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Labour mobility for skilled refugees: Improving outcomes for regional Australia

Louise Olliff & Claire Higgins
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About the authors

Dr Louise Olliff is a Senior Research Associate at the Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law at UNSW Sydney working on an Australian Research Council Linkage project researching skilled employment for refugees in regional Australia. She is also a Senior Policy Advisor at the Refugee Council of Australia, where she leads the Council's policy work on resettlement and complementary pathways.

Dr Claire Higgins is a Senior Research Fellow at the Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law at UNSW Sydney, and an Affiliate Scholar at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of International Migration. A former Clarendon Scholar and Fulbright Postdoctoral Scholar, she holds an Australian Research Council DECRA to research the history of protected entry procedures for refugees. She is also a co-Chief Investigator on an Australian Research Council Linkage grant to research skilled employment for refugees in regional Australia.

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Executive summary

Many people who cross borders fleeing war, violence and persecution are highly skilled and educated, of working age and are either not permitted or severely constrained to engage in local labour markets. At the same time, regional Australia is experiencing significant skills shortages, particularly among small- to medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

Since 2021 employers have been able to sponsor skilled refugees and their families to migrate to Australia under the Australian government's Skilled Refugee Labour Agreement Pilot (SRLAP).

The SRLAP was designed as a labour mobility scheme to remove the insurmountable barriers facing refugees in accessing Australia's existing Skilled Migration Program. The SRLAP shows that 'complementary pathways' – that is, migration pathways that are protection-sensitive, separate and additional to refugee resettlement programs – can provide durable solutions to displacement.

The SRLAP was also designed to support Australian businesses to tap into a new pool of talent to address chronic labour and skills shortages. This objective has been particularly important in regional Australia, where SMEs dominate regional economies but are facing skills shortages that are constraining productivity.

Yet SMEs experience distinct challenges when recruiting skilled workers within existing migration settings. Paperwork and lengthy wait times can make international hiring difficult. Without incentives such as fee waivers and support for regional SMEs to navigate systems, the costs and perceived risks of hiring through the SRLAP risk undermining its potential.

Persistent skills shortages have a direct flow-on effect to the health of regional communities. Community stakeholders see the SRLAP as 'a real opportunity' for their towns to flourish. Yet employer-sponsored refugees and their dependents arrive on skilled visas that afford them little formal support on arrival.

Key recommendations

The pilot scheme has demonstrated its effectiveness at unlocking the potential of qualified refugees to migrate on skilled visas. This Policy Brief therefore recommends that the Australian government:

1. **Anchor the pilot as a permanent pathway:** Make the SRLAP a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway within Australia's Skilled Migration Program;
2. **Provide greater training support:** Explore hire-to-train and train-to-hire schemes within a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway as a way of unlocking the potential for businesses to hire refugees in regulated industries or for roles that require significant investment in on-the-job training;
3. **Ensure the involvement of an intermediary:** Ensure the ongoing involvement of an intermediary organisation or organisations to raise awareness of the refugee labour mobility pathway, to connect employers with job candidates, to aid in recruitment processes, and to support applicants and employers pre- and post-arrival;

4. **Reduce costs for SMEs:** Offset the costs for SMEs to hire through a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway, including waiving or reducing the Skilling Australia Fund levy and additional visa charges for dependent family members, and further exploring cost-sharing arrangements; and,
5. **Address broader settlement needs:** Review policy settings to better reflect the hybrid humanitarian and economic objectives and benefits of a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway, including how skilled refugees and their family members can access settlement support, humanitarian family reunion and a financial safety net.

1 Introduction

Between July 2021 and April 2026, 182 skilled refugees plus their family members (393 people) have migrated permanently to Australia on an employer-sponsored visa under the Australian government's Skilled Refugee Labour Agreement Pilot (SRLAP). A further 60 refugees have secured job offers and so, including family members, 146 people are expected to arrive in the coming months.¹ A significant proportion of these skilled workers (35%) have been sponsored by an employer in a rural or regional area, particularly by small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).² Since the pilot began, retention rates of sponsored workers have been extremely strong – 86% remained with the same employer after 12 months, and 95% were in full-time employment.³

The SRLAP was designed to remove the insurmountable barriers facing refugees in accessing Australia's existing Skilled Migration Program. This involved concessions on such things as documentation requirements, labour market and skills testing, English language skills and age eligibility requirements (see 1.2.2). The SRLAP shows that complementary pathways – that is, migration pathways that are protection-sensitive, separate and additional to refugee resettlement programs – can provide durable solutions to displacement. Complementary pathways are intended to expand long-term solutions for refugees, and to this end Australia formally pledged at the 2023 Global Refugee Forum to increase complementary pathways for refugees to 10,000 places per year outside of Australia's core Refugee and Humanitarian Program intake,⁴ with the SRLAP being a tangible step toward meeting this goal.

The SRLAP was also designed to support Australian businesses to tap into a new pool of talent to address chronic labour and skills shortages. This objective has been particularly important in regional Australia, where SMEs dominate regional economies but are facing skills shortages that are constraining productivity.⁵

Yet SMEs experience distinct challenges and costs when recruiting skilled workers within existing migration settings. Paperwork and lengthy wait times can make hiring internationally difficult. Without incentives such as fee waivers and support for regional SMEs to navigate systems, the costs and perceived risks of hiring through the SRLAP risk undermining its potential.

In addition, persistent skills shortages have a direct flow-on effect to the health of regional communities. Community stakeholders see the SRLAP as an opportunity for their towns to flourish. Yet employer-sponsored refugees and their dependents arrive on skilled visas that afford them little formal support on arrival.

1.1 Aims of this Policy Brief

Based on interviews with employers and community stakeholders across regional Australia, refugee 'alumni' of the SRLAP, and Australian and international policy experts, this Policy Brief considers the following questions:

1. What is the potential and challenge in addressing skills and labour shortages in regional Australia through a refugee labour mobility pathway like the SRLAP? (section 2.1)
2. What is the potential and challenge for SMEs in regional areas hiring through a refugee labour mobility pathway like the SRLAP? (section 2.2)

3. What is the potential and challenge for regional communities in receiving and retaining skilled refugee workers and their families through a refugee labour mobility pathway like the SRLAP? (section 2.3)

1.2 Labour mobility as a complementary pathway to protection

Refugee labour mobility schemes 'help displaced persons move safely to third countries through regular labour or economic migration program[s]'.⁶ It is based on the recognition that many of the world's displaced people are skilled, highly educated, of working age and, in many refugee contexts, are either not permitted or severely constrained to engage in local labour markets.⁷

Refugees finding a solution to displacement on the basis of employment or their skills and capacity to work is not a new concept.⁸ However, interest in refugee labour mobility pathways has gained significant traction in policy and practice over the past decade,⁹ partly in response to the large-scale movement of refugees into Europe in the mid-2010s during the so-called Syrian refugee 'crisis'.¹⁰

Since then, key refugee protection actors — and notably the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) — have worked with states, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and other actors to develop the concept of 'complementary pathways', with the idea being that existing migration pathways for work, study and family reunification can be better utilised by people with international protection needs, allowing them to move in regularised ways across borders and to access a safe third country solution.¹¹

These pathways are complementary to refugee resettlement programs: meaning that they are additional to and separate from them but retain a focus on protection. Their adoption by states — particularly in the Global North — represents an important development given the increasing scale of global displacement, the growing pressures on countries in the Global South hosting significant refugee populations, and the failure of resettlement in meeting the scale of identified need.¹²

1.2.1 Benefits and critiques of the refugee labour mobility concept

Refugee labour mobility pathways have been described as a **'win-win-win' proposition**, with benefits for refugees, for employers able to find and retain the skilled workers they need, and for receiving communities grappling with ageing populations and skills shortages.¹³ In regional and rural areas in countries like Australia, the possibility to revitalise communities experiencing demographic decline and economic stagnation has been flagged as one of the potential 'wins' of refugee labour mobility pathways. Furthermore, these pathways are generally seen as attracting people motivated to re-build their lives and invest long-term in communities.¹⁴

From a more **critical standpoint**, there are arguments that the expansion of regularised migration pathways offers states another opportunity to justify harsh border regimes.¹⁵ Skills-based pathways have also been criticised for enabling richer countries to 'cherry pick' and choose refugees based on their economic contributions while walking away from traditional protection-focused resettlement commitments.¹⁶ In the context of labour migration more broadly — particularly from the Global South to the Global North — some scholars have questioned the value of unlocking access by refugees to pathways that may be precarious and exploitative.¹⁷

1.2.2 Australia's Skilled Refugee Labour Agreement Pilot (SRLAP)

The Australian government was an early champion of refugee labour mobility as a complementary pathway. In 2016, it began to work with the not-for-profit organisation Talent Beyond Boundaries (TBB) to trial matching refugees overseas with Australian employers facing skill shortages.¹⁸ Starting in 2018, a small number of skilled refugees migrated on employer-sponsored visas in an initial piloting phase, with the co-design and launch of the SRLAP in July 2021 as a second phase of this piloting process. There has also been a proliferation of refugee labour mobility pathways and pilot schemes in other countries, including Belgium, Canada, Italy, Ireland, Germany, France, Slovakia, Spain, United Kingdom and the United States.¹⁹

The **SRLAP sits within Australia's existing Skilled Migration Program**, which is subject to an annual planning process.²⁰ While the SRLAP was designed to utilise both permanent and temporary visa options, it is the practice of TBB to endorse only permanent visas, which means the Subclass 186 (Employer Nomination Scheme) visa.²¹ This means that people coming through the SRLAP are permanent residents from the start and their employment status does not affect their visa status. While entrants under this scheme must be offered a two-year full-time contract at or above a minimum salary level set by the Australian government,²² contracts may be terminated (by the employer or employee) without any impact on the employee's visa status – which contrasts with other refugee labour mobility schemes (and even some Australian labour mobility schemes, such as for Pacific workers) where visa status is tied to a specific employer.²³

Refugees arriving in Australia through the SRLAP are subject to **most of the same policy settings as other skilled migrants arriving on the same visa**. For example, skilled migrants are expected to support themselves through their own employment, navigate their own settlement and are subject to a four-year eligibility waiting period for government income and employment support. Permanent visa holders are eligible for universal healthcare (Medicare), primary and secondary education, subsidised vocational training and university places,²⁴ and can migrate with dependent family members.²⁵ Permanent migration on a skilled visa involves a significant financial outlay. According to TBB, the cost of sponsorship under the SRLAP 'is in line with any international hire', and employers should offer 'the same relocation package they would any comparable international hire'.²⁶ This includes visa application and associated charges at an average of A\$10,000 to \$20,000, plus legal fees and relocation costs that will differ according to individual circumstances and whether the worker is single or relocating with a partner or a family.²⁷ How these costs are shared is flexible. Although the employer is legally responsible for some government fees and levies, the norms of international recruitment are that employers usually cover the visa and relocation costs of the primary applicant as well.

The **SRLAP involves some important concessions aimed at overcoming structural barriers** that a refugee job candidate would face when applying for a skilled visa because of their displacement experience. These include:

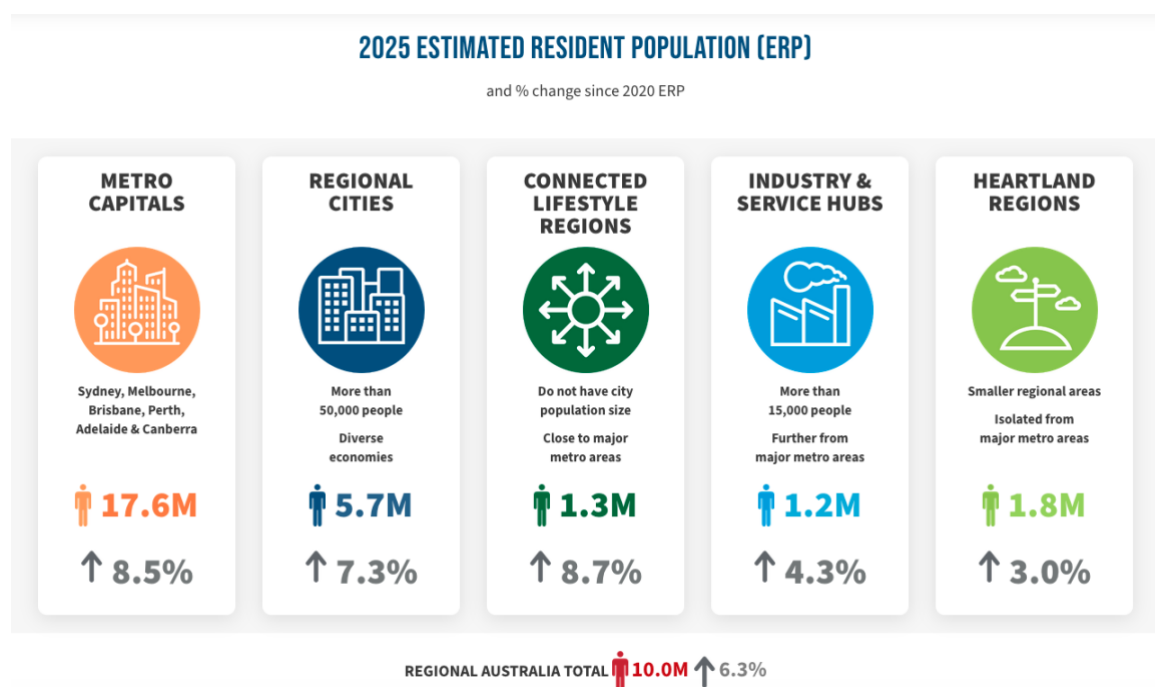
- Waiver of skills assessment and minimum work experience requirements;²⁸
- Reduction of minimum English language requirements to 'Functional English' (equivalent IELTS 4.5 averaged across all bands), demonstrated via approved testing;
- No labour market testing requirements;
- Increase in age requirements allowing sponsorship of people up to 55 years old;
- Flexible arrangements for documentation gaps, including passports; and
- Over 900 occupations approved that can be sponsored under the labour agreement.²⁹

An important feature of the SRLAP is **TBB's role as an implementing organisation**. TBB is designated responsibility by the government for assessing and endorsing employers and candidates to access the Pilot. While TBB is not a recruitment agency, it offers to short-list suitable candidates from within its global Talent Catalog³⁰ for employers with identified roles and to support candidates to navigate employer-led recruitment processes. Where an employer comes to TBB with a job vacancy and already has a preferred candidate (ie, they have identified a suitable candidate through their own processes), TBB can work with eligible employers and candidates to support the migration and relocation process.

1.3 The regional Australian context

The definition of regional Australia varies 'across different levels of government, reflecting diverse criteria and purposes'.³¹ In the context of Australia's migration policy settings, most locations outside the major capital cities of Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne are classed by the Department of Home Affairs as 'designated regional areas'.³²

When defined as areas outside the capital cities of Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth, Adelaide and Canberra, the population of regional Australia is more than 10 million people, and it generates one third of the nation's economic output.³³ Taking into consideration the diverse economic, geographic and demographic characteristics of regional Australia – particularly in comparison with metropolitan capitals – the Regional Australia Institute (RAI) defines four types of regional settlements to make sense of the wide diversity of regional Australian contexts (see Figure).



Source: 'Regional population: 2024-25 financial year', *Australian Bureau of Statistics* (Web Page, 31 March 2026), cited in 'Foundations of Regional Australia', *Regional Australia Institute* (Web Page) <https://regionalaustralia.org.au/Web/Web/About-Us/Foundations-of-Regional-Australia.aspx?hkey=2a5b2efe-e6b2-4d15-8902-958252e6743f>.

1.3.1 Skills shortages

Employers in rural and regional Australia face smaller labour markets and a persistent shortage of workers ‘across a range of sectors’.³⁴ This is particularly true for SMEs, which employ the majority of Australian workers.³⁵ SMEs are largely defined by number of employees, with government data defining small enterprises as those with 1–19 employees and medium enterprises as those with 20–199 employees. According to Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data from 2022, almost a third (31%) of employing businesses are having difficulty finding suitable staff and, of these, ‘small and medium businesses were more likely to have business operations impacted to a great extent (46% and 40%) than large businesses (29%) as a result of not finding suitable staff’.³⁶

In regional Australia, SMEs are ‘one of the main development agents and economic contributors’, increasing productivity, creating employment and improving the quality of local communities.³⁷ For instance, ABS data from 2021 showed that nearly 95% of regional businesses operating in service and industry sectors in Australia were SMEs.³⁸

Skills shortages in regional and metropolitan areas differ in important ways. Comparing trends over a 12-month period, RAI found that regional areas saw a 3.1% increase in job vacancies from February 2025 to February 2026, while job vacancies over the same period decreased by 1.0% in metropolitan areas.³⁹ Unemployment across regional Australia is at ‘historically low levels’, which indicates ‘a shortage of workers available to fill job vacancies’.⁴⁰

The capacity of migration pathways to specifically address skills shortages in regional Australia has been a long-standing area of discussion among key stakeholders,⁴¹ and a focus for those directly involved in Australia’s refugee labour mobility pathway since it was first piloted in 2018.⁴²

2 Analysis and recommendations

The following analysis draws on findings from a four-year research project aimed at generating evidence on whether refugee employment can help to alleviate skill shortages in regional and rural Australia.⁴³ A collaboration between researchers at UNSW’s Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law⁴⁴ and partner organisations, TBB and RAI, the project investigates the socio-economic and migration policy settings that inform the ability of SMEs in regional Australia to fill skill shortages with highly qualified refugees.

Between September 2024 and March 2026, qualitative data was collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions involving 32 employers,⁴⁵ 44 local community stakeholders,⁴⁶ 23 settlement service workers⁴⁷ and 26 employment service workers⁴⁸ in 12 case study sites across Australia.⁴⁹ Sites were selected for their diversity of size, remoteness, labour market profile and level of engagement with the SRLAP. The findings below also draw on 20 in-depth interviews with SRLAP alumni who were sponsored by an employer located in a regional or rural area, and a focus group involving 11 policy experts representing Australian and international organisations.

2.1 Can refugee labour mobility address Australia’s regional skills shortages?

The data showed that employers and other community stakeholders view the SRLAP as **a promising means of recruiting motivated and skilled workers** to fill critical skills shortages in their own businesses and within their local area.

*Personally for me, I think it's a fabulous thing to do. We can't and cannot fill the positions that are required. We don't have enough electricians. We can't build houses quick enough, because we don't even have enough trades. ... Dairy workers, always looking out, veggie growers, always looking for staff...*⁵⁰

One Victorian business owner and manufacturer working in housing construction anticipated that their business would experience 15% growth year-on-year and would ultimately need to expand to a team of 20 workers, double their current size. The challenge would lie in finding those new workers. He asked: 'where are we going to get the other 10 from ... in five years' time?'⁵¹ This business owner was 'intrigued' to learn that the SRLAP is a pathway that could open a new talent pool:

*[If this is] another way to bring enthusiastic people who are looking for a future, to bring them into the country to fill a labour shortage. So, if that's what you're talking about, I'm happy to listen ... There's no reason why we can't participate in that.*⁵²

This potential was echoed by refugees who had migrated to regional Australia through the SRLAP and knew from experience **the extent of talent and potential within refugee populations overseas that was going to waste**. As a Palestinian engineer now working in the mining industry in Western Australia put it: 'We have [many people who are skilled] and have very good experience, and they can [add] value here to the Australian economy or to the country here'.⁵³ SRLAP alumni described the strong values, work ethic, loyalty and motivations that came from refugees being given the chance to live in safety and work in their chosen career:

*Because I was a refugee, and I know exactly what we think about. Just we need a chance, and if you give us a chance, we love work. ... So, I want to say [to] all the companies looking for the workers, please trust us and trust in us. Just give us a chance and you will find a good worker.*⁵⁴

For some employers, the reason for considering hiring through the SRLAP was not only because of the skills potential within refugee communities overseas, but also because it was seen as a good thing to do. While **many employers were ambivalent about whether or not a worker came from a refugee background, others were more strongly motivated by humanitarian concerns** and more willing to accept potentially higher costs and risks of hiring through a refugee labour mobility pathway (discussed in section 2.2.2). As one employer that had hired through the SRLAP reflected:

*Our CEO is so compassionate and it was in line with the organisation's values to make a difference and make an impact on the lives of an individual.*⁵⁵

2.1.1 Removing barriers for refugees to migrate on skilled visas

The SRLAP has **demonstrated effectiveness in practically unlocking the potential of skilled refugees**. Highly skilled SRLAP alumni shared their previous experiences and the insurmountable barriers they faced trying to apply autonomously for jobs or to migrate to another country. Their refugee status often prevented them from applying for overseas work opportunities, either because employers knew that they would not be able to attain a visa (they were 'immigration difficult') or because they were told that resettlement was their only pathway to a third country. As one civil engineer who had been working internationally in the oil and gas industry prior to the Syrian civil conflict explained: 'I applied for millions of opportunities and ... nobody has come back to me because they know I'm a refugee'.⁵⁶

A Syrian IT professional recounted their frustration when approaching the Canadian embassy in Jordan about applying for a skilled work visa and being told: ‘*You are not dealing with us, you’re dealing with UNHCR*’. At the same time, they were told by UNHCR that: ‘*Your profile is not qualified to resettle in any country around the world*’.⁵⁷ Ultimately, this person found TBB and successfully identified and applied for a suitable position in Australia. However, it was only because the employer had already connected with TBB and knew about the SRLAP that the candidate believed he was offered an interview. This experience was echoed by others. A civil engineer working at a senior level on large-scale infrastructure projects in Afghanistan, who was forced out of his job when the Taliban took power, tried to apply independently for a skilled visa to Australia but soon ran into difficulties:

*I did my skill assessment from Engineers Australia. They were not asking for passports and all these things at that time And then they were asking for the rest of the steps and police clearance, which I couldn't provide because I didn't have any documents.*⁵⁸

Similarly, a highly skilled and experienced dairy herd manager applied for a job advertised in Australia, was interviewed and offered the position. The employer — a small business owner that was initially unaware of the SRLAP — sought legal advice and pursued sponsoring the candidate on a skilled visa that was ultimately unsuccessful:

*[It] didn't work for me because my documents were short [and] Australia immigration asked me to provide some more documents about my qualifications, about my job and blah, blah, blah. But, because I [was a] refugee in Turkey, I couldn't provide any more because ... my home country is Iran, and it was impossible for me.*⁵⁹

While the SRLAP has been effective at removing barriers for refugees to migrate on skilled visas, the **lack of awareness among regional employers and key stakeholders as well as the uncertainty associated with the SRLAP being a pilot scheme** has dampened its potential. As a migration agent supporting local businesses sponsoring skilled migrants in the southwest region of Western Australia said:

*I think businesses are open to it at the moment. ... And to hear about [the pilot] is just amazing to me. [But] the fact I didn't know about that, yeah... [And] part of me is like: 'Oh, another system!' Because I sometimes, you know, I get businesses on the phone ... and it's confusion more than options.*⁶⁰

SRLAP alumni also felt there should be more opportunities like the one they were given, but that this was hampered by the lack of awareness among businesses in Australia. As one alumna put it, there is a need for ‘more publicity’ for potential employers:

*If you see the database that the TBB has, there are a lot of people already there looking for opportunities. So that approach needs to be more focused on the employers.*⁶¹

This was echoed by a stakeholder working with small businesses across Western Australia:

*I hadn't heard of [the SRLAP] before you reached out ... which is a problem, because then you can't promote it. You can't suggest it. I mean, do businesses even know about it? ... I do think, given how time-poor businesses are, its cost, the paperwork, the risk ..., and maybe [lack of] awareness is why they're not jumping on it. Because it does sound, it sounds amazing.*⁶²

Recommendation 1

Anchor the pilot as a permanent pathway: Make the SRLAP a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway within Australia's Skilled Migration Program.

2.2.1 Addressing skills and labour shortages in regulated industries

While the SRLAP unlocks the possibility of refugees migrating on skilled visas, it **offers less potential to address skills and labour shortages in regulated industries** where workers are bound by strict regulatory requirements such as needing formal accreditation or licencing by an industry or professional body to perform specific roles. This includes critical roles in key industries like health and aged care, education, construction and engineering. Where overseas qualifications are not recognised and/or workers need to be accredited/licenced to be able to work in specified roles, a skilled refugee faces the same barriers as other skilled migrants – requiring an employer willing to support a worker through what can be a lengthy, complicated and expensive pathway to licencing/accreditation.⁶³ For some employers, the urgent need for workers 'ready to go' to meet a business need, or for smaller businesses that lack the capacity to offer supervisory support for licencing/accreditation purposes, international hiring is not viable. As a manager of a small aged-care service in South Australia lamented:

*[The SRLAP] wouldn't be able to [help] because they wouldn't be able to get registration, and we can't support putting them into a lower-level role because it's not what we need.*⁶⁴

These frustrations were shared by SRLAP alumni who had arrived on lower-level positions because their overseas qualifications were not yet recognised and they required industry accreditation before they could work in specified roles. One physiotherapist working in aged care was initially hired as a personal care assistant and remained in junior roles for two years before completing the regulatory requirements to be able to work in the role for which their employer needed them:

*It's hard, because I worked as a physio for a long time, and yeah, it's hard ... especially when people come and ask you [something] and you should say: 'Well, I can't say anything, you should go to ask the physio'. But they already know [I am a physio]; I've been with them for a long time. So they know I don't say things because I'm not ... allowed to say it till I get my registration.*⁶⁵

The **need to reform qualifications and skills recognition processes** has been a long-standing issue in Australia, one which critics say prevents migrants from working at their full capacity.⁶⁶ In advocating for reform, trade unions, business groups and community organisations have argued that the underutilisation of skilled migrants and refugees due to licensing requirements impacts essential services in regional Australia.⁶⁷ Although beyond the scope of the SRLAP and this Policy Brief, the findings from this research support recommendations made by others advocating to fix Australia's skills and qualifications recognition system, including the need to establish a national skills recognition oversight body, reintroduce assessment subsidies for overseas trained professionals, and set up a national online portal for all information on skills recognition processes.⁶⁸ In this regard, the 2026-2027 Federal Budget's emphasis on reforming skilled migration and skills recognition is a welcome development.

2.2.2 Hire-to-train and train-to-hire

Even in industries with less restrictive skills and qualifications recognition and licencing requirements, many employers felt that hiring migrant workers – whether refugees or not – requires significant on-the-job training and investment to ‘get them up to speed’ for the jobs for which they are needed.⁶⁹ For example, a bakery owner in regional Victoria described their experience hiring skilled workers through a different scheme and that – despite these workers having aptitude, motivation and extensive bakery experience – they needed to invest ‘at least a year’ to train them on the materials and machinery used in commercial bakeries in Australia and to understand regulatory requirements in order to have them working ‘at capacity’ in the roles that desperately needed filling.⁷⁰ Similar sentiments were shared by employers in other industries, including agriculture, manufacturing and healthcare.

The problem for employers is that Australia’s Skilled Migration Program – and the potential of the SRLAP within this – **does not provide a viable way for businesses to hire workers that require significant on-the-job training** because of differences in industry practices that make overseas qualifications, skills or experience less translatable to the Australian context. In the case of an agricultural product exporter from Victoria, their business was happy to offer a contract in line with salary requirements to migrant or refugee workers who had relevant experience and who ‘wanted to work’. However, the business case for hiring through the SRLAP was undermined by the high sponsorship costs and the investment in training that was needed. Specifically, the business would ultimately be responsible for training workers on-the-job because there were no locally available skilled workers or training on offer in a small niche industry:

We have to hire from overseas. But unfortunately, when you've got someone from overseas and you pay money to get them – which is a huge amount of money – and if he doesn't have the skills – which happens – if he doesn't have the skills you, you stay in a really, really bad situation.⁷¹

Under the SRLAP, this employer would have to cover the costs of visa sponsorship, offer a two-year contract and pay the salary of a fully trained worker from day one, invest in training the worker on-the-job and pay the Skilling Australians Fund (SAF) levy.⁷² Despite the ambition of this business to grow and their estimate of needing ‘40 workers right now’, the employer did not see the SRLAP – or any other skilled migration pathway – as an answer to the skills shortage they currently faced.

This is a really big challenge. We can't do such a growth and progress without a stable team.⁷³

In recommending what could be done to address this challenge, some employers saw **the potential of train-to-hire or hire-to-train schemes**. In the case of the former, where an employer commits to hiring workers who attain recognised training or undergo a skills accreditation/licencing process while overseas, the Australian government is already exploring and investing in this type of scheme through a project with IOM and UNHCR.⁷⁴ The hire-to-train model envisages that the worker receives the full salary of a skilled worker on arrival and the employer also receives some sort of subsidy or incentive to offset the costs of having to invest more in the worker’s training on arrival. There is potential for further exploration with this model.

Recommendation 2

Provide greater training support: Explore hire-to-train and train-to-hire schemes within a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway as a way of unlocking the potential for businesses to hire refugees in regulated industries or for roles that require significant investment in on-the-job training.

2.2 Does international hiring of skilled refugees work for smaller regional businesses?

Notwithstanding the demonstrated potential of the SRLAP, there are still significant barriers to hiring skilled refugees under existing policy settings. This is reflected in the modest uptake of the SRLAP over the past five years.⁷⁵ SMEs in regional areas face distinct challenges when recruiting skilled workers under Australia's existing migration settings. These include having tight profit margins and limited administrative resources and capacity to invest in lengthy recruitment and visa sponsorship processes.⁷⁶ Employers, community stakeholders and SRLAP alumni noted that the challenges of navigating systems, up-front-costs and risks relating to retention were major obstacles to smaller businesses hiring through the SRLAP. The need for an intermediary was seen as key to enabling SMEs in regional areas to tap into the potential of skilled refugees as part of their hiring strategies.

2.2.1 Navigating systems

The experiences of regional SMEs navigating migration systems to recruit staff differs markedly from those of bigger companies. Representatives of large businesses described human resources teams specialised in international recruitment using AI to sift through 'thousands of applications' from highly qualified candidates from around the world, and internal policies, procedures and resources available to support their international hiring strategy.⁷⁷ This included relocation packages, staff to support settlement and having a stock of housing to offer employees on arrival.⁷⁸ For these businesses, the SRLAP may offer potential in terms of corporate social responsibility, but it also presents the challenge of potentially requiring a modification to internal systems and policies.

For SMEs, visa sponsorship is perceived as being 'too hard' and time consuming, even if a candidate's resume is 'absolutely fantastic'.⁷⁹ One business leader in regional Western Australia described how local employers were overwhelmed by the shortage of skilled staff and by the difficulty of trying to recruit in a small labour market:

*Everyone's just burnt out from just the constant, like, 'we just – we need more staff!'*⁸⁰

While the need for skilled workers is significant, the administrative burden of recruitment – the time, energy and expense required – is insurmountable for most of the smaller employers in that region:

*There are so many people who need skilled workers ... I could get a room full in there right now... but they're very nervous about investing any more time. The paperwork is too cumbersome. ... They start the application ... and it just ends up being 'I don't have time for this, it's too complicated, I've got to go back to growing food' ... That is probably your biggest block I can see.*⁸¹

Exacerbating these challenges is a lack of trust in government processes, and a perception that existing migration settings are not designed in the interests of 'country people' who 'work 16-hour days' and 'are sick of bureaucracy'.⁸²

In addition to the complexity of paperwork, **the slowness of the administrative process is a central concern**. ‘When you hire locally’, one small manufacturer explained, ‘you don’t expect it to be a six-to-eight-month process’.⁸³ The length of time required to recruit internationally makes it difficult to commit to customer orders and plan for the long term:

*It should be sped through a whole lot quicker Ultimately, if you’ve got a sale this month, you want to commit to that sale and make the product. Otherwise, you’re sort of hiring people in the hope that the work’s going to be there in the future.*⁸⁴

The challenges facing regional SMEs were borne out in the experiences of SRLAP alumni. A number had been hired by small businesses in regional areas that had undergone an unanticipated loss of contracts or business downturn since they had arrived in Australia. The viability of these businesses was compromised, including by the up-front costs they had incurred and the obligation they had to an employee on a two-year contract whom they had hired in good faith but at a time when they had different business prospects and workforce needs.

One migration agent in South Australia noted that the concessions (see section 1.2.2) and the fast processing of a pre-agreed labour agreement under the SRLAP were ‘really good’ in addressing some of the needs of regional employers because they reduce the time and the burden of navigating things like skills assessment processes and labour market testing.⁸⁵ While processing times can vary under the SRLAP, depending on individual circumstances, the Department of Home Affairs prioritises subclass 186 visa applications from regional Australia.⁸⁶ As a small manufacturer in regional Tasmania said of their need to explore migrant hiring options since other strategies had failed: ‘*What choice do I have?*’⁸⁷

The concerns of regional SMEs about administrative burdens, financial costs and risks (discussed below) underscore **the importance of an intermediary to help smaller businesses navigate international hiring**. As one employer in New South Wales who had previously hired through the SRLAP said: ‘*[I need] someone finding people for me and coming to me and say[ing]: “Right, we have this person!” ...*’:

*I don’t have the resources for my team to be going and finding people For us, it’s about building a network in a relationship with the appropriate people; a trusted relationship where we can, you know, build on that together.*⁸⁸

Another regional employer who had also hired through the SRLAP described the ‘care and good communication’ provided by intermediary organisation TBB as ensuring ‘a very smooth process’ for both their existing staff and the new employee, creating ‘a bridge between us and the individual’ before their arrival.⁸⁹ The employer was pleased to introduce the team to the new hire beforehand in a series of pre-arrival meetings, to ‘share information about our organisation beforehand’, including the employee handbook, and ‘to learn more about our business and our people’.⁹⁰

An intermediary organisation or organisations with capacity to support navigation of systems was similarly important for SRLAP alumni. Alumni spoke of the pivotal role played by TBB – from recruitment, throughout the immigration process, and when navigating post-arrival settlement and work in Australia. Examples were given of TBB staff acting as a bridge between alumni and their employer to help them understand recruitment processes, make informed decisions, connect with other alumni and problem-solve when faced with challenges.

*Like, honestly, TBB, I was many times reaching to them when I was having challenges with my employer or at the beginning.*⁹¹

While there were also criticisms raised by alumni – particularly about the limited capacity of TBB and discrepancies between support offered to different alumni at different points of time throughout the SRLAP – there was also considerable recognition of the fact that they would not be in Australia had it not been for TBB facilitating and smoothing processes.

Recommendation 3

Ensure the involvement of an intermediary: *Ensure the ongoing involvement of an intermediary organisation or organisations to raise awareness of the refugee labour mobility pathway, to connect employers with job candidates, to aid in recruitment processes, and to support applicants and employers pre- and post-arrival.*

2.2.2 Cost, retention and risk

For smaller employers, cost ‘is a real factor’ in their ‘risk perspective’.⁹² In describing the perceived risks of hiring internationally, many reflected on past experiences. One human resources manager representing a vegetable grower in South Australia flagged concerns around spending ‘money up front with no guarantee’ that a candidate would be right for the job and would remain in the role long term, and the risk of ‘losing momentum’ when this hiring strategy did not work out.⁹³ TBB received similar feedback.⁹⁴

Some employers noted that there would be **a limit to their ability to cover the financial cost of sponsoring a candidate and the candidate’s family**. The human resources manager from the vegetable-growing business explained the constraint as follows:

[I]f it’s up to 30 [thousand], I know that’s going to be a non-starter for us, as much as I love – absolutely love – the idea of [the SRLAP].⁹⁵

This was described by several participants as ‘a double-edged sword’ for employers⁹⁶ because, while facilitating a skilled worker to bring their family can improve loyalty and retention for both the employer and the local area (discussed below and in section 2.3.2), the up-front costs of visa fees, relocation and settlement for a family compared to a single person may make this simply too costly for smaller businesses.⁹⁷

[I]t’s a double-edged sword though because ... it’s not like you’re able to put them in a motel for 12 months ... you can’t put them into shared accommodation ... and then there’s the cost of multiple flights, so while it has a positive [impact] there’s also a deterrent effect for employers.⁹⁸

One Victorian agricultural producer agreed, noting that while he could easily house single employees in existing staff accommodation, his business did not have the resources to accommodate a family.⁹⁹

For SRLAP alumni, migrating ahead or leaving family members behind, as other skilled migrants sometimes do, was a ‘non-starter’ in the context of their displacement experience. At the same time, their capacity to cover up-front visa fees and relocation costs for family members (again, as skilled migrants often do) was extremely limited and a **cost-sharing arrangement with employers or other third parties was needed**. This was an advantage that SRLAP alumni with existing links in Australia had, with some being able to draw on faith-based networks, family, friends or other supporters to offset the costs of migrating with secondary applicants whom employers were unable or unwilling to cover.

Some alumni made a connection between the high cost to employers of hiring through the SRLAP and sub-optimal employment. For instance, several interviewees felt that they were offered a lower-level position at a lower salary than their skills, qualifications and experience warranted *because* their employers were offsetting the costs of sponsoring them and their family members. While some felt this was an acceptable trade-off they were willing to make in the short term, they were critical of the Australian government's unwillingness to **find ways to reduce the costs to employers of sponsoring refugee and other displaced workers**, such as reducing visa charges for secondary applicants in recognition of the fact that primary applicants would not have the resources to cover the immigration and settlement costs of dependent family members. As one agricultural worker in South Australia said:

... we cannot pay any money for coming because refugee don't have any money for this – because every cost our church pay. You know, for ticket, for lawyer, everything, our church do it. We don't have any money to pay because we [were] refugee at another country.¹⁰⁰

In discussing how to more effectively cost or cost-share a future refugee labour mobility pathway, SRLAP alumni suggested reducing government fees for employers who hire refugees through this scheme as well as expanding access to transparent and reasonable cost-sharing opportunities between employers, employees and other parties (i.e., community, philanthropy or loan schemes).

The cost of this program is a bit ... high. It's not a bit, it's very high. ... So I think decreasing the application cost would be very, very helpful. [And] one of the cost[s] is actually the Skilling Australia Fund charge cost.¹⁰¹

Also tied to cost is the fact that **retention is a central concern for employers and community stakeholders in regional areas**. This concern was largely informed by past experiences of hiring internationally, particularly workers whose temporary visas featured a pathway to permanency that was dependent on their working in a regional area for a set period. For example, employers in regional Western Australia recalled migrant workers leaving for Perth or lucrative mining jobs up north,¹⁰² while in regional New South Wales, employers 'lose [staff] to Sydney' in search of more employment opportunities or 'cultural connections'.¹⁰³

Employers explained that they are willing to spend the time and money to hire through the SRLAP if they can be confident that this up-front investment will yield a long-term benefit for their business. While the perceived financial outlay of hiring through the SRLAP was a concern, with both employers and community stakeholders believing that 'cost would scare a lot of people',¹⁰⁴ they also noted that **'cost won't be an issue if there's a retention' of that worker**.¹⁰⁵

In contrast to employer concerns and past experiences of hiring skilled migrants through other schemes, **the SRLAP's reported retention rates are high**: 86% remain with the sponsoring employer after 12 months.¹⁰⁶ According to TBB, the SRLAP has had 'particularly strong outcomes' in regional Australia where 35% of candidates have settled. Retention rates at 12 months for SRLAP alumni sponsored by regional employers are comparable with retention rates for those sponsored by employers in major cities.¹⁰⁷

In the context of all skilled migration hiring options, in which the cost of sponsorship must be weighed against the risk of the employee leaving the business, employers viewed the SRLAP retention rate extremely positively. An owner of a manufacturing company commented that:

Everyone in the room really needs to know that this has [an 86%] chance of working, and they'd take that bet any day ... Numbers like [that] give everyone confidence.¹⁰⁸

Stakeholders also recognised that 'a one-off visa application' under the SRLAP would represent a lower cost to businesses in the long term compared to paying multiple visa costs to sponsor a temporary migrant. This is particularly so if it reduces staff turnover.¹⁰⁹ On this basis, employers noted that in some cases **the SRLAP could be more affordable in comparison to other recruitment strategies**. For example, in the case of aged care, regional employers experience 'inconsistent and lengthy' visa processing times that 'undermine workforce planning' and have 'widespread impacts on service delivery'.¹¹⁰ One aged care provider in a regional area explained that their facility is dependent on temporary agency staff due to a critical shortage of trained nurses and aged care workers; they believed that sponsoring an employee through the SRLAP could represent comparative value-for-money:

The combined outlay of bringing somebody over [through the SRLAP] is still less than what it would be to have an agency nurse working in the same period ... if they then stayed for 12 months then we'd still be ahead – if we were able to get them here.¹¹¹

The business manager of a small concreting business working with the dairy industry agreed that, in comparison to hiring staff on short-term or other temporary visas, investing in the SRLAP process could prove to be a better investment over the long term:

If I can spend \$10- or \$15,000 and get a bloke who commits to three years with us, I think it's money well spent.¹¹²

Yet the cost comparison between the SRLAP (a one-off cost to hire someone on a permanent visa) and hiring a skilled worker on a temporary visa (multiple visa sponsorship fees and an annual SAF levy) only becomes favourable if a worker is a good fit for the workplace and is retained by the business for a certain amount of time. Some **employers expressed fears about retention and the cost and risk calculation of hiring a worker through the SRLAP**. Concerns were expressed that a sponsored worker will not stay long enough, simply 'won't turn up', or will be poached by another employer after they arrive in Australia that has not made the same up-front investment and can offer a more attractive contract. This was a particular concern for employers in critical skills shortage industries and where regional SMEs felt they were competing with larger businesses or with employers in metropolitan areas:

The fact [is] the organisation wears the risk of the cost. So, we can invest the cost, get the candidate to us, but there's no commitment for them to have to stay. ... From a risk perspective for the business, there [is] quite a bit of ... spent money up front with no guarantee.¹¹³

For SRLAP alumni, fears by employers about retention were ill-founded. As a skilled dairy worker in regional Victoria said:

Because they have difficulties while they are living as refugee other country, in a poor country, and when they come somewhere like Australia, if and they see that when they work hard someone values them, someone respects them, definitely they can stay in there longer than someone else who already used to be in Australia ...¹¹⁴

Settlement service providers agreed, noting that the certainty that a permanent visa gives, along with allowing a worker to migrate with their family, can encourage retention and long-term investment in the local community:

*Bringing a family is a really good start to having longevity with the workforce.*¹¹⁵

Recommendation 4

Reduce costs for SMEs: Offset the costs for SMEs to hire through a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway, including waiving or reducing the Skilling Australia Fund levy and additional visa charges for dependent family members, and further exploring cost-sharing arrangements.

2.3 Do refugee labour pathways work in and for regional communities?

Persistent **skills shortages have a direct flow-on effect to the health of local communities in regional Australia**. Key stakeholders have noted that unmet labour needs and population decline 'limit economic capacity, undermine service delivery and constrain community wellbeing'.¹¹⁶ Industry stakeholders have emphasised the significant value of skilled migration in stabilising local economies and populations, making it easier for existing residents and essential services to remain in a local area.¹¹⁷ Skilled migration has been described as an 'essential lifeline' for regional communities, one that 'supports continuity in childcare, health, disability support, aged care, hospitality, transport and construction'.¹¹⁸

2.3.1 Opportunities in and for regional communities

Community stakeholders in regional areas were mostly positive about a skilled refugee labour mobility pathway providing opportunities for local businesses to grow, supporting the viability of local services and industries, and for helping their communities become 'more dynamic'.¹¹⁹ Community stakeholders were particularly **supportive of a program that allowed skilled workers to migrate with their families**, noting the importance of this for long-term integration into the community. As one community stakeholder in Victoria said:

*I think it is going to be fantastic for [our town]. If we can, we can have more people, you know, residing, more people making [this place] their home. And as I said, ... I think it would be a real opportunity for [our town] to boom, because we are, yes, we are very, very lucky. So, I think those employers that are crying out for help, whether they be skilled or unskilled workforce, everyone that we've spoken about, it's a triple win, really.*¹²⁰

For many community stakeholders, regional areas are ideal places for refugees to settle because community networks can be readily activated, 'people know each other' and connections can easily be made.¹²¹ As one community member who supported a SRLAP candidate and their family explained:

I made this group, and the group are the most amazing group. Somebody should make a documentary! ... Like, I warned [the SRLAP candidate] before he came that he would be [our town's] Afghan, right? Literally, on the first day, people were stopping him in the street: 'Are you from Afghanistan? We've heard you're coming!' And then the old ladies would message me and

be like, 'We've introduced him to [Marge] and [John] at the post office] so that he can post things back to Afghanistan'.¹²²

SRLAP alumni sponsored by regional employers – many of whom were living and working in smaller and more remote communities – also spoke in mostly positive ways about settling in regional Australia and saw **regional towns and communities as a 'soft landing'**; as places where people were friendly and welcoming, where life was 'calm' and safe for their children, where there were (potentially) more career opportunities and interesting work, and where newcomers could learn how things work in Australia at an easier and slower pace compared to big cities.

Regional towns [give newcomers] a really big boost, and it's very easy for them. Like, you can call this regional town as a training town If you commit small mistakes in the traffic, because there is not huge traffic, it won't lead you to a big, disastrous accident. [And even] getting used to the people and learning and doing the job, they will give you a big heart, because it's hard to find people out here. So that's what I have understood. They give you a bit more space, and they ... give you the opportunity, and they encourage you to work for [location]. In that way, you have those chances to improve yourself and to learn from your mistakes quickly compared to big towns.¹²³

2.3.2 Settlement infrastructure and safety nets

While there were strong sentiments among employers, SRLAP alumni and community stakeholders that smaller regional towns are a good place for migrants to live and work, the potential of skilled refugees settling in regional Australia is not without challenges. The RAI and other stakeholders have emphasised the importance of strong local communities – including councils, volunteer groups, schools and sporting associations – in fostering a welcoming environment that encourages migrant retention and long-term residence.¹²⁴ For community stakeholders, regional areas are already struggling with infrastructure and chronic housing shortages, and services and community support systems are stretched thin to meet what they can see are changing community needs. As one community worker in regional Victoria described it:

We see there's a real gap [in] settlement support and that, once they're here, we don't have the resources to do that. But it's such an important aspect, and not just for – if it's the worker – but their partner and the family that they might bring with them. ... At the moment it's hugely under-resourced and often relies on [there] being a very, very caring employer who takes the time to make sure that's right. Because if that ain't right, there's probably a fair chance they might not stay very long.¹²⁵

A community worker in Western Australia lamented the disconnect between business needs for workers and available housing, a sentiment that was shared by other stakeholders across Australia:

For us, it's accommodation. That's the big thing. ... We've had a number where a lot of workers have all been shoved in small houses and things like that. So, just dealing with that, and just shortages of housing to get them into something.¹²⁶

Stakeholders noted that 'access to settlement services is uneven across Australia'¹²⁷ and that the expectation that specialist providers could support refugees settling in all areas of the vast Australian continent was unrealistic.¹²⁸ However, they also saw the key role that supported settlement can play for regional communities, and particularly for enabling people to integrate and stay long term:

I think if they're supported well, as soon as they hit the ground, it wouldn't matter whether it's an Islander or refugee or somebody from England or wherever that may be, another migrant that has come on a different sort of path, I think providing good settlement and integration ... is the key to eliminating a lot of the risk [of people moving].¹²⁹

These challenges were reflected in the experiences of SRLAP alumni who struggled in places where public transport was limited or non-existent and a car was essential for getting around; where there were limited community supports; and where family members had limited English and relied on the primary applicant. These challenges spoke to the **variable capacity of settlement infrastructure in regional locations**; of infrastructure that could help newcomers with things like finding a house, obtaining a driver's licence, orienting themselves in the local community, and understanding and navigating systems and services. Where the primary applicant was the only member in a family who spoke English and had to work full-time on arrival, the pressures caused immense friction and stress within families:

Everything is all right now, but yeah, at the beginning, I struggled too much at the beginning.¹³⁰

Compounding the challenges of limited settlement infrastructure in some regional areas was the issue raised by some SRLAP alumni of having to **negotiate settlement on a low income with limited resources or a financial safety net**. This was particularly challenging in the context of cost-of-living pressures felt by low-income families across Australia, and heightened for those who arrived with dependent family members.¹³¹ As an SRLAP alumnus, a fibrous plasterer in Queensland, explained, prospective refugee workers might think a job for A\$50,000 or A\$60,000 a year is 'big money', but in Australia, 'it's more hard to live here'.¹³² Another alumnus said:

I was aware about my salary before I arrived to [location] what my salary would be. I know that, but I did not know the life expenses here ... will be that high, you know.¹³³

It should be noted that the minimum annual salary for an employer-nominated visa increased over the course of the SRLAP, from A\$53,900 pre-July 2023 to A\$76,515 in 2025–2026.¹³⁴ However, half of the alumni interviewed were sponsored before this change, arriving on annual full-time salaries below A\$60,000. In these cases, alumni spoke about struggling to make ends meet. This was compounded by the lack of a financial safety net for migrants arriving on skilled visas more broadly, with partners subject to a New Arrivals Waiting Period of four years to be eligible for government income or employment services support.¹³⁵

One alumnus spoke about their concern for families where dependents faced difficulties attaining work because of caring responsibilities or a lack of English, work experience, opportunities or confidence, and that **arriving on a (low) single income without savings or a financial safety net put families at great risk**.¹³⁶ While these challenges may be mitigated by an increase in minimum salary requirements under the SRLAP, the need to support both future employees and employers to understand and plan for cost-of-living realities remains.

2.3.3 Family separation and reunification

A concern for SRLAP alumni in terms of long-term investment and stability within communities related to their **access to family reunification**. A key disadvantage for refugees arriving via a labour mobility pathway compared to resettlement is their inability to bring dependent family members who do not fit within Australia's skilled migration policy settings. Within skilled migration, secondary applicants are limited to partners and dependent children aged 23 and under, and they must all also

meet health requirements.¹³⁷ This differs from refugee and humanitarian visas where the health requirement is waived and a more flexible understanding of ‘family’ applied.

For some, migrating to Australia for work means leaving close family members behind in contexts of displacement. As a skilled professional who had to leave their only child — a young man who did not meet the ‘dependent child’ criteria — back in the country of asylum said:

I know each case is totally different In my case, I am a single mum. Me and my son [have] been together forever. He’s also ... I’m single, he’s single, and probably [it] will be easier if he was in here with me, and he was capable to [come] here with me.¹³⁸

Furthermore, refugees arriving in Australia on skilled visas are not prioritised for humanitarian family reunification through programs like the Special Humanitarian Program, which prioritises applicants whose proposer was granted a Class XB (Refugee and Humanitarian) Visa.¹³⁹ This effectively shuts off possibilities for SRLAP alumni to propose older children, parents, siblings or dependents with greater health needs who would otherwise have a potential pathway to reunification.

Recommendation 5

Address broader settlement needs: Review policy settings to better reflect the hybrid humanitarian and economic objectives and benefits of a permanent refugee labour mobility pathway, including how skilled refugees and their family members can access settlement support, humanitarian family reunion and a financial safety net.

3 Conclusion

In the face of persistent skills shortages, regional SMEs need predictable and timely hiring processes that offer long-term benefits for the upfront investment of hiring displaced talent from overseas. Displaced professionals and tradespeople also need access to protection-sensitive migration pathways that give them the potential to migrate based on their skills, and for whom the ability to return to their careers and livelihoods is an integral part of a durable solution.

Refugees have made major contributions to Australia’s economic, social and cultural growth over many decades, and experts have long recognised that there is real potential for a dedicated skilled pathway to further build on these economic benefits.¹⁴⁰ A permanent refugee labour mobility pathway within Australia’s Skilled Migration Program would provide certainty for both employers and refugees, offer opportunities to regional communities, and be an important step in cementing Australia’s international commitment to refugee protection and the expansion of complementary pathways.

Endnotes

¹ Email from Jemma Bailey (Talent Beyond Boundaries) to Claire Higgins, 6 May 2026.

² SMEs are defined in this paper as businesses with fewer than 200 employees, with small enterprises characterised in government (ABS) data as those with 0-19 workers, and medium enterprises as those employing 20-199 workers.

³ Retention rates are based on evaluation data from 1 July 2021 to 31 October 2024: Email (n 1).

⁴ 'Australian Government makes 23 pledges at 2023 Global Refugee Forum', *Refugee Council of Australia* (News, 6 February 2024) <https://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/australian-government-pledges-at-the-2023-global-refugee-forum/>.

⁵ 'Business conditions and sentiments', *Australian Bureau of Statistics* (Web Page, June 2022) <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/economy/business-indicators/business-conditions-and-sentiments/latest-release>.

⁶ 'About the Global Task Force on Refugee Labour Mobility', *Global Task Force on Refugee Labour Mobility* (Web Page) <https://refugeelabourmobility.org/about>.

⁷ 'Scaling refugee employment: policy, partnerships and labour mobility', *International Labour Organization* (Online Event, December 2025), <https://live.ilo.org/event/scaling-refugee-employment-policy-partnerships-and-labour-mobility-2025-12-15>; Steph Cousins, Rachel Lawrie and Sayre Nyce, *The Promise of Labour Mobility: how skills can be a passport out of displacement for refugees* (Publication, Talent Beyond Boundaries, December 2019) 14, 27 <https://www.talentbeyondboundaries.org/publications>; Claire Higgins, Sally Baker, Stephanie Cousins, Ben Zhe Wang, Zhiming Cheng, Massimiliano Tani and Victoria Jack, 'Refugees as Skilled Migrants: Insights from Australia's 2018 Employer-Sponsored Refugee Migration Pilot' (2023) 170 *Social Indicators Research* 323.

⁸ Scholars have pointed to past movements of Syrians and Kuwaitis as workers into migrant labour-dependent Gulf States following conflict and displacement, as well as refugee integration into labour markets in Latin America and West Africa, as examples of refugee labour mobility facilitated by policy settings: see Jinan Bastaki, 'Labour migration and the Gulf Arab States: Some observations on the potential of the GCR' (2021) 34(3) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 2912; Katy Long, *From Refugee to Migrant? Labor Mobility's Protection Potential* (Migration Policy Institute Report, May 2015) <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM-Protection-Long.pdf>. For an explanation for why refugees were progressively excluded from policy consideration and discussions around migrant workers: see Adèle Garnier, 'Arrested Development? UNHCR, ILO, and the Refugees' Right to Work' (2014) 30(2) *Refugee* 15.

⁹ Martin Ruhs, 'Can Labor Immigration Work for Refugees?' (2019) 118(804) *Current History* 22.

¹⁰ Naoko Hashimoto, 'Are New Pathways of Admitting Refugees Truly 'Humanitarian' and 'Complementary'? (2021) 10(2) *Journal of Human Security Studies* 15.

¹¹ This culminated in the inclusion of 'complementary pathways' in the language of the Global Compact on Refugees and 'expanding access to third country solutions' as one of its four key objectives: see United Nations General Assembly, *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: Part II Global Compact on Refugees*, UN Doc A/73/12 (II) (13 September 2018) [85]; UNHCR, *The Three Year Strategy on Resettlement and Complementary Pathways (2019-2021)* (Final report, June 2019); UNHCR, *Third Country Solutions for Refugees: Roadmap 2030* (Report, June 2022).

¹² Benedicta Solf and Katherine Rehberg, *The Resettlement Gap: A Record Number of Global Refugees, but Few Are Resettled* (Migration Policy Institute, 22 October 2021) <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/refugee-resettlement-gap>.

¹³ UNHCR, 'Complementary pathways: A win-win for refugees and host communities' (UNHCR, 5 May 2025); 'Labour mobility for displaced people', *IOM* (Web Page) <https://www.iom.int/labour-mobility-displaced-people>.

¹⁴ Sally Baker and Louise Olliff, 'Regional Australia needs more workers to rebuild after disasters like Alfred. Skilled refugees could help', *The Conversation*, 11 March 2025 <https://theconversation.com/regional-australia-needs-more-workers-to-rebuild-after-disasters-like-alfred-skilled-refugees-could-help-251909>.

¹⁵ See eg, Jeff Crisp, *Unpicking the notion of 'safe and legal' routes* (Mixed Migration Centre, 6 December 2022) <https://mixedmigration.org/publications/mmr/2022/unpicking-the-notion-of-safe-and-legal-routes/>.

¹⁶ Taya Ketelaar-Jones, Natalie Welfens and Tamara Wood, 'Complementary Pathways: New Horizons or Muddied Waters?' (2025) 44(4) *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 614.

¹⁷ Amanda Gray Meral, 'A Win-Win for Who? Complementary Labour Pathways for Refugees through a Decolonial Feminist Lens' (2026) 44(4) *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 595; Hashimoto (n 10).

¹⁸ Sally Baker, Louise Olliff, Claire Higgins, Ali Reza Yunespour, Lisa Button and Jemma Bailey, 'Harnessing Possibilities and Synergies to Refugee Complementary Migration Pathways in Australia: A Multiple Streams Analysis' (2025) 26 *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 2219.

¹⁹ 'Visa Pathways', *Talent Beyond Boundaries* (Web Page) <https://www.talentbeyondboundaries.org/>.

²⁰ This program was set at 132,200 permanent places in the 2025-26 program year. See: 'Permanent Migration Program planning levels', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, 2025) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/what-we-do/migration-program-planning-levels>.

²¹ 'Subclass 186. Employer Nomination Scheme', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web page, updated 6 May 2026) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/getting-a-visa/visa-listing/employer-nomination-scheme-186>. Note: there has been one temporary visa issued through the Pilot, but this was due to exceptional circumstances.

²² This salary level is stipulated annually by the government. In the SRLAP, a salary range has been linked to the Temporary Skilled Migration Income Threshold (TSMIT). See: 'Nominating a position', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, updated 19 February 2026) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/employing-and-sponsoring-someone/sponsoring-workers/nominating-a-position/salary-requirements>.

²³ 'Welcome to the PALM scheme', *Pacific Australian Labour Mobility* (Web Page) <https://www.palmscheme.gov.au/>; Development Policy Centre and World Bank, 'The PALM and REV schemes: employer and worker perspectives' *Dev Policy Blog* (Blog Post, 10 December 2025) <https://devpolicy.org/the-palm-and-rse-schemes-employer-and-worker-perspectives-20251210/>; Zvezda Vankova, 'Refugee Labour Mobility to the EU: A Tool Contributing to Fairer Sharing of Responsibilities in the Context of Forced Displacement?' (2024) 43(1) *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 53.

²⁴ While permanent skilled migrants are eligible to government-subsidised university places as domestic fee-paying students, they are ineligible for the Higher Education Loan Program (HELP).

²⁵ Dependent family members are defined as a spouse/partner and dependent children under 23.

²⁶ 'Hiring displaced talent in Australia', *Talent Beyond Boundaries* (Web Page) <https://www.talentbeyondboundaries.org/australia>.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Recognising that refugees may not be able to provide the documentary evidence of past work experience or satisfy testing requirements in host countries where their legal status is precarious. Instead, employers are expected to determine the suitability of skills through means mutually agreed (eg, instead of showing evidence of past work as a skilled meatworker through pay slips or work contracts, a candidate may be asked to demonstrate knife skills and capability in a recorded video demonstration. Likewise, an IT worker may be asked to perform a task to demonstrate skills).

²⁹ This includes some roles that would not otherwise be eligible under the employer-nomination visa scheme because the annual market salary rate is below the Temporary Skilled Migration Income Threshold (TSMIT). Under the SRLAP, roles with a salary 10% lower than the TSMIT can be sponsored, so long as they meet Australian National Employment Standards: see Talent Beyond Boundaries (n 26); 'Temporary Skilled Migration Income Threshold (TSMIT)', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, updated 19 February 2026) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/employing-and-sponsoring-someone/sponsoring-workers/nominating-a-position/salary-requirements>.

³⁰ 'Connecting Skilled Refugees with Employers Internationally: Talent Catalog', *Talent Beyond Boundaries* (Web Page) <https://www.talentbeyondboundaries.org/talentcatalog>.

³¹ William Abbey, Lucas Way and Salim Al Khadoori, *Understanding and Defining Regional and Remote Areas: Criteria and Classifications for Australia* (Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment – National Environmental Science Program, 17 February 2025) 5.

³² 'Regional Migration: designated regional areas', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, updated 28 February 2025) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/working-in-australia/regional-migration/eligible-regional-areas>.

³³ 'Foundations of Regional Australia', *Regional Australia Institute* (Web Page) <https://regionalaustralia.org.au/Web/Web/About-Us/Foundations-of-Regional-Australia.aspx?hkey=2a5b2efe-e6b2-4d15-8902-958252e6743f>; 'What is Regional Australia?', *Regional Australia Institute* (Web Page) <https://www.regionalaustralia.org.au/Web/Web/About-Us/What-is-Regional-Australia.aspx>.

³⁴ Joint Standing Committee on Migration, Parliament of Australia, Migration: Pathway to Nation Building (Report, September 2024) 289.

³⁵ Regional Australia Institute, Submission to the Senate Select Committee on Productivity in Australia (2026) 3, 7; 'Contribution to Australian Employment', *Australian Small Business and Family Enterprise Ombudsman* (Web Page) <https://www.asbfeo.gov.au/small-business-data-portal/contribution-australian-employment>; Joint Standing Committee on Migration (n 34); Department of Home Affairs, Supporting Strong and Sustainable Regions: Review of Regional Migration Settings - Discussion Paper (Discussion Paper, June 2024) https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/reports-and-pubs/PDFs/supporting_strong_and_sustainable_regions.pdf.

³⁶ Australian Bureau of Statistics (n 5).

³⁷ Parisa Artin, 'Critical sustainability factors of regional SMEs; A case study of regional Australia' (2022) 4 *Current Research in Environmental Sustainability* 1.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ 'Regional Labour Markets Update – March 2026', *Regional Australia Institute* (News, 28 April 2026) https://www.regionalaustralia.org.au/Web/Web/Toolkits-Indexes/Regional-Jobs-Update/Updates/2026/Regional_Labour_Markets_Update_March_2026.aspx.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Regional Australia Institute (n 35) 7; Joint Standing Committee on Migration, Parliament of Australia, *Final Report of the Inquiry into Australia's Skilled Migration Program* (Report, August 2021) 44-50.

⁴² Talent Beyond Boundaries, Submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into Migration in Regional Australia* (20 September 2019) 8.

⁴³ Australian Research Council Linkage Grant (LP220100286 - *Regional Australia' skills shortages and high-skill refugees' employment, 2023-2027*)

⁴⁴ Chief Investigators Dr Claire Higgins and Associate Professor Sally Baker, Senior Research Associate Dr Louise Olliff, and Senior Research Officers Dr Aleksandra (Sasha) Block and Dr Tess Altman.

⁴⁵ Of the 32 employers interviewed for this research, a small number had direct experience of hiring through the SRLAP, while most were interested in learning about this pathway as a means of addressing skills shortages in their own businesses. Most employers had previously attempted to recruit, or succeeded in recruiting, through other areas of Australia's skilled migration program. This meant that they were able to discuss the SRLAP in the context of the skilled migration program more broadly, and to compare local and international hiring strategies.

⁴⁶ Community stakeholders included representatives from local and state government, community services, volunteer, multicultural and faith-based groups, and chambers of commerce.

⁴⁷ This included service providers involved in delivery of Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), Humanitarian Settlement Program (HSP) and Settlement Engagement and Transition Support (SETS).

⁴⁸ This included migration agents, funded jobseeker services, local workforce development and regional development initiatives, and staff supporting skilled migrant recruitment.

⁴⁹ Canberra, ACT; Newcastle, NSW; Toowoomba, QLD; Murray Bridge and Adelaide, SA; Launceston, Burnie and Hobart, TAS; Warrnambool, VIC; Perth, Harvey and Bunbury, WA.

⁵⁰ Interview with Employer (BH1) (Phone interview, Harvey/Bunbury, WA, 5 August 2025).

⁵¹ Interview with Employer (W1) (Phone interview, Warrnambool, VIC, 20 September 2024).

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE4) (Phone interview, WA, 2 November 2024).

⁵⁴ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE14) (Phone interview, WA, 4 December 2024).

⁵⁵ Interview with Employer (N1) (Online interview, Newcastle, NSW, 8 November 2024).

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- ⁵⁶ Interview with SRLAP alumna (RE3) (Online interview, WA, 1 November 2024).
- ⁵⁷ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE15) (Phone interview, WA, 5 December 2024).
- ⁵⁸ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE5) (Phone interview, NT, 5 December 2024).
- ⁵⁹ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE18) (Phone interview, VIC, 15 December 2024).
- ⁶⁰ Interview with Employment services worker (BH1), Focus group, Bunbury/Harvey, WA, 23 May 2025.
- ⁶¹ Interview with SRLAP alumna (RE20) (Online Interview, VIC, 28 March 2025).
- ⁶² Interview with Community stakeholder (P1) (Online interview, Perth, WA, 15 May 2025).
- ⁶³ See 'About the Campaign', *Billion Dollar Benefit* (Web Page) <https://www.billiondollarbenefit.org.au/>.
- ⁶⁴ Interview with Employer (MB4) (Focus group, Murray Bridge, SA, 5 March 2025).
- ⁶⁵ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE11) (Phone interview, VIC, 28 November 2024).
- ⁶⁶ Gareth Hutchens, 'Australia wasting migrant talent 'on an industrial scale', former Treasury secretary says', *ABC News*, 2 April 2026 <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2026-04-02/permanent-migrants-skills-wasted-in-australia-martin-parkinson/106519816>.
- ⁶⁷ Activate Australia's Skills, *The Productivity Fast Track: accelerating growth through better skills transition* (Report, August 2025) 3, 5 https://activateaustralia.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/The-productivity-Fast-Track_digital.pdf.
- ⁶⁸ 'Fix the skills and qualifications recognition system', *Billion Dollar Benefit* (Web Page) <https://www.billiondollarbenefit.org.au/about/#fix-the-recognition-system>.
- ⁶⁹ Interview with Employer (L1) (Phone interview, Launceston, TAS, 25 April 2025).
- ⁷⁰ Interview with Employer (W3) (Phone interview, Warrnambool, VIC, 11 October 2024).
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² The SAF levy is between \$3,000-\$5,000 per sponsored worker and is designed to 'help ensure businesses hiring skilled migrants also contribute to skills development for Australians': see 'Skilling Australians Fund Levy', *Department of Employment and Workplace Relations* (Web Page) <https://www.dewr.gov.au/skilling-australians-fund-levy>.
- ⁷³ Interview with Employer (W3) (n 70).
- ⁷⁴ 'Train to Hire Framework for the Asia Pacific', *IOM Australia* (Web Page) <https://australia.iom.int/train-hire-framework-asia-pacific-region>.
- ⁷⁵ The SRLAP in its current form was launched in 2021.
- ⁷⁶ Talent Beyond Boundaries (n 42) 8, 22-23.
- ⁷⁷ Interview with Employers (BH2, BH3, BH4) (Focus group, Bunbury/Harvey, WA, 23 May 2025); Interview with Employers (P1, P2, P3) (Focus group, Perth, WA, 21 May 2025).
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.

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- ⁷⁹ Interview with Employer (L1) (Focus group, Burnie, TAS, 31 March 2025).
- ⁸⁰ Interview with Employer (BH1) (n 50).
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ Interview with Employer (W1) (n 51).
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Interview with Employment services provider (A1) (Interview, Adelaide, SA, 3 July 2025).
- ⁸⁶ 'Skilled Visa Processing Priorities', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, updated 17 March 2026) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/getting-a-visa/visa-processing-times/visa-processing-priorities/skilled-visa>.
- ⁸⁷ Interview with Employer (L1) (n 69).
- ⁸⁸ Interview with Employer (N2) (Online interview, Newcastle, NSW, 11 November 2024).
- ⁸⁹ Interview with Employer (N1) (n 55).
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Interview with SRLAP alumna (RE3) (Interview, WA, 1 November 2024).
- ⁹² Interview with Employer (MB4) (n 64).
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ Talent Beyond Boundaries, *Supporting strong and sustainable regions: Review of Regional Migration Settings Discussion Paper* (26 July 2024) 4.
- ⁹⁵ Interview with Employer (MB4) (n 64).
- ⁹⁶ Interview with Settlement service provider (MB5) (Focus group, Murray Bridge, SA, 3 May 2025).
- ⁹⁷ Interview with Settlement service provider (MB2) (Focus group, Murray Bridge, SA, 3 May 2025).
- ⁹⁸ Interview with Settlement service provider (MB5) (n 96).
- ⁹⁹ Interview with Employer (W5) (Phone interview, Warrnambool, VIC, 18 October 2024).
- ¹⁰⁰ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE7) (Phone interview, SA, 11 November 2024).
- ¹⁰¹ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE17) (Phone interview, VIC, 5 December 2024).
- ¹⁰² Interview with Employer (BH2) (Focus group, Bunbury/Harvey, WA, 23 May 2025).
- ¹⁰³ Interview with Settlement service provider (N1) (Online focus group, Newcastle, NSW, 7 December 2024).
- ¹⁰⁴ Interview with Community stakeholder (L11) (Focus group, Burnie, TAS, 31 March 2025).
- ¹⁰⁵ Small-group report back (Focus group, Murray Bridge, SA, 5 March 2025).

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- ¹⁰⁶ Talent Beyond Boundaries, Submission to the Department of Home Affairs, *Australia's Humanitarian Program 2025-2026* (6 August 2025) 4.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid 4; Talent Beyond Boundaries, Submission No 57 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (3 January 2026) 6; Talent Beyond Boundaries (n 94) 2.
- ¹⁰⁸ Interview with Employer (W1) (Phone interview, Warrnambool, VIC, 20 September 2024).
- ¹⁰⁹ Interview with Employment services provider (BH1) (Interview, Bunbury/Harvey, WA, 23 May 2025).
- ¹¹⁰ Ageing Australia, Submission No 25 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (18 December 2025), 4.
- ¹¹¹ Interview with Employer (MB5) (Focus group, Murray Bridge, SA, 5 March 2025).
- ¹¹² Interview with Employer (W5) (n 99).
- ¹¹³ Interview with Employer (MB4) (Focus group, Murray Bridge, SA, 5 March 2025).
- ¹¹⁴ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE18) (n 59).
- ¹¹⁵ Interview with Settlement service provider (MB2) (n 97).
- ¹¹⁶ Regional Development Australia Goldfields Esperance, Submission No 7 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (December 2025) 3.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid; Australian Meat Industry Council, Submission No 67 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (5 January 2026) 3.
- ¹¹⁸ Regional Development Australia Mid-North Coast and Norfolk Island, Submission No 46 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (December 2026) 2; Regional Development Australia Pilbara, Submission No 56 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (January 2026) 2; Regional Capitals Australia, Submission No 94 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (12 January 2026) 5.
- ¹¹⁹ Interview with Settlement service provider (MB2) (n 97).
- ¹²⁰ Interview with Community stakeholder (W5) (Interview, Warrnambool, VIC, 11 September 2024).
- ¹²¹ Interview with Community stakeholder (W1) (Interview, Warrnambool, VIC, 11 September 2024); Interview with Employment service providers (BH1, BH2) (Focus group, Bunbury/Harvey, WA, 23 May 2025).
- ¹²² Interview with Community stakeholder (N4) (Interview, Newcastle, NSW, 10 October 2024).
- ¹²³ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE5) (n 58).
- ¹²⁴ Regional Australia Institute, Submission No 141 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into Australia's Skilled Migration Program* (March 2021) 7; Australian Local Government Association, Submission No 120 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (December 2025) 5.
- ¹²⁵ Interview with Community stakeholder (W3) (Interview, Warrnambool, Victoria, 10 September 2024).

¹²⁶ Interview with Community stakeholder (BH1) (Interview, Harvey / Bunbury, Western Australia, 22 May 2025).

¹²⁷ Regional Capitals Australia, Submission No 94 to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Inquiry into the Value of Skilled Migration to Australia* (12 January 2026) 7.

¹²⁸ Interview with Policy advocate (PA5) (Online focus group, 23 March 2026); Interview with Settlement service providers (P1-P4) (Focus group, Perth WA, 20 May 2025).

¹²⁹ Interview with Settlement service provider (MB2) (Focus group, Murray Bridge, South Australia, 5 March 2025).

¹³⁰ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE4) (n 53).

¹³¹ The Melbourne Institute's HILDA survey found the poverty line in 2022-23 to be \$1,226 a week for a couple with two children or \$584 for a single person. Based on this definition, 40% of interviewees arrived on salaries below this poverty line: see Peter Davidson and Bruce Bradbury, *Data from Poverty in Australia 2025: Overview* (Report, October 2025) https://povertyandinequality.acoss.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/Poverty-in-Australia-2025-V4_screen.pdf.

¹³² Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE19) (Phone interview, QLD, 24 December 2024).

¹³³ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE4) (n 53).

¹³⁴ 'Temporary Skilled Migration Income Threshold (TSMIT)', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, updated 19 February 2026) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/employing-and-sponsoring-someone/sponsoring-workers/nominating-a-position/salary-requirements>.

¹³⁵ There is a precedent for non-humanitarian visa holders to be exempted from the New Arrivals Waiting Period in the case of Family visa subclass holders who are sponsored by a refugee or former refugee. This offers potential guidance for how an exemption for dependents of refugees arriving on skilled visas might also access this safety net: see 'Exemptions from the newly arrived resident's waiting period' *Services Australia* (Web Page, updated 1 July 2025) <https://www.servicesaustralia.gov.au/exemptions-from-newly-arrived-residents-waiting-period?context=22281>.

¹³⁶ Interview with SRLAP alumnus (RE1) (Online interview, WA, 25 October 2024).

¹³⁷ 'Meeting our health requirements', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, updated 16 October 2024) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/help-support/meeting-our-requirements/health>.

¹³⁸ Interview with SRLAP alumna (RE20) (n 61).

¹³⁹ 'The Special Humanitarian Program (SHP)', *Department of Home Affairs* (Web Page, 4 May 2026) <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/what-we-do/refugee-and-humanitarian-program/the-special-humanitarian-program>.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Shergold, Kerrin Benson and Margaret Piper, *Investing in Refugees, Investing in Australia: The Findings of a Review into Integration, Employment and Settlement Outcomes for Refugees and Humanitarian Entrants in Australia* (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, February 2019) 60.

