

Labour Market Outcomes for Migrant Professionals

Canada and Australia Compared

Final Report

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Select Abbreviations

Cf	Compared to (used in a range of tables as well as text)
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CMA	Census Metropolitan Area (Canada)
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (the Australian Federal government equivalent to CIC)
DIMIA	Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (a recent variant of the title for DIMA)
ESB	English speaking background migrants (typically defined as migrants from the UK/Ireland, US, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand)
HRSDC	Human Resources and Social (formerly Skills) Development Canada
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IMDB	Longitudinal Immigration Database (Canada)
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (Canada)
LSIA	Longitudinal Database on Immigrants to Australia
LSIA 1	Interview survey administered 1993-1995, 6 months post-arrival
LSIA 2	Interview survey administered 1999-2000, 6 months post-arrival
LSIA 3	Mailout survey administered October 2005
LSIC	Longitudinal Survey on Immigrants to Canada
LSIC 1	Interview survey administered 2000-2001
MCQ	Multiple Choice Question examinations of medical knowledge for foreign medical graduates (used by the Canadian Medical Council and the Australian Medical Council)
MESB	Mainly English speaking background migrants (a term increasingly used in Australia in the past decade to refer to migrants from Commonwealth countries characterised by British-based education systems and substantial pre-migration exposure to English)
MODL	Migration Occupations in Demand List (Australia)

NESB	Non English speaking background migrants (typically used to describe migrants coming from non ESB countries, as defined above)
NLF/NILF	Not in the labour force
PA	Principal Applicant
StatsCan	Statistics Canada

1. Skilled Migration to Canada and Australia

a. The Policy Context

Economic Migration

Canada and Australia are global exemplars of nation-building through government planned and administered economic, family and humanitarian migration programs. By 2005 Australia included the world's highest percentage of foreign-born (24.6% of the population, with over 240 nationalities) followed by Canada at 19.2% and the US at 11.7% (Miller 2005).

Within the past decade Canada and Australia have also placed extraordinary emphasis on the recruitment of migrants with skills. In 2004 Canada selected 133,746 people in the economic category, in particular substantial numbers of points-tested Principal Applicants (PAs) qualified in the professions. Skilled migrants constituted 59.6% of Canada's total planned intake at this time (224,346 people), far exceeding the targets set for family (51,500-56,800) and refugee/ humanitarian (30,800-33,800) entrants. The proportion of economic migrants selected by Australia in 2004-05 was virtually identical to Canadian levels (58%), based on 77,800 applicants out of a permanent migrant/humanitarian intake of 133,000 people, with the 2005-06 target since set substantially higher (97,500) (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Despite numerical similarity in terms of economic migration programs, primary sources for skilled migrants vary markedly between Canada and Australia, as described in Section 2 of this report. Canada has placed unprecedented reliance in the recent period on migration from developing countries, most notably China (18%), India (11%), Philippines (7%), Pakistan (4%) and Romania (4%). While China and India feature strongly in Australia's skilled migration program, it has continued to maintain strong UK/Ireland and South African flows - the top 5 source countries for 2004-05 being the UK/Ireland (25%), India (13%), China (11%), South Africa (5%) and Malaysia (5%).

Since 1999, it is further worth noting, Australia has developed substantial onshore as well as offshore economic migration flows, based on 'two step migration'. By 2005 former international students with host-country degrees constituted 52% of all economic migrants - most notably Principal Applicants from India and China, who had self-funded in advance to meet local employers' language, training and credential requirements (Hawthorne 2005). Before 1999 international students had been ineligible to participate in the program until a minimum of three years after graduation.

According to a recent Australian analysis, by 2006:

The number of British settlers arriving ha(d) more than doubled in three years, with a 30 per cent rise last year alone... Last year they made up three in every four European migrants, who in turn made up just a quarter of Australia's new settlers. Australia also became the home to 18,510 settlers from New Zealand, the highest in four years, 10,250 from China and a record 9920 from India, now the fourth largest source of migrants to Australia... Figures for calendar 2005 are not available yet, but in the 12

months to June, 43,895 people living here (also) were granted permanent residence. They included about 7500 British citizens and roughly 5000 Chinese, 4000 Indians and several thousand Indonesian, Koreans and Malaysians. That number has been steadily rising, suggesting that the number of new migrants last year was about 175,000, twice as many as (a decade back), and suggesting business has won its fight for a big rise in skilled migration (Miller 2006: 3).

Additional Sources of Degree-Qualified Migrants

In addition to the economic category, very substantial numbers of degree-qualified migrants have reached both Canada and Australia via family and humanitarian immigration categories. These arrivals by definition are unfiltered by selection criteria at point of entry, yet will be motivated to work in their original fields, regardless of human capital requirements such as host-country language facility or foreign credential recognition.

In terms of degree-qualified migrants it is further important to factor in the growing number of skilled workers entering Australia and Canada on a temporary basis, with sponsorships providing incontrovertible evidence of local employer preference. In 2004, for example, Canada approved around 250,000 temporary visas, including 99,700 for Foreign Workers and 56,700 for international students. In nominating sources for Foreign Workers, Canadian employers' countries of choice were the US (17%), Mexico (13%), the UK (8%), Australia (8%) and France (7%) – countries markedly diverging from contemporary Canadian economic migration sources.

Australia approved far greater numbers of skilled temporary arrivals at this time, reflecting its post-1996 highly deregulated temporary policy environment. 'Short term' flows included 339,424 business entrants, 104,353 Working Holidaymakers, and 174,787 international students, with preferred sources for employer-sponsored workers being the UK/Ireland (35%), India (10%), the US (7%), South Africa and Japan (5% each).

As noted above, substantial numbers of these arrivals would ultimately participate in 'two-step migration' – reaching Australia on a temporary basis, then exercising the potential to category-shift and stay. This strategy represents a fast growing global phenomenon, frequently associated with excellent labour market outcomes. The latest New Zealand data, for instance, confirm 88% of skilled migrants to have arrived first on temporary work or study visas (Bedford 2006). By 2002 half all international students awarded doctorates in the US were still resident within 5 years, including 86-96% of students from China and India, the two primary source countries, (Finn 2001). In September 2006 a new US provisional category proposed by the Independent Taskforce on Immigration and America's Future strongly endorsed expansion of such two-step migration, tied to domestic labour market demand (Abraham & Hamilton 2006).

b. Economic Migration Selection Systems: Current Values

Given the scale and diversity of current skilled migration flows, the policy environment is inevitably complex. In the past two decades the Canadian and Australian governments have demonstrated increasing concern to monitor labour market outcomes for newly arrived

economic migrants - the ultimate public justification of the 'success' of their programs. They have attempted to do so in the context of rising global competition for people with skills, as developed nations confront demographic decline and ageing professional workforces. Simultaneously they have been obliged to address considerable public ambivalence about the scale and changing characteristics of migrant intakes: most notably the admission of linguistically and racially diverse professionals from non-traditional source countries, associated with highly variable labour market integration rates.

While both Canada and Australia use points-based selection criteria, based on the system devised by Canada in 1978, there has been sharp divergence since 1996 on the values and priorities informing these programs. The primary goal for Canada remains nation-building, based on sustained high-level intakes regardless of economic cycles, and informed by a human capital model of immigrant selection. Australia by contrast has instigated successive economic migration reviews in 1997, 1999, and 2006 - the aim being to use the research evidence in order to finetune selection criteria, in the process optimising immediate as well as long-term economic outcomes.

A recent Australian report summarised the Canadian strategy the following way:

The human capital model... has dominated Canada's selection of skilled migrants – endorsed in its most recent migration review (2002), and standing in sharp contrast to Australia's intensification of screening for select employment attributes. While education level matters for Principal Applicants, field and place of qualification do not, in a context where labour market demand is seen as hard to predict and 'individuals can expect to have several careers over their working lives'. According to Hiebert (2006) the prevailing Canadian view is that 'well-trained flexible individuals... who have experience in the labour force' should be able to 'adapt to rapidly changing labour market circumstances'. In consequence 'general' rather than 'specific' competence is sought – Canadian selection criteria admitting PAs with limited host country language skills, non-recognised qualifications, and in fields of minimal labour market demand on an equal basis to those with more immediately sought after attributes (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006: 130-131).

It is worth noting here that Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA 2002) foreshadowed minimal economic category changes – in the view of a number of senior officials interviewed, representing 'a lost opportunity to re-examine the fundamentals and grapple with global realities' for Canada. While positive results flowing from IRPA would not have emerged until 2005, according to a recent analysis by October 2006 there was yet to be evidence of improved economic category outcomes (Sweetman 2006).

Over the past 10 years Australia, in marked contrast to Canada, has largely abandoned the human capital model in selecting economic migrants (though some vestiges remain). The election of the current conservative government in 1996 coincided with a profound policy shift from altruism to pragmatism (Hawthorne 2005). While the family and humanitarian migration intakes were endorsed as serving broad social purposes, serious unemployment amongst recently arrived skilled migrants was perceived to undermine the effectiveness of the economic migration program – one explicitly devised in 1988 to support Australia's economic goals (Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policy 1988).

Jettisoning the former Labor government's strategy as 'out of balance and out of control' the incoming government's aim was to 'return the balance in the program to one that is in the

national interest' (Ruddock 1996: 1). In stating its determination to change economic migration policy, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs defined six key attributes as making 'a good skill(ed) applicant', most notably '(o)btaining a job soon after arrival that uses their skills... (b)ecome quickly established... (n)or require benefits'. In the decade since, Australia has sought early and positive economic migration outcomes, with results at six months strongly correlated to longer-term employment success (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

From 1996 to 1999, Australia's Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs systematically reviewed and transformed the skilled migration program – the government's abolition of Social Security benefits for migrants in the first two years matched by a determination to 'select for success' among Principal Applicants. Following a preliminary audit conducted in 1997-98, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) initiated a major review in 1999. The stated aim of this was to 'evaluate... the effectiveness of the points test for the Independent and Skilled-Australian Linked categories in selecting skilled migrants 'who can quickly make a positive contribution to the Australian economy, labour market and budget' (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 1999: vii). To facilitate this process, the review drew on two definitive employment databases: the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (the LSIA, based on a representative sample of 5% of migrants/ refugees from successive cohorts of 1990s migration), and a comparative analysis of employment outcomes for migrant professionals from a variety of countries/ regions of origin, based on 1996 Census data.

In line with the review's findings, since 1999 an increasing number of Principal Applicants at perceived risk of delayed or de-skilled employment have been excluded from economic migration to Australia at point of entry, through rigorous expansion of pre-migration English language testing (extended to family-skill categories), mandatory credential assessment, and a range of additional modifications to the points selection process.

Key strategies have included:

- Allocation of greatest points weighting to 'the core employability factors of skill, age and English language ability', based on the establishment of 'minimum threshold standards' for each of these aspects (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 1999: 12);
- Additional points weighting for occupations in demand, in addition to degree-level qualifications correlating to specific (rather than generic) professional fields;
- Allocation of bonus points for former international students with credentials recently completed in Australia (a minimum of one and subsequently two years);
- Abolition of age-related points for applicants aged 45 and over, and English language points for applicants possessing less than 'vocational' levels of English; and
- Allocation of further bonus points for recent continuous Australian or international experience in a professional field, for a 'genuine job offer' in an occupation in demand, for applicants with a spouse satisfying economic application criteria, for people bringing 'a high level of capital with them to Australia' (\$A100,000 or more), and for people sponsored by close Australia-based relatives (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 1999).

Australia's recently completed 2005-06 economic migration review (the most extensive since 1988) has affirmed this strategy to be highly effective in delivering immediate labour market

results. In finetuning the program further, additional measures related to enhanced English language ability, labour market demand, and work experience for former international students are likely to be implemented from July 2007 (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006). Key differences between Canada's and Australia's points-based selection system for economic migrants are summarised in Figure 1 below, accurate to March 2006, with data also included for the UK and New Zealand for comparative purposes.

c. Aims and Methodology of the Current Study

According to a recent Canadian study, economic migration is based on a two-way contract: *Host countries, such as Canada, look to the skills and initiative of immigrants to promote economic growth. Immigrants, in turn, look to the host country for opportunities to gainfully employ their skills and abilities. These considerations are particularly important when immigrants are highly educated. Host countries are increasingly seeking highly-educated immigrants to drive economic growth in the 'knowledge-based' economy. Not surprisingly, immigrants look to use their higher education levels to achieve high economic standards of living. However, if immigrants are unable to convert their training to productive use, the expectations of both the host country and the arriving immigrants remain unmet* (Pictor, Hou & Coulombe 2007: 7).

Within this dynamic migration policy context, the Canada-Australia study to follow has three major aims.

Firstly, the study assesses the scale of each nation's reliance on skilled migration in the recent period, in particular degree-qualified arrivals selected through permanent and temporary entry programs in 10 fields.

Based on the latest available Census data (2001) the study next:

- Defines the demographic characteristics of these flows, including points of similarity or difference;
- Assesses their potential impact on each country by select professional field, in the context of contemporary trends in labour market demand; and
- Examines factors correlated with more or less positive employment outcomes for degree-qualified migrants in their first 5 years of residence (including the significance of birthplace, gender, age, location, place and level of qualification).

By definition, this Census data analysis (Sections 2-7 of the report) presents Canadian and Australian employment outcomes for *all* degree-qualified migrants, entering via the points-tested economic category, in addition to the unscreened family and humanitarian programs. It thus establishes national employment norms.

Using the Census findings for control purposes, Section 8 of the report then assesses the comparative effectiveness of Canada's and Australia's economic migration systems in selecting migrants likely to secure employment in the early post-arrival period (6-12 months). This analysis is based on data derived from the Immigrants Taxfile Database (1994/5 and 1999/2000), the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Canada (LSIC, administered 2000-01), and the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA, administered 1993-95 and

1999-2000). Select methodological issues are described at the start of that section, with the latest Australian LSIA 3 data inserted where relevant (published in May 2006).

A number of important policy issues are highlighted in the report's Executive Summary, which also forms the study's Conclusion.

Some Additional Points

Please note in relation to the analysis that follows that 'degree-qualified' migrants are defined as those holding degrees at the point of administration of the 2001 Census (Sections 2 to 7), with the proportion qualified overseas or in the host country estimated in Section 7. Migrants arriving aged 25 years or older, who hold at least one degree, are presumed to be foreign degree holders, since Census data for Canada and Australia do not provide information on place of qualification. By contrast immigration arrivals data provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (Australia) permit accurate definition of the number of arrivals migrating with degrees, as does the longitudinal survey data (see Section 8).

In terms of the Census analysis, data for all migrants including those arriving in the year of its administration were incorporated for both Canada and Australia (2001). The definition of birthplace countries and regions of origin used in this research is provided in the Appendix to the report, with comments also in select footnotes in context as required. When defining employment outcomes, the following categorisations are used based on the Canadian and Australian Census data:

- 'Own profession': working at a professional level in the respondent's reported field of qualification, based on directly comparable Canadian (NOC) and Australian (ASCO) codes.
- 'Other profession': working at a professional level in a different field to the respondent's reported field of qualification.
- 'Administration/ management': working in an administrative or managerial position.
- 'Associate-professional': working in skilled employment at a level lower than professional status (for example as a technologist rather than as an engineer, or as a nurse assistant rather than as a registered nurse).
- 'Any work': employment in lower-skilled positions of any remaining type, based on an aggregation of the trades, sales, clerical or production fields of employment.

Please note that in many of the Census-based tables, the percentages may not add up to 100% for two reasons. Firstly, the status of some respondents is unknown and therefore the details are not reported in the tables. For example, in Table 12 under Australia, the South African percentages add up to 90.5% of the total number because in 9.5% of South African cases the status was not reported in the Census. The total numbers have been included in the interests of providing researchers with the overall pattern of migration. Secondly, where there were small numbers such that reporting of percentages would be misleading, these have been suppressed.

Figure 1: Points tests for economic category migrants – Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and New Zealand compared (2004-2005)

Attribute	Australia July 2005	Canada September 2003	New Zealand 2004-05	United Kingdom 2005
Skill	Recognised 60 (occupation-specific training) 50 (general professional occupations) 40 (other general skilled occupations)	25 (Masters or PhD) ^a 22 (2 or more bachelor degrees or trade credential) 20 (2 year university degree or trade credential) 5-15 (lower school/ post-school qualifications)	Recognised 55 (Masters or PhD) 50 (Trade/ tertiary)	65 (MBA, if degree from one of the 50 world top Schools) 30 (PhD) 25 (Masters) 15 (Bachelors) TBA (Trades or professional qualifications to be assessed 'based on equivalency to the above UK qualifications')
Age	18-44 years 30 (18-29 years) 25 (30-34 years) 20 (35-39 years) 15 (40-44 years)	10 (21-49 years) 2 points less for each year over 49 or under 21	20-55 years 30 (20-29 years) 25 (30-39 years) 20 (40-44 years) 10 (45-49 years) 5 (50-55 years)	5 for applicants under 28 years
Host country language ability	Points allocated 20 (competent English, IELTS 6 average) 15 (vocational English, IELTS 5 average)	Points allocated 2-24 (level of ability in English and/or French; not essential for skill migration and no obligation for external validation)	No points allocated Since Nov 2002 IELTS 6.5 average a pre-requisite for skill PAs	No points allocated Applicants asked to rate their English ability as 'Good-Vocational' or 'Very Good-Competent' in Eligibility Assessment Form, but no advice on how such information might be used (if at all)
Host country qualifications	15 (doctorate) 10 (masters or honours degree) ^b 5 (degree, diploma or trade qualification) ^c	5 ^d	10 ^e	-

Figure 1: Points tests for economic category migrants – Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and New Zealand compared (2004-05) (Cont.)

Attribute	Australia July 2005	Canada September 2003	New Zealand 2004-05	United Kingdom 2005
Recent work experience	<p>Off-shore applicants: 10 (if experience relates to nominated 60 point occupation) 5 (if experience is in any 40, 50 or 60 point occupation) 12-24 months experience essential, depending on specific skill category.</p> <p>On-shore applicants: Work experience waived for applicants with recent Australian qualifications.</p>	<p>Up to 21 points for up to 4 years work experience in a skilled (though not specific) occupation. Additional threshold requirement of 1 year's full-time work experience in a field on the National Occupation List</p>	<p>Skilled work experience 60 (>12 months) 50 (<12 months) 50 (current offer)</p> <p>plus</p> <p>Relevant work experience 30 (10 years) 25 (8 years) 20 (6 years) 15 (4 years) 10 (2 years)</p>	<p>Graduate level job 25-50 (dependent on qualification level, age of applicant and calibre of experience)</p>
Achievement in the field	-	-	-	<p>25 (Exceptional)^f 15 (Significant)</p>
Recent earnings	-	-	-	<p>Based on earnings assessment in past 12 months in country of origin (with income differences by country controlled for by 5 categories). This example relates to high income nations including Australia (Category A):</p> <p>>28 years 50 (£250,000) 35 (£100,000) 25 (£40,000) <28 years 50 (£60,000) 35 (£40,000) 25 (£27,000)</p> <p>Category E allocates 25-50 points for income ranging from £2,350-£21,875.</p>

Figure 1: Points tests for economic category migrants – Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and New Zealand compared (2004-05) (Cont.)

Attribute	Australia July 2005	Canada September 2003	New Zealand 2004-05	United Kingdom 2005
Occupational demand	20 (if nominated occupation is on Migration Occupation in Demand List, with job offer) 15 (if occupation on MODL with no job offer)	10 (permanent or temporary job offer in Canada) 5 (minimum 1 year work experience in Canada) 5 (arranged employment in Canada)	See bonus points (below); from 2006 3,000 additional skill places reserved for applicants with NZ jobs or job offers, with 'work to residence' permits reduced from 2 years to 6 months	50 (General Practitioner only, recognised to work in the UK)
Regional links	5 (has lived and studied for minimum of 2 years in regional Australia)	-	See bonus points (below)	-
Spouse skills	5 (if spouse age, English ability, work experience, field and qualifications satisfy selection requirements)	3-5 (education level)	10 (qualification)	10 (Bachelor degree or higher) 10 (Vocational or professional qualification equal to degree) 10 (Current or previous graduate level work experience, without qualification)
State/ Territory sponsorship	10 (if applicant is sponsored by an authorised State or Territory body)	Select Provincial Nominee Programs in place and expanding	-	-
Relationship	15 (if applicant is sponsored by a spouse of close relative)	5	10	-
Bonus points	5 for one of the following: Capital investment Australian work experience Fluency in community language	-	10 (qualification in growth area) 10 (qualification in skills shortage area) 5-10 (job, job offer or spouse job offer in skill shortage area or select region) 5-15 (extended work experience in skill shortage area or select region) 5-15 (2-6 years of NZ work experience)	-
Points required	120i	67	100 (eligibility), then selected by ranking. From 2006 automatic acceptance of applicants securing 140 points or more.	65

Notes to Figure 1:

a = Applicants are also required to have at least 17 years equivalent full-time study.

b = Honours degree to be achieved at upper secondary level or higher, and at least 2 years total Australian accredited study.

c = Minimum of 2 years academic study in Australia; from September 2005 minimum of 16 months academic study if summer semester is included.

d = Minimum of 2 years academic study in Canada.

e = At least 2 years New Zealand study required.

f = 'Exceptional achievement' is defined as 'a tiny number of people who are right at the top of their profession'.

g = The definition of 'regional Australia' includes state capitals with low populations, eg Adelaide and Hobart.

h = Defined as 'outside Auckland'.

i = Fewer points are required for select regional migration schemes, eg 100.

Source: Table prepared by L Hawthorne for Evaluation of the General Skilled Migration Categories, B Birrell, L Hawthorne & S Richardson, Commonwealth of Australia (2006)

2. Immigration and the Skills Base of Canada and Australia

a. The Economic Context

Canada and Australia have experienced remarkably similar economic cycles in the recent period, as demonstrated by a recent study. While growth in gross domestic product from 1991-96 was 1.7 for Canada compared to 3.0 for Australia, from 1996-2001 it was 3.8 for Canada compared to 3.9 for Australia. Across the decade real GDP rose by almost identical levels in each country (2.8 for Canada compared to 2.7 for Australia). From 1996-2001 69.5% of Canada's population was employed, compared to 69% of Australia's, with employment growth of around 0.2-0.3% in each country. Unemployment rates were also similar: Canada averaging 8.1% compared to 7.4% in Australia. Such comparability provides an excellent base for a contrastive policy study. According to Richardson & Lester, from an economic perspective Australia and Canada 'look very alike':

Whereas Australia's economy did perform well during the decade to 2001, it was only during the 1991-1996 period that Australia's growth was superior to that of Canada. During the 1996-2001 period, during which migrants included in (both countries' Longitudinal and Census surveys) arrived and were looking for employment, both economies performed equally well. Thus (any) superior labour force performance of migrants to Australia... cannot be explained simply in terms of economic performance (Richardson & Lester 2004: 10).

b. The Recent Level of Skilled Migration to Canada and Australia

Proportion of Degree-Qualified Recent Arrivals

In recent decades there has been a vast inflow of degree-qualified migrants to both Canada and Australia, far exceeding the credential level of previous intakes. From 1996-2001 37% of all migrants to Canada possessed degrees, compared to 21% of pre-1991 and 22% of 1991-1996 arrivals. These intakes surpassed the credential level of migrants to Australia, where 26% of 1996-2001 arrivals possessed degrees, compared to 17% of pre-1991 and 24% of 1991-96 migrants. (See Tables 1a-1b for flows to each country.)

Numbers

In terms of numbers, by the time of the 2001 Census, Canada's population included 3,374,057 degree-qualified arrivals and 3,801,118 migrants with post secondary diplomas or certificates, compared to 1,769,154 degree and 933,889 diploma qualified migrants in Australia. From 1996-2001 newly arriving migrants were more than twice as likely as the Canada-born to be degree-qualified (37% compared to 15%). Similar patterns were evident in Australia (26%

compared to 14%). Increasing numbers of migrants however have struggled to achieve appropriate employment in each country, particularly in the first 5 years of arrival, regardless of the state of local business cycles (see eg Birrell & Hawthorne 1997, 1999; Aydemir 2003; Picot & Hou 2003; Picot 2004; Frenette et al 2004; Reitz 2000, Reitz 2005; Hawthorne 2005).

Gender

The credential superiority of recent migrants to the local born applied to women as well as men, despite native-born females in Canada and Australia being more likely than males to possess degrees at this time. Interestingly, male migrants to Canada were far more highly qualified than females (41% with degrees compared to 33%), despite both genders easily exceeding the credential norm of the Canada-born (15% and 16% respectively; see Table 2).

In Australia, by contrast, recently arrived females (25% with degrees) were very similar in terms of education levels to males (27%). As we shall see in Section 7, the gender of migrants is an issue with significant employment ramifications.

Diploma and Certificate Qualifications

While the current study focuses on labour market outcomes for degree-qualified migrants, it is important to note from the outset that very substantial numbers of diploma or certificate-qualified migrants have also reached Canada and Australia in the recent period, despite neither country prioritising such qualifications for economic migration in the decade to 2001 (a policy under rapid transformation in Australia by 2005¹). (See Table 2.)

Table 1a: Canada-born and overseas-born persons holding degree and diploma level qualifications, migrants grouped by time of arrival in Canada, 2001

Origin	Arrival	Degree/ Higher Degree	Post-Sec Dip or Cert	Post-Sec. No Dip or Cert	High School or Less	Number
Canada		15.0	19.0	20.1	46.0	16,009,426
Overseas	Pre-1991	20.8	19.9	18.7	40.7	2,657,064
	1991-1996	22.1	17.1	18.5	42.3	719,443
	1996-2001	36.6	14.9	14.2	34.3	726,880
Overseas	Total	23.8	18.5	17.9	39.8	4,103,387
Total No.						20,112,813

Source: 2001 Census (Canada)

¹ By December 2005 Australia's Migration Occupations in Demand List (the source of 15-20 bonus points for economic migrants) listed 37 professional and 27 trade occupations (compared to 5 of each category in 1999). Potential migrants were responding rapidly to trade opportunities: by 2004-05 trade occupations constituting 7 out of the top 10 fields of application for off-shore economic applicants, though professional applicants still dominated (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2006: 123-5).

Table 1b: Australia-born and overseas-born persons holding degree and diploma level qualifications, migrants grouped by time of arrival in Australia, 2001

Origin	Arrival	Degree/ Higher Degree	Dip/ Adv Dip/Cert IV	Skilled Vocational	Other	Number
Australia		13.7	7.6	13.3	65.4	8,765,927
Overseas	Pre-1991	16.6	8.5	13.1	61.8	2,231,809
	1991-1996	23.9	9.3	8.6	58.2	308,835
	1996-2001	26.1	10.6	7.2	56.1	483,700
Overseas	Total	18.9	8.9	11.7	60.5	3,024,344
Total No.						11,790,271

Source: 2001 Census (Australia)

By 2001 In consequence 52% of diploma-qualified architecture/building migrants and 43% of IT and 40% of engineering 'professionals' in Canada were overseas-born, compared to 40% of information technology (IT), 37% of engineering and 32% of architecture/building arrivals in Australia.

Table 2: Level of Canadians and foreign born persons with degree or diploma level qualifications (2001), immigrants grouped by time of arrival in Canada, percentages

Birthplace	Arrival	Gender	Qualifications				Number
			Degree/ Higher degree	Post-second. Cert. or Dip.	Post-second. no Cert. or Dip.	High school or less	
Canada*		Male	14.5	15.5	22.0	48.0	7,961,265
		Female	15.5	22.4	18.2	43.9	8,048,161
		All	15.0	19.0	20.1	46.0	16,009,426
Outside Canada**	Pre-1991	Male	22.8	17.7	20.9	38.6	1,304,302
Female		18.9	22.0	16.5	42.7	1,352,761	
All		20.8	19.9	18.7	40.7	2,657,064	
	1991-1996	Male	23.7	15.2	19.6	41.5	338,313
Female		20.7	18.8	17.6	43.0	381,119	
All		22.1	17.1	18.5	42.3	719,443	
	1996-2001	Male	40.7	12.9	14.4	31.9	347,660
Female		32.8	16.6	14.0	36.5	379,219	
All		36.6	14.9	14.2	34.3	726,880	
S/Total	Male	26.09	16.42	19.55	37.93	1,990,275	
Overseas	Female	21.71	20.43	16.25	41.61	2,113,099	
	All	23.84	18.49	17.85	39.83	4,103,387	

Notes:

* = includes those born outside Canada to Canadian parents.

** = excludes temporary residents.

Source: Canadian Census 2001.

Since diploma qualifications fail to equate to western professional norms, many such migrants have struggled to find skilled work. By contrast trade-qualified migrants have performed extremely well in each nation's labour market.

c. Permanent Migration Flows by Field of Qualification

The Impact of Migration on Select Professions: 10 Fields

This sustained entry of tertiary-qualified migrants in the recent period has clear potential to impact on the professions in Canada and Australia. To inform future policy formation, this study assessed select factors associated with greater or lesser rates of economic integration for degree-qualified migrants in seven vocational fields (virtually all regulated professions in Canada and Australia, apart from information technology [Human Resources Skills Development Canada 2004]):

- Information technology (IT)
- Engineering
- Architecture & building
- Medicine
- Nursing
- Teacher education
- Accounting

For contrastive purposes, employment outcomes for migrants were also explored in three generic credential fields, given the strong representation of these in contemporary migration flows to both countries:

- Rest of management and commerce (eg Bachelor of Economics)
- Society & culture, creative arts (eg Bachelor of Arts)
- Natural & physical sciences (eg Bachelor of Science)

By 2001 Canada and Australia included very high proportions of overseas-born professionals across all 10 fields, constituting around half of all degree-qualified workers in engineering (50% in Canada, 48% in Australia), IT (51% in Canada, 49% in Australia), architecture/building (49% in Canada) and medicine (46% in Australia). (See Tables 3a and 3b.)

The proportion of 1996-2001 arrivals in select occupations was striking, most notably for Canada in IT (22% of the total workforce), engineering (20%), and architecture/building (16%). The suddenness of these inflows clearly posed some risk of 'flooding the market', as had occurred in Australia in engineering from 1986-1993 (Hawthorne 1994). The level of such migrants reaching Australia was somewhat lower, with primary clusters located in IT (14%), engineering (12%), other management/commerce (11%) and medicine (10%).

In numerical terms it is also important to note here the high number of degree-qualified arrivals with non-vocational credentials, particularly the 1,106,842 migrants with society and culture, creative arts degrees in Canada (all periods) compared to 405,391 in Australia. As we shall see in Section 6, possession of generic rather than vocationally linked qualifications is consistently associated with inferior labour market outcomes for migrants, particularly in their first 5 years post-arrival.

Table 3a: Canadian professional workforce (2001) by qualification level and field, birthplace and year of arrival, percentages

Degree/Higher Degree Arrivals by Field	Canada -born	Overseas-born				Number
		All overseas -born	By Year of Arrival			
			Pre- 1991	1991- 1996	1996- 2001	
Information Technology	49.1	50.9	19.4	9.4	22.1	109,292
Engineering	49.6	50.4	21.9	8.7	19.8	287,723
Architecture & Building	51.3	48.7	23.7	9.2	15.9	76,749
Medical Studies	64.7	35.3	20.9	5.5	8.8	208,140
Nursing	76.6	23.4	15.3	3.5	4.6	91,337
Teacher Education	84.8	15.2	11.4	1.8	2.1	515,503
Accounting	64.7	35.3	19.0	6.8	9.6	152,245
Rest of Management/ Commerce	72.7	27.3	14.7	5.0	7.6	384,653
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	75.7	24.3	15.5	3.6	5.2	1,106,842
Natural & Physical Sciences	64.5	35.5	19.9	5.8	9.8	312,154
Other	77.8	22.2	11.9	3.8	6.5	129,420
Total	71.0	29.0	16.4	4.7	7.9	3,374,057

Source: Canadian Census 2001.

Degree-Qualified Migrants Selected in Economic Categories

Examination of Immigration Department data for both Canada and Australia confirmed high proportions of degree-qualified arrivals within these periods to have been selected as economic migrants.

Table 3b: Australian professional workforce (2001) by qualification level and field, birthplace and year of arrival, percentages

Degree/Higher Degree Arrivals by Field	Australia -born	Overseas-born				Number
		All overseas -born	By Year of Arrival			
			Pre- 1991	1991- 1996	1996- 2001	
Information Technology	51.2	48.8	27.4	7.2	14.2	69,694
Engineering	52.2	47.8	27.7	8.5	11.6	136,454
Architecture & Building	66.3	33.7	22.3	4.4	7.0	32,554
Medical Studies	54.2	45.8	30.1	5.8	9.9	47,251
Nursing	75.9	24.1	19.2	2.2	2.7	137,949
Teacher Education	80.2	19.8	15.2	1.8	2.8	285,971
Accounting	64.2	35.7	23.4	4.6	7.7	100,923
Rest of Management/ Commerce	64.4	35.6	20.1	5.0	10.5	218,339
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	68.8	31.1	20.5	3.6	7.0	405,391
Natural & Physical Sciences	62.6	37.4	23.8	5.4	8.2	145,453
Other	71.2	28.8	19.4	3.6	5.8	189,175
Total	67.7	32.3	21.0	4.2	7.1	1,769,154

Source: Australian Census 2001.

In terms of Canada for instance, 85,363 engineers had arrived from 1991 to 2003 as principal applicants (PAs) within the two primary economic categories (as advised by Citizenship and Immigration Canada): 90% as 'Other skilled workers' (equivalent to the 'Independent'

Table 4: Canada landed degree-qualified immigrants by category and occupation, 1991-2003 arrivals

Category	Occupation	Arrival years			Total
		1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2003	
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Information Technology	6052	14494	7953	28498
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Engineering	11612	38930	26639	77180
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Architecture and Building	3590	9464	5796	18849
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Medical Studies	2823	3074	2313	8209
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Nursing	1995	98	275	2367
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Teacher Education	2655	2097	2286	7037
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Accounting	2276	5551	2745	10572
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Rest of Management/ Commerce	5981	11229	8355	25564
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Society and Culture, Creative Arts	3569	6228	3840	13636
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Natural and Physical Sciences	4406	11991	5590	21986
Other skilled workers - p.a.	Other and no occupation code	92518	82856	45021	220395
S/TOTAL		137476	186009	110809	434,293
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Information Technology	857	1446	835	3137
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Engineering	1612	3953	2619	8183
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Architecture and Building	856	1368	897	3121
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Medical Studies	396	551	358	1304
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Nursing	422	28	18	467
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Teacher Education	364	207	74	645
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Accounting	1284	1562	728	3573
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Rest of Management/ Commerce	4350	3679	1562	9590
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Society and Culture, Creative Arts	692	907	494	2092
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Natural and Physical Sciences	719	1188	727	2633
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Other and no occupation code	39595	24232	9128	72954
S/TOTAL		51143	39118	17438	107,699
All other	Information Technology	989	1227	632	2847
All other	Engineering	4127	4010	1785	9922
All other	Architecture and Building	2111	1519	697	4326
All other	Medical Studies	3090	2349	1345	6783
All other	Nursing	2330	1475	874	4678
All other	Teacher Education	6637	4169	2189	12994
All other	Accounting	2048	2233	1236	5516
All other	Rest of Management/ Commerce	7053	4773	2356	14181
All other	Society and Culture, Creative Arts	3279	2587	1331	7197
All other	Natural and Physical Sciences	1792	1633	561	3985
All other	Other and no occupation code	1072537	794902	434445	2301883
S/TOTAL		1105989	820875	447449	2,374,312
GRAND TOTAL		1294607	1046001	575696	2916304

Source: Compiled from landed immigrant arrivals data provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005

category in Australia) and 10% as ‘Assisted relatives’ (equivalent to the Skilled Australia-Linked category in Australia) (Citizenship & Immigration Canada 2005²). Of the total 95,285 engineers accepted at this time, just 10% (9,922) had arrived through the non-economic family or humanitarian programs. Comparable trends applied in IT, with 91% of degree-qualified arrivals selected in points-tested economic categories. (See Table 4.) In principle, if Canada’s economic migration selection strategies are working well, such migrants should have an excellent chance of securing work, particularly once well-established.

By contrast it is important to note that teachers, nurses and doctors often reached Canada through non-economic categories from 1991-2003 (with the labour market consequence to be tested in context in Section 6):

- *Teachers*: 37% in economic categories, compared to 63% in other family/humanitarian categories
- *Nurses*: 38% in economic categories, compared to 62% in other family/humanitarian categories
- *Doctors*: 58% in economic categories, compared to 42% in other family/humanitarian categories

It seems reasonable to assume such arrivals might experience greater difficulty securing appropriate Canadian work, given their lack of pre-migration ‘filtering’ by economic points-tested criteria.

d. Temporary Migration by Field of Qualification

Temporary Migration to Canada: the Foreign Worker Program

While this report is primarily concerned with employment outcomes for landed immigrant arrivals (both Canada and Australia), it is essential to note that all 10 selected fields are characterised in addition by strong temporary migration flows.

Between 1991 and 2003 a further 2,063,022 foreign workers reached Canada, including 443,799 in 2001-03 alone. Teachers (66,435) and engineers (38,572) dominated in terms of specific vocational fields, with very substantial additional arrivals qualified in management and commerce (65,505). (See Table 5.) While many such professionals came for relatively short stays, the 2004 data provided by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada showed the planned arrival the following year of 7,437 additional sponsored foreign workers, including 2,545 doctors (34%), 2,362 engineers (32%) and 890 nurses (12%). In 2005 this momentum was sustained, with positions in the fields of medicine (2,926), mechanical engineering/ technology (1498), university professors (878), and nursing (738) dominating arrivals (HRSDC 2006).

² All Canadian immigration flows information is derived from the author’s analysis of data provided by Citizenship & Immigration Canada in 2005.

Table 5: Canada annual flows of temporary foreign workers by select country and region of birth, 1991-1996, 1996-2001, 2002-2003 (by rank order)

Country of birth	Arrival years			Total
	1991-1996	1996-2001	2002-2003	
USA	115309	120749	47321	283378
UK and Ireland	27673	34477	18461	80610
Australia	14908	18392	13379	46678
Philippines	15354	12732	12055	40140
India	6111	9482	6259	21852
China	9803	7671	3854	21327
New Zealand	2856	3472	2457	8784
South Africa	1937	2945	1641	6522
Hong Kong	4466	1295	431	6191
Malaysia / Singapore	1207	1124	617	2947
Taiwan	863	1252	423	2537
Pakistan	683	1021	474	2177
Vietnam	1305	1057	405	2766
Lebanon	687	761	393	1841
Indonesia	693	629	313	1634
Iraq	200	159	75	434
Other South and Central America	80410	89799	54511	224719
Other Europe	61809	71094	34019	166922
Other Asia and Pacific	28885	29324	16676	74884
Other Africa and Middle East	11170	11834	5890	28894
Not stated	387385	426250	224151	1037785
TOTAL	773707	845516	443799	2,063,022

Source: Compiled from landed immigrant arrivals data provided by Citizenship and Immigration

Canada, 2005; please note data were not separately provided for Mexico and France, which are important Foreign Worker sources for Canada – in 2005 constituting 13% (Mexico) and 7% (France) of arrivals.

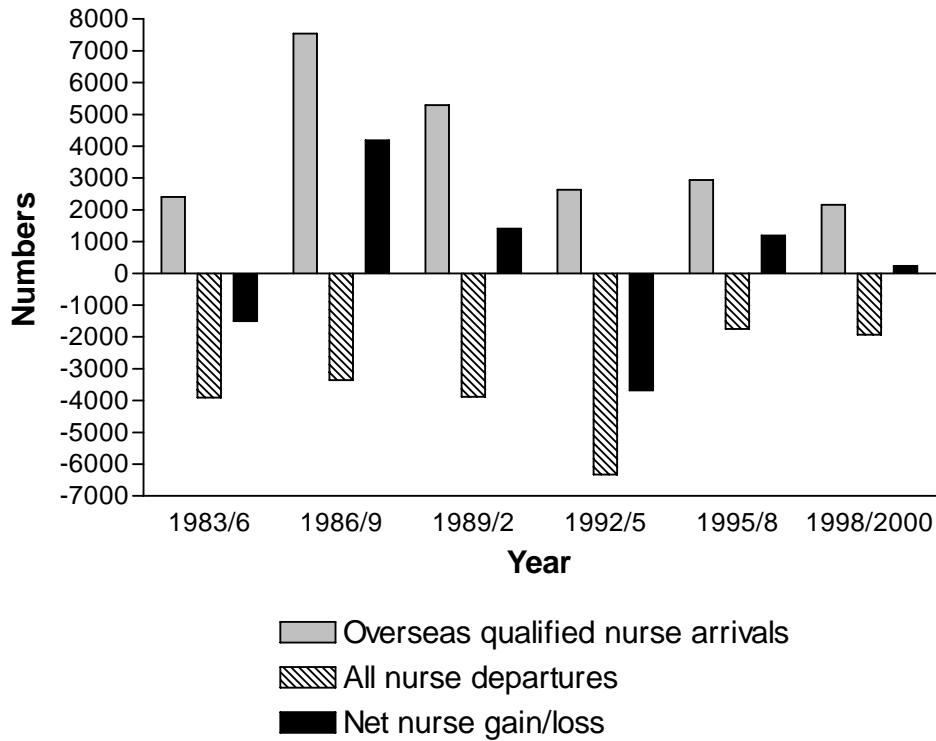
Temporary Migration to Australia

In Australia high levels of temporary skilled migration also prevail, with demand for workers in specific fields varying significantly by period. 40,124 long stay visas were issued to temporary workers for the period 2003-04 - a rise of 6% over the previous year. Computing professionals³ dominated in employer-nominated categories (17%), followed by nurses (12%), managers (11%) and accountants (3%) (Department of Immigration, Indigenous and Multicultural Affairs 2004: 67-8). The latest available data show 202,195 long-term arrivals for 2004-05, of whom 158,311 were students, compared to 48,000 temporary workers (substantial numbers of whom were qualified in the professions) (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2006).

A decade earlier, temporary engineer arrivals had close to matched the number of landed immigrant intakes in the field (up to 3,000 per year), dropping back to 2,250-1,600 per year in the recent period (Hawthorne 1994; Birrell et al 2001; Birrell et al 2004). Between 2001-2003 5,304 temporary doctors were also approved to come to Australia, to supplement local

³ Employer demand for temporary computing professionals remained high in 2003-04, with 2,808 new arrivals. By September 2006, reflecting further demand for experienced professionals, 6 IT fields had also been reinstated on Australia's Migration Occupations in Demand List (20 bonus points) for the selection of landed immigrants.

Figure 2: Overseas qualified nurse arrivals in Australia (permanent and short-term residents), compared to all nurse departures, and net nurse gains/losses for 1983-2000



medical workforce supply, compared to some 500 per year in the mid 1990s (Hawthorne & Birrell 2004). From 1983-1994 Australia selected over 17,000 migrant nurses, half as landed immigrants and half as temporary workers. Temporary migration in nursing is in fact essential – permanent and temporary migration flows to Australia yielding a net gain of just 412 nurses in 11 years, despite sustained annual intakes (Hawthorne 2001, 2002). Figure 2 demonstrates the consistency of this trend over time, based on 1983-2000 nursing arrival and departure data.

Australia’s liberalisation of temporary entry is continuing – the most recent Australian policy measures having a strong regional employment focus (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006). Such developments have been facilitated since 1996 by an almost complete deregulation of temporary migration, described as follows by a recent study,

The rise in long term visitors with work rights in Australia reflects decisions on the part of successive Australian governments to assist employers to recruit skilled staff on a temporary-entry basis. Since 1996, employers can sponsor as many skilled persons for identified jobs as they wish, without a need to test the Australian labour market situation, or to have the sponsored person’s credentials first vetted by Australian accrediting authorities (as is required of skilled migrants entering under the permanent skilled program) (Birrell et al 2005: 14).

e. Employer Preference in Terms of Temporary Foreign Workers

Temporary worker intakes such as those described above have the potential to provide important insights on employer preference – in Canada, as in Australia being largely employer-driven. According to Human Resources and Skills Development Canada in 2004,

The process generally starts when HRSDC receives a request for a temporary foreign worker from an employer

There are no numerical limits/quotas

Employers may hire temporary foreign workers in any occupation provided that job offer meets a set of standard criteria

Employers recruit foreign workers who are seen as appropriate candidates for (the) company regardless of country of origin (Aceytuno 2004: 9).

In selecting such temporary workers, employers signal to government the types of migrants they deem most immediately ‘employable’. Over time, Canadian and Australian employers have demonstrated a profound preference for English speaking background professionals (language also associated with perceived equivalence in quality of education systems). For the 2,063,022 temporary foreign workers selected to enter Canada between 1991 and 2003, for instance, the primary source countries along with France and Mexico were the US (14%), the UK (4%), Australia (2%) and the Philippines (2). (See Table 5.) The latest data for Canada (2005) shows the most highly sought workers to be from the US (17%), Mexico (13%), the UK (8%), Australia (8%) and France (7%) (Hiebert 2006). Male workers dominated Canadian employers’ foreign worker selection (72%). The major source countries for Australian employers in recent years have been the UK/Ireland (35%), India (10%), the US (7%), South Africa and Japan (5% each) (Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2005a: 67). This preference is based on the fact that migrants with English or French (in Canada) tend to have qualified in similar education systems and to integrate with greater ease. While racism may also influence employer selection, it is a qualitative factor which cannot be identified here.

As Table 6 demonstrates, the birthplace of recent tertiary-qualified migrants selected through Canada’s economic migration program have been dramatically different to employer-generated flows. China, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Hong Kong have predominated, compared to very minuscule flows from the major English speaking background (ESB) source countries.

This represents an important policy issue, to be explored in greater depth in the sections to follow. Census data unequivocally reveal the characteristics which optimise or retard the labour market integration of degree-qualified migrants in their first 5 years post-arrival – a period of growing Canadian and Australian focus for policy formation. In terms of access to professional employment, landed immigrants from Canada’s current major economic migration source countries fare poorly.

Table 6: Canada annual flows of permanent economic migrants by select country and region of birth, 1991-1996, 1996-2001, 2002-2003 (by rank order)

Category	Country of birth	Arrival years			Total
		1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2003	
Other skilled workers - p.a.	China	16215	42739	25711	84664
	India	5723	18159	12680	36561
	Philippines	16199	5606	3928	25732
	Pakistan	2432	12666	5956	21054
	Hong Kong	9537	4653	351	14541
	UK and Ireland	6042	3833	1995	11870
	Taiwan	2510	6256	999	9764
	Lebanon	4409	1683	1608	7700
	USA	3370	2395	875	6639
	South Africa	1556	1560	698	3814
	Malaysia / Singapore	1069	698	450	2216
	Australia	551	415	220	1185
	Iraq	428	783	481	1692
	Indonesia	133	581	423	1136
	New Zealand	283	159	131	572
	Vietnam	252	189	115	555
	Other Europe	32531	38555	21274	92360
	Other Africa and Middle East	15541	24429	18910	58879
	Other South and Central America	12498	9588	7249	29334
	Other Asia and Pacific	5937	10874	6718	23528
Not stated	264	192	42	497	
S/TOTAL		137476	186009	110809	434293
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	Hong Kong	11477	5961	304	17741
	China	3812	4578	2120	10509
	India	3594	4969	2969	11531
	Philippines	4246	3489	1936	9670
	Pakistan	1092	3166	1878	6135
	UK and Ireland	1933	1067	386	3385
	Taiwan	1030	2012	249	3290
	Lebanon	1582	467	389	2437
	Vietnam	1263	150	22	1434
	South Africa	528	510	158	1195
	Malaysia / Singapore	523	245	128	896
	Iraq	309	368	160	837
	USA	194	101	16	310
	Australia	34	23	2	58
	New Zealand	15	8	8	30
	Indonesia	94	109	63	265
	Other Europe	8054	3186	1571	12810
	Other Africa and Middle East	3826	4196	2532	10554
	Other South and Central America	4609	2079	1142	7830
	Other Asia and Pacific	2738	2335	1405	6478
Not stated	195	103	6	304	
S/TOTAL		51143	39118	17438	107699
GRAND TOTAL		1294607	1046001	575696	2916304

Source: Compiled from landed immigrant arrivals data provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005

3. Credential Level and Employment Outcomes

a. Credential Level and Employment Outcomes for Recent Migrants

Overview

Degree and higher-degree qualified migrants enjoy a substantial labour market advantage in both Canada and Australia, relative to migrants with diploma level qualifications – a finding strongly affirming contemporary economic migration priorities, as well as Sweetman &

Table 7a: Labour market outcomes (2001) by qualification level for Canada-born and migrants who arrived in Canada, by period of arrival

Birthplace		Employment								
Arrived		Professional	Admin/Management	Associate Professional	Other employment	S/TOTAL	Unemployed	Not in Laborforce	TOTAL	Number
Overseas**										
<1991	Degree	49.0	9.5	5.8	18.3	82.7	4.1	13.2	100.0	552,971
	Post-sec. with diploma	20.2	9.4	11.0	38.6	79.2	5.1	15.7	100.0	527,585
	Post-sec. w/o diploma	8.7	8.5	5.7	52.2	75.1	6.3	18.7	100.0	496,080
	High school or less	3.8	6.6	2.4	50.8	63.6	5.3	31.1	100.0	1,080,428
1991/6	Degree	36.4	7.4	7.1	25.8	76.7	7.9	15.4	100.0	159,059
	Post-sec. with diploma	13.8	6.6	9.8	43.9	74.0	8.6	17.4	100.0	122,945
	Post-sec. w/o diploma	5.1	5.0	5.1	49.5	64.7	11.0	24.4	100.0	133,181
	High school or less	1.8	3.5	1.9	47.1	54.3	8.7	37.1	100.0	304,248
1996/2001	Degree	29.8	5.0	6.3	23.8	64.9	14.7	20.4	100.0	266,109
	Post-sec. with diploma	10.3	5.1	7.1	39.0	61.5	13.0	25.5	100.0	108,059
	Post-sec. w/o diploma	4.9	3.8	3.8	44.6	57.1	12.9	30.0	100.0	103,199
	High school or less	1.6	2.4	1.4	39.5	44.8	10.6	44.6	100.0	249,514
Canada*										
	Degree	53.8	9.4	5.1	16.5	84.8	3.8	11.4	100.0	2,395,918
	Post-sec. with diploma	19.4	8.2	12.7	40.9	81.1	5.5	13.4	100.0	3,042,529
	Post-sec. w/o diploma	7.6	6.8	5.8	55.4	75.6	8.5	16.0	100.0	3,215,110
	High school or less	3.3	4.8	2.5	50.4	60.9	8.2	30.9	100.0	7,355,870

Notes:

* including those born outside Canada to Canadian parents

** excluding non-permanent residents (employment authorization, student authorization, Minister's permit or refugee claimants)

Source: Canadian Census 2001

McBride's recent Canadian research findings (2004).

In general, degree-qualified migrants secure double or more the rate of professional employment than migrants who are diploma-qualified, despite results for diploma-level migrants being somewhat better in Australia. (See Tables 7a and 7b.)

Table 7b: Labour market outcomes (2001) by qualification level for Australia-born and migrants (plus New Zealanders)^a who arrived in Australia, by period of arrival

Birthplace	Arrived	Employment					Unemployed	Not in Laborforce	Not stated	TOTAL	Number
		Professional	Admin/Management	Associate Professional	Other employment	S/TOTAL					
Overseas											
<1991	Degree	48.9	11.0	8.7	15.5	84.1	3.1	12.7	0.1	100.0	370,659
	Diploma	22.5	8.4	15.3	31.4	77.6	4.2	18.0	0.1	99.9	189,987
	Skilled vocation	3.5	6.3	9.3	56.4	75.5	5.0	19.2	0.3	100.0	291,548
	Other	3.9	3.9	6.8	42.1	56.7	5.4	36.8	1.0	99.9	1,379,682
1991/6	Degree	39.7	8.2	8.4	22.3	78.6	5.1	16.0	0.2	99.9	73,776
	Diploma	15.7	5.1	11.2	38.9	70.9	6.6	22.2	0.3	100.0	28,817
	Skilled vocation	3.2	4.0	9.1	62.4	78.7	6.0	14.8	0.4	99.9	26,637
	Other	3.5	2.1	4.1	37.4	47.1	8.5	43.3	1.1	100.0	179,632
1996/2001	Degree	31.4	7.6	6.2	20.7	65.9	7.8	26.2	0.3	100.2	126,470
	Diploma	13.5	4.9	7.4	30.8	56.6	8.2	34.9	0.3	100.0	51,379
	Skilled vocation	3.6	4.0	9.3	56.1	73.0	7.8	19.0	0.4	100.2	34,603
	Other	3.4	2.2	3.7	31.2	40.5	8.7	49.4	1.3	99.9	271,269
Australia											
	Degree	55.1	11.9	8.4	12.1	87.5	2.1	10.2	0.1	99.9	1,198,252
	Diploma	25.0	9.0	17.0	30.6	81.6	3.3	14.9	0.1	99.9	663,727
	Skilled vocation	3.2	7.3	9.3	63.1	82.9	4.3	12.6	0.2	100.0	1,167,578
	Other	3.7	4.6	6.8	45.6	60.7	6.3	32.1	0.8	99.9	5,736,370

Note:

It should be noted here that New Zealanders are not counted as migrants to Australia, despite there being substantial two-way population movement between the two countries. Close to 10,000 degree-qualified New Zealanders reached Australia between 1996-2001. This movement is included in the table given New Zealanders' important contribution to Australia's skilled workforce, as well as in select additional tables where noted.

Excludes those for whom birthplace or year of arrival is unknown.

b. The Value of Higher Degrees for Employment Outcomes (Canada)

The Canadian Census allows differentiation of employment outcomes for migrants by degree type, unlike the Australian Census. In brief, highly superior outcomes were secured by migrants holding Masters or PhD degrees in Canada, by all periods of arrival. 61% of pre-1991 arrivals with higher degrees held professional positions by 2001, compared to 45% of bachelor-qualified arrivals, the comparable data for 1991-96 being 53% (compared to 31%), and for 1996-2001 44% (compared to 24%).

This outcome compares reasonably with the Canada born - 64% of Masters or PhD qualified local workers holding professional positions by 2001, compared to 52% of those with bachelor degrees⁴. Further, higher degree-qualified migrants were less likely to be 'not in the labourforce' during their first 5-10 years in Canada. Differences by degree level however proved minimal in terms of unemployment levels and access to management positions.

Analysis of the Canadian data thus clearly validates the government's decision to privilege migrants with higher degrees above those who are bachelor qualified in the points-tested economic migrant selection, despite the Canada-born with identical qualification levels outperforming migrants from all periods of arrival. (See Table 8.)

Australian economic migration policy has moved in a comparable direction in recent years:

Table 8: Labour market outcomes (2001) by qualification level for Canada-born and migrants holding a graduate degree, by period of arrival

Birthplace	Arrival	Qualification	Employment					Number	
			Professional	Admin/Management	Associate Professional	Any work S/Total	Unemployed		Not in Laborforce
Overseas	<1991	Bachelor/Bachelor+	45.0	9.6	6.4	82.3	4.3	13.5	409,727
		Master's/PhD	60.6	9.3	4.3	84.1	3.5	12.4	143,244
	1991/6	Bachelor/Bachelor+	30.7	7.4	7.3	75.0	8.2	16.8	119,073
		Master's/PhD	53.4	7.1	6.6	81.6	7.0	11.4	39,985
	1996/2001	Bachelor/Bachelor+	23.5	5.2	6.7	62.7	14.9	22.4	83,906
		Master's/PhD	43.9	4.6	5.3	69.9	14.4	15.7	82,203
Canada		Bachelor/Bachelor+	51.7	9.0	5.5	84.7	3.9	11.4	1,975,029
		Master's/PhD	63.7	11.5	3.4	85.5	3.1	11.5	420,888
		Bachelor/Bachelor+	45.0	9.6	6.4	82.3	4.3	13.5	409,727

Source: Canadian Census 2001

⁴ It should be noted here that only 40% of migrants in Canada work in a field or occupation comparable to that in which they worked pre-migration.

former international students with Australian qualifications currently awarded from 5 to 15 bonus points, including 10 points for Masters degrees and 15 for Doctorates (Department of Immigration, Local Government and Indigenous Affairs 2005). To date however the Australian higher degree bonus does not apply to overseas-gained qualifications. While data concerning the impact of qualification level from any source country was secured for the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia Cohort 3 in late 2005, findings were not analysed for the 2006 skilled migration policy review, and are thus not yet available.

c. Employment Outcomes for Trade/ Vocational Qualifications

As noted earlier, migrants holding trade/ vocational qualifications (post-secondary with diploma) in both Canada and Australia are also performing well - characterised by employment rates similar to those of degree-qualified migrants for every period of arrival. For example in Canada 65% of degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals had secured work by 2001, compared to 62% of migrants with post-secondary diplomas. The comparable outcomes for Australia were 66% employment in the first 5 years for degree-qualified migrants compared to an impressive 73% for those holding vocational qualifications.

This finding supports contemporary policy decisions in each country for the period ahead to elevate the future level of trade migration. As noted, trades feature prominently in Australia's most recent Migration Occupations in Demand List (2006). In 2003-04 just 9% of economic applicants to Australia were qualified in MODL fields, but by 2004-05 this had risen to 42%, with the majority assured of selection. MODL applicants receive not only 20 bonus points but priority processing, and unconstrained locational choice post-arrival. Assessed by the latest available Australian data, trades now constitute 7 of the top 10 occupational fields for skilled migration: primarily hairdressing (7%), toolmaking (5%), motor mechanic (4%), general electrician (4%), fitter (3%), metal machinist (3%) and chef (2%). This is despite the continuing dominance of professional applicants (accountants 28%, registered nurses 14% and civil engineers 3%) (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006: 123).

By 2006, it is worth noting, 143 trade or technical fields were awarded the maximum 60 points for a skilled occupation for migration to Australia – boosted a further 20 when also listed 'occupations in demand'.

4. The Impact of Birthplace on Migrant Employment Outcomes

a. Economic Migration from English Background Source Countries

Introduction

As stated in relation to temporary worker movement, the migrant professionals deemed most immediately ‘useable’ by Canadian and Australian employers differ radically in terms of birthplace to contemporary sources of economic migration, particularly for Canada. While immigration policy typically proceeds in advance of public opinion, this raises important human capital issues for policy consideration, including:

1. The significance to employment outcomes of different international training systems, in the context of highly variable levels of technological development in source countries;
2. The influence of regulatory barriers on credential recognition (affecting an estimated 20% of skilled migrants to Canada⁵); and
3. The importance of English and/or French language ability to migrant professionals labour market integration within the Canadian and Australian knowledge economies, at a time when sophisticated communication skills are increasingly viewed as vital.

Such issues are the focus of increasing Canadian government research, as well as academic investigation (eg Sweetman & McBride 2004; Ferrer et al 2004; Sweetman 2005; Reitz 2005; Picot & Hou 2003; Beach et al 2003; Picot 2004; Thompson & Worswick 2004; Hiebert 2006; Sweetman 2005).

The ‘Disappearance’ of ESB Migrants from Canadian Skill Migration

A finding of particular relevance in the current study is the virtual disappearance of skilled English Speaking Background (ESB) migrants from Canada over the past decade – an area of major contemporary policy divergence from Australia.

As established in Section 2, Canadian and Australian employers deem skilled workers from ESB source countries to be the most immediately employable – with ESB countries for the purpose of this analysis defined as the UK/Ireland, the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Such professionals, by definition, migrate from nations characterised by similar tertiary training systems and technological development levels to host countries. They typically encounter fewer barriers related to credential recognition, the relevance of past work experience, or possession of sophisticated English/ French ability in the course of the post-migration job-seeking process. Despite this, minute numbers of degree-qualified ESB migrants are currently being selected for permanent migration to Canada.

⁵ As advised to the author by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, November 2004.

Prior to 1991 25% of degree-qualified migrants to Canada were derived from English-speaking source countries. This dropped to just 7% from 1991-1996 and to 5% from 1996-2001. Australia by contrast has maintained far higher levels of degree-qualified ESB migrant flows – reduced from 38% to 20% from 1991-1996, but reverting to 28% from 1996-2001 following consistent evidence of the inferior labour market integration rates secured by select non-English speaking background (NESB) and mainly English speaking background (MESB)⁶ groups. (See Table 9.) The latest available data (derived from Australian immigration processing officers late 2005) demonstrate UK migrant demand to remain particularly high for Australia (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Table 9: Degree qualified arrivals from English speaking background source countries: Canada and Australia compared (all fields)

Period of Arrival	Degree-Qualified Arrivals Canada	% ESB Source Countries	Degree-Qualified Arrivals Australia	% ESB Source Countries
<1991	537,565	25% (136,280)	347,815	38% (131,803)
1991-1996	154,160	7% (11,477)	70,702	20% (13,999)
1996-2001	257,714	5% (12,762)	116,986	28% (32,777)
TOTAL	949,439	17% (160,519)	535,503	(33%) 178,579

Source: 2001 Census (Canada and Australia)

English Speaking Background Migration by Professional Field

The extent to which Canada's and Australia's migration systems have now diverged in terms of selection by birthplace can be demonstrated by migration in select professional fields (see Table 10). From 1996-2001, for example, just 6% of doctors, 4% of nurses, 2% of engineers and 2% of IT professionals migrating to Canada were derived from ESB source countries. This compared to 30%, 43%, 22% and 18% respectively migrating in these fields to Australia. The latest available advice suggests UK flows to Canada to remain negligible (Hiebert 2006).

This poses a significant policy question. Are ESB professionals attracted to Australia rather than Canada? Or is there some policy impediment to their selection for entry to Canada compared to pre 1991? It is worth noting in relation to this that New Zealand's selection system is strongly prioritising ESB migration at the present time, with the UK constituting 49% of all economic migrants, South Africa 12% and the US 4% (Bedford 2006).

b. Birthplace of Contemporary Economic Migrants Compared

The Major Sources of Recent Economic Migration

⁶ Mainly English Speaking Background (MESB) migrants are typically derived from former Commonwealth countries, such as India, Pakistan and Hong Kong, characterised by British-based education systems and strong exposure to English.

Table 10: Degree qualified arrivals from English speaking background source countries: Canada and Australia compared by select fields

Period of Arrival	Degree-Qualified Arrivals Canada	% ESB Source Countries	Degree-Qualified Arrivals Australia	% ESB Source Countries
<1991 (all fields)	537,565	(25%) 136,280	347,815	38% (131,803)
Engineers		15%		24%
Doctors		27%		30%
Nurses		25%		56%
IT		2%		21%
1991-96 (all fields)	154,160	7% (11,477)	70,702	20% (13,999)
Engineers		3%		11%
Doctors		13%		22%
Nurses		5%		38%
IT		3%		11%
1996-2001 (all fields)	257,714	5% (12,762)	116,986	28% (32,777)
Engineers		2%		22%
Doctors		6%		30%
Nurses		4%		43%
IT		2%		18%

Source: 2001 Census (Canada and Australia)

Since Census data combine all immigration categories, it is important to also examine Canadian and Australian arrivals by major source country for points-tested economic migration categories (provided to the author by Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC] and the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs in Australia [DIMA]).

In 2001-2003 the primary source countries for economic Principal Applicants to Canada were China (22%), India (12%), Pakistan (6%) and the Philippines (5%), compared to 2% of economic principal applicants selected from the UK/Ireland. When major regions of origin to Canada are also considered, the top eight source countries/regions⁷ for economic PAs were:

1. China: 21.7%
2. Other Europe: 17.8%
3. Other Africa⁸ and Middle East: 16.7%
4. India: 12.2%
5. Other South and Central America: 6.5%
6. Other Asia and Pacific: 6.3%
7. Pakistan: 6.1%
8. The Philippines: 4.6%

The latest available data for Canada show slight variation by 2004, the primary source countries for economic Principal Applicants being China (18%), India (11%), Philippines (7%), Pakistan and Romania (4% each) (Hiebert 2006). As noted above, substantial numbers

⁷ A full description of these Census regional categories, as well as locations for the longitudinal data analysis in Section 8, is provided in the Appendix to this report.

⁸ 'Other Africa' excludes data from South Africa in the Census analysis.

of migrants from these source countries/regions possess first languages other than English or French. They are also amongst the most likely in Canada to encounter problems related to credential recognition, based on the perceived calibre of their academic training, compounded by the perceived technological relevance of past work experience. (See Table 11 for a ranking of the top 20 sources for economic migrants to Canada.)

As noted, Australia differs from Canada in maintaining strong ESB migration, despite the strength of contemporary China and India flows (primarily former students). In 2003-04 the UK/Ireland (22%), India (13%), China (9%) and South Africa (6%) were the top 4 source countries, compared to the UK (25%), India (13%), China (11%), South Africa and Malaysia (5% each) in 2004-05.

The latest available Australian data, for July-November 2005, confirm the strength of international student flows. The UK had dropped to the third top source of economic Principal Applicants (16%), compared to 19% from India, 18% from China, 4% from Malaysia, 3% each from the Philippines, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Korea and Sri Lanka, and 2% from Singapore (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006; Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2005a).

Table 11: Canada skilled worker and assisted relative principal applicants by top 20 countries and regions of birth, 1991-1996, 1996-2001, 2002-2003

Country of Birth	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2003	TOTAL	% of 2001/3 total
China	20027	47316	27831	95173	21.7%
Other Europe	40585	41741	22845	105170	17.8%
Other Africa and Middle East	19367	28625	21442	69433	16.7%
India	9317	23128	15648	48092	12.2%
Other South and Central America	17107	11667	8391	37164	6.5%
Other Asia and Pacific	8675	13209	8123	30006	6.3%
Pakistan	3524	15832	7834	27189	6.1%
Philippines	20444	9095	5863	35402	4.6%
UK and Ireland	7975	4900	2381	15255	1.9%
Lebanon	5991	2150	1997	10137	1.6%
Taiwan	3539	8268	1248	13054	1.0%
USA	3564	2495	890	6949	0.7%
South Africa	2084	2070	856	5009	0.7%
Hong Kong	21014	10614	655	32282	0.5%
Malaysia / Singapore	1592	943	578	3112	0.5%
Iraq	737	1151	641	2529	0.5%
Indonesia	227	689	485	1401	0.4%
Australia	584	438	222	1243	0.2%
Vietnam	1514	339	137	1989	0.1%
New Zealand	298	166	139	602	0.1%
Not stated	459	295	48	801	0.0%
TOTAL	188619	225127	128247	541992	100.0%

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada arrivals data, 2005

Human Capital and Economic Migration

Growing debate concerning the presumed neutrality of human capital has emerged in Canada and Australia in the recent period, including the transferability of training between radically different systems. In relation to this it is worth noting that the latest available global rankings suggest a major gulf between the calibre of tertiary institutions in 'developed' and 'developing' nations, correlated with length of academic tradition and availability of resources. In August 2006, for example, the highly regarded Shanghai Jiao Tong University ranking system (viewed as relatively unbiased) categorised the top 500 world institutions as follows:

- 206 in Europe (overwhelmingly located in North West Europe), including 43 in the UK, and 40 in Germany;
- 197 in the Americas (167 in the US, 22 in Canada, and just 7 in all Central or South America [including 1 in the top 150]);
- 92 in the Asia-Pacific (32 in Japan, 16 in Australia, 14 in China (none ranked in the top 150, and with 2 of the top 4 ranked institutions in Hong Kong), 9 in South Korea, 7 in Israel, 5 in New Zealand, 4 in Taiwan, 2 in Singapore, and just 2 in India (neither ranked in the top 300); and
- 5 in the Africas (4 in South Africa, 1 in Egypt, with no other African or Middle Eastern country listed) (Jiao Tong University 2006).

Highly comparable patterns are evident in The Times Higher Education Supplement Top 200 (THES 2005) and the Top 100 Asia Pacific University (TopAsia 2005) rankings. Such data confirm the quality of education to be highly variable in terms of major economic migrant source countries to Canada and Australia - the ranking of Indian institutions being particularly low. Recent Canadian studies have further confirmed migrant professionals' quality of training and host country literacy to be highly problematic for employers, in line with the Australian literature (Bloom, Grenier & Gunderson 1995; Ferrer et al 2004; Hiebert 2004; Sweetman & McBride 2004; Reitz 2005; Sweetman 2005). In the knowledge economy, evidence suggests, employers are placing increasing rather than diminished emphasis on the recruitment of professionals perceived to be 'job-ready'.

In Australia, as noted, such barriers have increasingly been minimized through the selection of economic PAs more closely approximating the professional attributes employers seek, facilitated by pre-migration assessment of their credentials and satisfaction of English language requirements (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 1999; Hawthorne 2005).

c. The Impact of Birthplace on Employment Outcomes (First Five Years)

ESB Migrants

As shown by Figures 3a and 3b, migrant origin exerts a powerful impact on employment outcomes for degree-qualified arrivals in both Canada and Australia. These Figures demonstrate the likelihood of 1996-2001 degree-qualified migrants being employed in their host country by 2001 by birthplace, including the nature of any such employment.

In brief, the following degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals to Canada were the most likely to have secured professional work by 2001 (see Figure 3a):

1. South Africa (over 60% of migrants working in their own or another profession)
2. Australia and New Zealand (close to 60%)
3. UK/Ireland (over 50%)
4. North West Europe (over 50%)
5. US (close to 50%)

This compared to an almost identical rank order for 1996-2001 arrivals securing professional employment in Australia (see Figure 3b):

1. UK/Ireland (51%)
2. South Africa (50%)
3. New Zealand (48%)
4. US/Canada (40%)
5. North West Europe (39%)

Figure 3a: Degree-qualified migrant employment by employment type in Canada, by birthplace, 1996-2001 arrivals (2001)

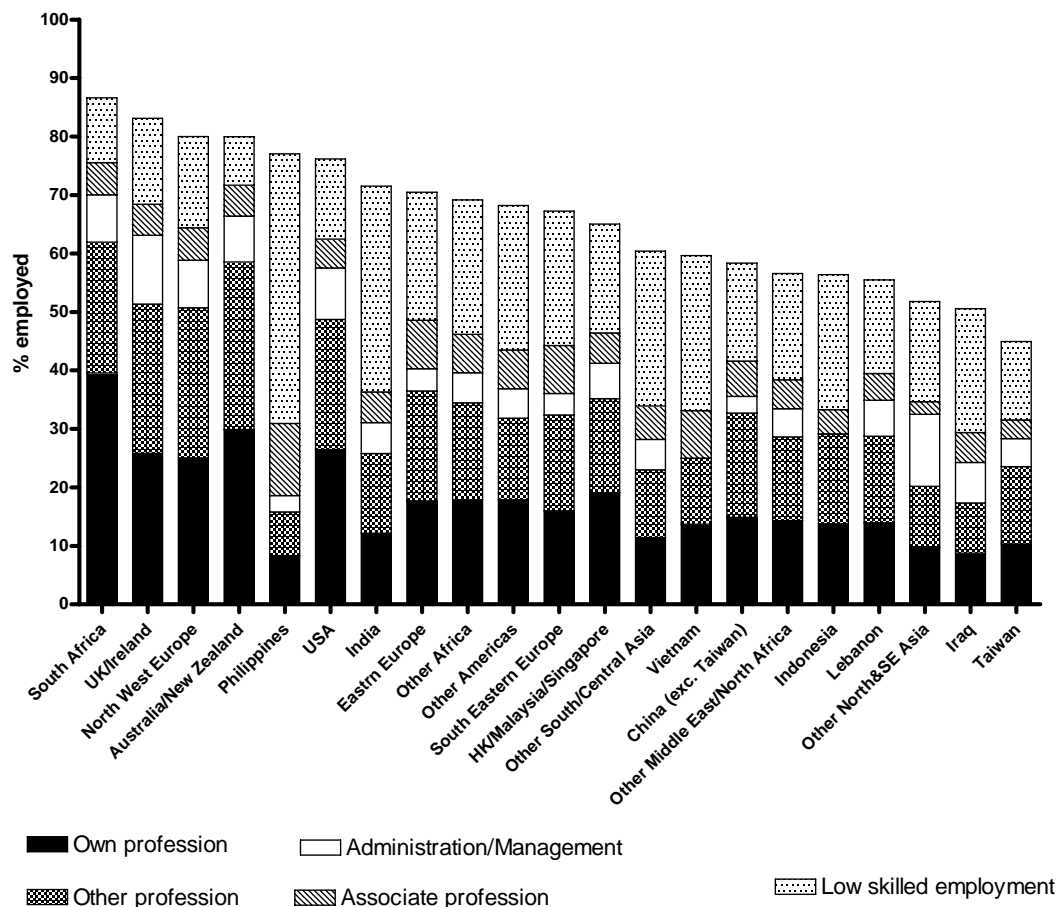
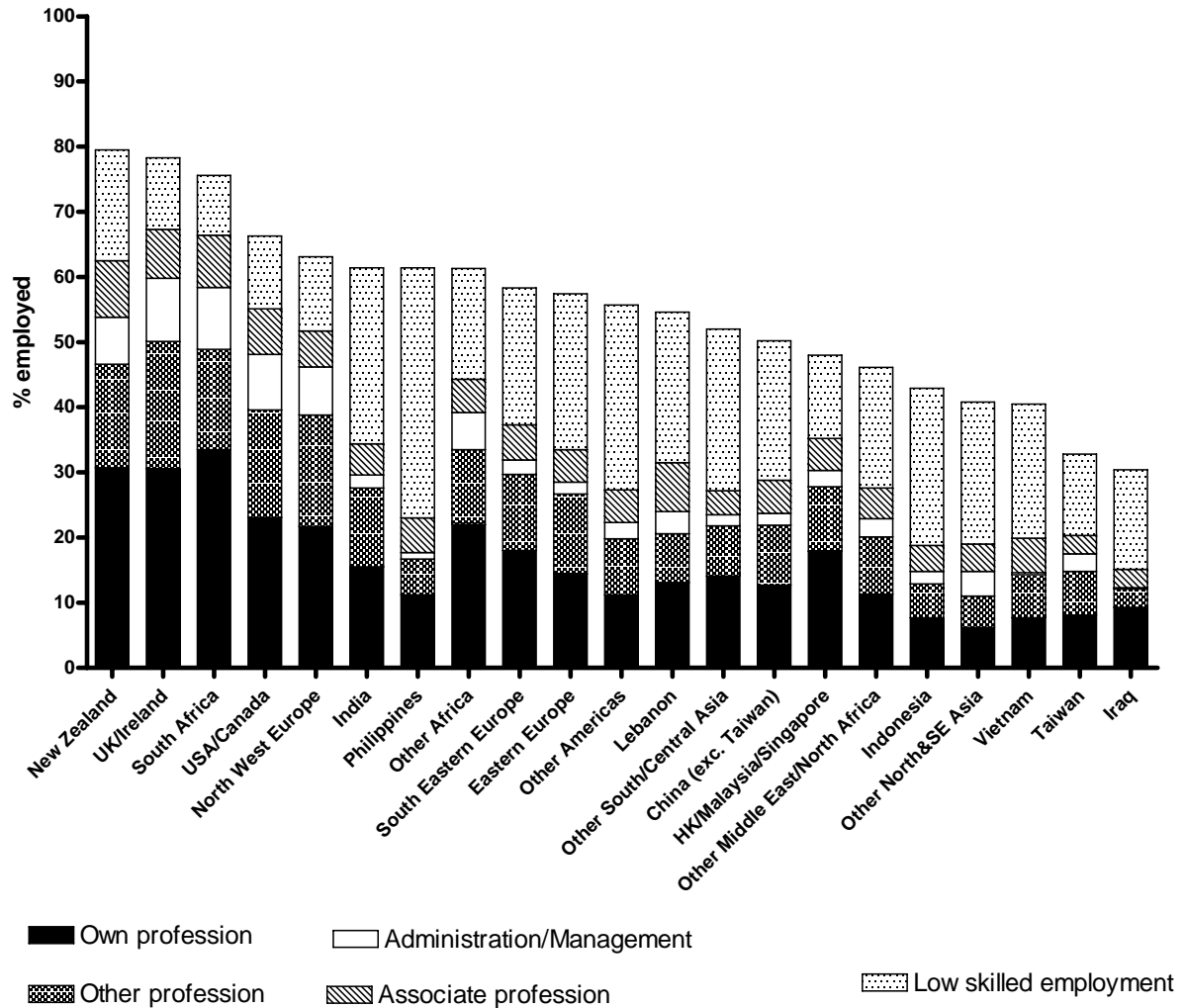


Figure 3b: Degree-qualified migrant employment by employment type in Australia, by birthplace, 1996-2001 arrivals (2001)



It is important to affirm here the consistency of these findings with Canadian and Australian employer views in terms of ‘work-ready’ migrants: the top 5 recent sources for the temporary Foreign Worker category to Canada, as we have seen in the recent period (along with France and Mexico) being the US, UK/Ireland, Australia and the Philippines before plummeting to India (see Table 5), compared to the UK/Ireland (35%), India (10%), the US (7%), South Africa and Japan (5%) for Australia (DIMIA 2005: 67).

The latest available data for Canada, in terms of source countries, shows the most highly sought Foreign Workers to be from the US (17%), Mexico (13%), the UK (8%), Australia (8%) and France (7%) (Hiebert 2006).

Employment Outcomes for Non-English Speaking Background Groups

Within both Canada and Australia the likelihood of degree-qualified migrants securing professional work in the first five years of migration dropped substantially following these for other birthplace groups. In Canada recently arrived Eastern Europe migrants had employment rates of 37% in their own or another profession by 2001, compared to 36% for migrants from HK, Malaysia and Singapore, 35% for China and Other Africa, 33% for Other Americas and South Eastern Europe, 25% for India, and 19% for the Philippines.

In Australia the most favoured groups for professional employment, after ESB nations, were migrants from Other Africa (33%), South Eastern Europe (31%), India (29%), HK, Malaysia and Singapore (29%), and Other Middle East/ North Africa (28%).

As demonstrated by Figures 3a and 3b, similar birthplace groups faced the most serious disadvantage in each country. Migrants from Iraq, Taiwan and Other North and South East Asia ranked lowest in terms of work access, followed by the Lebanese in Canada and the Vietnamese in Australia. Large numbers of degree-qualified migrants from the Philippines, India, Vietnam and Other South/Central Asia had gained employment only at the cost of taking low-skilled jobs.

Why Do Employment Outcomes Appear Superior in Canada?

These employment outcomes for Canada and Australia warrant careful consideration. Why do degree-qualified migrants in Canada appear to have a substantially higher likelihood of work, when 66% of recent degree-qualified arrivals in Australia were employed by 2001 compared to 65% overall in Canada?

The explanation relates to the nations' different source countries for immigrants. Put briefly,

- The critical determinant of overall employment outcomes was in fact the level of UK/Ireland migration: the source of 1.6% of degree qualified migrants to Canada from 1996-2001, compared to 15% to Australia. Had UK/Ireland migration been excluded from both countries, Australia's rate of recently arrived degree-qualified migrants employed in any profession would have dropped from 31% to 28% (compared to Canada's 30%).
- Figure 3a confirms the excellent rates of employment achieved by 'elite' migrant groups in the first 5 years post-arrival in Canada, with those from South Africa, UK/Ireland, North West Europe, and Australia/New Zealand achieving labour market integration rates of 80% or more (the majority employed in their own or another profession).
- As explained however Canada selects minute numbers of these groups relative to Australia: between 1996 and 2001 just 1,992 migrants from South Africa (compared to 6,008 to Australia), 4,219 from the UK/Ireland (compared to 19,418), and 5,696 from North America (compared to 7,351). This is despite Canada's far larger overall immigration program.
- Instead, as shown, Canada accepted very substantial numbers of migrants from countries associated with relatively poor labour market outcomes in the professions in the initial settlement period - most notably 48,952 degree-qualified migrants from China (compared to 10,541 to Australia) and 29,059 from India

(compared to 12,656), where institutions were characterised by relatively low academic rankings.

d. The Employment Impact of Visible Minority Status

It is important to note, in the light of the Canadian literature, that ‘visible minority’ status did not appear to unduly influence labour market integration rates for degree-qualified migrants in Canada or Australia in this period.

Recently arrived Commonwealth Asian and African migrants were reasonably well accepted by employers - in terms of labour market integration generally ranking well ahead of other Asian and Middle Eastern groups (a long established pattern in Australia, see eg Birrell & Hawthorne 1997, 1999). Hong Kong, Malaysian and Singaporean migrants had performed particularly well – in Canada far more likely to secure work in their own profession than similarly qualified Indian arrivals (19% versus 12%).

Table 12 ranks employment outcomes for degree-qualified migrants from 15 birthplaces for both Canada and Australia, demonstrating the impact of visible minority status on their likelihood of securing work in professional or managerial positions in the first 5 years post-arrival. Migrant professionals from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore, China and India had in fact fared better in accessing skilled work in Canada than in Australia: 41.2%, 35.6% and 31.1% finding it respectively, compared to 30.3%, 23.7%, and 29.6%.

e. Unemployment Levels by Birthplace for 1996-2001 Migrants

Despite this, stark contrasts existed for other 1996-2001 degree-qualified arrivals in terms of unemployment, at a time when just 4% of such Canadians were unemployed overall. The following groups experienced unemployment levels three to five times the national norm: migrants from India (12%), Vietnam, Other North and South East Asia, Other Americas (13%), Taiwan, Lebanon and East Europe (14%), South-East Europe (16%), Other South and Central Asia (17%), China (18%), Iraq (19%), Other Africa (19%), Other Middle East and North Africa (21%). This represents a significant finding, given the numerical size of some of these recently arrived groups, as well as the primacy of China and India in terms of contemporary economic migration. The level of demand in specific professional fields by definition may have impacted on these outcomes (an issue separately examined in Section 6 of the report).

While Hong Kong, Singaporean and Malaysian migrants achieved fairly well (15% employed in their own profession as noted), a range of non-Commonwealth Asian and Middle Eastern groups were particularly disadvantaged – a mere 7% of Filipinos and Iraqis, 9% of Taiwanese and 11% of Vietnamese respectively finding work in their fields (all countries with non-British based education systems, characterised generally by training in languages other than English or French).

Table 12: Labour market outcomes (2001) for degree-qualified migrants who arrived in Canada and Australia 1996-2001, ranked by employment in own profession by top 15 birthplaces, percentages

Arrival	Source	Own Profession	Other Prof/Management	Any work S/Total	Unemployed	Not in Laborforce	Number
	Canada	33.6	27.5	84.7	3.9	11.4	1,888,276
1996/2001	South Africa	39.5	30.5	86.6	5.2	8.2	1992
Canada	Australia/New Zealand	29.9	36.5	80.0	6.3	12.1	855
	USA	26.5	31.0	76.1	5.3	18.6	5696
	UK/Ireland	25.8	37.3	83.2	5.5	11.3	4219
	North West Europe	25.0	33.8	80.0	7.9	12.1	8701
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	19.1	22.1	65.1	11.2	23.8	6436
	Central & South Americas	17.9	19.0	68.1	13.8	18.1	11803
	Eastern Europe	17.7	22.6	70.5	13.8	15.7	31622
	South Eastern Europe	16.0	20.1	67.3	16.7	16.1	6710
	China (exc. Taiwan)	14.9	20.7	58.3	18.7	23.0	48952
	Other Middle E/N Africa	14.3	19.1	56.6	21.2	22.2	16059
	India	12.2	18.9	71.5	12.8	15.7	29059
	Other South/Central Asia	11.5	16.8	60.5	16.6	23.0	35659
	Taiwan	10.3	18.0	44.9	14.5	40.6	7955
	Iraq	8.8	15.5	50.6	20.7	28.7	2116
	Philippines	8.3	10.3	77.1	9.1	13.8	17869
	Other	15.5	21.6	65.0	14.8	22.9	22010
	TOTAL MIGRANT						257714
	Australia	34.1	24.0	79.0	2.5	8.6	1233651
1996/2001	South Africa	33.5	24.9	75.6	3.8	11.1	6,008
Australia	UK/Ireland	30.6	29.2	78.3	3.3	10.3	19,418
	USA/Canada	23.1	25.0	66.3	3.7	20.8	7,351
	North West Europe	21.7	24.5	63.1	4.8	23.8	6,223
	South Eastern Europe	18.0	13.9	58.3	10.9	21.4	2,871
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	17.9	12.4	48.0	8.5	37.2	6,966
	India	15.5	14.1	61.4	9.9	18.7	12,656
	Eastern Europe	14.4	14.1	57.4	9.9	26.5	2,825
	Other South/Central Asia	14.1	9.4	52.0	9.9	25.2	7,166
	China (exc. Taiwan)	12.7	11.0	50.2	9.0	32.6	10,541
	Other Middle E/N Africa	11.3	11.6	46.1	12.0	30.3	3,391
	Central & South Americas	11.2	11.1	55.7	7.5	26.6	2,217
	Philippines	11.2	6.5	61.4	7.3	23.2	5,751
	Iraq	9.3	3.0	30.4	24.1	33.0	1,230
	Taiwan	8.1	9.4	32.8	5.8	53.7	1,527
	Other	14.7	10.4	50.9	8.6	32.0	20845
	TOTAL MIGRANT						116,986

Source: 2001 Census (Canada and Australia)

Table 13: Level and type of employment for degree-qualified persons by birthplace and date of arrival, Canada and Australia (2001)

Birthplace		Profession	Admin/Managerial	Assoc-Professional	Vocational	Clerical/Sales	Production/Labor	S/Total	Unemployed	Not in Laborforce	Number
Overseas- Born											
Pre- 1991	Canada	49.0	9.5	5.8	2.1	13.1	3.1	82.7	4.1	13.2	552,971
	Australia	48.9	11.0	8.7	1.4	10.7	2.5	84.1	3.1	12.7	370,659
1991- 1996	Canada	36.4	7.4	7.1	3.4	17.5	4.9	76.7	7.9	15.4	159,059
	Australia	39.7	8.2	8.4	2.1	14.2	5.1	78.6	5.1	16.0	73,776
1996- 2001	Canada	29.8	5.0	6.3	2.9	15.6	5.3	64.9	14.7	20.4	266,109
	Australia	31.4	7.6	6.2	1.4	13.6	4.8	65.9	7.8	26.2	126,470
Canada-Born cf Australia-Born											
	Canada	53.8	9.4	5.1	1.3	12.4	2.9	84.8	3.8	11.4	2,395,918
	Australia	55.1	11.9	8.4	0.9	9.4	1.1	87.5	2.1	10.2	1,198,252

Source: 2001 Census (Canada and Australia)

Many birthplace groups also included high proportions of degree-qualified new arrivals reported as ‘not in the labourforce’ (NILF): most notably migrants from Taiwan⁹ (44%), Other North and South East Asia (36%), Indonesia (33%), Lebanon (32%), and Iraq (31%). Substantial numbers of these migrants, it seems fair to presume, could have been learning English/ French, or re-positioning to enter the labour market through study to achieve credential recognition.

Overall, newly arrived degree-qualified migrants from disadvantaged groups reported far lower unemployment levels in Australia than Canada, at a time when national unemployment rates for locals with degrees was 4% in Canada and 2% in Australia (see Table 13). The rate for migrants from Other Middle East / North Africa was 21% in Canada (compared to 12% in Australia), 19% for China (compared to 9% in Australia), 17% for South and Central Asia (10%), 17% for South Eastern Europe (11%), 15% for Taiwan (6%), 14% for East Europe (10%), and 13% for India (10%).

Host country language skills may have been a contributory factor here, given Australia’s comprehensive investment in the provision of settlement services and its progressive introduction of mandatory English language testing for economic migrants from 1993 (Hawthorne 2005). However the picture remains complex. As demonstrated elsewhere in this report, when assessed by the Census date many recently arrived degree-qualified migrants achieve higher initial employment rates in Canada – arguably a better measure of labour market outcomes.

⁹ A consistent finding of this study was the high ‘NILF’ rates of Taiwanese across the board, a pattern equally prevalent in Australia.

f. Mobility Over Time for Degree-Qualified Migrants

In line with the literature, the Census data confirmed far better outcomes to be achieved by long-established degree-qualified migrants in both Canada and Australia (defined as resident 10 years or more in the host country). Encouragingly, this pattern included the most initially disadvantaged groups, as demonstrated by Table 14, with unemployment rates more nearly approximating host country norms.

By 2001 English speaking background migrants in Canada 10 years or more had achieved equal or superior representation in the professions to the Canada-born. South Africans (as in Australia) represented the most elite migrant group overall, with 87% working compared to 85% of the Canada-born, and a high 71% occupying professional or managerial positions (compared to 64% of the Canada-born).

Select Asian groups had also achieved representation in the professions equivalent to the Canada-born, including those from Vietnam and Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia, with the Indonesia-born and China-born also faring well. High rates of access to the professions had been achieved by additional visible minority groups, including migrants from Other Africa, the Middle East and North Africa – all with better access to their own and other professions than migrants born in East and South East Europe, India, other parts of Asia,

Table 14: Unemployment rates for degree-qualified migrants to Canada and Australia by select country/region of origin and period of arrival (2001), percentages

Country/region of origin		% >1991 migrants unemployed	% 1991-96 migrants unemployed	% 1996-2001 migrants unemployed
Other M East / North Africa	Canada	5%	11%	21%
	Australia	4%	8%	12%
China	Canada	4%	7%	19%
	Australia	4%	5%	9%
South & Central Asia	Canada	7%	10%	17%
	Australia	3%	6%	10%
South Eastern Europe	Canada	4%	8%	17%
	Australia	4%	6%	11%
East Europe	Canada	4%	8%	14%
	Australia	4%	6%	10%
Taiwan	Canada	6%	13%	15%
	Australia	5%	10%	6%
India	Canada	4%	8%	13%
	Australia	3%	4%	10%

Source: 2001 Census (Canada and Australia)

Taiwan and the Philippines.

Long-established degree-qualified migrants in Australia however had generally achieved somewhat higher levels of employment in their own professions than in Canada: most notably those qualified in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore (34% cf 25%), Other South and Central Asia (27% cf 18%), India (26% cf 18%), South East Europe (24% cf 20%) and Iraq (18% cf 14%). This gives credence to the overall view that visible minorities may experience greater disadvantage in Canada (eg Canadian Council on Social Development 2000; Goupil 2004), despite the fact that 1996-2001 arrivals from a range of such groups had secured less initial access to their professions in Australia. Alternatively, Australia's longstanding investment in the provision of language and employment bridging courses may have offset disadvantage (\$A250 million per year by the mid 1990s; see discussion in Section 8).

Comparative Labour Force Participation Rates

Please note in relation to the above findings that degree-qualified migrants also have different labour market participation rates in each country. While recently-arrived migrants to Canada have substantially higher unemployment levels than comparable groups in Australia, Australia has higher proportions of migrants categorised as 'not in the labour force' – almost certainly active participants in Australia's elaborate network of language and employment-related settlement services (Hawthorne 2005). (See Table 15.)

By the early 1990s Australia had developed the most comprehensive and integrated suite of settlement services for skilled migrants in the world, located primarily in Sydney and Melbourne as the major immigrant-receiving sites. English courses were free, with migrants paid to do them supported by immediate post-arrival access to Social Security benefits. By 1990 this nationally funded program catered to over 70,000 migrants per year, with degree-qualified migrants ranked first in terms of service priority. The Australian government simultaneously invested heavily in employment bridging programs. Participation was free, supported by payment of incentive allowances set at a higher level than social security benefits.

By 1992/3 the Australian government was spending \$A99.65 million per year on specialist labour market programs for non English speaking background professionals, in addition to \$A110.6 on English and a further \$A42.2 million channelled through the technical education sectors (Hawthorne 2005). Such courses were accompanied by sustained outreach and advocacy to local employers. For engineers, for example ten different models of bridging course had evolved, addressing specific labour market disadvantages (including non-recognition of credentials, lack of computer training, or field-specific English language terminology, or local industrial experience) (Hawthorne 1994). Few options existed however

Table 15: Summary of professional migrant employment outcomes, Canada and Australia, 1996-2001

Host Country	Unemployed	Not in the Labor Market, Unknown
Canada	15%	20%
Australia	7%	32%

outside key settlement sites.

The effect of 'Not in the Labourforce' data on the calculation of professional employment rates is substantial. If the employment rate is calculated as a function of all professional immigrants, the employment rate will appear higher for migrants working within their profession in Canada. By contrast if these cases are removed from the denominator, then the employment rate will appear higher for migrants working within their profession in Australia.

Please note that the employment rates given in Figures 3a and 3b do not exclude these cases from the denominator (thus allowing Canadian employment rates for migrants in their own profession to appear higher). New Zealand degree-qualified arrivals have also been included in Figures 3a and 3b, allowing demonstration of their strong acceptability to Australian employers.

5. Location and Migrant Employment Outcomes

a. The Settlement Location of Degree-Qualified Migrants

Issues of Policy Interest in Terms of Location

From the start of this study it was agreed there was minimal value in exploring location as a major employment variable, given the distinctive city and provincial settlement patterns/ conditions characterising Canada and Australia. The analysis below is therefore confined to:

1. Defining the degree to which skilled migration has been concentrated in select cities;
2. Assessing any differential employment outcomes skilled migrants achieve in major versus minority settlement sites;
3. Comparing the labour market outcomes achieved by degree-qualified migrants in the primary settlement cities (Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Ottawa in Canada¹⁰, compared to Sydney and Melbourne in Australia), versus outcomes in less densely concentrated urban and regional locations (aggregated); and
4. Defining select recent policy developments in relation to location across each nation.

The impact of location on employment outcomes is of strong contemporary policy relevance. The Canadian and Australian governments are in the process of developing a range of incentives designed to induce migrants to settle in less traditionally favoured sites – measures replicated across New Zealand and to some extent even the UK (Scotland).

In Australia, for instance, the additional 20,000 economic migration places announced in March 2005 (bringing the program to 97,500 migrants per year, or 70% of the 140,000 permanent migration total) are intended to disperse migrants to regional locations, tied to a 4-year obligation to stay¹¹. In 2005-06, 8,020 migrants were directly sponsored by state and territory governments to Australia, double the level of the previous year (The Age 2006). The most recent policy developments have included a dramatic reduction in the level of points required for regionally-sponsored economic migrants (eg 70 rather than 120 points required). In addition, bonus points have been created to entice ‘migration-driven’ international students to enrol at regional universities and technical colleges, rather than institutions in the major migration cities (Grattan 2005). While it is too soon to evaluate the outcome of such initiatives, the recent review by Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson of Australia’s economic migration program (2006) flagged migrant location as a powerful issue, particularly given the ‘watering down’ of regional selection requirements.

Such trends are clearly relevant to Canada. In 1995 no economic migrants were provincial or territorial nominees. Development however has been steady in the past 5 years, rising from 477 migrants in 1999 to 6,248 in 2004 (constituting 2.6% of the economic intake), with the target for 2005 set for 8,000 to 10,000 (Hiebert 2006). In April 2005 the previous Canadian government also introduced measures designed to allow international students located outside

¹⁰ These locations were selected as appropriate for the CMA analysis in consultation with Statistics Canada, despite recognition of growing contemporary skilled migration flows to Alberta.

¹¹ This figure excludes additional refugee/humanitarian category migration, in 2005 set at 13,000 places per year.

Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver to remain and work for two years rather than one post-graduation, facilitating their potential commitment to less ‘migrant-intense’ provinces (Volpe 2005). The employment consequences of location for economic migrants is thus a significant policy issue for each country.

The Schellenberg Study of Location and Migrant Settlement in Canada

In 2004 Statistics Canada published a study entitled Immigrants in Canada’s Census Metropolitan Areas, based (like the current section) on 2001 Census data. The report’s key findings in terms of location included that:

- 73% of 1991-2001 migrant arrivals to Canada had settled in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal (compared to 58% of arrivals in the pre-1981 decade).
- Profound recent changes were evident in the source countries from which these migrants were derived, the share from East Asia and South Asia increasing by 21% from 1981 to 2001 (to 39%), ‘while the share of recent immigrants from North America, Northern and Western Europe decreased by 20 percentage points (from 28% to 8%)’.
- Economic migrants tended to be disproportionately concentrated in Vancouver, while refugee/humanitarian entrants were more likely to co-locate in Quebec.
- In terms of education level, in most Census metropolitan areas (CMAs) ‘the share of recent immigrants aged 25 to 54 who have a university degree is about 12-15 percentage points higher than the share of Canadian-born individuals in the same age group’.
- Despite this immigrants had lower employment rates and higher unemployment rates than the Canada-born in each of the CMAs analysed, with recent degree-qualified immigrants ‘much more likely to be working in a low-skill occupation than their Canada-born counterparts’. In other words (as established by Aydemir and Skuterud [2004]; Pendakur & Pendakur [1998, 2004] and others), even ‘once they have entered the Canadian labour market, migrants receive low financial returns on the educational credentials and work experience they acquired outside of Canada’.
- Female migrants, like the female Canada-born, were more likely to secure part-time work than males, and to work at de-skilled levels compared to their male counterparts.
- Employment earnings were also highly differentiated – migrants by 2001 typically taking 21 years to reach equivalent earnings to the Canada-born, with 1995-2000 male arrivals earning 60% less than ‘comparable Canadian workers’ and ‘growing evidence that more recent cohorts of arrivals have not fared as well as past cohorts’ (Schellenberg 2004 5-7, 51-60).

Given Schellenberg stopped short of analysing the impact of birthplace on the employment outcomes of 25-54 year old recently arrived degree-qualified migrants, this represents the primary focus of the following analysis.

Employment Outcomes for Degree-Qualified 1996-2001 Arrivals in Canada

The Census analysis confirms Toronto attracted by far the largest number of degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals: 381,232 people (compared to 141,245 in Vancouver, 112,234 in

Montreal, 56,911 in Quebec City, 52,020 in Ottawa-Hull, and 257,816 in the rest of Canada). Despite this Vancouver received a disproportionate share of skilled migrants in terms of overall population.

Birthplace groups varied greatly in size between CMAs, with the top 4 birthplaces for each of the six analysed locations shown in Table 16. Based on the data provided in Section 4, Toronto and Vancouver clearly received disproportionate numbers of degree-qualified migrants likely to be at risk of unemployment. Did this negatively impact on their labour market outcomes, or did high concentrations of such recent migrants lead to greater employer acceptance of overseas-trained skills? Further, did such migrants benefit from the greater concentration of settlement programs (typically language and labour market bridging courses) which had developed in response to their high post-arrival unemployment?

This is a critical policy question. Toronto, for example, is now the site of a sustained advocacy outreach to employers, designed to champion the employment potential of overseas-qualified professionals (see eg the work of the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council, the Maytree Foundation and the Colleges Integrating Immigrants to Employment Project initiative). Expanded mentoring and bridging programs are being developed, boosted by Canada's 2006 credential recognition initiatives. Vancouver is similarly developing more comprehensive settlement services, including suites of pilot schemes for specific professions (medicine, nursing and engineering). Within the context of deteriorating employment outcomes for recently arrived migrants, such measures are increasingly viewed as imperative to ensure effective migrant skills utilisation in Canada's knowledge economy. (See eg Reitz 2005; Picot 2004; Aydemir & Skuterad 2004; Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades 2004; Canadian Council of Professional Engineers 2004; TRIEC 2004; Picot & Hou 2003; McIsaac 2003; Canadian Council on Social Development 2000.) The Australian government, as stated, had pursued this settlement path since the 1980s: by the mid 1990s offering the most comprehensive range of government-funded employment and credential bridging programs for migrants worldwide, including many field-specific options (Hawthorne 2005). This is despite recent funding contraction associated with improved employment rates for skilled migrants post-arrival.

Table 16: Top 4 birthplace groups of degree-qualified migrants 1996-2001, by select Canadian CMA (2001)

Major Birthplaces	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal	Quebec City	Ottawa-Hull	Rest of Canada
India	44,048					
Other South and Central Asia	42,264					
China	33,887	17,857			6,011	
HK/Malaysia/Singapore		19,462				
Taiwan		11,554				
Philippines		14,930				
UK/Ireland					5,642	41,763
North West Europe			18,886	1,704	4,664	30,853
Eastern Europe	43,987		11,647	364	5,329	21,827
Other Middle East and North Africa			19,671	663		
USA						32,713
Central & South Americas			11,942	503		

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

Given the importance of ‘critical mass’ for service provision, how beneficial is ethnic concentration for degree-qualified migrants in terms of securing professional acceptance?

b. The Impact of Location on Employment Outcomes in Canada

Four key points emerge from the 2001 Census in terms of location and Canadian employment outcomes.

1. For virtually every CMA examined, the best labour market integration rates¹² were secured by the birthplace groups favoured by Canadian employers when selecting temporary foreign workers: degree-qualified arrivals from the UK/Ireland (eg 68% employed in Toronto in a professional or managerial position by 2001), the USA (69%), South Africa (70%), Australia/New Zealand (69%), and North West Europe (69%). In the major immigrant-receiving CMA locations assessed however, these ESB groups were from minority rather than predominant source regions by 1996-2001.
2. The birthplace groups least favoured by Canadian employers are defined below as recently arrived degree-qualified migrants with unemployment rates by 2001 of 10% or more. (See Table 17.) In terms of this analysis high ethnic concentrations did not appear to be associated with superior employer acceptance, except in Toronto and Canada-wide for India-born professionals. Interestingly India-born professionals did not feature in the high-unemployed groups for any of the CMAs examined.
3. As demonstrated by Table 18, the following recently arrived degree-qualified groups were the least likely to have found any form of work in the examined CMA locations – with poor employment outcomes striking for select birthplace groups in Quebec City¹³ and

Table 17: Degree-qualified select birthplace groups with unemployment rates of 10% or more by select CMA Canadian location, 1996-2001 arrivals, percentages (2001)

Major Birthplaces	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal	Quebec City	Ottawa-Hull	Rest of Canada
Other South and Central Asia	12%	15%	13%		12%	11%
China	15%	14%	16%		12%	
HK/Malaysia/Singapore			12%			
Taiwan		13%	13%		12%	12%
Eastern Europe		12%		12%	13%	
South Eastern Europe		12%	12%			
Iraq	13%	17%	19%		21%	12%
Other Middle East and North Africa			15%	13%	11%	13%
Central & South Americas			11%	14%		

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

¹² This is defined here as access to work in migrants’ own or another profession, or management.

¹³ This outcome, as for other select recently arrived migrant groups, would almost certainly reflect language ability of relevance to the specific location – Australian and New Zealanders being notoriously poor at French. By 2004 14% of migrants to Canada declared French to be their first or second language (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005b).

Table 18: The four degree-qualified birthplace groups with lowest likelihood of any form of employment by select Canadian CMA location, 1996-2001 arrival, percentages (2001)

Major Birthplaces	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal	Quebec City	Ottawa-Hull	Rest of Canada
India				31%		
Other South and Central Asia	70%	68%		38%		68%
China	68%	63%	49%	37%		
Taiwan	64%	47%	48%		63%	55%
Eastern Europe				52%		
Iraq	71%	30%	50%		39%	64%
Other Middle East and North Africa					72%	67%
Australia/New Zealand			50%			
South Africa					66%	

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

Vancouver, compared to far lower levels of risk in Toronto and the ‘rest of Canada’. It is worth reprising in relation to this the numerical dominance of some of these groups, with those listed below among the least likely to be employed in the stated CMA, yet among the top 4 1996-2001 arrival groups for each location:

Toronto: Other South and Central Asia (42,264) and China (33,887)

Vancouver: China (17,857), Taiwan (11,554)

Quebec City: Eastern Europe (364)

Please note by definition high employment rates would be anticipated for humanitarian category migrants, who are admitted for non-economic purposes.

4. Despite such negative findings, as in Australia, many recently-arrived degree-qualified migrants had secured excellent employment outcomes overall - the Filipinos, for instance, representing the supreme pragmatists across any field, readily taking de-skilled work when professional/ managerial work was unavailable. As shown in Table 19, the following groups by 2001 had achieved employment rates of 75% or more, with prospects most buoyant for ESB and select European arrivals in Toronto. By and large all ESB and

Table 19: Degree-qualified birthplace groups with overall employment rates of 75% or more by select CMA location, 1996-2001 arrivals, percentages (2001)

Major Birthplaces	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal	Quebec City	Ottawa-Hull	Rest of Canada
UK/Ireland	86%	85%	81%		84%	82%
North West Europe	86%	82%	84%	77%	81%	83%
Australia/ New Zealand	82%	79%			78%	79%
South Africa	85%	84%				87%
USA	85%	84%	80%	82%	80%	82%
Central & South Americas	84%	76%	75%		81%	81%
Philippines	83%	79%				83%
Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore	79%				85%	81%
India	79%	79%			77%	77%
Eastern Europe	80%	76%	75%		77%	78%
South Eastern Europe	80%	75%			77%	79%

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

European migrants, as well as Asian migrants from India and the Philippines, had proven acceptable at some level to local employers (with ESB migrants solely disadvantaged in the French-speaking CMAs analysed).

c. The Impact of Location on Employment Outcomes in Australia

Identical trends were examined in terms of the impact of location on employment outcomes in Australia, where 47,985 degree-qualified migrants had settled in Sydney from 1996-2001, compared to 24,241 in Melbourne, and 34,572 across all other urban and regional sites.

As in Canada, for virtually every CMA examined the best labour market integration rates¹⁴ were secured by those birthplace groups favoured by Australian employers when selecting temporary foreign workers: degree-qualified arrivals from the UK/Ireland, the USA, South Africa, Australia/New Zealand, and North West Europe. In line with Australia's selection policy, ESB migrants were strongly represented in the top 4 birthplace groups for skilled arrivals in each location:

- *Sydney*: UK/Ireland (8,077), China (5,579), India (5,418) and Other South & Central Asia (3,172)
- *Melbourne*: India (3,635), UK/Ireland (3,019), China (2,235) and USA/Canada (1,332)
- *Rest of Australia*: UK/Ireland (6,767), USA/Canada (2,960), South Africa (2,443) and North West Europe (2,432)

The birthplace groups least favoured by Australian employers were consistent with the research findings from Canada, presented again as the proportion of recent migrants with unemployment rates of 10% or more 1-5 years post-arrival for either country.

Degree-qualified recent arrivals from India, Other South & Central Asia, South Eastern Europe, Iraq, and Other Middle East/ North Africa had unemployment rates of 10% or more in each of the Australian locations analysed by 2001 (when 2% unemployment was the local graduate norm compared to 4% in Canada). Migrants from China and Eastern Europe were also at high risk, with unemployment rates of 10-12% in Melbourne and the rest of Australia compared to somewhat better outcomes in Sydney (9%).

Work outcomes for Iraqis (entering Australia through humanitarian categories) bordered on the catastrophic at this time (26-30% unemployed) – far worse than experienced by Iraqi professionals in Canada (12-21% across all CMA locations studied). Apart from this there appeared to be no clear patterns of advantage related to particular locations – migrants from China performing better in the major Australian cities than their Canadian counterparts, but the results highly variable overall. (See Table 20.)

¹⁴ This is defined here as access to work in migrants' own or another profession, or management.

Table 20: Unemployment rates of select degree-qualified birthplace groups, by major Australian and Canadian CMA locations, 1996-2001 arrivals, percentages (Canada in italics; 2001)

Major Birthplaces	Sydney <i>Toronto</i>	Melbourne <i>Vancouver</i>	Rest of Australia <i>Rest of Canada</i>
Other South and Central Asia	11% <i>12%</i>	12% <i>15%</i>	12% <i>11%</i>
China	9% <i>15%</i>	10% <i>14%</i>	10% <i>10%</i>
Taiwan	8% <i>9%</i>	6% <i>13%</i>	6% <i>12%</i>
Eastern Europe	9% <i>8%</i>	12% <i>12%</i>	11% <i>8%</i>
South Eastern Europe	11% <i>8%</i>	10% <i>12%</i>	14% <i>7%</i>
Iraq	26% <i>13%</i>	28% <i>17%</i>	28% <i>12%</i>
Other Middle East and North Africa	14% <i>8%</i>	13% <i>8%</i>	13% <i>13%</i>

Source: Australian and Canadian Censuses (2001)

Employment Results by Location: Canada and Australia Compared

Overall the 2001 Census suggested Canada to be a more ‘accepting’ country of settlement for diverse migrant groups than Australia, when assessed by the proportion of recently-arrived degree-qualified groups with work rates of 65% or more in these locations (though often only in low-skilled positions). (See Table 21.) While ESB and North West European arrivals to each country had 75% or higher employment rates, degree-qualified migrants from the Philippines, Central and South Americas, Hong Kong/Malaysia/Singapore, China and India were more likely to be working in Canada – partly because employers had ‘lesser’ choice, and partly because these migrants proved willing to accept significantly de-skilled employment.

The strong labour market integration of non-English speaking background migrants in the ‘rest of Canada’ was particularly noteworthy compared to Australia, particularly those from Hong Kong, Malaysia/ Singapore, the Philippines, Central and South Americas, China and Eastern Europe. As noted earlier, Australia’s superior overall outcomes were a result of the government selecting numerically large ESB groups. Most such professionals were ‘snapped up’ by local employers, achieving superb labour market integration in Sydney and Melbourne, where Commonwealth Asian professionals also fared positively. As demonstrated by Table 22, degree-qualified migrants from China, Other Middle East/ North Africa were far less likely to have secured any form of work in their first 5 years in Australia.

Table 21: Degree-qualified birthplace groups with overall employment rates of 60% or more by select CMA location in Australia or Canada, 1996-2001 arrivals, percentages (Canada in italics; 2001)

Major Birthplaces	Sydney	Melbourne	Rest of Australia
	<i>Toronto</i>	<i>Vancouver</i>	<i>Rest of Canada</i>
UK/Ireland	88%	87%	81%
	86%	85%	82%
North West Europe	75%	72%	61%
	86%	82%	83%
-	-	-	-
Australia/ New Zealand	82%	79%	79%
South Africa	86%	86%	81%
	85%	84%	87%
USA/Canada	76%	76%	69%
	85%	84%	82%
Central & South Americas	65%	65%	55%
	84%	76%	81%
Philippines	74%	67%	50%
	83%	79%	83%
Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore	60%	49%	44%
	79%	74%	81%
China	58%	55%	45%
	68%	63%	72%
India	71%	66%	64%
	79%	79%	77%
Eastern Europe	67%	59%	55%
	84%	76%	78%
South Eastern Europe	66%	68%	61%
	80%	75%	79%

Source: Australian and Canadian Censuses (2001)

Table 22: Overall employment rates of select degree-qualified birthplace groups, by major Australian and Canadian CMA locations, 1996-2001 arrivals, percentages (Canada in italics; 2001)

Major Birthplaces	Sydney	Melbourne	Rest of Australia
	<i>Toronto</i>	<i>Vancouver</i>	<i>Rest of Canada</i>
China	58%	55%	45%
	68%	63%	72%
Taiwan	37%	35%	34%
	64%	47%	55%
Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore	60%	49%	44%
	79%	74%	81%
Iraq	36%	34%	33%
	71%	30%	64%
Other Middle East & North Africa	54%	54%	45%
	76%	71%	67%

Source: Australian and Canadian Censuses (2001)

It is worth noting in relation to this that migrants were slightly more de-skilled overall in work in Canada. As demonstrated by Table 7a, while 64.9% of degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals to Canada were employed by 2001, just 29.8% were in professional work, 5.0% in administration/management and 6.3% in associate professional roles. This compared to rates of 31.4%, 7.6% and 6.2% in Australia. Overall 23.8% of degree-qualified recent arrivals had accepted very de-skilled work in Canada, compared to 20.7% in Australia.

6. Demand by Field and Migrant Employment Outcomes

a. Supply-Demand Issues in Select Professions: 1996-2001 Trends

A range of factors in addition to birthplace, level of qualification and location have a potential to influence employment outcomes for degree-qualified migrants. Demand by professional field varies considerably in different countries over time, with 'niche economies' operating in select professions. Despite the comparability of Canadian and Australian GNP and unemployment rates (described in Section 2), each country has been characterised by highly variable employment demand across the professions in the past 10 years - a process with clear potential to influence the work outcomes of new labour market entrants, in particular migrants. (See Table 23 for detail on Canada.)

From 1996 to 2001, Census data revealed the following growth/ decline trends in the number of filled positions by qualification field for each country¹⁵:

- Information technology: +38% in Canada compared to +61% in Australia
- Accounting: +30% in Canada compared to +5% in Australia
- Nursing: -1% in Canada compared to +59% in Australia¹⁶

Table 23: Total number of employed persons by major occupational group in Canada, 1991, 1996 and 2001, percentages

Occupational Groups	1991	1996	2001	% Change (1996-2001)
Professionals	2,272,752	2,504,848	3,030,278	17%
Information Technology**	79,594	162,687	264,426	38%
Engineering**	98,536	108,686	133,269	18%
Architecture & Building	57,467	53,152	63,307	16%
Medical Studies	50,910	52,573	57,745	9%
Nursing	239,833	238,071	236,213	-1%
Teacher Education	520,944	548,788	557,157	2%
Accounting	102,222	112,893	161,797	30%
Rest of Management and Commerce	666,905	693,153	928,443	25%
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	352,895	409,989	469,446	13%
Natural & Physical Sciences	37,228	41,741	54,766	24%
Administration/management	1,108,973	1,095,475	1,330,424	18%
Associate professionals	862,662	833,049	1,092,200	24%
Tradespersons	1,929,099	1,833,422	2,063,760	11%
Clerical, sales & service workers	4,888,605	5,151,787	5,126,599	0%
Production, technical & labourers	1,516,770	1,516,659	1,643,668	8%

Source: 2001 Census (Canada)

¹⁵ Please note that the Australian Census favours the recording of 'highest qualification' in terms of field. Given this, where postgraduate qualifications have been secured (eg an MBA) the original vocational field will not be counted (eg engineering or IT professional).

¹⁶ Please note this level of growth would have been influenced by sustained nurse migration to Australia (compared to low levels to Canada), as described in Figure 2. It could also have been influenced by the number of local diploma-qualified nurses converting to degree status (a major trend since 1986).

- Engineering: +18% in Canada compared to -34% in Australia
- Medicine: +9% in Canada compared to -17% in Australia
- Teaching: +2% in Canada compared to -14% in Australia

For the purpose of assessing the impact of demand by field on employment outcomes for newly arrived migrant professionals, five case studies are examined in the section below: engineering, nursing, medicine, information technology, followed by assessment of the policy significance of selecting migrants with generic rather than vocational qualifications

Employment Demand and Migrant Selection

As established in Section 1 Canada does not currently factor employment demand by field into economic migration selection procedures, in the context of:

- A national commitment to achieving 1% annual population growth (designed to nation-build while offsetting an ageing population);
- The timelags inherent in the immigrant selection and arrival processes;
- The difficulty of accurately predicting labour market demand by field; and
- The adoption of a human capital model of economic migration, based on the presumed flexibility of imported skilled workers (Beach et al 2003).

Australia by contrast reverted to a more targeted skilled migration policy from 1999, on the basis of 1986-96 research evidence demonstrating high unemployment rates for newly arrived migrants to be correlated to over-supply. Within such a context employers had clearly become highly discriminatory – a factor compounding the initial labour market barriers for less ‘valued’ immigrant groups (eg Hawthorne 1994; Birrell & Hawthorne 1999).

By July 2005, the Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL) had become a critical determinant of economic migration selection to Australia (including which applicants could avoid regional entry and enjoy unconstrained locational choice). Based on twice yearly labour market analysis, 20 points were allocated to PAs in high demand fields (of the total 120 points required). MODL applications rose dramatically in consequence, from 9% (2,413) of all skilled PAs in 2003-04 to 42% (12,986) in 2004-05. In the current employment environment this process currently strongly favours the selection of accountants, nurses and select tradespeople (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

It is worth recalling here that a number of other countries see the value of demand-driven policy – the report of the 2006 US Independent Taskforce on Immigration and America’s Future recommending to Congress the introduction of ‘a new provisional category designed to allow workers meeting long-term labor market needs to transition from an initially temporary to a permanent immigration status’ (Migration Policy Institute 2006: 1; Abraham & Hamilton 2006).

Strategies to Address Credential Recognition

The following section assesses the extent to which labour market demand impacts on employment outcomes, offsetting the disadvantage experienced by relatively disadvantaged groups in both Canada and Australia. The impact of credential recognition is also mentioned.

It should be noted in relation to this that the Australian government placed considerable emphasis on the liberalisation of foreign credential recognition in a range of fields from 1990 to 1996, based on Federally-led and funded initiatives that were partially successful. Measures included the introduction of competency-based assessment in 9 fields, the comprehensive expansion of employment bridging courses (including 10 models for engineering alone), and funding of occupation-specific advanced English language courses (eg English for Doctors) (Hawthorne 1994, 2001, 2002, 2005). By the early 1990s, as noted, funding of English and labour market bridging programs had risen to around \$A250 million per year, with skilled migrants prioritised for enrolment, and encouraged to exit their 'learner pathway' once they had a genuine chance of re-commencing skilled employment.

Comparable initiatives are currently underway in Canada. The Foreign Credential Recognition strategy, developed by HRSDC, is supported by 15 Federal government departments. Designed to address the 'roadblocks' facing skilled migrants, major initiatives (as advised by HRSDC March 2006) include:

- Establishment of a National Credential Accreditation Centre for provision of streamlined and consistent advice;
- Extension of Enhanced Language Training for skilled migrants (through CIC);
- Introduction of a broader range of bridging programs;
- Provision of targeted labour market advice; and
- Pre-migration internet-based self-screening for credential recognition.

While funding seems very modest compared to Australian levels (an extra \$C68 million over 6 years 2003-2009, with further funding provision forthcoming, Prince-St-Amand 2006), this program seems certain to support improved outcomes for migrants in the regulated professions in Canada (an estimated 20% of skilled arrivals).

b. Engineering

The Supply of Migrant Engineers to Canada and Australia

As established in Section 2, engineers have constituted the primary group of skilled arrivals to Canada since 1990. Table 24, based on Census data, confirms the arrival of 81,874 degree-qualified engineers to Canada between 1991 and 2001 (all immigration categories), including two thirds within the 1996-2001 period. Very substantial numbers arrived via the economic migration categories. Between 1991 and 2003, according to CIC data, 77,180 engineers were selected as PAs in the 'other skilled worker' category, along with 8,183 in the 'assisted relative' category, and just 9,922 across all other categories (CIC 2005; see also Table 4). From 1996 to 2000 electrical/ electronic engineers were also featured in the top 10 occupations for economic principal applicants, followed by mechanical engineers, and civil engineers: contributing 13,295, 11,223 and 8,982 arrivals respectively. In 2000 this pattern held, with 'over 12,000 skilled worker principal applicant' engineers selected, including also computer and chemical engineers (CIC 2001: 17).

Temporary entrants, as in Australia, were also increasingly important. 7,994 temporary engineer professionals were accepted by Canada from 2001-03, compared to 21,027 from

1996-2001. The most recent available temporary entrant data show mechanical engineering to be the major field currently sought for temporary entrants - 463 positions listed for 2005, in addition to 1,035 for mechanical engineers, technologists and technicians. While other engineering fields did not feature in the top 10, their cumulative number of temporary arrivals

Table 24: Engineering - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Canada, 1991-96 and 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival Date	Birth Country	Employed					Unemp	Not in Labor-force	Number
		Own Prof	Other Prof/Manag	Other work	S/Total				
	Canada	27.9	45.1	15.2	88.2	3.7	8.1	142,774	
1991/1996	UK/Ireland	31.2	52.3	0.0	83.5	~	~	407	
	USA	26.6	43.7	16.9	87.2	~	~	201	
	South Africa	18.5	34.6	0.0	53.1	~	~	154	
	Australia/New Zealand	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	20	
	South Eastern Europe	23.9	33.5	28.4	85.8	6.5	7.79	2301	
	Eastern Europe	28.2	37.1	24.3	89.5	6.6	3.86	5614	
	North West Europe	29.5	45.7	9.2	84.3	5.0	2.47	513	
	India	19.1	31.7	31.4	82.2	9.6	8.15	1461	
	Other South/Central Asia	20.8	31.5	26.1	78.4	9.7	11.97	2264	
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	21.5	34.0	13.1	68.6	5.9	23.16	1774	
	China (exc. Taiwan)	18.4	40.8	21.6	80.8	8.3	10.96	2420	
	Taiwan	7.4	30.1	10.5	47.9	10.9	35.71	642	
	Philippines	4.7	16.1	66.2	87.0	5.3	7.67	2085	
	Iraq	~	29.6	28.2	57.8	6.0	11.79	269	
	Other Middle East/N Africa	18.1	37.1	22.3	77.6	10.1	12.39	1698	
	Central & South Americas	22.8	22.4	35.1	80.4	10.5	9.11	1042	
	Other	20.7	31.7	30.0	82.4	11.7	10.8	2140	
TOTAL MIGRANTS								25,003	
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	25.2	48.7	12.6	86.5	~	~	633	
	USA	17.6	48.4	11.9	77.9	~	~	392	
	South Africa	19.0	56.2	0.0	75.2	~	~	215	
	Australia/New Zealand	~	75.3	0.0	75.3	~	~	81	
	South Eastern Europe	15.1	24.9	35.1	75.1	12.8	12.13	2074	
	Eastern Europe	19.2	23.8	31.7	74.7	12.9	12.4	10280	
	North West Europe	17.4	53.1	13.9	84.3	8.2	4.55	1110	
	India	19.0	30.9	33.0	82.9	9.6	7.49	4933	
	Other South/Central Asia	15.9	22.3	31.2	69.4	17.1	13.53	7632	
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	16.7	29.3	17.2	63.2	11.7	20.9	817	
	China (exc. Taiwan)	12.0	24.4	23.5	59.8	21.0	19.17	15234	
	Taiwan	8.3	20.8	18.8	47.9	16.9	31.38	1020	
	Philippines	5.3	14.2	58.7	78.2	11.4	10.38	2844	
	Iraq	15.6	27.0	17.6	60.2	14.4	17.6	572	
	Other Middle East/N Africa	14.9	23.7	24.2	62.8	22.1	15.09	3566	
	Central & South Americas	20.5	30.4	28.3	79.2	9.3	11.54	2190	
	Other	17.8	34.7	22.4	74.9	20.2	15.6	3278	
TOTAL MIGRANTS								56,871	

Source: 2001 Census (Canada)

was likely to be significant (HRSDC 2006).

Prior to 1991, as we have seen, 15% of engineering migration to Canada was derived from English speaking background source countries (compared to 24% in Australia). Between 1996 and 2001, however, ESB source countries contributed just 2% of all engineering migrants to Canada (compared to 22% in Australia). The largest source countries for degree-qualified engineers entering Canada by 1996-2001 were China (27%), Eastern Europe (18%), Other South and Central Asia (13%), and India (9%). According to a recent CIC analysis, Asia as a whole is clearly the main region of origin of most recent immigrant engineers, with smaller but significant numbers also coming from Eastern Europe. China accounted for 39% of... this occupational grouping in 2000, a share which has risen significantly in the late-1990s (CIC 2001: 21).

Additional sources for engineers to Canada from 1998-2000 were Pakistan, India, Romania, Korea, Iran, the Ukraine and Russia. Such engineers were predominantly male (86%), with the great majority intending to settle in Ontario (72%). (For Australia the primary engineer source countries by the late 1990s were the UK/Ireland (14%), China (13%), and India (11%).)

Labour Market Outcomes for Migrant Engineers in Canada Compared to Australia

To what extent did Canadian growth in demand match professional engineer migration supply across this period? As shown in Table 24, Canada experienced an 18% growth in the number of professional engineering positions from 1996-2001, in contrast to decline in demand in Australia at this time (-34%). Within this positive employment context how did 1996-2001 migrant engineers fare (the majority, as we have seen, filtered by economic migration selection criteria)?

66-75% of recently arrived ESB engineers had gained some form of professional or managerial work by 2001 in Canada – an excellent outcome (given managerial employment typically provides engineers with superior employment gains). A wide range of other migrant engineers had also fared well, including select visible minority groups. For example 21% of degree-qualified engineers from Central & South America were working as engineers by 2001 (compared to 6% in Australia), 19% of Indian and East European arrivals (compared to 9% and 8% respectively in Australia), 16% of Iraqis (compared to 6% in Australia), and 15% from Other Middle East/North Africa (compared to 6%).

Overall, 39-51% of recently arrived engineers had secured some form of professional or managerial work by 2001 – a positive outcome, and remarkable in the light of Canada's regulatory hurdles. Outcomes proved less positive however for recently arrived engineers from China (12% in engineering positions compared to 8% in Australia) and the Philippines (5% compared to 6%). This represents a serious issue given the dominance of these source countries in contemporary Canadian engineer flows (see Table 4). While many such engineers had found work in management or other professions, their access was far lower than that of ESB professionals, ranging from 14-24%. As in Australia, large numbers of migrant engineers had secured only de-skilled positions, including 59% of degree-qualified engineers from the Philippines (identical to Australia), 35% from South-Eastern Europe (compared to 33%), 32% from Eastern Europe (compared to 38%), 28% from South/Central America (compared to 34%), and 24% from China (compared to 32%).

Interestingly, while the majority of pre-1991 engineer arrivals had secured appropriate work in Canada by 2001, long-established Filipino degree-qualified engineers (pre-1991 arrivals) had struggled to find or keep professional/managerial positions, with just 32% employed in any profession (compared to 30% in Australia).

Regulatory Barriers

According to the Canadian Council of Professional Engineers (CCPE), regulation represents a critical barrier to date in Canada. While 150,000 migrant engineers were evaluated by CCPE the decade prior to 2002, licensure remains a provincial responsibility to date, with no certainty of new arrivals receiving adequate information, advice, or access to training for re-accreditation (many being deemed 'technologists' rather than engineers). Depending on the perceived calibre of the original qualification, applicants may be assigned to one of five pre-licensure paths, the simplest requiring a year of Canadian experience, the most complex requiring candidates to pass a suite of 24 exams. Substantial numbers of engineers are also reportedly at risk of a Catch-22 situation – unable to prove they are 'professional engineers' until they have secured Canadian work, yet insufficiently licensed to access the mandatory year of industrial training.

The Canadian professional bodies in consequence are researching labour market integration strategies for overseas-trained engineers – in many provinces involving an exceedingly complex pathway (Kim Walker Community and Environment 2003; Canadian Council of Professional Engineers 2004). CCPE notes however just 10% of migrant engineers currently seek assessment, far lower than the proportion encountered a decade ago. While a number of excellent pilot programs have been funded (eg in Vancouver and Manitoba), such courses are frequently one-off rather than recurrent, leaving thousands of migrant engineers 'on their own'. Within this context skills may be jeopardised. By 2004, for instance, Vancouver was running a course designed to convert unemployed Chinese engineers into roofing contractors. According to the Association of Professional Engineers and Geoscientists of British Columbia, there are not enough jobs for migrant engineers in the province at this time, nor sufficient pre-migration advice to alert prospective 'at risk' applicants to the situation. Those scarred by workforce displacement are reportedly rarely sought by employers.

Labour Market Outcomes for Migrant Engineers in Australia

Credential recognition is not the major barrier for migrant engineers in Australia. In contrast to Canada, around 80% of overseas-qualified engineers received full recognition by the national professional body (Engineers Australia) by the mid 1990s. No host country year of professional experience is required. The labour integration outcomes achieved by migrant engineers in Australia reflect rather the negative employment growth characteristic of Australia from 1996 to 2001 - a 34% decline in professional engineer positions, at a time when substantial numbers of factories were relocating to Asia, and there was serious oversupply.

Australia's flirtation with the human capital model of migration had resulted in a 'flooding' of the engineering labour market between 1986 and 1993, when 18,500 engineers were selected following a 20 year average of just 600 migrant engineers per year (primarily of British

origin). From the late 1980s the origin of migrant engineers also transformed - Hong Kong, India and Sri Lanka becoming the top 3 source countries, coinciding with the 1991-93 recession. Demand was lowest in the mechanical and civil engineering fields, in which the majority of incoming engineers were unfortunately clustered.

Within this context Australian employers became ruthlessly selective, despite migrant applicants typically having professional engineer status. Research demonstrated their adoption of a range of strategies designed to assess migrants' level of English and technical knowledge. Some timed interviews, to assess the speed and efficiency with which non English speaking background engineers could give information. Others requested questionnaires to be filled in on site, with 'free fields' deliberately placed to test written communication. A third technique to screen out poor communicators involved the placing of unexpected phone calls – described as 'a quick and effective edit' that could sabotage engineers' reliance on a pre-prepared 'script'. At interview an NESB engineer could be asked to explain 10 diagrams, a strategy to overcome 'the fudge factor' which linguistically caused '50 per cent of them to die a thousand deaths'. Such techniques were not viewed by employers as unfairly discriminatory in the knowledge economy, because:

When you design something, you've got to understand what's wanted. When you've designed it, you've got to present it. When you're selling something, you've got to get the idea across. Also when you've employed someone, they've got to fit in as part of a team. So communication skills at all levels – verbal, non-verbal, written, spoken – are critical... When the survival of your company and your employees depends on those sales, you've got to make a very hard decision, and it almost invariably goes to the conservative safe side (Hawthorne 1994: 66-7).

In consequence of such attitudes, by 2001 few recently arrived degree-qualified migrant engineers from Asian or Middle Eastern countries gained Australian engineering work: 26-27% from the major English speaking nations, compared to just 9% from India 9%, 8% from China and Eastern Europe, and 6% from the Philippines, Iraq, Central & South America, and Other Middle East/North Africa. Nor did disadvantaged groups (with the exception of India at 36%) easily access alternative professional or management work: 24% from Other South and Central Asia, 18% from China, the Philippines and Eastern Europe, and 6% from Iraq compared to 45% from the UK/Ireland and South Africa, 43% from North West Europe, and 40% from the US/Canada (management paths delivering engineers far more favourable remuneration). By the mid 1990s the Australian government had developed and funded 10 employment bridging course models designed to address specific barriers experienced by migrant engineers (Hawthorne 1994).

Reacting to problems related to oversupply (in line with human capital theory), substantial numbers of recently arrived engineers in Australia changed fields. However many 1996-2001 migrants secured only de-skilled work, including 59% from the Philippines, 38% from Eastern Europe, 34% from South/Central America, 32% from China, 30% from Iraq, Other Middle East/North Africa, and South/Central Asia, and 28% from India. (See Table 25.)

Interestingly, even long-established NESB degree-qualified engineers (pre-1991 arrivals) had struggled to find professional or managerial employment of any kind, with just 30% of engineering-qualified Filipinos in any profession, compared to 34% from Taiwan, 36% from China, 35% from Iraq, and 51% from Eastern Europe. Employment rates in engineering remained low overall: just 11% for China engineers, and 9% for Filipinos, suggesting migration into a low demand field to leave residual 'scarring'.

Table 25: Engineering - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Australia, 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival Date	Birth Country	Employed				Unemp	Not in Labor-force	Number
		Own Prof	Other Prof/Manag	Other work	S/Total			
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	26.5	45.4	19.5	91.4	2.8	5.6	2179
	USA/Canada	25.7	40.4	17.8	83.9	2.9	13.3	682
	South Africa	26.1	45.4	17.8	89.3	4.0	6.8	529
	South Eastern Europe	18.3	22.0	33.0	73.3	12.4	14.2	758
	Eastern Europe	7.8	18.3	37.8	63.9	12.4	23.8	580
	North West Europe	19.8	43.0	15.6	78.4	5.4	15.9	763
	India	9.3	36.1	28.2	73.6	12.0	14.4	1664
	Other South/C Asia	15.6	23.8	30.4	69.8	11.3	18.7	1032
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	16.1	24.7	14.9	55.7	6.9	37.3	595
	China (exc. Taiwan)	7.5	18.3	32.4	58.2	7.8	33.9	1978
	Taiwan	10.7	20.0	6.3	37.0	7.9	55.0	140
	Philippines	5.6	18.2	59.1	82.9	6.9	9.9	912
	Iraq	5.7	6.0	30.3	42.0	32.9	25.0	316
	Other M East/N Africa	5.8	23.9	29.7	59.4	15.6	24.5	552
	Central & S Americas	6.4	25.5	34.1	66.0	8.8	25.2	329
	Other	13.7	20.1	28.6	62.4	10.3	27.3	2175
	TOTAL MIGRANTS (Exc. N.Z.)							15,184

Source: Australian Census (2001)

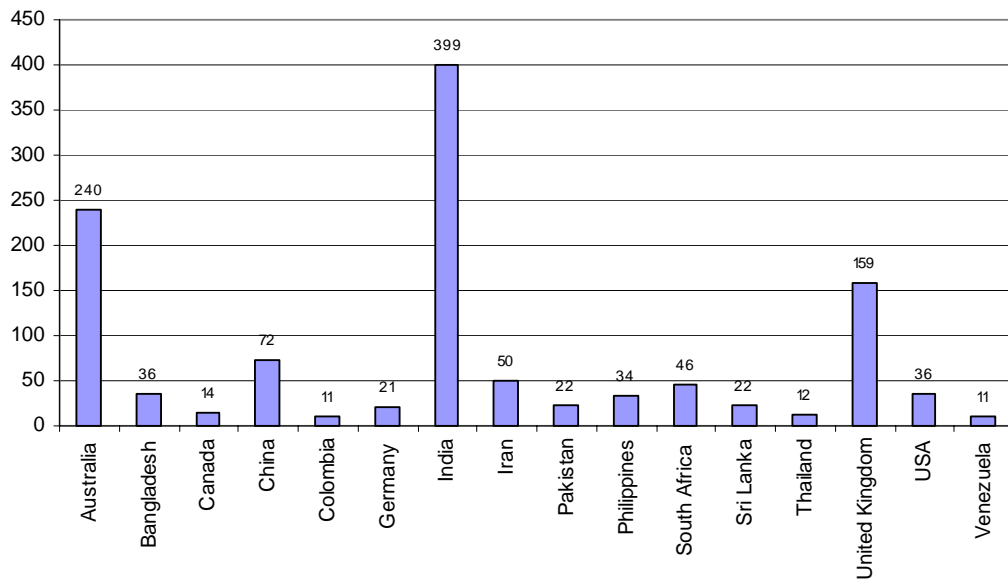
The current economic boom has coincided with resurgent Australian demand for overseas-qualified engineers, particularly those selected as economic migrants. By 2006 civil, mining, petroleum and chemical engineering all featured on Australia's Migration Occupations in Demand List (reflecting a commodities boom), allocated 20 bonus points for high demand. Between July to September 2005 the national accreditation body, Engineers Australia, assessed 1330 migrant engineer applicants related to skilled migration - the great majority with professional engineering qualifications (including former international students trained in Australia who were virtually guaranteed selection). (See Figure 4.) Temporary arrivals further expanded these flows: in 2003-04 for instance boosting the 2,707 permanent engineer arrivals by 1,543, resulting in an annual net gain of 2,987 engineers (Birrell, Rapson & Smith 2005). In the current high demand context, Australia's 2006 Census is likely to demonstrate far more favourable employment outcomes.

c. Nursing

The Supply of Migrant Nurses to Canada and Australia

Canada does not recruit large numbers of overseas qualified nurses through its economic migration categories. Overall, 25,095 overseas-born degree-qualified nurses were resident in Canada by 2001, representing 23% of the total nursing workforce (comparable to Australia's

Figure 4: Migrant engineer applications for credential assessment by major country of qualification, July-September 2005, Australia



24%). Domestic demand in the nursing field seemed static: according to the 2001 Census a 1% decline in professional nursing positions across the 1996-2001 period, compared to buoyant growth in demand within Australia¹⁷ (see Figure 1).

Between 1991 and 2003 just 2,367 nurses were selected as ‘other skilled worker’ PAs and 467 as ‘assisted relatives’ by Canada - the great majority of nurses (4,678) entering through other migration categories (see Table 4). In 2003, according to the latest CIC data, a mere 161 nurses were approved as economic principal applicants, supplemented by an additional 966 temporary nurses in 2001-03, 890 registered nurses in 2004 and 738 in 2005 (HRSDC 2004, 2006). 1996-2001 coincided with the entry of just 2% of the total degree-qualified workforce, despite growing evidence of regional shortages (Butler 2000; Circa Enterprises 2001). Once again temporary entrants represent an important additional source here, the latest available HRSDC data showing the 2005 recruitment of a further 738 nurses (HRSDC 2006). As noted in Section 2, the great majority were unfiltered by points-based assessment: 38% arriving in economic categories, compared to 62% in other family or humanitarian categories.

Prior to 1991 25% of nurse migration to Canada was derived from the major English speaking background source countries (far lower than the 56% to Australia). By 1996-2001, as we have seen, the ESB proportion had dropped to just 4% (compared to 43% to Australia). The largest birthplaces for nurse professionals to Canada by this time were the Philippines (34%), Other South and Central Asia (7%), Central & South Americas, China and India (3% each). (See Table 26.) The UK/Ireland provided a minute number of nurses from 1996 to 2001 (just 0.8% or 56, compared to a third of all arrivals at this time in Australia). The only significant flows to Canada from ESB countries were from the US (135 nurses), boosted by a scattering from

¹⁷ The 59% increase in professional nursing positions shown for Australia between 1996-2001 almost certainly reflects the increased number of nursing graduates with degree rather than diploma qualifications, as well as growth in demand.

South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. North West European nurses (who proved highly acceptable to Australian employers) were also negligible in terms of flows to Canada by this time (just 1%).

Table 26: Nursing - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Canada, 1991-96 and 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival Date	Birth Country	Employed					Unemp	Not in Labor-force	Number
		Own Prof	Other Prof/Manag	Other work	S/Total				
	Canada	56.3	16.9	12.1	85.3	2.3	12.4	69,987	
1991/1996	UK/Ireland	59.8	0.0	0.0	59.8	~	~	87	
	USA	29.4	0.0	0.0	29.4	~	~	102	
	South Africa	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	32	
	Australia/New Zealand	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	12	
	South Eastern Europe	46.0	0.0	0.0	46.0	~	~	25	
	Eastern Europe	84.1	0.0	0.0	84.1	~	~	73	
	North West Europe	42.2	0.0	0.0	42.2	~	~	79	
	India	52.3	0.0	0.0	52.3	~	~	196	
	Other South/Central Asia	38.8	0.0	0.0	38.8	~	~	165	
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	62.9	0.0	0.0	62.9	~	~	139	
	China (exc. Taiwan)	39.4	0.0	0.0	39.4	~	~	136	
	Taiwan	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	49	
	Philippines	32.0	3.5	46.0	81.5	3.1	11.3	1,579	
	Other Middle East/N Africa	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	19	
	Central & South Americas	61.8	0.0	0.0	61.8	~	~	203	
	Other	35.4	3.5	46.0	84.9	3.1	11.3	1894.9	
TOTAL MIGRANTS								4,791	
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	56	
	USA	31.3	0.0	0.0	31.3	~	~	135	
	South Africa	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	26	
	Australia/New Zealand	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	28	
	South Eastern Europe	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	103	
	Eastern Europe	8.7	0.0	0.0	8.7	~	~	49	
	North West Europe	32.2	0.0	0.0	32.2	~	~	81	
	India	22.2	0.0	25.4	47.6	~	~	178	
	Other South/Central Asia	13.5	0.0	31.2	44.7	14.0	35.1	460	
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	30	
	China (exc. Taiwan)	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.1	24.6	182	
	Taiwan	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	126	
	Philippines	21.8	2.7	51.2	75.6	7.6	15.1	2,160	
	Other Middle East/N Africa	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	58	
	Central & South Americas	~	0.0	34.3	34.3	~	~	189	
	Other	27.2	2.7	51.2	81.0	7.6	15.1	2496.4	
TOTAL MIGRANTS								6,358	

Source: Canada Census (2001)

In marked contrast to Canada, between 1995/6 and 1999/2000 Australia accepted 11,757 registered nurses from overseas, around half on a permanent and half on a temporary basis (Hawthorne 2001; 2002). 36% of the permanent intake from 1996-2001 was derived from the UK (36%), followed by the Philippines (19%), and Hong Kong/Malaysia/Singapore (6%). This process continues unabated to the current time, with nursing regularly featured on the Migration Occupations in Demand List and currently the second top field of qualification. In 2003/04 1,582 nurses were selected, with a further 2,616 reaching Australia as long term temporary workers, along with 2,833 in 2004-05 (Birrell, Rapson & Smith 2005; Kinnaird 2006). In 2005-06 a further 2,240 nurses permanently migrated (The Age 2006).

Labour Market Outcomes for Migrant Nurses in Canada Compared to Australia

By 2001, some 56% of degree-qualified Canada-born nurses were employed in their profession (compared to 65% in Australia). No 1996-2001 migrant arrivals in Canada however came near this level, with just 31% of even US nurses securing nursing work. The difference with outcomes in Australia was striking. 22% of recently-arrived Indian nurses had secured work in their field in Canada (compared to 66% in Australia), 22% of Filipino nurses (compared to 35%), and 32% from North West Europe (compared to 45%). Large numbers of recently arrived nurses from China remained unemployed in Canada (28%) or were categorised as 'not in the labourforce' (25%), with Filipino and Other South/Central Asia nurses also suffering significant levels of labour market displacement. (See Table 27.) By and

Table 27: Nursing - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Australia, 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival Date	Birth Country	Employed				Unemp	Not in Labor-force	Number
		Own Prof	Other Prof/Manag	Other work	S/Total			
	Australia/N.Z.	65.3	7.7	11.9	84.9	1.7	13.3	108,465
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	72.7	4.8	6.7	84.2	1.0	14.9	1040
	USA/Canada	37.4	7.3	7.3	52.0	3.7	44.2	163
	South Africa	63.0	7.6	10.9	81.5	5.0	13.4	119
	South Eastern Europe	38.3	0.0	6.4	44.7	12.8	42.6	47
	Eastern Europe	32.6	0.0	21.0	53.6	7.0	39.5	43
	North West Europe	45.2	2.1	10.3	57.6	2.1	40.4	146
	India	66.2	0.0	6.2	72.4	9.2	18.5	65
	Other South/Central Asia	49.1	5.7	17.0	71.8	0.0	28.3	53
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	66.0	6.4	4.8	77.2	2.7	20.2	188
	China (exc. Taiwan)	51.9	0.0	7.4	59.3	3.7	37.0	81
	Taiwan	13.2	0.0	28.4	41.6	0.0	58.5	53
	Philippines	35.0	0.0	35.3	70.3	4.1	24.2	592
	Iraq	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	3
	Other Middle East/N Africa	32.0	0.0	8.0	40.0	6.7	49.3	75
Central & South Americas	42.9	0.0	0.0	42.9	0.0	57.1	14	
Other	42.4	1.1	8.0	51.4	8.4	39.7	418	
TOTAL MIGRANTS (Exc. N.Z.)								3,100

Source: Australia Census (2001)

large, if employed in Canada, recently arrived overseas-qualified nurses had secured work only in low-skilled fields: 51% of Filipino nurses, 31% of Other South/Central Asia nurses and 25% of Indian nurses. This represents a very negative outcome – one likely to reflect low labour market demand, the strength of the provincial regulatory barriers, and lack of preliminary points screening.

According to the Canadian Nurses Association, demand for nurses over the past decade has fluctuated significantly across provinces - the emergence of regional shortages masked by a lack of comprehensive national (including predictive) data. As with engineering, professional licensure is governed at the provincial level. Migrant nurses must satisfy host-country language standards (variable by state), as well as pass a written national exam (in a context where some 30-35% of applicants are deemed ineligible). Many will require bridging courses to meet licensure requirements – as with engineering minimally available outside the dominant migrant states. By 2000 migrant nurses' professional language ability had become a matter of significant concern, meriting substantial investigation by the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks 2002). By 2004 a National Taskforce was established to investigate overseas educated nurse issues, due to report to government in 2005.

Within this context, labour market demand and credential recognition appear to have significant impact on Canadian employment outcomes (Canadian Nursing Council 2004). By contrast, in Australia's high demand context, by 2001 virtually every category of 1996-2001 arrivals had performed well, despite significant regulatory hurdles for those not screened pre-migration.

73% of UK/Ireland nurses were working in their field, along with 66% of nurses from India and Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, 63% from South Africa, and 49% from Other South/ Central Asia. Even a high 52% of nurses qualified in China had found professional employment, in a marked deviation from typical China professional outcomes. (See Table 27.) Australia's investment in specialist nursing bridging programs had made a critical contribution here. Preliminary and advanced competency-based courses for migrant nurses had been available since the late 1980s, delivering full registration outcomes in 60-90% of cases within three months. Further, tertiary institutions in major immigrant-receiving states had long been funded to deliver introductory and advanced English for Nurses courses (Hawthorne 2001, 2002).

d. Medicine

The Supply of Migrant Doctors to Canada and Australia

In Canada, as in Australia, medicine remains a highly regulated field where exceptionally large numbers of local graduates secure work in their profession (66% in Canada compared to 82% in Australia).

Between 1998 and 2001 the number of permanent medical positions in Canada rose by 9%, compared to a 17% 'decline' in Australia. This seeming Australian reduction in numbers

however was highly misleading. By 2003 national controls had led to sustained underproduction of medical graduates, compounded by a growing shortfall of local doctors willing to serve in undersupplied regional sites. In consequence some 5,583 temporary entrant doctors were brought to Australia to work in rural and urban public hospital, family medicine, and select public sector speciality positions in 2004-05, rising from around 500 per year a decade earlier (Hawthorne et al 2003; Birrell & Schwarz 2005; Hawthorne, Hawthorne & Crotty 2006). In 2005-06 an additional 350 doctors were selected as landed immigrants – a number certain to boom with the re-categorisation of medical fields on the Migration Occupations in Demand List (20 bonus points) (The Age 2006).

Growth in medical labour market demand is currently sustained and strong across Australia. Within a high demand context minimal numbers of Australian doctors seek alternative work (8% compared to 13% in Canada), and unemployment in medicine is virtually non-existent (0.6% in Australia compared to 2%). Employment outcomes for overseas trained doctors reflect this, despite the existence of formal regulatory requirements. A 2005-06 survey of 3,000 recently arrived OTDs found 76% were in medical employment, often well in advance of securing local medical accreditation (Hawthorne, Hawthorne & Crotty 2006). Temporary resident doctors retain the right to opt in or out of credential assessment, despite major recent concerns regarding standards in select provinces. According to a recent paper,

There is no secret about this situation. The Commonwealth Government, in its advice to OTDs who are considering working in Australia, states that 'Currently there is no formal assessment of the level of theoretical and clinical skills expected of (Temporary Resident Doctors). OTDs wishing to work in Australia on a temporary basis... only have to satisfy their prospective employer that they hold a medical degree and that they have the skills relevant to the task the employer wishes them to fulfil... (In several Australian states they do not even have to pass a formal English language test (Birrell 2004: 41).

By 2001 61,764 overseas-born doctors were resident in Canada (compared to 21,634 in Australia). This represented 35% of the potential Canadian medical workforce (compared to 46%). Medical arrivals to Canada rose rapidly between 1991-1996 (13,620 versus 2,735 in Australia) and 1996-2001 (21,709 versus 4,678) – the late 1990s coinciding with the arrival of 8% of Canada's total medical workforce. Close to half of these doctors however had not been screened in advance for economic migration: 58% arriving in this category, compared to 42% as family migrants or refugees.

It is worth noting here that Canada, like Australia, is experiencing significant medical shortages in the more remote provinces, and even Ontario (see eg Square 1997; Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care Ontario 2004; Holmes et al 2005; Bowmer & Banner 2005). Reflecting this, for 2004 HRSDC approved around 2,545 medically qualified foreign worker arrivals to Canada, followed by an additional 2,104 temporary specialist physicians and 822 general practitioners and family physicians approved for 2005 – not far short of Australian temporary arrival flows (HRSDC 2004, HRSDC 2006). This trend in dynamic – the comparative figure for 2001-03 temporary arrivals being 3,072.

As with other fields of migration, the source countries for immigrant doctors have become increasingly diverse over time. Prior to 1991 24% of medical migration to Canada had been from the major ESB source countries (compared to 30% in Australia). Between 1996 and 2001, by contrast, ESB source countries contributed just 4% of all medical migrants to Canada (compared to 30% of medical migrants to Australia). The largest source countries for

Canada at this time were China (16%), Other South and Central Asia (14%) and Eastern Europe (10%) – countries where differences in English and medical training were certain to compound migrants’ problems securing registration through local regulatory bodies (Association of International Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario 2002; Hawthorne et al 2003).

Labour Market Outcomes for Long Established Migrant Doctors

Given the returns inherent in the medical profession, the medical field is one in which migrants are arguably most motivated to pass pre-accreditation hurdles, despite a sustained history of professional exclusion of medical ‘outsiders’ characteristic in each country (see eg Kunz 1975; Association of International Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario 2002). In line with this, the Census analysis showed strong domestic demand to confer clear benefits on migrants, including the most recent arrivals.

Doctors resident in Canada 10 years or more had performed well, with 50% plus from most birthplace groups employed in medicine by 2001, the major exceptions again being China (47% so employed) and the Philippines (just 16%). Doctors qualified in ESB countries had as usual fared particularly well, with 57-75% in medical positions, along with 67% of doctors from North West Europe, 71% from Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore, 64% from Other Middle East/ North Africa, and 62% from India.

Migrant doctors resident in Australia 10 years or more had fared even better. Those qualified in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore had achieved the highest level of medical labour market integration overall (an extraordinary 91%), followed by doctors from South Africa and India (88%), the UK/Ireland (81%), Other Middle East/ North Africa (86%) and even Iraq (83%). As in Canada however, outcomes for doctors from China and the Philippines remained disappointing - just 35% and 57% respectively working in their profession in Australia, despite their pre-1991 arrival. (Table 28.)

Labour Market Outcomes for Recent Arrivals

For recently arrived migrant doctors (1996-2001) however, major differences in professional outcomes were evident, with far more positive results achieved in Australia than Canada (reflecting the strength of local demand). (See Table 29.) Doctors from South Africa and the UK/Ireland had moved seamlessly into medical employment in Australia, their rates close to or exceeding the local graduate norm (a finding confirming the three mandatory pre-registration exams to present minimal barriers). Doctors qualified in India (66%), Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore (59%) and Taiwan (57%) had also achieved excellent integration rates in medicine within the first 5 years. In the context of unmet labour market demand, a number would definitely have secured medical work without first achieving full medical registration – a growing trend in Australia for the past decade, for example for Indian and Iraqi-born doctors (Australian Medical Council 2003).

By contrast recently arrived China-qualified doctors fared appallingly in Australia (just 5% working in medicine by 2001), followed by doctors from Eastern Europe (24%), the Philippines (33%), South Eastern Europe and Other Middle East/North Africa (36%) and Other South/Central Asia (39%). Such outcomes reflected profound differences in medical

migrants' scientific training, often further exacerbated by the language and cultural hurdles inherent in the pre-registration examination process.

Even worse outcomes were revealed for recently arrived doctors in Canada (many

Table 28: Medicine - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Canada, 1991-96 and 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival Date	Birth Country	Employed				Unemp	Not in Labor-force	Number
		Own Prof	Other Prof/ Manag	Other work	S/Total			
	Canada	65.7	13.1	9.9	88.7	2.2	2.2	134,659
1991/1996	UK/Ireland	68.4	14.5	6.9	89.8	0.8	8.2	5,882
	USA	57.5	18.3	10.2	85.9	1.9	9.6	3,199
	South Africa	75.4	6.3	3.6	85.2	~	~	1,075
	Australia/New Zealand	65.3	11.3	0.0	76.7	~	~	447
	South Eastern Europe	57.5	8.5	15.6	81.6	~	~	602
	Eastern Europe	59.0	17.4	13.1	89.4	2.2	7.5	3,617
	North West Europe	67.0	15.8	7.2	89.9	0.5	8.9	3,363
	India	61.6	12.5	10.2	84.3	2.4	10.6	2,838
	Other South/Central Asia	44.2	17.8	16.1	78.1	6.0	14.8	1,862
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	71.4	10.5	6.8	88.7	1.9	8.6	4,159
	China (exc. Taiwan)	46.6	19.8	16.3	82.7	1.7	15.4	1,819
	Taiwan	45.4	16.7	4.2	66.3	~	~	484
	Philippines	15.5	10.4	54.6	80.5	3.4	16.1	2,587
	Iraq	50.1	0.0	0.0	50.1	~	~	127
	Other Middle East/N Africa	64.0	14.3	6.5	84.9	4.2	10.1	2,231
	Central & South Americas	53.1	17.7	15.5	86.3	2.3	9.6	2,819
Other	66.1	13.3	8.9	88.3	2.7	9.5	6484.7	
TOTAL MIGRANTS								43,595
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	47.5	26.3	0.0	73.8	~	~	272
	USA	45.6	24.8	0.0	70.5	~	~	330
	South Africa	80.6	0.0	0.0	80.6	~	~	388
	Australia/New Zealand	60.4	0.0	0.0	60.4	~	~	49
	South Eastern Europe	10.3	11.6	21.7	43.5	16.6	32.4	419
	Eastern Europe	8.0	14.5	31.5	54.0	23.0	23.0	2,137
	North West Europe	35.8	23.5	14.2	73.6	6.3	13.0	477
	India	18.9	9.1	31.5	59.5	13.0	22.6	1,604
	Other South/Central Asia	12.4	12.7	25.9	51.0	17.0	32.0	3,052
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	30.7	13.5	12.0	56.2	~	~	271
	China (exc. Taiwan)	4.3	25.5	26.8	56.6	12.6	30.7	3,587
	Taiwan	11.2	27.7	16.8	55.8	9.7	31.7	500
	Philippines	3.0	7.3	67.2	77.4	6.9	15.7	1,612
	Iraq	10.9	0.0	0.0	10.9	25.6	50.2	232
	Other Middle East/N Africa	15.0	13.9	15.4	44.3	18.0	36.1	1,635
	Central & South Americas	12.2	15.0	19.6	46.8	16.5	29.6	717
Other	14.3	11.7	38.7	64.7	13.2	30.5	4516.2	
TOTAL MIGRANTS								21,799

Source: Canada Census (2001)

unscreened). Just 3% of Filipino doctors had found medical positions by 2001, compared to 4% from China, 8% from Eastern Europe, 11% from Iraq, 12% from Other South and Central Asia (probably predominantly Pakistan), 19% from India, and 31% from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore. Such outcomes are of serious concern, given the dominance of these arrivals in the recent period. They are likely to reflect tougher pre-accreditation hurdles, in addition to the lower levels of medical labour market demand prevailing in Canada (Canadian Medical Council 2005, 2004; Federal/ Provincial/ Territory Advisory Committee on Health Delivery and Human Resources 2004).

Medical Accreditation Barriers

Recent medical arrivals have faced severe accreditation barriers, ensuring Canadian Medical Council exams are now offered 'with more frequency and for a greater number of candidates' (attempters rising from 28-82% from 2002-04 across different administrations). Growing resources of necessity are being allocated to 'primary source verification'. By May 2004 first time international medical candidates had Multiple Choice Question (MCQ) 1 failure rates of 30.9% compared to 61.3% for repeat OTD candidates and 1.9% for new Canadian medical graduates. The comparable scores for MCQ2 candidates were 24.9%, 33.0% and 2.1% (Canadian Medical Council 2004). As with other Canadian fields few credential bridging programs were available, despite an intensification of lobbying plus select university

Table 29: Medicine - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Australia, 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival Date	Birth Country	Employed					Unemp	Not in Labor-force	Number
		Own Prof	Other Prof/ Manag	Other Work	S/Total				
	Australia/NZ	82.3	8.4	3.6	94.3	0.6	5.1	26658	
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	83.3	8.7	1.8	93.8	0.7	5.5	857	
	USA/Canada	52.9	11.6	8.7	73.2	5.8	18.3	104	
	South Africa	80.7	5.8	5.0	91.5	0.8	7.7	363	
	South Eastern Europe	35.5	5.8	14.8	56.1	12.3	31.6	155	
	Eastern Europe	23.5	5.3	18.2	47.0	12.4	40.6	170	
	North West Europe	52.4	20.9	5.9	79.2	1.5	19.4	206	
	India	65.8	6.5	4.2	76.5	10.2	12.6	430	
	Other South/Central Asia	39.0	2.3	13.8	55.1	10.9	32.4	516	
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	58.6	4.3	6.4	69.3	2.1	28.6	140	
	China (exc. Taiwan)	5.1	20.4	26.8	52.3	8.4	39.1	489	
	Taiwan	57.1	0.0	0.0	57.1	0.0	42.9	21	
	Philippines	33.3	7.4	13.6	54.3	7.4	38.3	81	
	Iraq	36.9	3.8	3.8	44.5	24.4	31.3	160	
	Other Middle East/N Africa	36.1	11.6	12.5	60.2	12.4	27.4	241	
	Central & South Americas	45.7	8.6	8.6	62.9	0.0	37.1	35	
Other	36.1	7.4	10.4	53.9	5.9	40.2	424		
TOTAL MIGRANTS (Exc. N.Z.)								4392	

Source: Australia Census (2001)

initiatives (most notably in Ontario).

In Australia, as noted, many temporary resident doctors bypass accreditation requirements in the context of unmet labour market demand. The largest study to date of OTDs suggests just 27% of foreign-trained doctors attempt the Australian Medical Council (AMC) exams – exams required for permanent rather than temporary resident doctors (Hawthorne, Hawthorne & Crotty 2006). An analysis of 1978- 2005 AMC outcomes for OTDs from 139 countries of origin revealed 81% of candidates who attempted the written examination (MCQ) eventually passed it, with 51% doing so on their first attempt. Significant differences in MCQ pass rates are evident by region of origin: the highest for the UK/Ireland (95%), South Africa (86%) and North America candidates (86%), and the lowest for those from Other Americas (67%), South East Asia-Other (70%) and East Europe (70%). In other words (as with other professional fields) possession of native English language ability, as well as training in medical systems directly comparable to Australia's, are highly advantageous. While the overall pass rate for migrant candidates sitting the final Clinical examination was 86%, just 53% of doctors presenting for the MCQ passed this exam in the study period, despite the number of candidates steadily increasing throughout the 1990s (Hawthorne, Hawthorne & Crotty 2006).

For recent medically-qualified arrivals in Canada, high rates of unemployment and 'not in the labourforce' were the norm among disadvantaged groups – perhaps reflecting years locked out of medicine while seeking provincial accreditation. These categories accounted for 78% of doctors from Iraq (compared to 56% in Australia), 54% from Other Middle East/ North Africa (40%), 49% from Other South/Central Asia (43%), 46% from Central/ South America (37%), 43% from China (48%), and 41% from Taiwan (43%).

In general, newly arrived medical migrants appeared to be substantially better off in Australia, where severe labour market shortages and workforce maldistribution have favoured access to local employment. Medicine without a doubt however represents a particularly problematic field from a human capital perspective. The latest available data show medical schools to have proliferated globally in the past 30 years, principally in Asia (India, China and the Philippines) and Africa. 1,981 such schools were listed by the International Medical Education Directory as of March 2005 across 170 nations (half in 10 countries). Minimal data however is available to date on the calibre of curricula, clinical training, student selection and length of training of many Asian and African courses (Boulet et al 2005). Given that increasing numbers of overseas-trained doctors have trained in impoverished educational settings, with minimal access to western technology, preparation for pre-accreditation examinations is likely to remain a serious challenge.

e. Information Technology

The Supply of Migrant Information Technology Professionals to Canada and Australia

As noted earlier in this report, Australia (pre-1999) and Canada (to the recent period) chose not to factor employment demand by field into economic migration criteria, given debate concerning the timelags and locational choices integral to the settlement process.

The information technology (IT) field however provides fascinating insight into the degree to which labour market demand facilitates the employment of recently arrived degree-qualified professionals, even those from the most disadvantaged source countries. The 2001 Census in both Canada and Australia was administered near the time the IT bubble ‘burst’, following years of buoyant IT employment growth, and minimal formal regulatory requirements.

Between 1996 and 2001 the number of IT positions held by degree qualified professionals (all origins) rose by 38% in Canada and 61% in Australia - the highest proportional growth for both countries of any field examined.

In Canada 49,671 overseas-born degree-qualified computer professionals were resident by 2001, representing 51% of the total information technology workforce. Numbers had risen rapidly from 1991 to 2001 - 1996-2001 coinciding with the arrival of 22% of the total Canadian IT workforce (24,192 people). An additional 3,585 temporary IT professionals arrived from 2001-03, a process certain to have continued despite IT no longer being ranked among the top 10 temporary fields by 2005.

In Australia 32,941 overseas-born degree-qualified IT professionals were resident by 2001 (49% of the workforce). Arrivals, as in Canada, had surged from 1991-1996 (4,960) and 1996-2001 (9,528) – the latter period seeing the arrival of 14% of total degree-qualified IT workers. From 2001-02 to 2003-04 an additional 52% of economic migrants who had qualified in Australia were IT professionals – the primary field followed by accounting (22%) (Birrell & Rapson 2004). By 2006 tens of thousands of international IT students were also enrolled in Australian degrees – a virtually guaranteed pathway to subsequent economic migration, supplemented by 3,342 employer-nominated IT/business temporary entrants in 2003-04 and 3,553 in 2004-05 (Kinnaird 2006). In September 2006, reflecting growing employer demand for experienced professionals, 6 IT specialisations were also added to the Migration Occupations in Demand List.

Once again, differences in source countries for IT professionals by birthplace were marked between Canada and Australia. Even pre-1991 just 2% of IT migration to Canada had been derived from the major ESB source countries (compared to 21% in Australia). Between 1996 and 2001 these contributed the same proportion (compared to 18% to Australia). The primary birthplaces for IT professionals entering Canada from 1996-2001 were China (34%), Eastern Europe (15%), Other South and Central Asia (10%), India (7%) and Other Middle East/ North Africa (7%) - the major Australian sources at this time being India (23%), the UK (13%), and China (13%).

Labour Market Outcomes for Migrant IT Professionals in Canada and Australia

Analysis of 2001 Census data confirmed the beneficial impact of sustained labour market demand on migrants’ access to professional IT employment in both countries. For example 57% of recently-arrived IT degree-qualified Eastern Europeans had secured professional work in their field by 2001 in Canada (and 63% in Australia), 49% from South Eastern Europe (68%), 43% from HK, Malaysia and Singapore (27%), 37% from India (34%), 41% from China (36%), 38% from Other Middle East/ North Africa (37%), 37% from South and Central Asia (46%) and 32% from the Philippines (42%). (See Tables 30 and 31.)

Table 30: Information technology - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Australia, 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival date	Birth country	Employed				Unemp	Not in Labor-force	Number
		Own Prof	Other Prof/Manag	Other work	S/Total			
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	50.3	25.9	12.9	89.1	5.2	5.6	1217
	USA/Canada	42.3	33.8	6.1	82.2	8.5	9.5	284
	South Africa	48.6	30.3	13.8	92.7	1.4	6.0	218
	South Eastern Europe	67.6	2.2	13.1	82.9	8.6	8.6	139
	Eastern Europe	63.0	9.0	8.5	80.5	9.5	10.0	200
	North West Europe	37.5	25.1	10.8	73.4	4.7	21.8	403
	India	33.6	9.1	30.9	73.6	10.0	16.4	2180
	Other South/Central Asia	25.2	11.4	31.6	68.2	11.5	20.5	750
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	27.4	16.4	11.8	55.6	13.6	30.8	744
	China (exc. Taiwan)	35.8	7.7	19.2	62.7	12.5	24.9	1216
	Taiwan	18.6	12.7	17.8	49.1	11.0	39.8	118
	Philippines	41.5	5.7	28.2	75.4	9.8	14.9	369
	Iraq	27.1	6.3	12.6	46.0	25.0	22.9	48
	Other Middle East/N Africa	37.1	15.7	15.7	68.5	11.4	20.0	210
	Central & South Americas	45.8	4.6	23.7	74.1	5.3	18.3	131
	Other	31.6	9.2	25.1	65.9	10.7	23.2	1301
TOTAL MIGRANTS (Ex. N.Z.)								9528

Source: Australian Census (2001)

Figure 5: Degree-qualified IT migrants employed in own profession in Australia versus outcomes by birthplace (all fields), 1996-2001 arrivals

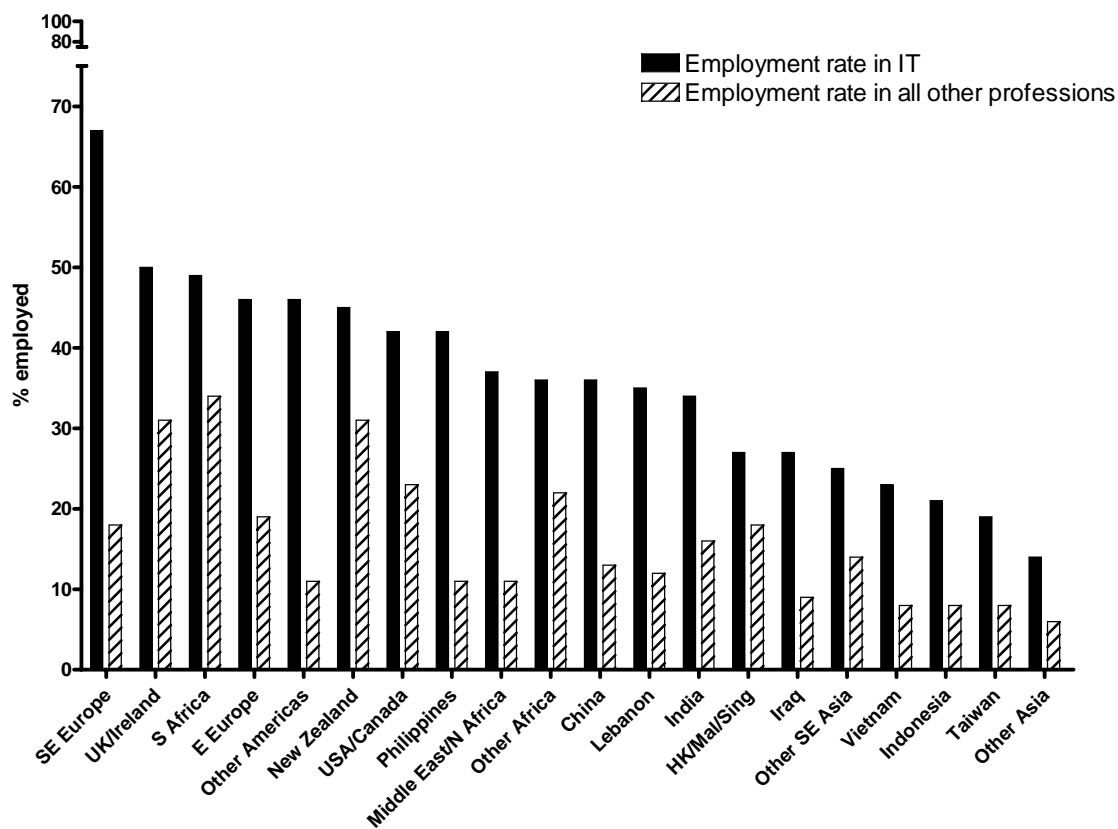


Table 31: Information technology - labour market outcomes for degree qualified migrants who arrived in Canada, 1991-96 and 1996-2001 by select birthplace, percentages (2001)

Arrival date	Birth country	Employed				Unempl- oyed	Not in Labor- force	Number
		Own Profes- sion	Other Prof/ Manag- erial	Other work	S/Total			
	Canada	44.9	30.4	14.1	89.3	4.1	6.6	53,613
<1991	UK/Ireland	37.0	38.7	9.3	84.9	3.7	9.6	1,681
	USA	38.5	31.8	8.6	78.9	3.4	10.3	850
	South Africa	29.8	28.4	0.0	58.2			144
	Australia/New Zealand		0.0	0.0	0.0			51
	Eastern Europe	45.0	26.9	13.2	85.1	5.6	8.5	1,435
	South Eastern Europe	25.3	48.5	3.0	76.9			257
	North West Europe	35.1	40.4	10.0	85.5	3.8	9.8	1,263
	India	34.9	32.1	17.6	84.6	6.4	7.9	1,151
	Other South/Central Asia	38.7	23.7	17.8	80.2	12.7	4.0	1,281
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	46.7	23.8	15.2	85.7	4.8	9.1	4,513
	China (exc. Taiwan)	46.0	22.4	18.7	87.1	5.6	6.4	1,343
	Taiwan	40.7	22.4	16.2	79.3	4.9	13.0	392
	Philippines	40.0	14.1	17.1	71.2	7.5	11.6	498
	Iraq		0.0	0.0	0.0			18
	Other Middle East/N Africa	34.5	37.3	4.1	75.9	8.9	9.4	1,127
	Central & South Americas	44.0	23.7	15.8	83.5	6.7	9.2	1,569
	Other	42.8	25.6	17.9	86.3	5.0	9.7	3,633
TOTAL MIGRANTS								21,206
1996/2001	UK/Ireland	57.9	12.4	0.0	70.3			308
	USA	40.6	28.7	0.0	69.2			169
	South Africa		0.0	0.0	0.0			85
	Australia/New Zealand		0.0	0.0	0.0			35
	Eastern Europe	57.4	9.7	14.1	81.2	11.3	7.5	3,710
	South Eastern Europe	48.9	11.4	0.0	60.3			446
	North West Europe	46.4	25.6	9.0	80.9	4.6	8.8	718
	India	37.2	11.0	22.7	70.9	12.4	15.5	1,802
	Other South/Central Asia	37.0	12.3	23.2	72.4	15.9	10.8	2,399
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	42.7	10.4	19.3	72.4	11.0	13.4	819
	China (exc. Taiwan)	40.9	10.6	14.4	65.9	20.3	13.7	8,109
	Taiwan	28.5	4.6	13.3	46.4	22.0	29.5	664
	Philippines	31.8	7.0	27.4	66.2	14.9	9.5	531
	Iraq		0.0	0.0	0.0			116
	Other Middle East/N Africa	38.4	17.6	7.7	63.7	20.6	14.6	1,783
	Central & South Americas	45.2	10.4	13.8	69.4	14.6	10.6	991
	Other	31.4	25.3	13.6	70.2	16.1	16.2	1,506.1
TOTAL MIGRANTS								24,192

Source: Canadian Census 2001.

The significance of these findings can be demonstrated by these groups' usual speed of access to work in their own professions from 1996-2001 (averaged across all 10 professional fields examined). For example in Australia the norm for East European professionals was 19% (in

IT 63%), for those from South Eastern Europe (cf 68%), and Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore 18% (cf 27%).

In a high demand context in Australia, even the most disadvantaged birthplace groups secured labour market integration in their own professions at 2-3 rates their norm, including new humanitarian arrivals such as the Iraqis (27% with IT degrees working in their profession, despite 9% being the Iraqi norm). (See Figure 4.) Canadian findings were similarly positive.

The data suggest, within a quasi-regulated profession at a time of sustained labour market demand, Canadian and Australian employers proved willing to overlook perceived 'deficits' in recently arrived migrant applicants in terms of language ability, qualifications calibre, and/or the relevance of prior experience. At the same time once the employment bubble 'burst' in IT (post-2001) negative labour market impacts were also evident: most notably reduced labour market demand, greater competition for work, and substantially lower starting salaries (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006; Kinnaird 2006).

f. Generic Versus Vocational Degree Qualifications

The final supply-demand case study concerns the degree to which generic compared to vocationally-specific qualifications are associated with positive labour market outcomes in Canada and Australia to date. Once again, it is important to bear in mind Canada makes no distinction among applicants by generic versus vocational qualifications. From 1999, by contrast, the Australian government virtually removed Principal Applicants with generic qualifications from the major economic migration categories, based on advice quoted here at length given its relevance to the policy issue¹⁸:

(Analysis of Australian 1996 Census data reveal that...) First, employment outcomes are generally better where the qualification field involves a body of knowledge which is specific to a particular profession and which is closely regulated by professional or academic gatekeepers... On the other hand, outcomes tend to be poor where the field of qualification does not relate closely to a clearly identified body of knowledge which is linked to a particular occupation, or is just one of a number of the factors employers take into account in making appointments. This conclusion applies to the 'society and culture', 'business and administration' 'natural and physical science' and economics fields... Migrants may be able to claim relevant professional qualifications and experience in fields like social research, journalism, public relations or university teaching, and thus gain selection under the points-tested categories but, once in Australia, are likely to find that these credentials do not ensure professional employment. Indeed, in a competitive labour market their professional knowledge may be quite marginal to the need of employers... Recent Australian-born graduates in these fields are also struggling to find professional or managerial positions. The point is important because large numbers of migrants are involved, some of whom would have been selected under the point-tested skilled categories (Birrell & Hawthorne 1999: 7-9).

Comparable trends have been evident for some time in Canada – a 2001 study demonstrating degree-qualified graduates in the 'applied fields' to achieve better labour market outcomes

¹⁸ Please note in the past few years levels of generic skill migration have crept up once again to Australia, particularly in terms of new opportunities for regional migration.

than those with non-specialist qualifications, with up to a third of the latter group feeling the need to secure an additional diploma within 5 years of graduation (Finnie 2001).

Labour Market Outcomes for Migrant Professionals with Generic Qualifications

As demonstrated by Table 32, both Canada and Australia have accepted very substantial numbers of generically qualified migrants to date, though the trend declined in the 1996-2001 period. Within each country society and culture/ creative arts graduates have dominated generic skill flows, followed by rest of management and commerce and the natural and physical sciences.

In line with the Australian evidence, inferior labour market outcomes however were associated with generic degrees. While the risk of sliding to sub-professional employment

Table 32: The Canadian and Australian professional workforces (2001) by qualification level and field, birthplace and year of arrival, percentages

Qualification level and field (Degree/Higher degree)	Canada-born	Overseas-born				Number
		All overseas-born	By year of arrival			
			Pre-1991	1991-1996	1996-2001	
Information Technology	49.1	50.9	19.4	9.4	22.1	109,292
Engineering	49.6	50.4	21.9	8.7	19.8	287,723
Architecture & Building	51.3	48.7	23.7	9.2	15.9	76,749
Medical Studies	64.7	35.3	20.9	5.5	8.8	208,140
Nursing	76.6	23.4	15.3	3.5	4.6	91,337
Teacher Education	84.8	15.2	11.4	1.8	2.1	515,503
Accounting	64.7	35.3	19.0	6.8	9.6	152,245
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	75.7	24.3	15.5	3.6	5.2	1,106,842
Rest of Management and Commerce	72.7	27.3	14.7	5.0	7.6	384,653
Natural & Physical Sciences	64.5	35.5	19.9	5.8	9.8	312,154
Other	77.8	22.2	11.9	3.8	6.5	129,420
S/Total	71.0	29.0	16.4	4.7	7.9	3,374,057

Australia-born						
Information Technology	51.2	48.8	27.4	7.2	14.2	69,694
Engineering	52.2	47.8	27.7	8.5	11.6	136,454
Architecture & Building	66.3	33.7	22.3	4.4	7.0	32,554
Medical Studies	54.2	45.8	30.1	5.8	9.9	47,251
Nursing	75.9	24.1	19.2	2.2	2.7	137,949
Teacher Education	80.2	19.8	15.2	1.8	2.8	285,971
Accounting	64.2	35.7	23.4	4.6	7.7	100,923
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	68.8	31.1	20.5	3.6	7.0	405,391
Rest of Management and Commerce	64.4	35.6	20.1	5.0	10.5	218,339
Natural & Physical Sciences	62.6	37.4	23.8	5.4	8.2	145,453
Other	71.2	28.8	19.4	3.6	5.8	189,175
S/Total	67.7	32.3	21.0	4.2	7.1	1,769,154

Source: Canadian and Australian Censuses 2001

was least for ESB migrants (eg from UK/Ireland and South Africa), it was far higher than for migrants from identical source countries holding vocation-specific degrees. In Canada, for instance, pre-1991 UK/Ireland arrivals had a 26% risk of sub-professional employment if qualified in society, culture and the arts, compared to a 15% risk if engineering-qualified, 12% in IT, 11% in nursing and 5% in medicine. The comparable rates of sub-professional employment for pre-1991 China-born arrivals were 40% if qualified in society, culture and the arts, compared to 21% in IT or engineering, 18% in nursing and 35% in medicine. (See Table 33.)

The level of labour market disadvantage experienced by generically qualified migrants in Canada is shown in Table 34 (aggregated)¹⁹. Substantial numbers of migrants qualified in society, culture and creative arts, as well as management and commerce graduates, had slipped into clerical, sales or service positions (22%). Less than half had secured any form of professional or managerial work (44%), compared to 61% of doctors, 59% of IT professionals, 50% of engineers, and 48% of nurses. While there appeared less risk of de-skilling for migrants to Canada qualified in the natural and physical sciences, far fewer were employed in any profession than was the norm in vocationally-linked fields. This phenomenon also influenced the level of opportunity open to Canadians with generic qualifications. The Australian data showed identical trends at work (available if required).

From a policy perspective, it seems important for governments to recognise that the majority

Table 33: Proportion of degree-qualified migrants in sub-professional employment in Canada by qualification field and period of arrival (2001 Census)

	Qualification field	UK/ Ireland	South Africa	India	HK/ Malaysia/ Singapore	China	Philippines	Eastern Europe
<1991	Information Tech.	12.2	19.0	20.3	17.2	20.9	25.9	15.3
	Engineering	15.2	14.5	29.3	17.4	21.4	60.4	32.4
	Medicine	8.8	5.6	14.4	8.3	19.5	65.1	19.6
	Nursing	11.4	23.4	32.9	17.9	18.1	28.2	27.8
	Society, Culture & Arts	26.8	26.3	55.5	40.0	40.4	55.6	38.3
1991/6	Information Tech.	10.7	9.5	26.3	20.0	12.5	41.9	8.3
	Engineering	12.0	26.3	34.2	20.1	24.3	71.8	30.8
	Medicine	6.2	3.7	37.6	20.0	43.4	74.2	33.1
	Nursing	16.2	20.3	29.0	16.1	30.4	52.5	36.8
	Society, Culture & Arts	31.4	31.9	67.9	43.9	36.5	62.1	42.7
1996/2001	Information Tech.	17.0	28.5	28.3	22.3	16.7	37.1	15.2
	Engineering	17.2	18.2	35.7	27.2	29.0	65.5	40.0
	Medicine	16.6	8.6	41.9	28.6	38.7	79.7	39.6
	Nursing	27.3	0.0	55.3	44.1	41.5	60.8	30.6
	Society, Culture & Arts	28.6	21.1	63.2	39.4	39.5	69.6	39.6

Source: Canadian Census 2001

¹⁹ Full data by period of arrival can be provided if required.

of generically-qualified migrants will fail to secure professional or managerial work, despite possession of degrees and regardless of length of settlement. Overall this form of credential also significantly worsens outcomes for migrants from non-English speaking background countries.

g. Summary

At this stage of the report it is worth reprising select differences between Canada and Australia in terms of employment outcomes for degree-qualified workers (both local and the overseas born). (See Table 35.) Overall, within comparably strong labour markets, level of

Table 34: Labour market outcomes for degree-qualified Canada-born and migrants (all arrivals) by field of qualification, percentages (2001 Census)

Qualification Field	COB	Own Prof.	Other Prof.	Admin/ Man.	Ass. Prof.	Trade	Cler/ Sales	Prod / Lab	S/Tot	Unemp	NLF	Number
Information Technology	Canadian	42.0	23.7	5.4	7.8	1.0	7.2	1.3	88.4	4.6	7.0	64,167
	Overseas	40.2	15.3	3.9	6.5	1.3	8.0	1.9	77.2	11.1	11.8	63,687
Engineering	Canadian	23.7	31.6	9.8	7.6	3.4	6.5	4.4	87.0	4.6	8.4	173,162
	Overseas	17.7	25.1	7.3	8.5	5.8	8.9	5.3	78.7	9.3	12.0	164,839
Architecture & Building	Canadian	39.1	20.7	10.7	7.1	2.3	5.1	2.8	88.0	3.3	8.7	43,734
	Overseas	20.0	16.9	8.8	9.8	5.2	10.7	5.7	77.1	8.8	14.1	42,219
Medicine	Canadian	60.8	13.6	2.5	6.7	0.3	3.9	0.7	88.5	1.7	9.8	58,347
	Overseas	42.5	15.7	2.9	7.4	0.9	6.0	1.2	76.6	6.4	17.0	38,958
Nursing	Canadian	52.5	5.5	3.8	9.0	0.4	7.8	1.3	80.2	2.3	17.5	305,444
	Overseas	39.7	4.5	3.5	12.5	0.5	12.6	2.2	75.4	3.6	20.9	77,855
Teacher Education	Canadian	42.9	6.7	6.5	8.3	0.9	11.3	2.2	78.8	2.8	18.5	612,136
	Overseas	28.2	8.0	6.8	9.3	1.6	15.7	3.8	73.4	4.4	22.2	120,121
Accounting	Canadian	25.1	21.6	8.8	1.7	2.0	24.7	2.0	86.0	3.9	10.2	269,521
	Overseas	19.1	16.3	7.5	2.3	2.2	26.6	3.5	77.5	7.0	15.4	117,995
Society, Cult. Creative Arts	Canadian	17.4	18.0	8.8	7.2	2.3	22.3	6.1	82.0	5.5	12.5	1,263,013
	Overseas	12.2	17.3	8.8	5.2	3.0	20.9	6.2	73.5	7.6	18.9	365,666
Rest of Man. & Commerce	Canadian	21.2	9.1	16.9	2.9	2.7	30.1	2.8	85.7	4.6	9.6	760,953
	Overseas	16.5	9.0	14.3	2.7	2.6	29.3	3.4	77.8	7.5	14.7	221,770
Natural & Phys. Sci	Canadian	8.3	30.1	8.0	10.5	2.9	14.5	7.9	82.3	5.2	12.6	267,625
	Overseas	7.2	28.1	7.4	8.8	3.3	15.1	5.7	75.7	7.7	16.6	132,249
TOTAL	Canadian	26.8	14.9	9.2	7.6	2.0	18.7	3.9	83.0	4.3	12.7	4,005,237
	Overseas	19.6	15.8	8.2	7.0	2.8	18.2	4.5	76.0	7.3	16.7	1,404,280

Source: Canadian Census 2001

domestic labour market demand and possession of vocation-related qualifications appeared to significantly influence migrants' chance of securing work in the professions, including the employment outcomes of the most recent arrivals. It is important to bear this in mind when assessing the impact of gender and age on labour market integration outcomes in the next section.

Table 35: Summary of select employment outcomes for Canada and Australia-born graduates compared to migrant graduates (all periods of arrival), 2001

Employment Outcomes (2001)	Canada	Australia
% of local-born employed in own profession, compared to migrants	34% (cf 23%)	37% (cf 28%)
% of local-born employed in other profession/ managerial work, compared to migrants	30% (cf 28%)	22% (cf 21%)
% of local-born unemployed, compared to migrants	4% (cf 8%)	2% (cf 4%)
Fields with <5 % employment difference in own profession (local-born and migrants)	IT (45% of Canada-born cf 43%)	IT (48% of Australia-born cf 45%) Nursing (65% cf 62%) Archit/Building (34% cf 30%)
Fields with 6-14% employment difference in own profession (local-born and migrants)	Engineering (30% cf 19%) Nursing (56% cf 44%)	Medicine (85% cf 73%) Accounting (52% cf 40%)
Fields with >15% employment difference in own profession (local-born and migrants)	Archit/Building (42% cf 22%) Medicine (66% cf 44%) Teaching (55% cf 38%) Accounting (42% cf 27%)	Engineering (36% cf 21%) Teaching (57% cf 40%)
Level of employment in generic fields (local-born and migrants)	Manage/Business (31% cf 21%) Arts/Culture (22% cf 14%) Nat/Phys Sci (10% cf 18%)	Manage/Business (33% cf 24%) Arts/Culture (28% cf 20%) Nat/Phys Sci (19% cf 16%)
% of Canada-born with higher vocation-related degrees employed in own field compared to migrants, by select field	IT (33% cf 47%) Engineering (23% cf 23%) Nursing (36% cf 34%) Accounting (36% cf 32%)	Not available
% of Canada-born with higher generic degrees employed in own field compared to migrants, by select field	Manage/Business (40% cf 28%) Arts/Culture (36% cf 23%) Nat/Phys Sci (21% cf 15%)	Not available

Source: Canadian and Australian Censuses 2001

7. Gender, Age and Employment Outcomes

a. Introduction

As established in Sections 2-6, birthplace is strongly associated with employment outcomes for recently arrived degree-qualified migrants in Canada and Australia. (See Table 36 for a summary of the Australian data.)

This factor operates in combination with other important variables, including migrants' level and field of qualification, as well as place of settlement.

Within the current section the influence of birthplace is further examined in relation to gender, age and place of qualification. Please note here that the impact of language ability is not explored in relation to Census data, given the notorious unreliability of individuals' self-assessment. The significance of competence in the host society's language/s is separately considered in the analysis of the Canadian and Australian longitudinal survey data (see Section 8).

Table 36: The impact of birthplace on employment outcomes for degree-qualified migrants in all fields in Australia, 1996-2001 arrivals (2001)

Birthplace	Own Prof.	Other Prof.	Admin/ Man.	Sub-Prof.	Other	Unemployed	Not in Laborforce	Number
South Africa	23.6%	19.2%	14.0%	10.2%	14.3%	4.4%	13.5%	9097
UK/Ireland	22.2%	22.5%	12.9%	9.2%	15.9%	4.0%	12.5%	26595
New Zealand	19.2%	17.7%	11.3%	10.8%	25.6%	4.7%	9.9%	14957
USA/Canada	14.4%	21.2%	14.2%	8.2%	12.7%	4.4%	23.7%	8565
India	12.9%	12.3%	3.6%	5.6%	31.7%	10.8%	21.4%	14626
Philippines	9.3%	5.8%	1.7%	5.7%	42.5%	7.9%	26.0%	6566
China (ex.. Taiwan	9.2%	8.7%	33.3%	5.1%	24.3%	10.0%	38.0%	14039
HK/Malaysia/Singapore	9.2%	8.0%	3.1%	3.9%	11.7%	7.7%	55.8%	13011
Lebanon	8.7%	7.7%	2.6%	7.2%	25.7%	9.6%	36.7%	586
Vietname	5.9%	7.2%	0.6%	4.6%	25.8%	13.5%	41.6%	1552
Iraq	5.7%	3.7%	0.3%	2.4%	18.6%	26.4%	42.4%	1904
Indonesia	4.7%	4.2%	2.2%	3.4%	26.8%	11.4%	46.5%	7198
Taiwan	3.8%	6.9%	4.3%	2.9%	12.1%	7.0%	62.2%	2229
Other	10.1%	10.1%	4.7%	5.4%	25.4%	9.2%	33.7%	56921

Source: Australian Census (2001).

b. Gender

Women's Growing Participation in Skilled Migration

According to a mid 1990s study, until the 1980s the 'role of women in international migration was largely unrecognised... (Their) economic and social contributions were considered trivial or non-existent because when women migrated, they were routinely viewed as dependents of male migrants or as passive participants in migration' (Lee 1996: 6-7). Indeed, there was a 'taken-for-granted view' that women were 'the appendages of either protective males or the patriarchal state' (Fincher et al 1994: 150).

The past decade however has coincided with rising female participation in skilled migration - a process facilitated by women's capacity to access education, employment, and contraception, as well as immigrant-receiving nations' establishment of non-discriminatory entry policies²⁰. In 1976 fewer than 15 per cent of the 146,400 Asian workers who left their countries to work overseas were female. By the early 1990s the 'feminisation' of Asian labour movements was pronounced, with the majority of Asian temporary migrants female, particularly those from the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand²¹. An increasing proportion of such women have sought employment throughout Asia, the Middle East, and select western countries as 'nurses, doctors, teachers and secretaries - the feminized occupations' - despite the persistent image of women as unskilled workers or 'trailing spouses' (Lim & Oishi 1996: 26).

Recent Trends in Skilled Female Migration to Canada and Australia

Few governments to date have examined this feminisation of skilled migration flows in terms of labour market outcomes, though academics have demonstrated increasing interest (eg Boyd 1990, 1992; Boyd et al 1994; Antecol et al 2002; Fincher et al 1994; Hawthorne 1996; Cobb-Clark & Crossley 2001). The Census analysis undertaken for this study however confirmed degree-qualified migrant women to 2001 to secure very different employment outcomes to men – a trend particularly evident in Canada. It is important to examine this in detail, in a context where 33% of all female migrants to Canada from 1996 to 2001 were degree-qualified, compared to 41% of males (the comparable figures for Australia being 25% and 27%). (See Table 2.)

Please note here that many female migrants were qualified in traditional 'male' fields that remained under-subscribed by local women: most notably IT (with 58% of 'Canadian' female IT professionals migrants compared to 55% in Australia), and engineering (57% compared to 62%). (See Table 37.) Disproportionate numbers of migrant women were also qualified in architecture and building (54% compared to 35% in Australia), accounting (41% compared to 42%), and medicine (34% compared to 48%) – trends particularly noticeable among recent arrivals (Hawthorne 1996). By contrast migrant women were less likely to be qualified in stereotypical female occupations such as teaching (16% compared to 20%) and nursing (23% compared to 24%).

²⁰ See eg Boyd 1986, 1992; Hartman & Hartman 1983; Zlotnik 1995; Hawthorne 1996, 2001; Lee 1996; Yeoh & Khoo 1998.

²¹ See eg Lim & Oishi 1996; Stahl & Appleyard 1992; Hugo 1990.

Degree-Qualified Female Migrants' Employment Outcomes: Canada

Table 38 differentiates male and female employment outcomes in Canada by age group of arrival across 10 professional fields. Four policy trends were evident by 2001, as follows:

1. Firstly, males had higher workforce participation than females across virtually all age groups and professions except nursing – a pattern applying to migrants as well as the Canada-born.
2. Despite this finding, change was occurring among young Canadian women (aged 15-24) – recent graduates in select fields achieving higher employment rates than local male graduates (eg in medicine, architecture and building and accounting).
3. By contrast female migrants performed significantly worse than migrant males of the

Table 37: Female Canadian and Australian professional workforce by qualification level and field, and period of arrival (2001 Census)

Degree/Higher degree by Field	Local-born	Overseas-born				Number
		All overseas-born	By year of arrival			
			Pre-1991	1991-1996	1996-2001	
Canada						
Information Technology	42.2	57.8	20.3	11.9	25.6	30,886
Engineering	43.3	56.7	15.6	12.0	29.1	44,111
Architecture & Building	46.3	53.7	18.6	13.5	21.6	15,051
Medical Studies	66.4	33.6	18.2	5.7	9.7	109,826
Nursing	77.0	23.0	15.1	3.4	4.5	85,875
Teacher Education	84.5	15.6	11.3	1.9	2.4	363,702
Accounting	59.2	40.8	19.1	9.3	12.5	63,773
Rest of Management and Commerce	69.8	30.2	15.2	6.2	8.8	154,358
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	74.8	25.2	15.5	3.9	5.8	630,755
Natural & Physical Sciences	63.7	36.3	18.4	6.8	11.1	128,670
Other	78.6	21.4	11.6	3.8	6.0	77,723
S/Total	73	26.7	15.0	4.6	7.3	1,704,729
Australia						
Information Technology	44.6	55.4	30.1	9.3	16.0	18,109
Engineering	37.9	62.1	26.1	15.7	20.3	15,584
Architecture & Building	65.2	34.8	20.0	6.0	8.8	9,564
Medical Studies	51.8	48.1	28.4	7.4	12.3	17,586
Nursing	76.2	23.7	18.9	2.1	2.7	128,233
Teacher Education	80.4	19.6	14.8	1.9	2.9	208,578
Accounting	57.7	42.3	25.3	6.9	10.1	39,067
Rest of Management and Commerce	62.4	37.6	20.0	6.0	11.6	94,096
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	68.6	31.4	20.1	3.9	7.4	238,022
Natural & Physical Sciences	62.5	37.4	22.4	6.0	9.0	62,350
Other	71.9	28.1	18.7	3.6	5.8	109,139
S/Total	69.9	30.1	19.4	4.0	6.7	940,328

Source: Canadian and Australian Censuses (2001)

same age group and field, or the Canada-born of either gender. For example 66% of migrant female IT professionals had found professional or managerial work by 2001, compared to 71% of migrant males, 78% of Canadian females and 81% of Canadian males. (The comparable figures for engineering were 51% compared to 62%, 72% and 80%; for architecture and building 45% cf 58%, 74% and 83%; for medicine 62% cf 81%, 87% and 93%; and for accounting 54% cf 68%, 83% and 87%.)

4. Employment results (as shown earlier) were consistently worse for migrant women in generically-qualified fields. In management and commerce, for instance, 49% of migrant females had secured professional or managerial work, compared to 61% of migrant males, 68% of Canadian females and 73% of Canadian males.

Degree-Qualified Female Migrants' Employment Outcomes: Australia

Highly comparable trends were evident for migrant women in Australia. For example 57% of migrant female IT professionals had secured professional or managerial employment, compared to 67% of migrant males, 67% of Australian females and 78% of Australian males. (The figures for engineering were 38% - far worse than in Canada - compared to 57%, 67% and 75%; for architecture and building 47%, cf 58%, 65% and 68%; for medicine 72%, cf 87%, 89% and 95%; and for accounting 49%, cf 67%, 71% and 78%.) Once again, outcomes were found to be inferior for migrant women in generic fields.

An important difference here is worth noting. The analysis showed young migrant women in Australia to have approximated or exceeded male migrants' professional integration rates across a range of fields. Further, they had achieved higher professional or managerial employment rates than comparable males in the natural and physical sciences, medicine, nursing, teacher education, and management and commerce, with near equivalence in all other fields examined. Within this context, gender-related outcomes appear to merit sensitive monitoring by immigrant-receiving governments. More detail on the impact of gender in association with age on employment is provided in the next sections.

c. The Significance of Age at Time of Migration

A second important policy issue concerns age at time of arrival. How critical is this to professional employment outcomes, in a context where age is a staple item in economic migration selection criteria, and more rigorously assessed by Australia than Canada in recent times? Research confirms older migrants to face a significant burden of labour market adjustment post-migration, in a context where it may take 20 years or more to achieve parity of earnings with the local-born. (See eg Chiswick & Miller 2000a; Schaafsma & Sweetman 2001; Picot & Hou 2003; Picot 2004; Aydemir & Skuterad 2004; Reitz 2004 in relation to Canada.)

This issue is first addressed below through comparing the experience of recently arrived migrants of all ages to that of new local graduate entrants qualified in identical fields. In other words the comparative experience of the two major categories of new labour market entrants is examined.

Employment Outcomes for Recent Migrants Compared to Young Graduates: Canada

By 2001, newly arrived migrants to Canada and Australia outnumbered local new graduates competing for work across the great majority of fields examined. Canadian Census data reveal that 61% of new labour market entrants (or 257,714 people) were 1996-2001 migrant arrivals²², compared to 167,330 local graduates. This compared to 54% of new labour market entrants (or 115,457 people), and 97,439 young graduates in Australia. (See Tables 38-39.)

In Canada, as in Australia, degree-qualified migrants were not accorded a premium for international experience. In every professional field examined but IT, medicine and nursing, new labour market graduates who were locally-born enjoyed greater access to work in their profession than 1996-2001 arrivals (all ages). In the case of medicine and nursing, moreover, Canadian graduates' Census categorisation was artificially depressed due to the obligation to meet various pre-registration clinical and examination requirements. Overall, 72% of new Canadian local graduates had found professional work of some kind, compared to 65% of all migrants. 20% of newly arrived migrants were not in the labour force compared to 16% of young graduates. 15% were unemployed, compared to 12%. Interestingly, unemployment for these groups was significantly higher in Canada than in Australia, where it stood at 8% for new migrants and 4% for new graduates.

Employment access to migrants' own professions also varied markedly, reflecting differential levels of Canadian demand. Outcomes in select fields were strikingly lower than in Australia for recently-arrived professionals. In IT, for example (in 2001 before the employment bubble had burst), 42% of recently arrived migrants had found work - exceeding the 40% of young local computer graduates. This compared however to 20% of migrant nurses (cf 34% in Australia), 17% of migrant accountants (30%), 11% of migrant doctors (9%)²³, 15% of engineers (22%), 14% of teachers (17%), and 12% of architects/ builders (29%).

Employment Outcomes for Recent Migrants Compared to Young Graduates: Australia

In Australia by 2001, in every professional field examined (except architecture and building), young local graduates had achieved superior access to work in their professional field than 1996-2001 migrants of any age. 89% of Australian new graduates had found employment of some kind, compared to just 66% of migrants. 26% of recently arrived migrants were not in the labour force at all (compared to 7% of new graduates), with an additional 8% unemployed (compared to 4%).

Access to work in their profession, as established, also varied markedly for migrants, reflecting the level of Australian demand. Best outcomes were achieved by recently arrived nurses (56% in their profession compared to 89% of new graduates), doctors (53% compared to 69%), IT professionals (36% compared to 57%), and accountants (32% compared to 77%).

²² Data reported by Sweetman (2006) confirm high proportion of new labour market entrants to be recently arrived migrants to Canada, while HRSDC comment suggests migrants to constitute roughly 20% of all new labour market entrants (HRSDC comment forwarded by CIC, December 2005).

²³ The low employment rates reported here for new Canadian graduates in nursing and medicine seem likely to reflect completion of compulsory internship or work experience years – clarification sought on this from Canada.

Labour market access by contrast was low for newly arrived teachers (26% compared to 80%) and engineers (15% compared to 46%).

Relatively poor professional employment rates, as noted, were achieved by migrants in their own or other professional fields if qualified by generic degrees in society, culture and the

Table 38: Canadian and overseas born degree-qualified migrants employed as professionals and managers by gender, age group and select field, percentages (2001 Census)

Field	Gender	Canada-born					Overseas-born				
		All Canada- born	Age cohort			Total	All Overseas- born	Age cohort			Total
			15-24	25-44	45-64			15-24	25-44	45-64	
Information Technology	Male	81.3	63.2	82.9	83.8	38,445	71.4	54.5	71.7	74.5	34,829
	Female	78.0	53.4	79.8	81.4	11,634	66.1	51.2	66.2	71.6	14,842
	All	80.5	61.1	82.1	83.3	50,079	69.9	53.3	70.0	73.8	49,671
Engineering	Male	80.4	60.5	81.6	81.7	114,393	61.9	56.3	60.4	64.4	108,266
	Female	72.3	52.4	75.6	79.0	16,873	50.6	51.7	50.8	49.3	19,953
	All	79.4	58.2	80.7	81.6	131,266	60.2	54.9	58.6	63.2	128,219
Architecture & Building	Male	82.6	51.4	82.1	85.6	29,950	57.8	46.9	51.2	64.6	25,950
	Female	73.9	56.1	74.5	82.7	6,091	45.4	38.5	45.0	47.3	6,301
	All	81.1	53.2	80.5	85.5	36,041	55.4	44.2	49.6	62.6	32,252
Medicine	Male	92.9	43.6	91.9	96.1	29,528	81.1	49.1	74.4	87.0	19,335
	Female	86.6	45.9	87.8	92.8	19,167	66.2	26.9	62.1	74.7	11,855
	All	90.4	45.0	90.0	95.3	48,695	75.4	37.6	68.8	83.4	31,190
Nursing	Male	76.5	25.1	79.4	83.3	3,558	58.2	14.5	57.7	61.4	1,403
	Female	84.0	21.9	88.5	86.7	57,767	67.7	15.9	64.8	73.4	16,323
	All	83.5	22.1	87.9	86.5	61,325	67.0	15.7	64.3	72.5	17,727
Teacher Education	Male	82.1	45.6	84.0	81.9	108,394	73.7	30.5	68.8	76.4	18,622
	Female	81.0	37.6	83.3	83.3	259,268	64.5	28.0	61.2	67.8	44,664
	All	81.3	38.8	83.5	82.8	367,663	67.2	28.4	63.1	70.6	63,285
Accounting	Male	86.6	67.5	86.9	87.9	57,010	68.2	60.1	65.7	71.2	25,253
	Female	83.2	70.3	84.5	83.0	34,697	53.9	51.9	53.9	54.1	21,289
	All	85.3	69.1	85.8	87.0	91,707	61.7	54.8	59.4	65.6	46,542
Rest of Management & Commerce	Male	73.2	44.0	72.7	79.2	160,866	60.9	44.4	59.3	64.4	52,797
	Female	68.1	44.6	69.3	76.8	96,776	48.8	33.6	49.2	51.2	37,834
	All	71.3	44.3	71.3	78.7	257,642	55.8	37.9	54.6	60.4	90,631
Soc. Cult. Creative	Male	65.4	29.7	61.9	75.8	332,144	57.1	23.1	51.2	64.5	96,422
	Female	59.2	28.5	59.3	70.7	407,489	50.6	24.4	46.8	59.6	123,457
Natural & Arts	Male	66.1	38.6	65.2	72.0	106,552	60.1	37.1	56.0	65.6	56,727
	All	62.0	28.8	60.4	73.4	739,634	53.5	24.0	48.5	62.1	219,879
Physical Sciences	Female	57.1	34.3	59.7	66.7	69,891	48.3	36.6	47.2	52.3	36,380
	All	62.5	36.1	62.7	70.7	176,443	55.5	36.8	52.1	61.5	93,107

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

creative arts, management and commerce or the natural and physical sciences. Within such fields, 29-41% of 1996-2001 arrivals were not in the workforce or were unemployed by the time of the 2001 Census.

d. The Most 'Employable' Age for New Migrants, by Gender

Within this context employment outcomes are examined below in association with both age and gender, recognising that growing numbers of degree-qualified migrants are female and

Table 39: Labour market outcomes for all degree-qualified labour market entrants, Canada-born (aged 15-24) and migrants (all arrivals 1996-2001), by field of qualification (2001), percentages

Qualification Field	COB	Employed				Unemp	NLF	Number
		Own Profess	Other Profess/ Manager	Other Work	S/Total			
Information Technology	Canadian	39.6	11.3	19.9	70.8	12.5	16.7	5,166
	Overseas	42.3	12.6	16.3	71.2	16.3	12.5	24,192
Engineering	Canadian	21.6	25.7	20.1	67.4	13.9	18.8	11,249
	Overseas	14.7	26.0	29.1	69.8	15.9	14.4	56,871
Architecture & Building	Canadian	28.6	15.2	24.2	68.0	14.2	17.7	1,711
	Overseas	12.0	17.7	35.8	65.5	15.9	18.5	12,208
Medicine	Canadian	9.2	15.8	23.5	48.5	7.9	41.8	3,066
	Overseas	11.2	20.6	25.4	54.1	15.5	30.5	9,753
Nursing	Canadian	16.8	3.3	61.0	81.1	8.8	9.0	3,982
	Overseas	20.2	4.7	39.1	64.0	9.5	23.5	4,215
Teacher Education	Canadian	30.3	4.3	45.8	80.4	8.8	10.9	17,155
	Overseas	13.7	12.7	34.5	60.8	11.4	27.8	10,726
Accounting	Canadian	46.4	12.7	19.8	78.9	6.6	14.5	5,224
	Overseas	16.9	17.6	32.5	67.0	12.9	20.2	14,542
Rest of Management & Commerce	Canadian	16.6	22.0	36.2	74.8	12.3	12.9	21,390
	Overseas	14.3	19.7	32.0	66.0	15.2	18.9	29,029
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	Canadian	10.1	14.5	48.0	72.6	12.6	14.8	69,355
	Overseas	8.0	19.0	32.0	59.0	14.5	26.6	56,948
Natural & Physical Sciences	Canadian	6.3	21.8	37.0	65.1	12.9	22.1	23,827
	Overseas	7.3	28.3	30.1	65.6	14.6	19.8	30,590
TOTAL	Canadian	16.3	15.5	40.0	71.9	11.9	16.3	167,330
	Overseas	14.9	20.3	29.8	65.0	14.7	20.2	257,714

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

typically achieve inferior levels of work. (See Tables 40-41 for Canada, with equivalent Australian data available on request.)

In brief, the analysis confirmed previous Canadian and Australian research demonstrating local graduates (all ages) and ESB migrants to remain highly advantaged in competition for work. Migrants of prime workforce age (25-44 years) were best placed to secure professional work, with females achieving substantially lower labour market integration levels than males.

Three key findings emerged from the 2001 Census data:

Table 40: Labour market outcomes for all degree-qualified labor market entrants, Australia-born (aged 15-24) and migrants (all arrivals 1996-2001), by field of qualification (2001), percentages

Qualification Field	COB	Employed				Unemp	NLF	Number
		Own Profess	Other Profess/ Manager	Other Work	S/Total			
Information Technology	Australian	56.6	12.6	21.4	90.6	6.2	4.0	5,273
	Overseas	36.3	14.0	21.2	71.5	9.8	18.6	9,889
Engineering	Australian	46.2	26.2	18.3	90.7	3.7	5.6	5,867
	Overseas	14.7	28.6	28.0	71.3	8.5	20.1	15,770
Architecture & Building	Australian	21.5	27.8	36.7	86.0	4.2	9.5	1,742
	Overseas	22.6	16.2	24.6	63.4	9.2	27.3	2,278
Medicine	Australian	68.6	10.7	8.6	87.9	0.7	11.6	458
	Overseas	52.7	8.8	9.6	71.1	6.9	21.7	4,678
Nursing	Australian	88.5	1.1	5.8	95.4	0.9	3.7	6,324
	Overseas	55.9	3.3	13.0	72.2	2.8	24.6	3,775
Teacher Education	Australian	79.8	4.6	10.7	95.1	1.2	3.7	13,513
	Overseas	25.7	10.6	22.6	58.9	7.3	33.4	7,882
Accounting	Australian	77.3	5.6	13.7	96.6	1.3	2.0	4,770
	Overseas	32.3	14.9	23.9	71.1	7.4	21.3	7,820
Rest of Management & Commerce	Australian	19.2	22.5	50.5	92.2	3.8	4.0	18,542
	Overseas	17.3	14.2	35.3	66.8	8.2	24.8	22,957
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	Australian	20.6	16.6	48.1	85.3	5.7	8.8	29,582
	Overseas	11.8	19.8	29.3	60.9	7.3	31.7	28,416
Natural & Physical Sciences	Australian	15.2	19.6	41.5	76.3	4.8	18.8	11,368
	Overseas	12.1	29.4	24.3	65.8	7.3	26.7	11,992
TOTAL	Australian	38.8	15.4	34.5	88.7	3.9	7.3	97,439
	Overseas	21.1	18.4	26.9	66.4	7.8	25.8	115,457

Source: Australian Census (2001)

1. Employment outcomes by age and gender were most similar to the Canada-born for degree-qualified migrants from English-speaking background source countries (the UK/Ireland, USA/Canada and South Africa) in addition to North West Europe. A similar pattern was found in Australia.

Table 41: Male labour market outcomes in Canada - degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals by age group, country of origin, percentages (2001)

Age cohort	COB	Employed				Unemp	NLF	Number
		Own Profess	Other Profess/ Manager	Other Work	S/Total			
25-44	UK&Ireland	29.3	45.6	17.6	92.4	4.0	3.5	2,085
	USA	32.0	39.6	17.7	89.3	4.3	6.5	1,600
	S.Africa	48.4	35.9	5.2	89.5	~	~	913
	Austr./NZ	27.4	46.0	6.6	80.1	~	~	335
	SE. Europe	21.2	23.3	32.9	77.4	14.2	8.4	2,716
	E. Europe	22.9	27.8	30.6	81.3	11.9	6.8	12,493
	North West Europe	27.2	39.6	20.2	87.0	8.2	4.9	3,720
	India	19.3	25.7	41.7	86.7	9.4	4.0	11,436
	Other S/C Asia	16.7	21.1	36.9	74.7	14.8	10.5	14,882
	HK/Malaysia/Sing	27.2	26.9	19.2	73.3	11.3	13.2	2,429
	China	19.1	24.7	21.6	65.4	19.5	15.0	24,600
	Taiwan	16.6	20.4	19.5	56.5	20.5	23.0	2,091
	Philip	9.0	13.4	60.4	82.7	9.5	7.8	5,348
	Iraq	15.5	15.6	32.7	63.7	19.1	17.1	817
	Other M East/N Africa	18.8	22.8	23.6	65.2	22.1	12.6	8,211
	Central & S Americas	23.5	23.2	31.2	77.8	13.5	8.7	4,683
	Other	20.9	26.8	25.0	72.7	16.3	12.7	9352.5
TOTAL MIGRANTS								107,709
45-64	UK&Ireland	20.7	36.2	0.0	56.9	12.3	12.1	377
	USA	32.8	34.3	12.1	79.1	6.8	10.6	692
	S.Africa	41.6	28.4	0.0	69.9	~	~	237
	Austr./NZ	34.1	48.8	0.0	82.9	~	~	59
	SE. Europe	14.8	13.8	29.9	58.5	23.7	17.8	706
	E. Europe	17.9	24.2	36.7	78.8	12.4	8.7	2,768
	North West Europe	26.4	45.7	9.7	81.9	7.3	5.6	567
	India	13.4	21.6	39.4	74.4	11.2	14.4	3,423
	other S/C Asia	11.5	22.4	35.5	69.3	17.1	13.6	5,924
	HK/Malaysia/Sing	12.2	18.6	29.1	59.9	8.3	31.8	728
	China	10.6	22.3	23.5	56.3	15.0	28.7	2,468
	Taiwan	9.4	26.8	12.8	49.0	16.1	35.0	1,864
	Philip	8.1	8.3	63.7	80.1	10.7	9.2	1,178
	Iraq	6.9	25.5	20.4	52.8	22.8	21.0	403
	Other M East/N Africa	11.9	21.9	22.7	56.5	24.9	18.6	1,864
	Central & S Americas	13.2	23.9	36.1	73.1	11.6	15.3	891
	Other	13.5	30.9	23.8	68.3	15.4	20.9	2911.3
TOTAL MIGRANTS								27,059

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

2. 25-44 year old degree-qualified male arrivals fared best of all recent arrivals to Canada, outperforming the older migrant age group (45-64 years), and doing infinitely better than newly arrived overseas-qualified graduates (15-24 years, see next section). For example 75% of recently arrived 25-44 year old male UK/Ireland graduates had secured work in

Table 42: Female labour market outcomes in Canada - degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals by age group, country of origin, percentages (2001)

Age cohort	COB	Employed				Unemp	NLF	Number
		Own Profess	Other Profess/ Manager	Other Work	S/Total			
25-44	UK/Ireland	24.9	27.1	19.8	71.8	5.9	19.3	1,459
	USA	24.3	27.0	16.7	68.0	5.5	24.2	2,533
	South Africa	28.6	27.2	21.0	76.7	7.4	15.8	727
	Australia/New Zealand	32.0	23.9	7.9	63.7	6.6	20.5	367
	South Eastern Europe	12.0	19.5	26.5	57.9	16.3	22.5	2,820
	Eastern Europe	14.7	18.7	28.3	61.7	15.9	22.5	12,839
	North West Europe	23.8	27.8	19.7	71.3	7.7	16.6	3,816
	India	6.8	13.5	39.5	59.7	16.0	24.3	10,902
	Other S/C Asia	6.6	10.1	26.2	43.0	17.6	39.5	11,265
	HK/Malaysia/Sing	16.7	22.1	23.9	62.7	11.9	22.2	2,273
	China	11.1	16.2	23.6	50.8	18.2	30.9	19,908
	Taiwan	8.7	12.8	16.5	38.0	12.1	48.2	2,516
	Philip	8.7	9.2	56.7	74.6	8.9	16.5	9,188
	Iraq	3.9	8.1	17.7	29.7	23.8	37.5	718
	Other M East/N Africa	8.7	13.4	19.1	41.2	20.2	36.8	4,671
	Central & S Americas	14.9	14.9	27.1	56.9	14.3	25.2	5,314
	Other	9.4	19.2	21.7	50.2	15.7	36.8	7,806
TOTAL MIGRANTS								99,122
45-64	UK/Ireland	16.0	21.3	0.0	37.2	~	~	139
	USA	19.6	29.6	13.2	62.4	5.5	30.7	657
	South Africa	38.1	0.0	0.0	38.1	~	~	106
	Australia/New Zealand	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	55
	South Eastern Europe	13.5	11.5	25.8	50.8	18.3	22.1	330
	Eastern Europe	8.4	17.9	31.1	57.4	14.9	27.7	2,874
	North West Europe	19.4	34.5	9.1	62.9	~	~	269
	India	4.1	13.6	33.8	51.5	16.0	29.5	1,422
	Other South/C Asia	3.9	8.5	26.7	39.1	20.3	37.2	2,205
	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	11.2	10.9	0.0	22.1	~	~	362
	China (exc. Taiwan)	5.3	12.9	30.2	48.5	10.7	37.2	1,484
	Taiwan	4.1	16.4	12.6	33.1	8.6	56.0	991
	Philippines	5.8	8.9	57.8	72.5	8.1	19.4	1,646
	Iraq	~	0.0	0.0	0.0	~	~	147
	Other M East/N Africa	7.2	9.3	20.6	37.1	12.6	46.0	622
	Central & S Americas	11.7	10.1	29.3	51.1	16.3	27.5	629
	Other	12.8	24.1	34.9	71.7	11.3	37.0	1,187
TOTAL MIGRANTS								15,125

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

their own or another profession in Canada by 2001, compared to 57% of 45-64 year olds. The comparable figures for Australia were 74% and 67%.

3. Birthplace was shown to exert a powerful impact in association with age. For example 51% of 25-44 year old East European male graduates had found work in their own or another profession in Canada by 2001, compared to 42% of 45-64 year olds and 36% of 15-24 year olds. (The comparable figures for recent migrants to Australia were 49%, 25% and 24%.) 44% of 25-44 year old China graduates reported securing work in their own or another profession by 2001, compared to 33% of 45-64 year olds. (Cell sizes for 15-24 year olds were too small to be rated.)

e. Place of Qualification and Employment Outcomes for New Graduates

Within this context, it is important to examine the impact of place of qualification on labour market outcomes for new graduates. In the current section this focuses first on the employment status of recently arrived 15-24 year old migrants, whose qualifications had been completed overseas, compared to those of identically aged Canada and Australia-born graduates.

Put simply, young overseas-qualified graduates faced catastrophic levels of labour market rejection, if not derived from ESB source countries.

The chance of securing professional work in their field is summarised in Table 43 for new Canada and Australia-born graduates, compared to newly arrived young migrants with overseas degree qualifications. Employment disparities were stark, even in high demand fields

Table 43: Employment outcomes by field for recent Canadian, Australian and newly arrived overseas-qualified migrant graduates to each country, <25 years by 2001, percentages (2001)

Employment in Own Professional Field	Canada		Australia	
	New Local Graduates	New Migrant Graduates	New Local Graduates	New Migrant Graduates
IT	40%	22%	57%	16%
Engineering	22%	8%	46%	7%
Architecture & Building	29%	Nil	22%	9%
Medicine	25%	8%	69%	27%
Nursing	17%	Nil	89%	69%
Accounting	46%	9%	77%	20%
Teaching	30%	16%	80%	26%
Accounting	46%	9%	77%	20%
Rest of Management & Culture	17%	11%	19%	5%
Society, Culture & Creative Arts	10%	4%	21%	5%
Natural and Physical Sciences	6%	Nil	15%	6%

Source: Canadian and Australian Census (2001).

such as IT. Unemployment and ‘not in the labourforce’ rates were also far higher for young recently arrived migrants, compared to new local graduates in both countries (see Table 44 for full Canada data).

Given a choice between degree-qualified locals or new migrant graduates of identical age, Canadian and Australian employers emphatically preferred the former, including in the more challenging context for young graduates which appeared to be characteristic of Canada.

In Australia new local graduates were swiftly welcomed by employers – the latest available trends showing 80% of all 2003 graduates to secure full-time work in their profession within

Table 44: Labour market outcomes for degree-qualified new graduates, Canada (aged 15-24) and migrants (1996-2001 arrivals, aged 15-24), by field of qualification, percentages (2001)

Qualification Field	COB	Employed				Unemp	NLF	Number
		Own Profess	Other Profess/ Manager	Other Work	S/Total			
Information Technology	Canadian	39.6	11.3	19.9	70.8	12.5	16.7	5,166
	Overseas	22.0	10.4	17.3	49.7	19.2	28.4	985
Engineering	Canadian	21.6	25.7	20.1	67.4	13.9	18.8	11,249
	Overseas	8.0	14.5	21.4	43.9	19.0	33.5	885
Architecture & Building	Canadian	28.6	15.2	24.2	68.0	14.2	17.7	1,711
	Overseas	~	14.2	19.2	33.4	~	~	149
Medicine	Canadian	9.2	15.8	23.5	48.5	7.9	41.8	3,066
	Overseas	~	~			17.9	65.2	161
Nursing	Canadian	16.8	3.3	62.1	82.2	8.8	9.0	3,982
	Overseas	~	0.0	66.8	66.8	~	~	141
Teacher Education	Canadian	30.3	4.3	45.8	80.4	8.8	10.9	17,155
	Overseas	15.5	0.0	19.8	35.3	13.4	29.4	308
Accounting	Canadian	46.4	12.7	19.8	78.9	6.6	14.5	5,224
	Overseas	8.7	5.4	26.4	40.5	15.6	38.4	575
Rest of Management & Commerce	Canadian	16.6	22.0	36.2	74.8	12.3	12.9	21,390
	Overseas	10.9	8.7	33.3	52.8	11.9	34.7	1,401
Society & Culture, Creative Arts	Canadian	10.1	14.5	48.0	72.6	12.6	14.8	69,355
	Overseas	3.9	9.3	36.6	49.7	15.5	34.7	2,846
Natural & Physical Sciences	Canadian	6.3	21.8	37.0	65.0	12.9	22.1	23,827
	Overseas	~	12.4	27.1	39.5	18.1	36.9	1,043
TOTAL	Canadian	16.3	15.5	40.0	71.9	11.9	16.3	167,330
	Overseas	7.9	10.4	31.6	50.0	15.6	34.4	8,698

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

four months of graduation, with 90-100% rates prevailing in fields such as education, health, medicine, and dentistry (Rood 2005). Local graduates in Canada faced tougher labour market access, with unemployment and 'not in the labourforce' rates substantially higher than in Australia: 12% compared to 4% unemployment levels, and 16% compared to 7% NILF. These patterns applied across a wide range of fields. (See Table 43.)

f. The Value of Host Country Degrees to Young Migrants

This final age-related section examines the extent to which country of qualification rather than the age or birthplace of new migrant graduates determined employment outcomes in the host country. (See also Table 43.) For methodological purposes it is assumed here that 15-24 year old degree-qualified migrants who arrived in Canada and Australia prior to 1996 would have completed their degrees in their host country, rather than their country of origin. (Please note that cell sizes for both Canada and Australia are sometimes very small in this part of the analysis, in particular for 1996-2001 arrivals.)

International Students in Australia

The transformation of former international students to economic migrants is a current issue of major policy significance. Since 1999 Australia's export education industry and skilled migration program have become inextricably linked, with former international students currently constituting 52% of economic migrants. By the time of the 2001 Census, some 150,000 international students were enrolled in Australian degree and vocational courses, including substantial numbers motivated by the growing potential to apply immediately on-shore for migration. By 2004 151,798 international students were enrolled in the higher education sector alone, compared to 35,290 a decade earlier. Export education had become a \$A5.9 billion per annum industry for Australia, with enrolments on average growing 15% per year (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2005). Australia had become the fifth most popular global destination for students, after the US, Germany, the UK and France, attracting the world's highest proportion of international students in tertiary education (17.7%) based on the fastest rate of growth (IDP Education Australia 2005; OECD 2004).

From 2001-02 to 2003-04, 24,640 economic visas were issued to former international student Principal Applicants – a source of supply magnified once dependants are also counted. Over 50% of these former students were aged less than 25 years at time of migration, with work experience requirements waived for them in points-based assessment (Birrell & Rapson 2004, 2005). Higher points were available for Australian Masters and PhD degrees (10 and 15 points respectively). The opportunity to move seamlessly into economic migration had created a 'win win' situation for Australia - rapidly expanding demand for its export education industry while delivering graduates supported by high-level English and local credentials (Hawthorne 2005). Indeed, as demonstrated by the most recent enrolment data in Table 45, growth in Australian international student enrolments has become dependent on migration flows in the context of recent decreased student movement worldwide, with 'traditional' student source countries (for example in Commonwealth Asia) now in decline.

For example by 2004 9,771 new students from China were commencing Australian courses in semester one, up from 3,264 in 2001. The comparable figures for India were 5,523, rising from 2,223. Growth trends were strong: 51% for China and 59% for India compared to the previous year. By 2005 52% of economic migrants were former international students, with 66% of Indian students and 38% of all Chinese students remaining in Australia as principal applicants, the majority qualified in IT, management and accounting. According to a recent analysis:

At the time (of the policy change mid 1999) the pass mark for the Skilled Independent Overseas Student... was 110. Overseas students could easily reach this points tally if they had completed training acceptable to the relevant accrediting body in a (vocationally-linked) 60 point occupation. Most onshore former overseas student applicants were aged less than 30 (thus receiving the maximum 30 points for age) and also received the maximum 20 points for English, since they were trained in Australia. This gave 110 points. Since all were granted an additional 5 points for Australian training, most received a minimum of 115 points. Other bonus points could be obtained but, for the great majority of those with 60 point occupations, they were not needed (Birrell & Rapson 2004: 7).

It is important to acknowledge that the recent review of Australia's skilled migration program found mixed outcomes for international students, despite excellent overall employment rates of 83% within six months of arrival (compared to 82% for more experienced off-shore Independents). Most importantly the October 2005 Longitudinal Survey on Immigrant to Australia data revealed,

- 36% of former on-shore applicants were employed as professionals, 3% as tradespersons, and 22% in clerical, sales or service positions (less impressive than the rates of 52%, 12% and 7% achieved by Independent off-shore applicants).
- In line with this, former students had annual salaries of \$A33,000 per year compared to \$A52,500 for off-shore Independents, as well as lower weekly

Table 45: International student enrolments in Australian education courses by main countries of origin (July 2005)

International Student Source Country (All Australian Education Sectors)	Total Enrolments	Growth 2004-2005
China	71,747	18.9%
India	24,462	29.8%
South Korea	21,990	8.0%
Hong Kong	19,199	-7.2%
Malaysia	18,749	-3.4%
Japan	16,232	-3.0%
Indonesia	14,728	-11.1%
Thailand	13,877	-1.0%
USA	11,291	-1.9%
Singapore	9,703	-8.7%
Other	82,057	5.8%
Total	304,035	6.1%

Source: B Birrell, L Hawthorne & S Richardson, Evaluation of the General Skilled Migration Categories, Commonwealth of Australia, p 102 (2006)

earnings (\$A641 compared to \$1,015).

- Many had lower job satisfaction (44% liking their work compared to 57% of off-shore Independents), with credentials less frequently used (46% compared to 63%), and 22% of those employed working part-time (compared to the 12% Australian new graduate norm).
- Former international students' English levels were also not necessarily high: independent testing by the Immigration Department demonstrating 43% of students from China to have International English Language Testing System (IELTS) scores of 5.0 following completion of two years education in Australia, despite scores of 6.0 or above being 'mandatory' for entry to Australian tertiary courses (with students from Vietnam, Thailand, Taiwan, Bangladesh and South Korea also rating poorly) (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Table 46 demonstrates the current difference between off-shore and on-shore applicants to Australia by country of origin – the key point to note being that UK applicants are overwhelmingly from off-shore, in marked contrast to those from China.

International Students in Canada

Within the above policy context it is worth noting Canada's potential to cultivate comparable student migration flows, aware in advance of any potential problems. (See Table 47.) In 1980 37,000 international students were enrolled in Canadian courses (all education sectors). This rose to 57,000 in 1990 and over 130,000 by 2001 - the top 4 sources of South Korea, China, Japan and Hong Kong accounting for 43% of enrolments (Iturralde & Calvert 2003). 20,160 students came from China alone, a source country characterised by ten-fold increase within a 4 year period.

In November 2004 the Canadian Education Trade Alliance was formed with a mission to further promote Canadian education abroad, at a time when it was the fourth global

Table 46: Top 10 source countries for economic migration to Australia – on-shore versus off-shore applicants (2004- 2005)

Off-Shore			On-Shore		
Top 10 countries	No. Cases	%	Top 10 countries	No. Cases	%
UK	5816	27%	China	2486	21%
India	3987	18%	Indonesia	1217	10%
China	1852	9%	India	1158	10%
Philippines	929	4%	Malaysia	1077	9%
Malaysia	870	4%	Hong Kong	1015	9%
Singapore	793	4%	Korea	459	4%
South Africa	696	3%	Singapore	449	4%
Sri Lanka	638	3%	Bangladesh	413	3%
Pakistan	431	2%	Sri Lanka	390	3%
Hong Kong	424	2%	Taiwan	277	2%

Source: Synopsis of Lodgements^a 2004-2005, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (November 2005)

a = 'Lodgements' means economic migration applications in Australia.

Table 47: Canada annual flows of foreign students by level of study (1991-2003)

Level	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2003	TOTAL
Secondary or less	68316	67310	38296	173921
Trade	20003	41592	26326	87920
University	56567	91318	60192	208076
Other post-secondary	10231	22113	24653	56996
Other	13745	30413	16010	60167
TOTAL	168861	252744	165476	587080

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada data provided to the researcher (2005)

destination of choice (Australia ranked third) (Savage 2005). In April 2005 the Canadian government announced international students would be permitted to work off-campus during the course of their studies, and to work outside of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver for two years rather than one following graduation, following the earlier introduction of 5 bonus points to international students with local degrees (Volpe 2005). By 2006 foreign students were increasingly regarded as ‘a large untapped pool of potential immigrants’, in a context where 31,446 had migrated permanently between 1990 and 2001 (11.3% of the student total), and research confirmed their excellent integration potential (applicants possessing both Canadian work and study experience).

Analysis of Citizenship and Immigration Canada data for the present study revealed international students to be responding rapidly to new opportunities for accredited study in Canada. From 1991-96 168,861 student visas were approved, rising to 252,744 from 1996-2001, and 165,476 for 2001-03 alone. Overseas students were attracted to identical regions to migrants - primary destinations being Ontario (34% of the 1991-2003 total), British Columbia (31%), Quebec (17%) and Alberta (8%). (See Table 48.)

Table 48: Canada annual flows of foreign students by location of study (1991-2003)

Province	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2003	TOTAL
Newfoundland	1195	1310	811	3315
Prince Edward Island	369	435	291	1094
Nova Scotia	4351	6194	4906	15450
New Brunswick	1769	2846	2429	7044
Quebec	30876	43604	25637	100116
Ontario	59149	81959	56078	197185
Manitoba	4358	5820	4345	14523
Saskatchewan	3964	5028	2974	11966
Alberta	14743	21591	12570	48903
British Columbia	46729	81664	55155	183548
Yukon	81	107	56	244
Northwest Territories	93	151	69	313
Nunavut	2	2	4	8
Not Stated	1183	2035	153	3371
TOTAL	168861	252744	165476	587080

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada data provided to the researcher (2005)

These trends were stable, the distribution for 2001-03 being 34% of students clustered in Ontario, compared to 33% in BC, 15% in Quebec and again 8% in Alberta. A third of these foreign students were university-enrolled (60,192 students or 36% of 2001-03 arrivals), with a further 23% in secondary studies, 16% in trade courses, and 15% in other post-secondary courses. They were almost equally split between male and female. By 2003 the top 6 birthplaces to some degree replicated landed immigrant flows, primary sources being Other Asia and Pacific (19,356), followed by China (10,165 arrivals), North West Europe (7,636), Other Africa & Middle East (5,381), South & Central America (5,156), and India (2,506). It is likely many of these students were migration-motivated. Like Australia, Canada thus has a substantial student population to draw on for economic migration, despite less pro-actively pursuing this option to date.

It is worth noting here that New Zealand is also actively targeting former international students, with a Department of Labour study concerning the merits of this about to commence (September 2006). As in Australia, students are immediately eligible to apply for migration on course completion. In the year to June 2005 New Zealand selected 29,826 economic category applicants, out of a total migration/ humanitarian target of 48,815 people. Of these an extraordinary 88% had previously received temporary visas for work, study or visits, with 31% of former students or temporary workers approved as residents within 5 years (Bedford 2006).

The Value of Host Country Degrees: Australia

In terms of labour market outcomes, by 2001 the Census revealed possession of an Australian degree to confer a powerful advantage on overseas-born applicants – largely, though not fully, ameliorating the barriers experienced by young migrant graduates (with those longest established in the host country best placed).

In the fields of medicine, architecture and management/commerce, for instance, young migrants resident in Australia 10 years or more had achieved higher employment rates in their profession than the local born. Though Australia-born graduates maintained some employment advantage in all other fields, in a number this had become negligible.

More recent migrant arrivals (1991-96) with Australian degrees had achieved less positive outcomes: employers clearly favouring graduates with strong English skills and local acculturation. For example 77% of Australia-born new accounting graduates had secured work in 2001, compared to 70% of overseas-born local graduates resident 10 years or more, and 55% of those in Australia just 5-10 years. The most recent available data (as noted above) reveal 83% of international students with Australian degrees (all fields) had found work within 6 months. However only 46% were using the credentials they had gained at this time, compared with 63% of more experienced off-shore applicants (who had 82% overall employment rates) (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Despite such initial disadvantage, it is essential to confirm young 1991-1996 arrivals holding Australian degrees enjoyed a massive advantage over newly arrived graduates with overseas qualifications – a finding strongly endorsing Australia's post-1998 policy encouraging former international students. As the shaded rows in Table 49 show, just 7% of young overseas-qualified engineers gained work within 5 years in their field, compared to 9% of architects,

16% of IT professionals, 20% of accountants, 27% of doctors, and 5-6% of those qualified by generic degrees.

Further, the proportion of overseas-qualified graduates engaged in work of any kind was far

Table 49: The impact of place of qualification on employment outcomes for 15-25 year old Australians and migrants (by period of arrival), by qualification field, percentages (2001)

Qualification Field	Origin	Period of Arrival	% in Own Profession	% Any Employment	% Unemployed
Nursing	Australia		89%	95%	1%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	87%	95%	0%
		1991-1995	87%	95%	0%
		1996-2001	69%	83%	1%
Teaching	Australia		80%	95%	1%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	73%	90%	2%
		1991-1995	44%	83%	0%
		1996-2001	26%	61%	6%
Accounting	Australia		77%	97%	1%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	70%	92%	3%
		1991-1995	55%	73%	8%
		1996-2001	20%	48%	13%
Medicine	Australia		69%	88%	1%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	71%	91%	6%
		1991-1995	60%	67%	17%
		1996-2001	27%	44%	17%
Information Technology	Australia		57%	91%	6%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	50%	84%	9%
		1991-1995	38%	61%	14%
		1996-2001	16%	54%	13%
Engineering	Australia		46%	91%	4%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	32%	81%	8%
		1991-1995	20%	63%	12%
		1996-2001	7%	46%	12%
Architecture & Building	Australia		22%	86%	4%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	29%	74%	6%
		1991-1995	14%	54%	17%
		1996-2001	9%	44%	14%
Society, Culture & Creative Arts	Australia		21%	85%	6%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	19%	81%	7%
		1991-1995	17%	67%	10%
		1996-2001	5%	46%	10%
Rest of Management & Commerce	Australia		19%	92%	4%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	20%	86%	6%
		1991-1995	16%	66%	11%
		1996-2001	5%	48%	11%
Natural & Physical Sciences	Australia		15%	76%	4.8
	Migrant	Pre-1991	14%	68%	7.4
		1991-1995	8%	58%	12.7
		1996-2001	6%	48%	10%

Source: Australian Census (2001)

lower than for those who had earned their degree in Australia. This represents a significant policy finding, particularly given that only small numbers of former international students who had converted to permanent status by 2001 would have been included in these figures.

The Value of Host Country Degrees: Canada

A comparable analysis was undertaken for Canada, where (in line with the literature) the data confirmed tougher labour market entry for new graduates. For each vintage of young migrant graduates examined the level of professional employment was lower than in Australia, though possession of a Canadian degree was definitely shown to confer advantage. (See Table 50.) For example 46% of Canada-born new accounting graduates had found work, compared to 44% of overseas-born local graduates resident 10 years or more, and 33% of those in Canada 5-10 years.

Far lower employment outcomes, as in Australia, were secured by newly arrived young graduates who had qualified overseas, with just 6% of young medical/medical science migrants gaining work in Canada in their field, 8% of engineers, 9% of accountants, 22% of IT professionals, and 4-11% of those qualified in generic fields. The proportion engaged in work of any kind was also generally lower.

Young Graduates with Host-Country Degrees: The Impact of Birthplace

Finally, it is important to assess here the extent to which host country degrees mitigate the labour market disadvantage experienced by select birthplace groups. Outcomes between Canada and Australia were very different in relation to this, in a context where securing first jobs was clearly more challenging for graduates of all origins in Canada.

In Canada 17% of UK/ Ireland degree-qualified 1991-96 arrivals, aged 24 or less, had found work in their own professions by 2001. This compared to 25% of those born in North-West Europe, 18% of those from India, 17% of those from Eastern Europe, and 12% from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore, and Other Middle East/ North Africa. By contrast youth with Canadian degrees who were China or Other South/ Central Asian born remained relatively disadvantaged, achieving employment rates in their own professions of just 9-10% at a time when the norm for Canada-born new graduates was 16% - the research evidence as for prior Canadian studies showing the majority of the latter to do well (eg Finnie 2001).

The comparable outcomes for 1991-96 migrants' employment in their own profession in Australia proved far more positive, including:

- 34% for UK/Ireland born youth
- 39% for Eastern Europe
- 38% for Other Middle East/ North Africa
- 34% for North-West Europe
- 31% for India and Other South/Central Asia
- 28% for the Philippines
- 26% for Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore
- 19% for China

As in Canada, many secured labour market integration rates close to the Australian norm for new graduate employment in 'own profession' (34%), though overall outcomes were far higher. To Canadian and Australian employers birthplace and race appeared less important than possession of high level English and/or French, acculturation, and possession of known

Table 50: The impact of place of qualification on employment outcomes for 15-25 year old Canadians and migrants (by period of arrival), by qualification field (2001)

Qualification Field	Origin	Period of Arrival	% in Own Profession	% Any Employment	% Unemployed
Nursing	Canada		17%	82%	9%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	~	53%	~
		1991-1995	~	41%	~
		1996-2001	~	67%	~
Teaching	Canada		30%	80%	9%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	19%	67%	10%
		1991-1995	9%	38%	~
		1996-2001	16%	35%	13%
Accounting	Canada		46%	79%	7%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	44%	75%	7%
		1991-1995	33%	60%	10%
		1996-2001	9%	41%	16%
Medicine Studies/Medicine	Canada		25%	58%	9%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	16%	48%	7%
		1991-1995	17%	51%	10%
		1996-2001	~%	~%	18%
Information Technology	Canada		40%	71%	13%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	38%	65%	11%
		1991-1995	33%	55%	18%
		1996-2001	22%	50%	19%
Engineering	Canada		22%	67%	14%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	20%	58%	13%
		1991-1995	20%	49%	19%
		1996-2001	8%	44%	19%
Architecture & Building	Canada		29%	68%	14%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	33%	33%	20%
		1991-1995	17%	32%	20%
		1996-2001	~	33%	~
Society, Culture & Creative Arts	Canada		10%	73%	13%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	6%	61%	17%
		1991-1995	3%	55%	17%
		1996-2001	4%	50%	16%
Rest of Management & Commerce	Canada		17%	75%	12%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	15%	70%	11%
		1991-1995	11%	52%	15%
		1996-2001	11%	53%	12%
Natural & Physical Sciences	Canada		6%	65%	13%
	Migrant	Pre-1991	6%	60%	11%
		1991-1995	2%	57%	15%
		1996-2001	~	40%	18%

Source: Canadian Census (2001)

degrees. This finding strongly affirms the value of incorporating former international students in economic migration. However it must be noted that length of residence is also important.

8. The Effectiveness of Economic Migrant Selection Systems

a. The Data

As we have seen from the Census data analysis (Sections 2-7), degree-qualified migrants reaching Canada and Australia from 1996-2001 achieved highly comparable labour market outcomes by 2001, despite select variations between each country.

This section of the report therefore poses three important questions:

1. To what extent do Canada and Australia's economic migration selection criteria deliver degree-qualified migrants with a capacity to integrate quickly into host country labour markets?
2. How effective have Australia's post-1999 economic migration reforms been in terms of improving employment outcomes?
3. How does the labour market experience of economic migrants in each country compare with the patterns established as the norm for otherwise comparable groups (the 2001 Census data), entering via all immigration categories?

To answer these questions three data sources were used.

(i) The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA)

The first is the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia. Developed in the mid-1990s by Australia's Bureau of Immigration Research²⁴, the aim of the LSIA was to secure definitive data concerning the settlement experience of a representative sample (5%) of migrants and refugees entering Australia. Based on recurrent interviews commencing 6 months post-arrival, the survey was intended to be replicated twice across the following 4 years.

Longitudinal immigrant surveys have since been developed by Canada, New Zealand and the US, with Canada's Longitudinal Survey on Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) highly comparable in terms of research variables.

The LSIA was first administered to migrants arriving in Australia from 1993-95. LSIA 1 (as it came to be known) thus provides baseline data on the effectiveness of Australia's economic selection mechanisms to the mid 1990s.

As described in Section 1 of this report, the period following 1999 coincided with significant policy reform in Australia, designed to select more immediately employable economic migrants based on the research evidence of the five yearly Census and LSIA 1. Within this context the second longitudinal survey (LSIA 2) was administered to 1999-2000 arrivals.

²⁴ Since the closure of the Bureau in 1996, the LSIA has been administered by the Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (Canberra), the equivalent body to Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

LSIA 2 allows us to assess the degree to which Australia's revised selection criteria have delivered improved employment outcomes (despite the data including few former international students to that stage).

The Australian data focus in the analysis to follow is the labour market outcomes achieved by degree-qualified economic Principal Applicants within the first 6 months of settlement - a far briefer period than the 0-5 years which forms the basis of the Census analysis, and thus a strong indicator of the perceived 'employability' of new migrant entrants. (Please note Australia's LSIA 3 data confirms there to be strong correlation between the employment outcomes achieved by migrants at 6 months and 2+ year employment integration outcomes [Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006].)

(ii) The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)

Few methodological differences exist between the LSIC and the LSIA, although variations in individual survey items mean it is not always possible to secure identical data. First administered by Statistics Canada in 2000-01, the LSIC is designed to assess the extent to which 'the socio-economic characteristics of immigrants influence the process by which they integrate', through interviews with migrants from all categories conducted 6 months, 2 years and 4 years post-arrival (Thompson and Worswick 2004, Appendix: 6).

By definition the impact of policy refinements introduced by the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) post-2002 would not be reflected in LSIC 1 data. As noted in Section 1, their first influence would have been detectable in 2005, but to date there have been no positive benefits (Sweetman 2006).

(iii) The Longitudinal Immigration Data Base (IMDB) Canada

As described in Section 2 of this report, economic conditions have been highly comparable in Canada and Australia over the past decade. Given the recency of the LSIC's introduction (2000/01), it was decided to construct two 'proxy' LSIC databases through utilisation of Canada's Longitudinal Immigration Data Base (the IMDB).

Developed by CIC and administered by Statistics Canada, the IMDB represents a 'semi-longitudinal database' which allows tracking of individual migrants through the filing of tax returns 'from the first year of lodgement'. In the case of the current study, IMDB data permit us to examine the employment outcomes of recently arrived economic migrants who had lodged their first taxfile in 1994-95 and in 1999-2000, around a year following arrival, facilitating comparison with LSIA 1 and LSIA 2 data for similar vintages of migrant arrivals. The IMDB was considered relevant to the current research, despite methodological caveats, given:

It combines administrative records on immigration, employment and taxation into a comprehensive source of data on the labour market behaviour of the landed immigrant population in Canada... The IMDB is the only source of labour market data that permits the user to distinguish between categories of admission for immigrants (eg family, economic and refugee). It is also the only source of data that permits the user to distinguish between cohort, period, aging, location, and program effects when analyzing immigrant labour market behaviour. It contains data on

immigrant characteristics at landing as well as earnings, location and demographic data for each year in which the immigrant filed a tax return (Thompson and Worswick 2004, Appendix: 5-6).

It is important to acknowledge that important methodological differences exist between the IMDB, LSIA and LSIC, with a range of variables ‘missing’. In terms of data,

The IMDB currently includes observations for approximately 72 per cent of all immigrants landed to Canada between the years 1980 and 2000... There are several reasons a match between an immigrant’s landing record and tax record may not be made in any given year: an immigrant may neglect to file a return; an immigrant may not be required to file a return (because they have no earnings for the previous year...); an immigrant may have left Canada; or there may be a failure in the matching process...

There is no way of knowing from the IMDB data if the person in question landed January that year (hence resident 12 calendar months), or is a far more recent resident (eg filing a tax form despite residence of just a few weeks). The LSIC also examines employment outcomes within 6 months, while the IMDB does so within the first year prior to tax-filing.

Sample Sizes and Categories: LSIA, LSIC and IMDB Data

Table 51 describes the sample sizes used for data analysis in most of the tables that follow²⁵. Except where otherwise stated, the research focus throughout has been on Principal Applicants within the two major economic migration categories utilised by each country.

In Australia, these were the Independent and the Skilled-Australian Sponsored (previously known as Concessional Family) categories. According to the Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, ‘Independent migrants are selected on the basis of their education, skills and work experience, and their potential to contribute quickly to the Australian economy. They are not sponsored by an employer or relative in Australia’ (DIMIA 2005: 2). Skilled-Australian Sponsored migrants similarly require points testing but score at a lower level, and must also be sponsored by a resident relative. From 1996/7 to 2004/05, 235,650 Independent migrants and 84,600 Skilled-Australian Sponsored migrants (including dependents) were accepted by Australia. The target for 2005-06 was 97,500. As higher proportions of international students have been selected (2001+), there has been a substantial reduction in the number of accompanying dependents (Birrell & Rapson 2004).

In Canada, based on advice from Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the major (and most directly comparable) economic migration categories were Other Skilled Workers (equivalent to Independent) and Assisted Relatives (equivalent to Concessional Family/ Skilled-Australian Sponsored). As shown in Table 6, 434,293 Other Skilled Worker PAs were accepted by Canada from 1991-2003, in addition to 107,699 Assisted Relative PAs, and accompanying dependents. The economic category target for 2004-05 was 133,745, and 156,310 for 2005-06 out of a total immigration program of 262,236. Within this context the

²⁵ The numbers in the tables provided for analysis varied for a number of reasons beyond the researcher’s control (for example the tables prepared by Canadian researchers for the LSIC were weighted to represent the population sample). Please also note that by definition select tables are based on much larger sample sizes for each country, when describing the characteristics of all migrant and humanitarian arrivals in the defined period.

Table 51: Estimated sample sizes in data analysis by principal economic migration categories

Data Source	Estimated Sample Size
LSIA 1993/1995 (Cohort 1)	1,630 Independent and Concessional Family (Skilled-Australian Sponsored) Principal Applicants who reached Australia from 1 September 1993 to 31 August 1995, with employment outcomes measured 6 months post-arrival (from 1994-95).
LSIA 1999/2000 (Cohort 2)	664 Independent/ Skilled Australia-Linked PAs who reached Australia from September 1999 to August 2000, with employment outcomes measured 6 months post-arrival (from 2000-01).
IMDB 1994	Taxfilers for the year 1994/1995, who had arrived in Canada in 1994: 36,875 assisted relative and other skilled worker PAs under the age of 64 years (based on calculating out from the age file provided).
IMDB 1999	Taxfilers for the year 1999/2000, who had arrived in Canada in 1999: 58,690 assisted relative and other skilled worker PAs under the age of 64 years (based on calculating out from the age file provided).
LSIC 2000/01	Proportions given in the tables, based on interviews conducted with a sample of about 20,000 immigrants (12,000 respondents) settling in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001, with the results weighted and extrapolated to the underlying population: the estimated number of Economic Principal Applicants = 3,095 and other Economic PAs = 2,313. http://www.statcan.ca/English/survey/household/immi/immi.htm .

economic category sample sizes used for the LSIA, IMDB and LSIC analyses are shown in Table 51.

b. Canadian and Australian Selection of Economic Migrants

Differences Between Economic Migrant Selection Systems

The recent evolution of Canada's and Australia's economic migration programs is described in Section 1 of this report. Table 52 summarises major differences between each country's points test at the time of the LSIA 2 and LSIC 1 administrations (1999/2000 to 2000/01), as reported by Richardson & Lester in a 2004 study. The third column adds comment from Hawthorne (for Australia) and Richardson & Lester (for Canada) in relation to specific selection criteria.

Richardson & Lester conclude that overall 'there is little difference in the target groups of potential migrants to Canada and Australia', with both countries keen to secure migrants satisfying basic language and training requirements. The key issue is that 'no individual selection factor' is mandatory in Canada – allowing an applicant to 'compensate for failure against one factor by performing well against another factor... (2004: 20-21)'.

In contrast to Australia, Canada had not at the time of LSIA 2/ LSIC 1:

Table 52: Canada and Australia - economic category points tests compared (1999/2000)

Australian Points Test	Maximum Points and % weight	Policy Comment (Hawthorne)
Skill	60 (34%)	Awarded for post-secondary qualifications (university or trade), with pre-migration credential screening mandatory. Maximum points (60) awarded where training is specific to an occupation, and credentials are fully recognised by the relevant accreditation body. 40-50 points awarded for lower level and/or generic qualifications.
Age	30 (17%)	Age given a stronger points weighting than in Canada. Applicants must be under 45 years of age when applying.
English language ability	20 (11%)	Pre-migration and independently validated English language testing mandatory, with 'vocational' scores required for reading, writing, speaking and listening. Lower level English ability permitted for sponsored migrants.
Specific foreign work experience	10 (6%)	Less weighting placed on this aspect relative to Canada, with no work experience required for former international students who have qualified in Australia.
Occupation demand/ job offer	15 (9%)	In 40-50 point occupations, continuous employment required in a field on the Skilled Occupation List for 2 out of the 3 years preceding application.
Australian qualification	15 (9%)	Bonus points for Australian qualifications: at this time a minimum of 1 (later 2) years.
Regional settlement/ low population	5 (3%)	Bonus points for willingness to locate in a low population area.
Spouse skills	5 (3%)	Bonus points for spouse skills.
Relationship to sponsor	15 (9%)	Bonus points for a sponsoring relation in Australia (Skilled Australian Sponsored category).
Maximum total	175 (100%)	
Pass mark	115 (66%)	For Independents.
Canadian Points Test	Maximum Points and % weight	Policy Comment (Derived from Richardson & Lester 2004)
Education	25 (25%)	No requirement for credential screening or recognition by assessment bodies pre-migration. Points awarded for a wide range of attainments: from 5 points for completed secondary education to 25 points for a completed Masters or PhD degree.
Age	10 (10%)	Maximum points awarded for applicants 21-49 years of age, with points lost for each additional year outside this range.
English/ French language ability	24 (24%)	Ability in one or both languages required to be demonstrated by an approved language test or written documentation (allowing for self-assessment).
Work experience	21 (21%)	Points awarded for number of years in full-time paid work, in a field listed on the National Occupation Code.
Arranged employment in Canada	10 (10%)	Points awarded for a full-time confirmed job offer
Adaptability	10 (10)	Additional points awarded for spouse with minimum of two years post-secondary Canadian education; spouse with a minimum of one year's Canadian work experience; and/or a relative living in Canada who is a landed immigrant or citizen.
Maximum total	100 (100%)	
Pass mark	67 (67%)	

Source: Adapted from Table 5, S Richardson & L Lester (2004), A Comparison of Australian and Canadian Migration Policies and Labour Market Outcomes, Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Canberra. Policy comment summarised from Richardson & Lester (2004: 17-19) and L Hawthorne.

- Mandated externally validated English and/or French language testing pre-migration;
- Mandated pre-migration credential screening, including in regulated professions (estimated to apply to around 20% of economic migrants);
- Factored labour market demand into economic selection processes (beyond bonus points for a confirmed job offer);
- Introduced bonus points plus temporary rights to stay for former international students; or
- Confined points allocation to prime workforce age.

While Richardson & Lester focused in their 2004 LSIA and LSIC analysis on employment outcomes for all categories of migrants, the section that follows here explores the labour market outcomes achieved by economic Principal Applicants only, supplemented where possible by comparable IMDB data.

The key questions are as follows: which economic migration selection system performed better, and to what extent had labour market outcomes improved in Australia following the 1999+ reform period?

Please note in relation to this that Australia's abolition of economic migrants' access to Social Security benefits in the first 2 years post-arrival (compared to 6 month in 1993-95) may have exercised some influence on outcomes.

c. Work Outcomes Overall

Employment Patterns

As established in Table 53, degree-qualified economic migrants selected by Australia in 1999-2000 had achieved exceptionally positive work outcomes within 6 months of arrival.

81% of Independent PAs were employed, compared to 60% of LSIC 1 Economic PAs in Canada, and just 57% of LSIA 1 migrants in Australia 6 years earlier. While Concessional Family PAs did less well than the Independents overall (69% employed), their gains were even more impressive compared to cohort 1 (46% in work). This level of improvement however did not apply across the board in Australia. A mere 5% of refugees had jobs by 1999/2000, compared to 7% in the mid 1990s. Refugees in fact were doing substantially better in Canada, with 21% employed by the time of the LSIC's administration.

It is worth noting these outcomes have continued to improve. By October 2005 LSIA 3 revealed that 83% of Independent PAs had found work within 6 months, compared with 72% of Offshore Australian-Sponsored migrants.

Changing Migrant Attributes in Each Country

Table 53: Employment outcomes for all migration categories around 6 months post-arrival by all visa categories, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada				
Category	2000/1 (a)			
	Employed	Other		
Family class	39.4%	60.6%		
Economic PA	60.0%	40.0%		
Economic SD	36.0%	64.0%		
Other economic	28.7%	71.4%		
Refugees	21.3%	78.8%		
Other	77.1%	22.9%		
S/Total	44.1%	55.9%		

Australia				
Category	1993/5 (b)		1999/2000 (c)	
	Employed	Unemployed/ NLF	Employed	Unemployed/ NLF
Preferential family	27.1%	72.9%	40.2%	59.8%
Concessional family	45.9%	54.1%	69.2%	30.8%
Business / employer nomination	79.5%	20.5%	68.6%	31.4%
Independent	57.4%	42.6%	80.8%	19.2%
Humanitarian	6.9%	93.1%	5.0%	95.0%
Other (all other categories)			20.7%	79.3%
Total	37.1%	62.9%	43.2%	56.8%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the following tables

Table 54 examines migrant arrival trends for each country by select attribute.

In 1994 the proportion of skilled migrants accepted by Canada was 21% (based on IMDB data), rising to 35% by 2000/1. The comparable rates for Australia were 35% and 50%, reflecting the growing dominance of the economic program.

Despite the proportion of migrant graduates more than doubling, declining numbers of arrivals in Canada declared English or French to be their only or best language/s (54% in 1994 compared to 35% in 2000/1). In line with its more discriminatory selection policy Australia showed a reverse trend: facility in English improving from 31% of all migrants in LSIA 1 to 38%.

Employment outcomes appeared to have minimally increased in Canada by 2000/1, despite a slight decline in the proportion of migrants stating government payments to be their major source of income (from 10% to 7%). In Australia by contrast 50% of all migrants/refugees were employed within 6 months of arrival by 1999/2000, compared to just 33% 6 years earlier. Welfare dependence had greatly declined (from 36% to 11%), though interestingly this remained higher than in Canada.

Employment Trends for Economic Principal Applicants

Table 55 examines employment outcomes for economic principal applicants in each country, by the two major categories previously defined. In Canada there was a slight decline in the number of Other Skilled Workers employed (from 64% in 1994/5 to 60% in 2000/01), if we presume comparability between IMDB and LSIC 1 data.

In Australia Independent migrants' work rates had surged from 57% to 81%, unemployment had dropped, and labour market participation rates had increased. Excellent employment gains were also evident for the Concessional Family category (rising from 46% to 69%). Assisted Relatives in Canada by contrast were characterised by deteriorating outcomes - employment dropping from 57% in 1994/5 to just 36% in the context of higher education levels but rapidly diversifying source countries.

Canadian employer perceptions of human capital were clearly an issue. Sweetman for instance notes:

Many studies of the labour market integration of immigrants, and the implementation of the points system for economic migrants, assume... that a year of education is always of the same "quality" as far as the Canadian labour market is concerned

Table 54: Canadian and Australian employment outcomes for migrant/humanitarian entrants by language ability, credential level and welfare dependence, around 6 months post-arrival, percentages

Canada			
	1994 (a)	1999 (a)	2000/2001 (b)
Economic migrants as % of total	20.8%	54.5%	35.09%
English/French or English and French only or best language (c)	53.6%	59.7%	34.82%
Bachelor or higher degree	20.8%	42.6%	N/A
Employed 6-months post-arrival	41.0%	49.5%	43.93%
Government payments major source of income (d)	9.8%	8.2%	6.7%

Australia		
	1993/1995	1999/2000
Economic migrants as % of total	35.0%	49.8%
English only or best language	30.7%	38.0%
Bachelor or higher degree	32.3%	43.2%
Employed 6-months post-arrival	32.8%	49.5%
Government payments major source of income (d)	36.1%	11.2%

Notes:

a = Calculated from the IMDB database, and assumes that years are full tax years. Cohort includes: Assisted-relatives, Other skilled workers, Other economic, Economic.

b = LSIC

c = For LSIC, language is at least "poor" and better.

d = The Australian and Canadian data are not directly comparable. For Canada IDBM data refers to tax fillers only, and the LSIC data refers to skilled migrants (skilled workers principal applicants) who received social assistance.

Source: Adapted from Richardson S, Robertson F & Ilsley D (2001). *The Labour Force Experience of New Migrants*, pp14,35, 36. Data from the LSIA.

regardless of where it is obtained. However, there is evidence from international standardized tests that there is substantial disparity in average performance across national school systems. There is also evidence that these types of test scores are associated with labour market outcomes, in particular earnings, at the level of the individual, and that even scores obtained at a very young age are associated with outcomes decades later... Interestingly, the quality of (educational institution) measure is not correlated with total years of schooling. Roughly speaking, a movement from a rank earnings of 15th to 70th on the country quality index is associated with an expected increase in annual earnings of about \$10,000 for males, and \$5,000 for females (in 1996 dollars) (Sweetman 2005: 5).

See Thompson & Worswick (2004) for a summary of systemic and human capital factors contributing to migrants' deteriorating employment outcomes at this time, Ferrer et al (2004) for an analysis of comparative literacy, and Frenette and Morissette (2003) for an examination of migrants' growing wage differential.

By October 2005, when Australia administered the LSIA 3, it is worth noting that 83% of economic Principal Applicants had gained work within 6 months, 12% were unemployed, and just 5% were not in the labourforce (a marked improvement over the 15% in LSIA 2) – this result reflecting Australia's filtering of applicants for the human capital attributes knowledge economy employers demand. The 2006 skilled migration review concluded: This is a very satisfactory result. The migrants in LSIA 2 had much better employment outcomes than did their counterparts in... LSIA 1, who arrived in the early 1990s. The most recent migrants have done better still. Indeed, a labour force participation rate (ie the proportion who are in the labour force – either employed or looking for work) of 95 per cent

Table 55: Employment outcomes after around 6 months, for principal applicants in main economic categories, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Category	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Employed	Other	Employed	Other	Employed	Other
Other skilled workers (c)	63.7%	36.3%	64.3%	35.7%	60.0%	40.0%
Assisted relatives (d)	56.8%	43.2%	63.7%	36.3%	36.0%	64.0%
Total	61.5%	38.5%	64.2%	35.8%	49.9%	50.1%

Australia						
Category	1993/1995 (e)			1999/2000 (f)		
	Employed	Unemployed	NLF	Employed	Unemployed	NLF
Independent	57.4%	25.2%	17.4%	80.8%	7.6%	11.50%
Concessional family	45.9%	28.1%	26.6%	68.9%	16.3%	14.80%
Total	51.9%	51.9%	51.9%	75.8%	11.3%	13.0%

Notes:

a = Calculated from the IMDB database, and only includes those who lodged a tax form. Assumes that years are full tax years. Assisted relatives, Other skilled workers, Other economic, Economic.

b = Calculated from the LSIC

c = LCIS classification is skilled workers principal applicants

d = LCIS classification is skilled workers spouse and dependents

e = LSIA cohort 1 (1993/95)

f = LSIA cohort 2 (1999/01)

is extraordinarily high. By way of comparison, for the Australian population as a whole, aged 20-54 (the closest match we could get to the age bracket of the skilled PAs) the participation rate was 83 per cent in 2005 (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Type of Employment Secured by Economic Migrants

It was not possible to categorise the type of positions secured by employed economic PAs in Canada for LSIC 1. IMDB data however suggest positive trends to have occurred from 1994/5 to 1999/2000: 32% of Other Skilled Workers in managerial or professional work in the mid 1990s, compared to 54% by the end of the decade. Growth from 22% to 36% also occurred for Assisted Relatives²⁶.

In line with Australia's generally better outcomes, access to high skilled positions proved far more common for Independent migrants in Australia, rising from 55% to 60% by 1999/2000. Interestingly Concessional Family rates remained comparable to those in Canada (reflecting these migrants' lower points rating): just 32% of the employed located in high skill positions by LSIA 2. (See Table 56.)

October 2005 data from the LSIA 3 confirm migrants' strong access in the first 6 months to appropriate employment: 63% of Independent Principal Applicants stating they 'often' used their qualifications in work, compared to 49% of Offshore Australian-Sponsored migrants and 46% of former international students (ie new graduates characterised by minimal professional experience) (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Table 56: If employed type of work, for principal applicants in main economic categories around 6 months after arrival, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Category	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Manager/ Profession	Other	Manager/ Profession	Other	Manager/ Profession	Other
Other skilled workers (c)	31.8%	68.2%	53.8%	46.2%	N/A	N/A
Assisted relatives (d)	22.0%	77.2%	36.1%	63.9%	N/A	N/A
Total	28.8%	51.3%	51.3%	48.7%	N/A	N/A

Australia						
	1993/1995 (e)			1999/2000 (f)		
	Manager/ Profession	Assoc Profession	Other	Manager/ Profession	Assoc Profession	Other
Independent	55.2%	3.9%	40.9%	60.3%	10.1%	29.6%
Concessional family	28.5%	7.1%	64.4%	31.6%	8.8%	59.6%
Total	44.0%	5.2%	50.8%	49.2%	9.6%	41.2%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

²⁶ Type of position provided by the IMDB database.

Level of Satisfaction with Current Position if Employed

Given Australia's abolition of economic migrants' access to welfare in the first two years of settlement²⁷, it is important to examine PAs' levels of job satisfaction. Was their decision to work in Australia constrained?

The data confirmed job satisfaction to be good but static for Concessional Family PAs, at around 45% for both LSIA 1 and 2. By contrast Independent PAs had become increasingly satisfied with their positions: 61% claiming to 'love or really like' their work, compared to 50% 6 years earlier. (See Table 57.)

LSIA 3 data confirm this generally positive view, with 57% of Independent migrants liking their work and 31% considering it 'OK', compared to 50% and 37% respectively of Offshore Australian-Sponsored migrants, and 44% and 40% of former international students (the latter far more likely to be working in less skilled positions given their new graduate status).

The IMDB does not provide job satisfaction data. However LSIC 1 demonstrates a high 73% of Other Skilled Workers in Canada to be 'positive' regarding their work by 2000/1, along with 70% of Assisted Relatives. Two years post-arrival, LSIC data confirmed 84% of those in work to be 'satisfied with their job', with 'Job satisfaction... higher for those who were able to use their training, who worked in their intended occupation or worked full-time' (Statistics Canada 2005: 11).

Table 57: If employed attitude towards or satisfaction with current position, for principal applicants in main economic categories around 6 months after arrival, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Category:	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
Positive or not re job	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Other skilled workers (c)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	73.3%	26.7%
Assisted relatives (d)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	69.9%	30.1%
Total	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	72.3%	27.7%

Australia				
Category:	1993/1995 (e)		1999/2000 (f)	
Love/Really like the job	Yes	Other	Yes	Other
Independent	49.5%	50.5%	61.2%	38.8%
Concessional family	45.5%	54.5%	45.1%	54.9%
Total	47.8%	52.2%	55.0%	45.0%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

d. Income and Welfare Dependence

Visible Minority Status and Welfare Dependence

While Canada's welfare system is far more generous than that of the US, the past decade has coincided with growing evidence of migrant dependence, including substantial variations by birthplace group (Baker & Benjamin 1995; De Silva 385, 391).

While migrants have lower overall welfare dependence than the native-born, analysis of 1981-2001 Census data has shown the occurrence of 'a definite deterioration in the returns to foreign labour market experience... most strongly among men from non-traditional source countries', with much disadvantage not correlating to 'entry labour market conditions' (Aydemir & Skuterad 2004: 1). A range of Canadian researchers have reported similar findings – hypotheses including barriers to the transferability of human capital from developing to developed countries, the stigma attached to visible minorities, the perceived quality of 'third' versus 'first world' educational training systems, changed human resource needs in the knowledge economy, and growing competition with high-skilled native born workers (including women). (See eg Frenette et al 2003; Picot & Hou 2003; Picot 2004; Reitz 2003, 2005; Sweetman 2005; Canadian Council on Social Development 2000.)

Within this context it is instructive to return briefly to 2001 Census data. As Table 58 shows, skilled work outcomes are indeed variable for recently arrived groups in Canada by visible minority status, with unemployment rates ranging from 6-18%. Once established however South East Asian, Black and Chinese Canadians achieve well, outperforming comparably qualified migrants of other races. Perceived skills transferability rather than visible minority status may thus be the issue.

Two decades back Australia's Bureau of Labour Market Research (1986: 115) described the challenges inherent in human capital transfer the following way:

The low value attached to pre-migration work experience does not necessarily imply discrimination. The skills some migrants bring to Australia may (genuinely) not be as useful to employers as similar skills acquired in Australia. Some skills are firm specific and for that reason lost with change of job. Others, such as knowledge of professional practices and regulations, can be country specific and therefore lost through migration... Employers might find it hard to evaluate the job record of a migrant with little or no Australian experience. In addition, migrants may not have sufficient knowledge either about the labour market or the range of contacts to fully utilise the opportunities that do exist.

Within this context the provision of employment and credential bridging programs may be critically important, allowing skilled migrants to overcome specific human capital barriers (Reitz 2005; Hawthorne 1994, 2001, 2005).

Migrant Earnings

Growing concern for welfare dependence is linked with evidence of migrants' deteriorating earning capacity in Canada, on which there is also a substantial literature (Pendakur &

Pendakur 1998, 2004; Reitz 2004; Aydemir & Skuterad 2004; Pictor, Hou & Coulombe 2007). According to a longitudinal analysis of earnings fluctuations across the Canadian business cycle,

... contrary to immigrants who came to Canada in the second half of the 1970s,

Table 58: Labour market outcomes of degree-qualified visible minorities in Canada, by period of arrival (2001), percentages

Year of arrival	Visible minority status	Employed				Un-employed	NLF	Number
		Own Prof.	Other Prof.	Admin/ Manage	S/Total Employed			
1996-2001	Chinese	14.7	17.0	3.4	57.2	17.4	25.4	64,092
	South Asian	11.9	12.5	5.2	67.0	14.2	18.8	51,216
	Black	16.2	15.4	5.5	70.0	17.5	12.5	8,763
	Filipino	8.0	7.4	2.9	77.3	9.0	13.7	17,062
	Latino	16.2	11.5	4.3	66.9	14.1	19.1	6,390
	South East Asian	12.6	12.0	7.2	67.3	10.1	22.7	1,961
	Arab	14.0	13.4	4.9	53.0	22.3	24.7	13,474
	West Asian	13.1	12.4	5.9	61.7	16.0	22.3	10,209
	Korean	9.5	8.9	13.2	49.5	14.8	35.7	9,075
	Japanese	12.2	19.7	7.0	64.0	6.3	29.7	1,450
	Other vis. minor.	16.2	14.3	6.5	67.6	11.3	21.1	1,345
	Multiple vis. min.	13.7	15.5	4.7	67.1	14.6	18.3	1,663
White+With+VM	19.9	19.8	5.6	71.6	12.6	15.9	70,940	
1991-1995	Chinese	19.5	19.5	6.7	68.7	8.9	22.4	34,582
	South Asian	14.9	14.6	8.2	77.8	8.1	14.2	24,044
	Black	20.7	17.7	7.1	76.3	12.9	10.8	6,521
	Filipino	8.7	8.1	4.7	84.4	4.9	10.7	15,406
	Latino	16.1	14.5	4.7	78.7	10.5	10.8	3,872
	South East Asian	24.6	11.8	5.1	74.8	8.6	16.6	1,987
	Arab	18.5	16.7	8.8	71.5	10.5	18.0	8,439
	West Asian	13.5	15.9	7.4	70.3	10.6	19.1	4,017
	Korean	8.1	9.7	20.6	64.7	6.9	28.4	3,595
	Japanese	16.1	16.4	9.5	75.1	5.7	19.2	646
	Other vis. minor.	17.3	21.0	10.4	79.1	8.2	12.8	1,161
	Multiple vis. min.	18.9	12.1	5.4	74.0	8.7	17.3	1,571
White+With+VM	24.8	23.6	7.2	82.2	6.5	11.3	48,266	
Pre-1991	Chinese	27.29	22.55	8.82	81.6	4.6	13.81	77,836
	South Asian	22.92	18.71	10.41	82.8	4.43	12.82	66,405
	Black	30.69	18.75	8.34	83.4	6.57	10.04	23,391
	Filipino	17.44	11.13	6.27	83.1	3.54	13.37	28,464
	Latino	23.48	18.1	6.83	83.5	6.11	10.44	8,398
	South East Asian	34.73	19.74	6.56	83.9	5.05	11.1	13,158
	Arab	23.95	20.67	11.71	78.5	6.79	14.7	13,044
	West Asian	18.19	20.31	11.61	78.1	8.26	13.6	8,588
	Korean	17.92	16.33	19.98	78.7	4.4	16.94	8,969
	Japanese	18.66	24.59	9.09	74.3	5.07	20.6	2,286
	Other vis. minor.	25.93	23.9	10.44	83.2	5.47	11.37	5,245
	Multiple vis. min.	23.04	19.87	9.61	82.7	6.11	11.23	5,151
White+With+VM	29.79	24.82	9.62	83.5	3.25	13.26	276,142	

Source: Canadian Census 2001

immigrants who came to Canada in the 1980s still had, 15 years after arrival, substantially lower earnings than Canadian-born workers... 15 years after arrival, male and female immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1985 and 1989... could generally expect to receive between 15% and 24% lower earnings than their Canadian-born counterparts (with) relative entry earnings continu(ing) to fall in the 1990s... The finding that relative earnings of recent immigrants did not improve between 1990 and 2000 is surprising in the light of the fact that the supply of university graduates has grown much faster among recent immigrants to Canada than among Canada-born workers over the last decade. This suggests that the extent to which holding a university degree allows access to high-paying jobs has changed markedly for recent immigrants during the 1990s (Frenette & Morissette 2003: 8-15).

As Table 59 shows, weekly earnings improved markedly for employed Independent PAs in Australia from LSIA 1 to LSIA 2, with 57% earning a good Australian income of \$A674 or more compared to just 39% 6 years earlier. Growth was also positive for Concessional Family workers, rising from 23% to 34% at this rate.

While trend data for Canada were not available²⁸, earnings at the time of LSIC 1 were significantly less: 33% of Other Skilled Workers paid \$C618 per week or more, compared to just 11% of Assisted Relatives in current employment. The most recent relevant findings, from the first paper to analyse low-income dynamics among entering immigrants, confirm the significance of this issue:

For immigrants entering post-2000 (our latest data are from 2004), low income rates during their early years in Canada were higher than for those entering around or before 2000... We find that probability of entry to the first low income spell is very high during the first year in Canada (34% to 46%, depending upon the cohort), and falls dramatically to around 10% in the second year, lower in subsequent years... If

Table 59: If employed weekly earnings, for principal applicants in main economic categories around 6 months after arrival, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Category	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	CAN\$618+	<CAN\$618	CAN\$618+	<CAN\$618	CAN\$618+	<CAN\$618
Other skilled workers (c)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	33.3%	66.7%
Assisted relatives (d)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	11.2%	88.8%
Total	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	26.5%	73.5%

Australia				
Category	1993/1995 (e)		1999/2000 (f)	
	AUD\$674+	<AUD\$674	AUD\$674+	<AUD\$674
Independent	38.7%	61.3%	56.5%	43.5%
Concessional family	23.1%	76.9%	33.7%	66.3%
Total	40.0%	60.0%	47.7%	52.3%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

²⁸ It was not possible to deduce median personal weekly income from the Canadian IMDB data supplied.

Table 60: If employed median personal weekly income, for principal applicants in main economic categories around 6 months after arrival, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Category	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Lower median (<CAN\$97)	Hi (>CAN\$154)	Lower median (<CAN\$97)	Hi (>CAN\$154)	Lower median (<CAN\$97)	Hi (>CAN\$154)
Other skilled workers (c)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Assisted relatives (d)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Australia						
	1993/1995 (e)			1999/2000 (f)		
	Lower Median (<AUD\$97)	Median Range (AUD\$97-154)	Hi (>AUD\$154)	Lower Median (<AUD\$97)	Median Range (AUD97-154)	Hi (>AUD\$154)
Independent	44.1%	1.7%	54.2%	22.3%	1.6%	76.1%
Concessional family	56.3%	1.6%	42.2%	34.5%	2.1%	63.3%
Total	50.5%	1.6%	48.2%	27.5%	1.8%	69.7%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

entering immigrants escape low income in the first full year in Canada, their chances of remaining out of low income are quite high. Regarding exit from the first spell, from 34% to 41% exit after one year, but this value was lowest for the latest three cohorts (2001-2003) (Pictor, Hou & Coulombe 2007: 8-9).

In Australia, in contrast to Canadian findings, by 1999/2000 76% of employed Independent migrants were earning above the median wage (\$A154), along with 63% of Concessional Family migrants. (See Table 60). Australian data from LSIA 3 (October 2005) reveal income rates to have risen much further since that time. 65% of Independent Principal Applicants were earning over \$A674 per week (an average wage), with their average weekly wage an extraordinary \$A1,015. This compared to 46% of Off-Shore Australian-Sponsored PAs (on an average \$A779 wage) and 40% of On-Shore former international students (averaging \$641 in terms of weekly earnings). The recent skilled migration review noted a number of factors should be taken into account in the interpretation of these outcomes, the panel noting:

In making these comparisons, it is important to point out that we are not comparing like with like. Onshore former overseas students are just beginning their working lives. They are exempt from any requirement to have work experience. The median Australian graduate earned, in 2005, about \$40,000 pa in their first fulltime job after graduation – and the table shows that 40 per cent of former overseas students are able to reach \$35,000 (this means, of course, that 60% did not, which compares with the 50% of all recent graduates who earned less than \$40,000... When compared to their (Australian) peers they are not doing too badly. The median fulltime wage for accounting graduates... was \$35,500. This compares with the average wage in all jobs for onshore former students – many of whom were accounting students – of \$33,333 (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006: 80).

Welfare dependence had disappeared in Australia for Independent and Concessional Family migrants by 1999/2000, in line with government policy. In Canada it was very low for Other

Table 61: Recent migrants receiving social welfare payments, for principal applicants in main economic categories around 6 months after arrival, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Category	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Received	Not received	Received	Not received	Received	Not received
Other skilled workers (c)	15.1%	85.0%	5.5%	94.5%	6.7%	93.3%
Assisted relatives (d)	5.4%	94.6%	2.7%	97.3%	6.7%	93.3%
Total	12.1%	87.9%	5.1%	94.9%	6.7%	93.3%

Australia				
Category	1993/1995 (e)		1999/2000 (f)	
	Received	Not received	Received	Not received
Independent	14.8%	85.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Concessional family	20.8%	79.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	17.7%	82.3%	0.0%	100.0%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

Skilled Worker and Assisted Relative PAs – just 8% of households - confirming it to be non-economic categories most at risk of welfare dependence. (See Table 61.)

While 12% of economic PAs were categorised as ‘unemployed’ at six months in Australia in LSIA 3, by definition they would have been ineligible to receive welfare benefits.

e. Occupational Field and Qualification Use

Credential Use in Employment

As described earlier in this section, Canada does not require economic migrants to have their credentials screened pre-migration, despite the multiple labour market barriers associated with non-recognition. (See eg Circa Enterprises 2001; Association of International Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario 2002; Canadian Council of Professional Engineers 2004; Canadian Nursing Council 2004; Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades 2004.)

Richardson & Lester summarise this Canada-Australia policy difference the following way: *Potential skilled migrants to Australia must have their post-secondary qualifications assessed by the relevant assessing authority before they migrate, and they must be regarded as suitable (and registrable) for the nominated occupation... In contrast, Canada’s pre-immigration credential assessment for skilled migrants is limited to advice on how qualifications from another country compare to local qualifications. The assessment does not result in a licence to practice being issued by the relevant Canadian regulatory body... In further contrast with Australia, Canada uses a provincial assessment body, not a federal one. Migrants seeking employment in a*

Table 62: Credential recognition (Canada) and credential use (Australia), for principal applicants in main economic categories around 6 months after arrival, percentages

Canada (Qualifications Recognised)						
Category	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Accepted	Not accepted	Accepted	Not accepted	Accepted	Not accepted
Other skilled workers (c)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
Assisted relatives (d)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
Total	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	74.5%	25.5%

Australia (Using qualifications)				
Category	1993/1995 (e)		1999/2000 (f)	
	Very often, Often, Sometimes	Rarely, Never	Very often, Often, Sometimes	Rarely, Never
Independent	80.5%	19.5%	84.9%	15.1%
Concessional family	61.7%	38.3%	63.7%	36.3%
Total	72.9%	27.1%	76.9%	23.1%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

particular province must have their credentials assessed by that province after arrival... According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, foreign credential recognition difficulties mean that often migrants must ‘start from scratch’ in order to work in their chosen field (Richardson & Lester 2004: 20-21).

Table 62 allows us to explore the extent to which economic PAs had the capacity to use their credentials in Canadian and Australian employment, in the period immediately following arrival. Encouragingly, some three quarters of LSIC respondents reported their credentials to be recognised – a higher than expected outcome. Data concerning whether these migrants were actually using their qualifications in work however was reportedly not available.

Please note in relation to this that information on credential utilisation two years post-arrival (2003) has since been published by Statistics Canada, key findings as follows:

...(M)ost prime working-age immigrants (80%) were successful in finding employment of some sort during their first two years in Canada. Of those who found employment, about four in ten (42%) found a job in their intended occupation. One-third (33%) did so during their first year in Canada, while another 9% did so during their second year. The remaining 58% did not find employment in their intended occupation (Statistics Canada 2005: 9).

In Australia by 1999/2000 85% of employed Independent PAs stated they were actively using their credentials within 6 months, compared to just 64% of Concessional Family workers (a modest improvement over LSIA 1 findings).

The latest available data (from LSIA 3) confirm 63% of all Independent arrivals to be using their qualifications by October 2005, compared to 49% who were Australian-sponsored. This represents a positive outcome, given the figures now include very substantial numbers of recently graduated international students. The fine-tuning of Australia’s economic program

currently underway is designed to redress new graduates' lack of initial experience, as defined below (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Impact of Demand by Field

Given Australia's provision of bonus points for Migration Occupations in Demand (based on a six monthly updated list), it is worth noting here the employment benefit conferred by pre-migration credential screening. According to LSIA 3, 71% of MODL-qualified PAs worked 'often' in a field using their professional qualifications within 6 months of arrival in Australia, compared to 51% of economic PAs qualified in non-MODL occupations. Factoring labour market demand into selection thus seems highly effective, despite the inherent challenges of labour market prediction.

It is important to note in relation to this that former international students lacking professional experience were less advantaged:

(The data give) clear support to the view that skilled migrants who have previous experience in a MODL occupation will make better use of their qualifications in their Australian job. One reason for this is that the large number of onshore former overseas students mostly do not have prior work experience, so cannot qualify as having a MODL occupation. They are also much less likely than other skilled migrants to be using their qualifications in the job that they have soon after graduating. This does not mean that (they will not be able to do so over time) (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

This issue has since been addressed by Australia's 2006 skilled migration review – international students likely to become eligible for two year temporary visas designed to remediate any work experience and/or English language deficits.

f. Birthplace

In the light of the 2001 Census analysis, a key policy question concerns the extent to which improved economic migration screening can improve work outcomes for relatively disadvantaged birthplace²⁹ groups – a critical issue for degree-qualified migrants, particularly in the early settlement period. More specifically, can 'filtering' applicants by select human capital attributes negate racially or societally-based disadvantage? Tables 63a and b provide important insight on this issue. Please note however that the longitudinal databases allowed less comprehensive group comparison than the 2001 Census analysis.

In brief, the Australian data confirmed tremendous gains in early employment outcomes to be achieved by groups typically associated with poor employment outcomes. In 1993/95 85% of UK, 76% of South African and 73% of North West European economic migrants had been employed within 6 months of arrival. This compared to 56% of economic migrants from

²⁹ For definition of the birthplace categories used for the IMDB, LSIC and LSIA database analyses, please see the Appendix, where birthplace categories for the 2001 Census data are also shown.

India, 53% from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore, 45% from China, 42% from the Middle East/ North Africa and 31% from Eastern Europe. By the time of LSIA 2, this ‘disadvantage gap’ had largely closed. 86% of UK, 89% of South African and 83% of North West European Principal Applicants were working within 6 months, compared to 73% from India, 72% from the Middle East/ North Africa, 68% from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore, 61% from China, and 79% from Eastern Europe (the improved outcomes for East European arrivals particularly notable).

In other words, once assured that degree-qualified migrants spoke good English and held recognised qualifications, prospective Australian employers proved far more willing to offer work. In policy terms, this represents a very encouraging finding. Moreover outcomes for relatively advantaged PAs had also improved: 89% of South African and 83% of North West

Table 63a: Principal economic applicants’ employment outcomes at around 6 months by birthplace, Canada, percentages

Country	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Employed	Other	Employed	Other	Employed	Other
UK and Ireland	86.9%	13.1%	88.7%	11.3%		
USA	89.5%	10.5%	83.0%	17.0%		
South Africa	76.7%	23.3%	81.6%	18.4%		
Australia/New Zealand	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%	0.0%		
India	71.8%	28.2%	78.9%	23.7%	76.1%	23.9%
Pakistan	56.5%	43.5%	59.6%	40.4%	65.8%	34.2%
HK/Malaysia / Singapore	38.5%	61.5%	53.1%	46.9%		
China	72.9%	27.1%	57.3%	42.7%	48.0%	52.0%
Taiwan	37.5%	62.5%	24.7%	75.3%		
Philippines	78.0%	22.0%	83.2%	16.8%	84.1%	15.9%
Vietnam	67.7%	32.3%	62.5%	37.5%		
Indonesia	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%		
Lebanon	52.5%	47.5%	46.3%	53.7%		
Iraq	58.8%	41.2%	44.7%	55.3%		
Iran					49.2%	50.8%
Romania					69.9%	30.1%
Russia					63.6%	36.4%
Sri Lanka					81.3%	18.7%
South Korea					32.6%	67.4%
Morocco						
Other Africa and Middle East	57.6%	42.4%	54.8%	45.2%		
Other Europe	61.4%	38.6%	65.2%	34.8%		
North West Europe						
Eastern Europe						
South Eastern Europe						
Other Asia and Pacific	58.7%	41.3%	49.7%	50.3%		
Other South and Central America	74.5%	25.5%	74.1%	25.9%		
Other countries					61.5%	38.5%
Not Stated	25.0%	75.0%	40.0%	60.0%		
Total	64.2%	35.8%	62.0%	38.0%		

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

Europe arrivals employed within 6 months in LSIA 2 compared to 76% and 73% respectively in LSIA 1.

In Canada comparably positive work outcomes were achieved by UK economic PAs (87-89% based on IMDB data) and Filipinos (78-84%). However far more variable labour market integration rates remained the norm for other economic groups: with 76% of economic PAs from India employed by 2000/01 (compared to 72% in 1994/5), 66% from Pakistan (compared to 57%), 47% from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore by 1999/2000 (compared to 39%), and 48% from China (apparently declined from 73%). Canada's current economic selection criteria do not appear to similarly offset human capital disadvantage.

While labour market outcomes have improved for economic migrants two years post-arrival, the LSIC 1 report published in 2005 was silent on any differential outcomes for Principal Applicants by birthplace, despite being titled 'Progress and Challenges of New Immigrants in the Workforce' (Statistics Canada 2005). Select human capital issues were highlighted instead, most notably:

(Of those seeking work 6 to 24 months after landing) Skilled worker PAs who encountered problem most often cited lack of Canadian work experience (26%) or lack of acceptance of their foreign experience or qualifications (23%). Another 16%

Table 63b: Principal economic applicants' employment outcomes at around 6 months by birthplace, Australia, percentages

	1993/1995 (a)		1999/2000 (b)	
	Employed	Unemp/ NLF	Employed	Unemp/ NLF
UK/Ireland	84.8%	15.2%	86.2%	13.8%
USA/Canada				
South Africa	75.5%	24.5%	89.2%	10.8%
New Zealand				
India	56.1%	43.9%	73.0%	27.0%
HK/Malaysia/Singapore	52.5%	47.5%	67.6%	32.4%
China (exc. Taiwan)	44.8%	55.2%	61.4%	38.6%
Taiwan				
Philippines	56.6%	43.4%	75.9%	24.1%
Vietnam				
Indonesia				
Lebanon				
Iraq				
Iran				
Middle East/North Africa/Other	42.1%	57.9%	71.9%	28.1%
North West Europe	72.5%	17.5%	83.3%	16.7%
Eastern Europe	30.9%	69.1%	78.8%	21.2%
South Eastern Europe	41.5%	58.5%		
North&SE Asia, South & Central	39.9%	60.1%	76.9%	23.1%
Asia, Oceania, Antartica				
Other Americas	21.9%	78.1%		
Total	51.9%	48.1%	75.8%	24.2%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

Table 64: Principal economic applicants' employment outcomes at around 6 months by gender, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Category	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Employed	Other	Employed	Other	Employed	Other
Females	62.6%	37.4%	58.6%	41.4%	55.1%	45.0%
Males	64.8%	35.2%	63.1%	36.9%	61.5%	38.5^
Total	64.2%	35.8%	62.0%	38.0%	60.0%	40.0%

Australia				
Category	1993/1995 (c)		1999/2000 (d)	
	Employed	Unemp/ NLF	Employed	Unemp/ NLF
Females	48.6%	46.8%	70.9%	29.1%
Males	53.2%	51.4%	78.4%	21.6%
Total	51.9%	48.1%	75.8%	24.2%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

said there were not enough jobs available and 9% cited language barriers as the most serious problem they faced (Statistics Canada 2005: 10).

g. Gender, Age, Host Country Language Ability and Location

Gender

As established by the Census analysis, gender is also typically associated with work disadvantage – recently arrived migrant women doing significantly worse than equivalent migrant males, or native born females and males. To what extent does recent economic selection policy offset this disadvantage?

As demonstrated in Table 64, Australia's recent points testing process neutralises such outcomes to a high degree – employment rates for female PAs rising from 49% to 71% between LSIA 1 and LSIA 2, with comparable male rates only slightly higher (from 53% to 78%).

By contrast female economic PAs in Canada appeared to have experienced employment decline rather than gains across this period (assuming comparability between the LSIC and the IMDB). The 2000/01 rate for migrant females 6 months post-arrival was 55% compared with 63% in 1994/5. For migrant males the comparable rates were 62% and 65%. This finding is problematic, given the increasing arrival of migrant women to Canada with relatively high qualifications, as defined in Section 2.

Age

As demonstrated by Table 65, Canada continued to accept substantial numbers of economic PAs over 45 years of age from 1991-2003, despite some decline in this trend. In Australia, by contrast, by the late 1990s older migrants received no points for age at all.

Table 66 confirms the potentially profound impact of age on work outcomes in the early post-arrival period. In Canada employers favoured young skilled workers across all three periods examined, with no improvement evident by 2000/01. In Australia, by contrast, changed selection criteria had resulted in beneficial outcomes for all skilled groups. By 1999/2001 77% of 25-44 year old economic PAs had secured work within 6 months of arrival, compared to 70% of 15-24 year olds and even 59% of 45-64 year olds. The results for older workers were particularly noteworthy, their work rates close to doubling within 6 years – clearly reflecting their pre-migration filtering for credential recognition, English language and other employment-related attributes.

Table 65: Canadian permanent resident arrivals by select economic category and age (1991-2003)

Category	Age group	1991-1996	1996-2001	2001-2003	TOTAL
Other skilled workers - p.a.	0 to 14 years	238	178	55	470
Other skilled workers - p.a.	15 to 24 years	9794	5892	2687	18372
Other skilled workers - p.a.	25 to 44 years	114221	165558	99710	379489
Other skilled workers - p.a.	45 to 64 years	12362	13890	8158	34409
Other s killed workers - p.a.	65 years or more	862	492	199	1553
S/TOTAL		137476	186009	110809	434293
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	0 to 14 years	130	18	7	154
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	15 to 24 years	4051	1878	374	6302
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	25 to 44 years	38948	32190	14493	85630
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	45 to 64 years	7578	4919	2532	15029
Assisted-relatives - p.a.	65 years or more	436	115	34	584
S/TOTAL		51143	39118	17438	107699
All other	0 to 14 years	262438	239244	126177	627858
All other	15 to 24 years	215627	147057	78732	441416
All other	25 to 44 years	423029	316448	172883	912359
All other	45 to 64 years	151345	92021	53389	296754
All other	65 years or more	53547	26102	16269	95917
All other	not s tated	4	4	1	8
S/TOTAL		1105989	820875	447449	2374312
GRAND TOTAL		1294607	1046001	575696	2916304

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada arrivals data, supplied to the researcher (2005)

Host Country Language Ability (English and/or French)

The importance of host language ability within a knowledge economy can hardly be over-estimated (Ferrer et al 2004). According to two recent Canadian studies research demonstrates host country language ability to be ‘the particular form of human capital that seems to matter most’, while ‘the higher... an immigrant’s official language capability, the greater the employment and earnings opportunities’ (Thompson and Worswick 2004; Hiebert 2006).

An identical trend is evident in Australia. A series of labour market reports on economic migrants released from the late 1970s confirmed the inferior employment outcomes achieved by non-English speaking background migrants, despite their possession of generally higher qualifications. NESB workers secured worse outcomes at every age, with recessions rendering them particularly vulnerable in terms of employment (Stricker & Sheehan 1981; Ackland et al 1994). They had difficulty converting overseas credentials into appropriate status work, locating this work in the fields for which they were qualified, and securing adequate earnings reward (Broom et al: 1980; Stromback 1984). By 1981 it had been demonstrated that poor English language competence ‘doubled the probability of (males) being unemployed’, with unemployment predictors including English language ability, birthplace, period of residence in Australia, and the country in which formal qualifications had been gained (Bureau of Labour Market Research 1986: 86).

While NESB migrants’ labour market disadvantage was not unduly serious if transitory, it was found to take a very substantial time to dissipate in Australia. Though possession of tertiary qualifications was associated with a lower overall risk of unemployment (Chiswick &

Table 66: Principal economic applicants’ employment outcomes at around 6 months by age, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Age group	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Employed	Other	Employed	Other	Employed	Other
15-24 years	78.8%	21.2%	76.4%	23.6%	80.4%	19.6%
25-44 years	64.9%	35.1%	62.5%	37.5%	60.7%	39.3%
45-64 years	51.6%	48.4%	50.3%	49.7%	50.2%	49.8%
Total	64.4%	35.6%	62.1%	37.9%	60.0%	40.0%

Australia				
Age group	1993/1995 (c)		1999/2000 (d)	
	Employed	Unemp/ NLF	Employed	Unemp/ NLF
15-24 years	54.7%	45.3%	69.6%	30.4%
25-44 years	53.3%	46.7%	77.1%	22.9%
45-64 years	32.1%	67.9%	59.4%	40.6%
Total	51.9%	48.1%	75.8%	24.2%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

Miller 1992), 'employment' per se could be a poor indicator of success - masking an underutilisation of NESB migrants' full professional capacity (Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989; Watson 1996). Separate studies showed poor English ability to triple the unemployment risk for males, while doubling it for females; to diminish employment access by up to 50 per cent; and to substantially reduce the likelihood of skilled migrants even commencing the credential recognition process (Brooks & Volker 1985; Inglis & Stromback 1986; Iredale 1987).

By 1989 poor English language ability was considered to represent 'an awesome and devastating barrier' at every stage of the employment life cycle in Australia (Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989: 39). Moreover the Australian evidence to 1994 demonstrated as education level increased 'the labour market position of immigrants vis a vis the Australian-born systematically deteriorate(d)' (Wooden 1994: 230).

Comparable trends, as we have seen, were evident in Canada, demonstrating the higher an immigrant's official language capability, the greater the employment and earnings opportunities (see eg Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1998; Chiswick & Miller 2000a, 2000b; Chiswick et al 2002). Analysing the effect of language literacy on earnings based on national data, a recent Canadian study argued:

... immigrants and the native born appear to obtain the same return for their literacy skills. We argue that this does not support a discrimination explanation for immigrant-born earnings differentials. Immigrant shortfalls in literacy can account for about one-half of the earnings gap between university educated immigrants and similarly educated native-born workers. However, low returns to foreign acquired experience have a larger impact in the differential and those low returns are not related to literacy differences. Thus, low literacy among immigrants is an important input to understanding immigrant-native born earnings differentials but is not the dominant explanation (Ferrer et al 2004: 3).

Increasingly the argument has been made that migrants cannot take their place in the knowledge economy without spoken and written fluency in the host language/s. Host country language facility also interacts with other labour market attributes, such as gender (Boyd et al 1994). Within interactive professions such as medicine, nursing, teaching and engineering it is now as critical (see eg Canadian Language Benchmarks 2004; Pawlikowska-Smith 2000; Hawthorne 1997a, 1997b; Hawthorne & Toth 1996; Cobb-Clark 2004).

To what extent are these findings related to language confirmed by the longitudinal data, in a context where Australia has mandated externally validated English language assessment for economic Principal Applicants pre-migration, while Canada continues to allow for English/French self-assessment?³⁰

³⁰ Please note in relation to this that 14% of migrants in Canada state French to be their first or second language at point of migration. However substantial numbers may encounter employment problems if living outside Quebec.

As Table 67 shows, the LSIC and IMDB data suggest there to be minimal improvement in the proportion of economic migrants claiming to speak English and/or French between 1994 and 2000-01.

The LSIA, by contrast, shows marked improvement in the proportion of economic PAs using English well or very well in recent years (45% for LSIA 1 compared to 73% for LSIA 2). The employment gulf between migrants with high and low level English was also vast by 1999/2000: 73% of the former having work compared to just 41% of the latter.

The LSIA further allows us to assess English language ability by gender. According to Table 68, female economic PAs had matched or exceeded males in host country language ability – 93-98% of female Independent PAs speaking English well or very well, despite somewhat lower rates in the Concessional Family category.

A major finding of Australia’s 2005-06 skilled migration review was the critical significance of English language ability to migrants’ employment outcomes. In particular, 89% of economic PAs with English as ‘only or best’ language were employed 6 months post-arrival, compared to 86% knowing English ‘very well’, 76% ‘well’ and 59% ‘not well’. Principal Applicants with best command of English were most likely to be using their qualifications in work (61%, compared to 60%, 44% and 37%), and to be employed in professional or managerial positions. Further,

... graduates.. who did not speak English at least ‘very well’ were much more likely to be not employed; about half as likely as those with better English to be employed in a job commensurate with their skills; and about twice as likely to be employed in a relatively low skilled job... Among those with Masters degrees, the differences between those who spoke English best and those who spoke it ‘very well’ were not large. In contrast, these differences in level of command over English were associated

Table 67: Principal economic applicants’ employment outcomes at around 6 months by English and/or French language ability, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada							
Category	Level	1994 (a)(b)		1999 (a)(b)		2000/2001 (c)	
		Employed	Other	Employed	Other	Employed	Other
English		64.6%	35.4%	62.9%	37.1%		
French		65.6%	34.4%	62.3%	37.7%		
English & French		64.7%	35.3%	62.9%	37.1%		
Neither		62.3%	37.8%	52.9%	47.1%		
English &/or	Very well/Well					61.5%	38.5%
French	Not well/Not at all					50.8%	49.2%
Total		64.5%	35.5%	62.2%	37.8%	60.0%	40.0%

Australia					
Category	Level	1993/1995 (d)		1999/2000 (e)	
		Employed	Unemp/ NLF	Employed	Unemp/ NLF
English	Very well/Well	44.5%	55.5%	73.1%	26.9%
	Not well/Not at all	28.1%	71.9%	40.9%	59.1%
Total		39.8%	60.2%	71.1%	28.9%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

with substantially worse outcomes for those with Bachelor level qualifications for the less proficient (but still good) English speakers... We conclude that in most dimensions of labour market success, the key is to have a level of English competence that enables the respondent to report that speak English at least 'very well' ... It is interesting to report here the findings of DIMA from their surveys of former overseas students, that 'former students with an IELTS score of 7 had a 55% chance of finding a skilled job, compared with a 38% chance for those with an IELTS score of less than 7 (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006: 87).

The case for mandatory host country language testing pre-migration appears to be compelling. Please note that the introduction of this measure has not reduced the ethnic diversity of Australia's economic migration program, but rather varied the attributes of those selected (see Table 46). In 2004-05 the top 5 sources for offshore economic migrants were the UK, India, China, the Philippines, and Malaysia, compared to China, Indonesia, India, Malaysia and Hong Kong for onshore applicants.

Location

As noted in Section 5, location is an issue receiving increasing policy attention in Canada and Australia in the present period. To what extent should skilled migrants be clustered (their natural and personal network preference) or intentionally dispersed? Specifically, is it appropriate for governments to skew distribution through the provision of bonus points directing migrants to residence in labour shortage sites (eg mineral-rich labour-hungry provinces such as Alberta and Western Australia)?

Analysis of the longitudinal data confirms economic PAs located in Toronto (65%) and 'Other Canada' (69%) CMAs to have better immediate employment outcomes than migrants settling in Vancouver (56%) or Montreal (just 38%). (See Table 69.) This is in line with the Census data.

Outcomes were more even across the Australian locations analysed: by 1999/2000 81% of economic PAs securing work in Sydney, compared to 73% in 'Other Australia' and 70% in Melbourne – again markedly better outcomes for each location than for comparable groups in the LSIA 1. It is difficult however to draw conclusions in relation to this. A range of recent Australian studies concerning regional migration schemes have confirmed problems related to constrained employment opportunities, limited retention of economic migrants, and the 'hyper-mobility' of people willing to commit for extended periods of time to decentralised locations (DIMA 2004; Hawthorne et al 2003)

g. Conclusion

In terms of the questions posed at the start of this section, the following answers can be provided on the basis of longitudinal data (methodological caveats notwithstanding):

Table 68: Changes in English/French language competence after 6 months by language, gender and immigration category, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada							
Language (spoken)	Category	1994 (a)(b)			1999 (a)(b)		
		Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
English	Family class (c)			64.2%			61.9%
	Assisted-relatives (d)			57.8%			61.3%
	Other skilled workers (d)			68.0%			63.2%
	Other economic (c)			73.3%			65.8%
	Economic (e)			41.1%			41.8%
	Refugees/Humanitarian			45.0%			52.6%
	Other			16.9%			73.1%
	S/Total			57.8%			57.5%
French	Family class (c)			55.4%			58.7%
	Assisted-relatives (d)			60.0%			50.0%
	Other skilled workers (d)			65.9%			62.3%
	Other economic (c)			46.2%			35.7%
	Economic (e)			25.6%			35.5%
	Refugees/Humanitarian			35.9%			47.6%
	Other			0.0%			75.0%
	S/Total			50.1%			53.1%
English & French	Family class (c)			61.3%			63.4%
	Assisted-relatives (d)			64.3%			56.1%
	Other skilled workers (d)			62.4%			66.2%
	Other economic (c)			52.6%			31.3%
	Economic (e)			31.3%			45.2%
	Refugees/Humanitarian			40.0%			57.1%
	Other			0.0%			0.0%
	S/Total			55.1%			60.6%
Total			64.7%			62.9%	
Australia							
Language ability	Category	1993/1995 (f)			1999/2001 (g)		
		Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
English (spoken Very well/Well)	Preferential family	46.3%	42.3%	43.8%	49.7%	49.0%	49.3% (h)
	Concessional family	54.1%	63.2%	56.4%	89.6%	81.1%	86.8% (i)
	Business skills and employer nomination	62.4%	61.4%	62.2%	69.2%	52.4%	65.1% (j)
	Independent	85.0%	92.8%	87.2%	96.8%	97.5%	97.0% (k)
	Humanitarian	26.7%	14.3%	21.8%	20.2%	18.0%	19.4% (l)
	Other (all other categories)				21.4%	10.0%	16.7% (m)
Total		51.4%	43.4%	47.8%	50.4%	46.0%	48.3%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

To what extent do Canada and Australia's economic migration criteria deliver degree-qualified migrants with a capacity to integrate swiftly into host country labour markets?

Australia's selection criteria appear to achieve this far more effectively than Canada's to the present time, based on systematic pre-migration screening of Principal Applicants for select

Table 69: Principal economic applicants' employment outcomes at around 6 months by location, Canada and Australia, percentages

Canada						
Location	1994 (a)		1999 (a)		2000/2001 (b)	
	Employed	Other	Employed	Other	Employed	Other
Montreal	62.4%	37.6%	61.6%	38.4%	38.3%	61.7%
Toronto	60.1%	39.9%	60.5%	39.5%	65.1%	34.9%
Vancouver	60.3%	39.7%	56.6%	43.4%	55.5%	44.5%
Other	72.3%	27.7%	70.5 [^]	29.5%	68.6%	31.4%
Total	64.2%	35.8%	62.0%	38.0%	60.0%	40.0%

Australia				
Location	1993/1995 (c)		1999/2000 (d)	
	Employed	Un-employed/ NLF	Employed	Un-employed/ NLF
Melbourne	41.9%	58.1%	70.0%	30.0%
Sydney	52.5%	47.5%	80.7%	19.3%
Other	57.9%	42.1%	72.8%	27.2%
Total	51.9%	48.1%	75.8%	24.2%

Source: IMDB, LSIC and LSIA databases, as defined in the methodology and the notes to the previous tables

human capital attributes. These include facility in the host country language/s, recognised professional credentials, and qualification in high demand fields (these attributes having emerged as significant in the recent Canadian and Australian literature).

How effective have Australia's post-1996 economic migration reforms been in terms of improving employment outcomes?

The research suggests such measures to have been exceptionally positive to date, with improved work outcomes in the early post-migration period achieved by Australia on virtually every measure examined. This finding is significant in the context of the highly comparable workforce experience of degree-qualified migrants in Canada and Australia overall (as assessed by the Census data).

How does the experience of economic migrants in each country compare with the patterns established as the norm for otherwise comparable groups, entering through all immigration categories?

Australia's revised selection criteria have greatly diminished the labour market barriers encountered by disadvantaged recently arrived groups, when outcomes for economic Principal Applicants are compared with the norm for comparably qualified peers through the 2001 Census.

It seems likely Canada could achieve comparable benefits, through significant revision of current economic selection criteria.

9. Executive Summary and Conclusion

A. Skilled Migration to Canada and Australia

The Research Context

Economic Migration

As established in Section 1 of the report, Canada and Australia are global exemplars of nation-building through government planned and administered economic, family and humanitarian migration programs. By 2005 Australia included the world's highest percentage of foreign-born (24.6% of the population, with over 240 nationalities) followed by Canada at 19.2% and the US at 11.7% (Miller 2005).

Within the past decade Canada and Australia have also placed extraordinary emphasis on the recruitment of migrants with skills. In 2004 Canada selected 133,746 people in the economic category, in particular substantial numbers of points-tested Principal Applicants qualified in the professions. Skilled migrants constituted 59.6% of Canada's total planned intake at this time (224,346 people), far exceeding the targets set for family (51,500-56,800) and refugee/humanitarian (30,800-33,800) entrants. The proportion of economic migrants selected by Australia in 2004-05 was virtually identical to Canadian levels (58%), based on 77,800 applicants out of a permanent migrant/humanitarian intake of 133,000 people, with the 2005-06 target since set substantially higher (97,500) (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Despite numerical similarity in terms of skilled migration programs, primary sources for economic migrants now vary markedly between Canada and Australia, as described in Section 2 of the report. Canada has placed unprecedented reliance in the recent period on migration from developing countries, most notably China (18%), India (11%), Philippines (7%), Pakistan (4%) and Romania (4%). While China and India feature strongly in Australia's skilled migration program, it has continued to maintain strong UK/Ireland and South African flows - the top 5 source countries for 2004-05 being the UK/Ireland (25%), India (13%), China (11%), South Africa (5%) and Malaysia (5%).

Further important differences exist. Most significantly, since 1999 Australia has developed substantial onshore as well as offshore economic migration flows, based on 'two step migration'. By 2005 former international students with host-country degrees constituted 52% of all economic migrants - in particular Principal Applicants from India and China, who had self-funded in advance to address local employers' language, training and credential needs (Hawthorne 2005). Such students had previously been ineligible to participate in the program.

In addition to economic migrants, it is important to note, large numbers of degree-qualified arrivals reach both Canada and Australia via family and humanitarian immigration categories. These applicants are unfiltered by selection criteria at point of entry, yet will be strongly motivated to work in their original fields, regardless of human capital requirements such as host-country language facility or foreign credential recognition.

Temporary Immigrants

In terms of degree-qualified migrants it is further important to factor in the growing number of skilled workers entering Australia and Canada on a temporary basis, with sponsorships providing incontrovertible evidence of local employer preference. In 2004, for example, Canada approved around 250,000 temporary visas, including 99,700 for Foreign Workers and 56,700 for international students. In nominating sources for Foreign Workers, Canadian employers' countries of choice diverged markedly from contemporary Canadian economic migration sources.

Australia approved far greater numbers of skilled temporary arrivals at this time, reflecting its post-1996 highly deregulated temporary policy environment. 'Short term' flows included 339,424 business entrants, 104,353 Working Holidaymakers, and 174,787 international students. As noted above, substantial numbers of these arrivals would ultimately participate in 'two-step migration' – reaching Australia on a temporary basis, then exercising the potential to category-shift and stay. This strategy represents a fast developing global phenomenon, frequently associated with excellent labour market outcomes.

By the time of the 2001 Census, reflecting all such flows, Canada's population included 3,374,057 degree-qualified arrivals and 3,801,118 migrants with post secondary diplomas or certificates, compared to 1,769,154 degree and 933,889 diploma qualified migrants in Australia. From 1996-2001 newly arriving migrants were more than twice as likely as the Canada-born to be degree-qualified (37% compared to 15%). Similar patterns were evident in Australia (26% compared to 14%). Increasing numbers of skilled migrants in each country however had struggled to achieve appropriate employment, particularly in the first 5 years of arrival, regardless of the state of the host economy.

Business cycles have been remarkably similar in Canada and Australia in the recent decade, providing an excellent 'laboratory' for contrastive research concerning employment outcomes for skilled migrants. According to Richardson & Lester, from an economic perspective Australia and Canada 'look very alike... During the 1996-2001 period, during which migrants included in (both countries' Longitudinal and Census surveys) arrived and were looking for employment, both economies performed equally well. Thus (any) superior labour force performance of migrants to Australia... cannot be explained simply in terms of economic performance' (Richardson & Lester 2004: 10). It is within this context that the comparative analysis of labour market integration for degree-qualified migrants (below) was undertaken.

Selection Systems for Economic Category Migrants: Canada and Australia Compared

While both Canada and Australia use points-based selection criteria to select economic migrants, it is important to note that there has been sharp divergence since 1996 on the values and priorities informing these programs. The primary goal for Canada remains nation-building, based on sustained high-level intakes regardless of economic cycles, and informed by a human capital model of immigrant selection. According to Hiebert (2006), the prevailing Canadian view is that 'well-trained flexible individuals... who have experience in the labourforce' should be able to 'adapt to rapidly changing labour market circumstances'. In consequence 'general' rather than 'specific' competence is sought – Canadian selection criteria admitting Principal Applicants (PAs) with limited or no host country language skills,

non-recognised qualifications, and in fields of minimal labour market demand on an equal basis to those with more immediately sought after attributes (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006).

Australia by contrast progressively abandoned the human capital model from 1996 as ‘out of balance and out of control’ following the election of the current conservative government. While the family and humanitarian intakes were endorsed as serving broad social purposes, serious unemployment among recently arrived skilled migrants was perceived to undermine the effectiveness of the economic migration program – one explicitly devised in 1988 to support Australia’s economic goals, and in which it was legitimate to prioritise national interests.

The Australian government in 1996 defined six attributes as making ‘a good skill(ed) applicant’, most notably ‘obtaining a job soon after arrival that uses their skills... become quickly established’ and ‘(n)ot require benefits’. In commissioning successive reviews of the program in 1997, 1999, and 2006, the government determined to use the research evidence to finetune economic selection criteria, in the process optimising immediate as well as long-term employment outcomes.

Reflecting the findings of these reviews, since 1999 an increasing number of Principal Applicants at perceived risk of delayed or de-skilled employment have been excluded from migration to Australia at point of entry, through rigorous expansion of pre-migration English language testing (extended to family-skill categories), mandatory credential screening, assessment of labour market demand, plus a range of additional modifications to the points selection process. In the decade since, Australia has secured early and increasingly positive employment outcomes, with results at six months strongly correlated to longer-term labour market integration rates. The latest available data (May 2006) confirm additional benefit from the most recent policy refinements (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006). These post-1999 results far exceed the level of benefit attributable to Australia’s improved domestic business cycle.

B. Differences in Work Outcomes for Degree-Qualified Migrants in Canada and Australia: 2001 Census Data

A major goal of the current study was to assess factors associated with positive or negative employment outcomes for degree-qualified migrants in Canada and Australia, in the first instance through examination of 2001 Census data for 1996-2001 compared to earlier arrivals.

By definition Census data contain *all* degree-qualified groups, including those reaching Canada and Australia via economic, family and humanitarian migration categories. The aim of the preliminary data analysis was therefore to define ‘typical’ labour market integration rates for migrants with otherwise comparable characteristics, in order to:

- Compare the level of Canadian and Australian receptiveness to overseas qualified professionals in the context of very similar economic cycles; and
- Provide a ‘control’ group for the subsequent analysis of outcomes for points-tested economic category Principal Applicants (in order to define whether the Canadian or Australian programs currently perform better).

Labour market outcomes for professionals in 10 qualification fields were examined (engineering, IT, accounting, medicine, nursing, teaching, architecture and building, social sciences, creative arts and humanities, natural and physical sciences, and management and culture). The employment impact of major variables including birthplace, gender, age, field and place of qualification, settlement location and date of arrival was systematically assessed (with the 22 original birthplace groups compressed to 16 for ease of presentation and analysis, see definitions in the Appendix).

The key Census research findings are summarised in turn below.

1. The analysis confirmed there to be negligible differences in employment outcomes for recently arrived degree-qualified migrants in Canada and Australia (all migration categories).

By 2001, 65% of degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals had found work of some kind in Canada, compared to 66% in Australia. 29.8% held professional positions, compared to 31.4% in Australia. 5.0% of migrants had switched to administrative or managerial work, compared to 7.6% in Australia, with very substantial additional numbers clustered in lower skilled positions.

Unemployment represented a more significant problem in Canada, with 14.7% of degree-qualified arrivals unemployed compared to 7.8% in Australia. Australia by contrast had larger migrant numbers categorised as 'not in the labourforce' (typically learning English or trying to secure credential recognition): 26.2% of 1996-2001 arrivals compared to 20.4% in Canada. This higher proportion almost certainly reflected Australia's sustained investment in the establishment of language and labour market training programs since the mid 1980s, as discussed in Section 8 of the report.

2. Degree and higher-degree qualified migrants enjoyed a substantial labour market advantage in both countries.

Relative to recently-arrived migrants holding diploma level qualifications, recent degree-qualified migrants are generally able to secure double or more the rate of professional employment in the host country, despite results for diploma-level migrants being somewhat better in Australia.

In Canada, where the data allow differentiation of employment outcomes by degree type, superior outcomes were secured by migrants holding Masters or PhD degrees, for all periods of arrival. For example 61% of pre-1991 arrivals with higher degrees held professional positions by 2001, in contrast to 45% of bachelor-qualified arrivals. The comparable data for 1991-96 was 53% (versus 31%), and for 1996-2001 44% (versus 24%). This outcome compared reasonably with employment outcomes for the Canada born (64% of Masters or PhD qualified local workers holding professional positions by 2001, compared to 52% of those with bachelor degrees.)

3. Degree-qualified migrants however were slightly more de-skilled in work in Canada than in Australia.

While 64.9% of degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals to Canada were employed by 2001, as we have seen just 29.8% were in professional work, 5.0% in administration/management and

6.3% in associate professional roles. The comparable rates for Australia were 31.4%, 7.6% and 6.2%. Overall 23.8% of degree-qualified recent arrivals had accepted very de-skilled work in Canada, compared to 20.7% in Australia.

4. Trade qualified migrants also performed well in both countries.

In Canada 65% of degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals had secured work by 2001, compared to 62% of migrants holding post-secondary diplomas. In Australia 66% of degree-qualified migrants had found work in the first 5 years, compared to an impressive 73% for those with vocational qualifications. These findings justify the current levels of interest in more trade migration to each country.

5. In the past decade, it is important to note that Canada and Australia have diverged markedly in terms of source countries for degree-qualified migrants, in particular the level of English-speaking background country migration.

Prior to 1991 25% of degree-qualified migrants to Canada were derived from English-speaking source countries (the UK/Ireland, US, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa). This plummeted to just 7% from 1991-1996 and to 5% from 1996-2001. Australia by contrast maintained far higher levels of degree-qualified English Speaking Background migrant flows – reduced from 38% to 20% from 1991-1996, but reverting to 28% from 1996-2001 following consistent evidence of the inferior labour market integration rates secured by select non-English speaking background groups.

From 1996-2001, for example, just 6% of doctors, 4% of nurses, 2% of engineers and 2% of IT professionals migrating to Canada were derived from ESB source countries. This compared to 30%, 43%, 22% and 18% respectively migrating in these fields to Australia. The latest available advice suggests UK flows to Canada to remain negligible, despite their clear attractiveness to employers.

6. Within the knowledge economy birthplace exerts major influence on employment outcomes for degree-qualified professions, particularly in the first settlement years.

The following degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals to Canada were the most likely to have secured professional work by 2001: South Africa (over 60% of migrants working in their own or another profession), Australia and New Zealand (close to 60%), UK/Ireland (over 50%), North West Europe (ditto) and the US (close to 50%). This compared to an almost identical rank order for 1996-2001 arrivals securing professional employment in Australia: UK/Ireland (51%), South Africa (50%), New Zealand (48%), US/Canada (40%), and North West Europe (39%).

Within both Canada and Australia the likelihood of degree-qualified migrants securing professional work in the first five years of migration dropped substantially for other birthplace groups, with many migrants at severe risk of de-skilled employment. Similar birthplace groups faced the greatest level of disadvantage in each country. Degree-qualified migrants from Iraq, Taiwan and Other North and South East Asia ranked lowest in terms of work access, followed by the Lebanese in Canada and the Vietnamese in Australia. Large numbers of degree-qualified migrants from the Philippines, India, Vietnam and Other South/Central

Asia had gained employment only at the cost of taking low-skilled work – a significant migration policy issue in the context of the scale of these arrivals.

7. The critical determinant of migration employment outcomes between Canada and Australia proved to be the level of UK/Ireland migration.

The UK/Ireland was the source of 1.6% of degree qualified migrants to Canada from 1996-2001, compared to 15% to Australia. Had UK/Ireland migration been excluded from both countries, Australia's rate of recently arrived degree-qualified migrants employed in any profession would have dropped from 31% to 28% (compared to Canada's 30%).

8. 'Visible minority' status did not appear to unduly influence labour market integration rates for degree-qualified migrants in Canada or Australia within this period.

Recently arrived Commonwealth Asian and African migrants were reasonably well accepted by Canadian and Australian employers - in terms of labour market integration generally ranking well ahead of other Asian and Middle Eastern groups (a long established pattern in Australia). It is worth noting that Hong Kong, Malaysian and Singaporean migrants had performed particularly well – in Canada far more likely to secure work in their own profession than similarly qualified Indian arrivals (19% versus 12%).

9. Newly arrived degree-qualified migrants secured highly comparable representation in the professions in each country within the first few years post-arrival.

Overall 31.4% of migrants with degrees were employed in their own or some other professional position in Australia by 2001, compared with 23.5% of migrants in Canada with Bachelor degrees, and 43.9% holding Masters degrees. 7.6% of such migrants had found managerial or administrative positions in Australia, compared with 5.2% (Bachelor degrees) and 4.6% (Masters degrees) in Canada. As noted, 6.2% had slipped to associate professional positions in Australia, compared to 6.3% in Canada.

In terms of outcomes by birthplace, it is worth noting that a range of recently arrived degree-qualified migrants had performed better in Canada than in Australia. For example 25.0% of North West Europe migrants were employed in their profession by 2001 (compared to 21.7% in Australia), 19.1% from Hong Kong, Malaysia % Singapore (versus 17.9%), 17.9% from Central and South Americas (versus 11.2%), 14.9% from China (versus 12.7%) and 12.2% from India (versus 15.5%). Factoring employment in 'other professions' or managerial positions into the analysis intensified this pattern.

10. Newly arrived degree-qualified migrants had higher unemployment rates in Canada, but higher 'not in the laborforce' rates in Australia.

Overall, newly arrived degree-qualified migrants from disadvantaged groups reported lower unemployment levels in Australia than Canada, at a time when national unemployment rates for locals with degrees was 4% in Canada and 2% in Australia.

The unemployment rate for migrants from Other Middle East / North Africa was 21% in Canada (compared to 12% in Australia), 19% for China (compared to 9% in Australia), 17%

for South and Central Asia (10%), 17% for South Eastern Europe (11%), 15% for Taiwan (6%), 14% for East Europe (10%), and 13% for India (10%).

Many birthplace groups also included high proportions reported as 'not in the labourforce': most notably migrants from Taiwan, Other North and South East Asia, Indonesia, Lebanon, and Iraq. Substantial numbers of these migrants, it seems fair to presume, would have been learning English/ French, or re-positioning to enter the labour market through study to achieve credential recognition.

In line with the literature, far better outcomes were achieved by long-established degree-qualified migrants in both Canada and Australia (defined as resident 10 years or more in the host country). Encouragingly, this pattern included the most initially disadvantaged groups, with unemployment rates more nearly approximating host country norms. For example by 2001 English speaking background migrants in Canada 10 years or more had achieved equal or superior representation in the professions to the Canada-born. South Africans (as in Australia) represented the most elite migrant group overall, with 87% working compared to 85% of the Canada-born, and a high 71% occupying professional or managerial positions (compared to 64% of the Canada-born). Select Asian groups had also achieved representation in the professions equivalent to the Canada-born, including those from Vietnam and Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia, with the Indonesia-born and China-born also faring well. High rates of access to the professions had been achieved by additional visible minority groups, including migrants from Other Africa, the Middle East and North Africa – all with better representation in their own and other professions than migrants born in East and South East Europe, India, other parts of Asia, Taiwan and the Philippines.

Long-established degree-qualified migrants however had achieved somewhat higher levels of employment in their own professions in Australia than in Canada: most notably those qualified in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore (34% versus 25%), Other South and Central Asia (27% versus 18%), India (26% versus 18%), South East Europe (24% versus 20%) and Iraq (18% versus 14%). This gives credence to the overall view that visible minorities may experience greater disadvantage in Canada, despite the fact that 1996-2001 arrivals from a range of such groups had secured less initial access to their professions in Australia.

11. The level of labour market demand exerted a powerful influence on employment outcomes for degree-qualified recent arrivals in both Canada and Australia.

Engineering

In engineering, for example, where there was an 18% growth in professional positions from 1996-2001 in Canada compared to a major period of contraction in Australia, new labour market entrants in Canada performed well. 66-75% of recently arrived ESB engineers had gained some form of professional or managerial work by 2001. A wide range of other migrant engineers had also fared positively, including those from select visible minority groups. For example 21% of degree-qualified engineers from Central & South America were working as engineers by 2001 (compared to 6% in Australia), 19% of Indian and East European arrivals (compared to 9% and 8% respectively in Australia), 16% of Iraqis (compared to 6% in Australia), and 15% from Other Middle East/North Africa (compared to 6%). Overall, 39-51% of recently arrived engineers had secured some form of professional or managerial work in Canada by 2001 – a positive outcome, and remarkable in the light of local regulatory hurdles. Outcomes proved less positive however for recently arrived engineers from China

(12% employed in engineering positions compared to 8% in Australia) and the Philippines (5% compared to 6%). This represents a serious issue given the dominance of such source countries in contemporary Canadian engineer flows. The findings gain further significance given the scale of recent engineering migration: 26,639 Skilled Worker and 2,619 Assisted Relative arrivals between 2001-03. (See Table 4 for the scale of arrivals by key professional field.)

Information Technology

In information technology, where dynamic labour market demand existed to 2001 in both Canada and Australia, analysis of the Census confirmed there to be profoundly beneficial impacts for recently arrived migrants. For example 57% of recently-arrived IT degree-qualified Eastern Europeans had secured professional work in their field by 2001 in Canada (compared to 63% in Australia), 49% from South Eastern Europe (68%), 43% from HK, Malaysia and Singapore (27%), 37% from India (34%), 41% from China (36%), 38% from Other Middle East/ North Africa (37%), 37% from South and Central Asia (46%) and 32% from the Philippines (42%). In Australia virtually every birthplace group examined in IT achieved double or triple its standard employment level in 'own profession' within the first five years, employers appearing willing to overlook perceived deficits in terms of prior training or language ability in the context of very buoyant labour market demand (see Figure 5).

Nursing

Excellent Australian labour market integration rates were also evident in the medical and nursing professions, in a context where demand constantly outstripped domestic and immigration supply. By 2001 virtually every category of 1996-2001 nurse arrivals had performed well in the labour market despite regulatory hurdles: 73% of UK/Ireland nurses working in their field, along with 66% of nurses from India and Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, 63% from South Africa, and 49% from Other South/ Central Asia. Even a high 52% of nurses qualified in China had found professional employment, in marked deviation from the typical China professional outcomes. The contrast with Canada where national demand was lower was stark: 22% of recently-arrived Indian nurses securing work in their field in Canada (compared to 66% in Australia), 22% of Filipino nurses (versus 35%), and 32% from North West Europe (versus 45%). Large numbers of recently arrived nurses from China remained unemployed in Canada (28%) or were categorised as 'not in the labourforce' (25%).

Medicine

Comparable outcomes were characteristic of medicine in Australia, once again reflecting the strength of field-specific domestic demand. Doctors from South Africa and the UK/Ireland had moved seamlessly into medical employment, their rates close to or exceeding local graduate norms (a finding confirming the three mandatory pre-registration exams to present minimal barriers). Doctors qualified in India (66%), Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore (59%) and Taiwan (57%) had also achieved excellent integration rates in medicine within the first 5 years. By contrast recently arrived China-qualified doctors fared appallingly in Australia (just 5% working in medicine by 2001), followed by doctors from Eastern Europe (24%), the Philippines (33%), South Eastern Europe and Other Middle East/North Africa (36%) and Other South/Central Asia (39%). In the context of lower demand doctors in

Canada generally had far more negative outcomes, despite those resident 10 years or more doing well (as in Australia). Just 3% of Filipino doctors had found medical positions by 2001, compared to 4% from China, 8% from Eastern Europe, 11% from Iraq, 12% from Other South and Central Asia (probably predominantly Pakistan), 19% from India, and 31% from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore.

General Qualification Fields

It is important to note that inferior labour market outcomes for degree-qualified migrants were associated with generic degrees (examined for humanities, science and commerce graduates) in both countries. Policy makers should recognise that most generically-qualified migrants will fail to secure professional or managerial work, despite their possession of degrees and regardless of length of settlement. This form of credential also significantly worsens outcomes for migrants from non-English speaking background countries.

12. The gender of degree-qualified migrants had a major impact on employment patterns in both Canada and Australia – a significant finding in the context of the growing participation of women in economic migration, and their disproportionate qualification in traditionally ‘male’ professions.

In Canada female migrants performed significantly worse than migrant males of the same age group and field, as well as the Canada-born of either gender. For example 66% of recent migrant female IT professionals had found professional or managerial work by 2001, compared to 71% of migrant males, 78% of Canadian females and 81% of Canadian males. (The comparable figures for engineering were 51% compared to 62%, 72% and 80%; for architecture and building 45% cf 58%, 74% and 83%; for medicine 62% cf 81%, 87% and 93%; and for accounting 54% cf 68%, 83% and 87%.)

Employment outcomes were also consistently worse for migrant women than males qualified by generic degrees. In management and commerce, for instance, 49% of migrant females had secured professional or managerial work, compared to 61% of migrant males, 68% of Canadian females and 73% of Canadian males.

Highly comparable trends were evident for recent migrant women resident in Australia. For example 57% of migrant female IT professionals had secured professional or managerial work, compared to 67% of migrant males, 67% of Australian females and 78% of Australian males. (The figures for engineering were 38% - far worse than in Canada - compared to 57%, 67% and 75%; for architecture and building 47%, versus 58%, 65% and 68%; for medicine 72%, versus 87%, 89% and 95%; and for accounting 49%, versus 67%, 71% and 78%.) Once again, outcomes were inferior for migrant women qualified in generic fields.

Despite this trend, the study found that young recently arrived migrant women in Australia had approximated or exceeded male migrants' professional integration rates across a range of fields. Further, they had achieved higher professional or managerial employment rates than comparable males in the natural and physical sciences, medicine, nursing, teacher education, and management and commerce, with near equivalence in all other fields examined. Within this context, gender-related outcomes merit sensitive monitoring by immigrant-receiving governments.

13. The age of recently-arrived degree-qualified migrants significantly affected employment outcomes, although this pattern was also influenced by demand by field.

In Canada and Australia, in every professional field examined but IT, medicine and nursing, new locally-born graduates enjoyed greater access to work in their profession than 1996-2001 migrant arrivals (all ages).

Employment outcomes by age and gender were most similar to the Canada-born for degree-qualified migrants from English-speaking background source countries (the UK/Ireland, USA/Canada and South Africa) in addition to those from North West Europe. A similar pattern was found in Australia.

25-44 year old degree-qualified male arrivals fared best of all recent migrants to Canada and Australia, outperforming the older age group (45-64 years), and doing infinitely better than newly arrived overseas-qualified graduates (15-24 years, see next section). For example 75% of recently arrived 25-44 year old male UK/Ireland graduates to Canada had secured work in their own or another profession in Canada by 2001, compared to 57% of 45-64 year olds. The comparable figures for Australia were 74% and 67%.

Young overseas-qualified graduates by contrast faced catastrophic levels of labour market rejection, if not derived from ESB source countries. For example just 9% of young accountants found work in their field in Canada within the first 5 years of arrival, compared to 8% of engineers, 11% of commerce graduates, 16% of teachers and 22% of IT professionals. The comparable figures for Australia were 20% (accounting), 26% (teaching), 5% (commerce) and 16% (IT). Given a choice between degree-qualified locals or new migrant graduates of identical age, Canadian and Australian employers emphatically preferred the former, including in the more challenging context for young graduates which appeared to be characteristic of Canada.

14. It is highly advantageous for young degree-qualified migrants to possess host country rather than overseas degrees – a finding affirming Australia’s growing selection of ‘onshore’ (ie former international student) migrants. However length of residence in the host country also matters.

Young migrant arrivals (1991-96) with Australian degrees had achieved less positive employment outcomes than those resident in Australia 10 years or more: employers clearly favouring graduates with strong English skills and local acculturation. For example 77% of Australia-born new accounting graduates had secured work in 2001, compared to 70% of overseas-born local graduates resident 10 years or more, and 55% of those in Australia just 5-10 years.

Overall employment rates by select country of origin for 1991-96 arrivals with Australian degrees were as follows: 34% for UK/Ireland born youth, 39% for Eastern Europe, 38% for Other Middle East/ North Africa, 34% for North-West Europe, 31% for India and Other South/Central Asia, 28% for the Philippines, 26% for Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore and 19% for China.

The most recent available data (May 2006) reveal 83% of economic migrants with Australian degrees (all fields) to have found work within 6 months. However just 46% of these young

graduates were using the credentials they had gained at this time, compared with 63% of off-shore applicants (who had 82% overall employment rates). In line with this new graduates were also paid substantially less than more experienced migrants.

The Canadian data confirmed a generally tougher labour market entry for new graduates than in Australia. For each vintage of young migrant graduates examined the level of professional employment was lower, despite possession of a Canadian degree conferring definite advantage. For example 46% of Canada-born new accounting graduates had found work, compared to 44% of overseas-born local graduates resident 10 years or more, and 33% of those in Canada 5-10 years. Far lower employment outcomes, as in Australia, were secured by newly arrived young graduates who had qualified overseas, with just 6% of medical/medical science migrants gaining work in Canada in their field in the first 5 years, 8% of engineers, 9% of accountants, 22% of IT professionals, and 4-11% of those qualified in generic fields. The proportion engaged in work of any kind was also generally lower.

15. In Canada there appeared to be some labour market advantage for degree-qualified migrants who had settled in the major immigrant-receiving location of Toronto, where substantial settlement services had developed.

The Census analysis confirmed Toronto to have attracted by far the largest number of degree-qualified 1996-2001 arrivals to Canada: 381,232 migrants (compared to 141,245 in Vancouver, 112,234 in Montreal, 56,911 in Quebec City, 52,020 in Ottawa-Hull, and 257,816 in the rest of Canada). This was despite Vancouver receiving a disproportionate share of skilled migrants in terms of overall population.

For virtually every Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) examined, the best labour market integration rates were secured by the birthplace groups favoured by Canadian employers when selecting temporary foreign workers: degree-qualified arrivals from the UK/Ireland (eg 68% employed in Toronto in a professional or managerial position by 2001), the USA (69%), South Africa (70%), Australia/New Zealand (69%), and North West Europe (69%).

The following recently arrived degree-qualified groups were the least likely to have found any form of work in the examined CMA locations, with poor employment outcomes striking for select birthplace groups in Quebec City and Vancouver (compared to far lower levels of risk in Toronto and the 'rest of Canada'). It is worth reprising in relation to this the numerical dominance of some of these groups, with those listed below among the least likely to be employed in the stated CMA, yet among the top 4 1996-2001 arrival groups for each location:

Toronto: Other South and Central Asia (42,264) and China (33,887)

Vancouver: China (17,857), Taiwan (11,554)

Quebec City: Eastern Europe (364)

Identical trends were found in terms of the impact of location on employment outcomes in Australia, where 47,985 degree-qualified migrants had settled in Sydney from 1996-2001, compared to 24,241 in Melbourne, and 34,572 across all other urban and regional sites. As in Canada, for virtually every CMA examined the best labour market integration rates were secured by those birthplace groups favoured by Australian employers when selecting temporary foreign workers: degree-qualified arrivals from the UK/Ireland, the USA, South Africa, Australia/New Zealand, and North West Europe. In line with Australia's selection policy, English speaking background migrants were strongly represented in the top 4 birthplace groups for skilled arrivals in each location:

Sydney: UK/Ireland (8,077), China (5,579), India (5,418) and Other South & Central Asia (3,172)

Melbourne: India (3,635), UK/Ireland (3,019), China (2,235) and USA/Canada (1,332)

Rest of Australia: UK/Ireland (6,767), USA/Canada (2,960), South Africa (2,443) and North West Europe (2,432)

C. The Impact of Canadian and Australian Economic Selection Systems

As is clear from this Census data analysis, Canada and Australia represented highly comparable settlement sites by 2001 for degree-qualified migrants selected under all immigration categories (economic, family and humanitarian). Within the first five years of arrival, as noted, 65% of 1996-2001 arrivals had gained work of some kind in Canada compared to 66% in Australia. The modest Australian ‘advantage’ was entirely due to the proportion of English-speaking background migrants selected (28% of degree-qualified arrivals by 1996-2001 compared to just 5% in Canada) - the research evidence confirming their far more immediate acceptability to employers.

The Census thus provided control data for Section 8 of the study, which assessed employment outcomes for economic category Principal Applicants only. Three policy questions were addressed in this analysis:

1. To what extent do Canada and Australia’s economic migration selection criteria deliver degree-qualified migrants with a capacity to integrate quickly into host country labour markets?
2. How effective have Australia’s post-1999 economic migration reforms been in terms of improving employment outcomes there since the mid 1990s?
3. How does the labour market experience of economic migrants in each country compare with the patterns established as the norm for otherwise comparable groups (derived from the 2001 Census data), entering through all immigration categories?

Two major and directly comparable categories of economic migrants were examined for each country for the purpose of this research: ‘Other Skilled Workers’ and ‘Assisted Relatives’ in Canada, compared to ‘Independents’ and ‘Concessional Family’ (later ‘Skilled Australia-Linked’, then ‘Australian-Sponsored’) migrants in Australia. Three longitudinal data sources were used, described in detail in Section 8:

- *The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA)*: Based on recurrent interviews commencing 6 months post-arrival of a representative sample (5%) of migrants and refugees entering Australia, administered to date three times (LSIA 1 in 1993/5, LSIA 2 in 1999/2000 and LSIA 3 in October 2005);
- *The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)*: Based on recurrent interviews with a representative sample of migrants and refugees to Canada conducted 6 months, 2 years and 4 years post-arrival, LSIC 1 administered in 2000/01; and
- *The Longitudinal Immigration Data Base Canada (IMDB)*: A semi-longitudinal database which allows tracking of individual migrants through the filing of tax returns from the first year of lodgement. (For the purpose of the current study analysis of data for recently arrived economic migrants who had lodged their first

taxfile in 1994-95 and in 1999-2000 [up to a year post-arrival] was used, facilitating comparison with LSIA 1 and LSIA 2 data for similar vintages of degree-qualified migrants.)

The research focused on employment patterns for recently arrived economic Principal Applicants in their first 6-12 months of residence in Canada and Australia ³¹- a far more immediate timeframe than accessible through 2001 Census data, and highly predictive of longer term outcomes (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006). Key findings from this analysis are summarised in turn below.

1. Employment outcomes for economic migrants were comparable for Canada and Australia in the mid 1990s, but had greatly improved for only Australian economic PAs by 1999/2000.

In Australia, following the described change to migration selection criteria from 1999, Independent migrants' work rates had surged from 57% in 1993-95 to 81% in 1999-2000, unemployment had dropped, and labour market participation rates had increased. Excellent employment gains were also evident for the Concessional Family category (rising from 46% to 69%). By contrast there appeared to have been a slight decline in employment rates for Other Skilled Workers in Canada (from 64% to 60%), with Assisted Relatives faring much worse - dropping from 57% in 1994/5 (IMDB approximation) to just 36% in the context of higher education levels but rapidly diversifying source countries.

Outcomes have continued to improve for PAs from both economic categories in Australia in the past 5 years: LSIA 3 data confirming 83% of Independent PAs to have found work within 6 months, compared with 72% of comparable Australian-Sponsored migrants by October 2005. 12% of economic PAs were unemployed, and just 5% were not in the labourforce - a marked improvement over the 15% in LSIA 2.

2. Level of employment and job satisfaction had substantially improved for economic PAs in Australia since the mid 1990s, with select outcomes also improving in Canada.

In line with Australia's generally superior employment outcomes, access to high skilled positions proved more common for Independent migrants in Australia, rising from 55% to 60% by 1999/2000. Concessional Family rates however remained comparable to those in Canada (reflecting these migrants' lower points requirement) - just 32% of the employed located in high skilled positions by LSIA 2. In 1999/2000 85% of employed Independent PAs also stated they were actively using their credentials within 6 months, compared to just 64% of Concessional Family workers (a modest improvement over LSIA 1 findings).

The latest available Australian data (from LSIA 3) confirm 63% of all Independent arrivals to be using their qualifications, compared to 49% who were Australian-sponsored. This represents a positive outcome, given the figures now include very substantial numbers of recently graduated international students. (Comparable data were not available from Canada.) The data confirmed job satisfaction to be good but static for Concessional Family PAs in Australia, at around 45% for both LSIA 1 and 2. By contrast Independent PAs had become

³¹ LSIC and LSIA data were collected 6 months post-arrival. As described in more detail in Section 8, IMDB data was collected within the first 12 months. Some important additional caveats to comparability are also noted in Section 8.

increasingly satisfied with their positions: 61% claiming to ‘love or really like’ their work, compared to 50% 6 years earlier.

LSIA 3 data confirmed this generally positive result, with 57% of Independent migrants liking their work and 31% considering it ‘OK’, compared to 50% and 37% respectively of Offshore Australian-Sponsored migrants, and 44% and 40% of former international students (the latter far more likely to be working in less skilled positions given their new graduate status).

It was not possible to categorise the type of positions secured by employed economic PAs in Canada for LSIC 1. IMDB data however suggested positive trends to have occurred from 1994/5 to 1999/2000: 32% of Other Skilled Workers in managerial or professional work in the mid 1990s, compared to 54% by the end of the decade. Growth in professional/managerial positions from 22% to 36% also occurred for Assisted Relatives.

The IMDB does not provide job satisfaction data. However LSIC 1 demonstrated a high 73% of Other Skilled Workers in Canada to be ‘positive’ regarding their employment by 2000/1, along with 70% of Assisted Relatives. Two years post-arrival, LSIC data confirmed 84% of those in work to be satisfied with their employment.

3. Salaries had risen markedly for economic Principal Applicants in Australia by 1999/2000 rather than in Canada.

In Australia weekly earnings had greatly improved for employed Independent PAs between LSIA 1 and LSIA 2, with 57% earning \$A674 or more compared to just 39% 6 years earlier. By 1999/2000 76% of employed Independent migrants were earning above the median wage (\$A154), along with 63% of Concessional Family migrants. Growth in income was also positive for Concessional Family workers, rising from 23% to 34% at this rate. While trend data for Canada were not available, earnings at the time of LSIC 1 were significantly less than in Australia: 33% of Other Skilled Workers paid \$C618 per week or more, compared to just 11% of Assisted Relatives in current employment.

Australian data for LSIA 3 reveal income rates to have risen much further since 1999/2000. 65% of Independent Principal Applicants were earning over \$A674 per week by October 2005, with their average weekly wage an extraordinary \$A1,015. This compared to 46% of Off-Shore Australian-Sponsored PAs (on an average \$A779 wage) and 40% of On-Shore former international students, who were new graduates lacking professional experience (averaging \$A641 in terms of weekly earnings – an outcome likely to be remedied over time).

4. Australian labour market integration rates had improved for both male and female economic PAs, as well as across all age groups.

It is important to note that Australia’s changed selection criteria have neutralised female economic migrants’ disadvantage to a high degree – employment rates for female PAs rising from 49% to 71% between LSIA 1 and LSIA 2, with comparable male rates only slightly higher (from 53% to 78%). By contrast female economic PAs in Canada appeared to have experienced employment decline rather than gains across this period (assuming comparability between the LSIC and the IMDB). The 2000/01 work rate for migrant females 6 months post-arrival was 55% compared with 63% in 1994/5. For migrant males the comparable rates were 62% and 65%. This finding is problematic, given the increasing arrival of migrant women to Canada with relatively high qualifications, as demonstrated in Section 2 of the report.

Age-related policy changes have also been beneficial. In Australia by the late 1990s older migrants received no economic category points for age at all. This change is associated with clearly positive outcomes (older applicants being obliged to score very highly on other employment-related measures). By 1999/2001 77% of 25-44 year old economic PAs had secured work in Australia within 6 months, compared to 70% of 15-24 year olds and 59% of 45-64 year olds. These results for older workers are noteworthy, their work rate close to doubling within 6 years – reflecting their pre-migration filtering for credential recognition, English language and other employer-desired attributes which offset the disadvantage typically associated with greater age.

Canada continued to accept substantial numbers of economic PAs over 45 years of age from 1991-2003, despite some decline in this trend. However employers there strongly favoured young skilled workers across all three periods examined: 80% of 15-24 year olds employed by 2000-01 (compared to 79% in 1994), 61% of 25-44 year olds (compared to 65%), and 50% of 45-64 year olds (compared to 52%). This policy issue seems worth addressing.

5. Employment outcomes had also improved for economic PAs in Australia for all birthplace groups, including those typically disadvantaged.

As established by the Census data analysis, select ‘developing country’ birthplace groups are at risk of severe labour market disadvantage. The Australian data however confirmed tremendous gains in early employment outcomes for such migrants when filtered by changed selection criteria, with economic PAs proving far more acceptable to employers than their birthplace norm.

In 1993/95, for example, 85% of UK, 76% of South African and 73% of North West European economic migrants were employed within 6 months of arrival. This compared to 56% of economic migrants from India, 53% from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore, 45% from China, 42% from the Middle East/ North Africa and 31% from Eastern Europe. By the time of LSIA 2, this Australian ‘disadvantage gap’ had largely closed. 86% of UK, 89% of South African and 83% of North West European Principal Applicants were working within 6 months, compared to 73% from India, 72% from the Middle East/ North Africa, 68% from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore, 61% from China, and 79% from Eastern Europe (the improved outcomes for East European arrivals particularly notable, see Table 70).

In Canada improved labour market integration rates were also achieved by UK economic PAs (87% rising to 89% based on IMDB data), Filipinos (78% rising to 84%), Indians (72% rising to 76%), and Pakistanis (57% rising to 66%). However far more variable labour market integration rates remained the norm for other economic PA groups in 2000/01, with 47% from Hong Kong/ Malaysia/ Singapore employed (compared to 39% in the mid 1990s), and 48% from China (apparently declining from 73%).

6. Externally validated host country language screening was associated with greatly improved work outcomes.

Facility in the host country language/s represents a critical determinant of employment outcomes, as established by this and earlier reports. The LSIA showed a marked recent increase in the proportion of economic PAs using English well or very well in Australia (45% for LSIA 1 compared to 73% for LSIA 2). The employment gulf between migrants with high

and low level English was also vast by 1999/2000: 73% of the former securing work compared to just 41% of the latter. The LSIA further allows us to assess English language ability for recent migrants by gender. Female economic PAs selected by Australia had matched or exceeded comparable males in terms of host country language ability – 93-98% of female Independent PAs speaking English well or very well, despite somewhat lower rates in the Concessional Family category. This seems certain to have contributed to females' positive employment outcomes.

Australia's 2005-06 skilled migration review confirmed the critical association between English language ability and migrants' speed of labour market integration. 89% of economic PAs with English as 'only or best' language were employed 6 months post-arrival, compared to 86% knowing English 'very well', 76% 'well' and 59% 'not well'. Principal Applicants with best command of English were also the most likely to be using their professional qualifications in work (61%, compared to 60%, 44% and 37%), as well as to be employed in professional or managerial positions.

The LSIC data confirmed migrants with knowledge of English and/or French to be highly advantaged in terms of access to employment. Given lack of language levels for LSIC and IMDB data however, it was not possible to make more meaningful comparisons in relation to this over time.

7. Improved work outcomes for economic migrants were found in major migration settlement locations for both countries.

In line with the 2001 Census data, employment outcomes for economic PAs varied across the Australian locations analysed: by 1999/2000 81% securing work in Sydney, compared to 73% in 'Other Australia' and 70% in Melbourne, and with markedly better outcomes in each location than for comparable groups in the LSIA 1.

Similarly, analysis of the longitudinal data confirmed economic PAs located in Toronto (65%) and 'Other Canada' (69%) CMAs to have better immediate employment outcomes than migrants settling in Vancouver (56%) or Montreal (just 38%).)

8. Welfare dependence had also declined among economic PAs in both countries.

Welfare dependence had virtually disappeared in Australia for Independent and Concessional Family migrants by 1999/2000, in line with government policy barring access to it in the first 2 years post-arrival. While 12% of economic PAs were categorised as 'unemployed' at six months in Australia in LSIA 3, they would have been ineligible to receive benefits. In Canada reliance was also very low for Other Skilled Worker and Assisted Relative PAs in 2000-01 (just 8% of households), confirming it to be the non-economic categories most at risk of welfare dependence.

D. Conclusion

As established by the Census data analysis, Canada and Australia represent highly comparable settlement sites for degree-qualified migrants (all immigration categories). Economic migrants however perform indisputably better in Australia post-arrival – their immediate work

outcomes strongly correlated to longer-term labour market integration rates (Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006). Far greater proportions of new arrivals in Australia now than in Canada secure positions fast, access professional or managerial status, earn high salaries, and use their credentials in work. In the process unprecedented numbers are avoiding the labour market displacement typically associated with select birthplace, language, age and gender-related groups. The latest available data (released May 2006) confirm the benefits of this policy refinement to be dynamic.

In redesigning its economic selection criteria, the Australian government from 1999 affirmed the program's original intent - to select skilled migrants able to make an immediate contribution to the economy through use of their skills at an appropriate place in the labour market. A parallel goal was to reduce skills wastage among recent arrivals, together with the level of government investment required to support migrants' labour market adjustment needs (by the mid 1990s some \$A250 million of Federal funding per year for employment, credential recognition and English language bridging programs – even this level of resourcing proving inadequate).

Australia's transformation of its economic migration program was viewed as legitimate and essential in a context where governments frame policy, but employers retain the power to offer or withhold work. The human capital model of selection had proven flawed - delivering Principal Applicants lacking the 'knowledge economy' attributes employers sought (sophisticated English language ability, recognised credentials, and qualification in fields associated with buoyant labour market demand).

Since 1999, in consequence of the research findings, perceived 'employability' has determined Principal Applicants' capacity to proceed with skilled migration to Australia. In terms of credential recognition, economic PAs qualified in regulated fields have been required to apply for pre-migration screening by the relevant Australian national or state licensing bodies (typically a three month postal process) – a strategy designed to avoid years of forced labour market displacement due to non-recognition of skills. Given the existence of niche economies, priority processing and up to 20 bonus points have been awarded to applicants qualified in high-demand fields, a measure associated with clearly beneficial outcomes. Recognising the importance of host country language ability, candidates have been required to achieve 'vocational' or higher level scores on the independently administered International English Language Testing System (or approved equivalent), administered globally and monthly by the British Council for a modest fee. The level set has not been draconian - the minimum standard for economic eligibility defined as '*Has partial command of the language, coping with overall meaning in most situations, though is likely to make many mistakes. Should be able to handle basic communication in own field*'.

In terms of overall program impacts, it is essential to note that these 1999+ policy changes have not discouraged or distorted skilled flows to Australia. Economic intakes rose to 97,500 in 2005-06, from 77,800 in 2004-05 and a third that level in the mid 1990s. Racial and ethnic diversity have been maintained, including major flows from India and China. The latest available data show nine of the top ten sources for economic applicants remain in Asia –the rank order being India (19%), China (18%), the UK (16%), Malaysia (4%), the Philippines (3%), Indonesia (3%), Hong Kong (3%), Korea (3%), Sri Lanka (3%) and Singapore (2%). Rather than diminishing ethnic diversity, changed selection criteria have resulted in applicants being far more effectively screened.

International students had become strong economic program participants by 2005 (52% of the total). By definition such migrants had self-funded to meet local employers' English language and credential needs, simultaneously supporting the development of Australia's export education industry. Their selection was not viewed as ethically problematic, despite international debate concerning this issue. Parents rather than source countries had resourced these students' tertiary education, with scholarship holders systematically excluded from selection. From an ethical perspective the recruitment of mature-age professionals who had been fully trained offshore could seem less defensible – despite this being the recruitment norm for Canada and Australia across many years.

In terms of Australia's changed selection framework, it is finally important to affirm the positive employment gains achieved by traditionally disadvantaged groups (see Table 70). While labour market integration for all source countries had improved by 1999/2000, in the case of economic Principal Applicants from Eastern Europe, the Middle East/ North Africa, India, the Philippines and China, the scale of this improvement had been dramatic. For example 79% of economic Principal Applicants from East Europe had found work within 6 months of arrival by 1999/2000, compared to 31% in 1993-95. The comparable rate for the Philippines was 76% (versus 57%), such gains further improving by the time of collection of LSIA 3 data (October 2005). Impressive employment rates had simultaneously been achieved by other at-risk groups, including women of all ages, and older skilled migrants.

Should Canada wish to improve labour market outcomes for the economic category in the period ahead, a more radical overhaul of economic selection criteria seems warranted than the gentle fine-tuning associated with the 2002 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, from which benefits remain in doubt (Sweetman 2006). The stakes are high for both economic migrants and Canada. As established by a recent study, 'If immigrants (escape) low income in their first year, the likelihood of entry in subsequent years (falls) dramatically to below 10% (2007: 5). However,

... (B)y the early 2000s, skilled class entering immigrants (to Canada) were actually more likely to enter low-income and be in chronic low-income than their family class counterparts, and the small advantage that the university educated entering

Table 70: Impact of improved economic migration screening (1999+) on employment outcomes in 6 months for select birthplace groups, Australia (1993-95 and 1999-2000)

Birthplace of Select Economic Principal Applicants	Employment Within 6 Months (1993-95 Arrivals) (a)	Employment Within 6 Months (1999-2000 Arrivals) (b)
UK/Ireland	85%	86%
South Africa	76%	89%
North West Europe	73%	83%
Eastern Europe	31%	79%
Philippines	57%	76%
India	56%	73%
Hong Kong/Malaysia/Singapore	53%	68%
China	45%	61%
Middle East/ North Africa	42%	72%
North, South East & Central Asia	40%	77%

Source: Longitudinal Survey on Immigrants to Australia

immigrants had over, say, the high school educated in the early 1990s had largely disappeared by 2000, as the number of highly educated rose. What did change was the face of the chronically poor immigrant; by the late 1990s one-half were in the skilled economic class, and 41% had degrees (up from 13% in the early 1990s) (Pictor, Hou & Coulombe in 2007: 5-6).

Governments construct and promote economic migration programs to address national development goals. While substantial numbers of migrants at risk of delayed or de-skilled employment are certain to continue arriving in Canada as spouses, and within the family and humanitarian categories, it is legitimate to change selection criteria to secure more beneficial immediate as well as long-term economic outcomes.

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11. Appendix: Categorisation of Birthplace for All Data Analysis

Canada			Australia	
IMDB	LSIC	Census	Census	LSIA
UK and Ireland		UK/Ireland	UK/Ireland	UK, Northern Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, Isle of Man, Ireland
USA		USA/Canada	USA/Canada	USA/Canada
South Africa		South Africa	South Africa	South Africa
Australia/New Zealand		Australia/New Zealand	New Zealand	
India	India	India	India	India
Pakistan	Pakistan			
HK/Malaysia / Singapore		HK/Malaysia/Singapore	HK/Malaysia/Singapore	HK/Malaysia/Singapore
China	China	China (exc. Taiwan)	China (exc. Taiwan)	China (exc. Taiwan)
Taiwan		Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan
Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines
Vietnam		Vietnam	Vietnam	Vietnam
Indonesia		Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia
Lebanon		Lebanon	Lebanon	Lebanon
Iraq		Iraq	Iraq	Iraq
	Iran			Iran
	Romania			
	Russia			
	Sri Lanka			
	South Korea			
	Morocco			
Other Africa and Middle East	Other Africa and Middle East	Middle East/North Africa/Other Africa	Middle East/North Africa/Other Africa	Bahrain, Gaza strip, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Syria, Turkey, Yemen, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zaire, Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Eritrea

Other Europe				
		North West Europe	North West Europe	Portugal, Spain, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden
		Eastern Europe	Eastern Europe	Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, Baltic states, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Armenia, Russia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan
		South Eastern Europe	South Eastern Europe	Albania, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Former Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia & Montenegro
Other Asia and Pacific		North & South East Asia, South & Central Asia, Oceania, Antarctica	North & South East Asia, South & Central Asia, Oceania, Antarctica	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Japan, Korea (Democratic Republic), Korea (Republic), Macau, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji, West Samoa, Tonga,
Other South and Central America	Other South and Central America	Other Americas	Other Americas	Bermuda, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago,
	Other countries			
Not Stated				