ANNIKA FORSANDER

International Practice and Policy Trends in International Labour Immigration
Foreword

International Development Collaboration at STAKES was commissioned by the World Bank/Moscow to review international practices in labour immigration in a number of countries in 2006. The aim of the review was to provide background material to support the Russian Government in the formation of immigration policy. The review International Practice and Policy Trends in International Labour Immigration, focusing on labour immigration practices in Australia, Canada, Israel and the USA, was written by Dr Annika Forsander (CEREN, University of Helsinki) on behalf of STAKES. It was presented in a workshop organized by the Russian Ministry of Health and Social Development and the World Bank in Moscow, June 2006.

The review brings together four detailed country analyses and summarizes the general findings in a concise way. The work is the first concrete step of IDC at STAKES in the field of migration policy. We believe that this review is useful for a large number of researchers and policy makers interested in the actual globally relevant issues of migration, ethnicity, labour market policy and social inclusion.

International Development Collaboration at STAKES would like to thank Dr. Forsander and the World Bank and, in particular, Ms Tatyana Leonova (WBI), Mr Andrey Markov and Mr Ivan Shulga from the World Bank/Moscow for the very good cooperation.

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An Executive Summary


Introduction

The recent phase of economic growth, compounded by the growing concern about changing demographic situation, has prompted many well-off countries and regions to consider increasing immigration to alleviate labour shortages, in particular for skilled workers. Immigration for demographic reasons has long been debated by scientific experts and is now increasingly making the transition into policy debates. Social actors should consider the terms and conditions which would best strengthen the positive role of immigration, the successful integration, non-discrimination and equal treatment of immigrants.

This report aims to contribute to the discussion on different migration and integration management policies by concentrating on traditional settler countries Australia, Canada, Israel and the United States. In these countries, immigration forms a ground, where nations are built in. The European nation states have a different history. Unlike settler countries, nation states are understood as political entities where political and cultural boundaries are identical.

The policy debate on migration and immigrant integration should take into account a few starting points: how to shape immigration policies that 1) both regulates the admission of immigrants for employment purposes, 2) and promotes their integration into receiving societies. These starting points should follow a few principles:

- Immigrants are economic actors and potential citizens.
- Labour immigration should be based to projected needs of labour market.
- Immigration policies should balance the interests of the various social actors.
- Immigration policies are to include measures in the areas of admission and the integration of immigrants into receiving societies
- Immigration policies are to be designed parallel to, but separately from, refugee policies, which must be addressed by foreign policies and development policies.

The report is divided in six chapters each presenting a country case, which are Australia, Canada, Israel and the U.S. and the last chapter concluding the results, and discussing further on policy measures, and the possibilities and the limits to duplicate policies on different immigrant receiving countries. Two different forms of migration policies are marked out: migration management policies, and immigrant integration management policies. The first is about access, entry, control and regularisation issues, and the other about adaptation, settlement, and social cohesion. The final conclusion of the report is presented in a form of a typology of the main migration and integration characteristics and trends in the respective countries.

Country case: Australia

A basic principle of Australia’s immigration program is that it is individual-based and non-discriminatory in terms of country of origin. If an individual meets the criteria for a visa, no matter where they come from, they are legally entitled to it. Criteria for visas, and the quota of visas available under different components of the immigration program, have varied with changing perceptions of the national interest.
The target of Australian immigration policy is to avoid a migrant underclass by selective, skilled and rigorously managed migration program. Australia's location and geography have assisted it to achieve these objectives. Immigration has been a major contributor to Australia's population growth and has shaped the size and composition of the population. In 2001 23 percent of Australia's resident population were born overseas. In 2003, the national unemployment rate was 6 percent; but the unemployment rate for migrants from non-English speaking countries was around 2 percentage points higher than the same figure for the Australian-born.

Attracting a higher number of skilled and business migrants is a priority in Australia. The government has changed the migration intake emphasis from family migration to economic and skilled migration. The Working Holiday Maker Scheme is a well-known temporary migration program, which allows the entry of young people from countries with which Australia has a bilateral agreement to combine tourism with work for a period of up to 12 months.

The central administrative body responsible for immigration and integration is the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). In order to attract migrants with skills in demand, DIMIA maintains a Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL). MODL is reviewed twice a year to take into consideration existing and emerging skills shortages. Applicants with skills in demand attract extra points when applying for a points-tested General Skilled Migration visa, making it easier for them to come to Australia as skilled migrants.

In Australia immigration of skilled migrants is encouraged and is assessed on a points system with points awarded for the following areas: Skills, age, English language ability, specific work experience, occupation in demand, Australian qualifications, study and residence in regional Australia, and spouse skills.

Year 1973 the term multiculturalism was introduced and migrant groups were encouraged to form national associations to maintain their cultures, and promote the survival of their languages and heritages within mainstream institutions. Multicultural is used as a term to describe the cultural and linguistic diversity of Australian society and it is seen to offer distinct social, cultural and business advantages. The Australian Government's multicultural policy addresses the consequences of diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole.

The Australian government encourages the naturalisation by permanent residents who are eligible for it very actively. Requirements for the Australian citizenship include: permanent residency in Australia for two or more years during in the previous five years, basic knowledge of English, an adequate knowledge of a list of responsibilities and privileges of being an Australian citizen, and an intension to live in, or maintain a close and continuing association with Australia.

Country case: Canada

Canada's immigration policy is based on the premise that immigration contributes to the economy and society at large, and that the federal, provincial and territorial governments have a shared responsibility to manage immigration in the public interest. Immigrants now make up about 18 per cent of the resident population.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is a central department led by a Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. The Department admits immigrants, foreign students, visitors and temporary workers, resettles refugees, co-ordinates integration services, and is responsible on naturalisations.

Canada's immigration policy uses a points system for the selection of skilled workers, which together with business immigrants and a few small categories forms the economic or labour immigration class. The other classes include family immigration class, and refugee or humanitarian
stream. In Canadian immigration policy immigration is not seen primarily an economic issue. Immigration is about family unification, humanitarianism, and national identity. Nevertheless, there are economic aspects of most immigration issues.

During the previous years pilot programs were created to attract more foreign students to Canada, and there is a possibility for the certificate students to remain in Canada after their studies are completed.

Before the sectors in need of foreign workers were identified by using the official projection system, but the volatility of predicted demand questioned the need to recruit immigrants, and there were often geographic mismatches. During the recent years the policy has focused more on flexible long-term economic growth rather than filling short-term gaps. The points system's criteria altered to put more emphasis on human capital factors thought to be predictors of lifetime productivity and labour market adaptability such as education and language. The new regulations in recruiting temporary workers require only that they have neutral or positive effects on the labour market, thus making it easier for employers to get the labour they need when they need it.

In recent years Canada together with many other western countries has increased its focus on highly skilled immigrants. High skilled and high income immigrants improve of those with lower earnings if the net impact of the entire flow is to be neutral or positive.

Canadian official multiculturalism is constitutionally defined in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The common denominator of Canadian multiculturalism is that it “should assist and encourage the integration (but not assimilation) of all immigrants”. Canadian multiculturalism addresses not only the integration of immigrants but of all visible minorities (a term applied in Canadian discourse).

Overall integration of newcomers is a federal responsibility. The actual services provided often fall under the jurisdiction of the provincial authorities in combination with the local municipal authorities. The main involvement of federal policymakers in promoting the effective integration of permanent immigrants in Canada has largely been with settlement programs. These are directed mainly at smoothing the initial settlement process, and include counselling and language instruction. Unlike in most of the EU countries immigrant integration programs are produced in partnership with volunteer and (often immigrant-) community organizations.

Canadian multiculturalism signifies that the government actively promotes citizenship among foreign-born residents. Naturalisation is understood as a symbol of full participation in Canadian society, and a target for the individual integration process. In the process of naturalization in Canada the minimum waiting period to be granted citizenship is three years. Candidates for citizenship must be permanent residents, 18 years of age or older, without outstanding criminal offences, pass a test assessing ability to communicate in national languages, pass a further test demonstrating knowledge of the history and political structure, and indicate a commitment to the country's defining values which in Canada includes multiculturalism.

Country case: Israel

The basic principle of the Israeli migration regime is the formal categorization between Jews and non-Jews. While with respect to Jews Israel is a settler country actively seeking to attract new members through immigration, regarding non-Jews Israel represents a restrictive migration regime. Israel encourages the immigration of Jews as part of policy called aliya. The reason of its existence is the ingathering and retention of Jewish immigrants and the forging of these diverse elements into a unified nation.

The largest wave of immigration in the last 20 years followed the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. Approximately 900,000 Soviet Jews have settled in Israel. Using the formula defined
by the Law of Return, many Soviet Union citizens who qualified for Israeli citizenship came from intermarried families. The former Soviet Union immigrants are mainly a highly educated immigrant population that includes engineers, scientists, and IT specialists who partly fuelled the tech boom of the 1990s. A temporary migrant labour policy implemented in the early 1990s has brought several hundred thousand workers from Asia, Africa and South America, many of whom have stayed.

At first, migrants were perceived as a good alternative to the security concerns associated with having Palestinian workers in Israel. Over time the government began to worry about the long-term implications of a growing dependence on migrant labour. In 2002 a so-called Closed Skies policy was announced as part of a campaign to reduce the number of migrant workers. Rather than bringing in workers from overseas, employment quotas for migrant workers were to be filled by migrant workers already in Israel. The closed skies procedure was a first concrete step to restrict the number of foreign workers by the State of Israel. In contrast to the aims of government policy, the number of foreign workers rose in the second half of 2004.

The Employment Service determines the number of work visas and work permits according to data provided by various ministries, such as agriculture and construction, and allocated the visa to employers. These ministries based their recommendation on requests from the private sector. The Immigration and Absorption Department is the central authority in immigration to and initial integration or absorption as called in Israel, but it is mainly aimed at immigrants making aliyah. The Department’s emissaries are the official overseas emissaries of the State of Israel in matters concerning the aliyah immigration process.

Temporary labour immigrants are recruited in their country of origin. Recruitment is typically handled by manpower offices and middlemen in the country of origin. Most migrants, approximately 70 percent according to Bank of Israel data from 2002, arrive in Israel with a valid work visa, but only about 35 percent of those hold on to that legal status. Until recently, a migrant worker could lose his legal status by changing jobs, since the employer rather than the worker “owned” the visa.

In 2002, the government decided to increase deportations of unauthorized or illegal migrant workers by establishing a new Immigration Authority (IA) unit of the Israel Police. Efforts are to be directed both toward illegal migrants and their employers.

Unlike in the U.S., Canada and Australia, where the role of the civic society and the third sector play a remarkable role in immigrant integration management, in Israel integration policy is rather state-oriented. The Immigration and Absorption Department is responsible for providing government assistance to new permanent immigrants making aliyah. Integration measures do not cover temporary (non-Jewish) labour immigrants.

On the local level, the initial integration is supported by the so-called Absorption Centers. The Absorption Center is a housing arrangement where new immigrants are placed during the initial stage of their resettlement. These temporary living quarters offer assistance, tuition in Hebrew language, assistance in everyday matters, professional guidance and training.

The Ministry of Interior is responsible for assessing the eligibility of immigrants’ access to Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return, which is conditional on the applicant’s Jewish origins of links to a Jewish person. Temporary labour migrants (of non-Jewish origin) are not eligible to the status of a temporary resident, or a permanent resident, or a citizen.
International Practice and Policy Trends in International Labour Immigration

Country case: the United States

Immigration to the U.S. has been viewed as a source of labour, which reduces its price, or at least prevents it from rising. In the more recent discussions on highly skilled immigration, the possibilities to utilise the human and innovative capital of foreign-trained specialist have been an important argument. Therefore in the U.S. – unlike in Europe - business interests have been generally supportive of immigration. In 2004 foreign born consist 12 per cent, or 34 million of the U.S. population.

The main recent immigration policy challenge is the position of the large – from 10 to 12 million persons – illegal or unauthorised population and the problem of illegal entries. In May 2006 the Senate approved an immigration bill that allows most of the illegal or unauthorized immigrants to become citizens, creates a new temporary guest-worker program, and introduces centers to hold illegal or unauthorized immigrants and employer sanctions on employers who hire illegal or unauthorized immigrants. The bill also increases border control remarkably by e.g. new fencing and by recruiting thousands of new Border Patrol agents.

Migrants to the United States fall into three categories: 1) Immigrants. Aliens who are lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence and are eligible for eventual citizenship. 2) Non-immigrants. Aliens lawfully admitted to the United States temporarily for a specific purpose. 3) Unauthorized (illegal) migrants. Aliens entering without inspection or overstaying their non-immigrant visas.

Immigration to the United States has been and remains largely for the purpose of reuniting families. However, it is increasingly being thought of a means of meeting employment demands. It is likely that the family function will remain dominant, even accompanying family members tend to outnumber the worker.

The U.S. practices a limited form of pre-clearance for specific sectors. The employers are required case-by-case to first recruit and test the labour market supply before visa can be allocated to shortage occupations. Some permanent and most temporary admission visas are limited to a set of pre-determined occupations deemed to be either appropriate for the visa or to qualify for shortage status. Otherwise, there is a list of Department of Labour (DOL)-determined Schedule A occupations for which there are “not sufficient U.S. workers who are able, willing, qualified and available.” These do not require a test of the labour market for admission. This list includes a number of occupations like professional nurses.

Much of the U.S. legal admissions policy was formulated in the 1960s, with some changes in 1990 and more recent security-related legislation. Applicants for temporary immigration visas have been required to undergo individual interviews since 2003. Policy developments since the attacks of 11 September 2001 were dominated by security issues, by the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which took over the functions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and by implementing related initiatives. The DHS has five major directorates, two of which cover immigration functions including the two agencies focusing on interior enforcement activities and border patrol and inspections at ports of entry.

The greater part of the U.S. admission system uses case-by-case determinations, initiated by employers, of occupation-specific shortages. This applies to most of the permanent employment based green card and the greater number of temporary working visas. Permanent are persons who are entitled to live and work permanently in the U.S. and, after five years, to become naturalized U.S. citizens.

Visas issued for the purpose of temporary work are increasingly important as a vehicle for admission of foreign workers, particularly highly-skilled. In addition, an unknown number of foreign students are employed either in addition to their studies or immediately thereafter in practical training. Over time, a number of different temporary admission visa categories have
been introduced, each referred to by the letter of the alphabet under which it is described in the Immigration and Nationality Act. The United States currently has over 60 categories of non-immigrant admission, most of which are not numerically restricted.

The U.S. official policy of multiculturalism was launched in the end of 1980s’ but in the U.S. multiculturalism does not have an explicit constitutional commitment. It is rooted in the race issue, not to immigrant integration needs like in Canada or Australia.

In the U.S. federal and state provisions are made available for language instruction for immigrant children in the public schools, states having ultimate responsibility over education curricula that can vary considerably between school districts. Government support is also made available for special adult immigrant education classes.

In the process of naturalization the minimum waiting period to be granted citizenship is five years. Requirements are very similar than those in Australia and Canada: Candidates for citizenship must be permanent residents, 18 years of age or older, without outstanding criminal offences, pass a test assessing ability to communicate reasonably well in English, pass a further test demonstrating knowledge of the history and political structure, and indicate a commitment to the country’s defining values. The U.S. does not permit dual citizenship among naturalized individuals, a symbolic guarantee of the political allegiance of newcomers.

Migration and integration management policies: are there lessons to be learned?

In recent years many of the immigrant receiving countries has introduced temporary labour immigration or guest worker programs as a remedy to employers´ need for temporary labour. These programs are often presented as a win-win situation whereby surplus workers from countries in need of development assistance undertake temporary, often seasonal work from employers in need of a reliable source of labour.

There is a consensus at present in developed economies about the need for and benefits of skilled immigration. There is less agreement about the need for and benefits of temporary low- or semi-skilled guest-worker programs. The literature often names labour market distortion and dependence as the consequences of guest-worker programs: guest-worker programs tend to grow larger and last longer than intended. Employers begin to make decisions based on assumptions that migrants will continue to be available. Innovations and change or investment in labour-saving technology might be resisted. Dependence grows as migrant workers, their families, communities and home governments come to depend on foreign earnings and remittances. Home governments resist the sorts of policy changes that would reduce this dependence. Guest workers who agree initially to the program rules often adjust their expectations and ambitions and abandon intentions to return home. (Niessen & Schibel 2003.)

In the most traditional countries of immigration, in so-called settler societies, reservations towards the notion of a guest-worker program spring from the departure it would represent from their migration tradition. In these countries immigration policies were developed for permanent settlers, for nation-building, not for guest workers. Temporary migration for skilled work purposes is seen as more justified, because the objectives of these programs are more focused on meeting labour market shortages. However, the underlying argument is that settler societies are inclusive, and therefore do not have (at least legal) a common migrant underclass like more exclusive European nation states with their more ethnically homogeneous populations.

Bilateral labour agreements are part of a long tradition in some EU countries such as Germany and Switzerland, and often considered as a form of a guest-worker program. However, bilateral agreements are more limited and cover only a small share of labour-related migration. Finally,
some countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand have little experience with bilateral agreements, while others like the United States or the United Kingdom have opted to develop other labour-related migration programmes.

Guest-worker legislation is currently renewed in the U.S. as a way of resolving the issue of illegal or unauthorized entry and working. Unauthorized, mainly Mexican immigrants make up the majority of farm workers in the U.S. Opponents of the proposed legislation argue that a guest-worker program would spur further unauthorized migration. On the other hand it is stated that the government has no other choice than to provide some sort of amnesty for workers already established in the U.S.

Canada, like Australia has a long tradition of managed migration. The Canada’s Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (CSAWP) is described as ‘best practice’ in the literature because it is tightly managed and is seen as reducing unauthorized entry and work. Research shows that CSAWP workers appreciate the opportunity to return year after year to earn relatively good money in Canada, and that remittances help their families and help alleviate rural poverty in their home countries. However, the program is criticized to be unfamiliar within Canada’s nation-building immigration policy goals. Canadian unions have cited cases of abuse and exploitation of workers. Another criticism is that the CSAWP, with its many layers of administration, would be so expensive that the costs to government would outweigh economic benefits to the nation as a whole. Canadian taxpayers are thus subsidising employers’ use of cheap labour.

In Australia the government is likely to develop a guest-worker program through such measures as further expansion of the Working Holiday Maker Program.

Some countries have experimented with other schemes than guest-worker and bilateral agreements. To meet labour market needs, the United States and Canada, for example, have promoted transparency in the regimes governing migration, namely within temporary migration – with specific stay duration and precise rules on limited renewal – and permanent migration, also subject to precise criteria. These systems create an environment for improved migration-flow management and are, thus, effective in terms of that objective. They are probably effective also in meeting medium-term needs on the labour market; even above mentioned problems have also arisen. Yet, the systems require the introduction of new, lengthy procedures and prove less effective in meeting the short-term needs of the labour market. In the longer term and for skilled labour in particular, a comprehensive approach based on selective policies as in Australia, Canada and New Zealand or special visas, as in the United States seems to be more effective than bilateral agreements or guest-worker programs. (Niessen & Schibel 2003.)

A combination of well-managed system temporary and permanent residence permits and naturalisation program can fill the gaps in the labour market. The challenge of migration management is to introduce a comprehensive reform policy that ensures secure, legal and controlled entry, human rights, anti-discrimination, enforcement of the legality of the workforce and its conditions, the national economy’s need for skills, and mutual integration of the social actors. Also principles of good governance, as flexibility, transparency and equal treatment should be respected.

Immigrant Integration management

In its most general form, integration is a mutual process through which newcomers and hosts form an integral whole. In that regard, the first objective of integration should be to enable immigrants to get the best possible returns on their human capital investments and thus contribute their host society. However, economic and labour market integration should be understood only as a starting point of a long integration process.
The literature on the socio-cultural integration of immigrants is massive, and also ideologically and politically burdened (e.g. Sassen 1999). One of the basic conclusions is that immigrants thrive best in socially and politically supportive environments. The analyses of successful integration models emphasize continuous interaction and mutual adjustments, often through conflicts between immigrants, communities and social actors. Therefore immigrants should learn to negotiate in a new and unfamiliar social environment while keeping up transnational contacts e.g. by remittances to their home countries. Simultaneously, their immigrant and minority status makes them vulnerable to marginalization and abuse, including human rights violations. The host community, on the other hand, must learn to cope within an increasingly heterogeneous society.

A model of immigrant incorporation often contrasted with integrationist or multicultural models is assimilationist model. Socio-cultural assimilation includes demands to adapt the host society's social and cultural values with the non-recognition of cultural differences. Many immigrants interpret the emphasis on assimilation as fundamentally xenophobic in effect. Pressures to assimilate often sharpen group differences and polarize perceptions and behaviour, rather than diminish them. This has the effect of delaying integration and reduces the social cohesion of the broader community. (Papademetriu 2003.)

The challenge of long-term success for immigrant integration policies requires that the rules on belonging, social citizenship and distribution of public goods are constantly redefined. Political resistance to realize the necessary adjustments can threaten social cohesiveness by creating unequal social classes and hostility. It is thus in the receiving society's interest to secure not only for the immigrants' economic and labour market contributions, but also for their social and political citizenship.

The settler societies Australia, Canada, and the U.S. covered by this report emphasize the role of civic society, or the third sector in within their integration models. Their integration approach is community-based, and promotes local level integration measures, whereas migration policy is governed by national level actors. The interaction between national and local policies and actors raises the following question: How communities live with the conditions of national immigration policy? It is, in the end, at the local level where national policies are empirically tested, adapted, and reshaped. Unlike in European immigrant receiving countries, the public sector is not expected to act in the field of immigrant integration, but is relying on and leveraging the resources to the local, private and non-governmental sectors. The non-governmental, or the third sector actors as employer and worker organizations, religious groups, ethnic, and immigrant organizations, private foundations, and the various community-based non-profit entities have extensive grass-root level experience in newcomer integration. Altruism and solidarity are not always the main motivations. Many of the organizations are looking for ways to increase their membership, and incorporating newcomers can support that policy objective. Therefore these organizations can get a return on their integration investments. (E.g. Papademetriu 2003; Reitz 1998).

Managing integration successfully starts with the official recognition that immigrants make long-term contributions to the societies they enter, and by securing their full and equal membership in the spheres of the mainstream society. This leads to economic, political, legal and societal citizenship, which, in its turn, upholds and strengthens community cohesion. It should be noted that the foundations of migration and integration management lie deep in the institutions, political traditions and everyday practices of the individual societies, and can not be duplicated from one society to another without taking into account the unique nature of their social development.

Possibilities to naturalisation are an essential part of any integration management policy model: Acquiring the citizenship of a host country reflects a process of gradual economic and social integration of immigrants and, in fact, may facilitate their integration. The number of
naturalisations depends on the magnitude and time of migration waves as well as the liberal characteristics of the legislation concerning citizenship. It is also linked to how much importance foreign citizens place on acquiring the citizenship of their host country and the consequences of the possible loss of their original citizenship. The basis on which countries determine how citizenship can be acquired and granted – being birth place, and/or duration of residence, kinship (for the first two the principal is jus soli, for the later jus sanguinis) – plays a fundamental role in the distinctions drawn between foreign and national foreign populations. During the past few years there have occurred changes in naturalisation procedures in several countries with the liberalisation of laws considered too restrictive (SOPEMI 2004.)

Most of the traditional settler societies covered here, as well as the European Union countries, hope to formulate migration reforms that enable the government to manage migration flows and immigrant integration. Migration policy of an individual country is never an independent entity, or autonomous administrative sector of its own, but it is deeply embedded in economic, social, cultural and political traditions of a respective country. Therefore it can not be “produced” in isolation by duplicating an existing migration management system. This does not mean that good practices could not be applied into the local and national conditions and geo-political realities. Managed migration requires a system through which the government can supervise who and how many individuals can enter its territory, and what kinds of rights they have. Migration management is motivated by international politics, human rights, national security and economic, social and labour aspects. It also includes co-operation with the neighbouring and labour sending countries to reach the ideal situation, where all the partners – not least the immigrant her/himself – gain from the successfully managed migratory movements.
A typology of migration and integration characteristics and trends in Australia, Canada, Israel and the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Israel (year 2000)</th>
<th>The U.S.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>force 2003 %</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(non-Israelis)</td>
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<td>Family members</td>
<td>Jews and non-</td>
<td>Family members</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Immigration Authority (IA) unit of the Israel Police; The Immigration and Absorption Department</td>
<td>The Department of Homeland Security (DHS)</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>In process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worker programs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Recent themes in</td>
<td>Guest worker needs</td>
<td>Guest worker needs</td>
<td>Internal security</td>
<td>Illegal immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migration policy</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of residence</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reserved for</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demanded from</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>immigrants of</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>citizenship candidates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jewish origin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisations responsible</td>
<td>Non-</td>
<td>Non-</td>
<td>Governmental</td>
<td>Non-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for integration</td>
<td>governmental</td>
<td>governmental</td>
<td></td>
<td>governmental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-screening of labour</td>
<td>Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL)</td>
<td>No official pre-screening - identifying shortages using employer information on their needs.</td>
<td>The Employment Service determines the quota for work permits according to data provided by ministries.</td>
<td>Various methods depended on occupation: e.g. employers required to test domestic supply, or a list of Department of Labour determined shortage-occupations, or an annual quota for temporary highly-skilled H-1B permits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>market needs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiscal incentives</td>
<td>Foreign source income of temporary residents exempt from tax for 4 years</td>
<td>Only for researchers; Five year tax relief in Quebec on 75 percent of income.</td>
<td>Only for aliyah-immigrants -not designed to attract labour immigrants</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STAKES, Reports 12/2007
1 INTRODUCTION

Why labour immigration is a current topic?

The recent phase of economic growth, compounded by the growing concern about changing demographic situation, has prompted many well-off countries and regions to consider increasing immigration to alleviate labour shortages, in particular for skilled workers. Population ageing in most industrialised countries and the related boom in healthcare are increasing the demand for medical personnel. Doctors, nurses, and care assistants are particularly sought after in several member countries. The same applies to teachers, translators or human resources in science and technology, in the biomedical or agro-food sectors. Although the knowledge economy is taking on growing importance, several countries also have identified recruitment problems in low-skill occupations. Australia’s Job Search agency, for instance, reports shortages in general unskilled labour, factory workers, plant operators, catering, tourism and hotel personnel, as well as sales assistants and warehouse operatives. The same applies to construction workers in France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, trades workers in the United Kingdom, and more generally consumer service staff in Canada. (SOPEMI 2004.)

The current debate on international migration has been almost exclusively looking at admission or entry issues. However, there are attempts to change the terms of the discussion towards the context of an assessment of immigration needs against the backdrop of a declining and ageing population. This makes the migration debate distinct from the refugee, forced or illegal migration debate that is about protection needs, border security or human rights commitments.

Immigration for demographic reasons has long been debated by scientific experts and is now increasingly making the transition into policy debates (e.g. Tyutyukanova 2005). The hesitancy of policy makers with regard to immigration as an answer to demographic challenges is connected to the composition of the immigrant flows involved, the social sustainability of large scale immigration, and the durability of immigration’s effect on population ageing. With regard to composition, the debate is about the policies of selectivity that is possible when managing immigration, and about the criteria that should be employed when selecting immigrants.

Apart from the criteria of the immigrant intake, its size also remains a controversial issue. Year 2000 UN Population Division published its report on replacement migration, which led to a heated debate about numbers. The report focused on the highest scenarios without taking up the amount of choice that societies have in planning policy responses to ageing. While now there is a greater consensus of the need for immigration, numbers are still a politically sensitive issue. (www.un.org/esa/population/unpop.htm.)

Given the political sensitivity of immigration, it is likely that governments will find it difficult to justify labour immigration programmes in the absence of already existing acute labour shortages. Even if projections might predict quantitative and qualitative shortages with a sufficient degree of certainty, governments may require more tangible “proof” in order to convince the population of the need for additional foreign labour.

It should also be noted that discussion on immigration for demographic reasons often neglects the indirect economic costs and the social, cultural and political effects of immigration. This refers to the issue of social cohesion relating to migration, which is now a current topic in many countries, not least in Russia, because of increasing xenophobia and violent racism.

The migrants most likely to help match shortages of labour and skills and with the best chances to integrate are most often those, who are able to adapt to changing conditions, in view of their
qualifications, experience and personal abilities. Future selection mechanisms of a pro-active migration policy must be put in order to assess both qualifications and adaptability of potential immigrants and offer them sufficiently attractive conditions.

Beyond the discussion on selection policies, sanctions and incentives, the far-reaching changes required in the quantity, quality and the skills of the labour force will not be achieved without shifts in immigration attitudes of the native population. It is essential to any governmental and non-governmental actor to promote a debate about the role of immigration in shaping demographic, economic and labour market changes. (Niessen & Schibel 2003.) Social actors should consider the terms and conditions which would best strengthen the positive role of immigration, the successful integration, non-discrimination and equal treatment of immigrants.

Today both Europe and North America are home or host to about one fifth of the world’s migrant population each. Along with the U.S. and Canada, Western Europe is one of the two most important destinations on the world map of international migration. At the same time, in many countries from the former socialist block increasing migration has chanced socio-economic conditions. These countries are simultaneously facing labour emigration and labour immigration, but they are suffering from very limited resources for the management of migration flows and integration of newcomers. In future the growing labour market needs will lead to increased competition between different countries and regions as they will try to recruit attractive potential immigrants.

To be prepared for the increasing competition countries should recognise and develop their competitive advantages, and pro-actively create flexible models for migration and integration management. Such a competition calls for migration and integration policy co-ordination and for sustained efforts in the area of integration to ensure equal opportunities for the actors involved. (Münz 2004.)

This report aims to contribute to the discussion on different migration and integration management policies by concentrating on traditional settler countries Australia, Canada, Israel and the United States. In these countries, immigration forms a ground, where nations are built in. According to the profound nation-building myth immigrants have an equal access to the full membership, citizenship, and socio-economic success as the host population of the society. The European nation states – including Russia – have a completely different history. Nation states are understood as political entities where political and cultural boundaries are identical, even the nations’ ethnic homogeneity is rather “politically produced” than factual in nature.

The European nationhood has built in ethnic connotations in contrast to the traditional settler societies: In no single European country has immigration become a nation creating myth as in the settler societies. Social scientists claim that this makes the integration of immigrants more difficult in Europe than in the settler societies where there is no ethno-national culture that one must become integrated into. Instead, there is a more open national mythology that is more accepting of diversity (e.g. Joppke 1999).

In contrast to the settler societies and their immigration policies handled in this report, in Europe the discussion on economic gains of migration, the needs of a proactive migration policy and the effects on an increasing diversity are relatively new phenomena. Therefore Europe could benefit from the efforts and experiences of traditional countries of immigration – but adapting these to its unique background as a nation state. (Münz 2004.)

The policy debate on migration and immigrant integration should take into account a few starting points: how to shape immigration policies that 1) both regulates the admission of immigrants for employment purposes, 2) and promotes their integration into receiving societies.
These starting points should follow a few principles:

- Immigrants are economic actors and potential citizens. Temporary migration programs for employment may be an option for immigrants, but should not form the basis of an immigration policy. However, if temporary migration is managed well, it can be beneficial for immigrants and receiving and sending countries.
- Labour immigration should be based on projected needs of labour market, which includes economic, and labour market developments, and the size, composition and skills of the immigrants.
- Immigration policies should balance the interests of the various stakeholders: immigrants, employers’ organisations, trade unions and governments of the sending and receiving countries.
- Immigration policies are to include a full range of measures in the areas of admission (such as entry conditions, family reunion, and border control and visa policies) and the integration of immigrants into receiving societies (such as secure residence rights, equal treatment, acquisition of nationality, antidiscrimination and diversity).
- Immigration policies are to be designed parallel to, but separately from, refugee policies.
- Forced migration - as an escape from generalised violence, violations of social, economic and cultural rights, the collapse of the political and social system - must be addressed by foreign policies and development policies. (Niessen 2000.)

There are many benefits that accompany immigration. For immigrants, it could mean a way to build up a new and better life. Receiving countries can capitalise on the entrepreneurial spirit of immigrants, and a society with diversity policies is better equipped to respond to globalisation challenges. The links immigrants establish between receiving and sending countries may also be beneficial for sending countries through increased economic, social and cultural exchanges.

The report is divided into six chapters. Each country case Australia, Canada, Israel and the U.S. is presented following the common thematic structure. However, none of the country cases is similar, or limited strictly to labour immigration issues. International migrations, and respective policies, are human phenomena deeply embedded to structures and institutions, like those concerning economy, culture, security, human rights, domestic and international politics and so on. Questions concerning labour migration are also interlinked with other forms of migration.

After introduction with background information capturing the main features of the labour immigration situation in respective country, current national trends and challenges of labour immigration and recent policy responses are presented. A starting point of labour immigration policies is mostly the mismatch of labour demand and supply in the local level. To satisfy the labour market needs without harming the employment conditions of the local labour force, governments have to present approaches to assess external labour needs. As a response to the global competition many countries worldwide have introduced fiscal incentives for attracting suitable labour. However, the results indicate that in the traditional settler societies covered here incentives are scarce.

Chapter organizational mechanisms for registration, monitoring and control of labour immigration flows aims to describe governmental level administrative structures for implementing labour immigration and integration policies. Current administrative structures are often a result of a complex combination of changes in political situation (e.g. 9/11), migration flows (e.g. increase in unauthorized immigration), or economic and labour needs (e.g. targeted labour immigration programs). Therefore it is motivated to open up developments, which led to organisational changes.

Whereas the previous chapters have concentrated on migration management, the last part addresses the issue of immigrant integration, and mechanisms of integrating immigrants into the
Immigrant integration is defined as a mutual process and does not concern only language tuition or employment measures, but also equal opportunities and anti-discrimination policies, community participation and other multicultural actions.

Special attention is paid to the naturalisation as an integration measure. The research clearly shows the importance of citizenship for the process of integration. Naturalization may help to gain access to certain labour market segments and services and to reduce discrimination, but first of all it increases the sense of belonging among immigrants and their community, and therefore encourages further integration efforts and engagement.

The last chapter Migration and integration management policies: are there lessons to be learned? aims to conclude the results, and to discuss further on policy measures, conditions, consequences and the possibilities and the limits to adapt or duplicate policies on different social surroundings. Two different forms of migration policies are marked out: migration management policies, and immigrant integration management policies. The first is about access, entry, control and regularisation issues, and the other about adaptation, settlement, and social cohesion. The final conclusion of the report is presented in a form of a typology of the main migration and integration characteristics and trends in the respective countries.

Trends in the foreign and immigrant populations

In the major settlement countries such as Australia, the U.S. or Canada, immigrants accounted for a large share of the resident population in 2001: 23 percent in Australia, and 19 percent in Canada. The number of foreign-born residents in the United States apparently amounted to 35 million in 2001, i.e. 12 percent of the population. (SOPEMI 2004)

It is worth noting that data generally available on migration movements do not provide a clear idea of the relative scale of movements across countries. In some countries, the so-called settlement countries (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States), only “permanent” migrants are counted as immigrants, that is, persons who are admitted to the country and granted the right of permanent residence upon entry. Persons who are granted temporary permits may not even figure in the official migration statistics. In other countries, immigrants consist of persons who are enrolled onto a population register, which is a file of persons residing in the country that is generally maintained at the municipal level. To be registered, a person entering from outside the country must intend to stay in the country for more than a specified minimum period and have a residence permit (if required) of at least the minimum duration. (SOPEMI 2004.)

For certain countries, in particular the United States, Australia or Canada, statistics on non-citizens are seldom published. Such statistics provide another perspective on migration. For example, 6.6 percent of the population of the United States does not have United States citizenship. The figure for Australia is 7.4 percent, which for Canada 5.3 percent, levels comparable to those recorded in some European countries such as France, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands. It is clear that for these settlement countries as well, data on persons of foreign citizenship would not give an accurate picture of the magnitude of their immigrant population (SOPEMI 2004)

In 2003, foreigners and immigrants accounted for a significant portion of the labour force in "settlement countries", Australia, Canada, and the United States, where foreign-born workers represent between 15 percent and 25 percent of the labour force. (SOPEMI 2004). In most of the immigrant receiving countries, also in Russia, foreigners and immigrants are more likely than nationals or natives to be unemployed or in a weak labour market position. This applies to both men and women. However, by contrast, in the major settlement countries (Australia, Canada, the United States), the gap between foreigners and nationals or natives is modest. Immigrant
labour is in most of the countries relatively concentrated in few sectors: More than 70 percent of foreigners work in services in Australia, Canada, and in the United States (the situation seems to be similar in Israel and Russia). (SOPEMI 2004)

TABLE 1. Foreign born labour force in some OECD-countries 1998 and 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Thousands</th>
<th>% of total labour force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2,281</td>
<td>2,447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada (1996-2001)</td>
<td>2,839</td>
<td>3,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand (2001)</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>17,373</td>
<td>21,504</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                  | 2003      | 1998                    |
|                  |           | 2003                    |
| Australia        | 2,447     | 24.8                    |
| Canada (1996-2001)| 3,151     | 19.2                    |
| New Zealand (2001)| 372       | ..                      |
| United States    | 21,504    | 14.8                    |
2 COUNTRY CASE: AUSTRALIA

Introduction

A basic principle of Australia’s immigration program is that it is individual-based and non-discriminatory in terms of country of origin and thus, supposedly, of political or foreign policy goals. The program does discriminate in favour of and against applicants on grounds such as age, disability, English language skills, business skills and money to invest, education and job qualifications and experience. However, if an individual meets the criteria for a visa, no matter where they come from, they are legally entitled to it. Criteria for visas, and the quota of visas available under different components of the program, have varied with changing perceptions of the national interest. Since 1996 the migration program has had a strong skills focus, and has been particularly focussed on meeting the needs of the Australian labour market. (Millbank 2006.)

Another basic guiding principle has been that the migration program must not result in immigrant segmentation in Australian cities. The argument is that the target of Australian immigration policy is to avoid a migrant underclass by selective, skilled and rigorously managed migration program. Australia’s location and geography have assisted it to achieve these objectives.

Immigration has been a major contributor to Australia’s population growth and has shaped the size and composition of the population. The 2001 Census has shown that around 23 percent of Australia’s resident population were born overseas. Population projections suggest that immigration is likely to continue to be a major contributor to population growth. As a result, the overseas born will continue to be a significant group within the Australian population. The current overseas-born population is ethnically more diverse than at any other time in Australia’s history. Associated with this increasing diversity are the lower concentrations of migrants from a wider range of birthplace countries than in the past. (DIMIA 2003.)

Main recent trends in labour immigration policy, main factors used in selection of policy options

Since the mid-1980s, when Australia began to restructure its economy to meet the challenges of globalization, there has been an increasing focus on developing high value-added sectors such as banking and insurance, as well as on building a knowledge-based economy. As a result, migration policy refocused on highly skilled workers, whether permanent or temporary. In 2002–2003, there were 56,782 permanent residents admitted under the skill program, compared with 40,105 under the family program.

The unemployment of skilled migrants became a major issue during the 1990s and has led to two major policy changes. First, since July 1999, skilled migrants have been required to have their capabilities recognized by Australian professional bodies as being equivalent to those of their Australian counterparts before they can apply for migration. Second, in July 2001, regulations were changed to allow recent foreign graduates of Australian universities to apply for immigrant status without leaving Australia or gaining relevant work experience. The change to allow onshore applications for permanent residence from temporary residents has led to the rapid growth of permanent skilled migrant group.
In 1996, to facilitate the entry of temporary skilled workers, the duration of stay for these workers was extended to four years. Unlike settlers, there is no limit on the numbers admitted. Their ranks have grown rapidly, and in the period 1999–2000, long-term temporary entrants for the first time exceeded settler arrivals, reaching 52 percent of all long-term arrivals. By 2002-2003, temporary resident arrivals (excluding students and visitors) exceeded 101 000 people. (Inglis 2004.)

Attracting a higher number of skilled and business migrants to regional Australia continues to be a priority for the government and a number of state-specific and regional migration initiatives were implemented in 2002 and 2003. They were designed to provide regional certifying bodies with a greater role in supporting sponsorship of migrants and to encourage a greater proportion of students to consider studying and eventually settling in regional Australia. In 2002/2003, approximately 8 000 visas were granted in these categories. (SOPEMI 2004.)

In 2005 government announced that it will accept an extra 20 000 skilled migrants in 2005-06 to help meet labour force needs. Some in Australia have expressed concern that skilled migration is being used as a solution to the current shortage of skilled labour in Australia, as opposed to training Australian workers.

Although migration program numbers are again approaching the highs of twenty years ago, the focus is now quite different. Some argue that the primary determinant of migration policy since the 1980s has been a focus on the labour market outcomes of migrants. Certainly the government has changed the migration intake emphasis from family migration to economic and skilled migration. (Phillips 2005.)


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>53 934</td>
<td>36 490</td>
<td>29 548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill</td>
<td>48 421</td>
<td>19 697</td>
<td>51 529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Net overseas migration for 2003 was estimated at around 125 300 (up 13 percent on 2001/02), with 93 900 permanent arrivals (of which 52 percent were women) and 279 900 long-term arrivals.

The 2003 Migration Programme (comprising three categories: the Skill Stream, the Family Stream and the Special Eligibility Stream), which is designed to help people wanting to come to Australia permanently, was the largest in over a decade and the most highly skilled ever. It granted a total of 108 070 entry visas (up 16 percent on 2001/02), with most visas granted under the family (the largest stream in the last six years) and skill-based categories. The top five nationalities were the United Kingdom (21 percent), China (9 percent), India (9 percent), South Africa (7 percent) and Malaysia (5 percent). Under Australia’s Temporary Resident Programme (which excludes students), the total number of visas granted reached about 170 400 in 2003, an increase of 7 percent over the previous year. Australia’s Working Holiday Maker Programme continued to increase: 88 758 visas were granted in 2002/2003. The major source countries were the United Kingdom (45 percent), followed by Ireland (13 percent), Japan (11 percent), Germany (9 percent) and Canada (7 percent). In addition, the total number of student visas granted offshore was 109 610, an increase of 27 percent since the introduction of significant changes in Australia’s student visa programme. In 2003, the major countries in this category included China (13 percent) and the United States (10 percent).

As of 30 June 2003, the estimated number of undocumented migrants or overstayers in Australia was 59 800, similar to the previous year. Approximately 21 500 migrants who had either remained in the country beyond the expiration of their visas, or were in breach of their
visa conditions, were intercepted by the authorities in 2002/03, an increase over the previous year of 24 percent (17 300 in 2001/2002). It is estimated that around 50 percent of all overstayers work illegally in Australia. The main nationalities involved in illegal work comprise nationals of China, Indonesia, Thailand, Korea, Malaysia, India and the Philippines.

According to the 2001 population census in Australia, about 23 percent of the estimated population of 19 million were born overseas, of which approximately 33 percent were born in North West Europe (mainly the United Kingdom and Ireland), approximately 19 percent in Southern and Eastern Europe and approximately 12 percent in South East Asia. In August 2003, Australia’s total labour force consisted of 10 million persons. The overseas born comprised 32 percent of the total, of which 58 percent originated in non-English speaking countries and 42 percent in the main English-speaking countries.

In August 2003, the national unemployment rate was 6 percent while persons from non-English-speaking countries and from the main English speaking countries had unemployment rates of 7 percent and 4 percent respectively. The unemployment rate for migrants from non-English speaking countries was around 2 percentage points higher than the same figure for the Australian-born. (DIMIA 2003.)

Approaches to assessment of actual needs in external labour resources

In order to target and attract migrants with skills in demand, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) maintains a Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL). MODL is reviewed twice a year to take into consideration existing and emerging skills shortages. This does not mean the list is changed twice a year. Changes occur if there has been a significant change in labour market trends.

Applicants with skills in demand attract extra points when applying for a points-tested General Skilled Migration visa, making it easier for them to come to Australia as skilled migrants – currently, health professionals and certain trades people are given preference. (Phillips 2005)

The MODL is based on labour market research and analysis undertaken by the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR). This research includes consultation with employers and peak industry bodies.

The during the year 2005 MODL has been extended to include 16 additional trade occupations which have been identified by DEWR as being in national demand and with good employment prospects. This will result in a MODL that comprises 34 professional occupations, five ICT specialisations and 42 trade occupations. Trades Recognition Australia within DEWR is responsible for the assessment of the skills of applicants for migration in trade occupations to ensure they possess the qualifications and work experience necessary for employment in the Australian labour market. (http://www.immi.gov.au/migration/skilled/advice_doc/gn_modl.htm.)

System of incentives for attracting temporal and permanent labour immigrants

In order to encourage businesses requiring a skilled labour force to locate in Australia, since July 1, 2002, foreign source income of eligible temporary residents is exempt from tax for 4 years.
Organizational mechanisms for registration, monitoring and control of labour immigration flows

A basic principle of Australia’s immigration program is that it is individual-based and non-discriminatory in terms of country of origin. The program does discriminate in favour of and against applicants on grounds such as age, disability, English language skills, business skills and money to invest, education and job qualifications and experience. However, if an individual meets the criteria for a visa, no matter where they come from, they are legally entitled to it.

As Australia’s economy evolved in the post-war period, the country shifted from a reliance on foreign workers for manufacturing and other sectors to a broader approach. Three criteria still in use were identified as the bases for selecting permanent immigrants:

– Family migration for relatives
– Skill-based migration for those with technical and professional qualifications or resources
– Humanitarian and refugee admissions.

In Australia immigration of skilled migrants is encouraged and is assessed on a points system with points awarded for the following areas:

– Skills
– Age
– English language ability
– Specific work experience
– Occupation in demand
– Australian qualifications
– Study and residence in regional Australia/low population growth metropolitan areas
– Spouse skills.

Applicants may also receive bonus points for one of the following:

– Capital investment in Australia or
– Australian work experience or
– Fluency in one of Australia’s community languages (other than English).


In order to target and attract migrants with skills in demand, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) maintains a Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL) which is updated on an annual basis. Applicants with skills in demand are allocated extra points under the points test system—currently, health professionals and certain trades’ people are given preference. In the 2005–06 program announced recently, more occupations will be added to the MODL. (Phillips 2005.) As an example, profession points are awarded as following:

PROFESSION POINTS ACCORDING TO MODL 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheesemaker</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth worker</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine Deputy</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other ways of obtaining immigration visas to Australia include the Australian Family Migration and Humanitarian Programs. The number of people admitted to each program is decided each year after community consultations. Visas are required for temporary entrants including skilled workers, visitors, students, and so-called working holiday makers. The Working Holiday Maker Scheme allows the entry of young people from countries with which Australia has a bilateral agreement to combine tourism with work for a period of up to 12 months, during which they can spend a portion of their stay working.

Mechanisms of integrating immigrants into the specific socio-cultural and economic environments

Year 1973 the term 'multiculturalism' was introduced and migrant groups were forming state and national associations to maintain their cultures, and promote the survival of their languages and heritages within mainstream institutions. 'Multicultural' is used as a term to describe the cultural and linguistic diversity of Australian society and it is seen to offer distinct social, cultural and business advantages. The Australian Government’s multicultural policy addresses the consequences of diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole. It recognizes, accepts, respects and celebrates cultural diversity. However, all Australians are expected to have an overriding loyalty to Australia and its people, and to respect the basic structures and principles underwriting our democratic society. These are: the Constitution, parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language, the rule of law, acceptance and equality.

The government's current multicultural policy statement was issued 2003. This statement names five principles that are seen to underpin multicultural policy: 1) Responsibilities of all – all Australians have a civic duty to support those basic structures and principles of Australian society which guarantee us our freedom and equality and enable diversity in our society to flourish; 2) Respect for each person – subject to the law, all Australians have the right to express their own culture and beliefs and have a reciprocal obligation to respect the right of others to do the same; 3) Fairness for each person – all Australians are entitled to equality of treatment and opportunity; 4) Social equity allows all to contribute to the social, political and economic life of Australia; 5) Benefits for all – all Australians benefit from the significant cultural, social and economic dividends arising from the diversity of our population.

Australia’s approach to immigration until the latter part of the twentieth century, excluded non-European immigration. In 1966 the Government began dismantling “the White Australia policy” by permitting the immigration of ‘distinguished’ non-Europeans. The prevailing attitude to migrant settlement up until this time was based on the expectation of ‘assimilation’ – that is, that migrants should shed their cultures and languages and rapidly become indistinguishable from the host population.

Until 1973, when the final vestiges of the White Australia policy were removed, policies started to examine assumptions about assimilation. Large numbers of migrants, especially those whose first language was not English, experienced hardships as they settled in Australia, and required more direct assistance. The role of ethnic organizations in helping with migrant settlement was officially recognized. Expenditure on migrant assistance and welfare rose sharply in the early 1970s in response to these needs.
Multiculturalism and the local policy

Australia has three levels of government – federal, state and local. The latter is closely linked to the state level as many legal requirements for local government emanate from state legislature. There is a significant legislation to encourage local government to act responsively to its multicultural and diverse constituents. In 1987 the Department of Local Government combined with the Ethnic Affairs Commission introduced a Local Ethnic Affairs Policy Statement (LEAPS) project. LEAPS initiatives focused upon improving translation services, access to local government services and communication between government and different ethnic groups at the local level. This program was later reinforced with the Charter of Principles for a Culturally Diverse Society (Ethnic Affairs Commission NSW, 1993). These principles included:

- Participation in all levels of public life
- Respect and accommodation of the culture, language and religion of others
- The greatest opportunity to make use of and participate in relevant activities and programs provided and/or administered by state government
- Recognition and promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity as an asset.

Local government in Australia has an obligation to encourage the participation of immigrant groups in the processes of municipal governance. This involvement can extend from direct political representation to being in a position to access appropriate services and facilities available in a local area.

Councils have a responsibility to ensure that they appropriately and adequately inform all residents about the services available to them. In multicultural communities this necessitates the use of properly resourced translation and interpreting services. In addition, state and commonwealth governments publish brochures for local government distribution in community languages. These include explaining town planning policy, advising restaurants and shops about correct food handling procedures and educating people about health issues.

Community Services departments reach local groups in a variety of ways. These include employing specialist officers to research, understand and target disadvantaged and marginalised community groups. Some councils provide part-time staff to work in the community as well as with different organisations such as migrant resource centres. There are also examples of where council funds training for different service providers to help raise levels of cultural awareness. Senior citizens have been the subject of special programs such as fostering greater participation by different ethnic groups in senior citizen centres, providing special recreational activities and supplying culturally appropriate home delivered meals (known as “meals on wheels”). Local Council Engineering departments have also developed inclusionary practices. Brochures were produced in community languages to inform residents of the availability of services and how to access them. Education programs in road and vehicular safety were also used.

Local government also has a role in giving support to ethnic communities to assist them in fund raising and grant capture. In addition, many councils have established regular community consultative committees for indigenous and immigrant groups. These are designed to promote the involvement of indigenous and non-English speaking background people in developing culturally appropriate services as well as encouraging their participation in the management of services and programs, and the development of policy and legislative responses.

During 2002-03, the Government examined the effectiveness and accessibility of settlement services for new settlers and in May 2003, released the Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants (DIMIA 2003). The government itself stated that Australia has one of the most comprehensive settlement programmes – based in official
multiculturalism - in the world which, however, due to the growing diversity of the migrant population, requires modifications.

Naturalisation

Requirements for the Australian citizenship include:

- Permanent residency. Permanent residents eligible for citizenship have lived in Australia for two or more years during in the previous five years, including for twelve months in the past two years.
- Basic knowledge of English (won't apply for those aged 50 or over)
- An adequate knowledge of a list of responsibilities and privileges of being an Australian citizen (won't apply for those aged 60 or over)
- An intention to live in, or maintain a close and continuing association with Australia.

Once application has been approved, an obligatory citizenship ceremony will be held by the local government council.

The Australian government encourages the naturalisation by permanent residents who are eligible for it very actively. A citizenship promotion campaign has been running since 2001 to promote both the take-up and value of Australian citizenship. (http://www.citizenship.gov.au.) Each year approximately 70 000 immigrants become Australian citizens.

Links

TABLE 3. Flows and stocks of foreign-born population, Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
<th>Dep.</th>
<th>Net</th>
<th>Stocks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
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**Net overseas migration**
- Including Australian-born residents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>107.4</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>53.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net migration</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>116.5</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>35.5</td>
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**Net overseas migration (ROM)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals</td>
<td>107.3</td>
<td>132.7</td>
<td>131.6</td>
<td>125.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure</td>
<td>107.3</td>
<td>132.7</td>
<td>131.6</td>
<td>125.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net migration</td>
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<td>0</td>
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**Migration programme outcome**

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<tbody>
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<td>32.5</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>40.8</td>
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<td>SMF</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>50.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employee non-recruitment agreements</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business sales</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement</td>
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<td>4.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-permanent</td>
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<td>22.4</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>29.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skilled Australian permanent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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**Temporary Resident Programme**

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<tbody>
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<td>Arrivals</td>
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<td>40.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net</td>
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<td>123.4</td>
<td>134.3</td>
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**New applications of asylum seekers**

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<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>China</td>
<td>1,213</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>9,813</td>
<td>6,126</td>
<td>2,965</td>
<td>2,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13,685</td>
<td>12,386</td>
<td>7,775</td>
<td>4,760</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** Flow data relate to fiscal years (ended 30 June).

TABLE 4. Net overseas migration components, selected years, thousands
Source: Statistics of Australia, migration statistics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
<th>Departures</th>
<th>Net overseas migration</th>
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<td>2002</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>41</td>
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</table>
3 COUNTRY CASE: CANADA

Introduction

Canada’s immigration policy is based on the premise that immigration contributes to the economy and society at large, and that the federal, provincial and territorial governments have a shared responsibility to manage immigration in the public interest.

However, Canadian immigration policy, the economic outcomes of immigrants, and the economic impact of immigration on the Canadian economy have changed in recent decades. Immigrants now make up about 18 per cent of the resident population, and this percentage is increasing given a relatively low fertility rate and an annual immigration rate of about 0.7 per cent of the population.

Following policy changes in 1962 and 1967, the distribution of source countries has shifted during the last decades as have many of the characteristics of new immigrants. Whereas, for example, prior to 1960 about 90 per cent of immigrants came from Europe and only 3 per cent came from Asia, in the 1990s only 20 per cent came from Europe and 60 per cent arrived from Asia. Associated with the change in source region, there has been a decrease in English and French language knowledge, and an increase in the frequency of immigrants being members of a visible minority – a term applied in Canadian immigration discourse. (Hiebert 1997; Reitz 1998.)

Recent decades have also seen a substantial decline in immigrant labour market outcomes and an increase in poverty. In 2000, the poverty rate for those who arrived anytime in the 1990s was 35 per cent. Male immigrants who arrived between 1975 and 1979 on average earned about 10 per cent less than the male non-immigrant mean at entry, but then converged to the non-immigrant mean annual earnings after about 10 or 15 years and subsequently surpassed it. More recent cohorts of both sexes have seen entry earnings that are as much as 30 per cent below those of the Canadian born. Further, the rate of convergence towards the non-immigrant mean suggests that “catch up” may not occur in a normal working career. (Sweetman 2005.)

Four reasons have been presented to explain the decline:

– Changes in language ability and other source-region characteristics
– A decline in pre-Canadian labour market experience
– Economic and labour market cycle effects
– A decline in the economic outcomes of all new labour market entrants including immigrants who, on average, appear to be treated like new entrants regardless of age at arrival. (Hiebert 1997; Reitz 1998; Sweetman 2005.)

A few studies have characterized the current immigration flow as having a positive, but small, impact on the national economy (as it seems to be the case also in Australia, the U.S. and Western Europe). As currently operated, immigration is seen to have primarily positive social and cultural effects, and appears to be close to neutral economically, at least in medium term. Demographically, while immigration has an important impact on the rate of population growth, it has a limited effect on the age distribution of the population. (Hiebert 1997; Reitz 1998; Sweetman 2005)
Main recent trends in labour immigration policy, main factors used in selection of policy options

In 1967, the government began the current era when it amended Canada’s immigration policy to introduce the points system for the selection of skilled workers, which together with business immigrants and a few small categories forms the economic or labour immigration class. Although the details of the system have changed several times in the intervening years, the basic structure has not. It includes:

- An economic class
- A family class
- A refugee or humanitarian stream
- “Other” class (a very small one, and has not existed at all in point system).

Economic class, labour immigrants, is approximately 55 per cent of the flow. Family class immigrants (spouses, parents and grandparents) comprise around 31 per cent of all permanent residents. It is worth noting that the principal applicants who are screened by the points system represent a minority even within the economic class with the largest group being the spouses and dependents of the principal applicants.

Canadian immigration policy is currently set out in the 2002 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, and the 1985 Citizenship Act (together with various agreements with provincial governments). The objectives of the Act distinguish between immigrants and refugees, and are laid out in the third section, which indicates that an overarching objective is “to permit Canada to pursue the maximum social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration” (article 3.1a).

In Canadian immigration policy immigration is not seen primarily an economic issue. Immigration is about family unification, humanitarianism, and national identity. Nevertheless, there are economic aspects of most immigration issues. (Immigration Branch 2005; Sweetman 2005).

Canada’s immigrant points system has been effective in substantially increasing the education level of immigrants, although there are currently problems around credential recognition. The New Immigration and Refugee Act (2002) has also affected the selection criteria for several other categories of migrants. For skilled workers it has moved the selection focus from specific job skills to human capital more broadly, including language and educational skills. (SOPEMI 2004)

During 2002 and 2003, pilot programs were created to attract more foreign students to Canada. In Canada, students no longer require resident permits for stays of less than six months. For certificate students, the Federal government and the provinces are considering options to encourage foreign students to remain in Canada after their studies are completed, and in certain provinces such measures have been implemented. (SOPEMI 2004.) Finally, Canada has recently moved to join countries like Australia and New Zealand in facilitating the immigration of foreign students studying in the country. Canada announced a new policy on off-campus work and post-graduation employment that, combined with the current points system, will make the immigration of foreign students easier. These students are seen as having several advantages. Canadian post-secondary education is seen to solve (or at least alleviate) several barriers to successful labour market integration: acculturation, credential recognition, language competency, and government administration around screening people. While there may be moral problems that follow from allowing students to “buy their way” into Canada by virtue of paying foreign student fees, this approach seems to address integration problems.

The Canadian Government has created the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC), which helps to evaluate diplomas. One of the solutions Canada has explored
to deal with the difficulties involved in validating foreign credentials is to encourage recruitment of foreign students that have obtained Canadian degrees.

Approaches to assessment of actual needs in external labour resources

Currently there are two main categories of “immigration needs” that are commonly identified. The first is primarily demographic, and the second is skills and labour market needs based. This part will concentrate on skills and labour market needs.

Immigration policy in Canada from 1947 to 2002 was based on attempting to identify and fill some combination of occupational, industrial and geographic workforce shortages, and this was formalized in the points system following 1967. Over the later part of the period occupations were identified as being in need of foreign workers using the Canadian Occupational Projection System (COPS). This is a model that looks at occupational groupings to establish where there are labour shortages. COPS is described as: “a family of economic models used to forecast current or future labour market conditions on an industrial and occupational basis. The system takes into account both the supply of and the demand for workers by industry and occupation.” (http://www.jobfutures.ca; Sweetman 2005.)

The COPS model continues to be used as part of the country’s labour market information system although its use in the immigration points system was discontinued with the introduction of the 2002 legislation. This was done partly because the initial prediction of a shortage and the arrival of the relevant immigrants could be, for example, one and a half years apart, by which time the occupation was frequently no longer in such high demand. In practice, the list of occupations deemed in short supply was updated quarterly, which is far too high a frequency for the administration of the immigration process. The volatility of predicted demand raised questions about the need to bring in immigrants, and there were often geographic mismatches between the location of occupations deemed to be in short supply and the locations preferred by new immigrants. (Sweetman 2005.)

The 2002 policy began to focus more on flexible long-term economic growth rather than filling short-term gaps. The points system’s criteria, therefore, altered to put more emphasis on human capital factors thought to be predictors of lifetime productivity and labour market adaptability such as education and language. (Sweetman 2005.)

In relation to business migrants, new selection standards have been implemented by the Act for immigrant investors, entrepreneurs and the self-employed. These new standards are more measurable and transparent and have been established in consultation with the provinces. The temporary worker programme has also been amended by the Act.

Previously an employer had to show that there were no Canadians available to fill the job in question. The new regulations require only that the temporary workers have neutral or positive effects on the labour market, thus making it easier for Canadian employers to get the labour they need when they need it. (SOPEMI 2005.)

Despite the formal move away from occupational targeting, the immigration system appears to have continued to provide some aspects of this service. For example, during the recent “tech boom”, engineers and high technology workers who in demand were processed more quickly and/or given temporary work visas to facilitate their entry into the country. Unfortunately, this approach has apparently overshot in Canada and also elsewhere, and during recent years three times more engineers entered the country than graduated from all the engineering programs in Canada combined. (Sweetman 2005.)
On the other hand there is a need for workers in some low skilled occupations where there are sustained shortages, especially in agricultural production. And, there are short-term needs for specialized skilled workers ranging from artistic performers to business consultants. Canada’s temporary worker program addresses these needs, although the numbers are relatively low. In total, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2004) reports that there were 85,400 foreign workers who entered Canada in 2003 and 9,462 of these were seasonal re-entries by the same people. In the end of 2003 the stock of foreign workers with employment authorization was 111,195. The distribution of skills levels for this group is: managerial, 8 per cent; professionals, 25 per cent; skilled and technical, 10 per cent; intermediate and technical, 32 per cent; elemental and labourers, one per cent; and skill level not stated, 24 per cent. (SOPEMI 2004; Sweetman 2005.)

Although there are occasional calls to return to a system with occupational targeting, it is unlikely that this will be pursued in the near future, even it seems that targeting complements rather than substitutes workforce. Temporary migration is seen to satisfy these needs. (Sweetman 2005.)

The one exception to this approach appears to be in letting employers have greater input into the process by, for example, allocating more points in the immigration system for prearranged employment. If this approach is pursued, it will be motivated not only as a form of occupational targeting but also because it is facilitating economic integration. Although the number of points awarded currently is modest, this policy does have the advantage of identifying shortages using employer information, while being distinct from information gathered from surveys by employers associations or the like, many of which argue for increases in immigration in specific occupations. (Sweetman 2005.)

System of incentives for attracting temporal and permanent labour immigrants

In Canada the economic incentives for attracting labour immigrants are scarce. Researchers can benefit from five year tax relief only in the province of Quebec on 75 percent of their personal income if they settle in Quebec to work in the research in a firm.

Organizational mechanisms for registration, monitoring and control of labour immigration flows

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is a central department led by a Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. The Department admits immigrants, foreign students, visitors and temporary workers, resettles refugees, co-ordinates integration services, and is responsible on naturalisations.

After 11/9 the government implemented a renewed border control strategy and the provisions of the new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (the Act) were implemented in June 2002. The Act enabled screening of travellers arriving at borders without proper documentation. In October 2002, the border control authorities began receiving advance passenger information from international flights arriving in Canada. Canada recorded a 32 percent decline to 2,837 in the number of improperly documented arrivals at its airports in 2002. Canada, has instituted a “Multiple Borders Strategy” for sharing information with the United States, inter alia with regard to the identity of passengers on flights to Canada and to the co-ordination of visa-issuing policies. (SOPEMI 2004).
The Act brought in renewed rules for dealing with immigration applications. Education, especially post-secondary degree completion, is a large fraction of the total, as is official (i.e., English and French) language ability. Outside of the points system, a minimum of one year of labour market experience is required. Arranged employment can be seen to be rewarded. In part, together with the adaptability section, there is an effort to facilitate the landing of foreign students in Canada. The adaptability portion is a mixture of items that are meant to identify people who might more easily integrate into the Canadian workforce in light of the declining labour force outcomes.

There are five other categories of economic immigrants: entrepreneurs, self-employed, investors, provincial nominees and live-in caregivers, although none of these programs are very large. The provincial nominee program is relatively new and is not in place within all provinces, but it is growing. Each province may set its own admission program(s) to meet local needs. Once an immigrant has been granted permanent citizenship he / she is free to move anywhere across the country. The “other” category comprises mostly humanitarian cases who do not qualify as refugees.

Each year the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration announces a target level of desired immigration flows for the next year with consultation between e.g. provincial authorities, social partners and civic organizations before the target level is announced. The target is not always achieved, but does have some influence on the number of immigrants admitted. As important as the announced level, are the resources dedicated to processing applications.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) reports that the administrative data show that among the economic class, it is only the principal applicant who has remarkable labour market outcomes. The spouses and dependents in this group have outcomes that resemble family class and/or refugees. This makes sense since it is only the principal applicant who is screened by the points system, although since 2002 the spouse, if one is present, also has a small points allocation.

In recent years Canada together with many other western countries has increased its focus on highly skilled immigrants. High skilled (and high earning) immigrants improve of those with lower earnings if the net impact of the entire flow is to be neutral or positive.

Mechanisms of integrating immigrants into the specific socio-cultural and economic environments

Canada has a reputation (e.g. Kymlicka 1998; SOPEMI 2004) of succeeding better than most of the other countries in the world in the integration of immigrants. The only comparable country is Australia, which has its own multicultural policy – one largely inspired by Canadáis, although it has been adapted to Australian circumstances. The good results of Canadian integration policy are verified by cross-country comparisons concerning immigrants’ living conditions. Canada – and also Australia in some extent – has succeeded well in their efforts towards ethnic equality and non-discrimination.

The good results for the integration of immigrants are explained by their official multiculturalism and well-adapted practical multiculturalism policies. However, this observation is but one slice of a broad discussion of the prospects for multiculturalism among national minorities as well immigrants, as expressed by a world-known theorist Will Kymlicka (e.g. 1998). Yet Kymlicka is not alone among social theorists in his belief that multiculturalism is a Canadian distinctive.

A concrete policy of what in Canada is called “official multiculturalism” is constitutionally defined in section 27 of Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). The common denominator of Canadian multiculturalism is that it “should assist and encourage the integration
(but not assimilation) of all immigrants." Therefore, the official immigration policy in Canada favours immigrant integration, which encourages mutual adjustment by both newcomers and surrounding society. Newcomers are expected to understand and respect basic Canadian values, and Canadians are expected to understand and respect the cultural differences newcomers bring to Canada. Rather than expecting newcomers to abandon their own culture, the official target is on negotiating ways to integrate differences in a pluralistic society. (Integration Branch 2001, 4.)

Canadian multiculturalism addresses not only the integration of immigrants but of all visible minorities (a term applied in Canadian discourse), racial minorities who are not of recent immigrants or immigrants in the ordinary sense – i.e. the majority of African Americans. (Harlens 2004.)

Overall integration of newcomers is a federal responsibility and is one of the stated objectives of the Immigration Act that recognises, "the need to encourage and facilitate the adaptation of persons who have been granted admission as permanent residents to Canadian society by promoting co-operation between the Government of Canada and other levels of government and non-governmental agencies in Canada". Although a shared responsibility, the actual services provided often fall under the jurisdiction of the provincial authorities in combination with the local municipal authorities. Unlike in most of the EU countries immigrant integration programs are produced in partnership with volunteer and (often immigrant-) community organizations.

As an integrative strategy, official multiculturalism emerged out of a concern to integrate the ethnically diverse population introduced into Canada as a consequence of twentieth century – especially post World War II – immigration.

In the wake of an Official Languages Act (1969) that affirmed the linguistic dominance of French and English in Canada’s public institutions, in 1971 the government introduced multiculturalism as a way to make immigrant-stock individuals of other than Anglo-Irish or French origin feel that they, too, were fully part of the Canadian political community. Initially, the policy had four stated objectives: 1) the removal of cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society; 2) cultural exchange and appreciation; 3) official language training for immigrants (i.e., in English or French); 4) state funding for cultural maintenance activities (e.g., support for ethnic minority associations, for ethnic expression in the visual and performing arts, ethnic festivals, and, to a much smaller extent, training in languages other than English and French).

By the mid-1980s, however, the emphasis shifted to encompass racial equality as well as cultural diversity. This was motivated by the more ethnically diverse composition of the Canadian population. Consequently, the Canadian government turned its attention to the situation of visible minorities via the creation of a Race Relations Unit in the federal Multiculturalism Directorate (in 1981), the Federal Employment Equity Act of 1986, and most famously the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, in which cultural maintenance and the fight against racial discrimination received equal importance. (Harles 2004.)

The main involvement of federal policymakers in promoting the effective integration of permanent immigrants in Canada has largely been with settlement programs. These are directed mainly at smoothing the initial settlement process, and include counselling and language instruction. The objective has been to foster integration into the economy and society. A number of significant issues and trends regarding the successful integration of immigrants go well beyond the initial settlement process. Much attention was been devoted to the labour market performance of immigrants; the social welfare costs of immigration; recognition of foreign educational and professional credentials; social exclusion or discrimination against immigrants or visible minorities in various sectors such as employment, education, housing and public services; and regional impacts and the uneven dispersion of immigrants across the country. Probably the most important of these issues in the short to intermediate term is the labour market performance of
immigrants, which has, as described earlier, declining during the last decades. Dealing with the above sets of issues involves federal departments, which goes beyond Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s role in integration process, as well as joint arrangements with provincial and municipal levels. (Beach et al. 2003.)

The Federal Government of Canada has delivered basic settlement assistance to newcomers to Canada since the 1970s. Settlement assistance is one of the main activities of the immigration program. The Federal Immigrant Integration Strategy helps immigrants to learn official language(s) (all adult immigrants are eligible to language training regardless of whether or not they were destined for the labour market); about Canadian values and helps Canadians understand the diverse backgrounds of newcomers. In this broader view, integration is a continuum. It is a process that begins when an immigrant first applies to come to Canada, and it continues in the early days and months after arrival, up to and beyond the time he or she acquires citizenship and achieves full participation in Canadian society. (Integration Branch 2001, 6–7.)

The Canadian model of settlement and integration program service delivery aims “to enable newcomers to adapt, settle and integrate into Canadian society as quickly and comfortably as possible so that they may become contributing members of Canadian society”. Programs encompass both pre- and post-arrival settlement and orientation services abroad and in Canada. (Integration Branch 2005, 7)

To be eligible for settlement programs or services the recipient must be either a permanent resident of Canada, or have been granted permission to remain in Canada, or have been selected for immigration to Canada and to whom it is the intent of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada to grant landed immigrant status. Additionally, only adult immigrants are eligible for language training, as the education of children is a provincial responsibility in Canada. (Integration Branch 2005, 8.)

The Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) provides funds to businesses, non-profit corporations, non-governmental organizations, community groups, educational institutions at the individual and community levels, and provincial, territorial or municipal governments to deliver direct and essential services to newcomers. Settlement workers help newcomers with the initial adjustments of day-to-day living, and information concerning Canadian values and their rights and obligations under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms are offered.

The Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program provides basic training to adult immigrants in one of Canada’s official languages, English or French. LINC classes are organised on a full-time or part-time basis, daytime or evening and newcomers are allowed to access the Program at anytime within their first 3 years in Canada.

The LINC program incorporates orientation information that aims to assist immigrants to function independently in educational, social and employment settings. Themes such as Canadian culture and society, community and volunteerism, global issues such as hunger, human rights, and Canadian laws and Citizenship, and also simulation of real life situations are incorporated to the program curriculum.

The Host Programme matches Canadian volunteers with arriving immigrants to facilitate their integration and settlement. The Host Program funds the recruitment, training, matching, co-ordination, and monitoring of volunteers (individuals or groups) who help newcomers to adapt, settle and to integrate into Canada. Host volunteers help newcomers to learn about available services, practice their language skills, develop contacts in their employment field, and participate in community activities. In turn, Hosts learn about other cultures. (www.cic.gc.ca.)

To be eligible to receive funding for the purpose of providing Host services, the recipient must be a business, a non-profit corporation, a non-governmental organization, a community group, an educational institution (school boards, districts and divisions), an individual, a provincial, territorial or a municipal government.
In Canada (as elsewhere) immigration and ethnocultural diversity are metropolitan, rather than national, aspects of life. With an increasing concentration of immigrants, it is becoming more difficult for large urban centres to integrate immigrants. At the same time, smaller provinces and urban centres wish to attract immigrants in order to boost or maintain their population base as well as to contribute to their economic development. Smaller provinces and cities have their own challenges in maintaining a stable and qualified labour force to promote their own social and economic objectives. The challenge, therefore, is to encourage the permanent settlement and integration of newcomers outside of the major metropolitan areas of Canada. (Ray 2005.)

A large inflow of immigrants each year relative to the size of the population is likely to remain a fixture of Canadian immigration policy and demography for the foreseeable future. So too is the emphasis on human capital characteristics of economic applicants as immigration becomes more tightly weaved into labour force policy. Social and economic inclusion of immigrants, where it occurs and how, remains a serious challenge for an ever more ethnoculturally heterogeneous Canadian society. (Ray 2005)

Naturalisation

Canadian multiculturalism signifies that the Canadian government actively promotes citizenship among culturally diverse foreign-born residents. Naturalisation is understood as a symbol of full participation in Canadian society, and a target for the individual integration process. Citizenship acquisition among the foreign-born is considerably higher in Canada than e.g. the United States. By 2001, 85 percent of foreign-born residents eligible for Canadian citizenship possessed it as opposed to 37 percent of their counterparts in the U.S. in 2000. In the process of naturalization in Canada the minimum waiting period to be granted citizenship is three years. Candidates for citizenship must be permanent residents, 18 years of age or older, without outstanding criminal offences, pass a test assessing ability to communicate reasonably well in national languages, pass a further test demonstrating knowledge of the history and political structure, and indicate a commitment to the country’s defining values which in Canada includes multiculturalism.

Links

http://www.canadainmigrationvisa.com/visatype.html
http://www.migrationinformation.org/
http://atwork.settlement.org/
### TABLE 5. The points allocation system in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Three: Experience</th>
<th>Maximum 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Four: Age</th>
<th>Maximum 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 to 49 years at time of application</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less 2 points for each year over 49 or under 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Five: Arranged Employment in Canada</th>
<th>Maximum 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You have a permanent job offer that has been confirmed by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC).</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You are applying from within Canada and have a temporary work permit that was:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issued after receipt of a confirmation of your job offer from HRSDC; or</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You have a temporary work permit that was exempted from the requirement of a confirmed job offer from HRSDC on the basis of an international agreement (e.g., NAFTA), a significant benefit to Canada (e.g., intra-company transfer) or public policy on Canada’s academic or economic competitiveness (e.g., post-graduate work).</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Six: Adaptability</th>
<th>Maximum 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spouse’s or common-law partner’s education</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum one year full-time authorized work in Canada</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum two years full-time authorized post-secondary study in Canada</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have received points under the Arranged Employment in Canada factor</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family relationship in Canada</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Maximum 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Pass Mark | 67 |


### TABLE 6. CANADA, immigrant labour force aged 15 and over, and their countries of origin


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>of which: Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>422.0</td>
<td>372.0</td>
<td>338.4</td>
<td>160.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>121.0</td>
<td>118.0</td>
<td>290.4</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>176.0</td>
<td>194.1</td>
<td>64.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>112.0</td>
<td>162.8</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong (China)</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>120.0</td>
<td>140.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>214.0</td>
<td>156.0</td>
<td>140.1</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>144.0</td>
<td>142.0</td>
<td>137.1</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>104.1</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>108.5</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>111.0</td>
<td>191.0</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>115.0</td>
<td>190.7</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>1 191.0</td>
<td>1 094.7</td>
<td>1 325.3</td>
<td>448.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2 681.8</td>
<td>2 839.1</td>
<td>3 150.8</td>
<td>1 288.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total labour force</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FIGURE 2. Permanent Residents by Immigration Admission Category, Canada, 1980–2004

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Strategic Research and Statistics Division.
4 COUNTRY CASE: ISRAEL

Introduction

The most basic principle of the Israeli migration regime is the formal categorization between Jews and non-Jews. While with respect to Jews Israel is a settler country actively seeking to attract new members through immigration, regarding non-Jews Israel represents a restrictive migration regime. Israel has always encouraged and assisted the immigration of Jews as part of a pro-immigration ideology and policy called "aliyah". The reason of its existence is the ingathering and retention of Jewish immigrants and the forging of these diverse elements into a unified nation. Israel is a country established for and administered by Jewish immigrants from diverse countries and origins. (Neumann 1999; Rosenhek 2003.)

In 1950, the government instituted a fundamental piece of legislation, the Law of Return, which grants every Jew the automatic right to immigrate to Israel and become a citizen of the state. Although according to Jewish law ("halacha") Jewish identity is conferred only through matriarchal descent or conversion, Israel's Law of Return granted Israeli citizenship to anyone with a maternal or paternal Jewish grandparent. Still today, for Jews around the world, the idea of Israel as a homeland and refuge remains central. North American Jews have long been dedicated to the cause of the Ethiopian Jews, for example.

The largest wave of immigration in the last 20 years followed the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. Approximately 900,000 Soviet Jews have settled in Israel. Using the formula defined by the Law of Return, many Soviet Union citizens who qualified for Israeli citizenship came from intermarried families. The former Soviet Union immigrants are mainly a highly educated immigrant population that includes engineers, scientists, and IT specialists who partly fuelled the tech boom of the 1990s. A temporary migrant labour policy implemented in the early 1990s has brought several hundred thousand workers from Asia, Africa and South America, many of whom have stayed. (Kruger 2005a; 2005b.)

Main recent trends in labour immigration policy, main factors used in selection of policy options

Beginning in the early 1990s, Israel began to invite non-Jewish, non-Palestinian temporary migrants workers to support its prosperous economy. Temporary foreign workers were needed because Palestinian workers could no longer reach construction, cleaning, and agriculture jobs throughout Israel. Therefore, migrant labour originally came to Israel as a result of an effort to separate Palestinian workers from the Israeli labour market. Now this heterogeneous community of migrant workers has become established in Israel, and employers have become dependent on their labour.

However, political pressures inherent in maintaining a Jewish majority, as well as the hope that unemployed Israelis will fill low-wage, low-status jobs, have led to current policies intended to reduce the total number of migrant workers in Israel. It is not clear how labour market needs are satisfied, if the number of migrant workers continues to decrease. The rising standard of living made low-wage, low-status jobs like home health-care workers unattractive to Israelis. Also the segmentation of the labour markets to "immigrant niches" and native markets, Israeli workers...
are reluctant to accept low prestige "immigrant jobs". The other alternative, Palestinian workers bring security concerns. (Rosenhek 2003.)

The number of migrant workers that initially came to replace the Palestinian labourers reached numbers between 250 000 to 300 000 in 2003, but official estimates at 2004 place the number of migrants at about 189 000. Over half of the migrant workers in Israel are from Southeast Asia, with most, approximately 50 000, coming from the Philippines to work primarily in home health care. Approximately 30 000 Thai migrants work mostly in agriculture, and 15 000 Chinese migrants work in the construction industry. Other migrants come from India and Sri Lanka.

About 65 000 migrants from Eastern Europe, over half from Romania, generally work in construction. Some 28 000 migrant workers from African or South American countries often work as cleaners and domestic service providers (Israel’s Central Bureau of Statistics.)

At first, migrants were perceived as a good alternative to the security concerns associated with having Palestinian workers in Israel. In addition, migrants proved to be “a good value” since they were cheaper to employ and had a reputation among Israeli employers as hard working. Over time, however, the government began to worry about the long-term implications of a growing migrant population.

In the end of 2002 a so-called “Closed Skies” policy was announced as part of a campaign to reduce the number of migrant workers. This policy meant that rather than bringing in workers from overseas, employment quotas for migrant workers were to be filled by migrant workers already in Israel.

This possibility has been fraught with many bureaucratic obstacles. As an example the potential worker provide a passport to the authorities within eight days. Often the employer is in possession of the passport, and will not return the passport. Therefore the worker does not qualify for reassignment. Furthermore, employers often avoid longer-term workers who are aware of their rights, so a migrant worker will find it difficult to find a new employer.

Approaches to assessment of actual needs in external labour resources

The Employment Service determines the number of work visas and work permits according to data provided by various ministries, such as agriculture and construction, and allocated the visa to employers. These ministries based their recommendation on requests from the private sector.

According to official Knesset reports, the quotas for the employment of migrant workers in 2005 include 17 500 for construction, 26 000 in agriculture, 2 100 in industry, 550 in hotels, and 1 300 in restaurants.

In all, 47 450 permits were granted compared to 48 000 permits in 2004. The number of permits for home health-care workers is not capped, and depends on the number of elderly or disabled people who meet social security criteria for employing migrant care workers. For 2005, this number is just below 30 000.

The Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Labour concedes that migrants are still coming into Israel, but that other initiatives complement this policy, such as taxes levied for employing foreign migrant workers, and a reduction in unemployment benefits in an effort to push unemployed Israelis into the workplace.
System of incentives for attracting temporal and permanent labour immigrants

The system of financial incentives for immigrants is solely granted for immigrants making aliyah, and therefore it is not designed to attract labour immigrants. The financial assistance is called the Absorption Basket, and its target is to help with initial arrival arrangements, like renting an apartment, and with living expenses during the period of studies targeted to newly arrived.

Organizational mechanisms for registration, monitoring and control of labour immigration flows

The Immigration and Absorption Department is the central authority in immigration to and initial integration or “absorption” in Israel, but it is mainly aimed at immigrants making aliyah. The Department’s emissaries are the official overseas emissaries of the State of Israel in matters concerning the aliyah immigration process. (http://www.moia.gov.il/english/index_en.asp; http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Home). For a covering description on migration-related institutions in Israel, see Rosenhek 2005 (http://www.carim.org/Publications/CARIM-AS05_07-Rosenhek.pdf).

Temporary labour immigrants are recruited in their country of origin. Recruitment is typically handled by manpower offices and middlemen in the country of origin. Most migrants, approximately 70 percent according to Bank of Israel data from 2002, arrive in Israel with a valid work visa, but only about 35 percent of those hold on to that legal status. Until recently, a migrant worker could lose his legal status by changing jobs, since the employer rather than the worker "owned" the visa. Those who enter without a work permit often arrive as tourists or pilgrims.

The temporary work visas are usually for a period of five years and three months (and in the case of home health-care workers even longer) and are only valid if the holder continues to work for the original employer. Migrant worker permits must be renewed annually. Work visas almost never lead to citizenship, even if the worker marries an Israeli citizen.

Since 2005 visas have been allocated to employment agencies instead of employers in an attempt to eliminate "binding the worker" to the employer, which facilitates opportunities for worker abuse, and to prevent corruption in visa allocation. NGOs (e.g. www.kavlaoved.org.il) are concerned that this transfer of authority from employer to employment agency will not prevent exploitative behaviour since it does not guarantee freedom of mobility. It also does not provide for supervision and enforcement mechanisms designed to guarantee workers’ rights. (Kruger 2005a; 2005b.)

As part of a campaign to reduce the number of migrant workers in Israel, "Closed Skies" policy was announced year 2002. This policy meant that rather than bringing in workers from overseas, employment quotas for migrant workers were to be filled by those already in Israel. Under certain conditions, migrant workers who work illegally in Israel might receive legal status in order to “fill” the quotas already allocated to Israeli employers. In contrast to the aims of government policy, the number of foreign workers rose in the second half of 2004. (Kruger 2005a.)

According to the current regulations, foreign migrant workers whose visas have expired shall be detained. The regulations explicitly state that the new procedure is not intended to provide work for migrant workers, that migrant workers have no right of "reassignment", and that the State has no duty to provide them with an alternate employer (i.e., one with a permit to employ non-Israeli workers). However, employers may address the Ministry of Interior with a request to employ a detained worker, and such request may be granted. (Kruger 2005a.)
Workers entitled to be included in this procedure must first qualify according to the following criteria:

- They must have originally entered Israel while holding a legal work permit;
- When detained, they have been employed in the same area of occupation in which their original work permit had authorized them to work;
- They must have provided the authorities with a valid passport within eight days from the time of detention;
- On the day of detention, they must have not been in Israel more than 51 months since the time they first entered the country;
- They have not been detained previously for illegal work;
- They must work in construction or agriculture (caregivers working over a year in Israel as well as industry workers are not eligible under the regulations).

The “closed skies” procedure is a first concrete step to restrict the number of foreign workers by the State of Israel. Farmers are now taxed for employing foreign migrant workers. Unemployment benefits have been cut in an effort to push unemployed Israelis into the workplace. Still, the unemployment rate was at 11 percent year 2004. However, the procedure is limited in scope. E.g. farmers have received 18 000 new licenses to bring in workers from Thailand. The home health care sector is also entitled to receive new licenses to import workers without restriction.

In addition, the government decided to increase deportations of unauthorized or illegal migrant workers in 2002 by establishing a new Immigration Authority (IA) unit of the Israel Police. Efforts were to be directed both toward illegal migrants and their employers in the form of a fine of about US$ 2 200 or more. The IA states that 136 000 illegal or unauthorized workers, including women and children, have been deported or have left voluntarily since September 2002. Deportees total less than 53 000 of this number. (http://www.hagira.gov.il/ImmigrationCMS/; Kruger 2005a.)

Mechanisms of integrating immigrants into the specific socio-cultural and economic environments

Unlike in the U.S., Canada and Australia, where the role of the civic society and the third sector is remarkable in immigrant integration management, in Israel integration policy is rather state-oriented. The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption is responsible for providing government assistance to new permanent immigrants making aliyah and returning residents who have arrived in Israel within the last decade. (http://www.moia.gov.il/english/index_en.asp.) It should be noted that integration measures do not cover temporary (non-Jewish) labour immigrants.

The main tasks of the ministry are the following:

- Regulations, procedures, and budgets concerning the new immigrant’s eligibility for assistance.
- Provision of special services throughout the country, in the areas of housing, employment, culture, etc.
- Agreements with organizations, which allow them to provide assistance to new immigrants.
- Participation with other government ministries and public organizations in joint projects for new immigrants.
- Coordination of assistance to new immigrants from government ministries and local authorities.
- Employment: Preventing unemployment among immigrants by e.g. employment
- Education: Promoting a sense of membership in Israeli society among both children and adults from diverse immigrant groups, while encouraging the preservation of their cultural identities.
- Community development: Creating appropriate conditions for integration at the level of the locality and the community. On the one hand, assisting those in need of housing, social services, and education. On the other hand, supporting talented immigrants who contribute to the community through research, teaching, medicine, business initiatives, cultural institutions, and the arts.

On the local level, the initial integration is supported by the so-called Absorption Centers. The Absorption Center is a unique Israeli housing arrangement where new immigrants are placed during the initial stage of their resettlement. Located throughout the country, they are temporary living quarters offering assistance. Most of the Absorption Centers offer tuition in Hebrew language, assistance in everyday matters, professional guidance and training. Residence in the Absorption Center is usually for a period of up to six months, though participants of specific student, professional or other aliyah programs may stay for the duration of their program. (Neumann 1999; Rosenhek 2005; http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Home.)

Naturalisation

The Ministry of Interior is responsible for assessing the eligibility of immigrants’ access to Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return, which is conditional on the applicant’s Jewish origins of links to a Jewish person. Temporary labour migrants (of non-Jewish origin) are not eligible to the status of a temporary resident, or a permanent resident, or a citizen. The naturalisation policy implemented towards non-Jewish immigrants is restrictive, even for those married with an Israeli citizen. (Rosenhek 2005; www.moin.gov.il.)

Links

http://www.gov.il/FirstGov/English
http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Home
www.kavlaoved.org.il/
http://www.pmo.gov.il/PMOEng/Archive/cabmeet/2002/05/Spokesman6071.htm
http://www.hagira.gov.il/ImmigrationCMS/
FIGURE 2: Arrival of Immigrant Population from the Former Soviet Union by Year (in Thousands)

FIGURE 3. Number of Migrant and Palestinian Workers Employed in Israel, 1990–2004
Source: Bank of Israel Data.
TABLE 6. Aliyah-immigration to Israel 1978–2004 according to regions of origin
Source: Israel’s Central Bureau of Statistics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FSU</th>
<th>North America</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Middle East*</th>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>Ethiopia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>12,192</td>
<td>3,385</td>
<td>1,902</td>
<td>1,960</td>
<td>1,463</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>17,84</td>
<td>3,273</td>
<td>1,648</td>
<td>1,577</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37,222</td>
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<td>2,670</td>
<td>1,423</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>220</td>
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<td>271</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>11,713</td>
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<td>999</td>
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<td>2,094</td>
<td>1,283</td>
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<td>407</td>
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<td>1,853</td>
<td>262</td>
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<td>1,607</td>
<td>1,364</td>
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<td>1,095</td>
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<td>2,201</td>
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<td>2,411</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2,695</td>
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Total since 1948: 1,114,7597,110,304742,21476,559166,51719,04071,0122,975,711

*Middle East: Afghanistan, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Yemen, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, and other countries.
**Statistics dating from 2006 include returning Israeli adults and minors.

FIGURE 4. Structure of the labour-force in Israel 2004
Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.
COUNTRY CASE: THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

According to the latest information 2004 immigrants (e.g. foreign born) consist 12 per cent of the U.S. population and the current levels of immigration add over one million immigrants yearly to an existing immigrant population of about 34 million. Most settle in long-established gateway cities like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Miami and Houston. During the 1990s, however, a much greater number of newcomers settled in “non-traditional” states and cities where relatively few migrants have resided since World War II.

Throughout the history immigration to the U.S. has been viewed essentially as a source of additional labour, which reduces its price, or at least prevents it from rising. In the more recent discussions on highly skilled immigration, the possibilities to utilise the human and innovative capital of foreign-trained specialist have been an important argument. Therefore in the U.S. – unlike in Europe – business interests have been generally supportive of immigration. (Zohlberg 2006.)

During the spring 2006, discussion on immigration policy reform was heated. The main policy challenge is the position of the large – from 10 to 12 million persons – illegal or unauthorised population and the problem of illegal entries. In May 2006 the Senate approved an immigration bill that allows most of the 10-12 million illegal or unauthorized immigrants to become citizens – so-called amnesty –, and doubles the flow of legal immigration each year by creating a new temporary guest-worker program. The bill also includes approval for 370 miles of new fencing along the U.S – Mexico -border, 500 miles of vehicle barriers and authorization of 3 000 new Border Patrol agents this year, centers to hold illegal or unauthorized immigrants and employer sanctions on employers who hire illegal or unauthorized immigrants. However, the bill is heavily criticised even in the Senate. Those senators who voted against the immigration bill said it should have left out the ‘amnesty’ provisions and instead focus solely on securing the border and enforcing the immigration laws in force. (E.g. Hurt 2006; Newell 2006.) When considering the U.S. discussions on immigration and the policy reform bill, the internal power-relations should be taken into account. Latin Americans, and especially Mexicans, who are currently the target of most restrictive efforts – are rapidly achieving significant political power (Zohlberg 2006.).

Main recent trends in labour immigration policy, main factors used in selection of policy options

Migrants to the United States fall into three distinct categories:

- Immigrants. Aliens who are lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence and are eligible for eventual citizenship. Refugees may adjust to immigrant status after one year.
- Non-immigrants. Aliens lawfully admitted to the United States temporarily for a specific purpose.
- Unauthorized (illegal) migrants. Aliens entering without inspection or overstaying their non-immigrant visas. Intended duration of stay may range from short temporary visits to permanent residence.
Much of the today’s legal admissions policy was formulated in the 1960s, with important changes in 1990 and more recent security-related legislation. Immigrants’ role in the U.S. labour force has been on the increase since the 1970s. During the 1990s, the United States admitted about 825 000 legal immigrants each year, up from about 600 000 a year in the 1980s (not counting those legalized under the 1986 amnesty), 450 000 a year in the 1970s, and 330 000 a year in the 1960s. Unauthorized migration has increased throughout this decade with numbers averaging over 500 000 per year.

The 1990s was a record decade with 13.65 million immigrants entering to stay in the United States. Immigrants drove 47 per cent of the growth of the labour force during the 1990s; male immigrants alone drove nearly two-thirds of male labour force growth. The growth of immigration has continued during the 2001 recession especially hitting ICT-sector, and on through the jobless recovery of recent years. (Lowell 2005.)

The number of persons granted permanent resident status in 2002 totalled 1.06 million, virtually the same as 2001. In recent years, however, changes in immigration levels, whether a decline or an increase, do not necessarily represent corresponding changes in demand to immigrate to the United States. Rather, changes in the level of immigration are often an artefact of new legislative initiatives, increasing documentation requirements and backlogs in the processing of applications. (SOPEMI 2004.)

In 2002, 64 percent of all immigrants granted permanent residence were already living in the United States. Almost two-thirds of permanent immigration (673 000) in 2002, was associated with family reunification. Employment-based immigration in 2002 was 175 000, 16 percent of all immigration, although over half of this was accounted for by dependents of those entering for employment. The humanitarian e.g. refugee settlement programme accounted for 126 100 grants of permanent residence, up just over 16 percent on the 2001 figure. Another admission route, 4 percent of permanent inflows, is the annual diversity programme, under which 50 000 visas are available by lottery. It aims at increasing the diversity of countries sending immigrants to the United States. (SOPEMI 2004.)

Latin America as a whole and Asia were the primary source regions, and accounted for approximately 43 percent and 32 percent of these, respectively. Destinations in the United States tend to be geographically concentrated with six states receiving nearly two-thirds of all immigrants. However, data from the late 1990s show some increase in the diversification of places of residence for immigrants. Since 1993 women have been in the small majority of those granted permanent residence (54 percent in 2002), largely because of the operation of the family reunification provisions, although the gender breakdown is now fairly stable from year to year.

Mexico is the principal country of origin: Mexicans make up 20 percent of annual legal immigration and over 30 percent of the total foreign-born population. Mexican migrants, about two thirds of whom have not completed a high school education, are America’s primary source of low-skilled migrants. About 15 percent of Mexico’s working-age population resides in the United States. Mexican migration is stimulated by the strong inertia of social networks that attract and bind people across the border. It is also stimulated by a seemingly self-generating demand for the ready supply of low-skilled labour (Lowell 2005, SOPEMI 2004.)

The U.S. immigration system admits most immigrants for reasons of family reunification with little linkage to economic demand. Although family preference is the cornerstone of permanent immigration policy in the United States, the country nonetheless admits a large number of permanent highly skilled foreign professionals (almost 180 000 in 2002), as well as highly skilled workers on renewable three-year visas (so-called H-1B visas, see further). This temporary immigration is subject to an annual quota which was set at 195 000 until the end of 2003, but has been reduced to 65 000 since then. (SOPEMI 2004.)
The recent public discourse in the U.S. names many factors that might condition the future demand for immigrants. The aging of the population is often spoken of, but demographic studies find that the number of immigrants needed to address aging’s impacts is truly excessive (e.g. Replacement Migration 2000). Still, highly skilled migrants can supply a source of labour that will boost productivity in the aging labour force. At the same time, there remains an apparently strong demand for low-skilled labour and Mexico is likely to supply a substantial portion of that demand.

Immigration to the United States has been and remains largely for the purpose of reuniting families. However, it is increasingly being thought of as a means of meeting employment demand. It is likely that the family function will remain dominant, even accompanying family members tend to outnumber the worker.

Approaches to assessment of actual needs in external labour resources

Many observers expect the supply and demand for low-skilled Mexican workers to remain strong for several reasons. There has been a three decade long shift from a male dominated, seasonal agricultural migration to an urban dominated migration for year-round jobs and permanent settlement. Beginning in the late 1980s, and accelerating in the 1990s, there has been a migration toward non-traditional settlement States. Greater geographic diversity can translate into more job possibilities and more stable demand for Mexican workers regardless if any one part of the country experiences an economic slow down. Mexican demographic and economic push forces are likely to remain strong in the short to medium term. (Lowell 2005.)

The forces that drive Mexican migration are supported by a strong demand for low-skilled labour. The U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics has made labour force projections for the period 2002 to 2012 that forecast a remarkably strong demand for workers with little formal skills: Eight of the 30 occupations forecast to be the fastest growing require only short or moderate on the job training; fifteen of the 30 occupations projected to have the largest numerical growth require only short on the job training, and these jobs are projected to account for 24 per cent of total labour force growth. (Lowell 2005.)

The U.S. practices a limited form of pre-clearance for specific sectors. The employers are required case-by-case to first recruit and test the labour market supply before visa can be allocated to shortage occupations. Some permanent and most temporary admission visas are limited to a set of pre-determined occupations deemed to be either appropriate for the visa and / or to qualify for shortage status. Otherwise, there is a list of Department of Labour (DOL)-determined Schedule A occupations for which there are “not sufficient U.S. workers who are able, willing, qualified and available.” These do not require a test of the labour market for green card admission. This list includes a number of occupations like professional nurses. (Siskind 2005).

The Immigration Act of 1990 directed the DOL to test labour market information (LMI) method of identifying shortage occupations that would bypass the usual case-by-case procedure. However, the shortage designation brought critics from workers in localities where shortages of occupations on the national list were not so evident. An adaptation of the LMI with local area indicators is assessed; even it covers only few occupations.

Also the so-called JOLTS survey by the Bureau of Labour Statistics is used when identifying shortages. It is a monthly sample of establishments that captures hires and separations and provides a measure of job openings that mirrors the unemployment rate from the employers’ side. The JOLTS currently classifies only industrial branches and so it is not applicable to immigration visas which are occupationally based. (Siskind 2005.)
Perhaps the best-known work program around the world is the temporary H-1B that has been primarily a vehicle for information technology. Originally, the H-1B visa required careful labour market tests and had no numerical limitations. That changed in the 1990 Act when employers were allowed to simply “attest” that they faced a labour shortage and would meet other conditions. A yearly numerical cap of 65 000 visas was imposed to meet the demand for foreign workers. But as employer petitions for H-1B workers increased rapidly in the later 1990s, the numbers issued grew from 60 000 in 1996 to 191 000 in 2001, and back to 65 000 during 2003.

System of incentives for attracting temporal and permanent labour immigrants

No economical incentives.

Organizational mechanisms for registration, monitoring and control of labour immigration flows

Within the framework of the renewed immigration bill, the U.S. has recently announced to legalise certain unauthorized migrants, but no concrete steps has yet been taken to do this.

Much of the U.S. legal admissions policy was formulated in the 1960s, with some changes in 1990 and more recent security-related legislation. In the United States, applicants for temporary immigration visas have been required to undergo individual interviews since August 2003. Moreover, since the attacks of 11 September 2001, border controls have been tightened continuously. Policy developments in 2003 were dominated by security issues, by the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which took over the functions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and by implementing related initiatives. The DHS has five major Directorates, two of which cover immigration functions including the two agencies focusing on interior enforcement activities and border patrol and inspections at ports of entry. (SOPEMI 2004.)

The greater part of the U.S. admission system uses case-by-case determinations, initiated by employers, of occupation-specific shortages. This applies to most of the permanent employment based green card and the greater number of temporary working visas. Permanent immigrants – “green cards” – are persons who are entitled to live and work permanently in the U.S. and, after five years, to become naturalized U.S. citizens. The four ways for admission are family reunification (sponsored by either green carders or naturalized citizens), skills and employment, diversity, and humanitarian interests. By far the largest group of admissions is the relatives of U.S. residents.

During the past twenty years, there have been persistent calls for a shifting of admission numbers from family categories, under which many immigrants with less than a high school education enter, to skills-based visa categories that attract more highly educated immigrants. (Lowell 2005.)

The skilled immigration category is divided into five preferences, or groupings, each with its own admission ceiling. The highest priority goes to priority workers or persons of so-called extraordinary ability, outstanding professors and researchers, and executives and managers of multinational corporations. The second group includes professionals with advanced degrees and workers of exceptional ability. The third group is composed of other professionals, skilled workers and a limited number of other lower-skilled workers, with the fourth permitting entry of religious
workers and the fifth including entrepreneurs admitted for activities creating employment. Unused numbers in higher priority groups can be passed down to lower priorities. (Lowell 2005.)

Most employment-based immigrants are sponsored by employers. Not surprisingly, rates of employment among these immigrants are very high since they already have jobs and, generally, a supportive employer. Because the U.S. system is employer driven and a job offer is essential, most of those admitted are employed at entry or are already in the United States. To hire a foreign worker as a permanent resident, the employer must undertake a recruitment process that meets Department of Labour (DOL) guidelines and demonstrates that no minimally qualified U.S. worker is available. The process normally requires an attorney’s help, and the wait for approval can be several years, first at the Department of Labour (DOL) and then the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services at the Department of Homeland Security. Employers and immigrants often seek to use temporary visa categories to bridge the gap between the decision to hire the worker and the government’s grant of permanent resident status. (Lowell 2005.)

Visas issued for the purpose of temporary work are increasingly important as a vehicle for admission of foreign workers, particularly highly-skilled. Each year, hundreds of thousand visas are issued to temporary workers and their family members. In addition, an unknown number of foreign students are employed either in addition to their studies or immediately thereafter in practical training. In fast changing industries, such as information technology, having access to a global labour market of skilled professionals is highly attractive. Also, as companies outsource work, or hire contingent labour to work on specific projects, temporary visas, rather than permanent admissions, are applied. (Lowell 2005.)

Over time, a number of different temporary admission visa categories have been introduced, each referred to by the letter of the alphabet under which it is described in the Immigration and Nationality Act. The United States currently has over 60 categories of non-immigrant admission, most of which are not numerically restricted. In 2002, 1 288 700 temporary visas were issued (excluding foreign government officials, visitors and transit foreigners). These were principally temporary workers and trainees (28 %), students (19 %), and their family members. The principal sections under which temporary workers enter are the E visa for traders and investors entering under bilateral treaties, H1-B for specialty workers, H-2A for agricultural workers, H2-B for other seasonal workers, L for intracompany transfers, and J for exchange scholars among others. (http://www.uscis.gov/graphics/services/visas.htm.)

The regulations governing admissions vary from visa to visa. The high-skilled H-1B visa generally requires a bachelor’s degree; and the employer first “attest” that they will pay prevailing wages and conform to certain employment conditions. There is no formal test of the labour market needs, although workers must fulfil a short-list of approved occupations. Holders of these visas may stay for three years and reapply for an extension of stay for up to six years with either the same or a different employer. They may intend to apply for permanent residency and about half do so. The L visa is for intra-company transferees of a multinational company who work in a branch, parent, affiliate, or subsidiary of that same company in a managerial, executive, or specialized knowledge capacity. High-skilled J visas, on the other hand, are for the narrowly defined purpose of “cultural” exchange and they are required to return home after the purpose of their visit is completed. Only the H-2 visas require, like the permanent employment visas, that employer’s first test the domestic labour supply and receive a DOL certification that they did so. They cannot intend to stay beyond the term of their visa which typically is for a stay of no more than one year. (Lowell 2005.)

Temporary admission categories may help increase business productivity and even generate job growth, but they might also render even highly skilled foreign workers more vulnerable to exploitation and may, thereby, depress wages and undermine working conditions for native workers. Generally, the foreign worker is tied to a specific employer who has requested the visa.
Loss of employment may also mean the threat of deportation. Moreover, because the temporary visa is so often a testing period, the foreign professional may put up with any conditions imposed by the employer, fearing loss otherwise of the chance at permanent resident status. (Lowell 2005.)

Mechanisms of integrating immigrants into the specific socio-cultural and economic environments

The U.S. official policy of multiculturalism gained public prominence in the late 1980s and early 1990s, after the idea had made its mark in Canada. In the U.S. multiculturalism is rooted in the race issue, specifically the failure of African-Americans to gain full inclusion the American policy, not to immigrant integration needs like in Canada or Australia. Even the social, economic, and political integration of all ethno-racial minorities, including Asians and Hispanics who are the majority among recent immigrants to the U.S. is emphasized, the target of integration efforts and official multiculturalism are still first and foremost African-Americans, the larger part who are not immigrants in the conventional sense. More notably, the U.S. does not have an explicit constitutional commitment to multiculturalism as does Canada. (Harles 2004.)

Ethnicity counts in the United States unlike in Canada, and therefore public and private agencies classify Americans according to ethno-racial criteria (a similar classification is applied in the U.K.). A minimum of five racial categories are included in the 2000 Census – White, Asian, Black/African-American, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, American Indian and Alaska Native – as well as an ethno-linguistic category – Hispanic/Latino. So-called affirmative action policy is the way in which such distinctions have mattered for American public policy, but it is not the only way. The U.S. courts regularly confront issues that a multicultural society raises, of preferential hiring strategies, of public funding for schools, or of protections for religious expression at work. (Harles 2004.)

In the U.S. federal and state provisions are made available for language instruction for immigrant children in the public schools, states having ultimate responsibility over education curricula that can vary considerably between school districts. Government support is also made available for special adult immigrant education classes, English as a Second Language (ESL) in the U.S. – a program whose federal funding has steadily expanded over the past twenty years. With respect to adult immigrants, in each country of this report the assumption is that language acquisition is a voluntary affair, one that new arrivals should regard as an investment in the labour market. There is high demand for official language instruction in the U.S. The National Center for ESL Literacy Education reports that many classes have months long waiting lists; in 2000, over 1.1 million adults enrolled in ESL programs. Finally, in the U.S. (as well as Canada and Australia) there is a strong tendency among second generation immigrant stock individuals exclusively to speak the dominant language. The literature on language adaptation indicates that home-country monolingualism seldom outlasts the first generation, English monolingualism is the dominant trend among the second generation, and preservation of fluent bilingualism is an exceptional outcome. (Harles 2004.)

Immigrant integration in the U.S. – a case study of a project

The Building the New American Community (BNAC) project aims to foster integration of immigrants at a community level. In the absence of a national integration policy, the project is an experiment in how governments and civil society can co-operate to achieve positive integration outcomes. The project was carried out in new, non-traditional immigrant receiving areas as
Lowell, Nashville and Portland, and assisted by a national team of policy analysts, advocates and researchers from various non-governmental organisations.

In this three-year project integration was understood as a process that involves an entire community, not just its newest members. The starting-point was to organise daily two-way interactions between immigrants and members of the receiving community – in workplaces, schools, neighbourhoods, places of worship, shopping malls etc. Integration depends on institutions and organizations putting in place the enabling conditions that allow newcomers to achieve economic self-sufficiency and meaningful civic participation.

Four principles of successful integration were underlined in the project:
– Immigrants should be involved significantly in decision-making processes;
– Integration is a two-way process that implicates and benefits both immigrants and receiving community members;
– A successful integration project involves public-private partnerships that reach across different levels of government and include non-governmental organizations, as well as institutions and individuals from many different segments of society; and
– Resources should be devoted to integration-focused interventions, like partnership building and training opportunities.

Integration is often gauged by individual socio-economic status or language competency measures, but organizations and institutions set the policy and practice context in which integration occurs. The project enhanced the quality of relations between immigrant and receiving community organizations. There are many integration issues rooted in the particular economic, social and political circumstances of cities. However, the newcomer communities in every project site identified three sets of issues as fundamental to their integration and the social mobility of their children:
– English language training,
– Employment and vocational skills, in relation to credential and education attainment recognition and skills upgrading, and
– Youth development opportunities, especially in the educational system.

The inability to utilize training acquired abroad because of reluctance on the part of many receiving community institutions and employers to recognize foreign credentials was identified as a major barrier to integration. Likewise, the quality and content of education and opportunities for youth to develop their skills were identified as major integration problems that merit community-wide attention. These issues include English-language training, linguistic limitations that impeded children’s ability to develop their skills in subjects such as mathematics and science, an absence of culturally appropriate after-school and recreation programs for girls and boys, and language and cross-cultural communication difficulties. (Morse & Ray 2004.)

Naturalisations

Of the 33.5 million foreign born residing in the U.S. in 2003, approximately 38 percent have obtained the U.S. citizenship through naturalization. Applications for naturalization increased dramatically in the 1990s in response to legislative developments restricting access to public benefits and legal protections for non-citizens. Between 1994 and 1997, the number of naturalization applications filed nearly tripled, from 543 353 to 1 412 712. Since 1999, there have been, on average, slightly more than half a million applications for naturalization received every year.
In the process of naturalization the minimum waiting period to be granted citizenship is five years. Candidates for citizenship must be permanent residents, 18 years of age or older, without outstanding criminal offences, pass a test assessing ability to communicate reasonably well in English, pass a further test demonstrating knowledge of the history and political structure, and indicate a commitment to the country’s defining values. The U.S. does not permit dual citizenship among naturalized individuals, a symbolic guarantee of the political allegiance of newcomers.

The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services Office (USCIS) is reviewing citizenship testing procedures to standardize testing criteria, eliminate questions based upon rote memorization, and add more interpretative questions. USCIS is conducting pilot studies and planning to offer the new test in late 2006. (Jernegan 2005.)

Links

http://www.uscis.gov/graphics/index.htm
http://www.census.gov/
http://www.migrationinformation.org/
http://www.cis.org/

FIGURE 5. The flow of the permanent immigrants to the United States 1900–2005
Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security

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<td>Percent</td>
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</table>

*The sum of the alone-in-combination populations is larger than the total because some people belong to more than one racial group.


Words That Count

Racial and Hispanic-origin classifications used in this chapter adhere to revised standards adopted by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in October 1997 and implemented in Census 2000 and in surveys in 2003 and later. While these standards ask individuals to report one or more racial groups, surveys conducted in 2002 or earlier asked individuals to identify only one race.

Race estimates in this chapter include six categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, and Two or More Races. This report uses the term Black to refer to people who are Black or African American, and the term Pacific Islander to refer to people who are Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander.

The single-race population (called the "alone" population in tables) refers to people who identified only one race.

The "alone or in combination" population refers to a single-race population plus any people who are of the specified race in combination with any other race. For instance, the Black alone-in-combination population includes all people who report Black plus people who report Black in combination with one or more races (White, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, or Pacific Islander). When all five alone-in-combination racial groups are added together, the sum is greater than the total population.

Hispanic or Latino origin refers to people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Hispanic origin. This report uses the term Hispanic to refer to all people of Hispanic or Latino origin. People of Hispanic origin may be any race. Because race and Hispanic origin are separate concepts, the racial categories of White, Black, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, and Pacific Islander all contain some people of Hispanic origin.

Non-Hispanic refers to all people whose ethnicity is not Hispanic. In this chapter and throughout this report, the term non-Hispanic White is used to indicate people who are White and no other race and who are not Hispanic.

FIGURE 6. Description on official racial classifications in the U.S.
6 MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION MANAGEMENT POLICIES: ARE THERE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED?

Limits of the labour immigration policies

Scepticism about migration for demographic reasons questions the sustainability of the ‘migration effect’ to counter population ageing and labour force diminishing. On this view, replacement migration is not a long-term solution to population ageing, because immigrants also age. While increased immigration would certainly have an immediate impact on the working-age population, the long-term effects are less certain. Current immigrant populations in immigrant receiving countries covered in this report have a relatively young age structure. A recent OECD publication (SOPEMI 2004) also notes that fertility rates among immigrant women are often higher than among native population, which can help boost overall fertility and hence long-term population growth. However, these fertility levels normally drop once the migrants are integrated, especially if they are temporary workers with little security of work and residence. (Niessen & Schibel 2003.)

Policy of selecting immigrants can provide the skills that are lacking in the domestic labour market. However, shortages in specific sectors are often short-term, while immigrants, at least from less affluent countries, tend often stay permanently. The challenge regardless of skill is to how best meet short-term employment shortages without fostering over dependence on immigrants while putting off the restructuring necessary for medium- to long-term competitiveness. Immigration as a labour market strategy has advantages; it can infuse a supply of labour, new skills and innovation where there are shortages thus keeping businesses competitive. But it risks depressing working conditions and delaying alternatives to address those shortages. The problem is doubly acute because immigrants often will work harder and with more ambitiousness than natives - at lower wages and/or longer hours - and they have strong job-networks that can effectively hinder native hiring in sectors dominated by immigrants. A ready-supply of immigrants may lead employers to put off the adoption of new technology or those business strategies that permit them to attract native workers with better working conditions. In the long run, therefore, immigration as a labour market strategy can undermine the very purpose for which it was instigated. Appealing to immigration to reduce the impact of labour shortages, therefore, has its limits, especially considering that native labour reserves exist. Although the nature and size of labour reserves vary per country, they could be mobilised relatively rapidly if appropriate education and training policies were in place (e.g. OECD Employment Outlook 2004).

Immigrants come to be “preferred” by the process sketched above and through “network closure” can come to dominate sectors (e.g. Waldinger et al. 1990). So when employers state that they need immigrants, it is not so clear that they face a shortage of workers as it may be that they opt not to pursue other, more difficult or expensive alternatives. A recent study (Tyutyukanova 2005) shows that this development occurs also in the Russian labour market as it seems to be segmented similarly like in many receiving countries. Although in Russia as a whole the employment 'niches' for migrants are only being formed, in many regions and major cities migrant labour has already become an invaluable part of economy. Very often migrants, who provide comparatively cheap services, serve the needs of the emerging Russian middle class (household services, construction work). The Russian economy – at least in the most developed regions – seems to be dependent on the influx of migrant labour the same way as many of the countries with longer tradition in labour immigration. In these countries economic and political order appears to have developed a segmented labour market that isolates and stigmatises certain types of work as “migrant
employment”, or “immigrant niches” avoided and undermined by the natives. As a result, the economies of many post-industrial countries are dependent on immigrant labour, but are also suffering on remarkable unemployment problem. (E.g. Stalker 2002; Tyutyukanova 2005.)

It is also the case that employers’ alternatives in some cases would be to move abroad to cheaper sites of production in less developed countries. Policymakers in a post-industrial economy have to consider whether or not the loss of such jobs may redoubt to the benefit of the nation’s comparative advantages.

**Migration management**

In recent years many of the immigrant receiving countries has introduced temporary labour immigration or guest worker programs as a remedy to employers’ need for temporary labour. These programs are often presented as a win-win situation whereby surplus workers from countries in need of development assistance undertake temporary, often seasonal work from employers in need of a reliable source of labour.

There is a consensus at present in developed economies about the need for and benefits of skilled immigration. There is less agreement about the need for and benefits of temporary low- or semi-skilled guest-worker programs. The literature often names labour market distortion and dependence as the consequences of guest-worker programs: guest-worker programs tend to grow larger and last longer than intended. Employers make decisions based on assumptions that migrants will continue to be available. Innovations and change or investment in labour-saving technology might be resisted. Dependence grows as migrant workers, their families, communities and home governments come to depend on foreign earnings and remittances. Home governments resist the sorts of policy changes that would reduce this dependence. Guest workers who agree initially to the program rules often adjust their expectations and ambitions and abandon intentions to return home.

In sectors of the labour market where employers employ mostly foreigners to do work that is seen as undesirable, conditions may stagnate, and the work becomes even less desirable. As structural demand for foreign workers grows in particular sectors, links may develop between guest-worker programs and the informal economy (e.g. Tyutyukanova 2005). Immigrant niches with low wages and inferior conditions emerge and grow, leading to social exclusion and marginalisation and fuelling intolerance and anti-immigrant and anti-immigration sentiments among the broader population.

In the most traditional countries of immigration, in so-called settler societies, reservations towards the notion of a guest-worker program spring from the departure it would represent from their migration tradition. In these countries immigration policies were developed for permanent settlers, for nation-building, not for guest workers. Temporary migration for skilled work purposes is seen as more justified, because the objectives of these programs are more focused on meeting labour market shortages. However, the underlying argument is that settler societies are inclusive, and therefore do not have (at least legal) a common migrant underclass like more exclusive European nation states with their more ethnically homogeneous populations.

Following the end of the Second World War, Central and Northern European nations set up guest- worker programs and recruited foreign labour to help with reconstruction and industrialisation. Unlike expected, meant-to-be temporary labourers settled as permanent minorities and brought their family members to their host countries instead of returning to their countries of origin. At the same time from the 1970s, the role of industry as an employer of the immigrant population began to diminish in as production itself emigrated. Automatization of the remaining industrial fields and changing production structures further decreased the
demand for a low-educated workforce, and many immigrants who had resided in Europe for a long time became unemployed and lacked the language skills and/or the education that would have facilitated re-employment. As guest worker programs were originally planned to satisfy only temporary needs of low-skilled labour, integration measures were not introduced nor was societal integration encouraged. As a result many immigrants and even their descendants marginalized, and formed an ethnic underclass. (Sassen 1999; Stalker 2000.)

Bilateral labour agreements are part of a long tradition in some EU countries such as Germany and Switzerland, and often considered as a form of a guest-worker program. However, bilateral agreements are more limited and cover only a small share of labour-related migration. Finally, some countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand have little experience with bilateral agreements, while others like the United States or the United Kingdom have opted to develop other labour-related migration programmes.

From the receiving country standpoint, the primary aim of a bilateral agreement is to meet labour market needs by facilitating short-term or medium to long-term adjustment. In the short term, agreements concern temporary migrants (including seasonal workers) and demand for low-skilled labour in particular. In the medium to long term, however, the agreements focus more on skilled workers to tackle more structural labour shortages (e.g. in information and communication technology, healthcare). Host countries use bilateral agreements to manage migration by asking sending countries to sign in exchange readmission agreements for illegal unauthorized migrants. This is the case of agreements signed between Italy and Romania, and by Spain with Morocco and Ecuador. Receiving countries may also wish to promote specific economic ties or wider regional economic integration. Examples include bilateral agreements that Germany has signed with some central and eastern European countries. One final objective is aimed more specifically at strengthening cultural ties between partner countries, as does Australia’s “Working Holiday Maker” programme. The objectives of sending countries are to ensure better living conditions and increased earning capacity for migrant workers and to promote the acquisition or enhancement of their professional skills and qualifications. In addition to remittances, technology transfers and building human capital foster the development of sending countries. Finally, sending countries now place greater emphasis on the rights and welfare of their nationals working abroad.

Despite the problems of earlier guest-worker programs, many European Union countries have introduced – or re-introduced – low-skilled guest-worker programs, including for harvest work. The seasonal horticultural worker programs currently running in the UK and Germany are new-style guest-worker programs of Western Europe. The migration history of Western European countries has been shaped by guest worker, unauthorized and asylum migration, and European governments and EU is motivated to reduce large-scale unauthorized migration and working. Proponents of the new European guest-worker programs argue that if properly designed and managed, these programs can avoid past failures, reduce unauthorized immigration and labour and benefit all concerned. Opponents of the European programs point to a confusion and ambivalence of objectives: to meet labour shortages at a time of high unemployment, and to restrict and contain unauthorized immigration and working, when experience shows that guest-worker programs can encourage irregular, illegal or unauthorized migration.

Guest-worker legislation is currently renewed in the U.S. as a way of resolving the issue of illegal or unauthorized entry and working. Unauthorized, mainly Mexican immigrants make up the majority of farm workers in the U.S. Opponents of the proposed legislation argue that a guest-worker program would spur further unauthorized migration, which has already distorted the development of the horticultural industry and forced native-born low-skilled workers out of the workforce. Proponents argue that the government has no choice other than to provide some sort of earned amnesty for workers already established in the U.S., and to devise for the future a guest-worker program and try to make it work.
Canada’s Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (CSAWP), which allows for the entry of up to 20,000 harvest workers each year from Mexico and Caribbean countries, has been suggested as the most useful model for other countries in need of seasonal labour. Canada, like Australia, has a long tradition of managed migration. The CSAWP is described as ‘best practice’ in the literature because it is tightly managed and is seen as reducing unauthorized entry and work. Research shows that CSAWP workers appreciate the opportunity to return year after year to earn relatively good money in Canada, and that remittances help their families and help alleviate rural poverty in their home countries. However, the program is criticized to be unfamiliar within Canada’s nation-building immigration policy goals. And Canadian unions have cited cases of abuse and exploitation of workers. Another criticism is that the CSAWP, with its many layers of administration, would be so expensive that the costs to government would outweigh economic benefits to the nation as a whole. Canadian taxpayers are thus subsidising employers’ use of cheap labour.

The Australian Labour Party issued 2005 a ‘Pacific Policy Discussion Paper’ proposing a ‘limited mobility scheme’, aiming at 10,000 Pacific (mainly seasonal horticultural) guest workers a year for the first five years. The government is likely to develop a guest-worker program through such measures as further expansion of the Working Holiday Maker Program and/or more intensive support for resident unemployed youth.

A feature of the new-style guest-worker programs in Western European countries and North America is that employer sponsors of guest-workers are required to demonstrate that they have attempted to recruit locally, and that they are offering to guest workers domestic-level wages and conditions. It has however suggested that labour market assessments in Western European countries are difficult to implement in practice: employers and ingenious workforce become adept in ensuring that no local workers are found to fill vacancies. Even within the new sector-specific, more tightly managed programs, employers are in an overly powerful position, and therefore guest workers are often vulnerable to exploitation.

Some countries have experimented with other schemes than guest-worker and bilateral agreements. To meet labour market needs, the United States and Canada, for example, have promoted transparency in the regimes governing migration, namely within temporary migration – with specific stay duration and precise rules on limited renewal – and permanent migration, also subject to precise criteria. These systems create an environment for improved migration-flow management and are, thus, effective in terms of that objective. They are probably effective also in meeting medium-term needs on the labour market; even above mentioned problems have also arisen. Yet, the systems require the introduction of new, lengthy procedures and prove less effective, even problematic, in meeting the short-term needs of the labour market. In the longer term and for skilled labour in particular, a comprehensive approach based on selective policies as in Australia, Canada and New Zealand or special visas, as in the United States is probably more effective than bilateral agreements or guest-worker programs.

Popular support for labour migration must be based on the need for more manpower and the new competencies and skills that immigrants bring with them, not employers’ wishes to keep wages and working conditions at levels only unskilled immigrants will accept. If the raison d’être for labour migration is a lack of manpower and special skills, and not social dumping, that motivating factor certainly affects the priorities, rules, and regulations that need to be developed.

What comes to the challenge of the illegal and unauthorized immigration there are two extreme alternatives: expulsion or legalization. If the government is not able or willing to expel and return the unauthorized immigrants, the only viable long-term solution left is legalization e.g. amnesty. But what would happen if unauthorized immigrants are expelled? Would unemployed natives fill the labour market needs? Would average wages rise? Would working conditions improve?
For any country, a large illegal or unauthorized population means severe challenges and problems, including uneven competition between firms who use unauthorized workforce and those who do not; national insecurity and decreasing social cohesion due to the presence of unidentified individuals within the nation’s sovereign territory; increasing xenophobia due to the lack of mutual integration and officially accepted target of multiculturalism; ambiguous and vulnerable status for unauthorized immigrants, without basic legal, political, social and economic rights.

A combination of well-managed system temporary and permanent residence permits and naturalisation program can fill the gaps in the labour market and ease above mentioned problems. The effect of halting unauthorized immigration by legalisation depends on the following: Will employers stop hiring unauthorized immigrants if there are sufficient legal immigrants and other work-force available to fill the needs? Will legalisation and granting more work permits hinder unauthorized immigration?

If the answers to both questions are at least partially positive, then legalisation and an increased regular labour migration scheme can help to solve the problem. If the answers are negative, societal problems can not be solved solely with a managed migration policy, but act beyond its field. The challenge of migration management is to introduce a comprehensive reform policy that ensures secure, legal and controlled entry, viable human rights, anti-discrimination, enforcement of the legality of the workforce and its conditions, the national economy’s need for skills, and mutual integration of the social actors. Also principles of good governance, as flexibility, transparency and equal treatment should be respected.

Immigrant Integration management

In its most general form, integration is a mutual process through which newcomers and hosts form an integral whole. In that regard, the first objective of integration should be to enable immigrants to get the best possible returns on their human capital investments and thus contribute their host society. However, economic and labour market integration should be understood only as a starting point of a long integration process.

Economic and labour market integration, however, is only the starting point of integration. While pursuing effective economic incorporation, newcomers, hosts, and the social, cultural, and political institutions of the receiving community should also engage of shaping their common multicultural society. (Papademetriu 2003.)

The literature on the socio-cultural integration of immigrants is massive, and also ideologically and politically burdened (e.g. Sassen 1999). One of the basic conclusions is that immigrants thrive best in socially and politically supportive environments. The analyses of successful integration models emphasize continuous interaction and mutual adjustments, often through conflicts between immigrants, communities and social actors. Therefore immigrants should learn to negotiate in a new and unfamiliar social environment while keeping up transnational contacts e.g. by remittances to their home countries. Simultaneously, their immigrant and minority status makes them vulnerable to marginalization and abuse, including human rights violations. The host community, on the other hand, must learn to cope within an increasingly heterogeneous society.

A model of immigrant incorporation often contrasted with integrationist or multicultural models is assimilationist model. The emphasis on socio-cultural assimilation, or the one-way adoption of the host society’s social and cultural values with non-recognition of cultural differences, acts more as a barrier to than a facilitator of successful integration and healthy inter-group relations and communities. Many newcomers interpret the emphasis on assimilation as
fundamentally hostile in effect. Pressures to assimilate often sharpen group differences and polarize perceptions and behaviour, rather than diminish them. This has the effect of delaying integration and probably reduces the success of the broader community. (Papademetriu 2003.)

The challenge of long-term success for immigrant integration policies requires that the rules on belonging, social citizenship and distribution of public goods are constantly redefined. Political resistance to realize the necessary adjustments can threaten social cohesiveness by creating unequal social classes and hostility. It is thus in the receiving society’s interest to secure not only for the immigrants’ economic and labour market contributions, but also for their social and political citizenship.

The settler societies Australia, Canada, and the U.S. covered by this report emphasize the role of civic society, or the third sector in their integration models. Their integration approach is community-based, and promotes local level integration measures, whereas migration policy is governed by national level actors. The interaction between national and local policies and actors raises the following question: How communities live with the conditions of national immigration policy? It is, in the end, at the local level where national policies are empirically tested, adapted, and reshaped. Unlike in European immigrant receiving countries, the public sector is not expected to act in the field of immigrant integration, but is relying on and leveraging the resources of the local, private and non-governmental sectors. The non-governmental, or the third sector actors as employer and worker organizations, religious groups, ethnic, and immigrant organizations, private foundations, and the various community-based non-profit entities have often extensive grass-root level experience in newcomer integration. Altruism and solidarity are not always the main motivations. Many of the organizations are looking for ways to increase their membership, and incorporating newcomers can support that policy objective. Therefore these organizations can get a return on their integration investments. (E.g. Papademetriu 2003; Reitz 1998).

It is challenging to make comparisons between the different migration management and immigrant integration models, and by that means recognize and disseminate good practices. Comparative literature is scarce and usually covering only a very limited amount of variables. One of the best exceptions is Jeffrey G. Reitz’ (1998) study, where he examines the content and implementation of immigration and integration policies in the three settler countries – the U.S., Canada and Australia – and evaluates impact of the policies on the socio-economic integration of immigrants. He concludes that the impact has not been large. The positive impacts of skill-based immigrant categories in the U.S. are offset by the larger numbers of family-based categories of immigrants. He concludes that the impact has not been large. The positive impacts of skill-based immigrant categories in the U.S. are offset by the larger numbers of family-based categories of immigrants. The skill-based categories in Canada and Australia tend to be more occupational-than education-based. In general, with one or two exceptions, the U.S. immigrants are better educated and this difference accounts for a small part of the cross-national difference in the entry level status of immigrants. But, it is the higher average educational levels of the U.S. native-born (a product of the American educational system) and the greater earnings inequality in the U.S. that explain the wider earnings gap that new immigrants to the U.S. face in comparison to those who immigrate to Canada and Australia. The education-based skills gap between the native born and immigrants accounts for more than one-half and earnings inequality accounts for about one-third of the lower entry-level earnings of immigrants in the U.S. when compared to the status of the same immigrant groups in Canada and Australia. And these differences are even more pronounced when inter-urban comparisons are made across the three countries.

Reitz questions the overemphasis on immigration policy to regulate the selection of immigrants given that these policies were found to have only a limited effect on immigrants’ entry-level earnings. Rather, his findings lead him to focus on integration policies in the areas of the labour market, education, and welfare services, the social institutions which had a substantial impact on where immigrants end up in the initial years after they move to the host societies. Reitz offers several policy suggestions to improve immigrants’ access to these institutions, and
therefore better integration outcome. Some examples include: a more thorough assessment of the effectiveness of existing anti-discrimination policies in the labour market; giving immigrants a stronger voice in the wage determination process; finding effective methods for evaluating and recognizing foreign qualifications; investing in educational opportunities that orient immigrants to the workings of their new society (such as language training, remedial education, job training and apprenticeship programs); and expanding the methodology of the cost-benefit analyses of welfare use to go beyond just immigrant earnings and taxes paid on the earnings to include the human, social, and cultural capital that immigrants bring with them. But, he warns that the effectiveness of such policies will be limited, if the move toward institutional individualism - reflected in the neo-liberal trends toward deregulation of the labour market, privatizing education, and reducing social services - undermines national and global social cohesion. (Reitz 1998.)

Managing integration successfully starts with the official recognition that immigrants make long-term contributions to the societies they enter, and by securing their full and equal membership in the spheres of the mainstream society. As a successful strategy, this leads to economic, political, legal and societal citizenship, which, in its turn, upholds and strengthens community cohesion. Therefore, the foundations of migration and integration management lie deep in the institutions, political traditions and everyday practices of the individual societies, and can not be duplicated from one society to another without taking into account the unique nature of their social development.

Naturalisation should be seen as an essential part of any integration policy: Acquiring the citizenship of a host country reflects a process of gradual economic and social integration of immigrants and, in fact, may facilitate their integration. The number of naturalisations depends essentially on the magnitude and time of migration waves as well as the liberal characteristics of the legislation concerning citizenship. It is also linked to how much importance foreigners place on acquiring the citizenship of their host country and the consequences of the possible loss of their original citizenship. The basis on which countries determine how citizenship can be acquired and granted – being birth place, and/or duration of residence, kinship (for the first two the principal is jus soli, for the later jus sanguinis) – plays a fundamental role in the distinctions drawn between foreign and national foreign populations. During the past few years there have occurred changes in naturalisation procedures in several countries with the liberalisation of laws considered too restrictive (SOPEMI 2004.)

Most of the traditional settler societies covered here, as well as the European Union countries, hope to formulate migration reforms that enable the government to manage migration flows and immigrant integration. Migration policy of an individual country is never an independent entity, or autonomous administrative sector of its own, but it is deeply embedded in economic, social, cultural and political traditions of a respective country. Therefore it can not be “produced” in isolation by duplicating an existing migration management system. This does not mean that good practices could not be applied into the local and national conditions and geo-political realities. Managed migration requires a system through which the government can supervise who and how many individuals can enter its territory, and what kinds of rights they have. Migration management is motivated by international politics, human rights, national security and economic, social and labour aspects. It also includes co-operation with the neighbouring and labour sending countries to reach the ideal situation, where all the partners – not least the immigrant her/himself – gain from the successfully managed migratory movements.
TABLE 9. A typology of migration and integration characteristics and trends in Australia, Canada, Israel and the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Israel</th>
<th>The U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born population 2001 %</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33 (year 2000)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born labour force 2003 %</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3 (non-Israelis)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main region of origin</td>
<td>South-East Asia</td>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
<td>Former Soviet Union</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Points system in migrant selection</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low- or semi-skilled guest worker programs</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiscal incentives</td>
<td>Foreign source income of temporary residents exempt from tax for 4 years</td>
<td>Only for researchers: Five year tax relief in Quebec on 75 percent of income.</td>
<td>Only for aliyah-immigrants -not designed to attract labour immigrants</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of residence demanded from citizenship candidates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reserved for immigrants of Jewish origin</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitutional level multiculturalism</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisations responsible for integration</td>
<td>Non-governmental</td>
<td>Non-governmental</td>
<td>Governmental</td>
<td>Non-governmental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiscal incentives</td>
<td>Foreign source income of temporary residents exempt from tax for 4 years</td>
<td>Only for researchers: Five year tax relief in Quebec on 75 percent of income.</td>
<td>Only for aliyah-immigrants -not designed to attract labour immigrants</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment of labour market needs</td>
<td>Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL)</td>
<td>No official pre-screening - identifying shortages using employer information on their needs.</td>
<td>The Employment Service determines the quota for work permits according to data provided by ministries.</td>
<td>Various methods depending on occupation: e.g., employers required to test domestic supply, or a list of Department of Labour determined shortage occupations, or an annual quota for temporary highly-skilled H-1B permits.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


ANNEX TABLE 1. Overview of migration trends in OECD countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflows of foreigners (thousands)</th>
<th>Migration flows</th>
<th>Stock of foreign-born population and naturalisations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual average</td>
<td>Stock available year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997-2001</td>
<td>Thousands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Economic Area (EEA)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Switzerland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent immigration</td>
<td>1,896</td>
<td>2,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary immigration</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent immigration</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>1,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary immigration</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent immigration</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary workers</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net migration (per 1 000 inhabitants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia and New Zealand</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Economic Area (EEA)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Switzerland</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum seekers (thousands)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEA and Switzerland</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Eastern Europe</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANNEX FIGURE 1. Inflows of permanent immigrants in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the U.S. 1980–2002, % of total population
ANNEX TABLE 2. Employment of foreigners by some sectors  
Source: Australia, Canada and the U.S. SOPEMI 2004, 66; Russia Tyutyukanova 2004, 50.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Wholesale and retail trade</th>
<th>Hotels and restaurants</th>
<th>Health and other public or community services</th>
<th>Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The U.S.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data from the OECD counties and on the other hand Russia come from the totally different sources by different methods and sampling. Therefore comparison should be taken rather as an anecdotal exercise. However, the table supports the findings presented by Elena Tyutyukanova (2004; 50): “Analysis of migrant employment in Russia indicates that the Russian labour market is structured in a similar fashion to those in many other receiving countries.”

Data from Australia and Canada refers to the foreign-born population aged 15 and over. From Australia data is from 2004, Canada 2001, United States 2002, and Russia 2004.
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