inform work related to labour force outcomes of LGBTQ2S+ individuals	Complete
Draft framework of determinants of labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada	Complete

## THIS REPORT

Following this introduction, the methods section provides an overview of the methods pursued for the literature search strategy, key informant interviews, and data scan. Subsequently, the report outlines the key Phase 1 findings, drawing from the aforementioned data sources to respond to five key questions or question areas:

1. Who are LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals;
2. What are the economic and labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada;
3. What are the key determinants of these outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals;
4. Building towards a conceptual framework of differential labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ people; and
5. What nationally, provincially, and/or territorially representative datasets exist that allow for the exploration of the relationship between an LGBTQ2S+ identity and labour market outcomes?

The report ends with conclusions and next steps, including initial recommendations based on the findings to-date.

Importantly, this document draws from multiple fields of scholarship (including grey and peer-reviewed literature), in addition to the key informant interviews, to begin to draw connections between these disciplines and build towards a draft framework of differential labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ people. Rather than serve as a conclusive report, this deliverable communicates findings to-date, in addition to informing subsequent phases of the project.



## METHODS

This section describes the methods for the literature search strategy, key informant interviews, and data scan.

### LITERATURE SEARCH STRATEGY

The literature search included a targeted scan of peer-reviewed and grey literature examining the intersection between labour market, economic well-being, health and mental health, and social outcomes for gender and sexual minority individuals in Canada. Its purpose was twofold: firstly, to update a 2019 systematic review on literature related to LGBTQ2S+ employment, labour market, and earnings,<sup>4</sup> and secondly, to draw connections between concepts and disciplines with a view to beginning to establish a conceptual framework linking health, social, and economic outcomes for gender and sexual minorities. Note that this review, while extensive, was not an exhaustive search in the manner of a systematic review, for example. The iterative, practical approach to searches was designed to draw out insights related to the research questions while also identifying gaps to inform future work. As such, searches were iteratively adapted as needed.

The literature search was iterative, beginning with an update of the aforementioned 2019 review. This process was conducted by Dr. Waite, and involved replicating the review's search parameters with the exception of publication dates, which were updated to include publications from 2018 to 2020. Database searches were conducted with subject headings, titles, or abstract terms for LGBTQ2S+ individuals, poverty, and Canada. This search resulted in 274 articles; 45 duplicates and 16 that were included in the 2019 review were subsequently removed. An abstract review was conducted with the 213 remaining articles, removing articles without Canadian data, resulting in 158 articles total.

As deemed relevant, additional sources were identified and analyzed by members of the project team, including materials from the project proposal, key sources (e.g., systematic reviews) related to LGBTQ2S+ health outcomes, those referenced in key informant interviews, or references cited in other sources that were excluded from the peer-reviewed scan. This iterative process aimed to provide a grounding in the current research regarding inequities and mechanisms, as well as data-related gaps and opportunities.

The peer-reviewed literature search was complemented by additional hand-searching for relevant grey literature, using a combination of the Google search function and a number of grey literature databases, as well as a targeted search of publications by well-known LGBTQ2S+

organizations in Canada. This process resulted in 38 additional items for review, including non-profit/charity reports, best practice guidelines and toolkits, federal standing committee submissions, and working papers, among others. Sources related to gender minority individuals were specifically sought out, given the identified lack of peer-reviewed literature within the current data landscape.

Altogether, this process resulted in a total of 211 sources, all of which were retrieved online and catalogued using Zotero. Documents identified through the search process were subject to a comprehensive data extraction and analysis process by the project team. Project partners worked collaboratively to identify key variables of interest for extraction from the documents. Broadly, these variables included study relevance (e.g., low, medium, or high); study characteristics (e.g., jurisdiction, data sources); key demographic characteristics for the research population (e.g., gender and/or sexual minorities and/or subgroups within these populations); observed health, economic, and/or social outcomes for the research population; and any findings-driven recommendations from the study. To facilitate the data extraction and analysis process, an Excel spreadsheet hosted on Google Sheets was created with the identified variables in columns and a dedicated row for each data source. Sources deemed irrelevant were not extracted. A first round of data extraction saw each member of the SRDC project team review and extract information for between 5-15 identified sources to validate the review strategy. Subsequently, one member of the SRDC team completed this process for the remainder of peer-reviewed data sources, and another for grey sources. Findings from this process were shared and validated regularly both with the SRDC team as well as project partners. A sample of the spreadsheet and variables guiding this process is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Data extraction table sample

Relevance	Full citation	Abstract	Outcomes	Intersectional considerations	Recommendations	Tags	Overarching analysis/ implications	Limitations	Other notes
High	Waite, S., Pajovic, V., & Denier, N. (2020). Lesbian, gay and bisexual earnings in the Canadian labor market: New evidence from the Canadian Community Health Survey. Research in Social Stratification and Mobility. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2020.100484">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2020.100484</a>	There is a growing body of literature on the labor market outcomes of gay, lesbian and bisexual (LGB) individuals. To date, much of this literature has relied on samples of same- and different-sex couples, such as those drawn from censuses, to study gay men and lesbian women's labor market outcomes. By design, these studies exclude single people and cannot identify bisexual people, who may be single or partnered with someone of the same or different sex. This could provide a biased assessment of sexual minority wage gaps if same-sex couples differ from single gay, lesbian, and bisexual people in ways that impact their employment and earnings. Our study overcomes these limitations by using ten cycles of the CCHS, which includes a direct question on sexual orientation, large samples, and income and employment measures. We estimate sexual orientation-based income and employment disparities and also use coarsened exact matching (CEM) to improve the balance between our comparison groups, reducing unobserved heterogeneity and improving the precision of our estimates. We find that heterosexual women and LGB individuals are less likely to be working full-time than heterosexual men. Coupled gay men, but not single gay men, earn significantly less than heterosexual men. Single and coupled lesbian women earn more than comparable heterosexual women. Bisexual men and women have some of the worst employment outcomes, with incomes that are significantly less than everyone else.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Heterosexual women and LGB individuals are less likely to be working full-time than heterosexual men.</li> <li>▪ Coupled gay men, but not single gay men, earn significantly less than heterosexual men.</li> <li>▪ Single and coupled lesbian women earn more than comparable heterosexual women.</li> <li>▪ Bisexual men and women have some of the worst employment outcomes, with incomes that are significantly less than everyone else.</li> </ul>	SO x SEX SO x SEX x Couple status	More research is needed to better understand the mechanisms responsible for the labour market outcomes of bisexual identified people	Economic  Sub-tags: employment, labour market, wages	Employment experiences as identity evolves over time (e.g., previously married in different-gender relationships)	N/A	No gender identity measure available

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

To supplement the literature review and inform subsequent phases of the project, interviews with ten key informants were conducted by the SRDC project team. Interviewees included those who conduct research on health, social, and/or economic outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals in the Canadian context, via an academic and/or non-profit institution.

Initial key informants were identified by project partners as potential participants based on prior knowledge of their work. Additional informants were engaged via snowball sampling, identified through either the literature review process or by other key informants as having conducted significant and/or foundational work in the subject area.

Interviews were conducted following the literature search and data extraction process. Their purpose was to identify and fill information gaps in the review, including to identify other relevant data sources, better understand the current data landscape for gender and sexual minorities in Canada, or clarify specific issues or themes. In this way, the interview data both validated results from the literature review as well as enhanced the depth of the analysis to-date, informing new lines of inquiry for subsequent stages of the project.

The interviews were conducted over Zoom or by phone per the participant's preference, and lasted approximately 50 minutes in duration. Interviews were semi-structured, allowing flexibility in relation to key informants' roles and expertise within the subject area. Topics covered included the key informant's research related to LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada (including outcomes and determinants they have observed in their work), observed connections between social/health/economic inequities and outcomes, gaps in the current data landscape, and initial ideas for knowledge translation and dissemination. A copy of the key informant interview protocol can be found in Appendix A.

Ten key informant interviews were completed in total. A list of individuals who took part in a key informant interview (along with their area of expertise, affiliation, and interview status) is available in Table 4 below. One key informant, who preferred to remain anonymous, is excluded from this table.

**Table 4** Key informant interview participants

Individual	Relevant expertise/area of focus ( <i>from institutional/organizational websites, when feasible</i> )	Institutional/organizational affiliation
Dr. Greta Bauer	LGBT health; intersectionality and research methods	University of Western Ontario
Dr. Nicole Denier	Workplace and labour market inequality for LGBTQ+ individuals	University of Alberta
Dr. John Ecker	LGBTQ2S+ housing and homelessness	The Canadian Observatory on Homelessness
Jade Pichette	LGBTQ2S+ workplace inclusion and belonging	Pride at Work Canada
Sagi Ramaj	Housing and homeownership among LGB immigrants	University of Toronto
Dr. Margaret Robinson	Two-spirit and bisexual individuals (including mental health and microaggressions/affirmations)	Dalhousie University
Dr. Lori E. Ross	LGBT health and health service access (focus on mental health)	University of Toronto
Dr. Travis Salway	Stigma and population health inequities among sexual and gender minorities	Simon Fraser University
Dr. Sean Waite	LGBTQ labour market and employment outcomes; LGBTQ identity, poverty, and health	University of Western Ontario

Each interview was conducted by two members of the SRDC project team, with detailed notes akin to transcripts taken during the interview, and filled out later using the audio file. For the analysis, information was extracted using a similar process to the literature search. Using Google Sheets, a spreadsheet was created with a row for each key informant, and columns with key themes for analysis. These included: identifying LGBTQ2S+ individuals; outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ individuals; theoretical mechanisms/ determinants of these outcomes; insights regarding the development of a cross-disciplinary framework to illustrate mechanisms and outcomes; datasets referenced or used; data and/or policy recommendations; and thoughts or ideas related to knowledge translation. Interviews were divided among the SRDC project team, who independently extracted data from the interview transcripts and input these into the aforementioned spreadsheet. Following this process, the team met to discuss higher-level themes that had emerged from key informant interviews, as well as begin to identify novel areas of

analysis or instances where interviews served to validate findings from the existing literature. Findings from the interviews, as well as relevant quotes, are integrated throughout this report's analysis to validate, add nuance to, or expand on findings gleaned from secondary data.

## DATA SCAN

With a view to informing phase 2 of the project, the team worked in phase 1 to (1) conduct a data scan of Statistics Canada datasets and (2) build a database of available resources and datasets relevant to labour market outcomes of gender and sexual minorities in Canada.

An initial list of available resources and datasets was curated via the literature search and data extraction process, which was validated and expanded through key informant interviews. This included population-level databases (e.g., the Canadian Community Health Survey, Census), those specific to certain sectors or occupations (e.g., Survey of Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces, Public Service Employee Survey), and community-based (e.g., Trans PULSE Survey).

Next, the project partners reviewed these surveys/ databases to provide an overview of how these sources currently collect data on gender and sexual minority status, and on economic/ labour market-related outcomes. For instance, one area of examination was how surveys conceptualize sexual orientation (i.e., in terms of behaviour, attraction, identity, and/or partnership), and whether and how any distinction is made between gender and sex. Guidelines for this process were formulated by SRDC and shared with LMIC (see Appendix B), who engaged a student to complete an initial scoping exercise, the results of which were validated by SRDC. This process was undertaken using data dictionaries for each of the identified surveys/databases, where publicly available. Note that this work is ongoing (we are currently engaged in a detailed review of survey codebooks to identify linkages) and will be finalized as Phase 2 progresses.

## PHASE 1 FINDINGS

In this section we summarize the findings from phase 1 of the project, drawing from the literature and key informant interviews to begin to address the five overarching questions or thematic areas. Beginning with an overview of LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada, we turn to the key economic, labour market, and other critical outcomes for this population. We follow with an overview of the major determinants or mechanisms underlying these outcomes, as well as a draft framework that begins to draw connections between the key concepts. We conclude with a summary of available datasets that allow for the exploration of the relationship between an LGBTQ2S+ identity and labour market outcomes within the Canadian context.

### WHO ARE LGBTQ2S+ IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS?

LGBTQ2S+ identity is complex and contains several distinct but interacting elements relating to sexual orientation and gender. Sexual orientation refers to the direction of a person's attraction; gay, lesbian, bisexual, asexual, and pansexual are all examples of sexual orientation, which may change throughout a person's life. The 2004 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) was the first Statistics Canada survey to include a question on sexual orientation, with 1.7 per cent of Canadians aged 18 to 59 reporting in 2004 that they considered themselves to be homosexual (gay or lesbian), and 1.3 per cent reporting that they considered themselves to be bisexual. While the CCHS survey question asked individuals to *identify* with one of these categories, their definitions referred to sexual relations (i.e., behaviour) with same or opposite sex. Some international data has indicated that the proportion of individuals who *identify* as lesbian, gay or bisexual is much smaller than the proportion who report sexual minority *behaviour* (i.e., having had sexual relations with someone of the same sex), although individuals have been found to be more willing to answer questions about identity rather than behaviour.<sup>13</sup>

Gender, meanwhile, is a socially-constructed system used to classify individuals and prescribe specific emotional, behavioural, and cultural characteristics, often grounded in the binary of “man” or “woman.”<sup>14-16</sup> While population-level data on gender minorities (i.e., people whose gender identity does not align with their sex assigned at birth, whether that's transgender men, transgender women, or non-binary identified people, who may or may not also identify as transgender) is limited, it is estimated that under 1 per cent of the population identifies as transgender.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, there are several identities within the LGBTQ2S+ umbrella that can incorporate elements of both sexual orientation and gender:

- Queer is an umbrella term that encompasses a range of sexual and gender identities, behaviours, and expressions, including people who are not straight and/or cisgender. Although many have reclaimed “queer” as a way to self-identify, others are uncomfortable with this reclamation and still view it as a slur.
- Two-spirit is an English umbrella term coined by Indigenous members of the LGBTQ+ community that transcends Western and colonial ideas of gender and sexuality. Two-spirit is often used to describe someone who possesses both masculine and feminine spirits. Some Indigenous people identify as Two-spirit rather than, or in addition to, identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, or queer.

Of note, the language around identities used in this report represents the time in which the report was written (2020-2021), and the individuals who wrote it and participated in the research. Language is both constantly evolving, and can mean different things to different people. How an individual self-defines or identifies should always take precedence. An example of this, as brought up by Dr. Greta Bauer, was the emergence and growth of non-binary as an identity in the past decade, which had not been a particularly common term in earlier research.

An understanding of who LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals are must also include the role of intersecting identities.<sup>17</sup> The experience of individuals who identify as sexual and gender minorities are also influenced by, for example, race, Indigenous status, age, experiences of disability, economic class, and more. This is explored more fully in subsequent sections of this report regarding the ways in which various identities interact with sexual and gender minority status, and drive and influence differential outcomes.

## WHAT ARE THE ECONOMIC AND LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES FOR LGBTQ2S+ IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS IN CANADA?

### Poverty and homelessness remain realities for gender and sexual minority individuals in Canada

While labour market outcomes in particular are a primary focus of this report, both existing research as well as key informants pointed to the relationship between employment and economic outcomes more broadly, as well as the overrepresentation of LGBTQ2S+ individuals in both poverty and homelessness statistics.



Despite the prominence of poverty among gender and sexual minorities, Kia et al. point to the lack of research on this subject in the Canadian context.<sup>1</sup> In addition to identifying socio-economic penalties for bisexual individuals who conceal their sexual orientation and for lesbian women and gay men who come out, the authors also emphasize the salience of poverty at the intersection of identities. In particular, they point to the disproportionate experiences of poverty among LGBTQ2S+ individuals who are also Indigenous, racialized, or youth or older adults. This multiplicity of disadvantage is echoed by Bucik et al. in the context of LGBTQ2S+ individuals with disabilities.<sup>1,18</sup> As a result, gender and sexual minority individuals may also be overrepresented in social assistance programs in Canada, with a noted lack of research on LGBTQ2S+ people's access to and experiences with thereof.<sup>9</sup>

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*“There isn’t a huge discussion of the welfare programs that LGBTQ people have access to. One thing I want to look at in particular is the fact that so many welfare state programs in Canada rely on you having a child – we know that LGBTQ people are less likely to have children. I don’t know why [employment and poverty] are separated, there is much more focus on employment [...]. Historically, we conceptualize poverty as something separate from the labour market. We know that the working poor exist – these are things that intersect.”*

– Dr. Nicole Denier

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Notably, available data from community-based surveys points to particularly low incomes of transgender individuals compared to their cisgender counterparts. In particular, one Trans PULSE report focusing on transgender people in Ontario found a self-reported median annual income of \$15,000 per year.<sup>19</sup> Dr. Bauer, who co-authored the Trans PULSE report, expanded on this in a key informant interview, in addition to noting that this income disparity remained even after adjusting for age: “trans people, as a community, were well-educated but severely underpaid, and some of that was clearly due to underemployment.”

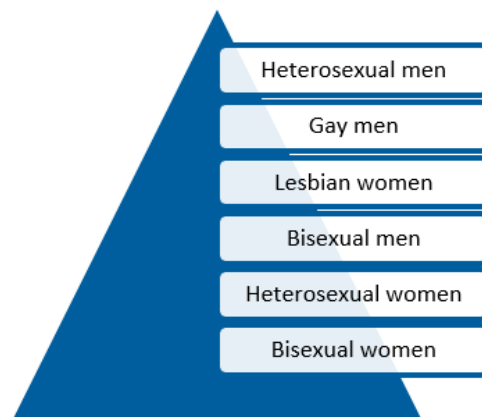
Related yet distinct from poverty outcomes are those related to housing and homelessness among gender and sexual minorities. While capturing this data has historically been challenging, several studies point to the overrepresentation of gender and sexual minority individuals in homeless populations, in particular those who are youth and/or transgender.<sup>1,20,21</sup> In research on LGBTQ adult homelessness in Ottawa, Ecker describes experiences of LGBTQ2S+ individuals entering into homelessness due to discrimination from landlords or safety concerns with other tenants, and challenges in service and shelter due to experiences of homo/transphobia.<sup>22</sup> Expanding on this in a key informant interview, Dr. Ecker noted particularly poor outcomes for gender minority and bisexual individuals, highlighting housing discrimination and the challenge of gender-segregated shelter environments for trans and non-binary individuals.

## Available data demonstrate a general hierarchy of earnings on the basis of sexual orientation, gender, and/or sex

When in employment, findings from socio-economic research posit a wage penalty for gay men and a premium for lesbian women compared to their heterosexual counterparts.<sup>3,4,12,23</sup> In particular, Waite and Denier draw from Census data to describe a hierarchy of earnings on the basis of sexual orientation and gender/sex, with heterosexual men earning the most, followed by gay men, lesbian women, and heterosexual women.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Waite et al. emphasize the role of couple status, noting that the aforementioned wage penalty for gay men applies to those who are coupled, but not single.<sup>3</sup> Notably, while the gap between each level within that hierarchy has varied depending on the study and other factors, there is some indication that the difference between heterosexual and gay men may be shrinking.<sup>24</sup>

In a novel contribution in the absence of widespread population-level data on bisexual-identified individuals' earnings, Waite, Pajovic, and Denier have expanded on these hierarchy, positioning bisexual men in between lesbian women and bisexual women at the bottom, below heterosexual women.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Nicole Denier emphasized poorer outcomes for bisexual individuals, including in the realm of earnings, in a key informant interview, noting that “research allowing bisexual people to self-identify shows that bisexual people tend to fare the worst across many outcomes.” Figure 1 below illustrates the described hierarchy of earnings by gender and sexual orientation.

Figure 1 Hierarchy of earnings



Importantly, the interaction between sexual orientation and gender is critical in helping to explain this hierarchy, owing to the ways in which “nonheterosexuality is inconsistent with hegemonic gendered beliefs” (p. 562),<sup>23</sup> as well as the role of the gender wage gap, particularly in the case of women in same-gender relationships. Also relevant in explaining this hierarchy is education; notably, the notion that lower incomes among LGBTQ2S+ individuals are attributable

to lower educational attainment is not borne out by the data.<sup>19,23</sup> Dr. Margaret Robinson echoed this in a key informant interview, emphasizing its particular relevance for gender minority individuals: “You see lots of [LGBTQ2S+] folks who have tons of education, but not the income – especially for trans folks.” In addition, sexual minorities tend to be younger and less likely to be married or have children. Differences in family formation and returns to marriage and parenthood may be important sources of gay men and lesbian women’s lower earnings. Racialized and Indigenous sexual minority communities may also experience intersecting forms of disadvantage, exacerbating pay inequalities relative to their white settler counterparts.<sup>1,12</sup>

In terms of gender minorities (including transgender, non-binary, and genderqueer individuals), the absence of population-level data serves to complicate a fulsome understanding of this earnings hierarchy. While the previously-mentioned data from Trans PULSE paints a dire picture for transgender individuals when it comes to income more broadly, we are not currently able to discern specific disparities in terms of employment wages due to the lack of data.

### Access to, type, and location of employment vary among gender and sexual minority individuals, serving to partially explain other labour market outcomes

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*“You put two females together in a household – they’re still earning less than a heterosexual couple because the gender wage gap is so large. Even if they’re making more than a heterosexual female [individually], they’re not making up for the male in that household. Female-female couples have a disadvantage because they’re both women – it’s due to the gender wage gap.”*

– Anonymous key informant

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*“[It’s] taken for granted that LGBTQ folks experience discrimination at some point – but we don’t have the same routine type of population data as we do for other groups.”*

– Dr. Nicole Denier

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In addition to wages, the data points to LGBTQ2S+ individuals having distinct outcomes related to other labour market characteristics, including attainment, formality and precarity, and type, sector, and location of employment. Data on hiring and attainment in the Canadian context are scarce, and interviewees like Dr. Waite pointed to the need for additional research in the form of audit studies during a key informant interview. However, there is indication that LGBTQ2S+ individuals experience barriers to entry into the labour market.

Mills et al. recount perceptions of discriminatory hiring among LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Sudbury and Windsor, with interviewees opting to conceal elements of their identity and reporting blatant homo/bi/transphobia; and these experiences were echoed in survey data.<sup>25</sup>

Anticipated, perceived, or actual discrimination in hiring was also reported in the grey literature, with one survey finding that over one-third of LGBTQ2S+ respondents expressed concern about identity-based discrimination during the job application process.<sup>26</sup> The literature points to distinct challenges for trans individuals, with access to employment complicated by the need to provide information (e.g., academic records, references) during the job application process, which may or may not align with a person's lived gender.<sup>27</sup> Trans PULSE found anticipated discrimination by employers as a substantial barrier to positive labour market attainment for trans people, with 17 per cent reporting declining a job offer due to workplace environment, and 27 percent choosing not to provide a letter of reference.<sup>27</sup> In an interview, Dr. Denier referenced forthcoming research comprising an audit study, noting that while LGBTQ2S+ people as a group were less likely to receive a callback, this was borne disproportionately by trans applicants.

Another factor to consider in the realm of labour market and economic outcomes is labour supply and hours worked, with existing research suggesting that gay men work fewer hours, and lesbian women more hours, compared with their heterosexual counterparts.<sup>4,24</sup> Bisexual individuals fare the worst in this regard, with data from the CCHS showing that both bisexual men and women are less likely to be employed or work full-time than gay men, lesbian women, or heterosexual people.<sup>3</sup> While data related to gender minority individuals is limited, the notion of precarity and the reliance on multiple part-time jobs for trans individuals was referenced in a key informant interview with Dr. Bauer and echoed by Jade Pichette.

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*“There were a lot of [trans] people piecing together multiple part-time positions, for example, that kind of thing that you see when people are just trying to piece together an income without stable employment.”*

– Dr. Greta Bauer

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Industry and occupation are also important considerations, serving as partial explanations for sexual minority labour market disadvantage.<sup>4</sup> Occupational differences indicate that while gay men are over-represented in high-paying occupations, they face wage gaps within those occupations (“the gay glass ceiling”); when they do work in lower paying occupations, it is in different industries than heterosexual men.<sup>2</sup> For example, jobs in oil and gas industries generally pay higher than jobs in retail trades; however, gay men are significantly underrepresented in primary (e.g., agriculture, forestry, mining, oil and gas) and secondary (e.g., manufacturing, construction, utilities) industries, and overrepresented in retail trades. Meanwhile, lesbian women's wage penalties compared to heterosexual men can in part be attributed to their lack of representation in higher-paid occupations; conversely, their wage bonus relative to heterosexual women is concentrated in lower-paid occupations (e.g., manufacturing, services, sales).<sup>2</sup> For both gay men and lesbian women, wage gaps with heterosexual counterparts are substantially reduced in the public sector.<sup>2,23</sup> Taken together, these differences not only impact current earnings, but also career trajectories and future employment opportunities.

Data on occupation, industry, and sector for bisexual and gender minority people are limited, resulting in a considerable gap within the literature. Jade Pichette emphasized the lack of data on occupations for trans people in particular, and discussed this group's anecdotal concentration in junior positions and the ongoing reliance on sex work as means of securing income.

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*“Sex work, especially for transfeminine folks, is still one of the main professions – it’s one of the only ways [they] can find work.”*

– Jade Pichette

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Finally, geography is an important factor in economic and labour market outcomes of gender and sexual minorities. Gay men and lesbian women are overrepresented in urban areas, which may be attributable to more or higher-quality services, a distinct LGBTQ2S+ community, or greater opportunity for niche professional endeavours.<sup>2</sup> Further, wage gaps for gay men and lesbian women are highest in non-metropolitan areas.<sup>2</sup> While the prominence of higher-paid sectors in which gender and sexual minorities are often underrepresented in these geographies may partially explain this, Dr. Denier pointed to homo/bi/transphobia as a possible mechanism: “Most ideas of homophobia measured are things like opposition to same-sex marriage, living next to a gay person... if you look in Canada, based on these types of questions, the most homophobic areas are outside large metropolitan areas. We found wage gaps there.”

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*“[LGBTQ2S+] people are willing to move to other high-amenity communities, but not more rural areas. Alberta is unanimously perceived as not welcoming. Industries in Canada are geographically concentrated – if Alberta has highly paid industries like oil and gas and LGBTQ folks are leaving or not entering due to perceptions of lack of tolerance or discrimination, then LGBTQ people will be missing from these high-paying occupations. People are not only leaving smaller communities because they are discriminatory – they are also moving to live in areas with more likeminded people, to find a partner, a good job, more tolerance, more amenities...”*

– Dr. Sean Waite

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## Within employment, LGBTQ2S+ individuals experience challenges related to discrimination, concealment, and social or workplace exclusion

Data from the literature review and key informant interviews suggests that even upon attaining employment, gender and sexual minority individuals experience poorer employment outcomes, including negative experiences within the labour market. Discrimination and homo/bi/transphobia within employment arose as a common theme, particularly for gender minority individuals. For example, a study exploring discrimination and workplace harassment in the Canadian public service found that gender diverse individuals experienced incidences of

discrimination and harassment at between 2.2 to 2.5 times the rate of colleagues who were cisgender men.<sup>3</sup> For individuals transitioning in the workplace, this issue may be especially pronounced: Trans PULSE data found that only one in five trans Ontarians who transitioned in the workplace said their coworkers

were consistently accepting.<sup>27</sup> In a key informant interview, Jade Pichette highlighted the challenge of who may or may not have access to social transition within the workplace, noting that individuals experiencing other forms of oppression (e.g., racism) may choose to conceal their identity in anticipation of further

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*“[Bisexual] people reported getting fired from work, not knowing whether it was related to having come out, not being able to point to one specific incident, but having this accumulation of workplaces that didn't really think they fit in right, or perceived them in ways that aren't really positive...” – Dr. Margaret Robinson*

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harassment or discrimination. While limited, there is also evidence of discriminatory hiring of LGBTQ2S+ individuals on the basis of gender identity and/or sexual orientation. In particular, this was referenced in regard to bisexual and trans people: again citing Trans PULSE data, 13 per cent of trans Ontarians surveyed indicated having been fired on the basis of being trans.<sup>27</sup>

For many LGBTQ2S+ individuals, concealment remains a strategy in the workplace, often leading to further challenges. A recent literature review pointed to concealment resulting in LGBTQ2S+ workers avoiding networking opportunities and experiencing higher levels of workplace stress, with interconnected outcomes including loss of advancement, pay penalties, a toll on workplace relationships, higher levels of turnover and absenteeism, and lower levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment.<sup>28</sup> This echoes Leppel's analysis of CCHS data, which found that gay men and lesbian women were less satisfied with their jobs compared to their heterosexual counterparts, and bisexual individuals more so.<sup>29</sup> The loss of social networks within the workplace and the implications thereof were in our interviews with key informants.

Other noted issues affecting LGBTQ2S+ people's experiences in the workplace include the absence of anti-discrimination policies and practices, a lack of professional development opportunities, and benefit and other human resource policies that fail to be inclusive of gender and sexual minorities.<sup>30</sup> Several examples of exclusionary practices from human resource contexts were described in the key informant interview with Jade Pichette, including those related to parental leave and bereavement.

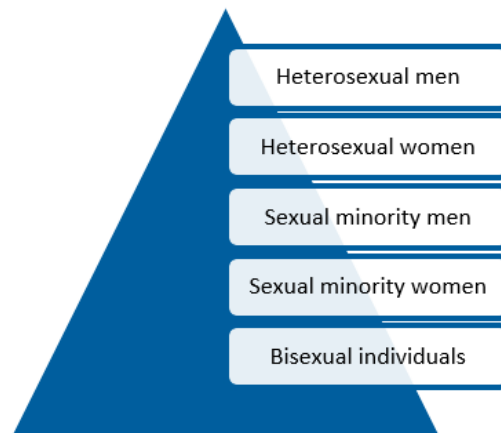
## Data point to additional differential outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ individuals, which may be mutually reinforcing with economic and labour market and economic outcomes

While not a primary focus of the literature review, both the literature review and key informants referenced outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ individuals which interact with or reinforce those that are economic or labour market-related, thus warranting inclusion here.

In regards to health, identifying as non-binary or transgender has been associated with high depression scores relative to cisgender men.<sup>31</sup> Transgender patients have also been found to experience challenges related to receiving appropriate care within the medical system, including, for example, screening for sex-specific cancers (e.g., cervical and colorectal) compared to cisgender patients.<sup>32,33</sup>

In terms of mental health, a general hierarchy has emerged in which heterosexual individuals demonstrate better mental health outcomes compared to sexual minorities. In studies that are able to explore differences between gay men, lesbian women, and bisexual individuals' mental health, bisexual-identified individuals are found to experience the poorest outcomes compared to their monosexual counterparts.<sup>8</sup>

Figure 2 Mental health hierarchy



Significantly, key informants emphasized the mutually reinforcing nature of poor health and poor economic outcomes, in bi-directional relationships, drawing a clear connection between these outcomes and the primary focus of this project. For instance, Dr. Margaret Robinson noted that the mental health challenges of low-income gender and sexual minority individuals are exacerbated by the prohibitive cost of treatment. Dr. Lori Ross echoed this sentiment, underscoring the challenges of navigating employment, health, and other systems as a gender or sexual minority individual and the resultant accumulation of disadvantage.

In the next section, we discuss the findings related to the key determinants of these outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals.

## WHAT ARE THE KEY DETERMINANTS OF THESE OUTCOMES FOR LGBTQ2S+ IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS?

### A word on terminology

The terminology used in the research literature to describe various explanations for the observed socio-economic and health outcomes of LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals varies widely. In this report, we use the term *factor* to refer to a characteristic (e.g., social, individual) that influences (i.e., facilitates or impedes) change, but that alone is not sufficient to cause change; examples of these include education or socio-economic status. This is to be distinguished from a *process* (e.g., cognitive, biological) that causes change, such as stress. We use the term *mechanism* (of disadvantage) to refer to the various determinants for the observed outcomes, whether they describe associations or causal influences. It is important to note that

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*“When [LGBTQ2S+] people reported they hadn’t received mental health treatment for a needed issue, one of the biggest reasons they gave was they couldn’t afford it.”*

– Dr. Margaret Robinson

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*“I have looked at how work is a central theme in terms of both 2SLGBTQ people living in poverty and their experience of trying to find and retain work, but also the work that it produces for people to be living in poverty and trying to navigate health and social systems [...] we found higher rates of service access, but also higher rates of unmet need for services among low-income sexual and gender minority people compared to other potential intersections.”*

– Dr. Lori Ross

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factors, processes, and mechanisms can operate at multiple different levels (e.g., individual or population-level), and may refer to the same construct, depending on the outcome. Finally, a *theory* refers to a system or body of principles intended to explain phenomena.

Based on our review of the literature and interviews with key informants, we highlight below descriptions of three leading explanatory theories and frameworks: minority stress, intersectionality, and life course. Next, we summarize the research on known and theorized mechanisms of disadvantage for LGBTQ2S+ people specific to labour market and economic outcomes. The theorized mechanisms included here are those for which there is evidence from other fields (e.g., health) that are likely to extend to the labour market, but which may not have been empirically tested, with a view to building towards a cross-disciplinary framework throughout the duration of this project.



## Theories and frameworks

The explanations for the differential outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ identified individuals are numerous, spanning multiple disparate fields of study (e.g., population health, sociology); levels of influence (e.g., individual, interpersonal, structural); and levels of applicability (e.g., general explanations applicable to an entire population, and group-specific explanations unique to gender and sexual minority populations). Importantly, while there exist prominent frameworks seeking to explain differential health (and particularly mental health) outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ individuals, there is a noted absence of such a framework targeted specifically to labour market and/or economic outcomes. Moreover, the capacity of existing frameworks to explain and draw connections between social, health, and economic outcomes for this specific population is limited.

### *Minority stress theory*

Minority stress theory posits that sexual (and other) minorities experience chronic stressors as a result of distal (i.e., external, objective stressful events and conditions, such as prejudice, discrimination, and violence) and proximal (i.e., expectations of the distal stressors and the vigilance this requires, such as expectations of rejection) stressors.<sup>34-36</sup> While this is the leading theoretical framework to explain *health* disparities experienced by sexual and gender minorities, its key principles could be extended to explain other inequities, including those pertaining to the labour market as well as economic outcomes more broadly. Minority stressors include structural factors (e.g., social isolation beyond a person's control and rooted in the social environment), interpersonal microaggressions (i.e., the brief and commonplace exchanges that send hostile or derogatory messages to individuals because of their group membership), and personal processes (e.g., internalization of negative societal attitudes, such as internalized homophobia); together, these combine to create a toxic everyday environment for LGBTQ2S+ people. Key premises of the theory include its focus on explaining disparities, not differences, and on average effects on the group as a whole *notwithstanding variability among group members*. Disparities are differences in the distribution of outcomes that exist due to social factors or the allocation of resources. They represent an “excess” of poor outcomes for disadvantaged (vs. advantaged), social groups that is systemic, unfair, and avoidable. Minority stress theory has been applied to studies of both general and group-specific mechanisms.<sup>37</sup> General mechanisms are those applicable to an entire population (e.g., experiences of violence) while group-specific mechanisms are only applicable to (or experienced by) particular population sub-groups (e.g., experiences of racialized violence).

### *Intersectionality*

Grounded in Black feminist thought, intersectionality proposes that “race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive

characteristics, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities.”<sup>38</sup> It rejects the notion that axes of oppression, from racism to sexism to ableism and so on, are merely additive. Writing of the experience of Black women, Crenshaw noted that “the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism.”<sup>17</sup> In other words, the combined racism and sexism experienced by a woman of colour is not simply the sum total of racism experienced by a Black man and sexism experienced by a white woman – rather, they interact to create particular forms of exclusion and marginalization. An intersectional approach therefore suggests that it is a particular combination of disadvantage that affects outcomes; therefore multiple marginalizations cannot be ameliorated by unitary approaches that treat elements of one’s identity – including gender and sexuality – as distinct or independent subjects of inquiry.

This highlights the ways in which a person’s social location related to their gender or sexual identity may interact with other salient dimensions of identity (e.g., race, ability), the result of which may confer advantage or disadvantage. For example, research grounded in intersectionality shows LGBT people experience forms of anti-queer violence in different ways depending on their social position.<sup>39</sup> At the socio-structural level, the combination of multiple disadvantaged positions may be associated with stressors that are synergistic in their effects, and that deprive segments of the LGBTQ2S+ community the benefits of group-level coping and resilience resources.<sup>37</sup> For example, to access group-level coping resources (i.e., norms and values, role models, and opportunities for social support), the LGBTQS+ individual must be able to tap into the community to reap the benefits of minority resilience.<sup>40</sup> The intersections of racism, xenophobia, classism, sexism, ageism, ableism, homo/bi/transphobia, and other exclusions can serve as barriers to accessing coping. The case of multiple or intersecting disadvantaged identities is typically overlooked or ignored at the expense of the dominant identity, which may result in a lack of resources needed to contest the disadvantage.

### *Life course*

The life course approach, also known as the life course perspective or life course theory, refers to an approach for analyzing people’s lives within structural, social, and cultural contexts, “see[ing] our daily experiences as part of a greater process that begins at birth and stretches to death.”<sup>41</sup> Popularized in the 1960s – but with origins as far back as the early 1900s in Rowntree’s analysis of poverty in English families – a life course perspective acknowledges that events at each stage of life influence subsequent stages, and recognizes that experiences are shaped by one’s age cohort and historical context.<sup>42</sup> The life course approach takes a temporal and societal perspective on the health and well-being of individuals and generations, recognizing that all stages of a person’s life are intricately intertwined with each other, with the lives of others born in the same period, and with the lives of past and future generations. Importantly, a life course

approach emphasizes recognizing that both past and present experiences are shaped by the wider social, economic, and cultural context.<sup>43,44</sup>

Thinking of economic and employment outcomes, life course perspectives challenge individual or human capital approaches, focusing instead on the effects of path dependency, gravity, and shocks, bringing together individual agency and choices as well as systemic and structural factors.<sup>42</sup> For instance, Brückner’s research on gender wage gaps in Germany challenges traditional, static approaches to measuring these disparities, drawing from life course models to highlight the cumulative effects of earnings gaps over time.<sup>45</sup> McDonald, studying evictions through a life course perspective, points to the accumulation of transitions that ultimately lead to homelessness at different stages of individuals’ lives.<sup>46</sup>

The contextualization of the life course differs for individuals from historically marginalized communities, who as a result of disadvantage may experience unique as well as common life events, yet who might also develop distinct resources and resilience in response to larger social context and adversity

encountered.<sup>47</sup> Of particular relevance for this project, LGBTQ2S+ people have been found to report distinct life events related to sexual and gender identity development, historical marginalization and discrimination in work and other settings, experiences of prejudice

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*“For example, [from a life course perspective], we know that 2SLGBTQ folks are over-represented among homeless and underhoused youth, so then there are barriers to education and employment that begin at that time. So there’s early life experiences that we anticipate [...] would have long lasting impact on income and labour market experiences.”*

– Dr. Lori Ross

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and violence, and unique family and peer relations.<sup>47,48</sup> Research also suggests that LGBTQ2S+ life course trajectories may be characterized by higher levels of volatility, including higher risk financial hardship.<sup>49</sup> Again, it should be noted that these trajectories may also differ among members of the LGBTQ2S+ community: for instance, Witten employs a life course perspective to explore the particular and cumulative impacts of psychosocial, biomedical, and cultural issues and events on older transgender and intersex individuals, recognizing that these experiences may not be shared by all within this broader population.<sup>50</sup>

## Mechanisms of disadvantage for LGBTQ2S+ people

Building on an integrated analysis of the data from the literature review and key informant interviews, this section provides a summary of select mechanisms of disadvantage for LGBTQ2S+ people that emerged as key drivers of labour market outcomes. Drawing on multiple fields of scholarship, our aim here is to highlight the mechanisms elicited from our work to-date as pertaining to this project, rather than to provide a comprehensive review. Our team will

continue to empirically explore these key mechanisms of disadvantage in the next two phases of the project.

The key themes summarizing the mechanisms of disadvantage identified as drivers of labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ people are discussed below.

### **Discrimination in healthcare, housing, employment**

Both at group and individual levels, LGBTQ2S+ people experience actual and anticipated discrimination across a variety of sectors, including healthcare, housing, and employment, both of which can create multiple

and reinforcing disadvantages in the labour market.<sup>5,51-53</sup>

Trans people (particularly trans women) and racialized individuals are identified as

facing persistent and unique

experiences of discrimination.<sup>40,54-58</sup> In interviews, key informants spoke about historic and cohort-impacts of discrimination, and the need for a life course framework for understanding discrimination as a mechanism of disadvantage for LGBTQ2S+ people.

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*“There is some literature [on] employment experiences of trans people, which [finds] really profound experiences of discrimination, particularly for trans women.” – Dr. Lori Ross*

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*“We see many candidates get to the later stages in the interview process but once they show up, they are visibly queer or trans – not the right fit. This is a subtle way of saying that being gender non-conforming is not the right fit [...] So there are all these subtle forms of discrimination that build up. And as a result, some queer people just leave the labour market entirely, they just give up [...] Suicide is part of that, substance abuse is part of that, homelessness is part of that. Some people have just been shut down so many times because of all these small things that over time they just give up.” – Jade Pichette*

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It is important to note that demonstrating the attribution of discrimination to employment outcomes presents methodological challenges as individuals self-select into and out of education and work opportunities due to both actual and anticipated discrimination.<sup>11,23,59</sup>

## Experiences of prejudice and violence

LGBTQ2S+ people's experiences of prejudice and violence represent another key mechanism of disadvantage, with interlocking effects on health, social, and labour market outcomes.<sup>60,61</sup> Notably, these have been found to occur across private and public settings, with a disproportionate impact on trans and gender non-conforming people as well as Black, Indigenous, and people of colour.<sup>21,54,62</sup> In our interview data, experiences of violence, along with group-level discrimination and prejudice, were commonly discussed within life course and intersectionality frameworks, and/or framed in the context of minority stress theory.

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*"[People] self-select into occupations that feel safer for folks, which in some cases are lower wage occupations. Or people [make] choices not to move into certain roles because they feel unsafe in those positions. People may make these choices because they are the safest or most desirable options given the context of discrimination and structural oppression."*

– Dr. Lori Ross

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## Homophobia, transphobia, and biphobia

Homophobia, transphobia, and biphobia tend to operate at intersections with other forms of oppression, including sexism, racism, ableism, and ageism.<sup>1,63-66</sup> Transphobia and biphobia are considered to drive the particularly poor health and economic outcomes experienced by bisexual and trans people.<sup>18,62,67-69</sup> Transphobia has been identified in the literature and interviews with key informants as permeating multiple spheres of life (including housing, health, employment, and education), and often at critical life points, such as when needing health care or during school and work transitions.<sup>52,54,63,67,70-72</sup> Sex work was cited as being one of the few ways many trans folks can find work, with implications for health and social wellbeing.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, the multiple threats to being bisexual (biphobia, bi erasure, invisibility, bi-specific micro aggressions) can create unique, and often poorer, conditions for bisexual

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*"[There is] outright homophobia, biphobia, transphobia that happens in the workplace. Some of that is verbal as well as written things, jokes, stuff that is very commonly known...that is still the case in many Canadian workplaces."*

– Jade Pichette

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*"Profound biphobia plays a role. Along with that, minority stress – even within the umbrella LGBTQ community – there's biphobia within the community [...] Bi people we spoke to [...] expressed experiencing biphobia in all aspects of their lives. The changing dynamics across relationships based on the gender of your partner can shift dynamics in workplaces very quickly – that may not happen for those who have a consistent gender of a partner. It's just a lot to deal with, a lot to manage."*

– Dr. Nicole Denier

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people.<sup>5,74,74-76</sup> These can originate from both outside of and within the LGBTQ2S+ community, serving to reproduce feelings of isolation and social exclusion, particularly for transgender and bisexual individuals.<sup>77</sup>

## Family and parental relationships

Family and parental relationships emerged in the literature and interviews as a strong protective factor, especially related to early experiences and identity formation of LGBTQ2S+ people.<sup>78-80</sup> Conversely, lack of family support and familial neglect is widely considered a leading cause of

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*“We know that without having a permanent address, it is very challenging to find employment.” – Dr. John Ecker*

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*“We can’t [underestimate] the importance of family and family support because some of that [support] is economic and material support, and that is really critical. For a lot of people that’s the difference between them living in poverty and having a poverty-level personal income (...). And it’s not just parents with kids when people come out young, but it’s also older people whose kids aren’t supportive of them and they know they’re going to have to go into long-term care. Their financial support is going to potentially depend on their adult children as well.”*

– Dr. Greta Bauer

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LGBTQ2S+ youth homelessness.<sup>52</sup> Family rejection and poor family and parental relationships have significant negative impacts on networks and social supports, as well on economic stability at critical life trajectories. This can in turn have profound spinoff effects on housing, education, and employment early on and persisting into adulthood.<sup>81-83</sup> For example, as pointed out by Dr. Travis Salway, CCHS data showed sexual minorities are half as likely to be partnered and to have children, with downstream effects on health through different nature and quality of social networks available to queer individuals and families.

## Concealing gender and sexual identity across settings

Faced with experiences of discrimination, prejudice, and violence, many LGBTQ2S+ people do not feel comfortable or safe sharing their gender identity or sexual orientation in health,

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*“We did roundtables around the country [and] it was constantly coming up – these outside issues are impacting queer people in the workplace and it ends up in their performance reviews. A lot of LGBT folks are not going to come out at work and say, ‘I am struggling with these issues outside of work.’ If you are straight and married and you are getting separated, people are used to talking about it. But if you are in a same-sex relationship and getting separated, you may not talk about it; it’s not safe.”*

– Jade Pichette

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education, housing, and/or workplace settings. Someone who is out in their personal life may or may not be out in their professional life, with their family, or in the communities in which they

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*"It might be that they couldn't be hired [...], over time they began to self-select into more tolerant occupations [...]. Presently, the data show that gender and sexual minorities are much less likely to be in [blue-collar jobs]. You choose a job where you see people in your community getting hired, as you assume a better treatment in such occupations [...]. Survey data don't generally show whether you self-selected, or whether you weren't getting hired."*

– Anonymous key informant

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regularly participate. Having to conceal one's identity has been shown to have direct effects on stress and anxiety.<sup>84</sup> It can also have indirect effects on workplace relationships and networks as well as opportunities for advancement, which was highlighted in our interviews with key informants.<sup>85,86</sup>

### **Gender presentation and occupational sorting (based on gender norms as well as real and perceived discrimination)**

Related to the theme of identity concealment, gender presentation and occupational sorting emerged in interviews as a strong driver, particularly for trans and Two-Spirit people. LGBTQ2S+ individuals have been found to self-select into *occupations* and workplaces that are considered safe. Over time, occupations that have very low concentrations of LGBTQ2S+ people can be perceived unsafe and unwelcoming to young people as they make education and career decisions, furthering wage and occupational gaps.<sup>23,87,88</sup>

Findings from Phase 1 suggested that discrimination presents in a variety of ways and LGBTQ2S+ people are forced to grapple with it. This includes having to continuously navigate their gender presentation in their education and career decisions (e.g., interviewees quotes examples of LGBTQ2S+ people avoiding gender and sexual identity markers on transcripts and

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*"That labelling is really important for how [as Two-Spirit] you're going to interact with other people. If they don't really understand what kind of queerness you're doing, or your gender cues, that categorization becomes tricky. [The perception is] you have a messy and confusing life, maybe your work will be messy and confusing, and maybe you're just a messy and confusing person. The inability to categorize you in ways that in settler spaces seem universal make you seem a problem (...). In an Indigenous context, having your gender and sexuality change all the time is normal – in a settler context, this is viewed as inauthenticity."*

– Dr. Margaret Robinson

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resumes) in order to avoid expected discriminatory experiences in hiring, remuneration, and advancement.<sup>26,27</sup>

## Geography

Just as having to navigate gender and sexual identities based on workplace and occupational contexts impacts LGBTQ2S+ people's labour market outcomes, so does geography. Regions, cities,

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*"[...] the most homophobic areas are outside large metropolitan areas. We found wage gaps there [...] We've talked to employers about this as well [and some] felt that they couldn't accommodate [anti-discrimination policies and protect LGBTQ employees] in rural areas or remote work sites."* – Dr. Nicole Denier

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*"For people who are living in an Indigenous reserve community or other Indigenous communities, having to move away is a loss of family on a scale that's much deeper than what some people experience, because it's also often a loss of access to ceremony and things like that as well."* – Dr. Greta Bauer

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and neighbourhoods that are considered safe or unsafe, or that have policies, services, and structures supportive of LGBTQ2S+ people, shape housing, health care, education and employment decisions and opportunities.<sup>2,89-91</sup> Key informants discussed some rural areas not perceived as safe, with some rural organizations and institutions reported as being less able to enact and enforce anti-discrimination policies and protections for LGBTQ2S+ employees. However, relocating to urban areas in search of labour market opportunities within supportive environments often means losing family, community, and cultural supports.

## Family status and formation

There is extensive literature about ways in which partnership, marriage, and parenting act as a premium or a penalty for labour market outcomes in the general population.<sup>92-94</sup> However, these factors have been identified as

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*"I think of employment, income, household structure as mediators: things that happen to queer people because of social circumstances and then become structural barriers or enablers of health."* – Dr. Travis Salway

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having differential effects for LGBTQ2S+ people's outcomes in the labour market because of different types and patterns of family status and formation in this community.<sup>23,95,96</sup> Non-typical family and relationship status can limit access to and eligibility for income and employment supports.<sup>26,97</sup> As we heard in interviews, LGBTQ2S+ employees may also be penalized for to having lives that do not fit within stereotypes of "best" or "ideal" employee, negatively impacting workplace relationships and opportunities for advancement.



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*“Other pieces are more systemic, like parental leave policies, bereavement, where our lives are not showcased in them. Queer families are not reflected. Many have no blood families or no relationships at all [...] Queer people’s families are not there so when you need time off, you can’t get it, you are seen as problematic, this ends up in your performance reviews. In terms of parenting, many of these arrangements are not traditional, so adoption, surrogacy, do not have proper parental leave. And if you do not identify as a woman and give birth, you may need to identify to be eligible.”*

– Jade Pichette

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### **Accumulation of disadvantage**

Our research findings showed that experiences of discrimination, violence, and prejudice occur over the life course and in a multitude of spheres in LGBTQ2S+ people’s lives.<sup>47,98</sup> This creates conditions of disadvantage that are mutually reinforcing. In some cases, key informants applied

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*“[Syndemics] is something that comes to mind for me when I think about the ways that employment and economic resources have really worked for sexual and gender minority people, and how that’s played out with regard to health [...] That makes me think of syndemics in the sense that you still have those social conditions that can really create challenges to health and to economics and social wellbeing that are so tangled together that it’s really hard to address them individually [...] We need to address the entangledness of these particular issues.”*

– Dr. Greta Bauer

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*“A lot of queer and trans folks also have these external realities of increased issues of mental health, disability, addiction, family conflict, or outright abuse, and all of these pieces also affect them in an employment sense because it affects their ability to keep employment or the stressors that they’re experiencing outside the workplace impact them inside the workplace, where sometimes it’s assumed it’s a performance issue and then they are let go.”*

– Jade Pichette

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*“The health and economic outcomes are always interlinked. Health is human capital – period. If you’re an economist you can’t get around that. We know that poverty leads to bad health, so I think there’s these reinforcing qualities.”*

– Dr. Nicole Denier

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the concept of syndemics (i.e., syndemics, or synergistic epidemics, are multiple diseases or health conditions that mutually reinforce each other) to describe the conditions LGBTQ2S+ people face that drive their labour market outcomes, both individually and as a community.<sup>99</sup>

The findings related to the accumulation of disadvantage across mutually reinforcing spheres served to inform our team’s work on building a unified conceptual framework of differential labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ people; one that also considers and is informed mechanisms of disadvantage in LGBTQ2S+ people’s health and social outcomes. This is discussed in the subsequent section.

## BUILDING TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF DIFFERENTIAL LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES FOR LGBTQ2S+ PEOPLE

There is currently no framework for explaining the differential labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ populations, nor one that is inclusive of the inter-related drivers of socio-economic and health outcomes. Over the course of the project, we aim to fill this gap by building on known and theorized mechanisms of disadvantage for LGBTQ2S+ people to develop a unified conceptual framework for understanding the differential outcomes experienced by this community. At this stage of the project, we have assembled a list of the key determinants identified in the research literature to explain the observed economic disparities reported by LGBTQ2S+ individuals, borrowing as well from the research literature in health and sociology. We have begun to categorize and organize the identified mechanisms using visual diagrams. Figure 3 below is a *draft* framework we have conceptualized as part of this process. While this draft will continue to be developed over the course of the project, we have included it here to showcase the complexity of factors at play in this area of research, and how they may begin to be visualized.

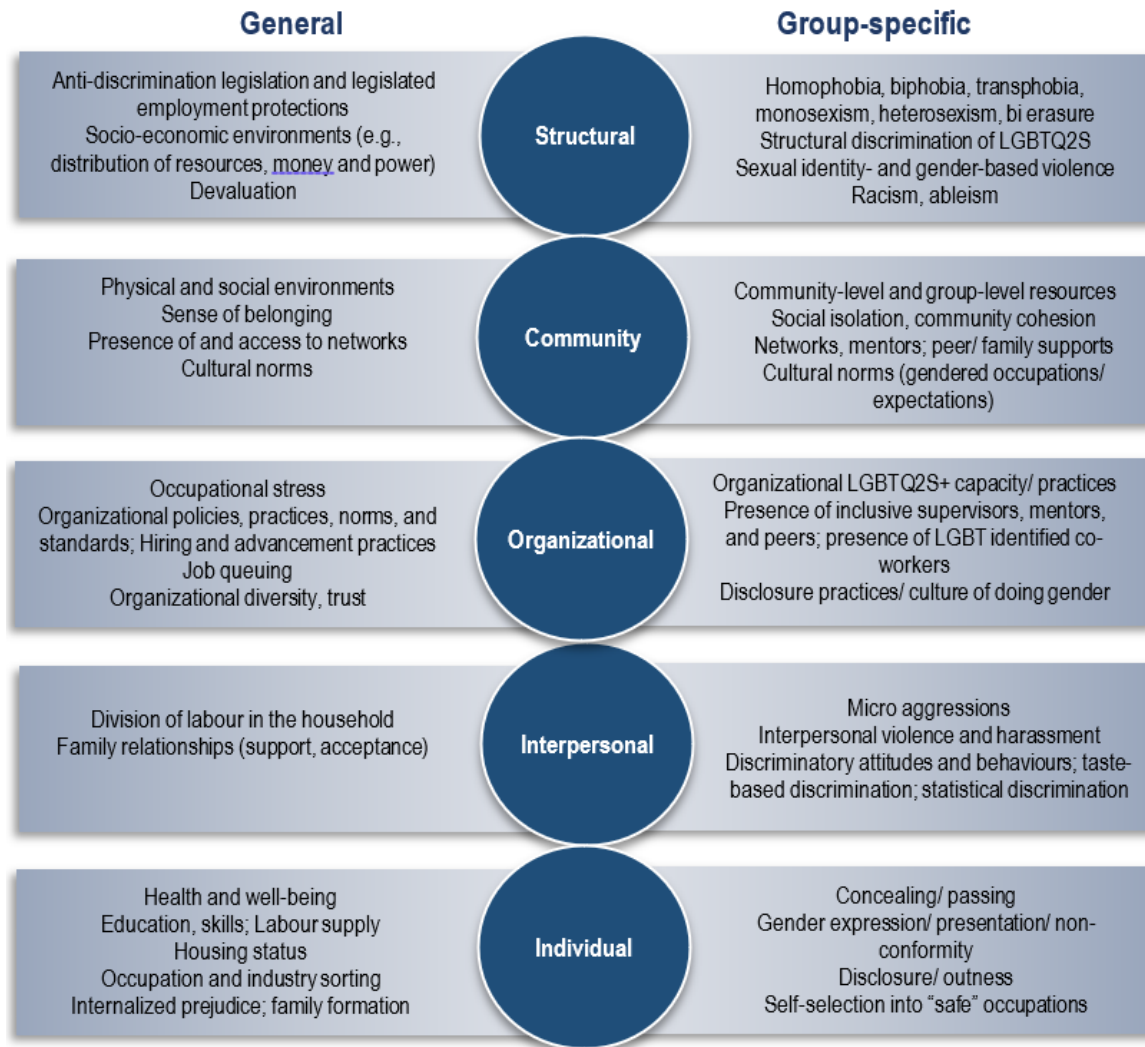
Below we highlight several key points to keep in mind when reviewing and interpreting this draft framework:

- **Multi-directionality of relationships:** while we seek to provide explanations for inequities in the labour market, there is a multiplicity of relationships between all of the mechanisms articulated (e.g., health impacts income and vice versa). In some cases, the relationship may be direct, or it may run “through” others (e.g., in mediator/ moderator models), often bi-directionally (e.g., health–education–income; gender expression–gendered occupations–occupational sorting).
- The mechanisms similarly impact other factors across structural, community and organizational-, and interpersonal and individual levels. Therefore, a **socio-ecological framework** – and especially one that takes a **life course perspective** – is well-matched to organize and make sense of these mechanisms of disadvantage and, in turn, identify and inform possible strategies for addressing them. For example, discriminatory societal attitudes towards gender and sexual minorities can result in systematic social exclusion and isolation of those groups within socio-economic and educational environments. Over time,

this can lead to those groups having relatively less social capital and resources than their cisgender/heterosexual counterparts, including more limited social networks, resulting in limited opportunities for promotion or advancement within employment. Similarly, gender roles and expectations can shape both career choices as well as decisions around concealing and disclosure in the workplace, but may be moderated by perceptions of safety of occupations, the capacity of organizations to address LGBTQ2S+ issues, or individual workplaces' culture and norms. We do not yet know how these larger structures affect and perpetuate assets and resources, as well as decisions (e.g., career choices, location) over one's life course; however, a longitudinal perspective is key.

- Explanations for labour market outcomes largely will fall within the realm of **general mechanisms** – that is explanations applicable to (or experienced by) an entire population. For example, studies may examine differences in the *shared factors* (e.g., networks, skill levels) that LGBTQ2S+ individuals experience *more or less* compared with their cisgender/heterosexual peers. Indeed, much of the research in this area falls in the bottom left quadrant of the figure, i.e., individual-level general mechanisms, including skills, education, or labour supply. However, when considering disparities, it is critical to distinguish between general and **group-specific mechanisms**. This is because studies of general processes leave unexamined group-specific factors that only LGBTQ2S+ people experience or to which they are exposed. Evidence from the field of mental health suggests general stress processes and ameliorative factors are important, but insufficient in explaining the observed disparities (i.e., the disparity remains after controlling for the general factors).<sup>37</sup> Group-specific factors are those unique to gender and sexual minority populations (e.g., biphobic micro-aggressions, discriminatory hiring).
- Due in large part to the epistemic erasure of bi-identified and transgender individuals from data and research (“demographic malpractice”<sup>100</sup>), our ability to put forth explanations is limited, yet those individuals' outcomes consistently rank as lowest based on the available evidence. Furthermore, there is considerable variation in “resources” within the LGBTQ2S+ community; those who are more advantaged are more likely to be captured in both the quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Conversely, those who are more marginalized (e.g., homeless, transgender) are less likely to be captured in a wage gap analysis. This results in very little data on the most marginalized members of the LGBTQ2S+ community. Researchers need to be careful when drawing conclusions from available research and recognize that the data is unlikely to capture some of the most disadvantaged LGBTQ2S+ population subgroups.

Figure 3 **Draft conceptual framework of known and theorized mechanisms of disadvantage for LGBTQ2S+ people**



## WHAT NATIONALLY, PROVINCIALY, AND/OR TERRITORIALLY REPRESENTATIVE DATASETS EXIST THAT ALLOW FOR THE EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AN LGBTQ2S+ IDENTITY AND LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES?

To better understand the data landscape on labour market and economic outcomes for gender and sexual minority individuals, the project team pursued a review of existing datasets that allow for the exploration of the relationship between an LGBTQ2S+ identity and these outcomes. This review had multiple aims, endeavouring to describe and subsequently draw comparisons between the way both Statistics Canada and other (e.g., community-led) surveys framed and measured variables related to sex and/or gender, sexual orientation, and economic and/or labour market outcomes. Ultimately, this review will inform subsequent quantitative analysis in Phase 2 of the project.

An initial list of datasets was drafted based on the project team's knowledge and experience; this list was expanded throughout the literature search and data extraction as well as throughout the key informant interviews. The datasets reviewed included the following sources:

- Canadian Community Health Survey
- Canadian Housing Survey
- Public Service Employee Survey
- Sex Now
- Canadian Census
- Trans PULSE Survey
- National Household Survey
- National Population Health Survey
- General Social Survey
- T1FF
- Canadian Alcohol and Drug Survey
- Aboriginal Peoples Survey – Economic participation
- Canadian Longitudinal Study of Aging
- National Graduates Survey
- Survey of Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces
- Labour Force Survey
- Canadian National Health Survey
- Survey of Opioid Awareness
- Longitudinal Administrative Databank (LAD)

SRDC drafted an initial framework outlining the most important information to draw from data collection instruments, which was shared with LMIC for preliminary data extraction; this was subsequently reviewed and validated by SRDC. In particular, the project team was interested in the ways in which different datasets measured and framed sex/gender (i.e., sex assigned at birth and/or gender identity), sexual orientation (i.e., on the basis of behaviour, attraction, identity, and/or partnership), and economic and employment characteristics (i.e., employment status, sources of income, indicators of financial hardship, income/earnings, industry/occupation, etc.). Additional information about the above categories (e.g., disclosure/outness of gender and/or sexual orientation, gender expression/presentation, etc.) was recorded as deemed relevant. A comprehensive summary of this review exercise is presented in Appendix C.

Note that the datasets presented here are not exhaustive although they do represent key data sources referenced in the existing literature and by the key informants we interviewed. Both community-led and Statistics Canada datasets are included. Importantly, several datasets are relevant to this project (particularly those representing the results of studies that are community-led) that are not publicly available, and thus are not presented here (e.g., Trans Youth Health Survey, STOP HIV/AIDS Program Evaluation, etc.). For our project's purposes, the most recent publicly available data collection instrument for each dataset was reviewed. While this provides a most up-to-date overview of the data landscape for analyzing the relationship between gender and sexual minority individuals and labour market and economic outcomes, the way gender and sexual minority status is captured has changed across survey cycles, particularly in Statistics Canada surveys; as a result, the availability of data using the identified measurements may differ across surveys. In particular, Statistics Canada's new two-step gender question is a new addition to several of the datasets presented here, and is unavailable in previous cycles.<sup>101</sup>

The key themes or trends that emerged from this review included:

- Statistic's Canada's new **two-step gender question** is becoming the norm on Statistics Canada surveys. Measuring sex and gender in two separate questions recognizes that these two variables may not always align, and facilitates data collection and analysis about gender minority individuals in a way that was not previously achievable through population-level data. The wording of this question appears to be standardized across surveys. However, some surveys (e.g., National Graduates Survey) continue to omit the measurement of gender altogether, relying solely on sex. Notably, the latter is merely one example that emerged from the literature search; the omission of sex/gender measurement (or the former at the expense of the latter) continues to be relatively common across surveys.
- With one exception, the datasets reviewed continue to present **sex as a binary variable**. Of those reviewed, only Trans PULSE explicitly asks questions with a view to gauging respondents' intersex status.

- While there is a clear movement towards distinguishing between sex and gender, there is an ongoing **reliance on biological terms** (e.g., male, female) to define the latter, including in Statistics Canada datasets.
- Few datasets contain specific response options for **more expansive gender variables**, including non-binary, genderqueer, or Two-Spirit. In most instances, surveys tend to rely on an open-ended “Prefer to self-identify” style question to capture these variables. Trans PULSE is the most expansive in this regard, including a range of gender options as well as an open-ended question asking participants to share the terms they use to describe their own gender. Trans PULSE also includes questions about lived gender, and both Trans PULSE and Sex Now include questions about gender presentation and expression, variables which are not captured in other datasets.
- Certain datasets rely or have relied on **someone else to indicate a respondent’s sex/gender** or other variables. This includes the Census (whereby one individual is asked to respond on behalf of the household) and some phone surveys whereby the interviewer assumes or fills in the gender on the basis of a respondent’s name and/or voice.
- A small number of datasets reviewed continue to use **partnership** (i.e., a partner/spouse’s sex/gender) to measure sexual orientation, including the Census. This presents a number of challenges, including the inability to capture single sexual minority individuals. It also results in methodological bisexual erasure, whereby bisexual individuals are effectively categorized as heterosexual or gay/lesbian based on the sex/gender of their partner.<sup>11</sup>
- Despite this, several of the datasets reviewed framed **sexual orientation in terms of respondents’ identity**, generally providing the option of identifying as gay/lesbian, heterosexual, or bisexual. Other sexual identities (e.g., asexual, pansexual, queer) are typically not included as response options although datasets frequently include a “Please specify” open-ended response option. More **expansive sexual identity response** options are included in Trans PULSE and Sex Now. Conversely, some datasets reviewed do not appear to collect data about sexual orientation at all, or rely on data linkages for this information.
- In a few instances, questions about sexual orientation appear to be framed in a manner that **conflates identity and behaviour**. For instance, the Canadian Longitudinal Study of Aging and the Canadian National Health Survey both ask respondents how they identify sexually, but define sexual identities in the context of sexual behaviour. Meanwhile, some surveys, particularly those with a health focus (e.g., Sex Now), include additional questions beyond identity that more explicitly deal with sexual behaviour.
- In a few cases, explicit attention is paid to **attraction as a key component of sexual orientation**; this includes the Public Service Employee Survey as well as Trans PULSE.

- Questions about **outness and/or disclosure** (for gender and sexual orientation) are rare.
- The **level of detail available about labour market and economic characteristics and outcomes** varies significantly across datasets. As a result of limitations associated with some population-level datasets (e.g., lack of high-quality gender/sexual orientation data, limited economic/labour market information, sample sizes, a combination thereof, etc.), some key informants expressed a preference for community-led datasets that were designed with this type of data collection in mind. Others expressed an interest in independently administering surveys that would collect the full scope of data they sought although the potentially prohibitive costs associated of this was also referenced.

In addition to the detailed database review provided in Appendix C, the project team engaged in a supplemental process to review and document key variables across CCHS cycles that are relevant for this project and inform the quantitative analyses in Phase 2. This work was compiled in an Excel database and included variables and codes in the 2007-2018 cycles (inclusive), covering socio-demographic, labour market, health and well-being, and community-oriented variables. It excluded variables associated with T1FF.

The following section discusses the implications of the findings from Phase 1 of the project, and outlines several recommendations based on the research to-date.



## CONCLUSION

### IMPLICATIONS

#### The ways in which sexual orientation is measured can influence outcomes

Our review has identified that the nationally representative surveys (e.g., CCHS, NHS, GSS, Canadian Census, Canadian National Health Survey) have largely defined sexual orientation in relation to:

- Behaviour (e.g., sexual relations with people of the same sex and/or gender, opposite sex and/or gender, or multiple sexes and/or genders); and
- Partnership (e.g., whether an individual's spouse or common-law partner is of the same or opposite sex/gender).

Measures of identity are also used, often in more specialized surveys (e.g., Public Service Employee Survey, Canadian Alcohol and Drug Monitoring Survey, Survey of Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces, Survey of Opioid Awareness, Sex Now, Trans Pulse). In some cases, survey questions are ambiguous as to the construct they are measuring. For example, as mentioned, the CCHS asks individuals a question framed around identity, but defines those identities in terms of behaviour. Finally, many existing studies have defined sexual minority populations based on relationship status: whether or not individuals are in a relationship with a person of the same or different sex.

The ways in which sexual orientation is measured has broad implications for sexual minorities related to disclosure of their sexual minority status, social support, household income, and bisexual erasure, and as a result can influence what outcomes are observed in relation to heterosexual counterparts.<sup>3,11</sup> For example, data for bisexual identified individuals is limited, although there is evidence to suggest that bisexual identified individuals experience the poorest economic and health outcomes compared to their monosexual counterparts.<sup>4,8</sup> For this reason, grouping bisexual and gay men and bisexual and lesbian women risks overstating gay men's wage disadvantage and understate lesbian women's wage advantage relative to their heterosexual counterparts. This also significantly understates the true disadvantage that bisexual individuals experience in the labour market.<sup>102</sup>

## Measurement of gender diversity at the population-level is limited

Many of the nationally representative datasets limit themselves either to a single, binary question on biological sex, or to questions that do not explicitly indicate to respondents whether they are measuring sex or gender (e.g., “Are you... male/female”). Recent changes have seen the addition of questions on gender in addition to biological sex to population-level surveys in Canada (e.g., Statistics Canada, forthcoming Census), but this data is not yet available for analytical purposes. Inclusion of categories such as intersex or Two-Spirit is limited to small community-based surveys, and absent from nationally representative data.

Dr. Bauer, who participated in consultations on the new Statistics Canada gender questions, noted that the questions reflect respondents *lived gender*, not necessarily their *gender identity*. The distinction is important in that an individual may consider their gender to be different from the one they are currently expressing. For example, a transgender person may not yet be out, and may be presenting as a different gender than the one they identify with, and thus may choose to select that response category. This has implications on the interpretation of gender data given that individuals may be experiencing differential outcomes driven by their gender identity that will not be measurable in the data. It also raises larger questions about the suitability of quantitative data to understand the lived experience of transgender individuals. Finally, many sexual orientation questions are also framed in relation to biological sex rather than gender (e.g., sexual relations with people of the same or “opposite” sex). This limits our ability to understand the experience of transgender and other gender diverse individuals even within sexual orientation analyses.

## Population and sample sizes of sexual and gender minorities limit analytical options

Several challenges remain when it comes to collecting reliable quantitative data about LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada, including small sample sizes, the difficulty of accurately collecting and measuring gender identity and sexual orientation, and response bias or unwillingness to disclose.<sup>11</sup> As referenced earlier, sexual and gender minorities are estimated to represent a relatively small proportion of the Canadian population. In population-level surveys, the small sample sizes limit the types of analysis that can be conducted quantitatively, particularly in regards to intersectional analyses that explore differential outcomes for sexual and gender minorities along socio-demographic characteristics, such as race and ethnicity or Indigenous status. Oversampling specific population subgroups is one key strategy for addressing this challenge. Second, complementing quantitative with qualitative approaches in mixed-methods designs increases the ability to examine different dimensions of gender and sexuality, and allow for a more holistic understanding of LGBTQ2S+ peoples’ experiences.

## Data gaps most pronounced for specific subgroups, including bisexual, trans and gender minority individuals, deepening inequities

The data gaps identified in our review of the datasets available in Canada are especially pronounced for specific population subgroups. In particular, bisexual, trans, and gender minority individuals are systematically absent from nationally-representative surveys. Furthermore, the data landscape paints a picture of “marginalization within marginalization” for certain members within LGBTQ2S+ community for whom little to no data is available (e.g., Two-Spirit, among others). Consequently, our capacity to assess the outcomes for these populations is extremely limited, as is our ability to study the mechanisms driving these outcomes, deepening the inequities experienced by these population subgroups.

## Lack of data on LGBTQ2S+ specific experiences serves as a key barrier to designing programs and interventions to address inequities

Earlier in this report we discussed the key distinction between general and group-specific factors, the latter being unique to gender and sexual minority populations (e.g., biphobic micro-aggressions, discriminatory hiring). While these are essential to understanding LGBTQ2S+ outcomes, population-level datasets do not contain group-specific measures. This is important because, in the absence of this (group-specific) evidence, interventions designed to improve LGBTQ2S+ outcomes are likely to be limited and ineffective, as universal interventions may ameliorate, but will not substantially diminish the disparities.<sup>37</sup> An intervention that does not explicitly consider mechanisms relevant and specific to sexual and gender minorities is likely to leave unexamined (or unaddressed) the underlying factors responsible for the continued disparity. As a result, minority communities may continue to see few, if any, improvements from programs and interventions designed to ameliorate their outcomes.

## Economic, health, and social outcomes are closely interrelated, but research bridging these areas is limited

Gender and sexual minorities tend to experience poorer health, mental health and social outcomes, including greater rates of social exclusion. While the literature gestures at the mutually reinforcing nature of economic, health, and social outcomes, this relationship is often not explicitly articulated, resulting in the presumption of discreteness and an incomplete understanding of the realities of LGBTQ2S+ people’s lives. Specifically, there is currently no framework for explaining the differential labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ populations, nor one that is inclusive of the inter-related drivers of socio-economic and health outcomes. Research is needed that bridges the fields of economics, health, and sociology, to develop new frameworks for understanding the differential outcomes experienced by this community.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations related to data, research, and policy have emerged from the project findings to-date, and are grounded in data the literature review, key informant interviews, and review of existing datasets. It is important to note that this list is not exhaustive; the project team anticipates continually adding to and refining the recommendations over the course of the project.

### Data

- **Address the challenge of small sample sizes, with a view to facilitating the disaggregation of data within the LGBTQ2S+ community and intersectional analyses.** This may be achieved through oversampling gender and sexual minority individuals, as well as collecting more and better data related to other identities and sociodemographic characteristics (including race, Indigeneity, disability, and so on).
- **Standardize the collection of data regarding gender and sexual minority identity across population-level surveys, including those focused on socioeconomic and/or labour market outcomes.**
- **Include more expansive response options related to gender, sex, and sexual orientation in population-level surveys.** In particular, the inclusion of intersex as a sex category, non-binary as a gender category, and bisexual/asexual/pansexual/queer as sexual orientation categories are ways to make such questions more inclusive. Ensuring that trans and non-binary individuals have the opportunity to self-identify is particularly important given the lack of available population-level data on gender minorities to-date.
- **Move away from framing sexual orientation on the basis of partnership, unless there is a specific reason to do so.** Framing sexual orientation in terms of identity, attraction, and behaviour is likely to yield different results. In certain instances, it may be valuable to collect several or all of these measures.
- **Explore the addition of new variables in population-level surveys in order, and group-specific variables in particular, to facilitate quantitative analysis in this field.** Examples of potential variables for inclusion include those related to gender expression/ presentation (i.e., masculinity/ androgyny/ femininity), lived gender, and outness/ disclosure (for gender and sexual minority individuals). The need for questions related to group-specific mechanisms for outcomes and inequities for LGBTQ2S+ is especially important to support intervention research, including questions on discriminatory experiences in the labour

market. Data collection in this area could be facilitated via an expanded survey for gender and sexual minority individuals.

- **Permit more systematic linkage to tax data from a wider array of population-level surveys.**
- **Consider additional measures that may make data collection related to this topic more inclusive.** Recommendations in this vein may include embracing flexibility (i.e., in terms of adding or changing language related to different or emerging identity categories), incorporating variables related to poverty that may be more inclusive of certain communities (e.g., cultural impoverishment for Indigenous communities), and addressing concerns related to the underrepresentation of homeless or housing-insecure individuals in population-level surveys.
- **Recognizing the importance of community involvement, continue to engage with and consult members of the LGBTQ2S+ community in data-related endeavours and proposed changes.**
- **Coordinate with provincial/territorial and municipal stakeholders to standardize the implementation of these and other relevant recommendations across Canadian surveys.**

## Research

- **Pursue mixed-methods research in this field, recognizing the value of qualitative research in understanding individuals' holistic experiences as well as enabling intersectional analyses, which is currently limited by the existing data.**
- **Consider pursuing additional research that are currently understudied.** Specific topics about which additional research is warranted include differential access to services for LGBTQ2S+ individuals as well as choice/decision-making for education and employment among gender and sexual minorities. In terms of populations, there is an identified need for more research on gender minority and bisexual individuals, as well as gender and sexual minorities who are multiply-marginalized, including those in rural/remote areas, who are Black, Indigenous, or people of colour, those with disabilities, and older LGBTQ2S+ individuals. The importance of **longitudinal research** also emerged in our findings, with a view to better understanding long-term outcomes.
- **Prioritize relationship-building in research with and about LGBTQ2S+ individuals.** Recognizing the challenging history between the LGBTQ2S+ community and research, work to build trust with LGBTQ2S+ communities. Some individuals may also be reluctant to take

part in research for fear being outed. Research with LGBTQ2S+ communities or organizations can be an opportunity to “bring the research back,” acknowledging the underrepresentation of these groups in research and policy spaces and the importance of meaningful inclusion in the research process.<sup>103</sup>

- **In the absence of adequate data, embrace creativity and flexibility.** Recognizing limitations related to data quality and sample sizes, using and reporting the data available can still be highly informative. For example, while acknowledging limitations, there is the value in pursuing analysis using an intersectional lens despite small sample sizes.
- **There is a demonstrated need for greater interdisciplinarity in research about LGBTQ2S+ individuals’ outcomes in Canada.** Bridging the gap between social, health, and economic research is an important step, particularly given the knowledge that mechanisms and outcomes do not operate independently.

## Policy

- **Include gender and sexual minority individuals as a protected class within the Employment Equity Act.**<sup>104</sup> This may also contribute to better and more standard data collection about LGBTQ2S+ individuals, particularly in the context of the labour market.
- **Place greater emphasis on group-specific the mechanisms underlying outcomes and inequities as expressed by LGBTQ2S+ individuals.** Being able to identify, share, and explain the specific causes of differential outcomes (for instance, in anti-discrimination training) is important, and may result in the prescription of different solutions.
- **Consider ways to bridge policy and data landscapes related to labour market and economic outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ individuals.** Engage policymakers in conversations about data, and vice versa, to inform ways to improve outcomes for this population.
- **Several tangible recommendations related to LGBTQ2S+ inclusion in the workplace emerged from the literature review, targeted at employers in particular.** Refer to the cited sources for these recommendations.<sup>25,26,105,106</sup> We will consider these areas of work in subsequent phases of our project.

## NEXT STEPS

The overall aim of this project is to build the evidence base about economic, health and social inequities faced by LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada. The project is occurring over multiple phases. This report serves as the final deliverable for Phase 1, reporting on the comprehensive

LGBTQ2S+ data scoping exercise, conducted to provide a map of available data in Canada, including data gaps and opportunities.

Building on these findings, Phase 2 of the project will empirically explore the relationship between gender and sexual minority identity and labour market and economic outcomes, using available confidential microfiles available through the Statistics Canada Research Data Centres (i.e., CCHS and T1FF). Next, Phase 3 of the project will focus on an in-depth qualitative exploration (e.g., focus groups, interviews) of experiences of LGBTQ2S+ employees across various employment organizations and industries. Our team will continue to build and refine recommendations for data, research and policy over the course of the project.

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## APPENDIX A: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

*Thank you for agreeing to speak with me today.*

*We'd like to invite you to participate in a key informant interview as part of the research project, "Building the evidence base about economic, health and social inequities faced by LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada." The project aims to identify key determinants of economic outcomes for gender and sexual minorities in Canada, with a view to informing program and policy interventions that would reduce the socio-economic inequities experienced by LGBTQ2S+ individuals. The project is funded by Women and Gender Equality Canada. SRDC, a non-profit research organization, is leading the project, in partnership with Dr. Sean Waite at the University of Western Ontario, Pride at Work Canada, and the Labour Market Information Council.*

*Phase 1 of the project includes a comprehensive data scoping exercise, identifying databases used for quantitative analyses of gender and sexual minority labour market outcomes in Canada as well as the key determinants of these outcomes. Your participation in this interview will help inform this research, validating our findings to-date, and identifying any further areas to explore in subsequent phases of the project. Your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary.*

*This interview will last about 45 minutes, and I will be taking notes. I will ask you in a moment whether I have your permission to record our conversation, using either a physical recorder or Zoom's recording function, depending on the interview format. The recording will only be used to complete our notes. If you agree to be recorded, please know that all recordings will be deleted one year after the end of the project, in May 2023. Only members of the research team will have access to these files, and they will be used only for the purposes of the project. You may ask to have the recorder turned off at any time. You may also request to see the notes from our conversation.*

Given the nature of the project and the small number of key informants we are speaking with, we are asking for interviewees' permission to attribute any quotes to their name. Before we begin the conversation, I will ask your preference on this – whether we can attribute quotes to you or whether you would prefer to remain anonymous.

If there is any question you do not want to answer, please feel free to "pass."

**Do you consent to having quotes from our conversation attributed to you? (YES/NO)**

**Can I begin recording our conversation? (YES/NO)**

Do you have any questions before we begin? (YES/NO)

**PROTOCOL**

1. **To start off, could you share a little bit more about yourself and your work as it relates to LGBTQ2S+ people in Canada?**
  - a. *What primary outcomes (e.g., health, housing, employment, etc.) are the focus of your work?*
  - b. *How do you engage with survey data, either from population-level or community-based surveys? What surveys or databases, if any, do you primarily work with?*
2. **In your work, what inequities in outcomes have you observed for LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada?**
  - a. *Have you observed any differences in outcomes for different subgroups within the LGBTQ2S+ community (e.g., bisexual/trans/intersex/individuals)?*
  - b. *What is your understanding of how gender or sexual minority status intersects with socioeconomic status/race/ability/etc.? Could you share the results of any intersectional work or analyses you may have undertaken?*
  - c. *This project focuses on economic inequities in particular. What is your understanding of the types of labour market outcomes LGBTQ2S+ individuals in Canada experience?*
3. **What are some of the key determinants of the inequities faced by LGBTQ2S+ individuals?**
  - a. *How are the key determinants or explanations for various outcomes distinct from those for cisgender/heterosexual individuals?*
  - b. *[If outcomes explored are not primarily labour market/employment-related]: Thinking of the key determinants or mechanisms that you have identified in your work, how might these translate into employment/labour market outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ people?*
4. **A key aim of this project is to articulate connections between health, social, and economic inequities and outcomes for LGBTQ2S+ folks in Canada, with a view to developing a framework that clearly conveys these linkages. What are your initial reactions to this, and how, if at all, have you drawn these connections in your own work?**

- 5. Next, we'd like to talk about data. If you could wave a magic wand and have the best-possible data/variables/measurements, what changes would you make? In other words, what gaps do you see in the current data landscape?**
- a. *For instance, what, in your view, is the most effective way to ask questions about gender (identity, expression) and sexuality (behaviour, attraction, orientation) that could address some of the gaps you identified earlier in our conversation?*
  - b. *Are there specific outcome-related questions you'd like to see in the surveys/databases you work with related to outcomes (for instance, those that allow you to gauge outcomes related to labour market, health, social, etc.)?*
  - c. *If you could see any data-related recommendations come out of this project, what would they be? How would they manifest?*
- 6. An important element of this project is knowledge translation, ensuring that research findings are shared effectively and on an ongoing basis with the appropriate audiences and stakeholders who will be able to leverage them in their own work. For instance, we've talked with our partners (Pride at Work Canada, Labour Market Information Council) about sharing findings through webinars, one-pagers, and longer-form reports/papers. Do you have any initial reactions to this, or thoughts as to how we can best achieve this goal?**
- a. *Who are the key stakeholders/networks we should be reaching out to, and what, in your view, is the most effective way to do this?*
- 7. We appreciate you sharing your thoughts and insights so far. Before we end, are there any other comments you wanted to add, or any other questions or topics you wanted to discuss?**

Thank you so much for taking the time to speak with us today. This conversation will help inform this and subsequent phases of the project. If you think of anything you want to add or clarify later on, please feel free to reach out.

Finally, we're keen to ensure the usefulness of this project and its outputs, and want to make sure the findings get into the hands of researchers and advocates who may find them helpful.

*Would you like to be kept up-to-date regarding any project-related outputs or products?  
(YES/NO)*

## APPENDIX B: GUIDELINES FOR CATEGORIZING SURVEY FRAMING OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDER

### **Tracking economic and sexual orientation and gender minority constructs in data landscape**

This goal of this exercise is to both provide an overview of what data sets are currently collecting data on sexual and gender minorities and personal economic situations, as well as how they have framed the relevant measure. Below, we've defined several broad categories for framing each of the major areas. This list is not necessarily exhaustive, and also individual categories do not reflect any opinion on behalf of the researchers involved regarding appropriate ways to ask about these areas, but rather reflect the ways in which these questions have been asked in the past.

#### **Sexual orientation and gender/sex measures**

In regards to classifying the sexual and gender minority measures, some measures may also combine concepts related to both into a single measure (e.g., Do you consider yourself to be a member of the LGBT+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Two-Spirit) community?).

#### **Sexual orientation and gender/sex frames**

Specific to sexual orientation

- Behaviour: Defines sexual orientation by behaviour (e.g., sexual relations with people of the same sex/gender, opposite sex/gender, or both/all sexes/genders)
- Attraction: Defines sexual orientation by attraction (e.g., sexually attracted to people of the same sex/gender, opposite sex/gender, or both/all sexes/genders)
- Identity: Defines sexual orientation by identity (e.g., do you identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, straight, etc.?)
- Partnership: Defines sexual orientation based on gender/sex of partner. (e.g., is your spouse/common-law partner of the same or opposite sex/gender?)
- *Note:* Questions regarding sexual orientation may refer to either the sex or the gender of the people involved.

Specific to gender/sex: While we recognize that gender and sex are two separate concepts, one challenge in this field is a lack of information on gender, or the conflation of gender and sex.

- Sex: Respondents biological sex, or sex assigned at birth based on an individual's reproductive system and other physical characteristics, often collected in a binary fashion (i.e. male/female)
- Unclear distinction between sex and gender: The question does not explicitly indicate whether sex or gender is being measured (e.g., are you...? Male, female)
- Gender: Defines gender according to participants' self-identification (e.g., which of the following most closely reflects your gender identity/lived gender?)
- Transition: Specific to transgender or non-binary individuals, asks whether a participant has transitioned socially and/or medically.

Applicable to both sexual orientation and gender/sex

- Identity: Identifies association with a gender and sexual minority identity/community (e.g., Do you consider yourself to be a member of the LGBT+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Two-Spirit) community?)
- Disclosure: Measures participants' disclosure of their sexual orientation or gender minority status
- Gender normativity: Measures the participants own alignment towards gender normative behaviour and/or appearance, or their attitudes towards alignment or divergence from gender normative behaviour and/or appearance in others. While this is explicitly about gender presentation/perception, gender expression is often conflated with sexual orientation, and thus is relevant to both areas.

### **Economic frames**

Monetary values: Can be measured on either a household or individual level

- Income: Money brought in across all sources (annually)
- Earnings: Money brought in from employment (annually)
- Wage: How much an individual earns over any given period (e.g., hourly, weekly, monthly, annually)
- Wealth and assets: Value of wealth and assets (e.g., investments, property, savings).

#### Employment descriptors

- Employment status (e.g., employed/unemployed, full-time/part-time, self-employed)
- Sources of income (e.g., wages, investments, benefits)
- Financial hardship: Measures a concept related to material hardship, including food insecurity, housing hardship, utility cut-offs, financial insecurity, etc.
- Industry: Identifies what industry an individual is employed in (e.g., manufacturing, government, etc.)
- Occupation: Identifies individual's occupation (e.g., teacher, welder, waiter).

## APPENDIX C: DATASET SUMMARY

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
<a href="#">Canadian Community Health Survey</a>	2021	<p>What was your sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i></p> <p>What is your gender? <i>Male; Female; Please specify [open-ended]</i></p>	Sex; gender	<p>What is your sexual orientation? <i>Heterosexual; Homosexual; Bisexual; Please specify [open-ended]</i></p>	Identity	<p>Thinking about the total income for all household members, from which of the following sources did your household receive any income in the year ending December 31, [Past year] <i>Check all that apply – numerous sources</i></p> <p>Last week, did you work at a job or business? (regardless of the number of hours) <i>Yes; No</i></p> <p>Were you an employee or self-employed? <i>Employee; Self-employed; Working in a family business without pay</i></p> <p>What kind of business, industry or service was this? / What was your work or occupation? <i>[Open-ended]</i></p> <p>On average, how many hours do you usually work per week? <i>[Number of hours]</i></p>	<p>Sources of income; employment status; financial hardship; industry; occupation; income</p>

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
						Did you have more than one job or business last week? <i>Yes; No</i>	
						What is your best estimate of your total household income received by all household members, from all sources, before taxes and deductions, during the year ending December 31, [year]? <i>[Dollar value]</i>	
						Additional questions about food insecurity and affordability	
<a href="#">Public Service Employee Survey</a>	2020	What is your gender? <i>Male; Female; Please specify [open-ended]</i>	Gender	What is your sexual orientation? (Refers to a person's sexual identity in relation to the gender(s) to which they are sexually attracted. This can include being sexually attracted to no one, to some genders, to all genders, or to a specific gender.) <i>Heterosexual; Gay or lesbian; Bisexual; Please specify [open-ended]; I prefer not to answer this question</i>	Identity; attraction	What is your current employee status? <i>[Numerous options]</i>  Please indicate your occupational group. <i>[Open-ended]</i>  Please indicate your level. <i>[Open-ended]</i>	Employment status; occupation
<a href="#">Canadian Census</a>	2021	What was this person's sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i>	Sex; gender	What is the relationship of [person 2] to [person 1]?	Partnership	During the week of Sunday, May 2 to Saturday, May 8, 2021, how many hours did this	Employment status;



DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
		What is this person's gender? <i>Male; Female; Please specify this person's gender</i>		<i>Husband or wife; Common-law partner; etc.</i>		person spend working for pay or in self-employment? <i>[Number of hours]</i>	occupation; industry
						For whom did this person work? / What kind of business, industry or service was this? / What was this person's work or occupation? <i>[Open-ended]</i>	
						In this job or business, was this person an employee, self-employed or an unpaid family member? <i>Employee; Unpaid family worker; Self-employed without employees; Self-employed with employees</i>	
						Additional questions about job search, nature of/reasons for part-time work/unemployment, etc.	
<a href="#">National Household Survey</a>	2011	Sex. <i>Male; Female</i>	Sex	Relationship to Person 1. <i>Opposite-sex husband or wife; Opposite-sex common-law partner; Same-sex married spouse; Same-sex common-law partner</i>	Partnership	During the week of Sunday, May 1 to Saturday, May 7, 2011, how many hours did this person spend working for pay or in self-employment? <i>[Number of hours]</i>	Employment status; occupation; industry; income; sources of income
						For whom did this person work? / What kind of business,	

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
						<p>industry or service was this? / What was this person's work or occupation? <i>[Open-ended]</i></p> <p>During the year ending December 31, 2010, did this person receive any income from the sources listed below? <i>[Yes; No/Amount if yes – multiple sources]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about job search, nature of/reasons for part-time work/unemployment, etc.</p>	
<a href="#">General Social Survey</a>	2019	<p>What was your sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i></p> <p>What is your gender? <i>Male; Female; Please specify [Open-ended]</i></p>	Sex; gender	<p>What is your sexual orientation? <i>Heterosexual; Homosexual; Bisexual; Please specify [Open-ended]</i></p> <p>What was your spouse's/partner's sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i></p> <p>What is your spouse's/partner's gender? <i>Male; Female; Please specify [Open-ended]</i></p>	Identity; partnership	<p>Last week, did you work at a job or business? <i>Yes; No</i></p> <p>In the past 12 months, did you work at a job or business? <i>Yes; No</i></p> <p>Were you an employee or self-employed? <i>Employee; Self-employed; Working in a family business without pay</i></p> <p>On average, how many hours do you usually work per week? <i>[Number of hours]</i></p>	Employment status; sources of income; industry; occupation; income

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
						Was/is your job permanent, or is there some way that it was/is not permanent? <i>Permanent; Not permanent (e.g., seasonal, temporary, term, casual)</i>	
						What kind of business, industry or service was this? / What was your work or occupation? <i>[Open-ended]</i>	
						What was your main source of income during the year ending December 31, XXX? <i>[Numerous sources]</i>	
						What is your best estimate of your total personal income, before taxes and deductions, from all sources during the year ending December 31, XXX? <i>[Dollar value]</i>	
						Additional questions about number of weeks worked, typical work schedule, partner's work, individual/household income, etc.	

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
<a href="#">Canadian Alcohol and Drug Survey</a>	2019	What was your sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i>  What is your gender? <i>Male; Female; Please specify [Open-ended]</i>	Sex; gender	What is your sexual orientation? <i>Heterosexual; Homosexual; Bisexual; Please specify [Open-ended]</i>	Identity	Last week, did you work at a job or business? <i>Yes; No</i>  Were you an employee or self-employed? <i>Employee; Self-employed; Working in a family business without pay</i>  What is your best estimate of your total household income received by all household members, from all sources, before taxes and deductions, during the year ending December 31, XXX? [ <i>Dollar value</i> ]	Employment status; income
<a href="#">Canadian Longitudinal Study of Aging</a>	2010-2015 (baseline) 2015-2018 (follow-up)	[Baseline] Record sex: <i>Male; Female</i> . Ask if necessary "Are you male or female?"  [Follow-up] What is your current gender identity? <i>Male; Female; Transgender man/transman; Transgender woman/transwoman; Genderqueer; Other</i>  What was your sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i>	Baseline: Sex  Follow-up: Sex; gender	Do you consider yourself to be: <i>Heterosexual (sexual relations with people of the opposite sex); Homosexual, that is lesbian or gay (sexual relations with people of your own sex); Bisexual (sexual relations with people of both sexes 1</i>  ("Does not identify as any of the above responses") added at follow-up	Identity; behaviour	Are you currently working at a job or business? This includes part-time jobs, seasonal work, contract work, self-employment, or any other paid work regardless of the number of hours worked. <i>Yes; No; Don't know</i>  What is your current working status? If you are self-employed, choose full-time or part-time, as appropriate. <i>Employed all of the time (that is,</i>	Employment status; occupation; industry; income; sources of income

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
						<p><i>30+ hours/week); Employed most of the time (that is, less than 30 but more than 20 hours/week); Employed some of the time (that is, less than 20 hours/week)</i></p> <p>What type of work do you do? / What business or industry sector are you in? <i>[Open-ended]</i></p> <p>Thinking about your total personal income, from which of the following sources did you receive any income in the past 12 months? <i>[Numerous sources]</i></p> <p>What is your best estimate of your total personal income from all sources, before taxes and deductions, in the past 12 months? <i>[Interval options]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about type of work (multiple jobs, schedule), reasons for not working, pre-retirement employment (status, schedule, duration, industry), household income, etc.</p>	

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
<a href="#">Survey of Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces</a>	2018	What was your sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i>	Biological sex; Gender	What is your sexual orientation? <i>Heterosexual; Homosexual (e.g., lesbian or gay); Bisexual; Please specify [Open-ended]</i>	Identity	What is your rank? <i>[Numerous options]</i>	Occupation
<a href="#">Canadian National Health Survey</a>	2016	N/A	N/A	Do you consider yourself to be...? <i>Heterosexual (sexual relations with people of the opposite sex); Homosexual, that is lesbian or gay (sexual relations with people of your own sex); Bisexual (sexual relations with people of both sexes)</i>	Identity; behaviour	Last week, did you work at a job or business? (regardless of the number of hours) Yes; No  Were you an employee or self-employed? <i>Employee; Self-employed; Working in a family business without pay</i>  What kind of business, industry or service was this? / What was your work or occupation? <i>[Open-ended]</i>  On average, how many hours do you usually work per week? <i>[Number of hours]</i>  Thinking about your total personal income, from which of the following sources did you receive any income in the year ending December 31, XXX? <i>[Multiple sources]</i>	Employment status; occupation; industry; sources of income; income; financial hardship

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
						<p>What is your best estimate of your total personal income, from all sources, before taxes and deductions, during the year ending December 31, XXX? <i>[Dollar value]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about reasons for not working, household income, food security, etc.</p>	
<a href="#">Survey of Opioid Awareness</a>	2017	<p>What was your sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i></p> <p>What is your gender? <i>Male; Female</i></p>	Sex; gender	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<a href="#">Longitudinal Administrative Databank (LAD)</a>	1982-2018	Sex: <i>Male; Female</i>	Sex	N/A	N/A	Income variables (linked to T1FF)	Income
<a href="#">Canadian Housing Survey</a>	2021	<p>What was this person's sex at birth? <i>Male; Female</i></p> <p>What is this person's gender? <i>Male; Female; Please specify [Open-ended]</i></p>	Sex; gender	<p>What is your sexual orientation? Would you say you are: <i>Heterosexual; Lesbian or gay; Bisexual; Please specify [Open-ended]</i></p>	Identity	<p>Last week, did this person work at a job or business? <i>Yes; No</i></p> <p>Additional questions about job search/most helpful job search supports; several about economic hardship (seeking financial help, meeting</p>	<p>Employment status; financial hardship</p>

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
						expenses, skipping payments), etc.	
<a href="#">Sex Now</a>	2019	<p>What is your gender identity? <i>Man; Woman; Neither, I prefer to self-describe as [Open-ended]</i></p> <p>Also includes questions about gender expression/presentation, whether the respondent has trans experience, and likelihood of revealing gender identity on Statistics Canada survey</p>	Gender; expression/presentation	<p>How do you identify sexually? (Check all that apply) <i>Gay; Asexual; Straight; Bi (bisexual); Pansexual; Queer; Heteroflexible; Prefer to self-describe as [Open-ended]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about outness and likelihood of revealing sexual orientation on Statistics Canada survey</p>	Identity	<p>What is your employment status? (Check all that apply) <i>[Numerous options]</i></p> <p>What was your income in the last year? <i>[Dollar value]</i></p> <p>How would you describe your money situation right now? <i>Comfortable, with extra; Enough, but no extra; Have to cut back; Cannot make ends meet</i></p>	Employment status; sources of income; income; financial hardship
<a href="#">Trans PULSE Survey</a>	2019	<p>What term(s) do you use to describe your gender? <i>[Open-ended]</i></p> <p>What sex were you assigned at birth, meaning on your original birth certificate? <i>Male; Female</i></p> <p>Were you born with, or developed naturally in puberty, sex characteristics that do not fit standard definitions of male or female? <i>Yes; No; Unsure</i></p>	Sex; gender; expression/presentation	<p>What is your sexual orientation? (Please check all that apply) <i>Asexual; Bisexual; Gay; Lesbian; Pansexual; Queer; Straight or Heterosexual; Two-Spirit; Not sure or questioning; Other, please specify [Open-ended]</i></p> <p>Are you sexually and/or romantically attracted to...? (Please check all that apply) <i>Trans men; Cis (non-trans) men; Trans women; Cis (non-</i></p>	Identity; attraction	<p>Which of the following best describes your current personal employment situation? (Please check all that apply) <i>[Numerous options]</i></p> <p>What is your best estimate of your total personal income, before taxes and other deductions from all sources in 2018? (include any money you</p>	Employment status; sources of income; income; financial hardship



DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
		<p>Have you been diagnosed with a medically-recognized intersex condition? <i>Yes; No; Unsure</i></p> <p>If you had to select ONE response that best describes your current gender identity for the purposes of a survey, what would it be? <i>Man or boy; Woman or girl; Indigenous or other cultural gender identity (i.e., two-spirit); Non-binary, genderqueer, agender, or a similar identity</i></p> <p>What gender do you currently live as in your day-to-day life? (Please check only one) <i>Man or boy; Woman or girl; Sometimes man/boy, sometimes woman/girl; Non-binary, genderqueer, agender, or similar identity</i></p> <p>Additional questions about respondent's age when they began living in their true gender, the age they realized they were trans or non-binary, and gender presentation (self and others' perception). In</p>		<p><i>trans) women; Non-binary people (assigned female at birth); Non-binary people (assigned male at birth); All of the above; None of the above; Other, please specify [Open-ended]; Unsure</i></p> <p>Additional question about concealment of sexual orientation</p>		<p>received from any person or organization) <i>[Interval options]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about household income, engagement in sex work, variance in income, experiences applying for/in employment, food security, housing/shelter, receipt of social assistance, etc.</p>	

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC		
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	
		<p>addition, proposed Statistics Canada questions around two-step sex/gender were tested on Trans PULSE.</p>						
<a href="#">National Population Health Survey</a>	2010	Sex. <i>Male; Female</i>	Sex	N/A	N/A	<p>Last week, did you work at a job or business/? Please include part-time jobs, seasonal work, contract work, self-employment, baby-sitting and any other paid work, regardless of the number of hours worked. <i>Yes; No; Permanently unable to work.</i></p> <p>Are you an employee or self-employed? <i>Employee; Self-employed; Working in a family business without pay</i></p> <p>For whom did/do you last/currently work? / What kind of business, industry or service is/was this? / What kind of work are/were you doing? <i>[Open-ended]</i></p> <p>About how many hours a week do/did you usually work at your job? If you usually work/worked extra hours, paid or unpaid,</p>	<p>Employment status; sources of income; occupation; industry; income; financial hardship</p>	

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
						<p>please include these hours. <i>[Number of hours]</i></p> <p>What is your best estimate of your total personal income, before taxes and deductions, from all sources in the past 12 months? <i>[Dollar value]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about seeking work, working at multiple jobs, absence from work, scheduling, household income (including sources), food/income insecurity, etc.</p>	
<a href="#">T1FF</a>	2018	Sex. <i>Male; Female</i>	Sex	Marital status. <i>Husband-wife family; Same-sex couple family; Lone-parent family</i>	Partnership	<p>After and before-tax income of census family</p> <p>After-tax low income status of person/family. <i>In low income; Not in low income.</i></p> <p>Employment income of person/census family</p> <p>Labour participant status of person. <i>Labour participant; Not a labour participant.</i></p>	Employment status; income; financial hardship

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
<a href="#">Aboriginal Peoples Survey – Economic participation</a>	2017	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p>Last week, did you work at a job or business? (regardless of the number of hours) <i>Yes; No</i></p> <p>Were you an employee or self-employed? <i>Employee; Self-employed; Working in a family business without pay</i></p> <p>What kind of business, industry or service was this / What was your work or occupation? <i>[Open-ended]</i></p> <p>For the year ending December 31, 2016, did you receive income from...? <i>[Multiple sources]</i></p> <p>What is your best estimate of your total personal income, before taxes and deductions, from all sources during the year ending December 31, 2016? <i>[Dollar value]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about job search, multiple jobs, reasons for part-time employment, retirement income, food insecurity, etc.</p>	<p>Employment status; sources of income; income; financial hardship; occupation; industry</p>

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
<a href="#">National Graduates Survey</a>	2018	Are you male or female? <i>Male;</i> <i>Female</i>	Sex	N/A	N/A	<p>Last week, did you work at a job or business? <i>Yes; No</i></p> <p>Are you an employee or self-employed? <i>Employee; Self-employed; Working in a family business without pay</i></p> <p>What kind of business, industry or service was this? / What was your work or occupation? <i>[Open-ended]</i></p> <p>On average, how many paid hours/hours do you usually work per week? <i>[Number of hours]</i></p> <p>What was your total employment income from wages, salaries and net self-employment income, before taxes and other deductions? <i>[Dollar value]</i></p> <p>Additional questions about job search, reasons for not working, multiple jobs, ownership of business, permanence of job, job search strategy, educational decisions, etc.</p>	Employment status; occupation; industry; income

DATABASE/ SURVEY	SURVEY YEAR REVIEWED	GENDER/SEX		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		ECONOMIC	
		Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame	Measure	Frame
<a href="#">Labour Force Survey</a>	2020	Gender. <i>Male; Female; Gender diverse</i>	Gender	N/A	N/A	Actual hours worked of employed person Average hourly/weekly wage rate of employed person Class of worker of employed person Duration of unemployment of person Industry/job/occupation of employed person Labour force status of employed person Additional questions about job search, reasons for leaving work, etc.	Employment status; industry; occupation; income



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