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**Is the Math Sufficient? Aging Workforce and the Future Labour Market
in Canada**

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Key Messages

In this Knowledge Synthesis Project we bring together what the best peer-reviewed research in Canada tells us about labour and skills supplies in Canada at present and in the near future. The key lessons we identified from this research synthesis are:

- The research literature clearly finds that there is no national labour shortage in Canada. There are shortages of skills in some sectors and regions, but the research points to a mismatch of skills rather a shortage of either labour or skills.
- Employers encountering hiring difficulties are experiencing the symptoms of a normal labour market cycle and a tightening labour market, not a national shortage of skilled labour. Labour circumstances will fluctuate in a “dynamic economy” and this leads to shortages in some sectors and regions, and surpluses in others.
- Sectoral and regional labour shortages and unemployment are expected in modern economies and not indicative of labour market “malfunction.” Scrutiny of labour shortages reveals that these happen intermittently with durations of less than a year in the last decade. Structural shortages occur because of population shifts, demographic adjustments, technology developments, and industry growth. In the future, there likely will be more workers “overqualified or unemployed” than those without skills.
- Older workers and the first edge of the Baby Boom cohort are working longer. Despite low birth rates, the labour force is not shrinking and is predicted to grow until 2031.
- Since the 2008 recession, affording retirement in the style people expect and wish may remain out of reach for many at age 65.
- As more women work to a later age, their spouses, who are typically older, tend to remain in the workforce longer until the couple can retire together.
- Evidence shows that education and skills improve productivity and income as well as motivating entrepreneurialism and innovation.
- Research on skills development shows that youth do well with support, information and options that can lead to labour market success, such as information about required occupational credentials, trades knowledge and participation in early-age youth apprenticeships or vocational courses. This support is particularly important for disadvantaged youth and high school early leavers.
- Apprenticeships are one way to advance employee training. However, when work becomes unavailable, apprentices consider other occupations thus not completing their apprenticeships.
- Highly skilled and specialized immigrants are being underutilized in the workforce in their fields of expertise due to unrecognized foreign experience and credentials.
- A core body of research finds that immigration will increasingly be relied upon to deal with short and longer term occupational shortages, an aging workforce and a diminishing supply of highly skilled workers.
- Temporary foreign workers support the Canadian economy in lower paying jobs, particularly in the hospitality, and food and beverage industries, but they do not receive the same levels of employment security, equity and supports Canadian employees in the same roles do. They may suppress employment opportunities and wages for Canadians, particularly youth.

Executive Summary

This report outlines the findings of a knowledge synthesis project which was established to gather and learn more about what the best existing peer-reviewed research reveals about labour and skills supplies in Canada now and in the near future. This study identifies not only what is known but also the gaps in research relating to the present and future needs of Canada's labour force.

A research team with collective expertise in demographic change, immigration and skills development joined together from Alberta's three major universities, to this collaborative, interdisciplinary project. The team distilled 219 peer-reviewed articles and reports for inclusion in this study dating from 2000 to 2013 in English (or French). The articles focused on: gaps in labour/ skills demand and supply, aging workforce, employment patterns of aging Canadians, the role of immigration and shifting immigration policies, the role of shifting skills development.

Key Findings

Seven key findings emerged from the analysis:

1. There is **no evidence of a national labour shortage** at present or into the foreseeable future. The labour force is predicted instead to grow until 2031 but at a slower rate of growth
2. First edge of the baby boom (people now age 65-67) are **working longer**, so there is less shrinkage in the labour force than originally predicted
3. Last edge of the baby boom (people born 1966) are only 47 years old in 2013, so have about **20 more productive years before leaving the workforce**
4. There are **pockets of skill shortages** and mismatches in **specific industry sectors** and in specific **geographic** areas
5. There are large groups of **underutilized populations** who could join the workforce or be more fully employed, particularly youth, Aboriginals, disabled persons and unemployed older workers
6. Highly-skilled immigrants are being **severely underutilized** in the workforce in their fields of expertise due to unrecognized experience and credentials
7. Temporary foreign workers support the Canadian economy in lower paying jobs, particularly in the hospitality, food and beverage industries, as well as in higher paying jobs. However they do not receive the same **levels of employment security, equity and supports** Canadian employees in the same roles do.

What National Labour Shortage?

The research literature clearly finds that there is no national labour shortage. Contrary to what has been said in the media and by numerous pundits, Canada is not confronting a broad labour shortage, nor is a shortage anticipated in the near future. There are skills shortages in some industries and regions, but the literature points to a mismatch of skills rather than a shortage. Reviewed research confirms that hiring difficulties some employers have are due to normal cycles of the labour market for their specific industry and not a national skilled labour shortage. Labour circumstances change constantly in a dynamic economy. This leads to short-term shortages in some areas and surpluses in others. Sectoral and regional labour shortages as well as unemployment are expected in modern economies and are not indicative of labour market "malfunction" or demographic structural change.

Coming out of the 2008 recession, some growing sectors may be looking to recruit for essential positions. This is a significant challenge in the resource sector, seen as Canada's economic engine. This does not indicate, however, that there is a need for a national labour market strategy to increase the number of workers. Instead, the research literature makes the case that Canada should focus on the increasingly sharp international competition for "top talent," while acknowledging that cyclical shortages in specific industries are to be expected, given the fluctuations in the economy.

Older Workers: Participation, Retention and Un-Retirement

With the first edge of the baby boom cohort moving past age 65 (an age once thought of as the age of retirement) and declining fertility rates, speculation has arisen about impacts for the Canadian workforce. The peer-reviewed research in this study suggests that these are not immediate concerns.

Older workers are more likely to remain in the labour force -- up to five years longer, on average, than age 65. The rate of employment among older workers has also grown significantly in Canada from the mid-1990s. Downturns in financial markets and retirement portfolios, as well as under-saving, have also contributed to later retirement or un-retirement trends (returning to work after retiring) while Canadian costs of living remain high. To put it bluntly, affording retirement in the style people wish may remain out of reach for many at age 65.

Women's rates of employment have also been increasing since the mid-1990s and this impacts men's retirement. As more women work later, their spouses, who are typically older, tend to remain in the workforce longer so they can retire together.

Skills Shortage/Labour Shortage: What does the research tell us?

Labour shortages can be cyclical or structural. In an active economy, short-term cyclical shortages are to be expected. Structural shortages, by contrast, occur because of demographic shifts, technology developments, and industry growth. These can be longer term and require different strategies to manage. Scrutiny of labour shortages in Canada reveals that these happen intermittently with a duration of less than a year in the last decade.

Skills Development

Canadians, when compared to residents of other countries, have high levels of post-secondary education (and acquired skills) because of their involvement in post-secondary education and training, including university. However, evidence indicates that the length of time that Canadian youth transition from completion of education to work is approximately eight years. When youth enter the labour market, they often are most often employed in low-paying jobs, and often have credentials that exceed the job requirements.

Research shows that youth do well with support, advance information and options that lead to labour market success. They need information about required occupational credentials, trades knowledge and participation in early-age youth apprenticeships or vocational courses. As well changes are needed to curb a rising trend in high school drop-outs. Evidence shows that drop-out prevention policies have high returns, particularly for disadvantaged youth.

Immigration: The Need, the Irony and Role for the Future

Canada's immigration irony is that we attract highly-skilled workers but then fail to utilize, or underutilize, the important skills they bring. Highly-skilled immigrants are being severely underutilized in the workforce in their fields of expertise because their experience and credentials are not recognized. As a result, immigrants are not actually meeting the needs of the Canadian labour market. The research literature on immigration and the labour market in Canada falls into three over-arching themes calling for:

- Reform of the immigration point system
- Broadening of immigration policy
- Reform and/or improvement of foreign credential recognition

In each of these three themes, researchers discuss, in whole or in part, the difficulties Canada's immigration system poses in connecting immigrants with the labour market and Canada's perceived labour/skills gap.

A core body of the reviewed research argues that immigration policy will increasingly be relied upon to deal with short- and long-term occupational shortages, an aging workforce and a diminishing supply of highly-skilled workers. Utilization of the skills immigrants bring to Canada can contribute to competitiveness and enable the economy to maximize global growth opportunities.

Temporary Foreign Workers: Short-Term Labour Market Solution?

Temporary foreign workers are generally thought to provide a short-term solution to perceived labour shortages in specific sectors. The expansion of this program has engendered debate in the research literature. The question is whether it is prudent to utilize temporary foreign workers to meet the needs of Canada's labour market while the annual number of permanent immigrants to Canada has remained relatively constant over the last decade. Historically, the types of skills sought from temporary workers changes, but they tend to fill low skill jobs that Canadians may be reluctant to take, as well as some high skilled jobs. Emerging research literature is critical of the temporary foreign worker program, finding that the program contributes to regional disparities in unemployment and has impeded wage adjustments. This research concludes that filling labour/skills gaps with short-term temporary foreign labour has detrimental effects on temporary workers themselves because of their vulnerability to exploitation, and the isolation that not integrating into Canadian society can bring .

Further Research Needed

On how to project labour demand; on shifts in employer training investments; experiments on what works in school-to-work transitions and on integrating underemployed into the labour market

On temporary foreign workers and immigration: Are there too many temporary foreign workers in light of high youth unemployment rates? Do temporary foreign workers depress wages in Canada? Does the availability of temporary foreign workers thwart Canadian training? Do temporary foreign workers create regional unemployment disparities among provinces? How best to overcome the challenges of foreign credentials and work experience?

Importance for Policy Makers

Well informed labour market/skills development policies and immigration policy planning will benefit both the Canadian labour market and currently disadvantaged groups who could participate more fully for their own and the society's benefit. Specifically, this knowledge synthesis suggests several possible actions:

- Resisting building national policies on labour or skills shortages that are regional or sectoral
- Capitalizing more fully on existing strong pool of skills while developing those in disadvantage
- Encouraging education, industry and government to collaborate on solutions to skills mismatches
- Providing better information to youth and others on labour market
- Improving immigration policies without needing to rely so much on temporary workers
- A more proactive approach to education and training from government(s)

Report

Context

Controversy surrounds assessment of Canada's current and future labour force, both supply and needs. Are there now, or will there be in the near future, labour shortages? Skills shortages? Both? Neither? Pronouncements on these questions float around in both popular media and policy circles as if the answers are clear. We read industry reports and hear of business competitiveness rankings which state labour and skill shortages are the main barrier to Canadian competitiveness, and that inevitable workforce shortages are looming on the horizon. With some questioning now if that is in fact the case as,

according to recent Canadian Press article, “evidence is skimpy” (Beltrame, 2013), we seek to survey the published research and offer a synthesis of what is known.

The goal of this knowledge synthesis is to ask what the best existing peer-reviewed research tells us about labour and skills supplies in Canada now and in the near future. How do claims of shortages connect with relatively high jobless rates among Canadians now, particularly among youth, newer immigrants, Aboriginals and some midlife and older people?

Recent industry and think-tank reports argue that there are skills shortages in some sectors, particularly in natural resources, construction and technology and concerns are raised about “mismatches” between the kinds of skills employers are looking for and the skills those seeking work possess. Additionally, there is the issue of “precarious employment” where a significant number of workers, in particular immigrants, women and the young, are working in low-wage jobs, often temporary, that provide minimal job security and benefits. Yet, these reports say that Canada is not facing a labour shortage, but that “there is some evidence of tightness across certain occupations and regions” and that we “can do a much better job to improve efficiency” in the labour market (TD Economics, 2013). Business associations that have dug deeper, note that even when Canada has experienced labour shortages in the past ten years, they have been “sporadic” and did not last for more than a year at a time (Certified General Accountants, 2012). They also note that forecasting labour or skills shortages “at the occupational level” is extremely difficult and is based on assumptions about industrial and economic growth, growth that does not always “lead to an increased likelihood of labour shortages in a particular industry.”

Our knowledge synthesis asks a cascade of key questions of the peer-reviewed research in Canada over the 2000- 2013 period:

- Is the math of declining workforce age population and retiring older workers sufficient to predict labour and/or skills shortages?
- If shortages exist or are likely in the future, are they labour or skills shortages/distribution? Is there a mismatch between demands for, and supply of, skills?
- What is the role of immigration and shifting immigration policies?
- What is the role of shifting skills development approaches? What more can be done to align labour market needs with skills development, particularly of those groups currently jobless or underemployed?

Many countries, including Canada, are experiencing population aging and long-term shrinkage in traditional working-age populations. A perception exists that fewer Canadian workers will be in the labour market in coming years (time horizons vary) due to population aging and the imminent retirement of the Baby Boom cohort (born 1946-66). The claim is made that the math of Baby Boomers leaving the workforce and shrinking working age population tells the story. Is this the case? Many assumptions about demographic change, immigration, and education/skills development are disseminated as if they are facts. Most Canadians have heard that the baby boomers generation is headed into retirement and the potential impact that this will have on the Canadian workforce, health care costs and the overall Canadian economy. The risks of having a higher ratio of retired people to those in the workforce – demographic dependency ratio – are debated (Martel *et al.*, 2011). There are two trains of thought on this: recent older cohorts tend to work longer as they are typically healthier, better educated and more entrepreneurial than earlier cohorts, and in fact, employment rates of those age 65+ have increased in recent years with many self-employed (Uppal, 2011). Age then may not be as clear an indicator of labour market participation as in the past. Yet, there is the possibility of an increased challenge to public resources as the number of retirees grow in Canada (Martel *et al.*, 2011). In Canada, however, the working age population is predicted by Statistics Canada to continue to grow from now until 2031, with the rate of growth, however, slowing (Martel *et al.*, 2011).

Addressing workforce issues related to immigration, both permanent and temporary, as well as transitions from high school and post-secondary into the workforce are important to answering our key questions. Immigration serves many purposes in addition to filling domestic labour market gaps. There is little research, for example, on labour market participation of family class immigrants or refugees. This synthesis has combed the literature on immigrants and in particular youth, to assess their participation in education and training programs in preparation for the Canadian labour market. The boundary between permanent immigrants and temporary workers or students has blurred recently with rapid growth in the Temporary Foreign Workers program, provincial nominee programs, changes to the live-in caregiver program, and policy changes that allow foreign students to become permanent residents. The literature on temporary foreign workers (TFW) and their impacts on the Canadian labour market has grown rapidly, coinciding with growth in the TFW program.

High school completion, early leavers and the status of K–12 school programming are vital areas relating to the labour market and skills picture in Canada. A key transition to the labour market involves high school completion. Exploring research both on transitions from high school to post-secondary and on high school completion and drop-out rates is central to understanding skills supply and/or shortages. Evidence in these studies reveal how youth, Aboriginals, recent immigrants, midlife and older persons and persons with disabilities could benefit from sustained quality skills training and education.

This knowledge synthesis identifies what is known and locates the gaps in the research around the present and future needs of Canada's labour force.

Implications

Policy Makers

The unique contribution of this knowledge synthesis is that it weaves together the relatively disparate literatures associated with population aging and labour supply with immigration and skills. This report thus contributes to dialogue with policy-makers at various levels to develop informed labour market/skills development and immigration policies that benefit both the Canadian labour market and currently disadvantaged groups who could participate more fully for their and the society's benefit.

In particular, this knowledge synthesis helps inform government and non-government decision-makers about the future of labour market and skills needs and training. We bring together the best available evidence to shed light on labour and skills availability. This synthesis originates with researchers in Alberta, which provides a solid platform to disseminate the results to provincial, municipal, as well as federal governments.

The project relies on Dr. McDaniel's extensive experience working in an advisory capacity with governments around the world. She chaired the Science and Technology Advisory Committee at Statistics Canada for a decade which, under her leadership, developed solid measures, now used around the world, of innovation, productivity and highly qualified personnel (HQP). She worked on behalf of Canada with the U.S. government to develop a unified Canada/U.S. database to capture doctorates earned in both countries and where they are now employed.

Education, Business Leaders and Interested Communities

The combined expertise of Dr. Bonita Watt-Malcolm and Dr. Lloyd Wong in skills development and immigration is invaluable in ensuring that this knowledge synthesis is based solidly on the best research in those areas. Their participation also helps move this synthesis to the relevant communities of interest. Dr. Watt-Malcolm came to academia from a career working as a tradesperson and technologist in Canada's resource industries: oil and gas, pulp and paper, and the petro-chemical industry. Her background has translated into a research program focused on youth/adult, work, education, and training in relation to the trades. Her research is transnational and her strong networks in industry and education give us an edge with regard to the dissemination of our synthesis results to industry leaders, employers and educators.

Dr. Lloyd Wong has extensive experience researching issues related to immigration, and has connections with many immigrant communities. In particular, he has a strong record of research on immigrant entrepreneurship, of important relevance to this synthesis. His research focuses on Alberta as well as on national and transnational contexts of immigration. His expertise helps facilitate the movement of our synthesis to communities which may be impacted by shifting demographics and pressures on the Canadian workforce.

Research Communities

The knowledge synthesis identifies what is known and locates gaps in the research around the present and future needs of Canada's labour force. This report is being reworked as a review article to be submitted to a leading scholarly journal. The synthesis is also to be used in educating post-secondary students, both at the undergraduate and graduate level, whose decisions can benefit from enhanced understanding of the Canadian labour market.

A primary vehicle for knowledge translation to the research and policy communities is the Prentice Institute for Global Population and Economy, University of Lethbridge under the direction of Dr. Susan McDaniel. The Prentice Institute is a world leader in global population research in relation to economies. The international network of Prentice Research Affiliates with diverse and interdisciplinary interests in labour force and population is supported by numerous research grants. These ever-expanding networks, with a mandate for knowledge mobilization, insure that this synthesis will be quickly and widely shared with leading researchers and policy-makers around the world. The results of the synthesis project will be made available through media briefs and press releases, the website of the Prentice Institute, as well as in the regular e-newsletter distributed by the Institute. Some Prentice Research Affiliates will find avenues for future research from this synthesis.

Approach

An interdisciplinary team from Alberta's three major universities came together as a collaborative team, drawing on their collective expertise in demographic change, immigration, and skills development, to review and assess peer-reviewed articles and reports that focus on population aging, labour and skills supply and demand and immigration in relation to labour market, as well as jobless groups.

Search Strategy

This knowledge synthesis is based on systematic searches of scholarly databases and key journals, such as *Canadian Public Policy*. Searches were completed by three research teams relating to their areas of expertise: demographics, immigration, and skills. Fourteen electronic databases and/or search engines were used to search for articles related to demographics published between January 2000 to September 2013. These included *Academic Search Complete*, *Baywood Publishing Company Inc.*, *EBSC Host*, *Hindawi Publishing Corporation*, *JSTOR*, *Metapress*, *Oxford Journals*, *Project Muse*, *Sage Journals*, *Science Direct*, *Taylor & Francis Online*, *Springer Link*, *Web of Science and Wiley Online Library*. Additionally, specific websites were searched including: C.D. Howe Institute, Canadian Policy Research Networks, Conference Board of Canada, Institute for Research on Public Policy, Statistics Canada, and the University of Calgary. Searches related to demographics combined demographic-related terms ('age(ing)', 'population', 'gender', 'youth' and 'retirement') with labour market-related terms ('workforce', 'labour', 'labor', 'employment', 'job', 'work', 'skill(s)', 'adaptability', 'migration').

Searches related to immigration utilized the following databases and/or search engines: Proquest, Academic OneFile, Project Muse, Springerlink, ScienceDirect, Ebsco Host Connections, Wiley Online Library, and Taylor Francis Online. As well, specific websites were searched including: Institute for Research and Public Policy, University Toronto Press, and Statistics Canada. Search terms included: 'immigration/migration labour (labor), work, employment, occupation, market, Canada';

‘immigration/migration skills’; ‘immigration/migration policy’; ‘immigration/migration mismatch’, ‘temporary foreign worker/migrants, TFW, TFWP’, ‘Provincial Nominee Program, and PNP’.

This approach yielded nearly 300 works (including 20 Statistics Canada Reports) all of which were stored in an online database. Overall, from these 300, 74 were related to the role of immigration and shifting immigration policies to the labour market and fit our criterion of being peer-reviewed. The peer reviewed journals included, among others, Journal of International Migration and Integration, Canadian Public Policy, Oxford Review of Economic Policy, and the Journal of Population Economics.

The search for skills research drew on the Web of Science, JSTOR, ERIC, Academic Search Complete, and Statistics Canada search tools. Journals used in this review include, but are not limited to, Journal of Labour Research, Canadian Public Policy, and Canadian Journal of Economics. The terms identified to locate documents within the parameters of being peer-reviewed and in the 2000 to 2013 time frame are: youth/young people, skill, development, labour, work/ employment, post-secondary, high school, credential, training, transfer, retention, Alberta, and Canada, in a variety of combinations. Several documents came forward in the skills search, however, those that did not fit the criteria for our knowledge synthesis (peer-reviewed, in the time frame of 2000-2013, Alberta, and/or Canada) and were not included.

Criteria

Criteria for articles and reports selected for inclusion in this synthesis are, for all three streams of search: (a) peer-reviewed publications from 2000 to 2013 in English (or French); (b) focus on Canada; (c) on gaps in labour/ skills demand and supply. The demographic change search added the criterion of (d) a focus on aging workforce and employment patterns of aging Canadians. The immigration search added (e) the role of immigration and shifting immigration policies in the labour market. The skills development search added (f) the role of shifting skills development, particularly those groups currently jobless or underemployed. Applying these criteria, 219 articles and reports were selected based on a review of the relevance of the central argument, focus of the research, findings, conclusions and key insights. The articles reviewed are listed in the Appendix, labelled by themes.

Results

On review of thirteen years of peer reviewed research articles and reports, seven key findings emerged:

- There is no evidence of a national labour shortage at present or into the foreseeable future; labour force is predicted to grow until 2031 but at a slower rate of growth
- First edge of the baby boom, now age 65-67, are working longer, so there is less shrinkage of the labour force than predicted
- Last edge of the baby boom, born 1966, is only 47 years old in 2013, so have many productive years before leaving the workforce
- There are pockets of skills shortages and mismatches in specific sectors and in specific geographic areas
- There are large groups of underutilized populations who could join the workforce or be more fully employed, particularly youth, Aboriginals, disabled persons and older workers
- Highly skilled and specialized immigrants are being severely underutilized in the workforce in their fields of expertise due to unrecognized experience and credentials
- Temporary foreign workers are supporting the Canadian economy primarily in lower paying jobs, particularly in the hospitality, and food and beverage industries, but also in higher paying ones such as those in hi-tech. TFWs do not receive the same levels of employment security, equity and supports Canadian employees in the same roles do (they are cheaper for employers and tend not to complain about inadequate working conditions, unlike their Canadian counterparts)

These findings are explored below in detail.

What National Labour Shortage?

The research literature clearly finds that there is no national labour shortage. Kevin McQuillan, Professor of Sociology and Public Policy, University of Calgary, notes that “Canada is not facing a wide-scale labour shortage and is unlikely to confront one on the foreseeable future” (McQuillan, 2013:27). There are shortages of skills in some industries and regions, but the literature points to a mismatch of skills rather a shortage of labour. Bélanger and Bastien (2013:521), for example, note that “...projections show no sign of prospective labour shortages... Canada could face imbalances in labour market skills.” Their research shows the existence of “skill imbalances: demand and supply by education level do not match.” In examining the future composition of the Canadian labour force, Bélanger and Bastien report that the claim of an upcoming labour shortage due to retiring Baby Boomers and slow workforce age growth “may be overstated.” Their low-growth scenario projects continued workforce growth at 0.8 per cent per year, based on modest increases in women and older workers’ participation in the workforce with no change to fertility or immigration rates. This is echoed by Gingras and Roy’s (2000: S172) analysis that led to the “strongly-suggested” conclusion “...that there is no broad-based shortage of skilled labour in Canada.” They confirm that the hiring difficulties some employers have “...are a normal cyclical phenomenon and are attributed to a tightening labour market, not a sudden, aggregate shortage of skilled labour” (2000: S172).

Economists tend to agree that labour markets adjust to shortages by raising wages to attract labour. However, as McQuillan notes, that has not happened in Canada. It takes time to gain the necessary skills and experience complex jobs need, which may extend the period of specific sector skills shortages. Gingras and Roy note that hiring difficulties in certain occupational or geographic markets is normal and that generally, labour circumstances will change constantly in a “dynamic economy.” This leads to shortages in some areas and surpluses in others. Sectoral and regional labour shortages and unemployment are expected in modern economies and not indicative of labour market “malfunction” (Gingras & Roy, 2000). McQuillan also points out that unemployment data do not support a labour shortage assumption. Job vacancy figures by industry suggest possible shortages of labour in health care, professional, scientific and technical services (many of these are jobs linked to the resource industry) with an oversupply in education, arts, entertainment and recreation. Canada is facing an imbalanced labour market with “evidence of specific excess demand rather than a generalized excess demand for labour” (McQuillan, 2013:3). Additionally, with forecasted high growth of those with university degrees, it is likely that there will be an “over-supply of high-skilled workers and a shortage of low-skilled workers.” In the future, there likely will be more workers “overqualified or unemployed” than those without skills.

The movement of Canadians between regions and provinces is slowing among both older and younger workers (McQuillan, 2013:20). This is the case, even though there are stark differences in the strength of the labour market in different regions across Canada. It is presumed that labour will be attracted from high-unemployment low-wage regions to low-unemployment high-wage areas. The research literature is hard-pressed to explain this slowing of geographic mobility. However, higher rates of home ownership, growth in two-earner families and the increasing tendency of young adults to live with their parents, could be part of the explanation (McQuillan, 2013) as well as the impact of the TFW program (Gross, 2010).

Coming out of the 2008 recession, some sectors that are growing may be looking to recruit for essential positions, a challenge particularly in the resource sector, the economic engine of Canada (McQuillan, 2013). However, this is not suggestive of any need for a national labour market strategy to increase numbers of workers. Instead, the literature makes the case that Canada should focus on the sharp international competition for “top talent.” Short-term shortages in specific industries is to be expected, as the economy fluctuates over time.

Older Workers: Participation, Retention and Un-Retirement

With the first edge of the baby boom cohort moving into age 65 and over, what had been thought of as the age of retirement, and with declining fertility rates, speculation has arisen about impacts on the workforce in Canada. Yet the peer-reviewed research suggests that this is not an immediate concern. As noted in a Canadian Policy Research Network report, “There is no evidence that Canada is facing a looming general shortage of skilled labour as a direct result of demographic aging” (Cook, Downie & McMullin, 2004:20).

Older workers are more likely to remain in the labour force now -- up to five years longer, on average, than age of 65 (Armstrong-Stassen, 2012; Berger, 2009; Denton & Spencer, 2009; Gomez & Gunderson, 2011). Factors that contribute to this trend include the cohorts preceding the baby boomers and now the first edge of the baby boom’s “preferences and expectations for work and leisure in retirement,” financial pressures and longer life expectancies (Cook, Downie and McMullin, 2004:37).

The rate of employment among older workers has grown significantly in Canada from the mid-1990’s, with a narrowing gender gap. Older workers are expected to act on their preference or need to keep working longer for at least the next 20 years, the period when the 20 year long Baby Boom cohort will all be entering their later years (Cook, Downie and McMullin, 2004; Hicks, 2012). A 2012 Statistics Canada report notes that in 2008 a Canadian, on average, could expect to be in the workforce until age 66, up from 63 in 1997 (Carrière & Galarneau, 2012). “[T]his delay promotes a better balance between increased longevity and length of retirement” (Carrière & Galarneau, 2012:3) The report continues, “as long as workers are healthy enough to remain active, and jobs are available, delayed retirements could facilitate the transfer of knowledge and human capital, lessen the economic shock of aging and benefit workers who are ill prepared for retirement.” As the supply of labour is reduced because of declining fertility (lowest in Canada in the 1989-2003 period, aged 10-24 in 2013), employers will need to depend on older workers more, thus changing the “age composition” of the labour force (Cook, Downie & McMullin, 2004). Recommendations to employers for “phased retirement plans” and other flexible employment arrangements have yet to be implemented, but are noted in several articles we reviewed as human resources techniques required to retain older workers in the workforce longer (Hicks, 2012). Creating opportunities for older workers to obtain training, formal education and promotions are also tools that could both assist in retaining the skills older workers bring as well as further increasing their productivity. Employers will need supports to help them restructure their recruiting and retention practices to meet the needs of multiple generations of workers, also taking into consideration “the complex realities of older worker’s lives” (Hicks, 2012: 9).

Older workers of the future are the middle age workers of today, but they will have gained more experience and more skills, hence the likely higher skills levels among older workers tomorrow (Hicks, 2012). Older workers of the future will be more educated than the current generation of older Canadians and that “increased educational attainment and more experience should lead to higher productivity and earnings among tomorrow’s older workers, again compared with those of today” (Park, 2011:3). The known direct correlation between level of education and life expectancy means that less educated workers retire earlier than those with more education, often for health reasons, and die earlier (Park, 2011). It is noted that people are choosing to work longer, in spite of the disincentives of the Canadian Pension Plan and the Income Tax Act which do not allow people to draw benefits while continuing to contribute to the government or employer-sponsored pension plans (Hicks, 2012: Park, 2011). If changes were made in those policies, even more people would likely work longer.

Downturns in financial markets and retirement portfolios as well as under-saving have also contributed to later retirement or un-retirement trends (returning to work after retiring) while Canadian costs of living remain high. To put it bluntly, affording retirement in the style people wish, may remain out of reach for many at age 65 (Hicks, 2012). The most obvious benefit from delaying retirement is that less savings are needed for a “comfortable retirement.” A four-year deferral of retirement can significantly reduce the retirement savings needed (Hicks, 2012:17).

Trends relating to work and retirement have been influenced by both decisions on when to retire and the narrowing gender gap in labour market participation, factors which will continue to have an influence into the future. There are significant gender variations in rates of employment, which flow into differences in average retirement ages (Armstrong-Stassen, 2012). Women's rates of employment have been increasing since the mid 1990's in the three primary retirement transition age groups: 55-59, 60-64, and 65-69. This is having an effect on men's retirement age. As more women work later, their spouses, who are typically older, tend to remain in the workforce as well until their partner is ready to retire so they can retire together.

Older workers, of course, are not a homogenous group, and to understand their labour supply patterns, we must consider socio-economic characteristics, employment and health. A 2008 Statistics Canada report finds four retirement categories: never retired, partially retired, fully retired, and previously retired and returning to work. Women age 55+ were more likely to be fully retired than men, and those in this category were more likely to be in lower income. Of those never retired, more than 30 % worked at least 40 hours a week, and although the majority in this group were 55- 65, 1% were over age 74. This contrasts to the partially retired, where one-third were 65 - 74, 8% over age 74 and 70% worked part-time. In the returning-to-work category, close to three-quarters were 55 - 64, with 2% over 74. More than one-third were in the highest income quintile and almost two-thirds returned to white-collar jobs.

Immigrants Not Meeting the Full Needs of the Canadian Labour Market

Immigration and accreditation policies have not been meeting the needs of the Canada's labour market, due in part to the lack of foreign credential and experience recognition (see ***Immigration Irony*** below) exacerbated by the regional concentration of immigrants primarily in Canada's largest metropolitan areas. Consequently Canada's shifting immigration policy in recent years has included a patch-work of strategies and programs that try to link immigration (and temporary migration) more directly to the labour market, such as the Provincial Nominee Program, Federal Skilled Trades Program, Federal Skilled Worker Program, Temporary Foreign Worker Program, Canadian Experience Class, Alberta Work Experience Category.

Over the past four decades the 60:40 ratio of humanitarian immigrants (family class and refugees) to economic immigrants has completely reversed. Immigration policy has basically shifted to prioritize Canada's economic needs. Thus immigration policy and regulations now have the Canadian economy as the main focus. As McQuillan (2013: 9) points out, the driving force in contemporary immigration policy is the attraction of immigrants who can succeed in Canada while responding to the needs of the Canadian economy. Are immigrants actually meeting the needs of the Canadian labour market? Fundamentally the answer to this question is "No" given the substantial literature calling for changes to existing immigration policy. This literature can be synthesized into three themes calling for:

1. reform of the immigration point system (Aydemir, 2011; Cousineau & Boudarbat, 2009);
2. broadening of immigration policy (Omidvar & Lopes, 2012; Schittenhelm & Schmidtke, 2010); a
3. reform and/or improvement of foreign credential recognition (Alboim, 2002; Aydemir, 2011; Boyd & Schellenberg; 2007; Cousineau & Boudarbat, 2009; Creese & Wiebe, 2009; Dobson, 2012; Hodgson, 2010; Lowe, 2010; Krahn, Derwing & Abu-Laban, 2006; Reitz, 2005).

Throughout these three thematic areas, scholars discuss, in whole or in part, the difficulties Canada's immigration system poses in connecting immigrants with the labour market and Canada's perceived labour/skills gap. As well, current immigrant selection processes result in poor economic outcomes for immigrants. Thus, reforming the selection criteria could result in immigrants economic performance improving. Worswick (2013: 7) argues that "if immigration is to play a more important role in offsetting demographic pressures and filling future labour shortages, reforms to the way in which we screen

immigrants should be allowed to continue, processing backlogs must fall, and cautious steps must be taken when increasing immigration levels.”

With the large backlog (recently eliminated in 2013) of immigrant applications Lowe (2010: 3) argues that the processing times severely impact Canada's long-term ability to recruit, retain and integrate highly skilled immigrants into the labour market. The points system, as argued by Aydemir (2011), does not accurately predict how one will fare short-term in the labour market. Thus there are skill transferability problems or mismatches between the demand for specific skills in Canada and supply through immigration. Moreover, Reitz (2005) points out that there is a lack of institutional support for immigrants to help them utilize the skills they bring. This particular topic is discussed below under *Immigration Irony*. To ‘level up’ the skills force of immigrants, a number of patchwork strategies have been created - with the goal of making specific immigration programs more directly oriented to the needs of the labour market. Two such patches, the Canadian Temporary Foreign Worker Program and the Provincial Nominee Program are discussed below.

Canada’s Immigration Irony

Canada’s immigration irony is that we attract highly skilled workers through our immigration policy but then fail to utilize, or underutilize, the important skills they bring. In 2001 Reitz points to this immigration irony by quantifying an annual immigrant earnings deficit that reflects skill underutilization and pay inequity. More recently Reitz, Curtis and Elrick (2012) use census data to show the increasing trend of immigrant skills being underutilized since 1996. While the number of university-educated immigrants is increasing, their access to skilled occupations has declined from 1996 to 2006. Ironically, this is occurring at a time when the federal government is increasingly focusing on policies that attempt to increase recognition of foreign credentials, as well as help immigrants better adapt to the labour market. The underutilization of immigrant skills costs Canada billions of dollars in total annual earnings (\$4.8 billion in 1996 and \$11.37 billion in 2006, Reitz *et al.*, 2012). Other researchers (Gera & Songsakul, 2007; Hodgson, 2010; Reitz, 2005; Worswick, 2013) have noted how this irony contributes to immigrant unemployment and poverty while failing to unlock their economic potential. Reitz (2005) goes so far as to question the legitimacy of Canada’s immigration system because of the lack of recognition of immigrant’s skills upon arrival. He argues that government must properly facilitate institutions (such as employers, regulatory bodies, and NGOs) in the immigrant adaptation process. In sum, the immigration system needs to be much more efficient in dealing with the issues of labour and skills gaps (actual or perceived).

Immigration’s Increasing Role in Future Canadian Labour Market Needs

Generally, the peer-reviewed research suggests that immigration and immigration policies will have a role in meeting the future needs of the Canadian labour market due to declining rates of natural population increase. However, the contrary position is also found in the research, indicating some debate in terms of how critical the role of immigration will be in the future.

A core body of research argues that immigration policy will increasingly be relied upon to deal with short and long term occupational shortages, an aging workforce and a diminishing supply of highly skilled workers. A recent report by Dawson (2013) for the Conference Board of Canada is an illustration. She suggests that Canada’s economy, at this time, is influenced heavily by demographic pressures with a skill gaps caused by aging population. She further argues that “If we are not able to plug the skills gap, this could hinder our prosperity and growth, reduce our competitiveness, and constrain our ability to take full advantage of global growth opportunities” (2013: 2). Citing a Statistics Canada study that estimates that one-third of the Canadian labour force will be immigrants within two decades, Dawson (2013: 7) makes the point that immigration is central to Canada’s future economic growth.

Some research addresses Canada’s competitiveness in attracting highly skilled immigrants in a global marketplace. While Canada is assessed as doing reasonably well in attracting highly skilled workers, it

still ranks poorly compared to other OECD countries (Surendra & Sonsakul, 2007). It is important for immigration policy to adapt to demographic changes, such as aging population, yet some research also points to the fact that the Canadian labour market itself is also changing. Some researchers highlight the need for shifts in future immigration policy to address the needs of the changing labour market. For example Hodgson's recent work for the Institute for Research on Public Policy, aptly entitled *Canada's Future Labour Market: Immigrants to the Rescue?* cites the Conference Board's prediction that by 2030 immigrants will represent over 80 percent of net annual population growth (Hodgson, 2010: 56). He essentially argues for a modernization of Canada's immigration policy that would unlock the economic potential immigrants bring and ensure that the labour force grows and remains vibrant.

In contrast to the position of Dawson and Hodgson, some researchers argue that future immigration will not impact as significantly on the Canadian labour market. McQuillan (2013: 28), for example, concludes that Canada is not facing a wide-scale labour shortage nor is one likely in the foreseeable future. Instead he points to a mismatch between the skills and talents of workers and demands of the labour market. He states, "If Canada were suffering a general labour shortage, one would expect that immigrants would rapidly find work and earn wages roughly equivalent to Canadian-born workers with similar characteristics (McQuillan, 2013:13). While he recognizes that immigration plays an important role in meeting skills needs in Canada, his position is more qualified in terms of immigration's future role. He finds that increasing the annual intake of immigrants to Canada is not necessary as there is no evidence that Canada would benefit from higher numbers (McQuillan, 2013:18). In a similar vein Moore (2010) argues for a smaller and more focused immigration program in the future.

Temporary Foreign Workers: Short-Term Solution to Perceived Labour Market Shortages?

Research on temporary foreign workers in Canada is nascent due to the fact that it has only been within the last decade or so that their numbers have increased and drawn the attention of researchers. Temporary foreign workers are generally thought to be a short-term solution to perceived labour shortages. Their rapid increase has engendered debate in the research literature. Many issues raised are indirectly related to the central focus of this synthesis so are worth mentioning. There is no consensus thus far in the sparse literature, however. Fundamental research questions that need to be answered include: Are there too many temporary foreign workers in light of high youth unemployment rates? Do temporary foreign workers depress wages in Canada? Does the availability of temporary foreign workers thwart Canadian training? Do temporary foreign workers create regional unemployment disparities among provinces?

Canada's temporary foreign worker program has undergone much regulatory change, with the net effect being a continual increase in numbers. Citizenship and Immigration Canada data indicate that the number of temporary foreign workers (on December 1st of each year) in Canada has increased from 89,000 in 2000 to 213,000 in 2012. The issue of temporary foreign workers needs to be brought into the debate on whether immigration meets the needs of Canada's labour market given that the annual number of immigrants to Canada has remained relatively constant over the same period. As Hennebry (2012: 4) states, "Temporary labour migrants constitute a rapidly expanding segment of the Canadian work-force, from agriculture to information technology (IT), indicating a significant shift in Canadian immigration policy over the last several years." For industries facing perceived labour shortages, temporary foreign workers increasingly fill the gap. Vineberg (2010) notes that historically the types of skills sought from temporary workers changes, but they fill low skill jobs that Canadians are reluctant to take as well as high skilled jobs. A recent policy shift allows a few temporary foreign workers to apply for permanent residency in the Canadian experience class. This further illustrates the necessity to examine temporary foreign workers and immigrants in tandem when considering the future needs of the Canadian labour market.

An emerging research literature is critical of the temporary foreign worker program, with criticisms that go beyond economic. Gross and Schmitt (2012) find that the program contributes to regional

disparities in unemployment and has impeded wage adjustments. Gross (2010) notes that the program potentially limits inter-provincial mobility. “Nevertheless it seems the growing gap between the cost of TFWs and the cost of resident workers under the seemingly strict LMO (Labour Market Opinions) conditions (i.e. same wage paid) have contributed to maintaining high unemployment in some regions by slowing down inter-provincial migration” (Gross, 2010:111), resulting in employers in some regions being more likely to hire TFWs because they perceive them as “cheaper.” He finds that Canadian workers may suffer long term effects of limited interprovincial mobility. To alleviate these effects, he suggests, the earnings of temporary foreign workers should match those of Canadian-born. McQuillan (2013) has similar reservations based on his analysis. He recommends a reduction in the number of entries under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program.

Gross’ (2011) survey research of Canadian workers in the construction industry finds that many Canadian skilled workers believe that temporary foreign workers lower their wages. Canadian unskilled workers additionally believe that foreign workers make it harder for them to find employment.

Moving to another level of critique, the Canadian Council for Refugees (2010) points to a moral question on the part of the Canadian government in increasing admission of temporary foreign workers. They argue that filling labour/skills gaps with short term labour has detrimental effects on temporary workers themselves. “It affects the workers, as their status makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and Canadian society as a whole, as the workers cannot integrate and contribute to their full potential” (2010: 90). The Council concludes that “Canada needs to have a long-term immigration plan and move away from reliance on migrant workers, and toward a focus on immigrants and refugees with permanent status. Granting permanent status, full access to services and respect of human rights is the only avenue to a strong and just society” (2010: 93).

Provincial Nominee Immigrants: A Success Story?

Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs) allow provinces to nominate and apply their own criteria to select immigrants. PNPs are credited as being successful in recruiting and retaining immigrants in many provinces as well as in second and third tier cities and rural areas (Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban, 2005). Manitoba is touted in the literature as having a very successful PNP.

In recent years PNPs have expanded and diversified (Baglay, 2012). Citing Statistics Canada data McQuillan (2013:15) notes that in 2001 less than 1% of economic immigrants came via PNPs and a decade later, it had risen to almost 25%. When immigrants are more dispersed from large cities like Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver via PNPs, the objective to alleviate labour needs in 2nd and 3rd tier cities and in rural areas is better met. “The hope is that greater flexibility will make it easier to attract migrants who might otherwise be drawn to Canada’s largest cities, and to allow provinces to fill specific labour needs with workers who might not qualify under the existing FSWP criteria” (McQuillan, 2013:15). There is near consensus on the positive benefits PNPs have for provinces and immigrants in the peer-reviewed research literature. Pandey and Townsend (2011) conclude that PNPs enable immigrants to move to provinces with historical or current skills and labour gaps including Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. How each province utilizes the program depends on its socio-economic and political climate (Baglay, 2012). Pandey and Townsend (2011:495) find that “... retention rates for immigrants through PNPs were higher in most provinces than for economic class immigrants arriving through the federal programs.” Related to the geographic aspect of PNPs, Bernard’s (2008) research concludes that economic integration occurs faster when immigrants reside outside large urban centres. This is evident even after taking into consideration differences in terms of immigrants’ education on arrival, prior ability in an official language, admission class and country of origin.

Although PNP immigrants may generally benefit by faster economic integration, some research points to other difficulties. Carter, Pandey and Townsend’s (2010) survey of PNP immigrants in the Manitoba find that they do experience challenges having their credentials recognized. “A significant proportion of both principal applicants and spouses were disappointed because they could not get jobs in

their fields of expertise” (Carter, Pandey and Townsend, 2010: 31). Lewis (2010: 241) discusses the difficulties the PNPs have faced and finds that there are settlement service gaps. In some cases such as in Manitoba, government's reliance on certain employers and organizations, has resulted in ‘ethnocultural inequality’ where some groups have priority over others.

Moving Toward Privatization of Immigrant Selection? The Increasing Role of Employers/Industry

The peer-reviewed research on immigration turns recent attention to the potential value of increasing the role of employers in the selection of immigrants under Canadian immigration policy. This change would enable employers to directly select immigrants to obtain the specific skills they seek. Thus employers would be directly engaged in the immigration process, the current Australian approach. Hall and Sadouzai (2010) find that this shift toward employer driven immigration had already begun in the mid-2000s. Thus the recent Expression of Interest model proposed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, as part of Canada’s Economic Action Plan 2012, follows a trajectory in place already. In this model, potential immigrants would complete an expression of interest form before being invited to apply to come to Canada. Employers then would have a larger role through examining these Expressions of Interest.

Skills Development

Youth School-to-Work Transitions

Youth may enter the labour market upon completing a high school diploma, while some will transition to the workforce via a post-secondary education program, and others will combine paid work and school (Zeman, Knighton, & Bussière, 2004). Peer-reviewed research clearly indicates that skill development in junior and senior high school, both in school and outside, generates tangible post-secondary and employment opportunities (Marshall, 2007; Laporte & Mueller, 2011). With early skill development and acquisition, human capital is advanced, which, in turn, increases the potential for rewarding and well-paid work.

In 2010, 15% of those age 20-24 and 8% of those 15-19 in Canada were not in the labour market nor were they attending school or enrolled in formal training (Galarneau, Morissette, & Usalcas, 2013). From the Youth in Transition Study (YITS), Aboriginal youth are found to have lower education achievement when exiting the education system than non-Aboriginals (Hango & de Broucher, 2007). Concerted effort to alleviate the trend of high school early leaving is crucial. Evidence indicates that policies to reduce youth high school leaving without the diploma have high returns for disadvantaged youth. Rigorous efforts are needed to ensure youth have the means to access education and employment. However, at present there is a scarcity of meaningful support and workable alternatives to advance options and subsequent success in the labour market for these youths, especially those without a high school diploma (Campolieti, Fang, & Gunderson, 2010).

Information about required occupational credentials is positively related to seeking post-secondary education (Frenette, 2009). Likewise, knowledge of trades and participation in a youth apprenticeship program and/or vocational courses at an early age, similar to university options, encourage youth to consider transitioning into a trade (Laporte & Mueller, 2011). Vocational education and apprenticeship tend to be viewed as less than optimal education and career pathways relative to academic options. A consequence of young peoples’ lack of interest and low enrolments in trades is reduction or elimination of relevant vocational education programs over the past 30 years (Bell & O’Reilly, 2008). Bell and O’Reilly (2008) find that if employer-recognized credentials and certifications were attached to secondary school vocational education and training (VET) courses and programs, enrolment in these courses increase.

The likelihood of delaying high school completion to later than the traditional completion at 18 years of age and/or dropping out of high school is evident if one is also employed while attending school. Findings from research also show that subsequent earnings after high school will be negatively affected

(Bushnik, 2003; Campolieti, Fang, & Gunderson, 2010; Parent, 2006). Many youth who leave high school prior to earning a diploma do return to complete their diploma after entering the work force (Krahn & Hudson, 2006; Zeman, Knighton, & Bussière, 2004). Those who work while attending high school can complete their secondary education diploma if their work demands are moderate. These youth have the potential to complete their high school diploma, earn some money, develop skills, and be independent (Bushnik, 2003).

Second chances to earn a high school diploma for leavers and to meet the needs of youth disadvantaged in the labour market do exist in Canada. Few examples, if any, have been studied, however. Basic education attained in the K-12 educational system, according to the peer-reviewed research, cannot be replaced by subsequent education and training (Campolieti, Fang, & Gunderson, 2010). Labour markets oscillate, and at times quite rapidly, thus to help address these fluctuations, putting in place a solid second chance system would contribute to current system of post-secondary learning, unemployment services, and employer/employee training (Halliwell, 2013).

The time it takes for Canadian youth to transition from high school completion to work is now approximately eight years. The increase in transition time is attributed, in part, to longer secondary school attendance. However, the search period for full-time work after graduation has also lengthened (Bell & O'Reilly, 2008; Galarneau, Morissette, & Usalcas, 2013). Along with the delayed entry into the labour market and the tendency to remain in the post-secondary system longer, youth have various jobs, often temporary and/or part-time, before becoming employed in a secure position (Zeman, Knighton, & Bussière, 2004). Even upon completion of their post-secondary education, when youth enter the labour market, they often are employed in low paying jobs yet may have credentials that exceed the job requirements. Additionally, youth often work in areas that are not in their areas of original post-secondary studies (Bell & O'Reilly, 2008; Certified General Accountants Association of Canada, 2012). Thus there is an oversupply of Canadian and immigrant youth with post-secondary education who may not fit the current labour market demands. A key point to consider is what these individuals are studying (Halliwell, 2013). Information about the labour market and a more nimble post-secondary system that can respond to labour market changes could assist students' choices about their future education and career options. Notably, there are many school-to-work transition programs throughout Canada. However, a more coherent system across provinces would be beneficial (Bell & O'Reilly, 2008).

Despite clear research evidence that links education with career success, earning credentials does not necessarily guarantee that individuals will have positive experiences early in the labour market. The disconnect between earned credentials and related paid work delays the transitions of youth into the labour market. The traditional trajectory of high school to post-secondary education followed by entry to the labour market is less linear (Bell & O'Reilly, 2008). Supports to help youth before and during these transitions is weak thus students opt to go to a post-secondary institution by default. This default choice is attributed to lack of information about other options. This may also be responsible for the less than linear post-secondary education pathway (Bell & O'Reilly, 2008). Additionally, having a high school diploma, while desirable and correlated with a higher employment rate, is not necessarily helpful when attempting to secure a job with defined skills (Bell & O'Reilly, 2008).

In anticipation of continued economic growth and the need for more workers, there is an inclination to turn to immigration, as we have seen above. However, Canadian youth currently in the K-12 educational system are the greatest source of future labour (Halliwell, 2013). Relying on the established K-12 system as well as post-secondary education systems is therefore crucial. Here it is important to consider that not all jobs call for post-secondary education, albeit, due to the increased number of applicants with post-secondary credentials, positions may be filled by overqualified individuals (Certified General Accountants Association of Canada, 2012; Halliwell, 2013). University degree holders working in jobs that require a high school diploma remained the same from 1997 to 2012 for those aged 25 to 34. For those aged 35 to 54, the percentages increased for men from 11% in 1997 to 17% in 2012, and for women from 13% to 20% (Galarneau, Morissette, & Usalcas, 2013).

Skill Development

Canadians, when compared with others in the more developed countries, have significantly higher participation in post-secondary education (Boothby & Drewes, 2006; Lambert, Zeman, Allen, & Bussière, 2004). Various motivations are attributed for this higher participation, for example, aspiring to a higher income or earning a credential that aligns with promotion and increased mobility (Goldenberg, 2006; Hurst, 2008). Besides personal goals to advance skills and knowledge, employers in Canada support employee training to some degree. In 2003, employers spent the equivalent of 1.55% of their payroll for employee training. However, this portion remained stable in the 2000s (Goldenberg, 2006). Evidence from the Adult Education and Training Survey (AETS) indicate that 23% of Canadian employers in 2002 participated in some form of employee training. This varied from in-house training to offering alternative work hours and transportation fees to seek training elsewhere (Hurst, 2008). In spite of employer-supported training, more workers engage in additional education and training without the help of employers, an indication that employer training is not meeting employees' educational needs (Hurst, 2008). Evidence shows that education and skills improve productivity and income as well as encourage entrepreneurialism and innovation (Goldenberg, 2006).

Governments contribute to skill development and acquisition in multiple ways. An example is the Government of Alberta's 2006 provincial initiative to advance the foundation for a highly-skilled labour force. This provincial strategy focuses on four areas: attracting out-of-country and out-of-province workers, advancing performance of workers and creating a vibrant environment, promoting the existence of welcoming communities, and providing quality information about career and education (Goldenberg, 2006).

Employers may lack resources (i.e., human, financial, physical) to provide training. This is more apparent for small businesses. When poaching by other employers is a concern, employer support is reduced (Goldenberg, 2006; Laporte & Mueller, 2011). This is a challenge when the model of a career for life has vanished, and workers routinely change both jobs and careers. In the return-on-investment calculation that employers consider, and, in the case of employee training, when weighed against other potential investments, employers may opt to spend their monies elsewhere (Goldenberg, 2006).

Hiring apprentices is one way to advance employee training. However, when work becomes unavailable, apprentices may consider other occupations thus not completing their apprenticeship programs. Conversely, when there is an abundance of paid work, apprentices may not have the time to attend the in-class requirement of their apprenticeship programs (Laporte & Mueller, 2011). Even though individuals registered as apprentices increased in the past few decades, the number of completed apprenticeship programs did not (Lefebvre, Simonova, & Wang, 2012). Apprenticeship registrations increased 120% from 1995 to 2007, and completions only 43% in the same period (Laporte & Mueller, 2011). Enrollment in Canadian apprenticeships is procyclical, that is, when work is available, apprenticeship registrations increase, whereas enrolment in college and university courses and programs is countercyclical -- when employment opportunities are scarce, post-secondary enrolment rises. Between 1995 and 2007, there was an increase of 36% in university enrolments and a 30% increase in graduates (Laporte & Mueller, 2011). It is likely that apprenticeship completion will happen within the first four years of registration, the typical apprenticeship duration. A weak relationship is found between apprenticeship completion and regional/local unemployment (Laporte & Mueller, 2011).

Skill Shortage/Labour Shortage: What does the research tell us?

In an active economy, short-term cyclical shortages are expected and normal. In contrast, structural shortages can be longer term because they are founded on different constructs and thus require different strategies to manage (Fang, 2009). Scrutiny of labour shortages reveal that these happen intermittently with a duration of less than a year in the last decade (Lefebvre, Simonova, & Wang, 2012). They are often sectoral and regional. Hence, some employers turn to the TFW program and the PNP. Structural

shortages, however, occur because of population changes, demographic adjustments, technology developments, and industry growth. Although the current labour force may have significant skill sets, these skills may not be the ones in demand at any given moment. Skills, as is well recognized, take time to acquire (Fang, 2009). Detailing explicit connections between worker, educator, and employer may provide opportunities to enhance skills and labour matches (Certified General Accountants Association of Canada, 2012; Krahn, Lowe, & Lehmann, 2002).

Miscalculation of shortages can lead to wrongly conceived policy solutions and misalignment of skills and/or labour nationally or in a geographical location. That could result higher unemployment for potential workers and ineffective distribution of public funds (Lefebvre, Simonova, & Wang, 2012). Likewise, incorrect assessment of how job vacancies link to skills shortages can lead to erroneous conclusions. Difficulty in recruitment may be because salaries are not appropriate for the position and the location and the working environment may be unattractive (Fang, 2009). Alleviating skills and labour shortages, should they exist, could be more informed by evidence and more fine-grained than by simply adding more labour from abroad. Governments and employers, and some might say employees, need to find better ways for employed and unemployed Canadians to expand, connect, and apply their skills (Halliwell, 2013). It is difficult to predict and measure labour shortages and regional labour shortage analyses, made more so because of inadequate occupational (un)employment information (Lefebvre, Simonova, & Wang, 2012). However, improved information about the current and projected provincial and national labour markets will present greater possibilities to assess work force skills needed and workers' skills (Certified General Accountants Association of Canada, 2012).

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APPENDIX: Is the Math Sufficient Knowledge Synthesis Search Results

Year	Journal / Publication	Author(s)	Title	Age, Gender & Ethnicity	Immigrants & TFW	Performance & Productivity	Skills, Training & Migration	Youth & Labour Supply
2011	IRPP	Abbott, M., & Beach, C.	Do Admission Criteria and Economic Recessions Affect Immigrant Earnings?		X			
2005	The Canadian Journal of Sociology	Adams, T.L.	Feminization of Professions: The Case of Women in Dentistry	X				
2008	Gender and Education	Adamuti-Trache, M., & Sweet, R.	Vocational Training Choices of Women: Public and Private Colleges				X	
2006	Atlantic Metropolis Centre, Saint Mary's University.	Akbari, A.	Immigrant Attraction and Retention: What Can Work and What is Being Done in Atlantic Canada?		X			
2011	International Migration	Anisef, P., Phythian, K., & Walters, D.	Predicting Earnings Among Immigrants To Canada: The Role Of Source Country		X			
2004	Cambridge Journal of Education	Armenti, C.	Women Faculty Seeking Tenure and Parenthood: Lessons from Previous Generations	X				
2012	International Journal of Aging & Human Development	Armstong-Stassen, M.	Gender Differences in How Retirees Perceive Factors Influencing Unretirement	X				
2011	Journal of Organizational Behaviour	Armstong-Stassen, M., & Schlosser, F.	Perceived Organizational Membership and the Retention of Older Workers	X				
2008	Statistics Canada	Arrowsmith, S., Ness, A., & Pignal, J.	First Results from the Survey of Older Workers, 2008	X				
2003	Canadian Immigration policy for the 21st century	Aydemir, A.	Effects of Business Cycles on the Labour Market Participation and Employment Rate Assimilation of Immigrants		X			
2011	Journal of Population Economics	Aydemir, A.	Immigrant Selection and Short-Term Labour Market Outcomes by Visa Category		X			
2005	Canadian Journal of Economics	Aydemir, A., & Skuterud, M.	Explaining the Deteriorating Entry Earnings of Canada's Immigrant Cohorts: 1966-2000.		X			
2010	Canadian Ethnic Studies	Baffoe, M.	The Social Reconstruction of "Home" among African Immigrants in Canada		X			
2012	Journal of International Migration and Integration	Baglay, S.	Provincial Nominee Programs: A note on policy implications and future research needs		X			

2012	Nations and Nationalism	Banting, K., & Soroka, S.	Minority Nationalism and Immigrant Integration in Canada		X			
2008	Third World Quarterly	Barber, P.G.	The Ideal Immigrant? Gendered class subjects in Philippine–Canada migration		X			
2003	Antipode	Bauder, H.	“Brain Abuse”, or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada		X			
2008	Alternatives	Bauder, H.	Citizenship as Capital: The Distinction of Migrant Labor		X			
2005	Social & Cultural Geography	Bauder, H.	Habitus, Rules of the Labour Market and Employment Strategies of Immigrants in Vancouver, Canada		X			
2009	Canadian Public Policy	Beach, C.M.	Review of the Report of the Expert Panel on Older Workers	X				
2011	CD HOWE Institute	Beach, C.M., Green, A.G., & Worswick, C.	Toward Improving Canada’s Skilled Immigration Policy: An Evaluation Approach.		X			
2013	Population and Development Review	Bélanger, A., & Bastien, N.	The Future Composition of the Canadian Labor Force: A Microsimulation Projection					X
2009	The Gerontologist	Berger, E.D.	Managing Age Discrimination: An Examination of the Techniques Used When Seeking Employment	X				
2006	Journal of Aging Studies	Berger, E.D.	Ageing' Identities: Degradation and Negotiation in the Search for Employment	X				
2008	Statistics Canada	Bernard, A.	Immigrants in the Hinterlands		X			
2012	Statistics Canada	Bernard, A.	The Job Search of the Older Unemployed	X				
2009	Third World Quarterly	Binford, L.	From Fields of Power to Fields of Sweat: the Dual Process of Constructing Temporary Migrant Labour in Mexico and Canada		X			
2007	Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology	Binford, L., & Preibisch, K.	Interrogating Racialized Global Labour Supply: An Exploration of the Racial/National Replacement of Foreign Agricultural Workers in Canada		X			
2001	Journal of Policy Analysis and Management	Bloom, H.S., Schwartz, S., Lui-Gurr, S., Lee, S., Peng, J., & Bancroft, W.	Testing a Financial Incentive to Promote Re-Employment among Displaced Workers: The Canadian Earning Supplement Project (ESP)					X
2013	Statistics Canada	Bonikowska, A., & Schellenberg, G.	An Overview of the Working Lives of Older Baby Boomers	X				
2008	Statistics Canada	Bonikowska, A., Green, D., & Riddell, C.	Literacy and the Labour Market: Cognitive Skills and Immigrant Earnings		X			
2006	Canadian Public Policy	Boothby, D., & Drewes, T.	Post Secondary Education in Canada: Returns to University, College and Trades Education					X
2007	Australian Journal of Political Science	Boucher, A.	Skill, Migration and Gender in Australia and Canada: The Case of Gender-based Analysis					X

2010	Canadian Public Policy	Boudarbat, B., Lemieux, T., & Riddell, C.W.	The Evolution of the Returns to Human Capital in Canada, 1980-2005				X	
2007	The Canadian Geographer	Breau, S.	Income Inequality Across Canadian Provinces in an Era of Globalization: Explaining Recent Trends			X		
2011	Canadian Public Policy	Brown, R.L., Chen, H., MacDonald, B., & Moore, K.D.	The Canadian National Retirement Risk Index: Employing Statistics Canada's LifePaths to Measure the Financial Security of Future Canadian Seniors	X				
2010	Journal of Labour Research	Campolieti, M., Fang, T., & Gunderson, M.	Labour Market Outcomes and Skill Acquisition of High School Dropouts				X	
2010	Canadian Issues	Canadian Council for Refugees	Immigration Policy Shifts: From Nation Building to Temporary Migration		X			
2011	Statistics Canada	Carriere, Y., & Galameau, D.	Delayed Retirement: A new trend?	X				
2012	Statistics Canada	Carriere, Y., & Galameau, D.	The Impact of Involuntary Breaks in Employment and Level of Education on the Timing of Retirement	X				
2010	Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy	Carter, T., Pandey, M., & Townsend, J.	The Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program: Attraction, Integration and Retention of Immigrants		X			
2013	University Affairs	Charbonneau, L.	Skills Debate: Why Can't We all Get Along?				X	
2012	Canadian Journal of Urban Research	Chenard, P., & Shearmur, R.	Immigration, Attraction or Local Production? Some Determinants of Local Human Capital Change in Canada		X			
2011	Journal of Comparative Family Studies	Chinichian, M., Maticka-Tyndale, E., & Shirpak, K.R.	Post Migration Changes in Iranian Immigrants' Couple Relationships in Canada		X			
2005	Child and Family Social Work	Clark, D., Este, D., Roer-Strier, D., Shimoni, R., & Strier, R.	Fatherhood and Immigration: Challenging the Deficit Theory		X			
2002	Journal of Population Economics	Cleveland, G. ., & Hyatt, D.E.	Child Care Workers' Wages: New Evidence on Returns to Education, Experience, Job Tenure and Auspice			X		
2000	Canadian Ethnic Studies	Cohen, R.	Mom is a Stranger': The Negative Impact of Immigration Policies on the Family Life of Filipina Domestic Workers		X			
2007	Conference Board Canada	Conference Board of Canada	Ontario's Looming Labour Shortage Challenges: Projections of Labour Shortages in Ontario, and Possible Strategies to Engage Unused and Underutilized Human Resources		X			
2004	Canadian Policy Research Networks	Cook, M., Downie, R., & McMullin, J.A.	Labour Force Ageing and Skill Shortages in Canada and Ontario.	X				
2013	Community, Work & Family	Cooke, G.B., & Cooper, T.	50 + Among the 50+: Who Works Long Work Weeks Among Older Workers in Canada?	X				

2006	Canadian Journal on Aging	Cooke, M.	Policy Changes and the Labour Force Participation of Older Workers: Evidence from Six Countries	X				
2006	International Regional Science Review	Coulombe, S.	Internal Migration, Asymmetric Shocks, and Interprovincial Economic Adjustments in Canada				X	
2006	Regional Studies,	Coulombe, S., & Tremblay, J.F	Migration and Skills Disparities across the Canadian Provinces.				X	
2001	Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare	Curl, A.L., & Hokenstad, M.C.	Reshaping Retirement Policies in Post-Industrial Nations: The Need for Flexibility	X				
2009	Ethnicity & Health	Dean, J.A., & Wilson, K.	'Education? It is Irrelevant to My Job Now. It Makes Me Very Depressed ...': Exploring the Health Impacts of Under/Unemployment among Highly Skilled Recent Immigrants in Canada		X			
2010	The Canadian Geographer	Delisle, F., & Shearmur, R.	Where Does all the Talent Flow? Migration of Young Graduates and Nongraduates, Canada 1996-2001				X	
2009	Canadian Public Policy	Denton, F.T., & Spencer, B.G.	Population Aging, Older Workers, and Canada's Labour Force	X				
2000	Community, Work & Family	Duffy, A., & Pupo, N.	Canadian Part-time Work into the Millennium: on the Cusp of Change			X		
2010	American behavioural Scientist	Dufour, P	Supply Demand for Canada's Knowledge Society: A Warmer Future for a Cold Climate.					X
1999	Canadian Business Economics	Dugan, B. & Robidoux, B.	Demographic Shifts and Labour Force Participation Rates in Canada	X				
2001	Canadian Public Policy	Echevarria, C., & Huq, M.	Redesigning Employment Equity in Canada: The Need to Include Men	X				
2002	Canadian Public Policy	Evans, J.M.	Work/Family Reconciliation, Gender Wage Equity and Occupational Segregation: The Role of Firms and Public Policy	X				
2005	International Journal of manpower	Fang, T.	Workplace Responses to Vacancies and Skill Shortages in Canada				X	
2008	Social Indicators Research	Fang, T., & MacPhail, F.	Transitions from Temporary to Permanent Work in Canada: Who Makes the Transition and Why?		X			
2004	Gender and Education	Fenwick, T.	What Happens to the Girls? Gender, Work and Learning in Canada's 'New Economy'	X				
2002	Canadian Journal of Economics	Ferrer, A.M., & Riddell, W.	The Role of Credentials in the Canadian Labour Market				X	
2008	Canadian Journal of Economics	Ferrer, A., & Riddell, W.C.	Education, Credentials and Immigrant Earnings		X			
2004	Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management	Finnie, R.	The School-to-Work Transition of Canadian Post-secondary Graduates: A Dynamic Analysis					X
2002	Canadian Public Policy	Fortin, N.M., & Huberman, M.	Occupational Gender Segregation and Women's Wages in Canada: An Historical Perspective	X				
2011	Economics Research International	Fougère, M., Harvey, S., & Rainville, B.	Would an Increase in High-Skilled Immigration in Canada Benefit Workers?		X			

2006	Applied Economics Letters	Fougère, M., & Harvey, S.	The Regional Impact of Population Ageing in Canada: a General Equilibrium Analysis	X				
2011	Journal of Aging Studies	Fournier, G., Gauthier, C., & Zimmermann, H.	Instable Career Paths Among Workers 45 and over: Insight Gained from Long-term Career Trajectories	X				
2009	Statics Canada - Analytical Studies Branch	Frenette, M	Career Goals in High School: Do Students Know What it Takes to Reach Them, and Does it Matter?				X	
2005	International Migration Review	Frenette, M., & Morissette, R.	Will They Ever Converge? Earnings of Immigrant and Canadian-Born Workers over the Last Two Decades		X			
2005	The Canadian Journal of Sociology	Fuller, S.	Public Sector Employment and Gender Wage Inequalities in British Columbia: Assessing the Effects of a Shrinking Public Sector					X
2009	Perspectives on Labour and Income	Galareau, D., & Morissette, R.	Immigrants' Education and Required Job Skills		X			
2013	Statistics Canada	Galareau, D., Morissette, R. & Usalca, J.	What has Changed for Young People in Canada?					X
2007	Statistics Canada	Garnett P., Feng H., & Coulombe, S.	Chronic Low Income and Low-income Dynamics Among Recent Immigrants		X			
2008	Sociological Forum	Garnett, B., Guppy, N., & Veenstra, G.	Careers Open to Talent: Educational Credentials, Cultural Talent, and Skilled Employment				X	
2000	Canadian Public Policy	Gingras, Y., & Roy, R.	Is There a Skill Gap in Canada?				X	
2013	Canadian Ethnic Studies	Gingrich, L.G., & Lightman, N.	The Intersecting Dynamics of Social Exclusion: Age, Gender, Race and immigrant status in Canada's labour market		X			
2011	Canadian Public Policy	Gomez, R., & Gunderson, M.	For Whom the Retirement Bell Tolls: Accounting for Changes in the Expected Age of Retirement and the Incidence of Mandatory Retirement in Canada	X				
2009	Fraser Forum	Grady, P.	The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Labour Market.		X			
2013	Canadian Public Policy	Grant, H., & Townsend, J.	Mandatory Retirement and the Employment Rights of Elderly Canadian Immigrants	X				
1999	Graduate Department of Economics - University of Toronto	Grant, L.M.	Immigration in Canada: Context, Assimilation and Labour Market Impacts.		X			
2004	Canadian Journal of Urban Research	Green, A.G., & Green, D.	The Goals of Canada's Immigration Policy: A Historical Perspective		X			
2007	Journal of International Migration and Integration	Grenier, G., & Xue, Li.	Canadian Immigrants' Access to a First Job in Their Intended Occupation		X			

2010	Canadian Issues	Gross, D.M.	Temporary Foreign Workers in Canada: Does a Policy with Short-term Purpose have a Long-term Impact on Unemployment		X			
2011	Economic Papers: A journal of applied economics and policy,	Gross, D.M.	Who Feels Economically Threatened by Temporary Foreign Workers? Evidence from the Construction Industry		X			
2012	Canadian Public Policy	Gross, D., & Schmitt, N.	Temporary Foreign Workers and Regional Labour Market Disparities in Canada.		X			
2004	Applied Economics Letters	Gross, M.G.	Impact of immigrant workers on a regional labour market		X			
2012	Applied Psychology: An International Review	Guerrero, L., & Rothstein, M.	Antecedents of Underemployment: Job Search of Skilled Immigrants in Canada		X			
2008	Journal of Comparative Family Studies	Guruge, S., Hyman, I., & Mason, R.	The Impact of Migration on Marital Relationships: A Study of Ethiopian Immigrants in Toronto		X			
2000	Canadian Public Policy	Haggerty, N., & Schneberger, S.	An Analysis of the Canadian Information Technology Labour Market			X		
2010	Canadian Public Policy	Hall, P.V., & Sadouzai, T.	The Value of "Experience" and the Labour Market Entry of New Immigrants to Canada		X			
2013	Institute for Research on Public Policy	Halliwell, C.	No Shortage of Opportunity				X	
2010	Statistics Canada	Hango, D.	Labour Market Experiences of Youth after Leaving School: Exploring the Effect of Educational Pathways over Time					X
2007	Statistics Canada	Hango, D. & de Brouker, P.	Education-to-Labour Market Pathways of Canadian Youth: Findings from the Youth in Transition Survey					X
2012	Institute for Research on Public Policy.	Hennebry, J.	Permanently Temporary? Agricultural Migrant Workers and Their Integration in Canada		X			
2013	University Affairs	Hewitt, T.	Labour Markets in Canada: Which Graduates are Really in Short Supply?				X	
2012	C.D. Howe Institute	Hick, P.	Later Retirement: The Win-Win Solution	X				
2001	The Canadian Geographer	Hiebert, D., & Ley, D.	Immigration Policy as Population Policy		X			
2000	Canadian Public Policy	Hill, R.	Real Income, Unemployment and Subjective Well-Being: Revisiting the Costs and Benefits of Inflation Reduction in Canada			X		
2012	Canadian Ethnic Studies	Hochbaum, C.	Too Old to Work? The Influence of Retraining on Employment Status for Older Immigrants to Canada	X				
2010	Institute for Research and Public Policy	Hodgson, G.	Canada's Future Labour Market: Immigrants to the Rescue		X			
2010	Canadian Public Policy	Hou, F., & Coulombe, S.	Earnings Gaps for Canadian-Born Visible Minorities in the Public and Private Sectors	X				

2004	The Canadian Journal of Sociology	Hou, F., & Myles, J.	Changing Colours: Spatial Assimilation and New Racial Minority Immigrants		X			
2011	Growth and Change	Hou, F., Ostrovsky, Y., & Picot, G.	Do Immigrants Respond to Regional Labor Demand Shocks?		X			
2010	Statistics Canada - Perspectives	Houle, R. & Yssad, L.	Recognition of Newcomers' Foreign Credentials and Work Experience		X			
2000	Canadian Public Policy	Huberman, M., & Lanoie, P.	Changing Attitudes toward Worksharing: Evidence from Quebec			X		
2003	Canadian Ethnic Studies	Hum, D., & Simpson, W.	Labour Market Training of New Canadians and Limitations to the Intersectionality Framework				X	
2010	Canadian Public Policy	Hum, D., & Simpson, W.	The Declining Retirement Prospects of Immigrant Men		X			
2006	Université de Montréal	Ibarguen, G., & Carlos, J.	Immigrant Returns to Education and Experience: Analysis of Skill Discounting in Canada.		X			
2007	Australian Economic Paper	Islam, A.	Immigration Unemployment Relationship: The Evidence from Canada		X			
2009	Journal of Population Economics	Islam, A.	The Substitutability of Labor between Immigrants and Natives in the Canadian Labor Market: Circa 1995		X			
2011	Labour/Le Travail	Jackson, L., Neis, B., Newhook, J.T., Romanow, P., Roseman, S.R., & Vincent, C.	Employment-Related Mobility and the Health of Workers, Families, and Communities: The Canadian Context				X	
2008	Canadian Ethnic Studies	Jhangiani, S., Lauer, S., & Yan, M.C.	Riding the Boom: Labour Market Experiences of New Generation Youth from Visible Minority Immigrant Families		X			
2011	Statistics Canada - Perspectives	Jungwee, P.	Job-related Training of Immigrants		X			
2008	Statistics Canada	Jungwee, P.	Study: Job-related Training of Immigrants.		X			
2004	Journal of Population Economics	Kahn, L.M.	Immigration, Skills and the Labor Market: International Evidence		X			
2008	Social Science & Medicine	Karmakar, S.D., & Breslin, F.C.	The Role of Educational Level and Job Characteristics on the Health of Young Adults					X
2012	International Migration	Kazemipur, A.	The Community Engagement of Immigrants in Host Societies: The Case of Canada		X			
2003	International Migration	Kerr, D., & Liu, J.	Family Change and Economic Well- being in Canada: The Case of Recent Immigrant Families with Children		X			
2005	Counselling Psychology Quarterly	Khan, S., & Watson, J.C.	The Canadian Immigration Experiences of Pakistani Women: Dreams Confront Reality		X			
2007	Asia Pacific Viewpoint	Kobayashi, A., & Preston, V.	Transnationalism through the Life Course: Hong Kong Immigrants in Canada		X			
2012	Canadian Journal of Women & the Law	Kodar, F.	Pensions and Unpaid Work: A Reflection on Four Decades of Feminist Debate	X				

2005	International Migration Review	Krahn, H., Derwing, T.M., & Abu-Laban, B.	The Retention of Newcomers in Second- and Third-Tier Canadian Cities		X			
2002	Canadian Public Policy	Krahn, H., Lowe, G.S., & Lehmann, W.	Acquisition of Employability Skills by High School Students				X	
2013	Statistics Canada	Laporte, C., Lu, Y., & Schellenberg, G.	Inter-provincial Employees in Alberta				X	
2013	Statistics Canada	LaRochelle-Cote, S.	Employment Instability Among Younger Workers					X
2005	The Canadian Journal of Sociology	Lehmann, W.	Choosing to Labour: Structure and Agency in School-Work Transitions					X
2003	CESifo	Leibfritz, W., O'Brien, P., & Dumont, J.C.	Effects of Immigration on Labour Markets and Government Budgets - An Overview		X			
2010	Canadian Public Policy	Lewis, N.	A Decade Later: Assessing Successes and Challenges in Manitoba's Provincial Immigrant Nominee Program		X			
2005	International Migration	Lo, L., & Wang, S.	Chinese Immigrants in Canada: Their Changing Composition and Economic Performance		X			
2005	Canadian Issues	Lochhead, C., & Mackenzie, P.	Integrating Newcomers into the Canadian Labour market		X			
2002	Canadian Public Policy	Lowe, G.	Employment Relationships as the Centrepiece of a New Labour Policy Paradigm				X	
2010	Canadian Issues	Lowe, S.J.	Rearranging the Deck Chairs? A Critical Examination of Canada's Shifting Immigration Policies		X			
2005	Canadian Policy Research Networks	Goldenburg, M.	Employer Investment in Workplace Learning in Canada				X	
2002	Journal of Comparative Family Studies	MacNeill, L., & Wu, Z.	Education, Work and Childbearing after Age 30	X				
2008	Social Indicators Research	MacPhail, F., & Bowles, P.	From Casual Work to Economic Security: The Case of British Columbia				X	
2011	The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences	Man, G.C.	Working and Caring: Examining the Transnational Familial Practices of Work and Family of Recent Chinese Immigrant Women in Canada		X			
2008	Statistics Canada - Perspectives	Hurst, M.	Work-related Training				X	
2003	Canadian Public Policy	McDaniel, S.A.	Toward Disentangling Policy Implications of Economic and Demographic Changes in Canada's Aging Population	X				
2001	Population and Development Review	McDonald, P., & Kippen, R.	Labor Supply Prospects in 16 Developed Countries, 2000-2050					X
2013	University of Calgary, School of Public Policy	McQuillan, K.	All the Workers We Need: Debunking Canada's Labour Shortage Fallacy					X

2009	Higher Education	Metcalfe, S.C. & Fenwick, T	Knowledge for Whose Economy? Knowledge Production, Higher Education, and Federal Policy in Canada				X	
2008	Canadian Public Policy	Milligan, K., & Schirle, T.	Improving the Labour Market Incentives of Canada's Public Pensions			X		
2004	Convergence	Mirchandani, K.	Immigrants Matter: Canada's Social Agenda on Skill and Learning		X			
2006	Global Networks	Mooney, N.	Aspiration, Reunification and Gender Transformation in Jat Sikh Marriages from India to Canada		X			
2010	Canadian Institute for planners	Moore, G.	Canada's Immigration Policy: A More Focused Approach Needed		X			
2013	Conference Board Canada	Munro, D., & Stuckey, J.	The Need to Make Skills Work: The Cost of Ontario's Skills Gap				X	
2008	Institute for Research and Public Policy.	Nanos, N.	Nation Building through Immigration: Workforce Skills Comes Out on Top		X			
2011	Canadian Journal of Urban Research	Newbold, B.K.	Migration Up and Down Canada's Urban Hierarchy		X			
2012	Journal of Social Sciences	Ogbuagu, B.C.	Nice CV! You Will Hear From Us: Canadian Labor Market and the Phenomenology of the Marginalized Ethnic Professional Migrant		X			
2012	Canadian HR Reporter	O'Grady, R	Making our Immigration Policy Work.		X			
2007	Canadian Business	Olijnyk, Z.	Give us your Skilled		X			
2012	Policy Options	Omidvar, R., & Lopes, S.	Canada's Future Success Closely Linked to a Successful Immigration Program		X			
2012	Journal of Family Issues	Orenstein, M., & Stalker, G.	Canadian Families' Strategies for Employment and Care for Preschool Children	X				
2007	Statistics Canada	Palameta, B.	Economic Integration of Immigrants' Children		X			
2011	Canadian Public Policy.	Pandey, M., & Townsend, J.	Quantifying the Effects of the Provincial Nominee Program.		X			
2011	Statistics Canada	Park, J.	Retirement, Health and Employment among Those 55 plus	X				
2008	Oxford Revue of Economic Policy,	Patrick, G.	Is Canadian Immigration too high? A Labour Market and Productivity Perspective.		X			
2004	Canadian Journal of Urban Research	Picot, G.	The Deteriorating Economic Welfare of Canadian Immigrants		X			
2008	Statistics Canada	Picot, G.	Immigrant Economic and Social Outcomes in Canada: Research and Data Development at Statistics Canada.		X			
2012	Institute for Research and Public Policy	Picot, G., & Sweetman, P.	Making It in Canada: Immigration Outcomes and Policies		X			
2011	Statistics Canada	Plante, J.	Integration of Internationally educated Immigrants into the Canadian Labour Market: Determinants of Success		X			
2007	Rural Sociology	Preibisch, K.L.	Local Produce, Foreign Labor: Labor Mobility Programs and Global Trade Competitiveness in Canada		X			

2011	International Migration	Ptashnick, M., & Zuberi, D.	In Search of a Better Life: The Experiences of Working Poor Immigrants in Vancouver, Canada		X			
2013	Statistics Canada	Qui, T., Lu, Y., & Morissete, R.	Worker Reallocation in Canada				X	
2008	Canadian Public Policy	Rao, S., Tang, J., & Wang, W.	What Explains the Canada-US Labour Productivity Gap?			X		
2001	Journal of International Migration and Integration	Reitz, J.	Immigrant Skill Utilization in the Canadian Labour Market: Implications of Human Capital Research		X			
2005	Law and Business Review of the America	Reitz, J.	Tapping Immigrants' Skills: New Directions for Canadian Immigration Policy in the Knowledge Economy		X			
2012	Journal of International Migration and Integration	Reitz, J., Curtis, J., & Elrick, J.	Immigrant Skill Utilization: Trends and Policy Issues.		X			
2007	Canadian Public Policy	Reitz, J.	Immigrant Employment Success in Canada		X			
2011	Statistics Canada	Rollin, A.M.	The Income of Immigrants who Pursue Postsecondary Education in Canada.		X			
2001	CIC/HRDC	Sangster, D.	Assessing and Recognizing Foreign Credentials in Canada Employers' Views		X			
2013	Seventeenth International Conference of the Council for European Studies - Transatlantic Perspectives Paper	Schittenhelm, K., & Schmidtke, O.	Integrating Highly Skilled Migrants into the Economy		X			
2010	Canadian Public Policy	Serge, N., & Seckin, A.	The Immigrant Wage Gap in Canada Quebec and the Rest of Canada.		X			
2004	The Canadian Journal of Economics	Shannon, M., & Grierson, D.	Mandatory Retirement and Older Worker Employment	X				
2001	Canadian Public Policy	Shannon, M., & Kidd, M. P.	Projecting the Trend in the Canadian Gender Wage Gap 2001-2031: Will an Increase in Female Education Acquisition and Commitment Be Enough?	X				
2006	The Clute institute	Sharif, N.	The Labour Market Adjustment of Foreign-born Workers in Canada : a Multinomial Logic Model of Employment Status		X			
2006	Canadian Public Policy	Shultz, L., & Taylor, A.	Children at Work in Alberta					X
2008	Canadian Journal of Urban Research	Siegel, D.	The Young are the Restless: The Problem of Attracting and Retaining Young People					X
2013	Canadian HR Reporter	Silliker, A.	Canada Facing Significant Labour Mismatch: CIBC				X	
2001	Canadian Public Policy	Smith, M.R.	Technological Change, the Demand for Skills, and the Adequacy of their Supply				X	
2002	The American Sociologist	Smith, M.R.	The Analysis of Labour Markets in Canadian Sociology			X		
2009	American Review of Canadian Studies	Somerville, K., & Walsworth, S.	Vulnerabilities of Highly Skilled Immigrants in Canada and the United States		X			

2000	Canadian Public Policy	Stanford, J.	Canadian Labour Market Developments in International Context: Flexibility, Regulation and Demand			X		
2008	Statistics Canada	Statistics Canada	Canadian Social Trends, 2007 General Social Survey Report, The Retirement Plans and Expectations of Older Workers	X				
2013	Statistics Canada	Statistics Canada	Changing Labour Market Conditions for Young Canadians					X
2003	Statistics Canada	Statistics Canada	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada Progress and Challenges of New Immigrants in the Workforce		X			
2013	Statistics Canada	Statistics Canada	Obtaining Canadian Citizenship.		X			
2013	Statistics Canada	Statistics Canada	Projected trends to 2031 for the Canadian labour force.					X
2006	Statistics Canada	Statistics Canada	Study: Immigrants Working in Regulated Occupations.		X			
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2013	Statistics Canada	Statistics Canada	The 2008 Canadian Immigrant Labour Market: Analysis of Quality of Employment. Statistics Canada		X			
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2007	Canadian Public Policy	Surendra, G., & Sonsakul, T.	Benchmarking Canada's Performance in the Global Competition for Mobile Talent			X		
2003	Statistics Canada	Sweetman, A,	Immigrant Source Country Educational Quality and Canadian Labour Market Outcomes		X			
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2006	The Canadian Journal of Economics	Tang, J., & MacLeod, C.	Labour Force Ageing and Productivity Performance in Canada	X				
2001	Canadian Journal of Economics	Tapp, S.	Lost in Transition: the Costs and Consequences of Sectoral Labour Adjustment			X		
2012	Statistics Canada	Thomas, D.	Personal Networks and the Economic Adjustment of Immigrants		X			
2008	Social Indicators Research	Tremblay, D.	From Casual Work to Economic Security; The Paradoxical Case of Self-Employment			X		
2010	Statistics Canada	Uppal, S.	Labour Market Activity Among Seniors	X				
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2010	Canadian Issues / Thèmes Canadiens	Vineberg, R.	Temporary Migration and Labour Market Responsiveness in the Prairie Provinces					X
2003	Canadian HR Reporter	Vu, U.	Labour Force Growth Depends on Immigrants		X			
2008	Canadian Public Policy	Wald, S., & Fang, T.	Overeducated Immigrants in the Canadian Labour Market: Evidence from the Workplace and Employee Survey		X			

2008	Sociological Forum	Walsh, J.	Navigating Globalization: Immigration Policy in Canada and Australia, 1945-2007		X			
2004	The Canadian Journal of Sociology	Walters, D.	A Comparison of the Labour Market Outcomes of Postsecondary Graduates of Various Levels and Fields over a Four-Cohort Period				X	
2008	Canadian Review of Sociology	Wilkinson, L.	Labor Market Transitions of Immigrant-Born, Refugee-Born, and Canadian-Born Youth		X			
2000	Canadian Ethnic Studies	Wong, M.	Ghanaian Women in Toronto's Labour Market: Negotiating Gendered Roles and Transnational Household Strategies		X			
2013	Social Policy – C.D HOWE Institute	Worswick, C.	Improving Immigrant Selection: Further Changes Are Required Before Increasing Inflows		X			
2011	Canadian Journal of Regional Science	Xuyang, C., & Maxime, F.	Regulated Occupations, Immigration, and Labour Mobility in Canada, 1994-2005		X			
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