

3. Labour Force Outcomes

The labour force outcomes of the migrant groups will be examined using the major classifications of employed, unemployed and not in the labour force. These are rather crude measures, and the difference between them is not as clear cut as it appears to be. For example, a person who works a few hours a week for pay is classified as employed, whereas they may mostly be, and see themselves as, unemployed or a student or home maker certainly, the wages from a couple of hours work are not enough to live on. Similarly, a non-employed person who is not actively looking for work is classified as not in the labour force. The reality may be that they very strongly wish to work, but are not actively looking because they believe they have little chance of success.

Despite these imprecisions at the margins of the groupings, the distinctions between the three states are for the most part real and important, and they provide satisfactory classifications at this point. In recognition of the blurred boundaries, however, we report also on the employment to population ratio. This ratio expresses the number of employed people from a specific group as a proportion of the total number of people who are in that group (for example, women primary applicants). It is the single most useful figure for assessing the labour market success of a group. It does not distinguish between people who are not employed because they are not looking for work, and people who are unemployed.

3.1 Labour force status

We saw in Table 1 that the labour force status of the two cohorts is quite different, with Cohort 2 having much higher rates of employment and half the rate of unemployment. For each of the two cohorts as a whole, the employment to population ratio has risen from 33 per cent for Cohort 1 to 50 per cent for Cohort 2. This is a very major change in the space of 6 years. Table 2 shows the change by visa category. The improved employment performance is apparent for each visa category except Humanitarian (where employment rates in both cohorts are very low) and Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme. The decline in employment of the latter group in the face of the general improvement for Cohort 2 is a surprise. Nearly all the primary applicants in the Business Skills and Employer

Nomination Scheme category had spouses but the proportion of spouses did not change across the cohorts. The fall in employment applies also to primary applicants considered on their own.

Table 2: Employment to population ratios for Recently-arrived Migrants by Visa Category (per cent)

<i>Visa Category</i>	<i>Cohort 1 %</i>	<i>Cohort 2 %</i>
Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked	42.3	64.5
Independent	52.5	69.9
Preferential Family/Family Stream	29.1	40.6
Business Skills Nomination Scheme and Employer Nomination Scheme	58.2	46.5
Humanitarian	6.4	4.2
Total	32.8	49.5
(Sample size)	(6960)	(4181)

Thus it is clear that the fall in employment is not caused by a rise in the proportion of Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme migrants who have non-employed spouses.

We note that the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme group is one of the categories which has been least subject to change in selection criteria over the period.

Figure 1 summarises the same information as Table 2, but distinguishes the unemployed from those who are not in the labour force. It is immediately apparent that for the Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked, the Independent and the Preferential Family/Family Stream migrants, those in Cohort 2 had higher employment, lower unemployment and lower non-participation in the labour force. The fall in unemployment is particularly striking for Independent migrants who, in Cohort 2 six months after arrival, had an unemployment rate not much in excess of that for the Australian workforce. The slight fall in employment among the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme and Humanitarian migrants is matched, not by a rise in unemployment, but by a rise in non-participation in the labour force.

Figure 2 summarises the change in the employment to population ratio for the different visa categories. The diagonal line joins all the points where the outcome for Cohort 2 would be the same as for Cohort 1. If a group is above that line, then

this indicates a higher employment to population ratio for Cohort 2 compared with Cohort 1, and vice versa. The improved performance overall and for all but the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme and Humanitarian categories is immediately apparent.

Figure 1: Labour Force Status of Migrants Six Months after Arrival, by Visa Category and Cohort (per cent)

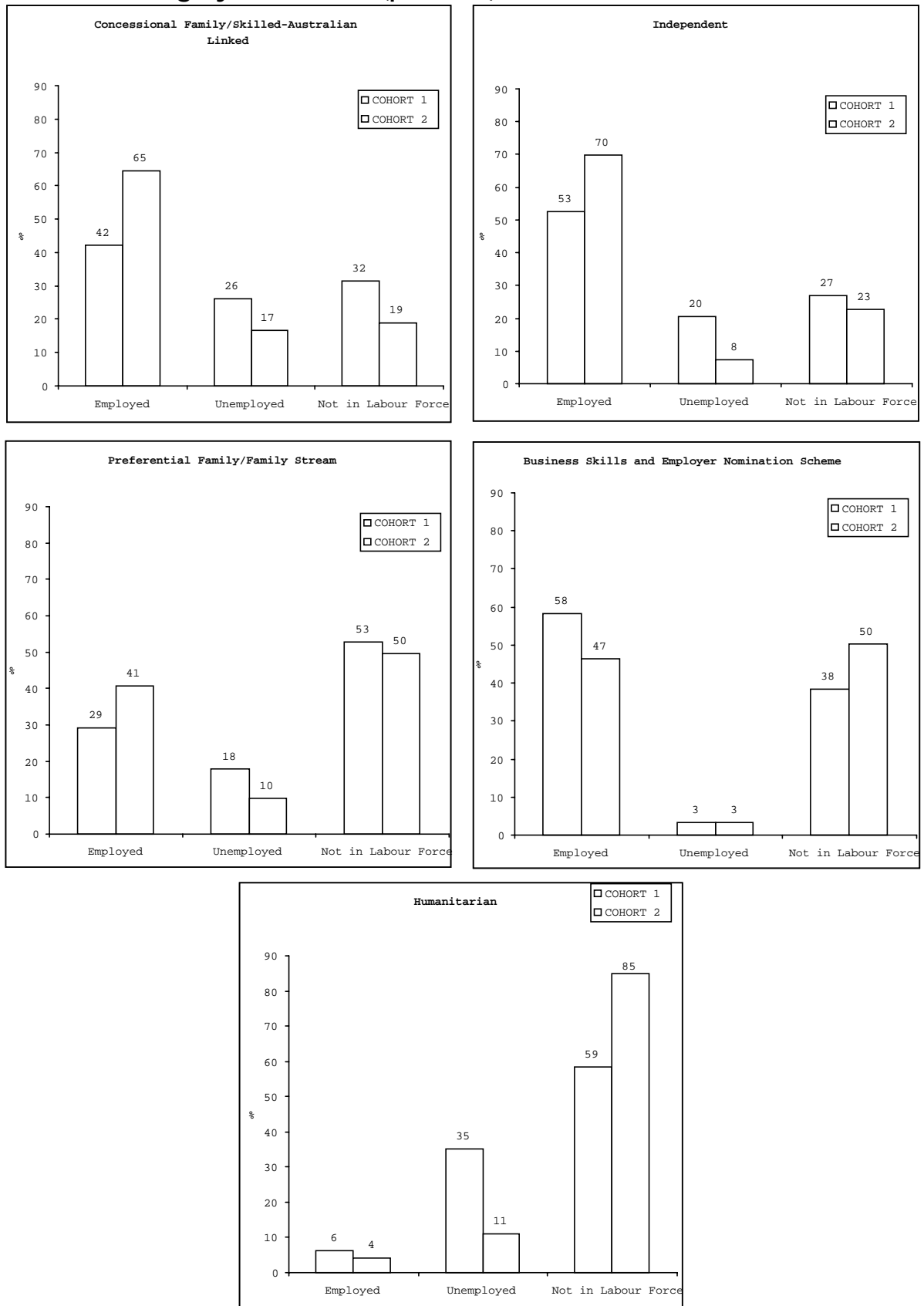


Figure 2: Employment to population ratio of Migrants Six Months after Arrival, by Visa Category: Comparison of Cohorts 1 and 2

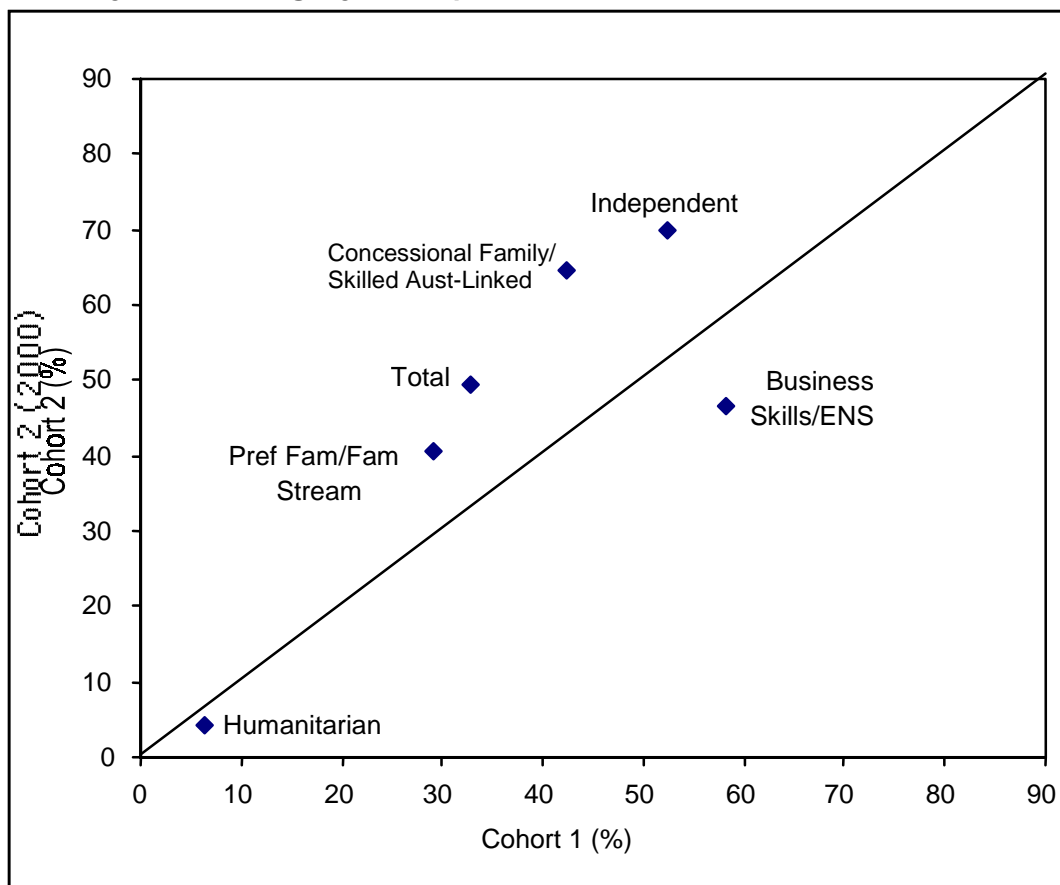


Figure 3 gives more detail on the employment to population ratio. It shows this ratio for each cohort, distinguishing by visa category, sex and primary applicant/spouse. This figure shows how widely spread is the gain in employment for Cohort 2. Both men and women, primary applicants and spouses have increased their probability of being employed if they migrated as Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked, as Preferential Family/Family Stream or as Independent. About 80 per cent of migrants come in one of these visa categories. The improvement in employment has been particularly strong for the Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked category and within this group, for spouses of the primary applicant. Note that the fall in employment in the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme category that was noticed previously is mainly among the female primary applicants (and not among female spouses, who in fact have a slightly higher rate of employment in Cohort 2).

Recent changes to migrant eligibility criteria, intended to improve the employability of migrants, have included giving greater preference to people under age 45. These

changes were motivated by the research that showed that younger people had greater success in finding jobs.

Figure 3: Employment to population ratio of Migrants Six Months after Arrival by Sex, Primary Applicant/ Spouse, Visa Category and Cohort (per cent)

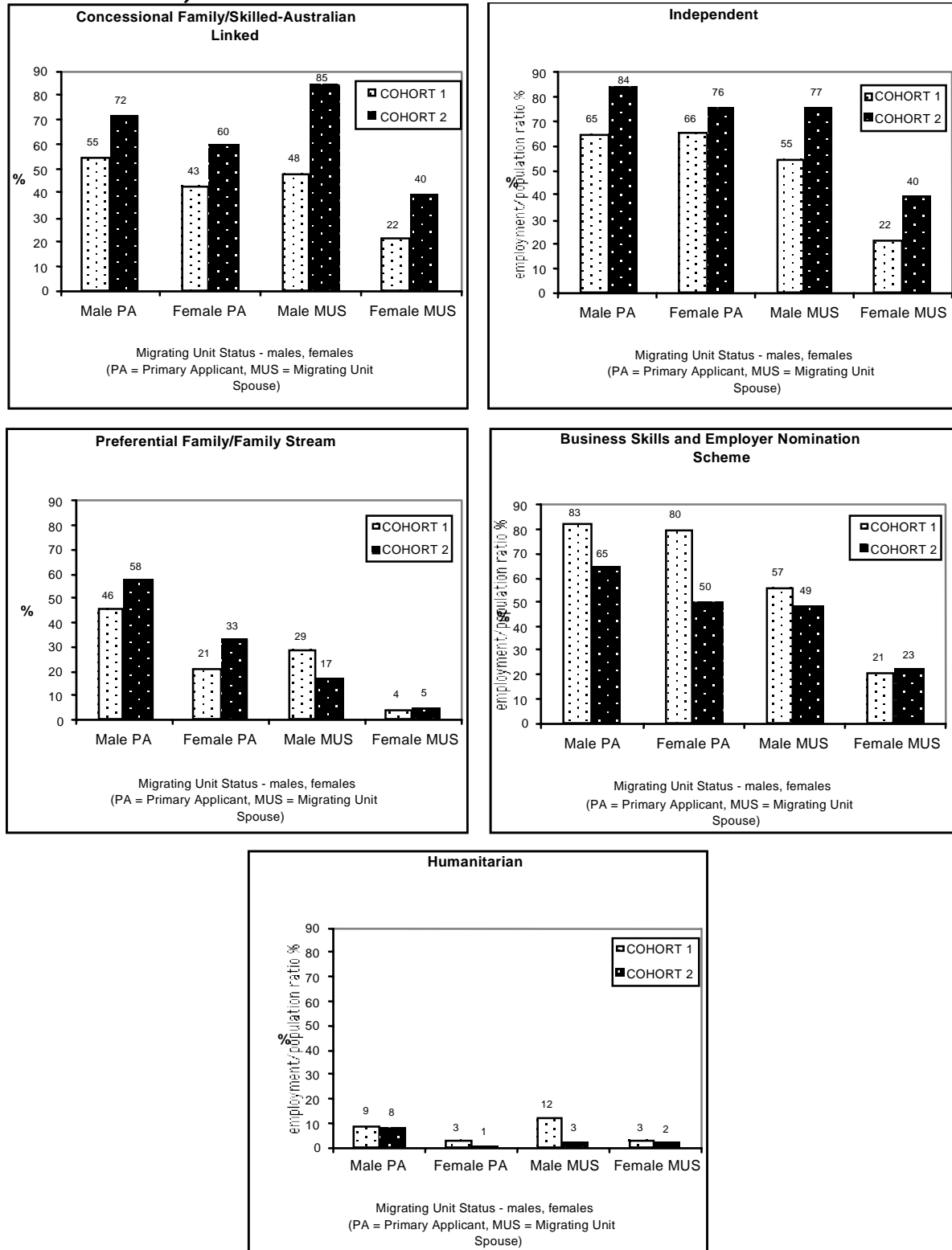


Figure 4 shows the employment to population ratio for different age groups, within each visa category. The main message of this figure is that the advantage of youth is less apparent for Cohort 2 than it was for Cohort 1. People aged 55-64 have done particularly well in obtaining jobs if they migrated as Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme or Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked. Among the Independent and Preferential Family/Family Stream groups, those aged 45-55 had the same or higher probability of being employed as did people in the younger age groups. Figure 4 shows nothing about the individuals except their age and visa category. It may be that in Cohort 2, older migrants have relatively high levels of education or English competence, for example, compared with the earlier cohort. Later in this report we discuss the impact of age (among other attributes) on employment success when we hold constant other characteristics that might also be important.

3.2 The evolving employment pattern

The success of migrants in finding jobs rises with their time in Australia. Cohort 1 was interviewed on three separate occasions, six months (wave 1), eighteen months (wave 2) and three years (wave 3) after arrival. This makes it possible to see how their success in finding jobs changes as they settle into life in Australia. Cohort 2, having only one interview six months after arrival, is comparable with Cohort 1 wave 1.

If we consider the cohort as a whole, the employment to population ratio rose for Cohort 1 from 33 per cent in wave 1 to 49 per cent twelve months later. Three and a half years after arrival, 56 per cent of the cohort was employed - about 15 per cent less than the Australian average. Cohort 2, with 50 per cent employed after six months in Australia, looks the same as does Cohort 1 after 18 months in Australia.

Figure 4: Employment to population ratio of Migrants Six Months after Arrival, by Age, Visa Category and Cohort (per cent)

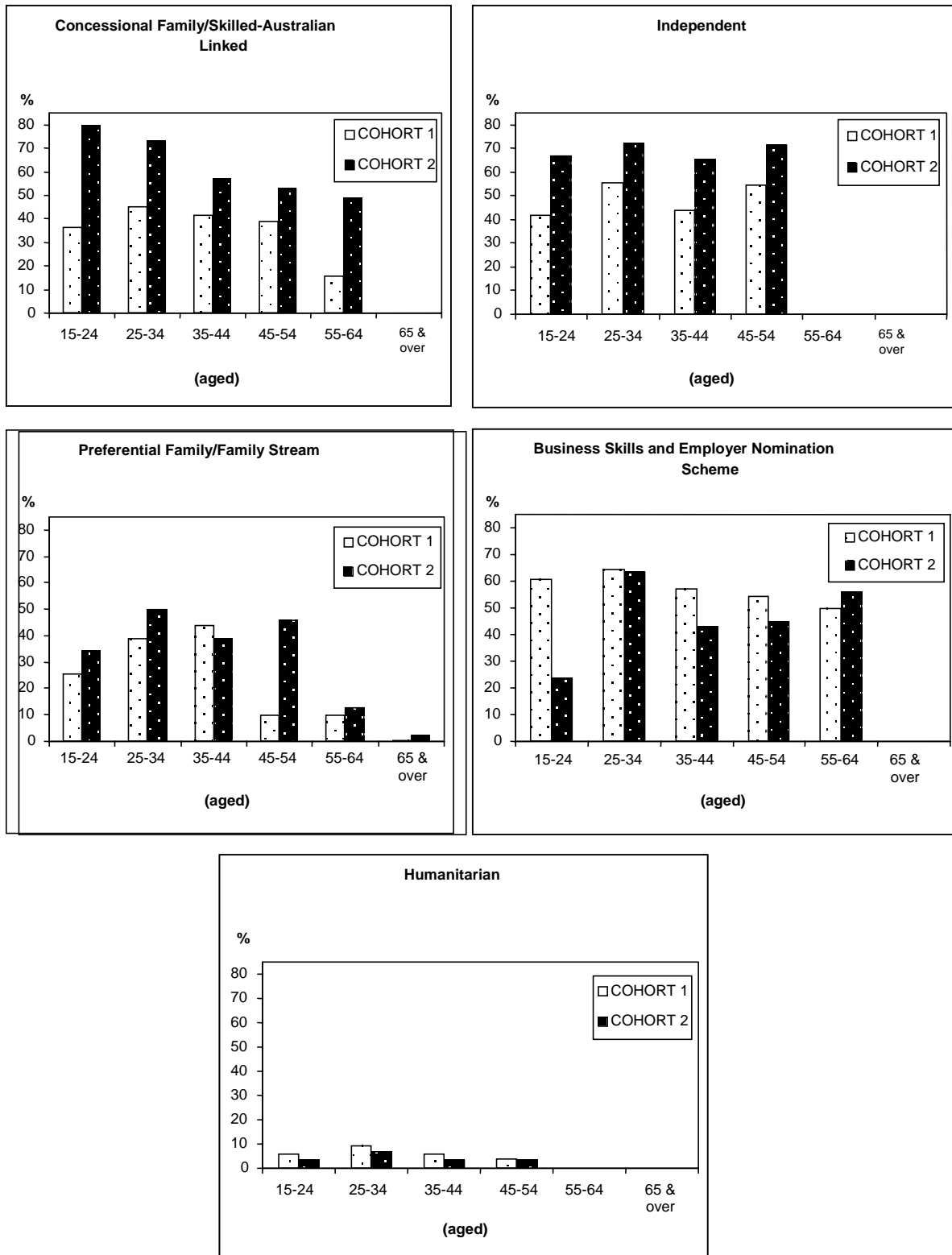
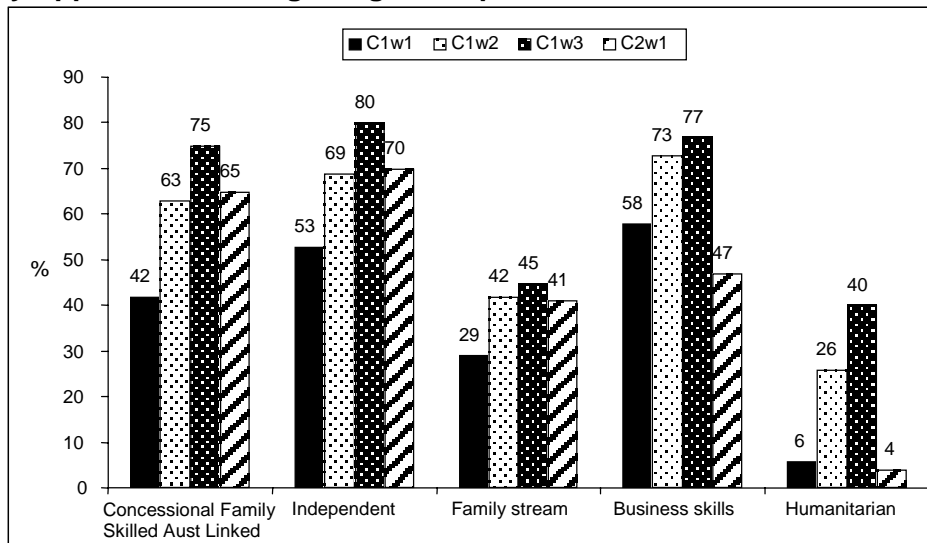


Figure 5 presents this information for each visa category. The first panel reports the data for primary applicants and spouses combined. The next two panels report the data just for primary applicants, distinguished by sex. For every visa category in Cohort 1, the first eighteen months in Australia saw a rapid integration into the labour market. This integration continued over the subsequent eighteen months but at a slower pace. Note that after three years in Australia, 40 per cent of Humanitarian primary applicants and spouses had a job. For the Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked, Independent and Preferential Family/Family Stream groups, the rate of employment of Cohort 2 after six months in Australia is almost the same as that for Cohort 1 after eighteen months. Figure 5 again shows that Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme migrants were the exception, with the Cohort 2 employment rate lower than the comparable rate for Cohort 1. As we have seen earlier, and is shown in the last panel of Figure 5, this is accounted for mainly by a fall in the employment rate of female primary applicants.

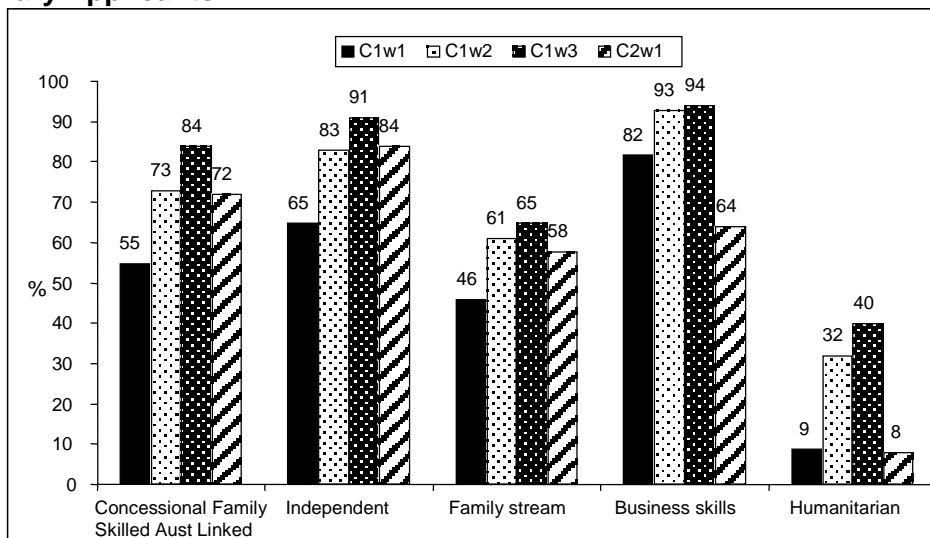
Overall, the employment to population ratio of migrants in the three main 'economic' visa categories (Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked, Independent and Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme) are high compared with the Australian average of about 70 per cent (about 80 per cent for men and 60 per cent for women). After three and a half years in Australia, all three groups have ratios above the Australian average. Indeed, for both the male and female primary applicants, the ratio was well above the Australian average by gender.

Figure 5: Employment to population ratio, Cohort 1, Waves 1-3 and Cohort 2, by Visa Category and Male and Female Primary Applicants (per cent)

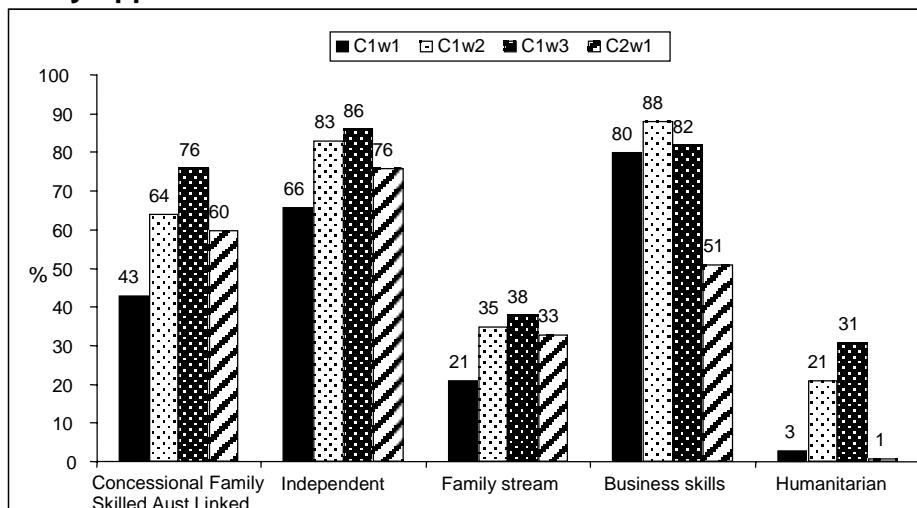
All Primary Applicants and Migrating Unit Spouses



Male Primary Applicants



Female Primary Applicants



Note that Cohort 1 was eligible during this period for social welfare benefits, and many migrants in that cohort drew support from these benefits in their early period in Australia.

But it has not taken long for them to move from social welfare support to economic independence via employment. On this evidence, the availability of social welfare support did not undermine the motivation of recent migrants to become economically independent.

Preferential Family/Family Stream and Humanitarian migrants are the exceptions, in having employment to population ratios below the Australian average even after three and a half years. For the Preferential Family/Family Stream, this is especially the case for female primary applicants. In Cohort 1, many of these are older women who, in the normal course, would not be expected to find jobs: they would be supported by their families. For both men and women primary applicants among the Humanitarian group, employment has risen sharply during their period in Australia, but from a very low base.

3.3 Change in main activity

It is possible to look in more detail at the different range of activities in which migrants were engaged, and how this has changed over time and between cohorts. This gives a more complete picture of what people who were not in employment were doing. The information is presented separately for each visa group. As a consequence of the high level of disaggregation of the data, the number of cases in some categories is too small to be a reliable indication of the true situation. Cells with very small numbers have been omitted, as has the category “other”. Hence percentages will not always sum to 100. The group “other employed” has been added to those who have their own business, to reduce the number of small cells (the remaining employed category being wage and salary earner). Except for the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme migrants, numbers were more or less evenly divided between “other employed” and “own business”. For the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme group, a much higher proportion owned their own business. The category “other” has been omitted altogether. There were very few people in this category for all groups except Business Skills and

Employer Nomination Scheme migrants, where the proportion was small for Cohort 1 but as high as 14 per cent for Cohort 2.

For all groups except Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme, most employed people were wage and salary earners. However, by wave 3 of Cohort 1, between 8 and 13 per cent of each visa group were self employed (own business plus other). The figure for the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme group was 33 per cent, compared with 37 per cent who were employees. Note that many people in the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme category came in under the Employer Nomination Scheme, and worked as employees.

For all visa categories in Cohort 1, the rise in the number of people employed as wage and salary earners exceeded the (substantial) fall in unemployment as the duration of stay in Australia lengthened. The extra employees came from both those who in the first wave were students and those who in the first wave were home duties (except for those in the Preferential Family/Family Stream, where the number in home duties stayed constant). For example, for the Independent migrants, employees rose from 46 per cent to 67 per cent of the group in the interval between six months and three and a half years after arrival in Australia. At the same time, the proportion of students fell from 10 per cent to 4 per cent and the proportion whose main activity was home duties fell from 16 per cent to 10 per cent.

With the exception of Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme and Humanitarian migrants, the distribution among the main activities of people in Cohort 2, six months after arrival, looks much like that for Cohort 1 by wave 3, three and a half years after arrival. Cohort 2 has slightly higher percentages of people who are students or unemployed, but the differences are mostly small.

The overall pattern of integration into the labour market for Cohort 1 can be described as being a move from unemployment, student or home duties into wage and salary employment. This was matched by a modest move into self-employment. The exception to this pattern is among the Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme migrants, where the growth in economic independence was focussed on a movement from home duties (and to a lesser extent from "other") into self-employment. The proportion who were wage and salary earners hardly changed,

whereas the proportion who had their own businesses doubled from 13 per cent in wave 1 to 27 per cent in wave 3. It is interesting that most of this growth in self-employment came from people whom we presume to be wives.

It should be noted that only among Preferential Family/Family Stream and Humanitarian do more than a handful list their main activity as retired or pensioner.

Figure 6 compares the main activities of Cohort 2 and Cohort 1, and shows how these change for Cohort 1 as they settled into life in Australia. Table 3 compares the main activity of migrants in each cohort before they migrated, with their main activity six months after arrival.

Table 3: Main Activity of Migrants Prior to and 6 months after Arrival in Australia: Cohorts 1 and 2 (per cent)

a) Cohort 1

After Migration									
Main Activity	<i>Wage, salary</i>	<i>Own business</i>	<i>Other employed</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>Student</i>	<i>Home duties</i>	<i>Retired, pensioner</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Before Migration	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Wage, salary	39.1	2.4	1.6	23.2	13.3	15.2	3.0	2.3	55.6
<i>Own business</i>	26.1	11.4	2.4	21.3	15.2	17.6	2.4	3.7	10.7
<i>Other employed</i>	19.8	0.6	5.8	35.8	19.5	12.8	2.8	2.8	4.7
<i>Unemployed</i>	23.8	0.5	0.3	40.0	15.8	16.0	2.3	1.1	2.9
<i>Student</i>	17.2	n.a	2.7	17.7	43.1	16.6	n.s	2.7	7.7
<i>Home duties</i>	3.0	1.2	1.1	10.7	7.9	71.8	3.8	0.6	12.0
<i>Retired, pensioner</i>	1.8	0.1	0.3	3.0	3.2	17.1	73.0	1.5	4.1
<i>Other</i>	18.1	1.0	0.1	27.9	20.8	20.1	5.6	6.3	2.4
Total	28.3	2.7	1.8	21.4	15.3	22.5	5.7	2.3	100.0

b) Cohort 2

After Migration									
Main Activity	<i>Wage, salary</i>	<i>Own business</i>	<i>Other employed</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>Student</i>	<i>Home duties</i>	<i>Retired, pensioner</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Before Migration	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Wage, salary	56.3	3.3	1.9	11.5	10.9	13.7	0.8	1.5	61.5
<i>Own business</i>	33.1	21.5	0.6	6.9	13.3	11.1	2.5	11.0	10.7
<i>Other employed</i>	37.0	1.5	5.2	11.5	25.1	17.2	1.8	0.7	3.0
<i>Unemployed</i>	15.9	n.a	1.0	20.1	37.0	21.0	1.2	3.9	2.0
<i>Student</i>	31.8	1.3	1.4	6.8	36.0	21.7	n.a	1.0	6.1
<i>Home duties</i>	9.5	1.4	1.6	1.1	13.1	70.8	1.3	1.0	11.8
<i>Retired, pensioner</i>	0.9	n.a.	0.8	1.8	1.0	12.9	81.1	1.4	3.0
<i>Other</i>	22.4	n.a	n.a	20.9	31.2	9.8	10.7	5.1	1.8
Total	43.1	4.6	1.7	9.6	14.0	20.8	3.6	2.5	100.0

Figure 6: A comparison of Main Activity for Cohort 1, Waves 1-3 and Cohort 2

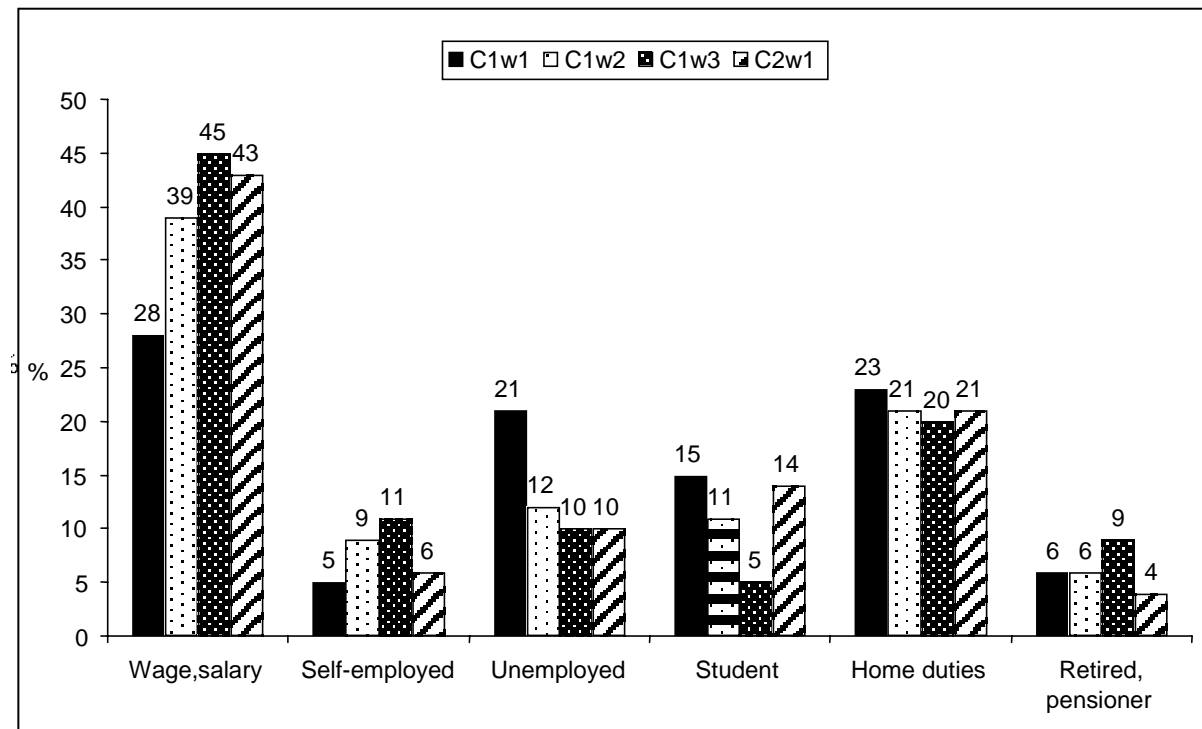
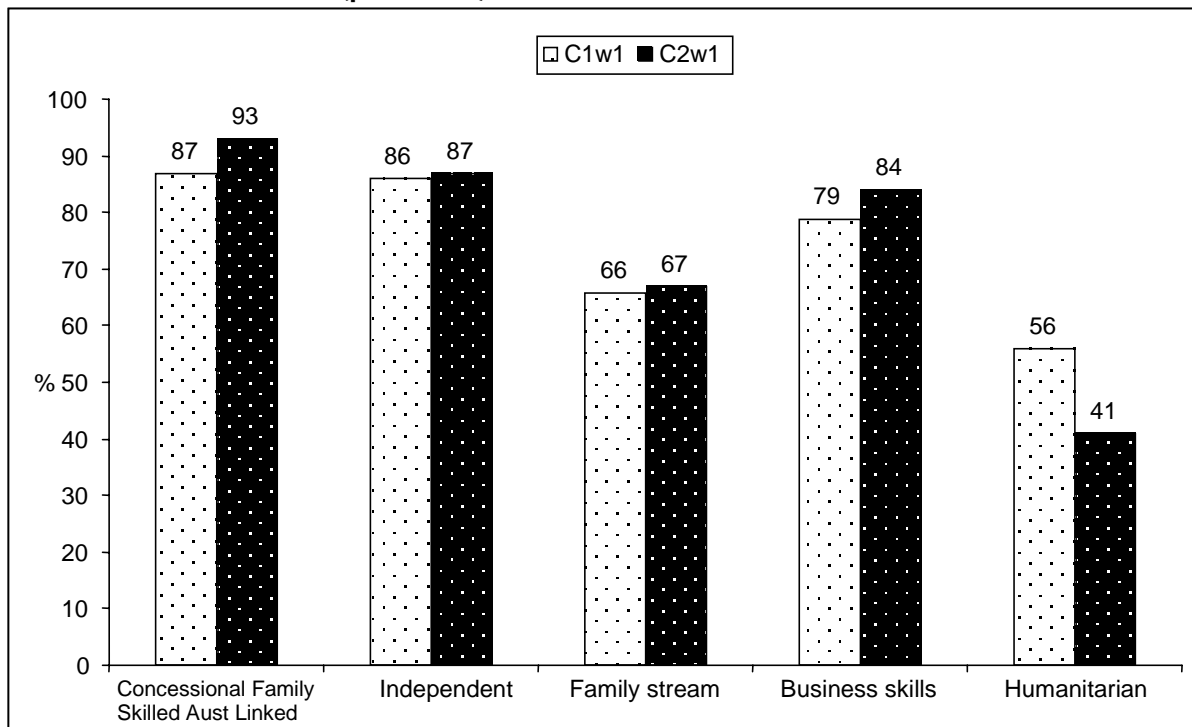


Figure 7: Pre-Immigration Employment to population ratio by Visa Category and Cohort (per cent)



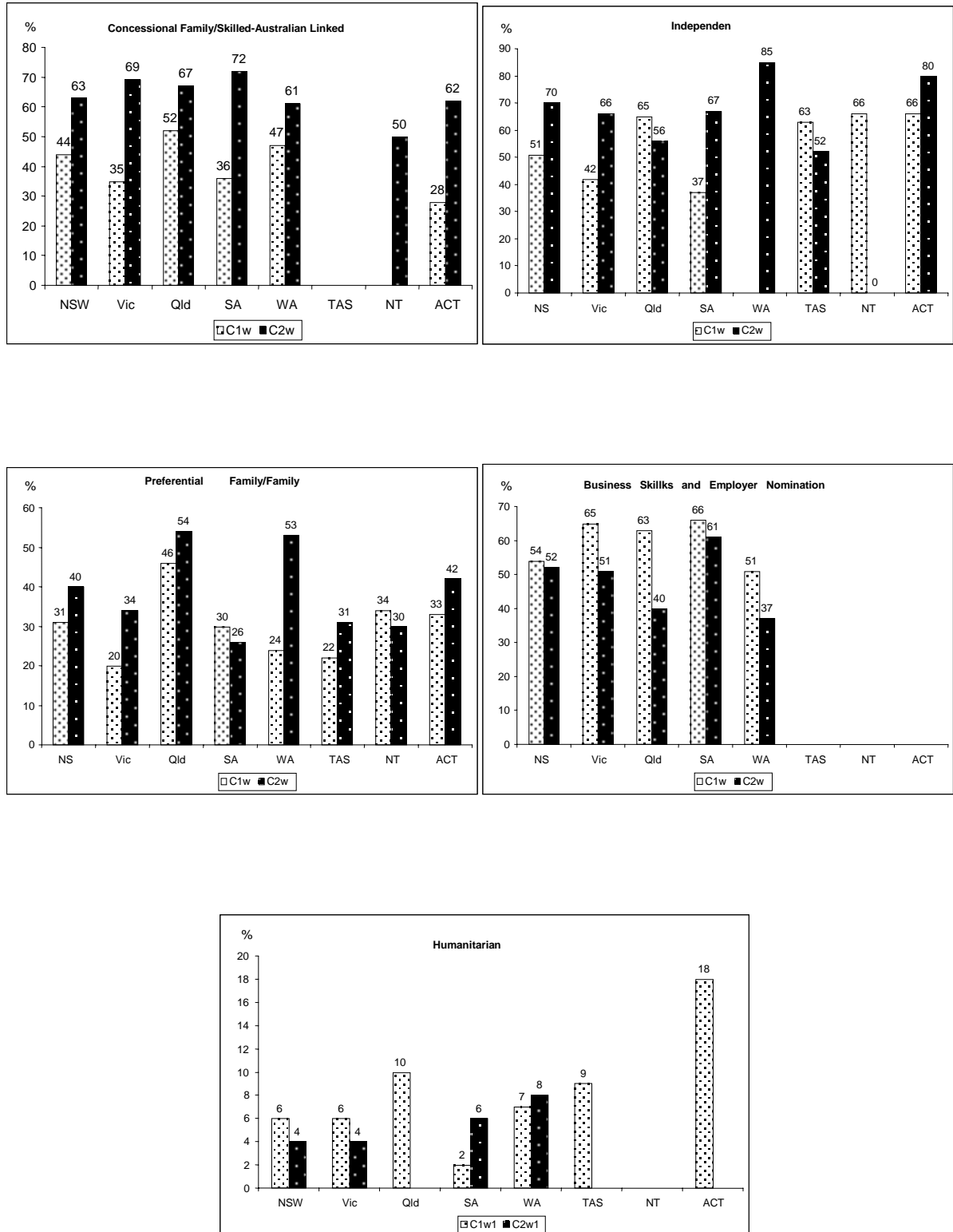
3.4 Employment to population ratio prior to immigration

As we will show in a later part of this report, the probability of having a job within six months of arrival is for most groups significantly affected by whether or not a person had a job prior to migration. Figure 7 shows the employment to population ratio by visa group prior to immigration. In all categories except Humanitarian, the proportion employed prior to immigration is a little higher in Cohort 2 than in Cohort 1. This is especially so for the Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked and Business Skill groups.

3.5 Employment to population ratio by state

Our final perspective on the employment to population ratio is to see how this has differed across the States and Territories. Figure 8 compares the employment to population ratio of each cohort, six months after arrival, by State. The information is provided separately for each visa category. Note that columns have been left blank where the number of migrants in the relevant category is fewer than 5. Cobb-Clark and Chapman (1999) have shown that Cohort 1 migrants to Queensland seem to have done better in their employment than would be expected given their skills and experience. An examination of Figure 8 suggests that whatever advantage Queensland had as a place for migrants in Cohort 1 to find jobs, this had evaporated by Cohort 2. Indeed it is interesting to note that for Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked and Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme, South Australia has the highest employment to population ratio for Cohort 2. If we ask which States have above average employment rates for migrants in Cohort 2, the answer is that it depends entirely on which visa category they are in. For example, NSW is above average only for Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme migrants. Victoria is above average for Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked and Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme. Queensland is above average for Concessional Family/Skilled-Australian Linked and Preferential Family/Family Stream, but well below average for Independent migrants. We can conclude that knowledge of which States provided the best employment prospects for Cohort 1 migrants in each visa group gives little guide as to where the best prospects lay for migrants in Cohort 2.

Figure 8: Employment to population ratio of Migrants Six Months after Arrival by Cohort, Visa Category and State (per cent)



3.6 Occupation

In this section we look at the occupations that people had before they migrated, and compare this with the occupations they had within six months of arrival in Australia. Only a crude comparison of the occupations of Cohorts 1 and 2 is possible. In the interval between the arrival of the two cohorts, the system used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) to classify occupations was changed substantially. We cannot make the coding frames comparable across the two cohorts. We thus make two types of comparison. The first is to use the Australian Standard Classification of Occupation 1 (ASCO1) to compare the occupations of Cohort 1 before and after migration, and to use ASCO2 to make a similar comparison for Cohort 2 (see Table 4(a)). This is straightforward. The more difficult task is to compare the occupational outcomes of Cohorts 1 and 2. We can only do this in a gross way. By using the concordance tables published by the ABS, we conclude that a five-category occupational grouping can be constructed that provides adequate comparability between the two cohorts (see Table 4(b)). The five categories are (1) administration; management and associate professionals; (2) professionals; (3) trades; (4) machine operators and drivers; and (5) other. Note that the “other” category is quite heterogeneous, and includes various levels of clerical and sales as well as labourers. For the two cohorts combined, about half of employed people were in the “other” occupation category in their current occupation, and about 20 per cent were in this category prior to migration.

For Cohort 1, half were in the same occupational category after migration as they were before migration. Those most likely to stay in the same occupational category were professionals and tradespeople (the two biggest occupational groups). All occupations saw more downward than upward mobility in the transition to the Australian labour market, though some upward mobility was evident. Managers and administrators appeared to have the greatest downward mobility, with half working as sales, trades, clerks, machine operators and labourers. Of course, since this group is ranked highest, a move down is the only form of mobility possible. Prior to immigration, 4 per cent were labourers and related and 16 per cent were in these occupations after arrival. The upward mobility was to be found mainly in the movement of labourers and machine operators into sales and trades jobs.

Table 4a): Occupation of Migrants prior to and 6 months after Arrival in Australia: Cohorts 1 and 2 (per cent)

a) Cohort 1

After Migration									
Occupation	<i>Mgrs. and admin.</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Para- professionals</i>	<i>Trades- persons</i>	<i>Clerks</i>	<i>Sales</i>	<i>Machine ops, and drivers</i>	<i>Labourers and related</i>	<i>Total</i>
Before Migration	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Mgrs. and admin.</i>	38.9	10.5	0.2	7.5	6.5	13.9	6.5	16.0	13.5
<i>Professionals</i>	6.3	62.5	2.5	3.0	7.6	7.1	3.2	7.9	33.9
<i>Para-professionals</i>	1.6	9.4	52.9	6.7	3.9	7.7	5.9	11.9	7.4
<i>Trades-persons</i>	2.4	0.8	1.1	61.3	0.8	3.0	7.9	22.9	19.2
<i>Clerks</i>	1.6	6.8	0.4	2.3	49.5	22.1	0.7	16.7	10.3
<i>Sales</i>	5.5	7.9	0.3	4.5	6.8	47.3	5.3	22.4	9.5
<i>Machine ops, and Labourers and</i>	-	2.8	0.9	11.5	-	14.5	28.6	41.7	3.9
<i>Total</i>	8.6	25.0	5.1	15.8	9.6	12.9	6.6	16.3	100.0

b) Cohort 2

After Migration										
Occupation	<i>Mgrs. and admin.</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Assoc.- professionals</i>	<i>Trades- persons</i>	<i>Adv. clerical serv.</i>	<i>Int. clerical serv.</i>	<i>Int. prodn, transport</i>	<i>Elem. cler, sales</i>	<i>Labourers and related</i>	<i>Total</i>
Before Migration	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Mgrs and admin.</i>	46.7	17.7	10.8	0.4	0.2	6.8	5.9	3.0	8.4	13.6
<i>Professionals</i>	1.9	66.5	5.4	1.6	1.5	10.6	1.8	4.8	5.8	40.3
<i>Assoc.-</i>	3.6	7.9	37.4	14.6	1.4	19.2	5.9	1.4	8.7	12.6
<i>Tradespersons</i>	0.4	2.2	2.7	68.1	0.7	5.7	5.5	0.1	14.5	12.7
<i>Adv. clerical serv.</i>	1.5	4.3	2.6	-	31.3	35.6	-	4.5	20.2	3.9
<i>Int. clerical serv.</i>	1.7	5.4	5.6	4.6	1.9	61.4	2.4	8.4	8.5	9.6
<i>Int. prodn, Elem. cler, sales</i>	-	5.8	0.6	9.3	11.5	6.0	20.3	1.2	45.3	2.8
<i>Labourers and</i>	1.4	11.1	4.8	3.6	-	14.0	18.9	12.4	33.7	3.2
<i>Total</i>	2.6	-	3.6	19.9	4.6	8.5	13.3	7.2	40.4	1.3
<i>Total</i>	7.9	31.7	9.6	12.3	2.7	16.3	4.6	4.1	10.9	100.0

Table 4b): Comparison between Cohorts 1 and 2 of Broad Occupational Change of Migrants prior to and 6 months after Arrival in Australia (per cent)

a) Cohort 1

After Migration						
Occupation	<i>Admin, mgr,assoc.</i>	<i>Professional</i>	<i>Trades</i>	<i>Mach Op. driver</i>	Other	<i>Total</i>
Before Migration	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Admin, mgr,assoc.</i>	44.6	10.1	7.2	6.3	31.9	20.8
<i>Professional</i>	8.8	62.5	3.0	3.2	22.6	33.9
<i>Trades</i>	3.4	0.8	61.3	7.9	26.6	19.2
<i>Mach Op. driver</i>	2.8	0.9	17.4	42.5	36.4	2.4
<i>Other</i>	3.3	6.6	4.7	7.1	78.3	23.7
<i>Total</i>	13.8	25.0	15.8	6.6	38.8	100.0

b) Cohort 2

After Migration						
Occupation	<i>Admin, mgr,assoc.</i>	<i>Professional</i>	<i>Trades</i>	<i>Mach Op. driver</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Before Migration	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Admin, mgr,assoc.</i>	49.6	13.0	7.2	5.9	24.3	26.2
<i>Professional</i>	7.4	66.5	1.6	1.8	22.7	40.3
<i>Trades</i>	3.1	2.2	68.1	5.5	21.1	12.7
<i>Mach Op. driver</i>	0.6	5.8	9.3	20.3	64.0	2.8
<i>Other</i>	6.3	5.8	4.6	5.6	77.7	18.1
<i>Total</i>	17.5	31.7	12.3	4.6	34.0	100.0

The overall picture for Cohort 2 is similar to that for Cohort 1, but with less downward mobility. The comparison is tentative, because even though the categories of managers and administrators, associate professionals, and labourers have the same title in ASCO 1 and ASCO 2, they do not match closely in terms of the detailed occupations that are allocated under these broad headings. The groups that are comparable are professionals and trades. Our descriptions must be understood with this in mind. Fifty five per cent of Cohort 2 stayed in the same broad occupational category after migration. As with Cohort 1, the highest occupational stability was displayed by the professional and trades people. It was also high for the intermediate clerical group. Apart from the intermediate production and transport workers, downward mobility appears to be less for Cohort 2 than for Cohort 1. For example, a smaller proportion of professional and trades people were working as labourers in Cohort 2.

It is striking that two-thirds (66 per cent) of Cohort 2 were working in the skilled occupational group of associate professionals, professionals or managers and administrators prior to migration: after migration, half (51 per cent) were. The comparable figure for Cohort 1 (and the combined categories are comparable) are 55 per cent and 39 per cent. Thus the “quality” of the migrant intake in both cohorts, and particularly Cohort 2, is high.

3.7 Have Cohort 2 been forced to accept bad jobs?

We present below a range of evidence that looks at the types of jobs that migrants in each cohort were employed, and compares their situation after migration with that prior to migration. The evidence is directed to answering the question: “Has the ineligibility of Cohort 2 for social welfare benefits forced a substantial number to take inferior jobs?” The evidence looks at their jobs pre and post migration, at their earnings and income, at their hours worked, at efforts to have qualifications recognised and to learn English prior to migration, and at how they feel about their jobs.

There is no support in Table 5 for the proposition that migrants in Cohort 2 have been forced to accept poor jobs by virtue of the unavailability of social welfare benefits. They are no more likely than Cohort 1 to dislike their job, to be unable to use their qualifications, to have low weekly earnings or total income or to work 15

hours or less. They are at least as likely to love their job, to earn a high income and not to have sought to have their qualifications assessed. This last point is taken to indicate that Cohort 2 migrants were not especially anxious about the difficulty and urgency of obtaining a job, since a higher proportion (compared with Cohort 1) of those who had post-school qualifications did not take the steps necessary to have those qualifications recognised in Australia.

Table 6 provides some evidence on the extent to which migrants in each cohort accepted jobs that were of substantially lower socio-economic status than the jobs they had prior to migration. As discussed previously, the two cohorts span the period in which the Australian Bureau of Statistics introduced a substantial change in the way it codes occupations (from ASCO1 to ASCO2). For this reason, only quite aggregated occupational categories can be made comparable across the two cohorts. The category “other” includes sales, clerks and labourers. We interpret movement into machine operators and drivers, and “other”, as downward mobility. On this measure, there was less downward mobility apparent for Cohort 2 than for Cohort 1. Thus, of people who were employed as managers, administrators or para-professionals in their country of origin, 32 per cent in Cohort 1 and only 24 per cent in Cohort 2 were employed as “other” in Australia approximately six months after arrival. Similarly, the downward mobility from prior employment as a tradesperson to current employment in “other” was less for Cohort 2 (21 per cent) than for Cohort 1 (27 per cent). Again, the results of this table give no support to the proposition that ineligibility for social welfare benefits has forced migrants in Cohort 2 to take poor jobs.

Table 5: Selected Attributes of the Jobs and Income of Migrants in Cohorts 1 and 2, Six Months after Arrival

% who	<i>All Migrants %</i>		<i>Economic Migrants %</i>		<i>Family Migrants %</i>	
	<i>Cohort 1</i>	<i>Cohort 2</i>	<i>Cohort 1</i>	<i>Cohort 2</i>	<i>Cohort 1</i>	<i>Cohort 2</i>
Love or really like job	49	53	46	53	48	48
Dislike or hate job	6	4	2	4	7	4
Rarely use quals in current job	36	30	28	22	52	49
Rarely used quals pre-immigration	13	21	6	9	20	32
Earn \$1-154 pw	3	5	3	5	4	6
Earn \$155-308pw	4	4	4	3	5	4
Earn \$674+	8	19	15	31	3	9
Own income nil	26	27	15	17	41	42
Own inc \$1-154	29	18	26	15	25	20
Own inc \$674+	9	22	16	33	4	11
Work < 15 hours	7	7	6	5	9	10
Work 15-24 hrs	8	8	7	7	10	7
Sought asses't of Quals pre-immig	14	18	38	37	3	4
Sought asses't of Quals post-immig	8	7	12	9	5	7
Did not seek asses't of quals	36	40	30	34	39	44

Table 6: Downward Occupational Mobility for Each Cohort

<i>Pre-Immigration Occupation</i>	<i>Post Immigration Occupation (%)</i>			
	<i>Machine Operators, drivers etc</i>		<i>Other</i>	
	<i>Cohort 1</i>	<i>Cohort 2</i>	<i>Cohort 1</i>	<i>Cohort 2</i>
Managers, admin and para-professional	6	6	32	24
Professionals	3	2	23	23
Trades	8	6	27	21