

continue to experience racial bias, receive differential treatment and suffer racial disadvantage. They lack access to, and do not participate fully in, major arenas of life, including employment, education, government, human services and the media. Too many feel alienated and isolated from public institutions such as law enforcement agencies and the criminal justice system. While over the last decade there has been a growing responsiveness to the structural inequities experienced by ethnic minorities, the initiatives and corrective measures have too often been *ad hoc*, fragmented and cosmetic. Numerous recommendations made by taskforce inquiries, commissions and studies conducted by the various levels of government have not been implemented. In Canada, funding for race relations and anti-racism programs have been severely cut, while in Australia funding has been even more constrained.

Recent events across Canada demonstrate the sense of frustration, powerlessness and marginalisation among racial minorities, especially the young (many of whom are second- or third-generation Canadians), who appear to have lost hope in the future. The tensions and conflicts witnessed in Toronto, Montreal and Halifax over recent years can be interpreted as a symptom of the extent and nature of racism in Canadian society today. While Australia has, so far, avoided 'race riots' involving immigrants, the recent evidence of racist violence and abuse suffered by many NESB immigrants—coupled with the continued inability of many ethnic minorities to achieve equality of access to the labour market and major institutions of Australian life—suggests that there is no time for complacency: the current Australian economic recession is hitting NESB immigrants hardest, while economic rationalists are reshaping of Australian immigration policy to serve perceived short-term economic gain rather than long-term social cohesion.

CHAPTER 8

Language, Economic Status and Integration

Monica Boyd, John DeVries and Keith Simkin

Introduction

Canada and Australia have experienced striking changes in their immigration patterns during the past few decades. During the 1950s and 1960s, approximately 70 per cent of immigrants entering Canada consisted of persons from the United Kingdom, Ireland, other European countries and the USA. By the 1980s, the share held by immigrants from these areas had shrunk to 30 per cent, with the remaining 70 per cent arriving primarily from Asia and to a lesser extent from African, Latin/South American and Oceanic regions. Reflecting these shifts, the foreign-born arriving in Canada today are less likely than their predecessors to have English or French as mother tongue or to have at least a basic knowledge of one or both of these languages. Indeed, of those adults (age 18 to 60) arriving between 1986 and 1988, over one-third did not know English or French (Employment and Immigration Advisory Council 1991, Table 1).

A change also has occurred in the linguistic resources of Australia's immigrant intake. At the end of World War II over 80 per cent of the overseas-born population was from English-speaking countries, predominantly the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. For another forty years the UK continued to be the single most important source country of immigrants. By 1961, however, over half of all immigrants were from non-English-speaking countries, particularly from Southern Europe. This proportion remained constant for the next twenty years, with a shift towards immigrants from the Middle East. During the 1980s it increased to over 60 per cent

and by 1990 one third of new arrivals, mostly from Asia and South America, did not speak English at all or spoke it poorly (ABS 1990, p. 92).

In any society, newcomers face a series of tasks: obtaining information about their new environment; understanding the practices and institutions which exist; and participating in these new social and economic settings. For immigrants who arrive without proficiency in the language of the host society, formidable barriers can exist in the undertaking of these tasks. Knowing the language of social discourse and business enhances the receipt of information about the new society, broadens the labour market opportunities of immigrants and often is a requirement for the acquisition of legal citizenship.

In short, knowing the language(s) of the host country is considered to be both an indicator and facilitator of the integration of immigrants. Given the importance of language for immigrant integration, the purpose of this chapter is threefold:

- 1 to highlight factors which influence, or are associated with, host language proficiency of immigrants;
- 2 to show the implications of proficiency in the host language(s) for the economic integration of immigrants; and
- 3 to examine the policy options which may increase the language proficiency of immigrants in Australia and Canada.

Using census data on language

The empirical part of this chapter uses data from the censuses of population of 1986. The Australian segments of this chapter are largely based on published tabulations from the 1986 census of population which relate the proficiency in English of overseas-born Australian residents over 5 years of age to several background characteristics. In Australia, the 1981 and 1986 census forms include a question on the respondent's use of a language other than English at home. Although this restriction to home usage probably underestimates the overall usage of English, the question is of value for this discussion because it asks respondents to rate their level of fluency in English. The response categories are: speaks English only; speaks another language and English very well, well, not very well; does not speak English at all. Much of the publicly available census information retains the full range of response categories. Some secondary analyses, however, have collapsed the categories in various ways,

most commonly by combining speaks English 'very well' and 'well' into a 'good English' category, and combining 'not very well' and 'not at all' into a 'poor English' category (for example, Chiswick & Miller 1992a; Stromback & Preston 1991).

For the Canadian data, we have used the Public Use Sample Tape (PUST) of individuals. Responses to census questions on mother tongue, official languages spoken, and language spoken most often in the home permit the construction of a typology of language characteristics (Boyd & DeVries 1992): I All persons with English and/or French as mother tongue; II Persons with mother tongue other than English and/or French; but with home language English and/or French; III Persons with mother tongue other than English and/or French; home language other than English and/or French; but with official language English, French or both; IV Official language 'neither'.

This typology represents a sliding scale of language skills. At one end are individuals who reported that they had English and/or French as mother tongue (Type I). Since this was the language they learned in early childhood, we may assume that persons of this type have the highest amounts of language proficiency. At the other end are individuals who are unable to speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation on several topics. As such, their proficiency in one of Canada's official languages is extremely low.

The Canadian and Australian language data presented in this chapter are not strictly comparable. The former source allows for a much more fine-grained analysis (as is demonstrated by the typology we developed) than does the latter one. Yet the classifications we have used point in the same direction: both of them differentiate immigrants by their level of host language proficiency. In the case of Canada, this differentiation produces four discrete levels, whereas the Australian data presented in this chapter primarily emphasise two levels.

Factors associated with language proficiency in Canada and Australia

Research in the 'traditional' settlement countries of Australia, Canada and the USA reveals that gender, length of residence in the host country, age at immigration, and place of birth are highly associated with host language proficiency. Study after study indicates that lower percentages of immigrant women than of men are fluent in the

language(s) of the host country. This differential is thought to reflect in part differences in gender roles in which the greater domestic responsibility of women reduces time available for language learning. It also can reflect the employment of immigrant women in job ghettoes such as the garment industry and domestic service, in which high levels of fluency in the language of the host country are not essential for the performance of the job. It may also reflect the language training policies of the host country which—depending on their eligibility criteria—may indirectly favour the language training of males.

Moreover, the gender difference may reflect differences in the countries of origin of the migrants. In many source countries, educational standards and practices differ by gender in such a way that males are more likely to have received at least some secondary schooling than are females. In many such countries, the study of English and/or French is a requirement at the secondary school level.

Census data confirm these linguistic differences between foreign-born women and men. In Canada, foreign-born women are slightly more likely to report English and/or French as mother tongue: 44 per cent of women versus 40 per cent of men (Table 8.1). This 'surplus' of foreign-born women of type I reflects the higher percentage of foreign-born women coming from countries where English and/or French is the dominant language. Thirty-eight per cent of foreign-born adult females and 33 per cent of the foreign-born males were born in countries such as the USA, the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Luxembourg, France, Bermuda and the Caribbean countries. However, as noted in other studies (Boyd 1986, 1990, 1992) the percentage of immigrant women who cannot converse in English and/or French is nearly twice that of immigrant men (7.1 per cent versus 3.6).

Similar patterns are evident in the Australian data. The levels of English language proficiency for overseas-born immigrants over five years old, as indicated in the 1986 Australian census, are set out in Table 8.2. Just over one half speak English only, one third speak good English and one tenth speak poor English. Females are more likely than males to have poor skills in the official language. The factors associated with language proficiency among immigrants in Australia have not been investigated as thoroughly for females as they have been for males. There is evidence that lower rates of proficiency are related to experiences of education, employment and family care responsibilities in both country of origin and in Australia, and to constraints on access to language learning opportunities after

Table 8.1 Language typology by selected characteristics, foreign-born population, ages 15 and older, Canada 1986

	PUST Number		Mother Tongue			
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Total	Total	English/ French	Other, Home Language English/ French	Home Language Other, Official Language (Type III)	No English/ French as Official Languages (Type IV)
Total	74 400	100.0	42.0	19.2	33.4	5.4
Sex: female	38 131	100.0	43.9	16.9	32.1	7.1
male	36 309	100.0	40.0	21.7	34.4	3.6
Period of immigration ^a						
< 1951	12 684	100.0	57.9	23.1	17.8	1.3
1951-60	18 130	100.0	32.6	30.7	33.4	3.3
1961-65	6 187	100.0	39.1	20.2	34.6	6.2
1966-70	11 352	100.0	47.7	16.6	30.7	5.0
1971-75	10 841	100.0	46.2	12.2	36.0	5.6
1976-80	8 059	100.0	37.0	9.7	44.8	8.5
1981-86	7 140	100.0	30.1	8.3	47.0	14.6
Age of immigration						
0-4	8 924	100.0	66.4	22.6	10.8	0.2
5-9	6 925	100.0	53.2	29.2	17.3	0.4
10-14	5 571	100.0	44.6	27.0	27.7	0.7
15-19	8 194	100.0	33.4	22.0	42.5	2.1
20-24	13 755	100.0	39.0	20.2	38.0	2.7
25-29	11 520	100.0	37.6	17.5	40.9	3.9
30-34	7 171	100.0	37.6	14.4	42.0	5.9
35-44	6 976	100.0	34.9	11.8	42.9	10.4
45-64	4 596	100.0	29.0	6.2	32.7	32.2
65 plus	808	100.0	32.8	3.1	23.6	40.5
Region of birth						
USA	5 116	100.0	94.1	4.1	1.7	0.1
UK	15 449	100.0	98.2	1.2	0.5	0
West Europe	8 282	100.0	22.5	51.5	25.6	0.5
South Europe	13 334	100.0	3.1	22.6	61.0	13.3
East Europe, USSR	7 132	100.0	6.1	36.3	53.8	3.8
East Asia	3 029	100.0	25.4	39.5	33.3	1.7
Southeast Asia	4 443	100.0	6.2	9.9	61.4	22.5
South Asia	3 711	100.0	12.4	14.2	63.9	9.5
West Asia	2 999	100.0	24.5	15.7	52.5	7.3

Table 8.1 Contd

Africa	1 366	100.0	11.3	24.4	58.4	5.9
South and Central America	2 137	100.0	51.3	17.4	29.5	1.8
Caribbean	2 586	100.0	41.6	14.7	36.0	5.8
Other	3 734	100.0	91.7	2.8	4.9	0.5
Other Residual ^b	592	100.0	68.2	9.8	19.8	2.2
	530	100.0	31.1	32.3	34.2	2.5

a Excludes 47 persons for whom year of immigration was not given.

b See Appendix B for definitions.

c Per cent less than 0.5.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census Population. Public Use Sample Tape of Individuals.

immigration (ABS Qld 1992, Wooden et al. 1990, pp. 57-59). These issues will be explored later in this chapter.

Host language knowledge also varies by age at immigration. Immigrants arriving as dependent children generally are thought to be most likely to acquire a native-like facility in the host country's language for at least three reasons: (a) the general ease in youth of acquiring linguistic skills; (b) the greater exposure to language learning via the educational system; and (c) a greater incentive produced by a longer payoff time for acquiring new language skills.

Canadian census data confirm that migrants arriving early in life have high linguistic capital. Persons who arrived in Canada before age 15 have higher percentages with English and/or French mother tongue than persons arriving later in life. The one exception is the group arriving after age 65. This age group includes a substantial proportion of persons from the United Kingdom (reflecting earlier

Table 8.2 Proficiency in English: overseas-born over 5 years old Australia, 1986

	English only	Good English	Poor English	% Total
Persons	55.7	33.8	10.5	100.0 (3 181 051)
Females	55.2	33.2	12.5	100.0 (1 544 728)
Males	56.1	34.5	9.4	100.0 (1 636 323)

Source: 1986 Census, Table CX0041, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

immigration streams) as well as a smaller but growing number of persons from areas other than Europe, the UK and the USA (Boyd 1990). At the other end of the typology, we note the increasing percentage in type IV (that is, persons unable to speak English or French) with increasing age at immigration. Especially among those who arrived at ages 45 and over, this percentage is quite high.

Language proficiency also varies according to length of residence in the host country. Generally, the longer an immigrant has resided in the host country (the earlier the period of immigration), the greater the amount of exposure to the host country's official language(s) she or he may be assumed to have experienced. While fluctuations exist, the general Canadian pattern is one of decline in the percentages of foreign-born who either have English and/or French mother tongues or who have other mother tongues, but who speak English and/or French in the home (Table 8.1, columns 3 and 4). Conversely, the more recent the arrival (and hence the shorter duration of residence) the higher the percentages who do not have English and/or French as a mother tongue and who do not speak it at home (Table 8.1, column 5) or who cannot converse in English and/or French (Table 8.1, column 6). Well over half of the foreign-born who have been in Canada for eight years or less (arriving from 1976 on) are in these Type III and Type IV groups.

The Australian research literature on factors affecting the language proficiency of immigrants also identifies length of residence as a salient factor. The longer the period of residence, the greater the formal and informal opportunities for becoming proficient in English. The 1983 ABS Language Survey indicated that only 2 per cent of non-English-speaking immigrants who had been resident in Australia for more than 15 years failed to develop some proficiency (ABS 1983, p. 3). On the other hand, immigrants who were not subject to any form of English language requirement (such as those who arrived before the 1970s from Southern Europe or in the family reunion or refugee categories in the 1970s and 1980s), or those who work in an environment where English is not a necessity (such as a family business, a factory or in the home) need not necessarily acquire English merely by virtue of residing in the country for a long period of time. The pattern of reverting to one's original mother tongue with advancing age also tends to weaken the relationship between length of residence and English language proficiency (Clyne 1982).

These patterns are described in Table 8.3. The conventional relationship between length of residence and proficiency in English exists, but older residents are less likely to be proficient than are

Table 8.3 Percentage of overseas-born over 5 years old with poor English, by period of arrival and age, Australia, 1986

Period of arrival	Females	Males
<1966	12.1	9.6
1967-1975	11.5	8.0
1976-1981	14.0	11.0
1982-1986	21.4	18.8
Age		
5-14	11.6	12.2
15-44	16.1	12.6
45-59	28.8	31.5
60+	38.5	26.5

Source: 1986 Census, Table CX0041, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

younger ones. Gender differences are visible in both of these trends. Females increase in proficiency with length of residence, but are still less proficient (on average) than males after 20 years.

Subsumed in the immigration data are substantial changes in country of origins. During the first six decades of the twentieth century, Canadian immigration regulations and Acts (notably the Act of 1910, the Act of 1927 and the Act of 1953) used criteria of national origin to restrict immigration from areas other than the USA, the United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland and other European countries. Regulations appearing in 1962 and 1967 replaced these discriminatory criteria of national origins with criteria of family reunification and economic contributions. The subsequent replacement of the 1953 Act with the *Immigration Act of 1976* (in effect as of April 1978) enshrined these social and economic criteria and added humanitarian criteria directed at refugee and related groups. As noted in the introduction, these changes facilitated the entry of persons born in areas not originally permitted entry. For the most part, English and/or French are not the dominant languages in these new source countries.

The linguistic imprint of origin areas is evident from data in Table 8.1 for Canada. Not surprisingly, over 90 per cent of those persons born in the USA, the UK and in Bermuda and the Caribbean have English and/or French as their mother tongue(s). Persons born in Southern Europe, Eastern Europe (including the USSR) and in Asian regions have far lower percentages with English and/or French as

mother tongue. While it may appear surprising that English and/or French mother tongue characterises even a small percentage of these groups, it should be remembered that some individuals would have immigrated at very young ages. Further, by virtue of family history, colonial history and/or class background, a few people may have been raised in their country of birth in an English or French speaking environment. Although most birthplace groups indicate conversational ability in English and/or French, persons born in Southern Europe, East Asia and Southeast Asia have a large percentage indicating no conversational skills in Canada's official languages. These groups also have the highest percentages indicating that English and/or French is not their mother tongue and is not spoken in the home. If we take membership in Type III and Type IV as an indication of low language proficiency, then over half of those persons born in Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, and all Asian regions are linguistically impoverished relative to other immigrants to Canada.

Data for Australia reveal comparable patterns. The relationship between country of origin and English language proficiency is very strong (Table 8.4; also see Chiswick & Miller 1992a). Immigrants from the UK and Ireland, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and the USA are almost all fluent speakers of English. But 9.4 per cent from Europe, 22.5 per cent from South America and 23.2 per cent from Asia report themselves as poor English speakers. The specific countries from which these poor speakers come are listed in Table 8.5 (we are limited here to the countries listed in the census tables). In Europe, they are the Mediterranean countries. In Asia, they are Turkey, Lebanon (West Asia), Laos and Vietnam (Southeast Asia). For South America, Chile is the only country listed here, since it is the only country for which statistics have been disaggregated from the 'South American' category in the relevant census table. Comparing the data for Chile with that in Table 8.4, the statistics are similar, so immigrants from other countries in the region would probably show comparable levels of proficiency in English (see Appendix A).

These low levels of proficiency reflect some aspects of the changing history of Australia's immigration intakes—for example, many rural immigrants came from Southern Europe after World War II, economic and political refugees came from the Middle East in the 1970s and from Southeast Asia and South America in the 1980s. At this low level of proficiency, the gender differences are marked, indicating that they persist among the long- and medium-term groups in addition to being characteristic of the newer refugee and family

Table 8.4 Proficiency in English by birthplace, overseas-born over 5 years old, Australia, 1986

Birthplace	English only	Good English	Poor English	% Total
Europe	59.6	30.8	9.4	100.0 (2 195 732)
UK/Ireland	98.3	1.6	0.2	100.0 (564 109)
Asia	22.9	46.0	23.2	100.0 (520 286)
Oceania	87.9	10.8	1.3	100.0 (256 556)
Africa	53.7	41.6	4.7	100.0 (106 326)
N. America	92.6	6.6	0.8	100.8 (60 301)
S. America	12.8	64.8	22.5	100.0 (57 043)

Source: 1986 Census, Table CX0041, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Table 8.5 Percentage of overseas-born males and females with poor English, selected countries of birth, Australia, 1986

Birthplace	Females	Males
Greece	41.9	28.3
Italy	34.0	22.5
Yugoslavia	28.8	19.0
Turkey	34.8	32.9
Lebanon	32.3	20.7
Laos	43.0	34.7
Vietnam	47.6	41.7
Chile	31.9	26.8
All NES countries*		

* Excludes those born in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, UK and Ireland.

Source: 1986 Census, Table CX0041, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

reunion groups from Asia and South America. One of the keys to this is the difference in educational experience between males and females from these groups.

The importance of education for the attainment of English language proficiency for immigrants from non-English-speaking countries

has been well documented (Chiswick & Miller 1992a; Stromback & Preston 1991; Wooden et al. 1990). Without good English, high levels of educational attainment in Australia are difficult to achieve. Without exposure to systematic instruction in language, many people find it difficult to develop language acquisition skills in either their first language or in English. The relationship between amount of schooling received and English language proficiency is set out in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6 Proficiency in English by age left school, overseas-born over 5 years old, Australia, 1986

Age left school	English only	Good English	Poor English	Total
Never attended	5.5	31.0	62.5	100.0
Under 13	7.5	47.3	44.7	100.0
15	71.5	22.5	5.6	100.0
17	67.8	27.8	3.8	100.0
Over 18	25.1	61.2	13.1	100.0

Source: Castles (1988) p. 88.

Two-thirds of immigrants with no schooling and one-half of those with only primary level schooling spoke English poorly. Of those who left school at age 17 (most of whom would be in the upper levels of post-primary schooling), only 4 per cent spoke poor English.

The influence of birthplace is also evident in the relationship between language proficiency and education (Table 8.7). Those countries with the lowest levels of proficiency in English are also those whose emigrants are below the average in school attendance and the attainment of post-school qualifications. This relationship is particularly marked for females from Greece, Italy and Lebanon. For the Lebanese, an important factor is the high proportion who never had the opportunity to attend school. Among the Lebanese and the Vietnamese, those who did attend school stayed on in higher than average proportions in secondary school but did not achieve post-school qualifications. This is perhaps a reflection of the political conditions that forced many into seeking refuge abroad.

The relative strength of the relationship between length of residence, age, education, birthplace, gender, other variables and English language fluency in Australia has been examined by Chiswick and Miller (1992a). They employ a human capital model based on the assumption that immigrants who anticipate greater economic and

Table 8.7 Percentage of overseas-born males and females who did not attend school, left school before age 13, or did not achieve post-school qualifications, selected countries of birth, Australia, 1986

Birthplace	Females		Males	
	Not Attend	Left <13	Not Attend	Left <13
Greece	9.2	37.1	81.9	5.4
Italy	7.6	33.0	80.5	4.6
Yugoslavia	5.3	16.0	65.9	2.9
Lebanon	16.1	7.0	79.0	10.1
Vietnam	6.7	5.9	76.7	4.7
All NES countries*	4.8	12.8	67.9	2.9
			No Quits	No Quits
			73.4	55.0

* Excludes those born in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, USA, UK and Ireland.

Source: 1986 Census, *Community Profiles* (1989-91), Australian Bureau of Statistics.

social rewards for fluency are more likely to make the effort to become fluent. Using 1981 and 1986 census data for overseas-born males, they conclude that each year of education results in a 2.5 percentage point increase in fluency. Each year of residence contributes 1 per cent.

Language knowledge and economic integration

From the preceding overview, it is clear that in both Australia and Canada, knowledge of the host country's language(s) varies by sex, age at immigration, length of residence, level of education and place of birth. What are the consequences of such variation for the economic integration of immigrants in their new land? We address this question in this section by examining the relationship between immigrant language proficiency and various indicators of economic integration.

Our focus on the economic integration of immigrants arises because language knowledge is a form of capital. Following from Bourdieu (1991), linguistic capital shapes participation in a variety of institutional settings or domains. In some settings, the value of linguistic capital may be social, as when language capabilities and accents convey images about social origins, status and prestige (for example, the British upper class). However, in industrial economies such as Australia and Canada, the market is the major institutional

setting which determines economic well-being, and (in the language of the sociologist) life chances.

How well individuals do in the market is conditioned by the state of the economy and the structure of employment and by worker education and job training which enhances productivity and wages. Language is a form of economic capital in that it influences where workers are hired and their job productivity. From a human capital perspective, limited or no knowledge of the marketplace language(s) reduces the 'return' to education and previous work experience in two ways. First, such persons may be of less value to an employer where maximum productivity on a job is assured by a pre-defined level of linguistic skill. According to orthodox 'human capital' theory, in such circumstances, the productivity of a worker with less than optimal language skills would be lower and wage rates accordingly would be less. Second, such workers are not likely to be hired for these jobs. Instead economic participation of such individuals is likely to be constrained to settings in which their own language is the norm, such as in ethnic enclaves or where it is not required for job performance (for example, cleaning occupations). In such cases, workers may be working in low wage sectors, and thus receive lower economic rewards than warranted by their education and job training skills.

In fact, previous analyses for Canada and Australia indicate language knowledge influences economic integration for immigrants (Boyd 1990, 1992; Chiswick & Miller 1985, 1992b). For example, in Canada, immigrants who are not able to converse in either English and/or French receive lower wage and salaries for each year of education compared to other immigrants, and generally have what might be described as a less favourable economic profile, using characteristics such as education, unemployment rates, and occupation held (see Boyd 1990, 1992). Our own analyses of the Australian and Canadian 1986 censuses also reveal the relationship between host language proficiency and economic integration. In this analysis we use several indicators of labour market performance—labour force participation, unemployment rates, occupational location and wage and salary earnings.

Participating in the labour force is the requisite first step to gaining access to labour market rewards. Among the foreign-born population aged 15-64 who immigrated to Canada before 1984, people are more likely to be in the labour force if they have acquired English and/or French (Table 8.8, column 1, rows 5 and 6). Differences are especially pronounced for women, less than half without English and/or French are in the labour force compared with nearly

two thirds of immigrant women who have acquired English and/or French. The typology for Canada shows a sliding scale of labour force participation with linguistic capital (Table 8.8, rows 1-4). Generally the higher the level of linguistic capital, the higher the percentage in the labour force.

As noted in earlier sections of this chapter, in Canada the percentage of immigrants who cannot converse in either English and/or French is highest among persons with less than grade 9 levels of education. Thus it is possible that the pattern of labour force participation by linguistic capital is in fact reflecting the association between language and education and in turn education and labour force participation. Multiple classification analysis (MCA) (Andrews et al. 1967) show the patterns of labour force participation by linguistic capital which would exist after statistically adjusting for the effects of compositional differences in other variables. The results indicate that levels of education and other variables such as birthplace partially account for the patterns of labour force participation by linguistic capital but that they do not fully account for the variations. Once the effects of education, CMA residence, birthplace, period of immigration and age at immigration are statistically taken into account, there still remains a pattern whereby the lower the linguistic capital of immigrants, the lower their labour force participation.

Australian studies also find that labour force participation is a function of many factors, some of which include gender, birthplace, age, length of residence, education, qualifications (gained in Australia and overseas) and proficiency in English (for summaries of the Australian research literature, see ABS 1990; Foster & Baker 1991; Stromback & Preston 1991; Wooden et al. 1990). The research shows that labour market participation rates for non-English-speaking immigrants are in general lower than those for English-speaking immigrants and the Australian-born. Females from non-English-speaking backgrounds have the lowest participation rates. Controlling for the effects of education and length of residence, English language skills are independently related to labour market participation and unemployment rates (Wooden 1990a, pp. 29-30).

Language proficiency affects unemployment as well. The 1986 Australian census indicates that for females who speak English only, the unemployment rate is 6.6 per cent; for those with good English it is 7 per cent and for those with poor English it is 13 per cent. For males the corresponding figures are 4.0, 4.5 and 11 per cent (Table CX0042, 1986 census). The effects of poor English skills are not evenly distributed among all the relevant groups. The longer-established

Table 8.8 Labour force and citizenship correlates of language variables, foreign-born population immigrating before 1984^a, by Sex, Canada, 1986

	Actual values			Adjusted values ^b		
	% in labour force (1)	% in service machining ^c (2)	Mean 1985 wage ^d Salary ^d (3)	% in labour force (4)	% in service machining ^c (5)	Mean 1985 wage ^d salary ^e (6)
<i>Females</i>						
Language Typology						
Type 1	69.6	19.7	10 013	68.0	26.9	9 626
Type 2	67.4	23.8	9 821	67.9	27.6	9 544
Type 3	63.5	43.8	7 848	63.7	35.2	8 169
Type 4	48.3	78.8	4 848	58.9	47.2	7 590
Acquisition of English/French						
Yes	64.9	36.5	8 588	63.9	38.5	8 335
No	48.3	78.8	4 848	58.5	50.7	7 562
<i>Males</i>						
Language Typology						
Type 1	88.2	28.0	22 608	88.6	31.0	21 802
Type 2	91.9	29.7	23 194	91.3	32.6	21 940
Type 3	87.7	42.5	17 739	87.6	37.9	19 091
Type 4	84.1	54.2	13 299	88.7	41.6	19 321
Acquisition of English/French						
Yes	89.4	37.3	19 913	89.2	37.7	19 674
No	84.1	54.2	13 299	89.1	42.0	19 283

a persons aged 25-64^d. All columns exclude persons born in 'other' regions (see Appendix B).

b Based on multiclassification analysis, net of birthplace, period of immigration, age at immigration, CMA residence, and education.

c Refers to service, machining and processing occupations (major groups 61, 81/82 and 83, 83).

d Excludes persons who reported zero wage or salary earnings for 1985.

groups do not suffer higher rates of unemployment than average for all non-English-speaking groups. The brunt of unemployment is borne by the more recently arrived groups from Asia, one quarter of whom are refugees with interrupted schooling, low levels of post-school qualifications and mostly without jobs prior to emigration (Wooden 1990a, p. vii).

Language knowledge also is related to location within the workforce. In the 1986 Australian census, 13 per cent of the overseas-born who were good English speakers owned their own businesses, compared to 8 per cent of those with poor English (ABS 1990, p. 82). Many immigrants from non-English-speaking countries are segmented within the workforce, being under-represented in managerial, professional, sales and clerical occupations and over-represented in trades, machinery, transport and manual occupations (ABS 1990, pp. 84-85). The relationship between poor language skills and lower status occupations in Australia can be seen clearly when looking at the occupational concentrations of females. The census classification of plant and machine operators and drivers includes the textile, clothing, footwear and food production industries where there are large concentrations of non-English-speaking women. Only 3 per cent of overseas-born females who spoke English only are in this occupational group, compared with 10 per cent of those with good English an 29 per cent of those with poor English. The comparable percentages for females in labouring occupations are 12.5, 23.4 and 44.3.

Similar relationships between language knowledge and occupational location also exist in Canada. Concentration in service occupations and in the garment trade (subsumed under the processing and fabrication occupations) is especially pronounced for foreign-born women who cannot converse in English and/or French (Boyd 1986, 1990, 1992; Seward 1990). This can be seen in Table 8.8 as well. Over half of the men and over three-quarters of foreign-born women who cannot converse in English and/or French are employed in service, processing and fabrication occupations. The propensity for such concentration decreases with increasing levels of linguistic capital. As was true for labour force participation rates, adjusting for the influence of other variables dampens the levels of concentration somewhat, but the general pattern remains unaltered.

Such occupational concentration is not without implication for the integration of immigrants. Although conditions vary across detailed occupations and firms, Canadian sociologists generally argue that service occupations and processing and fabricating occupations tend to be lower skill, lower paid and subject to chronic layoffs and

unemployment in the face of fluctuating market conditions (see Armstrong 1984; Gannage 1986). From this perspective, lower levels of linguistic capital are associated with higher levels of vulnerability and marginalisation in the labour market.

As a result of differences between language groups in indicators such as self-employment, unemployment and occupational segmentation, lack of proficiency in English (and French for Canada) is also related to income levels (see Wooden et al. 1991, for a summary of research in Australia; Boyd 1992; Chiswick & Miller 1992b for Canada). Income at various levels of proficiency as reported in the 1986 Australian census is set out in Table 8.9 and in Table 8.8 for Canada.

Table 8.9 Average annual income (A\$) by English proficiency; overseas-born wage and salary earners, Australia, 1986

	English only	Good English	Poor English
Females	13 718	13 232	11 613
Males	21 153	18 491	15 194

Source: Stromback & Preston (1991, p. 14).

In both Australia and Canada, income/earnings increase with increased proficiency and females at all levels of proficiency have a consistently lower level of income than men. The end result is that women who are born overseas in Australia or who are foreign-born in Canada and who have poor English proficiency have the lowest average annual income of all language-gender groups in both countries. While it is the case that part of the gap between linguistically defined groups reflects differences among these groups in education, recency of arrival, residential location and other variables known to influence earnings, additional multivariate analyses for Canada show that low levels of linguistic capital mean lower earnings (Table 8.8) even after taking these factors into account.

Policy issues

To summarise, shifts in the countries of origin ensure that immigrants to Australia and Canada increasingly are from areas where English (and/or French in Canada) is not their mother tongue. Poor English proficiency in Australia and not knowing English and/or French (or

not speaking English and/or French at home) in Canada is highest for those who are recent immigrants, who have lower educational qualifications and who are from Southern Europe or are members of the more recent groups from South America, South Asia or Southeast Asia. Women are more likely to have lower levels of proficiency than are men. The patterns of labour market participation, employment at the low end of the occupational structure and lower income or earnings suggest that low language proficiency is associated with marginal economic integration in both countries.

Over the years, Australian and Canadian governments have developed programs and policies to enhance language proficiency and thus, indirectly, to lessen linguistic barriers to economic integration. The possible policies initiatives fall under two broad policy arenas: immigrant policy directed at settlement and immigration policy directed at who enters. In both countries, most attention is given to developing policies for immigrants already arrived, and thus fall under the rubric of immigrant policy.

Australia: expansion of English as a second language programs

In Australia, discussion of language training policy centres on the expansion of English as a Second Language (ESL) programs and the diversification of the purpose, content, clientele and delivery of ESL and literacy programs. Programs in English as a Second Language for adults historically have been funded by the Commonwealth Government and delivered through State and Territory Adult Migrant English Services (AMES). The major provider has been the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIGEA) through Adult Migrant English Programmes (AMEP) for non-English-speaking immigrants up to two years after arrival, from beginner to intermediate levels. Language centres attached to universities provide more advanced courses for adults seeking to undertake vocational study to obtain Australian qualifications, or to improve their English language skills sufficiently to re-enter the professions. Workforce training programs usually are contracted out by the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) to providers such as the Technical and Further Education colleges (TAFE).

This system has long suffered from major problems. The fragmentation of responsibility produces a conflict of focus. Immigration authorities have focused on settlement needs, with their own priorities and time limits on eligibility. Ethnic affairs authorities have been

concerned with access and equity issues and the provision of resources on a needs basis. Employment authorities have concentrated on workforce preparation and reskilling. Ironically, this fragmentation restricts the comprehensiveness of provision, so that many who do not meet the various regulations concerning residence, workforce eligibility or language proficiency have missed out on tuition. Historically inadequate funding levels have contributed to a large backlog of residents with poor English and no access to mainstream English language instruction facilities. This backlog has been commented on by every major review of provision (Campbell Report 1986; Jupp Report 1986; DEET 1990). The Office of Multicultural Affairs noted in 1990 that only 25 per cent of people enrolled in AMEP programs had been in Australia for more than two years (OMA 1990a, p. 16). This is less than 7 per cent of the number of overseas-born residents who rated their English language skills as poor in the 1986 census. In 1992 the ministers of the immigration and employment portfolios stated baldly that:

With hindsight past migration policies can be seen to have created an ESL backlog. More crucially and more recently the demands of a more sophisticated economy have compounded the backlog. People who could get by with a form of English now require greater fluency in English and higher levels of literacy skills (Joint Statement 1992, p. 2).

Not surprisingly, women have been the most seriously affected by these inadequacies in provision (Alcorso 1991; Barker & Currie 1988; Eliadis et al. 1989; Foster & Rado 1991). They are disadvantaged if family responsibilities, low income, poor access to public transport or inadequate child-care facilities reduce their opportunities to attend regular daytime classes. For many of the women described in this chapter who have low levels of formal educational attainment, English language classes that are formal in methodology and require appreciable mother tongue literacy are probably not as attractive or as effective as would be smaller, informal groups, peer teaching or self-teaching facilities (Foster & Rado 1991; Hampel 1992).

From a social justice perspective, appropriate policy implications would be to expand the provision of lower level AMEP courses, decrease the financial and social costs of course attendance and broaden the range, content and delivery mode of courses, especially for women (Foster & Rado 1991). In practice, however, the opposite policy is being implemented. Changes suggested in the Commonwealth Government's policy discussion paper, *The Language of*

Australia (Dawkins 1990), and announced by the ministers for immigration and employment in August 1992 include: a drop in AMEP funding by A\$5 million, the restriction of tuition to 510 hours to recently arrived immigrants whose language is below 'functional' level, and the imposition of fees ranging from A\$1020 to \$4080 per course. All other tuition will be funded through DEET labour market programs with an increase from A\$13.5 million in 1991-2 to \$42.2 million in 1992-3. The aims of these policies are that 'the needs of NESB jobseekers are addressed in a labour market context and that English language training can be more closely linked to other vocational training and employment outcomes' (Joint Statement 1992, p. 2).

Actual government policy towards the groups with low levels of English proficiency discussed in this paper is to be as follows:

The Government also recognises that community groups, outside of incoming migrants and jobseekers, have ESL needs . . . Socially isolated groups including women, outworkers, rural communities and the aged [are] particularly disadvantaged by limited opportunities to acquire English skills. Up to \$500 000 will be spent on re-shaping existing delivery arrangements within the AMEP . . . (Joint Statement 1992, pp. 6-7).

Half a million dollars out of a budget of \$142 million is hardly an encouraging amount for vulnerable groups with low levels of proficiency. Recent commentators have suggested other policy options such as reducing labour market segmentation, the expansion of bilingual work opportunities and tuition models, greater use of mother tongue resources in the workplace and the integration of ESL with mainstream schooling facilities (Foster & Rado 1991; Hampel 1992). While laudable and worthy of being pursued as policy options, they would appear to be of limited impact in the current political climate, as the labour market imperative seems likely to dominate language policy for the foreseeable future.

Canada: language training programs

Like Australia, Canada's language training programs developed on the basis of multiple rationales housed in several federal departments. During the 1980s, language training was provided largely to enhance the eligibility of immigrants for citizenship (funded through Secretary of State) and to maximise economic productivity (funded by Employ-

ment and Immigration). However, programs developed on these principles risked excluding certain groups, notably women not destined for the labour force or not considered to need English or French for their paid work. By the close of the 1980s, the Canadian government was modestly funding programs targeted at these women, largely as a result of inputs of advocacy groups, particularly those on behalf of immigrant and visible minority women.

All Canadian language training policies in place during the 1980s underwent change, and sometimes cancellation, by the late 1980s and during the early 1990s. Prior to its termination on 1 April 1990, the Department of Secretary of State provided to provinces and territories funding for language instruction on a part-time basis and directed at citizenship preparation. Until the program was revamped in 1992, the remaining federal language training policies and programs came under the auspices of Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC). Two types of programs were funded through EIC: programs such as the Settlement Language Program (SLP) which fund immigrant service agencies to provide basic coping language skills for adults not destined for the labour force, primarily immigrant women at home with childcare responsibilities, and programs offered by Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) through the programs of the Canadian Job Strategy (CJS). The latter were directed either at persons who are destined to the labour market or who are already in the labour force. The EIC had a considerably larger budget than SLP and a smaller program called Language at Work. For example, preliminary figures for 1990-91 indicate that 92 per cent of 107.3 million dollars in federal funds for language programs was used to provide full time institutional training related to labour market needs (EIC 1991b, p. 2). As in Australia, these funding priorities indicated not only the federal government's interest in language training for reasons related to economic production and efficiency but also the relative lack of federal attention paid to vulnerable groups outside the labour market.

Not surprisingly, federally funded language training programs which existed during the 1980s were extensively criticised (see Boyd 1992; Burnaby et al. 1987; Burnaby & Cumming, 1992; EIC 1991b). These criticisms highlighted issues of gender bias, eligibility, coverage, duration of training offered, the suitability of curriculum material and instructional style for certain groups (for example, those persons with low levels of literacy), funding arrangements, and levels of support services. The potential gender bias is discussed extensively elsewhere (Boyd 1989, 1992). Statistics suggested that during the 1980s women who would benefit from language training were not as likely

to be enrolled in the programs as men (EIC 1991a). Major reasons cited for their relative under-representation were: the labour market centredness of the EIC programs (that excluded women at home); the criteria of eligibility even when in the labour market which disallowed participation if English or French was not required for the job (such as seamstress or cleaning jobs); the denial of the basic training allowance to immigrants who were under a sponsorship agreement; and the male-centredness of program delivery in which participation was full-time and supplemental child-care services were not provided.

Since 1990 when the Secretary of State program was terminated, programs developed and funded by EIC have been the only federally funded programs in Canada. However, EIC has been responsive on a limited financial scale to the restricted nature of language training offered in conjunction with the Jobs Strategy Program. By the late 1980s two programs (Settlement Language Training Program and Language at Work) targeted largely at women were also offered through EIC. As noted earlier, funding for these programs remained relatively small. In February 1992, a new program was announced to take effect in June 1992. The policy replaces earlier EIC policies described above. Program operation will gradually be phased in during the next two years. Although the new policy is not fully in place, limited information as of November 1992 (EIC 1992a) permits its description and a preliminary evaluation of its ability to meet the language needs of Canada's foreign-born.

The new policy provides for two language training programs: Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) and Labour Market Language Training (LMLT). In an apparently marked departure from previous federal emphasis on labour market objectives, LMLT will account for only 20 per cent of the total budget. Access to LMLT is determined by meeting three criteria: (1) acquiring a level of proficiency comparable to that achieved by persons completing LINC; (2) meeting regular labour market program criteria and being considered suitable for occupational objectives; and (3) having occupational skills needed in the local labour market or the potential to acquire them.

The second program, LINC, will account for approximately 80 per cent of EIC language training funds. All permanent residents are eligible for this program regardless of labour market intentions—provided they are below a certain level of language proficiency, using an eligibility test currently called A-LINC. In another departure from EIC previous programs, LINC funds will not be used for basic training allowances (designed to provide a modest income during the training

period) although some allowances will be provided for transportation and child-care. Flexibility is the theme of the new LINC program with emphasis placed on a variety of possible institutional recipients of funding for language training provisions, ranging from provinces to the private sector to non-governmental organisations. As well, a wide range of language training programs is envisioned, including those which are part-time, community-based, workplace-based or self-study.

Compared to earlier programs, the new policies are, by their own description, designed to be more flexible in providing language training to a less restricted immigrant population than was true in the past, and the intention is to provide language instruction to a higher percentage of the target population. By the early 1990s, programs developed from the EIC policies reached only 28 per cent of newly arrived immigrants. The objective under the new policy is to raise this proportion to about 45 per cent in 1995.

Although the recent appearance of the policy (in effect in June 1992) prevents a rigorous assessment of its likely impact, it contains both 'good news/bad news' aspects. Together, LINC and LMLT direct language training away from eligibility criteria based primarily on language market criteria. As a result, the policy could mean an increased diversity of users. The potential flexibility of LINC to deliver a variety of language training programs through a variety of institutions and to a variety of clients also promises to increase the accessibility of language training to groups who were previous less likely to obtain language training.

However, at least three aspects of the program could dampen participation by vulnerable groups such as women and other low income groups. First, although the rationale for the absence of training allowances is to enlarge funds available for language training, the lack of training allowance does remove or reduce income received during the time spent in language training. Since many newcomers face real financial pressures as well as desire to 'get on their way', this could strongly deter participation. Second, under the current policy guidelines, Canadian citizens are not eligible to participate in the LINC program. The argument for such ineligibility is twofold: (1) the programs are directed in principle at new arrivals; and (2) since the Canadian *Citizenship Act* requires new citizens to have a knowledge of French or English, most citizens should no longer need the integration orientation of LINC. However, despite this provision of the *Citizenship Act*, judges can and do award citizenship to persons on 'humanitarian' grounds. Such awards are most likely when citizen-

ship is attained within the context of an entire family obtaining citizenship. However, under the LINC program, such gestures have disenfranchised individuals with respect to gaining access to federally funded language training programs. The potential impact is serious—close to 60 per cent of the foreign-born who cannot converse in English or French are Canadian citizens, according to unpublished tabulations from the 1986 census PUST. Finally, to participate in the LMLT program, which offers language training at higher levels than available through LINC, potential participants must meet labour market program criteria and have the occupational skills (or the potential) that are needed in the local labour market. How these stipulations are operationalised remains to be seen. Certainly, the wording suggests a continuation of principles found in the previous CJS related language training program in which individuals were not eligible if they were in occupations for which English/French was unnecessary for job performance. A similar interpretation in the new policy would deny further language training, beyond that obtained in LINC, to persons employed in occupations such as food processing, mental service jobs and seamstressing.

Conclusion

The factors identified as being related to low levels of English language proficiency can affect immigrants even after a long period of residence. In Australia and Canada, there will, therefore, continue to be significant numbers of immigrants with low proficiency levels in English (or French). Our analysis indicates such immigrants are on the outer edges of integration into mainstream economic institutions. As well, language training programs are far from being extensive in coverage or funds.

The situation in both countries suggests that language training policies will remain central in future discussions of immigrant integration. The shift away from Europe and the USA as source countries is likely to continue as a result of enhanced refugee flows and the creation of migration systems stimulated by an interconnected global economy. In Canada, the challenge will be to integrate larger flows of immigrants within the context of economic restructuring, already underway but likely to be enhanced with the North American Free Trade Agreement. Which way the service economy develops is a question which so far has focused attention on unemployment and on growing bifurcation of the economic structure into 'good jobs'

and 'bad jobs'. If immigrants who have low levels of language proficiency are to avoid being locked in to the low wage sectors emerging in this restructuring, language training will be essential.

In Australia, multiculturalism would seem to be facilitating a social policy which enables individuals with low levels of English proficiency to live within minority linguistic communities. If, however, these people were to be increasingly economically marginalised because of unemployment and economic restructuring and were their non-English linguistic supports to weaken because of a decline in mother tongue maintenance among younger generations, then their lack of English proficiency would become a personal and a community liability. In this context, failure by Commonwealth and state authorities to provide adequate and more relevant English language programs and resources could be a policy with high social and economic costs.

Appendix A: Australian census birthplace categories

Countries included

ABS categories

Countries included

Australia

Overseas

English-speaking

Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, USA, UK, Ireland

Non-English speaking

All except those above

Africa

All including Egypt, South Africa and Mauritius

Americas

North

Canada, USA

South

All countries in Central and South America

Asia

East

China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Taiwan

Southeast

Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor, Vietnam

West

Cyprus, Turkey, all countries generally referred to as 'Middle Eastern' except Egypt and Iran

Other

Bangladesh, India, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, others not classified elsewhere

Europe

East (not USSR)

Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania

North

Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden

South

Albania, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Yugoslavia

West

Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland

USSR

Includes the Ukraine

Appendix A Contd.

UK and Ireland

Includes the Republic of Ireland

Oceania

Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, other Pacific Islands not classified elsewhere

Appendix B Canadian Census birthplace categories by country of birth

Regions included in Tables 8.1 & 8.8

USA, United Kingdom, Republic of Ireland, France, Belgium and Luxembourg, Caribbean and Bermuda

<i>West Europe</i>	Laos
Germany	Malaysia
Netherlands	Philippines
Austria	Singapore
<i>Southern Europe</i>	Thailand
Greece	Vietnam
Italy	<i>South Asia</i>
Portugal	Bangladesh
Yugoslavia	Bhutan
<i>East Europe</i>	India
USSR	Republic of Maldives
Czechoslovakia	Nepal
Hungary	Pakistan
Poland	Sri Lanka
<i>Other Europe</i>	<i>Western Asia</i>
Other European countries not specified above.	Turkey
<i>Eastern Asia</i>	Afghanistan
Mongolia	Bahrain
People's Republic of China	Iran
Hong Kong	Iraq
Japan	Israel
North Korea	Jordan
South Korea	Kuwait
Macao	Lebanon
Taiwan	Oman
<i>Southeast Asia</i>	Qatar
Brunei	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Syria
Indonesia	United Arab Emirates
Kampuchea	People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
	Yemen Arab Republic

Appendix B Contd.

<i>Africa</i>	Botswana
Egypt	Lesotho
Libya	Namibia
Algeria	Republic of South Africa
Morocco	Swaziland
Tunisia	Other Africa: Other countries not listed above
West Sahara	
Sudan	

Excluded in Table 8.8

Other

Includes countries and regions not elsewhere identified above

Other Residual

For confidentiality reasons, the level of birthplace detail is compressed on the Statistics Canada Public Use Sample Tape, for the Atlantic Provinces, Yukon and the Northwest Territories. In these areas, data on the overseas-born distinguish between persons born in the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and all other groups. This latter group is labelled the 'other residual category'.

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Howard Adelman, Allan Borowski,
Meyer Burstein and Lois Foster

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