

**A COMPARISON OF AUSTRALIAN AND CANADIAN  
IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE PROGRAMS: LESSONS FOR  
CANADA IN SECURING BETTER EMPLOYMENT  
OUTCOMES?**

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# **A COMPARISON OF AUSTRALIAN AND CANADIAN IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE PROGRAMS: LESSONS FOR CANADA IN SECURING BETTER EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES?**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Australia has been experiencing significant immigrant employment outcomes than Canada. There is, however, a dearth of research on whether the immigrant language programs in these two countries contribute to these employment outcomes. This paper discusses the significance of investments in immigrant language programs in Canada and Australia. A comparison of the main immigrant language programs in both countries suggests that differences in the quantity, structure, scope, and funding of language programs in Australia provide an alternative explanation for the superior employment outcomes that Australia experiences over Canada. Despite the fact that the majority of immigrants to Australia and Canada are motivated to acquire and upgrade their language skills for employment, the research illustrates that the income supplements/training allowances offered by the Australian government provide the additional incentive needed for immigrants to learn the country's official language. This, coupled with the existence of several complementary employment-related programs, place Australian immigrants in a better position to succeed compared to their Canadian counterparts. The success of Australia's immigrant language programs offer lessons for Canadian policy makers.

**Key words:** immigrants, language proficiency, language programs, employment outcomes

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## ACRONYMS

The following acronyms are used in this paper:

AEMP	Advanced English for Migrants Program
AMEP	Adult Migrant English Program
AUSCO	Australian Cultural Orientation
CSWE	Certificate in Written and Spoken English
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
DEST	Department of Education, Science and Training
DILGEA	Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
ESL	English as a Second Language
ELT	Enhanced Language Training
ESB	English Speaking Background
ISAP	Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program
LANT	Language and Numeracy Training
LINC	Language Instructions for Newcomer to Canada
LLNP	Language, Literacy and Numeracy Program,
NESB	Non-English speaking background
NRS	National Reporting System
RTO	Registered Training Organisation
SPP	Special Preparatory Program
SLPET	Settlement Language Pathways to Employment Training Program
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
WELL	Workplace English Language and Literacy

## INTRODUCTION

Australia and Canada receive the most immigrants<sup>1</sup> per capita in the world (Clarke & Skuterud, 2012:1). These two countries have, over the decades, engaged in two-way policy transfer (e.g. Australia and Canada have shifted from their Anglo-European focused immigration policies, with Australia adopting Canada's point system in the early 70s (Cully, 2011:2), and Canada adopting Australia's Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL) policy on priority occupations in the 1990s). The shift from Anglo-European source countries resulted in an extremely diverse source of immigrants to Canada and Australia, with both countries having significant numbers of immigrants from Asia, Africa and Middle-East (Clarke & Skuterud, 2012:5). By implication, this has resulted in a dramatic shift in the official language abilities of new immigrants to both countries. Since language fluency is often essential for full labour market participation, this shift in language ability is a challenge to both economies whose immigration policy have long been oriented towards the economic contributions of immigrants. Among other factors, lack of high language proficiency (i.e. inability to communicate effectively) in the official language(s) is documented as a major barrier to the employment outcomes of immigrants in Canada and Australia. This demands careful attention to policies and programs directed towards improving the language proficiency<sup>2</sup> levels and ultimately, the economic integration of immigrants. Language programs that are offered to immigrants should be scrutinized to ensure that they are fulfilling the economic needs of immigrants and the recipient countries. Australia and Canada offer excellent case studies in this regard.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

When examining or comparing the economic integration (i.e. employment outcomes) of immigrants in Australia and Canada, most researchers confined their research largely to the

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<sup>1</sup> An immigrant is a person who decides to settle permanently in another country. See Citizenship and Immigration Canada's website for more details: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/canada.asp>.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to an immigrants ability as well as levels at which s/he can speak the official language of host country. See Appendix 3.

non-recognition of foreign credentials (Congers, 1994; Reitz, 2001; Hawthorne, 2007, 2008), immigration selection policies (Cully, et al., 2011; Chiswick & Miller, 2004; Laurence & Richardson, 2004), lack of host country's labour market experience, and discriminatory practices in the hiring and promotion of immigrants (Galabuzzi, 2001; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007; Ho & Alcorso, 2004) to explain differences in employment outcomes.

For those who studied the immigrant's language proficiency and labour market integration relationship, the primary purpose of these research was to illustrate how the new immigrant's language deficiency in the host country's official language(s) affected his/her labour market integration or earnings while often ignoring the significance of investment in language programs. For example, Pendakur and Pendakur (2002) examined the earnings differentials for knowledge of minority languages (e.g. German, Greek, Tagalog, Punjabi etcetera) among immigrants in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. They found that knowledge of minority languages is associated with lower earnings. Others like Chiswick and Miller (2003) studied the effect of language deficiency on adult male immigrants in Canada and Australia to illustrate that greater proficiency in Canada's official languages enhances immigrants' labor market chances and earnings. In a 2004 study, the authors again collaborated to provide a comparative analysis of the Independent and Skilled-Australian Sponsored visas immigrants to show the effects of English language proficiency on their economic integration. They concluded that immigration policy can affect immigrants' language skills in terms of initial economic success and the speed at which immigrants adjust in Australia (2004:40). Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2007) did an intergroup comparison on visible/ethnic minorities, looking at the employment outcomes of "visibly different" refugees (ex-Yugoslavs, black Africans, and people from the Middle East) in Australia to show that the labour market favours some groups more than others, based on visual discrimination. A critical analysis of the latter study reveals poor language abilities to be a likely factor in their employment outcomes as well. While these and other studies are insightful,

there is a need for more comparative studies on Canada and Australia with regards to the impact of language programs on employment outcomes.

Research on language programs and their impact on employment outcomes are increasing, but remain sparse. Most comparative analyses on Australia's and Canada's language programs are general and provide little or no linkage to employment outcomes (Boyd, et al. (1994); Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994). For example, Lanphier & Lukomskyj attempted to differentiate settlement policies in Canada and Australia by looking at settlement services, (including language programs) offered to immigrants. They suggested that issues related to the centralization of funding and the delivery of language programs have led to criticism over the volume of services in Canada, and the quality of services provided in Australia. Boyd, et al. provided a more useful study, one that is in line with the current research. The authors explored the language difficulties experienced by immigrants such as refugees. They highlighted that factors such as the lack of funding inhibit the development of language proficiency among immigrants in Canada and looked towards the Canadian language programs for solution to this problem. This paper contributes to the expanding body of research in this area.

The aim of this study is to compare the immigrant language programs currently being offered in Australia and Canada, exploring the impact of these programs on employment outcomes of immigrants in order to determine whether certain aspects present in the Australian language programs contribute to the superior immigrant employment rates that Australia experiences over Canada. The paper addresses two key questions: *What are the differences in the Australian and Canadian language programs for immigrants? Do these differences likely account for the better employment outcomes among new and well-established immigrants in Australia?* The paper *posits that the lack of sustained, adequate investment in immigrant language programs in Canada has resulted in persistent, long-term stagnation in the English and French language abilities of Canada's recent and well-established immigrants (mainly those from the Humanitarian/Refugee and Family streams), compared to their Australian counterparts.*

*The main language programs in Canada (the Language Instructions for Newcomers (LINC) and the Enhanced Language Training programs (ELT) suffer from static funding, have restrictive eligibility rules, are poorly structured, and lack the scope necessary to meet the language proficiency levels demanded by immigrants and the Canadian labour market. It illustrates that Australia's new and well-established immigrants are well-positioned to integrate into the labour market as a result of having access to well-structured, coordinated, integrated, and adequately funded language programs such as the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), the Workplace English Language and Literacy program (WELL), and the Language, Literacy and Numeracy Program (LLNP), which encourage program up-take, resulting in increased employment among its immigrant population.*

The first section of this paper examines linguistic diversity in Canada and Australia to illustrate the link between low language proficiency and (un)employment outcomes. The second section provides a historical background of the immigrants' language programs in both countries. Next, I provide a comparison of the main language programs currently offered in both countries, highlighting the differences and similarities and providing an analysis to explain possible reasons for the better employment outcomes in Australia. Included in this analysis is a discussion on the lessons to be learned from Australia's success. The final section provides recommendations to the Canadian government on steps that can be taken to improve their language programs.

## **LINGUSITIC DIVERSITY IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA**

### ***Canada***

A significant number of recent (those often referred to as newcomers who have been residing in Canada for less than 5 years) and well-established (those living in Canada for over 10 years) immigrants to Canada are visible minorities from countries such as South Asia (India,

Pakistan), East Asia (China, Korea, and Japan), West Asia (Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan) Africa,<sup>3</sup> and South and Central America where neither English nor French is the official language. In fact, over a fifty year period, the percentage of new immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle East has grown from 9% to 46% for Asia, and from 3% to 25% for Africa, while those from South and Central America has doubled and comprised 10% of Canada's total immigrant population.<sup>4</sup> Almost 80% of the 1,039,000 immigrants who came to Canada between 1991 and 1996 reported a non-official language as their mother tongue.<sup>5</sup> In a 1992 study on language proficiency in Canada, Chiswick and Miller found that immigrants from Asia, Southern Europe, and South and Central America to have low rates of language fluency in Canada's official languages (87%, 92% and 95%, respectively) (Chiswick & Miller, 1992:246). As of 2011, 20.6% of the Canadian population speak a non-official language (Statistics Canada, 2011) with Chinese and Punjabi being the mother tongue of most of Canada's recent immigrants, while Spanish, Italian, German, Cantonese, Arabic, Tagalog and Mandarin and Portuguese are included in the top ten.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Australia***

In Australia, the 1990s saw many humanitarian arrivals from Africa and the Asia/Pacific regions. In fact, the African population increased from about 16% (1998–99) to 70% (2003–2005). The Australian Bureau of Statistics recorded 11% of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa, 7.4% from the Middle East, 22% from Southern and Central Asia, 15% from North-East Asia, and 14% from South-East Asia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Those from the Middle East and South West Asia (mainly from Afghanistan and Iraq) comprised about 32% of the population by 2009-2010. A further 39% were refugee groups such as the Burmese

<sup>3</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/multi/section3.asp>; <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/research/housing/introduction.asp>

<sup>4</sup> Statistics Canada. *Canadian Demographics at a Glance*. January, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> See Statistics Canada, *The Daily*. December 2, 1997. "1996 Census: Mother Tongue, Home Language and Knowledge of Languages." Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/971202/dq971202-eng.htm>

<sup>6</sup> Statistics Canada. 2011. "Immigrant languages in Canada Language," 2011 Census of Population, Catalogue no. 98-314-X2011003, p. 4.

in Thailand, Bhutanese in Nepal and Rohingya in Bangladesh (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Also, despite the shift from traditional European source countries, the United Kingdom (UK) continued to be the top source country for skilled immigrants to Australia. However, by 2011-2012, the proportion of migrants from the UK declined from a high of 22.5% in 2005-06 to 13.7% in 2011-12 (DIAC, 2012b:6). Currently, India is Australia's largest source country. Immigration from India has increased from 19.4 % in 2010-11 to 23.7% in 2011-2012 (DIAC, 2012b:6). These trends make Australia almost as linguistically diverse as Canada since many recent immigrants also had mother tongues different than English, Australia's official language. The 2006 Census recorded almost 400 different languages being spoken in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). Between 1996-2006, the most common languages other than English were Italian (accounting for 1.6% of the population), Greek (1.3%) and Cantonese (1.2%), Arabic, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Spanish, German and Hindi (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). As of 2011-2012, 26% of the population speak Chinese, 22% speak Asian languages (Mandarin, Tagalog/Filipino, Cantonese/Yueh), and 21% speak European languages (Arabic, Serbian and Bosnian).

### **IMPACT OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA**

As shown, the shift from Anglo-European traditional source countries in both countries had a large impact on the linguistic diversity in these countries and by implication, on the official language abilities of new immigrant workers entering the Canadian and Australian labour markets. A large majority of immigrants suffered severe disadvantages when compared to the native-born in the respective countries, due in large part to the lack of language proficiency in the official language(s) (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007:60; Skuterud, 2011: 2).

## **Canada**

In Canada, the importance of high language proficiency in driving labour market disparities among immigrants is well documented and widely acknowledged by policymakers (Skuterud, 2011:2). Indeed, most research points to inadequacy in language ability as a significant barrier to immigrant economic success.<sup>7</sup> One key study, the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) found that non-proficiency in an official language constitutes the most serious barrier newcomers faced to furthering their education or training and to finding employment (69% of immigrants who lack English or French abilities, state lack of language skills as the greatest hurdle when seeking employment).<sup>8</sup> Without a doubt, immigrants with low language abilities are more likely to be unemployed and be below the poverty line.<sup>9</sup> Since almost 80% of the 1,039,000 immigrants who came to Canada between 1991 and 1996 reported a non-official language as their mother tongue,<sup>10</sup> this puts new immigrants at risk for increased rates of unemployment.

Research has shown that within the first five years of coming to Canada, immigrants earnings have been on the decline. Authors such as Frenette and Morissette (2003) and Chiswick (2003) suggest that one-third of the decline in these immigrants' entry level earnings is attributed to poor language skills.<sup>11</sup> Chiswick, for example, finds that "immigrants who cannot conduct a conversation in an official language ... have earnings about 10 to 12% lower than immigrants who usually speak an official language at home." There is significant lower labour market participation rate among recent immigrants than their Canadian-born counterparts. The employment rate gap between recent immigrants and the Canadian-born ranged between 0.7% points in 1981 and 11.9% points in 1991. In 2001, the employment rate for immigrants and

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<sup>7</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. "Trends in economic performance of immigrants in Canada." Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/research/2012-migrant/sec05.asp#bftn22>.

<sup>8</sup> Statistics Canada—89-611-XIE. *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and Prospects*, 2003, p.34.

<sup>9</sup> See Evans and Kelly, 1991; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2007, p.77.

<sup>10</sup> See Statistics Canada, The Daily. December 2, 1997. "1996 Census: Mother tongue, home language and knowledge of languages." Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/971202/dq971202-eng.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Frenette, M. and R. Morissette. 2005. "Will They Ever Converge: Earnings Of Immigrant and Canadian-Born Workers for the Last Two Decades." *International Migration Review* 39(1):229–258.

native-born Canadians was 63.4% and 80% respectively, and in 2006, it was 67% and 82% respectively. This is especially noticeable among well-established immigrants (and likely those from the Humanitarian, Refugee and Family streams), whose employment rates are below those of their recent cohorts and the Canadian-born (see Appendix 1). Between the years 2007-2011, new immigrants had unemployment rates between 11.8% and 15.8% while well-established immigrants had between 5.6% and 8.3%, compared to the native-born, who had unemployment rates of 5.7% to 7.8% for the same period (see Appendix 1). For Ontario, one of the most diverse and main immigrant receiving provinces, the unemployment rate of newcomers reached just above 10% in 2009 (see table 1). In fact, the unemployment rate of newcomers continued to climb even during the recovery phase of the Canadian economy, reaching close to 17% in 2010, more than doubling the rate for the overall population (CIC, 2011). Since many newcomers are not fluent in either of Canada's official languages, this gives credence to the observations made by the authors above, that language deficiency is a major factor in the unemployment rates among new immigrants.

**Table 1: Unemployment rates among Ontarians (2006–2010)**

<b>Population group</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>
Total population	5.0	5.2	5.2	7.7	7.3
Landed immigrants(permanent residents)	6.3	6.8	7.1	10.2	9.9
• Immigrants landed 5 or less years earlier	11.1	11.9	11.4	14.8	16.7
• Immigrants landed more than 10 years	5.0	5.5	5.9	8.7	8.4

Source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Labour Force Survey  
 Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC): <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/2012-coia/sec03.asp>

### ***Australia***

The Australian case presents a similar picture but with some marked differences in unemployment rates for the same periods. Like their Canadian counterparts, recent immigrants (those living in Australia for 9 -10 years or less) reported difficulty finding their first job

(Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010b). The most common reason given for this was a lack of Australian work experience or references (64%), followed by language difficulties (33%) (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2010:4). It must be noted that the percentage of those immigrants in Australia who reported language difficulties as a factor in securing employment is significantly smaller than those in Canada (69% and 33% in Canada and Australia, respectively).<sup>12</sup> However, Australia's immigrants also experienced decreased employment rates. In 1993, the labour force participation rate for migrants was 69.8%, a decrease from 71.5% in 1990 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1993: 2). Unemployment rates for the period 1996-2010 were 9.8% (1996) compared to 7.7% for the Australian born; 6.8% compared to 6.4% for the Australian born (1999); 5.6% versus 4.9% (2004); 5% and 4% (2007), migrants and Australian-born, respectively, and 7% and 5% (2010) for migrants and Australian-born (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996,1999, 2004, 2007, 2010 - See table 2 below) and 4.9% (May, 2011). By contrast, Canadian recent immigrants had unemployment rates of 11.9 % (2007), 15.8 % (2010) and 14.2 % (2011).

A noteworthy trend in Australia is the marked differences in the unemployment rates between those from English-speaking backgrounds (ESBs), compared to those from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESBs) (88% and 76%, respectively, had jobs). More significantly, the unemployment rate among ESBs was 9.8% compared to 15.5% for NESBs in 1992 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1992:21). A similar trend was observed in 2010 (ESBs had 5% unemployment rate compared to 8% among NESBs) and 2011 (ESBs 4.1% compared to 6.1% of those from NESB) (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2010:4; DIAC, 2011b:5). To be more specific, migrants from North America and Oceania were more likely to have a job (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1993: 2) than Chinese-Vietnamese and Lebanese, who had the highest unemployment rates for the period 1981-1992. Chinese-Vietnamese had 27.7%

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<sup>12</sup> It must be noted that the two time periods differ for the Australian and Canadian cases. The LSIC was done prior to 2003, while the Australian study was done a few years later. However, a similar percentage of immigrants (33.6%) who were enrolled in the LINC program around the time of the Australian survey, reportedly sought training for employment.

unemployment rate in 1986 while Lebanese accumulated a 38.7%. Like the Canadian example, these statistics illustrate the important link between language fluency and the workplace integration of immigrants.

**Table 2: Unemployment Rates among Immigrants and Australian-born, 1981-2011**

Period	Recent Immigrants	Australian-Born	Main English-Speaking Countries	Other Countries
1981	6.4%	6.2%	N.A	NA
1986	9.5%	8.1%	NA	NA
1991	10.5%	9.1%	NA	NA
1996	9.8%	7.7%	6.7%	12.2%
1999	6.8%	6.4%	NA	NA
2001	7.1%	6.5%	5.4%	8.3%
2004	5.6%	4.9%	NA	NA
2007	5.5%	4.1%	2.5%	6.0%
2010	7%	5%	5%	8%

Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey, cat. 6203.0; Australian Bureau of Statistics, Characteristics of Migrants, 1993, 1999, 2004, 2007, 2010 Cat. 6205.0; Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 2011.

In 2003, a report by Statistics Canada (based on Census data) showed that poverty rates (largely due to unemployment) for recent immigrants have risen substantially since 1980 (from 24.6% in 1980 to 35.8% in 2000) (*The Daily*, 2003). During that same period, Australia was, and continues to be lauded for securing superior employment outcomes among recent immigrants (Clarke & Skuterud, 2012:2), despite having a similarly diverse population. No doubt other factors are at play in the unemployment rates observed in both countries as the precise nature of or which factors contribute to higher unemployment rates can sometimes be difficult to ascertain.<sup>13</sup> However, what these statistics and trends indicate are that immigrants' employment success is largely contingent on their proficiency in the host country's official language(s). This forces one to ask: What is Australia doing better than Canada?

<sup>13</sup> This paper focuses on the challenges associated with limited language skills in relation to immigrants' work-place integration. Factors such as discrimination and racism, workplace culture, non-recognition of credentials, or the lack of Canadian experience noted by some researchers (Reitz, 2001; Galabuzi, 2001) as contributing to immigrants' unemployment, are not considered here.

Australia has taken great strides in securing superior employment outcomes for its recent immigrants by tightening its immigration selection policy, most notably its demand of mandatory pre-migration English-language testing (which began in mid-1990s (Ibid)). According to Clarke and Skuterud, this selection policy is biased towards the most skilled and English-speaking majority (Ibid). However, the authors were quick to point out that the superior performance of Australian immigrants is not a new phenomenon as Australia's immigrants were performing better than Canada's even in the 1980s when there was relatively little to distinguish their selection criteria (Ibid). Therefore, there must be other possible explanations.

A suitable place to look for alternative explanations is at the quality of language programs in both countries. Indeed, in recognition of the impact of language proficiency on labour market integration (Cox, 2011:1) and earnings of immigrants, Australian and Canadian governments have put in place a number of immigrant language programs to improve the official language proficiency levels of their immigrants.

## **HISTORY OF LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA**

Before examining the main immigrant language programs currently in existence in Canada and Australia, a historical look at the development of these programs provides some insights to the ones currently offered and their associated impact on the work place integration of immigrants in both countries.

### ***Canada***

In Canada, information about the official language competence of immigrants during the first seven decades is scarce. What information is available is highlighted by Hawkins (1975) and Boyd and Cao (2009) in their reference to Canada's 1974 Green Paper.<sup>14</sup> According to

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<sup>14</sup> Canadian green papers were produced "to initiate a national discussion on particular issues." The 1974 Green Paper looked at "immigration as a factor in population growth." See Freda Hawkins paper : "Canada's Green Paper on Immigration Policy," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 9(2), *Migration and Fertility* (Summer,1975):. 237-249; Boyd et al. 1992.

Boyd and Cao, the 1974 Green Paper showed that between 1968 and 1972, about 30–39% of immigrants did not speak English or French (Manpower and Immigration, 1974 in Boyd & Cao, 2009:65-66). Boyd and Cao state that such low levels in immigrants' language abilities were not attained again until 2004, when language proficiency levels among recent immigrants not only dropped below 39% but declined to 31% in 2007 (Boyd & Cao, 2009:65-66). To deal with the decreasing official language abilities of immigrants, the Canadian government made concerted efforts to increase the quality and number of second language programs for immigrants.

The federal government's role in providing language programs to immigrants began in the 1950s. Language classes were contracted out to voluntary immigrant-serving organizations. At the time, teaching costs were shared by the provincial and federal government through the Department of the Secretary of State (Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994:341; Boyd, et al., 1994:569). Language instruction was available on a part-time basis and directed mainly at citizenship preparation (i.e. classes offered were mainly focused on Canadian culture, history, government/politics, symbols, customs and values, geography, and rights). In 1965-6, the Department of Manpower was established and later expanded to include the immigration branch.<sup>15</sup> According to Lanphier and Lukomskyj (1994:342), the primary emphasis was on securing specific types of skills demanded by the domestic market "rather than concern over the welfare of newcomers." This is because funding for language programs was a serious issue during this period. According to Boyd, et al. (1994:569) funding for most language programs was limited in scope, relatively small, or targeted mainly those in the labour market. For example, the Department of Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC)<sup>16</sup> (which oversaw the federal language training policies and programs), provided basic training allowances (a modest

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<sup>15</sup> For more information see: [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam\\_archives/public\\_mikan/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec\\_nbr=371&back\\_url=\(\)](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/public_mikan/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=371&back_url=())

<sup>16</sup> "The Department of Employment and Immigration was formed as part of Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC), which came into existence as a result of the Employment and Immigration Reorganization Act of 1977 (25-26 Elizabeth II, C. 54)." For more information see: [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam\\_archives/public\\_mikan/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec\\_nbr=371&back\\_url=\(\)](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/public_mikan/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=371&back_url=())

income to participants during the training period) (Boyd, et. al., 1994:570). Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (CIC) Settlement Language Program (SLP) provided reception and undertook the cost of language training for the breadwinner of the family (i.e. the adult male immigrants as females were not expected to be breadwinners) (Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994: 341; Boyd et al., 1994: 569). The male migrant breadwinner received up to six months of paid language training and a training allowance, as long as he remained in the labour force (ibid; Kaye, 2011:50). Of significance, however, is the fact that the SLP had a smaller program called the Language at Work which largely targeted women with children, providing free child-care and transportation allowances. This type of arrangement continued until the 1990s. For example, figures recorded by Boyd et al. (1994 in Canada Employment and Immigration, 1991:2) for 1990-91 indicated that 92% of the \$103 million dollars in federal funds for language programs was used to provide full-time institutional training related to labour market needs. This led Boyd et al. to state that funding priorities not only indicated the federal government's interest in language training for economic reasons, but also demonstrated the relative lack of attention paid to vulnerable groups outside the labour market (Boyd, et. al., 1994:569). Furthermore, with respect to the SLP, Kaye (2011:50-51) states that the program lacked consistency in that "most service deliverers provided their own systems for describing language proficiency levels and ... assessment of learners in their programs." This, states the author, made it difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of the language training.

In the early 1990s, the Department of Secretary of State was terminated, and Canadian language training policies underwent drastic changes, and, in some cases, cancellation of programs. For instance, in February, 1992, a new language policy was announced. Two parallel immigrant language training programs emerged from this new policy: one oriented towards employability (Labour Market Language Training (LMLT), of which the Enhanced Language Training (discussed below emerged) and the other towards integration (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) (Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994:341; Boyd et al, 1994: 569). The

LMLT accounted for 20% of the total budget while LINC would account for 80% of EIC language training funds. As a new policy, LINC was designed to be more flexible, providing less restricted language training to immigrants, with the goal to attract a higher percentage of the targeted population. This is largely due to the fact that EIC programs only reached 28% of newly-arrived immigrants. The objective, under the new policy, was to raise this proportion to about 45% in 1995 (Boyd, et.al.1994:571). Whether this was achieved is debatable as drop-out rates and sustainable funding became serious issues for the program during this period and beyond.

### ***Australia***

Until recently, Australia also did not keep records on immigrants' language ability (Inglis & Model, 2007:48-50). Based on the composition of its population in the 40s and 50s, less than 10% of the population were immigrants. Three quarters of them were from the UK<sup>17</sup> and Ireland, with the remainder from Italy, New Zealand, Germany, Greece, British India and Ceylon, Poland and China (Ibid:48). Thus, the number of non-official languages spoken was limited. However, language programs for immigrants in Australia existed since the 1940s (Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994:366; DIAC, 2011). Like Canada, these were also part of immigrant settlement services, and were general in nature (lessons were mainly on Australia's culture, Geography, etcetera) as the institutions contracted to deliver adult education, the technical and further education (TAFE) institutions, offered mainly broad adult literacy programs such as 'adult basic education,' "adult numeracy" and English as a Second Language (ESL) (DEET, 1996; DIISRTE, 2005:30). Thus, historically, "adult literacy" policy in Australia emphasized the importance of (English) language as a means to cultural assimilation and social policy goals (DIISRTE, 2005: 30), and remained so for a long period.

According to a report by the Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIISRTE), the impetus for change in the direction of language programs in

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<sup>17</sup> Note that until Australia and Canada became independent, UK citizens were not considered immigrants, everyone was a British subject. This is probably one of the reasons that immigration records were not really kept.

Australia grew out of many government and parliamentary reports in the 1980s, which expressed concerns about the inadequacy of language and literacy skills among Australians who wanted to undertake retraining for alternative employment (DIISRTE, 2005:30). Following the 1990 International Literacy Year, adult literacy, it states, gained greater prominence in Australia (Ibid). The DIISRTE reported that the lack of language and literacy skills was undermining efforts to improve economic productivity in Australia. The Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP), released in 1991, was the first of the Australian government's major responses to these concerns. It set in motion a series of policies including the Special Intervention Programme (SIP), the Language and Numeracy Training Programme (LANT), and vocational education and training programmes such as the Workplace English Language and Literacy (WELL) (discussed below), designed to improve the skills of those entering the labour market (Ibid). Ultimately, programs such as the Advanced English for Migrants Programme (AEMP) and the Literacy and Numeracy Training (LANT) programme were amalgamated to form the LLNP (discussed below), providing a more integrated approach to address job-seekers language, literacy and numeracy problems. As implied, the AEMP provided advanced English for migrants to upgrade their language skills, particularly in a professional field. LANT provided literacy and numeracy training for those unemployed or can benefit from language and literacy training (Ibid: 31).

One remarkable aspect that set the Australian language programs apart from its Canadian counterparts is the non-prescriptive Language Service Policy developed by the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (DILGEA). Unlike the Canadian immigration portfolio, Australia required language service agents to ignore a set time frame and provide needs-based services to non-English speaking residents. The goal was to help immigrants reach their full potential (Lanphier& Lukomskyj, 1994:366). Thus, over the course of time, the strategy was to provide long term continuous language training services to these immigrants (DILGEA, 1989b 31-32). This also meant giving priority placement to special

immigrant groups such as refugees, women and unemployed (DILGEA, 1989b: 31-32) in programs such as the Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP) in their first five years of settlement (DILGEA, 1989b 31-32).

The delivery of these language programs was rather fragmented. This is because many departments were involved in different aspects of the programs. For example, settlement services were offered under the auspices of the DILGEA (DILGEA, 1988), and later in 1998, the Advanced English for Migrants Programme (AEMP), which offered advanced language courses for individuals to enter or re-enter a profession, were contracted out by the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) <sup>18</sup>(Boyd, 1994:566-67) to the TAFE institutions. So, on the one hand, the DEET authorities were focused on workforce preparation and re-skilling while the DILGEA focused on access and equity (Boyd, 1994:566-67; DILGEA, 1989b 41). This made the Australian situation one of fragmentation in the delivery of language services. However, this appears to have had little impact on immigrants' language development and ultimate integration, when compared to the Canadian situation.

Also, funding (or lack thereof) became a serious issue in the delivery of these programs. In fact, at one point, inadequate funding contributed to a large backlog of immigrants with poor language skills and no access to mainstream English language instruction facilities (Boyd, 1994:566-67). As shown in the next section, Australian governments have made significant improvements in this area, not only in providing funding where demanded, but also by making available a wide range of well-integrated, and employment-related language programs to address the language proficiency deficits among its immigrant population.

Details of the AMEP and other major immigrant language programs in Australia and Canada are provided below.

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<sup>18</sup> The DEET was superseded by several departments over the years, including the Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA), Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA) and the Department of Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business (DEWRSB). DETYA was later superseded by the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST) and is now known as the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR). See website for more information: [http://training.qld.gov.au/tools/glossary/glossary\\_d.html](http://training.qld.gov.au/tools/glossary/glossary_d.html).

## THE MAIN IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN CANADA

Besides the English and French as a Second Language programs (ESL/FSL) available to immigrants, the Language Instructions for Newcomer to Canada (LINC), with its French equivalent, Cours de langue pour immigrants au Canada (CLIC) and the Enhanced Language Training (ELT) are the two main free programs targeting newcomers in Canada.

### *The Language Instructions for Newcomer to Canada (LINC)*

As mentioned above, the Language Instructions for Newcomer to Canada (LINC) was established in 1992. While the aim of the LINC program is to be more flexible and encourage up-take, unlike its predecessors, the LINC is a basic language program. According to Settlement.org, LINC was designed to provide clients with basic language training and knowledge of Canada. In 1990, it was recommended that the government establish a national standard for language learners (Kayed, 2011:50). This gave birth to the Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) system (see Appendix 3 and 3(B)). The CLB is the national standard used in Canada for describing, measuring and recognizing the English language proficiency levels of adult and prospective immigrants living and working in Canada.<sup>19</sup> The CLB was developed for the LINC program in order to place immigrants at the right level of language instruction.<sup>20</sup> It has been enshrined in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) Regulations*, and accepted as a standard by government-funded language training providers across the country. At inception, the LINC program offers only three levels of training (put into effect in 1993). Four years later (1997), levels 4 and 5 were introduced in Ontario only, and in 1998, the LINC curriculum guidelines were expanded and revised to reflect that of the CLB.

In 2006, programming began in Ontario for LINC 6 and 7 and curriculum guidelines were also developed for those levels. At present, levels 1 through 5 are available across Canada;

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<sup>19</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. "Backgrounder — New minimum language requirements for immigrants under the Provincial Nominee Program. Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/backgrounders/2012/2012-04-11.asp>.

<sup>20</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. "Welcome to Canada: What you should know - Learning English or French." Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/welcome/wel-03e.asp>.

level 6 is available in Nova Scotia; and levels 6 and 7 are available in Ontario.<sup>21</sup> The LINC program is free to eligible immigrants and is administered in cooperation with provincial governments, school boards, community colleges and service-providing organizations (SPOs) across Canada. For the most part, LINC is classroom-based, conducted mainly in a standard school classroom setting, and in some cases, in commercial buildings.<sup>22</sup> As of 2009, however, newcomers in all provinces could take the alternative LINC Home Study Program (which began in Ontario in 1995 to reach clients in remote areas). Home Study students can take the course online or through correspondence. Both options feature a weekly phone conversation between teacher and student. Currently, the LINC program is a part of Citizenship and Immigration's (CIC) general settlement program.

To be eligible, applicants must be at least 18 years old, a permanent resident of Canada, or Convention Refugee as defined in Section 95 of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, or be a person in Canada whose application for Permanent Resident status is being processed in Canada (e.g. someone who has been informed by CIC of the initial approval of his/her application (approval-in-principle). New immigrants may attend classes full-time or part-time for up to three years.<sup>23</sup> Canadian citizens, refugee claimants and temporary residents (such as foreign student, foreign worker or visitor) are not eligible for the program,<sup>24</sup> although some organizations have allowed foreign students who are members of their organizations, to attend and have covered the program costs for these students. As mentioned, the program is free to all eligible newcomers. Being free is an important aspect of the program since many newcomers cannot afford the cost for language training such as the ESL.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Settlement.org. "LINC Overview." Available at <http://www.settlement.org/downloads/linc/LCG1to5/overview.pdf>; <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/appendix-a.asp>.

<sup>22</sup> Settlement.Org. "LINC Overview." Available at: <http://www.settlement.org/downloads/linc/LCG1to5/overview.pdf>; Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program." Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/appendix-a.asp>.

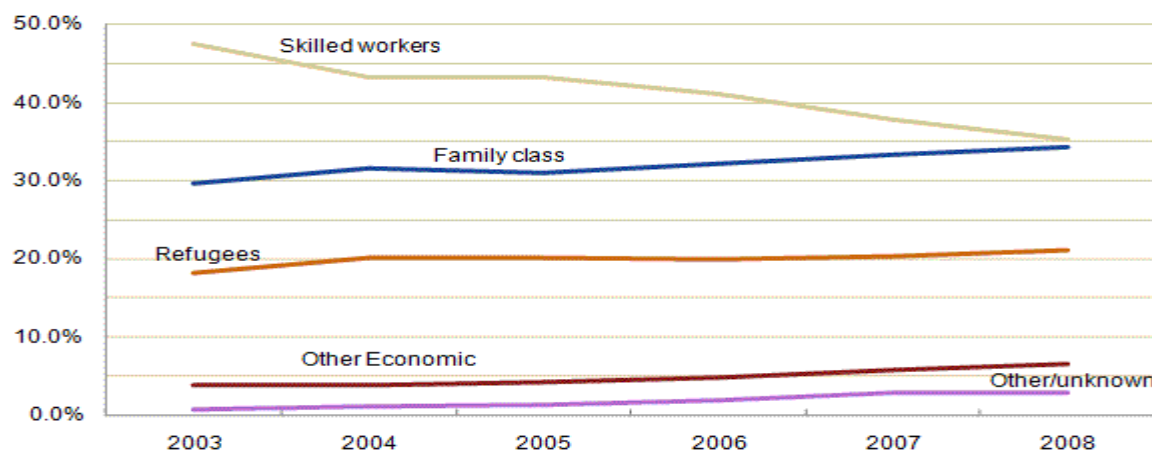
<sup>23</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program." Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/relevance.asp#note29>.

<sup>24</sup> Settlement.org. "What is the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program?" Available at: [http://www.settlement.org/sys/faqs\\_detail.asp?faq\\_id=4001178](http://www.settlement.org/sys/faqs_detail.asp?faq_id=4001178).

<sup>25</sup> ESL English language schools fee ranges from \$10 to \$15 per English class or \$25 per hour for professional ESL English tutoring. See website: [http://www.eslincanada.com/english/linc\\_programs.php](http://www.eslincanada.com/english/linc_programs.php).

Over the past years, LINC participation rates have steadily increased (see appendix 5 for provincial participation rate). For the period, 2004-2009, the number of LINC students rose from 52,000 to about 55,000<sup>26</sup> with the program serving 60,000 newcomers in 2010-11.<sup>27</sup> Much of the take-up could be credited to the CIC's vouchers pilot project which began in 2009, inviting newcomers to enroll in LINC classes. Despite LINC being a free program, vouchers were marketed as a limited-time coupon for free classes to encourage newcomers to enrol as soon as possible in language classes. Results showed an increase in program up-take and suggest this as an effective way to engage newcomers early in their settlement process.<sup>28</sup> Most of the newcomers enrolled in LINC were skilled workers (including spouses and dependents), accounting for the largest number of LINC clients for the period 2003-2008 (see figure 1-2), followed by family class immigrants, refugees, and other immigrants. Women consistently make up a majority of the LINC population, composing at least two-thirds of LINC students annually.<sup>29</sup> For the year 2009, close to three-quarters of LINC learners were women.<sup>30</sup> Newcomers from China and India comprised the largest number of LINC learners (22% and 8% respectively).

**Figure 1-2: Share (%) of LINC Clients by Immigrant Category, 2003-2008**



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/intro.a>

<sup>26</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program." Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/key-findings.asp>.

<sup>27</sup> Dipna Singh and Gregg Blakely. 2012. "Federal and Provincial Policy Initiatives LINC and CLIC: Looking Back, Looking Forward," *International Settlement Canada (INSCAN)*, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid: 7.

<sup>30</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program." <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/appendix-a.asp>.

With regards to expenditure, funding for LINC program has increased considerably in recent years (see Table 5-7 Appendix 6), largely due to increasing enrollment and higher cost of delivery per capita. In the five-year period beginning in 2004-05, LINC spending increased by 83%.<sup>31</sup> According to the 2010 report, expenditures rose from \$94 million in 2004-05 to \$172 million in 2008-09. The cost per LINC student has also risen from about \$1800 to approximately \$3150<sup>32</sup> mainly due to increased child-care and transportation expenses (child-care and transportation costs rose from approximately 2% in 1998-99 to 18% in 2008-09)<sup>33</sup> which are covered by the program to encourage enrollment by vulnerable populations. Whereas in the past language funding included a modest income to immigrants during training, income support is no longer offered and not all SPOs get sufficient funds for child-care and transportation services.<sup>34</sup> In fact, the 2004 and 2010 evaluation reports indicate child-care and transportation as the two major barriers to participation (CIC, 2004 & 2010). “[Having] young children to care for” is most often cited for not enrolling in LINC (21% of immigrants in 2010 evaluation report) (CIC, 2010). This proves insightful when looking at the impact of LINC on participants in terms of employment and language proficiency outcomes. However, this does not negate the efforts made by the government and several SPOs in their attempts to attract participants. Data provided in 2012-2013 Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) report showed an increase in child-care facilities (from 51 to 94 over a five-year period). 49% of service providers reportedly expanded, enhanced, or added child-care services for LINC participants. For example, in 2009-10, the waiting lists for child-care decreased (about 12% of clients received

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. “Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program.” Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/key-findings.asp>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> See Monica Boyd et al. 1994. “Language, Economic Status and Immigration,” in *Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared*, Volume II. Edited by Howard Adelman et al. University of Toronto Press. p. 570.

child-care – 4,115 in 2005-06 and 4,434 in 2009-10).<sup>35</sup> More importantly, plans are underway to provide more funding to address the shortage of child-care spaces.<sup>36</sup>

Regarding language learning outcomes, the 2004 evaluation report indicates that many immigrants have improved their English/French language skills in listening and speaking (CIC, 2004). However, the 2010 evaluation report states that it is difficult to determine or isolate the impact of LINC on learners from other influences on their language acquisition. It, however, highlights improvement in LINC's students' language abilities in the four skill areas: reading (by 0.88 benchmark level), writing (by 0.51 benchmark level), listening and speaking (by greater than one benchmark level) but not in listening and speaking beyond what they would have gained from living in Canada.<sup>37</sup> The report shows that number of hours in LINC makes considerable difference (e.g. those who had 1000 hours show greater improvements than those with less). It also notes that while LINC clients are settling well in Canada, they are no further ahead than non-clients when it comes to certain initial settlement activities.<sup>38</sup>

Additionally, information about the extent to which LINC projects have contributed to general employment outcomes or to employment commensurate with their skills is limited. To judge the program fairly, one needs to be reminded that LINC is intended to develop basic language skills and knowledge of Canada (CIC, 2010) and not for employment purposes. Therefore, most training has been at the basic and intermediate levels with much of LINC classes dedicated to teaching English for daily life and settlement /integration (over 90% of LINC classes teach English for daily life and settlement/ integration, 80% teaches Canadian civics) (see Appendix 2). Only recently has there been some funding directed towards workplace language training. Currently, about two-thirds of SPOs teach English for the workplace but almost 70% of classes include workplace language training (ibid). It is important to

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<sup>35</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2011. "Evaluation of the Strategic Plan for Settlement and Language Training under the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA)." <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/2012-coia/sec03.asp#ftn28>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

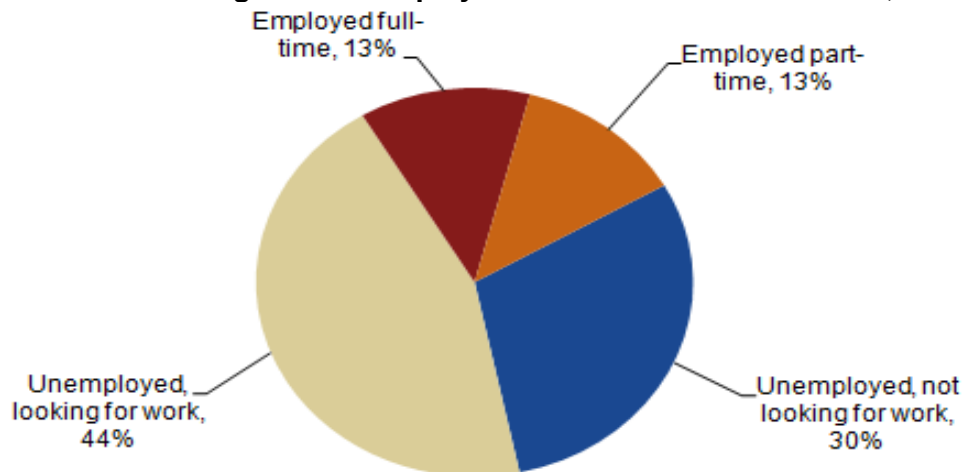
<sup>37</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program." Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/response.asp>

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

note, however, that most workplace language training are loosely based on workplace culture, job search skills and resume writing, rather than teaching an official language at the level required to work in Canada.<sup>39</sup> Competency in the workplace would likely demand courses that aim to bring immigrants up to CLB levels 9-12. These levels are not currently offered in the LINC program. This makes it difficult to assess LINC's contribution to immigrants' employment outcomes.

Despite this, there is some employment-related information on LINC students. The 2010 report indicates that 26% of LINC students are employed, and 74% unemployed (see graph below). However, it is unclear whether LINC contributes to their employment outcome or if people who are currently unemployed are better able to take advantage of the LINC program. Undoubtedly, most LINC students are interested in basic knowledge about Canada. What is apparent however is a significant percentage (33.6%) of LINC students are seeking training to improve their employment chances.

**Figure A-9: Employment status of LINC Students, 2003-2008**



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

### *Enhanced Language Training*

The Enhanced Language Training (ELT) program is the other significant immigrant language program in Canada. The ELT was established in 2003-2004 to provide newcomers with higher levels of language training in Canada's two official languages (CIC, 2008). Besides delivering higher levels of job-specific language training, the ELT is designed to help newcomers communicate in a work-related setting, including offering opportunities for work-related experiences such as job-shadowing, mentoring and job placements. One can say the ELT was established to address the employment-related shortcomings of the LINC program. As a component of the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), ELT contributes to the ISAP's objectives by assisting immigrants and refugees to access and remain in the labour market at levels commensurate with their skills and qualifications (CIC, 2008; CIC, 2012).

Those eligible to the ELT include clients below CLB levels 6 and 7. Nonetheless, the ELT program also funds language training at CLB levels 1 to 10, including job-specific language training, offered mainly in smaller centres where there is currently no language instruction infrastructure such as LINC (CIC, 2008).<sup>40</sup> Eligible service providers are provinces, territories, employers, educational institutions, non-governmental or community organizations involved in helping newcomers. ELT is currently offered in almost all provinces and territories except Quebec (the latter is responsible for its own programs) (CIC, 2011).

Two different kinds of projects are funded by ELT: development and delivery. Development projects support the delivery labour market focused language training. These projects include the development of assessment tools, study guides, curriculum, software tools, research, and other learning support tools. Delivery projects include language training and bridge-to-work. The language training component includes job-specific training to attain CLB levels 7 to 10. The bridge-to-work component "comprises a variety of employment-related

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<sup>40</sup> Despite having a more advanced language training focus, the ELT fill the gap where lower level courses of the LINC program are unavailable.

activities that can include, for example, orientation to the local labour market, assistance in finding employment in the immigrant's field of specialty, mentoring, work placements, cultural orientation in the workplace and preparation for licensure exams and internships"(CIC, 2008).

Funding for the ELT program ranges from about \$20M annually to provinces and territories (\$5M in 2003-04 and \$15M in 2004-05), with Ontario awarded a specific amount as per the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) (which, incidentally, was suspended a year ago): \$10M for 2006-07, \$20M for 2007-08, \$30M for 2008-09, \$40M for 2009-10 and ongoing (Ibid). Like the LINC program, the 2008 evaluation report reveals financial difficulty as the main barriers to participation. According to the report, participants find it challenging not being able to work full-time to support themselves and their families while participating in the ELT program. Although ELT offers some child-care and transportation supports, about half the SPOs do not offer these services (Ibid). This is less of an issue in Alberta and Saskatchewan where clients can apply for provincially-funded living allowance. Additional barriers include a long waiting list and access in terms of location of the SPO offering the classes.

A related issue is the impact that inadequate funding has on up-take. Apart from general lack of awareness, SPOs are reportedly having problems recruiting appropriate participants with the appropriate language profile (CLB Levels 6 and 7). This is reflected in the ELT database, which shows that between 11% and 22% of participants have CLB levels of 5 or below. Most participants were from China (30.2%), India (8.4%), Pakistan (5.7%), Iran (4.8%) and Columbia (4.6%) (Ibid), many of whom are from regulated occupations with Civil, Mechanical, Electrical and Chemical Engineers being the top occupational groups. Again, one has to take into consideration that the ELT is relatively new (almost 10 years old). Unlike the LINC, which has been in existence for the past 21 years, problems of this nature are expected. However, these problems have a negative impact on the employment outcomes of the ELT (see analysis).

As apparent, the program demands that employers play an important role in the delivery of services by offering job-placement, mentoring or volunteering opportunities to newcomers

looking for Canadian work experience and to support them in navigating the Canadian labour market (CIC, 2011). However, most employers offer volunteer positions rather than offering paid employment. This can gravely affect the main goals of the ELT (which is to assist in the longer-term economic outcomes of participants by securing employment that is commensurate with their international education and experience). Information on employment outcomes is available for about one-quarter of the participants. Since its inception, 592 ELT participants have been surveyed, 59% of whom have reportedly secured employment commensurate with their skills. The report cautions against using this figure (rather, to use figure with care) as it is based on short-term follow-up with participants, "to very qualitative information about staff and participant perceptions of the extent to which participants gained commensurate employment upon completion of the project." According to the report, "of those case studies that reported, albeit often anecdotal, information on employment outcomes, just over half suggested that there were high levels of employment after their participation to an ELT project" (CIC, 2008).

In terms of language learning outcomes, the report indicates an increase in language levels with respect to listening, speaking, reading and writing. Almost all participants indicated improvement of language abilities, "noting specifically improvements in language skills, improvements in communication skills and/or improvements in their workplace/occupation-specific language abilities" (CIC, 2008). No doubt the ELT is well-positioned to address the shortcomings of the LINC. However, attention must be paid to the eligibility rules, organizational structure, and efforts to have in place better work-placements opportunities, if the program is to achieve its stated goals.

## **THE MAIN IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN AUSTRALIA**

Besides the English as a Second Language – New Arrivals (ESL–NA) Program (which delivers English language tuition to eligible newly-arrived primary and secondary school migrant students), there are three main English language programs for immigrants to Australia: The

Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), which includes the Settlement Language Pathways to Employment Training Program (SLPET), the Language, Literacy and Numeracy Programme (LLNP) and the Workplace English Language and Literacy programme (WELL).

### *The Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP)*

The AMEP is a national program funded and co-ordinated by the Department of Immigration, Local Government, and Ethnic Affairs (DILGEA). It is the equivalent of Canada's LINC program. Unlike LINC, however, the AMEP is one of Australia's oldest and largest settlement programs, administered by the department and its predecessors (DIAC, 2011-2012). It is underpinned by the *Immigration (Education) Act 1971* and the *Immigration (Education) Regulations 1992* (DIAC, 2011-2012). The program evolved from the original Adult Migrant Education Scheme, established in 1948 (DIAC's publication report). The Commonwealth Office of Education, which was responsible for the development of the program, provided training materials as well as the training of teachers. Free English lessons were provided to the first wave of non-English speaking migrants, to assist their assimilation into Australian society. Where necessary, the AMEP quickly expanded to include continuation classes for mothers whose children were at school (DIAC, publication report).

Today, the AMEP continues to accommodate and support immigrants in their transition to life in Australia. It has expanded to reflect the government's commitment to long-term, sustainable settlement outcomes (DIAC, 2011a). Like its Canadian counterpart, LINC, the AMEP offers general English classes on the practicalities of day-to-day life as well as information on workplace situations. In the past, classes were mainly five hours weekdays and an additional two hours on Saturdays. Currently, the AMEP remains a free program and offers 510 hours of English language instruction, from beginner to the intermediate levels (Ibid). This is available to migrants in their first five years of settlement in Australia (from visa commencement date, which is within three months of being granted permanent residence if onshore, or within

three months of arrival). Notwithstanding, the AMEP program is geared towards individual circumstances in that the number of hours offered depends on the time frame needed for individuals to attain functional language ability (DIAC, 2011a).

The AMEP complements the department's Australian Cultural Orientation (AUSCO) and Humanitarian Settlement Service (HSS) orientation programs. Accordingly, eligible migrants are mainly from the Humanitarian, Refugee or Family streams (DIAC, 2011b). In recognition of their special needs (limited education, or past experiences such as torture or trauma), between 100 to 400 additional hours of tuition may be offered through the Special Preparatory Program (SPP) to humanitarian entrants (DIAC, 2011b; 2012c). In this sense, migrants may reach functionality level without utilizing the 510 hours of the AMEP (Ibid). As part of the 2011-2012 new business model (began July,1 2011), eligible 15 to 17-year-old migrants and other humanitarian entrants not attending mainstream school can access AMEP classes.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, the department encourages cohorts to attend mainstream schools wherever possible, in line with the compulsory school age legislation of the respective state or territory (DIAC, 2011a).

Eligible migrants are assessed using the Certificates in Spoken and Written English (CSWE), a competency-based, national curriculum and assessment tool for measuring English proficiency at CSWE level 1 to CSWE level 3 (DIAC, 2012b; 2012 c). The CSWE is accredited within the Australian Quality Training Framework.

In the 1940s, AMEP classes were offered to migrants prior to embarkation, on board ships to Australia, and at migrants' hostels and community centres. Some were conducted via radio broadcasts and correspondence (DIAC, publication report). At present, AMEP courses are offered on a full or part-time basis, at major teaching centres and community venues and through distance learning (including self-paced e-modules as part of an alternative online package). The AMEP courses are also available through the Home Tutor Scheme, delivered by

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<sup>41</sup> See website: [www.immi.gov.au/amep](http://www.immi.gov.au/amep).

trained volunteers who provide language assistance on a one-on-one basis in clients' home. As of February, 2012, virtual classroom trial sessions were announced as another option for migrants in remote areas.<sup>42</sup>

The AMEP has a well-integrated complementary program called the Settlement Language Pathways to Employment Training Program (SLPET), funded by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), (also as part of the 2011-12 new business model) (DIAC, 2011a). The SLPET is designed for more established (settled) eligible AMEP clients who are highly motivated to find work. Ideally, clients move into this pathway program as they near completion of their AMEP requirement (McKay, 2012: 1). SLPET provides AMEP clients with 200 hours of tuition, including up to 80 hours of work experience placements, in addition to the 510 hours under the AMEP (DIAC, 2011a). Clients are assessed by AMEP counsellors prior to acceptance into the SLPET (Ibid). The SLPET bears some semblance to the Canadian LINC's workplace element, but with some exceptional differences. For example, SLPET participants learn "vocational-specific English while gaining familiarity with Australian workplace culture and practices, including work ethics, employment processes, occupational health and safety, taxation requirements and the role of unions." Unlike the LINC, however, SLPET clients participate in workplace visits, simulated work environments and work experience placements (Ibid). In addition, many AMEP participants transition to the Language, *Literacy and Numeracy Program* (LLNP) (discussed below) upon completion of their AMEP entitlement. These migrants are not only provided with higher levels of English language training suitable for reducing employment barriers, but are offered literacy and numeracy training as well (DEEWR, 2005:13).

Like LINC, funding is an important aspect of the AMEP. The AMEP budget is based on a five-year period (Boyd et al., 1994:568). For the 1992-3 period, funding for AMEP dropped by A\$5 million, and fees ranging from A\$1020 to A\$4080 per course were imposed on immigrants. However, other tuitions were funded through DEET labour market programs which was given an

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

increase from A\$13.5 million in 1991-2 to \$42.2 million 1992-3. The goal was to meet the needs of NESB in the labour market (Boyd et al., 1994:568). In 2006-07, AMEP budget was \$156.1 million.<sup>43</sup> The AMEP also allocated funding to services such as child-care. The AMEP child-care service is noteworthy in the sense that child-care is not only provided at no cost, but is offered prior enrollment, located within 30 minutes of the client's home, or on site (compared to LINC, clients are offered on-site care only and are likely to drop out of classes due to lack of child-care spaces prior enrollment). AMEP clients also receive other forms of income support.

The AMEP has significant take-up and retention rates. This is largely due to the availability of child-care prior to enrollment. In 1990, the AMEP take-up rate was about 70,000 (Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994:352). Humanitarian immigrants comprised the large majority of these participants. In 2011–12, registration rate was about 90% for the Humanitarian stream, 53% for the Family stream and 35% for the Skilled migration stream (DIAC, 2012c), compared to 85%, 55% and 39% respectively, in 2010-11(DIAC, 2011b). A total of 55,134 clients however, completed the AMEP in 2010-2011, with 15,524 (28.7%) from the Humanitarian stream, 9,642 (17.8%) from the Skilled stream, and 28,988 (53.5%) from the Family stream (DIAC, 2011c) (see Appendix 7). In 2009–10, an average of 369 hours of class time was recorded among participants while in 2010–11, most clients had a total of 362 hours (Ibid). For 2011–12, a total of 3,001 clients completed between 500 and 510 hours and 69 clients reached five years in the program (DIAC, 2012c). The top three countries for this period were the People's Republic of China, Vietnam and Afghanistan (Ibid).

Despite its long existence, not many assessments were done on employment-related outcomes of AMEP clients. In line with the program's objectives, most evaluation reports provide information on clients' language learning outcomes. According to the DIISRTE's 2005 report, many AMEP clients did not achieved the proficiency level of literacy and numeracy skills to

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<sup>43</sup> See: <http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/settlement-programs/amep/>

confidently seek stable employment (DIISRTE, 2005:10). However, in 2008-09, the first phase of a study on employment outcomes, funded by the DIAC, was conducted by Yates et al. (2010:17). Their report indicate that of the 152 AMEP participants surveyed, 49% (73 individuals) reportedly found employment while 79(51%) did not. A large number of those employed were CSWE III graduates (39 out of 73 compared to 14 and 20 from CSWE II and CSWE I, respectively) (Yates et al. 2010:17). Overall, 44% of participants at CSWE I were employed, as opposed to 63% at CSWE II and 53% at CSWE III, suggesting that at the beginner's level, an immigrant's language ability is a handicap to his/her employment. It is interesting to note, however, that employment was highest among participants at CSWE II level. Also, the report indicates that a higher percentage of male than female participants at the CSWE III level were employed (55% and 46% respectively). Most notable, many CSWE level III participants found employment similar to that held prior to migration. The report, however, indicates that CSWE III and I were more highly represented in the sample (Ibid).<sup>44</sup>

Information related to language outcomes shows that 1,906 of AMEP clients achieved functional English (DIAC, 2012c). 22% of 2010–11 graduates attained certification at CSWE Level III, while 21 % reached CSWE Level II. A further 43% attained CSWE Level I and the remaining 14 % were awarded statements of attainment (DIAC, 2011d). A large majority of Humanitarian entrants indicated that they can speak English "well" or "very well" after 4 years of settlement (DIAC, 2011d: 12). The proportion of entrants who "do not speak English at all" was reduced from 14% to 7% over a 5 year period (2003-2008) (DIAC, 2011d: 12).

In essence, the positive language and employment outcomes for AMEP clients reflect the quality of the program. The current integration of the SLPET into the AMEP means that the program is poised to achieve greater employment outcomes as such integration makes it possible for immigrants to experience greater employment opportunities and informs future in-

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<sup>44</sup> The CWSE levels are similar to those used to inform Canada's English as a Second Language curriculum levels. See report: [http://www.ameprc.mq.edu.au/docs/research\\_reports/new\\_life\\_new\\_language/AMEP\\_book\\_New\\_life\\_141-212.pdf](http://www.ameprc.mq.edu.au/docs/research_reports/new_life_new_language/AMEP_book_New_life_141-212.pdf).

depth assessments. Along with the SLPET, the 2008-09 AMEP report on employment outcomes among AMEP clients offer promising directions for its Canadian counterpart, the LINC program, which can incorporate similar structure to assess and acquire similar employment outcomes.

### *Language, Literacy and Numeracy Program (LLNP)*

The other two main language programs in Australia (Language, Literacy and Numeracy Program (LLNP) and Workplace English Language and Literacy Program (WELL) are the DEEWR's main employment-related language programs for immigrants.

The LLNP is the government's primary literacy language program, designed to help migrants and other Australians secure sustainable employment or pursue further education and training (DIISRTE, 2011; DEEWR). Established in 2002, (DIISRTE, 2012:6), the LLNP is administered by the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST), states and territorial governments, and delivered by Registered Training Organisations (RTOs).

Assessment of LLNP clients is done using the National Reporting System (NRS). This is done at NRS levels 1 – 5, using 13 competency indicators to measure four major macro skills: writing, reading, oral communication, numeracy and learning strategies (DIISRTE, 2005:6). Like most language programs discussed above, LLNP courses are flexible and are offered in traditional and non-traditional forums: on a part-time (10 to 19 hours per week) or full-time (a maximum of 800 hours over a two-year period) (DIISRTE, 2012: 6), and via distance education (DEEWR, 2005:6). There are over 386 LLNP sites across Australia (Ibid).

The Australian government's commitment to the delivery of the LLNP is evident by the scope of the LLNP's services. For example, each state/territory is divided into Business Regions (BR) which are further sub-divided into Business Service Areas (BSAs), allowing the government to deliver LLNP to 134 BSAs, 22 of which are in remote areas (DIISRTE, 2012: 7-8; DEEWR). The LLNP has extensive eligibility criteria. Eligible participants include migrants

and Australian-born of working age (15 to 64 years), who are registered with Centrelink,<sup>45</sup> not full-time students, are receiving income support, met certain visa requirements (e.g. holders of temporary protection visas who were granted Special Benefit on or after 1 January 2003) (DIISRTE, 2005:30; Department of Human Services, 2012 ), have had their skills assessed at NRS level 2 or lower, and need to improve their English for employment (DEEWR, 2005:6). Additionally, individuals with learning difficulties, mature workers such as women returning to the workforce after long periods, Indigenous people, the disabled, early school leavers (15-29 years age group), and NESBs who have completed their AMEP entitlement (DEEWR, 2005:6). This includes humanitarian refugees as well as long-term arrivals (DEEWR, 2005:6). Prior to 2012, new skilled migrants to Australia, who, despite having strong reading and writing English skills, could initially access the LLNP. The program not only provided the opportunity to practice speaking and listening English to Skill migrants, but offered occupation-specific training in an Australian workplace setting (DEEWR, 2005:6).

The LLNP offers beginner, basic and advanced accredited English language training, as well as basic and advanced<sup>46</sup> literacy and numeracy training to participants (DEEWR, 2011). Until 2012, it also provided Complementary Training (CT) and Advanced Vocationally-Oriented Courses (AVOC). The CT component targeted the most disadvantaged clients to help them achieve their learning outcomes in an environment conducive to learning. On one hand, CT provided opportunities to contextualised training for mature clients returning to the labour market, thereby enhancing their employability (DEEWR, 2011). AVOC, on the other hand, was available to those in the advanced stream and was offered in blocks of 400-450 hours (DIISRTE, 2012: 7-8 DEEWR).

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<sup>45</sup> As of 2011, Centrelink was integrated with the Department of Human Services to address and deliver a wide range of services to a diverse Australian population. More information about Centrelink is in the history section on Australia above.

<sup>46</sup> In addition to the other criteria, those eligible for the Advanced English training stream, clients must be from a non-English speaking background and be citizens or permanent residents regardless of their income support status (DIISRTE, 2005:30).

Like most programs discussed here, the 2012 evaluation report indicates several challenges of the LLNP. These include attendance and retention (particularly among staff, youth and indigenous clients (especially in rural areas) (DIISRTE, 2011). For instance, for the period 2002 to mid-2004, of the 75,291 referrals to LLNP, only 48,554 (65%) clients commenced training while another 7,902 (10%) did not attend (DEEWR, 2005:7).

The LLNP is well-funded. As part of the government's response to the *Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants* report in 2004, \$4.5m of extra funding went towards securing more spaces for graduates transitioning to the LLNP.<sup>47</sup> Thus, in 2003-04, nearly \$41 million in funding for LLNP was provided to assist approximately 20,000 job seekers with training. Overall, funding during the 2004-05 increased 18%, to an estimated \$48.2 million for the delivery of 19,750 training places (DIISRTE, 2005:6&36). Prior to 2003-5 period, the Australian government provided \$20.5m in extra funding to the LLNP through the *Australians Working Together* (AWT) program for an additional 9,206 places over four years (2001-05), to help reduce welfare dependency and to address barriers faced by vulnerable groups. On September 20<sup>th</sup> 2003, the government also introduced a \$20.80 per fortnight Training Supplement as part of AWT to help clients meet the incidental costs associated with LLNP training. This supplement provides an added incentive for immigrants to commence training and help reduce withdrawal rates (DIISRTE, 2005:36). The LLNP received an additional \$143 million in July, 2011 for 30,000 extra spaces (DIISRTE, 2011).

Data from the DEEWR annual reports indicate that the quality of the LLNP is one of its noteworthy features.<sup>48</sup> This is evident in both language and employment outcomes. Overall clients who completed Advanced English demonstrated the highest level of NRS skills (65% gain), followed by Basic English (47%) and Literacy and Numeracy (31%) (DIISRTE, 2005:46)

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<sup>47</sup> Many immigrants from the AMEP beginner's stream, referred by the Job Network agency, were transitioning to the LLNP.

<sup>48</sup> See website for more details: [www.deewr.gov.au](http://www.deewr.gov.au).

(see Appendix 8). For example, 9 out of 10 Advanced English clients and 8 out of 10 Literacy and Numeracy clients were reportedly satisfied with their level of skill improvement. Similarly, 7 out of 10 Basic English participants were satisfied with their levels of improvement in the macro skill areas (DEEWR, 2005:9).

The employment outcomes for LLNP participants also reflect the quality of the LLNP. In 2005, 18% of Basic English, 32% of Advanced English and 25% Literacy and Numeracy participants secured employment after completion of the LLNP (DIISRTE, 2005:46). Of these, 38% males were and 30% females. Interestingly, 23% of those born overseas have employment outcomes similar to the Australian born (25%). Unsurprisingly, however, lower employment outcomes are associated with lower NRS levels. Those who entered Basic English and Literacy and Numeracy training on the lowest NRS level had lower employment outcomes, 14% and 21% respectively, compared with 22% and 31% of those who entered at NRS level 2 (DIISRTE, 2005:46-47). Clients born in the former Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the Sudan and Vietnam had below average employment outcomes. Those from Eastern Europe, Africa, Thailand and China, however, had the highest proportion of successful employment or education and training outcomes (DIISRTE, 2005:46). The report on outcomes for the period 2007-2010 indicates that in 2009, a combined 50% of LLNP graduates had employment and education outcomes rate. More specifically, the settlement survey highlighted that 50.3% from the family stream, 31.0% humanitarian entrants and 84.4% from the skill stream were either employed during 2007-2010 (DIISRTE, 2012c:27). Arguably, most of these migrants were participants of both the LLNP and AMEP (DIISRTE, 2012c:14). Regardless, results indicate that despite still being in its infancy, the LLNP is achieving strong outcomes against its objectives and is supporting the Australian Government's key policy initiatives (DIISRTE, 2011).

It is important to note that as of 2012, the LLNP has been renamed the Skills for Education and Employment (SEE) program (DIISRTE, 2011) and the Complementary Training

(CT) and Advanced Vocationally Oriented Courses (AVOC) were removed to "simplify and reduce administrative workloads ...and increase flexibility to the program" (DIISRTE, 2011).

### *Workplace English Language and Literacy Program (WELL)*

The WELL program is more or less Australia's equivalent of the Canadian ELT. It was introduced by the Australian Government in 1991 and is administered by the DEEWR (Australian Government, 2010). The WELL program forms part of the Australian Government Skills Connect initiative, providing funding to organisations to train Australian workers in English language, literacy and numeracy skills.<sup>49</sup> Although the WELL program targets everyone, including the Australian born, it is also worthy of attention since it demonstrates the extent to which the Australian government goes to ensure its population is highly proficient in the country's official language.

Like the ELT, the program is delivered in the workplace (DEEWR, 2012:1). Training is flexible, and industry-specific (Australian Government, 2010). That is, the program helps businesses identify and address their current and future workforce needs by providing training tailored to the needs of the workplace and workers.

Those eligible for the WELL program must be Australian citizens or permanent residents. New Zealand citizens who have resided in Australia for at least six months prior to training, holders of a Temporary Protection or permanent Australian visas, and individuals from the Indigenous Employment Program (IEP) are also eligible. In addition, participants must be employed on a full-time, part-time, casual or temporary basis, or under a training contract (Apprenticeship) (Australian Government Skills Connect, 2011). Importantly, WELL participants must meet the program English language, literacy and/or numeracy proficiency levels 1, 2, and 3 of the Australian Core Skills Framework requirement (i.e. below the level where a person can

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<sup>49</sup> See website for more details: [www.deewr.gov.au](http://www.deewr.gov.au).

accurately communicate in English to meet specific workplace needs) (Australian Government Skills Connect, 2011).

While substantial funding is available for WELL, it is an area of concern. This is largely due to the fact that state offices (the bodies primarily responsible for funding allocation decisions), lack specific formal mechanisms to properly align funding (DIISRTE, 2012c:3; Australian Government Skills Connect, 2011). In the absence of a strong approach, WELL funding is not well-aligned to most sectors' needs. That is, funding is largely directed at a small number of Registered Training Organisations (RTOs) whose focus are mainly on health care, social assistance, manufacturing, and construction (ibid). Of the 160 RTOs that have provided WELL training in the past five years, 4 received 40% of total WELL funding (ibid). Thus, a number of industries have received disproportionately low levels of funding despite their LLN need (Australian Government Skills Connect, 2011:17). In fact, 64% of WELL expenditure has been directed towards other services over the past five years (DIISRTE, 2012c:3).

As part of the program, employers are expected to contribute at least 25% to WELL training costs in the first year (for e.g. the Australian Government contribute \$3 for every \$1 contributed by the employer). Where funding is approved for subsequent years, the employer's contribution is expected to increase to 50% (i.e. match Australian Government funds dollar for dollar) (Australian Government Skills Connect. 2011). Of the employers surveyed, 73% cite this cost as the biggest barrier to WELL program up-take. Specifically, the increase in employer co-contribution from 25% in the first year to 50% in the second year is a significant barrier, resulting in the termination of most training in the first year (86% employers reported that training projects did not extend beyond one year after commencement) (DIISRTE, 2012c:6).

In spite of this, WELL funding is not as significantly misaligned as perceived (i.e. at times, funding reaches some of the targeted business sectors). For instance, the DIISRTE, 2012 report reflects reasonable alignment which is contributing to the employment growth and needs of a proportion of employees from non-English Speaking Background. The report,

however, cautioned that the current approach to funding is risky as future funding may not be well-aligned to industry needs or government policy (DIISRTE, 2012c:3).

Despite these funding related issues, the WELL program has played an important role in supporting the development of foundation skills in the workplace. Over the past five years more than 72,000 employees and 530 Indigenous Employment Program (IEP) participants (including both employed and pre-employed individuals) have reportedly completed training funded by the WELL program. Over that time, the program supported 1,030 training projects across 740 employer worksites (DIISRTE, 2012c:3). The evaluation report establishes that the program provides valuable support to businesses in building their employees' English language, literacy and numeracy (LLN) skills for work. For example, 78% of participating employers rated the WELL program as "effective" or "highly effective" in improving the LLN and business needs; and 79% cited benefits such as improved performance in the workplace, decreased occupational health and safety incidents, reduced wastage and increased efficiency. Additionally, 81% of employers also stated that employees who undertook WELL training went on to complete further training as a result of participation in the program (DIISRTE, 2012). Due to recent improvements in program delivery, funding for WELL has increased (from 2012-13 to 2014-15, \$95 million is directed towards the WELL program (Australian Government Skills Connect, 2011). The increased funding positions the WELL program as another worthy contender in securing or increasing the employment chances of immigrants in Australia.

Both the Canadian and Australian immigrant language programs offer immigrants the chances to increase their language development. Clearly, the Australian programs have in place some unique elements that are likely contributing to immigrants' labour market advantages.

## **ANALYSIS - DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS: LESSONS FOR CANADA?**

This section provides a critical analysis of the language programs discussed above. It highlights the differences in the Australian and Canadian immigrant language programs while offering new directions for Canadian policy makers.

Canadian language programs have, for many years, been criticized based on their eligibility criteria, coverage, duration, suitability (of the curriculum material), funding arrangements and levels of support services (Burnaby et al. 1987 and Burnaby and Cummings 1992, in Boyd, et al., 1994:569). This research finds similar patterns. Data reveals that Canadian immigrant language programs are indeed gender-bias, restrictive in nature, lack sustained funding and consistency in the levels of courses offered across Canada. They are also inflexible, poorly coordinated and not well-structured.

The gender-biased aspect of the Canadian language program is a remnant of its past. As mentioned earlier, most language programs during 1950s targeted male breadwinners in the labour market. With the exception of the SLP's Language at Work program, little attention was paid to vulnerable groups such as women outside the labour market (Boyd, et. al., 1994:569). Furthermore, the SLP was not well-funded. This gender-bias continues today, albeit, in a subtle way. For instance, despite women's prominence in the labour market, the Canadian language programs automatically exclude women by virtue of the unavailability of sufficient child-care spaces.<sup>50</sup> This is a major challenge and concern since women with children quite possibly, make up the majority of those on the waiting list for the LINC program. Indeed, women are by far the majority of clients in both the Canadian and Australian language programs as they are increasingly seeking to develop their language skills to gain access to employment ( in Canada,

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<sup>50</sup> This was due to several years of funding deficit. From 2004-05 to 2008-09, substantial funding (\$12M) has been allocated to expand the availability of child-care services with an increase in spending from \$17.3M to \$27.8M while transportation services spending increased from \$1.4M to \$2.9M.

The 2010 evaluation report indicates that 80% of SPOs offer child care and transportation assistance. However, it has not kept pace with Australia since child-care and long waiting lists remain critical to participation in both ELT and LINC.

females comprised 73% LINC clients in 2009-10 and 56% of ELT(2007-8). Also, it is not quite wrong to state that since the middle 80s, the Humanitarian, Refugee and Family streams have been largely overlooked by successive Canadian governments as they concentrate on the economic immigrant stream. The LINC program caters largely to a majority of skilled immigrants, thereby excluding immigrant women from other streams who are waiting for the opportunity to contribute to the Canadian economy.

Australia, on the other hand, has little or no gender-bias in its programs. Indeed, the AMEP, from its inception, expanded almost immediately to accommodate women with children. Women continue to take precedence in accessing Australia's language programs today. As noted earlier, prior to enrollment, child-care places are often secured to coincide with the commencement of AMEP courses, and are conveniently located, often on site, or half an hour away. The lack of such priority within the Canadian context is of concern. It brings to the fore issues about the effectiveness of the Canadian LINC program in providing equal opportunity for women to study English. These are legitimate concerns as LINC attracts a larger percentage of women than the ELT. It is therefore critical for this gender-related obstacle to receive the same serious attention in Canada as it does in Australia since it is quite possibly a contributory factor to the low employment outcomes among immigrant women (in 2001, 60.8% and 38.4% of male and female immigrants were employed, respectively).<sup>51</sup>

Another major difference between the Australian and Canadian immigrant language programs is the number of immigrant language programs (about 5<sup>52</sup> and 3 respectively), work-related and complementary programs offered to immigrants in Australia. Some examples of complementary programs in Australia are the National Language Service Arrangement (agreement with other Federal Departments, states and territories on cost effective options for

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<sup>51</sup> Statistics Canada—89-611-XIE. *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and Prospects*, 2003:29.

<sup>52</sup> The English as a Second Language – New Arrivals (ESL–NA), The Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) which includes the Settlement Language Pathways to Employment Training Program(SLPET), the Workplace English Language and Literacy programme (WELL), and the Language, Literacy and Numeracy Programme (LLNP) in Australia compared to the LINC, ESL and ELT in Canada. While there are other language programs in other provinces (e.g. French as a Second Language), they are mainly the equivalent of the two main language programs: ELT or LINC. There are no complementary language programs in Canada.

national service delivery); the Grant-in-aid(GIA) Scheme, which funds community organizations to assist recently arrived migrants and special groups such as women and refugees (Lanphier& Lukomskyj,1994:353); and the *Transition to Work* program and the *Work for the Dole Scheme* run by DEWR(formerly the DEST and DEET).<sup>53</sup> Also, despite their recent removal, the Complementary Training (CT) and Advanced Vocationally Oriented Courses (AVOC) components of the LLNP were ways in which the Australian government went above and beyond to accommodate and target the most disadvantaged groups of immigrants, helping them in achieving their learning outcomes. While organizations such as the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) and Hire Immigrants Ottawa have made concerted efforts in these areas, they are often limited by funding. The LLNP is therefore a model language program from which Canadian language programmers can learn.

Australia's main language programs also offer a more structured (employment-related) approach to language training than their Canadian counterparts. For example, the WELL and LLNP are two vibrant employment-related programs, focusing on job placements for immigrants while the AMEP-SLPET, including the LLNP, offer well-integrated and vigorous employment components, also designed to meet the labour market needs of migrants (used interchangeably with immigrants). Despite being a new component of the AMEP, the SLPET's strategic integration within the AMEP provides migrants with 200 extra hours of tuition (including up to 80 hours of work placements) (DIAC, 2011a). The fact that AMEP's graduates have direct access to the SLPET and can easily transition to the LLNP, means they are well-positioned, not only to develop higher language proficiency, but to be employed. As a testament of its vibrancy, the WELL catered to more than 72,000 employees and 530 from the Indigenous Employment Program. A large percentage of participating employers have testified to its effectiveness. One

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<sup>53</sup> The Work for the Dole Scheme helps those unemployed (for more than six months) transition to employment through voluntary work placements (12 to 15 hours per week) in return for their fortnightly unemployment benefit. An extra \$20.80 per fortnight is paid to the participant to meet transportation cost. Child minding is also provided. See website for more details: <http://deewr.gov.au/work-dole>. The Transition to Work is a two year program to prepare school leavers for the workplace. Both programs cater to the same client group as the language programs. See report for more information: [http://www.adhc.nsw.gov.au/\\_data/assets/file/0020/240374/Evaluation\\_of\\_the\\_Transition\\_to\\_Work\\_Program\\_Report.pdf](http://www.adhc.nsw.gov.au/_data/assets/file/0020/240374/Evaluation_of_the_Transition_to_Work_Program_Report.pdf).

can argue that the WELL program has existed longer than the ELT. Undoubtedly, this placed the WELL at an advantage. However, the two Canadian equivalents have demonstrated no such vibrancy as their Australian counterparts. Despite being specifically established as an employment-related language program, the ELT does not attract the right clients and many immigrants are still gravitating towards the LINC as a way to improve their employment chances (recall the 33.6% respondent that stated “get a job” as reason for attendance). LINC, however, is not fully structured to meet this requirement (almost 80% of classes teach Canadian civics and the workplace component mainly focuses on job search skills and concepts rather than placements).<sup>54</sup> The ELT has gained momentum in terms of employer participation, but it is unclear how many employers are participating in the ELT program. And, while the ELT provides between six to ten weeks of work placements for the period assessed,<sup>55</sup> most of these placements were volunteer positions. Indeed, the six to ten weeks work-placements may appear substantial, but being the main employment (placement) program, it hardly meets the employment needs of migrants. Attempts have been made to include a vigorous employment component in the LINC program. However, the LINC remains a basic program and the language levels offered across Canada are not consistent, nor do they fully meet the language needs of immigrants. Be reminded also that Canada’s history is one where the funding of language programs had always included a labour market/employment as a major component of language programs, therefore LINC is a departure from this trend as its main focus is general instruction and newcomer integration (refer to Appendix 3 and 3(b). With the need to increase employment rates and reduce poverty among recent immigrants, it is important that work placement become a major component of the LINC program. In order for the LINC or ELT programs to achieve comparable results (expected from any go-to immigrant language programs), they must have the vibrancy, structure, and the integrated components evident in their Australian equivalents.

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<sup>54</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. “Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program.” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/response.asp>.

<sup>55</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. “Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program.” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/appendix-a.asp>.

To do so, CLB stages II and III should become a consistent part of LINC programs across provinces. In the mean time, questions as to whether the LINC and ELT programs can improve the economic conditions (employment rate) as currently structured, remain an issue.

A significant difference also, is the lack of a national/standard curriculum in Canadian language programs, particularly in the LINC program. In CIC's 2010 evaluation report, students expressed concerns about lack of materials, incorrect assessments, and being taught materials below their levels. In fact, LINC's teaching materials are said to be outdated and courses are of low quality.<sup>56</sup> By contrast, Australia's LLNP is recognized for its high quality courses and the AMEP has gained international recognition for being a success.<sup>57</sup> Australia has a longer history of providing immigrant training, which explains why the issue of poor curriculum or lack of proper materials did not emerge in any of the evaluations read for this research. Australia's AMEP uses a standard curriculum (DIAC, 2012c), the Certificates in Spoken and Written English (CSWE)<sup>58</sup> and LLNP uses the National Reporting System (NRS). A national curriculum in Australia "facilitates movement between service providers across Australia, and communication between service providers, promoting consistency in assessment and reporting" (ibid). Within the Canadian context, only recently (2009-10?) was a set of better quality curriculum guidelines (note, not a national curriculum), assessment tools, and teacher certification requirements for LINC<sup>59</sup> and ELT (still in progress) established. This being the case, any attempt to improve language training in Canada must look to the Australian examples.

There are also differences with regards to funding of immigrant language programs in Canada and Australia. Although evidence supports similar funding levels in some areas, Australia provides more consistent funding for its work-related language programs than Canada. Some researchers such as Boyd and Cao (2009) have noted that, in the Canadian case,

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> The AMEP program has generated wide-spread media attention from around the world, including a segment on *The 7pm Project*, report on *Stateline Queensland*, and articles in the *Warwick Daily News*, and *Aljazeera* news network as one of the most important settlement program (DIAC, factsheet, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> See AMEP Factsheet <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/94amep.htm>.

<sup>59</sup> Dipna Singh and Gregg Blakely. 2012. "Federal and Provincial Policy Initiatives LINC and CLIC: Looking Back, Looking Forward," *International Settlement Canada* (INSCAN), p.7.

funding for language and related programs explicitly targeting those employed or destined for the labour force have waxed and waned.<sup>60</sup> They outlined that when language training is offered as a settlement strategy, there is little attention to targeting those in the labour force. Thus, they find it problematic that attempts to improve the language proficiencies of those employed must look to the general settlement programs such as LINC or rely on the self-funded efforts of immigrants themselves.<sup>61</sup> In line with this observation, information gathered for this research highlights that the LINC program suffered a period of funding deficit (several years of static funding to be accurate, prior to 2006-07).<sup>62</sup> Although in some instances funding to language programs in Australia was reportedly misaligned (e.g. WELL program), or fell (funding for the AMEP fell in 1992-93), funding has been more adequate and consistent in these programs than in Canada's. As shown above, the AMEP received A\$13.5 million in 1991-2, \$42.2 million 1992-3 and \$156.1 million in 2006 -07. The LLNP received an extra \$20.5 million in funding for 2001-2005 period through the *Australians Working Together* (AWT) program. This was combined with nearly \$41 million received in 2003-04; \$48.2 million in 2004-5; \$4.5m in 2005-6; and \$143 million in July, 2011. By contrast, ELT funding to provinces was \$20M (an initial \$5M in 2003-04 and \$15M in 2004-05) with Ontario receiving \$10M for 2006-07, \$20M for 2007-08, \$30M for 2008-09, \$40M for 2009-10 per the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA), which, as mentioned above, is no longer in effect. LINC received \$ 90.7 million in 2001-2 with other substantial increase over the years to a maximum of \$172.2 million in 2008-9. These appear to be more adequate than their Australian counterparts. However, the increased funding did not fully address the child-care and transportation deficits evident in the program. In Australia, funding has been adequate and in most cases, well-distributed across programs. More importantly, the Australian government provides income supplements/supports to LLNP job-seekers and AMEP clients to meet the incidental costs associated with training (DIISRTE,

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<sup>60</sup> Monica Boyd and Xingshan Cao. 2009. "Immigrant Language Proficiency, Earnings, and Language Policies," *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol. 36(1-2):77.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> In 2006-7, LINC payments to SPOs fell behind delivery cost , resulting in a long waiting list.

2005:36). This provides the incentives Australian immigrants need to seek, undergo and continue training, allowing them sufficient time to learn the country's official language. Some critics have rightfully criticized the half a million dollars (out of a budget of A\$142 million) directed towards the AMEP during the 1991-4 period, stating that it is hardly adequate as it likely excluded vulnerable groups (Boyd et al., 1994:568). However, it appears that funding for the AMEP fell for reasons that it was redirected towards DEET (currently the DEEWR) programs such as the *Transition to Work* and the *Work for the Dole Scheme* (DIISRTE, 2005:10) to meet the labour market needs of NESB immigrants. The fact that this did not heavily impacted the AMEP take-up rates (indicated in report) is an indication that the Australian government is doing an excellent job in the distribution of funding across programs. Like most governments, the Australian government reduced funding only during periods of significant under spending (as was the case with LANT and the AEMP) (DIISRTE, 2005:36).

Observable differences in the eligibility criteria for language programs are also noted in both countries. As previously mentioned, most LINC classes comprised of female newcomers with children. It has been observed that LINC and ELT eligibility rules constrained women (arguably, men also) forcing them to choose between becoming citizens (with the right to vote) and learning English. By definition, Canadian citizens are not eligible to participate in LINC and ELT (refugees are also excluded from ELT), a serious implication since about 60% of the foreign-born who cannot converse in English or French, are Canadian citizens.<sup>63</sup> The choice to forgo citizenship in order to remain eligible for these programs is not one that new immigrants should make in their early years. This would deeply impact their motivation to learn a new language while otherwise engaged in settling. In Australia, refugees and humanitarian immigrants as well as Australian citizens are eligible for most, if not all, of its language programs. Issues related to eligibility lie mainly within the LLNP where skilled migrant visas

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<sup>63</sup> This is according to an unpublished tabulation from 1986 census PUST (in Boyd, et al., 1994: 572).

holders are currently not eligible (Department of Human Services, 2012) and within the AMEP where the 510 hours restriction is deemed insufficient (DIAC, 2011d). This is because immigrants can no longer access the program. While this is considered a legitimate concern, it appears that such restriction has little impact on immigrant's linguistic acquisition (DIAC, Chapter Eleven). This is likely due to the availability of other well-structured and high quality language programs. As outlined above, the flexibility of the AMEP offers transition to the LLNP, which, coupled with the extra hours of training offered by the SLPET and the Special Preparatory Program (SPP) (100 and 400 additional hours of tuition is offered to humanitarian entrants), helped immigrants in their preparation for the work place. In this sense, an individual may reach the level of functionality without utilizing the 510 hours limitation in the AMEP (DIAC, 2011b). At the same time, the AMEP program is also geared towards individual circumstances so that the number of hours offered depends on the time individuals need to attain functional English (DIAC, 2011a). Thus, with these programs in place, a gap in one program is filled by another, making it possible for migrants to receive adequate and better training.

There are also differences observed in the coordination of language programs within both countries. In Australia, there is evidence of better coordination among referral agencies and service providers than in Canada. For example, Job Network and Centrelink<sup>64</sup> took on the role of referral agents, providing referral services to the various language programs. This led to increase in demand for the programs. Australia's case is also noteworthy in that service providers provide access to the complementary labour market programs mentioned earlier, all aimed at assisting immigrants in securing employment or in general integration. While Canada has created the Foreign Credentials Referral Office (FCRO) to provide referral services to immigrants, the FCRO is now part of the Integration branch. Indeed, the amalgamation of the Integration and FCRO branches would result in a greater likelihood that existing immigrant

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<sup>64</sup> Centrelink was established in 1997 by the Australian Government to link Commonwealth government services, providing a one-stop-shop to the Australian community. See website for more details: [www.centrelink.gov.au](http://www.centrelink.gov.au).

language courses will refocus towards the economic integration of graduates. Certainly, by putting greater emphasis on job-specific language abilities, developing better language programs, and designing curriculums to explain foreign credential recognition processes and Canadian workplace culture, this would likely result in better economic outcomes for immigrants. However, there is also the likelihood that the skill immigration stream of immigrants would continue to take precedence over other streams. Also, this can severely diminish the FCRO's role in providing referrals and coordination of services for all immigrants as a lack of financial resources (which is likely the reason for the merging of branches) often result in downsizing of human resources necessary to aid in the access to important language services. Also, although LINC-SPOs partnership has improved, ELT providers have reported poor relationship with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (likely a result of staff turn-over, it stated), and lack of coordination, with one group having a broader vision for immigrant integration than the other (CIC, 2007). These are clear barriers for all immigrants who need to be informed about services.

Differences are also evident in the scope (extensiveness) of Australia's language programs. Most of Australia's programs are wider in scope in that they are more accessible and are open to immigrants regardless of length of time in the country. For example, eligible participants to LLNP include those with learning difficulties, mature workers such as women returning to the workforce, Indigenous people, the disabled, rural clients, and early school leavers (15-29 years age group). The Australian government also places much emphasis on making these programs available to Humanitarian/Refugee and Family streams migrants, recognizing their unique challenge in integrating into the Australian labour market. Most language programs provide from the most basic to advance courses. While Canadian programmers have attempted to be more inclusive (some refugees and the disabled can access programs),<sup>65</sup> language programs are offered only to new refugees. Hence, Canadian language

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<sup>65</sup> Dipna Singh and Gregg Blakely. 2012. "Federal and Provincial Policy Initiatives LINC and CLIC: Looking Back, Looking Forward," *International Settlement Canada (INSCAN)*, p. 8.

programs are not only marred by eligibility restrictions, but exclude many well-established immigrants, resulting in the persistent and apparent long-term stagnation of the English and French language abilities of these immigrants.

The level of take-up is another notable difference between the Australian and Canadian immigrant language programs. In Australia, the AMEP attracted 70,000 clients in 1990 and 55,134 in 2010-11.<sup>66</sup> In 2011-12, 3,001 clients completed between 500 and 510 hours of the AMEP. Similarly, the WELL program attracted more than 72,000 participants and 530 from the Indigenous Employment Program (IEP) (over the last five years). For the LLNP, 48,554 (65%) of clients completed the program (DEEWR, 2005:7). During 1992-93, when, as a result of decreased funding, fees (A\$1,020 to A\$4,080) were imposed upon AMEP immigrants, it would have been easy to assume this would negatively impact program up-take. However, there were no indications of this in the reports studied. Because the Australian government direct supplements to some programs (e.g. LLNP), this encourages program up-take and reduces withdrawal rates (DIISRTE, 2005:36). Thus, immigrants have the incentive to learn the country's official language. The Canadian language programs, on the other hand, have problems with up-take and retention. The ELT attracted 592 participants and the LINC had between 52,000 to 55,000 in 2004-2009, and 60,000 in 2010-11, mainly because language programs target newcomers, many of whom face financial pressures upon arrival. With the exception of Alberta and Saskatchewan where immigrants can apply for provincially-funded living allowance (CIC, 2007), financial barriers and the lack of child-care services are inhibitory factors. As mentioned above, past language programs (EIC) provided basic training allowances for clients (Boyd, et. al., 1994:570). However, LINC funds do not include basic training allowances. Although about 80% of SPOs provide child-care services in 2010, the fact that LINC is a heavily demanded program means many immigrants are on the waiting list. This is a far-cry from the Australian case where child-care is available prior or upon registration. Furthermore, the lax in the

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<sup>66</sup> For more information, see: <http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/annual/2010-11/html/outcome-5/amep.htm>. Also, see appendix.

continuity of funding often result in staffing uncertainties (recruitment and lay-offs), making it almost impossible for SPOs to attract new participants (CIC, 2007). Hence, the LINC program experiences relatively high drop-out rates (in 2010, Ontario and Atlantic regions had 25%, and 22% drop-out rates respectively)<sup>67</sup> (see Appendix 4) (CIC, 2010). In the case of the ELT program, SPOs reportedly had problems recruiting appropriate participants with the appropriate language profile for the program (CLB Levels 6 and 7) (CIC, 2008). It can therefore be argued that any differences in programs up-take that may appear in favour of the Canadian language programs (AMEP versus LINC and ELT versus WELL and LLNP), are likely due to the larger number of language programs in Australia and the distribution of immigrants across these programs. More intuitively, the recent decline in the number of immigrants from NESB to Australia provides another explanation for any observable decline in up-take. There is little doubt that the periods of sustained funding, combined with the incentives offered in these programs, allow Australia to experience less drop-out and increased up-take rates than Canada.

As mentioned previously, this does not negate the efforts by the government of Canada increasing funding for LINC and the ELT. The voucher program which was introduced in October 2009 (ended in January, 2011), temporarily addressed the severity of this issue. 30.8% of voucher recipients attended LINC classes, compared to 24.9% of those who did not.<sup>68</sup> With the demise of the program, however, it appears that the LINC and the ELT programs will continue to suffer the same fate. No doubt that this lack of consistency in the delivery of services makes Canadian recent immigrants less competitive than their Canadian-born and Australian counterparts as well.

With regards to employment outcomes, Australia has significant differences within its language programs. Employment outcomes pertaining to LLNP graduates indicate that in 2005, 75% of immigrants secured employment (DIISRTE, 2005:46). Of these, 38% were males and

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<sup>67</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program." <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/response.asp>.

<sup>68</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Report on the Results of the Language Training Vouchers Pilot Initiative. Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/language-training/index.asp#a5.1>.

30% females. More significantly, 23% of immigrants have employment outcomes similar to the Australian-born (25%) (DIISRTE, 2005:46-47). For the 2007-2010 period, 50.3% from the Family stream, 31.0% of Humanitarian entrants, and 84.4% from the Skill stream were employed (DIISRTE, 2012c:27). For those participants in labour market programmes such as the *Transition to Work*, and *Work For The Dole* (DIISRTE, 2005:10), employment outcomes are at comparable levels to outcomes for LLNP (DIISRTE, 2005:10). As reported above, within the AMEP, 49% (73 individuals) of graduates reported finding employment, while just over half (79 individuals or 51%) did not. Employment was highest among participants at CSWE II level, a higher percentage of them being male participants (55%, versus 46% females) (Yates et al. 2010:117). The labour market success of the WELL program is also evident by the positive feedback from participating employers. 78% of employers rated WELL as "effective" or "highly effective" in improving LLN and meeting business needs; and 79% reported improved performance in the workplace.

Within the Canadian context, 59% of ELT participants secured employment commensurate with their skills. However, this figure is said to be mainly based on qualitative data and anecdotal accounts. With respect to the LINC program, 26% were employed, and 74% were unemployed. As stated above, it is unclear whether LINC contributes to their employment.

What this analysis illustrates is that the Australian government's immigrant language programs are better structured, more integrated, adequate, well-targeted and more accessible to immigrants than those in Canada. To suggest that the aforementioned differences fully explain the better employment outcomes that Australia currently experiences over Canada, or are the result of its language programs may be pre-mature since other factors are likely at play. However, it is apparent that these differences offer an alternative explanation or contribute to the better employment outcomes that Australian new and well-established immigrants experience over Canada's. No doubt the positive employment rates among recent immigrants in Australia can also be explained by the fact that a larger number of immigrants, compared to

Canada, are among those counted as recent immigrants (recall that Australia's new migrants are those living in Australia for 9-10 years or less, compared to Canada whose recent immigrants have been in Canada for less than 5 years (Perspectives on Migrants, 2011) (see Appendix 1). Also, the as other researchers have attest, the tightening of Australia's immigration policy, which currently demands mandatory pre-migration English language proficiency testing, is also credible explanation. However, in a recent study on why Australia's immigrants perform better, Clarke and Skuterud found no evidence that Australia's immigration policy helped immigrants succeed in the labour market. While the demand for mandatory pre-migration English language testing appeared to have had positive effects and "successful" employment outcomes among new immigrants, (primarily those in the skilled immigration stream) (Clarke & Skuterud, 2012: 2), state the researchers, Australia's carefully pre-screened Chinese immigrants do not perform better than those admitted under Canada's points and family reunification schemes. As the researchers clearly state, "neither the employment nor earnings estimates for Australia's Chinese immigrants...suggest improvements in average performance concomitant with Australia's tightening immigration policy" (2012:16). As for immigrants from India, Clarke and Skuterud note that, "the earnings shortfalls of Indian migrants evident in the 1980s actually worsened with the tightening of Australia's selection [criteria] (ibid: 15). "Rather," the researchers firmly assert that "it is the shift away from NESBs source of immigrants" that explains any differences in outcomes. Regardless, Australia continues to be lauded for its superior immigrant employment outcomes over Canada. More interestingly, Canada has recently announced plans to adopt Australia's current immigration selective policy on mandatory pre-English language assessment as a way to experience similar employment outcomes. This forces one to ask: Is this the right direction for Canada? While some observers believe this to be so (Wente, 2008), the current analysis suggest otherwise.

It is therefore suggested that the Canadian governments look towards strengthening its immigrant language programs as the link between adequate investments in language programs

and employment outcomes should not be ignored. For instance, in their explanation, Clarke and Skuterud neglect to look towards the language programs in operation in Australia. The researchers reported no better employment outcomes among the pre-screened Chinese immigrants to Australia and the non-screened in Canada. However, Chinese were among the main participants of the LLNP and emerged as one of the groups with the highest proportion of successful employment and education outcomes (DIISRTE, 2005:46). What is also evident in the analysis of Australia's language programs, is that both recent and well-established immigrants from the Humanitarian/Refugees streams are reflected in the positive employment rates, a stream that is largely overlooked (by virtue of eligibility restriction) in Canadian language policy as a pool of motivated, talented and experienced immigrants wanting to participate economically in the Canadian markets (Cox, 2011:1). As observed in the Australian example, having high proficiency (CSWE II and III) in the official language has a positive impact on employment among immigrants. Therefore, when Clarke and Skuterud point to the shift in the ethnic composition of Australian immigrants (allowing more ESB immigrants) as an explanation for the better employment outcomes, one feels inclined to disagree since the presence of these language programs offer an alternative explanation for these outcomes. Indeed, when other fundamental differences between the Canadian and Australian language programs are considered, one can look towards the quantity, quality and investment in the Australian immigrant language programs as a suitable explanation for the improved employment outcomes among immigrants in Australia.

Certainly, further analysis of these programs is warranted to provide a better understanding of the complexity of the issues involved, and to assist in the design of effective immigrant language programs in Canada. For instance, unlike Australia, Canada's federal structure and relations between various levels of government can, at times, get in the way of how language programs are delivered. As such, more in-depth research in this area is strongly

suggested. However, from the standpoint of the present analysis, Canada has much to learn from the Australian delivery model.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

As highlighted above, some useful information arises from the analysis of these programs that may prove useful in Canada's current immigrants' employment debate. As such, the following recommendations are proposed.

***1. The government of Canada (GOC) should provide sustained funding, including basic living allowances/income supplement where necessary, for all streams of immigrants to encourage program take-up and retention. This should be a consistent part of the annual budget to be made available across provinces.***

This recommendation aims to address the financial barriers faced by immigrants in accessing language programs in Canada. A basic allowance would allow participants to take advantage of language classes while helping to relieve the financial pressures most immigrants experienced during their early years of settlement. An income supplement would provide the incentives needed for all streams of immigrants ( who have been assessed using need-based criteria) to access the programs, thereby increasing program up-take and curtailing drop-out rates. It would also motivate many immigrants to invest in the time needed for higher levels of language development. Recently (in 2010), the government's decision to cut funding to SPOs in many regions<sup>69</sup> significantly affected program delivery. Sustained funding to the remaining organizations remains critical to the language development and ultimate employment of new and well-established immigrants. Instead of the partial funding provided for child-care and transportation, full funding is recommended to meet these needs, with particular attention to enrolling participants with children prior to classes. At the same time, reinstating the voucher

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<sup>69</sup> Nicholas Keung. 2010. "Funding axed for Toronto immigrant agencies," *The Star*. Available at: <http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/article/911205--funding-axed-for-toronto-immigrant-agencies>.

program, which was proven successful in attracting participants, should be re-considered for future programming as a way to increase participation. This would go a long way in allowing Canadian immigrants to catch-up with their Australian counterparts.

**II. The LINC and other language programs should be more accessible to other immigrants. This would require changing the eligibility criterion which demands that immigrants maintain their permanent residency status for three years. The three-year time-frame should be extended to 5 years.**

The goal of this recommendation is to address the long term language needs of newcomers. If by definition, a newcomer is one who has been in Canada between 0-5 years, it makes sense to remove the three-year restriction to accommodate them accordingly. Many newcomers require English/French language training even after they have become citizens. Therefore language classes for immigrants, the majority of whom are older adults, should be fully accessible regardless of their citizenship status. As observed in the Australian example, length of time is not as significant in immigrants' access to some language programs. With an extended time-frame, the Refugee, Humanitarian and Family streams immigrants can access some language programs which increase their chances for employment. As outlined by some researchers adult immigrants do not have the language acquisition skills as children,<sup>70</sup> therefore, it takes a longer period of time for them to become fluent in a new language.<sup>71</sup> Thus, removing the eligibility criterion on maintaining permanent residency would increase the chances of more immigrants accessing the programs and at the same time, allow them to acquire the language proficiency levels needed to access or retain jobs. Other provinces such as Manitoba have already taken steps to eliminate this restriction.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the removal of

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<sup>70</sup> Miles Corak. Available at: <http://milesacorak.com/2011/11/04/success-in-school-for-child-migrants-is-linked-to-their-age-of-arrival/>

<sup>71</sup> Language learning is influenced by factors such as: aptitude, personality, attitude, age, motivation and learning style (Kottler & Kottler, 2002:V). Adults learn differently because they have different experience, motivation and limitations (Knowles, 1980 & 1984; Apps, 1988).

<sup>72</sup> See report by Louise Gormley. 2007. "A Study of Language Learner Needs and Barriers to Accessing Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Programs in Hamilton, Ontario." Available at : [http://www.ocasi.org/downloads/LINC\\_Research\\_Hamilton\\_2007.pdf](http://www.ocasi.org/downloads/LINC_Research_Hamilton_2007.pdf). p. 22.

this restriction is timely and would likely lead to better employment opportunities and outcomes for Canadian immigrants.

**III. The GOC should increase the number of language programs offered to four. These language programs should be more structured, integrated, extensive, and well-coordinated in order to meet the varied language levels of immigrants.**

The number of language programs offered to immigrants is insufficient. The federal government needs to work towards increasing the quantity of programs delivered to immigrants to four. While this would require additional funding, it is an important step in addressing the current language program deficit as well as increasing employment rates among immigrants. Furthermore, the current waiting list will be drastically reduced and more immigrants can access available programs, when needed. If comparable employment outcomes (to Australia) are to be achieved, Canadian language programs should also be structured in a way that meet the labour market needs of all immigrants that gravitate towards them. New and existing programs should be well-structured, integrated and extensive as illustrated in Australian example. Canadian language programs also need to be standardized (i.e. have national curriculum). The recent introduction of curriculum guidelines, assessment tools, and teacher certification requirements is an important step in this direction. Also, the need for better coordination among SPOs and CIC departments cannot be overlooked. This is critical to having shared perspective/goals on immigrants' social, and more importantly, economic integration.

**IV. Canada should offer more employment-related and complementary immigrant language programs by making advance language (French and English) level courses (CLB Stage III (9-12) consistent components of LINC and subsequent programs.**

This recommendation is related to the one above (III). It seeks to address the deficiency in immigrants' language training. As the ELT and LINC programs currently stand, many immigrants are not receiving the right kinds of training they need to work in their field. The ELT and LINC programs are not offered at "the right place[s] or at the right time" or levels (Ontario

College Report, 2007). Such inconsistencies need to be immediately addressed. Because there are not many immigrant language programs designed to meet the employment needs of Canadian immigrants (Australia has about 5), consistency in language levels will better equip immigrants for the labour market. For example, the 2003 International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey (IALSS) found that 60% of immigrants were below Level 3 on literacy, which is the threshold for coping with the modern knowledge economy. This compares to 37% of those born in Canada.<sup>73</sup> While the newly announced requirement for new immigrants to speak English or French at higher level prior to migration, will "improve their economic prospects," there are concerns that such policy will favour certain nationalities.<sup>74</sup> This recommendation will therefore see linkages between labour market programs across the country, offering better chances for work-place participation and seamless transition to other programs where needed. It encourages the creation of labour market and complementary programs such as the SLPET and the SPP, the *Transition to Work* program and the *Work for the Dole Scheme* in Australia.

## CONCLUSION

This paper provides a comparative analysis of the immigrant language programs in Australia and Canada. It highlights decades of investments by both governments in language programs designed to meet the language needs of immigrants in the respective countries. Australia's language programs (AMEP, LLNP, and WELL) have some striking differences, which, from analysis, I have argued, provide an alternative explanation for the better employment outcomes the country experiences over Canada. These programs are well-funded, wider in scope, accessible, and well-structured. Research shows that the income/training allowances provide the incentive for program up-take and retention. The complementary, employment-related aspects within Australia's language programs also support immigrants

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<sup>73</sup> Statistics Canada. *The Daily*, Nov 9, 2005. "International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey," Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/051109/dq051109a-eng.htm>.

<sup>74</sup> See article in *The Guardian* at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2012/jun/19/canada-to-raise-language-bar>.

general and labour market integration. Thus, Australia's immigrant language programs are deemed successful as graduates from these programs secure higher employment outcomes than their Canadian counterparts.

In Canada, the current language programs targeting immigrants (LINC and ELT), while well-positioned to assist in immigrants' workplace integration, lack sustained funding, are less accessible, and, in essence, are missing some of the elements critical to immigrants' labour market integration. This makes these programs less effective at meeting immigrants' language needs and the demands of the Canadian labour market. As outlined, these shortcomings place many immigrants from the Refugees/Humanitarian and Family streams at the economic margins of the Canadian society. Government policy support is instrumental in equipping immigrants with adequate and quality language programs necessary to their development and workplace integration. The above recommendations, when complemented by newcomer's other educational skills, can yield some positive, if not comparable economic outcomes as Australia.

At the time of writing, CIC's 2012 Annual Report to Parliament announced a number of initiatives that were recently undertaken to improve language training services across Canada. The Department has completed field-testing of the Portfolio-Based Language Assessment, which measures students' language training progress. CIC has also completed two versions of a national test of language achievement, which will inform strategies to ensure the test is reliable and financially sustainable. Additionally, the Department has completed the renewal of the Canadian Language Benchmarks and the Niveaux de compétence linguistique canadiens, Canada's "national" standards for assessing English and French language proficiency. As mentioned, plans are also currently underway to raise the language bar to level 7 for new skilled and other streams of immigrants to Canada (*The Guardian*, 2012). While these are positive steps in the right direction, raising the language requirement level can screen out well-qualified immigrants from Non-English speaking countries, who, with well-structured and adequate language programs, can contribute significantly to the Canadian economy. Indeed, reliance on

attracting immigrants with high levels of language proficiency while reducing funding for language programs may not be the primary solution to increasing employment outcomes in Canada, as governments need to fully address the language proficiency needs of all immigrants. This study makes an attempt to illustrate this, shedding light on the areas where serious attention is critical. There is no doubt that immigration would continue to be part of Canada's economic plan. The 2012 report indicates the Canadian government's plan for 2013 is to admit between 240,000 to 265,000 new immigrants.<sup>75</sup> This makes it even more critical to put in place adequate and effective language programs to assist immigrants in their economic integration.

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<sup>75</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Annual Report to Parliament. Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/annual-report-2012.pdf>, p. 14.

## APPENDIX 1

### Employment rates of 25- to 54-year-olds, by immigrant status and selected census years (1981 to 2011)

	Recent immigrants	Canadian born
1981	72.4	73.1
1986	68.2	74.5
1991	66.0	77.9
1996	58.8	77.7
2001	63.4	80.9
2006	67.0	82.4
2011	56.6	63.5

**Sources:** Statistics Canada, *Censuses of population, 1981 to 2006*. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/71-222-x/2008001/c-g/desc/desc-n2-eng.htm>.

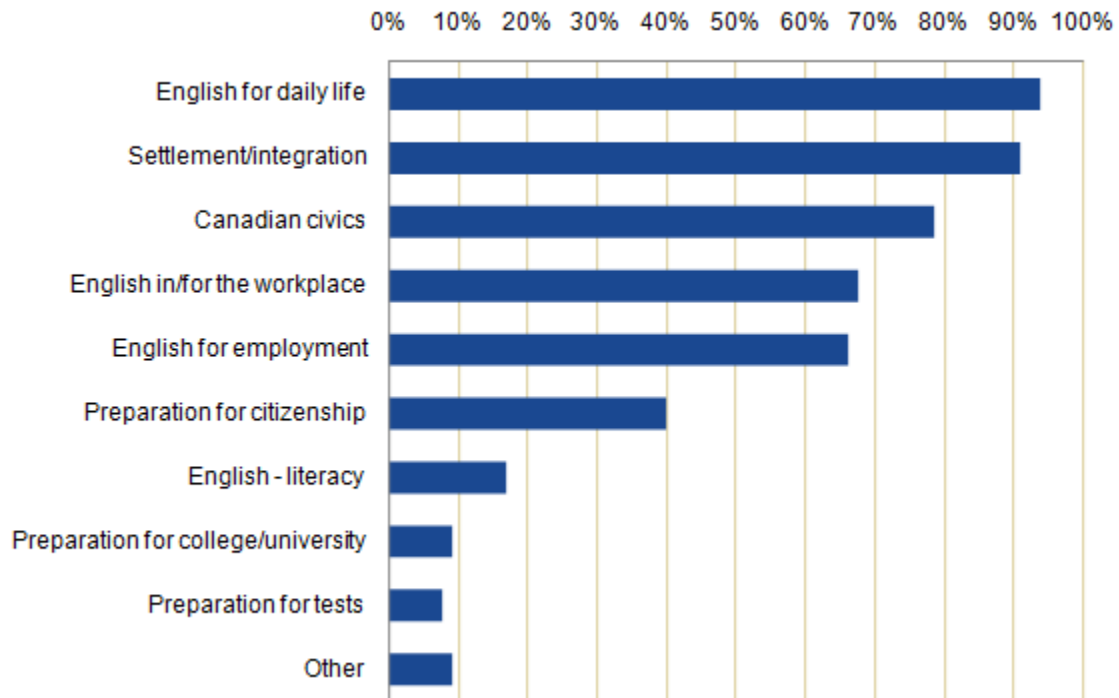
### Employment and Unemployment Rates among Immigrants and Canadian-born (2007-2011)

Immigrant status	Labour force characteristics	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total population	Unemployment rate (rate)	6.0	6.1	8.3	8.0	7.4
	Employment rate (rate)	63.4	63.5	61.6	61.6	61.8
Landed immigrants(permanent residents)	Unemployment rate (rate)	7.0	7.1	10.0	9.8	8.7
	Employment rate (rate)	57.8	57.6	55.9	56.3	56.4
Immigrants, landed 5 or less years earlier	Unemployment rate (rate)	11.9	11.8	15.0	15.8	14.2
	Employment rate (rate)	57.3	59.5	56.9	56.7	56.6
Immigrants, landed more than 5 to 10 years earlier	Unemployment rate (rate)	8.3	8.8	13.0	11.1	9.7
	Employment rate (rate)	66.2	64.4	62.2	64.3	65.1
Immigrants, landed more than 10 years earlier	Unemployment rate (rate)	5.8	5.6	8.3	8.2	7.4
	Employment rate (rate)	56.3	55.9	54.4	54.7	54.8
Born in Canada	Unemployment rate (rate)	5.7	5.9	7.8	7.5	7.1
	Employment rate (rate)	65.2	65.4	63.3	63.3	63.5

Source: Statistics Canada. *Table 282-0102 - Labour force survey estimates (LFS), by immigrant status, age group, Canada, regions, provinces and Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver census metropolitan areas, annual (persons unless otherwise noted), CANSIM (database)*. Available at: <http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/a05?lang=eng&id=2820102&pattern=2820102&searchTypeByValue=1&p2=35>

## Appendix 2

Figure 5-2: LINC Class focus



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010 Evaluation Report

## Appendix 3

The following table illustrates how the CLB are organized.

### Stage I - Basic Language Ability

Benchmark and Ability Level	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
CLB 1: Initial CLB 2: Developing CLB 3: Adequate CLB 4: Fluent	Interpreting simple spoken communication in routine, non-demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Creating simple spoken communication in routine, non-demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Interpreting simple written communication in routine, non-demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Creating simple written communication in routine, non-demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.

### Stage II - Intermediate Language Ability

Benchmark and Ability Level	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
CLB 5: Initial CLB 6: Developing CLB 7: Adequate CLB 8: Fluent	Interpreting moderately complex spoken communication in moderately demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Creating moderately complex spoken communication in moderately demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Interpreting moderately complex written communication in moderately demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Creating moderately complex written communication in moderately demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.

### Stage III - Advanced Language Ability

Benchmark and Ability Level	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
CLB 9: Initial CLB 10: Developing CLB 11: Adequate CLB 12: Fluent	Interpreting complex spoken communication in demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Creating complex spoken communication in demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Interpreting complex written communication in demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.	Creating complex written communication in demanding contexts of language use within the four Competency Areas.

**SOURCE:** Canadian Language Benchmarks . Available at: [http://www.language.ca/display\\_page.asp?page\\_id=254](http://www.language.ca/display_page.asp?page_id=254);  
[http://www.language.ca/cclb\\_files/doc\\_viewer\\_dex.asp?doc\\_id=920&page\\_id=254](http://www.language.ca/cclb_files/doc_viewer_dex.asp?doc_id=920&page_id=254).

## Appendix 3b: Making Sense of LINC Levels

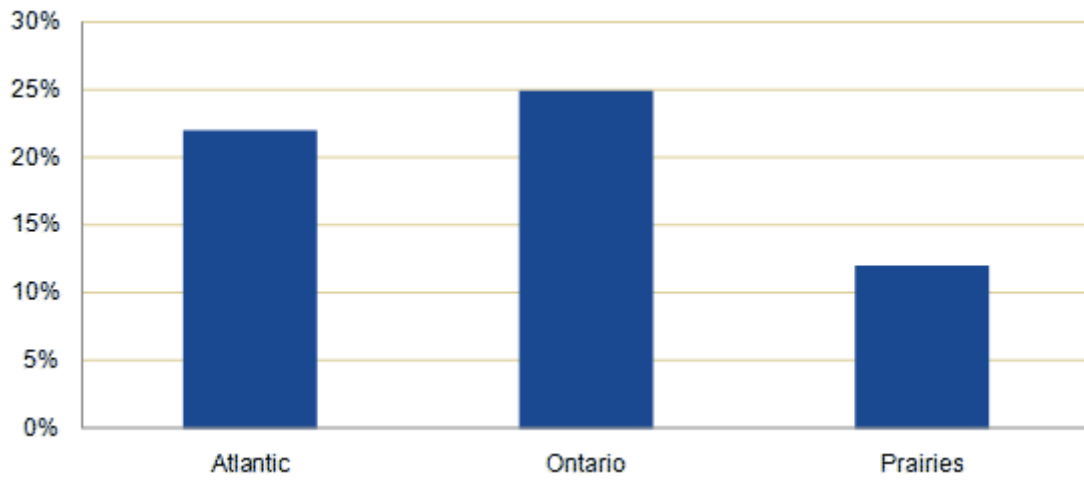
### What an EAL/ESI Learner Can Do in Relation to Intended Outcomes

	Canadian Language Literacy Benchmarks Phase I-IV	Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) 1 (LINC 1)	CLB 2 (LINC 2)	CLB 3 (LINC 3/4)	CLB 4 (LINC 4/5)	CLB 5 (LINC 4/5)	CLB 6 (LINC 5)	CLB 7 (LINC 5+)	CLB 8
<b>What can this person do?</b>	I may or may not have English oral skills, but cannot read or write in English, and typically cannot read or write in my first language.	I can give basic information, name, and phone number; can read some words I see often or a short sentence with the help of a picture; I can write my name and address.	I can ask for help; I can read very simple, step-by-step instructions; I can copy prices at a store.	I can answer simple questions with single words or short sentences; I can read and understand a simple news item; I can write short, simple sentences about family or familiar places.	I have enough vocabulary for everyday conversations about what I need or have done; I read slowly, but can read a simple story of 2-3 paragraphs; I can write a paragraph about future plans using whole sentences.	I am beginning to use longer sentences; my vocabulary is mostly concrete, but can now read some abstract, conceptual technical words; I can fill out a simple application form.	I participate in small group discussions, expressing opinions and asking for clarification; I read mostly about facts and things I can see, but sometimes read about abstract or technical issues; I can write a structured paragraph describing a sequence of events with only a few errors in spelling, punctuation and vocabulary.	I can give clear instructions and directions related to moderately complex, familiar, technical and Non-technical tasks, I read for information, to learn English and develop reading skills and am beginning to read for pleasure; can write routine business letters.	I am comfortable speaking about almost any topic that comes up in a normal conversation in social or work situations with an expanded inventory of concrete, idiomatic and conceptual language; I can read about abstract, conceptual or technical topics; I can write a summary of a 10-15 minute oral presentation, although I may still have occasional difficulty with complex structures and style.
<b>Intended outcomes</b>	ESL Literacy	Settlement and Integration			Settlement and Integration	Employability	Employability	Employment / Professional Development	
					Employability		Employment / Professional Development		

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.



## Appendix 4 LINC Drop-out Rate by Region



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010, Evaluation Report.

## Appendix 5

### Participants of the Language Instructions for Newcomers(LINC) by Province

Province	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Atlantic Region	1.7	2.0	1.8	2.4	2.5	2.7
Newfoundland	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.5
Nova Scotia	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.2	1.2	1.6
Prince Edward Island	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1
New Brunswick	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5
Ontario	88.4	86.5	84.5	83.6	82.4	82.4
Saskatchewan	0.7	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.0
Alberta	9.2	10.3	12.4	12.8	13.7	14.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/intro.asp>.

## Appendix 6

### LINC Funding

<b>Fiscal year</b>	<b>LINC expenditures (millions)</b>	<b>Total integration spending (millions)</b>	<b>% of Total integration expenditures</b>
2001-02	\$ 90.7	\$ 178.1	50.9%
2002-03	\$ 91.8	\$ 174.1	52.7%
2003-04	\$ 92.7	\$ 176.6	52.5%
2004-05	\$ 94.0	\$ 181.2	51.9%
2005-06	\$ 93.5	\$ 188.7	49.5%
2006-07	\$122.3	\$ 280.3	43.6%
2007-08	\$152.7	\$ 373.5	40.9%
2008-09	\$172.2	\$ 503.7	34.2%

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2010. "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program." Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/linc/2010/impact.asp>.

## Appendix 7

### AMEP snapshot 2010–11

Clients and their characteristics	
AMEP clients	55 134
Languages spoken	253
Female to male ratio	66:34
Countries of birth	191
Age	
16–24	13.2%
25–44	61.3%
45–64	21.5%
65+	3.9%
Location of AMEP clients (figures exclude distance learning clients and do not reflect distinct clients)	
Metropolitan	48 412
Rural/regional	4 517

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC): <http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/annual/2010-11/html/outcome-5/amep.htm>

The levels of achievement attained by AMEP clients are provided in Table 61.				
	Pre-CSWE	CSWE Level I	CSWE Level II	CSWE Level III
Completed 5 years	33	16	10	10
Completed 510 hours	329	1 525	886	261
Achieved functional English	N/A	N/A	N/A	1906

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship:  
[http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/annual/201112/html/performance/outcome\\_5/adult\\_migrant\\_english\\_program\\_administration.htm](http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/annual/201112/html/performance/outcome_5/adult_migrant_english_program_administration.htm).

## Appendix 7(cont'd)

### Snapshot of AMEP clients in 2011–12.

Category	Number	Percentage
<b>Age</b>		
15–17	99	0.2%
18–25	8 660	16%
26–44	30 943	57.1%
45–65	12 268	22.7%
65+	2 184	4%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	19 540	36%
Female	34 612	64%
<b>Location in Australia</b>		
Metropolitan	49 249	90%
Rural/regional	5 388	10%
<b>Level of schooling in first language</b>		
Less than 10 years	21 782	40%
More than 10 years	32 372	60%
<b>Visa stream</b>		
Humanitarian	15 524	28.7%
Skilled	9 642	17.8%
Family	28 988	53.5%

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship:  
[http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/annual/201112/html/performance/outcome\\_5/adult\\_migrant\\_english\\_program\\_administration.htm](http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/annual/201112/html/performance/outcome_5/adult_migrant_english_program_administration.htm)

## Appendix 8

### Employment, Language and Education Outcomes in Australia

#### Outcomes of programme measured against key performance indicators

Target		Achieved overall	Basic English	Literacy and Numeracy	Advanced English
KPI 1: % of training commencements resulting in successful outcomes	40%	45.9%	49.6%	36.3%	69.3%
KPI 2: % of training commencements resulting in NRS skill increases	32%	41.5%	46.6%	30.3%	64.6%

Source: Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIISRTE, 2005:8)  
<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/89121/200810010919/www.llnp.deewr.gov.au/NR/rdonlyres/B98C5FAB-3046-4425-B37C-EE0B7A76D5EE/17660/Finalreportfrom2004ReviewofLLNP.pdf>.

Employment and further education status of participants	Basic English		Advanced English		Literacy & Numeracy		Total	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Employed	1,739	17.9	689	32.0	1,450	24.6	3,878	21.8
FT study	1,618	16.7	418	19.4	521	8.9	2,557	14.4
PT study	1,476	15.2	208	9.7	754	12.8	2,438	13.7
Successful outcomes	4,833	49.8	1,315	61.0	2,725	46.3	8,873	50.0
Total exits	9,713	100.0	2,154	100.0	5,883	100.0	17,750	100

Source: Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIISRTE, 2005:9)  
<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/89121/200810010919/www.llnp.deewr.gov.au/NR/rdonlyres/B98C5FAB-3046-4425-B37C-EE0B7A76D5EE/17660/Finalreportfrom2004ReviewofLLNP.pdf>.

**Table 5.2.1: Employment and education outcomes 3 months after exit from LLNP by course type Basic English**

Outcomes	Basic English		Advanced English		Literacy & Numeracy		Total	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Employed	1,739	17.9	689	32.0	1,450	24.6	3,878	21.8
FT study	1,618	16.7	418	19.4	521	8.9	2,557	14.4
PT study	1,476	15.2	208	9.7	754	12.8	2,438	13.7
Successful outcomes	4,833	49.8	1,315	61.0	2,725	46.3	8,873	50.0
Total exits	9,713	100.0	2,154	100.0	5,883	100.0	17,750	100

Source: Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIISRTE, 2005:46)  
<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/89121/200810010919/www.llnp.deewr.gov.au/NR/rdonlyres/B98C5FAB-3046-4425-B37C-EE0B7A76D5EE/17660/Finalreportfrom2004ReviewofLLNP.pdf>.

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