

# **Do Refugees with Better Mental Health Better Integrate?**

## **Evidence from the *Building a New Life in Australia* Longitudinal Survey**

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### **Abstract**

Hardly any evidence exists on the effects of mental distress on refugee labor outcomes. We offer the first study on this topic in the context of Australia, one of the host countries with the largest number of refugees per capita in the world. Analyzing the *Building a New Life in Australia* longitudinal survey, we exploit the variations in traumatic experiences of refugees interacted with post-resettlement time periods to causally identify the impacts of refugee mental health. We find that worse mental health, as measured by a one-standard-deviation increase in the Kessler mental health score, reduces the probability of employment by 11.9% and labor income by 22.8%. These effects appear more pronounced for refugees that newly arrive or are without social networks, but they may be ameliorated with government support. These findings have significant implications for the development of health and labor policies, particularly regarding the integration of refugees within host countries.

**JEL Classification:** I15, J15, J21, J61, O15

**Key words:** refugees, mental health, labor outcomes, instrumental variable, BNLA longitudinal survey, Australia

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## 1. Introduction

The number of forcibly displaced persons worldwide has more than doubled over the past three decades, reaching 103 million (or more than 1.2% of the world population) by the middle of 2022. About 15% of this figure is hosted by European countries, with Turkey and Germany being among the largest refugee-hosting countries in the world.<sup>1</sup> One thorny issue faced by host countries, richer and poorer alike, is the low employment rate of refugees compared with those of citizens and other immigrants (Dustmann et al., 2017), a phenomenon that can persist even in the long run (Brell et al., 2020). Lack of refugee integration not only generates substantial financial costs for the host country but can lead to other social issues such as increased crime levels and reduced schooling outcomes of children in the host population (Piopiunik and Ruhose, 2017; Di Maio and Nisticò, 2019). As such, policies that improve the labor market outcomes of refugees can lead to increased returns for both refugees and their hosts.

Poor mental health has been shown to have detrimental impact on labor market outcomes (e.g., Chatterji et al., 2011). Since mental health is an important component of an individual's stock of human capital, mental distress may impair individuals' ability to obtain employment and maintain their earnings, by affecting factors such as productivity, motivation, and social relationships (Heckman et al., 2006; Cunha and Heckman, 2007). Having experienced conflicts and persecution first-hand, refugees are especially vulnerable to mental health issues. Indeed, more than one-fifth of refugees are estimated to suffer from anxiety, depression, or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and forced migrants could be 10 times more likely to have mental health issues compared to the local population (Fazel et al., 2012; Bogic et al., 2015; Moya, 2018).

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html> and UNHCR (2021).

We provide the first study to examine the relationship between mental health and refugees' labor market outcomes. We use Australia as a uniquely interesting case study. The country has a long tradition of resettling humanitarian migrants through its Humanitarian Programme—which is the world's second largest resettlement program managed in collaboration with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (second only to the United States). However, the living conditions of humanitarian migrants are not comparable to the general population. In particular, the refugee employment rate is around 23%, with a gap of up to 55 percentage points compared to the citizens' employment rate. This gap is approximately half as high in the U.K. and five times higher in the U.S. (Brell et al., 2020). Australia is also the only country that mandates immigration detention for all “unlawful” arrivals, including those seeking protection as refugees. Therefore, understanding the effect of mental health on refugee labor outcomes is vital for designing refugee policies not only in Australia but also in other rich countries facing a large influx of refugees.

We analyze data on refugees from the *Building a New Life in Australia* (BNLA) longitudinal survey, which is also the largest survey of humanitarian migrants in Australia.<sup>2</sup> We investigate the causal impact of mental distress on labor market outcomes for refugees employing an instrumental variable model with individual fixed effects that allows us to address various econometric issues such as endogeneity and reverse causality (i.e., while a mentally healthier refugee is more likely to be employed, being unemployed may deteriorate their mental health status). We instrument for mental health with the interaction terms between past trauma exposure and survey year indicators. This choice of instrument is motivated by insights from a large number of studies in the epidemiological literature that show a strong relationship between pre-displacement trauma and post-displacement mental health (Fazel et

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<sup>2</sup> We use the term humanitarian migrants and refugees interchangeably in this paper given most respondents of the BNLA survey are refugees (more than 70%).

al., 2012) and that trauma-related mental distress tends to diminish over time (Steel et al., 2002; Moya, 2018).

We find that worse mental health, as measured by a one standard deviation increase in the Kessler Psychological Distress Scale, decreases the probability of employment (conditional on being in the labor force) by 11.9% (6.1 percentage points), and weekly labor income by 22.8% (\$166 Australian dollars). We also find that refugees with worse mental health are more likely to be out of the labor force or to work in lower-quality jobs (e.g., jobs with low skills level or in agriculture), and are less satisfied with their life. These effects appear stronger for newly arrived refugees and less pronounced for those who have stronger social networks or receive benefits from the government.

Our study advances the existing literature in several ways. We first add to a sizeable empirical literature that examines the adverse labor outcomes caused by worse mental health (e.g., Kessler et al., 1999; Chatterji et al., 2011; Frijters et al., 2014). We depart from this literature by focusing on refugees, a unique population that are more susceptible to mental health disorders. Furthermore, since the refugees are at a disadvantage in the labor market as discussed earlier, the potentially negative effects of mental health may be quite different for them.

By focusing on refugees, we also contribute to the literature on their economic integration in host countries.<sup>3</sup> Previous research has identified a number of important factors that influence refugee integration, such as proficiency in the language of the receiving country (e.g., Clausen et al., 2009; Lochmann et al., 2019), and social networks (e.g., Beaman, 2012; Dagnelie et al., 2019; Villalonga-Olives et al., 2022). Yet, to our knowledge, no study investigates the causal impact of mental health on labor market outcomes of refugees.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Brell et al. (2020) and Verme and Schuettler (2021) for recent reviews of the impact of forced migration on host communities.

<sup>4</sup> Some studies casually examine the relationship between refugee mental health and their labor market outcomes. For example, Connor (2010) finds no correlation between reporting sadness/depression and employment

Finally, our findings add to a broader literature that examines how policy interventions affect immigrants' labor market outcomes. For instance, LoPalo (2019) shows that receiving welfare benefits has no significant effects on refugee employment in the United States, although it leads to an increase in their wages in the long run. Similarly, studying the labor market effects of granting job permits to undocumented Venezuelan migrants in Colombia, Bahar et al. (2021) find little impacts on hours worked, wages, and labor force in the short to medium run. Agersnap et al. (2020) find that welfare generosity can attract migrants and estimate the elasticity of migration with respect to benefits to be 1.3. On the other hand, Arendt et al. (2021) show that improving Danish language training could have positive effects on refugees' employment and earnings, and improve the secondary school completion rate. By examining the little explored relationship between mental health and labor market outcomes of refugees, our paper offers valuable insights for health and labor policies, in Australia and elsewhere, that aim at better integrating refugees into host countries.

This paper consists of six sections. We provide an overview of refugees' policies in Australia in Section 2. We subsequently describe the database that we construct for analysis in Section 3 before discussing the empirical model in Section 4. In Section 5, we present the main findings (Section 5.1) together with robustness checks (Section 5.2), and heterogeneity analysis (Section 5.3). We finally conclude in Section 6.

## **2. Country background**

Australia is one of 22 UNHCR resettlement countries that provides physical and legal protection for those living in perilous situations or have specific needs that cannot be addressed in the country of origin and will allow for them to become naturalized citizens. The country

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outcomes in the United States. Ruiz and Vargas-Silva (2018) show that refugees are 2.8 percentage points more likely to report a mental health problem in the United Kingdom, which may be one of the contributing factors for their worse labor market outcomes compared to citizens and other migrants.

has a long tradition of resettling humanitarian migrants through its Humanitarian Programme—which is among the world’s largest resettlement programs with the UNHCR. Australia had resettled more than 880,000 people through its Humanitarian Program between 1947 and 2019 (Shergold et al., 2019). The program classifies those who seek resettlement in Australia into three categories: (i) refugees (those who meet the UNHCR definition of a refugee); (ii) special humanitarians (those who do not precisely fit the UNHCR standard but are still under threat of persecution and have family in Australia); and (iii) asylum seekers (those who arrive in Australia and apply for refugee status).<sup>5</sup>

Over the past few decades, Australia’s two leading political parties, the Liberal-National coalition and the Labor parties, have supported increasingly severe deterrence measures in an attempt to stem the flow of asylum seekers. Consequently, the share of recognized refugees is relatively low (around 3%) compared to the overall migrant intake (Phillips and Simon-Davies, 2016), and Australia is far behind other Western countries in terms of number of persons resettled (UNHCR, 2017). Figure A1 (Appendix A) shows that the number of people seeking asylum has increased over time; however, the number of those granted protection visas (granted refugee status) has declined during the same period.

Refugees in Australia are particularly vulnerable to poor mental health outcomes with the prevalence of mental disorders far exceeding those in the general population (Slewa-Younan et al., 2019). This is explained by a number of factors including past trauma experience, financial constraints, and other barriers to accessing health services such as language barriers, unfamiliarity of health services and perceived discrimination (Murray and Skull, 2005; Spike et al., 2011; Colucci et al., 2015). Australia was also the first high-income country to implement mandatory detention provisions that required the detention of non-

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<sup>5</sup> From 2015, asylum seekers who arrive illegally without a valid visa are detained. For more details of the Australia Humanitarian Program, see Flatau et al. (2015).

citizens who arrived without a valid visa. Evidence has shown that such mandatory detention is detrimental to mental health at all ages, in the short and long term (Steel et al., 2011). While screening for trauma and mental health conditions is mandated in Australian refugee health assessment guidelines for both refugees and asylum seekers, the validity of mental health screening in refugee groups has been questioned. As a result, rates of professional help-seeking among refugee groups are well below that of the non-refugee host population (Correa-Velez et al., 2007).

Regarding policies targeted at refugee employment, the Australian government has implemented a range of initial settlement services including accommodation assistance, language classes, and grant-based funding for projects to promote social cohesion and integration of refugees. Policies on employment for refugees, however, remain relatively poor (Shergold et al., 2019). An exception is the federal government program Jobactive, which is designed to connect job seekers with employers through a network of providers across the country.<sup>6</sup> Under the program, the Department of Human Services refers and assesses job seekers who receive benefits and are obliged to apply for jobs and undertake training. However, some evidence suggests that the program has failed to support refugees. A key challenge is the lack of specialist employment providers with expertise to support people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (Tahiri, 2017).<sup>7</sup> Consequently, refugees experience greater socio-economic disadvantage than other migrants, particularly in the labor market.

### 3. Data

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<sup>6</sup> There are also other initiatives implemented at the local level, such as the Refugee Employment Support Program in New South Wales and the Jobs Victoria Employment Network.

<sup>7</sup> Some other refugee employment programs such as *Career Pathways Pilot* (for newly arrived humanitarian refugees) and *Youth Transition Support* (for young people) have been shown to be ineffective in terms of participation rates and outcomes achieved. For example, the number of clients enrolled in the *Career Pathways Pilot* program was 65% of the expected amount, and only 11% to 17% of participants having found employment in the same job as their pre-arrival occupation (Deloitte, 2019). In fact, many refugees find themselves unable to obtain this assistance and continue to rely on family and friends for employment opportunities (Shergold et al., 2019).

The data used in this analysis are taken from the *Building a New Life in Australia* (BNLA) survey, which is designed to trace the settlement journey of humanitarian migrants from their early months in Australia to their eligibility for citizenship. This is the largest survey of humanitarian migrants in Australia, and one of the largest studies of its type in the world (Edwards et al., 2018).<sup>8</sup> The first wave of data collection was undertaken between October 2013 and March 2014, and additional waves have been conducted annually using face-to-face interviews (in waves 1, 3 and 5) and telephone interviews (in waves 2 and 4). To be eligible for the study, participants had to have arrived in Australia at least three months preceding the start of wave 1 fieldwork. This encompasses two distinct groups: the ‘offshore group’, which referred to individuals residing in other countries who had been recognized as refugees by the UNHCR and subsequently referred to Australia for resettlement, and the ‘onshore group’, which referred to individuals seeking asylum who arrived in Australia, with or without a valid visa.<sup>9</sup> A total of 1,509 Principal Applicants, 755 adult Secondary Applicants and 135 adolescent Secondary Applicants (aged 15 to 17 years) were recruited to wave 1, yielding 2,399 participants in total.<sup>10</sup> Figure A2 (Appendix A) shows that refugees in the BNLA survey came from 16 countries with the highest share from Iraq (40%), followed by Afghanistan (26%), and the Islamic Republic of Iran (12%). The attrition rate in BNLA is relatively lower than that in other surveys in Australia (Flatau et al., 2015). Among wave 1, 2,009 respondents (84%) were re-interviewed in wave 2, 1,894 (79%) in wave 3; 1,929 (80%) in wave 4, and 1,881 (78%) in

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<sup>8</sup> Most studies examining labor market outcomes in Australia use a small sample of refugees. For example, Correa-Velez et al. (2015) use a sample of 233 refugees and find that length of time in Australia and informal networks, among others, were significant predictors of employment. Focusing on refugees living in Sydney, Waxman (2001) shows that those who had pre-immigration paid job experience, completed study/job training and better job searching knowledge/language skills are more likely to participate in the labor force. Newman et al. (2018) find correlation between social support and psychological well-being using a sample of 190 refugees in Melbourne.

<sup>9</sup> Figure A3 (Appendix A) shows that the majority of refugees in our sample (67%) arrived in Australia less than six months before the initiation of the first wave. This is followed by those arriving between six and eleven months (20%), between one and two years (10%), and three years and above (3%).

<sup>10</sup> By definition, the principal applicant, who applies on behalf of the family, is the person on whose approval the visa was based, while secondary applicant adults and adolescents comprise other family members (i.e., spouse or children).

wave 5. Given missing data issues with the secondary applicants, our main analysis focuses on the principal applicants who are in the labor force, yielding a sample size of 3,130 observations (1,322 individuals) across all waves, with varying numbers of observations per wave: Wave 1 (755), Wave 2 (727), Wave 3 (681), Wave 4 (491), and Wave 5 (476).

A unique feature of this study is that it covers a wide range of topics including housing, English language proficiency, employment, financial circumstances, and immigration experience and experiences of trauma and health. In terms of labor market outcomes, the survey provides rich information on current employment status and employment characteristics, experience of unemployment and income and government benefits received, among others. Following the existing literature (e.g., Beaman, 2012; LoPalo, 2019), we use two measures of labor market outcomes available from the BNLA: (i) employment status conditional on being in the labor force (equal to one if having a paid job in the last seven days; and zero if not); and (ii) weekly labor income (measured by total real income of all jobs). In the additional analysis, we also examine other outcomes such as refugees' own labor market outcomes (including labor force participation (LFP), employment type, and employment skills levels and sector) and life satisfaction outcomes.

Information on health status of refugees includes self-rated health, injury or disability, life stressors and coping, and mental health. Our analysis focuses on the mental health of refugees measured by the six-item Kessler Screening Scale for Psychological Distress (K6). The K6 was developed by Kessler et al. (2002) and has been used widely in the economic literature for measuring non-specific psychological distress (e.g., Andersen, 2015; Gong et al., 2020). The six items ask individuals how often, during the past four weeks preceding the survey, an individual felt: (1) nervous, (2) hopeless, (3) restless or fidgety, (4) so depressed that nothing could cheer me up, (5) everything was an effort, and (6) life is meaningless (worthless). Respondents can choose among the following: all the time, most of the time, some

of the time, little of the time, or none of the time. The answers are then scored on a five-point scale, with total scores ranging from 6 to 30, and a higher score indicating worse mental health. For easier interpretation, we follow the common practice in the literature of standardizing mental health scores, such that the total score has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one (e.g., Frijters et al., 2014).

Respondents in the BNLA survey were also asked about whether they had experienced or witnessed any traumatic events before arriving in Australia. These include extreme living conditions (e.g., lack of food, water, shelter or medicine), war/conflict, violence, kidnapping or imprisonment, political/religious persecution, natural disaster, and/or other events. We then create an indicator of any trauma experience, interacted with the survey year indicators, as the instrumental variables in our analysis. For the heterogeneity analysis, we obtain information on a wide range of refugee characteristics before and after resettlement such as time spent in refugee camps, social networks, and local/government benefits received. We also supplement our analysis with data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey over the past two decades (2001 – 2019). Specifically, we collect data on the employment status and weekly labor income of respondents, their mental health score as measured by the Mental Health Inventory (MHI-5), and their migrant status.<sup>11</sup> Table 1 provides summary statistics of all the variables used in our analysis.

#### 4. Empirical strategy

To investigate the relationship between refugee mental distress and their labor market outcomes, we estimate the following regression

$$Y_{it} = \beta MD_{it} + \gamma X_{it} + \mu_i + \tau_t + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

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<sup>11</sup> The foreign-born population, however, is underrepresented in the HILDA survey (Watson and Wooden, 2010). Furthermore, it is not possible to identify refugees from HILDA as information on visa type is unavailable.

Where  $Y_{it}$  are labor market outcomes of refugee (principal applicant)  $i$  who was interviewed in wave  $t$ . We focus on two main outcome variables: employment status and weekly labor income (real income in \$1,000 Australian dollars). But we also examine other outcomes such as refugees' LFP, employment type, employment skills levels and sector, and life satisfaction.

The coefficient of interest in Equation (1) is  $\beta$ , which measures the impacts of mental distress ( $MD_{it}$ ) on labor market outcomes. We also control for a range of (potentially) time-varying refugee characteristics in vector  $X_{it}$  including age groups, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), and residence areas (i.e., living in major cities versus remote areas), and employment status of partner.<sup>12</sup> These are important determinants of economic integration of refugees that have been examined in the literature (e.g., Lochmann et al., 2019; LoPalo, 2019).

We include the individual fixed effects ( $\mu_i$ ) to control for unobserved time-invariant characteristics at the individual level and the survey wave (year) fixed effects ( $\tau_t$ ) to absorb the effects of unobservable time-varying characteristics that can commonly affect all refugees in each time period.  $\epsilon_{it}$  is the error term. For continuous outcome variables, we estimate Equation (1) with the linear individual fixed effects model (FE). For outcome variables that are binary (i.e., yes/no variable) such as employment status, we estimate the logit individual fixed effects model (Logit-FE). We provide estimates with robust standard errors that are clustered at the individual level.

The attribution of causality to our findings requires the assumption that mental health issues are exogenous to labor market outcomes. However, there can be unobservable factors that are jointly correlated with mental distress and labor market outcomes, such as (time-varying) personality traits and innate family health background that can bias estimates. While the

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<sup>12</sup> We follow previous studies and use a set of dummies for the age variable to account for its nonlinear relationship with employment (e.g., Staubli and Zweimüller, 2013; Laun, 2017).

individual FE model can capture unobserved time-invariant factors (e.g., an individual might be born with some congenital mental health problem unobserved to the analyst that could interfere with her job performance), it does not capture unobserved time-varying factors (e.g., this mental health problem could become worse or improve for different individuals over time). Furthermore, reverse causality remains another issue since unemployment might negatively affect an individual's mental health status (e.g., Currie et al., 2015; Frاسquilho et al., 2016).<sup>13</sup> Specifically, if these unobservable factors are positively correlated with the labor outcomes, a naïve non-instrumented estimator of Equation (1) could lead to estimates that are upward biased toward zero (i.e., no impacts of mental health).

To causally identify the impacts of mental distress on refugee labor outcomes, we estimate Equation (1) using an instrumental variable (IV) model. We employ as our IV the interaction terms between a dummy variable indicating refugees' exposure to any traumatic events before arriving in Australia and the survey waves (i.e., waves 1 – 5). Our first stage regression is as follows

$$MD_{it} = \sum_{t=1}^5 \alpha_t (TE_i \times t) + \eta X_{it} + \mu_i + \tau_t + v_{it} \quad (2)$$

where  $TE_i$  is a binary variable indicating whether individual  $i$  was exposed to any traumatic events before resettlement, and  $t$  is a set of dummy indicators representing the survey waves (Wave 1 as the reference). An advantage of this approach is that provides more flexibility, as it allows for the possibility of a non-linear evolution of recovery from traumatic experiences and their impact on labour market integration. As in Equation (1), we include individual and survey wave fixed effects. We simultaneously estimate Equations (1) and (2) using the fixed effects IV logistic regression (IV-Logit-FE) for employment status and the fixed effects IV

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<sup>13</sup> Given a large existing literature on the negative impacts of unemployment on mental health, we do not further investigate this relationship in this paper. We focus on the impacts of mental health on refugee labor outcomes since little evidence exists on this relationship.

linear regression (IV-FE) for labor income.<sup>14</sup> Both models allow us to address reverse causality and unobserved individual heterogeneity concerns.

We now discuss the validity of the IV. A good instrumental variable should meet three conditions in our context: (i) exogeneity to the dependent variables (exogeneity condition); (ii) strong correlation with refugee's mental health (relevance condition); and (iii) affecting labor market outcomes only through changes in mental health status over time after resettlement (exclusion restriction condition).

The exogeneity condition is satisfied since the traumatic experiences experienced by refugees are typically caused by unexpected events such as war, conflict, or natural disasters. In fact, a number of economic studies have employed such exogenous events as IVs to identify causal impacts on health and education (e.g., Alderman et al., 2006; Di Maio and Nisticò, 2019). While a theoretically possible concern is that local market conditions in the host country may be among the determinants of conflict in the home country of the refugee, this concern is unlikely to be valid in practice. The roots of violent conflicts in the origin countries often come from endemic social/economic inequalities between groups in these countries themselves (Esteban et al., 2012; McGuirk and Burke, 2020). This is particularly the case for Australia as most refugees originate from countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan (see Figure A2, Appendix A).

Regarding the relevance condition, our IV is constructed based on evidence from the epidemiological literature showing that refugees are mostly exposed to stressful and potentially life-threatening situations before resettlement, and that pre-migration traumatic experiences are the most consistent factors associated with poor mental health (Bogic et al., 2015; Jankovic-

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<sup>14</sup> We estimate the fixed effects IV logistic regressions using the general simultaneous equation models (gsem) in Stata (Stata, 2019).

Rankovic et al., 2020).<sup>15</sup> This is further supported by recent evidence from the economic literature that early-life exposure to war has a persistent effect on mental health (Singhal, 2019), but the impact may fade out with time (Moya, 2018).<sup>16</sup>

The following simple example can help illustrate the rationale behind our identifying assumption. Consider a refugee living in Australia who was exposed to war/conflict in his home country. A possible IV may be a time-variant indicator representing the refugee's past exposure to these traumatic experiences. Indeed, plotting the OLS estimates of the impacts of traumatic experiences on standardized mental health scores and their 95% CIs (controlling for other variables), Figure 1 generally shows a strong correlation between refugees' exposure to traumatic events and mental distress. Specifically, we find that while the correlation between mental distress and certain specific events (such as physical or sexual violence, imprisonment or kidnapping, and political or religious persecution) is not statistically significant, it is strongly statistically significant and positive for most traumatic events such as lack of food, water, shelter, or medicine, war or other conflict, natural disasters (e.g., floods or drought), and/or other events. Overall, there is a strong correlation between refugees' exposure to *any* of these traumatic events and mental distress (as shown by the 95% CI at the bottom of Figure 1).

However, we argue that such instrument does not fully take into account the fact that refugees' traumatic experiences are time-varying. That is, these traumatic experiences may decline over the course of resettlement (Steel et al., 2002). Our IV improves on this instrument by exploiting both the differences of traumatic experience across refugees and its variation over time after the refugee settles in the host country. This strategy is, in fact, consistent with the spirit of other IVs recently employed in the literature such as the interaction between variations

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<sup>15</sup> Studies in Australia have documented that traumatic experience of refugees leads to an increased risk of experiencing psychological trauma, including major depression, chronic anxiety, and PTSD (e.g., Steel et al., 2002; O'Donnell et al., 2020).

<sup>16</sup> Figure A4 (Appendix A) shows a lower likelihood of employment and reduced income associated with trauma experiences.

in time-varying oil prices and a country's distance to its nearest oil-producing countries, or the interaction between a donor's total time-varying annual aid budget with the recipient-specific probability of receiving aid from that donor (Nunn and Qian, 2014; Asatryan et al., 2017; Dreher et al., 2019; Dreher et al., 2021). Our subsequent formal statistical tests and robustness checks, discussed in the next section, further confirm the strength of the instrumental variable.

Regarding the exclusion restriction, one concern is that the IV can also affect labor market outcomes via other (unobserved) channels rather than just mental health. These can include, for example, physical health, past experience or other unobserved person-specific endurance over hardships. We take a multi-pronged approach to addressing these potential concerns. First, by employing the individual FE model, we only exploit within-refugee variations over time and eliminate all potentially confounding factors that are time-invariant. Second, we control for various time-varying refugee characteristics in the regressions such as age groups, marital status, number of children, language skills, residence areas, and employment status of partner.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, we conduct various stress tests on the IV, such as relaxing the exclusion restriction and providing upper bound and lower bound estimates as suggested by Conley et al. (2012). This helps gauge how large the direct effects of the IV on labor market outcomes (i.e., deviations from the exclusion restriction) would have to be to render the second stage results insignificant. Furthermore, we report different test statistics on the IV, including the Kleibergen-Paap F-statistics and the Anderson-Rubin confidence intervals (AR CI) to evaluate the strength of the IV (Dufour and Taamouti, 2005; Cameron and Miller, 2015).

## 5. Results

### 5.1. Main findings

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<sup>17</sup> We also include a set of interaction terms between these characteristics and the survey year indicators. Our findings remain consistent (see Table A18, Appendix A).

As a first step, we employ a non-instrumented individual FE model and regress the two main labor market outcomes—employment status and weekly labor income—on mental health, conditioning on covariates as well as survey wave FE. As discussed earlier, we standardize the mental health scores such that the mean and standard deviation equal zero and one, with higher scores indicating worse mental health. The estimation results are shown in Columns (1) and (3) in Table 2, with the full regression results shown in Appendix A, Table A1. We present the estimates of the Logit-FE and IV-Logit-FE models as marginal effects, with the estimated coefficients provided in Table A2 (Appendix A). Column (1) demonstrates a negative correlation between having a paid job (conditional on being in the labor force) and mental distress. Similarly, poor mental health is also associated with lower labor incomes (Column (3)).

We turn next to the first stage regression results for the IV-Logit-FE and IV-FE models shown in the lower panel of Table 2. The coefficient estimates of the interaction terms are statistically significant for most waves, with the exception of Wave 2. It suggests that the effects of trauma on mental health diminish over time among those who suffer from trauma prior to arrival. In particular, the Kleibergen-Paap F-statistics are between 27 and 58, which are larger than the benchmark value of 16.4 suggested by Stock and Yogo (2005). The Sargan test of overidentifying restrictions cannot reject the validity of the instruments. The 95% AR CIs confidence intervals lie entirely to the left of zero, further confirming that the IVs are not weak instrument and do not bias the estimates.

Columns (2) and (4) of Table 2 show the estimated effects of mental distress on labor market outcomes using our IV specification. We find that a one standard deviation increase in Kessler scores (worse mental health) decreases the probability of being employed by 6.1 percentage points (or 11.9%, which equals  $6.1/51.2$ ); it also decreases weekly labor income by

\$166 Australian dollars (or 22.8%).<sup>18</sup> These effects are highly statistically significant at the 1% level, and the IV-Logit-FE and IV-FE estimates are between 1.3 and 33.2 times larger than the FE estimates.<sup>19</sup>

While we offer the first estimates of the impacts of mental distress on refugees' labor outcomes, it can be useful to compare our estimated effects with those on the general population in previous studies. For example, analyzing data from the HILDA, Frijters et al. (2014) show that a one standard deviation decrease in mental health leads to a 30 percentage point decrease in the probability of being employed. Using data from the National Comorbidity Survey-Replication (NCS-R) in the United States, Chatterji et al. (2011) find that psychiatric disorder is associated with reductions of 13-14 percentage points in the likelihood of employment. Findings from our study add new and useful evidence for policies to support refugees, who are especially vulnerable to mental distress as discussed earlier. We return to further comparison in Section 5.3.

Table 3 shows that mental distress also has a negative impact on other labor market outcomes.<sup>20</sup> Several findings stand out from this table. First, refugees with higher mental health scores are 7.5 percentage points (or 9.6%) less likely to participate in the labor force (Column (1)). Second, refugees with worse mental health are less likely to have a permanent job, although the effect is statistically insignificant (Column 2). They are also 5.7 and 6.0 percentage points (17.8% and 9.1%) more likely to work in low-skilled occupation and the agricultural sector (Columns (3)–(4)). Finally, worse mental health reduces the number of work hours by 12.6 (54.9%) and life satisfaction by 0.179 points (2.3%) on a 0-to-10 scale (Columns

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<sup>18</sup> Our findings remain consistent when using the inverse hyperbolic sine transformation of the weekly labor income outcome (see Table A16, Appendix A).

<sup>19</sup> Our results differ from Connor (2010), who employs a non-instrumented approach and finds little evidence for the correlation between self-reported sadness/depression and earning among refugees in the United States. But the bias of the non-instrumented FE estimates that we find may partially contribute to this difference.

<sup>20</sup> We use the same IV approach as in Table 2 to examine other labor market outcomes. This requires an assumption that the exclusion restriction remains valid, or our instrument affects labor market outcomes only through changes in mental health.

(5)–(6)). This is perhaps unsurprising given that mental health and life satisfaction are closely related (Danzer and Danzer, 2016). Our estimation results are thus consistent with the negative impacts of worse mental health on the probability of being employed and labor income discussed earlier (Table 2).

## **5.2. Robustness tests**

Our results are robust to a number of sensitivity checks. We briefly summarize the results here and offer more detailed results and discussion in Appendix B and in Tables A3-A18 (Appendix A). First, we estimate the linear FE and IV-FE models for employment status and other binary outcomes variables instead of the logit FE and IV-logit-FE models. Second, we analyze the original non-standardized mental health scores. Third, for the labor income regressions in Table 2, refugees who do not work are assumed to have zero incomes. Alternatively, we also analyze a subsample of workers that have positive incomes. Fourth, to address panel attrition issues, we use a balanced sample as well as model with longitudinal weights provided by BNLA. Fifth, while language skills are commonly employed in studies relating to labor market outcomes of refugees (e.g., Dagnelie et al., 2019; LoPalo, 2019), these variables might be endogenous so we exclude these variables from the regressions.<sup>21</sup> Our results remain robust.

Sixth, we construct alternative disaggregate measures of mental distress instead of the sum of the K6 items. Figure 2 examines each item separately to determine which dimension drives the effects of mental health. Using our preferred model specifications, we find that most of these dimensions of mental distress have a negative impact on employment status and labor income. We further create a dummy indicator variable to measure serious mental distress,

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<sup>21</sup> We also use lagged values of the English language proficiency variables and find consistent results (see Table A17, Appendix A).

defined as mental health score being greater than 19 (Chen et al., 2017). The results using the new measure remain qualitatively similar.

Seventh, we employ as a proxy for mental distress an indicator of PTSD available from the BNLA, which is an eight-item self-reported screening measure derived from the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire. We also address potential self-selection into LFP and subsequent employment status by employing the alternative two-part fractional response model (Roodman, 2011). To help alleviate potential reverse causality (i.e., mental health and labor market outcomes are measured in the same survey wave), we regress labor market outcomes on mental distress measured in the previous wave (i.e., wave  $t-1$ ). These checks provide qualitatively similar results (albeit weaker statistical significance for labor incomes for the last check).

Eighth, we investigate whether the main effects of mental distress on refugee labor outcomes are shaped by their employment experience before arrival. For example, those used to be in paid employment may find easier to get a job in the host country, and such experience may also affect their mental health status. In our model specification, this has been taken into account by controlling for individual characteristics and individual fixed effects. We implement a further check by splitting our sample into two groups based on whether they did any paid work before arrival and find qualitatively similar results.

Finally, we conduct various checks on the IVs. Firstly, we add up the total number of traumatic events experienced by refugees as an alternative instrument for mental health. Secondly, we test the robustness of our results to deviations from the assumption of perfect exogeneity, using Conley et al.'s (2012) bounding method. These tests produce similar results.

### ***5.3. Heterogeneity analysis***

An important policy question is whether some sub-groups of refugees are particularly vulnerable to the impacts of mental distress. We examine several characteristics of refugees in

this section.<sup>22</sup> First, we examine the differential impacts of mental health based on visa types, which are classified into onshore and offshore visas. The offshore resettlement program applies to people living in other countries who have been identified as refugees by UNHCR and referred to Australia for resettlement, while the onshore protection program is available to people seeking asylum who arrived in Australia with or without a valid visa. The latter group is recognized to be more vulnerable given that they might be subjected to detention. Indeed, results in Panel A of Table 4 show that those who were granted onshore visas have worse labor market outcomes, subjected to an increase in mental health score.

Next, we are interested in the time that refugees spent in Australia and examine whether it has an important role in the relationship between mental health and labor market outcomes. In our sample, approximately 86.7% of respondents had been in Australia fewer than twelve months before the time of the first interview. It is reasonable to argue that these newly arrived residents do not have sufficient time for resettlement, and thus are more vulnerable than those who arrived earlier. Results in Panel B of Table 4 confirm our expectation. We then examine whether those who spent more time in refugee camps are more susceptible to the impacts of mental distress. This hypothesis is supported by the results shown in Panel C of Table 4. We also look at other background characteristics of refugees including their country of origins, and whether they currently live in a major city in Australia. The results in Panels D and E provide little support for these hypotheses. An exception is that refugees from Sub-Saharan Africa and South-East Asia appear to be less vulnerable than those from the Middle East regarding the impacts of mental distress on labor income.

Another important factor for refugees is social network. Previous studies have shown that immigrants with larger networks are more successful in the labor market (e.g., Munshi, 2003).

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<sup>22</sup> We also replicate our main analysis for men and women separately. The results presented in Table A19 (Appendix A) suggest that the effects of mental distress on labour outcomes are observed among both men and women.

In the context of humanitarian migrants, Beaman (2012) examines labor market integration of refugees who just arrived in the United States and finds that an increase in the number of recent refugees worsens the labor market outcomes of newly-arrived refugees, while an increase in the number of tenured refugees improves them. Dagnelie et al. (2019) find that the probability that refugees are employed 90 days after arrival is positively affected by the number of business owners in their network, but negatively affected by the number who are employees. We thus construct a “network” variable that indicates whether refugees had no family members or friends in the host country before they came. The interaction term between mental health scores and this network variable is negative and statistically significant (Panel F), which shows that, relative to those who have a network, increases in mental health scores of refugees without a network have a larger negative effect on the probability of employment and labor income.

Next, we examine the role of government and community supports in mediating the impacts of mental distress on labor outcomes. As discussed in Section 2, the Australian government has implemented several programs to improve refugee employment integration. While we are unable to identify participants to these programs in the BNLA survey, we employ a variable indicating whether they receive government benefits as a simple proxy. We also use information on whether refugees receive assistance from ethnic or religious communities to construct an indicator of local community support. The summary statistics presented in Table 1 show that about 53.4% of refugees in our sample receive benefits from the government, while that number is lower for those who receive support from the local community (49.8%).

The results in Panel G provide strong evidence for the beneficial role of government support. Specifically, we find that the impacts of mental health issues on labor outcomes are less pronounced for those receiving support from the government. This is consistent with findings from previous studies showing that government aid helps refugees better integrate into the labor market (e.g., LoPalo, 2019). Our findings are particularly important given that most

respondents in our sample are newly arrived refugees who may have fewer resources, and thus are more vulnerable. However, we find no evidence of such impacts for local community support, as shown in Panel H.

Our findings so far have provided strong evidence of the effects of poor mental health on refugees' labor outcomes. While the BNLA survey does not allow us to examine whether the mental health impacts are more pronounced for refugees than other groups, we explore a quick comparison between migrants and the general population using longitudinal data from the HILDA survey over the period 2001-2019. Migrants in this survey are identified based on their country of birth. We create an interaction term between migrant status and mental health score with the latter being measured by the Mental Health Inventory (MHI-5) scale. Employing the non-IV individual FE model, we find a negative correlation between mental distress and labor outcomes for both population groups, but no evidence of differential impacts between the groups (Appendix A, Table A15). This finding, however, should be interpreted with caution given the endogeneity of mental health.

## **6. Conclusions**

The wide-ranging labor market consequences associated with mental distress have been well documented in the literature. However, hardly any economic study currently exists on the causal effects of mental health on refugee labor market outcomes. Understanding this relationship is important given that many richer countries are facing a large influx of refugees. We provide an early study that identifies the causal effects of mental distress on refugees by instrumenting for it with past exposure to traumatic events interacted with time after resettlement, which is further strengthened with individual fixed effects.

Our findings indicate that worse mental health lowers the probability of having paid employment and labor income. Worse mental health also reduces LFP, job quality, and life

satisfaction. Yet, these effects appear more pronounced for refugees who recently arrived or are without a social network. At the same time, the effects are weaker for those who receive benefits from the government. This highlights the beneficial role of government support programs in reducing the negative impacts of mental health issues on labor outcomes and in improving refugees' integration, especially if these programs are targeted at newly arrived refugees or refugees who do not have a social network to rely on.

It is useful to note a caveat in our findings. The speed at which migrants obtain a legal permit under the protection scheme could be influenced by their traumatic experiences. If this is the case, the observed impact of trauma on labour market integration might be understated and our findings could be interpreted as a lower bound (in absolute terms) of the true effect. Future directions of research can focus on experimenting with and evaluating the impacts of tailor-made programs that are targeted at improving refugees' mental health and their social networks. Furthermore, we still know little about the heterogeneous characteristics of the firms that employ refugees (e.g., in the informal or formal sectors, small firms or large firms), which could be amenable to government support to further enhance their efficiency.

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**Table 1: Data sources and summary statistics**

Variable	Descriptions	Mean	Standard deviation	Min	Max
<b><i>Main outcomes</i></b>					
Employment status	= 1 employed in a paid job in the last seven days; 0 = otherwise	0.512	0.499	0.000	1.000
Labor income	Weekly (real) income from all jobs in \$1,000 AUD.	0.727	0.430	0.000	4.598
<b><i>Other outcomes</i></b>					
Labor force participation (LFP)	= 1 if employed in a paid job in the last seven days, or looked for a paid job in the past four weeks, 0 otherwise	0.778	0.191	0.000	1.000
Permanent job	= 1 if working on permanent job, 0 otherwise	0.163	0.342	0.000	1.000
Skilled occupation	= 1 if having a skilled occupation, 0 otherwise	0.320	0.467	0.000	1.000
Agriculture	= 1 if working in agricultural sector, 0 otherwise	0.660	0.473	0.000	1.000
Number of work hours per week	Total number of work hours per week	22.914	56.277	1.000	125.000
Life satisfaction	0 (Completely dissatisfied) – 10 (Completely satisfied)	7.618	2.217	0.000	10.000
<b><i>Mental health measures</i></b>					
Mental health	Kessler 6 Total Score	11.588	5.429	6.000	30.000
Mental health - nervous	Feeling nervous in the last four weeks (1. None of the time; 2. A little of the time; 3. Some of the time; 4. Most of the time; 5. All of the time).	2.058	1.132	1.000	5.000
Mental health - hopeless	Feeling hopeless in the last four weeks (1. None of the time; 2. A little of the time; 3. Some of the time; 4. Most of the time; 5. All of the time).	1.810	1.103	1.000	5.000
Mental health - restless	Feeling restless or fidgety in the last four weeks (1. None of the time; 2. A little of the time; 3. Some of the time; 4. Most of the time; 5. All of the time).	1.935	1.140	1.000	5.000
Mental health - effort	Feeling that everything was an effort in the last four weeks (1. None of the time; 2. A little of the time; 3. Some of the time; 4. Most of the time; 5. All of the time).	2.434	1.440	1.000	5.000
Mental health - cheer	Feeling that nothing could cheer you up in the last four weeks (1. None of the time; 2. A little of the time; 3. Some of the time; 4. Most of the time; 5. All of the time).	1.850	1.132	1.000	5.000

Mental health - worthless	Feeling worthless in the last four weeks (1. None of the time; 2. A little of the time; 3. Some of the time; 4. Most of the time; 5. All of the time).	1.504	0.965	1.000	5.000
<b>Control variables</b>					
18-22	Age groups	0.139	0.346	0.000	1.000
23-27		0.186	0.389	0.000	1.000
28-32		0.172	0.377	0.000	1.000
33-37		0.158	0.365	0.000	1.000
38-42		0.138	0.345	0.000	1.000
43-47		0.113	0.317	0.000	1.000
48-52		0.063	0.243	0.000	1.000
53 and older		0.031	0.173	0.000	1.000
Marital status	= 1 if married, 0 otherwise	0.554	0.497	0.000	1.000
Number of children	Number of children in households	3.792	2.090	1.000	8.000
English - listening		2.251	0.739	1.000	4.000
English - speaking	English speaking proficiency (1. Very Well; 2. Well; 3. Not well; 4. Not at all)	2.347	0.750	1.000	4.000
English - reading		2.328	0.803	1.000	4.000
English - writing		2.412	0.816	1.000	4.000
Partner labor force participation	= 1 if partner was employed in a paid job in the last seven days, or looked for a paid job in the past four weeks, 0 otherwise	0.200	0.400	0.000	1.000
<b>Other variables (heterogeneity analysis)</b>					
Visa type	= 1 if refugee; 0 if other humanitarian protections	0.600	0.490	0.000	1.000
Migration pathway	= 1 if onshore; 0 if offshore	0.274	0.446	0.000	1.000
Time in Australia	= 1 if less than a year, 0 otherwise	0.736	0.441	0.000	1.000
Camp	= 1 if spent time in refugee camp before arrival, 0 otherwise	0.247	0.432	0.000	1.000
Residence area	= 1 if living in remote areas, 0 if major cities	0.104	0.306	0.000	1.000
Network	= 1 if having social network before arrival, 0 otherwise	0.673	0.469	0.000	1.000
Government benefit	= 1 if receiving government benefits, 0 otherwise	0.491	0.500	0.000	1.000
Local community support	= 1 if receiving local community benefits, 0 otherwise	0.496	0.500	0.000	1.000

***Instrument***

Trauma experience	= 1 if experiencing any trauma before arrived, 0 otherwise	0.897	0.304	0.000	1.000
Number of observations			3,130		
Number of individuals			1,322		

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**Table 2: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes**

Dependent variable:	Employment status		Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)	
	Logit-FE (1)	IV-Logit-FE (2)	FE (3)	IV-FE (4)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.048*** (0.009)	-0.061*** (0.016)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.166*** (0.058)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>				
Trauma experience*Wave 2		-0.132 (0.081)		-0.087* (0.047)
Trauma experience*Wave 3		-0.185** (0.091)		-0.121** (0.052)
Trauma experience*Wave 4		-0.244*** (0.087)		-0.111** (0.052)
Trauma experience*Wave 5		-0.271*** (0.090)		-0.144*** (0.049)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.		27.104		58.199
Sargan p-value		0.399		0.127
AR 95-CIs		[-0.090, -0.024]		[-0.280, -0.094]
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.512	0.727	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results in Columns (1) and (2) are presented as marginal effects. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38. Full estimation results are reported in Table A1 (Appendix A).

**Table 3: Impacts of mental health on other labor and life satisfaction outcomes**

Dependent variable:	Labor force participation	Permanent job	Skilled occupation	Work in agriculture	Number of work hours per week	Life satisfaction
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.075*** (0.027)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.057*** (0.015)	0.060*** (0.016)	-12.578 (30.726)	-0.179** (0.075)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>						
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.119 (0.073)	-0.125 (0.077)	-0.112 (0.069)	-0.068 (0.082)	-0.038 (0.053)	-0.145 (0.089)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.166** (0.081)	-0.175** (0.086)	-0.157** (0.077)	-0.092 (0.126)	-0.128** (0.057)	-0.203** (0.100)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.219*** (0.079)	-0.231*** (0.083)	-0.207*** (0.074)	-0.191** (0.090)	-0.043 (0.058)	-0.268*** (0.096)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.244*** (0.081)	-0.258*** (0.085)	-0.231*** (0.076)	-0.199*** (0.073)	-0.050 (0.059)	-0.299*** (0.099)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	57.807	27.104	27.250	18.804	11.497	45.944
AR 95-CIs	[-0.171, -0.031]	[-0.039, 0.006]	[-0.084, -0.021]	[0.024, 0.096]	[-43.867, 59.349]	[-0.480, -0.004]
Dep. Mean	0.778	0.163	0.320	0.660	22.914	7.618
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,024	3,130	3,130	3,130	3,130	4,024
Number of individuals	1,509	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,509

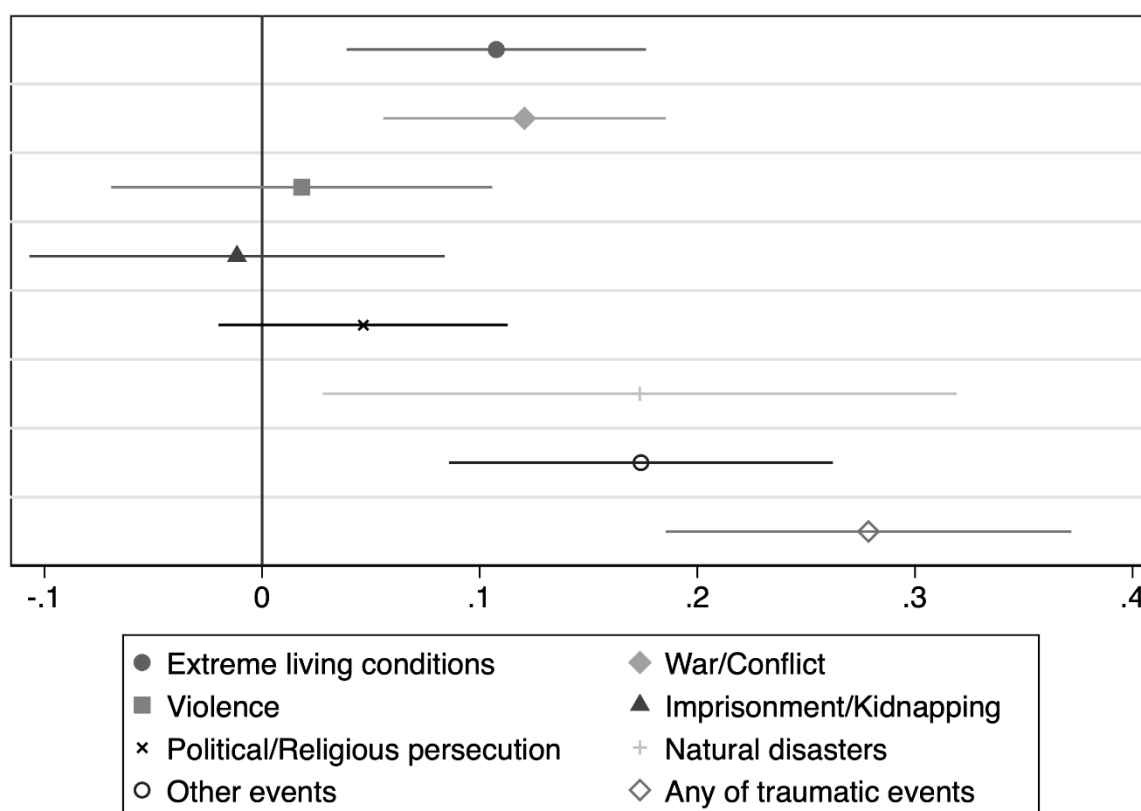
Notes: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Columns (1)-(4) and IV-FE model in Columns (5)-(6). Columns (1) and (6) include all individuals in the analysis, which explains the higher number of observations. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38. Permanent job is defined as working fulltime/parttime with permanent contract (the reference group is fixed-term contract and casual employment). Skilled occupation is defined as jobs with occupational scales above medium.

**Table 4: Heterogeneity analysis**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
<i>Panel A: Visa type (Onshore vs offshore)</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*Onshore	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.044** (0.020)
<i>Panel B: Time in Australia</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*Less than 1 year	-0.075*** (0.023)	-0.070*** (0.021)
<i>Panel C: Spent time in refugee camp before arrival</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*Spent time in camp	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.046* (0.026)
<i>Panel D: Country of origin (Reference: Middle East)</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*South-East Asia	0.080 (0.054)	0.010** (0.004)
Standardized mental health scores*Southern and Central Asia	0.103 (0.087)	0.011 (0.007)
Standardized mental health scores*Sub-Saharan Africa	0.062 (0.056)	0.011*** (0.004)
<i>Panel E: Major city vs regional Australia</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*Residence area	0.849 (11.575)	-0.844 (6.860)
<i>Panel F: Social network before arrival</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*No network	-0.094*** (0.028)	-0.105*** (0.030)
<i>Panel G: Government benefit received</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*Not received	-0.001*** (0.0002)	-0.0002* (0.0001)
<i>Panel H: Local community support</i>		
Standardized mental health scores*No support	-0.011 (0.008)	-0.0002 (0.0002)

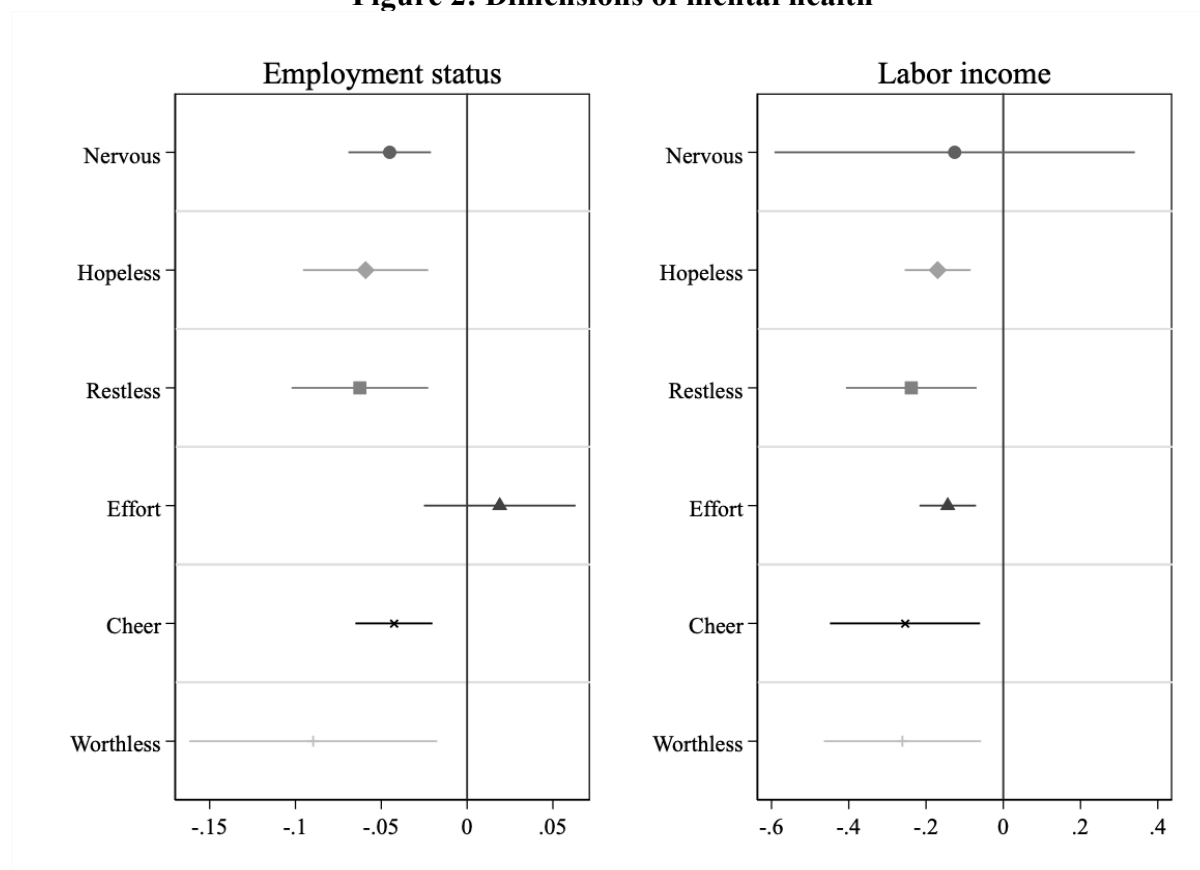
Notes: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

**Figure 1: Impacts of different trauma experiences on mental distress**



*Notes:* The figure plots the estimated impacts of trauma experience and their 95% CIs on standardized mental health scores using OLS model. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

**Figure 2: Dimensions of mental health**



*Notes:* The figures plot the estimated impacts and their 95% CIs for six dimensions of mental health on labor market outcomes using IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) for employment status and IV-FE model for weekly labor income (\$1,000 Australian dollars). Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner.

## Appendix A: Additional Tables and Figures

**Table A1: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Full estimation results**

Dependent variable:	Employment status		Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)	
	Logit-FE (1)	IV-Logit-FE (2)	FE (3)	IV-FE (4)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.048*** (0.009)	-0.061*** (0.016)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.166*** (0.058)
<i>Age groups (Ref: 18-22)</i>				
23-27	0.226*** (0.073)	0.232 (0.171)	0.014*** (0.004)	0.016 (0.011)
28-32	0.596*** (0.059)	0.398* (0.223)	0.041*** (0.006)	0.022 (0.015)
33-37	0.715*** (0.065)	0.664** (0.267)	0.080*** (0.008)	0.025 (0.020)
38-42	0.731*** (0.071)	0.663* (0.361)	0.112*** (0.010)	0.025 (0.025)
43-47	0.735*** (0.072)	1.064*** (0.390)	0.137*** (0.011)	0.049* (0.026)
48-52	0.737*** (0.073)	1.511*** (0.481)	0.166*** (0.013)	0.062** (0.028)
53 and older	0.737*** (0.073)	1.711*** (0.579)	0.187*** (0.015)	0.086*** (0.032)
Married	0.029 (0.023)	-0.162 (0.148)	0.009** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.009)
Number of children	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.011 (0.020)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)
English - listening	-0.033* (0.017)	-0.082 (0.078)	-0.007*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.005)
English - speaking	-0.058*** (0.019)	0.064 (0.095)	-0.006** (0.002)	0.014* (0.008)
English - reading	0.003 (0.017)	0.137 (0.100)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.006)
English - writing	0.027 (0.017)	0.066 (0.019)	0.001 (0.002)	0.006 (0.010)
Partner employment status	0.070** (0.029)	0.175 (0.147)	0.004 (0.003)	0.014 (0.010)
Residence area	0.055* (0.033)	0.032 (0.207)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.010 (0.014)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is Standardized mental health scores)</i>				
Trauma experience*Wave 2		-0.132 (0.081)		-0.087* (0.047)
Trauma experience*Wave 3		-0.185** (0.091)		-0.121** (0.052)
Trauma experience*Wave 4		-0.244*** (0.087)		-0.111** (0.052)
Trauma experience*Wave 5		-0.271*** (0.090)		-0.144*** (0.049)

<i>Time FE (Reference = Wave 1)</i>				
Wave 2	0.013 (0.043)	-0.199 (0.151)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.008 (0.005)
Wave 3	-0.068 (0.044)	-0.055 (0.136)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.005)
Wave 4	-0.021 (0.038)	-0.053 (0.126)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)
Wave 5	-0.010 (0.041)	-0.110 (0.145)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.009* (0.005)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.		27.104		58.199
Sargan p-value		0.399		0.127
AR 95-CIs		[-0.090, -0.024]		[-0.280, -0.094]
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.512	0.727	0.727
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results in Columns (1) and (2) are presented as marginal effects. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A2: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Coefficient estimate of IV-Logit-FE model**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Labor force participation	Permanent job	Skilled occupation	Work in agriculture
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.185*** (0.049)	-0.225*** (0.081)	0.010 (0.012)	-0.170*** (0.046)	0.180*** (0.048)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>					
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.132 (0.081)	-0.119 (0.073)	-0.125 (0.077)	-0.112 (0.069)	-0.068 (0.082)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.185** (0.091)	-0.166** (0.081)	-0.175** (0.086)	-0.157** (0.077)	-0.092 (0.126)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.244*** (0.087)	-0.219*** (0.079)	-0.231*** (0.083)	-0.207*** (0.074)	-0.191** (0.090)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.271*** (0.090)	-0.244*** (0.081)	-0.258*** (0.085)	-0.231*** (0.076)	-0.199*** (0.073)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	27.104	57.807	27.104	27.250	18.804
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.778	0.163	0.320	0.660
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	4,024	3,130	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,509	1,322	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38. Permanent job is defined as working fulltime/parttime with permanent contract (the reference group is fixed-term contract and casual employment). Skilled occupation is defined as jobs with occupational scales above medium.

**Table A3: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Results of FE and IV-FE models**

VARIABLES	Employment status		Labor force participation		Permanent job		Skilled occupation		Work in agriculture	
	FE	IV-FE	FE	IV-FE	FE	IV-FE	FE	IV-FE	FE	IV-FE
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.085*** (0.013)	-1.849*** (0.485)	-0.035*** (0.006)	-2.250*** (0.809)	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.467 (0.287)	-0.067*** (0.013)	-1.662*** (0.431)	0.075*** (0.013)	1.799*** (0.477)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>										
Trauma experience*Wave 2		-0.132 (0.081)		-0.119 (0.073)		-0.125 (0.077)		-0.112 (0.069)		-0.068 (0.082)
Trauma experience*Wave 3		-0.185** (0.091)		-0.166** (0.081)		-0.175** (0.086)		-0.157** (0.077)		-0.092 (0.126)
Trauma experience*Wave 4		-0.244*** (0.087)		-0.219*** (0.079)		-0.231*** (0.083)		-0.207*** (0.074)		-0.191** (0.090)
Trauma experience*Wave 5		-0.271*** (0.090)		-0.244*** (0.081)		-0.258*** (0.085)		-0.231*** (0.076)		-0.199*** (0.073)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.		27.104		57.807		27.104		27.250		18.804
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.512	0.778	0.778	0.163	0.163	0.320	0.320	0.660	0.660
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130	4,024	4,024	3,130	3,130	3,130	3,130	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322	1,509	1,509	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A4: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Non-standardized mental health score**

Dependent variable:	Employment status		Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)	
	Logit-FE (1)	IV-Logit-FE (2)	FE (3)	IV-FE (4)
Mental health scores	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.039*** (0.010)	-0.0008*** (0.0002)	-0.028*** (0.010)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is non-standardized mental health scores)</i>				
Trauma experience*Wave 2		-6.271 (3.863)		-3.966 (4.324)
Trauma experience*Wave 3		-8.765** (4.299)		-8.635* (4.738)
Trauma experience*Wave 4		-11.574*** (4.146)		-8.088* (4.559)
Trauma experience*Wave 5		-12.895*** (4.264)		-11.603** (4.651)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.		27.104		58.199
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.512	0.727	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results in Columns (1) and (2) are presented as marginal effects. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A5: Impacts of mental health on labor income – Sample of workers with positive incomes**

Dependent variable:	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)	
	FE (1)	IV-FE (2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.166*** (0.058)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2		-0.086* (0.044)
Trauma experience*Wave 3		-0.107** (0.050)
Trauma experience*Wave 4		-0.139*** (0.050)
Trauma experience*Wave 5		-0.132*** (0.047)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.		50.882
Dep. Mean	0.727	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of FE model in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A6: Attrition test – Balanced sample**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.057*** (0.017)	-0.149*** (0.053)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.073 (0.099)	-0.033 (0.053)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.178* (0.106)	-0.049 (0.060)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.204* (0.109)	-0.120** (0.058)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.289*** (0.109)	-0.125** (0.058)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	22.085	51.689
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,497	2,497
Number of individuals	1,003	1,003

*Notes:* \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A7: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Weighted regression**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.059*** (0.016)	-0.141*** (0.043)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.114 (0.088)	-0.076* (0.041)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.186* (0.096)	-0.083* (0.047)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.244*** (0.092)	-0.128*** (0.047)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.258*** (0.094)	-0.129*** (0.044)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	20.924	53.106
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A8: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Excluding language skills variables**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.061*** (0.015)	-0.128*** (0.033)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.093 (0.083)	-0.084* (0.046)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.172* (0.095)	-0.117** (0.052)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.203** (0.093)	-0.123** (0.053)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.280*** (0.093)	-0.152*** (0.050)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	22.545	53.072
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A9: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Dummy indicator**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Serious mental distress	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.314*** (0.111)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is serious mental distress)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.185 (0.156)	-0.167 (0.182)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.234 (0.174)	-0.364* (0.199)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.420** (0.170)	-0.341* (0.192)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.526*** (0.173)	-0.489** (0.196)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	27.104	58.199
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A10: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Post-traumatic stress disorder**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Post-traumatic stress disorder	-0.098*** (0.036)	-0.248*** (0.070)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is post-traumatic stress disorder)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.035 (0.043)	-0.034 (0.047)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.106** (0.046)	-0.130** (0.054)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.068* (0.040)	-0.050 (0.047)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.131** (0.063)	-0.175** (0.074)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	19.218	43.529
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A11: Fractional regression**

Dependent variable:	Labor force participation	Employment status
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.021*** (0.001)	-0.069*** (0.005)
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Survey wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,024	3,130

*Notes:* \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . The fractional regression is conducted by using Stata command ‘*cmp*’ developed by Roodman (2011). Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

**Table A12: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Mental health at time (*t-1*)**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores at ( <i>t-1</i> )	-0.037*** (0.010)	-0.083*** (0.029)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.005)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.011* (0.006)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.014*** (0.005)	-0.010* (0.006)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.015** (0.006)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	27.104	58.199
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,197	2,197
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A13: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Past-employment experience**

Dependent variable:	Employment status		Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)	
	No work experience (1)	Have work experience (2)	No work experience (3)	Have work experience (4)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.083** (0.036)	-0.141*** (0.019)	-0.048* (0.026)	-0.281** (0.140)
<i>First stage of 2SLS</i>				
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.147 (0.158)	-0.178 (0.167)	-0.046 (0.039)	-0.038 (0.040)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.161 (0.245)	-0.080 (0.252)	-0.059 (0.044)	-0.060 (0.046)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.314* (0.168)	-0.406** (0.176)	-0.105** (0.042)	-0.076* (0.044)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.346** (0.141)	-0.432*** (0.149)	-0.131*** (0.043)	-0.130*** (0.045)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	14.710	22.407	40.658	31.454
Dep. Mean	0.438	0.542	0.640	0.756
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	896	2,219	896	2,219
Number of individuals	370	952	370	952

Notes: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Columns (1)-(2) and IV-FE model in Columns (3)-(4). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A14: Plausibly exogenous instrument regressions**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.061*** (0.016)	-0.166*** (0.058)
Lower bound	-0.076	-0.271
Upper bound	-0.022	-0.093

*Notes:* The lower bound and upper bound are estimated using the *plausexog* command in Stata developed by Clarke and Matta (2018). Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

**Table A15: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – HILDA survey**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.034*** (0.004)	-0.030*** (0.009)
Standardized mental health scores*Migrants	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.021)
Dep. Mean	0.804	1.556
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	38,239	38,239
Number of individuals	4,500	4,500

*Notes:* \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Column (1) shows results of Logit-FE model (marginal effects). Column (2) shows results of FE model. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Data is taken from HILDA survey (2001 – 2019). Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, education, and number of children. Mental health in the HILDA survey is measured using the five-item Mental Health Inventory (MHI-5) scale, with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

**Table A16: Impacts of mental health on weekly labor income – Inverse hyperbolic sine transformation**

Dependent variable:	Weekly labor income	
	FE (1)	IV-Logit-FE (2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.165*** (0.058)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2		-0.088 (0.078)
Trauma experience*Wave 3		-0.124 (0.087)
Trauma experience*Wave 4		-0.196** (0.085)
Trauma experience*Wave 5		-0.258*** (0.087)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.		58.199
Dep. Mean	0.727	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A17: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Language skills at time (*t-1*)**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.060*** (0.015)	-0.185*** (0.071)
English - listening	-0.077 (0.076)	0.000 (0.005)
English - speaking	0.055 (0.092)	0.014* (0.008)
English - reading	0.136 (0.097)	-0.000 (0.006)
English - writing	0.065 (0.089)	0.008 (0.007)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.005)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.011* (0.006)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.014*** (0.005)	-0.010* (0.006)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.015** (0.006)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	27.104	58.199
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,197	2,197
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

*Notes:* \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A18: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – Interactions of control variables and time**

Dependent variable:	Employment status	Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)
	(1)	(2)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.056*** (0.014)	-0.147*** (0.047)
<i>First stage of 2SLS (dependent variable is standardized mental health scores)</i>		
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.110 (0.081)	-0.103** (0.045)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.164* (0.097)	-0.128** (0.052)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.182** (0.092)	-0.123** (0.052)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.266*** (0.095)	-0.154*** (0.050)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	18.411	55.433
Dep. Mean	0.512	0.727
Other controls	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,130	3,130
Number of individuals	1,322	1,322

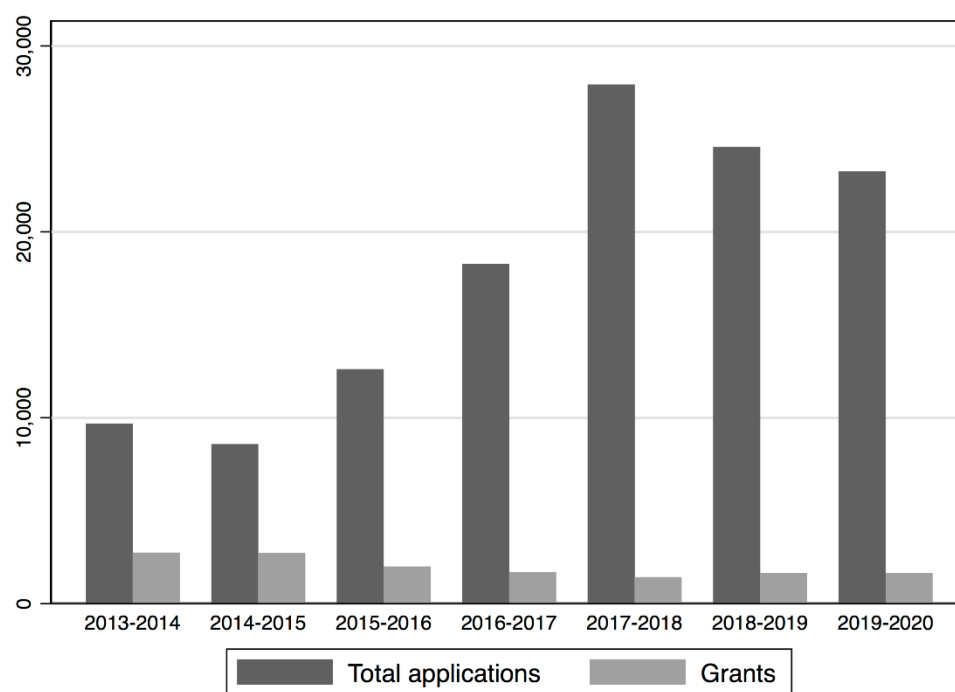
*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Column (1) and IV-FE model in Column (2). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, employment status of partner, and the interaction terms between these control variables and wave. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Table A19: Impacts of mental health on labor outcomes – By gender**

Dependent variable:	Employment status		Weekly labor income (\$1,000 AUD)	
	Women (1)	Men (2)	Women (3)	Men (4)
Standardized mental health scores	-0.057*** (0.014)	-0.063*** (0.015)	-0.067* (0.037)	-0.263** (0.117)
<i>First stage of 2SLS</i>				
Trauma experience*Wave 2	-0.127 (0.099)	-0.161 (0.145)	-0.079 (0.057)	-0.131* (0.077)
Trauma experience*Wave 3	-0.218** (0.110)	-0.114 (0.162)	-0.132** (0.062)	-0.108 (0.101)
Trauma experience*Wave 4	-0.212* (0.109)	-0.299** (0.148)	-0.113* (0.065)	-0.131 (0.089)
Trauma experience*Wave 5	-0.263** (0.110)	-0.314** (0.159)	-0.181*** (0.059)	-0.038 (0.094)
Kleibergen-Paap F stat.	19.550	20.541	38.233	27.231
Dep. Mean	0.328	0.564	0.534	0.761
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,408	1,722	1,408	1,722
Number of individuals	585	737	585	737

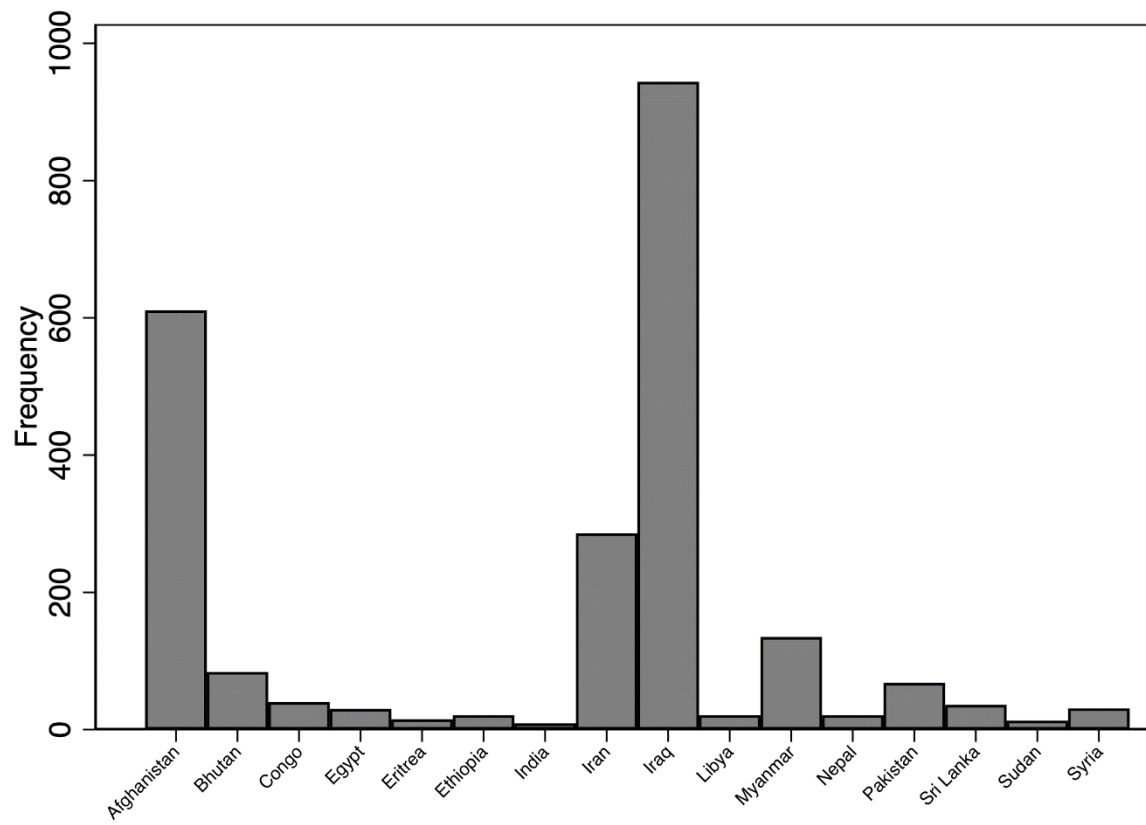
*Notes:* \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Results of IV-Logit-FE model (marginal effects) in Columns (1)-(2) and IV-FE model in Columns (3)-(4). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. Control variables include age group dummy variables, marital status, number of children, language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), residence area, and employment status of partner. Mental health scores are the sum of the 6-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (K6), with a higher score indicating worse mental health. The scores are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. The critical value of the F-test from Stock and Yogo (2005) is 16.38.

**Figure A1: Number of applications and grants of protection over time**



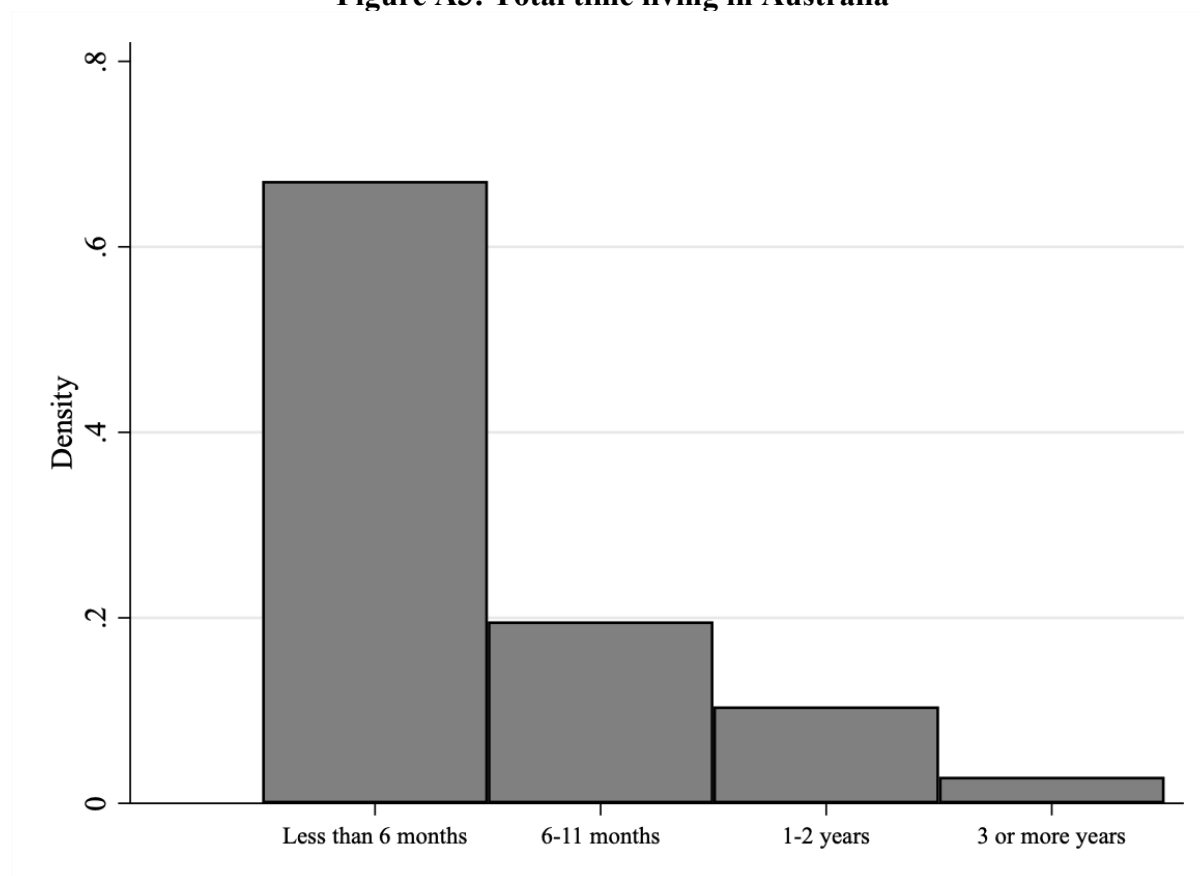
*Source:* Department of Home Affairs (Australia).

**Figure A2: Country of origin**



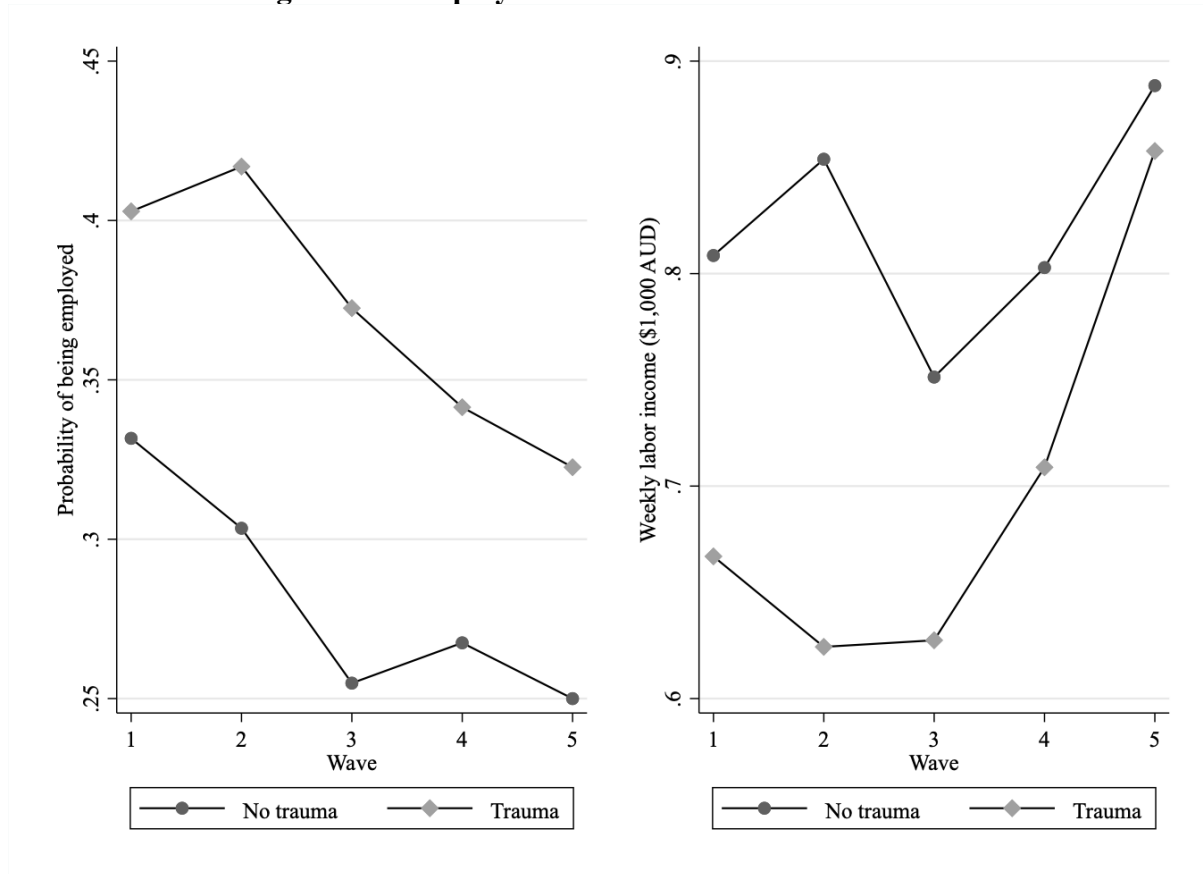
*Notes:* Data from BNLA survey.

**Figure A3: Total time living in Australia**



*Notes:* Data from BNLA survey.

**Figure A4: Employment status and income over time**



*Notes:* Data from BNLA survey.

## Appendix B: Robustness checks

To further scrutinize the robustness of our results, we conduct a battery of sensitivity analyses. These include checks with using the linear FE and IV-FE models instead of the logit FE and IV-logit-FE models, analyzing the original non-standardized mental health scores, removing workers with zero incomes, addressing panel attrition, and examining potential endogeneity of some covariates, whether the impacts are mitigated by other health channels other than mental health, alternative and disaggregate measures of mental distress, a different modeling approach, considering previous work experience, as well as implementing various stress tests on the IV.

First, we estimate the linear FE and IV-FE models for employment status and other binary outcomes variables instead of the logit FE and IV-logit-FE models and find qualitatively similar results. The results are presented in Table A3 (Appendix A). Second, our findings remain consistent when using the original non-standardized mental health scores, as shown in Table A4 (Appendix A). Third, for the labor income regressions in Table 2, refugees who do not work are assumed to have zero incomes. Alternatively, we also analyze a subsample of workers that have positive incomes and find consistent effects of mental distress (see Table A5, Appendix A).

Fourth, the panel attrition rate from wave 1 to wave 5 is approximately 22% and relatively lower than those in other surveys in Australia such as the HILDA or the Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC) (Department of Social Services, 2018). To address panel attrition issues, we create a balanced sample and replicate our main analysis in Table 2. The results confirm the negative impacts of mental distress on both employment status and labor income; furthermore, the estimates are of similar magnitudes (Appendix A, Table A6). In addition, we also account for the survey's stratified sampling design and nonresponse rates by using the longitudinal weights provided by BNLA. Again, the results of weighted regression reaffirm our previous findings, as shown in Table A7 (Appendix A).<sup>24</sup>

Fifth, while our baseline specification includes a range of covariates that are commonly employed in studies relating to labor market outcomes of refugees (e.g., Dagnelie et al., 2019; LoPalo, 2019), one may argue that language skills might be endogenous. For example, refugees who are eager to better engage in the labor market and have larger earnings might spend more effort on refining their language skills. We show that our results are robust to excluding these potential endogenous variables (Appendix A, Table A8).

Sixth, we construct alternative disaggregate measures of mental distress instead of the sum of the K6 items in the main analysis. Figure 1 examines each item separately to determine which dimension drives the effects of mental health. Using our preferred model specifications, we find that most of these dimensions of mental distress have a negative impact on employment status (including “nervous”, “hopeless”, “restless”, “cheer” and “worthless”) and labor income (including “hopeless”, “restless”, “effort”, “cheer”, and “worthless”). We further create a dummy indicator to measure serious mental distress, defined as mental health score being greater than 19 (Chen et al., 2017). The results using the new measure remain qualitatively similar (Appendix A, Table A9).

Seventh, we employ as a proxy for mental distress an indicator of PTSD available from the BNLA, which is an eight-item self-reported screening measure derived from the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire. Recent evidence suggests that PTSD symptoms are common among Syrian refugees in Norway (Aarethun et al., 2021). Participants rate PTSD symptoms on a four-point Likert scale (from 1 for “not at all” to four for “most of the time”), reporting how much the symptoms bothered them in the past week. We convert the answers into a dummy indicator

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<sup>24</sup> We do not apply weights in the main analysis as the BNLA survey mainly focuses on refugees migrating to Australia within a year before the time of the first interview, and thus findings might not be generalized to all humanitarian migrants (Department of Social Services, 2017).

that equals one if an individual is at risk of PTSD. The results remain qualitatively consistent (Appendix A, Table A10). The size of the coefficients in Table A10 also suggests that PTSD symptoms are strongly relevant for refugee respondents, and they have negative impacts on refugee employment outcomes.

Eighth, in the main analysis, we estimate the impact of worse mental health on employment status for refugees who participate in the labor force. To address potential self-selection into LFP and subsequent employment status, we employ the alternative two-part fractional response model (Roodman, 2011). While this approach allows us to model the LFP decision and employment status separately, it does not address the endogeneity of mental health. But our estimates remain qualitatively similar (Appendix A, Table A11).

Similarly, one may argue that mental health and labor market are measured in the same wave, which might lead to the problem of reverse causality (i.e., labor market exposure affects mental health). This is less likely to be the case in our study as we measure mental health in the last four weeks prior to the interview date, while labor outcomes are measured in the last seven days. To provide further support to our main findings, we regress labor market outcomes on mental distress measured in the previous wave (i.e., wave  $t-1$ ) and find qualitatively similar results, albeit weaker statistical significance for labor incomes (Appendix A, Table A12).

Another concern one may argue is that labor outcomes of refugees in the host country may be determined by their work experience before arrival, which in turn also has an impact on the trajectory of their mental distress. In our model specification, this has been taken into account by controlling for individual fixed effects. While other time-varying experience in the past is not available in the BNLA survey, we split our sample into two groups based on whether they did any paid work in a job, business or on a farm before arrival. The results presented in Table A13 (Appendix A) reveal no difference in the effect of mental health on labor outcomes for both groups.

Finally, we test the robustness of our results to deviations from the assumption of perfect exogeneity, using Conley et al.'s (2012) bounding method. This method relaxes the assumption of perfect exogeneity and assumes a flexible second-stage regression that also includes the instrument as a regressor. Assuming that the direct effect of the instrument on labor outcomes ranges from zero—perfectly exogenous—to the reduced form effect, the lower bound and upper bound estimates are both negative (Appendix A, Table A14). We conclude that the negative impacts of mental distress on labor market outcomes are robust to a large degree of instrument endogeneity.

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