

Why Do Immigrant Workers in Australia Perform So Much Better than in Canada? Is it the Immigrants or their Labour Markets?*

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Abstract

Research comparing the labour market performance of recent cohorts of immigrants to Australia and Canada points to better outcomes for Australian immigrants, which has been attributed to its stricter selection policy introduced in the late 1990s, such as its use of mandatory pre-migration English-language testing. Comparing Australian and Canadian Census data between 1986 and 2006, we find that not only does the performance advantage of Australian immigrants predate the recent tightening of Australia's selection policies, but that for the most recent arrival cohorts it partly reflects differences in the conditions facing all new labour market entrants in the two countries, whether foreign-born or not. When we take account of these broader entry conditions and compare immigrants from a common source country, either the UK, China, or India, we find virtually no remaining evidence of superior employment or earnings outcomes for Australian immigrants, and in a few cases, such as the earnings of recent young Indian men, better outcomes in Canada. We interpret these results as indicating not only that stricter Australian selection is not solely responsible for the superior performance of Australian immigrants, but also that the ramping up of Australia's selection criteria are having an effect primarily by shifting the source country distribution of recent arrival cohorts, rather than in identifying higher-quality migrants within source countries.

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1 Introduction

According to 2006 Census data, roughly one-in-five residents of Australia and Canada were born abroad (22% and 20%, respectively). These proportions increase to two-in-five when the children of immigrants are also counted (44% in Australia and 39% in Canada). Among OECD countries with populations exceeding 8 million, Australia and Canada stand alone as nations of immigrants. In the U.S., the country to which John F. Kennedy's famous 1958 pamphlet "A Nation of Immigrants" was referring, first-generation immigrants account for a relatively modest 13% of the population, which rises to only 22% when the second-generation are included. Moreover, on a per-capita basis, Australia and Canada continue to be the two largest immigrant-receiving countries in the world, admitting the equivalent of roughly 0.8% of their populations every year.¹

The way in which these new permanent residents are selected further sets Australian and Canadian immigration apart internationally. By the mid-1970s both countries had replaced their systems of selecting immigrants primarily on the basis of their country of origin with "points systems" identifying skilled workers on the basis of an explicit set of criteria. This change in approach subsequently produced dramatic shifts in the source countries of its immigrants, in particular away from the UK and Europe, towards Asia and, to a lesser extent, Africa. A recent report by Statistics Canada forecasted that by 2017 a majority of Toronto's population (Canada's largest) will belong to a racial minority group. Melbourne – Australia's fastest growing city and soon to be its largest – has similarly become over the past three decades one of the world's most multicultural cities.

Yet despite their shared cultural heritage, legal systems, and recent experiences with nation building, research examining data up to the early 1990s reveals a striking contrast in the labour market performance of their immigrants. In Canada, there now exists a large literature documenting a substantial deterioration in the earnings of more recent immigrant arrival cohorts, which appears concomitant with the shift from European to Asian migration (Baker and Benjamin 1994; Bloom, Grenier and Gunderson 1995; Grant 1999). Comparable research using Australian data has, however, found relatively modest evidence of labour market disparities among immigrant workers and certainly no evidence of deterioration across cohorts (Chiswick and Miller 1985; McDonald and Worswick 1999). Using 1981 and 1991 Census data from Canada and Australia (as well as the U.S.), Antecol, Kuhn and Trejo (2006) directly compare estimates of standard earnings assimilation models (Chiswick 1978; Borjas 1985) across countries paying close attention to whether the differences primarily reflect relative wage ("price") or employment ("quantity") rates of immigrants.

¹The highest stock of foreign born workers per-capita among all OECD countries in 2006 was Luxembourg (35%). Switzerland had a comparable rate (20%) to that of Australia and Canada. The next highest rates were 14% in Austria and Ireland. For annual data on stocks and inflows of new permanent residents, see the annual OECD reports *International Migration Outlook*.

Their results point to much smaller wage disparities among recent Australian immigrants (less than one-quarter the magnitude of the Canadian gaps for the most recent arrival cohort in their data), but, if anything, slightly inferior employment outcomes. They attribute these differences to the relatively regulated Australian labour market, and in particular, to its centralized award system for setting wage rates across the country and its generous unemployment insurance benefits.²

However, since the mid-1990s Australia has experienced significant labour market deregulation, most notably a dismantling of its awards system (see Campbell 1999 for a description). If the contrast in immigrant labour market performance between countries truly reflects relatively inflexible Australian labour markets, the labour market experiences of Australian and Canadian immigrants should have converged in recent years. However, in the late 1990s Australia also made significant revisions to its immigrant selection policy, including the introduction of mandatory pre-migration English language testing and limitations on the accessibility of unemployment benefits to recent arrivals. Comparing the performance of two cohorts of Australian immigrants observed before and after this tightening of selection policy, Cobb-Clark (2003) identifies substantial improvements six months after arrival, which she attributes in large part to the new selection criteria. Using the same longitudinal immigrant database for Australia and as well as comparable database tracking the performance of a sample of immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2000 and 2001, Hawthorne (2008) finds Australian immigrants not only secured employment more quickly, but also obtained better-quality jobs more closely matching their educational qualifications. This evidence, which has received considerable attention in Canada, has put tremendous pressure on the Canadian government to follow Australia's lead in raising the bar in its selection criteria.³

For countries considering following the 2008 U.K. decision to introduce a points system for selecting skilled migrants, the Australia-Canada comparison provides an ideal "laboratory" to inform policymakers on what works best. In our view, however, there is still much to be learnt about immigrant labour market integration and selection policy from this comparison. In particular, the most recent evidence overlooks the fact that the superior performance of Australian immigrant workers is not a new phenomenon. Australia's immigrants were performing better than Canada's even in the 1980s when there was relatively little to distinguish their selection criteria. Moreover, in the period from the early 1990s to the recent international financial crisis of 2008, Australia experienced unparalleled economic growth, not only in comparison to Canada, but internationally. In focusing exclusively on immigrants, as the most recent research does, one can never be

²Miller and Neo (2003) make the same argument in their comparison of Australian and U.S. immigrant earnings

³For an example of this discourse see Margaret Wente, "Australia has a jump on us; Immigration reforms introduced in 1999, such as testing for language proficiency, paid off right away," *Globe and Mail*, May 17, 2008, p.A21. Hawthorne's research appears to have been influential in the federal government's introduction of the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) in 2008.

sure whether the exceptional recent performance of Australia’s immigrant workers reflects their tightened selection policy or simply broader labour market conditions common to all new labour market entrants, whether foreign-born or not. As the earlier literature suggests, it may be that what makes Australian immigrants so successful has little to do with them and more to do with the labour markets they work in.

In this paper we use Australian and Canadian Census data between 1986 and 2006 to compare changes over time in the employment rates and weekly earnings of working-age immigrant men in Australia and Canada, paying close attention to changes over time in broader labour market conditions affecting all new labour market entrants. Most notably, we borrow an idea from Green and Worswick (2010) and estimate labour market entry cohort effects for native-born workers within each country and compare their evolution over time to the cohort effects of immigrants entering the labour market at the same time. In addition, we exploit comparable information on country of birth and language spoken at home to account for the effects of the changes in Australian selection policy putting greater emphasis on English-language skills.

Our results indicate that the employment rates and weekly earnings of immigrant men arriving in Australia and Canada have become less, not more, similar over time, despite the deregulation of Australia’s labour markets. While the historical employment rate gaps experienced by Australian immigrants upon arrival are now almost nonexistent, the deterioration in the entry earnings of Canadian immigrants has persisted, most notably among the university educated. However, we also find that an important part of the continued superior performance of Australia’s immigrants, particularly in comparing the least educated (high school or less) between countries, reflects a general deterioration in entry labour market conditions in Canada that has not occurred in Australia. Furthermore, when we account for these labour market conditions, as well as whether the language spoken at home is foreign, and compare immigrants from a single source country (we compare the UK, India and China), the superior performance of Australian immigrants is for the most part no longer evident. For example, comparing recent immigrant men from India arriving after the age of 19, employment rates relative to native-born new entrants are slightly higher in both countries, but entry earnings appear at a much greater disadvantage in Australia than in Canada. The results do, however, continue to indicate relatively inferior employment prospects for Chinese migrants to Canada. These results suggest to us that the superior labour market performance of recent immigrants to Australia and Canada, particularly among those with a university degree, is driven largely by the greater emphasis of Australian selection policy on English-language ability, but differences in the self-selection of migrants, particularly Chinese particularly, are also contributing.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the following section we describe the

compare administrative data on inflows of new permanent residents between countries and then describe the Census data that are employed in our main analysis. Section 3 then explains the empirical specifications we estimate and Section 4 presents the results. In Section 5 we summarize our main findings.

2 Data

2.1 Immigrant inflows

Prior to presenting any results comparing the labour market performance of immigrants to Australia and Canada, it is useful to compare and contrast the characteristics of immigrants to these two countries. Using administrative data from both Australia and Canada, Figure 1 presents information on the annual inflows of permanent settler arrivals.⁴ Both countries experienced an expansion in settler flows starting in the late 1980s. At least since the mid 1990s settler inflows in both countries appear to move together suggesting, at least informally, immigrant inflows might be responding to similar demand conditions within the two countries or similar global immigrant supply conditions.

Figures 2, 3, and 4 present information on the annual inflows of permanent settler arrivals by class. Both countries have experienced a compositional shift away from a family-reunification based migration program towards one based on skill and economically-independent immigrants. Although the gap has been narrowing, throughout the period 1986-2006 the share of migrants admitted under the skill class has been greater in Canada than in Australia. It is unlikely that selection policy alone can explain the relative labour market performance of immigrants in the two countries. In particular it must be the interaction between an increasing share admitted under the skill class and idiosyncratic features of Australian labour markets or the characteristics of immigrants to Australia that explain the difference. With the exception of the period 1986-1991, the share of immigrants admitted under the refugee and humanitarian class has remained relatively constant and similar between Australia and Canada.

Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8 present information on the annual inflows of permanent settler arrivals by region of birth. Beginning in the late 1970s, both Australia and Canada experienced a shift away from immigrants from European countries towards immigrants from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Over the period 1986-2006, Canada typically received a larger share of settler arrivals from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Although the share of settler arrivals from the United Kingdom has generally been falling in both Australia and Canada, Australia has historically received a

⁴For Australia, these data are published by The Department of Immigration & Citizenship in *Immigration Update* for 1991-1993 and ABS Catalog 3412.0 *Migration Australia* for 1994-2006. For Canada these data are published by Citizenship & Immigration Canada 1986-2006 and 2000-2006.

greater share of settler arrivals from the United Kingdom. For example, for the most recent cohorts, UK migrants account for roughly 5% of Canadian immigrants, but 20% of Australian. Given that these immigrants are likely to experience the fewest difficulties integrating into the host-country labour markets, this substantial difference in the source-country composition of immigrants between Australia and Canada almost certainly contributes to the relative success of the Australian immigrants.

2.2 Census data

We analyse individual level census data from Australia and Canada over the period 1986-2006.⁵ In addition to the institutional, historical, and cultural similarities between the two countries, both nations conduct their Censuses in the same year. This allows a straight forward comparison of the relative labour market performance of immigrants in the two countries. Both countries collected their census data in 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006. For both Australia and Canada, these data provide comparable cross-section data on specific demographic and labour force characteristics of individuals as well as information on country of birth and year of arrival for foreign-born individuals.

In order to facilitate comparison with earlier work, we restrict our sample as closely as possible to the existing literature. We restrict attention to males between the ages of 25 and 59. The earliest immigrant arrival cohort that can be consistently identified across all cross-sections in the Australian census is the 1981-1985 cohort. For this reason, we ignore immigrants who arrived in either Australia or Canada prior to 1980. We also exclude all foreign born individuals whose age and arrival cohort indicate a possibility that they may have entered their destination country (Australia or Canada) before the age of 20.

Table 1 provides some summary statistics for the samples from the Australian and Canadian census files. In order to aid comparison with the flow data presented above, this table only includes information for each arrival cohort in their first census of observation. A cursory glance at this table reveals that the characteristics of recent immigrants to Australia and Canada are quite similar. Despite this, some notable differences exist. The differences in the composition of source countries for immigrants to Australia and Canada, identified using the flow data, is also evident in Table 1.

Over the sample period 1986-2006 there have been some small changes in the age distribution of recent immigrants (within the first five years since migration) in Canada, relative to Australia. The age distribution of recent immigrants to Australia has remained relatively constant over this period. However, starting with the 1981-85 arrival cohort observed in 1986, the share of immigrants aged 25-29 was broadly similar to Canada. However, by 2006, the 2001-05 arrival cohort accounted

⁵For Canada we use the public-use files which contain roughly 3% random samples of the population. For Australia, we access confidential data through the Australian Bureau of Statistics's remote access system.

for a much smaller share of recent arrivals to Canada. There have been similar decreases in the share of recent immigrants aged 30-34 in Canada. Overall, in Canada there has been an overall shift towards middle-aged migrants (aged 35-45) at the expense of younger migrants.

Both countries have experienced the same general trend in the educational attainment of recent immigrants. The most recent arrival cohort (2001-05) in both countries is more likely to be university educated and less likely to have no post-secondary qualifications. However, at least as far back as the 1981-85 arrival cohort, the share of recent immigrants with university education has always been higher in Canada. Over the sample period 1986-2006, in terms of educational attainment, recent immigrants to Australia have become increasingly similar to recent arrivals to Canada.

An interesting result emerges from Table 1. Immigrants to Australia, at least within their first five years, are much more likely to speak a host-country official language at home but less likely to be fluent in this official language. This reflects the relatively larger number of immigrants from English speaking source countries (New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States, and South Africa) admitted to Australia. The immigrants from non-English speaking source countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa & the Middle East, are more likely to be fluent in the official language in Canada.

In both Australia and Canada there has been little change in the proportion of recent immigrants speaking an official language at home. However, there has been a larger increase in the share of recent immigrants fluent in the official language in Australia, relative to Canada. This most likely reflects the effects of Australia's stricter language constraints on recent immigrants introduced in the late 1990s.

Looking at fluency in English in Australia we see little change over time for the university educated. However, for those with some post-secondary education fluency steadily increases from 89% to 95% by 2006. For those with no post-secondary, the proportion fluent in English increases from 70% up to 78% in 2006. A similar pattern exists when we look at whether English is spoken at home. While there are some small variations over time for those with university education and some post-secondary qualifications, there is an increase of roughly 10% of those with no post-secondary qualifications speaking English at home. In Canada, fluency in the official languages has remained relatively constant over the sample period. In summary, the improvements in fluency in English in Australia appear to be more concentrated in the less educated.

3 Empirical Methods

As noted above, the superior performance of Australian immigrants, identified in the previous literature, might reflect the tightening of immigrant selection policy or simply favourable broader

labour market conditions common to all new labour market entrants. In a first attempt to answer this question and in order to compare results to the existing literature, such as Antecol et. al (2006, we estimate the following econometric model by pooling data across the five census files 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006:

$$y_{it} = \sum_7 A_{ijt} \delta_j + \sum_5 T_t \pi_t + m_i \cdot \left(\sum_5 C_{ijt} \lambda_j^m + \sum_7 A_{ijt} \delta_j^m + \sum_4 \text{YSM}_{ijt} \gamma_j^m \right) + \mathbf{X}_{it} \beta + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where y_{it} is either log weekly income or a dummy variable indicating if the individual is employed. Each A_{ijt} is a dummy variable indicating whether individual i in census t falls into one of the seven five-year age categories: 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59. Each T_t is a dummy variable indicating the census of observation. Each C_{ijt} is a dummy variable, defined only for the foreign born, indicating whether an immigrant i in census t falls into one of the five arrival categories: 1981-1985, 1986-1990, 1991-1995, 1996-200, 2001-2005. Similarly, YSM_{ijt} is a dummy variable, defined only for the foreign born, indicating whether an immigrant i in census t falls into one of the three years since migration categories: 0-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years, and more than 14 years. The vector \mathbf{X}_{it} is a set of geography controls indicating the region of residence for individual i in census t and ϵ_{it} is a random error. It is well known that, in specification (1), it is not possible to allow for separate immigrant-period effects since separate year effects are not identified for immigrants, due to the perfect linear dependence between entry cohort, years since migration and the current year. The identifying restriction, imposed in specification (1) is that the period effects π_t are the same for immigrants and the native-born.

In order to investigate whether the performance of Australian immigrants might reflect favourable broader labour market conditions common to all new labour market entrants in Australia, we follow Green and Worswick (2010) and allow for labour market entry cohort effects for native-born workers. This implies the following econometric model:

$$y_{it} = \sum_5 C_{ijt} \lambda_j + \sum_7 A_{ijt} \delta_j + \sum_R u_{jt} \pi_t + m_i \cdot \left(\sum_5 C_{ijt} \lambda_j^m + \sum_7 A_{ijt} \delta_j^m + \sum_R u_{jt} \pi_t^m + \sum_4 \text{YSM}_{ijt} \gamma_j^m \right) + \mathbf{X}_{it} \beta + \epsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

where u_{jt} represents the de-trended unemployment rate at time t in region j . Note that, controlling for native labour market entry cohort, the period effects (proxied by census year dummies) are not identified. Consequently, the unemployment rate is used as a proxy for the period effects. The identifying restriction is that the de-trended unemployment rate controls for both the secular trends in the outcome variables y_{it} and the cyclicalities in these outcomes.

In all cases we estimate specification (1) and (2) separately by three education groups. Unfortunately, in the Australian census it is not possible to construct a variable indicating years of education. Additionally, it is not possible to identify whether an individual completed high school or not. Consequently, three education categories are defined: no post-secondary education (high School or less); some post-secondary (certificate and diplomas); and university degree. However, when estimating the model separately by immigrant source country, we are forced to pool the education group. In this case, we add fixed effects for the education groups and their interaction with an immigrant dummy in X_{it} .

There is also an additional feature of the Australian data that needs to be considered. The income data are only available in intervals. The standard approach, in the existing literature, is to transform this interval data into a continuous variable by using the midpoints for each reported category. This requires some decision regarding the open top interval. We believe that this procedure eliminates much of the variation within income levels. We estimate models (1) and (2) using an interval data maximum likelihood estimator. For individual i in census year t we observe whether they are have income in the some interval j . In this case, the contribution to the likelihood for this individual is $\Pr[y_j^L \leq y_{it} \leq y_j^U]$ where y_j^L and y_j^U are the lower and upper limits of the income interval respectively. This interval regression approach amounts to essentially an ordered probit model where the cut-points are known.

4 Results

We begin by estimating the standard assimilation model, including fixed year effects to account for national labour market conditions affecting all workers. Although we initially make no attempt to control for heterogeneity in language ability across immigrants cohorts, we do estimate the models separately for three levels of educational attainment: high school or less; some postsecondary; or university degree. The results are presented for employment and weekly income in Tables 2 and 3, respectively.

Consistent with the existing literature, the results point to larger employment rate gaps in Australia for migrants of the early 1980s (although interestingly the gaps are much smaller if one considers a migrant arriving at an age older than the reference group of 25-29). For example, the employment rate of university-educated Australian immigrants arriving between 1981 and 1985, was 18.0 percentage points lower than the similarly-aged and educated native-born workers. In contrast, the equivalent Canadian gap was a relatively modest 10.5%. While this difference appears to have persisted through the early 1990s, for the most recent cohort (2001-2005), the historical shortfall in immigrant employment in Australia has vanished. While there appears to have some

very small improvements in Canada, across education groups, recent Australian immigrants now face employment rate gaps of less than 7%. What is most striking, however, is the improvements appear to predate the tightening of Australia's selection policy (they are most evident between 1991-1995 and 1996-2000 arrival cohorts).

Also consistent with the existing literature, our results point to much larger earnings disparities for Canadian immigrants in the early 1980s. The exception is the 1981-1985 cohort with a university degree, who in both countries faced statistically insignificant income gaps. But again if one considers an immigrant arriving at an older age, Canadian immigrants of this period were consistently facing much larger earnings disparities than their Australian counterparts. What has happened over the following two decades? With the exception of the least educated group, the relative entry earnings of Canadian migrants have deteriorated dramatically, while in Australia they have remained relatively stable. As a result, among 2001-2005 migrants the income gaps across education groups were substantially larger in Canada. Among with a college diploma or certificate, for example, Canadian immigrants on average earned 33.1 log points less than similarly-aged native-born workers, while in Australia the equivalent gap was a modest 4.4 log points. The evidence, therefore, does not suggest that the historically superior earnings performance of Australian immigrants was due to the relatively regulated nature of their labour markets, since deregulation has clearly not led to earnings outcomes in Australia that look more like those in Canada. The key question, however, is whether the continued superior performance of Australia's immigrants reflects immigrant selection or broader labour market conditions affecting all new labour markets in the two countries.

Before considering the effect of adding the native cohort effects, it is worth considering whether the larger earnings gaps at entry for Canadian immigrants tend to close with years since migration. Looking only at the returns to "time in destination country" it appears that there is greater subsequent assimilation in Canada. However, these effects only tell us about the relative earnings of two similarly aged immigrants with varying years since migration, a point that appears to have been missed in the Antecol, Kuhn, and Trejo (1999) analysis. In comparing immigrant earnings relative to a similarly aged and educated native, one need also take into account the immigrant-specific age profile, which in the Canadian data, across education groups, is strongly decreasing (Borjas 1999). Across education groups, any gains in the "time in destination country" returns are almost exactly offset by these age effects, which suggests earnings are always better off arriving at a younger age, but there is no assimilation in earnings relative to natives.

In terms of employment rates, the results presented Table 4 indicate that adding native cohort effects does little to change the main findings. With the exception of some deterioration through the 1990s in employment rates of the least educated Australian men and university-educated Cana-

dians in the most recent period, entry employment rates of native-born entrants have remained remarkably stable in both countries. Again, the impact of the deregulation of Australia's labour markets in the late 1990s is not evident in the data. The deteriorating employment rates of Canadian university-educated entrants does, however, appear to account the employment rate gap of university-educated immigrants identified in Table 2. When we account for these broader labour market conditions, young university-educated migrants entering Canada appear to have less difficulty finding jobs than their Australian (compare the Australian employment rate gap of 7.9% for the 2001-2005 to the Canadian estimate, which is now very close to zero). Once again, however, this Canadian advantage is not evident among older migrants. Across education groups the disadvantage, in terms of accessing employment, of migrating at an older age appears more substantial in Canada.

Table 5 reveals that the earnings of new labour market entrants have, unlike their employment prospects, changed dramatically over the past two decades in both countries, but in opposite directions. While the booming Australian economy of the 1990s and first half of this decade produced tremendous real earnings gains for Australian-born labour market entrants (roughly 10 log points on average across education groups), their Canadian-born counterparts, in particular, Canadian men with a high-school diploma or less, experienced large real earnings losses (more than 20 log points since the early 1980s for the least educated). These sharply contrasting trends are, of course, consistent with the relative improvements in entry earnings of new immigrants in Australia and Canada.

Consideration of the immigrant cohort effects in Table 5 reveals that the deteriorating broader labour market conditions in Canada can account, in part, for the deteriorating performance of its immigrants. For example, controlling for native cohort effects, the earnings gap facing the 2001-2005 immigrant cohort with high school or less, the education group experiencing the largest deterioration, is now statistically insignificant (point estimate of 6.0 log points). In other words, the average earnings of a 25-29 year-old immigrant who arrived in Canada between 2001-2005 with a high school diploma or less are not statistically distinguishable from the average earnings of a similarly-educated Canadian-born worker entering the labour market at the same time. But the same is not true in Australia. Controlling for native cohort effects has essentially no effect on the estimated relative earnings of immigrants (in the case of the university-educated, the gap for the most recent cohort actually becomes smaller; 9.3 log points compared to 16.7 log points in Table 3). The effect of replacing the fixed year effects in Table 3 with native entry cohort effects (and an unemployment rate) is instead to produce much steeper age profiles for native-born Australians.⁶

⁶The logic is that the increased earnings of Australians were economy-wide, and not specific to new entrants. In

However, this in turn produces declining immigrant-specific age effects in Australia, similar to, and in one case (the post-secondary education group) exceeding, those in Canada. This implies that the earnings penalty associated with migrating at older ages, observed in the Canadian data, is now also observed in the Australian. Given the sound theoretical logic for expecting these penalties, we think the estimates controlling for native cohort effects appear more reasonable. The key result, however, is that while broader labour market conditions affecting all new labour market entrants can, in part, account for the deteriorating entry earnings of Canada’s immigrants, they do not appear to explain the relatively strong performance of Australia’s recent immigrants.

In Tables 6 and 7 we report the results from estimating the same model with native cohort effects, but instead estimate it separately for immigrants arriving from three different source countries: the UK, India, and China. These are natural choices to consider for two reasons. First, in both countries they account for relatively large shares of our new immigrant samples. Second, they lie neatly on a language continuum from a case in which language issues are generally non-existent (the UK) to the case where they are likely the most serious (China) with India providing an intermediate case.⁷ In addition, we add an indicator of whether the primary language spoken at home is not English (or French in the Canadian case). Although, we would prefer to also continue distinguishing between education groups, our sample sizes, particularly in the Australian data, do not permit this. Instead, we add dummies for the three education groups, as well as their interaction with migrant status.

Comparing UK migrants in Australia and Canada, the sharp contrast identified in the previous tables almost entirely disappear. In terms of relative employment rates in the five years after arrival, the estimates suggest somewhat better outcomes historically in Canada, particularly for young migrants, although this is no longer evident for the most recent cohort. In fact, for older migrants (those arriving after age 40), the most UK migrants faced an employment rate gap of about 5% in Canada, but identical employment rates to native-born labour market entrants in Australia. In terms of earnings, on the other hand, migrant men from the UK have historically experienced earnings advantages in both countries relative to their native-born counterparts. Moreover, in both

the model with fixed year effects, the year effects (which we don’t report) capture this secular trend. But in the model with native-cohort effects, the way it is captured is in rising real earnings for new labour market entrants, as well as rising real earnings for older workers. Hence, in the most recent data the model predict higher earnings for the young *and* old, just as the model with fixed year effects does. The question is, of course, whether the increasing earnings reflect “period” or “cohort” effects. If one accepts that our unemployment rate properly captures period effects, then the estimates in Table 5 tell us that the increasing earnings reflect cohort effect effects.

⁷Chiswick and Miller (2004) construct an index of linguistic distance between English and other languages using test results data from the U.S. Department of State, School of Language Studies. Assuming linguistic symmetry, that is it is equally difficult for a native-English speaker to learn Cantonese as a native-Cantonese speaker to learn English, these data provide an index of linguistic distance to English. Among 43 languages ranked, Hindi is 25th, whereas Mandarin is 40th and Cantonese 43rd. It is also true that coming from a British Commonwealth country, the average Indian migrant will have been exposed to more English than the average Chinese.

countries these advantages have tended to grow over time. These results for UK migrants provide further evidence that there is nothing inherent in relative labour market structures that makes labour market integration easier for Australian migrants. Once we largely remove all language and cultural differences from the data, the results begin, in fact, to point to superior labour market outcomes for Canadian immigrants.

The results for young Indian migrant men also do not indicate any performance advantage in Australia. In both countries, the relative employment rates for this group have in fact tended to improve across arrival cohorts, so that the estimates for those arriving between 2001-2005 suggest, if anything, relatively high employment rates. In Canada, this improvement is also evident in earnings. For example, the earnings gap of 14.5% experienced by 25-29 year-old Indian men arriving in the early 1980s, had by the early part of the 2000s been halved (and is statistically insignificant). In contrast, in Australia the equivalent earnings gap strongly deteriorated over the same period to a gap of 24.7% experienced by the most recent cohort of young Indian men. As with young UK men, the data therefore tend to point to, if anything, better performance among Canadian immigrants. Nonetheless, this advantage once disappears if we consider Indian men arriving at older ages, particularly 45 and higher. In terms of both employment prospects and earnings, the Canadian estimates point to much larger penalties associated with migrating at older ages (but also much greater subsequent earnings growth). This suggests to us that the well-documented deterioration in the returns to foreign work experience in Canada have not occurred in Australia.

Lastly, the superior performance of Australia's immigrants is for the most part also not evident in the earnings results for Chinese men, especially among those who migrated at age 30 or older. However, it is evident in their relative employment rates, for example, the most recent Canadian cohort of Chinese men aged 25-29 faced an employment gap of 15.8%, while there is absolutely no evidence of an employment shortfall among their counterparts who migrated to Australia. Moreover, whereas the performance of Chinese migrants to Canada have tended to deteriorate across arrival cohorts, both in employment rates and earnings, this is not evident in the Australian data. In fact, in terms of employment probabilities there is a noticeable improvement beginning with the late 1990's cohort, which may be attributable to the tightening of Australian policy. There is, however, no evidence of any improvement in the earnings of these Australian cohorts. This is consistent with the prediction that providing less income support to immigrant jobseekers upon their arrival, as Australia has done, forces them to ask lower paying wage offers. This raises the possibility that the relatively superior performance of Australian migrants, is due to neither selection policy or labour markets, but rather to settlement policy. In particular, by providing less income support for new immigrants, perhaps Australian settlement is directly influencing the behavior of

immigrants, in particular by lowering reservations wages and making Australian immigrants less fastidious about the jobs they accept (Diamond 1981).

5 Summary

Recent research comparing the labour market performance of Australian and Canadian immigrants has identified significantly better outcomes for Australian migrants, which has been attributed to the tightening of Australian immigrant selection policy in the late 1990s. This evidence has received considerable attention among Canadian policymakers (as well as the media) and appears to have been largely responsible for recent adjustments in Canadian selection policy, such as the introduction of mandatory language testing.

In the paper, we point out that the recent evidence is based exclusively on comparisons of immigrant workers between the two countries. They are, therefore, unable to distinguish the effects of immigration policy and differences in labour market conditions between countries. Given the exceptional growth of the Australian economy through the 1990s and well into the 2000s, we wonder how much of the remarkable performance of Australia's recent immigrants simply reflects exceptionally strong labour markets providing all Australian workers, whether foreign born or not, with a performance advantage.

Using quinquennial Census data between 1986 and 2006 from both countries, we compare the employment and earnings performance of Australian and Canadian immigrants paying close attention to changing labour market conditions affecting native-born labour market entrants. Our results indicate that at least part of the superior performance of Australian immigrants reflects a long-term deterioration in the conditions facing all new Canadian labour market entrants, which did not occur in Australia. This is most striking in comparing the least educated men (high school diploma or less), in which case Canadian immigrants clearly perform better than their Australian counterparts, once similarly-educated native-born labour market entrants are used as the benchmark.

Nonetheless, among immigrants with university degrees, even relative to native-born entrants, immigrants in Australia perform better. To determine to what extent this advantage reflects heterogeneity in immigrants, and in particular in their language skills, we make comparisons across migrants arriving from a common source country – either the UK, India, or China – as well as condition on whether the main language spoken in the migrant's home is foreign. Consistent with the recent evidence pointing to the tightening of Australian selection policy, we find that almost all of the remaining between-country differences in immigrant performance disappear when we compare migrants from the same source country. The exception are recent young Chinese migrant

men, whose employment rates, but not earnings, continue to be noticeably better in Australia.

Overall these results suggest to us that Australian immigration policy, whether in selecting or settling immigrants, may indeed be producing better labour market outcomes for new arrivals. Nonetheless, whatever these policies are, two things appear to be true. First, they are not affecting the relative performance of the least educated, pointing to the role of assessment of economic immigrants. Second, to the extent that the differences reflect selection policy, these policies are working primarily by influencing the source country distribution of new arrival cohorts, rather than by successfully identifying relatively higher-potential migrants among migrants applying from the same source country.

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Table 1: Sample Means by Immigrant Entry Cohort in First Census Year Following Migration

	AUSTRALIA					CANADA				
	Arrival Cohort					Arrival Cohort				
	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-00	01-05	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-00	01-05
<u>Age</u>										
25-29	0.296	0.262	0.201	0.234	0.263	0.286	0.233	0.193	0.160	0.139
30-34	0.238	0.273	0.232	0.253	0.239	0.270	0.264	0.240	0.238	0.233
35-39	0.206	0.186	0.221	0.202	0.190	0.186	0.205	0.202	0.213	0.233
40-44	0.115	0.131	0.172	0.131	0.141	0.095	0.135	0.154	0.172	0.176
45-49	0.080	0.077	0.097	0.091	0.090	0.059	0.074	0.110	0.119	0.114
50-54	0.036	0.043	0.038	0.057	0.047	0.044	0.049	0.060	0.064	0.067
55-59	0.027	0.027	0.039	0.033	0.030	0.059	0.040	0.041	0.033	0.039
<u>Education</u>										
High School or Less	0.465	0.425	0.346	0.334	0.233	0.355	0.353	0.333	0.207	0.219
Certificate or Diploma	0.377	0.317	0.312	0.312	0.270	0.378	0.390	0.357	0.278	0.217
University	0.157	0.258	0.342	0.354	0.497	0.267	0.254	0.309	0.515	0.560
<u>Place of Birth</u>										
Americas	0.058	0.056	0.047	0.044	0.059	0.191	0.159	0.133	0.090	0.119
United States		0.026		0.019	0.027	0.040	0.023	0.016	0.017	0.019
United Kingdom ^a	0.227	0.193	0.180	0.186	0.206	0.086	0.038	0.027	0.023	0.025
Oceania	0.162	0.182	0.123	0.206	0.140					
New Zealand	0.140	0.150	0.093	0.167	0.115					
Europe	0.146	0.091	0.156	0.102	0.104	0.226	0.208	0.177	0.179	0.148
Asia	0.319	0.370	0.374	0.310	0.328	0.355	0.401	0.480	0.509	0.489
China		0.072	0.045	0.062	0.059		0.057	0.085	0.143	0.154
Hong Kong		0.033		0.013	0.007		0.088	0.098	0.033	0.006
India	0.026	0.031		0.53	0.105			0.079	0.107	0.127
Malaysia	0.027	0.038		0.005	0.016					
Pakistan										0.054
Philippines		0.025	0.034	0.014	0.025		0.046	0.062	0.054	0.057
Sri Lanka		0.021		0.023	0.002					
Vietnam	0.082	0.040	0.058	0.018	0.010		0.037	0.025	0.009	
Middle East & Africa	0.088	0.109	0.121	0.152	0.163	0.131	0.187	0.173	0.193	0.209
South Africa		0.021		0.050	0.052					
Lebanon	0.025	0.016		0.009	0.012					
<u>Language</u>										
Fluency ^b	0.810	0.832	0.835	0.897	0.919	0.901	0.915	0.913	0.937	0.931
Home Language ^c	0.450	0.435	0.376	0.465	0.448	0.355	0.316	0.269	0.285	0.356
Mother Tongue						0.283	0.201	0.165	0.160	0.177

^a Includes the Republic of Ireland for Australia. In Canada, the Republic of Ireland is included in Europe.

^b In Australia this measures the ability to speak English well or very well. In Canada fluency is measured as the ability to conduct a conversation in either English or French or both.

^c In Australia this measures whether English is spoken at home while in Canada it measures whether English or French is spoken at home.

Table 2: Employment Assimilation Profiles Separately by Education Group

Age Profile	High School or Less			Some Post-Secondary			University		
	Australia	Canada	Canada	Australia	Canada	Canada	Australia	Canada	Canada
30-34	0.028 ^a (0.005)	0.032 ^a (0.003)	0.011 ^a (0.004)	0.029 ^a (0.004)	0.029 ^a (0.002)	0.025 ^a (0.005)	0.064 ^a (0.003)	0.064 ^a (0.003)	0.064 ^a (0.003)
35-39	0.031 ^a (0.005)	0.039 ^a (0.003)	0.012 ^a (0.004)	0.030 ^a (0.004)	0.030 ^a (0.002)	0.023 ^a (0.005)	0.076 ^a (0.003)	0.076 ^a (0.003)	0.076 ^a (0.003)
40-44	0.029 ^a (0.005)	0.043 ^a (0.003)	0.004 (0.004)	0.029 ^a (0.004)	0.029 ^a (0.002)	0.020 ^a (0.005)	0.076 ^a (0.003)	0.076 ^a (0.003)	0.076 ^a (0.003)
45-49	0.026 ^a (0.005)	0.038 ^a (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.025 ^a (0.004)	0.025 ^a (0.002)	0.019 ^a (0.005)	0.073 ^a (0.003)	0.073 ^a (0.003)	0.073 ^a (0.003)
50-54	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.034 ^a (0.005)	-0.007 ^a (0.006)	-0.007 ^a (0.003)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.059 ^a (0.003)	0.059 ^a (0.003)	0.059 ^a (0.003)
55-59	-0.119 ^a (0.006)	-0.115 ^a (0.003)	-0.164 ^a (0.007)	-0.130 ^a (0.007)	-0.130 ^a (0.003)	-0.092 ^a (0.003)	-0.084 ^a (0.005)	-0.084 ^a (0.005)	-0.084 ^a (0.005)
<u>Immigrant Entry Cohort</u>									
1981-1985	-0.151 ^a (0.021)	-0.073 ^a (0.011)	-0.134 ^a (0.021)	-0.105 ^a (0.021)	-0.105 ^a (0.010)	-0.180 ^a (0.024)	-0.105 ^a (0.012)	-0.105 ^a (0.012)	-0.105 ^a (0.012)
1986-1990	-0.094 ^a (0.020)	-0.082 ^a (0.010)	-0.139 ^a (0.021)	-0.111 ^a (0.021)	-0.111 ^a (0.009)	-0.169 ^a (0.021)	-0.124 ^a (0.011)	-0.124 ^a (0.011)	-0.124 ^a (0.011)
1991-1995	-0.153 ^a (0.023)	-0.074 ^a (0.010)	-0.139 ^a (0.022)	-0.125 ^a (0.022)	-0.125 ^a (0.010)	-0.172 ^a (0.022)	-0.139 ^a (0.011)	-0.139 ^a (0.011)	-0.139 ^a (0.011)
1996-2000	-0.056 ^b (0.022)	-0.061 ^a (0.012)	-0.106 ^a (0.022)	-0.108 ^a (0.022)	-0.108 ^a (0.010)	-0.123 ^a (0.020)	-0.111 ^a (0.011)	-0.111 ^a (0.011)	-0.111 ^a (0.011)
2001-2005	-0.030 ^c (0.018)	-0.056 ^a (0.014)	-0.059 ^a (0.018)	-0.099 ^a (0.018)	-0.099 ^a (0.013)	-0.067 ^a (0.013)	-0.086 ^a (0.012)	-0.086 ^a (0.012)	-0.086 ^a (0.012)
<u>Immigrant Age Interaction</u>									
30-34	0.030 (0.023)	-0.042 ^a (0.012)	0.058 ^b (0.023)	-0.029 ^a (0.023)	-0.029 ^a (0.010)	0.022 (0.019)	-0.030 ^a (0.012)	-0.030 ^a (0.012)	-0.030 ^a (0.012)
35-39	0.006 (0.023)	-0.044 ^a (0.012)	-0.042 ^c (0.022)	-0.017 ^c (0.022)	-0.017 ^c (0.010)	0.023 (0.019)	-0.051 ^a (0.011)	-0.051 ^a (0.011)	-0.051 ^a (0.011)
40-44	-0.033 (0.024)	-0.073 ^a (0.012)	0.065 ^a (0.022)	-0.025 ^b (0.022)	-0.025 ^b (0.022)	0.032 (0.019)	-0.074 ^a (0.012)	-0.074 ^a (0.012)	-0.074 ^a (0.012)
45-49	0.004 (0.024)	-0.088 ^a (0.013)	0.050 ^b (0.024)	-0.034 ^a (0.024)	-0.034 ^a (0.011)	-0.006 (0.021)	-0.087 ^a (0.012)	-0.087 ^a (0.012)	-0.087 ^a (0.012)
50-54	-0.056 ^b (0.027)	-0.088 ^a (0.014)	0.065 ^b (0.025)	-0.030 ^b (0.025)	-0.030 ^b (0.013)	0.001 (0.023)	-0.107 ^a (0.014)	-0.107 ^a (0.014)	-0.107 ^a (0.014)
55-59	-0.105 ^a (0.030)	-0.083 ^a (0.015)	0.134 ^a (0.028)	0.015 (0.028)	0.015 (0.015)	0.001 (0.028)	-0.019 (0.017)	-0.019 (0.017)	-0.019 (0.017)
<u>Years in Destination Country</u>									
5-9 years	0.070 ^a (0.016)	0.083 ^a (0.008)	0.037 ^a (0.014)	0.080 ^a (0.014)	0.080 ^a (0.007)	0.088 ^a (0.014)	0.117 ^a (0.007)	0.117 ^a (0.007)	0.117 ^a (0.007)
10-14 years	0.133 ^a (0.019)	0.135 ^a (0.009)	0.064 ^a (0.016)	0.110 ^a (0.016)	0.110 ^a (0.008)	0.139 ^a (0.016)	0.152 ^a (0.009)	0.152 ^a (0.009)	0.152 ^a (0.009)
More than 14 years	0.149 ^a (0.018)	0.165 ^a (0.011)	0.065 ^a (0.016)	0.138 ^a (0.016)	0.138 ^a (0.010)	0.152 ^a (0.018)	0.174 ^a (0.011)	0.174 ^a (0.011)	0.174 ^a (0.011)
R^2	0.021	0.029	0.030	0.025	0.025	0.034	0.048	0.048	0.048
No. of Observations	116,768	284,531	103,691	292,397	292,397	52,953	134,171	134,171	134,171

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. a, b, c denote statistical significance in a two-tailed test at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively. The samples are restricted to men aged 25-59 and the immigrant sample is restricted to those who migrated at age 20 or higher after 1980. Regressions also include a full set of year effects, which are fully interacted with geography.

Table 3: Log Real Weekly Income Assimilation Profiles Separately by Education Group

Age Profile	High School or Less						Some Post-Secondary						University							
	Australia		Canada		Canada		Australia		Canada		Canada		Australia		Canada		Australia		Canada	
30-34	0.098 ^a	(0.007)	0.172 ^a	(0.009)	0.084 ^a	(0.007)	0.176 ^a	(0.006)	0.208 ^a	(0.011)	0.283 ^a	(0.008)	0.098 ^a	(0.007)	0.176 ^a	(0.006)	0.208 ^a	(0.011)	0.283 ^a	(0.008)
35-39	0.130 ^a	(0.008)	0.270 ^a	(0.009)	0.138 ^a	(0.007)	0.272 ^a	(0.006)	0.312 ^a	(0.012)	0.467 ^a	(0.009)	0.130 ^a	(0.008)	0.270 ^a	(0.009)	0.312 ^a	(0.012)	0.467 ^a	(0.009)
40-44	0.150 ^a	(0.008)	0.314 ^a	(0.009)	0.143 ^a	(0.008)	0.335 ^a	(0.006)	0.352 ^a	(0.013)	0.571 ^a	(0.009)	0.150 ^a	(0.008)	0.314 ^a	(0.009)	0.352 ^a	(0.013)	0.571 ^a	(0.009)
45-49	0.134 ^a	(0.009)	0.350 ^a	(0.009)	0.141 ^a	(0.008)	0.353 ^a	(0.007)	0.385 ^a	(0.014)	0.611 ^a	(0.009)	0.134 ^a	(0.009)	0.350 ^a	(0.009)	0.385 ^a	(0.014)	0.611 ^a	(0.009)
50-54	0.114 ^a	(0.009)	0.338 ^a	(0.009)	0.129 ^a	(0.009)	0.370 ^a	(0.009)	0.387 ^a	(0.015)	0.636 ^a	(0.011)	0.114 ^a	(0.009)	0.338 ^a	(0.009)	0.387 ^a	(0.015)	0.636 ^a	(0.011)
55-59	0.045 ^a	(0.010)	0.282 ^a	(0.010)	0.089 ^a	(0.010)	0.303 ^a	(0.010)	0.360 ^a	(0.020)	0.611 ^a	(0.015)	0.045 ^a	(0.010)	0.282 ^a	(0.010)	0.360 ^a	(0.020)	0.611 ^a	(0.015)
Immigrant Entry Cohort																				
1981-1985	-0.053 ^b	(0.026)	-0.250 ^a	(0.037)	-0.019	(0.028)	-0.187 ^a	(0.031)	-0.042	(0.039)	-0.034 ^a	(0.042)	-0.053 ^b	(0.026)	-0.250 ^a	(0.037)	-0.042	(0.039)	-0.034 ^a	(0.042)
1986-1990	-0.082 ^a	(0.024)	-0.265 ^a	(0.033)	-0.050 ^c	(0.025)	-0.253 ^a	(0.028)	-0.203 ^a	(0.032)	-0.185 ^a	(0.039)	-0.082 ^a	(0.024)	-0.265 ^a	(0.033)	-0.050 ^c	(0.025)	-0.253 ^a	(0.028)
1991-1995	-0.138 ^a	(0.031)	-0.317 ^a	(0.033)	-0.098 ^a	(0.029)	-0.313 ^a	(0.030)	-0.131 ^a	(0.036)	-0.259 ^a	(0.039)	-0.138 ^a	(0.031)	-0.317 ^a	(0.033)	-0.098 ^a	(0.029)	-0.313 ^a	(0.030)
1996-2000	-0.117 ^a	(0.030)	-0.293 ^a	(0.040)	-0.006	(0.029)	-0.317 ^a	(0.035)	-0.168 ^a	(0.036)	-0.284 ^a	(0.038)	-0.117 ^a	(0.030)	-0.293 ^a	(0.040)	-0.006	(0.029)	-0.317 ^a	(0.035)
2001-2005	-0.058 ^b	(0.026)	-0.256 ^a	(0.051)	-0.044 ^c	(0.025)	-0.331 ^a	(0.056)	-0.167 ^a	(0.024)	-0.393 ^a	(0.047)	-0.058 ^b	(0.026)	-0.256 ^a	(0.051)	-0.044 ^c	(0.025)	-0.331 ^a	(0.056)
Immigrant Age Interaction																				
30-34	-0.026	(0.030)	-0.104 ^a	(0.035)	0.014	(0.028)	-0.077 ^b	(0.032)	-0.005	(0.032)	-0.108 ^a	(0.041)	-0.026	(0.030)	-0.104 ^a	(0.035)	0.014	(0.028)	-0.077 ^b	(0.032)
35-39	0.004	(0.034)	-0.183 ^a	(0.037)	-0.005	(0.029)	-0.130 ^a	(0.032)	-0.043	(0.034)	-0.236 ^a	(0.040)	0.004	(0.034)	-0.183 ^a	(0.037)	-0.005	(0.029)	-0.130 ^a	(0.032)
40-44	-0.017	(0.036)	-0.199 ^a	(0.036)	-0.031	(0.031)	-0.174 ^a	(0.033)	0.012	(0.035)	-0.364 ^a	(0.041)	-0.017	(0.036)	-0.199 ^a	(0.036)	-0.031	(0.031)	-0.174 ^a	(0.033)
45-49	-0.001	(0.036)	-0.223 ^a	(0.039)	-0.025	(0.033)	-0.190 ^a	(0.036)	-0.015	(0.039)	-0.424 ^a	(0.044)	-0.001	(0.036)	-0.223 ^a	(0.039)	-0.025	(0.033)	-0.190 ^a	(0.036)
50-54	-0.033	(0.039)	-0.310 ^a	(0.044)	-0.017	(0.039)	-0.242 ^a	(0.043)	-0.085 ^c	(0.047)	-0.528 ^a	(0.049)	-0.033	(0.039)	-0.310 ^a	(0.044)	-0.017	(0.039)	-0.242 ^a	(0.043)
55-59	-0.002	(0.047)	-0.353 ^a	(0.051)	0.015	(0.047)	-0.278 ^a	(0.051)	-0.100 ^c	(0.056)	-0.568 ^a	(0.058)	-0.002	(0.047)	-0.353 ^a	(0.051)	0.015	(0.047)	-0.278 ^a	(0.051)
Years in Destination Country																				
5-9 years	-0.049 ^c	(0.027)	0.088 ^a	(0.024)	0.001	(0.021)	0.108 ^a	(0.020)	-0.058 ^b	(0.029)	0.089 ^a	(0.020)	-0.049 ^c	(0.027)	0.088 ^a	(0.024)	0.001	(0.021)	0.108 ^a	(0.020)
10-14 years	-0.066 ^b	(0.032)	0.205 ^a	(0.029)	0.028	(0.027)	0.168 ^a	(0.026)	-0.084 ^b	(0.035)	0.150 ^a	(0.029)	-0.066 ^b	(0.032)	0.205 ^a	(0.029)	0.028	(0.027)	0.168 ^a	(0.026)
More than 14 years	-0.116 ^a	(0.032)	0.230 ^a	(0.039)	-0.025	(0.028)	0.232 ^a	(0.034)	-0.030	(0.037)	0.227 ^a	(0.039)	-0.116 ^a	(0.032)	0.230 ^a	(0.039)	-0.025	(0.028)	0.232 ^a	(0.034)
R^2			0.035				0.037				0.097									
ρ^2 (observed, lower)	0.037				0.022				0.021				0.037				0.022			
ρ^2 (observed, upper)	0.053				0.040				0.039				0.053				0.040			
No. of Observations	75,893		161,870		79,914		195,111		42,486		95,667		75,893		161,870		79,914		195,111	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. a, b, c denote statistical significance in a two-tailed test at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively. The samples are restricted to men aged 25-59, and employed full-time. In the Canadian data the sample restricted to those with 48 or more weeks worked in the income reference year. The immigrant sample is restricted to those who migrated at age 20 or higher after 1980. Regressions also include a full set of year effects, which are fully interacted with geography.

Table 4: Employment Assimilation Profiles Separately by Education Group

Labour Market Entry Cohort	High School or Less		Some Post-Secondary		University	
	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada
1981-85	-0.022 ^a	(0.005)	-0.003	(0.002)	-0.006	(0.004)
1986-90	0.044 ^a	(0.005)	-0.019 ^a	(0.003)	-0.007 ^c	(0.004)
1991-95	-0.034 ^a	(0.006)	-0.022 ^a	(0.004)	-0.011 ^b	(0.005)
1996-00	-0.039 ^a	(0.008)	-0.010 ^b	(0.004)	-0.015 ^a	(0.006)
2001-05	-0.009	(0.008)	0.001	(0.006)	0.000	(0.008)
Age Profile						
30-34	0.024 ^a	(0.006)	0.028 ^a	(0.003)	0.011 ^b	(0.004)
35-39	0.019 ^a	(0.006)	0.031 ^a	(0.003)	0.009 ^c	(0.005)
40-44	0.009	(0.007)	0.032 ^a	(0.003)	-0.002	(0.005)
45-49	-0.003	(0.007)	0.024 ^a	(0.004)	-0.010 ^c	(0.005)
50-54	-0.040 ^a	(0.008)	-0.017 ^a	(0.004)	-0.043 ^a	(0.007)
55-59	-0.151 ^a	(0.008)	-0.128 ^a	(0.004)	-0.173 ^a	(0.008)
Immigrant Entry Cohort						
1981-1985	-0.169 ^a	(0.034)	-0.025 ^a	(0.014)	-0.158 ^a	(0.032)
1986-1990	-0.100 ^a	(0.033)	-0.029 ^b	(0.013)	-0.167 ^a	(0.031)
1991-1995	-0.172 ^a	(0.033)	-0.024 ^c	(0.014)	-0.161 ^a	(0.030)
1996-2000	-0.071 ^b	(0.030)	-0.017	(0.015)	-0.121 ^a	(0.029)
2001-2005	-0.068 ^a	(0.025)	-0.009	(0.017)	-0.083 ^a	(0.024)
Immigrant Age Interaction						
30-34	0.034	(0.023)	-0.039 ^a	(0.012)	0.056 ^b	(0.023)
35-39	0.017	(0.024)	-0.039 ^a	(0.012)	0.045 ^b	(0.022)
40-44	-0.015	(0.025)	-0.064 ^a	(0.012)	0.069 ^a	(0.022)
45-49	0.032	(0.025)	-0.075 ^a	(0.013)	0.057 ^b	(0.024)
50-54	-0.023	(0.028)	-0.073 ^a	(0.014)	0.072 ^a	(0.025)
55-59	-0.075 ^b	(0.030)	-0.066 ^a	(0.015)	0.141 ^a	(0.028)
Years in Destination Country						
5-9 years	0.064 ^a	(0.016)	0.078 ^a	(0.008)	0.036 ^a	(0.014)
10-14 years	0.121 ^a	(0.019)	0.130 ^a	(0.009)	0.063 ^a	(0.016)
More than 14 years	0.146 ^a	(0.019)	0.161 ^a	(0.011)	0.075 ^a	(0.018)
Unemployment Rate	-0.011 ^a	(0.002)	-0.005 ^a	(0.002)	-0.015 ^a	(0.002)
Unemployment Rate*Immigrant	0.004	(0.005)	-0.009 ^a	(0.001)	0.005	(0.004)
R^2	0.019	0.026	0.029	0.023	0.033	0.048
No. of Observations	116,768	284,531	103,691	292,397	52,953	134,171

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. a, b, c denote statistical significance in a two-tailed test at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively. The samples are restricted to men aged 25-59 and the immigrant sample is restricted to those who migrated at age 20 or higher after 1980. Regressions also include a full set of region effects.

Table 5: Log Real Weekly Income Assimilation Profiles Separately by Education Group

Labour Market Entry Cohort	High School or Less			Some Post-Secondary			University					
	Australia	Canada	Australia	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada			
1981-85	0.078 ^a	(0.008)	-0.069 ^a	(0.007)	0.067 ^a	(0.007)	-0.043 ^a	(0.006)	0.104 ^a	(0.013)	0.026 ^a	(0.008)
1986-90	0.107 ^a	(0.008)	-0.159 ^a	(0.009)	0.117 ^a	(0.008)	-0.088 ^a	(0.007)	0.154 ^a	(0.014)	0.015	(0.009)
1991-95	0.150 ^a	(0.009)	-0.206 ^a	(0.012)	0.138 ^a	(0.009)	-0.132	(0.008)	0.183 ^a	(0.015)	-0.013	(0.012)
1996-00	0.178 ^a	(0.011)	-0.231 ^a	(0.015)	0.197 ^a	(0.010)	-0.145 ^a	(0.011)	0.227 ^a	(0.017)	-0.005	(0.015)
2001-05	0.201 ^a	(0.012)	-0.309 ^a	(0.023)	0.233 ^a	(0.012)	-0.169 ^a	(0.018)	0.199 ^a	(0.019)	-0.053 ^a	(0.020)
Age Profile												
30-34	0.141 ^a	(0.008)	0.108 ^a	(0.008)	0.130 ^a	(0.008)	0.140 ^a	(0.006)	0.243 ^a	(0.013)	0.270 ^a	(0.009)
35-39	0.209 ^a	(0.009)	0.158 ^a	(0.009)	0.224 ^a	(0.008)	0.204 ^a	(0.007)	0.392 ^a	(0.014)	0.453 ^a	(0.010)
40-44	0.261 ^a	(0.010)	0.161 ^a	(0.010)	0.259 ^a	(0.009)	0.236 ^a	(0.008)	0.473 ^a	(0.016)	0.551 ^a	(0.011)
45-49	0.267 ^a	(0.011)	0.160 ^a	(0.011)	0.287 ^a	(0.010)	0.231 ^a	(0.009)	0.547 ^a	(0.017)	0.591 ^a	(0.012)
50-54	0.266 ^a	(0.012)	0.132 ^a	(0.012)	0.297 ^a	(0.012)	0.235 ^a	(0.010)	0.589 ^a	(0.021)	0.622 ^a	(0.014)
55-59	0.192 ^a	(0.013)	0.083 ^a	(0.012)	0.255 ^a	(0.013)	0.171 ^a	(0.012)	0.563 ^a	(0.025)	0.599 ^a	(0.017)
Immigrant Entry Cohort												
1981-1985	-0.086 ^c	(0.046)	-0.127 ^a	(0.042)	-0.013	(0.046)	-0.101 ^a	(0.034)	-0.053	(0.065)	-0.062	(0.045)
1986-1990	-0.107 ^b	(0.045)	-0.107 ^a	(0.037)	-0.061	(0.045)	-0.161 ^a	(0.031)	-0.224 ^a	(0.060)	-0.207 ^a	(0.041)
1991-1995	-0.166 ^a	(0.044)	-0.149 ^a	(0.040)	-0.091 ^b	(0.042)	-0.205 ^a	(0.033)	-0.138 ^a	(0.059)	-0.253 ^a	(0.043)
1996-2000	-0.127 ^a	(0.041)	-0.151 ^a	(0.044)	-0.009	(0.039)	-0.224 ^a	(0.037)	-0.157 ^a	(0.055)	-0.268 ^a	(0.042)
2001-2005	-0.053	(0.036)	-0.060	(0.059)	-0.041	(0.033)	-0.232 ^a	(0.061)	-0.093 ^b	(0.042)	-0.319 ^a	(0.053)
Immigrant Age Interaction												
30-34	-0.067 ^b	(0.030)	-0.042	(0.035)	-0.032	(0.029)	-0.040	(0.032)	-0.039	(0.033)	-0.094 ^b	(0.041)
35-39	-0.075 ^b	(0.034)	-0.074 ^b	(0.037)	-0.091 ^a	(0.029)	-0.059 ^c	(0.032)	-0.126 ^a	(0.035)	-0.221 ^a	(0.041)
40-44	-0.132 ^a	(0.036)	-0.048	(0.037)	-0.150 ^a	(0.032)	-0.073 ^b	(0.034)	0.115 ^a	(0.037)	-0.344 ^a	(0.041)
45-49	-0.135 ^a	(0.036)	-0.036	(0.039)	-0.171 ^a	(0.033)	-0.067 ^c	(0.036)	-0.179 ^a	(0.041)	-0.402 ^a	(0.045)
50-54	-0.119 ^a	(0.040)	-0.102 ^b	(0.045)	-0.186 ^a	(0.040)	-0.106 ^b	(0.044)	-0.291 ^a	(0.049)	-0.511 ^a	(0.050)
55-59	-0.147 ^a	(0.048)	-0.150 ^a	(0.052)	-0.149 ^a	(0.047)	-0.143 ^a	(0.051)	-0.307 ^a	(0.058)	-0.552 ^a	(0.058)
Years in Destination Country												
5-9 years	-0.009	(0.027)	0.041 ^c	(0.024)	0.037 ^c	(0.022)	0.074 ^a	(0.020)	-0.023	(0.029)	0.093 ^a	(0.020)
10-14 years	-0.015	(0.033)	0.110 ^a	(0.028)	0.101 ^a	(0.028)	0.100 ^a	(0.026)	0.005	(0.036)	0.155 ^a	(0.028)
More than 14 years	0.118	(0.034)	0.084 ^b	(0.037)	0.118 ^a	(0.031)	0.130 ^a	(0.034)	0.126 ^a	(0.039)	0.245 ^a	(0.038)
Unemployment Rate	-0.032 ^a	(0.003)	0.000	(0.002)	-0.035 ^a	(0.003)	-0.007 ^a	(0.002)	-0.027 ^a	(0.005)	0.001	(0.002)
Unemployment Rate*Immigrant	0.005	(0.007)	-0.029 ^a	(0.003)	0.001	(0.006)	-0.018 ^a	(0.003)	-0.001	(0.009)	-0.004	(0.003)
R^2			0.034				0.035				0.095	
ρ^2 (observed, lower)	0.027		0.020		0.020		0.020		0.020		0.020	
ρ^2 (observed, upper)	0.045		0.037		0.037		0.037		0.038		0.038	
No. of Observations	75,893		161,870		79,914		195,111		42,486		95,667	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. a, b, c denote statistical significance in a two-tailed test at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively. The samples are restricted to men aged 25-59, and employed full-time. In the Canadian data the sample restricted to those with 48 or more weeks worked in the income reference year. The immigrant sample is restricted to those who migrated at age 20 or higher after 1980. Regressions also include a full set of region effects.

Table 6: Employment Assimilation Profiles Separately by Country

Immigrant Entry Cohort	United Kingdom				China			India				
	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada	Australia	Canada		
1981-1985	-0.079 ^b	(0.039)	0.082 ^a	(0.028)	-0.002 ^a	(0.091)	-0.110 ^a	(0.039)	-0.067	(0.081)	-0.056 ^c	(0.032)
1986-1990	-0.055	(0.037)	0.078 ^a	(0.027)	0.138 ^c	(0.076)	-0.088	(0.036)	-0.048	(0.079)	-0.046 ^c	(0.027)
1991-1995	-0.040	(0.036)	0.102 ^a	(0.027)	0.053	(0.077)	-0.125 ^a	(0.035)	0.030	(0.078)	-0.029	(0.025)
1996-2000	0.022	(0.031)	0.078 ^a	(0.028)	0.125 ^c	(0.067)	-0.176 ^a	(0.035)	0.040	(0.074)	0.016	(0.024)
2001-2005	0.004	(0.028)	-0.009	(0.017)	-0.083 ^a	(0.024)	-0.058 ^a	(0.016)	-0.079 ^a	(0.021)	-0.000	(0.015)
<u>Immigrant Age Interaction</u>												
30-34	0.029	(0.024)	-0.045 ^b	(0.022)	0.039	(0.043)	-0.005	(0.028)	0.030	(0.037)	-0.050 ^a	(0.018)
35-39	0.018	(0.024)	-0.055 ^b	(0.022)	-0.008	(0.045)	0.010	(0.027)	0.061	(0.038)	-0.074 ^a	(0.018)
40-44	0.021	(0.025)	-0.031	(0.022)	-0.017	(0.047)	-0.016	(0.027)	0.041	(0.042)	-0.075 ^a	(0.019)
45-49	0.012	(0.026)	-0.043 ^c	(0.023)	0.016	(0.048)	-0.043	(0.028)	0.102 ^b	(0.042)	-0.101 ^a	(0.021)
50-54	0.021	(0.028)	-0.048 ^c	(0.028)	-0.045	(0.056)	-0.053 ^c	(0.030)	0.003	(0.064)	-0.104 ^a	(0.023)
55-59	0.001	(0.035)	0.003	(0.033)	-0.024	(0.069)	-0.031	(0.032)	0.132 ^c	(0.067)	-0.086 ^a	(0.027)
<u>Years in Destination Country</u>												
5-9 years	0.032 ^b	(0.016)	0.011	(0.014)	0.043	(0.034)	0.129 ^a	(0.014)	0.076 ^b	(0.038)	0.103 ^a	(0.015)
10-14 years	0.082 ^a	(0.019)	0.003	(0.017)	0.110 ^b	(0.046)	0.124 ^a	(0.020)	0.085 ^c	(0.049)	0.167 ^a	(0.019)
More than 14 years	0.120 ^a	(0.022)	0.012	(0.021)	0.100 ^b	(0.045)	0.212 ^a	(0.026)	0.150 ^a	(0.050)	0.199 ^a	(0.027)
Foreign Home Language	-0.049 ^a	(0.005)	-0.169 ^a	(0.005)	-0.049 ^a	(0.005)	-0.169 ^a	(0.005)	-0.049 ^a	(0.005)	-0.169 ^a	(0.005)
Foreign Home Lang.*Immigrant	-0.025	(0.036)	0.075	(0.061)	-0.156 ^a	(0.030)	0.170 ^a	(0.022)	0.023	(0.026)	0.157 ^a	(0.012)
Unemployment Rate	-0.011 ^a	(0.001)	-0.003 ^a	(0.001)	-0.011 ^a	(0.001)	-0.003 ^a	(0.001)	-0.011 ^a	(0.001)	-0.003 ^a	(0.001)
Unemployment Rate*Immigrant	0.012	(0.004)	0.002	(0.002)	0.012	(0.0114)	-0.003	(0.003)	-0.009	(0.011)	-0.002	(0.002)
R^2	0.051	0.044	0.050	0.045	0.050	0.050	0.050	0.044	0.050	0.050	0.044	0.044
Native Observations	239,477	642,290	239,477	642,290	239,477	642,290	239,477	642,290	239,477	642,290	239,477	642,290
Immigrant Observations	6,439	2,680	2,327	5,988	2,327	5,988	1,940	5,323	1,940	5,323	1,940	5,323

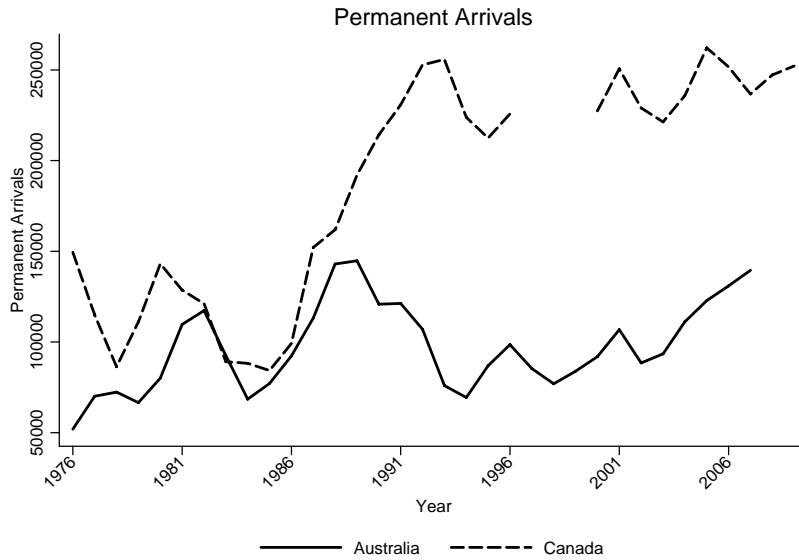
Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. a, b, c denote statistical significance in a two-tailed test at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively. The samples are restricted to men aged 25-59 and the immigrant sample is restricted to those who migrated at age 20 or higher after 1980. Regressions also include a full set of region effects.

Table 7: Log Real Weekly Income Assimilation Profiles Separately by Countries

Immigrant Entry Cohort	United Kingdom						China			India		
	Australia		Canada		Australia		Canada		Australia		Canada	
1981-1985	0.113 ^c	(0.060)	0.170 ^b	(0.071)	-0.262	(0.214)	-0.211	(0.131)	0.013	(0.093)	-0.145	(0.112)
1986-1990	0.141 ^b	(0.058)	0.105	(0.069)	-0.412 ^b	(0.180)	-0.339 ^a	(0.119)	-0.025	(0.110)	-0.174 ^c	(0.096)
1991-1995	0.140 ^b	(0.059)	0.244 ^a	(0.072)	-0.315 ^c	(0.183)	-0.363 ^a	(0.123)	-0.004	(0.118)	-0.144	(0.088)
1996-2000	0.146 ^a	(0.053)	0.257 ^a	(0.083)	-0.318 ^c	(0.178)	-0.405 ^a	(0.124)	-0.155	(0.108)	-0.093	(0.084)
2001-2005	0.172 ^a	(0.047)	0.270 ^a	(0.099)	-0.344 ^b	(0.171)	-0.448 ^a	(0.140)	-0.247 ^a	(0.086)	-0.073	(0.091)
Immigrant Age Interaction												
30-34	0.013	(0.035)	-0.017	(0.057)	-0.147 ^b	(0.059)	-0.020	(0.086)	-0.080	(0.050)	-0.074	(0.065)
35-39	-0.032	(0.037)	-0.032	(0.062)	-0.196 ^a	(0.064)	-0.057	(0.085)	-0.089	(0.056)	-0.119 ^c	(0.066)
40-44	-0.044	(0.042)	-0.027	(0.072)	-0.310 ^a	(0.070)	-0.121	(0.084)	0.001	(0.058)	-0.130 ^b	(0.065)
45-49	-0.100 ^b	(0.043)	0.125 ^b	(0.064)	-0.370 ^a	(0.080)	-0.158 ^c	(0.087)	-0.075	(0.069)	-0.131 ^c	(0.075)
50-54	-0.124 ^b	(0.053)	0.020	(0.072)	-0.418 ^a	(0.100)	-0.138	(0.090)	-0.098	(0.074)	-0.189 ^b	(0.084)
55-59	-0.140 ^b	(0.054)	0.090	(0.094)	-0.354 ^a	(0.124)	-0.240 ^b	(0.103)	0.081	(0.106)	-0.277 ^a	(0.107)
Years in Destination Country												
5-9 years	0.082 ^a	(0.030)	0.034	(0.045)	0.081	(0.058)	0.081 ^b	(0.040)	-0.038	(0.070)	0.154 ^a	(0.053)
10-14 years	0.123 ^a	(0.038)	0.096 ^c	(0.053)	0.191 ^b	(0.085)	0.065	(0.059)	0.006	(0.094)	0.197 ^a	(0.074)
More than 14 years	0.164 ^a	(0.042)	0.187 ^a	(0.067)	0.206 ^b	(0.087)	0.120	(0.085)	0.015	(0.085)	0.188 ^c	(0.108)
Foreign Home Language	-0.118	(0.007)	-0.259 ^a	(0.019)	-0.118 ^a	(0.007)	-0.260 ^a	(0.019)	-0.118 ^a	(0.007)	-0.260 ^a	(0.019)
Foreign Home Lang.* Immigrant	-0.053	(0.055)	0.006	(0.104)	0.058	(0.149)	0.199 ^b	(0.083)	0.029	(0.041)	0.099 ^b	(0.049)
Unemployment rate	-0.033 ^b	(0.002)	-0.002 ^c	(0.001)	-0.034 ^a	(0.002)	-0.002	(0.001)	-0.034 ^a	(0.002)	-0.002 ^c	(0.001)
Unemployment rate * Immigrant	-0.018 ^a	(0.007)	-0.017 ^a	(0.005)	0.012	(0.017)	-0.018 ^a	(0.005)	-0.001	(0.014)	-0.020 ^a	(0.006)
R^2			0.084				0.085				0.084	
ρ^2 (observed, lower)	0.070		0.069		0.069		0.068		0.068		0.068	
ρ^2 (observed, upper)	0.123		0.122		0.122		0.120		0.120		0.120	
Native Observations	174,511		174,511		174,511		416,530		174,511		416,530	
Immigrant Observations	5,199		1,950		1,480		2,727		1,460		2,934	

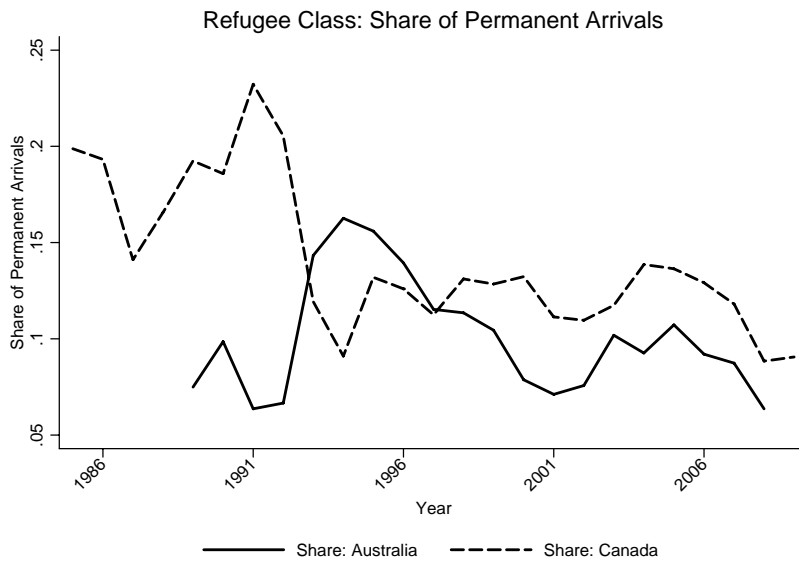
Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. a, b, c denote statistical significance in a two-tailed test at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively. The samples are restricted to men aged 25-59, and employed full-time. In the Canadian data the sample restricted to those with 48 or more weeks worked in the income reference year. The immigrant sample is restricted to those who migrated at age 20 or higher after 1980. Regressions also include a full set of year effects, which are fully interacted with geography.

Figure 1: Total Permanent Settler Arrivals



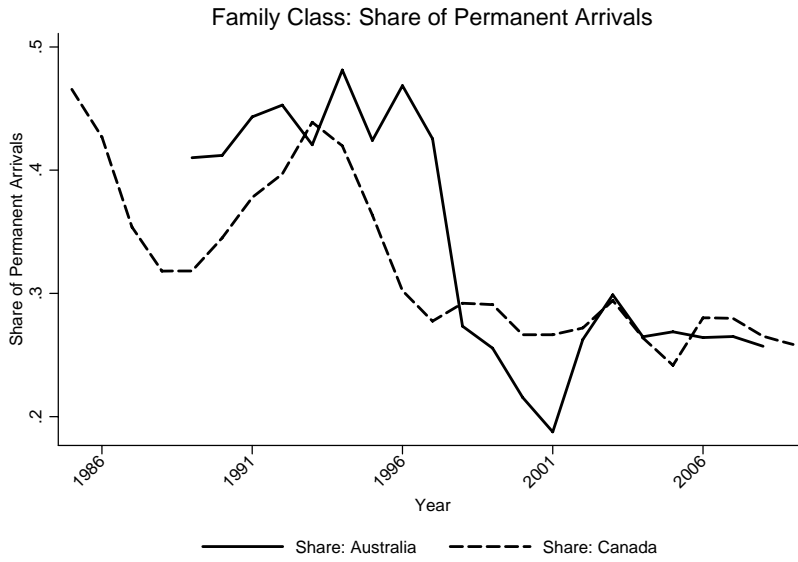
Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.

Figure 2: Refugee Class: Share of Permanent Settler Arrivals



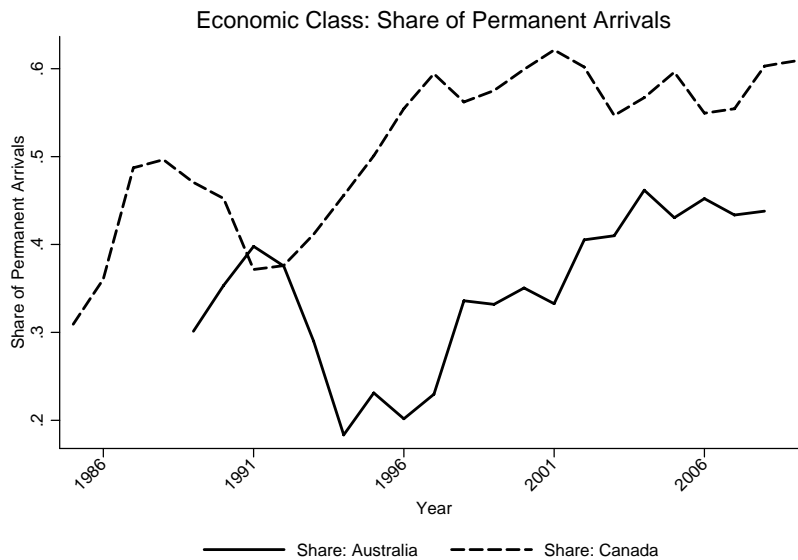
Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.

Figure 3: Family Class: Share of Permanent Settler Arrivals



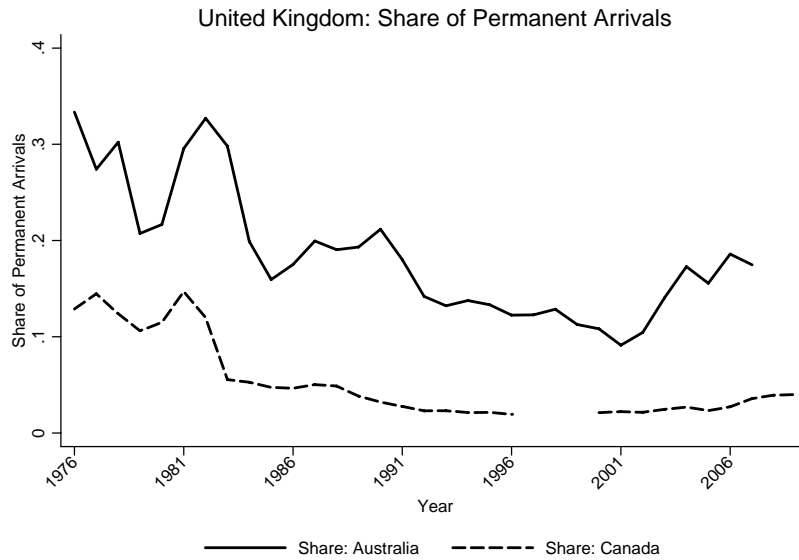
Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.

Figure 4: Family Class: Share of Permanent Settler Arrivals



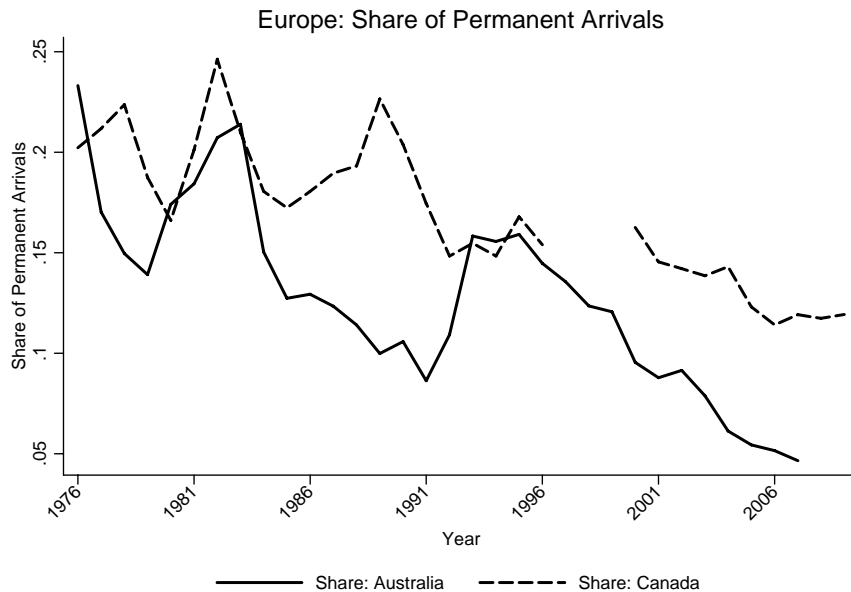
Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.

Figure 5: United Kingdom: Share of Permanent Settler Arrivals



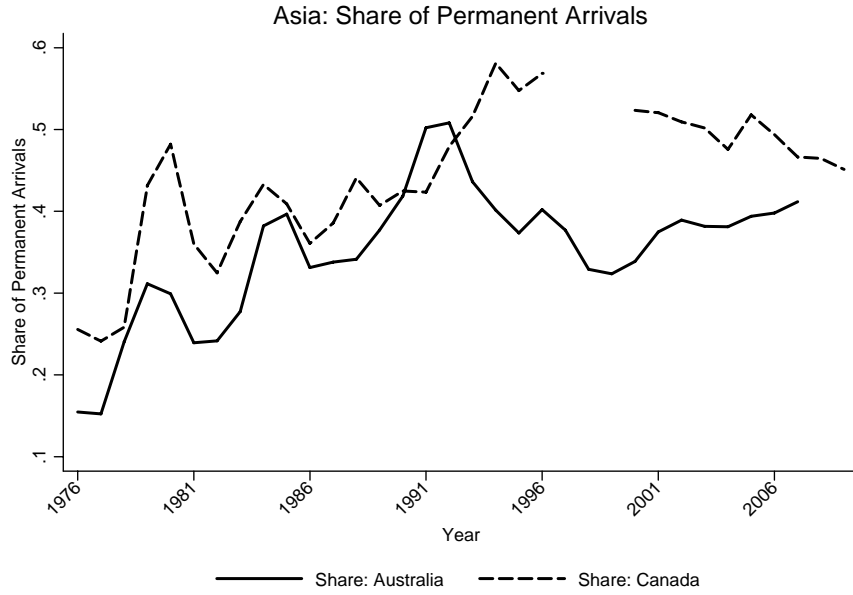
Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.

Figure 6: Europe: Share of Permanent Settler Arrivals



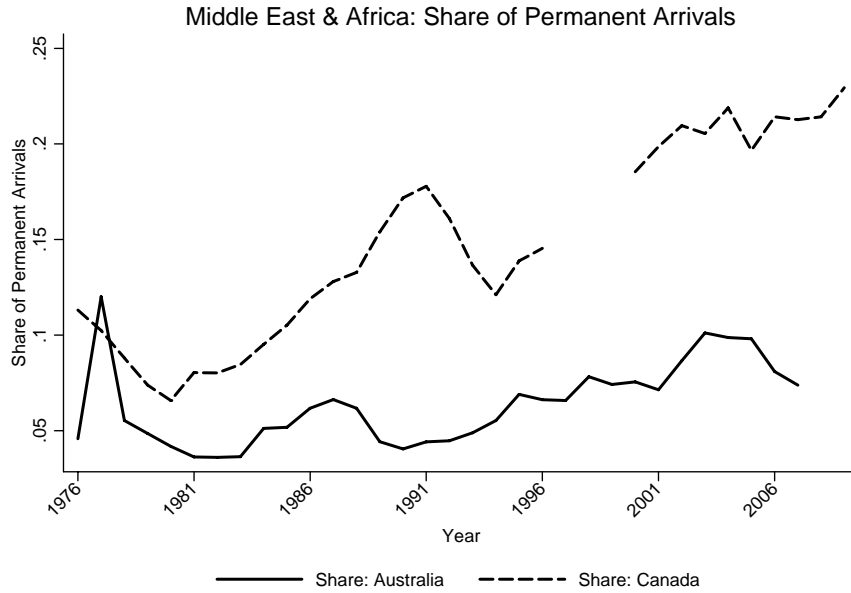
Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.

Figure 7: Asia: Share of Permanent Settler Arrivals



Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.

Figure 8: Middle East & Africa: Share of Permanent Settler Arrivals



Source Australia: Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Immigration Update (various issues) DIMA
 Source Canada: Facts & Figures 2009: Immigration Overview CIC.