

# **Migration reform priorities for Australia**

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for The Economic Society of Australia



Migration policy is important.

But public debate isn't always nuanced or informed about migration policy.

This means changes with substantial effects go largely unnoticed.

This lecture focusses on the detail:

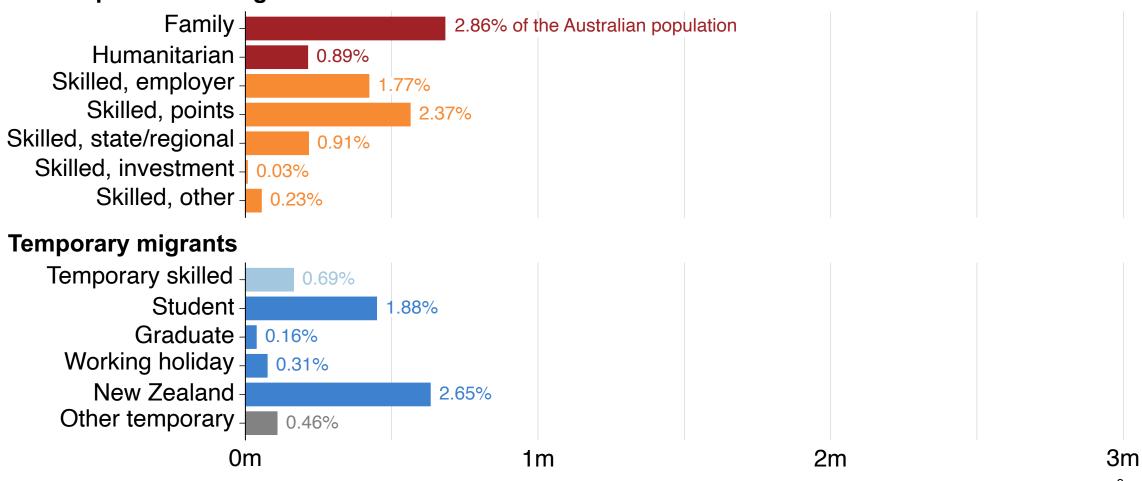
- 1. How the system works: visa subclasses within Australia's migration program
- 2. How to assess the system: recent economic outcomes of migration policy
- 3. How to make it better: migration reform priorities
  - Abolish skills lists
  - Expand permanent employer sponsorship
  - Expand temporary skilled employer sponsorship
  - Abolish BIIP; properly evaluate Global Talent
  - Review points test
  - Do not expand skilled visas for short-term Covid labour shortages



Australian residents born overseas, 2016

Arrived before 2000 -

# **Recent permanent migrants**

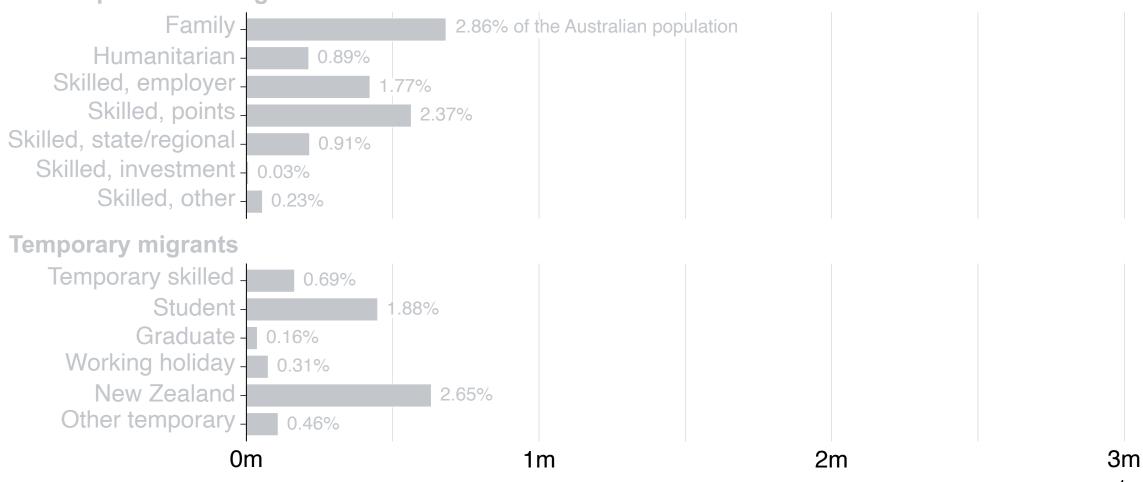




#### Australian residents born overseas, 2016

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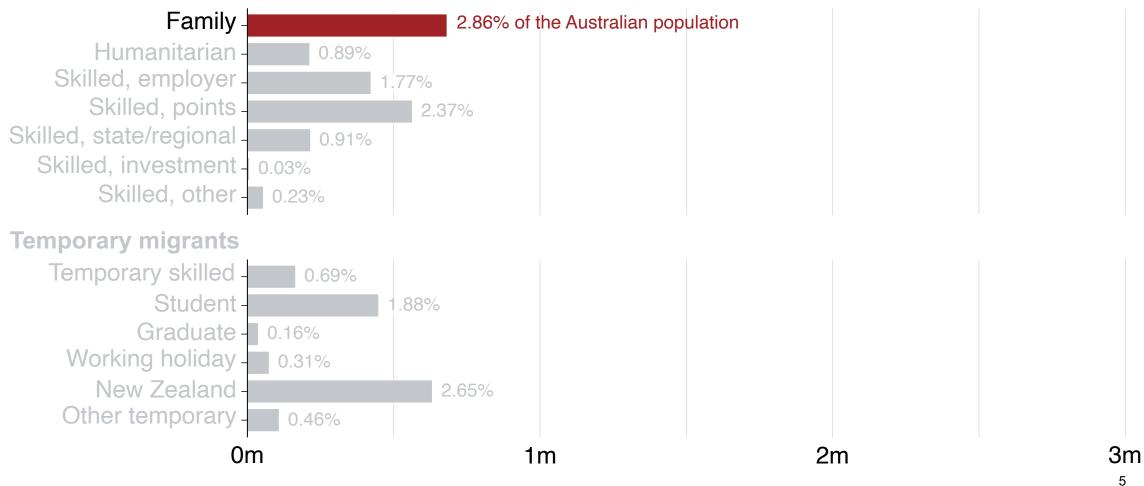




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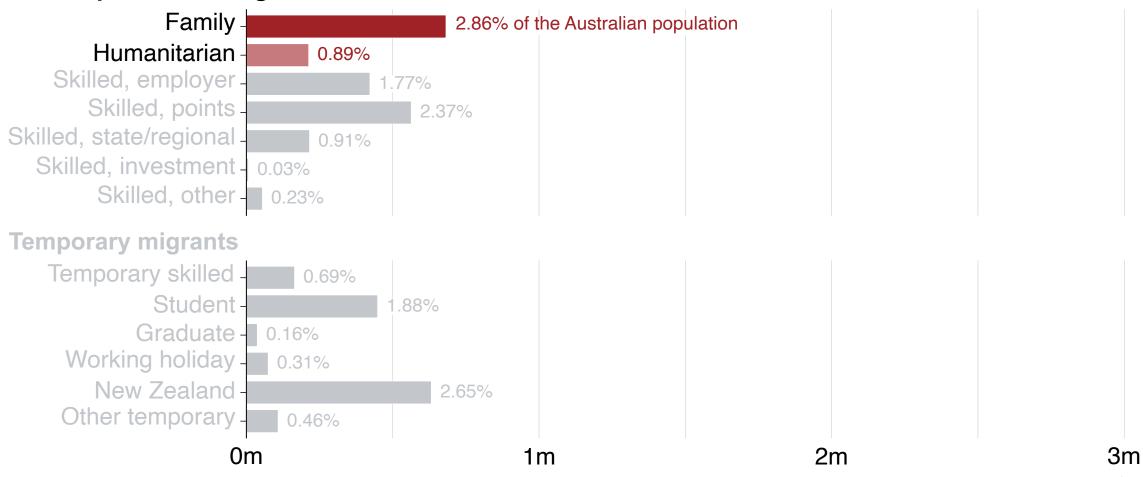




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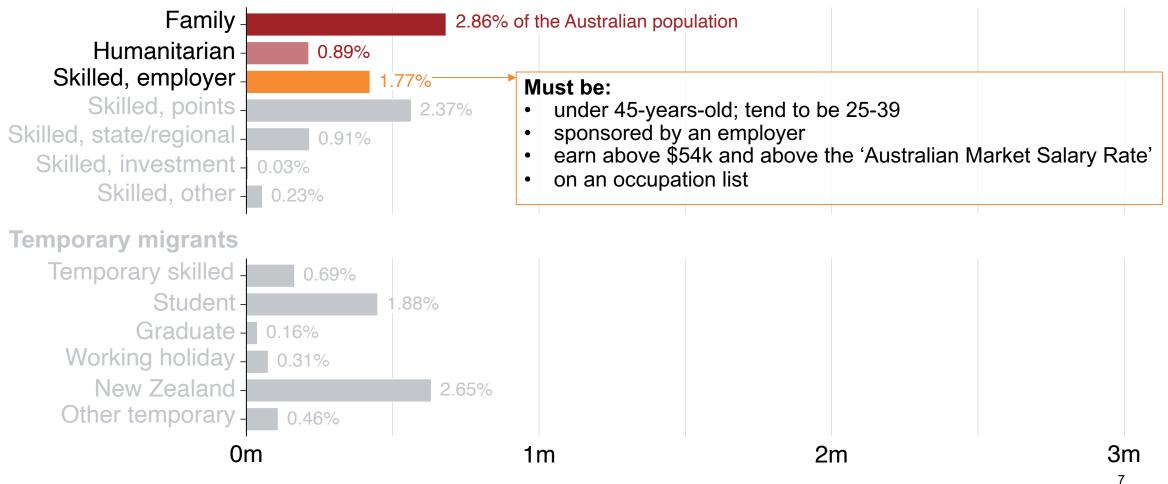




#### Australian residents born overseas, 2016

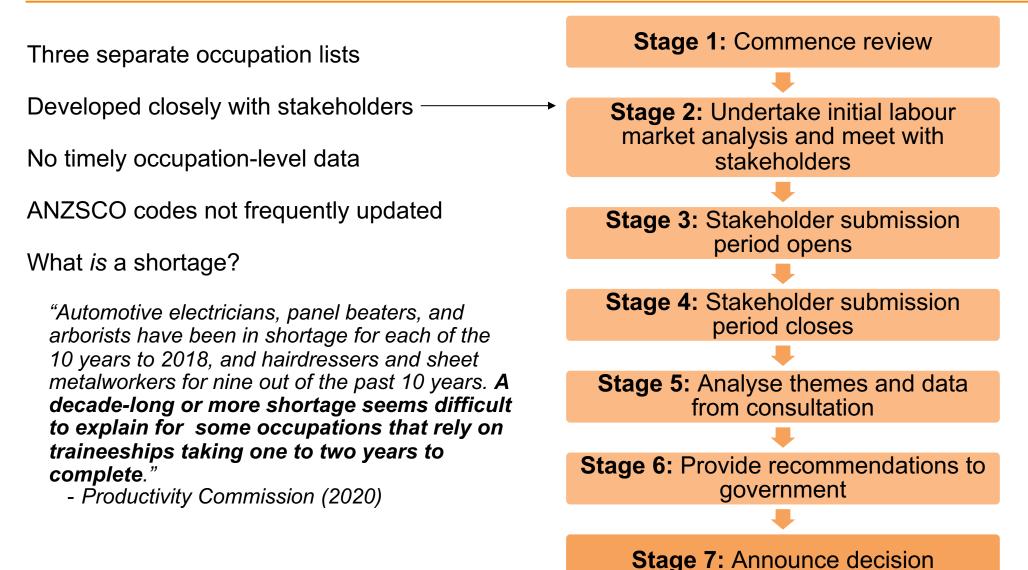
Arrived before 2000 -

### Recent permanent migrants





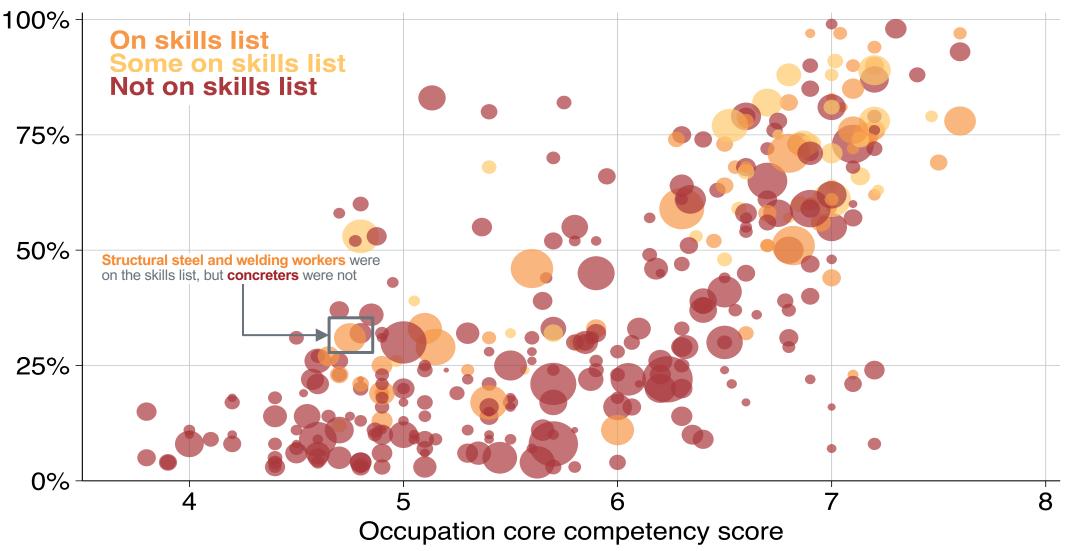
# Occupation lists determine which jobs can be filled by skilled migrants



# "Skilled" occupation lists are poorly targeted: many high-wage jobs are excluded; many low-wage jobs included

Institute Institute

Share of occupation earning more than \$80,000



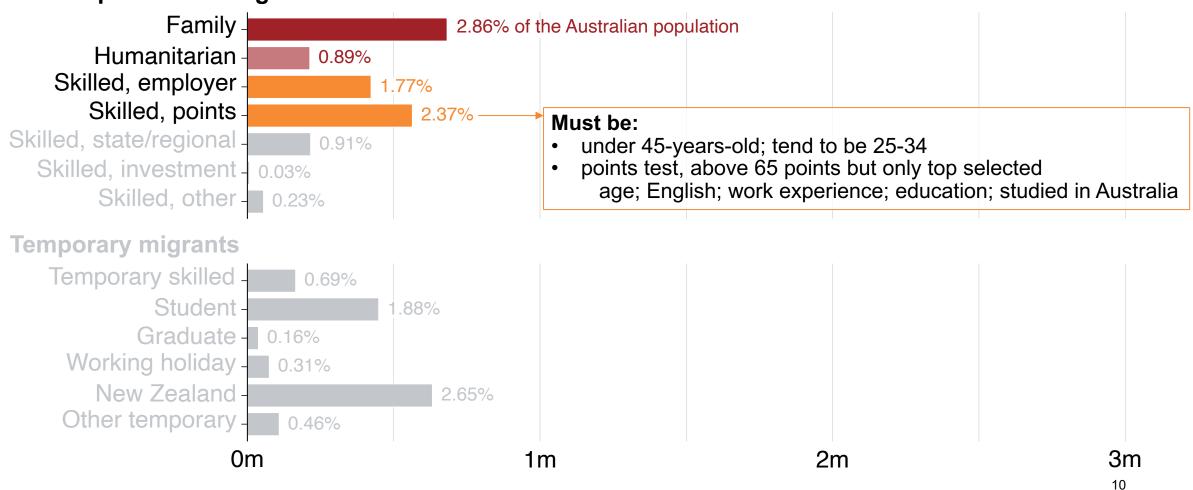
Notes: Full-time workers aged 19 and older in the 2016 Census. Competency scores are the average of 10 core occupational competencies – such as numeracy and problem-solving – developed by the National Skills Commission. Sources: Grattan analysis of ABS (2016a); National Skills Commission (2021b); Medium- and Long-term Strategic Skills List (2020).



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#### **Recent permanent migrants**

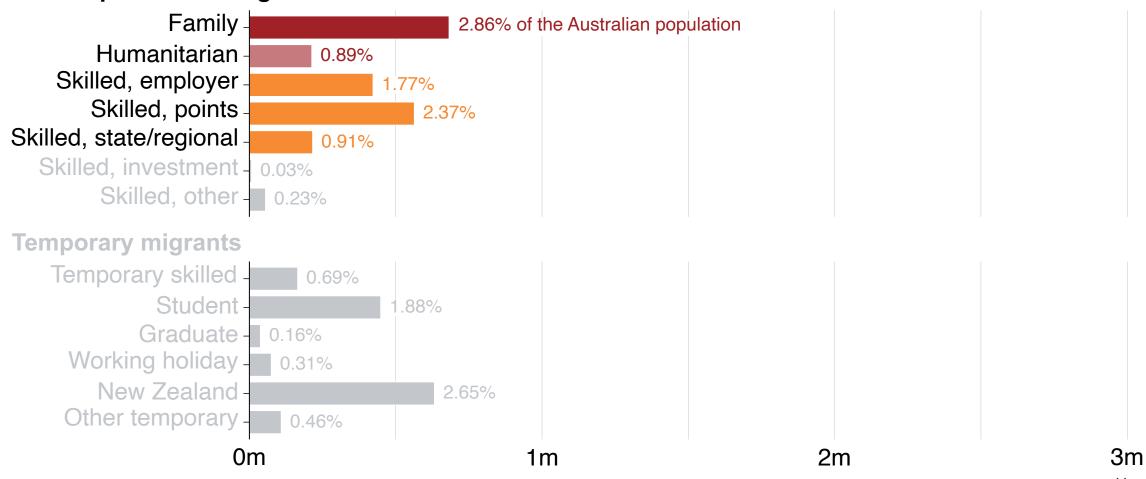




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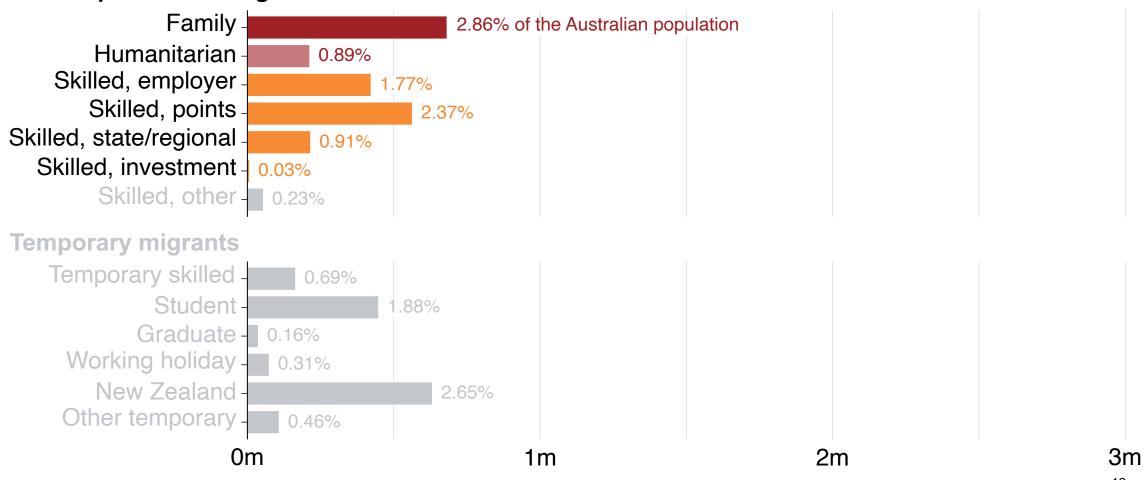




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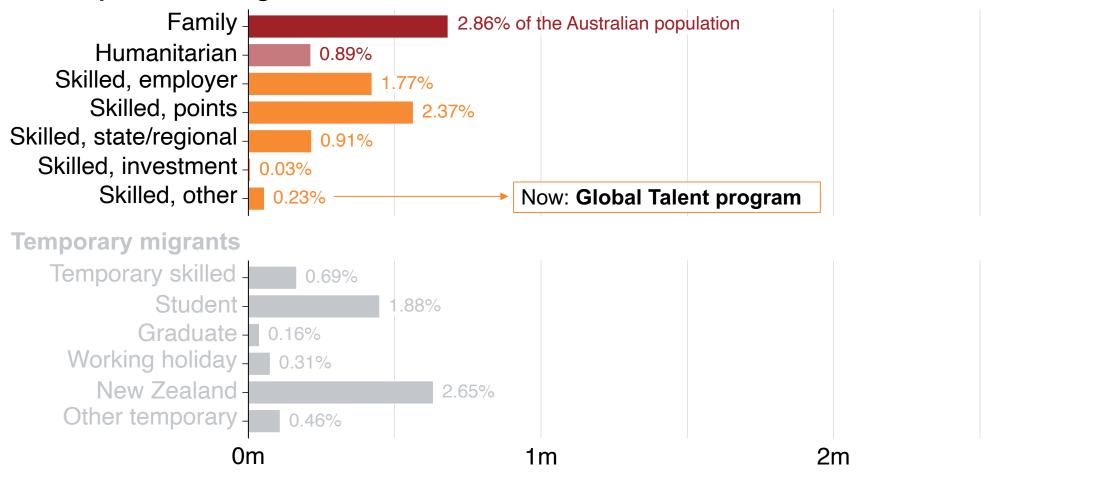




#### Australian residents born overseas, 2016

Arrived before 2000 -

#### **Recent permanent migrants**



Source: Grattan analysis of ABS Census (2016); Australian Census and Migrant Integrated Dataset (2016); and Australian Census and Temporary Entrant Database (2016).

3m



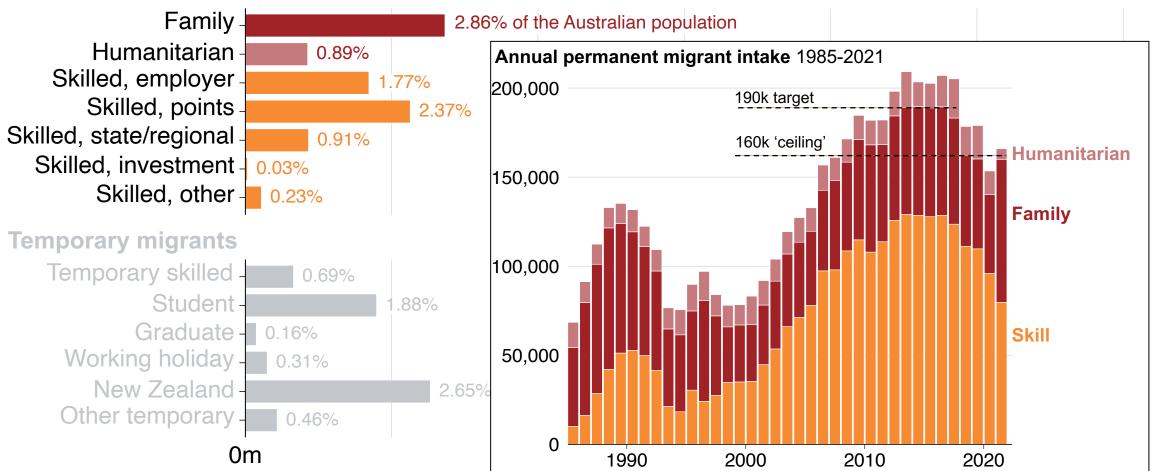
12.5%

# Australian migrants are on a wide range of different streams

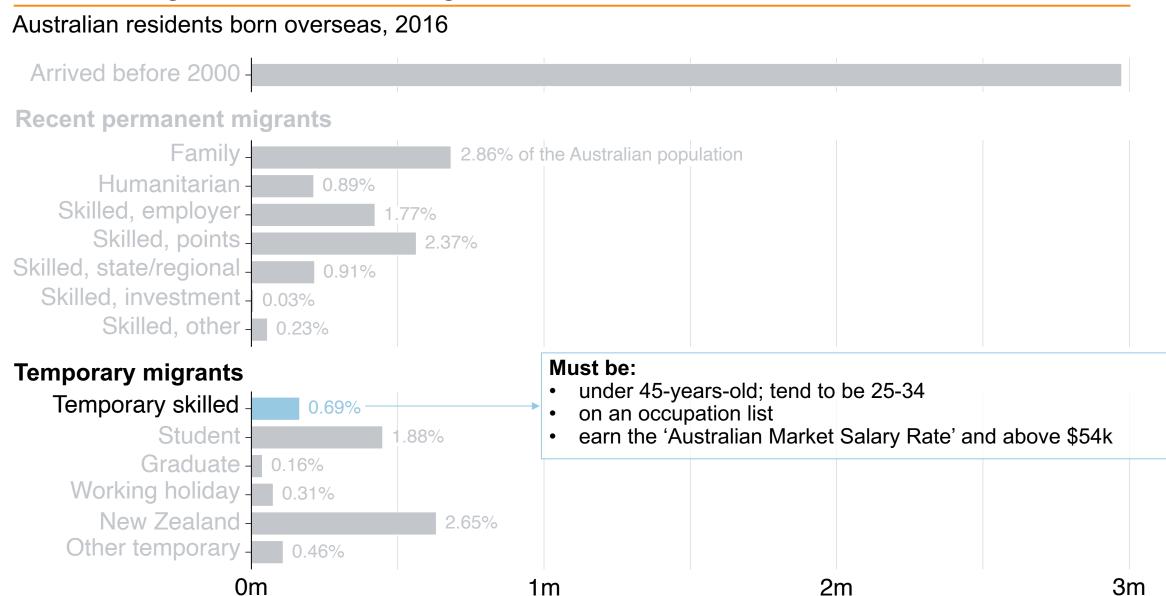
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# **Recent permanent migrants**





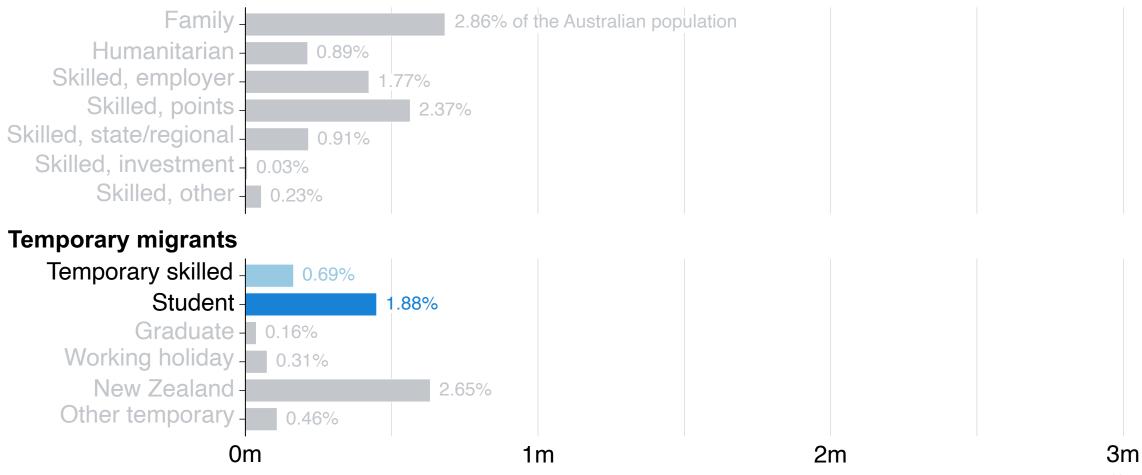




#### Australian residents born overseas, 2016

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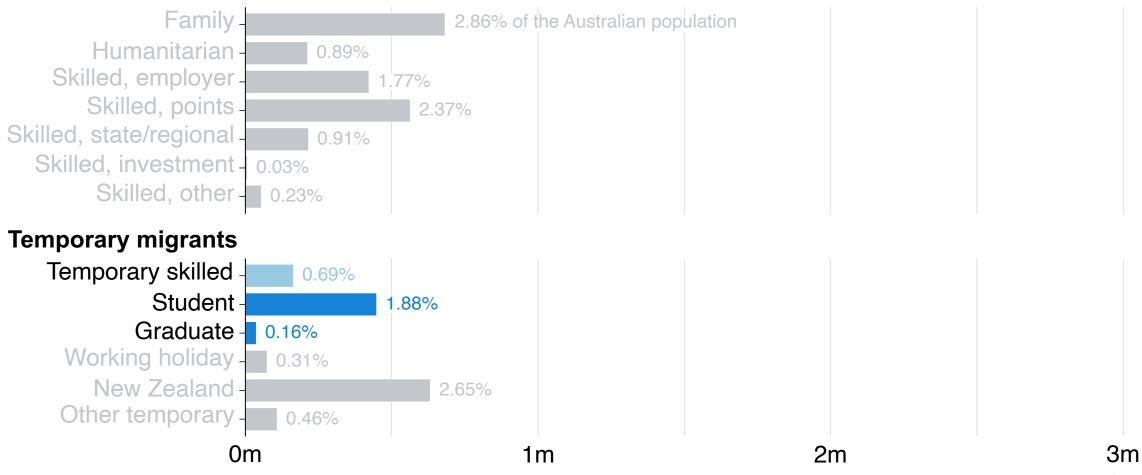




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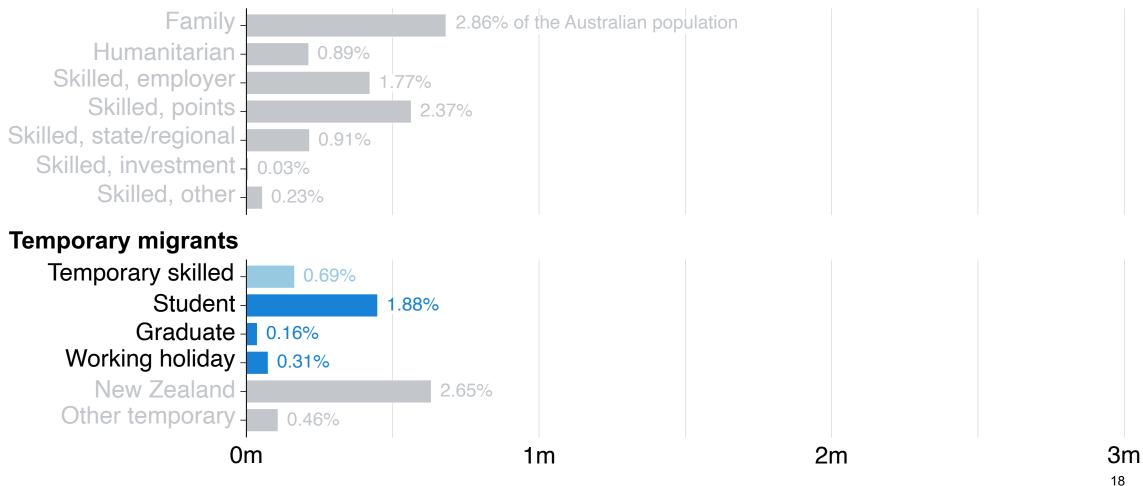




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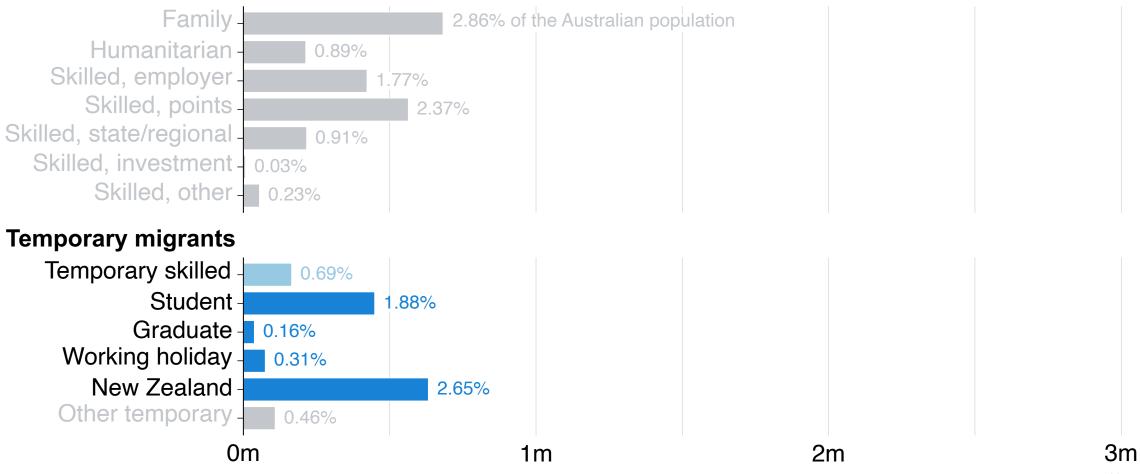




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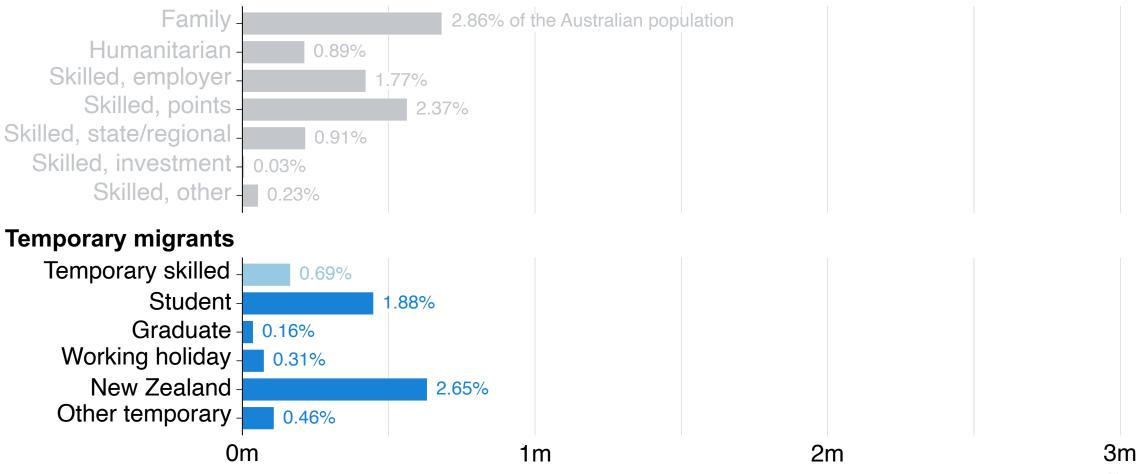




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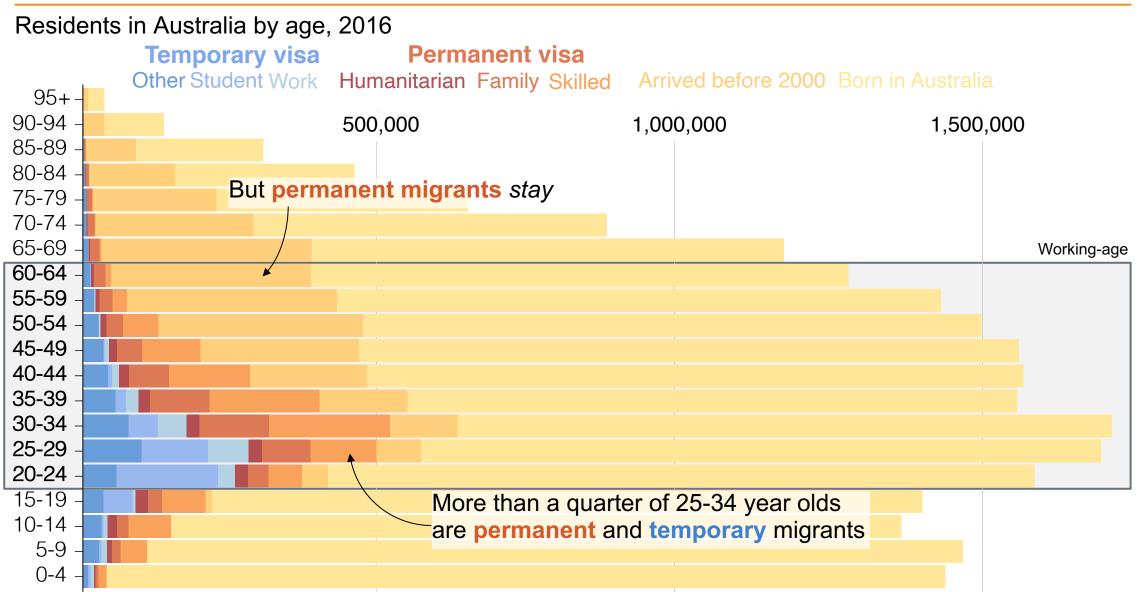
Arrived before 2000

#### **Recent permanent migrants**



# Migration is big: more than one-in-four people in Australia aged in their 20s and 30s are recent migrants





Notes: Counting residents of Australia during the 2016 Census. Overseas visitors are excluded, as are residents with an invalid year of arrival in Australia. Source: ABS Census (2016); ABS Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (2016); ABS Australian Census and Temporary Entrants Integrated Dataset (2016). 'The Australian immigration program should aim to **maximise welfare** of the **Australian community** along **economic**, **environmental** and **social** dimensions'

where:

- Australian community are Australian citizens and permanent residents, and their progeny, at the point of decision making.
- Economic wellbeing includes local labour-market, productivity, and fiscal effects.
- Environmental wellbeing includes natural resources, housing, and congestion. Largely driven by population effects.
- Social wellbeing includes social cohesion, safety, and public trust.

TodayResidents nowFuture arrivals





# How do recent migrants change incumbent wages and employment?

- 1. Migrant consumption
- 2. Concentration of immigrants in the labour market
- 3. Elasticity of substitution between immigration and incumbent labour
- 4. Adjustment from short- to long-run equilibrium
- 5. Productivity spill-overs

# What is the likely net fiscal contribution of recent migrants?

- 1. Age of migrants
- 2. Subsequent lifetime income



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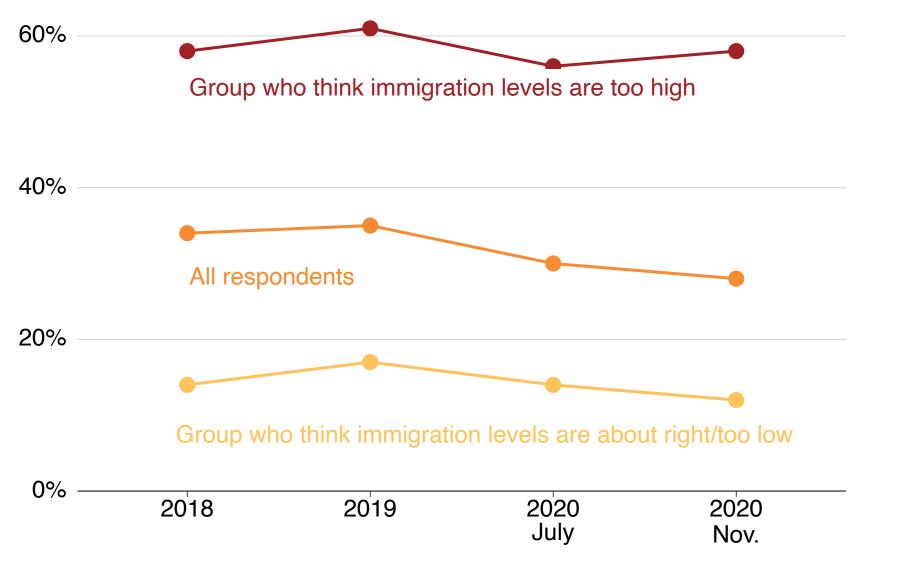
What is the likely net fiscal contribution of recent migrants?

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# People who think Australia immigration levels are too high overwhelmingly think immigrants 'take jobs'



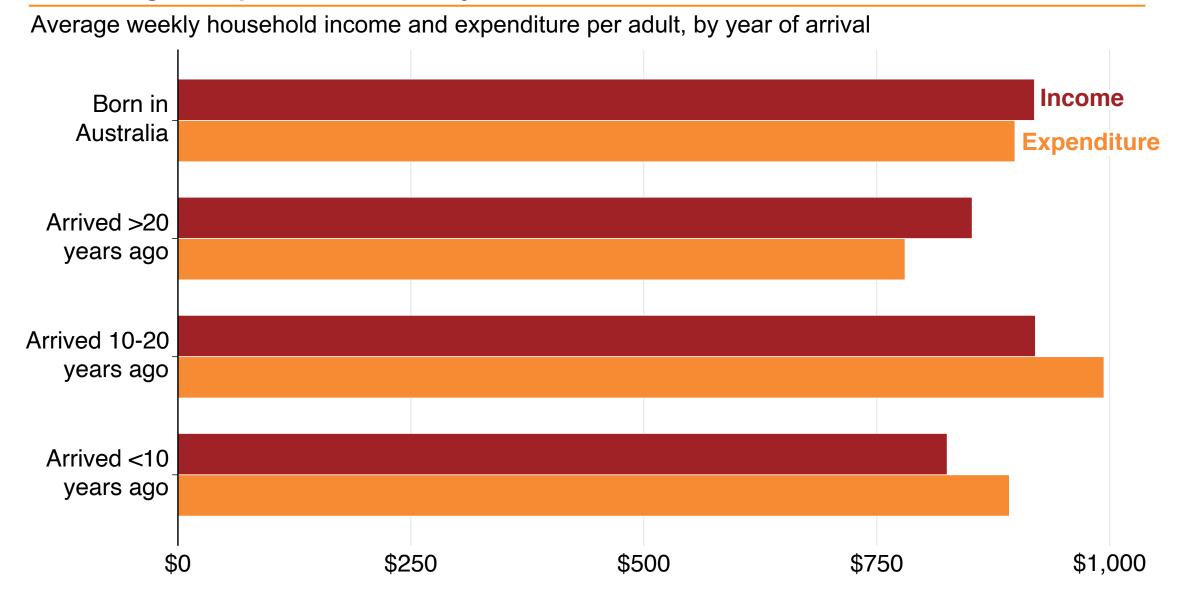
Proportion who agree that 'immigrants take jobs away'



Source: Markus (2021, Table 29), Mapping Social Cohesion (The Scanlon Foundation Surveys).



#### Recent migrants spend more than they earn in Australia



Notes: Households with the reference person aged 18-65 only. Source: ABS (Household Expenditure Survey, 2015-16).

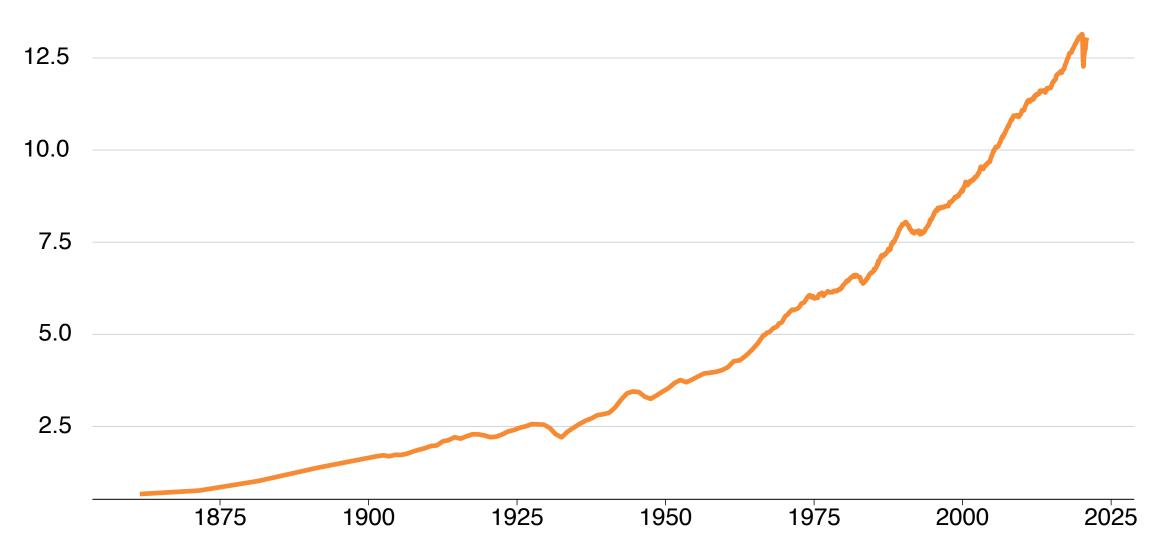






#### The number of jobs in Australia is not fixed

Millions of employed people in Australia, 1861-2020



Sources: Butlin (1977), retrieved from Cowgill (2021); ABS (2007); and ABS (2020a).



# Theory

- Aggregate impact on wages and employment is small/ambiguous
- Concentrated migrant inflows can have big distributional effects
  - Winners: higher wages for workers with complimentary skills
  - Losers: lower wages for some with similar skills

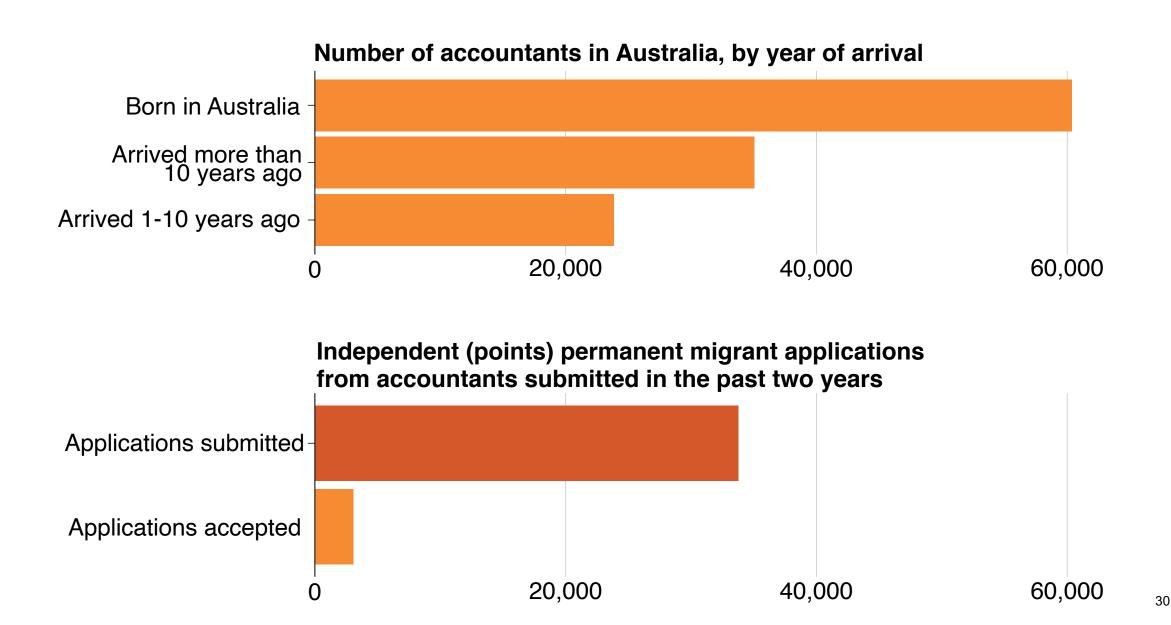
**Empirical evidence from Australia:** 

# Breunig et al (2016)

• 'almost no evidence that immigration has harmed the aggregate labour market outcomes of...incumbents.'

#### Crown et al (2020):

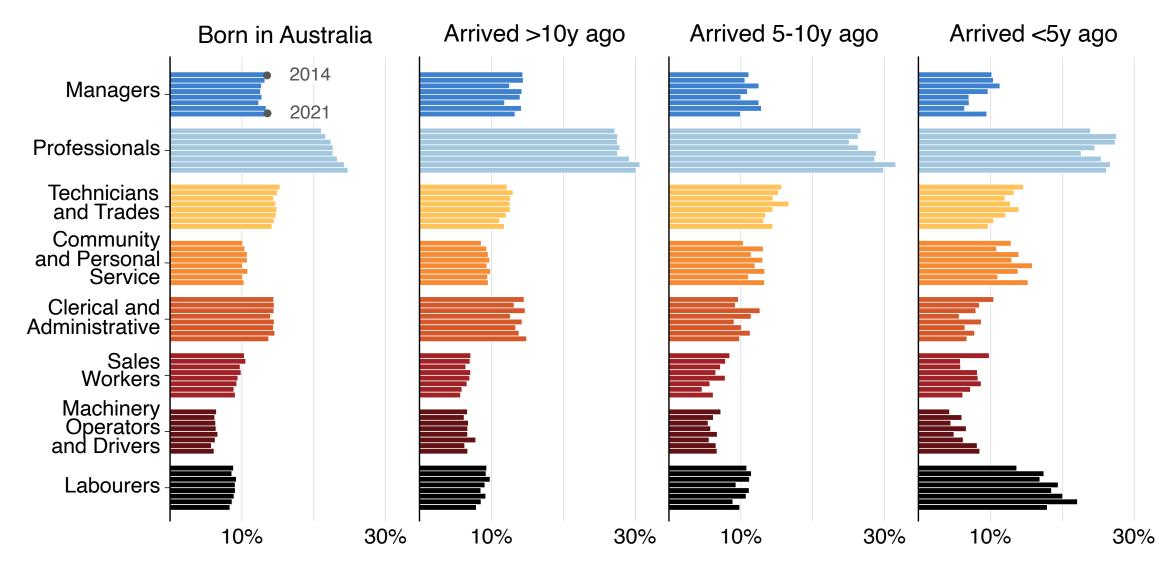
- Incumbents shift to tasks requiring greater communication abilities; higher wages
- Biggest gains for low-wage workers.



# Migrants work in broadly similar occupation groups to people born in Australia

**RATTAN** Institute

Major occupation share by arrival group



Source: Grattan analysis of ABC Characteristics of Employment Survey.



How do recent migrants change incumbent wages and employment?

- 1. Migrant consumption
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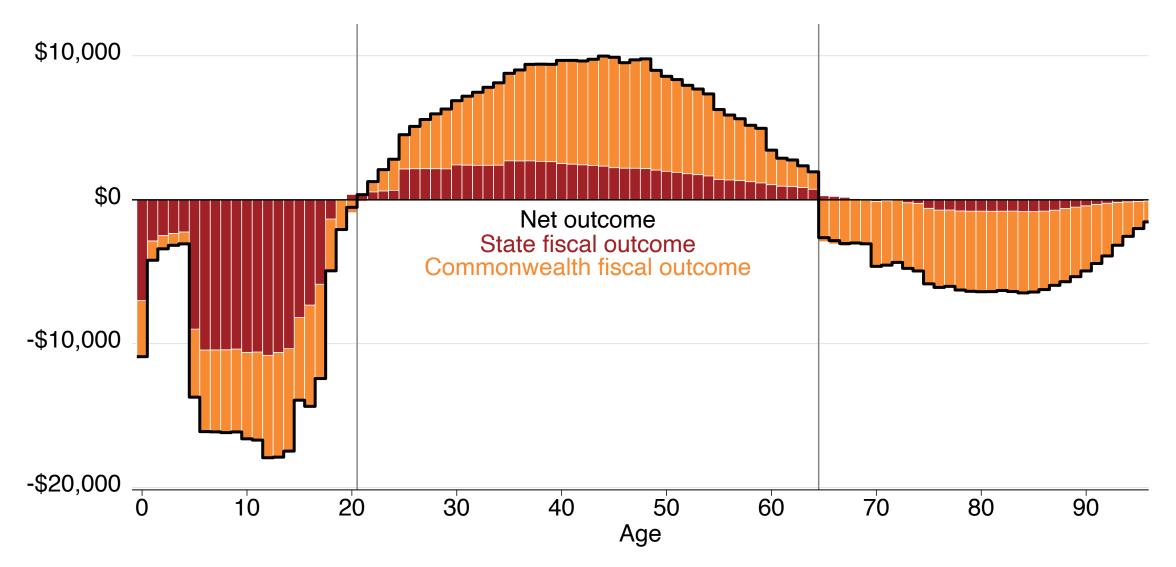
# What is the likely net fiscal contribution of recent migrants?

- 1. Age of migrants
- 2. Subsequent lifetime income

# Individuals' fiscal contribution is largely driven by life stage



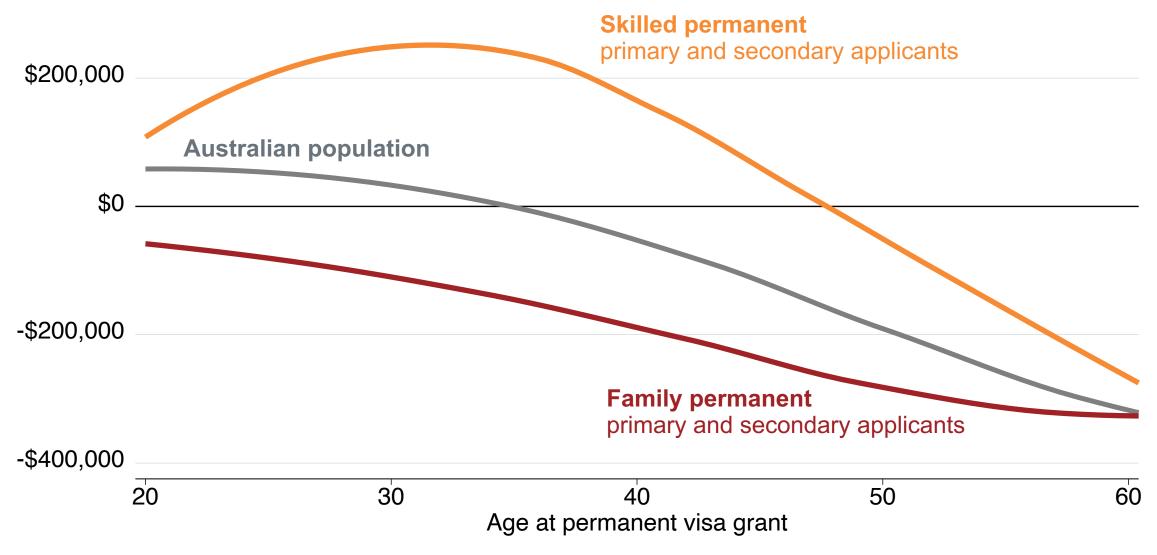
Average lifetime interaction with the Commonwealth and State tax and transfer systems





# **30-year-old skilled migrants tend to be best for lifetime fiscal outcomes**

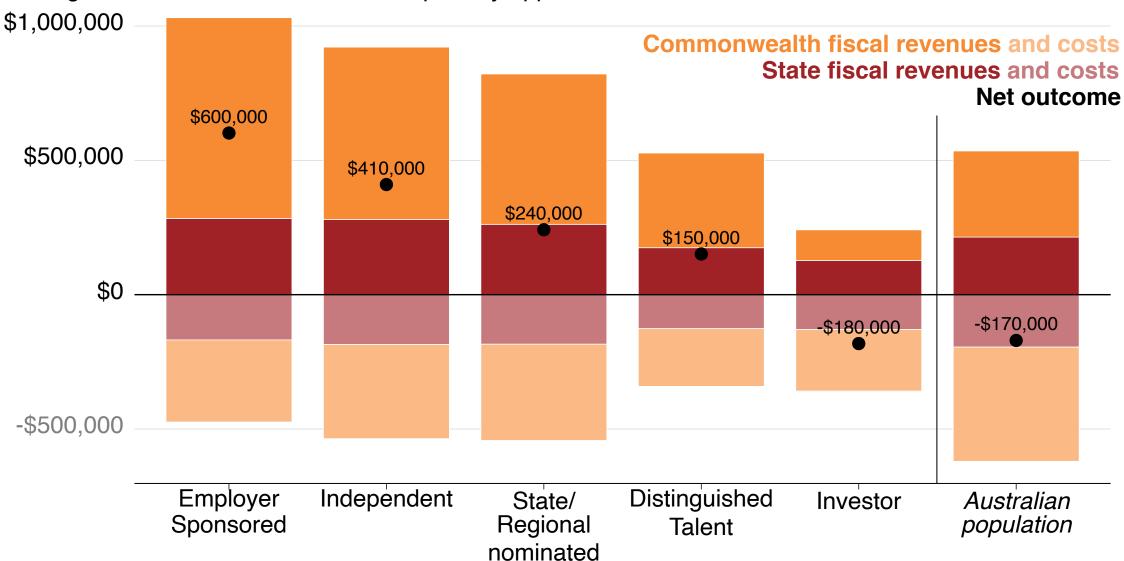
Average lifetime fiscal impact by age of permanent visa grant



Source: Treasury FIONA model, Varela et al (2021, Chart 10)

#### Investment visa holders have poor lifetime fiscal outcomes





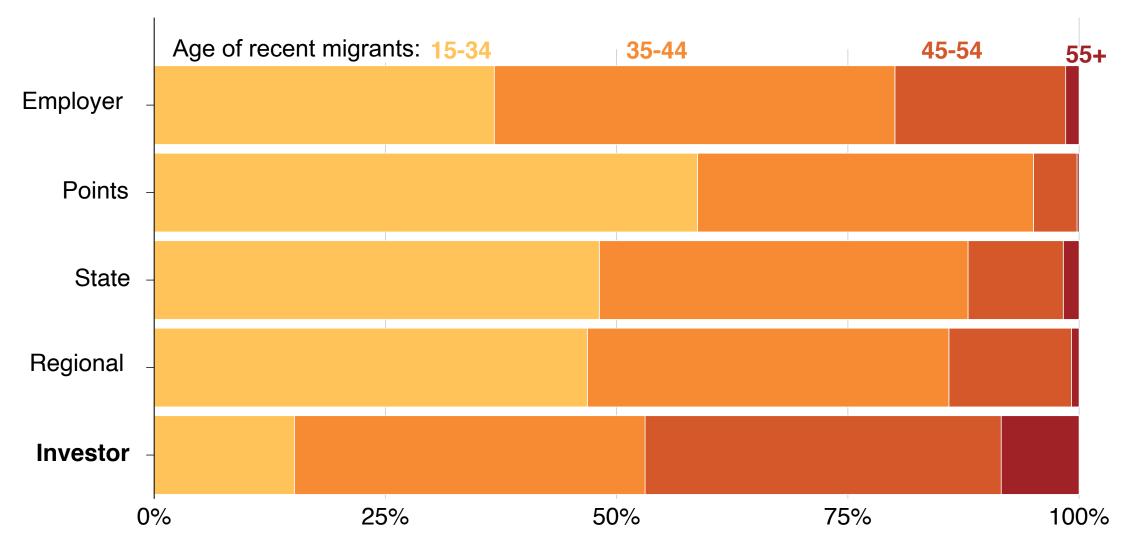
Average lifetime fiscal benefit of skilled primary applicants

Source: Treasury FIONA model, Varela et al (2021, Chart 4)

# Points-based and employer-sponsored visa holders are overwhelmingly young; whereas investors are older



Percent of primary applicants by age and visa stream

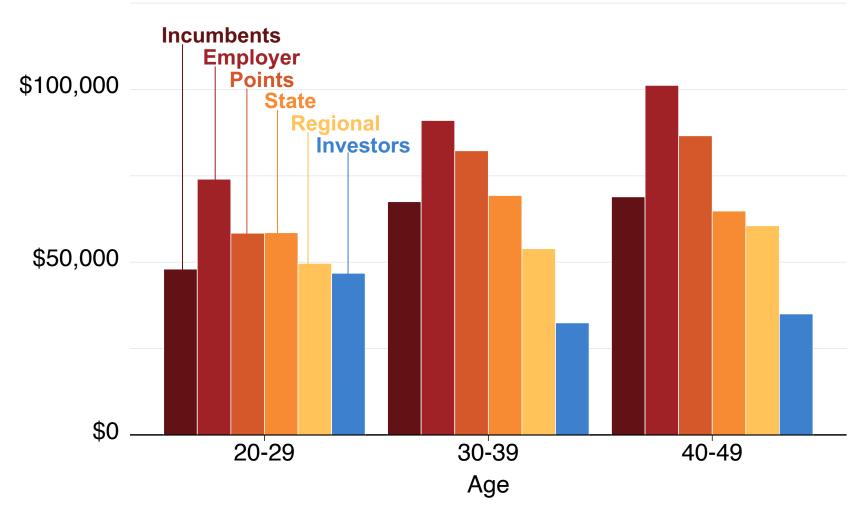


Notes: Residents in Australia in 2016 who arrived on a permanent visa between 2012-2016. Visa class is the first permanent visa granted. Residents with an invalid year of arrival in Australia are excluded. Source: ABS Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (2016).



#### Employer-sponsored migrants earn the most, and investment the least

Median income of full-time workers, incumbents and primary applicants

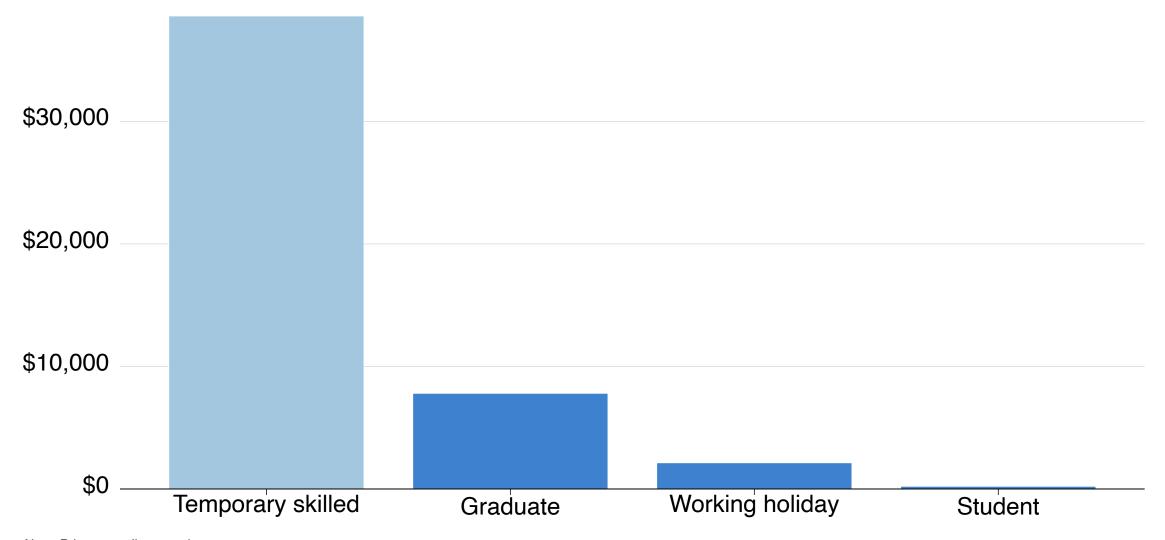


Notes: Residents in Australia in 2016 who arrived on a permanent visa between 2012-2016. Visa class is the first permanent visa granted. Incumbents are residents born in Australia or those who arrived before 2000. Residents with an invalid year of arrival in Australia are excluded. Source: ABS Census (2016); ABS Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (2016).

# Temporary skilled workers contribute more to Australia's fiscal position than other (temporary groups



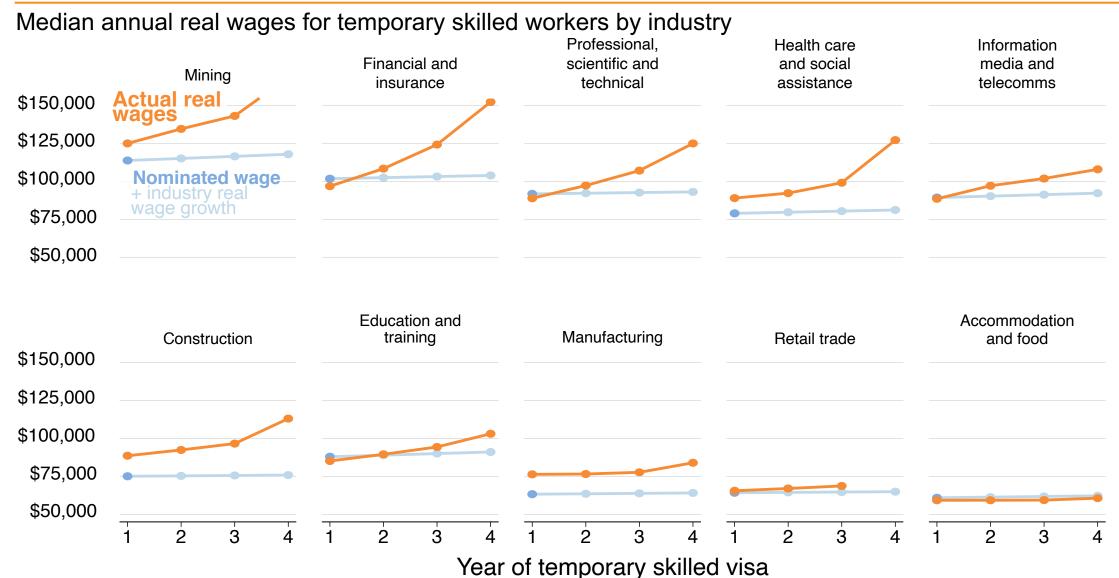
Fiscal impact per person by temporary visa subclass over duration of visa



Note: Primary applicants only. Source: Treasury FIONA model, Varela et al (2021, Table B2)

### Workers see big wage increases over time – except retail trade and accommodation and food services

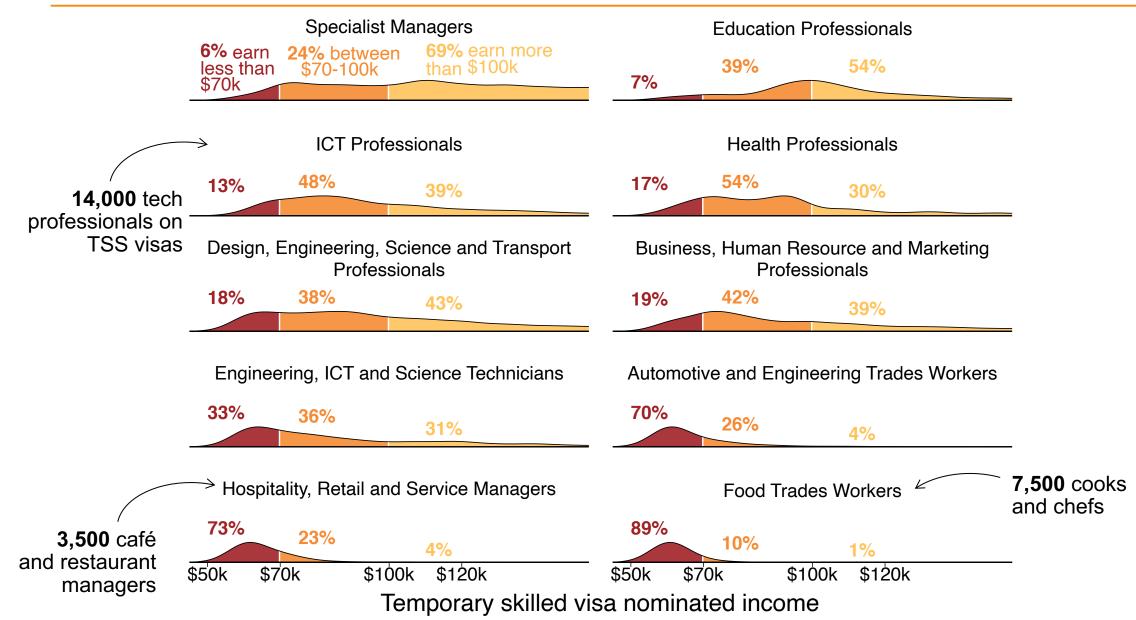




Notes: People in Australia on a 457 or 482 (TSS) visa between 2010 and 2018. Wage data is salary and wages from ATO personal income tax records, inflated using CPI. Only financial 39 years fully covered by a temporary visa span are included. Source: Grattan analysis of ABS MADIP (2022).

### Nominated incomes of temporary skilled workers vary dramatically within occupations

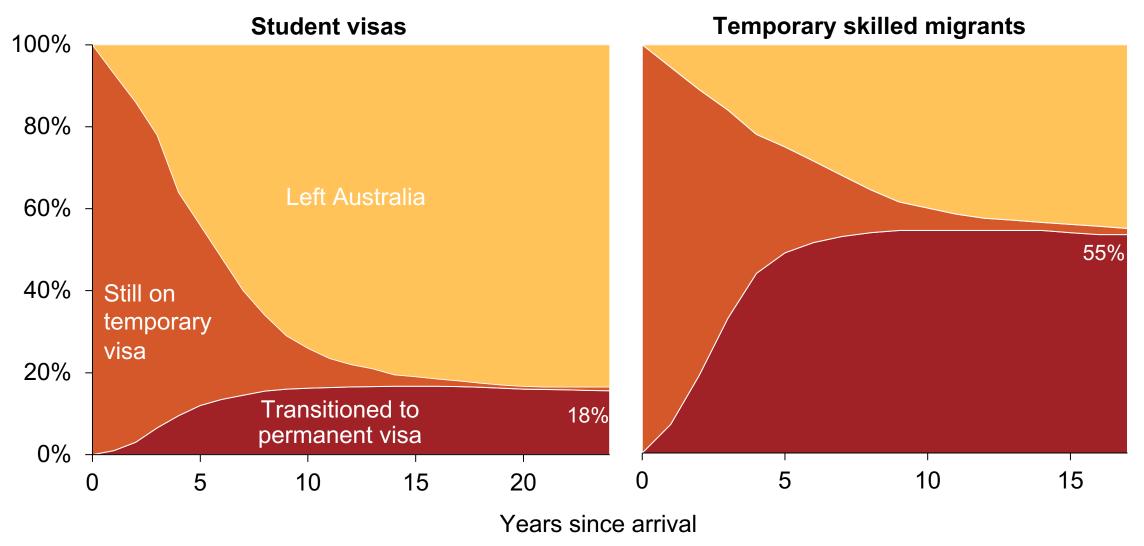




# Temporary migrations captures who comes, but permanent migration dictates who stays



Share of visa holders



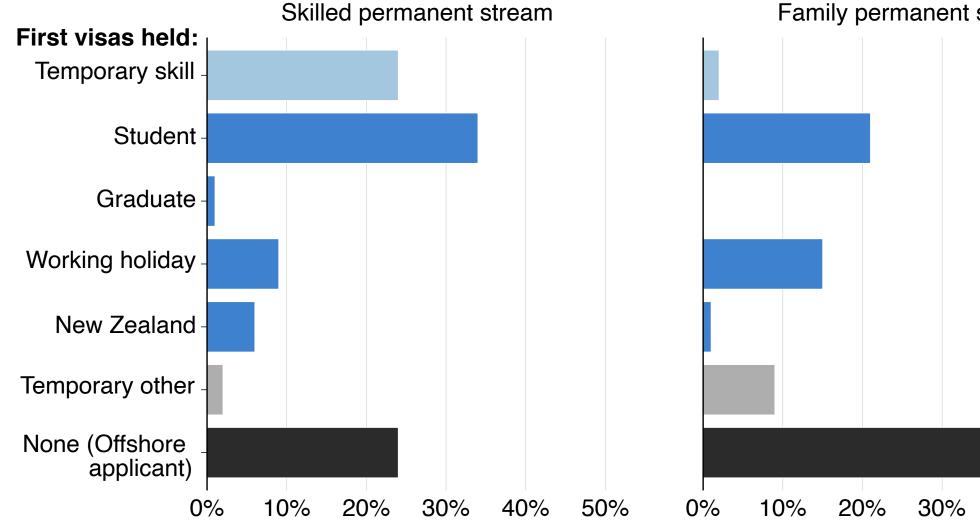
Source: Treasury / Department of Home Affairs, "Shaping Our Nation", Figure 18.

40%

50%

### Three-in-four skilled permanent migrants come from temporary streams

Share of skilled and family permanent streams by first visa held



Family permanent stream

Source: Treasury FIONA model, Varela et al (2021, Table B1)



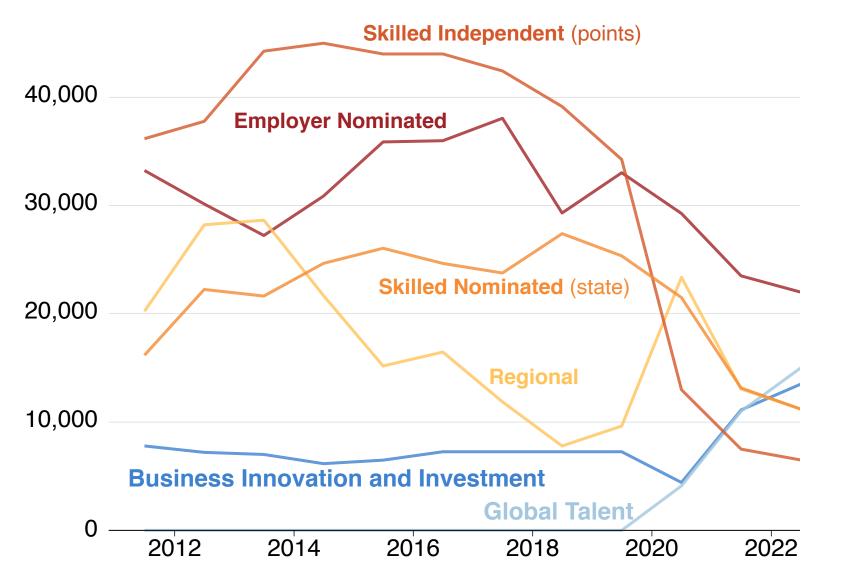
#### **Priorities for permanent and temporary skilled migration programs:**

- Abolish skills lists: they can't identify "shortages", don't prioritise high-skilled
- Expand permanent employer sponsorship: \$80k wage floor, open to all occupations
- Expand temporary skilled employer sponsorship: \$70k wage floor, open to all occupations
- Abolish BIIP: not boosting innovation, big costs given age & low incomes
- Scale back and evaluate Global Talent: sound objective; untested at scale
- **Review points test:** remove points for domestic & regional study & "professional year"; should we keep separate state-nominated and regional visa streams?



#### **Recent allocation announcements**

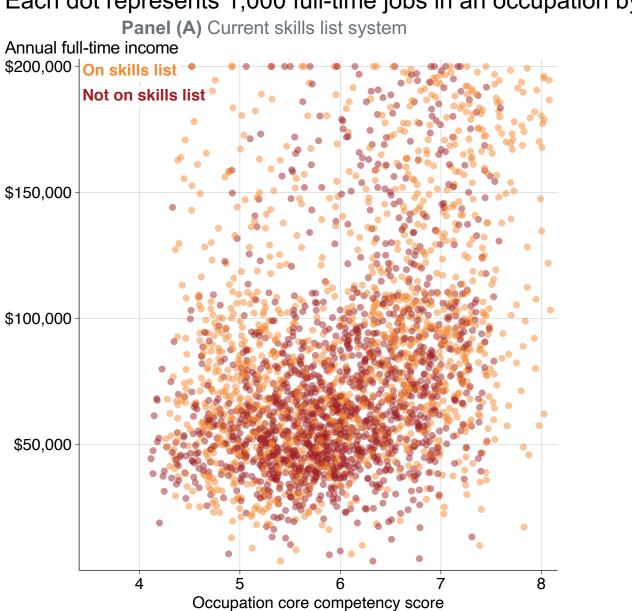
#### Annual permanent visa allocation



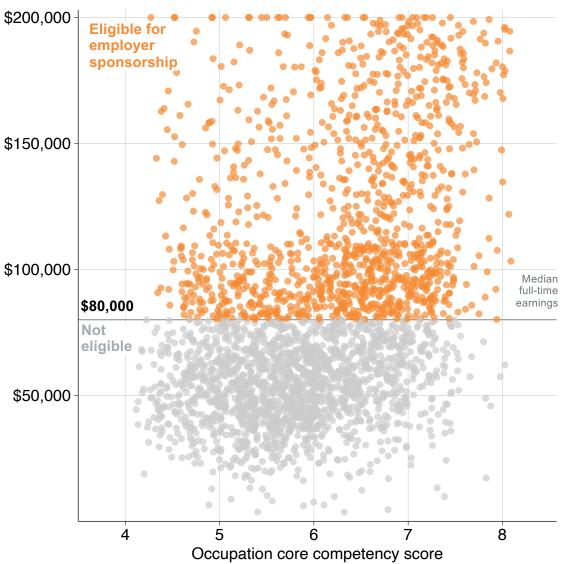
Notes: Figures for 2022-23 are planned. Original visa grant figures have been adapted to mirror the government's new categorisation, introduced in 2019-20.



#### **Replace occupation lists with income thresholds**



Each dot represents 1,000 full-time jobs in an occupation by their income

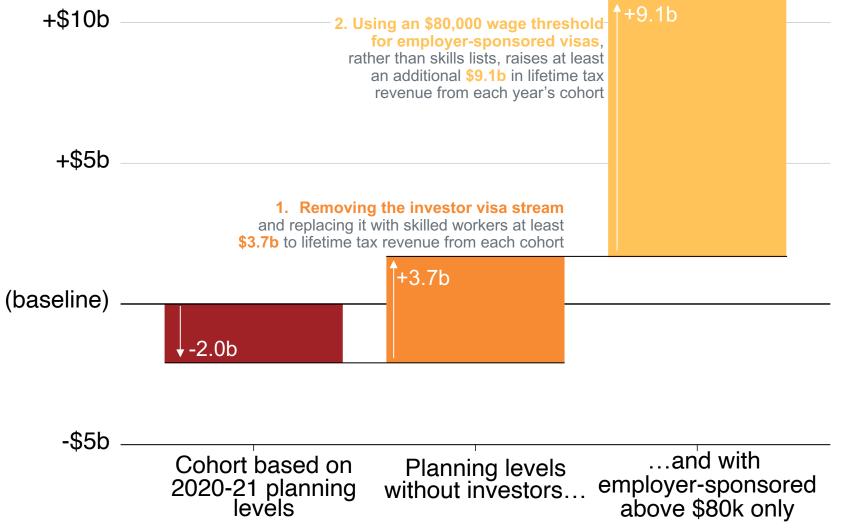


Panel (B) Alternative with an \$80,000 wage threshold

# Improving how we select permanent skilled migrants will produce a big fiscal dividend in the long term



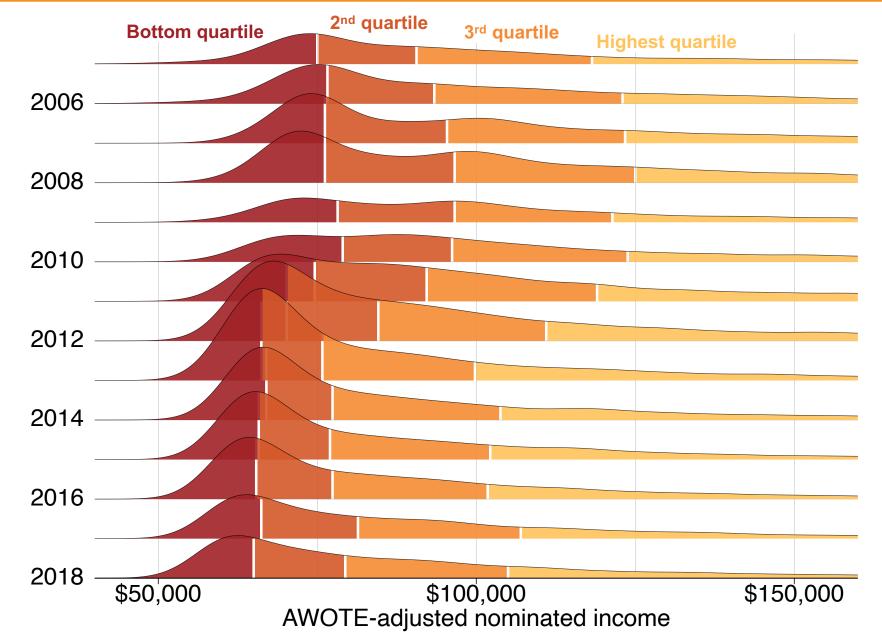
Estimated lifetime tax paid of permanent migrant cohorts, relative to recent (2013-18) cohort composition



Notes: Assumes a real wage growth is 1% and a real social discount rate of 3%. Retirement age is 67. See methodology in Grattan's report: Rethinking permanent skilled migration after the pandemic.

## The nominated incomes for Temporary Skill Shortage visa-holders have fallen in recent years

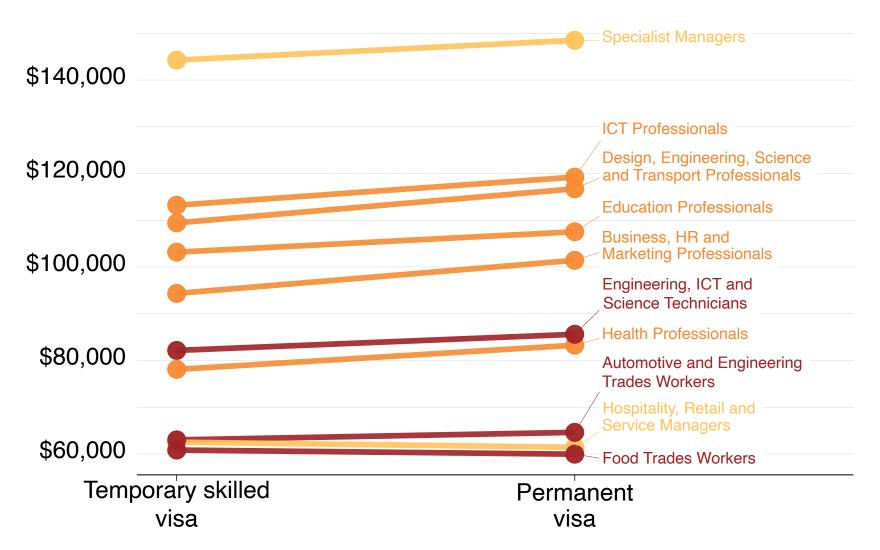






#### High-wage TSS visas lead to high-wage permanent visas

Median nominated income between TSS visa and permanent employer-sponsored visa

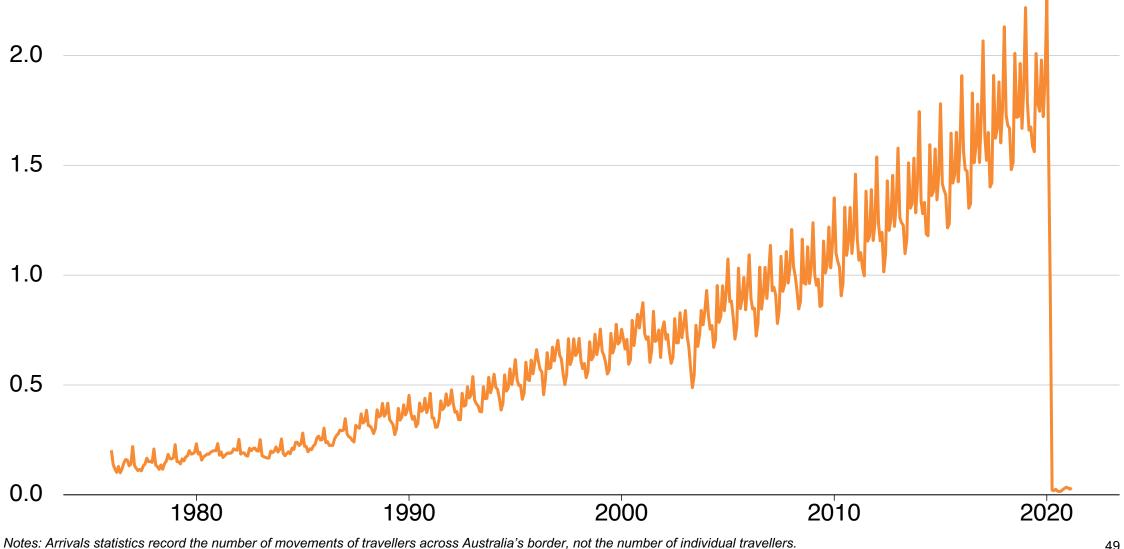


Notes: Occupations are the ANZSCO submajor code of a person's first TSS visa. Dollars are adjusted to \$2021 with CPI. Only incomes for people who were granted a TSS visa and subsequently an employer-sponsored visa are shown.



#### Australia's border was slammed shut

#### Total monthly arrivals in Australia, millions

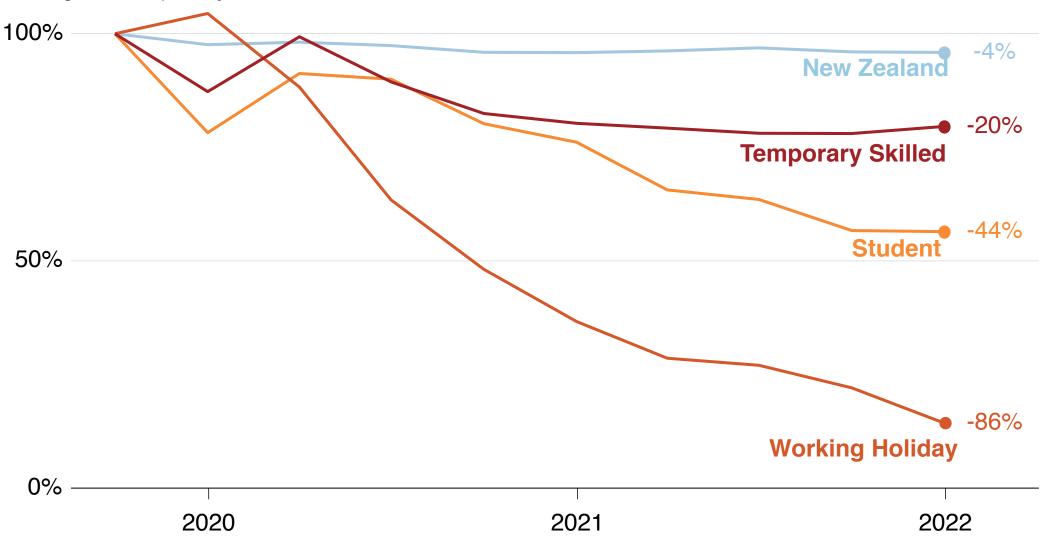


Total arrivals includes both residents returning and visitors arriving. Source: ABS, Overseas Arrivals and Departures, March 2021.



#### But temporary migrants didn't all disappear

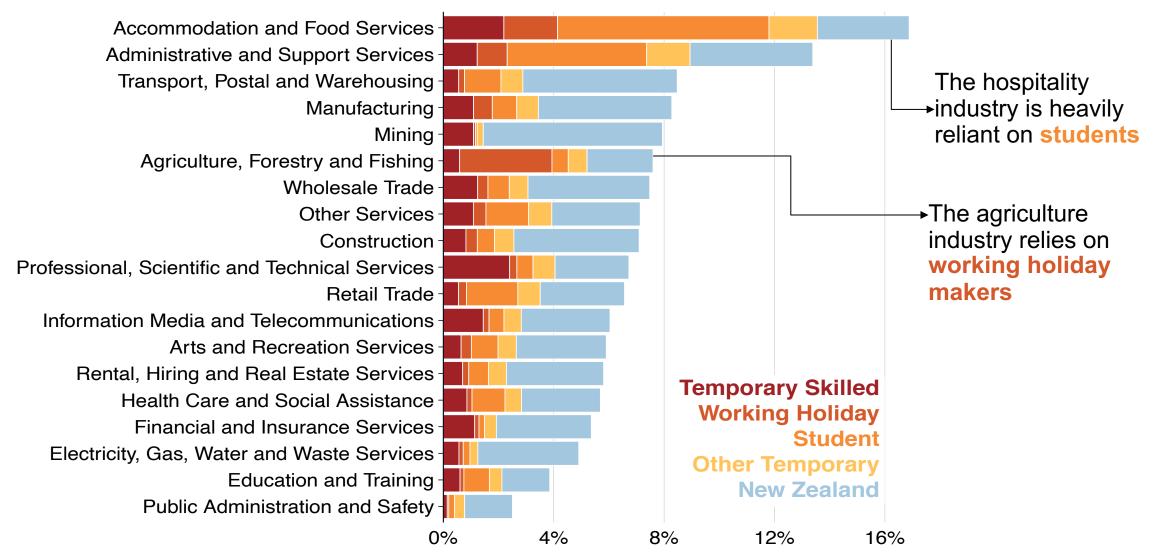
Change in temporary visa-holders in Australia since 2019Q3





#### Some industry were more exposed to border closures than others

Temporary workers, share of industry





#### **Priorities for permanent and temporary skilled migration programs:**

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