Overseas trained teachers: A comparative survey of literature about their experiences in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom

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Abstract

Overseas trained teachers (OTTs), from traditional Anglo-Celtic countries and non-English-speaking background countries have found their way into the Australian education system in considerable numbers to fill the gaps created as a result of retirement and attrition due to other factors. Over the last two decades, researchers have published numerous articles documenting the experiences of OTTs not only in Australia but also in other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. The purpose of this paper is to survey and review the literature on the experiences of OTTs in Australia from 2005 to 2015 and to compare it to what has been published about their counterparts in Canada and the United Kingdom with a view to establishing whether there are common or recurrent themes as well as identifying gaps that would stimulate interest for further research. The method used was to search educational databases using keywords and phrases such as, overseas trained teachers, internationally educated teachers, and immigrant teachers with connectors to experiences, barriers, obstacles, employment, retention and professional integration. The search yielded a large number of articles from which were selected those that explicitly catalogued the experiences of immigrant teachers. The findings revealed that OTTs encountered a myriad of barriers and hurdles as they sought to re-establish their careers in a new country. The common and recurrent themes in all the countries surveyed included: English language proficiency; bureaucratic red tape during initial registration; recognition of qualifications and experience; re-certification, socio-cultural and professional integration; and, discrimination. It also emerged that OTTs from similar English-speaking Anglo-Celtic background countries as the host country integrated more easily and readily into their new cultures and did not experience as much difficulties as their colleagues from non-English speaking background countries. Conspicuously, there was a dearth of information about the roles and views of administrators and policymakers, as well as a paucity of discourse on the theoretical framework underpinning research on the experiences of OTTs, suggesting a shift in the focus of future research on the topic.

Key words: migrant teachers, overseas trained teachers, teachers’ experiences, Australia, OECD countries

Introduction

Over the last few decades, globalisation has brought about increased socio-cultural, political and economic interconnectedness between countries. As many nations embraced neo-liberal policies and free-market economies, transnational migration of skilled professionals, including teachers, nurses, doctors, engineers and information technologists, has emerged as an important feature of globalisation (Brown, 2008; Goldberg, 2006; Hawthorne, 2005; Manik, Maharaj & Sookrajh, 2006). Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, view migration as part of national economic policy where countries compete for highly skilled labour (Han, 2004; Ho, 2006; Schmidt, 2010; Zimmermann, 2004). Concerned about the poor labour outcomes for migrants, particularly from non-English speaking background (NESB) countries and voter backlash, countries like Australia and Canada have, since the late 1990s, realigned their immigration policies to selectively recruit highly qualified and highly sought after skilled migrants to serve the economic needs of their
countries irrespective of where the migrants came from (Elder, 2001; Hawthorne, 2005; Ho, 2006; Iredale & Fox, 1997; Murray & Cross, 2009; Murray, Riazi & Cross, 2012; Schmidt, 2010).

The skilled migration discourse has in recent years brought to the fore the transnational migration of teachers as a global phenomenon (Appleton, Sives & Morgan, 2006; Han, 2004; Michael, 2006). The main factor driving teacher mobility is the shortage and demand for teachers world-wide (Grimmet & Echols, 2001; Lonsdale & Ingvarson, 2003; OECD, 2002). The shortages in industrialised countries are attributed to the ageing teacher workforce, the decline in the status of the teaching profession and serious problems in the recruitment and retention of teachers (OECD, 2002). The problem of supply and demand of teachers is exacerbated by increasing student enrolments and teacher attrition (Grimmet & Echols, 2001). Studies in the United States and Australia (Grimmet & Echols, 2001) suggest that more than a third of beginning teachers leave the profession within the first five years of employment to search for better paying jobs and that the supply of teacher education graduates fails to meet the demand for teachers.

Like other OECD countries, Australia embarked on overseas recruitment of teachers over the last few decades to make up for the shortfalls in the teacher labour market (Han & Singh, 2007; Lonsdale & Ingvarson, 2003; Michael, 2006; Reid, 2005). Until the mid-1970s, Australia recruited its overseas teachers traditionally from the United Kingdom and Ireland but the net was later extended to include the United States and Canada and much later on, NESB countries. Thus the teaching profession, once dominantly middle-class Anglo-ethnic (Han & Singh, 2007; Kostogriz & Peeler, 2004), became increasingly multicultural as more immigrant teachers arrived and decided to re-establish their teaching careers in the country (Kamler, Reid & Santoro, 1999; Sharplin, 2009). The 2006 national census estimated that 16.95% of the teacher workforce (74,620 out of 438,060) was overseas-born (Reid, Collins & Singh, 2013).

The recruitment of teachers from overseas raises questions about their experiences Australia and how this compares to countries such as Canada and the United Kingdom. The purpose of this paper is to survey and review the literature on the experiences of overseas trained teachers (OTT) in Australia from 2005 to 2015 and to compare it to what has been published about their counterparts in Canada and the United Kingdom with a view to establishing whether there are common or recurrent themes as well as identifying gaps that would stimulate interest for further research. The method used involved searching educational databases using keywords and phrases such as, *overseas trained teachers, internationally educated teachers, and immigrant teachers* with connectors to *experiences, barriers, obstacles, employment, retention and professional integration*. The key questions guiding the review are: *What are the barriers experienced by overseas trained teachers seeking recognition of qualifications, employment and integration into the Australian education system? Do the experiences
of OTTs in Canada and the United Kingdom mirror the same obstacles? Are there common themes in the experiences of OTTs in the three countries and what are the implications?

The major themes identified by the review were registration and recognition of qualifications, language proficiency, socio-cultural and professional integration and discrimination. These themes will be considered in turn.

**Registration and recognition of qualifications**

Research in Australia and other immigrant receiving countries suggests that overseas trained teachers experienced numerous hurdles and barriers as they sought registration, accreditation and certification to re-establish their careers. The obstacles included long delays in processing credentials, non-recognition of qualifications and re-certification (Guo, 2009; Guo & Singh, 2009; Michael, 2006; Miller, 2008a; Nayar, 2009; Schmidt, Young & Mandzuk, 2010; Walsh & Brigham, 2007; Walsh, Brigham & Wang, 2011).

In Australia, the registration of teachers is the responsibility of the teacher regulatory authority in each state and territory jurisdiction. The regulatory authorities, which are basically guided by common nationally consistent procedural elements, are mandated through legislation to provide a regulatory framework for the teaching profession (AITSL, 2014; Halliday & Heazlewood, 2010). The Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) website lists the state and territory regulatory authorities.

In all jurisdictions across Australia, OTTs endure several stages of a rigorous approval process which includes: obtaining a statement of eligibility for accreditation or registration from their respective regulatory authority (based on assessment of qualifications); completing an online application (which requires subsequent submission of supporting documents) and giving consent to probity checks including national criminal record checks and employment checks; undertaking an assessment of English language proficiency (Professional English Assessment for Teachers (PEAT) Test for NSW, International English Language Testing System (IELTS) or the International Second Language Proficiency Rating (ISLPR) for the other states and territories), if required; participating in the two-day Pre-employment Program for Overseas Trained Teachers and a five-day in-school placement and assessment; and, attending a personal suitability interview subject to successful completion of the preceding stages (AITSL, 2014; BOSTES, 2015; UNSW, 2015). Completing all the steps was a lengthy process and OTTs expressed despair and frustration over what they considered to be bureaucratic and systemic delays in the processing of their teacher registration documents (Guo & Singh, 2009). OTTs who were successful were granted formal approval to teach in public schools. Approval did not guarantee full-time permanent employment and those with approval could seek employment as casual or relief teachers while waiting with hordes of other OTTs for full-time
employment opportunities. Immigrant teachers who failed to get registration or recognition for their qualifications enrolled for further education courses or retrained to gain local qualifications – a process that further prolonged the delay in their entry into the teaching labour market (Guo & Singh, 2009; Peeler & Jane, 2005).

Overseas trained teachers migrating to Canada faced the dilemma of non-recognition of their qualifications and experience. Although the Canadian immigration policy encourages the immigration of highly skilled professionals into the country on account of the value of their education, most jurisdictions do not fully recognise their non-Canadian teaching qualifications and often require them to complete additional education courses or re-train to meet Canadian standards before they are granted certification (Block, 2012; Pollock, 2010; Schmidt, 2010; Walsh et al., 2011). Certification of elementary and secondary school teachers in Canada is the responsibility of provincial jurisdictions and only certified teachers are allowed to teach in public schools (Schmidt et al., 2010). One of the main reasons given to explain why OTTs teachers fail to qualify for certification is that the certification requirements are not clearly stated and, therefore, subject to differing interpretation. OTTs find themselves providing inadequate and incomplete information resulting in their being required to upgrade their qualifications by enrolling for bridging courses before they can be granted certification to teach in Canadian schools (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), 2014; Schmidt et al., 2010).

In their study in which they considered the obstacles that a group of twenty-four internationally educated female teachers in the process of seeking certification in Canada, Walsh et al. (2011) reported that the certification process, which negated and devalued their qualifications, created, amongst the women, emotional feelings of frustration, exhaustion and incapacitation.

OTTs who obtained certification were initially employed as temporary, day to day relief teachers referred to as ‘occasional teachers’ and were considered for full-time teaching when they have acquired ‘Canadian experience’ (Block, 2012; Niyubahwe, 2013; Pollock, 2010; Ryan, Pollock & Antonelli, 2009; Schmidt, 2010).

In the United Kingdom (UK), the Department for Education (2014, p. 3) defines OTTs as “people who have qualified as teachers in a country outside of the European Economic Area (EEA) and Switzerland having successfully completed a course of initial teacher training which is recognised by the relevant authorities in their home countries.” For the OTTs who migrated to the UK, the initial stage of their registration began with the assessment of their qualifications against local standards. OTTs whose qualifications were considered equivalent to UK standards were allowed to work as temporary ‘unqualified’ teachers (supply teachers) in state maintained schools and non-maintained special schools for a maximum period of four years within which time they were required to enrol in programs to attain UK Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). On the other hand, those whose qualifications
failed to meet the required standards were denied access to a QTS training course until they upgraded their qualifications. QTS, awarded by the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) is the teacher training qualification required for all teachers in the UK and it gives recognition as qualified teacher (Department for Education, 2014; Maylor, et.al., 2006; Miller, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; NCTL, 2014; Warner, 2010). Overseas trained teachers without QTS were regarded as ‘unqualified teachers’ (Miller, 2008a, p. 21), not eligible for neither permanent work contracts nor holding positions of responsibility despite the fact that most of them had vast professional work experience in their home countries (Miller, 2008a). OTTs, in this case teachers from outside the EEA and Switzerland, other than Australia Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America must complete an accredited training program in England to obtain QTS to be eligible to take up a permanent teaching position. Interestingly, teachers from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA, who are fully qualified and registered in their own countries can apply, like their EEA counterparts, for UK QTS without the prerequisite for completing an accredited program (Department for Education, 2014; NCTL, 2014). The lack of recognition of qualifications and experience for OTTs engendered feelings of frustration, loss of professional status, loss of self-esteem, confusion and deprivation (Miller, 2008a, 2008b, 2009).

Overall in the three countries recognition of qualifications is the initial stage of the registration process. However, each country follows different approaches in accrediting OTTs. In Australia, OTTs are assessed by state and territory regulatory authorities using a common nationally consistent framework. In Canada, each provincial jurisdiction has oversight on the certification of OTTs whereas in the UK, the recognition of qualifications is centralised. From this initial review of literature it appears OTTs encounter numerous challenges that may appear demeaning and disempowering to some.

Language proficiency

One of the requirements for a skilled migration visa is proficiency in the official language of the host country. Skilled migrants intending to settle in Australia, Canada and the UK are required to be proficient in English. Since Canada is a bilingual country, French is the alternative second language (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2015; Hawthorne, 2005; UK Visas and Immigration, 2013). Despite having satisfied language proficiency requirement in their immigration visa application, OTTs may also be required, in addition to meeting the academic and professional requirements, to provide proof of proficiency in English (or French) for teacher registration and certification processes in Australia, Canada and the UK (ATISL, 2014; CMEC, 2014; NCTL, 2014).

In Australia, since English is the medium of instruction in public schools, OTTs are required to undertake and pass an assessment of English language proficiency - Professional English Assessment
for Teachers (PEAT) Test for New South Wales (NSW), International English Language Testing System (IELTS) or the International Second Language Proficiency Rating (ISLPR) for the other states and territories (AITSL, 2014; BOSTES, 2015). In all jurisdictions, teachers from English-speaking Western countries, that include Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom, the USA and specific cases from South Africa) are exempted from taking the English language proficiency tests (AITSL, 2014).

Two studies (Murray & Cross, 2009; Murray et al., 2012) involving two groups of participants drawn from OTTs in NSW enrolled in a preparatory course for PEAT, reflect some of the attitudes and perceptions of OTTs towards the language proficiency tests. The studies revealed that many participants challenged the validity and underlying purpose of the tests and saw them as an obstacle to the resumption of their professional lives. Objections came particularly from participants from non-Western countries where English was commonly used in daily lives and whose applications for exemption were rejected (Murray et al., 2012). The success rate of 15% per course administration (Murray & Cross, 2009) contributed to negative emotions and the suspicion that the test was part of a broader scheme of exclusion (Murray et al., 2012). The amount of time spent repeating (with several repeats for some) components of the test in a bid to attain the required grades delayed the registration process and therefore employment creating further frustration (Murray et al. 2012).

In Canada, language proficiency in either English or French is an essential requirement for certification. After fulfilling the language requirement for immigration, OTTs were often surprised to learn that they required another language proficiency assessment for certification. Findings from a focus group discussion (CMEC, 2014) revealed that some OTTs had to repeat English language proficiency tests such as Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) several times at great cost before meeting the certification requirements. OTTs were generally concerned about why they had to do separate tests for immigration and certification (CMEC, 2014).

In the UK, not all OTTs intending to register as teachers were required to undertake an English language proficiency test. OTTs whose qualifications were accepted by UK NARIC as being equivalent to a UK bachelor’s degree were exempted from taking the language test if their degree program was taught in English. The exemptions included the majority of OTTs originating from Western English speaking countries and most former British colonies who have continued to use English as their official language (Miller, 2008a); UK Visas and Immigration, 2013).

**Socio-cultural and professional integration**

Overseas trained teachers migrating to Australia face social, cultural and professional hurdles as they try to re-establish their professional identities (Guo, 2009; Peeler & Jane, 2005; Reid, 2005; Sharplin, 2009; Sharplin et al. 2011). These teachers are at risk of failure to make positive transitions in their
careers in their new country if they do not receive adequate induction, support and professional development (Miller, 2008c). However, little has been published in Australia to document the challenges or the successes OTTs encounter in the process of integration.

Sharplin (2009) recounted some of the difficulties experienced by migrant teachers appointed to unfamiliar, isolated remote rural locations in Western Australia. These included lack of information about school policies and procedures, roles and duties of support staff and non-teaching roles as well as culture shock. The teachers in the study were new to the schools and never attended an induction or a professional development meeting. To facilitate their smooth transition into the system, Sharplin et al. (2011) recommended that education policy-makers should develop and improve system-based support structures and processes that would provide efficient, supportive and welcoming higher levels of organisational support for teachers appointed and relocated to remote rural areas such as in Western Australia.

Peeler and Jane (2006) contend that mentoring relationships provided support for immigrant teachers to make effective transitions into their new circumstances. They argue that newcomers needed to be guided by longer serving members of staff on a regular basis, formally and informally, to acquire the necessary knowledge to assist them with social and professional integration into their new workplace. The results of their study confirmed how the positive influence of support from peers through mentoring energised in the immigrant teachers “their capacity to operate effectively as teachers in their new contexts and develop positive professional identities” (p. 334). Reid (2005) recommends ‘continued networking opportunities’ for OTTs and that OTTs who are now fully integrated into the system be encouraged to assist by taking on mentoring roles. Furthermore, professional integration into a school system without the cooperation and support of other teachers in the school and the school administration is difficult. Many OTTs in Australia, notably those from visible ethnic minority groups, find themselves in this unfortunate situation.

In Canada, as in Australia, research literature on professional integration is scarce (Deters, 2006). Most of the literature that has been published does not give in-depth information about how OTTs experience integration but deal more with the problems that affect integration and the factors that are conducive to professional integration into the school system. The oversupply of teachers and the reversed demand for teachers has shifted the focus away from initiatives to facilitate integration of immigrant teachers (Schmidt et al. 2010). Previously, when teacher shortages drove the international recruitment of teachers, bridging programs for internationally educated teachers were established at most universities to cater for courses to meet certification requirements. The bridging program provided OTTs opportunities to network and to understand more about Canadian school culture and curriculum (Block, 2012; Niyubahwe, 2013; Schmidt, 2010).
In his study in Ontario, Deters (2006) demonstrates how mentorship and community acceptance has facilitated the successful integration of OTTs into the school system. Participants in the study were encouraged by the warm embrace they received from all levels of the community. This view is shared by participants in a study in Australia who attributed their continued stay at their schools to the magnanimity of their neighbourhood and school community (Collins & Reid, 2012). A concern that emerged from the literature was the impediment to professional integration posed by lack of employment opportunities for a large proportion of OTTs due to biased hiring practices (Block, 2012; Pollock, 2010; Ryan, Pollock & Antonelli, 2009; Schmidt, 2010). Integration can only be successful when teachers who are new to an education context are not confronted with barriers including limited work experience but instead are enabled and supported to re-establish their careers in the new learning and teaching spaces.

Integration barriers in the UK are similar to those experienced in Australia and Canada. In an earlier section of this paper, the pathways to a teaching career for OTTs were discussed. The delays in obtaining QTS and hence full-time employment have implications on professional integration for migrant teachers. As in similar situations in Australia and Canada induction and professional development in the UK are essential ingredients for professional integration. Confusion over the organisation of initial induction programs by local education authorities has resulted in OTTs arriving in the UK failing to access basic professional and cultural orientation they required to resume their careers (Miller, Ochs & Mulvaney, 2008; Miller, 2008c). Hutchings (2004, cited in Miller et al. 2008) reported breaches by recruitment agencies who reneged on their obligations to provide cultural adjustment or adaptation induction programs to recruited overseas teachers. Maylor et al. (2006) observe that lack of adequate information and clarity of what to expect in a British education system, prior to commencing work in the UK, contributes to the difficulties of OTTs in adjusting to their new work environment. The OTTs in the UK could benefit more if the authorities commissioned initiatives like Refugees into Teaching in Scotland (RITeS) whose agenda is to offer support and guidance to refugee teachers, who also happen to be OTTs (Kum, Menter & Smyth, 2010).

To sum it, Miller, (2008c, p. 282) recommends that “OTTs must be supported by schools, teacher training providers, local authorities, and social, religious, cultural and appropriate national policies that make the tasks of integration easier.”

**Discrimination**

The major factor that drove the transformation of Australia’s skilled migration policy in 1997 was the inferior labour market outcomes for migrants, notably those from NESB countries. NESB country migrants had poorer job success rates than either native Australians or migrants from English-speaking background (ESB) countries. The general perception among the NESB migrants was that
they were discriminated against when seeking employment and that they were worse off than Australians with similar qualifications and experience. Although Hawthorne (2005) observed, however, that the transformed skilled migration procedures produced substantially improved employment outcomes for immigrant professionals, OTTs believe discrimination is still prevalent in the school workplace. Collins and Reid (2012) observed that OTTs in their study perceived professional prejudice as a barrier to their employment as the majority of the participants were only able to secure casual teaching positions. For those in permanent teaching positions it was difficult and almost unthinkable for them to gain promotion. Collins and Reid (2012) also noted that OTTs endured racism from students in classroom settings. For instance, students mocked their accents and even made negative stereotypical comments. Marginalisation is another form of discrimination that OTTs have experienced despite their professional qualifications and experience. Santoro (2007, citing Santoro et al., 2001; Peeler & Jane, 2005) observes that ‘teachers of difference’, including OTTs are often relegated to the peripheral in mainstream educational communities. Kostogriz & Peeler (2007) posit that OTTs are perceived as the peripheral ‘other’, the ‘stranger’ and the ‘foreigner’ presumably because of their cultural and linguistic difference from their ‘mainstream’ colleagues.

Research in Canada also confirms that immigrant teachers faced discrimination. In her study, Schmidt (2010) highlighted the systemic discrimination that presented barriers to the successful integration of immigrant teachers into the Manitoba education system. Incidents of discrimination against immigrant teachers reported in the study included refusal to accept differences in the way they dressed, vilifying their characteristics and backgrounds, hostility towards their language proficiency, treating them as visitors rather than colleagues and the general perception that they were deficient because they were different. Schmidt reported both overt and covert expressions of discrimination. The oversupply of qualified teachers in Canada and the ‘difference deficit’ did not spare immigrant teachers in the competitive labour market (Schmidt, 2010). They were further disadvantaged as they were considered to be of a lower priority than colleagues from the dominant Anglo-Celtic background. Immigrant teachers whose qualifications are from third-world countries find it difficult to secure employment because their credentials are viewed with scepticism and their competence doubted (Ryan et al., 2009; Niyubahwe, 2013). Ryan et al. (2009) argue that it is highly likely for an OTT to be unemployed or underemployed than a Canadian-born graduate. In another Canadian study in which Walsh, Brigham and Wang (2011) explored how race, gender, ethnicity, language proficiency and regional location contributed to the marginalisation of OTTs, female immigrant teachers’ experiences of discrimination were more significantly manifest in the Maritimes where racism was latent and unemployment rates were among the highest in the country. The employment of a large proportion of OTTs as occasional teachers and the insistence that full-time permanent employment must be premised by Canadian work experience alludes to discrimination.
OTTs in the UK experience discrimination as much the same way as their counterparts in Australia and Canada. One of the most contentious issues, which engenders feelings of professional discrimination among OTTs, has been the selective recognition and non-recognition of overseas qualifications. Even more problematic was the practice of exempting one group of OTTs from completing qualifying training programs leading to QTS such as the Overseas Trained Teachers Program (OTTP) and the Graduate Teacher Training Program (GTTP) and allowing them to apply for QTS in as much the same way as UK graduates. OTTs from outside the EEA, Switzerland, Western English-speaking countries that included Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Ireland, the United States and, to a limited extent, South Africa were required to pursue the OTTP or GTTP route to QTS (Miller, 2008a, 2008b; Warner, 2010). A study undertaken in South-east England (Cole & Stuart, 2005) exposed worrying levels of xenophobia and racism against OTTs in local schools. In another study, Kum, Menter and Smyth (2010) confirmed the prevalence of racism, prejudice and discrimination experienced by OTTs in Scotland. Several other incidents of students making derogatory racial remarks about OTTs accents and racial name-calling have been found to be uncommon in UK schools (Miller, 2008b).

**Conclusion**

It is clear that OTTs in the three countries faced more or less similar barriers as they tried to register as teachers. Demands of the registration processes and procedures in contexts where insufficient or unclear information was made available and the systemic bureaucratic delays in the processing of teacher registration culminated in delayed employment, frustration and disillusionment. After meeting the certification and registration requirements, OTTs began their work as temporary relief teachers referred to as *casual teachers, occasional teachers* (Canada) and *supply teachers* (UK).

Proficiency in the English language (and alternatively French in Canada) was an essential requirement for entry into the education systems in the three countries. OTTs were required to provide proof of language proficiency as part of the certification and registration process. Some OTTs from countries where English language (or French) was used in their daily lives in their home countries were unsettled by this requirement.

Integration experiences were a mixed bag with positives and negatives in all three countries. Mentorship, bridging programs, induction and orientation programs, professional and community support provided much needed support that facilitated OTTs to integrate into their schools. On the other hand, it emerged that there were cases where OTTs were left to their own devices with no information or support to help them navigate new cultural and professional environments. Barriers to integration emerged as lack of support from local authorities, administrators, colleagues and school communities. Experiences by OTTs of racism, prejudice and discrimination were a common
impediment to integration across the three countries, given the fact that the majority of OTTs were visible ethnic minorities.

While it appears there is a fair amount of research that has been undertaken on the experiences of OTTs in the three countries, more needs to be done to unravel further how widespread the problem of racism and discrimination is and to what extent it impacts on the successful transition of OTTs into their new roles. More research also needs to be done to provide more information on the integration of OTTs. Socio-cultural and professional integration is another area where information is scarce and yet the success of skilled professional migration depends on it. The few initiatives adopted to mitigate the effects of the barriers encountered by OTTs provide some welcome optimism that stakeholders are increasingly becoming aware of the need to provide more support to OTTs.
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