

Public Policies and the Labour Market Integration of Skilled Immigrants in Canada and Australia

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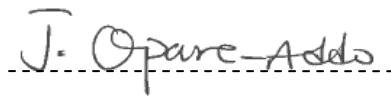
A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own work, except where acknowledged. It is not being, or has not been submitted to any university for a higher degree.

Handwritten signature of Joyce Opare-Addo in black ink, written over a horizontal dashed line.

Joyce Opare-Addo

16th May 2018

DEDICATION

To

Emmanuel, Emmanuel Jnr, Michael, Prince Daniel and Janelle

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To God be all the glory, honour and adoration in Jesus name, Amen

ABSTRACT

The aim of the thesis is to explore the labour market integration of culturally diverse skilled immigrants (SIs) within the immigrant workforce in Canada and Australia. Drawing on secondary data through a mixed method approach, the thesis analyses macro-national policies (immigration and multiculturalism policies, employment equity legislation) as well as customised National Household Survey (NHS) data (2011) and ABS census data (2011) from Canada and Australia respectively. The policies offered understanding into their potential roles in contributing to the labour market integration of SIs while the customised data examined the integration of degree-qualified immigrants from seven regions. Culture, social identity and institutional theories were used as theoretical lenses to boost further understanding on the issue.

The research findings show that while a range of macro-national policies (especially the immigration and multiculturalism policies) have been implemented to facilitate social and labour integration and to ensure equitable labour market outcomes, the integration of SIs has not been justifiable or effective for both countries. These policies have simply promoted the acceptance and numerical representation of culturally diverse SIs in both countries, without significantly influencing their labour market outcomes, especially in leadership positions. However, the study finds that the employment equity legislation has had a major impact on the employment representation for the VMs compared to the NESB workforce in the public services in Canada and Australia respectively.

Analyses of the customised NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) data indicate that degree-qualified immigrants from Asia and the Middle East are better integrated in Canada while those from Latin America and Africa fared better in the Australian labour market. To a

certain degree, the research also finds that in total based on the customised data, SIs in Australia performed relatively better in the labour market than in Canada. However, among the degree-qualified immigrants from seven regions, SIs from the UK gained superior employment in both Canada and Australia in comparison to all other observed regions. This is likely due to their similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds to the dominant host populations in Canada and Australia rather than outstanding human capital capabilities.

The findings suggest strong interplay of culture, social identity and institutional barriers factors influencing the labour market prospects of culturally diverse SIs. In particular, immigrants from similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds to the host nations attain better employment outcomes compared to others from dissimilar cultural backgrounds. This is interpreted as a sign of lack of cultural competency in understanding other cultures, offering employment to social groups that can be best understood in terms of cultural or linguistic similarities. Consequently, the skills of SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds are underutilised. These findings undermine claims that solely focus on the lack of appropriate human, social and cultural capital as key contributing factors to the labour market experience of SIs.

The results of the study clearly demonstrate that the human resource management of SIs, especially individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds requires more attention. The study suggests a need for macro-national integration policies to be designed with SIs in mind to effectively facilitate their labour market outcomes. This thesis makes a contribution to the multidisciplinary fields of migration, sociology, public policies, human resource management and management. The findings may be beneficial to academics, policy-makers as well as practitioners in the labour market.

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ACRONYMS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
APS	Australian Public Service
APSC	Australian Public Service Commission
CIC	Canadian Immigration and Citizenship
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Boarder Protection
EEA	Employment Equity Act
FPS	Federal Public Service
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
JSCM	Joint Standing Committee on Migration
LSIC	The Longitudinal Study of Immigrants to Canada
LSIA	The Longitudinal Study of Immigrants to Australia
LMBs	Labour Market Barriers
LMOs	Labour Market Outcomes
MCP	Multiculturalism Policy
MCPs	Multiculturalism Policies
MESC	Main English-Speaking Countries
NESC	Non-English-Speaking Countries
NESB	Non-English-Speaking Background
NHS	National Household Survey
NMESC	Non-Main-English Speaking Countries
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SI	Skilled Immigrants
VM	Visible Minority
VMs	Visible Minorities

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: The Labour Market Integration of Skilled Immigrants in Canada and Australia

'Work is one of the most fundamental aspects in a person's life, providing the individual with a means of financial support and, as importantly a contributory role in society. A person's employment is an essential component of his or her sense of identity, self-worth and emotional well-being' (Aron et al. 1989, p.112).

Introduction

As immigrant settling nations, both Canada and Australia target the selection of skilled immigrants (SIs) with demonstrable human capital attributes to 'enter the labour market and successfully establish' and contribute to the 'economic well-being' of these countries (CIC Facts & Figures 2014, p.1; DIBP Setting the Migration Program 2014, p.3). Yet the effective integration of SIs is challenging in Canada and Australia. In this thesis SIs are defined as people who possess university degrees with extensive skills in a given field and have migrated from their country of birth to settle in another country (Iredale 2001; Syed 2008).

This chapter introduces the thesis and provides an overview of the research. The research seeks to understand how effectively Canada and Australia integrate SIs, especially individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds. In this study individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds refer to people from historically non-traditional source regions (e.g. Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Middle East). These immigrants form the majority of more recent newcomers (Picot & Hou 2003) to Canada and Australia. The effective integration of degree-qualified culturally diverse SIs in Canada and Australia forms part of the core focus of this study.

This study defines 'effective integration' as the ability to match one's skills and qualifications to employment. It means attaining employment outcomes that are

commensurate with one's human capital qualities. Thus the reason for which the applicant was selected on the human capital model has been achieved. The study expects that having an employment position that provides a 'close fit to the individual's type and level of skill endowments' (Schmitt 2012, p.257) can be regarded as attainment of effective integration. In addition, effective labour market integration also means the ability to achieve equitable employment outcomes when compared with other SIs with similar human capital in the labour market. Effective and equitable labour market integration should be 'free from arbitrary obstructions' (Abella 1984, p.2) such as region of origin or race. Equitable labour market outcomes in this study refers to equal employment and occupational outcomes in professional and leadership positions in comparison with SIs with similar human capital endowments in the labour market. This means an attempt to identify equality of results (Abella 1984; Mighty 1996) among the university-qualified SIs in this study. The lack of the above criteria is a sign of ineffective labour market integration.

The thesis argues that despite the availability of three key public policies (immigration, multiculturalism, and equality policies) which have the potential to contribute to migrants' labour market integration, SIs especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds, continue to experience disadvantaged and inequitable labour market outcomes. This chapter provides an overview of previous studies, the gaps in the literature and the main aims of the research, the rationale for the study, followed by the research questions and objectives. A brief context of the study is also provided followed by further definitions to guide the study before outlining the thesis structure.

For several decades, many studies have generated knowledge to help our understanding of migration (e.g. Borjas 2000; Chiswick & Hatton 2003; de Haas 2010; Harris & Todaro 1970; Massey et al. 1993), the human capital approach to migration (e.g. Schultz 1972; Sjaastad 1962) and the labour market integration of migrants with varied focus (e.g.

Bauder 2003; Bloom & Gunderson 1991; Chiswick & Miller 2008; Teicher, Shah & Griffin 2000). Some studies have contributed to our knowledge of the labour market experiences of migrants according to their education or skills (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Borjas 1991; Galarneau & Morissette 2008; Hawthorne 2007; Oreopoulos 2009; Picot, Hou & Qiu 2014; Picot & Hou 2003) or according to their visa categories (e.g. Cobb-Clark 1999; Cobb-Clark 2003; Richardson & Lester 2004; Richardson, Robertson & Ilsey 2001; van de Ven & Voitchovsky 2015; Xue 2006).

Others have reported on the employment outcomes of SIs in comparison to locally-born individuals (e.g. Frenette & Morissette 2003; Galarneau & Morissette 2008; Picot & Hou 2003) while some have focused on analysing the employment outcomes of SIs from English-speaking backgrounds in comparison to individuals from non-English-speaking backgrounds (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Green, Kler & Leeves 2007). However, the effective integration of SIs into the labour market continues to be challenging and this is what the current research seeks to investigate.

While various findings have been identified in these studies, they have generally reported on the difficulties migrants encounter in their host countries owing to disadvantages experienced in settlement, employment, the economy and the society in general. Factors including non-recognition of educational credentials or foreign qualifications (e.g. Hawthorne 2005; Reitz 2007a), lack of host language proficiency (Birrell & Healy 2008), poor social networks, lack of social and cultural capital (e.g. Reitz 2006; Syed 2008; Taksa & Groutsis 2010) and the lack of local education and work experience (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007; Ressia 2010) have been attributed to the labour market disadvantages experienced by SIs. These factors seem to portray SIs as individuals lacking certain features when in fact they reflect institutional barriers rather than lack of skills (Reitz 2005).

In contrast, some scholars have reported discrimination against SIs in the labour market based on non-Anglo Saxon names, accent and appearance which trigger stereotypes and prejudices based on cultural differences from the Anglo-Saxon mainstream (Oreopoulos 2009; Schmidtke 2013). Others have suggested that the recruitment behaviour of employers (Mahmud, Alam & Härtel 2014) in the labour market constitutes a barrier to the effective integration of SIs. Some claim that ‘employers are not primarily driven by a human capital lens during the employment process’ (Almeida et al. 2012, p.1950) but rather by ‘cultural capital through the application of vague standards’, rooted in habits of receiving nations (Schmidtke 2013, p.298). These ‘vague standards’ are used as arbitrary barriers to prevent the skills and abilities of SIs from translating to successful employment outcomes. What these studies suggest is that even though SIs are selected on the basis of their human capital qualities through the non-discriminatory immigration policies in Canada and Australia, they continue to experience disadvantaged labour market outcomes. This constitutes compelling evidence that while immigration policies exercise merit selection control over the inflow of immigrants, these policies are limited in their ability to integrate SIs.

Research on the labour market outcomes and integration of SIs has predominantly focused on discussion of immigration policies (Antecol, Cobb-Clark & Trejo 2003; Aydemir 2013; Borjas 1991; Cobb-Clark 2001; Cobb-Clark 1999; Cobb-Clark 2003; Cobb-Clark 2001; Hawthorne 2005; Hiebert 2006; McBride & Sweetman 2004) while examination of relevant public policies such as multicultural policies (MCPs) and legislation on employment equity have been relatively overlooked. Partly as a result of this, some of these studies attribute labour market success or otherwise to individual human capital qualities (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Hawthorne 2007; Richardson & Lester 2004) or lack of appropriate social or cultural capital. Although the consideration of immigration policies is a useful way of assessing the labour market integration of immigrants because of the policies’ direct linkage

to the selection of immigrants, this approach is unable to fully explain how such policies account for the poor labour market outcomes experienced by culturally diverse SIs.

Research Gaps

It remains uncertain how, apart from immigration policies, other macro national policies such as multiculturalism policies and employment legislation shape the labour market integration of SIs. Canada and Australia both attract SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds (CIC Facts & Figures 2014; DIAC Report on Migration Program 2010-2011). yet, despite years of national policy frameworks (multiculturalism and employment equity policies including anti-discrimination frameworks) in Canada and Australia little is known about how these key public policies shape the overall labour market integration of SIs. I argue that research has not kept pace with the key public policies that have the potential to drive the integration of migrants. Consequently, the thesis seeks to reach beyond the common discussion of immigration policies and examine to what extent certain key public policies have impacted the labour market integration of SIs.

The thesis argues that culturally diverse SIs from non-traditional source regions have not been effectively integrated into the labour market in Canada and Australia due to the limited impact of public policies, as well as the influence of culture, social identity and institutional factors operating within the labour market. The current research posits that public policies, including multiculturalism policies and equal employment legislation, that could promote integration are relevant and worth examining to decipher how they shape the labour market integration of SIs. After all, such national policies were intended to redress social and economic challenges experienced by minorities (see Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011; Agocs & Burr 1996; Castles 1987; Collins 2013; Esses & Gardner 1996; Fleras 2009; Guo & Wong 2015; Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011; Koleth 2010; Kymlicka 2012; Li 2000;

Mann 2011; Mighty 1996; Syed & Kramar 2010; Wood & Gilbert 2005) so assessing their usefulness is vital.

Rationale for the Study

While the successful labour market integration of SIs is challenging, currently there is a lack of research that examines the integration of SIs from an integrated policy perspective including multiculturalism and equal employment legislation. ‘Immigration policy cannot be considered in isolation of policy related to immigrant settlement’ (Collins 2013, p.172) as labour market integration is considered a key immigrant settlement issue. For instance, multiculturalism provides a framework for managing cultural diversity owing to migration while employment legislation supports equity in the labour market. Yet little has been done to evaluate the influence of these policies on the labour market integration of SIs.

Although immigration policies through the human capital model attract the best and brightest immigrants who can successfully integrate into the society and the economy, culturally diverse SIs continue to be disadvantaged in the labour market. While multiculturalism policies and employment legislation do not specifically target SIs, they are official government policies for supporting cultural diversity, social justice and equality of employment opportunity. This is due to the increasing diversity of migrants and recognition of the rights of minorities. It is imperative that we understand how these national policies, which are designed to support the integration of migrants and minorities, contribute to shaping the labour market integration of SIs, especially those from cultural diversity backgrounds.

Cultural diversity refers to the ‘representation, in one social system, of people with distinctly different group affiliations of cultural significance’ (Cox 1994, p.6; Jonsen et al. 2011, p.37). Culturally diverse SIs constitute a larger proportion of all recent immigrants arriving in

Canada and Australia (CIC Facts & Figures 2014; DIAC Report on Migration Program 2010-2011). Yet the effective integration of these groups remains a debated issue as it has been reported that immigrants of visible minority (VM) groups and those from non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB) are most at risk of being disadvantaged in the labour market (Birrell & Healy 2008; Chui & Devereaux 1995; Hawthorne 1997, 2005; Reitz 2007a).

This thesis is concerned with both theoretical and practical issues relating to SIs. The research argues that to understand how effectively Canada and Australia integrate their SIs into the labour market, it is important to understand how their public policies including immigration policies, multiculturalism policies and employment legislation in addition to factors such as culture, social identity and institutional barriers influence the overall labour market outcomes of SIs in the labour market. I suggest that while human, social and cultural capitals may possibly influence the labour market integration of SIs, these theories are inadequate in their explanations. In particular, I argue that although the lack of appropriate human capital (e.g. lack of English language abilities; lack of transferrable skills or experiences; lack of education/skill recognition), lack of social and cultural capital (e.g. poor networks; differences in manners; accents; lack of local education, local experience or skill) are possible contributors in shaping the overall labour market outcomes of SIs, sadly these capitals are rather used as institutional barriers in the labour market to impede the effective integration of culturally diverse SIs. Also human, social and cultural capital theories are unable to explain the inequitable labour market outcomes and labour market segmentations experienced by SIs.

I argue that SIs from similar cultures are advantaged in the labour market on the basis of either their cultural or linguistic backgrounds while others from culturally dissimilar backgrounds remain disadvantaged (social identity factors). I make the point that all these impediments are partly due to lack of cultural competence on the part of actors such as employers and institutions in the labour market rather than the lack of human, social and cultural

capital of SIs. The following section outlines the research questions followed by the research objectives and a brief overview of the study.

Research Questions and Objectives

The research asks the overarching question: *how effectively do Canada and Australia integrate their skilled immigrants?* Other sub-questions include:

- How do national integration policies contribute to the overall labour market integration of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds in Canada and Australia?
- To what extent have national integration policies influenced the overall employment integration of SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds?
- What differences or similarities exist between the ways these two nations integrate their SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds?
- What key factors contribute to the labour market integration of SIs and how do these factors contribute to the overall labour market integration of SIs?
- Which country has been more effective in integrating their SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds into the labour market and why?
- What are the policy implications of these comparisons, and how might the integration of SIs in employment be addressed better in the future?

The research seeks to understand how Canada and Australia compare in attaining successful labour market outcomes for their SI cohorts, with particular focus on those from culturally diverse backgrounds. The overall objectives of the research are to:

- Understand how national integration policies contribute to the overall labour market integration of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds in Canada and Australia.
- Understand the extent of national integration policies' influence on the overall employment integration of SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds.
- Identify the differences or similarities between the ways these two nations integrate their SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds.

- Determine key factors that contribute to the labour market integration of SIs and how do these factors contribute to the overall labour market integration of SIs.
- Identify which country has been more effective in integrating their SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds into the labour market and why.
- Highlight the policy implications of these comparisons, and suggest how the integration of SIs in employment might be handled better in the future.

Overview of the Research Study

The thesis adopts a multidisciplinary approach to examining the labour market integration of SIs in Canada and Australia using secondary data through a mixed method design and historical comparative analysis approach. Through the use of publicly available data including public documents, reports, statistical bulletins, purchased National Household Survey data (from Canada) and Census data (from Australia), this research aims to contribute significantly to the existing literature. Primarily the research examines the labour market integration of SIs in Canada and Australia through analysis of three key public policies (immigration, multiculturalism and equity policies) by focusing on the goals, objectives, rationales and outcomes of the policies. The research examines annual public sector reports to understand the labour market integration of culturally diverse employees especially those of visible minorities (VM) in Canada and non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB) in Australia by examining their labour force representation in the public services in the two countries from 2000-2015.

In addition, the thesis uses customised National Household Survey (NHS) Data (2011) and Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data to gain understanding into the labour market integration of SIs by means of investigating their labour market indicators including participation, employment, unemployment, not in the labour force rates as well as

occupational group outcomes at professional, management, all other occupational skill and labourer levels, with particular emphasis on the leadership representation of SIs.

The research draws liberally from migration studies, sociology, economics, political sciences and psychology as these fields have excellent documentation of literature relevant to the labour market integration of SIs. The thesis adopts a multidisciplinary approach but situates itself in the management field as it tries to understand the effective management of SIs within employment. With some exceptions (e.g. Syed 2008) the HRM literature tends to focus on organisational level issues (e.g. internal policies and practices) without giving much attention to the labour market (external policies and practices). Yet government policies are designed not to work in a vacuum but rather to influence organisational obligations towards employees. While HRM has some orientation towards the management of diverse employees, owing to the changing demography of the workforce, the poor outcomes of SIs in the labour market is an indication that the human resource management of SIs is under-researched (Guo & Al Ariss 2015). It is important that the study of SIs feature strongly in management studies owing to the current trends of globalisation and culturally diverse skill mobility. The presence of an increasing multicultural workforce from global sources is not an indication of effective integration of SIs. The effective integration of SIs hinges on strategic public policies that are able to influence labour market operations to ensure fairness for all key parties (i.e. government, employers and SIs) involved.

A stronger focus of HRM studies on organisational competitiveness in the labour market has overshadowed the goals of ensuring effective integration and equitable outcomes for SIs. Consequently, public policies which have the potential to influence the labour market integration of SIs appear not to work in tandem with the realities of employers' or organisational practices. Even though multiculturalism policies and employment legislation

are relevant to the successful settlement of immigrants in the labour market, they are hardly considered in studies that focus on SIs. I will suggest that there is the need to assess the role of key public policies that have relevance to migrants and minorities when examining the labour market integration of SIs.

Location of this Thesis within the Existing Literature

This thesis is unique. There are some significant studies that deal with migration (e.g. Castles 2014; Green & Green 2004; Jupp 1995; Kelley & Trebilcock 2010; Knowles 2007), multiculturalism (e.g. Banting & Kymlicka 2010; Bertone & Leahy 2003; Bloemraad & Wright 2014; Mann 2011, 2012), equal employment legislation (e.g. Agocs 2002; Jain et al. 2010; Ng & French 2015; Strachan, Burgess & Henderson 2007), cultural diversity management (e.g. Cox Jr 1991; Cox & Blake 1991; Dass & Parker 1999; Ely & Thomas 2001; Gilbert & Ivancevich 2000; Jayne & Dipboye 2004; Nkomo & Cox Jr 1996; Steger & Erwee 2001) and the labour market integration of SIs (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Chui & Devereaux 1995; Gilmore & Le Petit 2008; Hawthorne 1997, 2005, 2008; Reitz 2001, 2005, 2007b). Nevertheless there are limited studies that examine the labour market integration of SIs in the way that this thesis has approached the study of SIs through cross-country comparative historical multiple policy analysis in Canada and Australia.

In addition, the theoretical approach adopted for explanation in this study rather departs from the normative interpretations that view the examination of the success of SIs through the presence or absence of certain capitals (e.g. human, social, cultural capitals) and thus focus on what SIs possess or lack. While possessing certain capitals may be relevant in explaining the labour market integration of SIs, these concepts do not explain labour market inequities and tend to focus on what SIs lack rather than what may be lacking in the labour market. Instead, this thesis asserts that ineffective public policies, patterns of structural

processes and practices in the labour market influenced by culture and the lack of cultural competence by employers/institutions, social identity and institutional barriers impede the progress of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse regions who arrive in Canada and Australia. My thesis offers a different theoretical and analytical perspective to contrast with these other normative perspectives.

The main contribution of this thesis lies in the theoretical framework and methodological approach developed to explain the labour market integration of SIs in a cross-comparative analysis. I demonstrate that even with the availability of the public policies (immigration, multiculturalism and equity policies) SIs, especially those from the culturally diverse backgrounds are disadvantaged in the labour market.

The following sections provide an overview of the context for the study focusing on a brief outline of historical to contemporary immigration policy changes in Canada and Australia and the significance of SIs to both Canada and Australia up to the present time (detailed historical analysis of key public policies and their implications for SIs is provided in chapters five, six and seven). The importance of effective integration is also briefly discussed and key terms used in the research are also explained. An outline of the thesis structure is also provided as a road map to the study.

Context of the Study

Migration is not a new phenomenon but the type of migration occurring currently is different. In the past, Europeans migrated to Africa, Asia, the Americas and to Oceania either on a permanent or temporary basis, as sailors, soldiers, farmers, traders, priests and administrators (Castles 2014). Nonetheless, it is commonly known that European migration was different compared to modern migration in that, the Europeans, especially the British, did

not only migrate in search of habitation or trade but colonised the places that they migrated to by taking over the lands of the inhabitants and causing displacement among residents (Ballyn 2011; Seed 2011; Winter 2007). Canada and Australia were originally colonies (Anderson & Taylor 2005; Winter 2007). Today people migrate in search of security and a better livelihood (Castles 2000) either on temporary, permanent or even forced circumstances.

Historically, Canada and Australia restricted immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds of non-Caucasian origin from their populations. Prior to the 1960s and the 1970s Canadian and Australian immigration policies selected immigrants who were largely unskilled on the basis of race or country of origin (Castles 2000; Ferrer, Picot & Riddell 2012; Green & Green 2004; Walsh 2008). However, owing to domestic and international disapproval of discriminatory immigration policies, the two nations ceased to select immigrants based on race or country of origin (Triadafilopoulos 2010; Walsh 2008). Since the 1960s and the 1970s respectively, Canadian and Australian immigration policies changed to select individuals with human capital qualities rather than race, ethnicity or country of origin (Green & Green 2004; Hiebert 2006; Ongley & Pearson 1995). Skilled migration therefore has become significant in both the Canadian and Australian migration programs.

Presently, the two nations operate within non-discriminatory immigration policies which recruit SIs from previously restricted regions (Ongley & Pearson 1995) such as Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The two nations have shown a preference towards the attraction of skilled workers (Chiswick 2005; Hawthorne 2005, 2006, 2008; Hawthorne & Wong 2011; Richardson & Lester 2004; Variyam 2006) with skilled migration forming the core of the current immigration programs in both Canada and Australia. In turn skilled individuals migrate in response to the requirements and attractions of immigrant seeking nations for employment and remuneration equivalent to their intellectual capitals (Iredale 2001; Syed

2008). These SIs are expected to function successfully in the labour market in relation to their qualifications.

Since the 1980s, several socio-economic factors including recession, aging populations (Knowles 2007), low fertility rates below replacement (Green & Green 2004), the computer revolution (Chiswick 2005) and globalisation (Walsh 2008) have increased the global demand for highly skilled workers. In particular, globalisation of the world economy has played a key role in the phenomenon of SIs. Globalisation which involves the interaction of networks of people, markets, technology and states and the integration and interdependence of social relations on a global scale (Robertson 1992) has increased the movement of people across national borders to fill labour market positions (Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011).

Globalisation demands highly skilled individuals who are able to operate effectively in a knowledge economy (Chiswick 2005). Nations and organisations alike are competing in international markets for workers with superior human capital qualities (Bhadury, Mighty & Damar 2000). Hence, globalisation has become the impetus for long term national or organisational strategy for surviving in the market. Consequently, some have claimed that there is now a race for talent (Shachar 2006) or 'war for talent' (Beechler & Woodward 2009, p.274) as a result of globalisation. This has increased the significance of SIs and especially their labour market integration in host destinations. In particular the work positions of SIs are vital to their success in their host countries. Work position is fundamental in individual lives in the Western world. It is therefore imperative that the culturally diverse SIs who have been selected on their equal human capital endowments are effectively integrated into the labour market in Canada and Australia. Inequitable employment outcomes tarnish the economic and social status of individuals.

‘Labour market integration is arguably the single most important instrument for contributing to the integration of immigrants’ (Liebig 2007, p.9) and to ensure the acceptance of immigrants (OECD 2010). Successful integration in the labour force is ‘fundamental to ensuring that migrants have the economic assets necessary to participate more widely in society, while strengthening social cohesion and stability’ (OECD 2010, p.9). Alternatively, ineffective labour market integration of SIs results in ‘brain waste’ (Bauder 2003; Mattoo, Neagu & Özden 2008; Reitz, Curtis & Elrick 2014) underutilisation of skills (Fernando, Fernando & Hannif 2014; Reitz 2001, 2005; Thompson 2000) or skills mismatch (Mahmud, Alam & Härtel 2014). Such ramifications can also be a great economic and productivity loss to both Canada (Reitz 2005; Thompson 2000) and Australia.

Currently, Canada and Australia, being classical immigrant countries (Castles 2000; Fleras 2015; Green & Green 2004) utilise human resource management strategies to attract, select and recruit the best and brightest ‘well-credentialed immigrants’ (Fleras 2015; Hawthorne & Wong 2011; Shachar 2013; Shachar & Hirschl 2013; Triadafilopoulos & Smith 2013, p.4) to meet their economic needs and to enhance their workforce talent pool. The successful integration and equitable labour market outcomes of SIs who arrive in these nations is therefore imperative.

While Canada and Australia remain as key traditional competitors in the race for talent (Shachar 2006; Shachar & Hirschl 2013) owing to globalisation, many more countries including Norway, the Czech Republic and Germany and more recently Singapore, South Korea, China and Japan (see Green 2014; Hugo 2014) are also competing to attract SIs. This suggests that the countries that are able to facilitate effective integration of their SIs are more likely to attract and retain the required skilled labour for filling labour shortages. It is therefore incumbent on Canada and Australia to effectively manage the employment

integration of SIs so as to position themselves strategically not only as competitors in the race for talent but also as ‘destinations of choice’ for SIs.

The problem however is that, the effective integration of SIs into the labour market in both Canada and Australia has become contentious and problematic. The challenge, as pointed out by Hawthorne (1997) is that:

‘Despite the evolution of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation... the onus for change and adaptation has so far rested primarily with immigrant job seekers. Incoming migrants are expected to strive for success by making an active attempt to adapt their existing skills, acquire new skills, seek out job opportunities, and generally improve their knowledge of the ... labour market. Employers have been largely absolved from blame or shared responsibility in this process’ (Hawthorne 1997, p.397).

Therefore, SIs are considered to be responsible for their own employment success to attain employment that matches their human capital attributes (Fernando, Fernando & Hannif 2014) while institutions and employers who control labour market processes and practices are exempted from shared responsibility (Hawthorne 1997). Nonetheless, the labour market consists of institutions and employers who ‘pass the ultimate judgment on the value of a person’s skills (including foreign work experience) through the offer of employment’ (Colic-Peisker 2011a, p.6). The thesis emphasises the point that the effective integration of SIs depends on the effectiveness of policies that are designed to facilitate integration either socially or economically and on what occurs within the labour market in terms of the processes, practices of institutions and employers in the labour market. The next section provides definitions of terms used in the study.

Further Definition of Terms

The term ‘integration’ has been used broadly to describe the settlement experiences and participation of immigrants in a host country (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011; Liebig

2007). Integration may include such dimensions as economic, political (or civic) and social integration (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011). It has been described ‘as a two-way interactional process between a host society and “immigrants” that is influenced both by institutional structures and societal attitudes on the one hand, and migration factors such as human capital and collective social capital on the other’ (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011, p.3). Integration involves a process of mutual respect where both dominant and non-dominant groups learn to accommodate each other in full political, economic, and social participation. In this case, no one’s culture is superior to the other, but rather learning from each other becomes the ideal.

Integration in this research therefore implies an attempt by the dominant society and institutions to learn to accommodate all groups, while the non-dominant groups which may include culturally diverse SIs also endeavour to adjust to some of the basic standards of the larger society (Berry 2011). Such a reciprocal process may promote active participation of all groups in the political, economic and social systems of the nation. This means it is not only the responsibility of the culturally diverse SIs to learn from the host society in order to ‘fit in’, but it is also the obligation of the host nation to adopt a learning approach to gain ‘greater cultural understanding’ (Zikic 2014, p.14) of people from diverse cultures. This means the host nations’ display of cultural competence or dexterity towards the newly arrived ‘guests’ who are largely from culturally diverse backgrounds is important in this study. This is because it is more prudent to build bridges to connect with culturally diverse SIs rather than to build barriers to create segmentation in the labour market. This will require cultural competence on the part of government, employers and institutions for effective integration of SIs.

Labour market integration can be evaluated on the basis of various indicators including participation, employment, or unemployment, earnings and occupation (Gilmore &

Le Petit 2008; Lemaître 2007). This study is interested in the equitable labour market outcomes of SIs in terms of: (1) participation, employment, unemployment rates and not in the labour force; as well as (2) occupational skill level representation in relation to employment matched to their qualifications and leadership representation. In this study the effective labour market integration of SIs is assessed by (1) analysis of the integrated effect of public policies (qualitative analysis) and (2) labour market outcomes (quantitative analysis). In this case the study will be able to understand the role of public policies and also how significantly social identity and institutional factors shape the overall employment integration of SIs in Canada and Australia.

Culturally diverse individuals are normally referred to differently in Canada and Australia. In Canada, the term visible minorities is used to refer to individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds or culturally diverse immigrants (see e.g. Esses et al., 2007; Jain & Lawler 2004; Reitz 2007a) while in Australia the term non-English speaking-backgrounds is used (see e.g. Green, Kler & Leeves 2007; Syed 2008). Visible minorities (VMs) in Canada are defined as ‘persons, other than Aboriginal persons, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour’. The VM population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin America, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011, p.14).

In Australia, the term ‘NESB’ is generally used to refer to immigrants born in non-English-speaking countries (see e.g. Hawthorne 1997, 2005; Jupp 2002; Rynderman & Flynn 2016). The term ‘NESB’ immigrants as used in Australia excludes all overseas born immigrants from Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States of America. These countries are considered to be main English-speaking countries (see DIBP Census 2011). This means ‘NESB’ immigrants in Australia includes all overseas born

immigrants except those from the six main English-speaking countries as mentioned above. This is rather different to the definition of VM population in Canada. Australia often describes its cultural diversity in terms of whether the countries of origin are of main English-speaking or otherwise (ABS 3416.0 - Perspectives on Migrants 2013). As a result, 'NESB' may signify cultural and racial differences in migrants' rather than the lack of English language proficiency (Hawthorne 1997, p.397).

Although, the term 'culturally and linguistically diverse' (CALD) has recently been adopted by some government agencies, this is 'rarely used even in official publications' (Jupp 2002, p.3). The academic literature and the Australian Public Service which the current study draws from rather use the term NESB more frequently (see e.g. APS Statistical Bulletin 2014-2015; Colic-Peisker 2011a, 2011b; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006; Rynderman & Flynn 2016; Soldan & Nankervis 2014). So it will be appropriate to use the term 'NESB' for consistency. The next section provides a summary of structure of the thesis.

Outline of the Thesis

Following the introduction to the study in chapter one, chapter two critically reviews literature relevant to SIs in Canada and Australia. Chapter three analyses and discusses the theoretical concepts guiding this study. Chapter four explains the research methodology employed for the current research. It presents an overview of the mixed methods and case study research design that adopts a comparative historical analysis approach. It explains the method of data collection and discusses the research process and data analysis. The advantages and challenges of the research methods are also reviewed in chapter four.

Chapter five presents comparative case analysis and discussion of the Canadian and Australian immigration policies from an historical perspective up to the contemporary context.

Chapters six and seven analyse multiculturalism policies (MCP) and employment equity policies in the two countries respectively, to elucidate the relationship of these public policies to the skilled migrant workforce and their labour market integration. Chapter eight focuses on the comparative case analyses of quantitative employment data obtained from Statistics Canada and Australian Bureau of Statistic (ABS). Chapter nine discusses the overall research findings while chapter ten draws conclusions to the thesis and discusses the implications of the study and areas for future research. Collectively, the chapters answer the research questions by relating the findings to the theories and empirical literature.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature relevant to the labour market integration of skilled immigrants (SIs). Canada and Australia have placed significant focus on attracting SIs based on non-discriminatory immigration policies (Hawthorne 2007; Triadafilopoulos & Smith 2013). In particular, the two countries are more dependent on attracting SIs from culturally diverse countries in contrast to the historical immigration policy system that focused on selecting immigrants on the basis of country of origin (Green & Green 2004). Both countries desire to ensure smooth settling of migrants to ‘contribute effectively’ to their prosperity (Richardson & Lester 2004, p.5), hence the reliance on skilled migration. It is equally natural for SIs to be expected to effectively integrate into the labour market.

The labour market integration of SIs can be broadly categorised into two areas as labour market outcomes (LMOs) and labour market barriers (LMBs). Accordingly, a review of the literature highlights these trends of LMOs and LMBs to understand the complex practices and processes of the labour market that contribute to the labour market integration of SIs. After that, a discussion on cultural diversity perspectives by Ely and Thomas (2001) that enhance the work outcomes of culturally diverse workforce is considered. The chapter draws from the literature review to formulate a conceptual framework for this research. Theoretical concepts underpinning the research are discussed separately in chapter three.

Labour Market Outcomes

The study of SIs and their labour market integration has contributed to a large body of literature with diverse foci. For instance, the labour market outcomes (LMOs) in terms of

earning differentials between immigrants and the locally-born (e.g. Aydemir & Skuterud 2005; Bloom & Gunderson 1991; Frenette & Morissette 2005; Galarneau & Morissette 2008; Hawthorne 2007; Reitz 2001), participation and employment rates (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Chui & Devereaux 1995; Gilmore & Le Petit 2008; Hawthorne 2007; Reitz 2007b), as well as skill utilisation or professional employment match to education (e.g. Brooks 1996; Castles 1989; Iredale 1988; Reitz 2001; Reitz, Curtis & Elrick 2013; Watt & Bloom 2001) have extensively been reported. Some of these studies have focused on examining differences between employment outcomes between immigrants and the locally born.

In the 1990s, Chui and Devereaux (1995) analysed Canada's newest immigrant workers arriving in the country from 1986 to 1991 who were employed during the 1991 Census. The authors compared the characteristics of the immigrant workers with those of the Canadian-born workers and found that in 1991, the employment rate of 652,000 people aged over 15 years who arrived after 1985 was 56% compared to 62% for the Canadian-born. This shows a major gap in the employment rate between immigrants and the locally born. Further, Chui and Devereaux (1995) claimed that the employment rate among immigrants varied according to their birthplace. For instance, immigrants from Northern Europe attained the highest employment rate (75%) compared to immigrants from Western Asia/Middle East (46%). This suggests that the employment outcomes of SIs depended on their country of origin rather than their credentials and capabilities (see Hawthorne 1997, 2005; Reitz 2007a, 2007b).

Picot and Hou (2003) examined census data over the period of 1980-2000 to compare the trends in income rates of immigrants with those of the Canadian-born. The authors noted that immigrants from Africa and Asian regions were more at risk of experiencing low-income rates. Picot and Hou (2003, p.19) found that despite 'the rising demand for the highly

educated, and the needs of the “knowledge based economy”, having a degree, no matter what the discipline, did not protect these recent immigrants from a rising probability of being on a low-income’. Yet, relegating these recently arrived SIs into low-income employment is not only costly to receiving economies (Reitz 2005; Variyam 2006) but also detrimental to SIs, as low earnings relative to qualifications can have negative social-economic impacts (Reitz 2001). According to Variyam (2006) foreign educated immigrants earn \$2.4 billion less than their fellow Canadian-born workers because they work in occupations that are below their skills. These disparities in LMOs are unable to be explained by immigration policies which rely on selecting SIs on the basis of equal human capital attributes. This shows that there are potentially other factors that contribute to differential LMOs rather than human capital qualities.

Gilmore and Le Petit (2008) also examined the LMOs of immigrants in relation to their postsecondary education. The authors found that overall, employment rates of recent immigrants with a foreign university degree from the United States or Europe in 2007 were closer to those of the locally-born Canadians compared to those who had been educated outside Canada, the US or Europe. This signals that country of origin exerts influence on the labour market rather than human capital qualities.

Birrell and Healy’s (2008) study which examined the employment outcomes of all SIs who arrived in Australia between 2001 and 2006 found that immigrants from Main English-Speaking Countries (MESC) successfully found professional or managerial jobs consistent with their qualifications in comparison to individuals from non-Main English-speaking countries (NMESC). The authors found that former overseas students of the NESC group who had studied in Australia were less successful at finding professional employment. According to the authors ‘the job outcomes revealed in the 2006 census are similar to those in

the 2001, 1996 and 1991 censuses' (Birrell & Healy 2008, p.6). This is not new as Hawthorne (2005, p.633) also pointed out that 'from 1980 to 1996, Australian researchers identified consistently inferior labour market outcomes for professionals from non-English-speaking backgrounds source countries'. This suggests that the immigration policy reforms over the years to better settle immigrants on the basis of their human capital have not sufficiently influenced the employment results of culturally diverse SIs. This calls for significant government attention. Perhaps the consistent results of employment discrepancies suggest that employers in the labour market prefer SIs from certain places of origin than others. Such preferences for immigrants from specific countries can be viewed as discriminatory (Reitz 2007a).

Galarneau and Morissette (2008) conducted a study investigating immigrants' education and required job skills. The authors observed that in 2006 the proportion of recent immigrants possessing a university degree was double that of the Canadian-born. Yet, the employment outcomes of SIs were substantially different from those of the Canadian born partly due to the low recognition rate of education credentials (Frenette & Morissette 2003, 2005; Picot & Hou 2003) which might induce SIs to accept employment that does not justly reflect their human capital. Literature in Canada and Australia indicates that such employment difficulties have resulted in immigrants accepting jobs such as retail sales clerks, truck drivers, office clerks, cashiers, taxi drivers and private security guard jobs, which are below their educational attainment (Galarneau & Morissette 2008; Harris 2011; Syed 2008; Thompson 2000).

The tendency for SIs to accept employment below a level at which they could function is a sign of underutilisation of skills (Reitz 2001). This can occur owing to non-recognition of educational credentials, skills or experience by employers, or when employers

prefer locally trained professionals over foreign trained workers, or offer employment on the basis of place of origin rather than human capital (Bauder 2003; Reitz 2001). Reitz, Curtis and Elrick (2014) through census analysis found that university-educated immigrants' access to skilled occupations in their professions and in management declined between 1996 and 2006. The authors noted that 50.4% of university qualified immigrant men arriving five years prior to the 1996 census attained managerial or professional jobs (high-skill occupations) compared to 70.7% of the locally-born. In contrast, the five years before the 2006 census showed that 43.5% of university graduate immigrant males were in high-skilled occupations compared to 70.8% locally-born. This does not only illustrate a decline in occupational outcomes for the university educated immigrants but a signal that human capital does not provide equal employment outcomes.

Some employers select immigrants based on their place of origin rather than based on their human capital, with immigrants from the preferred countries being more likely to gain an employment match to their education compared to those from non-traditional source countries. For example, Plante (2010) reported on the labour market integration of internationally-educated immigrants in comparison to immigrants who completed their education in Canada and the Canadian-born with a postsecondary education. Plante (2010) observed that in 2006 internationally-educated immigrants from countries other than Europe, North America, Oceania and South Africa reported a low rate of below 45% job-match to their educational credentials. In contrast, more than 60% of internationally-educated immigrants with education credentials from Ireland (70%), New Zealand (66%), Israel (64%) and Australia (63%) reported working in their field of study or in an equivalent or higher occupational levels (Plante 2010). This shows that immigrants from the traditional immigrant source regions performed better than those who were not. This suggests that the labour market performance of the immigrants is influenced by their social identity.

While a great deal of attention has been paid to the ability of Canadian and Australian immigration policies to select the best and brightest of SIs who can be successfully integrated into the labour market, the employment-educational match to professional jobs has been a subject of policy initiatives in both Canada and Australia (Brooks 1996; Castles 1989; Iredale 1988; Reitz 2001). As a result the debate on the utilisation of immigrants' skill has also increased in the literature (see, e.g. Reitz 2001; Reitz 2003, 2005). If for instance, a highly-educated professional accepts work in occupations lower than their educational and skill capabilities, these immigrants' skills are being underutilised and wasted (Reitz 2001) or being undervalued. The authors have observed that skill underutilisation persists and is a likely contributor to education-qualification mismatch which can be a 'waste of human capital' (Basran & Zong 1998, p.4). The literature evidence shows persistent LMO discrepancies. Researchers have attributed some of these discrepancies to several factors. The next section elaborates on some of these factors which are barriers identified in the processes of the labour market integration of SIs.

Labour Market Barriers

The barriers to successful labour market integration commonly reported in the literature include lack of host or English language proficiency (Birrell & Healy 2008), non-recognition of overseas qualifications, (Frenette & Morissette 2003, 2005; Hawthorne 2005; Reitz 2007a; Variyam 2006), poor networks or lack of social and cultural capital (Reitz 2007a) and lack of local education and local experience (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007). These factors seem to portray SIs as individuals lacking certain features when in fact these factors reflect institutional barriers rather than lack of skills (Reitz 2005).

For instance, the mediating role of language proficiency as a factor in the labour market integration of SIs in Canada and Australia has been an issue of concern (Almeida, Fernando & Sheridan 2012; Brooks 1996; Green, Kler & Leeves 2007; Hawthorne 2005; Ressler 2010; Syed & Murray 2009). While Canadian studies tend to emphasise earnings as an indicator of integration, Australian studies tend to focus largely on language ability as a predictor of labour market success (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Birrell, Hawthorne & Richardson 2006; Hawthorne 1997, 2005; Richardson, Robertson & Ilsey 2001). Some of these studies examine the integration of SIs by comparing English-speaking immigrants with non-English-speaking immigrants (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Kler 2006).

Birrell, Hawthorne and Richardson (2006) examined the efficiency and effectiveness of the structure and operation of the general skilled migration and points test system in Australia. The authors examined the outcomes of the various visa categories. Among the several observations made by the authors, superior English language proficiency was found to be a predictor of effective labour market integration while poor labour market performance was viewed as a reflection of inadequate English language levels. Similarly, Birrell and Healy's (2008) study found that former overseas students from non-English-speaking countries who studied in Australia were the least successful in finding professional employment. The authors claim that 'they lack the English communication skills needed in contemporary professional work' (Birrell & Healy 2008, p.18). It is hard to understand how these individuals lack the needed English skills and yet had been selected on the basis of stringent migration policies including English language requirements.

Hawthorne (2008, p.50) however points out that, international 'students have financed their own efforts to meet domestic employers' demand: they are young and acculturated, and they have advanced English language ability and fully recognised credentials'. This contrasts

Birrell and Healy's (2008) claim that the English communication skills of international students are poor. Syed and Murray (2009) identified that sometimes migrants who are proficient in English language still experience employment challenges in Australia based on their appearance. The authors concluded that migrants' poorer employment outcomes are rather due to discrimination.

The claim that people with superior English language ability perform better in the labour market than those without adequate English proficiency could imply that employers perhaps select employees based on attributes irrelevant to skills or qualifications (Abella 1984; Schmidtke 2013). As observed by Abella (1984) 'people are often hired on the basis of, among other things, an interviewer's perception of their ability to integrate easily into a given labour force' when employers' selection may not be 'relevant either to the candidate's actual ability to integrate or to his or her qualifications' (Abella 1984, p.48). Some have argued that, 'employers do not simply weigh prospective employees' human capital by surveying their CVs, they also consider elements of "cultural capital" reflected in individuals' accents, behaviour during the course of interviews, and dress (among other things)' (Triadafilopoulos & Smith 2013, p.7).

The discussion above suggests that possibly the success of SIs in the labour market is partly dependent on factors other than their qualifications. These factors can be attributed to their social identity (Tajfel 1974; 2010) where individuals with similar cultural characteristics are more favoured in the labour market than those without. Schmidtke (2013, p.298) highlighted that, 'in interviews, migrants regularly described individuals and institutions in the labour market as arbitrarily diminishing their cultural capital through the application of vague standards—standards which are clearly rooted' in the habits of the receiving society. In such cases, quality employees with skills and experience may be denied employment while

others without the necessary educational skills or experience may be selected purely on language ability, cultural preferences or other unrelated human capital factors. This shows a gap in immigration policy intent and realities in the labour market processes and practices.

Some studies have also identified that overseas work experience does not provide equal financial returns to local work experience (Aydemir & Skuterud 2005; Frank 2011; Reitz 2001). Yet these credentials are relevant for individuals in their area of expertise when looking for employment after migration. Studies have shown the significance of local experience in gaining employment and how migrants' work experience gained from overseas was not recognised by employers (Almeida, Fernando & Sheridan 2012; Ressler 2010). Various studies have identified that employers usually treat foreign qualifications and work experience, as less valuable than local qualifications and work experience (Colic-Peisker 2011a; Plante 2010; Syed 2008; Variyam 2006) even though the skills of SIs are usually assessed in accordance with recognised government procedures (see Hawthorne 2002). For that reason, SIs are unable to gain access to employment that is commensurate with their human capital because foreign work experience is discounted (Frenette & Morissette 2003, 2005; Reitz 2001). The non-recognition of foreign credentials and the inability to use one's skills, impact greatly on the employment prospects of SIs (Frank 2011; Reitz 2001).

Yet there are policy initiatives including credential assessment services, bridge training programs, including language training programs which are intended to 'more effectively serve the needs of immigrant professionals' (Hawthorne 2002; O'Dwyer & Colic-Peisker 2016; Reitz, Curtis & Elrick 2014, p.2) so as to improve the labour utilisation of SIs. For instance, Australia has Overseas Qualifications Units (OQUs) in the states and territories that facilitate the assessment of overseas qualifications recognition (Department of Education and Training (DET) 2018). There are also programs to support the professional

transition of skilled immigrants from NESB (O'Dwyer & Colic-Peisker 2016). While all these well intended policy initiatives are important, the evidence in the literature shows that these policies have little influence on the processes and practices of the labour market. Hence, the evidence from the literature suggests that though SIs are selected on the basis of their human capital qualities, they continue to experience disadvantaged LMOs in comparison to their locally-born counterparts (Galarneau & Morissette 2008; Hawthorne 1997; Picot & Hou 2003; Reitz 2001; Syed 2008).

Traditionally studies that examine the labour market integration of SIs generally focused on examining immigration policies in relation to the employment outcomes of SIs (e.g. Antecol, Cobb-Clark & Trejo 2003; Aydemir 2013; Borjas 1991; Cobb-Clark 1999, 2001; Cobb-Clark 2003; Hawthorne 2005, 2007, 2012; Hawthorne & Wong 2011; Hiebert 2006; Picot & Hou 2003; Reitz 2003, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Ressia 2010; Richardson & Lester 2004; Sweetman & McBride 2004). The current thesis discusses and compares the immigration policies of Canada and Australia in chapter five. Generally, studies on the labour market integration of SIs report on the contextual changes in immigration policies in regard to the selection of immigrants, immigration trends, immigrant characteristics, the human capital concept of immigration and the associated economic goals and outcomes.

For instance, some studies have reported on the success of a points system within immigration programs in relation to the labour market integration of migrants (Antecol, Cobb-Clark & Trejo 2003; Cobb-Clark 1999; Hawthorne 2007; Richardson & Lester 2004). These studies elaborate on the Canadian and Australian immigration policies' ability to attract, recruit and select based on human capital attributes including education, skills, experience, knowledge, age, host language proficiency (Green & Green 1999; Hawthorne 2005; Hiebert 2006; Richardson & Lester 2004). For example, comparative studies between

Canada and Australia conducted by Richardson and Lester (2004) found that Australia is better able to integrate its immigrants in the labour market than Canada. The studies linked the success of the LMOs of immigrants to the changes in Australian immigration policies which require pre-migration assessment and high levels of English language proficiency. Richardson and Lester (2004, p.40) claimed that there is no doubt that changes in Australia's policies have been 'instrumental in improving the labour market success of migrants'.

Similarly, Hawthorne (2007) in her comparative study of Canada and Australia based on multiple data sources also identified that Australian SIs perform better in the labour market compared to Canada (Richardson & Lester 2004). In general, these studies examine the link between immigration policies and the categories under which immigrants are selected in comparison to their LMOs (Ho & Alcorso 2004). For instance, the LMOs of SIs are compared with those who arrive under the family or humanitarian class (Richardson, Robertson & Ilsey 2001). The results of these studies normally show that, immigrants who arrive under the skilled category perform better in the labour market than those who arrive under non-economic visa categories (Cobb-Clark 1999). Overall, these findings reflect the economic goals of the immigration policies which select SIs as key components of the migration program (see CIC Facts & Figures 2014; DIBP Migration Program 2014-2015).

Yet, informed by human capital theories, studies that focus solely on immigration policy link to the labour market integration of SIs underrate underlining labour market inequities within the immigrant population. Issues of inequities in the LMOs among the immigrant population from different source regions are not strongly emphasised. For that reason, analysis of equitable integration outcomes is normally lacking. Rather these studies claim that poor labour market integration of SIs is basically due to poor English language

abilities and therefore recommend policies that use English language criteria as one of the key selection human capital factors for recruiting SIs.

While host language proficiency is essential for employment, one would expect that SIs are selected based on this very factor and therefore should not encounter challenges that non-skilled immigrants who are not selected on this criteria will experience. SIs are normally selected on their host language ability and other human capital attributes that will offer the best chance of economic benefits to the nations (see Green & Green 2004; Hawthorne 2007; Hiebert 2006; Reitz 2007a; Richardson & Lester 2004; Triadafilopoulos & Smith 2013) as well as their likelihood of being successful in the labour market (CIC Facts & Figures 2014).

On the other hand, some studies have been pessimistic about the successful employment outcomes of SIs as anticipated by the immigration policies owing to persistent skill underutilisation and labour market inequities (e.g. Colic-Peisker 2011a, 2011b; Reitz 2001; Reitz 2007a). They argue that despite the higher skill levels of immigrants who are arriving since the 1970s (Reitz 2007b) and the 1980s (Hawthorne 1997, 2005) in both Canada and Australia, the labour market integration of SIs continue to be challenging.

It can be observed from the literature that the lack of local experience, non-recognition of educational credentials, over-representation in low level jobs, employment mismatch to education, devaluation of qualifications and underutilisation have been widely reported. It is possible to view these issues as forms of systemic institutional barriers which are used indirectly to discriminate against SIs and contribute to poor labour market outcomes for SIs of culturally diverse backgrounds (e.g. Reitz 2001, 2005, 2007a). There is sufficient documentation that, immigrants' employment outcomes need better attention (Aydemir & Skuterud 2005; Frenette & Morissette 2005). As non-European immigrants currently form the

largest intakes for Canada and Australia (see DIBP Migration Program Report 2014-2015; CIC Facts & Figures 2014) compared to the Europeans in the 19th and the 20th century, it is essential that attention is paid to the cultural diversity within the immigrant population to understand how effectively immigrants are integrated into the labour market equitably.

Surprisingly, while the evidence in the literature that region of origin exerts an influence on the labour market integration of SIs, the outcomes of SIs have not generally been examined from a cultural diversity perspective. This is perhaps due to the lack of management and human resource management studies investigating the labour market integration of SIs (Guo & Al Ariss 2015). The discussion of cultural diversity which has been created by demographic changes in places such the USA, Australia, Canada is part of the diversity management concept in the human resource management studies and the broader management field. An overview of the significance and effective management of cultural diversity is provided below.

Cultural Diversity Perspective

The trends in globalisation and increasing demographic changes suggest the need for cultural diversity in the workplace to be valued and managed effectively (Aytemiz 2006; Cox & Blake 1991; Ely & Thomas 2001). A government commissioned report entitled *Workforce 2000* [Johnston & Packer 1987] informed that by the year 2000, the majority of the US workers would be African-Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, women and other minority groups (Lorbiecki & Jack 2000; Strachan, French & Burgess 2010). The *Workforce 2000* report surprised several stakeholders including human resource management experts as it pointed out the need to pay attention to the changing demographic situation and its effects (Lorbiecki & Jack 2000). Since then, more management literature has suggested the need to pay attention to cultural diversity within the workforce (see Bassett-Jones 2005; Chavan

2005; Cox & Blake 1991; D'Netto & Sohal 1999; Dagher, D'Netto & Sohal 1998; Devine et al. 2007; Jayne & Dipboye 2004; Kossek & Zonia 1993; Shen et al. 2009; Sizoo et al. 2005).

For instance, Ely and Thomas (2001) developed a theory about the conditions under which cultural diversity enhances or detracts from work group functioning. The authors posited that a 'diversity perspective can be both explicit, as in verbal or written statements or policies, and implicit, as in the unstated assumptions that underlie the way a person manages his or her subordinates or the way a group structures its work' (Ely & Thomas 2001, p.234). Ely and Thomas (2001) suggest three different perspectives on workforce diversity as *discrimination-and-fairness*, *access-and-legitimacy* to *integrative-and-learning perspectives*. The authors' models help explain the relationship between cultural diversity and work group outcomes.

According to Ely and Thomas (2001, p.245) the *discrimination-and-fairness* perspective is characterised 'by a belief in a culturally diverse group as a moral imperative to ensure justice and the fair treatment of all members of society'. This perspective seeks to only comply with legislation while suppressing prejudicial attitudes and limitation of discrimination. In other words, the management of cultural diversity is for legislative purposes (Bertone & Leahy 2003; Lewis, French & Phetmany 2000; Strachan, Burgess & Henderson 2007; Süß & Kleiner 2007), social and ethical concerns (Gilbert, Stead & Ivancevich 1999; Lorbiecki & Jack 2000) for the sake of social justice and equal opportunity (Gilbert, Stead & Ivancevich 1999; Kirby 2002).

The *discrimination-and-fairness* perspective considers compliance with legislation as essential so as to avoid allegations of discrimination (Cox & Blake 1991; Ely & Thomas 2001). This perspective attains minimal integration of a culturally diverse workforce (Cox Jr 1991). As a result, the human resources of the culturally diverse employees are under-utilised

and there is a lack of socially and economic equitable outcomes. Engagement with cultural diversity issues is viewed simply as complying with government requirements (Cox & Blake 1991; Ely & Thomas 2001). Diversity measures or policies may be used as '*window dressing*' for protection from liabilities rather than genuinely improving workforce diversity outcomes (Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly 2006). Progress in diversity in the *discrimination-and-fairness* perspective is measured by the presence of a culturally diverse workforce through recruitment and retention goals as 'evident of just and fair treatment of employees' (Ely & Thomas 2001, p.246). As such 'systematic monitoring of numbers' is a key indicator of whether or not 'things are going along smoothly' (Ely & Thomas 2001, p.247).

Alternatively, proponents of the *access-and-legitimacy* perspective may do so for the motivation of business maximisation whereby employees' cultural backgrounds are used for economic legitimacy (Ely & Thomas 2001). Supporters of this view contemplate the management of cultural diversity from a business perspective based on the belief that using the talent of culturally diverse individuals, for example, their linguistic abilities and knowledge of overseas markets and business norms (see Bertone & Leahy 2003; Ely & Thomas 2001; Leveson, Joiner & Bakalis 2009) can mirror the market place for customer services (Gilbert & Ivancevich 2000). However, such a perspective does not necessarily focus on equitable outcomes.

In the *access-and-legitimacy* perspective, cultural diversity is useful for gaining access to potential customers of diverse backgrounds by drawing on employees' culturally diverse backgrounds to gain a competitive advantage (Bertone & Leahy 2003; Ely & Thomas 2001). In this case workforce diversity is harnessed so that individual talents are utilised or maximised for meeting organisational goals (Cornelius, Gooch & Todd 2000; Shen et al. 2009). So for example, Canada and Australia may engage in recruiting SIs of culturally

diverse backgrounds, not for the purpose of redressing inequities but for reasons of good business sense. Some have publicised this approach as a business case for diversity (Cox & Blake 1991; Ely & Thomas 2001). Some have argued that multicultural policy can serve as an effective public policy for enhancing national competitiveness (Ng & Metz 2015). There are studies that have substantiated these claims where multiculturalism in Canada has resulted in organisations employing visible minorities ‘in entry-level positions primarily’ for serving the diverse community (Hiranandani 2012, p.2). Progress in *access-and-legitimacy* perspective is measured through representation in boundary positions or visible positions that legitimises organisations in the eyes of the external market (Ely & Thomas 2001).

Conversely, Ely and Thomas (2001, p.229) found that ‘only the *integration-and-learning* perspective provided the rationale and guidance needed to achieve sustained benefits from diversity’. This perspective appreciates that culturally diverse employees are a resource *for mutual learning*. According to Ely and Thomas (2001), within this perspective, there is a deep commitment to educating and learning from each other. This perspective is grounded in the notion that ‘cultural identity shapes how people experiences, see, and know the world’ (Ely & Thomas 2001, p.241). It recognises that while workforces from different cultural backgrounds might bring different sets of experiences and skills, this does not have to create a ‘cultural-identity-based division of labour (Ely & Thomas 2001, p.242). The *integration-and-learning* perspective measures progress by the extent to ‘which newly represented groups have the power to change the organisation and traditionally represented groups are willing to change’ (Ely & Thomas 2001, p.243).

It is surprising to know that the focus on cultural diversity has not been adequately extended to studies involving SIs. Studies involving cultural diversity have focused on an organisational level analysis (e.g. Cox Jr 1991; D’Netto & Sohal 1999; Devine et al. 2007;

Ely & Thomas 2001; Fenwick et al. 2011) without much attention to the broader labour market or public policies. While the employment outcomes of culturally diverse SIs are significant human resource management issues, the effective integration of these cohorts is under-researched (Guo & Al Ariss 2015). It is with this limitation and the multicultural nature of contemporary workforces in Canada and Australia that the current research argues for specific attention to be given to cultural diversity within studies that examine the labour market integration of SIs to highlight how effectively and equitably their employment integration is obtained.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the literature review evidence suggests a significant lack of employment equity in the labour market. Yet Canada and Australia are nations with national policies that have the potential to support the integration of SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds. Despite the availability of multiculturalism policies and equal employment opportunity legislation in Canada and Australia several decades ago for supporting cultural diversity and equity, SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds continue to experience discrimination in the labour market. Culturally diverse SIs have not been given the ‘opportunity to use their abilities according to their potential’ (Abella 1984, p.4). Governments in both nations are content to select the best and brightest SIs as long as they contribute to the economic gains of the nations but have paid little attention to culturally diverse SIs who end up in occupations lower than their abilities and qualifications (see Galarneau & Morissette 2008; Thompson 2000).

What is striking in the literature is that, with the exception of immigration policies, scholars who focus on examination of SIs and their labour market integration have paid little attention to the role of national policies in the labour market integration of SIs. Reitz (2006, p.38) has raised similar concerns around the need to evaluate public policies and programs

‘directed specifically at improving the employment prospects of immigrants including credential assessment services, bridge-training programs, and information services, lack an adequate evaluation component’. The author further suggests the need to explore the implication of ‘trends in labour market inequality’ in more detail in addition to the need for cross-country comparative trends as these are lacking (Reitz 2007b, p.57) in immigrant studies.

Gaps in the Literature

Although a large amount of research has been undertaken in this field of study, there is still some paucity in the literature that needs further attention. Firstly, many of these studies have examined the integration of SIs from a country-specific perspective and therefore lack cross-country comparisons with the exception of a few such as Borjas (1991) who focused on Canada and the US; and Richardson and Lester (2004) who examined the progress of immigrants in Canada and Australia according to their visa categories and found that Australian immigrants performed better in the labour market compared to Canadian immigrants. Similarly, Hawthorne (see 1997; 2005; 2007; 2011) has done excellent work investigating the labour market integration of degree-qualified immigrants. For example, Hawthorn’s (2007; 2008) study on Canada and Australia found that overall, immigrants in Australia had better LMOs in comparison to degree-qualified immigrants in Canada. Also Reitz (2001; 2002; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007a & b; 2012; 2013; 2014) has worked extensively in this field but has paid more attention to the Canadian context and has recommended the need for a cross-country analysis. These studies are no longer current and the study by Reitz does not focus on Australia.

Additionally, the focus on the labour market integration of immigrants in comparison to the locally-born tends to dominate most studies (e.g. Frenette & Morissette 2003; Picot &

Hou 2003; Reitz 2003), thereby treating the SI population as a homogenous group rather than understanding the cultural diversity within the group and how that shapes their LMOs. The current research focuses on the diversity within the immigrant population. Unlike previous studies that compared the labour market integration of SIs with the locally-born individuals, this research compares the LMOs of SIs according to their distinct cultural backgrounds and therefore focuses on only the SI population.

The literature review evidence suggests that sociology, economics and political science fields have paid significant attention to the labour market integration of immigrants while limited consideration has been given by the management field as far as the study of SIs is concerned. The research identified that despite the significance of SIs, the human resource management of this group is rather under-researched (Guo & Al Ariss 2015) and the effective management of a culturally diverse workforce appears to have attracted very little attention (Syed & Kramar 2010). Not only that but also the cross-country analysis of the labour market integration of SIs, according to their distinct cultural regions, appears to be limited.

Surprisingly, despite the availability of public policies for managing equity and diversity in Canada and Australia, the literature so far has not given much attention to the role of multiculturalism policies (except Reitz 2013 who focused on Canada) and employment equity when examining the labour market integration of SIs even though these policies are designed to facilitate both social and economic integration. This is clearly a gap in the literature.

Reitz (2012, p.528) points out that regarding integration policy, the ‘best-known facet’ is Canada’s multiculturalism policy which is ‘regarded as a strategy for immigrant integration, rather than isolation’. Similar integration policies are also available in Australia. Nonetheless the effectiveness of multiculturalism for the labour market integration of SIs is

rarely discussed in the literature. Colic-Peisker & Farquharson (2011, p.585), have argued that it is incongruous that despite decades of multicultural policies in the labour market, ‘structural inequalities still persist’. The challenge is that the extent to which multicultural policies actually affect integration of immigrants is unclear (Reitz 2012a). Yet regardless of extensive studies and debates on multiculturalism policy (e.g. Banting & Kymlicka 2010; Bertone & Leahy 2003; Bloemraad & Wright 2014; Castles 1987; Fleras 2009; Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011; Kymlicka 2008; Li 2000; Mann 2011, 2012; Wood & Gilbert 2005) as an approach for managing cultural diversity, issues of SIs’ labour market integration have been little examined through a multiculturalism lens even though the policies have potential for SIs settlement.

Likewise, in spite of multiple studies on the labour market integration of SIs (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Chui & Devereaux 1995; Gilmore & Le Petit 2008; Hawthorne 1997, 2005, 2008; Reitz 2001, 2005, 2007a, 2007b), none of these studies have researched how employment legislation shape the labour market integration of SIs even though the legislation is meant to facilitate diversity and encourage equal employment opportunities. Some studies have reported on the role of legislation in relation to gender (e.g. Jain et al. 2010; Ng & French 2015; Strachan, Burgess & Henderson 2007), visible minorities (e.g. Agocs 2002; Agocs & Burr 1996; Haq & Ng 2010; Jain 1989; Mighty 1996; Ng, Haq & Tremblay 2014; Thomas & Jain 2004) and immigrants of non-English-speaking background employees (Niland & Champion 1990) but have not necessarily focused on the labour market integration of SIs.

Though management literature has reported extensively on the management of cultural diversity (e.g. Cox & Blake 1991; Ely & Thomas 2001; Gilbert & Ivancevich 2000; Jayne & Dipboye 2004; Nkomo & Cox Jr 1996; Steger & Erwee 2001), how culture as a

concept shapes the overall performance of SIs has been under-reported. Also the significance of cultural intelligence is widely examined in the management studies (Brislin, Worthley & Macnab 2006; Earley 2002; Thomas 2006; Triandis 2006) but this is not linked to skilled immigrant studies. Yet without employers' cultural intelligence and competence in the employment of culturally diverse workforce, culturally diverse SIs will be adversely affected in the labour market.

This thesis seeks to fill these gaps. The thesis explores the labour market integration of SIs with a particular focus on the cultural diversity within the SI workforce. Mainly, the thesis examines the effectiveness of Canadian and Australian public policies relevant to the labour market integration of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds. The thesis provides cross-country comparative analyses of the outcomes and limitations of the three public policies involving immigration, multiculturalism and legislation on employment equity in Canada and Australia. The analysis focuses on policy outcomes and implications for a culturally diverse workforce.

This study suggests that the labour market integration of SIs is not only shaped by immigration policies that select SIs on the basis of their human capital attributes but more significantly by how effectively or ineffectively integrated national policies are implemented in the labour market. The study explores how Canadian and Australian national policies for ensuring diversity and equitable employment outcomes shape the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs.

The premise of the thesis is that despite the availability of public policies for managing diversity and equity in Canada and Australia in the form of multiculturalism policies and anti-discrimination laws, culturally diverse SIs continue to experience inequitable labour market integration. This has created a 'plexiglass ceiling' effect (Wilson

1993, p.667) for SIs, especially in leadership positions where the disadvantages experienced in the labour market by these individuals are fully transparent in nature, ‘but much more formidable to shatter’ (Wilson 1993, p.667).

Overall, the literature evidence suggest that culturally diverse SIs of the VM group in Canada and NESB in Australia are more likely to experience disadvantaged labour market integration relative to the locally born or those from English-speaking backgrounds (Birrell & Healy 2008; Chui & Devereaux 1995; Hawthorne 1997, 2005; Picot & Hou 2003; Reitz 2007b). Yet the majority of the current SIs who are arriving in Canada and Australia are from culturally diverse regions such as Asia, Africa and the Middle East (DIBP Migration Program 2014-2015; NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011). What this signifies is that, if policies do not ensure the successful integration of these latest entrants, the two countries are likely to have large numbers of underutilised SIs with devalued skills and potentials.

Summary of Literature

Several factors emerged from the literature review. Notably, previous research has focused on the linkage between immigration policies effect on the labour market outcomes of immigrants. Most of these past studies are skewed towards economic gains rather than policies that facilitate equitable outcomes in employment. Of particular interest in this review is the role of country of origin that seems to influence almost all the labour market activities. Region of origin is being used as part of the reasons for the poor performance of immigrants in the labour market when it is possible that the lack of cultural competence of employers in the familiarity of foreign cultures is penalising immigrants in the labour market. If place of origin becomes a barrier for labour market integration ‘among members of certain origin groups’, then this does not only constitutes discriminatory treatment (Reitz 2007a, p.19), but also a significant factor that affects other considerations including recognition of overseas

work experience, credentials and skills as well as social identity of people. As noted, English proficiency has become a major institutional barrier or a key factor in explaining the relative lack of employment success for immigrants from NESB, in spite of a rigorous assessment for language proficiency by immigration authorities prior to entry.

Nonetheless, examination of the role of other macro-national policies such as multiculturalism policies and employment legislation in dealing with the labour market integration of SIs appears to be limited. Surprisingly, the review found that none of the previous studies on the labour market integration of SIs focused on the role of employment legislation and its link to the labour market integration of SIs. While there are specific studies on employment equity or equal employment legislation (e.g. Agocs & Burr 1996; Bennington & Wein 2000; Jain et al. 2010; Ng & French 2015; Niland & Champion 1990; Strachan, Burgess & Henderson 2007) as mentioned earlier, their foci have not been on SIs as proposed in this current study.

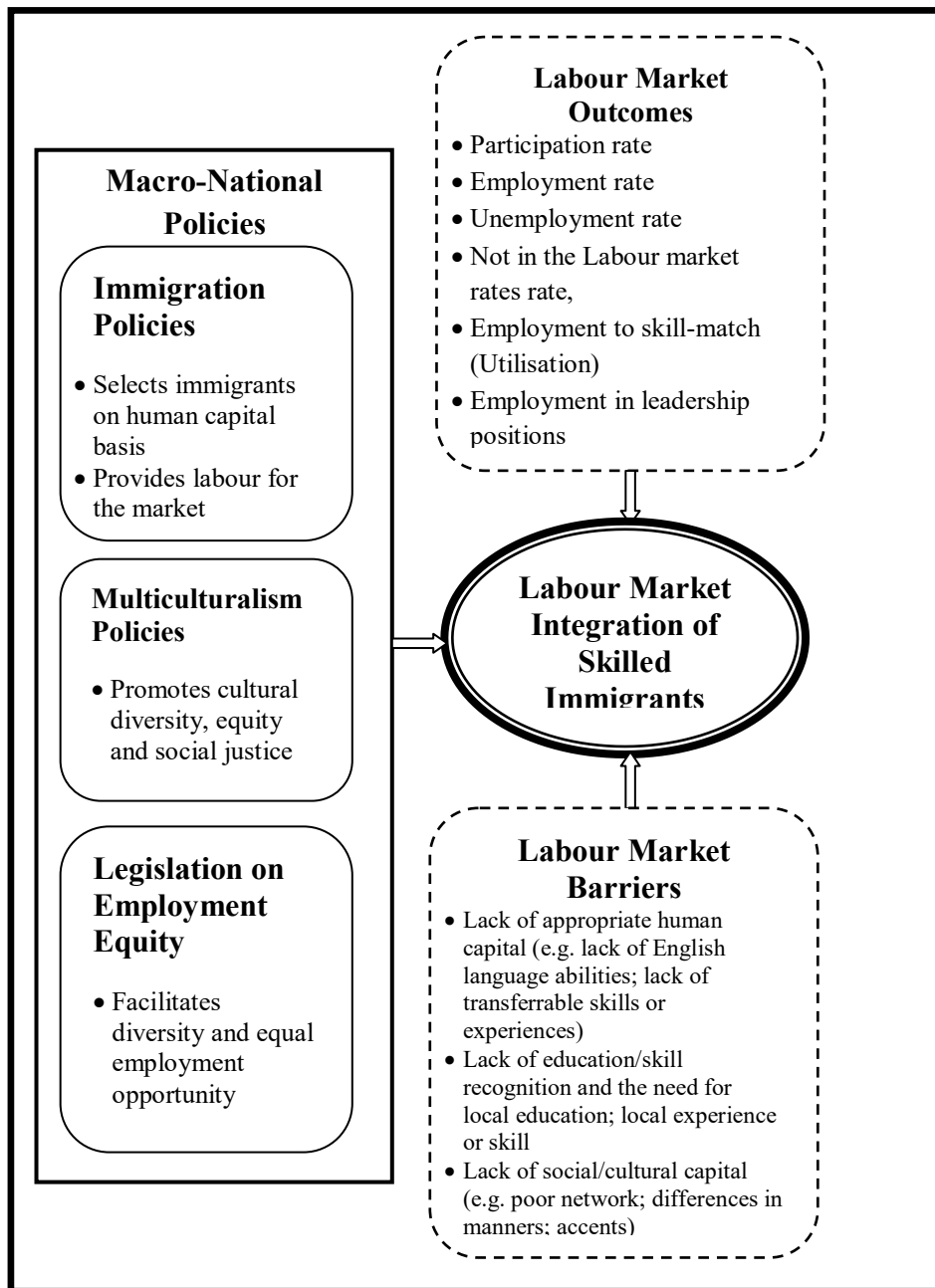
Employment integration is considered as one of the fundamental aspects of the overall settlement experience of immigrants in a new country (Colic-Peisker 2011a; Richardson & Lester 2004) but most important are the institutional structures that enable equitable integration outcomes. As employment legislation such as employment equity or equal employment legislation supports integration and equity, and considering the challenges and inequities in the labour market, it would have been expected that researchers would be interested in examining the role of legislation or the lack of it in facilitating equity in employment for the SIs.

There is a significant amount of evidence indicating major labour market issues experienced by SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds in Canada and Australia. Nevertheless, it appears the governments in these countries believe stringent immigration

policies will be able to alleviate the disadvantages if they attract SIs who are proficient in the host language and have high educational levels. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that immigration policies on their own do not ensure full labour market integration for SIs, as these are only entry policies.

Given the extent of research on the issues, it is expected that governments, businesses, academics and the public are not unaware of the labour market disadvantages experienced by culturally diverse SIs from the non-traditional sources. Based on the literature review, the current study seeks to investigate the comparative data on the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs in Canada and Australia. Based on my analysis of the literature, I have developed a conceptual framework to explain the labour integration of SIs in chapter three. Meanwhile the basic concepts being followed are outlined below (Figure 2.1). Details of theories guiding the study are discussed in chapter three.

Figure 2. 1 Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The study of SIs in the labour market is intrinsically complex. The choice of theories used as a guide for the study has significant implications for examining the labour market integration of SIs. The aim of this chapter is to explain the construction of the conceptual framework that guides the research. It provides new explanations to the field of skilled immigrants (SIs) and their labour market integration. The chapter evaluates the traditional theories of human capital, social and cultural capitals that have commonly been used for interpreting the labour market of (LMOs) of SIs. I will argue in this chapter that, social and cultural capitals are forms of institutional barriers to the advancement of culturally diverse SIs in the labour market.

Studies that focus on the aforementioned capitals emphasise individual barriers to labour market integration rather than stressing the social context such as the impact of culture, social identity and institutional barriers to integration. The chapter highlights the possible weaknesses in the theories for explaining inequitable labour market integration as experienced by culturally diverse SIs. This chapter argues that culture, social identity and institutional theories are better able to explain the labour market integration of SIs based on the literature review evidence in chapter two. The literature review demonstrated that SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds continued to encounter worse LMOs in spite of their being selected on a human capital basis. The chapter posits that culture, social identity and institutional barriers shape the labour market integration of SIs and can contribute to segmentation and discrimination if not managed effectively. Each of these theories is discussed below beginning with the human capital theory.

Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory was introduced to migration research by Sjaastad (1962). According to Schultz (1972), one of the earliest theorists, 'it was the unexplained rise in the economic value of man that led to the concept of human capital'. Schultz (1972) described human capital as an asset that can be used for better employment opportunities through migration. In other words, skill possession has an important role in employment optimisation for migrants (Syed 2008). The theory assumes that personal assets such as skills, education, and physical abilities are fundamental 'capitals' that boost economic production (de Haas 2008, p.6). Mostly the theory is 'defined in terms of investment in education, qualifications, and skills' as well as the knowledge and the abilities that individuals have (Becker 1964; Ployhart, Van Iddekinge & MacKenzie 2011; Taksa & Groutsis 2010, p.174). It encompasses the idea that knowledge and skills gained mainly through education and work experiences enhance individual productivity (Boucher 2016).

Human capital has been identified in economic theory as a major factor in human immigration (Sjaastad 1962). The theory is 'strictly an economic concept' (Borjas 1989; Schultz 1972, p.5) as well as an integral part of migration (Schultz 1972; Sjaastad 1962). Human capital treats migration as an investment decision made by individuals (Bauer & Zimmermann 1999). Earlier scholars such as Harris and Todaro (1970) stressed that immigrants migrate owing to an expectation of better LMOs. It is believed that valuable and rare human capital resources can create competitive advantage (Ployhart, Van Iddekinge & MacKenzie 2011). For countries like Canada and Australia, the goal of attaining competitive advantage in the global market means that they will vie for the best and the brightest SIs who possess valuable human capital resources to add economic value to their economies.

Human capital theory proposes that ‘employees’ qualifications, skills and work experiences, as exchanged in the labour market, are their human capital’ (Becker 1964; Salaff & Greve 2006, p.2). According to this theory, it is assumed that ‘pure exchange relations involve no explicit power relations (Bowles & Gintis 1975, p.76). Employers are expected to ‘match the human capital of an applicant to the job requirements’ and it is assumed that highly SIs ‘should get good jobs’ (Salaff & Greve 2006, p.2). Characteristically these immigrants tend to be young, well educated, and achievement oriented (Todaro 1980). This observation is consistent with the current SI cohorts who arrive in Canada and Australia (CIC Facts & Figures 2010; DIAC Migration Trends 2011-2012) as they are selected on the aforementioned characteristics. Nevertheless, the lack of employers’ competence in determining the credential value of culturally diverse SIs has the potential to adversely affect their labour market integration (Hawthorne 2002).

The human capital theory becomes useful if immigrants are able to find employment that rightly matches their human capital endowments. While the theory is able to explain immigration policy selectivity related to SIs, it is unable to explain why SIs who are selected on equal human capital factors are unable to access jobs that match their education (Frank 2011). The theory is significant as it shows that investment in education enhances one’s own personal development and productivity (Bowles & Gintis 1975). Yet the theory masks the relevance of labour market processes and structures including institutionalisation of the labour market that create labour market segmentation, in-group and out-group situations and discrimination. For instance, the theory fails to acknowledge the perpetuation of ‘sexism, racism and elitism’ (Bowles & Gintis 1975, p.82) by those in power positions. This does not mean that immigrants’ human capital is independent of their LMOs but the theory’s failure to encompass labour market forces (social forces) falls short of providing a complete understanding of the labour market experiences of SIs.

While governments may be seriously engaged in selecting SIs for economic development, attention to the advancement of SIs in the labour market which underpins their welfare has largely been lacking. SIs appear to be left to their own devices in the labour market to 'fit in'. There are professional bodies for assessing the foreign credentials of SIs in Canada and Australia (Hawthorne 2002; Reitz, Curtis & Elrick 2014) but an assessment of credentials is not a guarantee of employment that is commensurate with one's abilities. If it is, then research will not be discussing SIs' employment issues as these bodies have been available for several decades (see Hawthorne 2002; Reitz, Curtis & Elrick 2014). This suggests that there are other forces in the labour market that impact the labour market integration of SIs other than credential assessment. As argued by Bowles and Gintis (1975, p.82), human capital theory 'provides an elegant apology for almost any pattern of oppression or inequality (under capitalism, state socialism, or whatever)', for it tends to attribute social or personal 'ills' to the shortcomings of individuals or technical requirements.

Consequently, the 'role and power of employers, professional associations or other institutions to influence the labour market outcomes of immigrant professionals is overlooked' (Fernando, Fernando & Hannif 2014, p.124). Studies which have focused on the human capital theory explain the labour market discrepancies experienced by SIs as a result of lack of appropriate human capital factors such as lack of language proficiency or transferable human capital (Birrell & Healy 2008; Chiswick & Miller 2008).

Yet, research in Australia by Fernando et al. (2013, p.124) has noted how employer policies and preferences on recruitment and selection reinforce and 'contribute to the creation of disadvantaged labour market groups', a finding that indicates employers' cultural preferences in this study overshadowed candidates' qualifications. Supporters of human capital theory assume that the labour market functions within a fair system where individuals with similar qualities compete for employment based on merit. Human capital theory tends to

focus on the economic context and overlooks the social context of employment decisions. This is because the theory is 'strictly an economic concept' and does not explain social or cultural behaviour (Schultz 1972, p.5) in the labour market. Accordingly, the understanding of social behaviour and structures becomes constrained (McGovern 2007). While the human capital theory is significant to the immigration policy adopted by Canada and Australia lately, it does not account for inequitable actions in the labour market and therefore is unable to explain why some SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds have difficulty obtaining equitable employment outcomes.

Social and Cultural Capitals

As discussed in chapter two, some studies have identified that non-recognition of educational credentials (Li 2008a; Reitz 2007a; Syed 2008; Variyam 2006), lack of host language proficiency (Birrell & Healy 2008), poor networks, (Reitz 2007a) and lack of local education and local experience (Colic-Piesker 2011; Ressia 2010) contribute to the labour market disadvantages experienced by SIs. When these factors are examined and grouped together it can be seen that they fall under some of the core capital concepts such as human, social or cultural capitals. For example, lack of English language abilities; lack of transferrable skills or experiences, lack of education/skill recognition is basically referring to *lack of appropriate human capital*, while poor social networks; differences in manners, accents, lack of local education, local experience or skill is referring to lack of *social and cultural capital*. Accordingly, some scholars suggest that SIs' employment integration can be impacted by human, social and cultural capitals (Bauder 2003; Chiswick & Miller 2008; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007; Fernandez Kelly 1994; 1995; Reitz 2006; 2007). These factors suggest SIs are lacking certain qualities when in fact they reflect institutional barriers rather than lack of skills (Reitz 2005).

The concept of social capital refers to the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively (Woolcock & Narayan 2000) in gaining access to resources, information, favour or assistance; a support of social network system that can assist people to gain opportunities and advantages through community membership (Portes & Landolt 1996). It is often used for different purposes including moral and material support, work and non-work advice (Adler & Kwon 2002, p.18; Bourdieu 1986). Having ‘friends in high places’ or social status (Bourdieu 1986; Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998) including family and associates, can be very important in negotiating assistance to compete successfully for jobs and contracts. Therefore, it has been argued that the absence of such social networks can result in poor socio-economic integration. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) put it simply as, ‘it’s not about *what* you know, it’s *who* you know’. In this regard, individuals without local networks are excluded even before having the opportunity to demonstrate that ‘they can do the work’ (Salaff, Greve & Ping 2002, p.455). This suggests that only those with the right connections whether through local networks or similar social identity to decision-makers are likely to gain privileges in the labour market.

Some studies have reported on the impact of social capital in establishing occupations (see Portes 1998; Xiang 2001; Xue 2008). While social capital may assist in gaining desired employment outcomes, some have likened the concept to nepotism or ‘undue preference for close kin or friends where open merit-based competition should prevail’ (McNamee & Miller 2009, p.87). This shows that potentially, the labour market can legitimise inequities based on social capital rather than operating within a merit-based approach. Without the appropriate social ties in the labour market, some SIs may experience employment disadvantages compared to those with social ties which may be as a result of either friendship or similar social identity. Some employers also use social capital through the ‘practice of hiring new workers via employee referrals’ (see Fernandez, Castilla & Moore 2000, p.1289). Basically,

Bourdieu used the term to 'refer to the advantages and opportunities accruing to people through membership in certain communities' (Portes & Landolt 1996). While human capital is derived from an individual investment or asset, 'to possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage' (Portes 1998, p.7).

Social capital theory may work positively for employees or employers who belong to similar networks and are able to connect each other to some resources either in the form of employment or introduction to another colleague. The concept may also be useful for a dominant group to 'considerably enhance its dominance by helping to exclude' others (Adler & Kwon 2002, p.30). In this case the concept can work against culturally diverse SIs who are new in the host countries and lack sufficient social networks. While the concept has some positive effects by connecting friends, community members and workmates to be favourably exposed to advantages in the labour market, it also has a downside (Portes & Landolt 1996) that can perpetuate cyclical economic deprivation for those who lack strong social ties. Yet social capital has been used in a one-sided manner that depicts SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds who struggle in the labour market as the ones lacking some form of capital when in fact they are normally relying on their human capital to be employed meritoriously. Immigrants are keen to be considered based on their merits rather than be given special considerations (Niland & Champion 1990).

In contrast, Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital initially presented as a theoretical hypothesis, made it possible to explain 'unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes' (Bourdieu 1986, p.243). The concept made a break with the presupposition inherent in the commonsense view, of perceiving 'academic success or failure as an effect of natural aptitudes and in human capital theories' (Bourdieu

1986, p.243). Cultural capital in its generalised definition refers to knowledge of the dominant conceptual and normative codes inscribed in a culture (Jæger 2009). According to Bourdieu cultural capital 'can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, that is in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines etc.) and in the *institutionalised*' state as in the form of education qualifications (Bourdieu 1986, p.243).

Cultural capital is utilised as a vehicle for enabling individuals with knowledge of institutionalised high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours, goods and credentials) to exclude others from advantaged social positions or high-status groups (Jæger 2009). Cultural capital involves symbols that impact on the relationship between individuals, social networks and economic structures, including labour markets (Bauder 2001; Fernández Kelly 1994). Individuals are able to relate easily based on these assumed familiar cultural norms and knowledge in comparison to those who lack them.

The problem that emerges is that social and cultural capital has the potential to link networks and processes of cultural identification with economic opportunity and thereby create labour market segmentation (Bauder 2001; Bourdieu 1984; Jackson 1991). It is this latter point that makes the theory of cultural and social capital complex. On one hand, these processes can assist SIs to gain the right employment if those capitals are available through social networks and cultural know how. On the other hand, it can also serve employers' interest to select individuals on the basis of their social or cultural capital and this can contribute to inequity. The concept creates cultural differentiation of who is 'in' or 'out' or who is part of 'us' and who is not. Cultural capital may serve the interest of dominant cultures or a particular cultural context with shared values but does very little for minority cultures who find themselves in a dominant culture that sees them as the outsiders.

Cultural capital can be used to portray the minority groups as lacking the qualities to enable them succeed. Yet the minority groups have their own embodied cultures that the dominant culture also lacks competence in understanding. The challenge is that when cultural capital is used for explaining the labour market integration of SIs, it assumes a position of a normative concept for explaining the poor labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs. This often entails the assumption that culturally diverse SIs experienced disadvantaged labour market outcomes owing to their insufficient cultural capital (see chapter two). This is rather naïve given that for instance Africa-Americans do not lack either social or cultural capital but still continue to experience social and labour market inequities. The use of social or cultural capital as an explanation for poor labour market integration excuses social actors (employers and institutions) in the labour market from being responsible in their process and practices towards the employment integration of SIs. This gives actors the opportunity to continue to use social and cultural capital as an arbitrary standard for perpetuating inequities in the labour market.

The emphasis on concepts of social and cultural capital rather than one's employment merits may lead to unfair and discriminatory outcomes for individuals with weaker social networks. I will argue that the social and cultural capital concepts have tendencies of anchoring issues of culturally diverse SIs in a deprivation manner without seeking to redress inequities in the labour market. It is therefore important to move away from such negative perspectives to more positive aspects of considering how effectively SIs can be integrated by viewing the issues that culturally diverse SIs encounter as the responsibility of public policies and the labour market processes and practices rather than only theirs.

Even though these theories are useful for explaining the labour market integration of SIs, they place the onus of the labour market integration on individual SIs rather than on

macro-national systems or government policies that are designed to facilitate integration of migrants and minorities. This leads to the labour market outcomes of SIs being explained within a perspective of ‘proficiency’ or ‘deficiency’ on the part of SIs, while the social construction of the labour market processes and practices are largely ignored. This thesis argues that the labour market integration of SIs are significantly shaped by the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of public policies, culture, social identity and institutional factors.

The current study argues that, human, social and cultural capital theories are limited in accounting for the labour market discrepancies experienced by SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds. I argue that while lack of appropriate human capital (e.g. lack of English language abilities, lack of transferrable skills or experiences, lack of education/skill recognition), lack of social and cultural capital (e.g. poor networks, differences in manners, accents, lack of local education, local experience or skill) are possible contributors in shaping the overall labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs, these are only forms of institutional barriers to impede the effective integration of culturally diverse SIs in the labour market. Rather than accepting social and cultural capital as normative concepts in explaining the labour market integration of SIs, I suggest that institutional barriers are created by assumptions about social and cultural capital and about social and cultural capital assets or the lack of such assets. These barriers influence the selection of those who can ‘fit’ in the employment process and thereby adversely affect those who do not have the same social and cultural fit that is required in the labour market.

From the literature review, it becomes evident that individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds, whether VM or individuals from NESB, are more likely to experience labour market challenges in Canada and Australia. Yet, a focus on the impact of culture as a concept has not been given much attention in the literature. It is only emphasised in situations where

it is claimed that SIs experience poorer labour market outcomes due to lack of cultural capital. In this case the attention is on the lack of SIs' cultural capital. I will argue that attention rather ought to be paid to employers and institutions that lack cultural competence to effectively integrate culturally diverse SIs. This is because the labour market is shaped by cultural values, norms, processes and practices that may not support the integration of culturally diverse SIs in the labour market. In other words employers who make the final decision to employ may lack the cultural 'know how' needed to support the employment of individuals from foreign cultures. This is likely to adversely impact on culturally diverse SIs.

Bourdieu in his explanations of the social and cultural capital was basically trying to illustrate how these capitals influence societies especially in the education system to favour some groups more than others. As pointed out by Bourdieu, 'the school system tends to support and acknowledge the dominant culture, thus reinforcing the mechanisms of reproduction of social inequality' (Saraceno 2014, p.3). While the concept explains the power relationships between those who have the required culture or networks in comparison to those who do not have, it is not to be used as an accepted normative concept that views culturally diverse SIs as deserving their poor performance in the labour market due to their 'deficiencies'. Rather it is important to highlight that the capitals for what they are and that is simply forms of institutional barriers for economic and social exclusion. Therefore, there is the need for actors in the labour market to rectify their labour market processes and practices to ensure equity in employment.

The Impact of Culture

Culture

Organisations within the labour market reflect the dominant values within the societal culture. Consequently, the management of the labour market integration of SIs is likely to be

culturally biased. Culture within a social identity framework intersects with how SIs are managed within the labour market and therefore influence how they are integrated into the labour market. Hofstede (1984, p.82) refers to culture as:

the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or society from those of another. Culture consists of the patterns of thinking that parents transfer to their children, teachers to their students, friends to their friends, leaders to their followers, and followers to their leaders. Culture is reflected in the meanings people attach to various aspects of life; their way of looking at the world and their role in it; in their values, that is, in what they consider as "good" and as "evil"; in their collective beliefs, what they consider as "true" and as "false"; in their artistic expressions, what they consider as "beautiful" and as "ugly". Culture, although basically resident in people's minds, becomes crystallized in the institutions and tangible products of a society, which reinforce the mental programmes in their turn. Management within a society is very much constrained by its cultural context, because it is impossible to coordinate the actions of people without a deep understanding of their values, beliefs, and expressions.

This means culture affects how people think or behave towards other people who share similar or dissimilar cultures (see Gudykunst & Kim 2003; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner 1997). People 'feel that what they do is good or right' and view similar cultures favourably while dissimilar cultures are considered as 'backward and/or illogical' (Brislin 1983, p.367). This creates ethnocentrism and perpetuates in-group and out-group tendencies (Brislin 1983). Culture as a way of life (Matthews 2000), is created through collective social relations (Gudykunst & Kim 2003). It is 'a shared system of meanings' that dictates our actions, values and behaviour (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner 1997, p.13; 2011). This suggests that shared or dissimilar culture is likely to shape the employment outcomes of SIs.

Understanding and valuing cultural similarities and differences is significant. Culture affects everyday life, how people communicate and interact with each other (Adler 1997; Hall & Hall 1990; Osland & Bird 2000). Individuals express their cultures through the values they hold and these values in turn influence their attitudes and behaviour in a given situation

(Miroshnik 2002). Individuals have been socialised in different cultures and therefore differ in their preferences (Hofstede 1984) as well as behaviour. 'Culture is a *construct*, that means it is not directly accessible to observation but inferable from verbal statements and other behaviours and useful in predicting still other observable and measurable verbal and nonverbal behaviour' (Hofstede 1993, p.89). 'Although culture is a socially constructed idea based on symbolic meanings without necessary causal properties, the consequences of cultural differentiation are real and powerful' (Bauder 2001, p.42). This means the impact of culture is real.

While studies have reported on the impact of culture on leadership and organisational practices (see House et al. 2002) and the need to understand the role of culture in the management of people, studies investigating the management of SIs and their labour market integration have been silent on this. Rather international or cross-cultural studies (e.g. Black & Mendenhall 1990; House et al. 2002; Rodrigues 1998; Yamazaki & Kayes 2004) have paid more attention to understanding the role of culture in dealing with people in diverse countries. Cross-cultural research has revealed a significantly positive impact of culture on business practices around the world (Adler 1997). While the current study focuses on the domestic integration of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds, the need to understand the role of culture, cultural differences and similarities and the role of cultural competence cannot be overstated. Culture forms part of the foundation on which individual identities are created. It helps individuals to shape their own identities. Therefore cultural difference can produce 'discourse and practices of inclusion and exclusion' (Bauder 2001, p.40). As such understanding the concept of culture is important especially when examining studies that involve culturally diverse SIs.

Studies have shown that intercultural skills are essential for dealing with a culturally diverse workforce. For instance, Devine et al. (2007) found that employees with different cultural backgrounds were placed in low skilled jobs owing to stereotyping and discrimination on the basis of cultural differences. This shows a lack of employers' cultural competence and failure of the workplace to understand the complexity of culture (Earley & Mosakowski 2004). It has been reported that employers would discriminate against culturally diverse work groups in favour of the locally-born Australians (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007; Evans & Kelley 1991). This is perhaps due to a lack of understanding of individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds. Some studies have also found that individuals with intercultural skills perform better in a culturally diverse environment owing to understanding and knowledge of cultural differences (Sizoo et al. 2005). This suggests that having cultural competence can improve workforce outcomes. Employers and managers need to develop a 'sufficient understanding of cultural differences' (Tixier 2000, p.18) to understand the different cultures that SIs bring to the labour market. Canada and Australia will require employers who are competent in understanding the cultural diversity that SIs bring to the labour market to enable successful integration of SIs.

Cultural competence

Cultural competence is a critical skill for employers in dealing with culturally diverse SIs. The lack of cultural competence can adversely affect the progress of culturally diverse SIs. This is because culture has a significant impact on people's life and actions (see Hall & Hall 1990; Matthews 2000) as well as work. To ignore this factor will do a disservice to studies involving culturally diverse SIs. The lack of competence in understanding credentials attained in dissimilar cultures from Canada and Australia may adversely impact the progress of foreign professionals. The lack of cultural competence has been raised in a report (see JSCM 2013). Studies have identified that organisations and employers expect immigrants to

understand their organisational culture and believe that NESB workers need cross-cultural courses for understanding organisation culture for advancement and promotion (Niland & Champion 1991). Yet these employers do not consider their own lack of foreign cultural competence.

Interestingly, the term ‘cultural competence’ is widely used in the fields of health care, medicine, and education in reference to interactions with minorities (e.g. Carey 2011; Johnson, Lenartowicz & Apud 2006; Larson & Bradshaw 2017) but limited in studies involving SIs. It has been suggested that, ‘cultural competence is a set of congruent behaviours, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals and enables that system, agency, or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations’ (Johnson et al 2006, p.529). The definition indicates the importance of social actors possessing the ability (including behaviours, attitudes, knowledge, skills and policies) to deal with cross-cultural situations. Employers in the labour market need cultural intelligence to be able to effectively integrate SIs.

Some studies also define cultural competence in the form of intelligence. For example, Peterson (2004, p.89) defined cultural intelligence as the ability to engage in a set of behaviours that uses skills (i.e., language or interpersonal skills) and qualities (e.g., tolerance for ambiguity, flexibility) that are turned appropriately to the culture-based values and attitudes of the people with whom one interacts. Cultural intelligence refers to the ability to ‘deal effectively with people from different cultural backgrounds’ (Thomas 2006, p.78). As pointed out by (Hofstede 1989, p.390), culture is not an easy concept because it takes very specific ‘managerial skills’ which he calls “cultural awareness” to ‘have culture work for rather than against us’. According to (Hofstede 1989, p.391) ‘cultural awareness means an insight in, or even empathy with, values different from one’s own’. These definitions focus

on the need for cultural competence to better deal with people from culturally diverse backgrounds. I draw from these definitions to argue that employers need to be adept with individuals from other cultures other than their own to successfully integrate culturally diverse SIs.

From the definitions it can be seen that cultural competence is not necessarily about cultural awareness but rather an ability to have cultural knowledge, and skills in culturally diverse encounters. In this case, cultural competence is not a nice attribute for employers to possess but a mandatory skill needed to facilitate the management and integration of globally educated SIs who are predominantly from culturally diverse backgrounds. Yet after several decades of the significance of cultural diversity (see Cox 1991; Cox & Blake 1991; Ely & Thomas 2001; Syed & Kramar 2010; Jayne & Dipboye 2004; Johnston & Packer 1987; Kossek & Zonia 1993; Lorbiecki & Jack 2000; Fenwick et al 2011; Syeman 2006; Thomas 1990) in the labour market, the management of culturally diverse workforce has attracted ‘low priority’ especially in Australia (see Syed & Kramar 2010, p.97). This suggests that the impact of culture is underrated.

As discussed in chapter two Ely and Thomas’ (2001) model provides a useful approach to explain the conditions in which the management of cultural diversity enhances or limits the work functions of a culturally diverse workforce. It is equally important to note the role of cultural competence in the integration of culturally diverse SIs. For instance an employer who does not understand SIs from Arab countries may avoid the opportunity to offer employment to them. This is because the employer may be comfortable with his/her own cultural background and may be unwilling to step out of his/her comfort zone to interact with other social groups that are unfamiliar. Alternatively, if employers understand cultural diversity, they are more likely to offer employment on a more equal basis. On the other hand,

the lack of cultural understanding may result in inequities in the labour market being perpetuated. It is important to note that while SIs may come from culturally diverse backgrounds, their ‘humanity’ is equal. This is the core of the current study; that all SIs achieve equity on the basis of their qualifications whether they are from the traditionally preferred backgrounds or traditionally non-preferred backgrounds. Both Canada and Australia are great examples of countries which call for equity. Therefore it is necessary that examples are set in these two countries. The next section discusses social identity and how it applies to the current study.

Social Identity Theory

Usually people identify and evaluate themselves in terms of the group to which they belong and the characteristics of that group either by status, gender, skin colour and the rest (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997). These social identities occur when people desire to be seen as similar in order to fit in with others in contrast to groups deemed undesirable to associate with (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997). These social identities or categorisations are normally taught earlier on in life by adults to children to encourage development of similar social membership according to for instance, ethnic heritage, religion or social class (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997). This is also ‘reinforced by peer group interaction within a culture’ and creates *in-groups* (those that we care about) versus *out-groups* (those that we do not care about) (Gudykunst & Kim 1997, p.87).

Though categorisation of social groups may be universal among humans (Brewer & Campbell 1976 cited in Gudykunst & Kim 1997), it is the extent to which these categorisations are used to exclude or disadvantage others that influences the employment outcomes of SIs in the labour market. For instance studies have noted that both individualistic

(European) and collectivistic (Polynesians) cultures display bias when dealing with people from other groups (Gudykunst & Kim 1997). However, the collectivistic (Polynesians) groups 'moderate their discrimination and show greater generosity to out-group members' in comparison to Europeans (individualistic) (Gudykunst & Kim 1997, p.87). This shows how individualistic and collectivistic groups may operate when dealing with out-group members in the labour market. However, it is possible that if good relations exist between different cultural groups, biases may be minimal (Gudykunst & Kim 1997) in the labour market.

Social identity theory as developed by Tajfel (1972) offers an understanding into social group membership, intergroup relations and processes (Hogg 2001; Hogg & Terry 2000; Hogg, Terry & White 1995). The theory argues that individuals are attracted to people like themselves (Schneider 1987). The theory began with the idea of social categorisation (Tajfel 1978) as individuals identify with social groups to 'enhance self-esteem' (Ashforth & Mael 1986, p.22). Tajfel and Turner (1979, p.40) claim that social categorisations are used as 'cognitive tools to segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable them to undertake many forms of social action'. According to these authors, social categories 'provide a system of orientation for self-reference: they create and define the individual's place in society' (Tajfel & Turner 1979, p.40). This theory argues that social identity is understood as that 'part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1974; 2010, p.2). Individuals tend to define themselves according to their group membership and may perceive one group membership as being more salient than others (Tajfel 2010).

Consequently, social groups provide their members with an identification of themselves in social terms which is based on relational and comparative terms; that define

the individuals as similar to or different from, as 'better' or 'worse' than members of other groups (Tajfel & Turner 1979, p.40). People, therefore, define themselves in relation to their social group and attract 'people who are of a similar type' (Schneider 1987, p.442). To this Schneider (1987) argues that people in decision making positions make decisions that influence the structures and the processes of organisations to attract people of identical type leading to attraction-selection-attrition theory. The tendencies are that organisations in the labour market may attract, select, and retain similar types of people and therefore may become resistant to change (Billsberry 2004) or to include individuals of dissimilar type of backgrounds. Some have argued that 'employers do not simply weigh prospective employees' human capital by surveying their CVs; they also consider potential employees' accents, behaviour during the course of interviews, dress and names (Triadafilopoulos & Smith, 2013, p.7). This suggests 'that employers base their hiring decisions on comparing familiar symbols' (Salaff & Greve 2006, p.3).

Syed and Pio's (2010) analysis of interviews with Muslim migrant women in Australia revealed incidences of social stereotypes in their work lives based on ethnic and religious symbols, for example, their dress code, wearing of veil (hijab), skin colour and religious customs. The study identified that while most organisations were compliant with anti-discrimination legislation, subtle forms of indirect discrimination based on an unspoken code of personal presentation, such as the wearing of the veil, ethnic and religious backgrounds, names and language influenced migrants' employment outcomes during recruitment and selection. These are examples of ingrained discrimination that restrict SIs' entry into competitive job markets (Boyd 2000; Syed 2008).

Social identity theory is an appropriate theory for explaining inequities experienced by SIs in the labour market (Dietz et al. 2015), especially, in instances where it is likely that

employers recruit workers based on familiar cultures rather than based on human capital. The theory may ‘be used as a basis for understanding the positive and negative outcomes that result when members of different identity groups interact’ (Chrobot-Mason et al. 2007, p.2014). Social identity theory argues that individuals who belong to a similar group (in-group) tend to show preference for in-group members rather than dissimilar groups (out-group) (Dietz et al. 2015). These preferences are normally based on biases and prejudices that social perceivers hold about a social group ‘that is incongruent with the attributes that they believe are required’ (Eagly & Chin 2010, p.217) for success. These practices result in ‘arbitrary and extensive exclusions for persons who, by reason of their group affiliation, are systematically denied a full opportunity to demonstrate their individual abilities’ (Abella 1984, p.10). This can often result in labour market segmentation and discrimination. All these factors can become institutionalised to subtly impede the progress of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds.

Institutions in the Labour Market

The thesis does not focus on organisations as institutions but rather on the labour market. The use of institutions in this study does not necessarily refer to only organisations. Instead, it also refers to established patterns of practice, recognised as such by actors, which have force as ‘the way things are done’ (Jenkins 2008, p.45). Institutions are emergent products of what people do as ‘they don’t ‘exist’ in any sense ‘above the action’ (Jenkins 2008, p.158). Institutions control and order our everyday life (Jenkins 2008). This shows that ‘not all institutions are organisations’ (Jenkins 2008, p.169). An institution encompasses long-standing accepted norms, rules and traditions that shape societies’ behavioural patterns and practices and also influence government structures including markets and organisations (Menard 1995). Institutions provide the environment and create ‘the rules of the game within which such “governance structures” as the market operate (Ménard 1995, p.164). It can be

argued then that institutions are organised rules, processes and practices developed by people who control *what* and *how* activities are accomplished. So this means institutional barriers can take any form rather than physical organisations to hinder the progress of culturally diverse SIs. This can be the processes and the practices of employers and institutions which have become normalised in the labour market to influence the employment outcomes of SIs.

‘The labour market is the major arena where the individual living conditions are determined’ (Vogel 2003, p.25). This is the place where income is generated through employment opportunities for one’s living but at the same time it is within this ground that status, social networks, cultural connections, identity, equity, inclusion and all other intangible resources are formed to influence life (Vogel 2003). The labour market is a place where humans function according to their cultural and social identity. In other words, the labour market is shaped by human behaviour, functions, processes and practices. Employers, employees, workers, organisations, and employment of all kinds occur in the labour market. In brief the labour market is an institution that deals with people.

Management scholars have traditionally focused on the organisational level of analysis rather the labour market. I argue that it is important that significant attention is also paid to the labour market where processes and practices of human behaviour occur. This is because it is the people who make the place (the labour market in this case), the organisations or the institutions and not the other way round. It is the ‘attributes of people’ (Schneider 1987, p.437) which control the labour market processes and practices to shape what occurs in the labour market. I discuss institutional theories into more detail in the next section.

Institutional Theory

According to Scott (2005, p.2), ‘institutional theory attends to the deeper and more resilient aspects of social structure’. It considers the processes by which structures, including

schemas, rules, norms, and routines, become established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour. The theory is ‘traditionally concerned with how groups and organisations better secure their positions and legitimacy by conforming to the rules (such as regulatory structures, governmental agencies, laws, courts, professions, and scripts and other societal and cultural practices that exert conformance pressures) and norms of the institutional environment’ (DiMaggio & Powell 1983, p.104; Glover et al. 2014). In this view, ‘conformity to norms is facilitated by normative, coercive and mimetic processes’ (Kondra & Hinings 1998).

Normative forces ensure conformity so as to promote a perception of legitimacy owing to social obligations (Glover et al. 2014) which may include professional associations (Yang 2005; Yang & Konrad 2011). Coercive forces, in contrast, involve the exerted influences of people in powerful positions while mimetic forces include the imitation of competitors in similar successful industry environments (Glover et al. 2014; Yang 2005). In this case institutions create expectations that determine legitimate actions and define what is appropriate or legitimate and thereby consider other actions unacceptable (Glover et al. 2014). This conformity to norms is for ensuring survival (Kondra & Hinings 1998) in an industry environment.

Institutional theory ‘conjectures that the suitable qualities for job holders are socially constructed’ (Salaff & Greve 2006, p.2). The theory ‘explores the social structure of the labour force that receives workers, rather than the individual worker’s fit’ (Salaff & Greve 2006, p.3). The theory contradicts human capital which focuses on individuals factors for gaining successful LMOs. The theory focuses on institutional systems and calls for structures and processes that facilitate SIs’ LMOs (Salaff & Greve 2006). It considers the institutional

environment and social structures and processes which perpetuates 'patterns of behaviour, norms and expectations which come to appear necessary' (Salaff & Greve 2006, p.3).

The institutional theory can be used for examining factors that promote survival and legitimacy or for instance organisational practices, including culture and social environment, regulation, tradition and history (Glover et al. 2014; Guo 2009). In regard to the study of SIs' integration, the theory can be used to explain issues to do with acceptance of foreign credentials, foreign work experience, foreign education, local work experience, and language proficiency. The main premise of the immigration policies in Canada and Australia is to select SIs who will easily integrate into the labour market based on their human capital ability. The reality is that this is not easily achievable owing to systemic labour market practices and structures that prefer some human capital attributes from one region over others. When overseas qualifications from non-traditional immigrant source countries are discounted, it affects immigrants sourced from a particular region (Guo 2009).

Institutional theory may be applied when employers and professional bodies legitimise the requirement for local credentials, local experience as well as local skills and language ability in the labour market. Institutional activities can perpetuate inequities without any rationally explained basis because of their accepted norms and claims of 'that's just the way things are done around here' (Oliver 1997, p.699). It is plausible that employers use institutionalised systems and practices as a defence or *résistance* mechanism to avoid sharing economic power resulting from the rise of highly culturally diverse SIs.

Institutional theory suggests exclusion and inclusion activities that can mimic historical tendencies. This means SIs from certain cultural groups may be excluded from top employment positions not because they lack the skills required but because historical institutional tendencies have allowed it. The state's control of immigration policies shapes

‘immigration patterns, which in turn have a tremendous impact on the demography, culture, economy, and politics of the state’ (Meyers 2000, p.1245). In brief, from an institutional perspective, it can be assumed that if the states value the skills of SIs from non-English-speaking countries, then that same valorisation will be reflected in the labour market too. Table 3.1 summarises the human capital of SIs and corresponding institutional barriers to employment in Canada and Australia.

According to Lewin (1947), there are certain restraining forces that impede on successful change outcomes; whether at the individual, group or organisational level (cited in Burnes 2004). The table shows that while immigration policies have changed to allow culturally diverse SIs to be selected on human capital qualities, there are still certain entrenched restraining forces (see Burnes 2004) that impede the successful employment outcomes of SIs. These restraining institutional forces are being used to preserve the present *status quo* so as to maintain certain conditions (see e.g. Lewin 1943 as cited in Burnes 2004) in the labour market to avoid power sharing (Agocs 1997).

Table 3. 1 Human Capital of Skilled Immigrants and Institutional Barriers

Driving Forces: Human Capital	Restraining Forces: Entrenched institutional Barriers
Education	Preference for local education
Educational credentials	Preference for familiar educational credentials
Skills	Preference for local skills
Experience	Preference for local experience
Language proficiency	Preferential English language proficiency
	Preference for culture of dominant group
	Resistance to sharing hierarchical power positions

Source: This study

Labour Market Segmentation

Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973), defined ‘labour market segmentation as the historical process whereby political-economic forces encourage the division of the labour market into separate submarkets, or segments, distinguished by different labour market

characteristics and behavioural rules'. These segmentations in the labour market ensure that workers and jobs are matched within segments (Bauder 2001). Reich et al. (1973, p.361) argued that employers 'actively and consciously' foster segmentation in the labour market so as to 'divide and conquer' the labour market (Bauder 2001). Labour market segmentation therefore, involves 'conscious strategies and systemic forces' (Reich et al. 1973, p.361) for preventing marginalised groups from achieving equal socio-economic status. Consequently, the theory claims that 'social and institutional forces reduce opportunities for certain social groups, for example women and immigrants, and relegate them to the 'second division' of the labour market' (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006, p.206). 'Labour market segmentation theory explains the economic marginalisation of ethnic minorities, lower classes and women' (Bauder 2001, p.37).

Reich et al. (1973) maintain that labour market segmentation facilitates the operation of capitalist institutions as it helps to reproduce capitalist hegemony. It establishes a 'fire trail' across vertical job ladders and causes workers to limit their own aspirations for mobility (Reich et al. 1973, p364). Through the division of workers into segments in the labour market, it legitimises inequalities in authority and control between superiors and subordinates (Reich et al. 1973). Employers are perceived as the manipulators in the labour market. For instance, employers can resort to using educational credentials to regulate skill requirements (Reich et al. 1973) for jobs so as to attain the intended strategy of division in the labour market and thus decide who to offer employment to.

Devaluation of SIs' human capital and institutional practices that recognise local credentials and experiences over foreign credentials and experiences can all be interpreted as an attempt to divide the labour market into segments (Bauder 2003, 2015). Sometimes, this occurs so that people in powerful positions can continue to perpetuate injustices intentionally

or unintentionally if they desire to maintain the status quo. ‘Denying people access to employment for reasons unrelated to their ability or industry is discriminatory and oppressive which constitutes social injustices and violation of fundamental human rights’ (Danso 2009, p.541). The differential occupational outcomes of SIs in professional and leadership positions in comparison to their counterparts with similar human capital are all forms of labour market segmentation. These outcomes signal forms of discrimination which is described next.

Discrimination

Despite the evolution of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation in Canada and Australia several decades ago (see e.g. Abella & Agócs 2014; Bennington & Wein 2000; Ng, Haq & Tremblay 2014; Niland & Champion 1990; Strachan, Burgess & Henderson 2007), labour market inequities persist. While blatant employment discrimination has become illegal, its persistence in the labour market questions the extent to which policies are being monitored and deemed effective. From the human capital perspective, employment discrimination should not occur because employment opportunities will be based on merit. But from institutional, social identity and labour market segmentation perspectives, discrimination persists. ‘Discrimination remains commonplace in large part because it continues to proceed in covert, subtle, and unintentional forms even when its more blatant expressions are restrained’ (Eagly & Chin 2010, p.217).

Discrimination refers to the verbal and non-verbal actions that result from prejudiced attitudes (Ting-Toomey & Chung 2005). It involves behaviours or practices that result in unnecessary and unfair inequalities in power, resources or opportunities across groups in society based on a range of characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, race, culture, religion, age, social class and relationship status (Trenerry, Franklin & Paradies 2012). It is a behaviour that treats in-group members favourably and out-groups unfavourably (Gudykunst

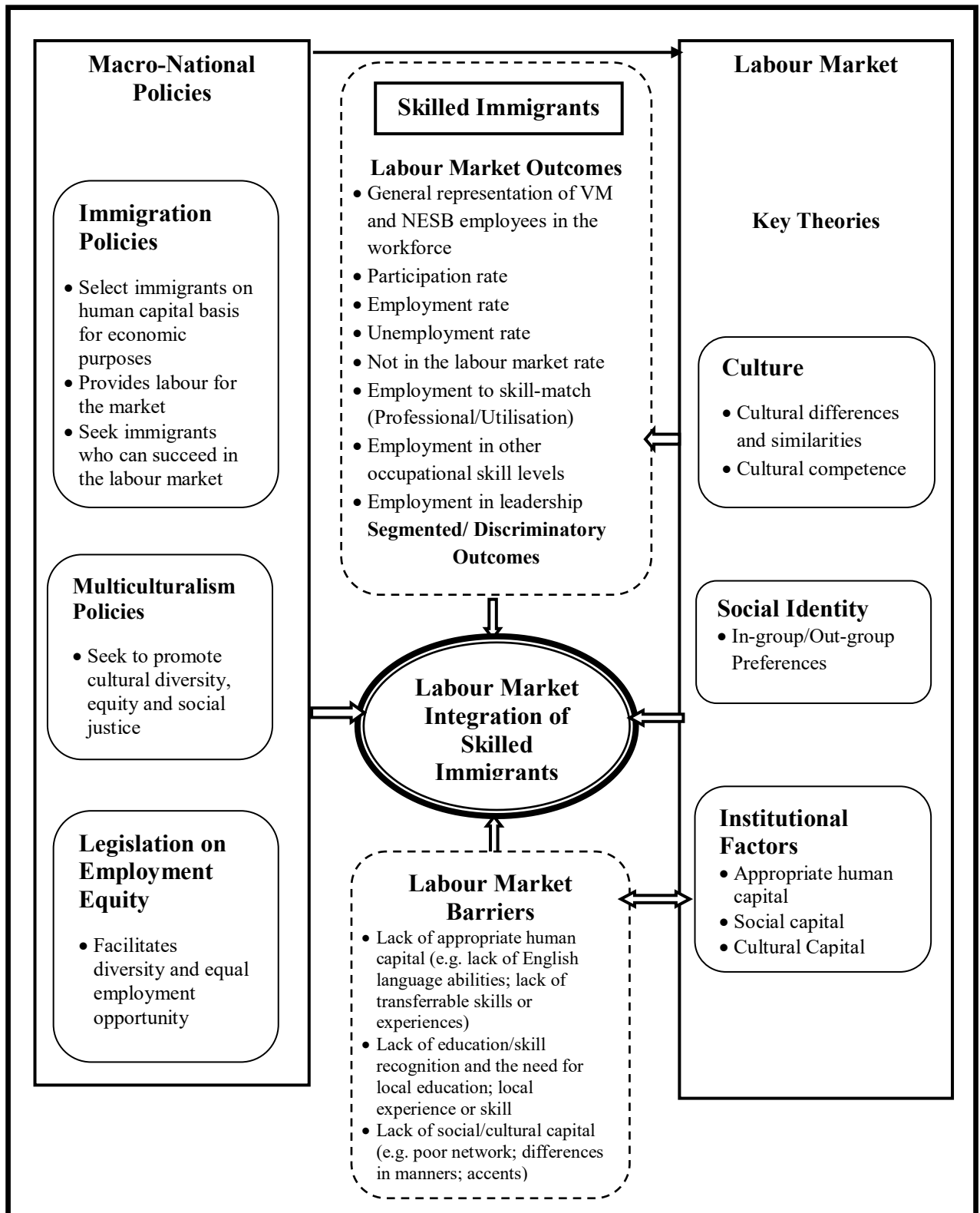
& Kim 1997). Discrimination can be direct or indirect. Direct discrimination includes situations where a person from one group is treated more favourably than people who are not in that group (Kirton & Greene 2000). Indirect discrimination on the other hand, refers to discrimination that indirectly affects group members without intending to (Ting-Toomey & Chung 2005). It ‘occurs where an apparently neutral employment practice has a disproportionately disadvantageous effect upon a particular group’ (Kirton 2003, p.6). A typical example is when employers require local employment experience from migrants before they can be employed. How can SIs function appropriately in employment relevant to their qualifications if they are not provided with the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities locally?

Reitz (2001) defines employment discrimination as negative employment decisions based on statuses such as birthplace or origins, rather than based solely on credentials and qualifications directly related to the potential productivity of the employees. A study by (Oreopoulos 2009) who sent thousands of resumes in response to online job postings across multiple occupations in Canada found that applicants with English sounding names received interview requests 40% more often than those without. The study found that employers valued work experience acquired in Canada more than if acquired overseas. Oreopoulos (2009) concluded that these results demonstrate considerable employer discrimination against applicants with ethnic names or with experience from foreign places.

Most differential labour market outcomes (LMOs) and labour market barriers (LMBs) can be related to discrimination (see Bertrand & Mullainathan 2004; Hawthorne 1997; Oreopoulos 2009; Reitz 2007a, 2007b). Yet researchers have avoided discussing the degree to which labour market experiences of SIs may be influenced by discrimination (Hawthorne 1997), alluding to the statement that ‘it is not an issue here in Australia’. There are examples

of research which have identified underutilisation of skilled professionals who then become cleaners, taxi drivers, security guards, factory workers and pizza or newspaper delivery (Danso 2009; Man 2004) in spite of their educational qualifications. Even so, analysing employment outcomes within a discrimination concept is debatable as it is hard to prove discrimination directly.

Figure 3. 1 Conceptual Framework



Source: This study

The Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework (Figure 3.1) provides ideas from *outside* the traditional field of study on the labour market integration of SIs which have mainly focused on immigration policies (human capital theory) in relation to the labour market experiences of SIs. The framework also considers social and cultural capital theories as forms of institutional barriers to employment. Previous studies (see chapter two) have focused on what SIs lack to succeed in the labour market. I focus on what employers and institutions in the labour market lack to facilitate the labour market integration of SIs. In other words my focus is on labour market processes and practices rather than a deficiency on the part of SIs.

I propose that while there is merit in using immigration policies for selecting the best immigrants, the effective integration of SIs in the labour market integration may not be shaped by only immigration policies but also by the effectiveness of other macro-national policies of diversity management frameworks (multiculturalism policies and employment legislation), culture, social and institutional factors. I argue that, the use of immigration policies for selection of the highly SIs who can settle successfully in the labour market cannot be isolated from these macro-national policies which have the potential to integrate immigrants.

Based on the literature, a conceptual framework has been developed to explain the labour market integration of SIs. The study sets out to explore how effectively SIs are integrated into the labour market in Canada and Australia. This denotes understanding of how SIs are managed in the two countries. The thesis' focus is on the diversity of the skilled immigrant (SI) population owing to the current migration trends. This is important to note as it will allow me to explore how effectively the SIs have been integrated into the labour market according to their cultural backgrounds.

I observed in the literature review (chapter two) that most previous studies have focused mainly on analysing immigration policies (human capital concept) in relation to the labour market integration of SIs. I noticed also in the literature that there is scant examination of the roles of other macro-nation policy frameworks such as multiculturalism policies and employment legislation (see chapter two) in studies that examine the labour market integration of SIs even though these policies have the potential to integrate immigrants by facilitating diversity and equity of migrants and minorities. The study therefore proposes that the study of SIs' labour market integration cannot occur in isolation from all these three key public policies (immigration policies, multiculturalism policies and legislation on equal employment). This proposition is rather different to studies that investigate the labour market integration of SIs. I suggest that the integration of key public policies relevant to immigrants' integration and settlement in their host nations cannot be over emphasised.

Additionally, I also realised from the literature review (chapter two) that country of origin played a key role in shaping the labour market outcomes (LMOs) of SIs in both Canada and Australia. Yet the literature explains the labour market performance of SIs through the lens of SIs lacking appropriate human, social and cultural capitals. I suggest an alternative explanation that the lack of appropriate human, social and cultural capitals is rather forms of institutional barriers. Instead, I suggest that, the impact of culture in terms of cultural differences and lack of cultural competence on the part of employers and institutions are more likely to shape the employment outcomes of SIs. If employers in the labour market are culturally competent, they are more likely to possess the abilities to effectively integrate SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds. However, the lack of cultural competence may influence employment to be offered on the basis of cultural backgrounds in the labour market. This then means the employment processes and practices will be influenced by cultural preferences and social identities.

I used social identity theory to help elucidate how and why country of origin influences the labour market integration of SIs. Previous studies have identified the effect of country of origin but have limited theoretical explanations for this effect. I suggest that factors including culture, social identities and institutional barriers are more likely to shape the labour market experiences of SIs. They can create labour market segmentation and discrimination if not managed well.

Immigration policies select the best and brightest who will settle successfully in the two nations to contribute to their economic contribution (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014; Hawthorne 2011). Multiculturalism policies seek to promote cultural diversity, equity and social justice (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011; Li 2000) while legislation on employment equity facilitates diversity and equal employment opportunity (Agocs 2002; Mighty 1996). To gain a deeper understanding of the policies, a separate analytical policy framework has been developed in chapter four to guide the policy analysis in chapter five and six respectively. Analysis of the legislation on employment equity goals, rationales and outcomes is also discussed in detail in chapter seven. The overall employment outcomes are discussed using the theoretical framework presented in this chapter. This theoretical analysis allows the current study to understand the impact of cultural diversity in the LMOs of the SI population and possible theoretical implications.

The conceptual framework will help us understand and explain the labour market integration of SIs by examining the policies effect. The immigration policies ensure non-discriminatory practices by selecting immigrants from all cultural regions. The multicultural policies and employment legislation are frameworks for managing cultural diversity and employment equity once the SIs are in the host countries. All these frameworks are likely to impact the labour market integration of SIs to some extent depending on how effective they are.

I therefore argue that the labour market integration of SIs is rather largely influenced by macro-national policies including (1) immigration policies (2) multiculturalism policies (3) employment legislation) and by; (4) culture, (5) social identity and (6) institutional factors.

The thesis therefore expects that:

- (1) Patterns and processes of macro-national policies' (multiculturalism policies and employment legislation) effectiveness or ineffectiveness are likely to shape the labour market integration of SIs.
- (2) The extent to which macro-national national policies directly or indirectly facilitate the integration of SIs will shape the labour market integration of SIs.
- (3) Labour market processes and practices are likely to be influenced by the culture, social and institutional factors and thus how equitably SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds attain successful employment outcomes.
- (4) Effective labour market integration will result in equitable labour market outcomes (employment, unemployment and participation rates; occupational skill level outcomes in employment match to qualifications and leadership positions) that are commensurate with immigrant's human capital qualities and skill utilisation.
- (5) Ineffective labour market integration is more likely to result in inequitable labour market outcomes (employment, unemployment and participation rates; occupational skill level outcomes in employment match to qualifications and leadership positions) that are not commensurate with immigrant's human capital qualities and skill utilisation.
- (6) Culture and lack of cultural competence by employers might influence employment process and practices. SIs with similar cultural backgrounds as the predominant host culture are more likely to gain favourable employment based on cultural similarities in comparison to those from dissimilar cultures.

- (7) Social identity factors will play a key role in the employment of SIs in the labour market. Preferences of in-group versus out-group membership will shape the labour market outcomes of SIs and may lead to inequitable labour market outcomes, especially in leadership positions.
- (8) Institutional factors such as lack of appropriate human capital, social and cultural capital in addition to culture, cultural differences and social identity factor will play key role in influencing the overall labour market outcomes of SIs.
- (9) SIs from similar English-speaking cultural backgrounds as the dominant host population are more likely to gain advantaged labour market integration compared to those who are not. The labour market integration of SIs is socially constructed and therefore more likely to be influenced by socially identical factors relating to ‘in-group’ members preferences compared to ‘out-group’.

Specifically, it is likely that:

- (1) SIs from non-English-speaking European backgrounds may be somewhat advantaged (semi-advantaged) in the labour market compared to non-English-speaking non-European SIs owing to preferences for similar cultural and socially identical factors of ‘in-group’ versus ‘out-group’.
- (2) SIs from dissimilar cultural groups to the dominant host population are more likely to experience disadvantaged labour market integration outcomes compared to those from similar cultural groups owing to possible preferences for ‘in-group’ members rather than ‘out-group’ members on the basis of socially or culturally non-identical factors.
- (3) The ‘in-group’ membership preferences over the ‘out-group’ membership may signal lack of cultural competence towards ‘out-group’ members in the labour market which may result in disadvantaged LMOs either in the form of segregation or discrimination for those SIs considered as ‘out-group’ members.

- (4) The overall labour market integration of the SI population will highlight how effective the macro-national policies have been towards the labour market integration of SIs.

Summary of the Theoretical Framework

Figure 3.1 shows the different theoretical perspectives developed to guide the study. The study draws on culture, social identity and institutional theories as a guide to the research. Firstly, the study argues that differences in culture (Hofstede 1984) and employers' understanding of cultural diversity (cultural competence) are likely to influence the employment outcomes of SIs. Employers who share similar cultural backgrounds with some SIs are more likely to recognise and employ their skills compared to those from dissimilar cultural groups. This is perhaps because it is less stressful to deal with people from similar cultural backgrounds than it is with unfamiliar cultures. As a result, employers may prefer individuals from similar cultural backgrounds owing to their lack of cultural competence in understanding cultural diversity and their lack of ability to effectively manage a culturally diverse workforce.

Secondly, this study argues that the social identity (Tajfel & Turner 1979) to which SIs belongs (in-group versus out-group) may influence the labour market integration of SIs. In-group members may include people from similar cultural backgrounds (e.g. traditionally preferred immigrant source regions) compared to out-groups from dissimilar cultural backgrounds (e.g. non-traditional immigrant source regions such as Asia, Africa and the Middle East). Practices and processes of the labour market may be influenced by cultural preferences (see Tajfel & Turner 1979) as in-group members (e.g. employers from the dominant host culture) judge out-group members in terms of their cultural standards (see Gudykunst & Kim 1997). This may lead to offering employment based on preference for

particular immigrant cultures or social identity. This in turn is likely to lead to labour market segmentation and inequities. This process of culturally preferred employment offers to immigrants from similar cultures may also extend to power positions in the labour market, such as senior managers, while out-groups may be excluded from similar positions. These tendencies promote discrimination in the labour market.

Thirdly, the study also draws from institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Scott 2005) to shift the focus of labour market responsibilities from SIs to functions, processes and practices of the labour market. Labour market practices and processes such as preferring people from similar cultural or social backgrounds which have become institutionalised can support some SIs while impeding the progress of other SIs in the labour market. The expectation that SIs ought to have social and cultural capital relevant to the preferred culture is a form of institutional barrier that conceals employers' lack of cultural competence in dealing with individuals from dissimilar cultural groups. The study argues that SIs do not lack the required skills needed in the labour market as they have been selected by immigration policies based on human capital. Rather institutional barriers impact their productivity within the labour market.

Human capital, social and cultural capital theories are all culturally constrained by particular cultural standards and are limited in their ability to explain the labour market experience of SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds. The theories focus on the proficiencies or deficiencies of individual SIs and expect SIs to possess some level of skills to assimilate into the labour market. These capitals ignore social structures that are involved in the integration of SIs. This means institutional systems involving public policies, patterns of behaviour, labour market processes and practices are not investigated. The current framework suggests a different perspective where public policies, socially constructed factors such as

culture, social identity and institutional constraints are considered as integrated influences in the labour market integration of SIs.

It is only when scholars begin to acknowledge the need to understand the labour market integration of SIs from a cultural diversity perspective and to know how culture and the lack of cultural competence are likely to play critical roles in the examination of SIs that we can fully understand some of the issues that occur in the labour market.

This chapter has discussed human capital theory with its assumptions that individuals with greater human capital gain superior labour market outcomes. Canadian and Australian immigration policy approaches to the integration of immigrants focus on the human capital concept. Yet it is the policy intent and the reality that immigrants experience that is relevant in this study. The chapter discussed social and cultural capitals which are perceived as potential capitals needed by SIs to be successful in the labour market and yet lack deeper explanations for inequitable LMOs. Strengths and weaknesses of these theories were highlighted to point out the theories' inability to explain instances when individuals with similar greater human capital obtained lower labour market rewards.

In contrast, cultural constraints (e.g. Brislin 1983; Gudykunst & Kim 2003; Hofstede 1984; 1989; 1993), Tajfel's (1974; 2010) social identity theory together with institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Scott 2005) are noted as potential concepts for explaining the employment discrepancies that occur in the labour market owing to structural and systemic processes (Scott 2005). These are explanations that human capital and the social and cultural capitals can offer little assistance with. These selected theories (culture, social identity and institutional theories) show that some SIs may experience labour market discrimination and segmentation owing to the labour market tendencies of preferring one group over the other as well as labour market requirements that indirectly discriminate or

segregate. I argue that the theories complement each other and enable a more realistic analysis of the labour market integration of SIs (Figure 3.1). While several studies have examined immigrants and their labour market integration (see chapter two), few have approached the issues from these theoretical perspectives. Additionally, though this research is multidisciplinary in nature, it strongly identifies itself with the field of both migration and management studies. The next chapter discusses the research methodology.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology that is employed in the study. It first discusses the research philosophy of the study. It provides justification for the use of a mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) research methodology and the comparative case study design. The research adopted a comparative case studies approach for cross-country analysis. The thesis used policies as mechanisms to illustrate policy effectiveness in relation to the labour market integration of skilled immigrants (SIs) in Canada and Australia. This chapter discusses the research methodology, methods of data collection and data analysis that provided reliability and validity of results to the overall study. In general, the chapter demonstrates the rationale behind the chosen methodology to espouse its strengths and challenges while demonstrating the epistemological location and ontological perspective of the study (Yin 2011).

The thesis is a cross-country comparative study of labour market integration of SIs in Canada and Australia. It seeks to understand how effectively Canada and Australia integrate their SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds. Effective labour market integration in this study refers to attaining employment outcomes that are commensurate with one's human capital qualities. Thus achievement of employment outcomes that require the skill level of a university degree qualification is relevant to this study. The study expects that gaining an employment that provides a 'close fit to the individual's type and level of skill endowments' (Schmitt, 2012. p.257) can be regarded as attainment of effective integration.

I adopted an empirical approach to collecting secondary data for analysis to answer the research question: *How effectively do Canada and Australia integrate their skilled immigrants?* I

will first explain my research philosophy before going into details of the research methodology adopted for the study.

The Research Philosophy

Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought.... Being first virtues of human activities, truth and justice are uncompromising. (Rawls 1999, p.3-4).

The thesis is underpinned by fairness and equity principles. The diverse nature of the SI population in Canada and Australia calls for greater attention to be paid to issues impacting SIs. SIs are significant to both Canada and Australia not only in economic terms but also socially and culturally as contributors to their societies. To be inattentive to issues that impact SIs is a sign of lack of responsibility on the part of the authorities who invited them to Canada and Australia.

Justice challenges institutional structures that fail to ensure equity and fairness (Follesdal 2014). According to Rawls (1999), many kinds of things are said to be just and unjust including laws, institutions, and social systems, as well as particular actions such as decisions, judgements and imputations. Yet the very premise of justice rests on the ‘basic structure of society, or more exactly, the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation (Rawls 1999, p.6). Social justice ensures marginalised groups obtain equitable outcomes through recognition of past disadvantages and aims to rectify the existence of structural barriers in social, economic and political systems. It provides support for assessing policies and labour market practices impact on individuals who experience inequity. It is worth noting that it was through a call for social justice that Canada adopted employment equity as a ‘proactive means of achieving social justice’ (Mighty 1996, p.3) so as to obtain equality of results (Abella 1984). Therefore, as highlighted by Demuijnck (2009, p.84) ‘those who are at the same level of talent and ability, and have the same willingness to use them, should have the same prospects of success regardless of their initial

place in the social system, that is, irrespective of the income class into which they are born' (Rawls 1971, p.73).

It is important to note that the study of the labour market integration of SIs involve people (human beings) in a socially constructed environment. This means the social occurrences are quite significant in the processes and the practices within the labour market. Practically speaking the labour market consists of three entities (the government, the employers/institutions and the SIs) involved in social interactions. While 'in social interactions there is considerable variation in the manner in which people treat one another' (Tyler & Blader 2003, p.350), treating people with dignity, fairness and justice has always been an underlying human principle. Within the labour market, the processes and practices exhibited by those in power positions to offer employment equitably is significant to this study. It is assumed that the governments' non-discriminatory immigration policies do not just want people who will find any employment but rather that the SIs will find fulfilling employment commensurate with their qualifications and promote a 'happy, creative and productive' (Tyler & Blader 2003, p.351) life in the new destinations. This will require sophisticated government intervention related to the quality of treatment of culturally diverse individuals. Hence, the need to evaluate how public policies contribute to the labour market integration of SIs.

From a fairness and equity perspective, I argue that it is important that the host governments who invite SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds take a significant interest in their progress in the labour market to ensure equitable employment outcomes are gained. Currently, from the literature review (see chapter two) this is missing in the labour market even though there are relevant public policies to guide immigrants and minority integration. The research therefore takes the philosophical stance of pragmatism. With this position, the researcher agrees that research occurs in a social, historical, political and other

context (Creswell 2003). My pragmatist stance involves a theoretical lens ‘that is reflexive of social justice’ (Creswell 2003, p.12) and relates well with equity. I have chosen to study what I am studying in spite of its complexities (Rallis & Rossman 2012, p.12) and believe that it can contribute to knowledge. Skocpol (1979, p.xii) points out that ‘books grow in unique ways out of the experiences of their author’. Therefore, the subject we choose to study is driven by our passion which in turn ‘spurs and guides’ us (Polanyi 1966, p.75 cited in Rallis & Rossman 2012). Philosophically, we make ‘claims about what is knowledge (ontology), how we know it (epistemology), what values go into it (axiology) and how we write about it (rhetoric)’ (Creswell 2003, p.6).

In research, one’s passion is governed by reality (ontology) and the reality can be subjective or objective in nature (Saunders 2007). These conceptions of knowledge and reality are likely to shape the research approach and perceptions adopted. It goes without saying that scientists are interested in a particular field of study for reasons that can be related to values or ‘to the values of those who in one way or another influence choice’ (Lundberg & Young, 2005, p.148 as cited in Rallis & Rossman 2012). The significance placed on this research area demonstrates my values and priority in this study. Yet, I have endeavoured to avoid imposing personal views (Krauss 2005) on the study so as to allow the results to communicate (Ospina 2004). This is an advantage for the current study as the collected data, whether census, reports or documents have had no influence from the researcher because they were all primarily collected by other experts in the field.

Further, the documentary analysis approach using policies selected by the current research ‘counters the concerns related to reflexivity (or the lack of it) inherent’ in studies involving qualitative analysis (Bowen 2009, p.31). Therefore, ‘reflexivity—which requires an awareness of the researcher’s contribution to the construction of meanings attached to social interactions and

acknowledgment of the possibility of the investigator's influence on the research—is usually not an issue in using documents for research purposes' (Bowen 2009, p.31). In other words, the investigator's reality does not alter what is being studied (Bowen 2009). In contrast, the inability of quantitative studies to suitably capture meanings and interpretations of a social context (Bryman & Bell 2007), makes the current study method valid for explaining human actions (Collis & Hussey 2003) owing to its mixed method approach of adopting both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The current study ensures that the research validity is based on research evidence to allow the study to communicate (Ospina 2004) rather than personal views (Krauss 2005)

A Mixed Method Research Methodology

I adopt a mixed method approach for analysing data to answer the research questions. Mixed methods involve the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data for analysis in a single study (Molina-Azorin 2011, 2012; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003). Drawing on both qualitative and quantitative methods allows me to use methods, techniques and procedures that best meet the current research needs (Creswell 2003). The combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches yields a better understanding of the research problems (Creswell & Clark 2007). Through a plural methodology approach, mixed methods produce more comprehensive findings and insightful understanding to complement each other (Molina-Azorn 2012). It provides strengths that counteract the limitations of both qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell 2014).

In the case of this thesis, the mixed methods approach provided me the option of using more tools of data collection rather than being limited to the types of data collection in connection to either qualitative or quantitative research (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007). Additionally, it assisted in answering questions that could not be answered by either qualitative

or quantitative methods only. This is because certain research investigations need both generation of words (qualitative) and numbers (quantitative) and this thesis was a typical example. The mixed method approach has assisted in answering the complex research topic chosen under the current study through an interpretative, constructivist and post positivist approach. The existing research is a complex study that benefits from the mixed method design owing to its contextual nature, cross-country comparative approach and variant comparative policy analysis to understand the political, economic, social and cultural characteristics of the countries which have been selected as the cases for the study.

The mixed methods approach has been used by studies that examine migrants in general as well as SIs. These other studies have used both interview (qualitative) and surveys/census (quantitative) data for answering questions regarding issues concerning SIs (e.g. Freeman et al. 2012; Ghosh 2014; Hawthorne 2007). Several of these studies have focused on immigration policy analysis and analysis of census data (e.g. Hawthorne 2008; Picot & Hou 2003; Reitz et al 2014) or interviews (Man 2004). The difference between those studies and the current study is that, the current study analyses multiple policies through qualitative content analysis and then follows this with quantitative data (census data) analysis. The qualitative analysis helps to identify the causal processes; while the quantitative analysis establishes ‘general patterns and yields the empirical generalisations of the result identified’ in the qualitative analysis (Lu 2009, p.25). I began the study with the qualitative method for exploratory purposes and followed with a quantitative analysis using large samples that can be generalised, thus making the research process sequential (Creswell 2003).

The Case Study Research Design

This research sought to explore, understand, and explain, the labour market integration of SI through valid publicly available data. A case study approach was employed to understand the

phenomenon of SIs labour market integration. A case study is an in-depth, detailed investigation of a single or more cases (Sommer & Sommer 1991) within a context. It is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Rowley 2002; Yin 1981, 2004). The purpose of using a case study research was to ‘dig deep’, search for explanations and gain understanding of the phenomenon through multiple sources (Farquhar 2012, p.8).

The case study method is relevant for *how* or *why* questions (Yin 2004). It enables the current phenomenon to be studied over a period of time especially within a longitudinal context to allow patterns to evolve (Farquhar 2012, p.7). The existing study did not simply describe the SIs’ situations in Canada and Australia, but rather assessed the conditions over time surrounding the integration of SIs to be able to build plausible explanations or to discover a causal relationship that linked antecedents to the research results (McCutcheon & Meredith 1993). This allowed the researcher to analyse and interpret the research findings with rigour through the two cases.

Justification for Selected Cases

Canada and Australia were chosen for the comparative study. The two cases facilitated replications and contrasting analysis (Yin 2004). Both nations are well known globally for having planned immigration policies that emphasise skilled migration (Hawthorne 2007). Canada and Australia are also traditional immigrant settling nations that utilise the human capital model of migration for nation building and economic development (Castles 2000; Hawthorne 2007). Both nations actively recruit SIs through non-discriminatory immigration policy regimes to fill labour shortages. They share similar yet different characteristics such as being immigrant nations with similar origins, institutions ideologies and historical trends (see Walsh 2011) that provide meaningful comparative analysis. They both share a similar colonial past as members of the British Empire

(Ashkanasy, Trevor-Roberts & Earnshaw 2002) even though the French were the original founders of Canada. The two countries have a history of restricting the entry of individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds but have now changed to sourcing immigrants from previously restricted regions.

Both countries desire to ensure the smooth settlement of migrants to ‘contribute effectively’ to their prosperity (Richardson & Lester 2004, p.5), hence the reliance on skilled migration. The two countries are keen to monitor the economic and social outcomes of their migrants through census and longitudinal studies (Richardson & Lester 2004). The latter suggests that these two nations are concerned about the integration of their immigrants. These similarities and differences mean that these countries make ideal cases for comparative research exploration.

The Historical Comparative Analysis Approach

The research adopted a comparative research approach. Whereas historical accounts are limited in the management field, to understand the progress of SIs in the labour market and the role of policies, culture and cultural diversity, social identity and the intervening influence of institutional barriers, ‘it is essential to understand both the historical ontology’ and epistemology (Nkomo & Hoobler 2014). The sociology field pays significant attention to the historical context but it is very limited in management studies. Yet there is now a call for greater attention to be given to the historical context in human resource management studies (see Nkomo & Hoobler 2014). Through a comparative historical research approach, evidence was drawn to establish patterns of causal regularities across the cases. As Skocpol (1979) explains, the comparativist ‘task and distinctive scholarly contribution lies not in revealing new data about particular aspects of the large time periods and diverse places surveyed in the comparative study, but rather in

establishing the interest and prima facie validity of an overall argument about causal regularities across the various historical cases (Skocpol 1979, p.xiv).

While the macro-national policies rationales, goals and outcomes are key dimensions of the policy analysis, the technique adopted for the study required process and causal analysis. This means the aim of the policy analyses was to determine what policy process approach had been used to integrate migrants and is most likely to influence the integration outcomes of SIs. I used the process tracing (PT) technique in the policy analysis to identify the intervening causal process (George & Bennett 2005; Lu 2009). Process tracing provides careful description and trajectory analysis of change and causation (Collier 2011). While not a popular tool in management studies, it is a useful technique for understanding historical patterns that are likely to be subtly present in the contemporary context. Whereas historical accounts may be considered irrelevant because they lie in the past, they help to understand policy processes and development and their role in shaping the progress of SIs. Contextual historical analysis is now significantly recommended in studies involving human resource management (see Nkomo & Hoobler 2014).

The research has drawn extensively on both historical and contemporary literature to understand policy development and outcomes in the two nations in order to understand how these policies help or interfere with the integration of migrants, with an emphasis on SIs. ‘The selection of research method should “use the method of analysis best suited to the question and the data” (Lu 2009, p.25; Weldon 2002, p.25).

Methods of Data Collection

The current study used a variety of secondary data sources including empirical studies, academic research, government reports, archival records, parliamentary notes, debates, newspapers, historical data, legislation, government policies, joint standing committee reports,

excerpts from government speeches, OECD reports, National Household Survey and census data. Owing to the multidisciplinary nature of the study I also drew liberally from literature in economics, sociology, psychology, immigration and also from the management literature. It is rather surprising that ‘despite the importance of international migrants to the host countries and organisations, the human resource management of this group of individuals remains under-researched’ (Guo & Al Ariss 2015, p.1287). Rather the study of SIs has been dominated by the immigration field and to a more limited degree, the management field, in spite of the literature evidence of SIs’ labour market experiences.

Procedure for Accessing Data

Data for the study was accessed from publicly available domains and data bases including ProQuest, Business source complete (EBSCOhost), Citizen and Immigration Facts and Figures reports, Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship (now Department of Immigration and Border Protection) reports, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Emerald, Elsevier science direct, Google scholar, Google, Trove, OECD library, Web of Science, SAGE Publications, Canadian and Australian government websites etc. Public policies were accessed from government sites and literature for comparative policy analysis. Employment Equity reports and Australian Public Service Commission reports were available from government websites enabling comparative examination of the labour market integration of SIs in Canada and Australia. Data was also purchased from Statistics Canada (National Household Survey, 2011 data) and Australian Bureau of Statistics (Census 2011).

Methods of Data Analysis

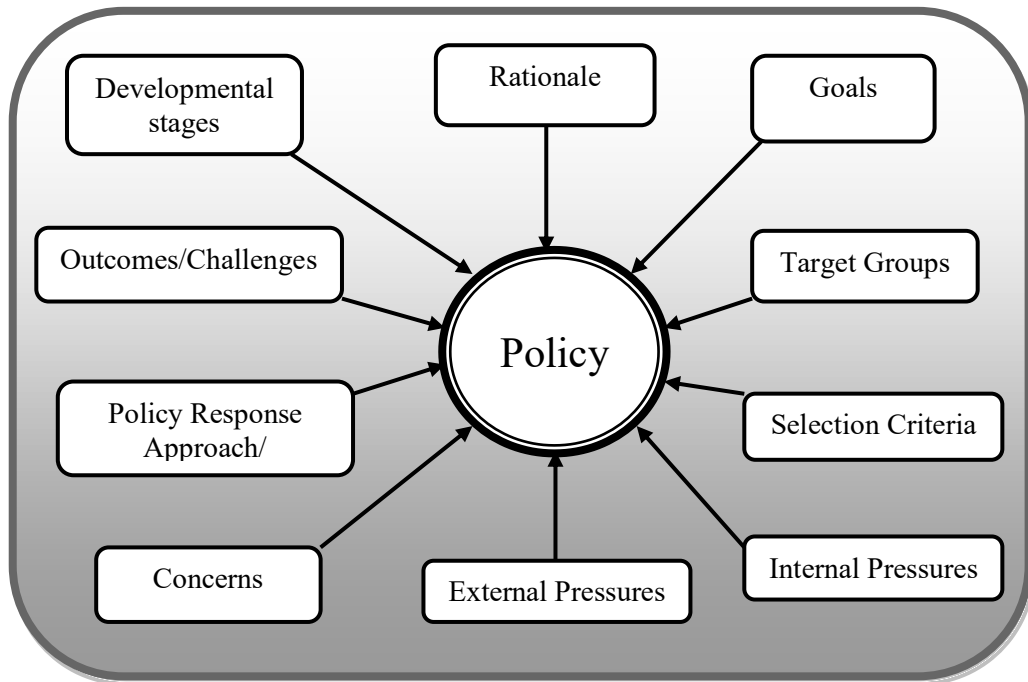
(a) Qualitative Analysis

For the qualitative study, I analyse the public policies (immigration and multiculturalism policies; employment equity legislation) from an integrated policy process approach. These

policies cannot be considered in isolation when investigating the progress of migrants in the labour market. I examined public policy development, goals and outcomes from a historical-to-contemporary context to observe and analyse the actions of government in policy formation in relation to SIs, especially culturally diverse SIs. Observations of public policies are relevant mechanisms for understanding the role and effectiveness of government actions in impacting the labour market integration of SIs. I believe that ‘the most productive conceptual frameworks are often those that bring in ideas from *outside* the traditionally defined field’ that is being studied, or ‘that integrate different approaches, lines of investigation, or theories’ that had not been previously connected in that manner (Maxwell 2005, p.40) and this is what this current study seeks to contribute.

Apart from the main conceptual framework constructed in chapter three to guide the overall study, I also developed a separate analytical policy framework (APF) specifically to analyse (1) immigration policy, (2) multiculturalism policy and (3) employment equity legislation. This analytical policy framework was developed through concepts and information obtained from the literature review. The strong focus of the thesis on policy level analysis and outcomes in employment requires a policy framework that can provide a structured contextual guide to understanding the policies’ rationales, goals and outcomes. From the review of the migration literature (e.g. Collins 1991; Green & Green 2004; Walsh 2008) and literature on SIs’ labour market integration (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Galarneau & Morissette 2008; Frenette & Morissette 2003; Picot & Hou 2003; Richardson & Lester 2004; Thompson 2000), it became clear that such an analytical framework was missing. I therefore developed my own analytical policy framework (APF) (Figure 4.1) to guide the policy analysis. This APF is distinct from the overall conceptual framework that guides the study in chapter three.

Figure 4. 1 Analytical Policy Framework



Source: This study

Although the three key policies are parts of the main conceptual framework for the research as illustrated in chapter three, elaborations of the various dimensions that guided the policy analysis were unable to be fully explained in that conceptual framework. This is because the conceptual framework explained what was being studied; relevant theories guiding the research and concepts relevant to the thesis. However, this methodology chapter explains how the research was approached to answer the research questions. I also provide an explanation of the construction of the analytical policy framework (APF) and its relevance to this study.

The Analytical Policy Framework (APF)

After thorough review of literature of the Canadian and Australian immigration policy trends, I observed that while the migration studies provided good accounts of immigration policies they lacked structure in the narration of the historical accounts. The migration literature was quite complex and dense yet without any organised structure or dimensions to properly

digest thick historical accounts. On the other hand, while studies which focused on the labour market integration paid significant attention to the employment outcomes of SIs, they lacked detailed attention to historical analysis. Most of these studies brushed over the historical policy context and therefore were deficient in providing detailed historical analysis to help understand chronological patterns and policy trends behind the contemporary phenomenon of skilled migration. To bridge this gap and gain a deeper understanding, especially of policy trends, I developed the analytical policy framework (APF) to help make sense of what to focus on when dealing with the cross-country comparative policy analysis.

The analytical policy framework (APF) can be utilised for policy studies in general. Currently, there is no structured immigration policy framework for comparative policy analysis. This makes the study of comparative immigration policies challenging and unstructured. While the historical comparative immigration policy trends may be offered elsewhere in other studies, the framework presented in this thesis is both innovative and uncommon (Figure 4.1). This is a contribution to the field as it pulls the complex political, economic, and sociological processes of immigration policies into structured dimensions that enable productive and consistent analysis. The model intricately helps to dissect the various components that drive macro policies and to facilitate the answering of questions regarding the effective integration of SIs. The APF will be used to examine the policy periods from the pre-1960s-1970s through to the post-1980s and beyond.

Suffice to say that, through observations and analysis of the immigration policy patterns, the research identifies at least ten themes that consistently seem to influence immigration policies. These structural themes inform the overall strategic planning and responses that effect policy outcomes. The themes that emerged can be organised as follows: (1) *developmental stages*, (2) *rationale*, (3) *goals*, (4) *target groups*, (5) *selection criteria*, (6) *internal pressures*,

(7) *external pressure* (8) *Concerns* (9) *policy response approach* and (10) *policy outcomes/challenges* (Figure 4.1).

The aim of the analytical policy framework is to allow for examination not only based on the simple economic concepts of push-pull factors of supply and demand and human capital theory (see Borjas 1989; Massey et al. 1993; Sjaastad 1962) or neoclassical theory, rooted in economic developments and cause and effects of migration on the basis of geographic differences in demand and supply of labour (see de Haas 2011; Kurekova 2011; Massey et al. 1993) but also to highlight the philosophical and institutional underpinnings of immigration policy development and how they influence policy response approaches and outcomes. Such systematic analysis using the policy framework in this thesis enables comprehension of the underlying assumptions that mould immigration policies. Further, the comparative nature of the study provides not only a valuable means of revealing shared and distinctive immigration policy trends (Ongley & Pearson 1995), but also the opportunity to assess the effectiveness of the policies.

These APF dimensions allowed detailed descriptions of each case and themes and patterns identified within the cases to be analysed (Creswell 2006) for the immigration, and multiculturalism policies (except the legislation on employment equity). This is because comparable employment equity policy was unavailable for the two cases. However, multiple data sources, allowed content and thematic analyses across the cases to offer interpretations and meanings in the study (Bowen 2009; Creswell 2006).

Document analysis formed a core part of the current research for interpretation (Bowen 2009). In particular, government reports are considered as potential sources of empirical data for the cases under study (see Bowen 2009). The nature of the study and the inclusiveness of comparative historical analysis requires that the study draws evidence ‘almost entirely from

secondary sources' (Skocpol 1979, p.xiv). The focus of the policy analysis is to gain understanding of *why* the policies were developed, *what* the goals of the policies were, *who* the policies targeted and to know if the policies achieved their goals. I discuss each policy in individual chapters and provide comparative historical analysis in each chapter in three phases covering the pre-1960s, 1960-1970s, post-1980s (except chapter seven, which discusses the legislation on employment equity). The stages of analysis through the historical comparative analysis and the process tracing technique help to understand the dynamics of the contemporary phenomenon of skilled migration and the processes that created it.

In the discussion of findings chapter (chapter nine), I compress the dimensions of the three policies into three key features involving *policy rationale and goals, outcomes and challenges* so as to avoid repetitions. Analysis of the policies together with the recent labour market outcomes gathered from the quantitative data analysis contributed to answering the question of *how effectively Canada and Australia integrate their SIs*. I discuss the quantitative methods of analysis of the labour market outcomes of SIs next.

(b) Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis of the labour market outcomes is based on customised NHS data (2011) from Statistics Canada and the Australian Bureau of Statistic (ABS) data (2011) (see Appendix 4&5; chapter eight). The data provided information on the labour market outcomes of SIs who arrived in Canada and Australia in 2006-2011. In this quantitative analysis I examined detailed labour market outcomes of SIs (degree-qualified migrants) with the focus on the following variables:

- (1) Participation rate
- (2) Employment rate
- (3) Unemployment, participation
- (4) Not in the labour force rate

- (5) Occupational outcomes at management skill level
- (6) Occupational outcomes at professional skill level
- (7) Occupational outcomes at all other occupational skill and group levels
- (8) Occupational outcomes at labourer occupational skill levels

I used National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S 2006), the National Occupational Classification (NOC 2011) and the Australia and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO 2006) to provide interpretations to the occupational outcomes of the degree-qualified migrants in this study. Further description and explanation of the NOC-S, the NOC 2011 and the ANZSCO are provided later on in this chapter. By examining the above dimensions, chapter eight seeks to understand the extent of:

- (1) Employment match to qualifications/skill level at university degree level or an achievement of a close match to qualifications/skill level at university degree level
- (2) Skill utilisation
- (3) Equitable labour market outcomes for the SI group
- (4) Indication of employment outcomes based on merit or qualifications

The next section provides definitions of the variables under investigation from the NHS and the ABS census data (2011).

Definitions of Variables

The thesis used Statistics Canada and Australia Bureau of Statistics (2011) definitions for the participation, employment, unemployment and not in the labour force variables. Where differences in definitions exist, the study has clarified these to provide consistency in the comparative data analysis. In this study participation rate is the total labour force of a group (e.g. from an immigration source region), expressed as a percentage of the total population of aged 25-64 degree-qualified migrants in that group. In Australia the employment rate is defined as the number of employed persons expressed as a percentage of

the labour force (i.e. employed + unemployed) in the same group. For consistency in the comparative interpretation the Canadian definition of employment rate has been applied. The employment rate in Canada is the number of employed persons in a group (e.g. source region), expressed as a percentage of the total population of aged 25-64 degree-qualified migrants in the group. The unemployment rate is the unemployed in a group (e.g. region), expressed as a percentage of the labour force in that group. The Not in the Labour Force rate is the number of people 'not in the labour force' calculated as a percentage of the total population in a group.

Occupational outcomes at management and professional skill levels refer to employment outcomes that require university qualifications while occupational outcomes at all other occupational skill and group levels and labourer occupational skill levels refer to employment outcomes that require less than university qualifications. I will provide further explanations of the occupational skill level outcomes after describing the customised NHS data (2011) and the ABS data (2011).

The Customised Canadian NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) Data

The study draws on secondary data that was purchased from Statistics Canada and Australian Bureau of Statistics to analyse the labour market outcomes (LMOs) of degree-qualified immigrants. I used Canadian NHS Customised Data (2011) and ABS Customised data (2011) to analyse the labour market outcomes of SIs from seven regions of birth, including North America, Latin America, Europe, UK, Africa, Asia and the Middle East (see Appendix 4&5). Details of the customised Canadian NHS (2011) data and the ABS census (2011) data for the LMOs' analysis are given below.

The Canadian NHS (2011) Data

The Canadian data is based on the voluntary and self-administered 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) which replaced the long census questionnaire (NHS User Guide 2011). It includes all people who usually live in Canada, including persons seeking refugee status, and persons from another country with a work, study or temporary resident permit and family members living with them. The survey excludes people living in institutions such as hospitals and retirement homes. The survey covered a randomly selected sample of slightly less than 30% (approximately 4.5 million households across Canada) of all private dwellings in Canada in 2011 (NHS User Guide 2011). This means the Canadian NHS data measured only part of the population instead of the whole population. The NHS had a response rate of 68.6% (NHS User Guide 2011).

The Canadian NHS Customised data (2011) includes immigrants who arrived in Canada from 2006 to 2011 (see Appendix 4&5). 'Immigrant' in this case refers to a person who is or has ever been a landed immigrant/permanent resident. A landed immigrant/permanent resident is a person who has been granted the right to live permanently in Canada by immigration authorities (NHS Customised Data 2011). In the NHS (2011), full-time students looking for full-time work who are not employed and are available for work are considered unemployed (NHS Dictionary, 2011, p.224-225).

The Canadian 2011 NHS Occupational Skill Levels Explained

I used the National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S 2006) and the National Occupational Classification (NOC 2011) to determine the occupational skill levels and outcomes of degree-qualified immigrants in Canada. The NOC-S is a statistical classification, designed as Statistics Canada's official classification for the collection and dissemination of occupational data. It features a set of major groups which are different from

those of the NOC. The basic principle of classification of the NOC-S is the **kind of work performed**. Occupations are, therefore, identified and grouped primarily in terms of the work usually performed, this being determined by the tasks, duties, and responsibilities of the occupation. The National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S) is based on the National Occupational Classification (NOC) which was developed and is maintained by Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC) (National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S 2006)).

The NOC is a system for describing Canadian occupations. The NOC is also a tool for classifying Canadian occupations according to their Skill Type and Skill Level. The Skill Type is the **type of work** performed. There are about 10 broad occupational categories under the skill type. The Skill Level refers to the **type and/or amount of training or education** typically required to work in an occupation (NOC 2011). This means the level of skill required is based on the type of education or training needed to perform the work (NOC 2011). The NOC (2011) consists of four Skill Levels identified as A through to D where occupations require either, university, college/technical school or apprenticeship/training, high school/on-the-job training, or short demonstration training with its assigned numerical code ranging from 0 to 7 (Table 4.1). For the purpose of this study, I use the occupational skill level category to understand the occupational outcomes of SIs in Canada. The skill levels are skill level A (management and professional jobs), skill level B (technical and skilled trade), skill level C (intermediate jobs) and skill level D (labour jobs) (Table 4.1).

Table 4. 1 Canadian Occupations by Skill Category

Skill Level	Skill Level (digit)	Occupation Type	Nature of Education/Training
Skill level A	0 or 1	<p>Management jobs (e.g. restaurant managers, mine managers)</p> <p>Professional jobs – people usually need a degree from a university for these jobs (e.g. doctor)</p> <p>Occupations usually require university education.</p>	University degree at the bachelor's, master's or doctorate level
Skill level B	2 or 3	<p>Technical jobs and skilled trades. People usually need a college diploma or to train as an apprentice to do these jobs. (e.g. chefs, electricians, plumbers)</p> <p>Occupations usually require college or vocational education or apprenticeship training</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two to three years of post-secondary education at a community college, institute of technology or • Two to five years of apprenticeship training or • Three to four years of secondary school and more than two years of on-the-job training, specialized training courses or specific work experience. • Occupations with supervisory responsibilities are also assigned to skill level B. • Occupations with significant health and safety responsibilities (e.g. firefighters, police officers and licensed practical nurses) are all assigned the Skill Level B.
Skill level C	4 or 5	<p>Intermediate jobs. These jobs usually need high school and/or job-specific training. (e.g. long-haul truck drivers, butchers, food and beverage servers)</p> <p>Occupations usually require secondary school and/or occupation-specific training.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Completion of secondary school and some short-duration courses or training specific to the occupation or • Some secondary school education, with up to two years of on-the-job training, training courses or specific work experience
Skill level D	6 or 7	<p>Labour jobs. On – the-job training is usually given (e.g. cleaning staff, oil field workers, fruit pickers)</p> <p>On-the-job training is usually provided for occupations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short work demonstration or on-the-job training or No formal educational requirements.

Source: Wilina, Statistics Canada 2011; NOC 2011;
http://noc.esdc.gc.ca/English/NOC/Tutorial.aspx?ver=&val65=*

According to Statistics Canada (2011), the customised 2011 NHS occupation data were classified according to the NOC-S 2006. This classification is composed of four levels of aggregation. There are 10 broad occupational categories containing 47 major groups that

are further subdivided into 140 minor groups. At the most detailed level, there are 520 occupation unit groups. Occupation unit groups are formed on the basis of the education, training, or skill level required to enter the job, as well as the kind of work performed, as determined by the tasks, duties and responsibilities of the occupation (NHS Customised data 2011). The NOC (2011, p.14) also explained that, ‘management occupations, while considered a skill type, are assigned to the skill level A category. These occupations are at the top of organisational hierarchies and as such, are characterised by high levels of responsibility, accountability and subject matter expertise gained through either formal education or extensive occupational experience’. Skill level A category involves criteria (education/training) equivalent to university degree (bachelor’s, masters’ or doctorate) in Canada (NOC 2011).

The customised Canadian NHS (2011) data that is being used for the occupational outcome analysis consists of four Skill Levels of A through to D as explained earlier. These occupation skill levels A to D require university qualifications, college/technical school or apprenticeship/training, high school/on-the-job training, or short demonstration training. The skill level A is identified with management and professional jobs which usually require university education, skill level B corresponds with technical and skilled trade which normally require college or vocational education or apprenticeship training, skill level C is associated with intermediate jobs which usually need high school and/or job-specific training, and skill level D include labour jobs which usually on the-job training is given (NHS Customised Data 2011; Willina 2017). The next section describes the Australia census (2011) data.

The Australian Census (2011) Data

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) customised data includes all degree-qualified immigrants who arrived in Australia over the period 2006-2011. According to the

(ABS 2016), the Census counts all people in Australia on Census night (excluding foreign diplomats and their families). Visitors to Australia are counted regardless of how long they have been in the country or how long they plan to stay (ABS 2011). This means the census (2011) data includes all degree-qualified migrants in all key visa categories including those selected under the points-tested skilled migration programs, the family and the employer sponsored program. It is also likely to include all migrants on both permanent and temporary skilled visas including those who have applied through the on-shore visa processes.

The number of Australian immigrants arriving through the temporary migration program has increased over the last two decades and this has also increased the proportion of migrants who transition to permanent migration as on-shore applicants (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014). While in the mid-1990s, around one in five migration places went to people already in Australia on a temporary basis, this has increased to one in two (50.4%) by 2013-2014 (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014).

It is important to note that even as Canada and Australia aim to attract SIs, their focus and period of initiation of programs are considerably different (see full details in chapter five). Canada recently introduced a variant of an on-shore immigration program in 2008 (Canadian Experience Class) but it is only a small proportion of the Canadian program in comparison to the on-shore migration programs in Australia, Australia has had an onshore migration program since 2001. Australia also has had a strong focus on employer sponsored program since 2008 during and after the global financial crisis. Both of these programs contribute significantly to the Australian immigration program (see DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014). For instance, DIAC (2010-2011, p.24) reported that about 48% of the migration program places went to migrants who were 'already in Australia on a temporary basis'. Also 59% of the skilled stream migration program went to onshore applicants (DIAC Trends in

Migration 2010-2011). The onshore growth of SIs is driven by former international students and Business Long stay migrants (subclass 457) who applied to remain in Australia permanently by way of the Skilled Migration program (DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011). These differences are likely to shape the employment outcomes of the degree-qualified immigrants in Australia.

It is also important to note that Australia selects quite a large proportion of English-speaking migrants from South Africa (considered as one of the main English-speaking countries (see DIBP Census 2011) compared to all other individual African countries. In 2006, 41.9% of all African immigrants were from South Africa (Hugo 2009) and it is also one of the top ten selected immigrant source regions (DIBP Migration Program 2014-2015). The South African share of the Sub-Saharan African region was 54.3% in 2006 (see Hugo 2009). This is also likely to impact the employment outcomes of degree-qualified African migrants in Australia in comparison to Canada.

The NHS and the ABS census data analysis is representative of *all* degree-qualified migrants arriving in Canada and Australia through the economic and skilled categories as well as other visa categories such as the family, and the humanitarian categories. Details of the ANZSCO occupation categories and skill levels are explained next.

The ANZSCO Occupation Categories and Skill Levels Explained

To understand the occupational categories and skill levels identified in Australia, I used the Australia and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO 2006). The ANZSCO is a skill-based classification system used to classify all occupations and jobs in the Australian and New Zealand labour markets (ANZSCO 2006). The concept of

occupation in the ANZSCO is based on the concepts of skill level and skill specialisation (ANZSCO 2006).

Skill level refers to a function of the range and complexity of the set of tasks performed in a particular occupation. It is measured by the level of formal education and training, previous experience in a related occupation, and amount of on-the-job-training. Skill specialisation involves field of knowledge, tools and equipment used, materials worked on and goods and services produced or provided (ANZSCO 2006). The structure of ANZSCO has five hierarchical levels - major group, sub-major group, minor group, unit group and occupation. The categories at the most detailed level of the classification are termed 'occupations'. These are grouped together to form 'unit groups', which in turn are grouped into 'minor groups'. Minor groups are aggregated to form 'sub-major groups' which in turn are aggregated at the highest level to form 'major groups'. There are eight major groups of occupations within skill levels 1 to 5 (Table 4.2).

Table 4. 2 Australian Major Occupational Group Classifications and Skill Levels

Major Group	Predominant Skill Levels	Education/Training
1 Managers	1,2	Bachelor degree or higher qualification (Skill level 1) AQF Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma (skill level 2)
2 Professionals	1	Bachelor degree or higher qualification (skill level 1) At least five years of relevant experience may substitute for the formal qualification. In some instances relevant experience and/or on-the-job training may be required in addition to the formal qualification
3 Technicians and Trades Workers	2,3	AQF Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma (skill level 2) AQF Certificate IV or AQF Certificate III including at least two years of on-the-job training (Skill level 3). At least three years of relevant experience may substitute for the formal qualifications listed above
4 Community and Personal Service Workers	2,3,4,5	AQF Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma (skill level 2) AQF Certificate IV or AQF Certificate III including at least two years of on-the-job training (Skill level 3). AQF Certificate II or III (Skill level 4). AQF Certificate I or compulsory secondary education (Skill level 5)
5 Clerical and Administrative Workers	2,3,4,5	AQF Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma (skill level 2) AQF Certificate IV or AQF Certificate III including at least two years of on-the-job training (Skill level 3). AQF Certificate II or III (Skill level 4). AQF Certificate I or compulsory secondary education (Skill level 5)
6 Sales Workers	2,3,4,5	AQF Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma (skill level 2) AQF Certificate IV or AQF Certificate III including at least two years of on-the-job training (Skill level 3). AQF Certificate II or III (Skill level 4). AQF Certificate I or compulsory secondary education (Skill level 5)
7 Machinery Operators and Drivers	4	AQF Certificate II or III (Skill level 4).
8 Labourers	4,5	AQF Certificate II or III (Skill level 4). AQF Certificate I or compulsory secondary education (Skill level 5)

Source ANZSCO 2006, p.7-8; p.21.

In contrast to the NHS Customised Data (2011) data, the ABS Customised Data (2011) that is being used in this study is based on the major occupational group classifications involving eight broad groups of occupations. These eight broad occupation groups correspond with skill levels 1-5 as explained in the following manner (*Managers, skill level 1,2; Professionals, skill level 1; Technicians and Trades Workers, skill level 2,3; Community and Personal Service Workers, skill level 2,3,4,5; Clerical and Administrative Workers, skill level. 2,3,4,5; Sales Workers, skill level 2,3,4,5; Machinery Operators and Drivers skill level 4 and Labourers, skill level 4,5*). The interpretations of the skill levels in Australia indicate *Bachelor degree or higher qualification at skill level 1, AQF Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma at skill level 2, AQF Certificate IV or AQF Certificate III including at least two years of on-the-job training at Skill level 3, AQF Certificate II or III at Skill level 4 and AQF Certificate I or compulsory secondary education at Skill level 5* (Table 4.2).

In Australia, most occupations categorised as ‘managers’ have a level of skill commensurate with a bachelor degree or higher qualification level. At least five years of relevant experience may substitute for the formal qualification (ANZSCO Skill Level 1); or Australian Qualification Framework (AQF) Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma, or at least three years of relevant experience (ANZSCO Skill Level 2) (ANZSCO 2006). Skill level A in Canada and skill level 1 in Australia can be considered equivalent to university degree-qualifications. While Canada associates skill level A with managers and professionals, Australia associates skill levels 1 or 2 with manager groups. This means individuals without skill level 1 (the equivalent of a university degree) who have attained skill level 2 (Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma) are eligible for a management classification in Australia.

Professional level occupations are normally associated with university degree qualifications in both Canada and Australia (see ANZSCO 2006; NOC 2011). In Canada skill level B is assigned to technical jobs and skilled trades, skill level C is assigned to intermediate jobs while labour jobs are categorised as skill level D (NOC 2011; NOC-S 2006; Wilina 2011). In Australia, technicians and trade workers are assigned skill levels 2 and 3; Community and Personal Service Workers, Clerical and Administrative Workers, Sales Workers are assigned skill levels 2,3,4,5; Machinery Operators and Drivers skill level 4 while labouring jobs are assigned skill level 4 and 5 (ANZSCO 2006).

In this thesis, the research derives occupational skill level outcomes from both the customised NHS and the ABS data (2011) (see Appendix 4). The NHS data results were based on four occupational skill levels A to D instead of the ten broad occupational outcomes. The ABS data is based on eight broad occupational outcomes (with equivalent skill levels 1 through to 5). It is important to note that comparing data from Canada on the basis of broad occupational skill levels A to D in comparison to data from Australia based on eight broad occupational group outcomes (see Table 4.2) may not yield completely comparable outcomes. This is because occupational skill level outcomes are defined differently and may have different results with reference to occupational group (type) outcomes. Nonetheless, this is the available data for comparative analysis between Canada and Australia.

Caution needs to be taken with the occupational skill level analysis. The occupational definitions and classifications are very different in each country. The Canadian NHS data provided me with occupational skill level data while the Australian data delivered data on all the occupational groups. The difference between the Canadian and the Australian occupational group skill levels are outlined in [Appendix 1](#). Due to miscommunication, Statistics Canada could not provide me with my specified data identical to the Australian

data. Therefore, supplementary data were provided with only four occupational skill level groups. This makes the task of *occupational skill level* comparison very complicated and may not necessarily be viewed as comparing apples with apples, unlike the LMOs based on participation, employment, unemployment and not in labour rates.

The data for the Australian occupational group outcomes have been worked out based on the ANZSCO 2006 system to determine skill level equivalence to the Canadian occupational skill levels in the NOC 2011 (Table 4.1 & 4.2) for the purpose of this study. Occupational outcomes at skill level A in Canada require university qualification while anything below that is below university qualification requirement. In Australia occupational outcomes at skill level 1 in Canada require university qualification while anything below that is below university qualification requirement. I have provided further explanations in Appendix 1 to help understand how the occupational skill level outcomes will be interpreted.

Focus of the study

The focus of the study is on SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds. For the qualitative analysis, I focused on the period from the pre-1960s through to post-2000s. Policy level analysis and labour market outcomes using public reports and customised NHS (2011) and ABS (2011) data in relation to SIs were used to answer the research questions. I used VM and NESB workforces as proxies for culturally diverse SIs in chapter seven as they make up the largest intake of newly arrived migrants in Canada and Australia.

For the quantitative analysis, I focused on the degree-qualified immigrants in the age group of 25-64 who arrived in Canada from 2006-2011 to understand the labour market outcomes of the SIs. In this study, the comparative analysis of SIs who arrived in Canada and Australia after 2006 was rather lacking in the literature review (see chapter two). The degree-

qualified immigrants arrived from seven regions: *North America, Latin America, Europe, the UK, Africa, Asia and the Middle East* (chapter eight). This provided understanding of how SIs performed in the labour market according to their cultural and social backgrounds. It helped to explain the labour market outcomes of SIs using the theoretical concepts discussed in chapter three. The characteristics of the degree-qualified immigrants and their labour market outcomes based on the NHS (2011) and ABS customised data are discussed in chapter eight for the analysis.

As mentioned earlier, this research has ensured that research validity is based on examination of evidence to allow the study to communicate (Ospina 2004) rather than personal views (Krauss 2005). Such clarity has guided the position assumed by the researcher. From a pragmatist view, I was not limited to one research method. Instead I had the freedom of choice to use the ‘methods, techniques, and procedures of research that best meet’ the research needs and purposes (Creswell 2003, p.12). This is because the research aims to provide the best understanding of the research problem (Creswell 2003, p.12). The pragmatist philosophical stance matches well with mixed methods studies which were adopted for this research (Creswell 2003).

Challenges of Undertaking Mixed Methods Comparative Case Studies

Despite the benefits of the mixed method approach in research, there are limitations just as in any other research method. Firstly, mixed method research can be time consuming. It also requires adequate resources for data collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. These constraints signify that mixed method research can be very costly. It also needs relevant research skills in qualitative and quantitative research. Yet the benefits of the mixed method override the possible challenges (Creswell & Clark 2007).

The reliance on secondary data made the study voluminous and time consuming, for example, sifting through a large amount of information to obtain relevant data for the study. Another challenge was that, past research documents and reports had different intentions to the existing study (Bowen 2009) and therefore did not easily fit perfectly as required. Consequently, the research had to be as 'systematic as possible in searching out information on the same topics from case to case even though the specialists are likely to emphasise varying topics in their research and polemics from one county to the next' (Skocpol 1979, p.xiv). Thus it was a challenge to attain data from one source to fit all the purposes of the study. However, such weaknesses also can be perceived as sources of strength as obtaining data from multiple sources can provide triangulation for research validation.

Further, due to the cross-country characteristics of the research, accessing information from overseas was a great challenge. Differences in time zones made responses to enquiries always extended. Moreover, it was difficult to obtain data that perfectly matched the requirements of this cross-country comparative study i.e. to compare 'apples with apples'. For instance, there are differences in contextual terminologies in each country. In Canada while some of the studies (secondary data) in the field focused on visible minorities which includes only ten groups in Canada, the equivalent is unavailable for comparisons in Australia. Conversely, in Australia, the term NESB is used to describe all immigrants who are from non-English-speaking countries. These two groups in Canada and Australia have been found to experience labour market disadvantages respectively yet comparatively defined, they are different groups. Nonetheless, these were the groups that were more likely to provide relevant comparative representation analysis in the public services in Canada and Australia.

An attempt has been made to gain the best comparable occupational and skill level data outcomes as possible. However, it is important to note that the occupational and skill classification and coding systems in Canada are very complex and dissimilar in nature to that of Australia. As I did not get exact comparable data from Statistic Canada to compare with the Australian census data, it makes the comparative analysis more challenging. I followed up through emails to obtain further explanations of the data from Statistics Canada but limited clarifications were gained. Rather I was referred to several documents to extract explanations myself. The differences in coding and classification between Canada Australia also make it hard to compare apples with apples.

The best care has been taken in applying the data from both Canada and Australia for the research purposes. Nonetheless, as the NHS and the ABS customised data (2011) were not personally collected but rather supplied by secondary sources, there is a limitation in attaining the exact data required for comparative analysis. The cross-country comparative nature of the study with different policy rationales and goals and different statistical data reports and distinct definitions of country specific terminologies make the study rather complex. Further the mixed method approach is time demanding and needs meticulous efforts to achieve any rigorous outcomes.

Limitations of the Research

The research focused on degree-qualified immigrants. This means all degree-qualified migrants irrespective of their visa categories. It does not provide the labour market outcomes of the SI group according to their visa categories as they have all been aggregated together from the NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) customised data. Whereas the secondary data research method approach provided understanding of the role of macro-national policies, culture, social identity and institutional barriers role in shaping the labour market integration

of SIs, future research may consider the collection of primary data. In this case the researcher will have more control of the data and may design questions that will enable them to collect data to facilitate comparisons of 'like with like' and also assist their own coding systems. Whereas policy analysis in the form of documents, reports, speeches etc. form part of the core part of this thesis, future studies may endeavour to interview policy-makers to gain more insight into policy formation in regards to SIs. The cross-country study is time consuming and requires substantial funding for effective output. This kind of research would be more suited to collaborative research conducted across the two countries rather than undertaking individual research as has occurred for this thesis.

Summary of Research Methodology

This chapter has discussed the research philosophy behind the study and has provided a thorough explanation and justifications for the research approach used for the study. A mixed method approach was adopted to enable both qualitative analysis especially with the policy trends and quantitative investigations from statistical reports and the purchased data. The chapter has explained the rationale for selecting the mixed research methodology as the preferred methodology for the existing study. It has explained the strengths and the challenges involved in the mixed method research approach. Through mixed research methods, two case studies have been analysed for comparative purposes. These case studies focused on the cross-country analysis of labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs in Canada and Australia. As the research was interested in understanding how policies influence the labour market integration of SIs, the study adopted a comparative historical approach to gain a deeper insight into the role of policies in shaping the progress of SIs in the labour market.

The chapter has argued the suitability of the case study design for the current research and maintains that the mixed method study design allows for contextual analysis that will shed

more light on not only the depths of the research but also the breath of it. This enabled the research processes also to be outlined on how data was collected, where it was accessed, and how it was analysed to attain reliability and validity. The chapter also discussed some of the benefits and challenges that accompanied the mixed method research methodology. The subsequent chapters will comparatively examine immigration policies, multiculturalism policies, legislation, the labour market outcomes, findings and discussions based upon which conclusions and recommendations are made from the study. The following chapter (chapter five) examines the immigration policies in Canada and Australia through a comparative analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

Canadian and Australian Immigration Policies Compared

Introduction

This chapter examines immigration policies in Canada and Australia which regulate and control the entry and management of persons seeking permanent settlement, temporary work or political asylum through specified government conditions (Freeman 1992). The aim of the chapter is not only to highlight the context of the successive immigration policy trends in Canada and Australia but also to understand the extent to which earlier immigration policy patterns have shaped current immigration policies in relation to skilled immigrants (SIs). The chapter seeks to understand the policy processes, rationale, goals and impacts of the policies from a historical context through to the contemporary era. This provides understanding into how and why specific immigration policy approaches in Canada and Australia were adopted for SIs and their labour market integration. The chapter takes into consideration both internal and external factors that have driven the policy processes. Through comparative analysis, the chapter reveals the shared and distinct immigration policy patterns in Canada and Australia and provides valuable insights into the causes, pressures and consequences of immigration policies concerning SIs.

This chapter argues that while there is merit in the Canadian and Australian immigration policies for selection of immigrants who can easily settle into the labour market, immigration policies are only entry management policies. As such, the policies are not able to adequately facilitate the labour market integration of SIs. Rather, immigration policies foster population, economic and social development. Consequently, in isolation they lack the capacity to support the labour market integration of SIs. I argue that, how the policies are

designed, framed and the level of significance attached to the SIs who are selected to contribute to the development of the economies and the nations has a propensity to influence the advancement of SIs in the labour market. For example, a statement by Kukoc (2011), (First Assistant Secretary, Migration and Visa Policy Division Department of Immigration and Citizenship) indicated that:

All the measures and reforms I have spoken about reinforce the dedication to the migration programs being driven by the needs of Australia's economy rather than the desires of prospective migrants... They have at their core an aim of maximising the economic returns we get from our skilled migrants... Australia's skilled migration policies are now increasingly well informed, targeted and responsive to Australia's changing labour market needs and have increased their ability to consistently deliver the migrants that Australia needs to maximise economic prosperity (Kukoc 2011, p.11-12).

This shows the involvement of government in attracting SIs who will satisfy Australia's economic needs but not according to the 'desires of prospective migrants'. The statement demonstrates the governments expectations that 'migrant will bring the best possible combination of skills, education and experience' to Australia for economic maximisation (Kukoc 2011, p.13) but lacks the reciprocity to ensure that SIs attain progression and equity in the labour market. Governments use immigration policies as a strategic economic and HRM approach to recruit the best and brightest SIs. In fact some have likened immigration policy making to 'the workings of private firms' human relations (HR) departments for seeking out well-credentialed immigrants to meet their needs' (Triadafilopoulos & Smith 2013, p.4).

Statements like the above reveal that government priorities are likely to influence the labour market outcomes of SIs where their 'desires' are secondary. If SIs are viewed by policy-makers as only people who provide labour without paying attention to their 'desires' and interests, then employers and institutions in the labour market may also follow the conception of policy-makers. Incidentally government policies are designed by dominant

groups in power positions for minority groups and therefore are perhaps not in the best position to understand labour market inequities that SIs experience. It is important to note that although SIs may be admitted into Canada and Australia for economic purposes, ‘it is human beings who arrive’ (Dauvergne & Marsden 2014, p.2; Mares 2016). The issue is that ‘immigrant success depends on achieving attainment in a socially constructed system that neither reflects their lived-experiences nor advances their interests’ (Fleras 2015, p.11).

It is important that government ensure the effective integration of SIs in labour market as they have been selected on human capital skills and attributes that are considered relevant to the host nations. This means ensuring not only that SIs are employed in the labour market, but have gained a successful employment match to their qualifications for which they were selected and attain equal employment opportunities, including leadership positions. While ultimately, employment offers occur in the labour market by employers and institutions (Colic-Peisker 2011a), how policy-makers regard prospective immigrants is significant to their overall success in the society. The lack of monitoring of employers and institutions’ responsibility towards SIs in the labour market is a signal that employers have ‘largely been absolved from blame or shared responsibility’ (Hawthorne 1997, p.397) when it comes to the labour market issues of SIs. If this is the case, then, the question is *how effectively do immigration policies facilitate the labour market integration of SIs?*

The chapter examines the Canadian and Australian immigration policies from an historical perspective through to the contemporary context in three phases: Immigration Policies, Pre-1960s; 1960s-1970s and the 1980s to post-2000s. The chapter discusses the different developmental stages of the policies and their outcomes. A greater emphasis is placed on the last phase (1980s to post-2000s) as this forms the crux of the current study. Yet the discussion of the first two phases provides comparative policy insight that has some degree of bearing on the current phase. Findings of the three phases are analysed to highlight

both the distinctiveness and shared features of the policies across the two countries that have impacted the current labour market integration of SIs.

Immigration Policies, Pre-1960s

Canada

Aboriginal people who now constitute 4.3% (1,400,685) of the total Canadian population (NHS Aboriginal Peoples in Canada 2011) were the first inhabitants of Canada for thousands of years before the settlement of Europeans (Kelley & Trebilcock 2010; Romaniuc 2003) As a result, they are ‘considered as a founding nation of Canada’ (Uribe 2006, p.3). However, Romaniuc (2003, p.77) points out that the introduction of the ‘superiority of the gun over the bow and arrow’ saw the land of the Aborigines taken over by Europeans. Canada as known today was colonised by two groups, the French and the English (Henry 2002) and became a self-governing entity within the British Empire on July 1, 1867, with the passage of the British North America Act (Knowles 2007).

There have been several significant immigration acts in Canada since Confederation in 1867 (Hawkins 1991). Canadian national policies have sought to control migration through acts such as the Immigration Act 1869 (for immigration and settlement controls), the Chinese Migration Act 1885 for limiting the intake of Chinese immigrants (Hawkins 1991) owing to Canada’s desire to remain a white man’s country. Subsequently, there were amending acts including the Immigration Act 1906 for excluding undesirable immigrants (Kelley & Trebilcock 1998), the Immigration Act 1910 for exclusion of certain races considered unsuitable from entering Canada, in particular the non-Europeans (Green & Green 2004) and the Immigration Act 1919 for institutionalisation of literacy tests in French and English (see Green & Green 1999; 2004).

Immigrants from Britain, the United States, the Irish Free State, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa were considered the preferred migrants (Green & Green 2004) and therefore were the traditional sources of immigrants. Non-European immigrants were denied entry because they were considered ‘outsiders’, different to the preferred immigrant sources (Walsh 2012a, p.21). With the determination to achieve a homogeneous population, Canada designed its immigration policies to limit the entry of non-preferred immigrants including those from Southern and Eastern Europe (Green & Green 2004; Kelley & Trebilcock 1998) as well as those from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. The exclusion of non-Europeans was justified on the grounds of differences in customs, habits and mode of life (Walsh 2012a).

Through the recruitment of agriculturalists and unskilled migrants, individuals from the preferred regions were the target for nation building, population and economic growth (Bonikowska, Green & Riddell 2010; Green & Green 1999). Yet in times of critical need for labour in the 1870s, non-preferred immigrants such as the Chinese were recruited for railway construction work that was deemed dangerous and least well-paid (see Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011). The same Chinese labourers were subsequently restricted entry after the completion of their service (see Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011).

For instance, Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King in 1947 emphasised the need to encourage population growth but cautioned that ‘the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population’ (Green & Green 2004, p. 112). When it became evident in the 1950s that immigrants from the preferred British regions could no longer deliver all the skills required to build the nation (Li 2000), the Canadian government extended its search to include people from central, eastern and southern Europe (Green & Green 1999). In 1871, 61% of the Canadian population were from Britain; 31% were of French people, and 8% from other

origins (Reitz 2002). However by 1951, those of British origins in Canada had diminished to 48%, though the French remained at 31% and others had increased to 21% (Reitz 2002). The change in demographic composition was due to a lack of adequate number of immigrants from the preferred source region of Britain.

Australia

Similar to Canada, Australian Aborigines were the original inhabitants of the land of Australia before European settlement. Australian colonial history begins from 1788 as British convicts and their military overseers arrived in Australia. The first inhabitants (Aboriginal people) were deposed and their rights to their own land were withdrawn (DIEA 1995; Hugo 2010; Jupp 1995). With an estimated population of between 300,000 and 1.5 million, consisting of around 6000 different tribes who spoke more than 200 distinct languages prior to European settlement, by federation in 1901 the Aboriginal population had declined to about 94,000 as a consequence of conflict and other factors such as disease (DIBP Managing Migration 2015).

After federation in 1901, Australia passed its first Immigration Restriction Act 1901; popularly known as the ‘White Australia’ policy for the prevention of non-European and other migrants considered undesirable from entering permanently into Australia (National Archives of Australia (NAA) 2012; Parliament of Australia, Research paper 17, 1996-97). The Australian Immigration Restriction Act introduced a dictation test that selected immigrants based on immigrants’ ability to write out a text of 50 words in any European language at the discretion of customs officers (DIBP Managing Migration, 2015; NAA 2012). The dictation test succeeded in excluding the entry of Asians and non-Europeans to Australia (Jupp 1997; O’Donnell & Mitchell 2000) and keeping Australia culturally homogenous. This was based on the widely held views of ‘racial theory, eugenics, polygenesis and Darwinism’

that were used for building colonial empires (DIBP Managing Migration 2015, p.14). Thus, policy-makers initiated an institutional practice that was likely to impact the perception of the society of dissimilar cultures in subsequent times.

Australian immigration policy developments and goals prior to the 1960s were fundamentally similar to the Canadians in need of labour for nation-building, population and economic growth (DIBP Managing Migration, 2015). Like Canada, Australia was determined to be a culturally homogenous nation and therefore sought British migrants by providing them with assisted passage from 1831 until 1947 (DIBP Managing Migration 2015). Most British immigrants who arrived in Australia were farmers, domestic workers and labourers in the agricultural industries such as wool and sheep farming (DIMA 2001). Many also arrived to escape from widespread poverty and unemployment caused by social disturbances resulting from industrialisation in the UK (Jupp 1995). The assisted passage scheme partly provided the Australian government with the authority to shape the composition and selection of immigrant flows, and together with the dictation test, the power to control which people were selected.

Like to Canada, it soon became clear in Australia that British immigrants alone could not meet Australia's population targets (Phillips, Klapdor & Simon-Davies 2010) and economic objectives so it became necessary to seek immigrants from elsewhere (DIPB Managing Migration 2015; Teicher 2000). Also recognising the strategic importance of migration (Walsh 2008) after World War Two (WWII) and its aftermath, the Australian government was keen to increase the population for future eventualities (Phillips & Klapdor 2010) without changing the White Australian policy (Walsh 2012a). Australia's first immigration minister, Arthur Calwell, promised that for every one non-British immigrant,

there would be ten times as many from the UK (DIBP Managing Migration 2015; Jupp 2001).

In 1947, Arthur Calwell signed an agreement with the International Refugee Organisation to allow displaced persons from non-British European refugee camps to come to Australia as a ready labour pool (DIBP Managing Migration 2015) under regulated conditions to avoid creating wage competition with the locals (Jupp 2002). Continental Europeans were also allowed entry into Australia at this time but were as well relegated to heavy manufacturing industries due to lack of linguistic proficiency and professional barriers (see Lever-Tracy & Quinlan 1988; Walsh 2012a).

The arrival of more non-British immigrants from Eastern Europe in the 1950s led to a vigorous campaign called ‘Bring out a Briton’ in 1957 in Australia. The campaign was to encourage communities to sponsor British families (DIMA 2001; NAA 2012). Nonetheless, in 1958 a revised Migration Act was introduced to abolish the dictation test that was intended for disqualifying non-British and non-Europeans (Jupp 1997). The policy outcomes for the pré-1960s were that by the 1947 population census, the non-European population (apart from the Aboriginal people, who were not counted) amounted to only 0.25% (DIBP Managing Migration, 2015) compared to 90% who were of British stock (Jupp 2001, 2002).

Analysis of Immigration Policies, Pre-1960s

The pre-1960s marks the period of exclusion in the Canadian and Australian immigration policies. Using the constructed analytical policy framework (APF) in chapter four, analysis of the pre-1960s immigration policies in Canada and Australia is given below (Table 5.1). It can be observed that at the *developmental stages* the pre-1960s immigration policies of the two nations appear to be similar yet distinct in nature. The foundational

immigrants for the two countries were different. Firstly, Canada seems to have no history of having started the nation with convicts from Britain whereas Australian first European settlers were convicts. Secondly, Canada from the outset, apart from the Aborigines was a predominantly a bi-cultural nation. Canada led the way in the pre-1960s policy goals especially in the 1950s and the 1960s while Australia followed (Ongley & Pearson 1995).

The immigration policy *rationale* prior to the 1960s was based on white Canadian and Australian nation nation-building of a homogenous culture (Walsh 2011; 2012a). As such, the immigration policy *goals*, for the two nations essentially centred on intense labour search and desire for ongoing nation building, population growth and economic development (Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Reitz 2002) by means of recruiting culturally identical immigrants with shared cultural traits (Walsh 2008). Thus the policy *targeted group* was low skilled agricultural and industrial migrants from mainly Britain. The main *selection criterion* prior to the 1960s was based on country of origin (Green & Green 2004), creating an institutional barrier of segmentation for those who did not fall into that category. Moreover, Australia selected immigrants on the basis of a dictation test.

Nonetheless, the two countries faced *internal* and *external pressures* (forces) that shaped their policy responses. For example, *internally*, both nations were in constant need of people to fill labour shortages, especially after WWII (see Phillips & Klapdor 2010; Walsh 2008). *Internally*, employers and the community, for instance in the case of Australia, preferred people of similar cultural backgrounds and this influenced the government policy decision of who to incorporate into the larger population (see Walsh 2008; 2012). Such sentiments clearly defined the population preferences for Australia. Canada and Australia only compromised to allow non-British Europeans entry when labour demand was unmet (see

Li 2000), a trend similarly identified in the two nations (see Hiebert, Collins & Spoonley 2003; Teicher, Shah & Griffin 2000).

The events of WWII also placed some *external pressures* on the two countries to seek more labour even as the two countries allowed the entry of displaced Europeans which in turn paved the way for other continental Europeans seeking entry (see Green & Green 1999; Ongley & Pearson 1995). Yet the *concerns* about dissimilar cultures and fear of labour market disruption to local wages and jobs were always issues to contend with in the pre-1960s (see Jupp 2002; Walsh 2012a).

The pre-1960s' immigration policies in Canada and Australia went through several reforms to meet market demand by employers, low population rates and economic prosperity. For example, Chinese workers were recruited to build railways in Canada but were banned from settling when their work was completed (see Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011) and similar restrictions were also identified in Australia as the presence of the Chinese was resented by the local settlers (see NAA 2012). Yet Canada and Australia were willing to source from non-preferred nations as long as it was economically beneficial. Consequently, the immigration policies in both nations were vigorously influenced by political ideologies that sought control over the selection of immigrants.

Overall, the policy *response approaches* used by the two nations in the pre-1960s were denial and resistance and *exclusion* of non-similar cultures (see Walsh 2008). This response approach can be regarded as an *active* stage in the policy life cycle where policies were vigorously designed and pursued to exclude dissimilar cultures and thereby resulted in a bicultural society in Canada while Australia achieved an overwhelmingly homogenous culture (see Jupp 2001; 2002). This shows that the *outcomes* of the pre-1960s immigration policies in Canada and Australia varied. Canada achieved an increased British and French

origin population (48% British and 31% French) while all others constituted 21% of the population by the 1950s (see Reitz 2002). Australia in contrast gained an overwhelmingly a British sourced population (90%) by the late 1940s (see Jupp 2001; 2002) and 0.25% non-Europeans (see DIBP Managing Migration, 2015).

Consequently, such outcomes also influenced the labour market outcomes in the two nations. Preferred immigrants gained high status jobs while non-preferred immigrants were relegated to difficult and dirty jobs; especially in the case of Australia (see Collins 1991; Jupp 2002; Walsh 2012a). Such outcomes confirmed social identity, institutional barriers, labour market segmentation and discrimination factors, shaping the labour market integration of migrants. Although theoretically the immigration goals sought to maximise labour and economic development, it is evident from the analysis that policies that focus exclusively on economic gains pay little attention to equal opportunities.

Table 5. 1 The Analytical Policy Framework (APF), Immigration Policies in Canada and Australia Compared, Pre-1960s

Dimensions	Canada	Australia
Developmental stages	Pre-1960s	Pre-1960s
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build a white nation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build a white nation
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nation-building • Population growth • Economic development • Homogeneity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nation-building • Economic development • Ten British migrant to one non-British • Homogeneity
Target Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-skilled • Agriculturalist • Railway construction workers • Domestic workers • Top source regions – British/French origins • Non-British Europeans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-skilled British convicts • Low-skilled free British settlers • Agriculturalist • Railway construction workers • Domestic workers • Mainly British origins • Some non-British Europeans
Selection Criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Country of origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Country of origin • Dictation test
Internal Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employers/Societal preferences • Low population levels • Insufficient British migrants • Preferred/non-preferred systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Societal preferences • Low population levels • Insufficient British migrants • Preferred/ non-preferred policy • Inclusion of non-British Europeans
External Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other non-preferred migrants seeking entry • War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other non-British migrants seeking entry • War
Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of non-preferred migrants • Dissimilar and unassimilable race • Job threats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unassimilable migrants
Policy Response Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Active</i> • Denial/Resistance/Exclusion • Compromise (Non-British Europeans) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Active</i> • Denial/Resistance/Exclusion • Compromise (Non-British Europeans)
Outcomes/challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homogeneity • Assimilation • 48% British origins, 31% French and 21% of other origins (by 1951) <p>Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient labour for population and nation building • Ineffective integration of non-British Europeans due to labour market segmentation • Labour market segmentation • Social identity and institutional barriers of preferred and non-preferred migrants • Cultural preferences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overwhelmingly British population • Assimilation • 90% British (Census 1947) • 0.25% non-European population <p>Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient labour for population and nation building • Ineffective integration of non-British Europeans due to labour market segmentation • Labour market segmentation of non-British Europeans • Social identity and institutional barriers of preferred and non-preferred migrants • Cultural preferences

Source: This study

Immigration Policies, 1960s-1970s

Canada

Canada abandoned its discriminatory immigration policy in 1962 after a series of anti-discrimination uproars that occurred domestically and worldwide in the 1960s. Domestic advocacy groups, including the Canadian Council of Churches, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Negro Citizens Association and the Canadian Congress of Labour, challenged the government's continuous practices of discrimination against non-European immigrants (Triadafilopoulos 2010). Social groups drew encouragement from the human rights revolution and opposition to colonisation that took hold in the developing world (Abu-Laban 2013). By the early 1960s, the rise of the civil rights movement in the USA which protested against ethnic and racial discrimination also paved the way for other disadvantaged groups including women to pursue their rights. Additionally, diplomats and officials within the Department of External Affairs complained about the negative repercussions of the Canadian immigration policy on the nation's diplomatic and trade relations and requested reform in the department's discriminatory approach (see Triadafilopoulos 2013). It was argued that racially restrictive policies prevented Canada from maintaining a progressive image within the British Commonwealth and the United Nations (see Triadafilopoulos 2010; 2013).

Simultaneously, Canada also experienced the 'unwelcome reverse side of immigration' (Knowles 2007, p.186). Due to lack of job opportunities and dissatisfaction with their experiences in Canada, one in every three or four immigrants returned to their country of origin or immigrated to the USA (Knowles 2007). According to Knowles (2007) even locally-born Canadian professionals including doctors, trained businessmen, university professors and scientists were leaving in greater numbers than had ever previously occurred. All these factors collectively ushered in change in immigration policies in Canada.

The Canadian government adopted immigration policies that could meet labour market demands while responding to inequity (Ongley & Pearson 1995). Immigration policy was contemplated in economic terms for filling skill gaps and most importantly migrants with skills were the most favoured ones (Green & Green 1999). This strategy would assist in avoiding charges of discrimination while supporting the Canadian government to gain SIs (see Triadafilopoulos 2010). Discrimination at this stage was in conflict with Canada's international and domestic commitments to democracy and equality (Kelley & Trebilcock 1998; Knowles 2007; Triadafilopoulos 2010).

On 19 January 1962 Ellen Fairclough, the first female Cabinet Minister, announced a new Canadian immigration regulation that effectively removed racial discrimination from the Canadian immigration policy. The policy stipulated that any unsponsored immigrants with the necessary education, skill, or other qualifications were to be considered suitable for admission, regardless of colour, race, or national origin. She stated:

If a person can qualify on these (above) grounds and has sufficient means to establish himself in Canada until he finds employment, or, alternatively, is coming forward to approved employment.... he or she is admissible, subject to the normal requirements of good health, good character and so forth. This means that any suitably qualified person, from any part of the world, can be considered for immigration to Canada entirely on his own merit, without regard to race, colour, national origin or the country from which he comes (Quoted in Rawlyk 1962, p.298).

The Canadian immigration policy in the 1960s therefore shifted from a focus on country of origin to preference for individuals with personal characteristics such as skills that benefited the labour market and the nation at large (Green & Green 2004). The Canadian government realised that 'labour market demands could only be met by tapping the manpower resources of previously shunned source countries' (Ongley & Pearson 1995, p.170). Some have argued that the change in discriminatory immigration policy to skill-based selection criteria was due to a critical need for 'mollifying domestic and international critics of racial discrimination, rather than opening up new sources of skilled migrants' (Triadafilopoulos

2010, p.182). ‘The result of this change in immigration policy was precisely what King had endeavoured to avoid: the diversification of immigration and consequent transformation of Canada’s demographic structure’ (Triadafilopoulos 2013, p.16).

In 1967, Canada became the first nation to initiate the use of a points system as a method for selecting immigrants. The policy provided a scale for assessing immigrants based on their human capital features including education, age, language and other factors (Green & Green 2004). Applicants were selected on the basis of recognised skills that aligned with occupational sectors in need of workers (Green 1995). At this stage immigrants were divided into three main entry classes: (i) independent applicants based on the points system; (ii) nominated relatives who were assessed against the point system but were given bonus points based on family ties; and (iii) the family class who obtained admission solely based on kinship ties (Green & Green 1999). The family class was given top priority (Green & Green 1999). Despite the change in immigration policy focus to selecting SIs, a new immigration Act, was established in 1978 to guide the basic principles and objectives of Canadian immigration policy and gave top priority to family and refugee applicants (Green & Green 1999; 2004).

The outcome of the change in discriminatory immigration policies in the 1960s was that the composition of immigrants to Canada changed from being 84.3% European born in the 1950s to 36% by the 1970s (Collins 1993). In contrast, the number of non-European immigrants began to increase (Knowles 2007). For instance, Asian immigrants increased from 15.3% for the period between 1968 and 1972 to 25.4% between 1973 and 1977 (Li 2000). Similarly, African immigrants also increased from 3% in the period between 1968 and 1972 to 5% between 1973 and 1977 (Li 2000). Also, the number of coloured West Indians began to increase from 1,000 to 2,000 a year pre-1962 to between 2,200 and 3,700 from 1963

to 1966 (Knowles 2007). This shows a shift not only in the Canadian immigrant demographics but also a potential change in the characteristics of the emerging workforce, seeing that immigrants were selected by reason of skills rather than cultural affiliation.

Australia

In the case of Australia, a change in the discriminatory immigration policy did not occur until a decade after Canada had changed its policies. The White Australia Policy of 1901 which favoured preservation of a homogeneous society was officially abolished in 1973 under the leadership of Gough Whitlam (Hawkins 1991; Jupp 2002). The Prime Minister Whitlam made it clear that ‘an island nation of predominantly European inhabitants situated on the edge of Asia’ cannot ‘afford the stigma of racialism’ (quoted in Hawkins 1991, p.94). At this time, intellectuals, religious and ethnic organisations began to argue against the discriminatory immigration policy (Lopez 2000) and called for a more universal and rational policy as initiated in Canada. Furthermore, the recruitment of southern and eastern European migrants made it hard for the Anglo-Celtic framework of policy to continue its domination (see e.g. Hiebert, Collins, & Spoonley 2003). The ‘process of de-colonisation in Africa and Asia’ also proved a challenge to migration policies that were based on race (Tavan 2013; Teicher, Shah & Griffin 2000, p.3). All these factors cumulatively led to the demise of the discriminatory immigration policy in Australia, similar to the innovations a decade earlier in the Canadian immigration policy.

A new immigration policy in Australia was enacted in 1973 to ensure that anyone could apply to migrate to Australia regardless of race, colour, gender, ethnic origin, religion, or nationality (see Tavan 2013; Walsh 2008). Just as the Canadian case, the Australian government was ‘concerned with improving Australia’s international image and refuting charges of racism from both home and abroad’ (see Hawkins 1991; Ongley & Pearson 1995,

p.772). The goal of the new Australian immigration policy was to select people based on the points system (see O'Donnell & Mitchell 2000).

Prior to the 1970s immigration policy in Australia focused on family reunification and admitting immigrants with generally low human capital. On the other hand, the new policy in the 1970s stressed skilled migration (Cobb-Clark & Connolly 1997). Accordingly, the number of British and European immigrants started to decrease from the 1970s while the number of migrants from neighbouring Asian countries began to increase (NAA 2015); a situation similar to Canada. For example, the European proportion of the immigrant intake was about 97% in the 1950s, but that fell to less than 60% in the 1970s (Collins 1993). However, unlike the increase in the non-traditional immigrants that occurred shortly after the non-discriminatory policy in Canada as mentioned earlier, Australia was slow in admitting non-European immigrants, despite these changes (Ongley & Pearson 1995). The next section uses the analytical policy framework developed earlier to briefly analyse the policy differences between the two countries (Table 5.2).

Analysis of Immigration Policies, 1960s-1970s

The 1960s-1970s illustrates the ‘turning point’ of migration policies that ended discriminatory immigration policies for the evolution of the ‘points system’ in Canada and Australia. The *development* of 1960s-1970s immigration policy patterns in Canada and Australia was different from the pre-1960s as demonstrated using the framework (Table 5.2). The policies in the two countries shifted from discriminatory to non-discriminatory policies. The *rationale* for the 1960s-1970s immigration policy change was to end discrimination owing to internal and external forces (see Abu-Laban 2013; Hawkins 1991). The *goals* of the new immigration policies in Canada and Australia focused on acquiring SIs and to respond to humanitarian responsibilities while focusing on economic development (see Green & Green

2004; Walsh 2008). Although the new policy was non-discriminatory, the top *target groups* of immigrant were still sourced from Britain and other European countries, and eventually some South American countries (in the case of Canada) and Asia. Nonetheless the proportion of European migrants began to decrease while the share of non-European immigrants began to increase gradually for both nations (Li 2000). The policy *Selection criteria* in the 1960s-1970s were based on individual characteristics through the points system, irrespective of country of origin (see Walsh 2008).

Internally and *externally*, there were driving forces that shaped the 1960s-1970s immigration policies in Canada and Australia. For instance, *internally*, advocacy groups in Canada began to oppose the discriminatory immigration policies (see Triadafilopoulos 2010). On the other hand, in Australia, *internally*, intellectuals, religious and ethnic organisations protested against the discriminatory immigration policy (see Lopez 2000). Moreover, *externally*, political activists including the human rights and the civil rights movements made discriminatory immigration policies in Canada and Australia unpopular. Such internal and external pressures impacted on the immigration policies of the 1960s-1970s in Canada and Australia.

The policy *responses* used by Canada and Australia in the 1960s-1970s were due to internal and external pressures to curtail discrimination. Immigration policies at this time may be described as being *reactive* based on circumstances that required policy-makers to alter strategy and initiate a new immigration policy. With the *concerns* of losing their positive international image (see Ongley & Pearson 1995), Canada and Australia in the 1960-1970s responded to criticisms about discrimination by both internal and external advocates. To improve their standing, immigration policies based on points rather than race or country of origin were developed to also ensure economic viability (see Walsh 2008). The *outcomes*

were that SIs with high educational qualifications from culturally diverse source regions began to gradually increase in both Canada and Australia.

Table 5. 2 The Analytical Policy Framework (APF): Immigration Policies in Canada and Australia Compared, 1960s-1970s

Dimensions	Canada	Australia
Developmental stages	1960s-1970s	1960s-1970s
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End discriminatory immigration policy 1962 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End discriminatory immigration policy 1973
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fill labour market shortages • Family re-unification priority • Economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fill labour market shortages • Family reunification • Economic development • Trained and skilled workforce
Target Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skilled workers • Top source regions – British/French origins • Other Europeans • Some Asians, Caribbeans, South Americans, Africans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skilled migrants • Top source regions - UK migrants • Other Europeans • Asians
Selection Criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual characteristic (e.g. focus on education, skills, experience etc.) • Initiated points system • Regardless of country of origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual characteristics (education and skills focus) • Modelled points system
Internal Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy groups’ disapproval of discriminatory policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-Anglo Saxon immigrants intolerance to discrimination
External Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicting immigration policy to democratic values • International status • Political activist • Human rights activist • Civil rights movements • Legitimacy • Decolonisation era 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicting immigration policy to democracy and equality • International status • Political activist • Human rights activist • Civil rights movements • Legitimacy
Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of international status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International image
Policy Response Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactive • Desperation • Skill-based 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactive • Desperation • Skill-based
Outcomes/challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration • Increased skilled migration workforce • Increase in the educational levels of immigrants <p>Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreased intake levels of qualified European migrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change in the family intake class • Increase in skilled immigration workforce • Increase in the educational levels of immigrants <p>Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreased intake levels of qualified European migrants

Source: This study

According to Teicher et al. (2000, p.1) 'a series of paradoxes surrounds the migration programs which transformed the society more 'by default' rather than design from an exclusionist society to a nation which now selects migrants from culturally diverse regions'. Canada and Australia finally realised that immigration policies based on racial theory could not satisfy the skills needed for the nations.

There is no doubt that immigration policies in Canada and Australia had so far played pivotal role in the economic, cultural and demographic development of the two nations (see Walsh 2008). The *challenge* however was that even as the intake level of European migrants during the 1960s and 1970s waned, immigrants from the non-preferred source regions in both countries experienced continued social and economic discrimination owing to institutional preferences of dominant cultural groups. This suggests that community attitudes lagged behind non-discriminatory immigration policies.

The change in immigration policies in Canada and Australia in the 1960s and 1970s partly contributed to the phenomenon of skilled migration and the promotion of an acceptance of cultural diversity in subsequent years. The contextual historical analysis provides understanding into *why, what, and how* events have shaped the current immigration policies in Canada and Australia. The next section discusses the economics of migration and the phenomenon of skilled migration from the 1980s until now.

Immigration Policies, 1980s to Post-2000s

The 1980s through to the post-2000s characterises contemporary migration policies and the economics of skilled migration in Canada and Australia. Although immigration policies in Canada and Australia have historically focused on nation-building, population and economic advancement, since the 1980s they have had a much stronger focus on the

economics of migration (de Haas 2011; Green & Green 1999; Massey 1993; Reitz 2002). This has resulted in a significant shift towards the selection of SIs; being the core subject of this study. The ‘fundamental character’ of Canada and Australia has undergone major transformation due to further internal and external factors involving recession, low fertility, aging populations and globalisation, and commercialisation of education. The events and policy approach that shaped the immigration policy of the 1980s through to the post-2000s are discussed below.

Recession, Low fertility, Ageing Population, Globalisation, and Commercialisation of Education

Canada

In the 1980s, Canada experienced a recession that impacted on its immigration policies (Knowles 2007). As a result of an annual unemployment rate of 11.4% by 1993 (CIC 2012) due to the economic crisis, the Canadian government announced in 1982 that only independent migrants with pre-arranged employment could be admitted (Green & Green 2004). However, a report to Parliament in 1985 indicated that the Canadian fertility rate had fallen below replacement levels with consequent predicted decline in the Canadian population (Green & Green 2004). Further, an ageing population was projected by 2040, as the number of people aged over sixty-five would reach 10-11million (Knowles 2007). Increased immigration levels were proposed as a means for resolving low fertility issues and the ageing population rate so as to increase population growth (Green & Green 2004).

Being apprehensive of the population decline, the Canadian government later lifted the policy of requiring migrants to have pre-arranged employment, so as to allow the constant flow of economic immigrants (Green & Green 2004) to support economic growth. The level of permanent immigration intake increased substantially from 99,353 in 1986 to 226, 071 by

1996 (CIC Facts & Figures 2008, 2011). Thus, within a decade the admission of permanent immigrants more than doubled in Canada. Also for the first time in 1987 the economic immigrant class exceeded the family class intake levels and has continued to do so since then (see CIC Facts & Figures 2008; 2011; 2014).

Globalisation also became a “significant trend affecting immigration policy” in Canada (Walsh 2008, p.804) from the 1980s. Organisations sought quality employees to compete in the international market (Harris & Morgan 1996) as the world market integrated through globalisation (Bhadury, Mighty & Damar, 2000). The intake levels of economic immigrants increased from 35,797 in 1986 to 128,349 by 1997 whereas the family class decreased from 112,641 in 1993 to 50,865 by 1998 (CIC Facts & Figures 2010). Immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds continue to be used by employers to gain a competitive advantage in the labour market (Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011; Bertone & Leahy 2003).

Globalisation demands highly skilled individuals who can operate effectively in the knowledge economy (Chiswick 2005). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reported that there has been pronounced growth in tertiary education enrolments over the past four decades observed in emerging regions ‘notably Sub-Saharan Africa (8.4% average annual growth), the Arab states (7.4%), East Asia and the Pacific (7%), Latin America and the Caribbean (6.4%). and South and West Asia (6%)’ (OECD 2012, p.18). These regions especially Asia, have the capacity to contribute a large part of the skilled migration to OECD countries (OECD 2012), of which Canada and Australia are key members. This has changed the human characteristics of individuals from these developing nations and has boosted their ability to fulfil immigration policies that rely on human capital attributes.

Since the 1980s, commercialisation of education to foreign students has also been used as a strategy for resolving economic crisis. Trilokekar and Kizilbash (2013) reported that Canada embarked on a full fee-paying model for foreign students at a time of fluctuating business cycles. An article published by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) revealed that, by 1994 Canada was ranked fifth among countries that received foreign students, with 37,000 students in 1992 contributing an estimated C\$472 million to the Canadian economy, even though Canada had been known to adopt a “tap on, tap off” approach in times of difficult business cycles (Ongley & Pearson 1995, p.767).

As part of the primary reasons why the cultural demographics in Canada have changed, the preferred source countries were no longer able to provide adequate immigrants due to their own problems with low fertility levels (see ABS 2002). Therefore, the selection of immigrants was extended to diverse regions. These factors form part of the primary reasons why the cultural demographics in Canada have changed. As a result, between 1960s-1970s immigrants to Canada by origins were Africa (1%), America (17.5%), Asia (10.0%), Oceania and Australia (2.4%), the UK (24.2%) and other European (43.8%) (see Reitz 2002) but currently, Canadian immigrants sources in 2014 are as follows: Africa and the Middle East (23.9%); Asia and Pacific (51.4%); Europe and the United Kingdom (11.6%); United States (3.3%); South and Central America (9.6%) and Source area not stated (0.3%) (CIC Facts & Figures 2014). These figures demonstrate a significant change in the Canadian immigration policies from the 1960s. Further, the percentage of degree-qualified migrants to Canada has risen steadily since the 1990s. For instance, the proportion of degree-qualified economic migrants has increased from 39.0% in 1994 (Reitz 2013) to 67.2% (principal applicants) in 2011 (CIC Facts & Figures 2011).

Australia

In the 1980s and the 1990s, the Australian economy also experienced some downturn. Two severe and protracted economic recessions occurred during the early stages of both the 1980s and 1990s, with unemployment rates reaching 10.3% in June 1983 and 10.7% in September 1992 (ABS 6105.0 - Australian Labour Market Statistics 2011). Since then, immigration policies in Australia have strongly focused on economic benefits. In 1982, the Fraser government commissioned a conference into the economic viability of immigration. According to Birrell (2003) the investigations proved inconclusive with immigration perceived as economically mildly positive. However, the achievements and successes of countries such as Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore challenged the Australian government's approach to expand its immigration perimeters to Asian countries (Birrell 2003). In 1988 a Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (CAAIP) examined Australian immigration and recommended a high intake of immigrants who were 'skilled, entrepreneurial and youthful' from some of the Asian countries:

There is an opportunity now for Australia to recruit to citizenship young, well-educated and professionally accomplished people from Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Republic of Korea... There is a strong case for making good use of this opportunity while it lasts (Quoted in Birrell 2003, p.37).

From the above discussion, the selection criteria of Asian migrants in the 1980s have been strictly based on human capital factors including age, educational credentials, employment experience and English language proficiency. In the 1980s applicants did not require recognition of qualifications by Australian authorities before migrating (Birrell 2003). Australia also abandoned strict regulations that recruited SIs according to occupations where there was evidence of shortages (Birrell 2003); a situation similar to Canada. In this case Australia seemed to have followed the example of the Canadians in the 1980s-1990s.

The intake level of degree qualified professionals, especially engineers began to increase in the 1980s-1990s (see Hawthorne 2002). Paradoxically, many of these SIs who arrived in Australia could not attain recognition of their professional skills once in Australia (Birrell 2003) due to lack of understanding and experience of the overseas educational systems by professional bodies. Hence, during the 1980-1990s, credential recognition was perceived as a major barrier for employment success of SIs in Australia (Hawthorne 2002).

Consequently, the Australian government established several professional bodies for assessing overseas qualifications. For instance, the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications, established in 1969, was later replaced by the National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition ('NOOSR') in 1989 to assess immigrants' qualifications. These measures were a response to complaints of non-recognition of immigrants' qualifications and poor labour outcomes (O'Donnell & Mitchell 2000). Most SIs from NESB were still disadvantaged due to Australian employers' preference for SIs from English-speaking backgrounds as well as lack of familiarity with overseas qualifications (see Hawthorne 2002; 2005; Birrell et al. 2006). This is a typical example of social identity and institutional barriers where employment is offered more favourably on the basis of language and cultural preference.

By 1996, the return of the Australian Coalition parties to government led to major reforms. From mid-1999, a sub-committee appointed by the government to examine issues of skilled migration recommended that applicants wishing to come to Australia had to gain recognition of their qualifications from the relevant Australian authority in their field and also prove that they possess at least 'Vocational English' assessed through the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) (Birrell 2003). This was a significant policy change from those applying before the late 1990s. The key criteria for selection in the late 1990s were based on possession of occupational skill. The Coalition reforms came with a

surge in the intake of the skilled immigration category in Australia. For example, the skilled immigration program increased from 18.5% (10,100) in 1984 to 51.6% (34,670) by 1998 (see Phillips & Spinks 2012). The focus of immigration policy since 1997-1998 has shifted away from the family stream towards the highly skilled migration program (see Phillips & Spinks 2012), growing from 51.6% in 1997-1998 to 67.7% by 2013-2014 (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014).

Additionally, like Canada, since the 1980s, education services to foreign students in Australia became commercialised owing to economic recession and reduction in funding of tertiary institutions in Australia. Birrell et al. (2006) pointed out that from 1996 to 2000, the Australian government reduced tertiary education funding by about 26%. This caused Australian universities to engage in commercialisation of education by recruiting international fee-paying students (Birrell et al. 2006). A report by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1995) showed that the number of overseas students in Australian higher education had more than tripled, from 13,700 in 1983 to 42,600 by 1993; with full fee-paying overseas students contributing AU\$339 million to higher education. Trilokekar and Kizilbash (2013) observed that Asians constitute over 80% of the international student body in Australia. This demonstrates that the recruitment of immigrants especially from Asian countries is economically motivated rather than about promoting a non-discriminatory immigration policy.

Current Immigration Policies, Post-2000s

Canada

Since 2002, the Canadian immigration program is governed by the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2002 (IRPA) and controlled by Citizen and Immigration Canada (CIC) (CIC Facts & Figures 2014). 'The IRPA replaces the *Immigration Act 1976* and

defines three basic categories of permanent residents, which correspond to major program objectives': reuniting families, contributing to economic development and protecting refugees (CIC Facts & Figures 2014, p.5). The current Canadian IRPA 2002 guides both the permanent and the temporary migration programs in Canada (Table 5.3). Under the Act, CIC is responsible for designing migrant categories, migration levels and ensuring implementation of immigration programs. The two key migration programs fostering the Canadian immigration policies are explained below.

Temporary Migration Program, Post-2000s

Canada

The Canadian temporary immigration program, designed to meet the short term needs of employers (Akbari & Macdonald 2014), covers foreigners who can contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of the nation (CIC Facts & Figures Temporary 2014). These individuals are normally low-skilled workers, live-in caregivers and seasonal agricultural workers and occasionally highly skilled workers as well (Ferrer, Picot & Riddell 2012). Individuals are eligible to apply for permanent residency after two years (CIC Facts & Figures 2014).

In Canada there is an increasing recognition of the role that international students can play in meeting skilled labour needs (Akbari & MacDonald 2014). Currently, international students can apply for permanent residency through the newly created Canadian Experience Class (CEC) (Akbari & MacDonald 2014). The CEC program which was created in 2008 allows some temporary skilled foreign workers and international students to transition to permanent residency (Bhuyan et al. 2017). In 2011, Canada welcomed 190,842 temporary foreign workers and 98,383 international students (CIC Report on Immigration 2012).

Permanent Migration Program, Post-2000s

Canada

Canada's permanent immigration program consist of three basic categories, the family class, the refugee class and the economic immigrant class as mentioned earlier (CIC Facts & Figures 2014).

The skilled worker component consist of immigrants who are selected under the economic immigrant class and are able to prove their ability to integrate into the Canadian labour market and successfully settle in Canada (CIC Facts & Figures 2014) [Table 5.3]. These immigrants who are central to this thesis must meet key selection criteria such as language skills, (English or French), education, experience, age, arranged employment in Canada or experience and adaptability (CIC 2017). The current pass mark of the points system in Canada is 67 out of 100 (CIC 2017).

Table 5. 3 Canadian Migration Program

Temporary Program	Permanent Migration Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Low skilled Workers• Live-in Caregivers• Seasonal Agricultural Worker• Canadian Experience Class	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic Migrant class<ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ Skilled Workers➤ Provincial/Territorial Nominees➤ Business Class Migrant (investors, entrepreneurs, the self-employed)• Family migrant class• Humanitarian or Refugee migrant class

Source: CIC Facts and Figures Permanent and Temporary Residents 2014

The Canadian business immigrant component involves individuals who invest their money in an approved venture and those who intend to run their own business or to be self-employed (CIC Facts & Figures 2014). The provincial and territorial nominees are permanent residents selected by a province or territory to respond to the local economic needs in provinces and are not subject to the skilled worker selection grid for determining eligibility of entry (CIC Facts & Figures 2014). Many immigrants entering under this program are rather

sponsored by employers (Ferrer et al. 2012), a scheme similar to the Australian employer sponsored program which will be detailed later. The next section discusses the Australian version of current immigration policies in the post-2000s.

Australian

The Australian immigration program is governed by the Migration Act 1958 and the Migration Regulations 1994. It is solely a federal responsibility in Australia, whereas in Canada the responsibility for immigration is shared with the provinces (Richardson & Lester 2004). However, the introduction of a number of new visa categories in the late 1980s under the State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme (SSRM) for facilitation of growth in ‘lagging economic regions’ has gained momentum since 2003 and contributed to state government involvement in migration (Hugo 2014a p.381). The Australian migration program, similar to Canada’s, rests on the human capital model and on the philosophical rationale of selecting immigrants who will economically benefit the nation as well as promote the demographic and social well-being of the nation (DIBP Setting the Migration Program, 2014). The program consists of temporary and permanent categories (Table 5.4) just as in Canada but operates differently.

Temporary Migration Program, Post-2000s

Australia

The Australian temporary migration program focuses on individuals who come on a short-term basis with limited rights including students, seasonal workers, skilled workers and young people on working holidays (Department of Home Affairs 2018). The program allows individuals from overseas to come to Australia to work, study or holiday on a temporary basis (ABS 3416.0 - Perspectives on Migrants 2009b). There are several categories within the temporary migration program but all of them cannot be discussed here except those relevant

to the current study including (1) students and (2) business migrants (long-stay sponsored full-time employed skilled migrants on 457 visas).

The international student program in Australia offers significant economic benefit to Australia by providing education services to overseas students in full-time courses. In 2011-2012, the admitted number of international students was 125,119 which contributed AUD15.3 billion in export income to the Australian economy (Hugo 2014a). These students are an important part of the Australian workforce as they are allowed to work 20 hours per week and unlimited time during semester breaks (Gregory 2014) and are also eligible to transition to permanent residency (Hugo 2014a) within six months of completion of their studies through on-shore skilled migration visa processes (ABS 3416.0 – Perspectives on Migrants 2009). The business migrants consist of skilled temporary migrants or business people. The business (long stay) visa (457) is one of the main temporary skilled categories under the temporary migration program (ABS 3416.0 – Perspectives on Migrants 2009). This program facilitates attraction of workers from global labour markets to work in Australia where domestic labour sources alone are inadequate (DIAC Migration Trends 2011-2012).

Immigrants arriving through the temporary program have increased the proportion of migrants who transition to permanent migration as on-shore applicants from 20% in the mid-1990s to 50.4% by 2013-2014 (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014). This on-shore migration process is driven by graduating international students and those holding temporary work (skilled) visa subclass 457 (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014). Other categories of temporary migrants are shown next in Table 5.4.

Table 5. 4 Australian Migration Program

Temporary Program	Permanent Migration Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visitors • Students • Working holiday makers • Business people for short/long stay • People with specialist skills e.g. managers, academics and medical practitioners • Individuals with social or cultural contribution e.g. entertainers, sports people • People with international relations contributions e.g. diplomatic personnel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The skilled stream <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Independent points-based skilled migration ➤ Employer-sponsored program ➤ Business innovation investment program ➤ Distinguished talent program • The family stream • Special eligibility stream • Humanitarian program: people entering based on humanitarian needs

Source: Adapted from DIAC Trend in Migration 2010-2011; DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014

Permanent Migration Program, Post-2000s

Australia

In Australia, the permanent migration program consists of two main parts: (i) the Migration Program and the (ii) Humanitarian Program (Phillips & Spinks 2012). The main Migration Program includes the Skill Stream, the Family Stream and the Special Eligibility Stream (Table 5.4). The skilled migration program focuses on the attraction of individuals who have skill, proven entrepreneurial abilities or unique capabilities that will support the economic development of Australia (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014). The main aims of the Australian skilled migration programs are to build Australia’s economic prosperity and wellbeing, contribute to population, participation and productivity through the selection of the best and brightest skilled migrants (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014). Since 1997–98, the skill stream has been the main component of the migration program; increasing from 51.5% in 1997–98 to 67.7% in 2013–14 (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014).

The family stream supports family development and reunion of family members such as spouses, children, parents and some other members of extended families (DIAC Migration Program 2010-2011). The special eligibility Stream in contrast is only a small part of the migration program that caters to the resettlement of former Australian residents who meet

particular criteria, or for resolving the status of some groups of people who have been permitted to reside in Australia as long-term temporary residents for humanitarian purposes (DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014).

Key immigration policy changes, Post-2000s

Canada

In 2008 Citizenship and Immigration Canada introduced a Canadian Experience Class (CEC). This Class allows some temporary skilled foreign workers with Canadian experience, including international students to turn their local work experience into an opportunity for permanent residency without the need to leave Canada (Watt, Kitagawa & Krywulak 2008). This feature is meant to encourage permanent residency for adaptable workers (Ferrer et al. 2012). According to the Canadian government:

The Government of Canada's number one priority remains economic growth and job creation. Immigration plays a key role in Canada's long-term prosperity and we are committed to seeing newcomers succeed across the country (Chris Alexander, Canada's Citizenship and Immigration Minister, 2015).

The statement above does not only indicate the economic drive behind Canada's immigration policy but also its commitment to ensuring the success of immigrants in the country. This CEC component of the immigration category in Canada is similar to the onshore processing program for international students in Australia, which was introduced in 2001. It appears at this stage Canada is following the footsteps of Australia; a trend which is contrary to the situation before the 2000s. From Federation (1901) until 2000, Australia seemed to have modelled its immigration policy on Canada's. This trend seems to be currently in reverse post-2000s.

In 2009 the Canadian government launched the Pan-Canadian Framework for the Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Qualifications (Hawthorne & Wong 2011). A

Foreign Credentials Referral Office (FCRO) has been established to work with the provinces and territories to facilitate the assessment and recognition of internationally trained individuals (Watt, Kitagawa & Krywulak 2008). The FCRO provides potential immigrants overseas and newly arrived immigrants with information regarding the Canadian labour market as well as credential assessment and recognition (Watt, Kitagawa & Krywulak 2008).

Further, in 2015 the Canadian government introduced an Express entry system to help foster speedy migration processing times. This system is designed to assist potential candidates to complete an online Express Entry profile by providing information based on the points' criteria. After that, the highest ranking in the pool is invited to apply for permanent residence (see CIC 2017). This feature of the current immigration policy is also comparable to the SkillSelect system which was introduced in Australia in 2012. Again, it can be seen that Canada is modelling its immigration processes on Australia's in this respect (Table 5.5).

Table 5. 5 Key Immigration Policy Changes in Canada and Australia Pre-2000s and Post-2000s

Criteria	Canada		Australia	
	Previously (Pre-2000)	Currently (Post-2000s)	Previously (Pre-2000)	Currently (Post-2000s)
Language	No thresholds No pre-entry assessment requirement	Minimum threshold of Canadian benchmark 7 (a shift towards stricter language proficiency requirements (maximum points 28))	Minimum threshold, compulsory pre-entry assessment requirement since the 1990s	Increased language level requirement of IELTS 8 (near native speaker level) 20 points or a valid passport issued by the UK, the USA, Canada, New Zealand is acceptable
Pre-entry Qualification Assessment	Not required/Advice only	Assessment before entry	Assessment since the 1990s	Assessment before entry
Immigration policy focus	Supply Driven (PTN & FSWs)	Demand Driven PTN & CEC (2008)	Independent skilled immigrants	Onshore program (2001) Employer sponsored (2008)
Application Process	One-step application	Express entry system introduced 2015	One-step application	A two-step system (SkillSelect) (2012)

Source: Compiled from CIC 2011 (proposed changes to FSWs program), 2015; Department of Home Affairs 2018; DIAC 2010; 2012; Hawthorne and Wong 2011.

- PTN means Provincial/Territorial Nominees
- CEC means Canada introduced a Canadian Experience Class

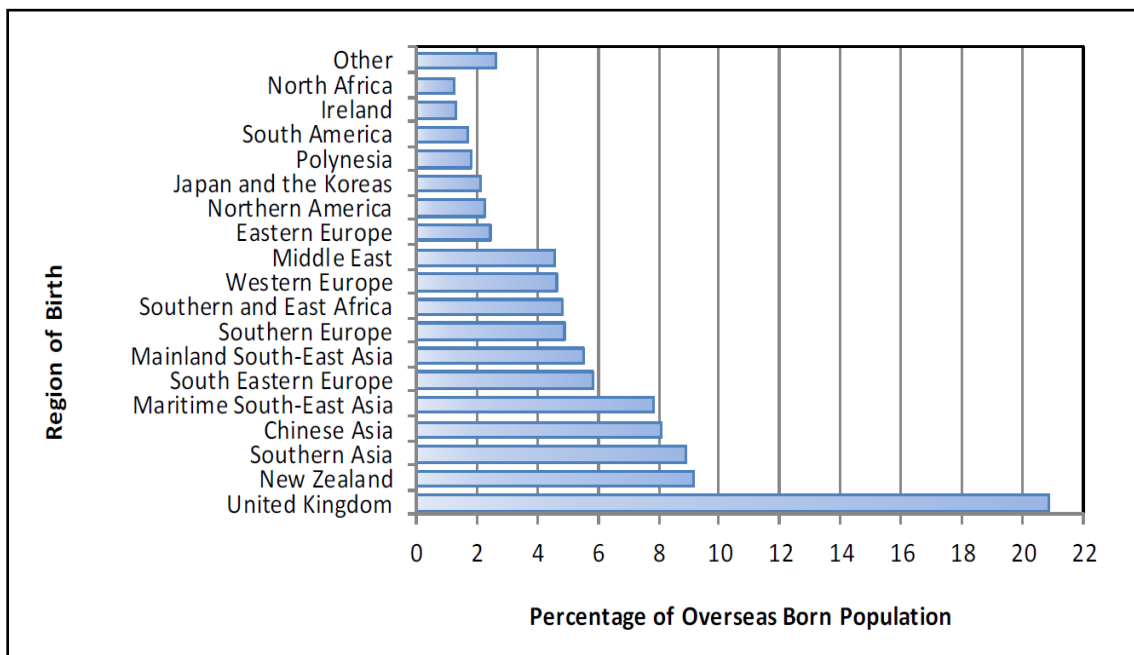
Currently the Canadian government has followed the Australian immigration policy model of imposing stricter language proficiency requirements as criteria for selection. Further, there is now the need for minimum language requirements thresholds for applicants under the federal skilled workers program (CIC 2017), a requirement which did not apply until the early 2010s.

However, using language proficiency as top selection criteria has some Canadian experts expressing concern:

...Canadian policy has taken one step in the direction of geographic targeting...that the government intends to require higher levels of proficiency in either English or French among immigrants admitted in the future...The points system was introduced to create a more objective system that wouldn't screen out based on race, national origin or mother tongue.... there's little question that there will be a significant shift in source countries. (The Globe and Mail May 7, 2012).

This excerpt suggests that Canada is following the Australian immigration model of using host language as one of the key selection criteria with the UK as the top immigrant source region since federation in Australia until as recently as 2011. While Australia has 24.6% of its population from overseas, the realities are that the large proportion of the overseas born population is either from the UK, New Zealand or Europe while other source regions are distributed in smaller pockets (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5. 1 Australian Overseas-born Populations by Region of Birth, Census 2011



Source: DIBP, the Place of Migrants in Contemporary Australia, 2014

If Canada follows the current Australian immigration policy model which places greater emphasis on language proficiency, this may signal a subtle form of discrimination in immigration policies and a possible reversal to the pre-1960s policies which selected immigrants on the basis of country of origin. Some reports have shown that English language is used purposefully (Cully 2011) to reject those who do not speak sufficient English. Secondly, the intake level of immigrants from some of Canada's top source countries such as China may begin to decrease. Thirdly, the intake level of immigrants with university degrees may start to decline (see CIC Facts & Figures 2011).

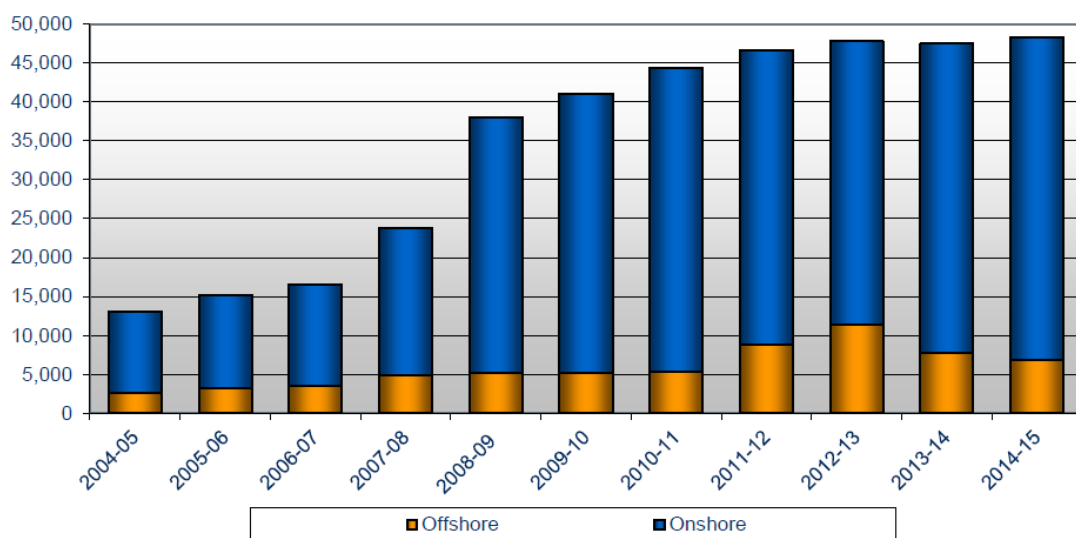
Australia

Australian immigration has also undergone some major shifts. Since mid-2001, former overseas students have been eligible to apply for permanent residence onshore. This is different from previous years when overseas students had to apply for a skilled migration visa offshore (see Birrell & Healy 2008). In 2010-2011, 48% of migration program places went to

migrants who were already in Australia as part of the temporary immigration program (DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011). This is likely to positively impact labour market integration as immigrants who are already in the country are more likely to gain some local job experience.

Since 2008, due to the global financial crisis, immigration policy in Australia has shifted in focus from independent SIs (supply-driven) to the employer sponsored category (demand-driven) (see ABS 2009; Figure 5.3). Such a shift in policy is likely to boost the employment outcomes of SIs in Australia as employment would be readily available for them.

Figure 5. 2 Employer sponsored outcomes from 2004-2005 to 2014-2015



Source: DIBP Migration Program Report 2014-2015

Additionally, in 2012, the Australian government introduced a new online Skilled Migration system called SkillSelect. The program is designed to give the government greater control over the composition and quality of the Skilled Migration intake (DIBP Migration Trends 2012-2013). Prospective SIs are now required to lodge an initial online expression of interest under SkillSelect whereby invitations are given to successful applicants to proceed further with an application for the Skilled Migration visa after applicants have met all the

necessary requirements; including the Points test (DIBP Migration Trends 2012-2013). According to the government, this new system will also assist employers to select their preferred overseas workers from the pool. Canada has modelled its processes on this practice, as discussed above.

It is also important to note that since July 2011, the points test in Australia no longer awards points for occupations in the Skilled Occupation List (Hawthorne & Wong 2011). Rather the current points system focuses on increasing the level of English language proficiency (CIC 2017). No points are awarded to people who meet the Australian English language threshold of IELTS 6 or equivalent. In contrast 20 points are awarded to people who exceed the required language threshold to a near native speaker level of IELTS 8 (Hawthorne & Wong 2011). Alternatively, holding a valid passport issued by the UK, the USA, Canada, New Zealand or the Republic of Ireland and being a citizen of that country is regarded as indicative proof of an applicant's competency in English (Department of Home Affairs 2018).

It is evident that the new policy change in the language proficiency level is deliberate and discriminates against immigrants who do not have near native speaker ability. Meanwhile, an OECD report in 2014 emphasised that:

.. care needs to be taken not to demand standards of language that are so high they rule immigrants out of certain occupations. It needs to be made clear to employers that immigrants can be productive even if they do not fully master the host-country language... (OECD 2014, P.41)

Table 5.6 summarises the selection criteria within the points test for the current economic and skilled migration programs in Canada and Australia. Previously, Canada placed the highest priority on education and consequently had the highest share of educated

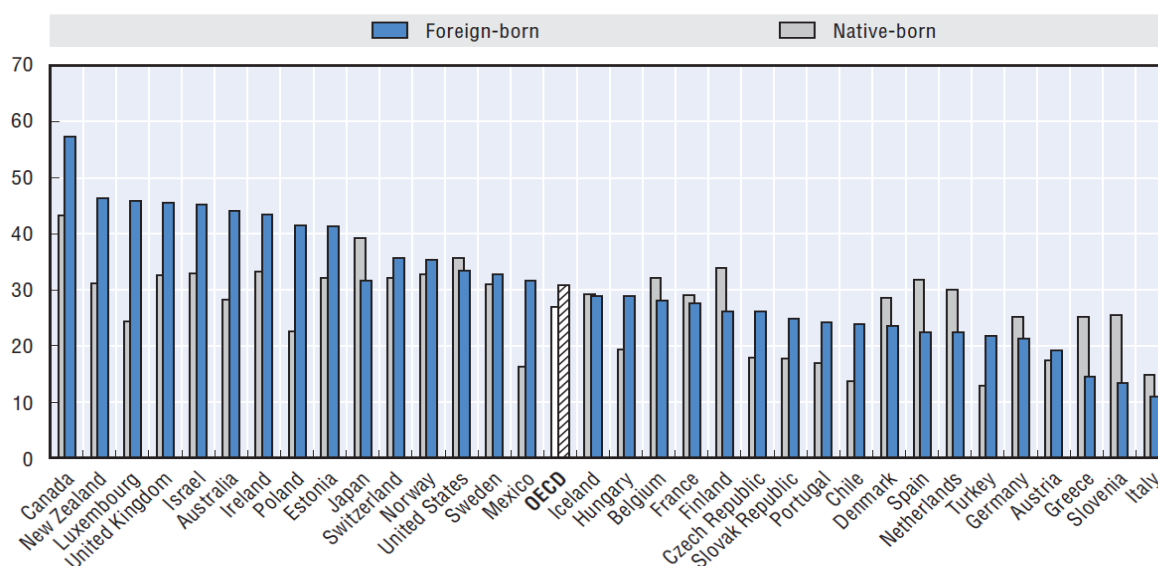
immigrants compared to other OECD countries (Figure 5.3). This position may begin to decrease as Canada makes language requirements a priority over education (see Table 5.6).

Table 5. 6 Current General Selection Criteria for Immigrants in Canada and Australia

Canadian Point Test	Currently Post-2010s
Education	25
Experience	15
Languages (Canadian Language Benchmark)	28
Age (18-35)	12
Arranged employment	10
Adaptability	10
Total	100
Pass Mark	67
Australian Point Test	
Age (25-32) less points for under 25 and above 32 year old	30
English language ability	20
Number of years of skilled employment in the past ten years within or outside Australia	15
Educational qualifications	20
Australian study qualifications	5
Other factors e.g. Community language qualifications, study in regional Australia or a low-population-growth metropolitan area, partner skills qualifications,	5
Nomination by state or territory government, sponsored by eligible family member, for residing and working in a specified/designated area (only for specific subclass visas)	10
Total	105
Pass Mark	65

Source: Compiled from CIC 2011 (proposed changes to federal skilled worker program) 2015; DIAC 2010; 2012.

Figure 5.3 Share of the highly educated among the foreign- and native-born of working age (15-64 years old), 2013



Source: OECD 2014

Outcomes of Migration Policies, 1980s to Post-2000s

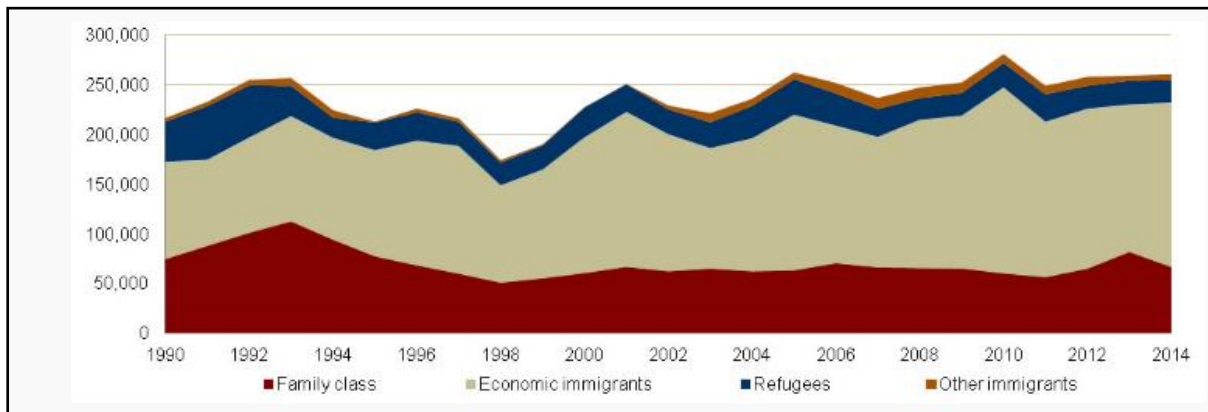
The focus on skilled immigration policy in Canada and Australia has produced at least five effects: (1) increase and shifts in the SI intake, (2) a highly educated skilled workforce of culturally diverse immigrants, (3) population growth, (4) diversified source regions and (5) economic growth. The outcomes are discussed in more detail below.

Increase and Shifts in the Skilled Immigrant Intake

Canada

The shift to a business driven policy since the 1980s has altered immigration policy outcomes from the family unification model to the economic immigrant class (Figure 5.4). In 1987, for the first time the economic immigrant class accounted for 74,108 of the total migration program of 152,084 in comparison to the family class of 53,840 (CIC Facts & Figures 2008). By 2014, the economic immigrant class in Canada represented about 63.4% (165,089) of the total migration program of 260,404 (CIC Facts & Figures 2014).

Figure 5. 4 Canada – Permanent residents by category, 1989 to 2014



Source: CIC Facts and Figures 2014

On the other hand, the overall intake levels of the federal skilled workers (FSWs) has dropped from 87% (118,591) of the economic class in 2000 to barely 40.8% (67,485) by 2014 (CIC Facts & Figures 2008; 2011; 2014). This is a significant decrease in the federal skilled workers intake levels and can be attributed to a stronger focus on the Canadian provincial and territorial nominees and the newly created Canadian Experience Class (CEC) which allows some temporary skilled foreign workers with Canadian experience, including international students to transition to permanent residency (Ferrer et al. 2012).

The Canadian provincial and territorial nominees intake levels have increased from 1,252 (0.91%) in 2000 to 47,628 (28.8%) by 2014 (CIC Facts & Figures 2008; 2011; 2014). Similarly, the number of immigrants who arrived under the CEC when it was first introduced was barely 2,545 (1.9%) in 2009 but by 2014 the intake level had reached 23,786 (17.4%). This means that by 2014 the provincial and territorial nominees and the CEC accounted for 71,414 (43.2%) of the overall economic immigrant class (165,089) (see CIC Facts & Figures 2014). This shows a noteworthy shift in the current economic immigration policy focus in Canada; an approach that is also observable in Australia as the skilled migration policy shifts in preference to employer sponsored and onshore skilled migration programs. These policy

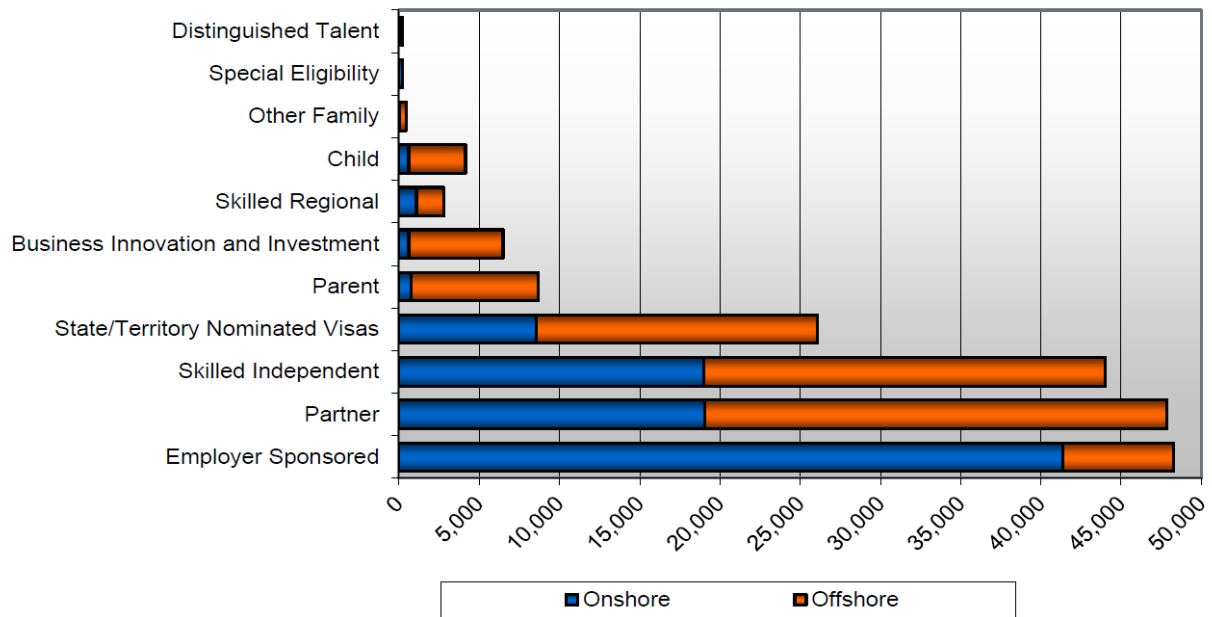
shifts are likely to impact on the employment integration outcomes of SIs in both countries, as will be examined in chapter eight.

Australia

Since 1997, the Australian skilled migration program intake levels have exceeded the family stream. In 1997, the program represented 34,670 (51.6%) of the total migration program (67,100), while the family stream accounted for 31,310 (46.6%) (Phillips & Simon-Davies 2014). This change in Australian immigration policy occurred a decade after Canada where the economic immigrant intake level exceeded the family category in the late 1980s. By 2014-2015, the total of the Australian migration program intake level peaked at 189,097 with the skilled migration program accounting for 67.6% (127,774), an indication of an upward trend for the skilled migration program in Australia (DIBP Migration Program 2013-2014; 2014-2015).

Nonetheless, parallel to the Canadian case, the number of the independent SIs in Australia had fallen from 51.5% (55,891) in 2007-2008 to 34.4% (43,999) by 2014-2015 (DIAC Migration Trends 2011-2012; DIBP Migration Program Report 2014-2015). In contrast, the number of immigrants admitted under the employer sponsored scheme had risen over the last decade (2004-2005) from 13,024 (16.7%) to 48,250 (37.8%) of the skilled migration program (127,774) by 2014-2015 (DIAC Migration Trends 2011-2012; DIBP Migration Trends 2014-2015), with a strong preference for onshore processes (Figure 5.5). This demonstrates a shift in policy that is likely to have different labour market integration effects, as will be discussed in chapter eight. The shift in immigration policy preferences in Canada and Australia currently are identical, with Canada following Australian immigration policies.

Figure 5. 5 Australian independent skilled immigrants and employer sponsored outcomes 2014-2015, onshore versus offshore



Source: DIBP Migration Program Report 2015

A Highly Educated Skilled Workforce of Culturally Diverse Migrants

Canada

Before 1991 only 21% of immigrants arriving in Canada possessed degrees (Hawthorne 2007) but by 2010, about 70.8 % of all newly arrived permanent Canadian economic class (principal applicant) residents possessed degrees (CIC Facts & Figures 2011). The larger proportion of current migrants arriving in Canada is from previously non-preferred immigrant source regions of culturally diverse backgrounds (see CIC Facts & Figures 2014). According to an EEA Report (2011), more than 30% of the Canadian VM population aged 15 years and older held a university degree compared to 21% of the total population. This is an illustration of the workforce quality in Canada.

Australia

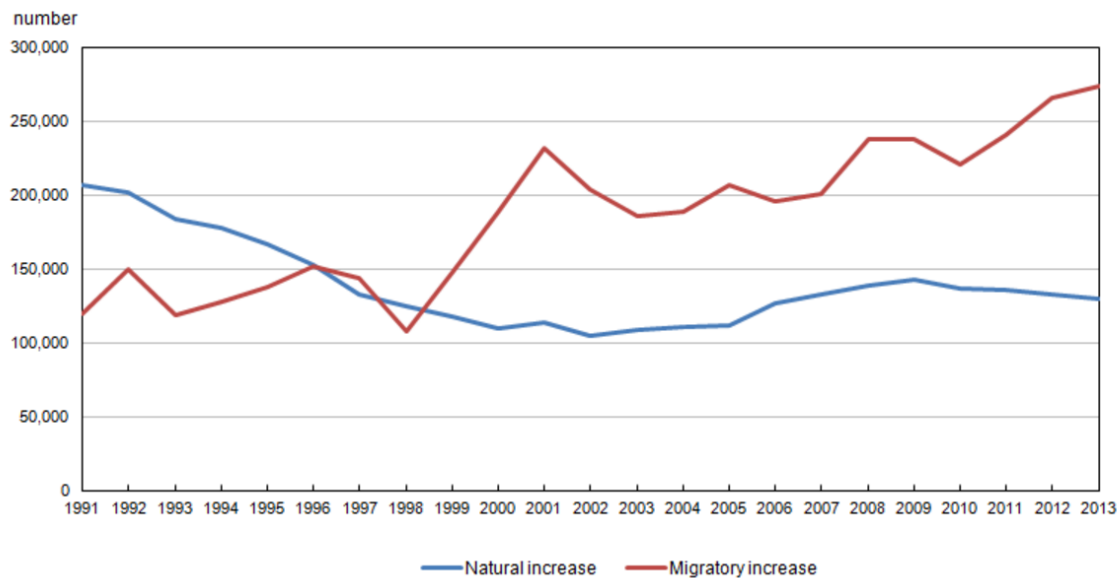
In contrast to Canada, before 1991, 17% of migrants to Australia had degrees compared to 14% of the locally born Australian (Hawthorne 2007). In 2011, the Australian census showed that 17.2% of the Australian population possessed degrees compared to immigrants from places such as China (38%), India (54%), England (21.6%), Ireland (29.4%), Malaysia (50.2%) and South Africa (35.9%) [DIBP Census 2011]. The Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants revealed that about 65% of the survey participants possessed university degrees (DIPB The Place of Migrants 2014). These figures are a demonstration of the educational characteristics of the current immigrant cohorts settling in both Canada and Australia.

Population Growth

Canada

The total population in Canada in 2011 was 32,852,320 (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011) in comparison to 18.2 million in 1961. The foreign-born population comprised 20.6% of the total population in 2011 (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural 2011) compared to 15.6% (Bloom & Gunderson 1991) before the introduction of the points system in 1967 (Beach et al. 2008; Triadafilopoulos 2010, 2013). Since the fertility decline in the 1960s and the 1970s to fewer than 1.8 children per woman in 1976 (Statistics Canada Population Growth 2012), migration has been used to augment population growth in Canada. Even as natural population has also contributed to population growth, since the late 1990s, population growth in Canada has consistently been driven by migration (Figure 5.6). According to (Statistics Canada Population Growth 2017), about two-thirds of current population growth is the outcome of migratory increase in comparison to one-third from natural increase.

Figure 5. 6 Annual natural and migratory increase in Canada, 1991-2013

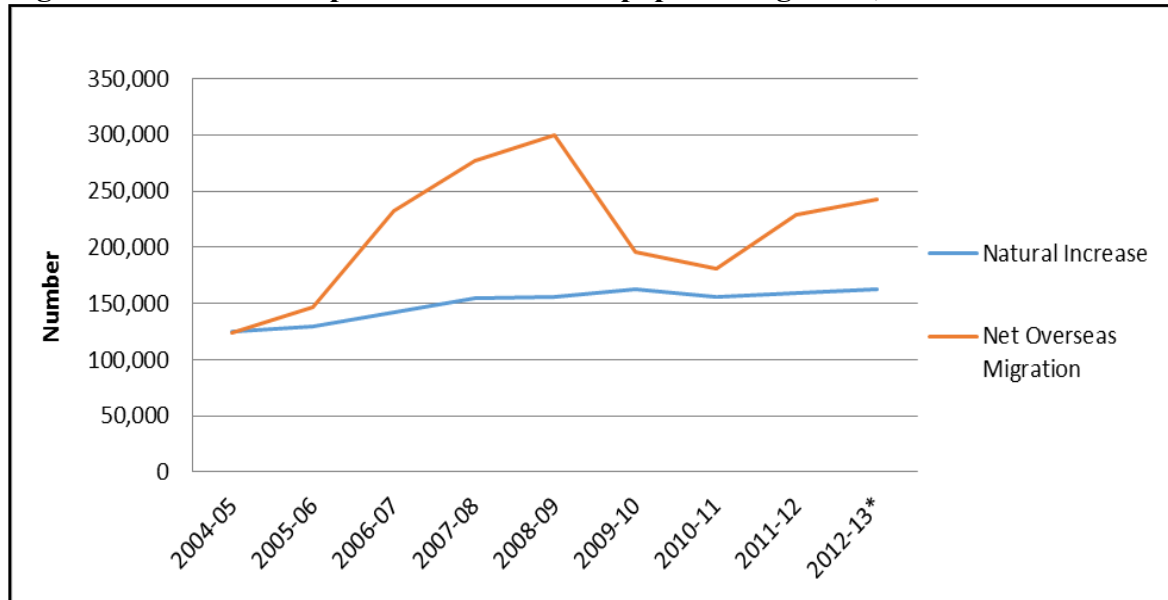


Source: Statistics Canada Population Growth, 2017

Australia

Like Canada, the growth in population is due to a combination of migration and natural population increase. However, in Australia ‘without post-war migration Australia’s population would be less than 13 million rather than 23.13 million’ (Hugo 2014b, p.868). The foreign-born population at the beginning of the post-war period stood at 9.5% compared to 27.7% by 2013 (Hugo 2014b). Recently, a report by Markus (2014) showed a strong contribution by net overseas migration (NOM) to Australian population growth compared to natural increase (Figure 5.7). This is a demonstration of migration benefits in terms of population growth to Canada and Australia.

Figure 5. 7 Recent Component of Australian population growth, 2004-2005 to 2012-2013



Source: Adapted from Markus 2014

*Preliminary estimate

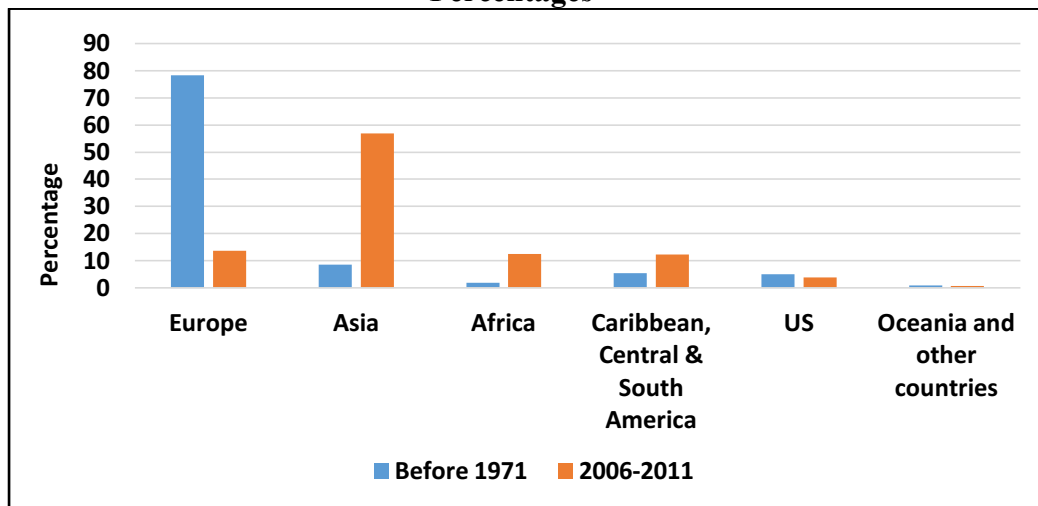
*NOM is the measure of permanent and temporary (long-stay) arrivals, less permanent and long -term departures, in a twelve month period

Changes in Immigration Source Regions

Canada

Before 1971, immigrants from Asia contributed to only 8.5% of the foreign-born population while Africans consisted of just 1.9% of the immigrants who arrived in Canada. This compared to the 78.3% of immigrants who were European (Figure 5.8). However, between 2006 and 2011, among the 1,162,900 immigrants who arrived in Canada, 56.9% originated from Asia (including the Middle East); contributing to the largest source of immigrants to Canada, followed by individuals from Europe (13.7%), Africa (12.5%) and the Caribbean, Central and South America (12.3%) (Figure 5.8).

Figure 5. 8 Canadian Immigrants by Region of Birthplaces, Pre-1971 and 2006-2011 in Percentages



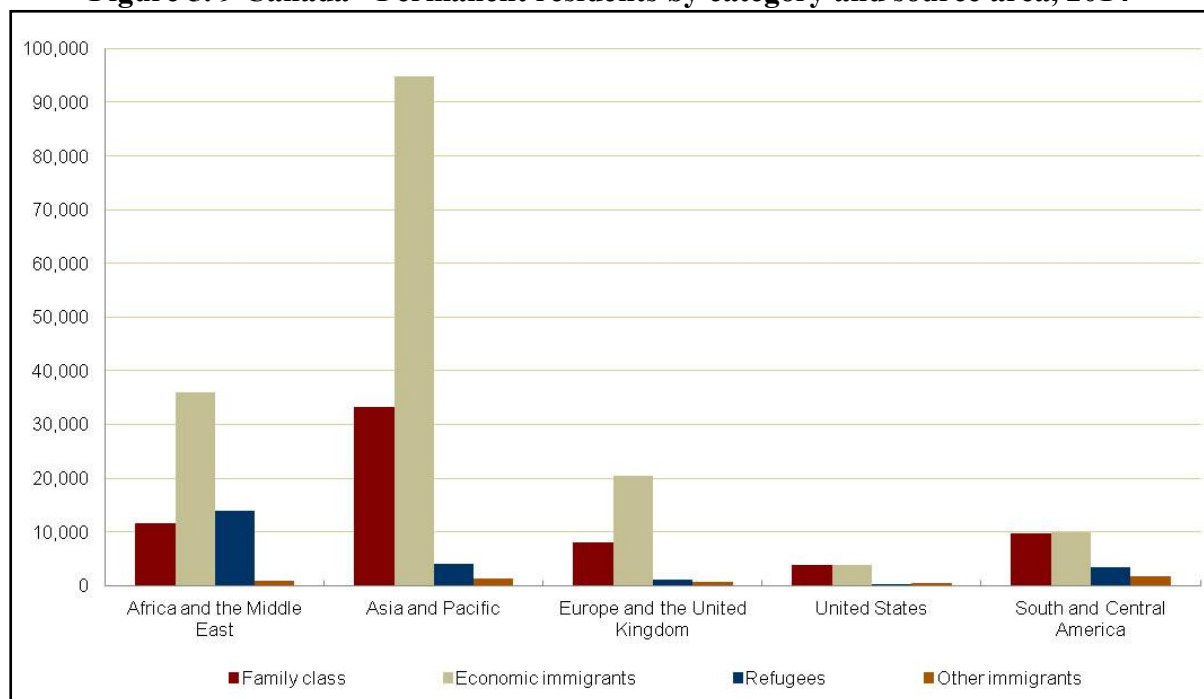
Source: Adapted from NHS Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity (2011)

In 2011, the foreign born population in Canada was 6,775,800, representing 20.6% of the total population. About 6,264,800 (19.1%) of the Canadian population (32,852,325) identified themselves as a member of a visible minority group in 2011 (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011). They had a workforce availability of 17.8% (EEA Report, 2011). About 30.9% of the Canadian VM population were born in Canada while 65.1% were born outside Canada and came to live in Canada as immigrants (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011). Canadian economic immigrants come from Asia and the Pacific (57%), Africa and the Middle East (22%), Europe and the United Kingdom (12%), South and Central America (6%) and the US (2%) [CIC Facts & Figures 2014]. The data shows that about 85% of all newly arrived economic immigrants originated from countries other than Europe and the US.

Since the 1990s, immigrants from Asia are the largest group among all the immigrant source categories (Figure 5.9 and Table 5.7). The strategic economic model of immigration policy has allowed Canada to increase its SIs' from non-European countries who are

resourceful, knowledgeable and competitive in contributing to nation building (de Haas, 2011; Green and Green, 2004; Massey, 1993; Reitz, 2002).

Figure 5.9 Canada - Permanent residents by category and source area, 2014



Source: CIC Facts and Figures 2014

Table 5.7 Top 10 Countries of Birth of Recent Immigrants to Canada: 1981-2012

Order	1981 Census	1991 Census	1996 Census	2001 Census	2006 Census	2012 Census
1	UK	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	China	China	China
2	Viet Nam	Poland	China	India	India	Philippines
3	USA	China	India	Philippines	Philippines	India
4	India	India	Philippines	Pakistan	Pakistan	Pakistan
5	Philippines	Philippines	Sri Lanka	Hong Kong	USA	USA
6	Jamaica	UK	Poland	Iran	South Korea	France
7	Hong Kong	Viet Nam	Taiwan	Taiwan	Romania	Iran
8	Portugal	USA	Viet Nam	USA	Iran	UK
9	Taiwan	Lebanon	US	South Korea	UK	Haiti
10	China	Portugal	UK	Sri Lanka	Columbia	Korea

Source: Chui, Tran & Maheux 2007, Catalogue no.97-557-XIE; CIC Report on Immigration 2013

Australia

Similar to Canada, the Australian immigration program has been sourcing immigrants from diverse nations. However, in contrast to Canada, the UK has until recently been the leading source of immigrants to Australia between Federation in 1901 and 2011 (DIMA 2001; Phillips & Spinks 2012) (see Table 5.8). It is only recently that Asia has become a major source of new permanent migrants to Australia (DIAC Migration Program 2010-2011; 2012-2013). For instance, in 2011-2012, for the first time, India became the main source of new permanent migrants to Australia; accounting for 15.7% of the migration program (DIAC Migration Trends, 2011-2012). Since then India has continued to be the largest source of immigrants to Australia, with a 34,874 (18.4%) intake in 2014-2015; while China 27,872 (14.7%) and the UK 21,078 (11.1%) followed (Figure 5.10). Such trends are different to Canada which had a country from Asia as the top birthplace of immigrants about two decades ago.

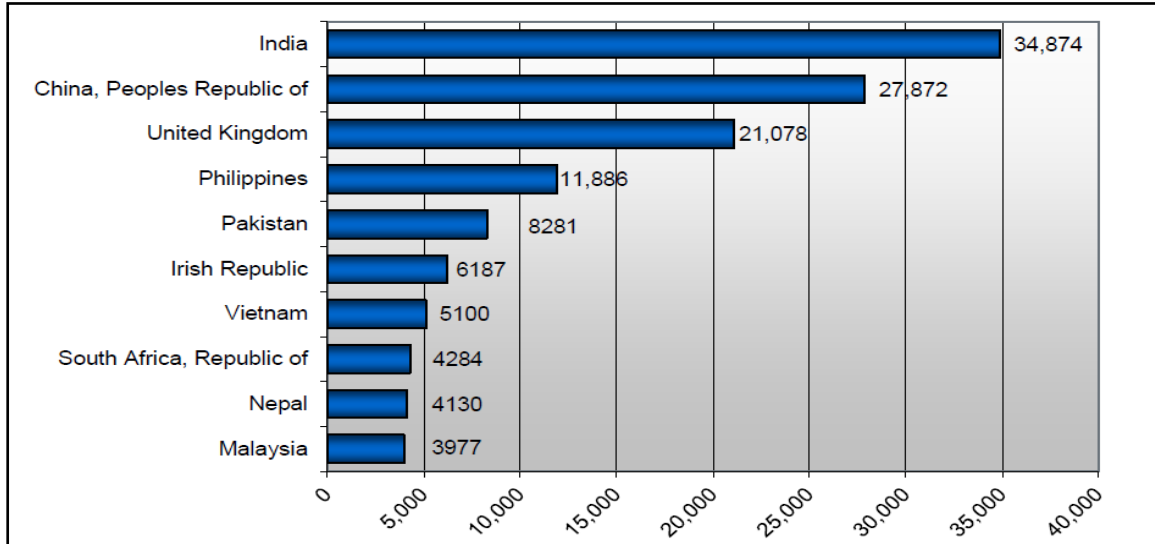
Table 5. 8 Top 10 Countries of Birth of Immigrants in Australia: 1981-2011

Rank	1981 Census	1991 Census	1996 Census	2001 Census	2006 Census	2011 Census
1	UK	UK	UK	England	England	England
2	Italy	NZ	NZ	NZ	NZ	NZ
3	NZ	Italy	Italy	Italy	China	China
4	Yugoslavia	Yugoslavia	Viet Nam	Viet Nam	Italy	India
5	Greece	Greece	Greece	China	Viet Nam	Italy
6	Germany	Vietnam	China	Scotland	India	Vietnam
7	Netherlands	Germany	Germany	Greece	Scotland	Philippines
8	Poland	Netherlands	Philippines	Germany	Philippines	South Africa
9	Malta	China	Netherlands	Philippines	Greece	Scotland
10	Lebanon	Philippines	India	India	Germany	Malaysia

Source: Adapted from DIAC 2001; 2008; DIBP 2013; Phillips and Klapdor 2010

The data shows that in comparison to Canada, Australia has maintained the larger selection of immigrants from the traditionally preferred source countries until as recently as 2011. It illustrates that the composition of immigrants in Canada and Australia is quite different.

Figure 5. 10 Top ten source countries of migrants 2014–15 (Australia)



Source: DIBP Migration Program Report 2014-2015

By 2011, immigrants from NESB countries constituted 15.7% (3,377,070) of the total Australian population [DIBP 2014, Census 2011]. In 2013-201, eight of Australia's top sources of points tested SIs were from Asia compared to only two from the UK (Table 5.9).

Table 5. 9 Top Ten Source Countries of Points Tested Skilled Immigrant Cohorts 2011-2012 to 2013-2014

Citizenship	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14
India	17,025	24,812	24,568
People's Republic of China	7,895	8,034	8,339
United Kingdom	9,822	6,668	6,647
Pakistan	2,813	2,061	4,263
Philippines	2,471	2,072	2,991
Nepal	1,265	2,467	2,946
Sri Lanka	3,896	3,228	2,528
Malaysia	3,620	3,164	2,342
South Africa	3,018	2,116	1,929
Ireland	1,684	1,562	1,887
Other	18,310	17,836	16,300
Total OECD countries	16,543	13,502	12,912
Total	71,819	74,020	74,740

Source: DIBP Migration Trends, 2013-2014

Other: include citizenship unknown.

Economic Impacts of Current Skilled Immigrants

Canada

Skilled economic immigrants have strengthened and sustained the Canadian workforce by increasing the size of the workforce and filling important job vacancies in the economy. Some have argued that SIs contribute more in taxes than their public services consumption (OECD 2014; Variyam 2006). SIs are also more likely to bolster the nation's knowledge, economy and the workforce as well as enhance the working age of the labour market (OECD 2014). SIs are normally in the prime working age of 18-45 which means they have more chances of contributing to the economy before retirement. A 2008 Environics survey revealed that 82% of Canadians agreed that immigrants make a positive economic impact on the country (Soroka & Robertson 2010). According to Bloemraad (2012), Canadians expressed very high support for migration as being good for the economy, with 70% perceiving migration as a key tool for Canada to strengthen its economy.

Australia

In the case of Australia some have argued that it is hard to place a dollar amount on the added economic value of migration. However, the following statements indicate how important the skilled immigration program is to Australia.

Australia's Skilled Migration Programmes build Australia's economic national prosperity and wellbeing, contribute to the three Ps' that have a positive impact on economic growth: population, participation and productivity and increase Australia's national wealth by selecting the best and brightest skilled migrants, through targeted migration programs (Kendall 2013, p.6).

By participating in the labour force, skilled migrants provide a substantial net contribution to Australia's economy initially, and increasingly over time. Based on the 2006-07 migrant intake, it is estimated that this contribution is around \$580.7 million in the first year; \$955.6 million by year 10, and \$1.01 billion by year 20 (ABS 3416.0 - Perspectives on Migrants 2009a).

Migration is making Australians wealthier....Skilled migrants granted permanent visas in 2014-15 were estimated to have a lifetime net contribution of \$6.9bn to the budget, while family migrants granted

permanent visas that year were estimated to have a \$1.6bn contribution....Migrants deliver an economic dividend for Australia....increases Australia's GDP and GDP per person, with positive flow-on effects for living standards....migration improves the commonwealth's fiscal position, since migrants are likely to contribute more to tax revenue than they claim in social services or other government support (The Australian, April 18, 2018).

The fact that the two countries continue to increase and support their skilled immigration programs shows that there is economic value in pursuing them (CIC Facts & Figures 2014; DIBP Setting the Migration Program 2014). This is why the programs are constantly reviewed to ensure the two nations are getting the best out of them.

Analysis of Immigration Policies, 1980s through to post-2000s

Since the 1980-1990s through to the post-2000s, the immigration policy developments in Canada and Australia have had different underpinnings (Table 5.10). Essentially, the *rationale* for immigration policies in Canada and Australia in these periods has been commercially motivated rather than concerned with the ethics of non-discriminatory immigration policy. The policy *goals* in Canada and Australia since the 1980s are strictly founded on selecting immigrants to fill labour market shortages for economic development, replenishment of the fertility rate (see e.g., Green & Green 2004; Knowles 2007; Walsh 2008) and to boost businesses competitiveness in the knowledge economy and the global market due to globalisation. While the economic and the nation-building goals in the two countries are not new, the type of migrants targeted for economic development has shifted.

The *target group* within this phase has been highly skilled, degree qualified and vocationally relevant SIs who have been sourced mainly from developing nations and some other traditional sources (see CIC Facts & Figures 2014; DIBP Migration Trends 2013-2014). This approach has been conducted through a more structured range of immigration programs such as the economic immigrant or the SI classes than the previous immigration policy before

the points system. The immigration policy *selection criteria* in Canada and Australia since the 1980s are based rigorously on human capital factors with special emphasis on education and occupational skills as well as a strong focus on host language proficiency post-2000s.

Since the 1980s the immigration policies in Canada and Australia have been shaped by both internal and external challenges. *Internally* a highly skilled workforce is sought to address global labour market competition as a result of *external pressures* of globalisation (see e.g. Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011; Chiswick 2005). Both countries face *concerns* around low fertility and an ageing population and their potential to affect the economic viability of the two nations. To *respond* to these internal and external challenges and concerns, Canada and Australia have since the 1980s adopted a more strategic commercial/entrepreneurial approach to using skilled migration to resolve social and economic problems. The two countries are currently well established in these policy trends and have responded through a *proactive* policy approach to the management of immigrants. Currently, Canada has a stronger focus on its Provincial/Territory Nominees and Canadian Experience Class categories while Australia also focuses on employer sponsored migrants and onshore applicants (see CIC Facts & Figures 2008, 2011, 2014; DIAC Migration Trends 2011-2012; DIBP Migration Trends 2014-2015; DIBP Migration Program 2014-2015).

The outcomes are that since the 1980s, Canada and Australia have experienced an unprecedented surge in highly SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds. Thus far, the literature evidence in chapter two signals that immigration policies have attracted a significant highly skilled labour force from culturally diverse backgrounds who are expected to integrate successfully in the labour market. However, employers and organisations in the labour market make the final decision to offer employment (Colic-Peisker 2011) that will

match the qualifications of SIs to gain productive and equitable employment outcomes, making effective integration problematic.

Table 5. 10 Analytical Policy Framework: Immigration Policies in Canada and Australia Compared, 1980s through to Post-2000s

Dimension	Canada	Australia
Developmental stages	1980s-Post-2000s	1980s-Post-2000s
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic skilled migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic skilled migration
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic development • Switch from family reunification to economic migration (since late 1980s) • Fill labour market shortages • Replenish low fertility and aging population • Knowledge economy competition • Meet global market competition • Commercialised migration – education industry (since 1980s) • Nation development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic development • Switch from family reunification to economic migration (since late 1990s) • Fill labour market shortages • Replenish low fertility and aging population • Knowledge economy competition • Meet global market competition • Commercialised migration – education industry (since 1980s) • Nation development
Target Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly skilled economic immigrants • Degree/Vocational qualified migrants • Immigrants with competitive skills • Top source regions – Asia (since 1990s); other developing nations (e.g. Africa, Middles East; Caribbeans, South/Central Americans; Europe; USA) • Focus on federal skilled workers group (pre-2000s) • Shift towards PTN and CES (post-2000s) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly skilled immigrants • Degree/Vocational qualified migrants • Top source regions – UK (until 2011); NZ; Europe; Asia (top source since 2011); and other non-traditional sources • Focus on independent skilled migrant group ('supply-driven, pre-2000s) • Shift towards employer sponsored and onshore processing (post-2000s)
Selection Criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Capital (e.g. Occupation & Education focus) • Language focused (post-2000s) • Points system • Pre-entry assessment advice only (pre-2000s) • Pre-entry assessments (recently 2010s) • Points-based 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human capital (Occupation & Education focus) • Language focused (post-2000s) • Pre-entry assessment (since late 1990s) • Points system
Internal Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Credential recognition • Cultural diversity management (1980s) • Multiculturalism • Lack of sufficient workforce for global competition • Accessibility of global markets through non-traditional immigrants • Recession (1980s) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employers preference for migrants from English-speaking backgrounds • Cultural diversity management • Inclusion of unwanted migrant sources • Multiculturalism
External Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Globalisation • Knowledge economy • Highly educated global workforce 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Globalisation • Knowledge economy • Highly educated global workforce
Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low fertility and aging population • Recession (1980s) • Economic growth/prosperity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic growth • Global competition • Labour growth
Policy Response Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Exploratory (1980s)</i> • Commercial Exploration • Proactive (Post-2000s) • Established Exploration • Acceptance/ Accommodating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Exploratory (1980s)</i> • Commercial Exploration • Proactive (Post-2000s) • Established Exploration • Acceptance/ Accommodating
Outcomes/Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly skilled labour force • Culturally diverse workforce and population • Changed migration composition (since 1980s) • Increase in visible minority group (19.1% post-2000s) • Economic growth • PTN and CES focused (post-2000s) • Challenges • Unable to influence labour market processes and practices (e.g. inequities, segmentation, non-recognition of educational credentials) • Lack of effective integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly skilled labour force • Culturally diverse workforce and population • Changed migration composition (since 1990s) • Increase in NESB group (15.7% post-2000s) • Economic growth • Employer sponsored and onshore immigrant focused (post-2000s) • Challenges • Unable to influence labour market processes and practices (e.g. inequities, segmentation, non-recognition of educational credentials) • Lack of effective integration

Source: This study

Summary and Discussion of Immigration Policies, pre-1960s to Post-2000s

This chapter has analysed the immigration policies in Canada and Australia from the pre-1960s to the post-2000s in three phases. While events in the first two phases (pre-1960s and 1960s-1970s), are crucial to the current policy phase, the 1980s through to today have several significant implications. First of all, recession in the 1980s shaped the concept of how immigrants were recruited to fill labour shortages owing to low fertility rates and ageing populations. This intensified the need to source immigrants from elsewhere other than the preferred immigrant source regions which were confronted with challenges of low fertility and aging population issues. Secondly, the recession in the 1980s triggered the concept of charging full fees to international students to augment the two economies. Thirdly, increased globalisation propelled the need for SIs with the ability to utilise their international knowledge for competing in global business. Fourthly, as globalisation demanded highly skilled individuals that operate effectively in the knowledge economy, this has resulted in higher investment in education in several developing nations and has increased the tertiary education enrolment in previously non-preferred immigrant source regions. Incidentally, these are the nations which can readily provide labour.

Key observations of immigration policies in Canada and Australia suggest that Canada is now following the Australian immigration policy model. For instance, Canada now has a pre-entry qualification assessment and pre-migration language testing requirement but Australia has had this since the late 1990s. This is in contrast to the pre-2000s period when Canada led the way in immigration policies while Australia followed (see Ongley & Pearson 1995). This study finds that as it becomes easier for highly educated immigrants from non-traditional immigrant sources to migrate on the basis of their human capital qualities; arbitrary selection criteria such as a strong focus on English language proficiency used to

purposefully influence the selection process of SIs can have an overflow effect into the labour market. Employers are more than likely to also prefer SIs from English-speaking backgrounds than those from elsewhere. It is just as when immigration policies excluded the selection of culturally diverse immigrants prior to the 1960s, the results were that the public also strongly supported the exclusion of these cohorts. A similar pattern of exclusion can impact the employment outcomes of SIs in gaining equitable labour market progress as English language is being used as an institutional barrier to the employment of SIs.

In brief, the chapter illustrated that immigration policies are essential for the selection of immigrants and the structuring of immigration processes. Immigration contributes to population growth, improved workforce characteristics and compensates for labour shortages arising from economic changes. While immigration policies are relevant for entry purposes, they contribute very little to the integration of immigrants as defined by this study. This is because integration processes take place after migration and not at the point of entry.

The immigration policies in the two countries are significantly economically oriented. The ways the immigration policies have been framed have not taken the interests of SIs into consideration as they appear to strongly emphasise lopsided gains to the host nations. For instance, Kukoc (2011) has made the point that the Australian migration programs are driven by ‘the needs of Australia’s economy rather than the desires of prospective migrants’ (DIAC Australia’s Migration Program 2011, p.11). This shows that migrants’ interests are not recognised except when it benefits the host nation. This chapter argues strongly that although immigration policies in Canada and Australia have unquestionably benefited the host nations economically and socially, the inequitable labour market integration of SIs continues to pose a great challenge (see chapter two) regardless of SIs being selected on comparable human

capital factors. The ensuing chapter explores multiculturalism policies in Canada and Australia to understand how the policies impact the integration of the SIs under investigation.

CHAPTER SIX

Multiculturalism Policy: an Approach to Managing Cultural Diversity in Canada and Australia

Introduction

This chapter examines multiculturalism as a policy for managing cultural diversity and a possible contributor to shaping the labour market integration of SIs, from culturally diverse backgrounds in Canada and Australia. A multilingual, multiethnic workforce provides Canada with ‘a distinct comparative advantage in the global marketplace’ (Walsh 2008, p.799). Similarly, Australia is committed to maximising the advantages that diversity of cultures and a multilingual workforce bring as these are seen as providing a ‘distinct competitive advantage in the global economy’ (The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy 2011, p.5). The chapter seeks to consider the relevance and the extent to which MCPs shape the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs. *How effective and relevant is multiculturalism policy for facilitating the labour market integration of SIs?* The chapter argues that despite the existence of MCPs in Canada and Australia for decades, the impact of MCPs on the labour market integration of SIs is limited.

The chapter examines multiculturalism from a historical context to the contemporary period. The chapter begins with a definition of multiculturalism as identified in Canada and Australia. It then proceeds to explore the historical context of MCPs in the two nations and then tracks the trajectory of the official development of MCPs to identify both their unique and similar features. These distinct and shared features are then compared using the analytical policy framework developed previously in chapter four. The chapter is not only interested in policy development but also policy outcomes. For this reason, the effectiveness of the MCPs in relation to the integration of culturally diverse SIs in Canada and Australia is examined using Ely and Thomas's (2001) model for managing cultural diversity as discussed in the

literature in chapter two. The effectiveness of the MCPs is analysed within the (1) *discrimination-and-fairness*, the (2) *access-and-legitimacy* and the (3) *integrative-and-learning perspectives*. The chapter anticipates that effective MCPs will not only focus on the demographic representation of cultural diversity but will have measures that seek to address how equitable outcomes can be achieved and the extent to which these measures influence the labour market integration of SIs.

What is multiculturalism?

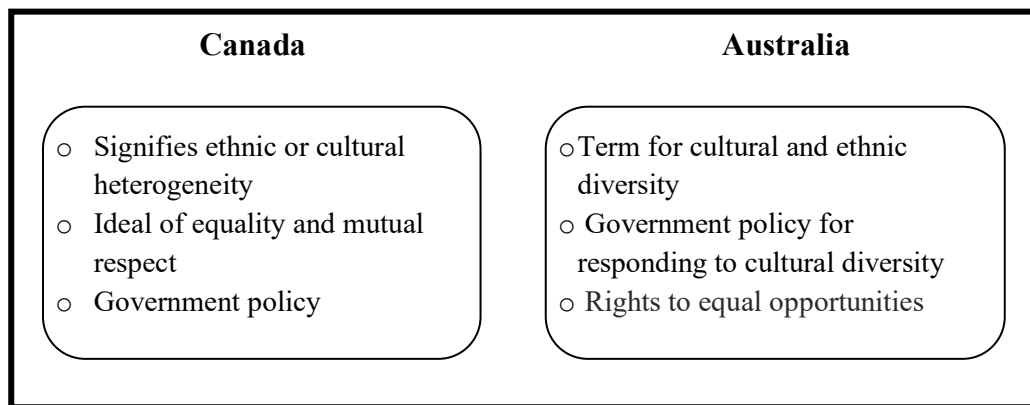
‘The whole world is multicultural’ (Jupp & Clyne 2011, p.xvi). Yet the term multiculturalism means several things to different people. For instance, to some, ‘multiculturalism’ is a term ‘for demographic diversity’, to others it is a ‘political philosophy of equality or justice’, while some also consider it to be ‘a set of policies to recognise and accommodate ethno-racial and religious diversity’ or even ‘a public discourse recognising and valorising pluralism’ (Bloemraad & Wright 2014, p.s292) or a set of policies for managing diversity (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011). It is also an ideology that ‘attempts to encompass the general fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for a society and for its individual members’ (Berry 2011, p.29). Accordingly, at the cultural level, multiculturalism encourages accommodation of cultural plurality as a resource and promotion of equitable participation in society including economic and social justice for all groups (Berry 2011).

In Canada, multiculturalism refers to the organised ways in which Canadian society deals with being a multicultural society (Oliver 2006). The term ‘multiculturalism’ is used in different ways to signify a society that is characterised by ethnic or cultural heterogeneity; ideal of equality and mutual respect among a population's ethnic or cultural groups or refers

to a government policy for recognition and protection of cultural diversity (Hawkins 1991; Oliver 2006) (see Figure 6.1).

In Australia, in a descriptive sense multiculturalism is basically a term for describing the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia and as a public policy, it encompasses government measures designed to respond to that diversity (Department of Social Services 2014). In Australia, multiculturalism ‘is a policy based on individual rights and responsibilities, which recognises the right of all Australians to enjoy their cultural heritage and the right to equal opportunities for everyone regardless of their backgrounds (Lewis, French & Phetmany 2000) (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6. 1 Multiculturalism: The Canadian and Australian context



Source: This study

The definitions in Canada and Australia (Figure 6.1) illustrate three key features of multiculturalism as: (1) reflecting cultural diversity in the population (2) a public policy for managing cultural diversity (3) seeking to promote equal opportunities. Multiculturalism accepts cultural diversity, emphasises reciprocal cultural respect that encourages equitable participation of all individuals as well as groups in the larger society (Berry 2011). Multiculturalism therefore is not an attempt to focus on integrating migrants into a dominant

group but rather an opportunity for both the dominant society and institutions to learn to accommodate all groups while non-dominant groups, also adjust to basic standards of the larger society (Berry 2011).

Multiculturalism is ‘a purposeful attempt to address the historical and contemporary exclusion of ethnocultural and racial minorities’ (Wilson 1993, p.654). Seldom are scholars interested in examining how MCPs influence the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs. The chapter anticipates that: to identify how effective multiculturalism is as a public policy, it will not be framed only in relation to the numerical presence of ethnic or cultural diversity in the nations but will have measurable criteria for ensuring equitable labour market outcomes. The next section provides an overview of the historical context of multiculturalism.

The Historical Context of Multiculturalism Policy in Canada and Australia

Canada

Multiculturalism in Canada is not new. As pointed out in chapter five the existence of the first inhabitants of Aboriginal people before the arrival of the French and British settlers indicates that Canada had long been a multicultural society even before it was formally declared a nation in 1867 (Guo & Wong 2015; Winter 2007). For instance, ‘Black, Chinese, Irish, East Indian and Jewish settlements go back, in some cases, over 200 years’ but were small in numbers and perceived as marginal to the Canadian mainstream (Wilson 1993, p.651). Their existence was denied and resisted by dominant groups just as the presence of the Aboriginal people was rejected (Lacchin 2015). Instead the European settlers took the land and resources of Canada and imposed their cultural rights over the native Aborigines and incapacitated these rights by an Act; the British North American Act 1867 (Lacchin 2015).

Canada, like its other companion British settler societies (the USA, Australia and New Zealand), had an assimilationist approach to migration where migrants had to conform to British culture (Banting & Kymlicka 2010). However, the United Nation's repudiation of racial and cultural discrimination ideology after WWII, a surge in human rights activities including the African-American civil rights movement from 1955-1965, multiculturalism and minority rights in the 1960s (Kymlicka 2012) and decolonisation of African and Asian countries nullified normative historical tendencies of overt discrimination (Triadafilopoulos 2010, 2013) and blatant assimilation to dominant cultures.

As discussed in chapter five, since the end of the discriminatory immigration policy in the 1960s, Canada's ethno-cultural mosaic has increased greatly in part due to immigrant inflows (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011). This is owing to immigration policies that have selected immigrants on the basis of human capital rather than race. Since the 1980s economic crisis, a low fertility rate, ageing of the population (Green & Green 2004; Knowles 2007) and globalisation (Li 2008b; Walsh 2008) have all impacted on the cultural demographic of the population in both Canada. Wong and Guo (2015, p.1) pointed out that, in 1981 for the first time when the Canadian census counted the 'visible minority' population, racialised persons constituted 4.7% but by 2011 that number had increased to 19.1% (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011). Presently, about 85% of all newly arrived economic immigrants to Canada originate from countries other than Europe and the US (CIC Facts & Figures, 2014).

Australia

Parallel to Canada, multiculturalism in Australia is also not new. As already emphasised in chapter five, before the settlement of British convicts in 1788, the Aboriginal people were already settled in Australia (Lewis et al. 2000). Nonetheless, similar to Canada,

the arrival of British convicts in Australia did not involve the recognition of the Aboriginal people as the rightful inhabitants of the land. Bertone and Leahy (2003, p.107) suggested that 'the Australian land was stolen by 'White Australians' from the 'indigenous owners'. According to Reynolds (1987), the British colonised the people and the land of the Aboriginal people and in some cases tried to exterminate them. As discussed in chapter five, public policy such as the White Australia policy 1901 actively sought to exclude non-white and non-British immigrants as much as possible (NAA 2012) and North Western European migrants (Mann 2011).

Nevertheless events in Australia were later to be influenced to some degree by the American civil rights movement (Minchin 2010) as it impacted on Australian human rights activists and Indigenous Rights activists. Domestic activists drew on international interest in Aboriginal affairs to pursue civil rights for Indigenous people in Australia (Chesterman 2005). For instance, in 1965 drawing on strategic tactics from activists in the United States civil rights movement, Charles Perkins and some non-Indigenous university students embarked on a freedom ride through rural New South Wales to draw attention to segregation (Chesterman 2005) and everyday discrimination experienced by Aboriginal people in Australia (Minchin 2010). In 1962 Australian Aborigines were for the first time allowed to vote (Chesterman 2001) when a referendum in 1967 made it possible for indigenous Australians to be included in the federal census (Minchin 2010).

Up until the 1960s, public policies in Australia also emphasised *assimilation* to British culture (Castles 1987; Collins 1991; Jupp 2011; Mann 2011). *Assimilation* was replaced by a policy of *integration* in the late 1960s due to difficulties experienced by new migrants (Koleth 2010). The introduction of '*integration*' policy assumed that migrants could integrate successfully without losing their national identity as immigrants 'no longer needed

to totally and immediately discard their cultural past and become part of a homogenised Australian culture’ (Collins 1991, p.231; Koleth 2010). It soon became evident that ‘adaptation to Australian society was not a simple and automatic process’ (Castle 1987, p.10). Jupp (1996) points out that the Italian and Greek immigrants were unwilling to assimilate and yet were likely to leave if forced to assimilate; and besides the acquisition of the national language was harder than previously assumed. The assimilation and integration policies will change in subsequent years to embrace a broader policy of multiculturalism (Koleth 2010).

This brief historical overview of the period prior to the 1960s-1970s show that ‘dominant groups felt threatened by minorities, superior to them, or indifferent to their well-being, and so attempted to assimilate, exclude, exploit, or disempower them’ (Banting & Kymlicka 2003, p.61). This shows that culturally diverse individuals were not necessarily victims but instead were perceived as threats to shared economic power and status and as such political measures were used to disrupt their ascendancy into power positions. This reflected the shared conditions of Canada and Australia before the two nations formerly adopted MCPs. Nonetheless, the numerical or demographic presence of individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds is not the focus of this chapter as this has already been illustrated in chapter five. Rather, the spotlight is on how effectively public policies such as MCPs influence the management of cultural diversity among individuals to help facilitate equitable labour market outcomes. MCPs have been developed to help curb persistent inequities while promoting valorisation of cultural diversity, but how the policies facilitate successful labour market integration and equitable outcomes is explored.

Multiculturalism Policy Origins, Rationale, Goals and Contributing Factors, 1960s-1970s

Canada

The recognition of the white ethnic 'third force', 1960s-1970s

In Canada, multiculturalism as an official public policy began in 1963 when the Canadian government charged the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to investigate ways of strengthening equality between the British and French populations (Kymlicka 2008). The main terms of reference were to identify ways to establish a cohesive 'bicultural' and 'bilingual' society (Esses & Gardner 1996; Mann 2011). This stirred up concerns among some leaders of other white ethnic groups (e.g. Ukrainians, Italians, Poles) who thought funds and civil service positions would be shared between the British and the French; leaving them marginalised (Kymlicka 2004, 2015). As such Canadian ethnic minorities began to agitate for equality and recognition of their contribution to the building of the country (Oliver 2006). These ethnic groups, often referred to as the 'third force' argued that accommodation of 'bilingualism and biculturalism' between the French and the British should not be achieved at their expense (Kymlicka 2004; 2015). These ethnic groups also sought to 'have their presence and contributions to Canada publicly acknowledged' (Wood & Gilbert 2005, p.680).

To address these concerns, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had to include the investigation of other groups apart from the British and French to consider their contribution to the cultural enrichment of Canada (Oliver 2006). It was established that there were a number of minority groups in Canada with a clear sense of their own identity, which, without undermining national unity, wanted to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage (Oliver 2006). The Commission heard from non-British and non-French who argued that Canada was more than just two cultures of French and English (Guo & Wong 2015).

Eventually, after a series of recommendations were released by the Commission in 1969 that formed the basis for multiculturalism, official multiculturalism policy followed (see Wong & Guo 2015)

In 1971, the MCP was initiated in Canada to recognise the efforts and contributions of various ethno-cultural groups who had made Canada their home (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011). The policy was affirmed by Prime Minister Trudeau who declared Canada as a bilingual and multicultural nation with policy objectives as follows:

‘A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity if it is to mean anything in the deepest personal sense must be founded on confidence in one’s own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all’ (Pierre Elliott Trudeau 1971)

The emphasis here was on valuing and appreciating one’s own ethnicity without being prejudicial about someone else’s, as well as attaining a society based on ‘fair play’. It is this fair play that denotes equity and the current chapter seeks to understand the extent to which this applies to the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs.

The agenda for the implementation and operations of the 1971 MCP in Canada was articulated as follows:

- (1) First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less than the strong and highly organized.
- (2) Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.
- (3) Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.

- (4) Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society' (Pierre Elliot Trudeau, October 8, 1971).

The government at this point was concerned with 'preserving human rights, developing Canadian identity, strengthening citizenship participation, reinforcing Canadian unity and encouraging cultural diversification within a bilingual framework' (Pierre Elliot Trudeau, 1971). Through the 1971 MCP, the rights of Aboriginal people and the two official languages of Canada were confirmed (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011). The policy became the first of its kind in the world (Kawano 2015; Kymlicka 2012; Mann 2012; Ng & Metz 2015; Wong & Guo 2015; Wood & Gilbert 2005).

Following this recognition, a Ministry for Multiculturalism was set up in 1973 to monitor and implement multicultural initiatives within government departments (Dewing 2009). Multiculturalism was largely perceived as an idealistic policy that respects 'Canadians regardless of race, ethnicity, language or religion' as equal (Chiasson 2012, p.2). Yet the policy was perceived as a 'politically necessary addition to a natural bilingual policy introduced to recognise Francophones and Quebec' so that 'bilingualism would not create extra problems' (Wood & Gilbert 2005, p.682). To some, the MCP was introduced in haste to cover up opposition from other minority groups (Wood & Gilbert 2005). It is important to note that the concept of multiculturalism as an integration policy in Canada occurred after the adoption of immigration policies that selected immigrants on the basis of skills. The MCP acknowledged cultural diversity and encouraged public institutions to accommodate diverse ethnic identities (Banting & Kymlicka 2010) but the monitoring, enforcement and consequences for any breach of MCPs by organisations were lacking, thus adversely affecting the employment outcomes of immigrant populations who arrived as a result of the changed immigration policies.

The French-Canadians perceived the MCP as an effort by the federal government to recognise their culture on the same level as other cultures when in practice, the French considered their culture to be the underpinnings of Canada (Mann 2011). Mann (2011) stressed the point that, the Quebec government refused to introduce an official MCP in its jurisdiction but rather adopted an intercultural policy meant for French speaking settlers intending to integrate into the French society. Chiasson (2012) highlights that even though there is no official policy of interculturalism in Quebec, it still can be expressed through official documents and scholarship. Interculturalism in Quebec is concerned with the idea of a ‘reciprocal engagement between the Quebecois majority and the cultural communities where the host society must appreciate for example immigrants’ contribution while immigrants in turn respect the fundamental values of the host society (Chiasson 2012, p.2). In this case, the expectation of integration is based on mutual efforts by both immigrants and the host country instead of being lopsided where immigrants are expected to integrate into the dominant culture. As such, the French-Canadians chose to defend and maintain their culture and language (Mann 2011) without assimilating into dominant English culture.

Australia

Multiculturalism Policy and the Settlement of Non-English-speaking Immigrants, 1970s

Unlike the Canadian case, the MCP in Australia was developed in response to settlement challenges and unfair treatment of immigrants. The non-English-speaking Europeans in Australia were experiencing difficulties adapting and integrating into a culture and a language different from their own (Jupp 1995). They also faced labour market challenges involving occupational segmentation and discrimination (see Walsh 2008; 2011). Walsh (2012a) stressed that Southern and Eastern Europeans were frequently relegated to undesirable jobs in remote areas. The Australian government’s initial planned assimilation

did not work as anticipated as it was causing social isolation and segregation that marked differences between the Australian born and the migrants (see Walsh 2012a). The challenge for Australia was how to manage and achieve the cohesion of its diverse ethnic groups (Castles 1988) that had risen from migration.

In 1971, the aspiring Prime Minister Whitlam articulated:

We have thought it natural that migrants should be content to fill the lowest paid occupations, accept the costliest housing in the ugliest areas, send their children to the most crowded and least equipped schools, accept worse health services, worse public transport, fewer recreational amenities and poorer urban services ... We should no longer expect migrants to settle for the second rate, particularly when so much of what passes for our best is itself second rate by the standards of the countries with which we compare ourselves (Gough Whitlam 1971).

The statement above clearly contested the efficacy of immigrant integration at the time. The speech was not about recognising the presence, efforts and contribution of immigrants to the building of the nation of Australia as in the case of Canada. Rather it suggested that the increase in the arrival of migrants had created managerial challenges as to how to equally and effectively integrate immigrants to be part of the wider society of Australia. Clearly, social, economic, educational, and even health service inequity was at play and therefore those injustices called for measures of redress. Soon after, Australia followed the path of Canada by adopting an MCP but Australian multiculturalism has always been concerned with immigrants' (Jupp & Clyne 2011, p.xvii) rather than recognition of ethnic contribution to building the nation. A number of church activists, academics and ethnic group leaders including individuals such as Walter Lippmann (a German-Jewish refugee), David Cox (a young Protestant minister), Jean Martin (an academic) and Jerzy Zubrzycki (an academic) who were against assimilationist views helped pave the way for change (see Lopez 2000).

In 1973 Al Grassby (Labor minister for immigration) discovered the term '*multi-cultural*' on a trip to Canada and brought it back to Australia to encourage changes to the immigration legislation (Ozdowski 2012). Al Grassby proposed the concept of an MCP as a tool for ensuring *fair migrant settlement, welfare and socio-cultural strategy* (Koleth 2010). When Malcolm Fraser's coalition government came to power in 1975, the MCP continued to be used to respond to cultural diversity, promote social cohesion, equality of opportunity and cultural identity (Ozdowski 2012). In 1978 a review of immigrants' settlement needs, undertaken by Frank Galbally, reported on the need for ethno-specific services and programs for all migrants. This was to guarantee equal opportunity of access to government funded programs and services to assist migrants to be independent (Ozdowski 2012). The guiding principles of the Galbally report were:

- a) all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services
- b) every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures
- c) needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision
- d) services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant quickly (Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser 1978).

'The report stated clearly that people most in need of help were those who arrive here with little or no understanding of the English language' (Jupp 2002, p.87). In addition, as part of the post arrival programs and services, the government expressed its plan to establish intensive English courses for migrants with overseas professional qualifications to help their search for work in Australia. Further, relevant professionals were to be helped to obtain or upgrade their knowledge of other cultures and languages. The review found that migrants were often placed at a disadvantage by their ignorance of their rights, entitlements and

obligations in Australian society. The government also emphasised its interest in improving recognition of overseas qualifications and occupational training for employment (Statement by the Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser 1978). These initiatives demonstrate that the initial Australian MCP focused on immigrants' post-arrival services and their successful integration.

Multiculturalism Policy in the 1980-1990s

Canada

The Rise of Non-traditional Immigrants, Equity and Social Justice, 1980s-1990s

Since the introduction of the official Canadian MCP in 1971, migration patterns also changed significantly from a focus on European migrants to the arrival of Asian immigrants. These newer arrived immigrants expressed concerns about their social exclusion in Canada (Hyman et al. 2011; Kymlicka 2015). Li (2000) stressed that multiculturalism as cultural preservation in Canada became less appealing to the changing composition of the 'third force' as VM group became increasingly concerned with jobs and other opportunities as they experienced racism and discrimination in Canada. In 1984, the Special Parliamentary Committee on the VM population produced a report entitled *Equality Now!* It recommended the VM group be included in key public institutions (Li 2000). The report identified evidence of racially discriminatory mechanisms that favoured some races more than others, signalling a new concern for social and economic equality rather than cultural equality (Mann 2011).

In 1987, the Committee issued a report that called for enactment of a new policy on multiculturalism and the establishment of the Department of Multiculturalism to assist in the promotion of multiculturalism in Canada (Dewing 2009). These changes occurred as a consequence of new immigration patterns and the rise of racist extremism (Oliver 2006). The

outcome of such concerns was the strengthening of the MCP for effective management of cultural diversity and to limit racial discrimination (Hyman et al. 2011).

By 1988 a new Multiculturalism Act, the first in the world, was passed to give the policy a stronger legal basis and a clearer sense of purpose and direction for recognising all Canadians as full and equal participants in society (Dewing 2009; Mann 2011; 2012). The 1988 legislation highlighted protection of ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious diversity within Canada (Driedger & Burnet 2012). ‘The Act sought to preserve, enhance and incorporate cultural differences into the functioning of Canadian society while ensuring equal access and full participation for all Canadians in the social, political and economic spheres’ (Dewing 2009, p.6). Canada is the first country to introduce a national Multiculturalism Act and ‘remains the *only* country in which multiculturalism is enshrined in its constitution’ (Kymlicka 2008; 2010; 2012, p.10; Mann 2011).

The 1988 Multiculturalism Act also provided a framework to guide federal responsibilities and activities regarding multiculturalism in Canada (Hyman et al. 2011). All federal institutions were required by the Act to carry out activities in a way that is sensitive and receptive to Canada’s multicultural reality (Ng and Metz 2015), and report annually on how their institutions meet the requirements of the Act (Hyman et al. 2011). The Multiculturalism Act in Canada is not simply a statement of ideals but rather has power and influence on federal laws and programs (Dewing 2009; Leman 1999). Multiculturalism had become more institutionalised in the 1980s as it was encouraged at federal level (Banting & Kymlicka 2010; Oliver 2006). Concurrently, during this time, the Canadian Employment Act was also passed in 1986 (Wong & Guo 2015) to redress inequities in the Canadian labour force. Further details of this legislation are provided in chapter six.

Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2011) pointed out that in the midst of the various new policies introduced in the 1980s, for the first time multiculturalism was linked to business interests. The business agenda of multiculturalism was supported by a conference held in 1986 which emphasised that ‘equality of access to the economy and removal of discrimination in the workplace would promote the international competitiveness and future prosperity of Canada’ (Kawano 2015, p.62). These practices of linking multiculturalism to economics might have occurred owing to globalisation as multiculturalism was perceived as an asset in global competition (see Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011).

By the mid-1990s the effectiveness of multiculturalism was being questioned in Canada. By 1997, the focus of Canadian multiculturalism program was on three main objectives: (1) social justice (building a fair and equitable society), (2) civic participation (ensuring all Canadians of diverse origins participate fully in the shaping of the communities and the country) and (3) identity (fostering a society that recognises, respects and reflects a diversity of cultures to allow all people of different backgrounds to experience a sense of belonging to Canada) (Dewing 2009, p.6).

Australia

Multiculturalism and the Economic Imperative of Migration, late 1980s-1990s

In 1981, the Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser emphasised that cultural diversity cannot be ignored. He stressed that people cannot be demanded to renounce their valued cultural heritage and yet be expected to feel welcome in the society. Fraser asserted the core values of multiculturalism as being about equal opportunity for all groups to participate and benefit from the social, economic and political life of Australia and observe human rights (Malcolm Fraser 1981).

By the late 1980s the focus of multiculturalism had shifted from settlement and fairness issues to ‘emphasise the economic benefits of cultural diversity’ (Ho 2013, p.35). Immigration was dominated by economic importance and effects, especially in regard to international competition (Klapdor, Coombs & Bohm 2009). A multicultural society with a culturally diverse workforce in a time of globalisation was viewed as a significant asset to the nation for improving its economic performance (Ho 2013). This suggests that the emphasis of multiculturalism had shifted from equality and social justice towards an opportunity to make profit. In 1988, a Committee to Advise on Australia’s Immigration Policies (CAAIP), chaired by Dr Stephen FitzGerald, released a report that proposed the Australian government reform immigration policy to focus on economic selection of immigrants while reaffirming Australian identity in order to reduce the threats of multiculturalism (Koleth 2010). The report argued that ‘selection methods need a sharper economic focus, for the public to be convinced that the program is in Australia's interests’ (CAAIP, 1988, p. 2). The FitzGerald report however, affirmed that immigrants’ skills were viewed as beneficial to the economic imperative of Australia. The only challenge was that discrimination and racism were found to likely hinder immigrants’ progress (CAAIP 1988).

The FitzGerald report argued that the philosophy of multiculturalism was not widely understood, and that uninformed ‘ensuing debate was damaging the cause it sought to serve’ (CAAIP 1988, p.3). In the same year the then Opposition Leader John Howard called for the term multiculturalism to be abandoned in favour of ‘One Australia’ that:

respects our cultural diversity and acknowledges that we are drawn from many parts of the world but requires of all of us a loyalty to Australia at all times and to her institutions and her values and her traditions which transcends loyalty to any other set of values anywhere in the world (quoted in Koleth 2010, p.10).

By 1989, the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, tried to achieve a clear definition of the MCP as a necessary response to the reality of Australia's cultural diversity (Koleth 2010). In the launch of the policy the Prime Minister Bob Hawke declared that:

We are all equally entitled to a fair go, equally entitled to dignity and self-respect, entitled to equal access to the services of government... we must never be ashamed of our diversity... We should recognise the diversity for what it is - a great source of new talents and ideas, a catalyst for social dynamism, a true source of wealth in both its cultural and economic senses... it is not diversity that creates weakness or discord. It is prejudice and intolerance that sow the seeds of divisiveness... The fact is that today's Australia is a multicultural society. That is a demographic fact (Prime Minister Bob Hawke 1989).

The 1989 National Agenda for Multiculturalism identified three dimensions of the policy as: (1) *cultural identity*: the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion; (2) *social justice*: the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth; and (3) *economic efficiency*: the need to maintain, develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of backgrounds (Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989, p.1).

But these dimensions were also expressed within limitations such as: multicultural policies impose obligations as well as conferring rights: the right to express one's own culture and beliefs involves reciprocal responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989). The 1989 National Agenda for Multicultural Australia also articulated the need for Australian institutions to acknowledge, reflect and respond to the cultural diversity of the Australian community (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989). This latter statement suggests that organisations were expected to proactively evaluate their own reactions to cultural diversity. How the evaluations were to

be achieved was rather vague as there seemed to be no specifications for monitoring the efficacy of organisations' response to cultural diversity.

In 1992 the Australian government began to publicise a concept of 'productive diversity' that was intended to benefit the economy. 'Productive diversity' became the new strategy for utilising the skills of immigrants; especially immigrants from NESB (see Bertone & Leahy 2003). Some perceived 'productive diversity' as good business sense because in the new global environment local diversity and global interconnectedness are more critical productive factors than they ever have been' (Burgess, French & Strachan 2009, p.81). The simple message of productive diversity was that immigrants from NESB can be beneficial to employers and business as they can be used to access both domestic and international markets (see Hawthorne 2005; Walsh 2012b).

In launching Labor's 'productive diversity' policy, Prime Minister Keating articulated the link between the recruitment of immigrants from NESB and Australia's trade prospective:

We now must take advantage of the potentially huge national economic asset which multiculturalism represents. That is what Productive Diversity is about. It is the harvest on the crop sown and nurtured by our immigration and multicultural policies..... Australian firms can draw upon the wealth of language and cultural skills that resides in their own workforce, or they can draw upon them by forging partnerships between "mainstream" and "ethnic" businesses (Paul Keating 1992).

Significantly, by the 1990s the focus on the core values of Australian multiculturalism including social justice and equity as expressed in the 1970s had become secondary. Instead, multiculturalism became an international 'economic strategy' for recruiting immigrants (see Walsh 2012b, p.6). By 1993, the government policy response to cultural diversity was fashioned within an economic premise.

With the advent of John Howard's conservative government in 1996 the multiculturalism agenda in Australia changed again (Bertone & Leahy 2003; Jakubowicz

2003). Some have argued that the ascendancy of the Howard government ‘marked a low point in official support for multiculturalism’ in Australia (Ho 2013, p.38). The government closed some of the multicultural initiatives created by previous governments including the Office of Multicultural Affairs, ‘which had been a strong well-resourced and powerfully-placed institutional base for multicultural programs and policies under Labor’, and the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, ‘set up by Hawke to conduct independent research into immigration’ (Ho 2013, p. 38; Jakubowicz 2003). The Howard government also restricted unemployment benefits and the Adult Migrant English Program to new migrants, and reduced funding for and consultation with ethnic organisations (Koleth 2010). Ho (2013, p.38) pointed out that, to the Howard government, ‘multiculturalism was less about the rights of immigrants than it was about social cohesion among a diverse population’.

Multiculturalism Policy Post-2000s

Canada

Social Cohesion, Equity and Integration, Post-2000s

In Canada, the business agenda of multiculturalism post-2000s continued (see Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011). By 2005, the government released *A Canada for All: Canada’s Action Plan Against Racism*. The purpose was to strengthen social cohesion, advance Canada’s human rights framework while showing federal leadership in the fight against racism and hate-motivated crime (Dewing 2009). In 2008, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration became the custodian of multiculturalism in place of the Department of Canadian Heritage (Dewing 2009). The focus of multiculturalism was to include:

- support for economic, social and cultural integration of new Canadians and cultural communities

- assisting programs that promote mentorship, volunteerism, leadership and civic education among at risk youth of different cultural backgrounds
- encouraging intercultural understanding and Canadian values (democracy, freedom, human rights, and the rule of law) through community initiatives with the objectives of addressing issues of cultural social exclusion and radicalisation (Dewing 2009).

In 2009, a speech by Jason Kenney, (the Minister for Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism) stressed the importance of integration in the multiculturalism framework:

What we need to focus on, I argue in our multiculturalism program, are the concrete challenges of integration. What does that mean? It means making sure that people who arrive in Canada are able as quickly as possible to have competency in one of our two official languages as a pathway to economic and social integration. It means that foreign-educated professionals who arrive here don't have to struggle endlessly in survival jobs waiting as they cut through red tape for their foreign credentials to be recognized. It means that there must be true equality of opportunity in the economic marketplace for jobs and for people regardless of their origin...Those are the kinds of challenges I think we need to face, as well as, to be frank; the challenge of radicalization. That's why I think we need to focus on youth who can be at risk either to criminality or to extremism (Kenney 2009).

While Kenney's speech indicates that the MCP in Canada had shifted to place more emphasis on incorporating migrants into mainstream society (Mann 2011), compared to cultural preservation and recognition as it was in the 1970s, Kenney's speech shows a stronger emphasis on achievement of language proficiency for social and economic integration as well as plans for effective foreign credentials recognition. Nonetheless, a shift of the MCP to youth at risk of criminality and extremism is new compared to the focus of the 1970s. It shows that MCP is being used to address more pressing needs, however, it does not address the successful integration of SIs who are significant part of the current workforce.

By 2010, the multiculturalism policy focused on building an integrated socially cohesive society, improving institutional responsiveness to cultural diversity and engaging in international discussion on multiculturalism (Dewing 2009). According to Citizenship and

Immigration Canada (2012, p.13) ‘while Canada has adopted and supported an ideology and policy of multiculturalism, there is evidence that intolerance, prejudice and discrimination constitute barriers to achieving an equitable society’ even though in practice, the MCP is meant to guarantee equality before the law (Chiasson 2012).

Australia

Multicultural Australia, Social Cohesion, Unity and Controversies, Post-2000s

In 2003, a new policy statement on multiculturalism was released by the Howard government titled, *Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity: Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia: Strategic directions for 2003-2006* (Ho 2013). This was a policy refresh of the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia to focus on social cohesion and unity due to terrorist attacks (Koleth 2010). This framework, however, was seen as a ‘soft’ approach to multiculturalism that focused on harmony and celebrations without addressing ‘hard’ issues of racism and inequality (Ho 2013, p.38). By 2007, the department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) had been changed by the Howard government to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) by removing Multicultural from the name of the department, with the explanation that immigration should lead to citizenship (Koleth 2010).

A year after the Rudd Government came into office, in 2008, the Government created the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC) to provide ‘advice to the Government on ‘practical approaches’ to promoting social cohesion and overcoming racism and intolerance through positive engagement with diversity’ (Koleth 2010, p.18). In its first statement, the AMAC acknowledged the ‘enduring reality and necessity of multiculturalism’ to Australia and recommended that the government ensures equal access to services, tackle discrimination, prejudice and racism, and to provide opportunities to all members of

Australia's population (Koleth 2010, p.19). In spite of this, according to Koleth (2010), the succeeding Gillard Government removed the term Multicultural from the title of the new Parliamentary Secretary assisting the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship. Such controversies since the late 1990s through to post-2000s, suggest that multiculturalism concept in Australia has been politically contentious. This is quite different to Canada.

In 2011, Australia's new multiculturalism policy: *The People of Australia* was launched. The policy states that it embraces shared values and cultural traditions; recognises 'rights and responsibilities as enshrined in the citizenship pledge; and supports the rights of all Australians to celebrate, practise and maintain their cultural heritage, traditions and language within the law and free from discriminations' (DIAC 2011 Fact Sheet 6, p.1). The 2011 MCP emphasised that:

.....government services and programs must be responsive to the needs of our culturally diverse communities. It commits to an access and equity framework to ensure that the onus is on government to provide equitable services to Australians from all backgrounds. Australia's multicultural character gives us a competitive edge in an increasingly globalised world. Multiculturalism is about all Australians (DIAC 2011; Fact Sheet 6, p.1; *The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy 2011*).

The excerpt above echoes the orientations of earlier MCPs especially on the provision of programs and services for culturally diverse communities as well as providing equitable services to all Australians. Yet the policy is also strongly supportive of economic, trade and investment benefits which arise from multiculturalism and acknowledges that immigration brings much needed skills and labour.

The Australian MCP aims to promote 'understanding and acceptance while responding to expressions of intolerance and discrimination' through government anti-discrimination laws and measures which counter racism and discrimination (*The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy 2011*, p.5). Yet, as recently as 2014, the Australian Attorney-

General George Brandis argued that "People do have a right to be bigots," and that "people have the right to say things that other people would find insulting, offensive or bigoted" (The Sydney Morning Herald March 24, 2014). His Labour counterpart Mark Dreyfuss said in a statement that 'Senator Brandis has clearly revealed ... he intends to give a green light to racist hate speech in Australia' (ABC News March 24, 2014). The Australian Coalition government planned to repeal Section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act, which makes it unlawful to "offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate" a person on racial or ethnic ground (ABC News March 2014).

In contrast to these recent debates, the enactment of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 formed part of Australia's recognition of increasing numbers of individuals from varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds within the Australian population. When the United Nations adopted the *International Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination*, Australia signed the Convention in 1966 but did not ratify until 1975 when the Convention became domestic law with the enactment of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Chesterman 2005). The Racial Discrimination Act was a landmark in Australian race relations as it expressed Australia's new commitment to multiculturalism (AHRC 2015) and the lead up to the Galbally report that emphasised a focus on multicultural Australia. Further discussion on Australia's anti-discrimination laws is provided in chapter seven. Australian states and territories currently have policies and bodies that deal with multiculturalism (Koleth 2010).

These preceding political debates show that at the political level, Australian multiculturalism appears to be rather controversial. None of these political debates regarding multicultural Australia consider the effective integration of the current immigrant cohorts but rather reveals the interests of our political leaders concerning multiculturalism. In the next

section the shared and distinctive features of the MCPs in Canada and Australia are juxtaposed. After that, the impacts of the policies will be discussed.

Canadian and Australian Multiculturalism Policies Compared, 1960s to Post-2000s

The analytical policy framework (APF) developed in chapter four is used as a guide for comparing the MCPs in Canada and Australia. The framework encompasses ten dimensions including rationale, goals, target group, criteria/principles, internal pressures, external pressures, concerns, policy response approach, outcomes and challenges. While the policy analysis focuses on key dimensions such as policy rationale, goals and outcomes, it takes into consideration factors that are likely to shape the development of the policies as well as the intended groups which the policies are meant for.

The official *development* of the MCPs in Canada and Australia began in the 1960s and the 1970s respectively (Table 6.1). In both countries multiculturalism was not recognised even though it existed owing to the initial presence of the Aborigines in the two countries. That said, the management of cultural diversity was preceded by exclusion, assimilation and later integration before multiculturalism became official in 1971 in Canada and 1973 in Australia (see Banting & Kymlicka 2010; Castle 1988; Dewing 2009; Jupp 2002). One significant difference that stands out between the roots of the official MCPs in Canada and Australia is the presence of French nationals in Canada before the settlement of the British. This makes multiculturalism in Canada rather different to that of Australia which had predominantly British settlers.

Canada had earlier experienced challenging issues of cultural equality between the French and the British settlers at the time of the first official MCP even before the rise of the ‘third force’ (non-British and non-French settlers). This situation did not exist in the case of

Australia. While both Canada and Australia understand multiculturalism to mean a society characterised by ethnic or cultural heterogeneity, government policy for ensuring social cohesion and the management of cultural diversity, from the outset, Canada's policy sought to instil a sense of cultural equality while the Australian MCP focused on equality of access in regards to the settlement of immigrants. Consequently, Canada and Australia have different *rationales* for initiating MCPs. The Canadian MCP was initiated to recognise non-British and non-French Europeans (the 'third force') and their contribution (see e.g. Esses & Gardner 1996; Hyman et al. 2011) whereas in Australia, MCP was to redress the integration and settlement challenges of non-English-speaking Europeans (see e.g. Castle 1988; Koleth 2010; Jupp 2002) (Table 6.1).

The MCP *goals* in 1971 in Canada aimed to assure the cultural freedom of Canadians, an attempt to break down discriminatory attitudes and promotion of a sense of mutual respect based on equity assumptions even as the policy *targeted* all Canadian cultural groups (Pierre Elliot Trudeau, October 8, 1971; Table 6.1). Australian MCP *goals* in contrast were to address inequitable settlement issues, welfare and socio-cultural issues by providing ethno-specific services and programs and encouragement of cultural maintenance while redressing overseas credential recognition issues. These goals identified non-English-speaking European immigrants as the *target group* (see e.g. Jupp 2002; Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser 1978) (Table 6.1).

The *criterion or principles* of the MCP in 1971 in Canada was to assist all Canadian cultural groups overcome cultural barriers owing to *internal pressures* such as the 'third force' 'in Canada who were unwilling to be marginalised as well as the growth in population diversity and *external pressures* of international communities that had risen against racism and discrimination (see e.g. Esses & Gardner 1996; Kymlicka 2008; Mann 2011; Wood &

Gilbert 2005) (Table 6.1). These *pressures* created *concerns* that challenged Canadian identity and a need to accommodate multiple ethnicities to encourage mutual respect and equity (Table 6.1). The *response approach* adopted by Canada in 1971 can be considered as reactive (Table 6.1) and yet ‘innocuous’ as expressed by Wood and Gilbert (2005) as it seemed to appease the non-French and the non-British communities. The *outcomes* were that barriers to ethnic identity were removed and yet the *challenge* was that French Canadians also found the policy unacceptable for their culture to be recognised on the same level as all others (see Mann 2011) (Table 6.1).

In contrast, the MCP *criteria* or principles in 1973 in Australia were about fair migrant settlement (see Koleth 2010). The policy sought to afford equal opportunity of access to welfare and social-cultural programs through the encouragement of cultural maintenance due to *internal pressures* experienced by non-English-speaking European migrants and an increase in their ethnic diversity (see e.g. Castles 1988; Jupp 2002). This was in addition to *external pressures* of racial intolerance exhibited by the international community (Table 6.1). The *concern* at the time was about increased isolation and segregation of the non-English-speaking Europeans who were needed for nation building and economic development (Table 6.1). The Australian *response approach* was also reactive (Table 6.1) in parallel to Canada as Australia followed Canada in 1973 to initiate an MCP. The *outcomes* of the policy since 1973 were to encourage the maintenance of cultural diversity even though the management of equity and integration continued to be a challenge and more difficult than anticipated (Table 6.1).

Table 6. 1 Multiculturalism Policy Comparisons in Canada and Australia, 1960s-1970s

Dimensions	Canada	Australia
Developmental stages	1960s-1970s	1970s
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of non-British and non-French European contribution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Redress settlement and integration issues of Non-English-speaking Europeans
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assure the cultural freedom of Canadians (Cultural preservation) • Break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies • Provide confidence in one's own individual identity • Respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions based on equity for all 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Address inequitable settlement issues • Address welfare and socio-cultural issues • Encourage maintenance of cultural heritage • Provision of Ethno-specific services and programs • Overseas credential recognition
Target Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All Canadian Cultural groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-English-speaking European immigrants
Criteria/Principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist all Canadian cultural groups • Overcome cultural barriers to full participation • Support of cultural interchange • Assist migrants' acquisition of one of its official languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fair migrant settlement • Equal opportunity of access (welfare and socio-cultural scheme) • Maintenance of cultural heritage • Provision of programs and services
Internal Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Third force' assertion of multiculturalism • Population diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration challenges of non-English-speaking Europeans • Population diversity of non-English-speaking Europeans
External Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resistance of racism and discrimination by international communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resistance of racism and discrimination by international communities
Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A new Canadian identity • Accommodation of multiple ethnicities • Gain mutual respect and equity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threats by non-English-speaking Europeans to leave
Response Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactive
Outcomes/Challenges	<p>Outcome</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Removal of barriers to ethnic identity (cultural equality) <p>Challenge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resistance to multiculturalism by French Canadians 	<p>Outcome</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance of cultural diversity <p>Challenge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managerial challenges of equity and integration

Source: This study

In Canada, by the 1980s the focus of multiculturalism had shifted from recognition and preservation of cultural heritage to equity issues (see Li 2000). Anti-racism and social participation and integration had become significant concerns (Oliver 2006; Winter 2007). As a result the Multiculturalism Act was enacted in 1988 'to assist in the preservation of culture and language, to reduce discrimination, to enhance cultural awareness and understanding, and

to promote culturally sensitive institutional change at the federal level' (see Dewing 2009, p.4). Australia does not have a Multicultural Act. In contrast, in the 1980s-1990s, Australia strongly tapped into the economic benefits of multiculturalism through its 'productive diversity' concept (see Bertone & Leahy 2003; Ho 2013; Table 6.2 & 6.3). The MCP became more institutionalised in Canada in the 1980s-1990s (see Oliver 2006) but the concept of multiculturalism in both Canada and Australia shifted to be more business oriented (see e.g. Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011; Kawano 2015) (Table 6.2).

The MCP objectives in the 1990s in Canada suggest that the policy has moved from mere celebration and 'symbolic ethnicity' to real life issues (Kawano 2015, p.64) yet it has been pointed out that 'for more and more Canadians, multiculturalism means business' (Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011, p.116). The multiple goals of the MCP including cultural preservation, social justice, and equity as well as the business agenda appear to promise more than it can deliver and as such has weakened its fundamental principles of equity and promotion of cultural diversity. It will be interesting to know 'whether or not a multiculturalism of business and trade' (Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011, p. 106) can also deal with concerns of social justice and equity issues in the labour market.

Table 6. 2 Multiculturalism Policy Comparisons in Canada and Australia, 1980s-1990s

	Canada	Australia
Developmental stages	1980s-1990s	1980s-1990s
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Response to changes in demographic composition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal opportunity for all groups to participate and benefit from the social, economic and political life of Australia • Economic imperative
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal access and full participation for all Canadians • Protection of ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious diversity (Act 1988) • Preservation, enhancement and incorporation of cultural differences into Canadian society • Recognition of social and economic equality • Social justice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Express individual cultural identity • Equal treatment based on social justice • Gain economic efficiency as an international marketing strategy
Target Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For all Canadians (Act 1988) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All Australians
Criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognise all Canadians as full and equal societal participants • Build a fair and equitable society • A society that recognises, respects and reflects a diversity of cultures and a sense of belonging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Utilise the skills of all Australians irrespective of backgrounds • Gain economic benefit • Australian institutions to acknowledge, reflect and respond to cultural diversity
Internal Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiences of social exclusion by new migrants • Changes in migration patterns and racism • Special parliamentary report on <i>Equality Now 1984</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal entitlement to a fair go • Equal access to government services • Economic imperative of migration
External Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuous flow of culturally diverse immigrants • Global competition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Globalisation
Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social exclusion by new immigrants • Changes in immigration patterns and racism • Equity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiculturalism policy purpose and criteria unclear
Response Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active • Multiculturalism Act 1988 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commercially Exploratory • Business agenda of productive diversity
Outcomes/Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening of MCP • Institutionalisation of multiculturalism policy • Equity issues • Global competitiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased levels of culturally diverse skilled migrants • The term 'multiculturalism' is still contentious • Existence of racism and discrimination

Source: This study

After the 2000s, the MCP in Canada strongly centred on integration (Table 6.3), even though some (see Reitz 2013) argue that the policy had always sought integration. Canada now strongly leans towards social and economic integration through language proficiency (though this has always been part of the Canadian MCP). These shifts in the Canadian MCP focus since the 1970s demonstrates recognition of the importance of responding to pressing needs of modern multiculturalism. For instance, Kenney's acknowledgement of the

importance of ensuring that ‘foreign–educated professionals who arrive here don’t have to struggle endlessly in survival jobs’ (Kenney 2009) shows initiative towards addressing the needs of the current migrant cohorts. The needs and the challenges of the highly qualified SIs are different from those of previous immigrants who arrived before the pre-points test immigration policy system as unskilled and predominantly from European sources. Conversely, a shift of the MCP to issues of extremism is rather strange since this falls under the field of law enforcement.

On the other hand, five decades after the inception of the points-test system of immigration in Canada, credential recognition continues to be a challenging issue within the labour market for SIs. One would assume that assessing authorities and employers would have become more familiar with the emerging countries by now and have learnt to understand the value of foreign qualifications and experiences. If credential recognition is still an issue for effective labour market integration, then it suggests that employers are reluctant to learn. The persistent issue of lack of foreign credential recognition implies that foreign qualifications issues may be linked to cultural or racial biases (Reitz 2001). It indicates that assessing organisations might need support to assist them in processing foreign credentials without causing any undue delays and disadvantages to SIs in the labour market. Research has demonstrated that lack of competence in assessing foreign credentials has resulted in unnecessary inferior outcomes for foreign professionals (see Hawthorne 2002).

Overall, it is important to note that while the dimensions of MCP have been altered in Canada, the broad themes of the Multiculturalism Act that include recognition of diversity, promotion of understanding, equality of opportunity and barrier eliminations remain unchanged (CIC Multiculturalism Act 2011-2012). The discussion so far illustrates that the MCP in Canada has not strongly focused on SIs even though the MCP emerged after changes

in the immigration policies that focused on selection of immigrants with skills irrespective of backgrounds.

For Australia, the MCP post-2000 focuses on social cohesion and unity, celebration of cultural diversity and promoting the business agenda (Table 6.3). The MCP in Australia is committed to the advantages that diversity of cultures and multilingual workforce gives Australia a ‘distinct competitive advantage in the global economy’ (The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy 2011, p.5) even as it celebrates its multiculturalism. The MCP in Canada has changed from targeting all cultural groups in the 1970s; to all Canadians in the 1980s-1990s; to new Canadians in the post-2000s (Table 6.3). The current principle of the Canadian MCP to incorporate migrants into mainstream society is an indication that the policy is attempting to integrate some groups instead of all Canadians. On the other hand, politically, the MCP in Australia appears to be controversial as current political debates show that some seek the right to blatantly victimise or offend based on cultural or ethnic grounds, and therefore have requested changes to the Racial Discrimination Act.

Yet there are some who also oppose changes to the Racial Discrimination Act. For instance, Bill Shorten, the opposition (Labor) leader perceives such appeals as ‘hardly a rallying cry for 21st Century Australia’ (Crescent Institute 6 May 2014). According to the opposition leader, there is no place for bigotry, no place for racism, no place for hate speech in modern Australia. Such contentions are a reflection that the MCP appears to be less strongly established in Australia. This shows that multiculturalism as a concept in Australia faces more political challenge in comparison to Canada (Table 6.3). So far the focus of the policy on SIs is rather less emphasised in policy statements even though the policy emerged after immigration policy centred on drawing from culturally diverse regions. After more than four decades of MCPs in Canada and Australia, the policies display a limited link to the needs of current culturally diverse SIs who are arriving in these two countries.

From the literature evidence in chapter two, these individuals lack equitable employment outcomes. While the MCP has sound principles it has little to do with what really happens in the labour market and therefore has failed to identify and address labour market inequities (Groutsis 2003). The MCP 'has done little to scrutinise the institutions within which power differentials are borne and where the dominant culture was, and continues to be validated' (Groutsis 2003, p.73). Surprisingly, there is limited discussion of MCPs and labour market integration of SIs in the literature.

The accounts so far in this chapter suggest that it is hard to envisage exactly what MCPs are trying to achieve. On one hand MCPs reflect a set of political ideals for placating culturally diverse groups but on the other hand, the extent to which these policies respond to equitable access in employment for a culturally diverse community is unclear. Observations made in this chapter indicate that, the current cohorts of migrant arriving since the 2000s are have passed the stage of cultural recognition, or feel-good celebrations of cultural diversity through mere celebration of customs, traditions, music and cuisines as desired at the initial stages of the MCPs in the 1960s-1970s when the policies were at the infancy stage. It is not enough for the current immigrant cohorts to attain cultural recognition and preservation but more importantly to attain economic equity.

The next section analyses the impact of the MCPs in Canada and Australia to understand how the policies work in practice. The assessment utilises literature based on (1) public opinion and (2) empirical data as evidence of the progress of MCPs in the two countries. After these discussions, the overall effectiveness of the current MCPs in Canada will be discussed using Ely and Thomas' cultural diversity framework.

Table 6. 3 Multiculturalism Policy Comparisons in Canada and Australia, post-2000s

Dimensions	Canada	Australia
Developmental stages	Post-2000s	Post-2000s
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stronger focus on integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of cultural diversity • Social cohesion and unity due to terrorism
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social cohesion and fight against racism • Further human rights framework • Economic, social and cultural integration of new Canadians • Mentorship/ education programs for youth • Encourage intercultural understanding • Stronger focus on language acquisition • Quick foreign credential recognition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attain social cohesion and unity • Recognise rights and responsibilities • Support the rights of all Australians to celebrate, practice and maintain cultural heritage
Target Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Canadians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All Australians
Criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporate migrants into mainstream society • True equality in the market place • Build an integrated socially cohesive society • Improve institutional responsiveness to cultural diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access and equity framework by government to ensure equitable services • Embrace shared values and cultural traditions • Welcome economic benefits of multiculturalism • Respond to intolerance and discrimination
Internal Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intolerance, prejudice and discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instability of the term ‘multiculturalism’ • Political debate of the term ‘multiculturalism’ • Study finds widespread discrimination
External Pressures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuous flow of culturally diverse immigrants • Global competition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global competition • Terrorism
Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radicalisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controversial term
Response Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic • Social and economic integrationist approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple: economic benefit and social equity • Australia’s multiculturalism as a competitive edge
Outcomes/Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yet to strongly focus on SIs • True equity • Economic agenda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gained culturally diverse skilled migrants • Celebration of cultural heritage • True equity is still challenging • Political debate of the right to be a ‘bigot’, offend or insult based on a racial or ethnic ground

Source: This study

The Impact of Multiculturalism Policies in Canada and Australia

The Public Perception

Canada

Most Canadians have a high regard for multiculturalism (Reitz 2013). There is strong support in Canada for the idea that multiculturalism plays an important role in the successful integration of immigrants by removing barriers to participation and encouraging a sense of belonging while supporting cultural groups to participate more effectively (Banting & Kymlicka 2010). According to Soroka and Robertson (2010, p.5), 64% of Canadians believe

that ‘having a multicultural blend of different cultures provides a richer, more tolerant society’. Reitz (2013) reported that in 2010 when Focus Canada respondents were asked: ‘How important is the following for Canadian identity?’, multiculturalism being one of the 13 items, 86% of the respondents regarded multiculturalism to be either very important or at least somewhat important to their national identity. Generally, these attributes of shared identity and a feeling of belonging are regarded as significant indicative effects of the successful impact of multiculturalism.

Economically, the Canadian MCP is also regarded as a contributor to national economic goals. The ‘multilingual, multiethnic workforce provides’ Canada with ‘a distinct comparative advantage in the global marketplace’ (Walsh 2008, p.799). These contributions are normally from immigrants. As reported by Soroka and Robertson (2010, p.29), the 2008 Canadian Election Study revealed that 85% of Canadians agreed that ‘immigrants make an important contribution to this country’. It is no wonder that Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2011, p.116) pointed out that ‘for more and more Canadians, multiculturalism means business’ as Canada must make the most of its internal globalisation – the competitive advantage of its multicultural population. In contrast, there are some who perceive the MCP as a threat to national cohesion and a likely contributor to ghettoization (Hyman et al., 2011). Some believe that ‘multiculturalism celebrates a white liberal tolerance of and benevolence toward Indigenous peoples and racialised others—other minorities, while diluting the colonial traumas of white settlement’ (O’Connell 2010, p.5).

The discourse above shows that multiculturalism is much more than cultural recognition or for business competition. The literature evidence demonstrates that since the 1980s, in spite of immigrants having higher levels of education and training than previous cohorts, there is limited equitable economic success being experienced by these migrants

(Banting and Kymlicka 2010). While attracting culturally diverse SIs is significant, it also becomes problematic when these same cohorts continue to experience labour market integration inequities.

What the discussion suggests is that in spite of the literature evidence, ‘economic integration does not represent the heart of the debate over multiculturalism’ (Banting & Kymlicka 2010, p.53). Instead debate over MCPs focuses on social integration. Yet as pointed out by Reitz (2002, p.22), ‘the two are intimately related: economic success is a prerequisite to satisfactory social participation while lack of social acceptance inhibits economic progress’.

Australia

In Australia, the MCPs have had a significant impact on Australian public culture. In 2015, the Scanlon Foundation National Survey Report (Markus 2015) indicated that 86% of respondents agreed that multiculturalism has been good for Australia; 75% agreed that multiculturalism economically benefited Australia while 71% indicated that it encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society. These results show that Australians regard multiculturalism as being a good thing for society.

On the other hand, the Assistant minister for Multicultural Affairs Concetta Fierravanti-Wells made it clear that, ‘while cultural diversity is spoken about, it is not reflected in public institutions’ (SBS News 21 October 2015). In 2016, the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) reported that even as 32% of the Australian population have a non-Anglo Celtic background, such cultural diversity was not proportionately represented in the senior leadership of Australian organisations. The report revealed that Australian corporate leadership ‘remains overwhelmingly dominated by those of Anglo-Celtic and European background’ (AHRC 2016, p.6).

The AHRC (2016) reported that of the 124 Australian heads of federal and state departments examined, only two had a non-European background and one indigenous background. This shows a low level of representation of multicultural Australia in the corporate sphere and the Australian Public Service (APS) despite the strong level of support for multiculturalism. This confirms a low representation of cultural diversity even though the APS is required by legislation to establish workplace diversity programs to reflect the APS employment principles (Australian Public Service Commission [APSC] 2012-2013).

The under representation of cultural diversity in leadership roles suggests that the MCP functions at the superficial macro level masked by political rhetoric, and lacks any significant impact at the deeper corporate levels where true integration is needed. The current study suggests that, the disadvantages that people from culturally diverse backgrounds encounter in leadership positions are rather ‘plexiglass’ in nature: fully transparent like glass but much more formidable to shatter’ (Wilson 1993, p.667). At the core of these challenges is the possibility that social identity factors are being used to override the inclusion of people from culturally diverse backgrounds in leadership positions. These are forms of subtle discrimination and biases that eventually incapacitate the talents of individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds. Traditionally, these institutional barriers which are inherently discriminatory are ‘seldom acknowledged, often denied, sometimes conveniently ignored, soft-pedalled or suppressed’ (Wilson 1993, p.667).

In Australia, a report by the Joint Standing Committee on Migration (JSCM) released in 2013 revealed that:

.... common barriers exist for first and second generation migrants and refugees wishing to work in Australia. CALD individuals find it particularly difficult to gain long-term employment in industries relevant to their skills, qualifications and experience due to the issues of discrimination in the workplace, the recognition of

overseas qualifications by Australian employers and the need for Australian work experience (JSCM 2013, p.189).

The Committee findings are similar to what has been reported in the literature (chapter two). ‘Dr Val Colic-Peisker noted that having a ‘similar ‘cultural background to that of the host country helped facilitate a successful employment transition following migration’ (JSCM 2013, p.190). This suggests that social identity and cultural capital are being used as barriers to labour market integration instead of educational credentials.

Such observations are supported by some witnesses to the Committee who alleged that Australian employers can have a negative view of overseas qualifications, even if they have been officially recognised:

Mr Carlos Encina, Manager of NSW SLASA informed the Committee that...When you are coming from overseas and you are an engineer, or you are a doctor or an accountant or a teacher, you have a social status there, you are a professional. When you come to Australia you are nobody. Once I had a client who came to me—he was from Croatia—and said, 'Carlos, please tell me what I need to do not to be depressed and alcoholic like many people coming from my country?' They have lost social status. They have lost income. Some of them get very depressed...They do not come to Australia for that (JSCM 2013, p.184).

Dr Jupp reiterated the existing lack of respect and understanding of cultural diversity and the need for national leadership on multiculturalism to turn this trend around: ...to educate the public about the diversity of modern Australia and the ways in which this makes it different from the Australia of the recent past (JSCM 2013, p.83). The Committee reported on ongoing issues of lack of cultural competency and cross-cultural training in the workplace, referring to the level of knowledge, awareness, skills, practices and processes required for an individual/organisation to effectively function in situations characterised by cultural diversity (JSCM 2013, p148).

Consistent with some arguments of this current study regarding the need for attainment of cultural competency, the JSCM (2013, p.150) also affirmed that ‘this can be achieved through the effective delivery of cross-cultural training in the workplace’. As a result, the Committee stressed the need for cultural competency at the workplace to support the effective integration of immigrants.

Analysis of Multiculturalism Policies in Canada and Australia

Multiculturalism in Canada and Australia has undergone several phases of ‘maturity’. Historically, multiculturalism in Canada and Australia have been different. In Canada multiculturalism was not built on a monocultural foundation as in the case of Australia but rather from predominantly bicultural roots. The beginning of the MCP in Canada was about cultural recognition while in Australia it was about addressing settlement difficulties and social injustices experienced by non-English European migrants. As such multiculturalism in Canada does not strongly focus on a welfare system of trying to settle some ‘out-group’ people but rather a ‘right’ for people to be who they are. In contrast, in Australia, multiculturalism is coined around the promotion of cultural diversity but in practice, it is a policy for settling migrants who are of non-English Backgrounds (NESB).

In Australia, migrants are divided into groups of those with English-speaking backgrounds (ESB) and those from NESB. Such divisions perpetuate the ‘in-group’ versus the ‘out-group’ concept of social identity (Tajfel & Turner 1979). This weakens the ‘right’ for people to own who they are culturally and rather perpetuates a system of ‘us’ and ‘them’ which ultimately create discrimination.

Generally, the MCPs in Canada and Australia are essential tool for preventing disharmony, insecurity, and injustices within the society but have little influence on the

integration of SIs. As can be seen from this chapter, there is little evidence of the policy being able to successfully integrate SIs. Regardless of the positive public opinion towards the policy, its potential linkage with the economic integration of SIs is neglected.

In spite of the literature evidence of disadvantaged labour market outcomes of the current immigrant cohorts from non-traditional backgrounds (see chapter two), the MCPs since their inception in the 1970s have paid little attention to the effective labour market integration of current culturally diverse SIs. This shows that the current MCPs in the two nations are ‘out of touch’ with issues of modern immigrant cohorts which make up the bulk of the multicultural workforce in the two nations. Some may argue that policy initiatives including credential assessment services, bridging programs, including language training programs which are intended to ‘more effectively serve the needs of immigrant professionals’ (Hawthorne 2002; O’Dwyer & Colic-Piesker 2016; Reitz, Curtis & Elrick 2014, p.2) are available to improve the labour utilisation of SIs. The literature evidence shows that these initiatives have had little influence on the processes and practices of the labour market, hence the continuance perpetuation of inequity even when SIs are selected on the basis of equal human capital (see chapter two for evidence).

Regarding the effectiveness of the MCPs in the two nations, the policies represent political effort to promote equality and social justice. Yet at the same time the MCPs are economically oriented making the policies to be located within the *discrimination-and-fairness* and *access-and-legitimacy perspective* (see Ely & Thomas 2001). The MCPs are used as support for non-discrimination of diverse cultures while at the same time being used for economic purpose to attain culturally diverse SIs who can contribute to the market.

The chapter finds that MCPs in Canada and Australia need to do more to respond to the needs of current immigrant population that arrive through the existing immigration

policies based on the human capital model. The MCPs have not articulated adequately how to address the needs of SIs in attaining equitable participation in the labour market. Therefore, the success of the equity and social justice agenda of MCPs remains problematic in Canada and Australia. The study finds that the policy goals of seeking equity, social justice and at the same time seeking to maximise economic gains have overshadowed the essence of true equity and justice in the labour market. This is because ‘multiculturalism has not paid sufficient attention to migrant disadvantages in the labour market’ (Collins 1991, p.242).

In Australia, the study finds that the MCP is still focused on cultural celebrations instead of focusing on more pressing issues such as economic integration. This makes MCPs appear as ‘policy facades’ for showcasing multicultural societies yet masking the labour market disadvantages experienced by culturally diverse SIs (see chapter two). The study argues that multiculturalism needs to go beyond having a multicultural society and cultural celebrations to impacting the labour market integration of SIs. It is good to observe an initiation of such dialogue in the speech by Kenney (in Canada) and JSCM (in Australia) regarding the economic integration of SIs.

Generally, the analysis shows that the MCP in Australia is still complicated with difficulties to attain effective integration due to persistent institutional and cultural barriers. Literature evidence shows that SIs still experience employment inequity in Canada and Australia. This is a challenge since both countries claim to have an MCP that embraces inclusion and equality. The current approach of immigration policies to award more points to potential immigrants with near native speaker language proficiency is clearly an assimilation approach rather than promotion of multiculturalism. This is more like asking a French person to speak like a native English speaker, whilst English people can hardly speak like the French.

MCPs in Canada and Australia are one sided policy meant for culturally diverse individuals who need to integrate into the host culture and ideals instead of fostering ‘mutual integration’ that is likely to facilitate cultural competency and cultural understanding among both the dominant and the minority groups.

The JSCM (2013) report highlighted two things that are common between the two nations in terms of the multiculturalism agenda: the fact that discrimination still persists and therefore institutions and employers need to be more proactive in responding to the cultural diversity issues at the workplace. Attention is needed in the labour market to assist employers’ responsiveness to cultural diversity at the workplace. This is one of the ways that real change can occur.

MCPs at the national level in both countries make claims of celebrating cultural diversity while promoting equity and social justice but in reality they have been unable to effectively deliver on the latter claims (see e.g. CIC Evaluation of Multiculturalism Program 2012; JSCM 2013). The core elements of MCPs addressing labour market issues, regarding employment equity and social justice which need to be achieved at the individual levels, have been ignored (see e.g. CIC Evaluation of Multiculturalism Program 2012, JSCM 2013). This is not to claim that multiculturalism has not been beneficial (see Bloemraad & Wright 2014; Kymlicka 2012; Ng & Bloemraad 2015) yet it has its challenges that need attention.

One aspect that needs considerable attention now is the area of the MCP impact on SIs’ labour market integration. If MCPs are for all Canadians and Australians, the policies need to be able to complement the existing immigration policy model by responding to the challenges faced by SIs. Currently, apart from the assessment bodies for foreign credentials recognition, efforts at effective integration are lacking. Recognition of education credentials does not necessarily afford equitable employment outcomes.

Both countries have not achieved the full goals of the MCP. The research identified that:

- (1) The MCPs in each nation have limited clear measurable objectives and expected outcomes.
- (2) There is no obvious attention given to the labour market integration of SIs except in the area of credential recognition. Yet credential recognition does not guarantee fair entry into the labour market because employers are eventually the ones who judge the value of SIs' credentials.
- (3) Intolerance, prejudice and discrimination are still problematic in both Canada and Australia (see CIC Evaluation of Multiculturalism Program 2012; JSCM 2013).
- (4) Institutions need more attention and support to effectively operate within the principles of the MCP (see CIC Evaluation of Multiculturalism Program 2012).
- (5) Australian employers and organisations are deficient in the management of cultural diversity (see JSCM 2013).

These constitute significant barriers that adversely affect SIs, preventing them from attaining their full potential in the labour market yet MCPs lack the ability to effectively rectify them. This shows that MCP act as a policy for 'hegemonic discourse in defense of dominant ideology' for 'conflict resolution and impression management' in defense of maintaining the status quo of dominant cultural ideals (Fleras 2009, p.7).

Summary of Multiculturalism Policies in Canada and Australia

This chapter has explained and explored the concept of MCPs in Canada and Australia, and then contextualized their historical development up to the contemporary evolution of these policies. The aim of the analysis was to understand how effectively the rationale and goals of the MCPs in practice produce outcomes that are cognizant with shaping the labour market integration of the current cohorts of culturally diverse SIs. The main argument for the chapter was that MCPs are not only for cultural recognition but also relevant to the overall labour market integration of SIs owing to their equity and social justice principles. The chapter asserts that the

meaning and purposes of MCPs over the years have shifted, yet without significant reference to the labour market integration of current SIs. While MCPs in both Canada and Australia have facilitated political, economic and social benefits in the countries as well as global recognition, there is still more room for improvement. A key challenge is that MCPs are adorned with equity and social justice principles and yet lacking monitoring and implementation of these values undermines the significance of the policies.

Overall, how effectively MCPs affect the labour market integration of SIs, in this case those from culturally diverse backgrounds is challenging. Perhaps ‘antidiscrimination policies’ and employment protections may be of greater importance (Bloemraad & Wright 2014, p.s321). The next chapter explores legislation on equity in employment in Canada and Australia.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Legislative Approaches to Managing Diversity and Equity of Culturally Diverse Workforces in Canada and Australia

Introduction

Governments enact laws to address issues of immigration and equal opportunity. According to Syed (2008) governments pass anti-discrimination legislation that conforms to international conventions on human rights including those for protecting the rights of immigrants. Based on the challenges faced by SIs in attaining successful employment outcomes, this chapter discusses how the Canadian and Australian governments have responded to issues of employment equity to enable equitable labour market outcomes. Employment equity in this study refers to attainment of equal access to employment outcomes that match one's qualifications, capabilities and skills.

This chapter explores the legislative framework for managing diversity and equity and associated labour market integration of culturally diverse SI workers in the public services in Canada and Australia. This chapter uses visible minorities VMs and NESB workforce in the Canadian federal public service (FPS) and Australian public service (APS) respectively as representatives of culturally diverse skilled workforce in the public services. Currently, the large proportion of SIs arriving in Canada and Australia are members of VM and NESBs respectively (DIPB Migration Program 2014-2015; CIC Facts & Figures 2014). The chapter draws on the Canadian Employment Equity Act (EEA), the Australian Public Service (APS) Act 1999, the EEA reports and the Australian Public Service Commission (APSC) annual reports filed for the public services in Canada and Australia correspondingly. It analyses the effectiveness of the Equal Employment Act (EEA) 1987 in Canada and the Australian Public Service (APS) Act 1999 in relation to the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs of VM and the NESB workforce respectively in the public services.

The chapter highlights the possible strengths and weaknesses identified in the legislation on employment equity relevant to the culturally diverse workforce in each country. Additionally, the chapter offers an opportunity to analyse policy implications arising from the legislation and provides recommendations that may strengthen public policy initiatives in Canada and Australia to enhance the labour market integration of their workforces. It is assumed that the availability of public legislation for managing diversity and equity in the form of the employment equity Act in Canada and anti-discrimination laws in Australia is relevant to the labour market integration of SIs. Consequently, the effectiveness of the legislation is assessed in light of the general employment representation of culturally diverse workforce in the Canadian and Australian public services.

The chapter begins with a discussion on the Canadian Employment Equity Act (EEA), and progresses to discuss the legislation relevant to the labour market integration of culturally diverse workforce in Australia. After assessment of the anti-discrimination laws and identification of weaknesses in Australia, the APS Act 1999 is chosen as the main legislation underpinning employment equity for the culturally diverse workforce in the Australian public service. Next the differences in employment legislation in the two countries are highlighted and legislation outcomes compared for the VM and the NESB workforces in the Canadian and Australian public services respectively. Analysis of the effectiveness of the legislation on employment equity and how each shapes the labour market outcomes (LMOs) of the VM and the NESB workforce in Canada and Australia are discussed, followed by some implications for further development.

Context of the Canadian Legislation on Employment Equity

Employment Equity Act

Canadian legislative action against employment discrimination occurred in the 1960s and 1970s (Grundy & Smith 2011). By the late 1970s, federal and provincial jurisdictions saw the establishment of human rights legislation that prohibited discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, national origin and other grounds (Grundy & Smith 2011). The system was however based on individual complaints and was criticised as putting too much burden on the individual complainant (Grundy & Smith 2011). The then concept of affirmative action and a need to redress systemic discrimination called for legislation to address general organisational practices that led to employment inequity (Grundy & Smith 2011).

Employment inequity as a result of systemic discrimination became a matter of debate in Canada in the 1980s (Agocs 2002). Systemic discrimination is defined as 'those patterns of organisational behaviour that are part of the social and administrative structure and culture and decision making processes of the workplace, and that create or perpetuate relative disadvantage for members of some groups and privilege for members of other groups' (Agocs 2002, p.257-8). This includes institutionalised practices, policies, norms and values that create structures, power relationships and opportunity in organisations and in the labour market (Agocs 2002). Within organisations in the labour market, this may influence decisions affecting employment access in most aspects of HRM activities such as promotion, job assignment, quality of work life and the rest. As disparities within the society and the economy increased, the government had to respond.

The Canadian government faced a challenge from a number of stakeholder groups representing labour, the women's movement, Aboriginal people and others who called on the government to implement compulsory affirmative action programs (Grundy & Smith 2011)

to achieve equitable workforce statistical representation. Based on these demands for action, the federal government appointed the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (the Abella Commission) to examine systemic discrimination in the workplace (Grundy & Smith 2011). The report discovered surmountable obstacles faced by four designated groups in the Canadian labour market and made recommendations tailored to address Canadian workplace systemic discrimination (Agocs 2002; Grundy & Smith 2011). The report recommended the collection of statistical data as an indication of under-representation of the designated groups that might need further examination if shown to suggest discrimination (Grundy & Smith 2011).

Agocs (2002) pointed out that the discourse about the concept of systemic discrimination makes this issue important in the mid-1980s. Through research evidence, case law and advocacy, four groups were identified as 'designated groups' (women, native Aboriginal people, disabled persons, and VMs) who were disadvantaged in employment in relation to access to regular full time employment opportunities, fair compensation, representation at upper levels of management, among other indicators due to systemic discrimination (Agocs 2002). The Canadian government responded to employment inequity resulting from systemic discrimination through the introduction of the federal Employment Equity Act (EEA) (1986) and Federal Contractors Program (1986), including the use of portions of the Canadian Human Rights Act (1978) and the Charter of Rights and Freedom of the Constitution Act (1982) (Agocs 2002).

Judge Abella of the Abella Commission was appointed to inquire into the most efficient, effective, and equitable means of promoting employment opportunities for and eliminating systemic discrimination against the four designated groups (Abella 1985; Weiner

2014). The process was to inquire specifically into the employment practices of 11 designated crown and government-owned corporations (Abella 1984; 1985).

After thorough investigations, the Commission identified that the four designated groups experienced several barriers to equitable labour market integration including low-representation, low participation, insufficient or inappropriate education and training facilities; inadequate information systems about training and employment opportunities; no voice in the decision-making process in programs affecting them and employers restrictive recruitment, hiring, and promotion practices and discriminatory assumptions (A Royal Commission Report, Abella 1984; 1985). The Commission found that the only group for which the corporations under examination had data were women and yet the rate of their employment improvement had been minimal. Women were overwhelmingly concentrated in the lowest paid occupations in every corporation and they held few managerial or supervisory positions (Abella 1985).

Based on the Abella research findings, all the 11 corporations in the study agreed that without legislation and a reporting requirement substantial change was unlikely (Abella 1985). The Commission identified four factors in the labour force as statistical indicators of possible systemic discrimination: participation rates, unemployment rates, income levels and occupational segregation (Abella 1985). The Commission therefore, recommended that all federally regulated employers be required by legislation to implement equity under the name 'employment equity' (Abella 1985). From the recommendations, employment equity was to become a positive program to avert discrimination in employment. Overall:

Employment equity is a strategy designed to obliterate the effects of discrimination and to open equitably the competition for employment opportunities to those arbitrarily excluded. It requires a special blend of what is necessary, what is fair and what is workable. ...We need employment equity to achieve justice in the outcome. It is not that

individuals in the designated groups are inherently unable to achieve equality on their own, it is that the obstacles in their way are so formidable and self-perpetuating that they cannot be overcome without intervention (Abella 1985, p.7).

Apart from the Abella Commission report (Abella 1984), in the same year, a Parliamentary Committee report known as the Daudlin Commission report, "Equality Now" also revealed employment disadvantages facing VMs (Jain & Verma 1996). The Edmonds Task force (Edmonds 1990) also examined barriers to women's career advancement in the federal public service (FPS). According to Jain and Verma (1996), there were other reports that revealed the disadvantaged status of the four designated groups. These reports contributed to raising awareness and highlighting issues that impacted employment equity in Canada (Jain & Verma 1996).

Jain (1989) pointed out that of 1,400 employers who were offered assistance to develop EEA plans by the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) Directorate in 1984, only 71 agreed to do so at the time. Klarsfeld, Ng and Tatli (2012) recently reported that even though the EEA has been in place since 1986, it covers only 1,565 employers (involving the FPS) which employ 2.3 million employees representing about 12% of the labour force. This means that the other employers in Canada are left unregulated by the EEA. This is attributable to the fact that in Canada, the EEA only covers federally regulated industries which are telecommunications, transportation, and financial services, together with the federal government itself (the Public Service Commission, Canadian Forces, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Canadian Security Intelligence Services). Most employers are provincially regulated, and each province has their own separate legislation in place (EEA Report 2006).

Apart from the EEA, other legislation exists such as the Human Rights Acts and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for eradicating and remedying discriminatory behaviour. Nonetheless, their provisions are quite limited as they are restricted to individual complaints of discrimination and therefore unable to effectively deal with the pervasiveness and subtlety of systemic discrimination (Abella 1984).

Goals, functions and practices of the Canadian employment equity legislation

The core purpose of the EEA ‘is to achieve equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reasons unrelated to ability and, in the fulfilment of that goal, to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and members of VM by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences’ (EEA Current to March 3 2016, p.1).

The Canadian EEA aims to attain equitable numerical representation for each of the four designated groups in all organisational hierarchies and to develop employment systems that serve the needs of employees (Weiner 2014). It seeks to attain a changed workplace culture that encourages full participation and equal employment outcomes in salary and organisational structure or power positions (Agocs 2002). The Canadian EEA is not about filling quotas; it does not require employers to hire unqualified employees (Ng & French 2015). Rather the EEA is seen as a proactive policy for preventing systemic discrimination in Canada for the identified designated groups.

The EEA (1986) requires federally regulated employers in banking, communications, and transportation) with 100 or more employees to take proactive action to recognise and eliminate or replace policies that may have discriminatory effects, and to improve the

representation of under-represented groups (designated groups) in the workplace (Agocs 2002; Jain 1989). Research shows that these groups experience negative employment outcomes such as high unemployment, low pay and low job status as a result of systemic discrimination (Abella 1985; Mighty 1996).

The Abella Report initiated two programs: the Legislated Employment Equity Program and the Federal Contractors Program. The Legislated Employment Equity Program covers federally regulated industries, the federal public service (FPS) and other federal organisations and agencies [e.g. Canadian Forces] while the Federal Contractors Program covers federal contractors who gain business contracts from the government (Weiner 2014). Employers covered under the Legislated Employment Equity Program and the Federal Contractors Programs are to identify barriers and effects of systemic discrimination and then rectify them if they exist (Weiner 2014).

The EEA requires employers to file an annual report with the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) (Jain 1989). In these reports employers are required to provide information on the numerical representation of members of under-represented groups by occupational group and salary range for those hired, promoted or terminated annually (Jain 1989; Mighty 1996). Organisations that fail to comply with their employment equity reporting obligations may incur a monetary penalty (EEA Reoprt 2006) that can amount to up to \$50,000 (Ng & French, 2015). If compliance with reporting is found questionable employers are recommended to the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) for compliance review/audit (EEA Report 2006).

The ‘participation rates reported by each employer are compared with Statistics Canada labour force available data for the four designated groups’ by region and sector (Grundy & Smith 2011, p.344). Employment and Immigration Canada provide data to

employers to assist in evaluating the representation of their workforces and for developing action plans (Grundy & Smith 2011). The participation and the labour market availability data for VMs and other designated groups are also distributed to the public for other equity supported groups to gain access and also to the Canadian Human Rights Commission (see Grundy & Smith 2011).

The Revised Canadian EEA 1996

In 1995, the 1986 EEA was revised following a process of assessment and public consultation, and an amended EEA was passed, taking effect in 1996. The review resulted from the failure of the 1986 Act to address significant recommendations of Abella's report including the implementation of an effective monitoring and enforcement capability, and sanctions for failure to implement EEA (Agocs 2002). Equity support groups including people with disabilities, aboriginals, and VMs challenged the limited progress of the 1986 EEA based on evidence in EEA reports (Grundy & Smith 2011). The House of Commons' Special Committee on the Review of the 1986 EEA then recommended some changes to be made. The new Act (1996) included the following changes:

- expansion of coverage of employers to include the FPS , commissions and agencies, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Canadian Forces and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service;
- employers were subject to enforceable compliance audits by the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) which was contested under the old Act as employers did not appreciate the involvement of the CHRC (Grundy & Smith 2011); an employment equity review tribunal was created and given the authority to enforce compliance (Agocs 2002)
- the requirements of the Federal Contractors Program were made equivalent to those affecting employers covered by the Act and
- employers were now obliged to consult and collaborate with employee representatives (Agocs 2002, p.260).

The EEA is the only comprehensive federal legislation for employment equity in Canada. Largely, five types of employers are covered under the Act (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Employers covered under the Canadian Employment Equity Act

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Federally Regulated Private Sector employers, Crown Corporations and other Federal organisations with 100 or more employees.2) Core Public Administration organisations listed under Schedule I or IV Part of the Financial Administration Act (FAA) [Federal Government Departments and Agencies].3) Separate Employer organisations in the Federal Public Sector with 100 or more listed in Schedule V of the FAA (separate agencies).4) Other Public Sector Employer organisations with 100 or more employees, including the Canadian Forces (officers and non-commissioned members in the Regular and Reserve Forces) and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (regular and civilian members, excluding FPS employees).5) Federal Contractor organisations that are provincially regulated suppliers of goods and services with at least 100 employees in Canada that receive contracts at or above \$1M (previously the amount was \$200,000) from the federal government.

Sources: EEA Report 2006; 2014

Overall, employers covered under the Canadian EEA Act have four core obligations in implementing employment equity to:

- survey their workforces and collect information on the representation, occupational groups, salary distribution and shares of hires, promotions and terminations of designated group members
- carry out analysis of any under-representation of the designated groups in each occupational group in their workforces
- review their employment systems, policies and practices in order to identify employment barriers; and
- prepare plans outlining how they propose to remove employment barriers and introduce positive policies and practices for the hiring, training, promotion and retention of persons in the designated groups, including making reasonable accommodations and establishing timetable complete with short and long-term goals (EEA Report, 2006, p.12).

In general, the Canadian EEA aims to ensure that all Canadians have the same access to the labour market. The EEA is purposeful, has target groups, and ensures employers' responsibilities are carried out through the appointment of enforcement agencies (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Canadian Employment Equity Framework

Legislation	Canadian Employment Equity Act
Purpose	Response to systemic employment discrimination
Target group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • Aboriginal people • Persons with disabilities • Members of visible minorities
Employer Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure full representation of designated groups at all job levels • Identify work barriers and rectify them • Have plans for achieving equity • Specify measures and goals for correcting under-representation
Enforcement agencies/ strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) collects private sector equity reports • The Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) conducts compliance audit • The Canadian Treasury Board Secretariat maintains representation & availability data of designated groups & tables report on employment equity to parliament • The Public Service Commission: develops staffing & recruitment policies & ensures application of Public Service Employment Act

Source: Adapted from Canadian Human Rights Commission 2010; EEA Report 2006

In Canada, the Human Rights Act (1978) and the Rights and Freedom of the Constitution Act (1982) also contain sections that allow employers to voluntarily implement employment equity (EE) programs. Unlike the EEA that makes provision for collective groups, the human rights codes provide for individuals to lodge a complaint about acts of discrimination or harassment they have experienced to the human rights commission in their jurisdiction (Agocs 2002). These complaints are normally dealt with through mediation and conciliation but the onus is on the individual to seek redress (Agocs 2002). Individuals often find it intimidating to report any discrimination for fear of making things worse or losing

their jobs entirely (Thomas & Jain 2004). In contrast, the EEA places the burden of responsibility on employers to ensure equity.

In summary, The Canadian EEA assists the VM group to gain labour market integration. According to the EEA, the Act ensures that employers will implement employment equity by identifying and eliminating employment barriers against persons in designated groups that result from the employer's employment systems, policies and practices that are not authorised by law; and instituting such policies and practices and making such reasonable accommodations as will ensure their representation in each occupational group in the employer's workforce that reflects their representation in the Canadian workforce (EEA Current to March 3, 2016). Through the Act's purposes, it is expected that the Act will facilitate the integration of culturally diverse SIs from the VM workforce. The Australian legislative framework on employment equity is discussed in the next section.

Context of the Australian Legislation on Employment Equity

Anti-discrimination Legislation

Australia has had anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation since the 1970s and 1980s (Hawthorne 1997). The anti-discrimination legislation has served to 'ensure equality of opportunities for a diverse population' for several decades (Syed & Kramar 2010, p.99). Anti-discrimination laws serve against blatant discrimination on the basis of culture, ethnicity, religion, language (Herscovitch & Bal 2011). Nonetheless, Australia has 'no specific laws to implement equal opportunity' for a culturally diverse workforce except generic anti-discrimination laws such as the Racial Discrimination Act 1975, the Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986 (Syed & Kramar 2010; Syed 2008, p.36) and the Fair Work Act 2009 (Table 7.3). The anti-discrimination laws generally are in 'conformance with

international conventions on human rights including those protecting the rights of migrants' (Syed 2008, p.32). The issue though is that these legislative frameworks are complaint dependent rather than requiring the adoption of proactive measures for eliminating discrimination (Syed 2008).

Table 7. 3 Australian Federal Laws on Employment Discrimination

Legislation and grounds of discrimination	Areas covered
Racial Discrimination Act (1975)	
Discrimination on the basis of e.g., race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin and in some circumstances, immigrant status. Racial hatred, defined as a public act/s likely to offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate on the basis of race, is also prohibited under this Act unless an exemption applies.	Discrimination in all areas of public life including employment, provision of goods and services, right to join trade unions, access to places and facilities, land, housing, other accommodation, and advertisements.
Australia Human Rights Commission Act (1986)	
Discrimination on the basis of e.g., race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, social origin, age, medical record, criminal record, marital or relationship status, impairment, mental, intellectual or psychiatric disability, physical disability, nationality, trade union activity.	Discrimination in employment or occupation
Fair Work Act 2009	
Discrimination on the basis of e.g. race, colour, age, physical or mental disability, sex marital status, family or carer's responsibilities, pregnancy, religion, social origin. The Fair Work Ombudsman play a role in monitoring compliance	Discrimination, via adverse action, in employment including dismissing an employee, not giving an employee legal entitlements such as pay or leave, changing an employee's job to their disadvantage, treating an employee differently than others, not hiring someone, or offering a potential employee different (and unfair) terms and conditions for the job compared to other employees.

Sources: Adapted from (AHRC 2014; Fair Work Onbudsman 2010)

The anti-discrimination laws require individuals to make complaints if they feel they have been discriminated against on certain ground including within employment, rather than employers taking measures to curb employment inequities. This means the responsibility and the burden of proof of any form of inequity depends on the victim. Consequently, while the

focus of anti-discrimination legislation may be to limit the impact of discriminatory work practices in a specific social setting, it does not change the social system itself (French, Strachan & Burgess 2008). Therefore, the social construction of the labour market practices and processes that disadvantage some ethnic minority group still persist.

The process of anti-discrimination legislation mainly utilises conciliation methods for resolving issues where possible (Strachan et al., 2014). In 2007-08, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) received 376 complaints under the Racial Discrimination Act. The majority of these complaints were related to employment (50%) (HREOC 2007-2008). Further, in 2008–09, 84% of the 396 complaints received by the Australian Human Rights Commission under the Racial Discrimination Act were also related to employment (Trenerry, Franklin & Paradies 2012). The data suggests the complexities of the labour market challenges that culturally diverse SIs are likely to encounter if these racial discrimination complaints are an indicator.

Though the ‘anti-discrimination legislation seeks to deal with power differences and abuse of power by allocating legal rights to individuals’ it fails to re-order the power relationship (French et al. 2008, p.5). Consequently, systemic discrimination persists due to its inability to affect the power relationship. Research into the effectiveness of employment legislation in relation to the employment status of culturally diverse SIs remains a challenge given the lack of monitoring, data collection and vigorous enforcement of the anti-discrimination laws.

It is no surprise then, that research in Australia has consistently identified poorer LMOs for professionals from NESB source regions (Hawthorne 2005; Syed 2008). This signals that the practices and processes of equal employment opportunity (EEO) regulations in the labour market in relation to the culturally diverse Australian workforce require

attention. The EEO legislation in Australia focuses on eliminating discrimination against women and therefore requires ‘organisations employing more than 100 workers to report annually to a government authority on their progress in implementing EEO programs’ (Strachan, Burgess and Henderson 2007; Syed & Kramar 2010, p.100). There is no equivalent legislation in Australia for the equitable management of a culturally diverse workforce (Syed 2008).

The only known legislation that requires monitoring and reporting on the employment status of culturally diverse employees from NESB is the Australia Public Service (APS) Act 1999. The APS Act 1999 requires ‘authorities to develop, implement and review equal opportunities in the workplace’ (Syed & Kramar 2010, p.101). This is owing to the recognition that ‘workplace diversity makes a major contribution to capability in the APS, as well as being important to equity in employment’ (APSC 2005-2006, p.33). Consequently, the APS considers that trends in diversity ‘are particularly relevant to monitoring employment-related disadvantage’ (APSC 2005-2006, p.33).

In the absence of specific EEO legislation that monitors and reports on the labour market integration of culturally diverse workforce as a whole, this chapter draws on the Australia Public Service (APS) Act 1999 framework for facilitation of employment equity for a culturally diverse NESB workforce in the APS. The APS Act 1999 has historical links to the Commonwealth Public Service Act 1902 which was based largely on the public service legislation of the several colonies that existed prior to Federation (see APSC Occasional Paper Three 2004). This was the time that White Australia Policy was in operation. Nevertheless, the Act since then has been reviewed; hence the existing APS Act 1999. The next section discusses the nature of the APS Act 1999 and how it applies to the employment integration of culturally diverse workers of NESB.

Goals, functions and practices of Australian Public Service (APS) Act 1999 and Equity Values

The APS Act 1999 offers the framework for managing the Australian public service.

The main objects of the APS Act 1999 are:

- a) to establish an apolitical public service that is efficient and effective in serving the Government, the Parliament and the Australian public; and
- b) to provide a legal framework for the effective and fair employment, management and leadership of APS employees; and
- c) to define the powers, functions and responsibilities of Agency Heads, the Public Service Commissioner and the Merit Protection Commissioner; and
- d) to establish rights and obligations of APS employees (APS Act 1999, p.1; APSC 2014-2015, p.3)

The APS Act 1999 allows the Australian Public Service Commission (APSC) to compile reports on all APS employees including those from NESB. The Act requires all agencies in the APS to take measures to ensure compliance with all anti-discrimination laws (Syed & Kramar 2010). Among the fifteen APS Values in section 10 (1) of the APS Act 1999, four of them involve principles of equity as, the APS:

- 1) provides a workplace that is free from discrimination and recognises and utilises the diversity of the Australian community it serves
- 2) provides a fair, flexible, safe and rewarding workplace
- 3) promotes equity in employment
- 4) provides a reasonable opportunity to all eligible members of the community to apply for APS employment (APS 1999, Section 10, p.6-7)

The above Values confirm the commitment of the APS to employment equity. Further, under section 18 of the APS Act 1999, agency heads ‘must establish a workplace diversity program to assist in giving effect to the APS Values’ (APS Act 1999, p.11; APSC 2012-2013). The APS Act 1999 requires federal authorities to develop, implement and review equal opportunities and to establish diversity programs that are inclusive of EEO provision for eliminating discrimination (Syed & Kramar 2010). In other words, the APS Act 1999 ensures equity and diversity. Contrary to the equal employment legislation that focuses on only women, the APS Act 1999 is inclusive of not only women but also culturally diverse

workers. For instance, the APS Commissioner's Directions 2013 specify that the APS Value on equity in employment requires, in particular, measures aimed at eliminating any employment-related disadvantage on the basis of: (1) being Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander, (2) gender, (3) race or ethnicity, and (4) disability (APS Statistical Bulletin, 2014-2015) and as such culturally diverse workers fall into one of these categories.

Further, section 44 of the APS Act 1999 requires that the APS Commissioner provides an annual report on the 'state of the APS' for presentation to Parliament (APS Act 1999, p.25; APSC, 2004-2005). The APS Commissioner reports therefore, are important sources for data collection on the labour market integration of culturally diverse workers of NESB. As part of this study, NESB employees are considered proxies for culturally diverse SIs in the APS. In 2011-2012, the largest group of employees from culturally diverse backgrounds in the APS were born in Asia (62.8%) and Southern and Eastern Europe (14.2%) (APSC 2011-2012). Consistent with current migration trend, 82.1% of APS employees from NESBs were degree qualified compared to 59.5% of the APS average (APSC 2012-2013) hence these can be represented as culturally diverse skilled employees.

Analysis of Legislation on Employment Equity

Canada

Drawing on EEA reports filed for the FPS from 2000-2015, this chapter provides analysis and discussion on the employment representation of the VM workforce in the FPS. The President of the Treasury Board Canada is required by the EEA to submit a report to Parliament on the state of employment equity (EE) in the core public administration (CPA) for each fiscal year (EE Public Service 2014-2015). The treasury Board is the employer for the CPA which comprises 67 departments, agencies and commissions (EE Public Service 2014-2015). On March 31, 2015, there were 180,681 employees working for these

organisations (EE Public Service 2014-2015). As at 2013, about 3.6 million Canadian workers, representing 20.4% of total employment in Canada, were employed in the public sector (Lammam et al. 2015).

The most common numerical indicator of the Canadian EEA progress in relation to the VM workforce is the representation rate. The representation of designated groups is compared to their workforce availability or labour market availability (LMA) which refers to the share of designated group members in the workforce from which employers could hire (EEA Report 2014). ‘Progress has been made when the gap between a group’s representation and its LMA narrows, or when the group’s representation exceeds its LMA ‘(EEA Report 2014, p.1).

Australia

In Australia, the chapter draws on APSC reports and APSC statistical bulletin from the period 2000-2015. The reports are analysed to understand the extent of the legislation’s impact on the culturally diverse workforce from NESB in the APS. With a focus on NESB employees in the APS, the study measures the labour market integration of the NESB employees based on their numerical representation in the APS workforce in general.

It is important to note that the APS Act 1999 has limited coverage of employees. In June 2015, there were 152,430 employees in the APS, representing about 1.2% of the Australian labour force across 103 agencies (APSC 2014-2015, p.11). The total number of the Australian public sector employees is approximately 1,843,500 persons as at June 2010, representing about 16% of the Australian workforce (ABS 1301.0 - Year Book Australia 2012). In 2011, the Australian labour force comprised 12.07 million persons of which 8.63 million were born in Australia. Of the 3.32 million overseas-born, 1.34 million were from the

Mainly English-speaking Countries (MESC). The remaining 1.99 million migrants were from Non-English-speaking Countries (NESC) (DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011). This suggests that the NESB labour force availability is 16.5% (see DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011).

It is also important to note that the APSC report classifies NESB into two groups. According to the APSC Statistical Bulletin (2014-2015), NESB 1 refers to people born overseas who arrived in Australia after the age of five and whose first language was not English. NESB 2 refers to children of migrants including:

- those who were born overseas and arrived in Australia when they were aged five or younger but did not speak English as a first language;
- those who were Australian born but did not speak English as a first language and had at least one parent who did not speak English as a first language;
- and those who spoke English as a first language and had neither parent speaking English as a first language.

This chapter focuses on all NESB (NESB1&2) employees in the APS. According to the APS Statistical Bulletin (2014-2015), data for the bulletin is sourced from the APS Employment database provided by employees to their APS agencies through their HR information systems. The APS Statistical Bulletin provides details of those employed under the authority of the APS Act 1999 as part of the APSC yearly report to Parliament. However, with the exception of gender, diversity data is supplied to agencies on a voluntary basis and therefore as with any voluntary data collection, the data might be under-represented. The findings are discussed below.

Outcomes of the Canadian Employment Equity Act and the Australian Public Service Act

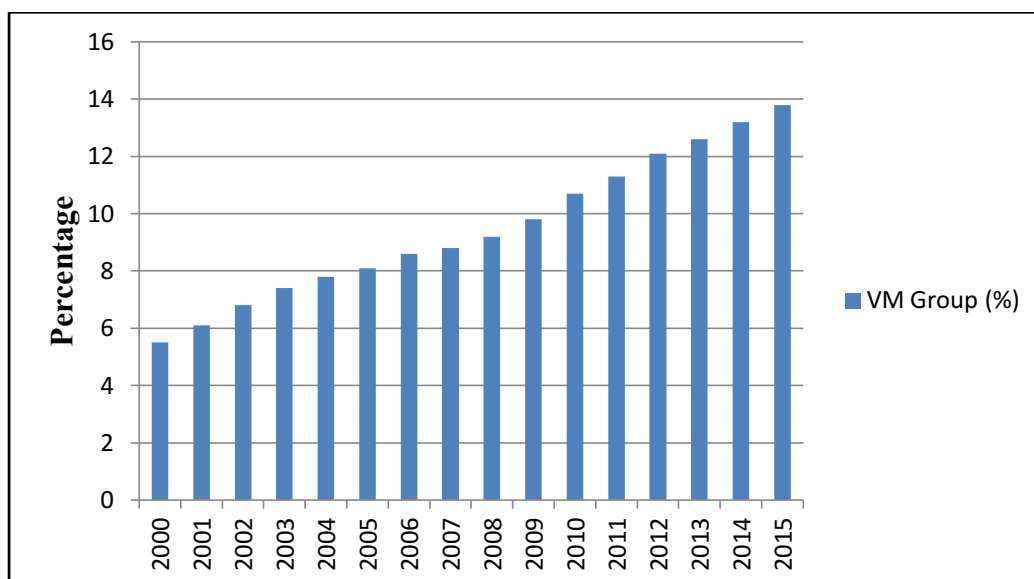
Canada

General Representation of the VM Workforce in the Canadian Federal Public Service

Figure 7.1 shows that the representation of the VM workforce in the Canadian public service has increased from 5.5% in 2000 to 13.8% by 2015, exceeding their workforce availability of 13.0%. This means it took the Canadian FPS over a decade to achieve a representation proportional to the VM workforce availability. The change in the representation of the VM group in the Canadian FPS may have occurred due to consistent investigations and monitoring of the EEA by, for example, the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights (2007; 2010). This shows that when policies are monitored and enforced, they can produce results.

On the other hand, if it took over ten years for the Canadian FPS under a legal requirement to achieve equitable representation for the VM workforce, one can only speculate how long it will take individual organisations that are not required by the EEA to provide employment equity reports. It is possible that without monitoring and enforcement of employment equity some organisations may never make an effort to attain parity of employment equity for designated groups in the labour market. It is important to note that the VM group in Canada does not include non-English-speaking Europeans but in Australia the NESB group include all non-English speaking Europeans in addition to individuals from non-main-English speaking countries. This shows that the VM group encompasses fewer culturally diverse groups in comparison to the NESB group. The next section examines the APS Act outcomes for the NESB group in Australian public service.

Figure 7.1 Representation of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Federal Public Service (FPS), 2000-2015



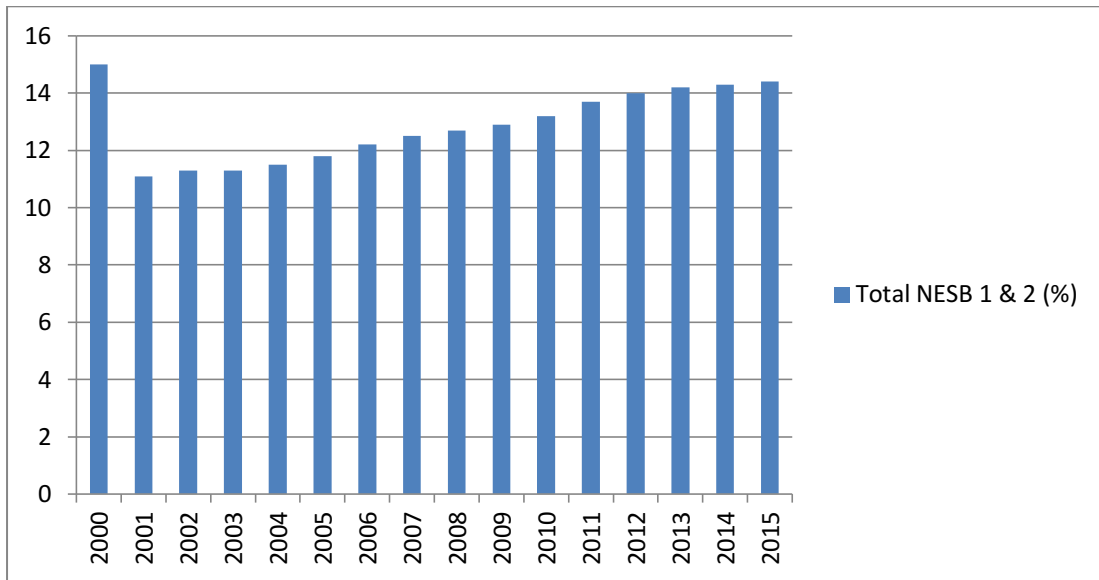
Source: Based on EE Public Service 2000-01; 2013-14; 2014-15

- Workforce availability: 9.0 (1991); 8.7% (1996); 10.4% (2001); 12.4% (2006); 13.0% (2011)
- Workforce availability in the public service” refers to the estimated availability of people in designated groups as a percentage of the workforce population (EE Public Service 2014-2015).

General Representation of NESB Workforce in the Australian Public Service (APS)

Figure 7.2 shows representational changes in the proportion of ongoing employees in the APS under the APS Act 1999 over the past 10 years. The proportion of APS employees from NESB is trending upwards after a fall from 15.0% in the year 2000 to 11.1% in 2001, although the rate of growth for that group appears to be very slow (Figure 7.2). The data shows that since 2001, the representation of the NESB workforce in the APS has increased from 11.1% to 14.4% by 2015. This is an increase of 3.4% for NESB employees in more than a decade. This is a very minimal increase in fourteen years given the evidence that the NESB workforce in the Australian population is increasing rapidly owing to the current migration trends. The NESB workforce availability in the labour market is 16.5% (see DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011). This shows that the NESB employees are under-represented in the APS.

Figure 7. 2 Representation of NESB Employees in the APS, 30 June 2000 to 30 June 2015



Source: Based on Australian Public Service Commission, APS Statistical Bulletin 2010-2011; 2014-2015, p.105.

The Impact of the EEA and the APS Act on the VM and the NESB Workforce

The study finds that after over a decade, the representation of the VM workforce in the Canadian FPS had nearly trebled from 5.5% in 2000 to 13.8% by 2015 (Figure 7.1). In contrast, the representation of the NESB workforce in the Australian public service has rather decreased from 15% in 2000 to 14.4% by 2015. Not only that, but also, even though NESB encompasses broader number of culturally diverse population (all individuals from non-main-English speaking countries including non-English speaking Europeans), their level of employment representation in the public service is rather below their labour market availability. This suggests that the APS is more represented by workforce from predominantly English-speaking-backgrounds. In 2013, the APS Commissioner’s directions provided specific actions to give effect to the promotion of workplace diversity in the APS (see APS Commissioner’s Direction 2013, p.34). Surprisingly, such similar measures is lacking in the current APS Commissioner’s directions in 2016 (see APS Commissioner’s

Direction 2016). This may signal lack of clear goals for the culturally diverse workforce of NESB.

From all indications as discussed above, the Canadian FPS has achieved positive representation for the VM workforce which is part of the core goals of the EEA. However, numerical representation is not equivalent to attainment of an employment match to human capital. It is therefore difficult to understand fully from these data the level of the VM workforce's skill utilisation. While the EEA and the APSC reports provide information on the occupational representation of the two groups, this will not be analysed in this chapter owing to the complexity of comparing two non-identical groups.

While I have emphasised the differences between the two groups in the thesis, it is more complex to compare their occupational representations in the public services and to claim that one group has done better than the other. In Australia NESB include immigrant populations who are not counted as part of the VMs in Canada. Moreover, the Canadian FPS and the APS use different classification levels to account for their occupational level representations. For instance in Canada, the EEA reports indicate executive level of occupations to be simply executives. In Australia, the APSC statistical bulletin shows executive levels (EL) to be EL1 through to senior executive service (SES) employees (see APS Classification Guide January 2013; APSC Senior Executive 2012). For example, the total executives (EL to SES) of all APS employees is 38,471 in 2015 (see APSC Statistical Bulletin 2014-2015) but in Canada it is only 5,228 by 2014-2015 (see EE Public Service 2014-2015). This suggests that perhaps the meaning of executive levels in the two public services is not the same. Some of these challenges make it hard to compare the two groups.

Considering that, a large proportion of the culturally diverse VM and NESB groups are economic immigrants with higher educational levels, it is important to establish if they are achieving employment match to their skills or educational qualifications in these sectors. Data from Statistics Canada and ABS is analysed in chapter eight to fill in this gap.

Summary: The Legislative Approach to Managing Diversity and Equity in Canada and Australia

This chapter has examined the impact of legislation on the labour market integration of a culturally diverse VM and the NESB members in Canada and Australia respectively as proxies for culturally diverse SIs. The chapter drew on policy analysis and government reports for comparative analysis of the employment outcomes for the two groups. Unlike subsequent chapters where labour market integration focuses on indicators such as participation rate, employment rate, unemployment rate and employment match to skills and qualifications, this chapter relied on reports revealing the general representation of the VM and the NESB workforce in the Canadian FPS as well as the APS.

The chapter began by discussing the historical context of the Canadian employment equity legislation and followed with the Australian anti-discrimination in employment legislation. In the absence of similar employment equity legislation for the culturally diverse workforce as Canada, the APS Act was used as basis for legislation that covers members of NESB in Australia.

The study observed that the EEA and the APS Act have similar yet distinctive goals. Likewise, the overall public service representation for the VM employees and the NESB employees under the Canadian and the Australian legislation were quite distinct in nature and results. The chapter found that comparatively, the Canadian EEA has had a beneficial impact

on the progress of members of the VM workforce in the general public sector workforce compared to Australia. This could have been more difficult to achieve without the EEA.

On the whole, both Canada and Australia have attained some level of integration for the members of their VM and NESB in regards to numerical representation in the general workforce. The VM group in the Canadian public sector has attained employment representation that exceeds their workforce representation in comparison to the NESB group in the Australian public service. In this chapter, it can be argued that the VM workforce is better integrated in the Canadian public service than the NESB workforce in the Australian public service. Recent EEA report show that the employment representation of the VM group in the Canadian public service has increased from 13.8% in 2015 to 14.5% by 2016 (see EE Public Service 2015-2016). On the contrary the proportion of NESB employees in the Australian public service stands at 14.5% by 2016 (see APSC Statistical Bulletin 2015-2016). This shows that even though the VM group contain limited representations of culturally diverse groups in comparison to the NESB, their employment representation currently mirrors the representation of all NESB workforce (includes the entire non-English speaking Europeans) in the Australian public service. This is an indication that the Canadian VM group is better integrated in the public service in comparison to the Australian NESB workforce. It is also an indication that Canada has greater numbers of visible minorities than Australia.

The chapter finds that without the Canadian EEA, the VM group representation and occupational group representation would have been minimal. This is evident from the low representation of the VM group at the beginning of the EEA implementation. This suggests, the employment equity policy is somewhat effective in its practice.

One of the greatest challenges in the data for analysis is that although the Canadian EEA reports collect data from employers on an annual basis, data for the measurement of progress made by the designated groups under the Act are normally lagging as progress is compared with data obtained from Censuses or surveys conducted every five years by Statistic Canada (EEA Report 2006; 2015). So for instance the 2014 representation in the EEA report is being compared with workforce availability in 2011 instead of the current labour market availability. This is problematic in the data collection consolidated by the EEA reports as it makes it hard to ascertain the real progress made by the VM group. Despite this limitation, the EEA reports provide substantial information on employment representation in the public service. Also, the APSC reports have limitations in that they could potentially generate under-representation of NESB employees owing to the voluntary nature of reporting by members of the designated groups.

The current study constitutes the first cross-country comparative study to investigate the impact of legislation on the representation of members of VM and NESB group in Canada and Australia respectively. In addition, it is also the first study in recent times in Australia to examine the impact of legislation on the integration of the NESB workforce in the APS. The findings from this study have significant implications for policy development. Currently, the APS Act lacks clear goals for NESB workforce. Also the policies have been designed without culturally SIs in mind and therefore make it hard to determine their progress in the public service. This is something that policy-makers will have to address. Chapter eight provides further statistical evidence to illustrate the labour market outcomes of SIs in the broader market rather than only in the public services.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Labour Market Outcomes of Skilled Immigrants in Canada and Australia Compared

Introduction

After having examined the context of the macro-national policies in addition to the rationales and goals that drive the policies in previous chapters (five, six and seven), the aim of this chapter is to understand how effectively SIs are integrated into the Canadian and Australia labour market considering the availability of macro-national policies for fostering integration of immigrants. This chapter seeks to examine the overall labour market outcomes of SIs in Canada and Australia. Based on customised National Household Survey (NHS) 2011 and Australian Bureau of Statistic (ABS) census data 2011, this chapter examines the labour market outcomes of degree-qualified immigrants aged 25-64 who arrived in Canada and Australia from 2006 to 2011. The NHS and the Census (2011) data contain information on the degree-qualified migrants' employment status and occupational outcomes. The information allows an investigation of the employment outcomes of degree-qualified migrants by cultural backgrounds based on seven regions including North America, Latin America, Europe, UK, Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

This chapter argues that in spite of the availability of three key macro-national policies including immigration policies, multiculturalism policies and legislative framework for facilitation of migrants' employment integration, culturally diverse SIs continue to experience inequities in the Canadian and Australian labour markets. Immigration policies regulate and control the entry and management of persons seeking permanent settlement, temporary work or political asylum through specified government conditions (Freeman 1992). Canada and Australia use immigration policies to strategically attract the best and

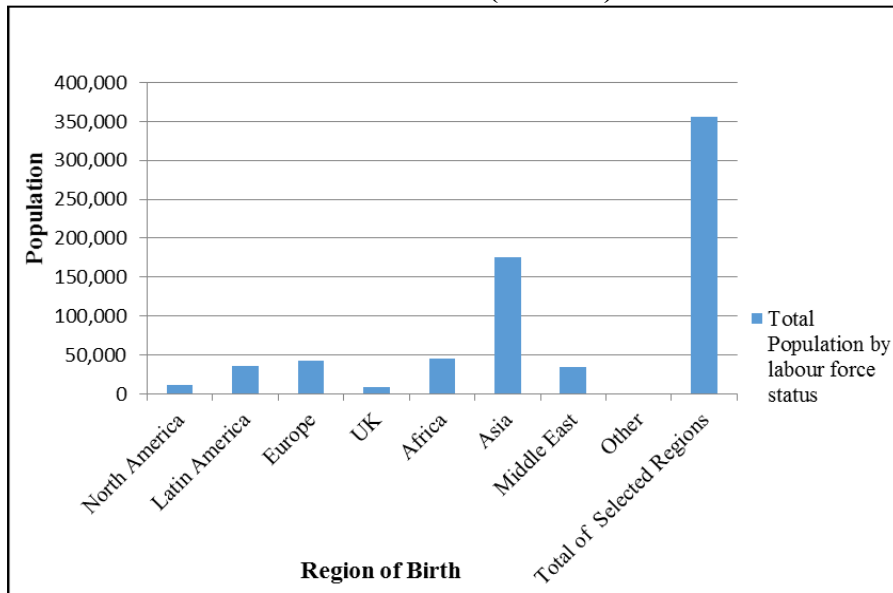
brightest migrants with anticipation that through planned policy approach the selected immigrants will integrate successfully into the labour market to contribute to the economies (see CIC Facts & Figures 2014; DIBP Setting the Migration Program 2014). The chapter proceeds as follows. Firstly, it describes the characteristics of the degree-qualified immigrants involved in the data set for Canada and Australia. Next, the results of the labour market outcomes of SIs are discussed through comparative analysis for both countries. Finally, outcomes of the labour market results are summarised. The statistical analysis in this chapter will be synthesised with the findings of the policy analysis in the next chapter before drawing final conclusions and implications for the whole study.

Data Description

Characteristics of Degree-Qualified Immigrants in Canada, Age 25-64, 2006-2011

The number of degree-qualified immigrants in the age group of 25-64 who arrived in Canada between 2006 and 2011 from North America, Latin America, Europe, the UK, Africa, Asia and the Middle East was 355,300 (Figure 8.1). Figure 8.2 shows the number of degree-qualified migrants who arrived in Canada in percentages. Degree-qualified immigrants from Asia accounted for the largest share 175,900 (close to 50%) of the cohort who arrived in that period in Canada while the UK (9,315) produced the lowest number of degree-qualified immigrants (Figure 8.1; 8.2).

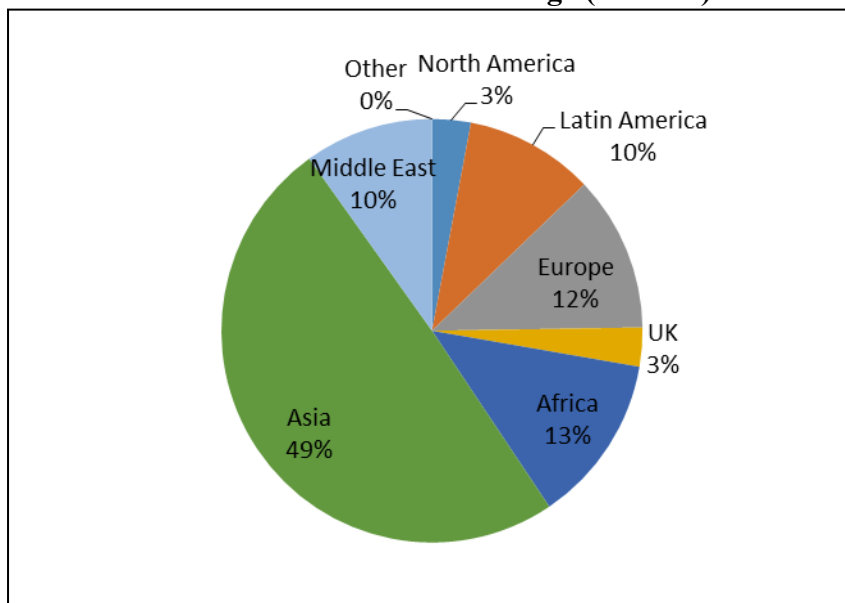
Figure 8. 1 Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011 by Region of Birth (Canada)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011
 *In Canada the Middle East includes West Central Asia

In total, degree-qualified immigrants from traditionally non-preferred regions (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East) accounted for 83% (292,065) of the cohort who arrived in Canada in the year 2006-2011 (Figure 8.2). Degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally preferred regions (North America and the UK) represented about 6% (20,135) while the rest of Europe contributed 12% (43,100) making a total of approximately 18% (63,235) for degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally preferred regions who arrived in Canada from 2006-2011 (Figures 8.1 & 8.2).

Figure 8. 2 Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011 by Region of Birth in Percentage (Canada)



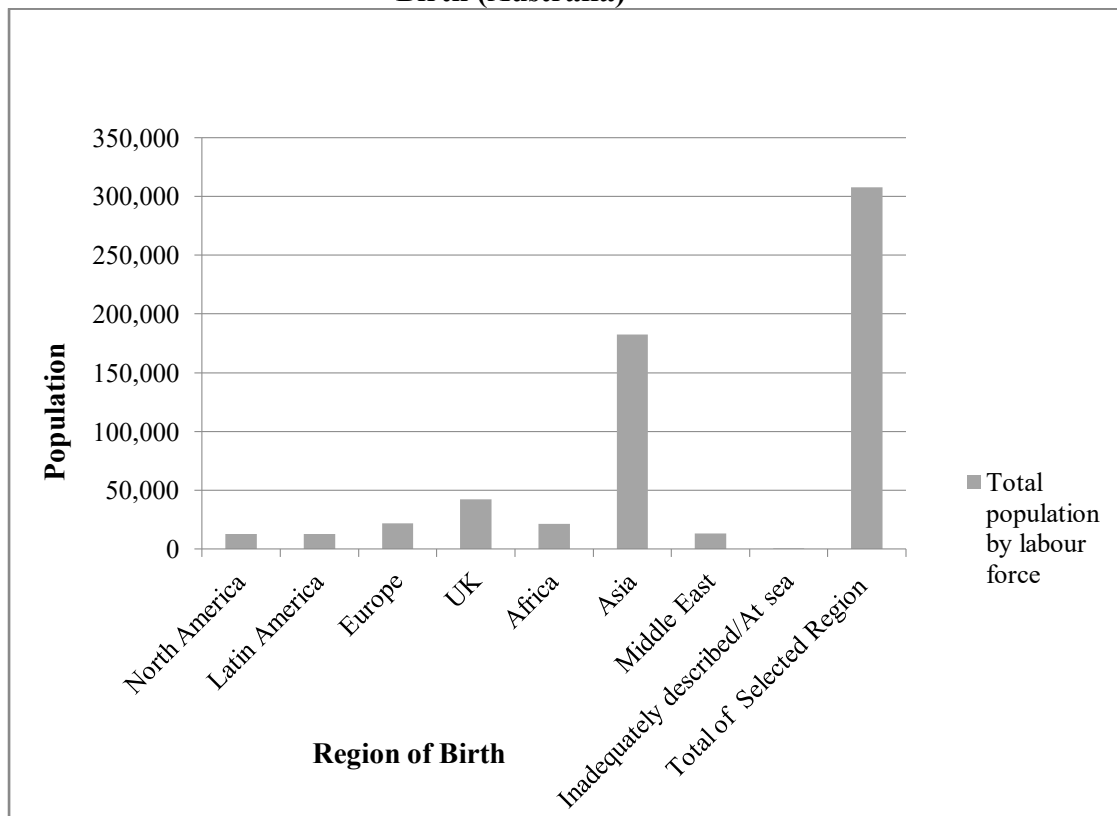
Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011

*In Canada the Middle East includes West Central Asia

Characteristics of Degree-Qualified Immigrants in Australia, Age 25-64, 2006-2011

In Australia, the number of degree-qualified immigrants in the age group of 25-64 who arrived from North America, Latin America, Europe, the UK, Africa, Asia and the Middle East the year 2006-2011, was 307,463 (Figure 8.3). Figure 8.4 shows the number of degree-qualified migrants who arrived in Australia in percentages. Similar to Canada, immigrants from Asia accounted for the largest 182,359 (close to 60%) share of the degree-qualified immigrants who arrived in that period in Australia (Figure 8.3). Degree-qualified immigrants from the UK who arrived in Australia were 42,509 (Figure 8.3); about four times the number who arrived in Canada (see Figure 8.1). In total degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally non-preferred regions (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East) accounted for 74.7% (159,577) of all degree-qualified immigrants in the selected regions who arrived in Australia in the period 2006-2011 (Figure 8.3 & 8.4).

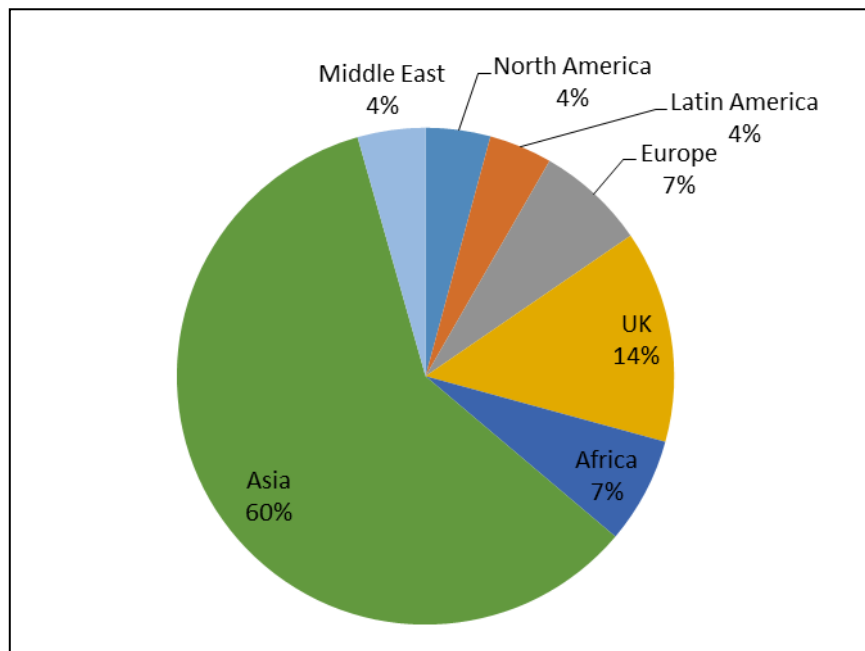
Figure 8. 3 Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011 by Region of Birth (Australia)



Source: Based on ABS Customised Data 2011

Degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally English-speaking regions of North America and the UK constituted about 18.03% (47,600) while the rest of Europe contributed 7.14% (16,939) making a total of 25.17% (64,539) for the traditionally preferred regions (Figure 8.4). Australia has a higher proportion of degree-qualified immigrants from English-speaking regions of North America and the UK (18.03%) (Figure 8.4) in comparison to Canada (6%) (Figure 8.2). It shows Australia's preference to maintain higher levels of degree-qualified migrants from English-speaking backgrounds in comparison to Canada (see Figure 8.2).

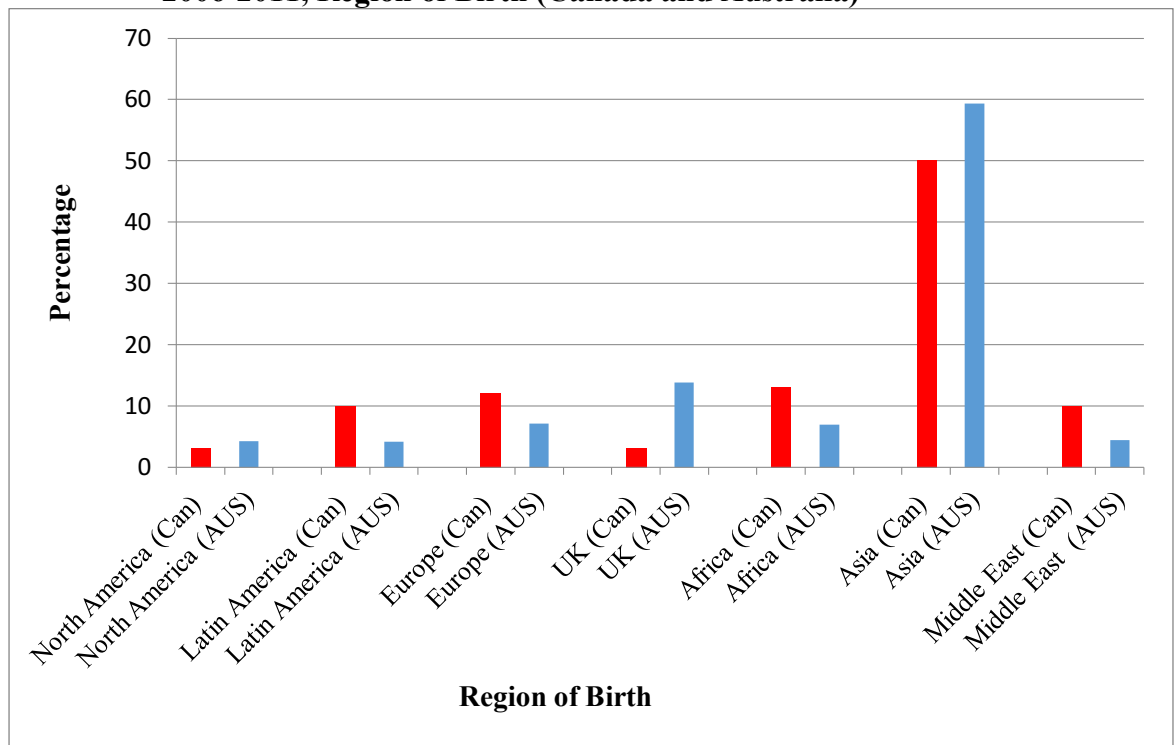
Figure 8. 4 Degree-Qualified Immigrants, Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011 by Region of Birth in Percentage (Australia)



Source: Based on ABS Customised Data 2011

The data shows that Canada and Australia currently receive a larger proportion of its culturally diverse degree-qualified immigrant workforce from the non-traditional source regions 83% and 74.7% respectively (Figure 8.5). It is an indication that the culturally diverse SIs from the non-traditional source regions contribute a significant proportion of the degree-qualified immigrant workforce in Canada and Australia in comparison to the traditionally preferred regions. Figure 8.5 shows comparative proportions of degree-qualified immigrants who migrated to Canada and Australia in 2006-2011. The increased number of degree-qualified immigrants from the non-traditional source regions proves that these immigrant cohorts have no difficulty meeting the immigration policies' criteria which emphasise human capital attributes. But the question is *how effectively do Canada and Australia integrate their culturally diverse SIs?*

Figure 8. 5 Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Labour Force Status, Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

This chapter examines the labour market outcomes (LMOs) of degree-qualified migrants according to:

- 1) Participation rate
- 2) Employment rate
- 3) Unemployment, participation
- 4) Not in the labour force rate
- 5) Occupational outcomes at management skill level
- 6) Occupational outcomes at professional skill level
- 7) Occupational outcomes at all other occupational skill and group levels
- 8) Occupational outcomes at labourer occupational skill levels

By examining the above dimensions, this chapter seeks to understand the extent of:

- 1) Employment match to qualifications/skill level at university degree level or a achievement of a close match to qualifications/skill level at university degree level

- 2) Skill utilisation
- 3) Equitable labour market outcomes for the SI group
- 4) Indication of employment outcomes based on merit or qualifications rather than culture or social identity as experienced by the degree-qualified SI group.

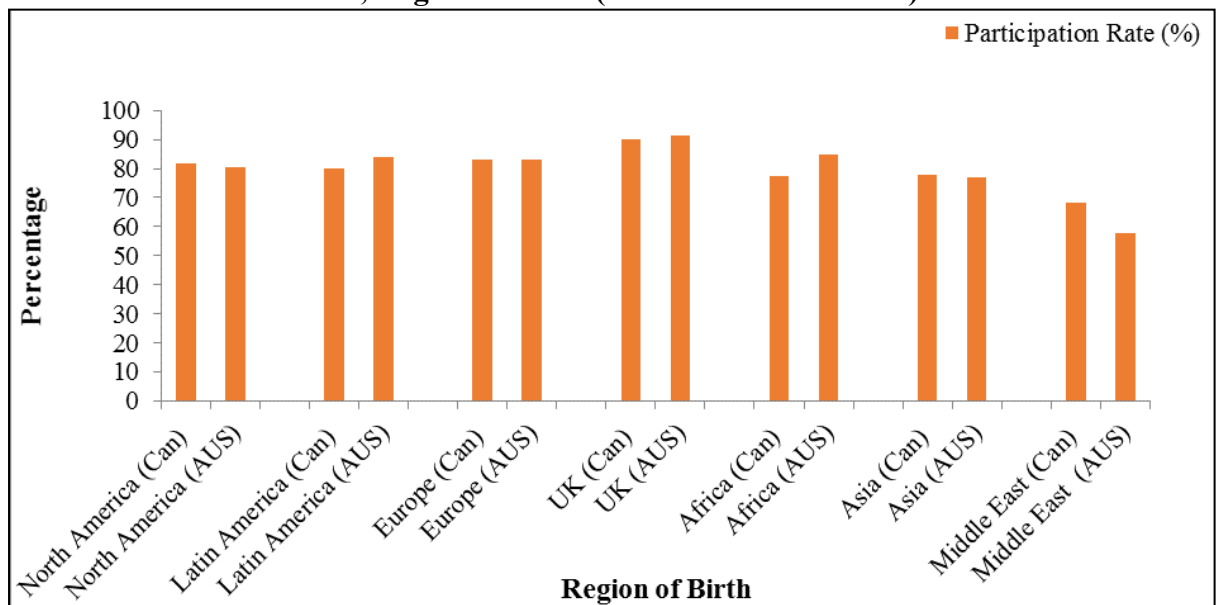
The next section provides results of the labour market analysis of degree-qualified immigrants in both Canada and Australia.

Results of the Labour Market Outcomes in Participation, Employment, Unemployment and Not in the Labour Force Rates

(1) Participation Rates

Figure 8.6 shows the participation rates for the degree-qualified migrants. The results show that degree-qualified migrants from the UK in both Canada (89.9%) and Australia (91.4%) had the highest rates of participation compared to all the other selected regions and compared to all other source regions (Figure 8.6). In Canada, the source region with the higher participation rate was Europe (83.0%), followed by North America (81.9%), Latin America (79.9%), Asia (78.0%), Africa (77.6 %,) and the Middle East (68.2%) in that order (Figure 8.6). Degree-qualified migrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle East experienced much lower participation rates in Canada, with individuals from the Middle East having the lowest participation rate in comparison to all the other regions (Figure 8.6).

Figure 8.6 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

Nonetheless, the results show that degree-qualified immigrants from Asia (78% in Canada; 76.8% in Australia) and the Middle East (68.2% in Canada and 57.7% in Australia) have higher participation rates in Canada than in Australia (Figure 8.6). In Australia, degree-qualified migrants from Asia (76.8%) and the Middle East (57.7%) had lower participation rates compared to all degree-qualified migrants from other regions and in both countries. It shows that the degree-qualified migrants from Asia and the Middle East have better participation outcomes in Canada than in Australia. Arguably this is due to the specific effect of the EEA on minority groups including the VM group in Canada.

On the other hand, in Australia, degree-qualified immigrants from Africa (84.7%) are more likely to attain better participations rates in comparison to those in Canada (77.6%) (Figure 8.6). This can be attributed to Australia’s large intake of South African English-speaking background migrants. South Africa is one of the top main-English-speaking sources for immigrants to Australia (ABS 3412.0 - Migration Australia 2015-2016). This might have

augmented the overall participation rates for degree-qualified immigrants from Africa. Similar to Canada, in Australia, degree-qualified immigrants from the Middle East (57.7%) had the lowest participation rate in comparison to all other degree-qualified migrants who arrived in Australia from other regions (Figure 8.6). This indicates that, in both countries, the degree-qualified immigrants from the Middle East (57.7%) had the lowest participation rates (Figure 8.6).

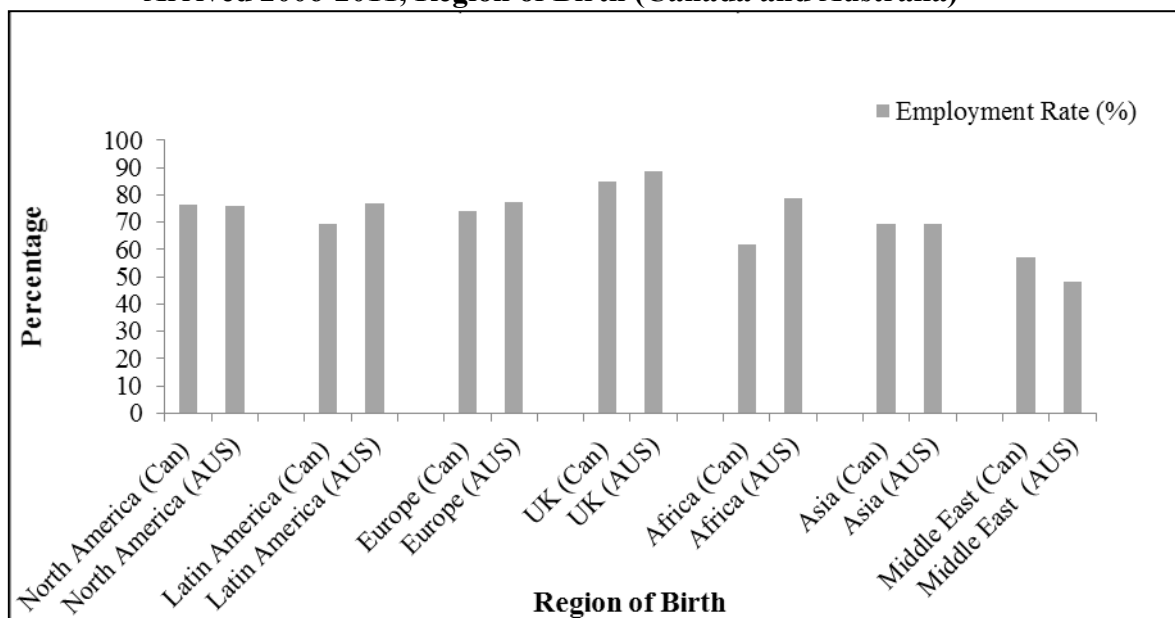
The lowest participation rates among the degree-qualified Middle Eastern migrants in both Canada and Australia may be due to several reasons. Perhaps the degree-qualified Middle Eastern migrants are not finding employment that matches their skill and so are not engaged in the labour market or may be involved in further education. Yet, for the group to have such poor participation rates in both Canada and Australia may also signal something different. It may possibly be due to the negative effects of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and other similar trends causing fear of religious and cultural differences within employment. Some studies have found similar outcomes (see Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007, p.70). This is an indication that religious and cultural differences may exert an influence on the labour market in spite of public policies to support migrants' and minorities' integration and the promotion of cultural diversity, fairness and equity. The results show a gap between policy intents and what occurs in the labour market. This suggests lack of cultural competence by employers in dealing with people from different cultural backgrounds as a result of fear of the unknown. Fear of immigrants (Mares 2016) with dissimilar cultures has been a significant issue in Canada and Australia (see Hawkins 1991).

(2) Employment Rates

Regarding employment rates, the results show that in both Canada and Australia degree-qualified immigrants from the UK attained the highest employment rates (84.9% in Canada

and 88.8% in Australia) (Figure 8.7). In Canada, degree-qualified migrants from Latin America (69.5%), Africa (61.8%), Asia (69.5%), and the Middle East (56.9%) had lower employment rates compared to degree-qualified migrants from the UK (84.9%), North America (76.2%) and Europe (74.2%) (Figure 8.7). Degree-qualified migrants from the Middle East (56.9%) had the lowest employment rates in Canada.

Figure 8.7 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

Similar to Canada, in Australia, degree-qualified migrants from the Middle East (48.0%) had the lowest employment rates in comparison to all degree-qualified migrants from all other regions and also in comparison to all degree-qualified migrants in Canada (Figure 8.7). The results show that the degree-qualified migrants from the Middle East experience disadvantaged employment rates in both Canada and Australia but are worse off in Australia (Figure 8.7).

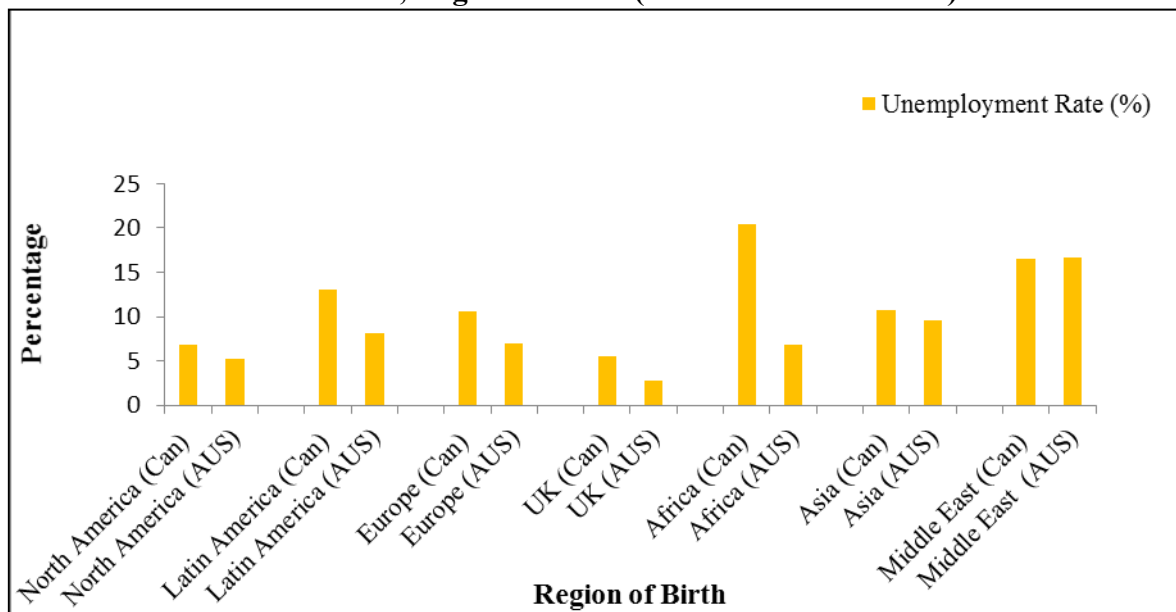
On the other hand, in Australia, degree-qualified migrants from Africa (78.6%) had the second highest employment rate (Figure 8.7) compared to their counterpart in Canada

61.8% (Figure 8.7). This again can be due to the large proportion of Africans who arrive under the Australian migration programs as English-speaking South Africans as explained previously.

(3) Unemployment Rates

In terms of unemployment outcomes, the results demonstrate that degree-qualified immigrants from the UK (5.5% in Canada; 2.8% in Australia) had the lowest unemployment rates in comparison to degree-qualified migrants from all other regions (Figure 8.8). This was followed by individuals from North America (6.9% in Canada; 5.2% in Australia) and Europe (10.6% in Canada; 7% in Australia) while all the other groups had much higher unemployment rates (Figure 8.8). In particular, degree-qualified immigrants from Africa (20.4%) had the highest unemployment rate in Canada whereas those from the Middle East (16.6%) in Australia experienced the worst unemployment rate in comparison to all other source regions, (Figure 8.8). Degree-qualified immigrants in Australia have lower unemployment rates than those in Canada. However it is important to know that in Canada, ‘full-time students looking for full-time work who are not employed and are available for work are considered unemployed’ (NHS Dictionary 2011, p.224-225). This could explain the reason for higher unemployment rates among the Canadian SIs.

Figure 8. 8 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)

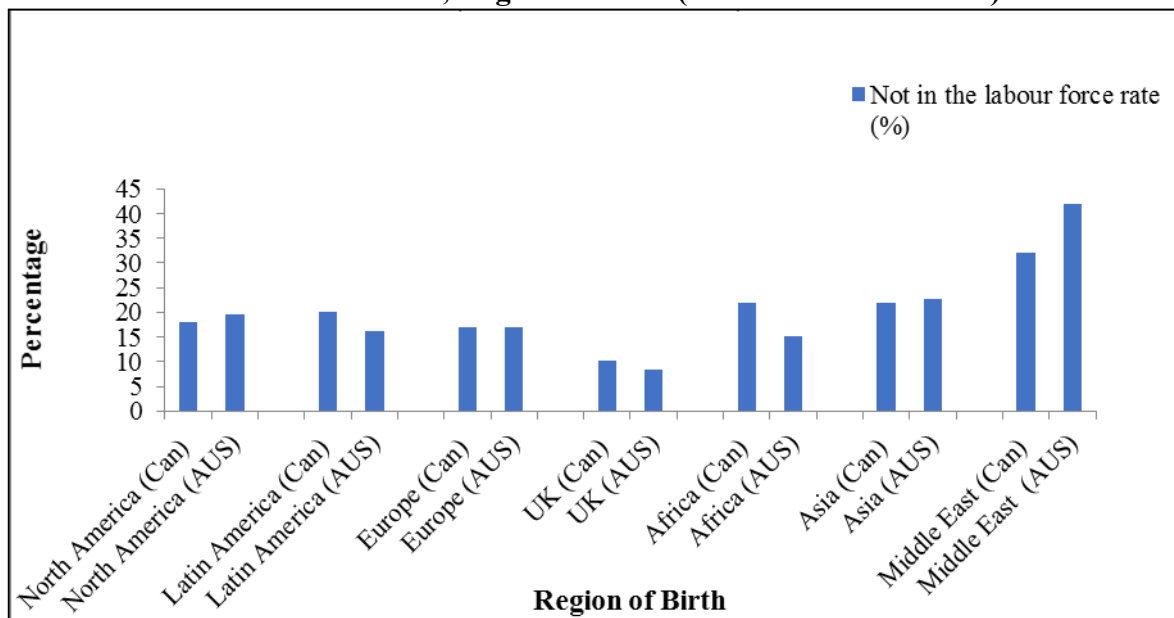


Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

(4) Not in the Labour Force Rates

Regarding degree-qualified migrants who were not in the labour force, individuals from the UK (10.09% in Canada; 8.41% in Australia) had the lowest proportion of migrants not being in the labour force (Figure 8.9). All the rest of the degree-qualified migrants from other regions had much higher ‘not in the labour force’ rates in comparison to individuals from the UK. However, degree-qualified migrants from the Middle East (32% in Canada and 42% in Australia) had much higher ‘not in the labour force’ rates than all other regions in both countries. The higher not in the labour force rates for Middle East SIs may be for similar reasons as explained previously for participation, employment and unemployment rates. The next section sums up the results of the employment outcomes.

Figure 8.9 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

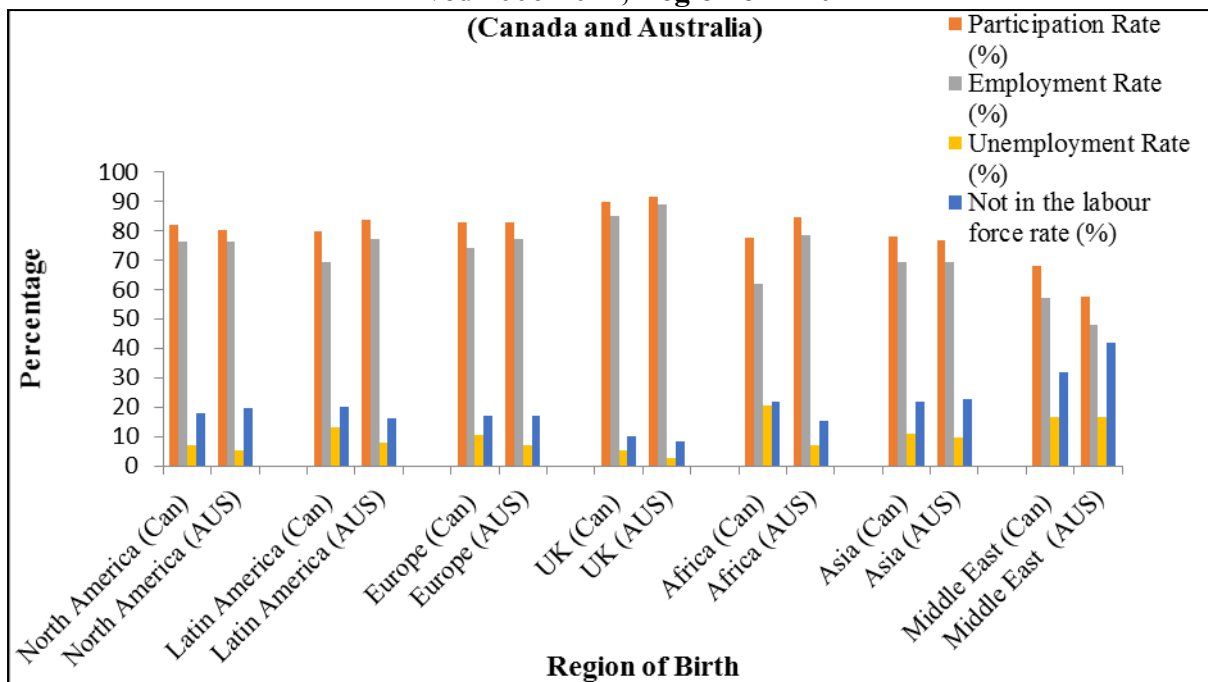
Summary of Labour Market Outcomes in Participation, Employment, Unemployment and Not in the Labour Force Rates

From this analysis it can be seen that the employment outcomes of SIs from Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East are lower in comparable terms than those from the UK, North America and Europe. Across all the employment measures, degree-qualified SIs from the UK in particular and North America attained more advantageous labour market outcomes compared to migrants from the other source regions.

However, while the degree-qualified immigrants from Asia and Middle East did not perform well in the labour market in both Canada and Australia, these had comparatively better participation rates (Asia 78.0% in Canada compared to 76.8% in Australia; Middle East 68.2% in Canada compared to 57.7% in Australia) and employment rate (Asia 69.5% in Canada and 69.4% in Australia (similar); Middle East 56.9% compared to Canada; 48.0% in Australia) in Canada than in Australia. This could be attributed to the effect of the EEA that

specifically caters for VM groups in Canada. There were no significant differences in unemployment outcomes for individuals from Asia (10.85% in Canada; 9.6% in Australia) and the Middle East (16.5% in Canada; 16.6% in Australia) in Canada and Australia (Figure 8.10). Similarly, there were similarities in the ‘not in the labour force outcomes’ for degree-qualified immigrants from Asia (22% in Canada compared to 22.77% in Australia) in both Canada and Australia. There was however, a marked difference in the not in the labour force outcomes for individuals from the Middle East (32% in Canada; 42.0% in Australia). These are significant policy issues that need attention.

Figure 8. 10 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

Considering all the individual outcomes, while degree-qualified immigrants from Asia and the Middle East were more disadvantaged in the labour market in both Canada and Australia, these groups were more likely to gain better labour market outcomes (participation, employment, unemployment and not in the labour force rates) in Canada than in Australia.

This could illustrate Canada's ability in integrating culturally diverse SIs than Australia considering that this group constitute the larger proportion of the migrant cohorts.

On the other hand, in relative terms, in Australia, greater participation was gained by the degree-qualified immigrants from Latin America (79.9% in Canada compared to 83.3% in Australia) and Africa (77.6% in Canada compared to 84.7% in Australia) as well as better employment outcomes (Latin America 69.5% in Canada compared to 77.0% in Australia; Africa 61.8% in Canada compared to 78.6% in Australia) in Australia than in Canada. There were also some differences in unemployment outcomes (Latin America 13.0% in Canada compared to 8.1% in Australia; Africa 20.4% in Canada compared to 6.9% in Australia) for individuals from Latin America and Africa in Canada and Australia.

As already pointed out, 'full-time students looking for full-time work who are not employed and are available for work are considered unemployed' in Canada (NHS Dictionary 2011, p.225). This is a possible contributor to the differences in the unemployment rates for the degree-qualified immigrants in Canada in comparison to Australia. Similarly, there were significant difference in the not in the labour force outcomes (Latin America 20% in Canada and 16.06% in Australia; Africa 22% in Canada and 15.07% in Australia) for degree-qualified immigrants from Latin America and Africa in both Canada and Australia (Figure 8.10). It is important to note that, in the period of the NHS data collection in 2011 the unemployment rate in Canada was 7.8% (NHS Canada's Labour Force 2011) compared to 5.2% in Australia in October 2011 (ABS 6202.0 - Labour Force Australia 2011). This places Australia as a much stronger economic environment for degree-qualified immigrants to perform better in the labour market in comparison to Canada.

Accounting for all the individual variable outcomes, the results show that degree-qualified immigrants from Latin America and Africa were more likely to gain better labour

market outcomes (in terms of participation, employment, unemployment and not in the labour force rates) in Australia than Canada, though their outcomes were inferior to those of SIs from the UK. It is important to note that Australia selects significant numbers of South African migrants of English-speaking backgrounds of European descents. This could have contributed to their employment gains in Australia in comparison to Canada.

It is also important to note that Canada received a larger number 292,065 (83%) (See Figure 8.1 & 8.2) of degree-qualified immigrants from culturally diverse regions (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East) in comparison to 159,577 (74.7%) in Australia (see Figure 8.3 & 8.4). Australia selected about four times (42,509) the number of degree-qualified immigrants from the UK in comparison to Canada. Apart from Asia, the UK is the second largest source region for Australia in comparison to Canada where UK made the lowest source region among the degree-qualified migrants in this study. This demonstrates that Canada has a greater responsibility of integrating culturally diverse SIs than Australia (although it has a larger economy). The lower proportion of degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally non-preferred regions (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East) in Australia compared to Canada places Australia at an advantageous position to integrate relatively fewer culturally diverse SIs.

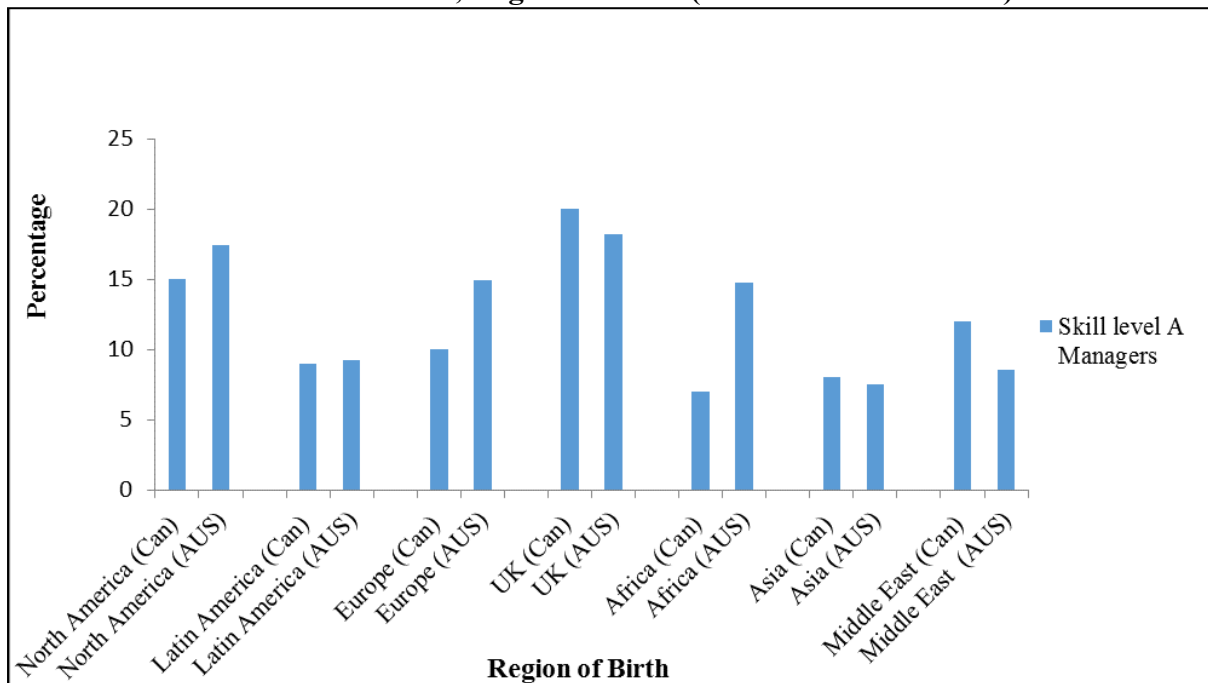
Results of the Labour Market Outcomes at Occupational Skill Levels

(5) Occupational Outcomes at Management Skill Level

Figure 8.11 shows occupational outcomes at management levels (skill level A in Canada or skill level 1, 2 in Australia). In Canada management occupations are assigned to skill level A (university degree level) while in Australia they are assigned to skill level 1 or 2 (that is Bachelor's degree (skill level 1) or Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma (skill level 2)). These occupations are at the top of all organisational hierarchies and therefore

are characterised by high levels of responsibility, accountability and subject matter expertise gained through either formal education or extensive occupational experience (NOC 2011). In terms of management level occupational outcomes, degree-qualified migrants from the UK in Canada (20%) and Australia (18.25%) had the highest outcomes at management occupational skill level in comparison to all individuals from other regions (Figure 8.11). This is an over-representation of degree-qualified migrants from the UK in management positions in Canada and Australia given that they constitute only 3% and 13.83% respectively of the degree-qualified immigrants. This was followed by individuals from North America (15% in Canada and 17.43% in Australia) who had better outcomes at management occupational skill level compared to the rest of the regions (Figure 8.11).

Figure 8. 11 Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011
 Skill level A (Managers) as used in Canada is a variant of skill level 1 & 2 in Australia in this study

Contrary to employment outcomes in participation, employment, unemployment and not in the labour force rates where the degree-qualified immigrants from the Middle East were more disadvantaged than all the groups in both Canada and Australia, degree-qualified migrants from the Middle East were better represented in management occupation positions in Canada (12%) compared to Australia (8.47%) (Figure 8.11). In Canada, apart from individuals from the UK and North America, the degree-qualified immigrants from the Middle East had better employment outcomes at management occupational skill levels than all the other regions (Figures 8.11).

In Australia, individuals from Europe (14.89%) and Africa (14.48%) gained identical outcomes at management skill level while individuals from Latin America (9.23%), Middle East (8.47%) and Asia (7.48%) gained somewhat similar occupational outcomes at management level (Figure 8.11). There were not many differences in the occupational outcomes at management level for degree-qualified migrants from Latin America (9% in Canada; 9.23% in Australia) and Asia (8.5% in Canada; 7.48% in Australia) in both Canada and Australia. Nonetheless, those degree-qualified migrants from Africa are twice as likely to attain management occupational skill outcomes in Australia (14.74%) than those in Canada (7%) (Figure 8.11). As mentioned earlier, South African migrants of English-speaking backgrounds feature well in the Australian migration program and this could be a contributing factor for their employment success in Australia in comparison to those in Canada.

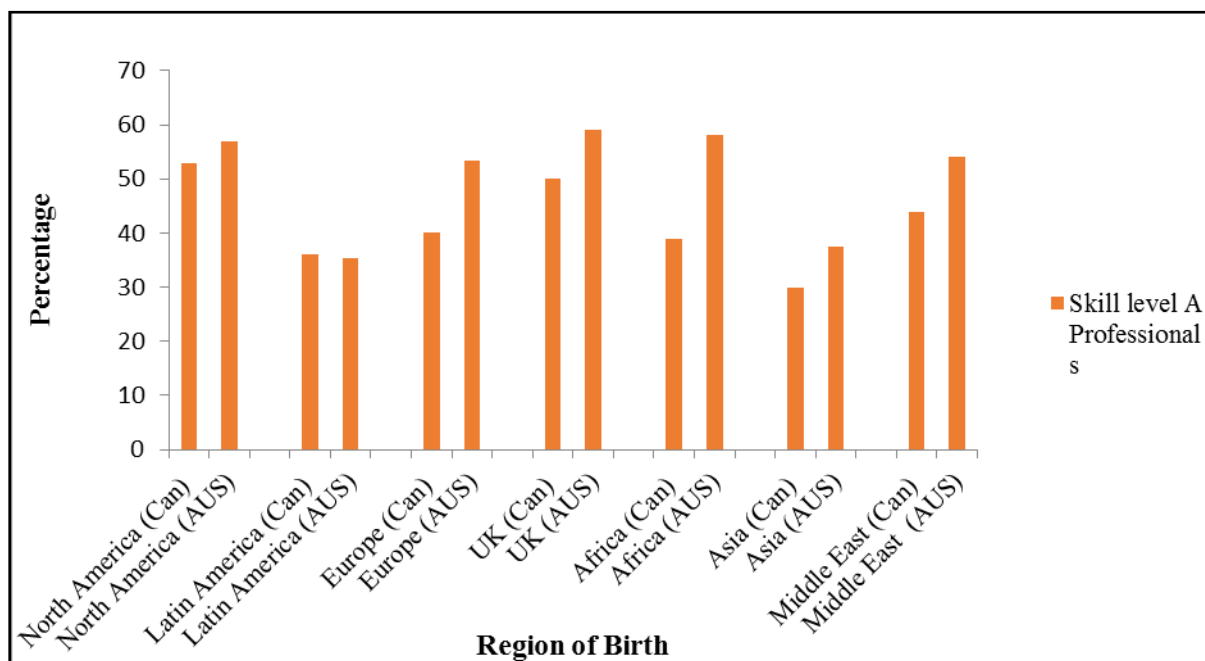
Overall, at the management occupational skill level, degree-qualified migrants from the UK attained the highest outcomes. Individuals from Africa in Canada (8%) and those from Asia in Australia (7.48%) were the least likely to obtain occupational outcomes at the

management skill level (Figure 8.11). The fact that degree-qualified migrants from the UK attained the highest outcomes in management occupations suggests the operation of in-group versus out-group employment outcome tendencies at work (see Gudykunst & Kim 1997; Tajfel & Turner 1979) in the labour market. Degree-qualified migrants from the UK have strong cultural and ethnic similarities to the dominant cultural groups in both Canada and Australia.

(6) Occupational Outcomes at Professional Skill Level

Figure 8.12 shows occupational outcomes at professional levels (skill level A in Canada and skill level 1 in Australia). Canada and Australia assign similar skill levels (university degree level) to professional occupations. At the professional skill level, degree-qualified migrants from the UK (59.01%) gained the highest employment outcomes compared to degree-qualified migrants from all other regions in Australia as well as in Canada (Figure 8.12). In Canada, degree-qualified migrants from North America (53%) attained the highest professional outcomes in comparison to all other regions. Again contrary to the earlier labour market outcomes (in participation, employment, unemployment and not in the labour force rates), in regard to occupational skill level outcomes in Canada, apart from the degree-qualified immigrants from North America (53%) and the UK (50%), individuals from the Middle East (44%) achieved the highest professional occupational outcomes than all the other regions (Figure 8.12).

Figure 8. 12 Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

- Skill level A (Professionals) as used in Canada is a variant of skill level 1 in Australia in this study
- Skill level A in Canada usually need a degree from a university for these jobs
- In Australia the professional group classification usually require Bachelor degree or higher qualification (skill level 1) or at least five years of relevant experience.

Also in Australia, apart from the UK (59.01%), Africa (58.08%), and North America (56.89%), degree-qualified immigrants from the Middle East (54.16%) attained better professional occupational outcomes than individuals from Europe (53.33%), Asia (37.44) and Latin America (35.45%). In general, with the exception of Latin America, degree-qualified immigrants who arrived in 2006-2011 in Australia attained higher professional occupational skill outcomes than their counterparts in Canada (Figure 8.12).

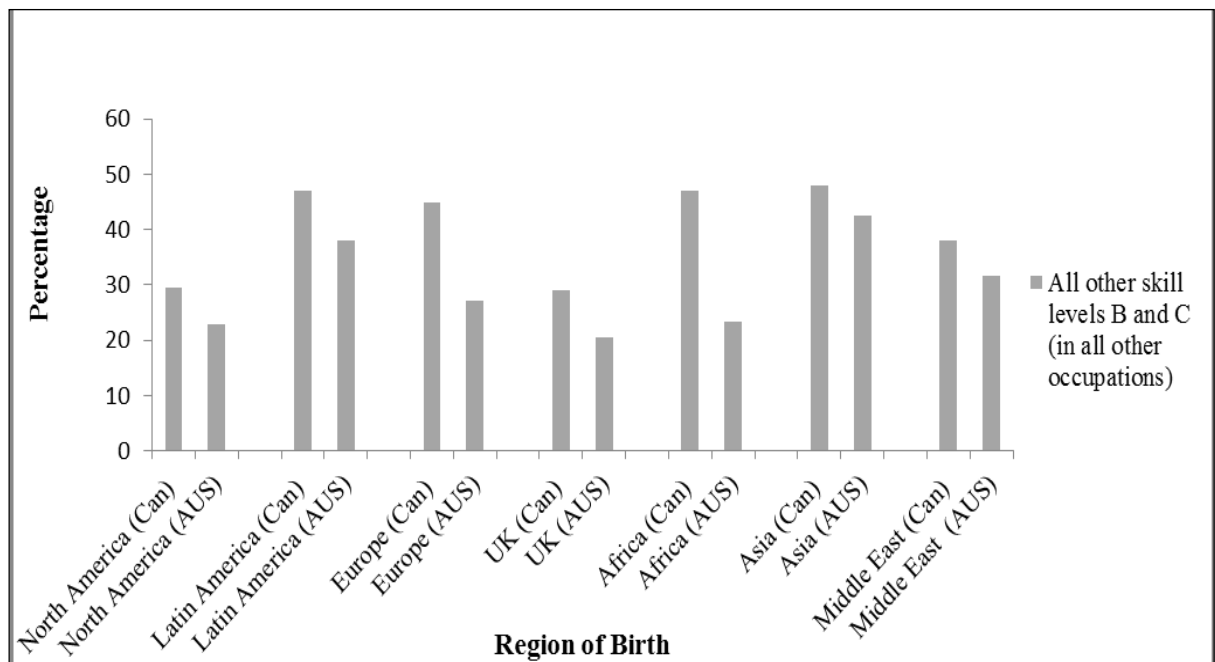
Nonetheless, the results also show that degree-qualified immigrants from English-speaking backgrounds and culturally similar backgrounds (in particular the UK and North

America) attained more advantageous occupational outcomes than those from non-English-speaking backgrounds. This is a paradox given that all are degree-qualified migrants.

(7) Occupational Outcomes at All Other Occupational Skill Levels (except labourer jobs)

Comparatively lower proportions of degree-qualified immigrants from the UK (29.09% in Canada; 20.53% in Australia) and North America (29.53% in Canada; 23.03% in Australia) worked in other occupational skill levels (All other skill levels B and C in all other occupations in Canada and all other occupations except Labourer jobs in Australia) in comparison to individuals from all the other regions in both Canada and Australia (Figure 8.13). In contrast, higher proportions of degree-qualified immigrants in Canada from Asia (48%), Latin America (47%), Africa (47%) and Europe (45%) were working in occupational skill levels lower than professional or management levels (Figure 8.13) than their counterparts in Australia (Asia 42.48%; Latin America 38.1%; Africa 23.29%; Europe 27.18%). Overall, degree-qualified immigrants from Asia (48% in Canada 42.48% in Australia) constituted the largest proportion of groups working in all other occupations (occupations at skill levels lower than qualifications at management or professional skill level) in comparison to the rest of the source regions, in both Canada and Australia (Figure 8.13). This shows significant gap between public policies that select for effective integration, diversity and equity management in relation to the labour market outcomes.

Figure 8. 13 Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

- All other skill levels refer to levels B and C (in all other occupations) as classified in Canada including technical jobs and skilled trades and intermediate jobs
- All other skill levels B technical jobs and skilled trades (usually need college diploma or to train as an apprentice to do these jobs) and C intermediate jobs (usually need high school and/or job-specific training)
- All other skill levels B & C in all other occupations (in Canada) are identified as variants of all other occupational skill levels 2, 3, 4, 5 in Australia in the study (AQF Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma (skill level 2); AQF Certificate IV or AQF Certificate III including at least two years of on-the-job training (Skill level 3); AQF Certificate II or III (Skill level 4).; AQF Certificate I or compulsory secondary education (Skill level 5) for occupational groups including Technicians and Trades Workers; Community and Personal Service Workers; Clerical and Administrative Workers; Sales Workers; Machinery Operators and Drivers (except labourer job). Labourer jobs are treated separately from these categories.

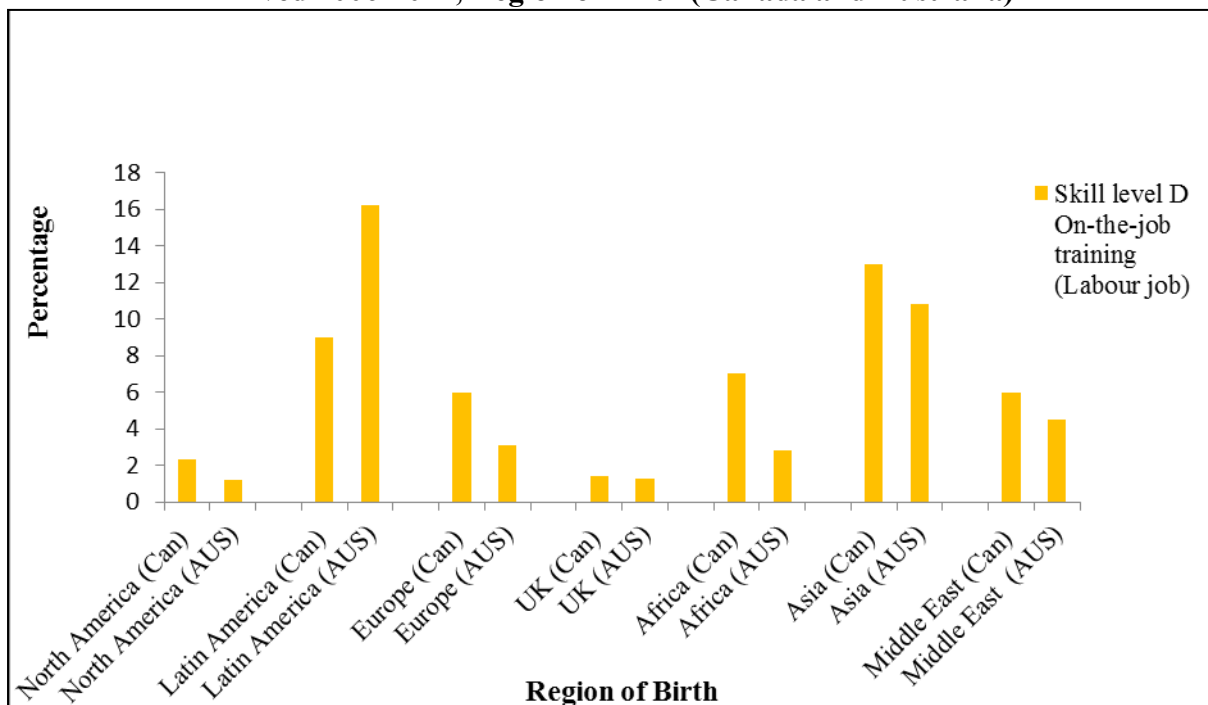
The higher proportions of culturally diverse SIs working in low level occupations indicate issues of employment-qualification or skill mismatch (see also e.g. Mahmud et al. 2014; Reitz et al. 2014), under-utilisation (see e.g. Reitz et al. 2014; Reitz 2001) and a sign of poor cultural diversity management in spite of multicultural policies and employment legislation in the labour market. It shows the lack of equitable employment outcomes in comparison to individuals from the traditionally preferred regions. This confirms that not all culturally diverse SIs have attained employment that commensurate with their qualifications

or skills. It also reveals labour market inequities based on social identity as cultural identity takes pre-eminence over human capital endowments.

(8) Occupational Outcomes at the Labourer Occupational Skill Level

Degree-qualified immigrants from the UK (1.45% in Canada; 1.31% in Australia) and North America (2.32% in Canada; 1.17% in Australia) were less likely to work at labouring occupational skill levels or in labouring occupations compared to their counterparts from the rest of the source regions in both Canada and Australia (Figure 8.14).

Figure 8. 14 Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

- Skill level D (in Canada) is a variant of skill level 4 & 5 (labourer job) in Australia in this study

In contrast, in Canada degree-qualified immigrants from Asia (13%) were more likely to be working in the labouring skill level or in labouring occupations compared to their counterparts from the UK (1.45% in Canada; 1.31% in Australia) and North America (2.32%

in Canada; 1.17% in Australia) (Figure 8.14). In Australia, degree-qualified immigrants from Latin America (16.19%) were more likely to be working at labouring skill level or in labouring occupations compared to their counterparts from the UK (1.45% in Canada; 1.31% in Australia) and North America (2.32% in Canada; 1.17% in Australia) (Figure 8.14). The study finds that while degree-qualified immigrants from Latin America had impressive participation (83.8%) and employment (77.0%) rate outcomes in Australia, they were the largest group to be working in labouring occupations in Australia. This shows that higher participation or employment rates are not indications of quality employment. This is because people may have higher employment or participation rate outcomes and may be driving taxis or doing cleaning jobs which may be outside their profession.

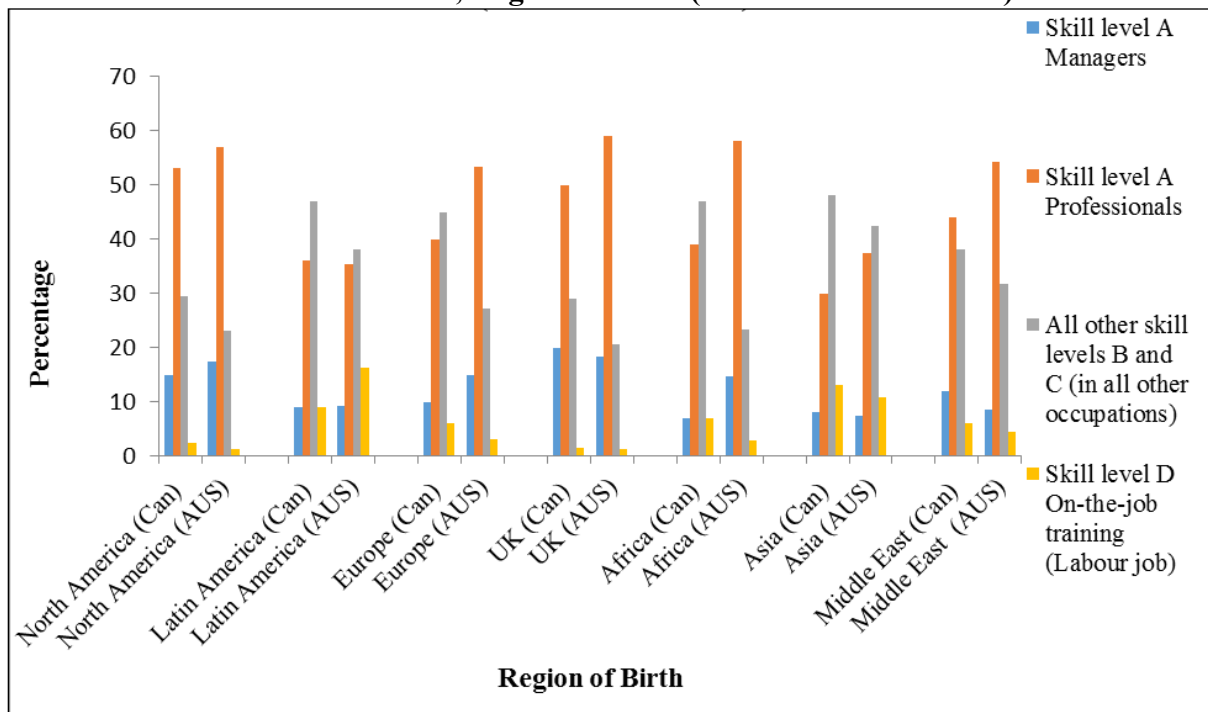
Again the results illustrate that degree-qualified immigrants from English-speaking backgrounds (the UK and North America) were the least likely to work in labouring occupations in comparison to all other source regions. This demonstrates that degree-qualified immigrants from English-speaking backgrounds enjoy favourable employment outcomes in the labour market in comparison to the rest of the source regions. A summary of the occupational outcomes are discussed in the subsequent section.

Summary and Discussion of Occupational Skill Level Outcomes

In terms of occupational skill level outcomes, the Canadian results show that degree-qualified immigrants from the UK (70%) gained advantaged occupational skill outcomes in management and professional occupations (requiring skill level A, equivalent to university degree) in comparison to their counterparts from all other regions (Figure 8.15). This was followed by those from North America (68%); the Middle East (56%), Europe (50%) Africa (46%); Latin America and Asia (38%). In comparison to all other regions, a smaller proportion of degree-qualified immigrants from the UK (30.54%) and North America

(31.85%) were working in other occupations than management or professional level occupations (Figure 8.15). Overall, in Canada, all degree-qualified immigrants who arrived from the UK in the 2006-2011 had more favourable occupational skill level outcomes compared to their counterparts from other regions. The results illustrate that degree-qualified immigrants from the UK attained a relatively high employment match to their qualifications than all the others. The study found that the degree-qualified migrants from the UK were over-represented in management and professional occupations in Canada and Australia given that they constituted only about 3% and 13.83% of the degree-qualified migrant population who arrived in Canada and Australia respectively.

Figure 8. 15 Degree-Qualified Immigrants, by Occupational Skill Levels Age 25-64, Arrived 2006-2011, Region of Birth (Canada and Australia)



Source: Based on NHS Customised Data 2011 and ABS Customised Data 2011

- Skill level A (Managers) as used in Canada is a variant of skill level 1 & 2 in Australia in this study
- Skill level A (Professionals) as used in Canada is a variant of skill level 1 in Australia in this study
- All other skill levels B & C in all other occupations (in Canada) are variants of all other occupational skill levels 2, 3, 4, 5 in Australia in this study
- Skill level D (in Canada) is a variant of skill level 4 & 5 in Australia in this study

Similarly, in Australia, the occupational category results show that, the degree-qualified migrants from the UK (77.26%) attained advantaged occupational outcomes in management and professional occupations compared to their counterparts from all other regions (Figure 8.15). This was followed by those from North America (74.32%); Africa (72.82%); Europe (68.22%); Middle East (62.63%); Asia (44.92%) and Latin America (44.68%) [Figure 8.15]. While less than a quarter (21.84%) of SIs from the UK were employed in occupational skill levels below level 1 and 2 in Australia, more than half of SIs from Latin America (54.29%) and Asia (53.32%) were employed in similar capacities in comparison to North America (24.2%); Africa (26.05%); Europe (30.32%) and the Middle East (36.23%) [Figure 8.15]. Overall, the results show statistical patterns of cultural and linguistic background impact on the labour market outcomes of degree-qualified immigrants in Canada and Australia, indicating considerable influence of culture and social identity in the employment prospects of SIs. Further discussion and interpretations of the results are provided in the next chapter.

Summary of the Labour Market Outcomes of Skilled Immigrants in Canada and Australia

This chapter drew on NHS data (2011) from Statistics Canada and ABS census data 2011 to report on the results of labour market outcomes for degree-qualified immigrants aged 25-64 who arrived in 2006-2011 from seven regions. The overall results show that even though degree-qualified immigrants from the UK in Canada and Australia constituted the minority of the SIs who arrived in the period 2006-2011, this group had advantaged labour market outcomes compared to all the other six source regions. North American degree-qualified immigrants also had a close labour market outcomes to the individuals from the UK.

The research identifies three segments of employment outcomes in the labour market according to cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The common denominators among the seven regions are that they are all degree-qualified and are all desired for their skills. Yet they have varied labour market outcomes with those from the UK and North America being (1) advantaged while others from non-English-speaking European are (2) somewhat advantaged even as others are (3) disadvantaged (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle). So overall, the study observed patterns of labour segmentation that can be grouped or classified into (1) *desired-advantaged group* (UK and North American), (2) *desired- somewhat advantaged* or *semi-advantaged* (non-English-speaking European) and (3) *desired-disadvantaged* (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle). This labour market segmentation suggests systemic labour market issues that need public policy attention.

As all the immigrants under investigation are degree-qualified, there is no indication that some individuals have superior human capital or social or cultural capital and therefore ought to attain better employment outcomes. Rather what it shows is a possible conscious or unconscious effect in the labour market to marginalise or devalue some groups of people (see Bauder 2001; Reich et al. 1973). The next chapter discusses the major findings of the study.

CHAPTER NINE

Discussion of Findings

Introduction

This chapter discusses the major findings of the study from chapters five through to chapter eight with particular emphasis on the key national policies and the labour market outcomes of skilled immigrants (SIs) using concepts that guided the study. The discussion of findings in this chapter addresses the overarching research question: *how effectively do Canada and Australia integrate their skilled immigrants?* The chapter consolidates the findings through systematic public policy analysis in chapters five (immigration policies), six [multiculturalism policies (MCPs)] and seven (employment equity legislation). It provides results of the historical comparative analysis that examines patterns of policy rationales, goals and outcomes. It then highlights challenges associated with these policies and provides possible explanations. This historical comparative analysis interconnects with the examination of the contemporary policy developments in Canada and Australia. It further discusses the current labour market outcomes sourced from NHS Customised Data (2011) and ABS Customised Data 2011 on the labour market status of degree-qualified immigrants. The strengths and the weaknesses of the qualitative analysis (public policies) are then discussed in terms of how the policies shape the overall labour market outcomes.

This discussion of the overall findings of the labour market outcomes of SIs, presented in chapter eight, provides a general discussion of the policies' effect on the labour market integration of SIs in Canada and Australia. These findings are guided by theoretical perspectives proposed within the study. Based on the findings, implications and recommendations are also presented in this chapter. The chapter argues that while the effective labour market integration of SIs is normally associated with immigration policies,

both MCPs and the legislative framework for managing diversity cannot be overlooked as they are equally relevant to the integration of migrants. Hence, the study argues that while all three key macro-national policies are designed to facilitate the integration of immigrants, of which SIs are part, the policies currently function in isolation and thus fail to fully facilitate the effective labour market integration of SIs. The chapter is structured in a way that an overview of the findings is presented before fuller discussion is given.

Key Qualitative Findings

Immigration Policies in Canada and Australia Compared

Rationale, Goals, Outcomes, Immigration Policies of Exclusions in the Pre-1960s Period

Prior to the 1960s, immigration policy rationale in Canada and Australia rested on attaining 'white nations' through goals that were developed around population, economic and nation-building and acquiring low skilled labour based on country of origin (Green & Green 2004; Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Reitz 2002). Before the 1960s, immigration policies in both Canada and Australia focused on sourcing from culturally similar counties of origin (mainly Britain and Europe) to fill labour gaps.

Through active denial, resistance and exclusionary policy a predominantly bi-cultural nation was achieved in Canada, largely because of its French and English origins, while Australia gained a mostly British population. This was supported by preferential immigration policies which accepted in-group members of similar country of origin while excluding out-group members from what were perceived to be dissimilar cultures. For instance in Australia, non-British migrants were discouraged while non-Europeans were excluded altogether (DIBP Managing Migration 2015). By 1951, residents of British origins in Canada were 48% and the French 31% while others increased to 21% (Reitz 2002). Australia in contrast gained

overwhelmingly a British sourced population (90%) by the late 1940s (see Jupp 2001; 2002) and 0.25% non-Europeans (see DIBP Managing Migration 2015). Australian population of British origins is far higher than Canada.

Prior to the 1960s, the policy approach to immigration could not provide sufficient labour from the preferred nations (Britain, USA, the Irish Free State, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) and therefore both Canada and Australia had to settle for labour from migrants who were classified at the time as ‘non-preferred’ (non-British Europeans from Southern and Eastern Europe) and even at times Chinese labour. The non-preferred migrants ended up in menial low status jobs (e.g. manufacturing, heavy industries) owing to lack of linguistic abilities (see Lever-Tracy and Quinlan 1988; Walsh 2012a), while the preferred migrants (e.g. British) with high language proficiency took the high status jobs. These were patterns of segmentation affecting individuals because of language and origins rather than technical skills.

Discussion of Immigration Policies in the Pre-1960s Periods

The trajectory of the pre-1960s immigration policies in both Canada and Australia can partly be interpreted through the neoclassical theory of push-pull factors explaining causes and effects of migration. The theory states that migration occurs as a result of differences in demand and supply (push-pull factors) of labour as economic, environmental and demographic factors push migrants out of places of origin and entice them into places where labour is needed (de Haas 2011; Kurekova 2011; Massey et al. 1993). The idea of neoclassical theory is rooted in economic development and benefits (Borjas 1989). Labour was in demand in Canada and Australia, and it was supplied by British and other European migrants in the pre-1960s. However, neoclassical theory is unable to account for the macro-structural factors involving government regulation and labour market forces driven by

employers' preferences that can lead to power inequalities (de Haas 2011). Arguably, a single theory is inadequate to explain the antecedents and impact of immigration policy.

Theoretically, it can be argued that the discriminatory immigration policy prior to the 1960s was driven by both social identity and systemic institutional forces that sought to select immigrants based on country of origin on a preferred and non-preferred basis. This suggests that selection of immigrants was based on policy that favoured 'in-groups' of preferred individuals over 'out-groups' of non-preferred migrants owing to cultural differences. It is no wonder the non-preferred immigrants were relegated to dangerous jobs such as the building of railway, and other dirty, hard, remote and unwanted jobs while those considered preferred gained higher status jobs.

In general, the immigration policy trends in Canada and Australia pre-1960s illustrate attempts by both policy-makers and locals to determine who was allowed into the country. Consequently, it can be argued that, immigration policies were designed to reflect community preferences. Yet, in both nations, during critical times of uncontrollable internal or external pressures, non-preferred immigrants were recruited to fill labour shortages. As such although the two nations gained overwhelmingly low skilled European immigrants to populate the countries and maintain social, economic and cultural uniformity, this changed in the following decades. This is what is discussed as 'the turning point' in the immigration policies of the two nations. It can be seen that from the outset, the concept of inequalities had permeated the immigration policies of the two countries. Inequalities between groups can contribute to social exclusion and societal disharmony. Therefore, it is significant that macro-national policies rather adopt an approach of fostering equity in the economy and the society rather than the opposite.

The findings suggest that successful integration has been an enduring challenge for Canada and Australia as far as non-British and non-Caucasians are concerned. Immigration policies prior to the 1960s attained the intended goals, and also met employers' demands and preferences for immigrants from similar cultural origins, while non-racially identical people of non-European backgrounds were largely excluded. The immigration policies achieved two key outcomes during the pre-1960s, and that is a populous white society and population growth for defence purposes. With white empire nation-building in mind, the immigration policies in Canada and Australia resulted in achieving white European populations with British descents representing the larger population. After all, these were the very goals of the immigration policies articulated by for example, immigration minister Arthur Calwell, 'a staunch supporter of racial purity' in Australia who cautioned against lowering the flag of white Australia (Lack & Templeton 1995; Walsh 2012a) and the sentiments of campaigns to 'Bring out a Briton' in Australia (see DIBP Managing Migration 2015; DIMA Federation to Century's End 2001). In Canada, McKenzie King also cautioned Canadians regarding making fundamental alterations to the ethnic and cultural character of the population (Green & Green 2004).

The overall results of the pre-1960s' immigration policies' rationale and goals have produced a historically dominant white population which is likely to shape how the labour market functions. For instance, as already identified, some members of society, especially individuals of British origin occupied high status employment owing to language ability while others were relegated to low status jobs. This means the larger proportion of the population (the British) in both Canada and Australia are likely to be highly represented in power positions in subsequent years and not necessarily because of their meritorious ability. This over-representation may impact the representation of non-dominant groups in similar power positions.

Secondly, the results showed that immigration policies created a psychological perception of who was accepted in the community and who was not by articulating the nations' preferences for selecting immigrants. This means immigration policies communicate the nations' principles and expectations of the society. In this regard, immigration policies did not only supply labour to meet labour market demand but also had a level of psychological (indirect) influence on the labour market, though strictly used as an entry level policy. For example, the preference for British immigrants in the 1960s indirectly superimposed desirability of some individuals over non-British migrants. This then had the potential to disadvantage the non-British migrants.

Thirdly, the analysis shows that institutional barriers and social identity have an historic dimension. For example, in the pre-1960s, non-Europeans were excluded on the basis of differences in customs, habits and mode of life (Walsh 2012a). These findings demonstrate that social identity (Tajfel & Turner 1979) influenced the attraction of immigrants on the basis of their country of origin ('in-groups'). This then had an overflow into the labour market where in-group members took up good jobs while those in the 'out-groups' were employed in low status jobs. Such developments also support the 'attraction-selection-attrition' theory developed by Schneider (1987) which asserts that individuals of similar values and attributes are attracted, selected and maintained for employment purposes. To fully understand the historic analysis, I have developed an analytical policy framework for examination of the policy trajectory in the two nations (see chapters four and five) as a contribution to the current study.

The findings demonstrate that institutional and social identity theories explain the successful or unsuccessful integration of immigrants. The implications are that if immigration policies are not framed and articulated effectively to communicate respect, equity and

harmony, they can result in producing segmented societies. What is clear from the policy analysis is that immigrant from non-preferred sourced were allowed entry into Canada and Australia in the pre-1960s not because they were *wanted* but because they were *needed* and therefore their recruitment was inevitable.

Rationale, Goals and Outcomes of the Points System Evolution, the 1960s-1970s Period

In the 1960s-1970s periods, the immigration policies in the two countries underwent significant changes. Domestic and international circumstances beyond these countries' control led to the abolition of discriminatory immigration policies in Canada and Australia (Walsh 2008; 2011; 2012a; 2012b). Globally, in the 1960s-1970s, discrimination and social injustices were criticised by proponents of racial discrimination as being inconsistent with Canadian and Australian professed liberal democratic ideologies (see Kelley & Trebilcock 1998; Knowles 2007; Ongley & Pearson 1995; Triadafilopoulos 2010). The immigration policy rationale at the time focused on the abolition of the then discriminatory approach in Canada and Australia.

Accordingly, in 1962, Canada abandoned its racial discriminatory immigration policy and adopted the points system which has continued until the present day, for the selection of immigrants on the basis of human capital attributes rather than country of origin, Australia followed suit about a decade later in 1973 (see Hawkins 1991). The new point-based system adopted in Australia and Canada involved selection of migrants from all regions including the non-preferred sources (e.g. Asian, African, Central and South American, Middle East). They emphasised selection of immigrants for labour replenishment, family re-unification and economic development (Green & Green 2004).

This study finds that the immigration policy response adopted by the two countries in the 1960s and 1970s was rather reactive in nature rather than proactively planned. Discrimination claims by both international and domestic advocates were alleged against Canada and Australia and in an attempt to avoid such allegations the point-based systems were created to select immigrants with human capital attributes (especially individuals with higher education) that would contribute to the economic interests of the nations (see Triadafilopoulos 2010; 2013). Immigration policies that emphasised skills were perceived as even more beneficial as they would reduce discrimination charges while providing useful human resources (see Triadafilopoulos 2010; 2013).

The selection of immigrants on the basis of human capital produced more immigrants who were not only highly qualified than immigrants from the traditionally preferred regions but resulted in a change in the fundamental characteristics of the nations' population. Gradually, immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds who were previously excluded from Canada and Australia increased 'by default' (Teicher et al. 2000, p.1) rather than being planned. This contributed to a noticeable increase in the cultural mix of the two countries.

It is important to note that prior to the 1960s and the 1970s, higher education was not prevalent in the regions which were considered 'non-preferred' for selection of immigrants. Nonetheless, since the 1970s; higher education enrolment has increased in these non-preferred regions (see Van der Wende 2003). Those immigrants from the previously non-preferred regions were able to contribute increased labour and skills based on the human capital criteria in contrast to migrants from European countries. This suggests that immigrants from non-preferred regions contributed significantly to the SI pool in both Canada and Australia.

Concerns about social discrimination also began to emerge in the 1960-1970s. Multiculturalism Policy was adopted by both Canada and Australia as a tool for promoting cultural values while reducing the distress of discrimination. Various anti-discrimination Acts also became necessary for combating discrimination but achieving the objectives of these Acts has been challenging. Discussion on multiculturalism and legislation will be provided later in this chapter.

Two key observations can be made in the analysis of the immigration policies in the 1960s-1970s periods in Canada and Australia. Firstly, in spite of the foundational or sociological differences between the two countries, the two countries shared very similar immigration policy approaches. The two countries gravitated towards each other even though historically, Canada was firmly built on bi-culturalism while Australia followed a mono-cultural approach. Secondly, until the 1960-1970s, Australia was trailing behind Canada by following Canadian immigration policy models.

Discussion of Immigration Policies in the 1960-1970s Periods

The rationale for shifting towards non-discriminatory immigration policy appears to be reactive in nature but in reality served the two countries economically through the selection of immigrants on the basis of human capital. Although immigration policies in Canada and Australia had not been devoid of economic goals, the 1960s-1970s' immigration policies accentuated the economic drive for labour (see Green & Green 2004; Reitz 2001). What was significant was where the bulk of immigrants with the required human capital attributes were arriving from, that is, previously overlooked regions of the world.

Officially overt discriminatory policies had given way to policies that the nations considered fair to be used for selection of immigrants; that is education, skill, or other

qualifications (see Ferrer et al. 2012; Green & Green 2004). It can be argued that the policies did not anticipate that immigrants from previously excluded regions could meet such hurdles. It was a common knowledge that the historically preferred source regions had higher educational levels compared to the non-preferred source regions. So using education as a strategic policy approach for selection of immigrants was a form of institutional barrier. Yet it soon became evident that individuals from the non-preferred source regions were more than capable of meeting selection criteria based on educational credentials. Since then the arrival of immigrants from the non-preferred nations with the needed skills have been ongoing.

The immigration policies in the 1960s-1970s suggest heavy reliance on 'labour' rather than the people. The policies articulated preferences for SIs from any region irrespective of their backgrounds but failed to strongly articulate how significant these immigrants who were selected on their human capital attributes were to the nations irrespective of their cultural backgrounds. Although the labour from the non-preferred regions was desirable for economic purposes to facilitate replenishment of low fertility rates, aging population, defence purposes and contribution to tax revenue which could alleviate some of these aforementioned issues, the humanistic value of the individuals was undervalued or under-communicated.

This suggests that while discriminatory immigration policies were abandoned, a flow-on effect to the labour market was not attained for migrants to gain equitable labour market outcomes. Perhaps, the way the immigration policies were framed did not communicate the significance of ensuring equitable labour market outcomes. The labour of the SIs 'is not a commodity' (see Taksa & Groutsis 2010; Varoufakis & Groutsis 2010, p.1) and therefore the labour of the immigrant is inseparable from the person of the immigrant deserving to be treated with dignity.

Rationale, Goals and Outcomes of Economic Migration Policies, the 1980s-1990s

This study finds that the immigration policies in the 1980s-1990s period were impacted by multiple factors including recession, low fertility and ageing population rates, globalisation; this increased the need for highly skilled and educated immigrants and the commercialisation of education (see chapter five). The findings suggest that Canada and Australia were in a period of critical change in the 1980s-1990s owing to these aforementioned factors. As a result, the rationales and goals of immigration policies in Canada and Australia were economically motivated rather than focused on non-discriminatory principles. In this instance the study finds that the immigration policies dependence on non-discriminatory policies was irrelevant because of economic motivations. Moreover, the preferred immigrant source regions were unable to contribute adequate labour to Canada and Australia due to their own issues of low fertility and ageing population (see chapter five).

The study finds that the shift in emphasis towards economic motivation in the immigration policies of the 1980s-1990s was on a different scale in comparison to previous years due to changed economic and environmental dynamics, involving the need for a skilled workforce to support the development of a knowledge economy equipped to deal with increased globalisation and new technology.

For instance, the unemployment rate in Canada reached an average annual rate of 11.4% in 1993 (Kustec 2012) and 10.7% in 1992 in Australia (ABS 1301.0 - Year Book Australia 2009-2010). These economic changes required strategic measures to sustain the nations. As a result, immigration policies that focused strongly on economic gains through the human capital model were the dominant policy approach. Seeking immigrants with skills

and financial capabilities became a significant part of the immigration policies in these two countries. In addition, education in both Canada and Australia became commercialised and began to attract significant numbers of international students who were ready to pay full fees (see chapter five), especially culturally diverse students from previously non-preferred regions.

The research finds that for the first time the intake levels of economic immigrants in Canada (1987) and Australia (1997) exceeded the family class. The numbers in the Australian skilled migration program intake levels exceeded the family stream a decade later than in Canada. This suggests that again Australia was trailing behind Canadian immigration policy trends until the 1980s-1990s. The 1980s-1990s mark the period where the phenomenon of skilled migration gained momentum. Using an economically based policy owing to sequences of factors (see chapter five), by default rather than through planning, the number of culturally diverse SIs increased dramatically in Canada and Australia, whereas the admission of immigrants from Europe waned.

Discussion of the Economic Immigration Policies 1980s-1990s Period

Whereas the 1960s-1970s can be associated with the beginning of non-discriminatory immigration policies in Canada and Australia, the study finds that the immigration policies in the 1980s-1990s were rather strongly connected with economic gains that focused on serving domestic economic needs while sustaining an advantage in the global competition for SIs. The goals of the immigration policies in Canada and Australia sought SIs irrespective of their cultural backgrounds to contribute to the economic development of the nations but had no policy intention of ensuring their labour market success or equity. Although the literature review suggested that the contribution of SIs have been vital to the economies in Canada and Australia, the labour market integration of SIs, especially those from the non-preferred

nations have been quite challenging as they continue to experience labour market disadvantages (chapter two).

The literature evidence in the 1980s-1990s showed that lack of credential recognition (see Hawthorne 2002) impacted on the labour market advancement of SIs especially those from dissimilar cultures and in particular, VM and NESB workers in Canada and Australia respectively. Studies have shown employers' preferences for SIs from English-speaking backgrounds (see Hawthorn 2005; 2007). According to the current study, these are all partly due to cultural as well as social identity factors and institutional barriers. While local education, local experience, social and cultural capitals are helpful in attaining employment in the labour market, these are all culturally biased factors that are used for social preferences and affiliations.

These factors can create institutional barriers to impede the progress of members of dissimilar cultural or social groups. Social and cultural capitals are culturally specific concepts and cannot be considered as a 'lack' on the part of migrants. The dominant cultural groups including employers and institutions in the host countries lack the appropriate social and cultural capitals in understanding foreign cultures. Borrowing from Portes (1998, p.21) words, these capitals 'bar outsiders from gaining access to the same resources through particularistic preferences'.

Rationale, Goals and Outcomes of Economic Migration, the post-2000s Period

Canadian and Australian immigration policy rationales and goals of the post-2000s are a continuation of the economic immigration policy trends of the 1980s-1990s. However, the study finds that there have been significant immigration policy changes in the post-2000s that are worth noting. These are outlined as follows:

In Canada

- (1) Canada is now following Australian immigration policy trends in this period.
- (2) Since 2008 the intake levels of the newly created Canadian experience class (CEC) class have been intensified. Temporary immigrants, for example, international students can transition to permanent residency without being required to leave Canada. Australia had provided this option to international students since 2001 (see Birrell & Healy 2008; chapter five).
- (3) Currently, Canada awards the highest points for language proficiency (28 points) in the host official languages comparison to education (25 points) which had traditionally received the highest points. This means people with superior education, yet poorer language ability would lose points. It also signals that education is no longer the top priority for Canada.
- (4) Canada now has a pre-entry qualification assessment (Australia had this since the late 1990s, see chapter five).
- (5) Canada introduced an Express entry system in 2015 to facilitate speedy migration processing time (a similar version of the Australia SkillSelect system launched in 2012)
- (6) A pre-migration language testing requirement now operates in Canada (Australia has had this approach since 1993).
- (7) Since 2000 Canada has placed a significant priority on the intake levels of the provincial and territory nominee class from admission of 1,252 migrants in the year the year 2000 to 47,628 by the year 2014 (see chapter five).
- (8) Canada's federal skilled workers class decreased from 118,591 to 67,485 by the year 2014. The overall intake levels of the Canadian federal skilled workers who are selected on points have declined from 87% in 2000 to 40.8% by 2014 (see chapter five).
- (9) Canada's economic immigrants (principal applicants) selected on the basis of education have declined from 79.9% in 2003 to 67.2% by 2011 (see chapter five; CIC Facts & Figures 2011).

These points will be discussed further after outlining the key policy changes in Australia.

In Australia

- (1) Currently, Australian immigration policy strongly focuses on employer sponsored (demand-driven) and onshore SIs rather than the offshore independent skilled migration program (supply-driven migration process prior to the 2000s).
- (2) This gives more power to employers to employ who they wish to sponsor rather than the government selecting immigrants based on the stringent points tested immigration policy criteria.
- (3) The employer sponsored migrants do not have to go through the stringent immigration policy criteria of the points test system as required of the independent SIs and yet are eligible to transition to permanent residency. It is not surprising that there have been reports of fraud, especially with the 457 temporary visas (The Sydney Morning Herald, August 7, 2014).
- (4) Since 2011 more points are awarded to SIs with advanced English proficiency, normally requiring English language aptitude that is closer to near native speaker ability (see chapter five).
- (5) Since 2012 a two-step migration system (SkillSelect) has been introduced in Australia to facilitate flexibility in selection by employers while ensuring rigorous strategic program processes. This requires prospective immigrants to lodge an expression of interest online first before an invitation to migrate is processed (see DIBP Migration Trends 2012-2013).
- (6) Australia awards the maximum points (30) to migrants who are of younger age group (25-32) in comparison to Canada (12) for age group 18-35) (see chapter five). This provides Australia with younger immigrant workforce than Canada.
- (7) Points are no longer awarded for specific occupations even though all applicants selected under the points system are required to nominate an occupation on the Skilled Occupation List (SOL) (see DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011).
- (8) The intake levels of the independent SIs have decreased from 51.5% since 2007-2008 to 34.4% by 2014-2015 (see chapter five).

Discussion of the Immigration Policies Post-2000s Period

The above findings indicate that currently, post-2000s immigration policies in the two nations are divergent yet with some similarities as Canada now models its program on Australia's. The strong focus of Australia's immigration policies on the employer sponsored

scheme and the onshore processes provides selected migrants the opportunity to have established opportunities and experiences. This contrasts with the independent SIs who have to arrive on-shore before searching for employment. This makes employment accessibility relatively easier for the employer sponsored migrants as employment is guaranteed. It will be interesting for studies to track the educational levels and the quality of employer sponsored migrants who are being added to the Australian workforce compared to those who come under the points tested system.

These policy shifts in Canada and Australia show the policy response approach adopted currently for the management of migrants. As can be noticed, the two countries no longer strongly focus on the federal skilled workers as in Canada or the independent offshore SIs (as in Australia). These changes are done to solidify quality economic services to Canada and Australia. Yet the policies do not guarantee quality employment or equal employment outcomes to SIs. The change of policy focus in Canada for example, the Canadian experience class or on the onshore migrants in Australia may help SIs with local experience gain easier employment access. Yet easier access to employment does not mean equal employment outcomes. While the strong focus on the provincial and territory nominee class or the employer sponsored employees provides employment guarantee, it is hard to know the quality of these sponsored employees. It is now already evident that the number of immigrants (principal applicants) selected on the basis of education has started declining by falling from 79.9% in 2003 to 67.2% by 2011 (CIC Facts & Figures 2011). This is a policy issue that needs further attention.

The changed immigration policies may help employers to have more control or choice of employees and attain the type of skill needed for economic purposes but do very little to ensure that SIs gain quality or equitable employment (see chapter eight). The challenge

currently is that through the operation of non-discriminatory policies, both Canada and Australia countries have attained a significant number of highly educated SIs who will be competing to gain access to employment positions commensurate with qualifications and yet these are traditionally occupied by the dominant social groups in the nations. As these immigrants tends to be more educated than the average Canadian and Australian as well as immigrants from the traditionally preferred regions, the challenge of how these SIs are equitably integrated into the labour market is something that policy-makers will have to contend with.

Currently, both Canada and Australian have shifted their immigration policy focus from selecting immigrants based on education to focusing on language ability by awarding maximum points to immigrants with superior host language ability (see chapter five). This appears to be 'selection based on language proficiency' similar to the pre-1960s when selection based on 'country of origin' was in operation. If immigration policies revert to focusing on language proficiency, then it shows that subtle historical trends are being repeated but only in a different form. 'The English language requirements appear to skew the skilled immigration program in terms of national origin and, possibly, race' (Berg 2011, p.110). Using English language as an exclusionary mechanism either through immigration policies or in the labour market connotes an impression that the states prefer immigrants who speak like them (in-group). This means language is being used as a social identity barrier to prefer people of similar cultural characteristics (the in-group) while excluding those with dissimilar cultural attributes (the out-group) (see Tajfel & Turner 1979).

Language is part of culture. When immigration policies require immigrants to possess near native language ability as it is in Australia currently (details are provided in chapter five), then the policy is perhaps asking people to jettison their cultural identity to take on

someone else's identity. While it is important to possess host language proficiency to operate effectively in the labour market, the way language is being addressed recently appears to reinvigorate the assimilation policy approach. Currently, in Australia no points are awarded for competent English but rather additional points are awarded for superior English (Berg 2011). This gives the impression that only immigrants with superior English are desirable in the community and this can have implications in the labour market for migrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds and dissimilar cultural backgrounds. Berg (2011, p.115) argues that while it is not being suggested that current language requirements are masking overtly racist intentions, 'it bears reflecting how our 'natural' expectations for English language ability in Australia's migrant populations have been influenced by decades of exclusionary practices based on ethnicity through language'.

While the immigration policy focus on stronger host language proficiency may be considered important in the employment process, the literature evidence does not suggest that SIs who are selected under the immigration policy criterion in Canada and Australia lack language proficiency. The longitudinal survey of immigrants to Australia (LSIA) reported that at least 92% of the immigrant cohorts in the study indicated some facility in English, with 38% reporting as being fluent English speakers (Richardson et al. 2001; Richardson & Lester 2004). Likewise, in Canada, the longitudinal survey of immigrants to Canada (LSIC) revealed that 78% of the skilled workers (principal applicant) category reported having English language ability even though the majority of the LSIC migrants were from Asia and the Middle East (LSIC 2005).

Although being proficient in the host language is beneficial, this does not seem to have any significant impact on finding employment (see Chui et al. 2004). Perhaps these are rather issues to do with accents and cultural differences in how people speak (see chapter two) or

negotiate social and economic relationships rather than lack of language proficiency. While having host language proficiency is helpful for both social and economic interactions, it takes another form of subtle discrimination when people are coerced to attain similar level of language ability as the native speaker. If language acquisition is the most significant issue in negotiating successful employment, then African-Americans will not have any employment issues in the USA as large proportion of them happen to have been born in that country. Yet, it is commonly known that African-Americans suffer from labour market inequities. Policy-makers need to pay more attention to why individuals who are proficient in English still experience labour market disadvantages rather than assuming superior language ability is the key to employment success.

Even though the immigration policies in both Canada and Australia today are different to the 'White Canada and Australia' era, the emphasis of using language to purposefully screen immigrants suggest to declare national preferences of identity. Therefore, it is hard to rely on only immigration policies alone for the examination of SIs' integration in the labour market. Analysis of a combination of policies sheds more light on the integration of SIs.

The emphasis of the immigration policies in the 1980s through to the Post-2000s is not only strongly economically oriented compared to the previous periods, but has also retreated from providing integration incentives to migrants who seek to migrate to these nations. Previously, immigrants to Canada and Australia were provided with travel assistance as well as land and tools to help them settle in their new environment. The current arrivals who are largely SIs are rather charged fees to migrate into these nations and are not provided with any assistance in the form of income support in the early settlement years (in the case of Australia) even though they have funded their own education. Perhaps government can partner with public and private organisations in developing internship programs that may

support the quality of transition and settlement of SIs in the two countries. At the moment such initiatives are lacking in both countries. Possibly governments can begin to cater for the relocation of SIs who are selected under the skilled migration programs just as it is commonly done for expatriates who go to work in other countries.

Though Canada and Australia have adopted the human resource management (HRM) approach to admitting SIs through attraction, selection and recruitment, there is a gap between the immigration policies and the effective integration of the recruited SIs. The immigration policies have selected immigrants on equitable criteria but unfortunately, the flow on of an equitable approach is rather absent in the labour market. There is a limited influence by policy-makers to ensure that the supplied labour (SIs) is treated responsibly according to the criteria it was selected by. The evidence of the labour market outcomes in chapter seven and chapter eight reflects the limited influence of immigration policies on the employment outcomes of SIs. Some possible reasons for this are discussed below.

Possible Reasons for Limited Immigration Policy Effectiveness

Firstly, the way the immigration policies are framed denote a one-sided outcome that will benefit the ‘countries’ instead of ensuring the equitable integration of the SIs who are selected. For instance some descriptions given to the points system, the migration program, and migrants in Australia state that:

‘the points test is a mechanism used to select skilled migrants expected to offer the greatest economic benefit to Australia’ (DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011, p.16);

‘planning the Migration Programme ... is a process that remains focused on Australia’s national interest and the longer term benefits of migration’ (DIBP Setting the Migration Program 2014, p.3);

‘many migrants bring with them vital skills, new ideas, expertise and experience which can benefit Australia in numerous and immeasurable ways’ (DIBP The Place of Migrants 2014, p.26) etc.

While these statements are indicative, they all relate to what Australia aims to gain from migrants to benefit the nation without communication of any form of responsibility towards equitable labour market integration. This is a signal that it is the labour (economics) which guide the migration processes and practice rather than ensuring continued non-discriminatory processes once SIs are selected.

These one-sided policies have not been designed to ensure the efficient integration of SIs who supposedly have been selected based on non-discriminatory basis, but rather facilitate selection of an elite workforce who will benefit the nations. Once immigration policies recruit immigrants their successful integration becomes of little interest (see Colic-Peisker 2011). The study finds that as long as SIs contribute to the economic growth of the nations, even if the immigrant ‘doctor’ becomes a ‘taxi driver (see CTV News June 26 2014; Reitz 2012b; The Age Newspaper April 7 2011; Xu 2012) it is a matter of ‘who cares?’. Yet ‘labour market integration is the single most important step toward socio-economic integration (Lodovici 2010, p.2) as employment yields income and supports individuals to live dignified lives in societies. Employment also influences individual’s status as being a contributing member of society and shapes the ‘psychological, emotional and physical elements of a person’s dignity’, self-respect and self-esteem (Aaron et al. 1989, p.112).

Summary Discussion of Immigration Policies

The findings confirm that immigration policies are efficient in screening for and selecting highly qualified professional migrants who can add to the economic development of the two nations. They contribute to population growth, improved workforce characteristics

and compensate for labour shortages for economic purposes. However, immigration policies have contributed very little to integrating highly qualified professional immigrants from non-traditional source countries. This is because firstly, immigration policies are only entry policies for selection; integration processes take place after migration and not at the point of entry. Secondly, the policies lack any form of statement that value the equitable integration of the SIs who are selected on the basis of non-discriminatory processes. Thirdly, the policies are designed to seek 'labour' (employees) for services (economy) for filling shortages in the workforce or the population but the responsibilities for these policies are lacking.

The assumption that selecting the best qualified highly SIs will contribute to their effective integration either into the labour market or the society at large is debatable. There are cultural, social and institutional barriers that subtly encourage labour market segmentations by creating preferred and non-preferred systems that tend to exclude some individuals.

In general, with the evolution of the immigrations policies in Canada and Australia until now, the policy focus has primarily been on the betterment of the countries. The policies and the programs' inability to ensure fairness and equity render them ineffective at supporting the attainment of suitable employment outcomes. Policy-makers are normally dominated by the dominant social groups and this makes it harder to understand labour market realities in relation to minority groups. Or perhaps, policy-makers are very much aware that immigrants from similar cultural groups as the dominant societal groups (in-groups) do not have labour market issues because they are part of the in-group and therefore are unconcerned (see Gudykunst & Kim 1997) about the labour market difficulties that culturally diverse individuals (out-group) face.

Multiculturalism Policies and the Labour Market Integration of Culturally Diverse Skilled Immigrants

The aim of examining the multiculturalism policies (MCPs) in Canada and Australia was to understand their role in shaping the labour market outcomes of SIs. Historically, the fact of multiculturalism was denied until its official endorsement as a concept in Canada in 1971 while Australia followed in 1973. The research initially assumed that these policies may play key roles in the overall labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs. The findings of the policies are discussed below in terms of their rationale, goals, outcomes and effectiveness in connection to SIs.

Rationale, Goals and Outcomes Multiculturalism Pre-1960s-Post-2000s

The study observed that MCPs in general terms were designed to facilitate cultural preservation (in Canada), and integration and the management of cultural diversity (in Australia). MCPs in these nations have similar yet diversified roots, rationales and goals. The key historical to contemporary policy differences in regards to MCPs between the two nations lie in the way the policies were developed and their aims:

- a) Canadian MCP acknowledged and recognised the contributions made by non-British and non-French Canadians in 1971 (Esses & Gardner 1996; Hawkins 1991; Hyman et al. 2011; Li 2000) while
- b) Australian MCP was originally adopted in 1973 for the purpose of redressing integration challenges faced by non-English-speaking European migrants (Castle 1988; Koleth 2010; Jupp 2002). Hence, historically MCP in Australia focused strongly on settlement issues rather than acknowledging and recognising the contributions of different cultural groups.

This shows that Canada and Australia have different *rationales* and goals for initiating MCPs.

From the 1980s, MCPs in Canada shifted focus to issues of equity owing to discrimination experienced during the demographic changes arising from increased numbers

of individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds (see chapter six; Li 2000). In Canada it is a binding framework for federal institutions to model in order to be more responsive to the culturally diverse populations. As such federal institutions are required to provide annual report on their responsiveness to the diverse population in Canada (CIC Evaluation of Multiculturalism Program 2012; Hyman, Meinhard & Shields 2011). While in the early 1980s the Australian Prime Minister emphasised core Australian multiculturalism values as being about equal opportunity for all groups to participate and benefit from the social, economic and political life of the country and to observe human rights, this changed to a focus on the ‘economic benefits’ of cultural diversity (see chapter six; Ho 2013).

In examining the effectiveness of MCP as a tool for the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs, the following were observed:

- (1) The MCPs in Canada and Australia operated within the *discrimination-and-fairness* and *access-and-legitimacy perspective*. The policies in the two countries currently articulate pursuits of equality and social justice by welcoming people from diverse source regions. Nonetheless MCPs in both countries gravitate strongly towards economic maximisation (see Walsh 2008). Consequently, although the economic contribution of multiculturalism is acknowledged in the MCPs, effective labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs attracts less attention.
- (2) The study finds that while MCPs appreciate cultural diversity and valorize individual cultures, this is still fashioned within a one-sided policy agenda which lacks detail on how *mutually* beneficial learning between cultures can be attained (see chapter eight)
- (3) The MCPs appear to be designed for non-dominant cultural groups of people and lack measurable goals and outcomes (see chapter eight).
- (4) The MCPs in the two nations have received a high level of social support (see chapter six; Kymlicka 2010; Reitz 2013; Markus 2015) but have failed to adequately address equitable labour market attainment.
- (5) MCPs fashioned around celebration of cultural diversity and economic benefits help the governments in Canada and Australia to benefit from selecting immigrants from

a 'multilingual, multiethnic workforce' with 'a distinct comparative advantage in the global marketplace' (Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2011; Walsh 2008, p.799).

- (6) The MCPs emphasise social justice and equity in Canada and Australia, but measurement of just and equitable outcomes of the labour market integration of SIs is lacking, although Canada is ahead in this regard as it has specific legislation for monitoring employment equity of VM groups. Incidentally, this employment equity legislation does not specifically monitor SIs.
- (7) MCPs in their current form in Canada and Australia lack a clear focus and measurable objectives in relation to SIs. Hence, SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds are still being adversely affected in their integration because 'economic integration does not represent the heart of the debate over multiculturalism' (Banting & Kymlicka 2010, p.53; see chapter six).
- (8) There is no obvious attention given to the labour market integration of SIs except in the area of credential recognition. Yet credential recognition does not guarantee fair entry into the labour market because employers are eventually the ones who judge the value of SIs credentials.
- (9) Intolerance, prejudice and discrimination are still problematic in both Canada and Australia (see CIC Evaluation of Multiculturalism Program 2012; JSCM 2013).
- (10) Institutions need more attention and support to effectively operate within the principles of the MCPs (see CIC Evaluation Division 2012)
- (11) Employers and organisations are deficient in the management of cultural diversity (see JSCM 2013).
- (12) Culturally diverse individuals are under-represented in leadership positions, especially in Australia (see AHRC 2016; chapter seven; chapter eight).

Discussion on Multiculturalism Policies in Canada and Australia

In 2009, Canadian Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism (Kenney) emphasised the need to ensure that foreign-educated professionals who arrive in Canada do not have to struggle endlessly in survival jobs while waiting for their foreign credentials to be recognised. While credential recognition is essential, it does not guarantee

equity in the labour market. What is needed is a direct linkage of the MCPs in dealing with labour market issues. This was hard to identify in this study.

Socially, most Canadians and Australians have a high regard for multiculturalism (see chapter six). Likewise, economically, the impact of MCPs is highly regarded as an economic contributor to national goals in Canada and Australia. This validates the literature evidence that discusses the management of cultural diversity for economic benefits (Bertone & Leahy 2003; Ely & Thomas 2001; Leveson, Joiner & Bakalis, 2009) and the need to mirror the diversity of the market place for customer services (Gilbert & Invancevich 2001) without necessarily focusing on equitable outcomes.

The study finds that regardless of the social and economic implications of the MCPs in the two nations, currently the policies lack a strong focus on the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs. While the policies make claims of equity, how they aim to attain equitable outcomes is rather ambiguous even though public institutions are encouraged to implement diversity programs (see chapter seven). It is evident in chapter six that in Canada institutions need assistance to become truly responsive to diversity (see CIC of Multiculturalism Program 2012). Similar evidence was located in the report by JSCM (2013) in chapter six of the need for cultural competence at the workplace to support the effective integration of immigrants. This is owing to lack of respect and understanding of cultural diversity and the need for national leadership on multiculturalism (JSCM 2013).

In the literature (see chapter two), some writers argued that culturally diverse SIs experience labour market disadvantages owing to a lack of cultural capital. But then again, the question is whose culture should be learned? (Yosso 2005). Should it not be a mutual learning practice? From the evidence of the labour market outcomes in chapters seven and

eight that show that employment offers are made on the basis of cultural similarities rather than merits, employers are the ones who may require cultural competence to know how to deal with SIs from foreign cultures. This was reiterated in the JSCM (2013) report. The lack of cultural competence has adversely affected culturally diverse SIs in this study as observed in chapter eight.

The research found that, currently, the focus of the MCP in Canada has shifted to the integration of youth at risk of criminality and extremism. This is quite extraordinary to see an MCP assuming the responsibilities of social services and law enforcement rather than focusing on its role as a policy for facilitating recognition and acceptance of cultural diversity and integration. This shows that the MCP is gradually stepping out of its traditional role to the area of policing culturally diverse youth. This could lead to social profiling and antagonism rather than promotion of mutual cultural respect. Such a new focus in Canada may inhibit culturally diverse youth to develop their own identity; instead they may find themselves being shaped by identities contrary to their own. This in itself can be viewed as contradicting multiculturalism and rather promoting assimilation.

While the policies claim to pursue equality and social justice by increasing the number of immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds and promoting corresponding cultural programs for sustaining and facilitating a sense of cultural diversity, their aims suggest a strong inclination towards economic benefits. Culturally diverse individuals are selected to reflect the non-discriminatory immigration policies but in fact cultural diversity is also being used as economic asset for competing in the global market (see Abu-Laban & Gilbert 2011, Australia's Multicultural Policy 2011). Consequently, MCPs in their current form appear to be macro-economically-oriented in Canada and Australia instead of focusing on the effective economic integration of culturally diverse SIs (see chapter six).

From Ely and Thomas's (2001) model, diversity is meant to be linked to multiculturalism practice as a *resource for learning* and adaptation to change. Such a strong feature is absent in the current MCPs. This implies that there is no opportunity for both dominant and minority groups to equip themselves with multicultural skills through any form of practical mutual learning. Rather what is evident in the current MCPs is that immigrants are required to learn to integrate into the host country by learning the host language, values and rule of law. There is little evidence of what the dominant societies are doing to learn from the immigrant or minority cultures to promote cultural competence. This makes the MCPs lop-sided instead of a two-way process. There appears to be no deep commitment to mutual education and learning; an aspect that is critical in the *integrative-and-learning perspective*. Perhaps employers expect migrants to rather learn organisational culture (see Niland & Champion 1990) which invariably mimic the dominant host culture and has a lop-sided demand, or possibly employers are simply hostile to cross-cultural learning (see Taksa & Groutsis 2010).

There are a few implications for the Canadian and Australian MCPs according to the Ely and Thomas' (2001) cultural diversity management *discrimination-and-fairness perspective* and *access-and-legitimacy perspective*. The *discrimination-and-fairness perspective* depicts a culturally diverse population 'as a moral imperative to ensure justice and the fair treatment of all members of society' (Ely & Thomas 2001, p.245). In this case a multicultural population is meant to be evidence of just and fair treatment of people. It also suggests that having a culturally diverse population is an indication of something good (Ely & Thomas 2001) for the nations. Yet the expectation within this concept is that people from culturally diverse groups will speak and write English to 'fit' into the dominant host culture even though cultural diversity is valued.

In the *access-and-legitimacy perspective*, multiculturalism is perceived as a business agenda (Noon & Ogbonna). It is an opportunity to gain access to potential clients of diverse backgrounds (Thomas & Ely 1996). People from culturally diverse backgrounds are perceived as essential for gaining competitive advantage (Bertone & Leahy, 2003; Ely & Thomas, 2001) in the global market.

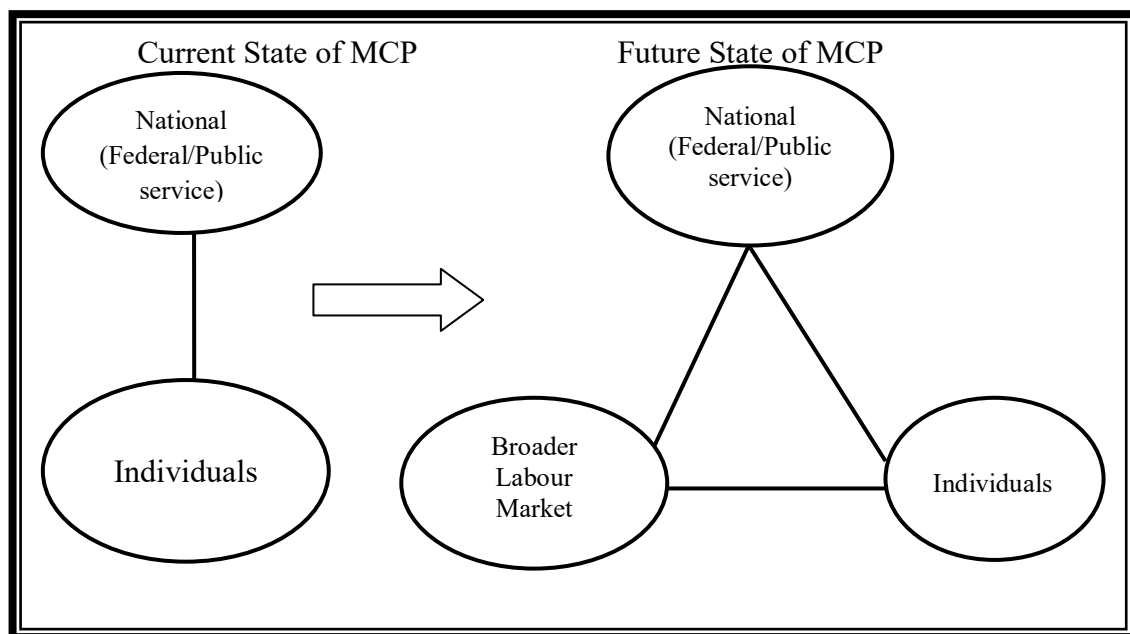
Given the recent proliferation of a culturally diverse workforce in both Canada and Australia, it is important that MCPs are linked to the labour market. This will help the policies to stay abreast of the modern immigrant cohorts which make up the bulk of the multicultural immigrants in the two nations. This will require a paradigm shift of the MCPs away from celebration of culture to focus more on fundamental issues of employment and equitable integration outcomes pertaining to the current immigrant cohorts arriving in the two nations. The current state of MCPs as value statements instead of action plan with measurable goals and outcomes contribute very little to the progress of culturally diverse SIs in the broader labour market. While the public services in both Canada and Australia are encouraged through legislation to promote cultural diversity, they make up only a very small proportion of the workforces in the two countries (see chapter seven). This means the larger portion of employers have been insulated from facilitating cultural diversity and equity as proposed by MCPs. This makes cultural diversity in the workplace to be of little importance.

The study proposes that MCPs should seek to impact at three levels: the national, the labour market (both private and public organisations, employers and institutions) and at the individual levels. The MCPs should have clear goals and measurable outcomes that can be encouraged at all levels. In particular, the MCPs should communicate mutual cultural learning to promote cultural competence. It will require specific action plans drawn by both dominant and minority policy-makers to make this successful. Dominant cultural groups will

find it hard to value minority cultural groups if they are unwilling to learn to understand their culture and vice versa.

Currently, MCPs articulated at the national level make claims of celebrating cultural diversity while promoting equity and social justice. This is to assure individuals of the promotion and upholding of cultural diversity in order to limit social conflict and disunity. By concentrating on the superficial dimensions of cuisines and festivals, core elements of addressing labour market issues, regarding employment equity and social justice are being ignored (Kymlicka 2012). Hence, tangible outcomes of equity and justice which form the basis of multiculturalism remain quite contested.

Figure 9. 1 Current Multiculturalism Policy and Proposed Future Framework



Source: This Study

Findings of Legislation and the Labour Market Integration of VM and NESB Workforce in Canada and Australia

Legislation Rationale, Goals and Outcomes

In terms of specific legislative frameworks for managing diversity and equity in employment such as Employment Equity Act in Canada and APS Act (anti-discrimination laws) in Australia, the study found that Canada and Australia have different types of legislation for facilitating diversity and equity in relation to VM and NESB workers in the public sectors:

- (1) Canada has employment equity legislation covering its culturally diverse workforce (see Agocs 2002; chapter seven) but there is no similar employment equity legislation for the culturally diverse workforce in Australia except the human rights laws (anti-discrimination legislation) (see chapter seven; Syed 2008).
- (2) The Canadian EEA seeks to correct inequity in both the public sector and the privately regulated sectors (see EEA Reoprt 2006); the APS Act 1999 provide a legal framework for the effective and fair management of the APS including elimination of employment-related disadvantages to manage a ‘workplace that is free from discrimination and recognises and utilises the diversity of the community it serves’ (APS Act 1999, Section 10C, p.6). There is no comparable legislation covering workers in the Australian private sector.
- (3) The Canadian EEA specifically aims to attain numerical representation of the targeted designated groups including the culturally diverse VM workforce but such clear goals were not identified in the APS Act 1999 except the establishment of workplace diversity programs.
- (4) The Canadian EEA sets targets for employment equity outcomes based on the labour market availability of the VM workforce whereas in Australia the government has not set an employment target for the NESB workforce, and does not have plans to do so.
- (5) The Canadian EEA covers all federally regulated private sector and public service employers with a hundred or more employees but in Australia the APS Act covers only the APS. There are 180,681 employees in the FPS in comparison to 152,430 employees in the APS (see chapter seven). Canada has a total labour force of

17,990,080 whereas Australia has 12.07 million (see chapter seven). This shows that the EEA and the APS Act cover a limited number of people in the Canadian FPS and the APS respectively.

- (6) There are four enforcement and monitoring agencies (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada; The Canadian Human Rights Commission; The Canadian Treasury Board Secretariat; The Public Service Commission) that are responsible for giving effect to the EEA in Canada in contrast to one (the Australian Public Service Commission) in Australia for reporting on the state of the APS through data collection from APS agencies.
- (7) In Canada non-compliance with the EEA may result in monetary penalties but in Australia the APS Act 1999 does not provide for similar consequences.

In terms of the employment progress of culturally diverse VM and NESB workers in the Canadian and Australia public service workforces based on the EEA and the APS Act, the study found that in general, both Canada and Australia have attained some level of integration (as in the case of general workforce representation) for the VM and NESB groups who were used as proxies for SIs in this study. However, Canadian VM group are better represented in the FPS than the NESB in Australia. On the whole:

In Canada

- (1) In terms of the general representation of the VM workforce in the Canadian federal public service workforce, there has been improvement in representation from 5.5% in 2000 to 13.8% by 2015 and currently has increased to 14.5% by 2016 (see chapter seven).
- (2) The EEA results show that VM workers are generally strongly represented in the FPS.

In Australia

- (1) Concerning the general representation of NESB workers in the APS, the proportion of APS employees of NESB fell from 15.0% in the year 2000 to 11.1% in 2001, but increased to 14.4% by 2015 and currently stands at 14.5% by 2016 (total of NESB 1 & 2) (see chapter seven). This demonstrates a slower upward growth in spite of the

increase in the population growth of the culturally diverse group. The NESB workforce (14.4%) is under-represented in the APS in comparison to their workforce availability of 16.5% in the labour market (see DIAC Trends in Migration 2010-2011).

Discussion of Legislation Impacts on the Labour Market Integration of VM and the NESB Workforce in Canada and Australia

Analysis of the Canadian EEA and the Australian APS Act 1999 Impact

The overall analysis of the Canadian EEA and the Australian APS Act 1999 can be summarised in Table 9.1. Firstly, Canada and Australia do not have comparable legislation for redressing labour market disadvantages confronting SIs of the VM and NESB workforce. Practically speaking, there is no specific employment equity legislation for the culturally diverse workforce of NESB in Australia except the human rights laws (anti-discrimination legislation). Secondly, the Canadian EEA and the APS Act 1999 policy intents are different. The EEA seeks to correct inequity; the APS Act 1999 seeks to manage the APS effectively including culturally diverse NESB employees. There appears to be a lack of result-oriented goals for NESB employees in the APS and this may make their progress slower. Thirdly, the EEA specifically aims to attain numerical representation of the targeted designated groups including the culturally diverse VM workforce. Such clear goals were not identified in the APS Act 1999. This confirms the fact that ‘the government has not set an employment target for the NESB workforce, and does not have plans to do so’ (Personal communication, Monday 18 July 2016).

Table 9. 1 Employment Legislation Relevant to VM and NESB Group in Canada and Australia

	Canada	Australia
Policy Type	• Employment Equity	• Australian Public Service Act (1999)
Development Stage	1986	1999 But has historical roots since 1902
Policy Rationale	• Response to systemic employment discrimination	• For effective management of Australian Public service
Policy Purpose/Objects	• For achieving equity in the workplace • For correcting disadvantages in the labour market	• Establish efficient public service and promote fair and effective management of all APS employees in general
Policy Goals	• Attain fair numerical representation • Achieve labour market equity throughout occupational hierarchy	• Compliance with APS Values
Target Groups	• Designated groups (Women, Aboriginal people, Persons with disabilities, Members of visible minorities)	• APS employees
Employer Responsibility	• Ensure full representation of designated groups at all job levels through planned goals and measures • Report on EEA goals annually	• Establish a workplace diversity program to assist in giving effect to the APS Values • Provide annual report
Enforcement and Monitoring agencies	• Human Resources and Skills Development Canada • The Canadian Human Rights Commission • The Canadian Treasury Board Secretariat • The Public Service Commission	• Australian Public Service Commission
Non-compliance consequences	• Monetary penalty of 50,000 • Referral cases to CHRC if employers are found questionable	• N/A
Measurement of Progress	• Numerical representation across all FRPS and FPS against LMA • Numerical representation across all occupational group levels including senior positions against LMA	• General reporting on the state of the public service including employment trends in the representation of members of CDB, without any identified specific targets or criteria

Source: APS Act 1999; APSC Report 2014-2015; EEA Current to March 3, 2016; EEA Report 2014-2015

Overall, both the Canadian and Australian federal public services have made efforts to integrate VM and NESB workers through numerical representation. The research identified that the members of the VM workforce feature strongly in the Canadian public services in comparison to the NESB in the Australian public service. The VM group has exceeded their

workforce availability in the Canadian public service but the NESB group is still under-represented in the Australian public service (see chapter seven). This suggests that the APS Act has had limited impact on the NESB workforce in comparison to the EEA. The study finds limited measures being given to workplace diversity in the APS Commissioner's directions in 2016 in comparison to 2013 (see APS Commissioner's Direction 2013; 2016). This is likely to impact the progress of culturally diverse individuals in the workplace if the public service has limited leadership in cultural diversity at the workplace. Yet, it is challenging to make a definite conclusion for the Australian case owing to lack of clarity in policy goals for ensuring employment outcomes for members of the NESB employees.

Generally, the results show that the legislation for diversity and equity has provided entry access into the FPS and the APS in Canada and Australia respectively, but the policy has not been completely adequate in promoting the labour market integration, especially for the NESB workforce. This suggests a weakness in implementation and compliance as governments and employers have failed to gain employment representation that mimic the culturally diverse community in Australia. It is possible that the labour market culture and practice strongly rely on recruiting individuals on the bases of familiar cultures and social identities hence the limited employment representation of NESB workforce in the Australian public service.

These practices result in 'arbitrary and extensive exclusions for persons who, by reason of their group affiliation, are systematically denied a full opportunity to demonstrate their individual abilities' (Abella 1984, p.10). This can often result in labour market segmentation and discrimination. Studies have pointed out that 'employers do not simply weigh prospective employees' human capital but rather consider "cultural capital" reflected in individuals' accents, behaviour etc. (Triadafilopoulos & Smith 2013, p.7) or even names (see Bertrand & Mullainathan 2004). The results suggest that, social identity and institutional

barriers play important roles in the employment outcomes of culturally diverse SIs. Most importantly, the public policies do not specifically target the inclusion of migrants in the labour market.

Findings of the Labour Market Outcomes of Skilled Immigrants in Canada and Australia

Participation, Employment and Unemployment rates and Not in Labour Force

The study finds significant shortfalls in participation, employment, unemployment and the not in the labour force outcomes derived from the NHS (2011) and the ABS census data (2011) for degree-qualified immigrants, aged 25-64, who arrived between 2006-2011 from similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds (North America and the UK), as well as those with comparable cultural backgrounds (Europe) to the dominant population in Canada and Australia, in comparison to individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds (those from Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East). The latter (except individuals from Africa and Latin America in Australia) did not attain positive employment outcomes or similar advantaged employment outcomes in participation, employment and unemployment rates; they experienced rather inferior labour market outcomes. In contrast, in spite of their limited numbers, the degree-qualified migrants from the UK attained positive employment outcomes (see chapter eight). The research finds that the labour market outcomes of the degree-qualified immigrants from Europe are sandwiched between the two extremes; those from the UK and North America on one hand and Latin America, Africa (except in Australia), Asia, and the Middle East on the other hand.

Degree-qualified migrants from the Middle East region who arrived in both Canada and Australia in 2006-2011 had the least positive outcomes in participation, employment,

unemployment and not in the labour force rates in the two countries compared to all other selected regions (chapter eight).

Generally, the results indicate that both Canada and Australia have not managed to effectively integrate SIs from Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East compared to those from the UK, North America and Europe. This indicates limitation in implementation of public policies and compliance in the labour market, as well as the impact of culture, social identity and institutional barriers. SIs from the UK, North America and Europe share some cultural similarities in comparison to those from, for example, Asia and the Middle East.

What these results suggest is that the immigration policies that select the best and the brightest, the multicultural policies that claim to support cultural diversity and the employment legislation that promote equal employment have not adequately influence the labour market outcomes of culturally diverse SIs. While employment legislation has provided opportunity of access and prevented blatant inequities in employment and employer behaviour, these have not protected culturally diverse SIs from being negatively affected in the labour market in spite of their university qualifications. These are significant policy issues. Less positive employment and inequitable employment outcomes are detrimental and can contribute to negative socio-economic impacts (see Reitz 2001) for SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds. This can contribute to continuous income inequality.

Occupational Outcomes of Skilled Immigrants in Canada and Australia

Based on the customised NHS (2011) data from Canada and the ABS (2011) data from Australia, the occupational skill level results show that cultural and linguistic backgrounds impact the labour market outcomes for SIs. Again, the results consistently demonstrate that degree-qualified immigrants from the UK and North America are not only likely to gain advantaged labour market outcomes (participation, employment,

unemployment, not in the labour force) among the seven selected regions but also attained superior occupational outcomes in management or professional occupations in comparison to all the other non-English-speaking regions (chapter eight).

These outcomes at management skill levels highlight the group that employers are more likely to care about (Gudykunst & Kim 1997) and desire to see in power positions. It shows that employers make decisions that influence the structures and the processes in the labour market to attract people of identical type (see Schneider 1987). This shows that people who do not come from the UK or English-speaking backgrounds are systematically denied ‘a full opportunity to demonstrate their individual abilities’ (Abella 1984, p.10). Such systemic processes and practices in the labour market create segmentation and prevent some groups from achieving equal socio-economic status (see Bauder 2001; Reich et al. 1973). Differential occupational outcomes of SIs in management positions in comparison to their counterparts with similar human capital are all forms of labour market segmentation.

This creates discrimination among the immigrant group and within the labour market as individuals are offered employment based on their cultural and social identities. It is also a sign of lack of cultural competence by employers to approach cultural diversity with some openness. Again, this demonstrates that the goals of public policies are ineffective and are unable to impact the employment outcomes of SIs in spite of their human capital.

The degree-qualified immigrants from English-speaking backgrounds are also the least likely to work in labouring employment in comparison to all the other groups from non-English-speaking backgrounds. These immigrants are offered employment based on their social identity rather than on their qualification merit. What this suggests is that individuals with less competent skills may access positions on the basis of language and cultural

attributes instead of knowledge and experience required for enhanced performance. The next section provides fuller discussion and interpretations of the results.

Discussion of Results: The Labour Market Outcomes of Skilled Immigrants in Canada and Australia

From the customised NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) data, the study observed that degree-qualified migrants from the UK and North America gained superior employment matches to their qualifications. This could be attributed to their similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds to the dominant host populations in Canada and Australia rather than outstanding human capital capabilities. Owing to their cultural similarities with the dominant host culture and population, the degree-qualified migrants from Europe gained somewhat advantaged labour market outcomes. This shows that SIs from regions with similar cultural or racial backgrounds who blend into the dominant host culture and population attained comparable labour market outcomes (except those from the UK who always dominated the market). Accordingly, the processes and the practices of the labour market are unjustifiably shaped by attributes irrelevant to skills or qualifications (Abella 1984; Schmidtke 2013). This suggests that the labour market prospects of SIs depend on social identity rather than their credentials and capabilities. Thus the study finds a strong correlation between degree-qualified migrants' social identity and their labour market prospects.

Cultural biases and fear of foreign cultures can result in employers offering employment to those that they feel comfortable with because similar cultures are normally viewed more favourable than dissimilar cultures (see Brislin 1983; Gudykunst & Kim 2003). This demonstrates that lack of cultural competence can impact the labour market outcomes of SIs in terms of differences in how people have been socialised to behave towards dissimilar people (see Gudykunst & Kim 1997; Hofstede 1984). All these link into social identity

barriers of preference of some group over others (Eagly & Chin 2010; Tajfel 2010) and thereby creating institutional barriers (see Dimaggio & Powell 1983; Glover, Champion & Dainty 2014; Jenkins 2008; Salaff & Greve 2006; Scott 2005).

The findings of the labour market outcomes of SIs indicate that there is a gap between public policies and labour market compliance. Public policies have been unable to ensure the effective labour market integration of SIs. This is partly because employers retain the power to offer employment (Hawthorne 1997; 2006), and it is also difficult to establish that employers are responsible (Chauvin 2013) for the labour market difficulties experienced by some SIs.

The study further shows the influence of social identity. Degree-qualified immigrants from the UK are favoured in the labour market and therefore are offered employment on the basis of their in-group versus status in both Canada and Australia. Employers are possibly attracted to people who look like them (Schneider 1987) or perhaps they lack the cultural competence to deal with foreign culture. Cultural competence is a skill for dealing with people from different cultural backgrounds (Thomas 2006) and without it can lead to adverse repercussions for potential employees, as shown in this study.

The findings in this chapter dispute or undermine claims that solely focus on the lack of appropriate human, social and cultural capital as key contributing factors to the labour market experience of SIs. Instead, as the study suggests these factors are rather used as institutional barriers to influence the labour market outcomes of SIs.

While it is possible that the selected degree-qualified migrants from culturally diverse backgrounds who arrived in Canada and Australia in 2006-2011 may have experienced disadvantaged labour market outcomes (participation, employment rates etc.) owing to lack of transferrable human, social and cultural capital (see Collins 1988; Bauder 2003; Fernandez

Kelly 1994; 1995; Reitz 2006; 2007), these forms of capital have rather become institutional barriers that impede the career progress of culturally diverse SIs in the labour market. In particular, human capital theory has been said to be ‘an elegant apology for almost any pattern of oppression or inequality (under capitalism, state socialism, or whatever)’, as it tends to attribute social or personal ‘ills’ to the shortcomings of individuals or technical requirements (see Bowles & Gintis 1975, p.82).

This suggests that while the immigration policies do well to select on non-discriminatory basis in Canada and Australia, their non-discriminatory impact does not extend into the labour market outcomes of the SIs. This creates a gap between the policy and the employment outcomes achieved according to region of origin, in spite of equal human capital for all SIs.

Perhaps SIs from the UK gain advantaged labour market outcomes in Canada and Australia because English-speaking migrants have falsely been misconstrued as not being migrants. From the findings of the labour market evidence, the concept of social identity theory has served to position some degree-qualified immigrants from English-speaking countries to be more accepted as part of the core dominant populations in Canada and Australia while others who are regarded as ‘immigrants’ are unequally accepted as part of the core population. This is further exacerbated by the use of the term ‘immigrants’ as inappropriately and erroneously associated with ‘people of colour who come from different racial and cultural backgrounds, who do not speak fluent English’ (Guo 2009, p.40). This further positions SIs who come from regions such as Asia, Africa and the Middle East into further disadvantaged positions in the labour market.

The findings counter the general assumptions of human capital theory of selecting the best and brightest to succeed in the labour market. The study finds that such assumptions

work for SIs from English-speaking backgrounds more than those from non-English-speaking backgrounds. Rather, there is a strong correlation between immigrants' cultural and linguistic backgrounds and effective integration in the labour market.

This shows that the historical legacy of preferred and non-preferred pattern of offering employment to immigrants on the basis of social identity and preferences for 'in-groups' in opposition to 'out-group' members still permeates the labour market in Canada and Australia. Having similar cultural and linguistic background is a predictor of integrating successfully in the labour market in Canada and Australia rather than only possessing educational credentials as advertised through immigration policies.

The Asian-born accounted for the largest degree-qualified immigrant group among the selected regions in the NHS and ABS data, but was among the groups which experienced the most disadvantaged labour market outcomes; meanwhile the UK contributed the least degree-qualified immigrants from the customised NHS (2011) and ABS (2011) data, yet gained the most from the labour market in comparison to all others.

Also, while Europe is considered part of the traditional immigrants' source region, the employment outcomes of their degree-qualified immigrants differ slightly from those from the UK and North America perhaps because they are non-English-speaking.

In general, the public policies have not significantly influenced the labour market integration of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds. There are tendencies of some non-European SIs being greatly disadvantaged in the labour market. There seems to be an entrenched bias against some non-European SIs in spite of availability of public policies that aim at promoting fair and just society. This could be due to lack of understanding professionals from non-European cultural backgrounds due to employers' limited knowledge of non-European culture or their human capital. Such lack of competence

is unfair for culturally diverse SIs who most of the times have to pay the penalty of engaging in employment lower than their qualifications (see chapter eight) or extra training to gain local qualifications or experience just because employers and institutions do not understand their culture or human capital.

The labour Market Integration of Culturally Diverse Skilled Immigrants

In terms of effective labour market integration of SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds, the Canadian EEA annual reports filed for the FPS and the outcomes of the APS reports from 2000-2015 indicate that, VM and NESB groups in both public services have gained numerical representation in the workforce. Canada has significant representation of the VM group (13.8%) that have exceeded their workforce availability (see chapter seven). Comparatively, employees from NESB in the APS who accounted for 14.5% are comparatively below their labour market availability in Australia (see chapter seven). This is a significant deference between the VM and the NESB workforces in both Canadian FPS and the APS. It is a noteworthy comparison in demonstrating how effectively Canada and Australia integrate their culturally diverse individuals in the public services. The EEA and the APS reports indicate the workforce from VM backgrounds are better represented in the Canadian FPS than employees from NESB in the Australian public service. This may be attributed to the specificity of the Canadian EEA that targets the labour market improvement of VM group.

It is important to note that the VM population in Canada specifically includes only South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin America, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese (NHS Immigration & Ethnocultural Diversity 2011). The NESB population in Australia on the other hand, include all immigrants from all other regions including non-English-speaking Europeans with the exception of overseas born immigrants

from Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States of America (see DIBP Census 2011; chapter one). This shows that in spite of the broader definition of cultural diversity on the basis of NESB description in Australia, the group remain significantly limited in the public service in comparison to Canada.

Furthermore, the customised NHS (2011) and the ABS census (2011) data demonstrate that in terms of effective integration of culturally diverse SIs, in some instances, Canada relatively has better integration for culturally diverse SIs than Australia. Degree-qualified migrants from Asia and the Middle East attained more positive labour market outcomes (participation, employment) in Canada than in Australia. These individuals had relatively more positive participation rates (Asia 78.0% in Canada compared to 76.8% in Australia; Middle East 68.2% in Canada compared to 57.7% in Australia) and employment rate (Asia 69.5% in Canada and 69.4% in Australia (similar); Middle East 56.9% compared to Canada; 48.0% in Australia) in Canada than in Australia.

Yet, in some other cases, degree-qualified immigrants from Latin America and Africa (who are likely to be largely represented by South African English speaking migrants) were more likely to gain better labour market outcomes (in terms of participation, employment, unemployment and not in the labour force rates) in Australia than Canada. However, degree-qualified immigrants from Latin America were the largest group to be working in labouring occupations in Australia (16.19%) in comparison to Canada (9%) (see Appendix 4&5; chapter eight). What the data suggest is that in their own ways, the two countries are better able to integrate culturally diverse immigrants from certain specific regions. Degree-qualified immigrants from Asia and the Middle East are better integrated in Canada while those from Latin America and Africa fare better in the Australian labour market.

The labour Market Integration of the Total Skilled Immigrants

When the customised NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) data are examined in their totality (meaning total of all seven regions), the total participation rate for the Canadian degree-qualified migrants was 78.20% in comparison to the total of their counterparts in Australia (79.42%); total employment rate for the degree-qualified immigrants in Canada was 68.49% compared to 72.9% in Australia; total unemployment rate for degree-qualified immigrants in Canada was 12.43% compared to 8.12% in Australia and total not in the labour force rate of degree-qualified immigrants in Canada was 22% compared to 20.27% in Australia (see Appendix 4.2 & 5.2).

Further in terms of the overall occupational skill level outcomes for the total of all the seven regions based on the customised NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) data, it can be observed that in Canada, 9.36% of degree-qualified migrants were in management jobs compared to 10.09% in Australia; 35.65% in professional occupations compared to 45.09% in Australia; 45.44% were in all other occupations except labour jobs compared to 34.83% in Australia; 9.53% in labour jobs compared to 7.67% in Australia (see Appendix 4.4 & 5.4). While this section of the labour market outcomes does not have adequate direct comparable skill levels or occupational levels definitions for the two countries, based on the available information, and the overall customised NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) data, degree-qualified migrants in Australia attained relatively better occupational outcomes than their counterparts in Canada (see Appendix 4&5). The results show that comparatively, the total degree-qualified immigrant population who arrived in 2006-2011 in Australia had slightly more positive employment outcomes than Canada.

The better employment outcomes in general for SIs in Australia may be due to a number of factors. Firstly, the Australian immigration policy focus could be a factor. For

instance, Australia focuses strongly on employer sponsored schemes that selects immigrants with guaranteed employment on arrival (see chapter five). Perhaps the onshore processing streams that encourage employment of individuals with local education and local experience also contribute to immigrants' employment outcome. Additionally, it can be argued that because Australia selects a younger immigrant workforce than Canada, the individuals who arrive in Australia have better chances of gaining employment and are more likely to escape age discrimination in the labour market.

Secondly, the reasons for Australian degree-qualified SIs performing better than their Canadian counterparts are due to the actual numbers recruited from each region. For example, Canada recruits significant numbers of degree-qualified immigrant from culturally diverse regions than Australia. For instance, while in total, degree-qualified immigrants from culturally diverse regions of traditionally non-preferred regions (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East) accounted for a total of 83% (292,065) of the cohort who arrived in Canada in the year 2006-2011, Australia has a similar share of 74.7% (159,577) (see chapter eight).

Canadian degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally preferred regions (North America and the UK) represented only 6% (20,135) of the cohorts under study in comparison to their counterparts of 18.03% (47,600) who arrived in Australia. This shows that Australia recruited about three times the number of degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally preferred regions compared to Canada. For further illustration, whereas Canada recruited only 3% (9,315) degree-qualified immigrants from the UK, Australia recruited 13.83% (42,509) of similar cohorts from the UK (see chapter eight). This shows that Australia receives about four times the size of degree-qualified immigrants from the UK in comparison to Canada. These differences in actual numbers of immigrants from the traditionally preferred

regions are more likely to contribute to the total labour market outcomes of degree-qualified immigrants in the two countries. This seems to have enabled Australia to do relatively better than Canada. Yet this will require further investigations by computing the actual numbers recruited from each region in order to be conclusive on this.

Thirdly, based on the NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) customised data, in totality Australian SIs perform better in the labour market because Australia has a better economic environment than Canada. Australia has had ‘unparalleled economic growth, not only in comparison to Canada, but internationally’ from the period of the 1990s to the recent time of the financial crisis of 2008 (Clarke & Skuterud 2013, p.1434). Since 1991, Australia has recorded the longest period of growth in at least the last century with increased levels of business investment (Battellino 2010). Economic growth allows people to find work and Australia has performed remarkably well in economic terms among other developed economies over the last twenty years (Battellino 2010).

In brief, when the NHS (2011) and the ABS (2011) customised data are examined in their totality (meaning total of all seven regions), overall Australia appears to have integrated SIs more successfully than Canada (see chapter eight) but this does not necessarily denote effective integration has been attained. Effective labour market integration in this study refers to attaining employment outcomes that are commensurate with one’s human capital qualities and equitable outcomes among the SI group or having attained a close fit to one’s skill and qualification. Thus achievement of employment outcomes that require the skill level of a university degree qualification is relevant to this study.

The study expected that having an employment position that provided a ‘close fit to the individual’s type and level of skill endowments’ (Schmitt 2012, p.257) could be regarded as attainment of effective integration. In this case skill utilisation as well as attainment of

equitable labour market among the SI group was significant. It could also indicate that labour market processes and practices were effective in disseminating implementation of the key macro-national public policies to influence the overall labour market outcomes of SIs. Effective labour market integration, therefore, in this study constitutes processes and practices in the labour market that select immigrant on the strength of qualifications and merit rather than on their cultural or social attributes. This was to demonstrate cultural competence in the labour market exhibited by actors (employers and institutions) in the labour market. Contrary results as described above indicate ineffectiveness.

Overall, the study expected effective integration to reflect the following:

- 1) Employment matched to qualifications/skill level at university degree level or a close match to qualifications/skill level at university degree level
- 2) A high level of skill utilisation
- 3) Employment outcomes based on merit or qualifications rather than culture or social identity
- 4) Effectiveness of macro-national policies including immigration, multiculturalism and equal employment policies' impact in relation to the labour market integration of SIs

The study finds that the labour market is largely segregated by culture and social identity. SIs from some social groups such as the UK are over represented in management and professional occupations while those from Asia and the Middle East and Africa (in the case of Canada) are underrepresented in similar occupational groups. Rather these latter groups are over-represented in labouring employment which is below their skill and qualifications. These are clear indications of skill underutilisation and devaluation (Reitz 2001; Reitz et al. 2014).

Linking the Macro-National Policies to overall Labour Market Outcomes

The immigration policies in Canada and Australia supply a highly skilled workforce but are unable to directly impact on how effectively immigrants are integrated into the labour market owing to:

- (1) The nature of the policies as an entry strategy for controlling selection of labour rather than influencing how effectively the selected immigrants are integrated.
- (2) Focus on macro-economic gains rather than facilitation of equitable labour market outcomes for individuals.
- (3) Lopsided focus on how the policies are framed to secure labour instead of being designed for mutual benefits to the economy and the individual.
- (4) Emphasis on preferring individuals with strong English background means actors (employers and institutions) do not find the need to be culturally competent as they are likely to offer employment to individuals with similar cultural or linguistic backgrounds.
- (5) Limited responsibilities towards SIs after recruitment.

The multiculturalism policies in Canada and Australia also create a feeling of a welcoming environment for migrants and the societies in general but are limited in their direct impact on the labour market integration of SIs owing to the policies:

- (1) Focus on statements of cultural appreciation and celebration without any measurable goals or objectives for ensuring the successful integration of culturally diverse SIs
- (2) Focus on economic gains that can be attained by the countries rather than mutual gains designing the policies with the current skilled migrant cohorts in mind
- (3) Being out of touch with current migrant cohorts such as SIs
- (4) Functioning only at the macro-level (government level) for political purposes but with limited flow-on to the labour market where employment occurs
- (5) Lack of monitoring of the policy relationship to the current skilled migration pattern
- (6) Lack of adequate data on how effectively the policies shape the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs.

- (7) Lack of enforcement in the labour market, hence contributing to lack of cultural competence in the labour market
- (8) Lack of a strong multicultural example by government and leadership contributing to limited representation of culturally diverse individuals in leadership positions.

The legislative framework for managing diversity and equity in employment in Canada and Australia facilitate the employment progress of a workforce from culturally diverse backgrounds but only within a limited sphere of the labour market. The Canadian EEA covers federally regulated private sectors (FRPS) and the federal public service (FPS) while the Australian Public Service (APS) Acts covers only the workforce in the public service. These are only a small proportion of the entire workforce in both Canada and Australia. While the legislative framework used in this study in both Canada and Australia contributes to the labour market integration of a culturally diverse workforce, it has limited effect in promoting equitable labour market outcomes because the legislation:

- (1) Does not have direct measurable objectives and outcomes for culturally diverse SIs (in the case of Australia)
- (2) Lacks data that directly illustrates its impact on the labour market integration of SIs in particular. Even though the EEA and the APS Act generally collect data on VM group (in the case of Canada), and the NESB (in the case of Australia), the legislation does not provide an employment indication of the VM and the NESB workforce levels according to qualifications.
- (3) Evidence of the labour market outcomes indicates limited impact on the labour market integration of SIs.
- (4) Shows limited equitable labour market outcomes for culturally diverse SIs in comparison to SIs from culturally similar backgrounds.
- (5) Lacks a focus on culturally diverse SIs, indicating a lack of direct connection with contemporary migration trends.

Summary of Discussion of the Findings Chapter

The chapter has discussed the key findings of the research. It began by systematically providing evidence of findings as analysed within each public policy framework in Canada and Australia. It then discussed the overall evidence of the labour market outcomes derived from the customised NHS (2011) and ABS data for SIs who arrived in 2006-2011. After that the public policy evidence was discussed together with the labour market evidence to provide an overall analysis of the study.

The research evidence suggests that while the macro-national policies are designed to contribute to the integration of immigrants, they have limited impact on shaping the overall labour market integration of SIs. As discussed above the findings suggest strong interplay of culture, social identity and institutional barriers factors influencing the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs. The findings indicate that SIs from the UK attained successful employment outcomes in Canada and Australia, an indication that, employers who offer employment to SIs offer employment on the basis of who they feel they share familiar cultures with so as to continue operating in their comfort zones rather than attempting to deal with unknown cultures. This is a sign of lack of cultural competency in understanding other cultures, offering employment to social groups that can be best understood in terms of cultural or linguistic similarities. Such tendencies may perpetuate phobic characteristics owing to limited cultural competency in the labour market which if not addressed will continue to have continuous ripple effects of in-group versus out-group issues (see Tajfel 1974; Tajfel & Turner 1979) and hence lead to cyclical segmentation and discrimination. The succeeding chapter provides conclusions to the thesis by systematically answering the research questions.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusions

The primary goal of this research was to understand how effectively Canada and Australia integrate skilled immigrants (SIs) and to compare the outcomes each country has attained in integrating SIs. The research focussed on culturally diverse SIs in Canada and Australia. The study selected seven source regions of immigrants to these countries (North America, Latin America, Europe, United Kingdom, Africa, Asia and the Middle East) to provide the diversity needed for analysis and understanding of how Canada and Australia integrate SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds in the labour market.

I argue that the labour market integration of SIs is largely influenced by the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of (1) macro-national policies (including immigration, multiculturalism and employment legislation policies), (2) culture, (3) social identity and (4) institutional factors. I suggest that while human, social and cultural capital theories seek to understand the labour market integration of SIs, these theories are inadequate in their explanations. In particular, I argue that although the lack of appropriate human capital (e.g. lack of English language abilities; lack of transferrable skills or experiences; lack of education/skill recognition), lack of social and cultural capital (e.g. poor networks; differences in manners; accents; lack of local education, local experience or skill) are possible contributors in shaping the overall labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs, these capitals are rather subtly used as institutional barriers to impede the effective integration of culturally diverse SIs in the labour market.

Rather the labour market integration of SIs is largely shaped by how effectively public policies facilitate migrants' integration as well as culture, social identity and institutional factors that influence the labour market integration processes and practices. I observe that SIs from culturally similar backgrounds to the dominant host culture were advantaged in the labour

market on the basis of either cultural or linguistic backgrounds while others from culturally dissimilar backgrounds remain disadvantaged in the labour market. I make the point that all these impediments are possibly due to the lack of cultural competence on the part of employers and institutions in the labour market rather than the lack of human, social and cultural capital of SIs.

Through a mixed methods approach, I analysed public policies involving immigration, multiculturalism and employment equity legislation to understand how they shaped the overall labour market integration of SIs. This formed the basis for my qualitative analysis. I employed comparative historical analysis in examining the three key public policies to understand the potential relevance of these policies in shaping the overall labour market integration of SIs. The study assumes that Canadian and Australian national policies with relevance to migrants may influence the overall labour market integration of SIs owing to the policies' goals to effect economic and social integration. Through systematic and contextualised comparisons, similar and contrasting policy approaches in Canada and Australia have been analysed to provide insights into patterns of public policy rationales, goals, outcomes and challenges. Although the migration of culturally diverse SIs to Canada and Australia is a contemporary phenomenon which has diverged from the historical migration of less diverse, relatively unskilled migrants who arrived in earlier periods, analysis of historical policy developments, patterns, processes and practices form significant bases for interpreting recent policy changes. It also helped to understand the extent to which contemporary public policies effectively or otherwise shape the labour market integration of current SIs.

In addition to the qualitative analysis, I drew on customised NHS (2011) data from Statistics Canada and ABS census (2011) data (see chapters four and eight) to provide evidence of current analysis on the labour market status of SIs who arrived in 2006-2011. The statistical data were analysed separately to understand the employment patterns of SIs in the

labour market to help determine possible factors that are likely to influence their prospects in the labour market. Both the qualitative and the quantitative analyses were later merged to fully comprehend the overall labour market integration of SIs. Chapters five through to seven of the thesis provided comparative policy analysis between Canada and Australia while chapter eight demonstrated the overall labour market outcomes of degree-qualified SIs who arrived in Canada and Australia between the periods of 2006-2011. Key findings have been discussed in detail in chapter nine.

This chapter provides conclusions, implications of the study, the research contribution and limitations of the study, to help guide future studies. The chapter proceeds by first revisiting the research questions developed in chapter four and to answer these research questions. Details of how answers were derived can be referred to in the research methodology chapter (Chapter four) and the discussion of findings chapter (Chapter nine).

Revisiting the Research Questions

Overarching Research Question: How effectively do Canada and Australia integrate their SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds?

The research established that in spite of three relevant policies for facilitating the integration of immigrants and minority groups, the policies have distant connection to the overall effective labour market integration of SIs. Rather the study identified that labour market integration of SIs is strongly shaped by culture, social identity and institutional barriers. According to this study, preference for similar cultural groups, especially preference for SIs from English-speaking backgrounds dominates the potential for effective integration of SIs. SIs from English-speaking backgrounds are more likely to gain an employment-match to qualifications and skills in comparison to those from non-English-speaking backgrounds. This shows that SIs from English-speaking backgrounds are more likely to effectively utilise

their qualifications and skills compared to individuals from non-English-speaking backgrounds. This is a significant policy issue given that the larger proportion of SIs arriving in Canada and Australia currently is from non-English-speaking backgrounds. The results signal a preference of one group over the other and therefore can be viewed as discriminatory (Reitz 2007a).

Hawthorne (2007) in her discussion of temporary foreign workers suggested that Canadian and Australian employers have preferences for English-speaking backgrounds professionals. According to Hawthorne (2007, p.20), the preference is due to 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 this explanation may be valid, the current study suggests that preference for one group of people over another owing to ‘greater ease’ of integration perpetuates systemic institutional barriers that have the potential to persistently disadvantage groups from traditionally non-preferred regions in the labour market. It shows a lack of equitable policy outcomes.

Apart from that, the study finds that even though there is a clear divide in the labour market integration between SIs from English-speaking backgrounds and those from non-English-speaking backgrounds, non-English-speaking Europeans were the next group to more likely gain advantaged labour market outcomes in comparison to non-Europeans (with the exception of SIs from Africa in Australia who are more likely to be South Africans of European decent). These findings are in agreement with studies that have identified the labour market integration of immigrants to be shaped by their place of origin (e.g Bauder 2003; Chui & Devereaux 1995; Hawthorne 1997; Picot & Hou 2003; Plante 2010; Reitz 2001; 2007). Studies have reported that immigrants of VM background from non-traditional immigrant source regions (e.g. Chui & Devereaux 1995; Samuel & Basavarajappa 2006) or

the NESB group are prone to labour market disadvantages (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008). The labour market results of the SIs in this study illustrate that SIs from non-traditional source regions who may be of VM background or from non-English-speaking regions experienced greater labour market disadvantages than those of similar or identical backgrounds to the dominant group, the English speaking background.

Contrary to studies that claim some immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds experience less positive labour market integration owing to lack of English language skills (e.g. Birrell & Healy 2008; Hawthorne 2007), this current study finds that the labour market disadvantages experienced by SIs from non-traditional immigrant source regions and non-English-speaking backgrounds are shaped by employers' and institutions' lack of cultural competence, in addition to labour market trends of processes and practices of offering employment on the basis of similar cultural and social identity factors (in-group versus out-group) rather than the lack of language skills or proficiencies. SIs have in their own merits met the required immigration policy criteria of which language proficiency is a key component for selection. So studies that assert that SIs who perform poorly in the labour market lack language proficiency need to look beyond these measures.

For example, in the case of Australia, there has been a pre-entry language proficiency assessment requirement since the 1990s (see chapter five). It is difficult to understand how a total of 83% (292,065) and 74.7% (159,577) of all degree-qualified immigrants from the traditionally non-preferred regions (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East) who arrived in Canada and Australia respectively in the period 2006-2011 (see chapter eight) may be experiencing poorer labour market integration owing to lack of language skills when they have been selected on this very criteria by immigration policies. This is a clear indication that

public policies are yet to efficiently address these labour market inconsistencies. The current study considers these labour market discrepancies as veiled segmentation, discrimination and resistance to change in the labour market. English language proficiency is a significant institutional barrier that seeks to preserve the status quo of the dominant population in the labour market.

The challenge is that the current SIs who are arriving in both Canada and Australia are more highly educated than the locally-born average. This means if meritorious criteria of educational qualifications are used in the labour market then a significant number of the locally-born individuals who are already in power positions and yet without the associated qualifications will have to make way for the skilled individuals who have the corresponding qualifications. This potentially precipitates fear and resistance to accept minorities in power positions. Fear of minorities' culture (see Hawkins 1991; Walsh 2008; 2012) and possible labour market disruption has always been a concern for Canada and Australia (see chapter four). This shows that potential progress of dissimilar cultures in the labour market becomes a threatening force that challenges the predominant cultures status quo.

Most importantly, one thing has become clear in this study that, since the 1960s-1970s until the present, regardless of what immigration policy selection criteria have been used to recruit SIs, culturally diverse SIs have been able to meet such selection criteria far and above. Currently, immigration policies in Canada and Australia have shifted to focus on language proficiency skills rather than education (see chapter five). It has become apparent that educational qualifications are no longer significant criteria for culturally diverse SIs whereas language proficiency has now become the next barrier to contend with. What this suggests is that each time culturally diverse SIs overcome some barrier there is always another barrier for culturally diverse SIs to overcome. These policy criteria are designed by

policy-makers who normally are representative of the dominant groups in society. This creates a ‘plexiglass ceiling’ effect for SIs as they experience situations that are deliberately ‘much more formidable to shatter’ (see Wilson 1993, p.667).

- *How do national integration policies contribute to the overall labour market integration of SIs, especially those from culturally diverse backgrounds in Canada and Australia?*

In terms of immigration policies, the policies in Canada and Australia enable the selection of a skilled workforce for the labour market but have limited direct impact on the effective integration of SIs. The immigration policies play an ‘entry policy’ role to select the best and the brightest but have restricted control over what actually occurs in organisations within the labour market. This is because the policies have not been designed to assume the responsibility of human resource management even though inherently the policies employ human resource management strategies to attract immigrants through advertisements, selection and recruitment of the desired migrants. There is therefore a neglect of the policies’ ability to foster effective labour market integration by the definition of this current study, which has examined policies and the labour market integration of SIs from an holistic analytical perspective.

Although the problems of inadequate labour market integration of SIs are observed (e.g. LSIC 2005; Richardson & Lester 2004) in Canada and Australia, there is no indication in the immigration policies so far of the governments in Canada and Australia taking responsibility for monitoring the labour market integration of SIs with a focus on ensuring equitable labour market outcomes. For instance, while there is monitoring of the employment progress of the VM group in Canada through the EEA (see chapter seven), this has been conducted generally on the whole VM population without any specific focus on SIs. Where any form of

monitoring of the labour market outcomes of SIs exists, this has primarily been focussed on identifying if migrants have found employment, which may not necessarily match their qualifications, to enable them to settle successfully in the host nations. This will inevitably contribute to the development of the economy when migrants begin to pay taxes as a result of being employed. Yet such examination of the labour market outcomes (e.g. LSIC 2005; Richardson & Lester 2004) has limited scope for ensuring that culturally diverse SIs attain justifiable labour market outcomes.

Overall, immigration policies have provided adequate numerical representation of culturally diverse SIs in the Canadian and Australian labour market. However the lack of equitable outcomes in the labour market where individuals from English-speaking backgrounds attain more favourable employment outcomes than those who are not highlights the limitations of immigration policies in both Canada and Australia.

In regard to MCPs in Canada and Australia, the policies encourage public openness to diversity. MCPs facilitate a perceived environment of recognition and tolerance of cultural diversity which in addition to promoting diversity management in Canada and Australia since the 1980s-1990s, might have helped immigrants in general and culturally diverse SIs in particular to feel welcome in these two nations. Nonetheless, evidence from the research findings illustrates that there is a gap within the MCPs goals and the labour market integration of SIs. Although the MCPs promote appreciation of cultural diversity, equity and social justice, the goals of the MCPs are incongruent with what actually occurs in the labour market process and practices. Therefore the extent to which MCPs actually affect the labour market integration of SIs is unclear. Reitz (2013) also came to a similar conclusion in regard to the integration of Canadian migrants.

In terms of legislation, although the legislation offers frameworks for achieving employment equity, based on the statistical evidence, the legislative framework in Canada and Australia has led to numerical representation of a culturally diverse workforce but has limited outcomes in leadership positions and occupational skill levels to match their qualifications and skills equitably in the SI group. This implies that real successful outcomes have been minimal for some groups. Having an increase in the numerical representation of culturally diverse SIs in the workforce does not necessarily signal an improvement in the sharing of power positions. This is part of a clear indication of why SIs do not attain employment outcomes that match their qualifications and capabilities. It appears the legislation in Canada and Australia makes modest demands on the labour market actors to show good intentions towards employment equity without any substantial anticipation of effective outcomes (see Agocs 2002; Mighty 1989).

So even as there are policies to redress employment inequity and systemic discrimination, based on the statistical evidence in this study (see chapter seven and eight), that individuals from English-speaking backgrounds attain superior employment outcomes in spite of the culturally diverse workforce being more highly educated than those from English-speaking background, the legislative frameworks in Canada and Australia are yet to be effective in attaining equity in the labour market. This means there is a gap between what the governments in Canada and Australia proposed to achieve with employment legislation and what is actually accomplished in the labour market.

- *To what extent have national integration policies influenced the overall employment integration of skilled immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds?*

Comparatively, the legislative framework seems to have contributed to shaping the labour market outcomes of VM and NESB groups who were used as proxies for culturally SIs in this study (see chapter seven). The policies have led to representation of a culturally diverse workforce but lack equitable labour market outcomes especially in senior positions as shown in chapter eight and nine. On the other hand, the immigration policies and MCPs lack any direct effect on shaping the labour market outcomes of the SIs. The statistical results based on the NHS (2011) and the ABS census (2011) data illustrate that these public policies have not successfully achieved sufficient impact on the labour market outcomes of SIs in the area of equitable labour market outcomes. The policies have gained numerical representations but lack effective integration outcomes as defined by this study.

This is due to a number of factors:

- (1) Offers of employment are based on cultural and linguistic similarities due to the influence of institutional and social factors.
 - (2) There is a lack of cultural competence resulting from possible fear of unknown cultures
 - (3) Lack of effective implementation of policies in the labour market
 - (4) Lack of stronger compliance requirements from the governments
 - (5) Lack of reporting of employment status of culturally diverse SIs in relation to their qualifications
- *What differences or similarities are there between these two nations in the way they integrate their skilled immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds?*

Both countries have non-discriminatory immigration policies and MCPs for promoting the integration of migrants. Also both countries have legislation for guiding employment equity. Canada has specific legislation for VM groups apart from the generic anti-discrimination laws. Australia, on the other hand, does not have any specific laws for the

NESB workforce apart from the common anti-discrimination laws. Nonetheless, Australia has an Act that facilitates the employment equity of all employees in the public service. As indicated earlier (see chapter seven, eight and nine), based on the employment equity reports and the APS statistical bulletin reports (2000-2015), culturally diverse individuals from VM groups and NESB backgrounds have attained numerical representation in the public workforce in both Canada and Australia but the NESB still lacks representation equivalent to their labour market availability.

The policies (immigration, multiculturalism policies and equity legislation) have not been designed with equitable integration of SIs in mind. They have been designed to support the numerical representation of culturally diverse individuals but have limited influence on equitable labour market outcomes, especially in leadership. The Canadian EEA has taken significant steps to gain numerical representation for the VM group in the public service to exceed their workforce availability. However, the EEA will benefit a great deal if it engages with the current migration trends to ensure equitable outcomes not only in general representation of VM group in the workforce but also in attaining equitable occupational outcomes that match their qualifications and skills.

For instance, from the customised NHS (2011) and the ABS data (2011), degree-qualified immigrants from Asia and the Middle East attained better occupational outcomes in management positions in Canada in comparison to their counterparts in similar capacity in Australia (see chapter eight). This shows that these groups of culturally diverse SIs were better integrated in Canada than in Australia. This is perhaps owing to the EEA that targets VM group in Canada. Australia does not have an equivalent of the EEA for ensuring equity for the NESB workforce. While culturally diverse SIs are strongly represented in the labour

market, their overall performance in the larger labour market in both countries do not indicate equitable outcomes yet.

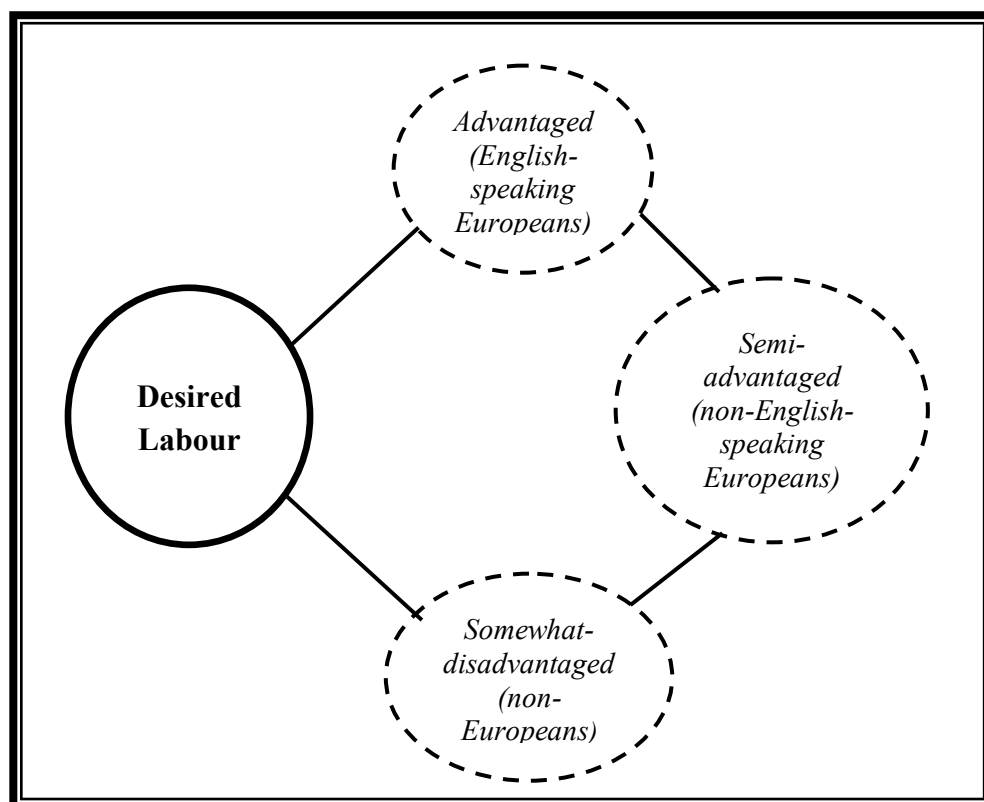
- ***What key factors contribute to the labour market integration of skilled immigrants and how do these key factors contribute to the overall labour market integration of skilled immigrants?***

The study finds that cultural and linguistic backgrounds significantly shape the labour market integration of SIs. This suggests that the integration of SIs is strongly shaped by social identity and institutional barriers that favour immigrants from similar linguistic backgrounds. While language is a form of capital, it can also become an institutional barrier if used purposefully to exclude some groups of SIs from attaining employment equivalent to their qualifications. The study identifies historical patterns of using some form of purposeful barriers to prevent some groups of immigrants from attaining equitable outcomes, despite the existence of laws that prevent overt discrimination. This research evidence suggests the likelihood of persistent covert discrimination in the labour market to some extent.

Overall, the current study identified that SIs in the labour market appear to be segmented into three groups, categorised as *advantaged (English-speaking Europeans)*; *semi-advantaged (non-English-speaking Europeans)* and *somewhat-disadvantaged (non-Europeans)* groups (Figure 10.1). I will refer to these categories as the cultural-linguistic identity pattern. The categories illustrate that the *services* of all these migrants are desired for filling labour shortages but their labour market integration is highly segmented and shaped by cultural and linguistic proximities. The identifiable category of the SI group influences how well the individuals are integrated into the labour market. All these three groups are recruited by Canada and Australia on an equal human capital basis (in this case all are degree-qualified

migrants) but employment is offered on shared cultural and linguistic values rather than skill or educational credentials. Categorisation of groups with distant cultural-linguistic characteristics is found to penalise them in the labour market. This shows that instead of culturally diverse SIs being valued for their ability to be adept in cultures and languages other than their own, they find themselves paradoxically entangled in markets that are oblivious to such qualities and are considered as lacking the skills to function effectively in the labour market. This thesis sees these segmentations and discrimination as being shaped by lack of cultural competence on the part of employers and institutions.

Figure 10. 1 The Cultural-Linguistic Identity Pattern



Source: This study

The research results show that the economics of self-interest in Canada and Australia has promoted cultural tolerance to some extent to gain economic ‘associates,’ from traditionally non-preferred culturally diverse SIs to harness their human capital qualities for global competition. The paradox is that the successful labour market integration of these highly sought after culturally diverse SIs is also shaped by linguistic and cultural backgrounds as SIs from traditionally preferred regions are offered advantaged employment positions while these individuals are rather excluded from leadership positions. This demonstrates that cultural and linguistic proximities play key roles in the labour market integration of SIs.

While recent immigrants to Canada and Australia are more highly educated than earlier cohorts, it is important to note that policies prior to the non-discriminatory policies in the 1960s and the 1970s have resulted in labour markets dominated by British immigrants and other Europeans and their offspring. For example in Australia, for every one immigrant that was allowed entry into Australia, about ten times more immigrants were selected from Britain. These individuals are more likely to have their descendants still in power positions who resist any unfamiliar new migrants who attempt to assume equal power positions. This places culturally diverse SIs who are arriving currently in a rather more complex position as they are considered still the minority in Canada and Australia irrespective of their growing numbers.

- *Which country has been more effective in integrating their skilled immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds into the labour market and why?*

To claim that one country has been more effective than the other is rather relative. To start with, neither of the two countries can adequately claim to be effective at integrating SIs who are all degree-qualified. The countries’ success in integration is shaped by arbitrary

factors (culture, social identity and institution barriers) which deny meritorious employment outcomes. This does not align with the research definition of effective labour market integration. The research finds that culturally diverse SIs are somewhat better integrated in Canada than in Australia when their labour market is examined at the general employment representation level in the FPS and the APS from the legislation impact perspective (see chapter seven).

Yet, to a certain degree, the research finds that in total, SIs in Australia perform relatively better in the labour market than in Canada (see chapters eight and nine). The better labour market outcomes of the total degree-qualified migrants may be due to a number of factors (as discussed in chapter nine) including possibly influence of the larger proportion of immigrants from English speaking background who arrive in Australia. For example, in this study, Australia selected about four times the number of degree-qualified immigrants from the UK in comparison to Canada (see chapter eight).

- *What are the policy implications of these comparisons, and how might the integration of skilled immigrants in employment be handled better in the future?*

Canada and Australia have attracted a significant number of culturally diverse SIs. The ability of immigration policies to attract and select the best and the brightest, provides a perception of a culturally tolerant environment and possibility of equal access to employment in the labour market. It is only when SIs have migrated into the host nations that the reality of policy intentions in comparison to what actually occurs in the labour market presents substantial challenges, especially for the historically non-preferred migrants or non-English-speaking SIs.

The evidence in this research suggests that the labour market processes and practices are disconnected from employment equity issues in the two liberal democratic countries. The results clearly show that the prospects of SIs from culturally diverse backgrounds are significantly influenced by labour market processes and practices that consciously or unconsciously influence the progress of culturally diverse SIs. The research evidence suggest that it is important to adopt ways to bridge the gap between traditional SIs (those from either English-speaking or European backgrounds) and the non-traditional SIs (non- English-speaking or non-European-backgrounds) rather than continuous segmentation. It is more sensible to build bridges to be more connected with one another than to build barriers to separate us. The following policy implications are worth taking note of.

Policy Implications

Although the three public policies that were examined in this study exist to support employment integration, diversity and equity, the results of the research indicate the need for stronger policy implementation in the labour market. Even as the governments in the two countries focus on recruiting immigrants who are deemed to be ready for successful settlement in the labour market, some groups of SIs continue to experience inequitable labour market outcomes. Effective implementation of public policies is likely to affect labour market activities (processes and practices).

It will be helpful to monitor and assess employers and institutions cultural competence (cross-cultural knowledge) in dealing with culturally diverse SIs. At present, the responsibility lies on the government to have effective policies that can promote successful employment integration and SIs who need to possess the required qualifications and skills (capitals) to enter the labour market. The role that employers play to support the labour market integration of SIs is rather missing. The literature lacks adequate documentation of

positive roles that employers play in facilitating the employment outcomes of SIs. Instead employers' behaviour and recruitment practices have been reported as potentially impacting by derailing the progress of immigrants in the labour market (see chapter two, eight, nine). Governments in the two countries will need to develop more targeted efforts to ensure the success of SIs by involving employers' responsibility and accountability in achieving productive results for all parties involved.

Further, studies need to focus on quality of employment outcomes in occupational levels rather than relying on mere participation, employment or unemployment rates. These indicators can be deceptive as a professional migrant who works as a taxi driver can be considered as participating in the labour market. Yet this work is well below the skills of professional migrants who are university-educated cohorts.

This research results show that employers and institutions can benefit from further education to help them understand the educational credentials of non-traditional source regions. This will help employers and institutions to play important roles in ensuring effective integration so that the focus of effective employment integration is not only on the public policies or the SIs but on all three parties (the government, employers/institutions and SIs). Organisations that employ SIs must have a policy that specifically supports the labour market integration of SIs (*see also* Schmidtke 2006).

The evidence of English-speaking background SIs being more successful in the labour market than individuals from non-English-speaking backgrounds in spite of all of them being degree-qualified immigrants also indicates a need for policy attention to monitor what occurs in the labour market. Employers hiring SIs need to provide reports on workforce integration of SIs in their organisations to illustrate how compliant they are with public policies such as equal employment legislation and to show how willing they are to support the integration of

SIs. If corrective policy measures are not considered to foster labour market equity, possibly highly skilled immigrants maybe attracted to countries where their human capital will be valued, such as Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea which have already started to recruit globally.

Since Canada has only recently changed its immigration model in line with Australia, it is only a matter of time to establish if that will improve the labour market outcomes of SIs in comparison to Australia.

There is the need for skilled immigrant networks or associations to work cooperatively with employers or organisations to identify employers/organisational needs for understanding SIs while the SIs also learn to better understand their adopted environment. This will develop a two-way integration process instead of employers/organisations expecting that culturally diverse SIs become cross-culturally competent to 'fit in' (assimilate). Employers/organisations can volunteer to provide SIs with information regarding what they look for in foreign workers and in turn indicate what they seek to learn from culturally diverse SIs while they encourage culturally diverse SIs also to share their culture voluntarily. The mere presence of culturally diverse SIs is not an indication of intercultural diversity.

On the other hand, SIs can also form associations to assist them in the labour market or trade unions can also take more interest in the labour market issues of SIs to ensure employment equity of culturally diverse SIs. Alternatively, developing nations can begin to create strategies to attract their lost brains or Diasporas back to their countries.

Research Contribution

The research has made contributions to the body of knowledge in the area of labour market integration of SIs. Although the research draws liberally from migration studies,

sociology, economics, political sciences and psychology as these fields have excellent documentation of the labour market integration of SIs, the thesis situates itself in the management and human resource management (HRM) field. This is why the study focuses on how effectively SIs are managed through relevant policies that are designed to facilitate their integration. Since Canada and Australia have employed HRM strategies in attracting, selecting and recruitment of SIs, it is only appropriate to analyse the effective integration of SIs through a similar perspective.

Studies at the macro-level have neglected this important area of study and yet without redress at the macro-level, it is difficult to attain any substantial outcome within the workforce. The significance of examining the HRM of SIs and their labour market integration has also been raised by some scholars as they find this area to be under-researched (see Guo & Al Ariss 2015). This current study contributes to the migration and management field.

Firstly, the research contributes to knowledge as cross-country comparative analysis of the labour market integration of SIs is limited. The study examined three public policies relevant to the integration of immigrants and their overall employment outcomes. This is contrary to previous studies which have focused mainly on immigration policies (Birrell & Healy 2008; Borjas 1991; Hawthorne 1997, 2005, 2007, 2008; Reitz 2007a; Richardson & Lester 2004). Since studies that explore how relevant public policies shape labour market integration are lacking, this study has bridged that gap. In addition, cross-country comparative analysis is also limited but the current study has contributed to knowledge in this area by assessing the impact of public policies in relation to employment outcomes of SIs.

The paucity of research that holistically examines public policies from an integrated perspective rather than in isolation to the labour market integration of SIs has been filled. For

instance, MCPs are regarded as a ‘strategy for immigrant integration’ (Reitz 2012, p.528) and yet when it comes to the labour market integration of SIs, little is known about the effectiveness or otherwise of these policies. This current cross-country comparative study has contributed to fill that gap.

Also, an examination of the effectiveness of employment equity legislation in relation to the labour market integration of SIs in Canada and Australia was limited in the literature review. In particular, the cross-country comparative analysis between Canada and Australia was absent and yet these two countries receive a substantial proportion of culturally diverse SIs (see chapter five) even as the literature also signalled some of the challenges experienced by culturally diverse SIs in the labour market. It is therefore logical to investigate to what extent legislation plays a role in the employment outcomes of SIs given that this area was not addressed in cross-country studies.

Secondly, the historical approach to the analysis of policies adopted by this current study also contributes to knowledge. Similar studies have focused on either policy analysis from the post 1960s period, after the abolition of discriminatory immigration policies or from the 1980s when skilled migration phenomenon became prominent. Yet, policy developments have historical roots that need analysis and discussion to enhance our understanding of their impact for today. Through such comparative historical analysis, much knowledge has been drawn to assist in the explanations and interpretations of the current labour market outcomes.

Thirdly, consideration of the historical to contemporary context policy analysis of the two countries undertaken by this study helped develop an analytical policy framework (APF) to facilitate structured policy analysis especially in chapter five. This new framework helped to succinctly outline policy processes, development, patterns and trends so as to be able to assess policy outcomes and challenges more efficiently. Ten themes: (1) *developmental*

stages, (2) rationale, (3) goals, (4) target groups, (5) selection criteria, (6) internal pressures, (7) external pressures (8) Concerns (9) policy response approach and (10) policy outcomes/challenges emerged from examination of the migration literature to help construct the APF for policy analysis (see chapter four; five).

The APF was used in this study to test the viability of analysing the historical to contemporary context of multiculturalism policy changes and patterns in Canada and Australia (see chapter six). The framework worked well for consolidating policy data in a more constructive manner for analysis. Since there is currently no such framework to enable productive policy analysis, this framework constitutes one of the significant contributions that the current study has made.

Fourthly, the research makes a theoretical contribution by using social and institutional theoretical concepts to guide the study. This is contrary to previous studies which have either predominantly relied on human, social or cultural capital to explain the labour market integration of SIs or those that have barely used any theoretical framework for analysis (see chapters two and three). Based on both qualitative and quantitative analysis, I provide explanations of the labour market outcomes of SIs which are rather contrary to many previous studies in this area (see chapter nine).

Fifthly, this study focused on the diversity within the SI population according to region of origin to provide understanding of their labour market integration. This is in contrast to studies that have treated all SIs as a single homogenous group in comparison to the locally born (e.g. Frenette & Morissette 2003).

Sixthly, the research uses current statistical data from Statistics Canada and Australia Bureau of Statistics (2011) to demonstrate the statistical relevance of the labour market results of SIs as well as their employment trends in both Canada and Australia over the period of 2006-2011. The data analyses based on NHS data (2011) and ABS census data (2011) had not been reported in any cross-country comparative studies at the time of writing this thesis. These results therefore constitute a significant contribution to knowledge in this area of study.

Methodologically, the approach used in this thesis is relatively rare. Previous studies have not provided in-depth comparative historical public policy analysis in relation to the labour market outcomes of SIs. Yet it is through this historical comparative analysis that insights into causal patterns have been identified to help explain the overall labour market integration of SIs. The key contribution of this thesis lies in the theoretical framework used to explain the labour market integration of SIs in a cross-country comparative study using the public policies (immigration, multiculturalism and equity policies) to reveal that even with the availability of these policies culturally diverse SIs are disadvantaged in the labour market. The ability of the thesis to use multiple theoretical concepts including culture, social identity and institutional barriers in explaining the employment outcomes of SIs makes it unique. The thesis demonstrates the complexity of the field and the need for theories in an integrated manner to allow for pragmatic explanations of the research results.

Lastly, all these contributions have not been achieved for one-country specific study but rather two very unique global exemplars of immigrant settling nations; providing both academics and policy-makers rich analytical and evidence based findings to benefit from. It has provided both theoretical and practical outcomes that are likely to enhance our understanding of how effectively culturally diverse SIs are integrated in Canada and Australia

and hopefully to contribute to useful modifications in policies, institutions and the labour market.

Limitations of the Study

The research relied on secondary data. This made the study voluminous and time consuming, particularly in relation to obtaining relevant data that directly fitted the purpose of cross-country comparative study. The research relied on policies and statistical data in addition to previous literature for the comparative analysis. Direct stories from SIs or even policy-makers were not used. Gaining primary information through qualitative studies exclusively or as a complement to the mixed methods analysis will be useful in the future. It is also uncertain if SIs in the study attained an employment-match to their intended occupations or are just working at any skill level equivalent to degree qualifications. Future studies may endeavour to consider examining this to shed more light on the current situations.

The statistical data in chapter eight covers all degree-qualified migrants in the selected regions who arrived in Canada and Australia in 2006-2011. This means it involves all SIs irrespective of visa category. As a result it is hard to know how immigrants who were selected exclusively under the points-system are faring in the labour market. A consistent comprehensive study of employer-sponsored SIs in both nations, for example, could lead to different understandings. Future studies may consider looking into this area. Also the focus of the study was on the broader labour market where employment occurs rather than in organisations. Future studies may consider focussing on organisations.

Whereas the current study could help shape better policies for integration of SIs, the cross-country study is time consuming and requires substantial resources, funding and

expertise for effective output. This study has achieved that but perhaps future studies may explore collaborative research to share time, expenses and load.

The fact that SIs from English-speaking backgrounds perform better in the labour market than individuals from non-English-speaking backgrounds, in spite of all migrants being degree-qualified, shows that the key public policies have not effectively impacted on labour market processes and practices. This may require a policy review to align policy goals to labour market activities. The persistence of lower employment success rate for culturally diverse SIs is an indication that a redesign of the current public policies relevant for integration is required to align with current migration trends. Culturally diverse SIs are more likely to gain effective integration and equitable employment outcomes if these public policies are designed to:

- (1) Encourage the processes and practices of the labour market to be aligned with the current public policy goals of fostering non-discriminatory immigration policies, MCPs and the legislation for employment equity.
- (2) Track employment equity outcomes of culturally diverse SIs, given that they represent a significant proportion of the multicultural workforce in both Canada and Australia.
- (3) Encourage employers and institutions to be culturally and linguistically competent to facilitate understanding of dissimilar cultures.
- (4) Alleviate situations of desiring a competent workforce for global competition and yet lacking the necessarily abilities to be globally minded and sustainable.
- (5) Be designed to be inclusive of mutually beneficial outcomes for both SIs and the host countries. Currently, the policies are unilaterally self-serving rather than mutually beneficial to both policy-makers and SIs.
- (6) Have the aim of ensuring benefits to both dominant and non-dominant groups. Currently the policies appear to be developed by dominant groups of policy-makers from the traditional source regions owing to the statistical evidence (in chapter eight) of the lack of adequate culturally diverse SIs in leadership positions. This may contribute to lack of understanding of labour market issues related to SIs.
- (7) Align with the labour market needs of the current SI cohorts in the workforce.

- (8) Include data that indicate the labour market integration of SIs in relation to their educational background or skill levels.

In particular the research recommends that MCPs in their present form in Canada and Australia need to:

- Have a clearer focus on objectives and expected outcomes, as they are confusing and complex.
- Be strongly focussed on culturally diverse SIs as they are the main focus of the current immigration policies
- Include measureable objectives and outcomes that relate to labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs in Canada and Australia
- Include measureable objectives and outcomes of employment equity
- Embrace an *integration-and-learning perspective* to facilitate cultural competence through structured programs
- Encourage employers to be equipped with cultural competency skills for responding to the culturally diverse society.

Implementation of such recommendations would stimulate not only social cohesiveness and integration but also improve the labour market outcomes of SIs.

The legislation on employment equity in both Canada and Australia will require:

- (1) Monitoring and effective data collection in relation to SIs who constitute a greater proportion of the workforce in the two countries.
- (2) That monitoring anticipates substantial effective outcomes in the labour market in terms of both representation and employment quality in line with qualifications.
- (3) The political will of governments to authentically shape the overall labour market outcomes of SIs irrespective of country of origin even as propagated by the public policies.
- (4) Monitoring of labour market processes and practices to evaluate how they align with public policies
- (5) Data collection of employment outcomes of SIs especially in leadership positions as the evidence in this study suggests significant discrepancies in leadership positions among the seven immigrant groups.

- (6) Provision of assistance to help employers and institutions in the labour market to deal with fear of dissimilar cultures and to gain cultural competence.

Summary: Policies, Culture, Social identity, Institutional Barriers and the Labour Market Integration of Skilled Immigrants

The current study finds paradoxes and historical patterns in the labour market integration of SIs even though the phenomenon is contemporary. Exploration of past policy helped to understand the current phenomenon that is being studied. The study finds that the assumption that selecting more competent SIs will effectively integrate them in the labour market has not had the desired impact as far as culturally diverse SIs are concerned. Public policies have not considered the inequities that occur in organisations that operate in the labour market because the individuals who make policy decisions regarding migrants constitute the predominantly advantaged individuals from English-speaking backgrounds or locals.

Although some studies have claimed that poor labour market integration of SIs is due to lack of human, social and cultural capitals (see chapter two and three), I have argued that these are all forms of institutional barriers designed to either position some groups of people in advantaged positions in the labour market or to purposefully disadvantage some groups of people. The individuals who are advantaged in the labour market do not possess any superior qualities or capital attributes than those who are disadvantaged in the labour market. Rather these forms of capitals are used strategically to include or exclude others through the lenses of social identity factors.

Placing the labour market integration of SIs in a broader integrated comparative analysis, it is apparent that the employment integration of SIs in Canada and Australia is rather paradoxical in nature. Although the labour of SIs is highly desirable and there are

public policies to support its recruitment and integration, the labour market practices and processes of labour segmentation and other inequities have limited the overall success of the labour market integration of culturally diverse SIs. Cultural-lingual hegemony is used purposefully to devalue individuals from ethnically distinctive groups, such as those from non-English-speaking backgrounds. While policies have changed over time to better incorporate immigrants from culturally diverse backgrounds, the main issues of employment discrimination and segmentation or even exclusion of culturally diverse SIs from power positions have not changed. As Nkomo and Hoobler (2014, p.255) also noted, ‘the more things change, the more they actually stay the same’. This is because the fundamental issues of inequities continue to linger and appear in different subtle forms. Segmentation and discrimination are practiced in refined ways through the use of language proficiency requirements, local experience, local education etc. (all forms of institutional barriers). While the public policies’ ideologies are significant in supporting non-discrimination, diversity and equity, the policies rationales and goals are unable to be turned into impactful outcomes for the targeted groups of the policies.

Statistical evidence in this study suggests that the discrepancies in the labour market are a reflection of the influence of culture, social identity and institutional factors. As a result the study finds that SIs from English-speaking backgrounds who have a similar cultural and linguistic background as the dominant host countries (Canada and Australia) attained higher labour market outcomes in comparison to all other seven regions investigated in this thesis. On the other hand culturally diverse SIs from non-English, non-European backgrounds were rather disadvantaged in the labour market even though the SIs in this study were all degree-qualified immigrants. This shows that the challenges that culturally diverse SIs experience are rather ‘plexiglass’ in nature as they are ‘fully transparent like glass but much more formidable to shatter’ (Wilson 1993, p.667). The research finds that culturally diverse SIs

have become an economic asset for funding the economies in Canada and Australia irrespective of their qualifications or the quality of employment they attain. This in itself is a form of subtle slavery that needs to be stopped by ensuring that all parties involved in the labour market for the recruitment of SIs act responsibly.

The study suggests that perhaps the lack of cultural competence among employers and limited public policies' implementation, compliance and monitoring of SIs outcomes in the labour market are important contributors to this problem. This has made the labour market in each country an area that is susceptible to practices and processes that do not equitably enhance the advancement of all individuals. Consequently, effective government intervention to ensure equity in the labour market cannot be overemphasised. Additionally, SIs need to begin to draw more attention to some of these labour market issues that impact them in their employment trajectory and initiate forums for their voices to be heard and for change to occur.

This thesis has addressed several research questions relevant to the labour market integration of SIs. Through both qualitative and statistical data, significant findings in relation to SIs have been provided. The particular attention paid to the cultural diversity within the SI groups provided an insight into public policy attempts in Canada and Australia in striving to achieve access and equity in their societies and the realities of what actually happens in organisations within the labour market. The profit oriented goals of the public policies (especially the immigration policies and the MCPs) have not adequately facilitated equitable outcomes. If we focus on only what we can gain from SIs, then we are likely to lose sight of what we can also do to benefit SIs. We should not only ask what culturally diverse SIs can do to build our economic nations but ask what we can do to facilitate their employment progress. Effective integration requires being prudent to build bridges to connect with one another by

learning to be culturally competent in dealing with dissimilar cultures rather than to build barriers to separate us.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Occupational Skill Level Outcomes Interpretations for the Customised NHS and the ABS Data

The skill level A (management and professional occupations) in Canada has identical university education requirements as the occupational outcomes for managers and professionals in Australia at similar level, except that managers in Australia may require skill level 1 (university level) or skill level 2 (Advanced Diploma or Diploma at skill level 2).

The other skill levels in Canada (skill level B to D) do not correspond exactly to the occupational and skill level outcomes in Australia. Nonetheless an attempt has been made to find the closest cross-country match for these differential classifications. In this study I use the Canadian skill levels B and C (*technical and skilled trade which normally require college or vocational education or apprenticeship training and intermediate jobs which usually need high school and/or job-specific training respectively*) to match five of the Australian occupational groups with their associate skill levels from 2 through to 5 (*Technicians and Trades Workers, skill level 2,3; Community and Personal Service Workers, skill level 2,3,4,5; Clerical and Administrative Workers, skill level 2,3,4,5; Sales Workers, skill level 2,3,4,5; Machinery Operators and Drivers skill level 4*). I also use the Canadian skill level D (including labouring jobs which usually require on the-job training) to match with the Australian labourer occupation (*AQF Certificate II or III at Skill level 4 and AQF Certificate I or compulsory secondary education at Skill level 5*). These are the closest match of occupational and skill level classifications between the two countries as shown below (Appendix 1.1).

Appendix 1.1 Canadian and Australia Occupational Group Skill Levels

Canadian Occupational Skill Level		Australia Major Groups of Occupations and Predominant Skill Levels	
A	Management	Managers	1,2
A	Professional jobs	Professionals	1
B	Technical jobs and skilled trades	Technicians and Trades Workers	2,3
C	Intermediate jobs	Community and Personal Service Workers	2,3,4,5
D	Labour jobs	Clerical and Administrative Workers	2,3,4,5
		Sales Workers	2,3,4,5
		Machinery Operators and Drivers	4
		Labourers	4,5

Source: ANZCO 2006; Wilina 2017.

Appendix 1.1 shows that the occupational outcomes under the skill levels B through to D in Canada and the six broad occupations in Australia (excluding managers and professional) with skill levels 2 to 5 are not exactly the same but can be assumed for the purpose of this study. These are issues to do with differences in data collection techniques and coding classifications used in the different countries. Yet these are part of the challenges of conducting cross-country analysis and reliance on secondary data.

It is also important to note that in this study data provided by NHS (2011) and ABS (2011) in their groupings of place of birth are classified slightly differently in Canada and Australia. For instance in Canada, classification of Africa involved respondents born in Western, Eastern, Northern, Central and Southern Africa whereas in Australia it is classified as individuals from North Africa and Sub-Sahara Africa. In Canada individuals from West Central Asia and Middle East have been classified together whereas the Australian classification of Middle East comprises individuals from the Middle East, North Africa and

Middle East nfd. This shows the complex methodological issues involved in cross-country analysis. In this study when I refer to the degree-qualified immigrants from the Middle East, this represents both West Central Asia and the Middle East (for the Canadian data) in order to simplify comparative analysis between Canada and Australia. These differences are likely to have an impact on comparative analysis of the employment outcomes of individuals in these groups.

Appendix 2 Representation of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Federal Public Service (FPS), 2000-2015

	All Employees	VM Group	
	#	#	%
2015	180,681	24,849	13.8
2014	181,356	23,919	13.2
2013	188,342	23,812	12.6
2012	198,793	23,978	12.1
2011	202,631,	22,998	11.3
2010	202,386	21,567	10.7
2009	195,667	19,264	9.8
2008	186,754	17,207	9.2
2007	179,540	15,787	8.8
2006	176,630	15,112	8.6
2005	165,856	13,498	8.1
2004	165,976	13,001	7.8
2003	163,314	12,058	7.4
2002	157,510	10,772	6.8
2001	149,339	9,143	6.1
2000	141,253	7,764	5.5

Source: EE Public Service 2000-01; 2013-14; 2014-15

<http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/psm-fpfm/ve/dee/reports-rapports/2013-2014/tab07-eng.asp>

- Workforce availability: 9.0 (1991); 8.7% (1996); 10.4% (2001); 12.4% (2006); 13.0% (2011)
- Workforce availability in the public service” refers to the estimated availability of people in designated groups as a percentage of the workforce population (EE Public Service 2014-2015).

**Appendix 3 Representation of NESB Employees in Australian Public Service
(APS), 30 June 2000 to 30 June 2015**

Year	Total On-going employees (#)	Total NESB 1 & 2 (#)	Total NESB 1 & 2 (%)
2000	103,071	15,487	15.0
2001	108,663	12,143	11.1
2002	112,233	12,745	11.3
2003	120,277	13,599	11.3
2004	122,351	14,049	11.5
2005	123,372	14,643	11.8
2006	134,709	16,404	12.2
2007	143,538	17,913	12.5
2008	147,370	18,712	12.7
2009	149,825	19,391	12.9
2010	150,433	19,840	13.2
2011	152,722	20,855	13.7
2012	153,464	21,486	14.0
2013	151,384	21,511	14.2
2014	144,888	20,773	14.3
2015	136,498	19,709	14.4

Source: Adopted from Australian Public Service Commission, APS Statistical Bulletin 2010-2011; 2014-2015, p.105).

Appendix 4 Canadian NHS Customised Data (2011)

Education

The data consist of individuals with Bachelor Degree Level or above (comprises Bachelor Degree Level, Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level, Postgraduate Degree Level, Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine and optometry)

Immigrant population and year of arrival aged 25 to 64 years who arrived from 2006 to 2011 includes immigrants who landed in Canada from 2006 to May 10, 2011

Place of birth

Place of birth refers to the name of the province, territory or country in which the person was born. It may refer to a province or territory if the person was born in Canada. It refers to a country if the person was born outside Canada. The geographic location is specified according to boundaries current at the time the data are collected, not the boundaries at the time of birth.

North America

Respondent born in United States, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, Bermuda.

Latin America

Respondents born in Central America, Caribbean, South America, Americas, n.i.e.

Europe

Respondents born in Western, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Europe n.i.e.

United Kingdom

Respondents born in UK, Ireland, Republic of and Isle of Man.

Africa

Respondents born in Western, Eastern, Northern, Central and Southern Africa.

Asia

Respondents born in Eastern Asia, Southeast Asia, Southern Asia, Asia, n.i.e.

West Central Asia and Middle East

Place of birth - West Central Asia and Middle East

The Labour Force Status Rates

In Canada the labour force rates are defined as follow:

- The **participation rate** for a particular group (age, sex, marital status, geographic area, etc.) is the total labour force in that group, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that group.
- The **employment rate** for a particular group (age, sex, marital status, geographic area, etc.) is the number of employed persons in that group, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that group.
- The **unemployment rate** for a particular group (age, sex, marital status, geographic area, etc.) is the unemployed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the labour force in that group.
- The **Not in the Labour Force rate** is the number of people 'not in the labour force calculated as a percentage of the total population in a group.

**Appendix 4.1 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants, Age 25-64,
Year of Arrival 2006-2011 by Region of Birth (Canada)**

	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Other	Total of Selected Regions
Total Population by labour force status	10,820	36,115	43,100	9,315	45,450	175,900	34,600	0	355,300
In the labour force (Participation)	8,865	28,840	35,775	8,380	35,285	137,115	23,600	0	277,860
Employed	8,250	25,110	31,965	7,920	28,085	122,310	19,695	0	243,335
Unemployed	615	3,740	3,810	465	7,195	14,800	3,905	0	34,530
Not in the labour force	1,955	7,270	7,330	940	10,170	38,785	11,000	0	77,450

Source: NHS Customised Data 2011

*In Canada the Middle East includes West Central Asia

*The Canadian data of total employed (243,335) do not match with total population by occupational outcomes (287,250). Data providers could not provide adequate explanations to this.

*According to Statistics Canada: disclosure control rules have been applied to data tables available from the National Household Survey (NHS). The number of actual records used to derive any number in a table must meet a minimum criterion. For a table cell where this criterion is not met, the number is replaced by a zero. Due to this disclosure control, subtotals will not necessarily aggregate to the total. As well, users should note that random rounding has also been applied to the data.

**Appendix 4.2 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants, Age 25-64,
Year of Arrival 2006-2011 by Region of Birth in Percentages (Canada)**

Labour Force Status	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Other	Total of Selected Regions
Total Population by labour force status (%)	3	10	12	3	13	50	10	0	100
Participation rate (%)	81.9	79.9	83.0	89.9	77.6	78.0	68.2	0.0	78.20
Employment rate (%)	76.2	69.5	74.2	84.9	61.8	69.5	56.9	0.0	68.49
Unemployment rate (%)	6.9	13.0	10.6	5.5	20.4	10.8	16.5	0.0	12.43
Not in the labour force rate (%)	18	20	17	10.09	22	22	32	0	22

Source: NHS Customised Data 2011

*In Canada the Middle East includes West Central Asia

Appendix 4.3 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels, Age 25-64, Year of Arrival 2006-2011 by Region of Birth in All fields/Industries (Canada)

Occupational Skill Level	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Total of selected Regions
Skill level A Managers	1,385	2,770	3,635	1,705	2,565	11,840	3,015	26,915
Skill level A Professionals	4,935	10,685	14,820	4,320	13,835	43,065	10,770	102,430
All other skill levels B and C (in all other occupations)	2,725	13,850	16,620	2,490	16,540	69,160	9,145	130,530
Skill level D On-the-job training (Labour job)	215	2,585	2,110	125	2,300	18,610	1,430	27,375
Total Population by occupational outcomes	9,260	29,890	37,185	8,640	35,240	142,675	24,360	287,250

Source: NHS Customised Data 2011

*In Canada the Middle East includes West Central Asia

- All other skill levels B and C (in all other occupations) include technical jobs and skilled trades and intermediate jobs

*According to Statistics Canada: disclosure control rules have been applied to data tables available from the National Household Survey (NHS). The number of actual records used to derive any number in a table must meet a minimum criterion. For a table cell where this criterion is not met, the number is replaced by a zero. Due to this disclosure control, subtotals will not necessarily aggregate to the total. As well, users should note that random rounding has also been applied to the data.

Appendix 4.4 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels, Age 25-64, Year of Arrival 2006-2011 Region of Birth, All Fields/Industries in Percentages (Canada)

Occupational Skill level	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Total of selected Regions
Skill level A Managers	15	9	10	20	7	8	12	9.36
Skill level A Professionals	53	36	40	50	39	30	44	35.65
All other skill levels B and C (in all other occupations)	29.53	47	45	29.09	47	48	38	45.44
Skill level D On-the-job training (Labour jobs)	2.32	9	6	1.45	7	13	6	9.53
Total population by occupational outcomes	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: NHS Customised Data 2011

*In Canada the Middle East includes West Central Asia

- All other skill levels B and C (in all other occupations) include technical jobs and skilled trades and intermediate jobs

Appendix 5 ABS Customised Data (2011)

Education

Non-School Qualification: Level of Education is an aggregate of categories as defined in the 2011 Census Dictionary, based on the Australian Standard Classification Of Education (ASCED), 2001, as follows: Bachelor Degree Level or Above comprises Bachelor Degree Level; Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level; and Postgraduate Degree Level.

N.B. Non-school qualifications are awarded for educational attainments other than those of pre-primary, primary or secondary education. They include qualifications at the Postgraduate Degree level, Master Degree level, Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate level, Bachelor Degree level, Advanced Diploma and Diploma level, and Certificates I, II, III and IV levels. Non-school qualifications may be attained concurrently with school qualifications.

Immigrant population and year of arrival: Arrived 2006-2011" comprises persons who arrived in the years 2006 - 2010 inclusive, and from 1 Jan 2011 - 9 Aug 2011 inclusive.

Seven Region of Birth of Person comprises the following groups, aggregated from individual countries as defined in the: Standard Australian Classification of Countries (SACC), 2011, Version 2.3.

Asia comprises South-East Asia, North-East Asia, and Southern and Central Asia.

Africa comprises North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Middle East comprises the Middle East, and North Africa and the Middle East, nfd.

Latin America comprises South America, Central America, Caribbean, and Americas, nfd.

UK, CI, IM & Ireland comprises United Kingdom, Channel Islands, and Isle of Man, nfd, the United Kingdom, Channel Islands, and Isle of Man, and the Republic of Ireland.

Europe comprises the Rest of North-West Europe (i.e. North-West Europe, nfd, Western Europe, and Northern Europe); and Southern and Eastern Europe.

North America comprises countries within the category "Northern America" i.e. Northern America, nfd, Bermuda, Canada, St Pierre and Miquelon, and United States of America.

The Labour Force Status Rates

In Australia are expressed as below:

- The **participation rate**: is the total labour force expressed as a percentage of the total population of aged 25-64 degree-qualified migrants.
- In Australia the **Employment rate** is the number of employed persons Expressed as a percentage of the labour force (i.e. employed + unemployed) in the same group. This has been changed to compliment the Canadian definition. Therefore in this study the Australian the **employment rate**: is the number of employed persons expressed as a percentage of the total population of aged 25-64 degree-qualified migrants.

- **Unemployment rate:** is the number of unemployed persons expressed as a percentage of the labour force in the same group.
- **Not in the labour force rate:** is the number of persons not in the labour force expressed as a percentage of the total population of aged 25-64 degree-qualified migrants

Appendix 5.1 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants, Age 25-64, Year of Arrival 2006-2011 by Region of Birth (Australia)

	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Other	Total of Selected Regions
Total population by labour force	12,919	12,624	21,967	42,509	21,244	182,359	13,427	414	307,463
Total Labour Force (Participation)	10,372	10,578	18,208	38,870	17,994	140,134	7,742	302	244,200
Employed	9,833	9,722	16,939	37,767	16,753	126,645	6,457	258	224,374
Unemployed	539	856	1269	1103	1241	13489	1285	44	19,826
Not in the labour force	2,528	2,027	3,732	3,576	3,201	41,518	5,639	112	62,333
Not stated	19	19	27	63	49	707	46	0	930

Source: ABS Customised Data 2011

Appendix 5.2 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants, Age 25-64, Year of Arrival 2006-2011 by Region of Birth in Percentages (Australia)

Labour Force Status	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Inadequately described	Total of Selected Regions
Total Population by labour force (%)	4.20	4.11	7.14	13.83	6.91	59.31	4.37	0.13	100.00
Participation Rate (%)	80.3	83.8	82.9	91.4	84.7	76.8	57.7	72.9	79.42
Employment Rate (%)	76.1	77.0	77.1	88.8	78.6	69.4	48.0	62.3	72.98
Unemployment Rate (%)	5.2	8.1	7	2.8	6.9	9.6	16.6	14.6	8.12
Not in the labour force rate (%)	19.57	16.06	16.99	8.41	15.07	22.77	42.00	27.05	20.27
Not stated	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.3	0	0.3

Source: ABS Customised Data 2011

Appendix 5.3 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels, Age 25-64, Year of Arrival 2006-2011 by Region of Birth (Australia)

Occupation	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Inadequately described/At sea	Total of Selected Region of Birth
Managers (Skill Level 1,2)	1714	897	2522	6890	2470	9476	547	27	24543
Professional (Skill Level 1)	5595	3446	9034	22285	9732	47421	3499	150	101162
All other occupations (except labourers)	2264	3705	4606	7749	3902	53812	2050	70	78158
Labourers (Skill Level 4,5)	115	1574	532	495	463	13734	291	4	17208
Inadequately described	119	61	199	295	118	1322	52	0	2166
Not Stated	27	39	47	49	71	882	22	0	1137
Total population by occupation outcomes	9834	9722	16940	37763	16756	126647	6461	251	224374

Source: ABS Customised Data 2011

Appendix 5.4 Labour Market Outcomes of Degree-Qualified Immigrants by Occupational Skill Levels, Age 25-64, Year of Arrival 2006-2011 by Region of Birth in Percentages (Australia)

Occupation	North America	Latin America	Europe	UK	Africa	Asia	Middle East	Inadequately described/At sea	Total of Selected Region of Birth
Managers (Skill level 1 & 2)	17.43	9.23	14.89	18.25	14.74	7.48	8.47	10.76	10.94
Professional (Skill level 1)	56.89	35.45	53.33	59.01	58.08	37.44	54.16	59.76	45.09
All other occupations (except Labourers)	23.03	38.1	27.18	20.53	23.29	42.48	31.73	27.88	34.83
Labourers (Skill Levels 4,5)	1.17	16.19	3.14	1.31	2.76	10.84	4.50	1.59	7.67
Inadequately described	1.21	0.63	1.17	0.78	0.70	1.04	0.80	0.00	0.97
Not Stated	0.27	0.40	0.28	0.13	0.42	0.70	0.34	0.00	0.51
Total population by occupational outcomes	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: ABS Customised Data 2011

- All other occupations include Technicians & Trade workers, Community & Personal Service Workers, Clerical & Administrative Workers, Sales Workers and Machinery Operators and Drivers (skill levels 2,3, 4,5)