

Curriculum Vitae

Christopher Worswick
Professor
Department of Economics
Carleton University
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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Economics, University of British Columbia (now the Vancouver School of Economics), November 1995

M.A., Economics, University of British Columbia, November 1991

B.A. (Honours), Economics, Queen's University, July 1990

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Full Professor, Department of Economics, Carleton University
July 1, 2011 – present

Honorary Fellow, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin (Madison),
December 15, 2021 – June 14, 2022, while on sabbatical.

Associate Professor (tenure granted), Department of Economics, Carleton University
July 1, 2002 – June 30, 2011

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Carleton University
January 1, 2000 – June 30, 2002.

Lecturer (Assistant Professor equivalent) – with tenure, Department of Economics,
University of Melbourne, July 1, 1999, - December 31, 1999.

Lecturer (Assistant Professor equivalent) – tenure track, Department of Economics,
University of Melbourne, July 18, 1995 – June 30, 1999.

EXTERNAL AFFILIATIONS

Research Fellow, Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CREAM),
University College London, since 2014.
<http://www.cream-migration.org/personnelextfellows.php>

Fellow, Global Labor Organization (GLO), since 2018. Based in Germany.
<http://glabor.org/wp/fellows/>

PROFESSIONAL HONOURS

Winner of a 2015 Carleton University Research Award in the Building Connections category (as member of the Migration and Diaspora Studies Steering Committee)

Winner of the 2012 Doug Purvis Memorial Prize of the Canadian Economics Association which is awarded to "...the authors of a highly significant, written contribution to Canadian economic policy" (with C.M. Beach and the late A.G. Green) for *Towards Improving Canada's Skilled Immigration Policy: An Evaluation Approach*, CD Howe Institute. <https://economics.ca/en/purvisprize.php>

Finalist for the 2011 Donner Prize for "best book by a Canadian on public policy" (with C.M. Beach and A.G. Green), <http://www.donnerbookprize.com/s/about-the-prize/past-winners/2011/index.html>

Winner of the 1998 Vanderkamp Prize (with J.T. McDonald) for best article in *Canadian Public Policy* for 1997.

Winner of the 1994 Vanderkamp Prize (with C.M. Beach) for best article in *Canadian Public Policy* for 1993.

PUBLICATIONS

Refereed Books

Beach, C., A.G. Green and C. Worswick (2011) *Towards Improving Canada's Skilled Immigration Policy: An Evaluation Approach*. Published by the CD Howe Institute, 176 pages.

Articles in Refereed Journals

Ci, Wen, Michelle Laing, Marcel Voia and Christopher Worswick (2020) "Immigrant earnings returns to post-migration education: evidence for Canada by admission category, 1999-2013," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 53(4): 1599-1617. November.

Brochu, P., T. Gross and C. Worswick (2020) "Temporary foreign workers and firms: theory and Canadian evidence," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 53(3): 871-915. Lead Article. August.

Warman, C., M. Webb and C. Worswick (2019) "Immigrant Category of Admission and the Earnings of Adults and Children: How far does the Apple Fall?" *Journal of Population Economics* 32(1):53-112, January.

Islam, A., S. Stillman and C. Worswick (2018) "Can Immigrants Insure against Shocks as well as the Native born?" *Applied Economics*, 50(49): 5302-5315, October.

Green, D.A. and C. Worswick (2017) "Canadian economics research on immigration through the lens of theories of justice," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 50(5): 1262-1303.

Ci, W., J. Galdo, M. Voia and C. Worswick (2015) "Wage Returns to Mid-Career Investments in Job Training through Employer Supported Course Enrollment: Evidence for Canada" *IZA Journal of Labor Policy*, 4:9 (May), 25 pages.

McDonald J.T., C. Warman and C. Worswick (2015) "Immigrant Selection Systems and Occupational Outcomes of International Medical Graduates in Canada and the United States," *Canadian Public Policy*, 41 (Supplement 1), August, S116-S137.

Warman, C. and C. Worswick (2015) "Technological Change and Declining Immigrant Outcomes, implications for Income Inequality in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, May, 48(2): 736-772.

McDonald J.T. and C. Worswick (2013) "Intergenerational Implications of Immigration Policy on Apprenticeship Training and the Educational Distribution in Canada," *Canadian Public Policy*, May, 39(S1): 165-185.

McDonald J.T. and C. Worswick (2012) "The determinants of the migration decisions of immigrant and non-immigrant physicians in Canada," *Social Science and Medicine*, November, 75: 1581-1588.

Green, D. and C. Worswick (2012) "Immigrant earnings profiles in the presence of human capital investment: measuring cohort and macro effects," *Labour Economics*, 19(2) April: 241-259.

Warman, C. and C. Worswick (2010) "Mandatory Retirement Rules and the Retirement Decisions of University Professors in Canada," *Labour Economics* 17(6): 1022-1029, December.

Warman, C., F. Woolley and C. Worswick (2010) "The Evolution of Male-Female Wage Differentials in Canadian Universities: 1970-2001," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 43(1): 347-372, February.

Beach, C., A.G. Green and C. Worswick (2007) "Impacts of the Point System and Immigration Policy Levers on Skill Characteristics of Canadian Immigrants," *Research in Labor Economics*, 27: 349-401.

Cobb-Clark, D.T., M. Connolly and C. Worswick (2005) "Post-migration investments in education and job search: a family perspective," *Journal of Population Economics*, 18: 663-690.

Warman, C.R. and C. Worswick (2004) "Immigrant Earnings Performance in Canadian Cities: 1981 through 2001," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 13(1): 62-84, Summer.

Worswick, C. (2004a) "Immigrants' Declining Earnings: Reasons and Remedies," *C.D. Howe Institute Background series*, no. 81, April.

Worswick, C. (2004b) "Adaptation and inequality: children of immigrants in Canadian schools," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 37(1): 53-77.

Cameron, L.A. and C. Worswick (2003) "The Labor Market as a Smoothing Device: Labor Supply Responses to Crop Loss," *Review of Development Economics*, 7(2): 327-41.

Moenjak, T. and C. Worswick (2003) "Vocational Education in Thailand: A Study of Choice and Returns," *Economics of Education Review*, 22(1): 99-107.

Addison, T and C. Worswick (2002) "Impact of Immigration on the Wages of Natives: Evidence from Australian Unit Record Data," *The Economic Record*, 78(240): 68-78.

Crossley, T.F., McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (2001) "Immigrant Benefit Receipt Revisited: Sensitivity to the Choice of Survey Years and Model Specification," *Journal of Human Resources*, 36(2): 379-397.

Cameron, L.A., J.M. Dowling and C. Worswick (2001) "Education and Labour Market Participation of Women in Asia: Evidence from Five Countries," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 49(3): 459-478, lead article.

Cameron, L. and C. Worswick (2001) "Education Expenditure Responses to Crop Loss in Indonesia: A Gender Bias," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 49(2): 352-363.

Barrett, G.F., T.F. Crossley and C. Worswick (2000a) "Demographic Trends and Consumption Inequality in Australia between 1975 and 1993," *Review of Income and Wealth*, 46(4): 437-456.

Barrett, G.F., T.F. Crossley and C. Worswick (2000b) "Consumption and Income Inequality in Australia," *The Economic Record* 76(233) 116-138.

Dowling, J.M. and C. Worswick (1999) "Labour Market Participation of Urban Women in Southeast Asia by Migration Status: Evidence from Microdata," *Journal of Asian Economics*, 10: 91-109.

McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (1999a) "Wages, Implicit Contracts and the Business Cycle: Evidence from Canadian Micro Data," *Journal of Political Economy*, 107(4): 884-892.

McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (1999b) "The Earnings of Immigrant Men in Australia: Assimilation, Cohort Effects and Macroeconomic Conditions," *The Economic Record*, 75(228): 49-62.

Worswick, C. (1999) "Credit constraints and the labour supply of immigrant families in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 32(1): 152-17.

McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (1998) "The Earnings of Immigrant Men in Canada: Job Tenure, Cohort, and Macroeconomic Conditions," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 51(3), 465-482.

McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (1997) "Unemployment Incidence of Immigrant Men in Canada," *Canadian Public Policy*, 23(4), 353-373.

Worswick, C. (1996) "Immigrant Families in the Canadian Labour Market," *Canadian Public Policy*, 22(4), 378-396.

Beach, C.M. and C. Worswick (1993) "Is There a Double-Negative Effect on the Earnings of Immigrant Women in Canada?" *Canadian Public Policy*, 19(1): 36-53.

Articles in Refereed Conference Proceedings

McDonald, J. T., C. Warman and C. Worswick (2011) "Labour Market Outcomes and Occupations of Immigrants with Medical Degrees: Evidence for Canada and the US,"

in *High-Skilled Immigration in a Global Labor Market*, Barry R. Chiswick, ed., AEI Press, Washington, DC.

Warman, C. and C. Worswick (2009) "Mandatory Retirement Rules and the Earnings of University Professors in Canada," in *Retirement Policy Issues in Canada* eds. M.G. Abbott, C.M. Beach, R.W. Boadway and J.G. MacKinnon (John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, Queen's University), McGill-Queen's University Press, August.

Frenette, M. V. Hildebrand, J.T. McDonald and C. Worswick (2003) "Occupational Mobility of Immigrant Men: Evidence from Longitudinal Data for Australia, Canada and the United States," in *Canadian Immigration Policy for the 21st Century*, edited by C.M. Beach, A.G. Green and J.G. Reitz, John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, Queen's University.

Edited Books

Canadian Immigration: Economic Evidence for a Dynamic Policy Environment (2010) J.T. McDonald, E. Ruddick, A. Sweetman and C. Worswick, eds. Queen's Policy Studies Series, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca.

Chapters in Edited Books

McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (2014) "High skilled immigration in a globalized labour market," in the *Handbook of Economics of International Migration*, Volume 1A, March, edited by B.R. Chiswick and P.W. Miller, Elsevier Press.

Green, D.A. and C. Worswick (2010) "Entry Earnings of Immigrant Men in Canada: The Roles of Labour Market Entry Effects and Returns to Foreign Experience," in *Canadian Immigration: Economic Evidence for a Dynamic Policy Environment*, J.T. McDonald, E. Ruddick, A. Sweetman and C. Worswick, eds. Queen's Policy Studies Series, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca.

McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (2010) "Visible Minority Status, Immigrant Status, Gender, and Earnings in Canada: A Cohort Analysis," in *Canadian Immigration: Economic Evidence for a Dynamic Policy Environment*, J.T. McDonald, E. Ruddick, A. Sweetman and C. Worswick, eds. Queen's Policy Studies Series, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca.

McDonald, J.T., E. Ruddick, A. Sweetman and C. Worswick (2010) "Introduction to Current Canadian Issues in the economics of Immigration," in *Canadian Immigration:*

Economic Evidence for a Dynamic Policy Environment, J.T. McDonald, E. Ruddick, A. Sweetman and C. Worswick, eds. Queen's Policy Studies Series, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca.

Chapters in Non-refereed Books

Warman, C. and C. Worswick (2016) "Technological Change and Declining Immigrants' Earnings Outcomes: Implications for Income Inequality in Canada" In *The Art of the State V, Income Inequality: The Canadian Story*, edited by D.A. Green, W.C. Riddell and F. St-Hilaire, published by Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal. This book won the 2017 Doug Purvis Memorial Prize.

Review Articles

C. Worswick, (2013) Economic Implications of Recent Changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. *IRPP Insight 4* (October). Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Articles in Non-refereed Journals

Lang, F., M. Skuterud and C. Worswick (2022) "The Economic Case Against Low Wage Temporary Foreign Workers" forthcoming in *Policy Options*, IRPP, Montreal.

Worswick, Christopher (2010) "Temporary Foreign Workers: An Introduction," in *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens* volume on Temporary Foreign Workers, Spring (can be seen at www.metropolis.net).

Working Papers (not yet published elsewhere)

McDonald J.T. and C. Worswick (2013) "Retirement Incomes, Labour Supply and Co-Residency Decisions of Older Immigrants in Canada: 1991-2006." CLSRN Working Paper No. 116 April.

McDonald, J.T. and C. Worswick (2000) "Earnings and Employment Probabilities of Men by Education and Birth Cohort, 1982-96: Evidence for the United States, Canada and Australia." Discussion Paper 00-04, Department of Economics, Carleton University.

Book Reviews in Scholarly Journals

Worswick, C. (2003) "Review of: Thinking the Unthinkable: The Immigration Myth Exposed" by (Review of the book by Nigel Harris), *Journal of Economic Literature*, Volume XLI: Number 3, September.

Work in Progress

Doyle, Matthew, Mikal Skuterud, and Cristopher Worswick (2022) "The Economics of Immigration Levels." To be presented at the 2022 Canadian Economics Association Meetings.

Gu, Wulong, Mohammad Huda, Yanling Wang and Christopher Worswick (2022) "Immigration and International Trade: The role of immigrant selection systems."

Worswick, Christopher (2022) "Development of a Homelessness Risk Index for Canada: Methodological Approaches and Empirical Estimates," draft report submitted to Employment and Social Development Canada.

Coe, Patrick and Christopher Worswick (2020) "Experiences and Challenges of Apprentices in the Construction Sector in Ontario: Early Evidence from the My Trades Journey Survey."

RESEARCH GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

Grants:

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Connection Grant "Informing Migration Policy through International Experience and Evidence," 2019-2020, Principal Investigator, \$22,607.

Multidisciplinary Research Catalyst Fund (2019) "Migration Policy Research Cluster) Co-POI and administrative lead, \$60,000 awarded by Carleton University's OVPRI.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) 2016 Connection Grant competition, 'Canada 150: Visions for Canada, 2042', Co-Investigator, \$25,000.

Ontario Human Capital Research and Innovation Fund (OHCRI) grant (2015) "Returns to Post-Migration Investments in Education: Evidence for Ontario and Canada by immigrant admissions category, 1999-2012, \$19,239.00. Marcel Voia was the co-applicant.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada: In January of 2013, I was added as a Co-investigator under the Strategic Knowledge Clusters program grant that supports the Canadian Labour Studies Research Network (CLSRN): \$2,060,000 over the period 2007-2014.

Carleton University SSHRC 4A funds – 2012. “Impact of International Students on Universities in Canada, the United States and Australia” \$7,500.

Carleton University SSHRC 4A funds – 2011. “Barriers to Credential Recognition and the Returns to Education and Work Experience of Immigrants in Canada”, \$7,500 received.

Canadian Labour and Skills Research Network, 2010 to 2012: “Retirement Income of Immigrants in Canada: 1991-2006,” (with Ted McDonald), \$25,000.

Canadian Labour and Skills Research Network, 2009/10: “Incidence, Occupational Outcomes and Returns to Apprenticeship Training in Canada: The Role of Family Background and Immigrant Status,” (with Ted McDonald), \$25,000.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada: “Racial Discrimination and Immigration: A Cohort Analysis of Labour Market Outcomes of Visible Minority Groups in Canada,” \$50,109 over 2003-2005. Principal Applicant.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada: “The Health Status and Use of Health Services of Immigrants in Canada, the United States and Australia.” \$48,000 over 2002-2004. Co-Applicant with Ted McDonald of University of New Brunswick

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada: “Family Strategies and Immigrant Labour Market Adjustment in Canada, the United States and Australia.” \$37,400 over 2000-2002. Principal Applicant

Australian Research Council: “Public Policy and the Labour Market Settlement of Immigrants in Australia, Canada and the United States” A\$85,000 over 1999-2001 (co-investigators - C.M. Beach and J.T. McDonald).

Australian Research Council: “Female Education and the Welfare of Families in Asia,” A\$130,000 over 1998-2000 (co-investigators – L. Cameron and M. Dowling).

Research Contracts:

Ontario Construction Secretariat (2014/15) 'Longitudinal study of construction industry apprentices in Ontario', funded by, \$26,400. Employed one graduate student as a research assistant. Joint project with Patrick Coe.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2014) "Update of the Ethnic Backgrounder Documents" \$20,000 – employed 4 MA students as research assistants.

Coordinated a CLSRN research program in 2014 comprising four research papers on economics of immigration, funded by the Government of British Columbia with a total budget of \$100,000.

Worswick, C. (2006) "Incidence and Persistence of Early Literacy Problems: Evidence from the NLSCY, 1994-2000," Learning Policy Directorate, Strategic Policy and Planning, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, April, SP-617-04-06E. \$25,000.

Academic Seminars:

I have given many invited seminars. Below is a list of institutions where I have presented:

Australian National University
Dalhousie University
Guelph University
LaTrobe University
McGill University
McMaster University
Monash University
Queen's University
Thailand Development Research Institute in Bangkok
University of Alberta
University of British Columbia
University of Calgary
University of Essex
University of Melbourne
University of New Brunswick
University of New South Wales
University of Ottawa
University of Saskatchewan
University of Sydney
University of Tasmania
University of Toronto
University of Waterloo

York University

Conference Presentations:

I have presented at many conference over the years. Below is a partial list of the major conferences:

American Economics Association Meetings
Australasian Econometric Society Meetings
Australasian Labour Econometrics Workshop
Australian Labour Market Workshop
Canadian Economics Association Meetings
Canadian International Labour Network (CILN) Conference
Canadian Labour Skills Research Network (CLSRN) Conference
Economic Society Meetings of Australia
OECD Conference on economics of immigration, Paris, December 2017
Society of Labor Economists Meetings

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION:

Editorial board member, *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*

I have refereed journal articles for the following academic journals: *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *American Economic Review*, *Australian Economic Papers*, *Australian Economic Review*, *B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Canadian Journal of Economics*, *Canadian Public Policy*, *Demography*, *Economica*, *Economic Journal*, *Economic Record*, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, *Journal of Development Economics*, *Journal of Human Resources*, *Journal of Labor Economics*, *Journal of Political Economy*, *Journal of Population Economics*, *Labour Economics* and *Social Science Quarterly*.

Organizer of 24 labour economics and economics of education sessions at the 2015 Canadian Economics Association Meetings in Toronto, June.

In 2012-14, I was a member of the three-member committee which determines the Harry Johnson (best article) and Robert Mundell (best article by a junior researcher) Prizes for the *Canadian Journal of Economics*. In 2013, I chaired this committee.

In October 2013, I co-chaired the program committee (with Gilles Grenier) of a conference on the economics of immigration held at the University of Ottawa (October 18 and 19).

In October 2010, I co-chaired the program committee (with Gilles Grenier) of a conference on the economics of immigration held at the University of Ottawa (October 29 and 30).

In 2009, I was a member of a Statistics Canada sponsored working group of seven academics with expertise in labour economics that provided advice on the design of a new Canadian household panel survey for Statistics Canada.

Between January 1, 2008 and July 31, 2009, I held the position of Priority Leader for Economic and Labour Market Integration for the interdisciplinary Metropolis Network of Research Centres in Canada.

In the winter of 2009, I served on a paper selection panel (with Krishna Pendakur and David Jacks of Simon Fraser University and Christian Dustmann of the University College London) for the conference, "The Economics of Immigration: Children of Immigrants and Temporary Migration," May 11th -12th 2009, in Vancouver.

I was a member of the 2006/07 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Panel 7 for Standard Research grants in Economics.

In 2002, I co-organized a conference (with David Green of UBC) on immigration for the Canadian Employment Research Forum (CERF) held in conjunction with the Canadian Economics Association Meetings in Calgary.

I have been the external examiner for PhD theses at the following institutions: University of British Columbia (Vancouver School of Economics), Simon Fraser University, University of Manitoba, University of Waterloo, McMaster University, McGill University, University of Melbourne, Queen's University and University of Toronto.

I have been the external appraiser for promotion decisions at: Northern Illinois University, Memorial University of Newfoundland, University of Waterloo and University of Winnipeg.

ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

University/Faculty Level:

Associate Dean (Research and International), Faculty of Public Affairs
July 1, 2018 – December 31, 2020

In 2017/18, I was a member of the Carleton University Senate Review Committee.

From July 1, 2010 - June 30, 2014, member of the Carleton University Senate.

From July 1, 2011 - June 30, 2014, Governor, Carleton University Board of Governors.

In 2011/12, member of the Carleton University Senate Academic Program Committee.

In 2007/2008 and 2008/09, member of the Strategic Planning Committee of the Faculty of Graduate Studies.

In 2006/07, member of the Graduate Recruitment Committee.

Between June 2004 and December 2004, member of the joint Carleton University/University of Ottawa Working Group for the establishment of the Research Data Centre (now the COOLRDC).

In the Fall term of 2003, represented the Department of Economics on the Faculty of Public Affairs and Management Tenure and Promotion Committee.

Department Level:

In 2020/21, I served on the Health Economics Hiring Committee

From July 1, 2016, through June 30, 2018, Chair of the Department of Economics

In 2015/16, Undergraduate Supervisor and Vice-Chair of the Department of Economics.

In 2013/14 and 2014/15, MA Program Supervisor and Vice-Chair of the Department of Economics

In the academic years 2007/2008 through 2009/2010, Director of the Ottawa-Carleton Joint Doctoral Program in Economics.

Over the academic years 2004/2005 through 2006/2007, PhD Program Supervisor in the Department of Economics at Carleton University (and also the Associate Director of the Ottawa-Carleton Joint Doctoral program in Economics).

Over the period 2007/2008 through 2009/2010, Vice-Chair of the Department of Economics.

In 2012/13, chair of the Environmental Economics/Empirical Micro hiring sub-committee for the Department of Economics.

In 2011/12, chair of the Labour Economics/Behavioural Economics hiring sub-committee for the Department of Economics.

In 2007/08, chair of the Development Economics hiring sub-committee for the Department of Economics.

In 2006/07, member of the Applied Micro/Behavioural Hiring Committee for the Department of Economics.

OTHER

In October of 2017, I organized a research workshop for Employment and Skills Development Canada (Government of Canada) on methodological challenges of measuring the impact of Temporary Foreign Workers on the labour market outcomes of other workers.

On November 18, 2014, I was a member of the Canadian delegation for a three-way meeting involving a US delegation and a Mexican delegation for a Canada/USA/Mexico Roundtable on Developing Skills for a 21st Century Workforce.

On May 15, 2014, I was a witness at the Standing Committee on Finance of the House of Commons of the Government of Canada in relation to the proposed changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) Program and immigration program.

In recent years, I have been asked to comment in the media regarding the Canadian Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) controversies. I have given print, radio and television interviews which appeared in different media outlets including the Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, the Vancouver Sun, and CBC's The National.

On December 4, 2012, I was a witness at the House of Commons Standing Committee on Human Resources, Skills and Social Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities (meeting No. 60) in Ottawa.

In 2006, my co-author, Charles Beach, presented the key findings of our research (with Alan Green) on the Canadian Immigration Points System to a meeting of a U.S. Senate Committee in Washington D.C.