

ENGAGING EMIGRANTS:

A study of the Australian diaspora in
the United States of America

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ABSTRACT

Interest in the Australian diaspora has emerged in response to the growing number of Australians living overseas and the recognition that diaspora populations have the potential to be a positive asset to countries of origin. A contemporary global situation that fuels international mobility, particularly of individuals with highly-skilled characteristics, and technological advancements that allow transnational connections to be maintained across distance, contribute to this interest. A dearth of information about emigration and diasporas, especially from countries of immigration, makes it difficult to apply conventional migration theories to explain the mobility and experiences of these populations, and thereby understand how to effectively engage with these communities. This thesis builds on the base of knowledge about the Australian diaspora from Hugo (2003, 2006a, 2001) and others by examining the Australian diaspora in a particular country of destination, the United States of America (US). The major aims of the thesis are to better understand how the drivers of movement and the experiences of the Australian diaspora in the US relate to the wider global situation, national level policies and circumstances and contemporary migration theory. The thesis adds to the body of knowledge about the Australian diaspora in order to inform theory, policy and future research.

A migration systems approach (Fawcett, 1989, Kritz et al., 1992, Massey, 2003), whereby global, national and individual level factors all contribute to explaining migration, is the theoretical framework of the thesis. The primary research in the thesis comprises of data collected in an online survey of 1,581 Australians living in the US. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted in the US with 17 survey respondents. Motivations for migration, progression of the migrant experience, patterns of international mobility and the maintenance of transnational linkages with Australia are the broad themes explored in the survey. Analysis of secondary data, including immigration statistics and information from previous surveys of Australians living overseas, provide context for the research.

The activities of the Australian diaspora in the US support the view that the Australian diaspora should be seen as a distinct part of Australia's population and a potential resource

for Australia; they are often high achievers, visit Australia frequently, and usually retain a strong sense of connection and identification with Australia. Implications for theory and policy relating to Australian emigration and diaspora as well as future research are suggested based on the research findings.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Kelly Parker and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968. I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library catalogue, the Australasian Digital Theses Program (ADTP) and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

.....
Kelly L. Parker

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
Advance	Advance – Global Australian Professionals
AEC	Australian Electoral Commission
AEDO	Australian Expatriate and Diaspora Office
AFL	Australian Football League
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, United States Military Alliance
ASCO	Australian Standard Classification of Occupations
ATO	Australian Taxation Office
AUSFTA	Australia and United States Free Trade Agreement
AUSMIN	Australia and United States Ministerial Meetings
AUSS	Australians in the US Survey
A\$	Australian dollars
DHS	US Department of Homeland Security
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DIMIA	Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
ESTA	Electronic System for Travel Authorization (US)
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IIE	Institute of International Education
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
IT	Information Technology
KEA	Kiwi Expats Association
LPR	Lawful Permanent Residence
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
NAFSA	Association of International Educators

OAD	Overseas Arrivals and Departures
OAG	Official Airline Guide
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SCG	Southern Cross Groups
TOKTEN	Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
US	United States of America
USCIS	United States Citizenship and Information Service
US-VISIT	United States Visitor and Immigrant Status Indicator Technology Program
US\$	United States dollar
WB	Visa Waiver/Business
WT	Visa Waiver/Tourist
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Australia is best known as a country of immigration but it is also a significant country of emigration. There are around 1 million Australians living more or less permanently in foreign nations, equivalent to 4.3 per cent of the national resident population. ...the diaspora is a significant and neglected element in Australia's population geography and indeed in its national consciousness.

Hugo 2006b pp.106-107

The year 2007-08 saw the largest ever number of permanent departures from Australia. Approximately half of these 76,923 permanent departures were Australia-born individuals, and about half were employed in skilled occupations (DIAC 2008b). Emigration of highly-skilled Australians has been accelerating since the mid-1990's. This trend is in response to a period of intensified globalisation, which has created a new era in international migration, driving the demand for highly-skilled individuals and facilitating transnational linkages; on both a macro and micro scale. This results in diversifying forms of international mobility, often temporary or circular in nature, and a changing migrant experience because of the feasibility of keeping long-distance, real-time linkages. In light of these factors, there is the opportunity for origin countries to better understand and interact with their diasporas. Globally there has been an overwhelming bias towards immigration research with little attention paid to emigration, particularly in major immigration countries such as Australia, the US and Canada (Hugo, 1994 pp.22-23). Until recently, emigration from Australia has been an under-studied element of Australia's migration situation and the Australian diaspora a neglected component of Australia's population.

This research is a study of the Australian community living in one of the major overseas destinations of Australian emigrants; the United States of America (US). The central

position of the US in the global economy makes it an important destination country for migrants worldwide. Additionally, the number of Australians moving to, and living in, the US is increasing over time and the relationship between these countries is strengthening. The research will set the framework for micro level analyses of the Australian community in the US by examining the macro relationship between Australia and the US, migration policies in place in Australia and the US, and information from administrative data sources about the mobility patterns and characteristics of people moving between these countries. Information for micro level analyses is gained by survey of Australians living in the US exploring the following themes; the reasons for movement overseas, international mobility patterns and future mobility intentions, and the networks kept with Australia and other Australians while living in the US. This research adds to the growing body of knowledge about the Australian diaspora and aims to inform migration theory by emphasising the importance of a holistic approach to the study of international migration¹. Suggesting implications for Australian policy and data collection about emigration and diaspora are also important aims of the study.

1.2 Theoretical framework

Understanding emigration and diaspora requires an approach that takes into account the role of both macro and micro level factors in establishing the drivers of migration and the experiences of migrants. This research adopts a systems approach, which evaluates a particular type of migration in the context of its relevant parts (Fawcett, 1989). This includes considering how global forces, country specific policies and attitudes, and individual migrant characteristics and activities interact as a part of a comprehensive system.

Globalisation, resulting in internationalisation of economies and labour forces, as well as facilitated communication and transport, is seen as a major factor underlying changing forms of international mobility. There is a global demand for individuals with skilled characteristics, and technological innovations have made different forms of migration and

¹ Terminology surrounding migration is often subjective to the country, particular issue or population being discussed; therefore any ambiguous terms not defined within the body of the thesis will be clearly defined in the Glossary in Appendix 1.

the maintenance of transnational linkages more feasible. There has been a growing body of research devoted to forms of mobility gaining significance in this context such as temporary mobility (Migration Policy Institute, 2003, Birrell and Healy, 1997, Regets, 2003), highly-skilled migration (Iredale, 2001, Iredale, 1999, Peixoto, 2001b, Salt, 2002) and international student migration (Hawkins and Bransgrove, 1998, Tremblay, 2002, Tremblay, 2005, Johnson et al., 1997). An increasingly popular transnational view of migration has also been taken by many scholars (see for example Portes, 1997, Portes, 2003, Vertovec, 2003, Levitt et al., 2003, Glick Schiller et al., 1995), and this perspective has led to better understanding of the complex process of migration and the experiences migrants have as a result of moving across international borders. These perspectives are quite different than the way migration has traditionally been studied, in terms of permanency and assimilation with the country of destination (Migration Policy Institute, 2003, Castles, 2008, Hugo, 2004).

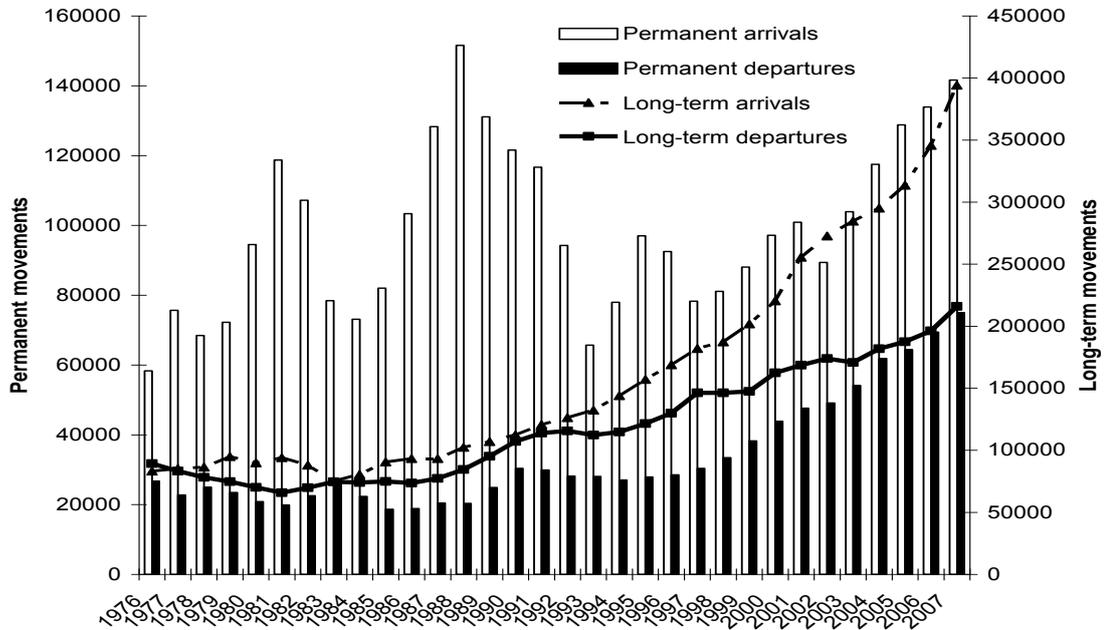
1.3 Australia's migration situation

One of the reasons interest in emigration from Australia and the Australian diaspora has emerged is because the number of permanent and long-term departures² from Australia are increasing over time. Although permanent and long-term arrivals to Australia have almost always outnumbered departures, Figure 1.1 shows the total number of permanent and long-term departures from Australia have been steadily increasing, particularly in the past 10 years. Since the year 2001, permanent departures from Australia have been equivalent to more than 50 percent of permanent arrivals. The opposite trend is found in long-term movements; over time the rate of long-term departures relative to long-term arrivals to Australia is decreasing. Temporary movement is increasingly important in the context of globalisation, and this downturn in long-term departures relative to long-term arrivals in

² All departures from, and arrivals to, Australia are required to complete an overseas arrival or departure card (please see Appendix 2 for a copy of this card). Based on the information disclosed on these cards, movements are classified in their duration as permanent, long-term or short-term. Permanent movements are intended departure from, or arrival to, Australia on a permanent basis. Long-term movements are intended or actual movements at least 12 months in duration, but not permanent. Short-term movements are intended or actual movements less than 12 months in duration.

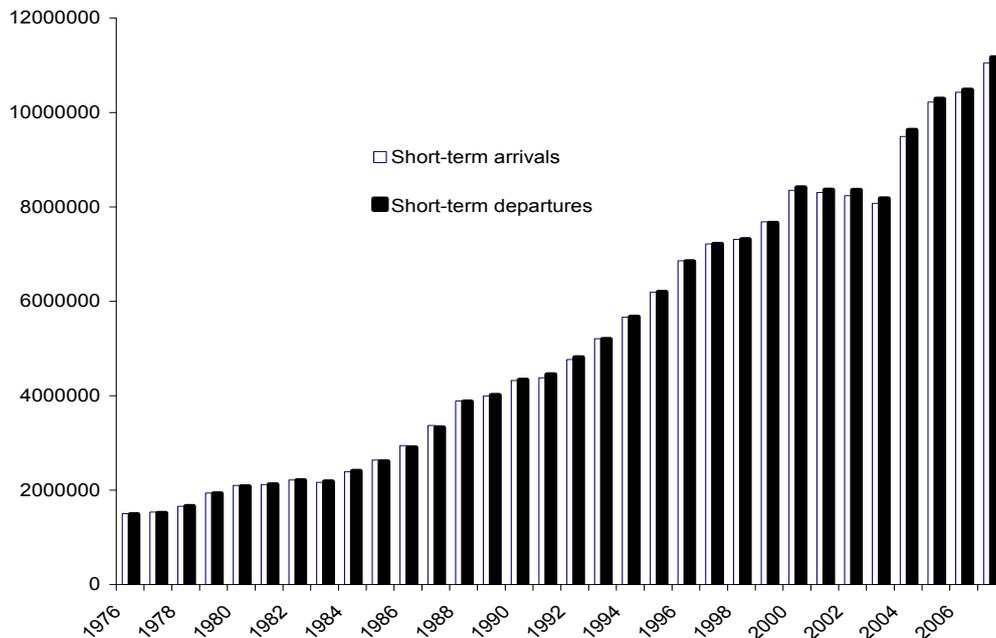
Australia is reflective of rising temporary mobility globally and policy change in Australia that has resulted in a substantially increased intake of temporary migrants.

Figure 1.1: Total permanent and long-term arrivals and departures, Australia 1976-2007



Source: Compiled from ABS 2008, Tables 1 and 2

Figure 1.2: Total short-term arrivals and departures, Australia, 1976-2007



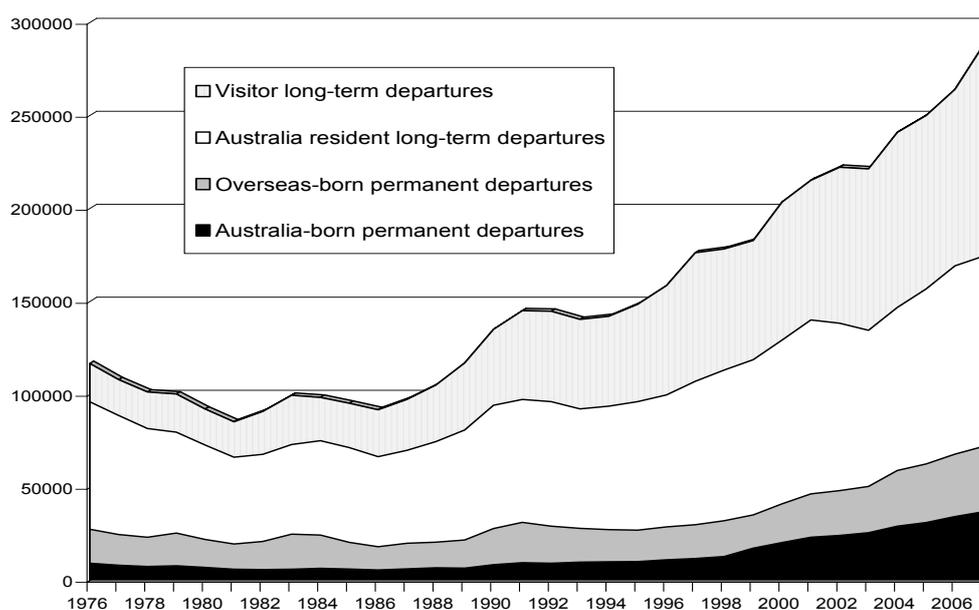
Source: Compiled from ABS 2008, Tables 1 and 2

This research is primarily focused on permanent and long-term departures of the Australia-born population, but it is important to point out that short-term movement is by far the most common form of movement to and from Australia. With the exception of a plateau in movements in the early 2000s, an upward trend in short-term movements has been the pattern since the early 1990s (see Figure 1.2). The number of short-term arrivals to Australia has been approximately equal to the number of departures for the past 30 years.

1.3.1 Permanent and long-term emigration from Australia

Long-term departures are more common relative to permanent departures for both Australian and overseas visitor populations (Figure 1.3). The number of Australia-born permanent departures is also growing over time, at a greater rate than the overseas-born.

Figure 1.3: Permanent Australia-born and overseas-born departures and long-term Australia resident and overseas visitor departures, Australia, 1976-2007



Source: Compiled from DIAC 2008b, ABS 2008

Managers and professionals make up over half of all Australia-born and Australia resident departures leaving for long-term or permanent stays abroad (Table 1.1). Australians are much more likely to be employed in highly-skilled occupations³ compared to overseas-

³ Highly-skilled occupations include Managers and Administrators and Professionals and Associate Professionals.

born and visitor departures (51 percent and 29 percent respectively). Although Australia experiences a net gain of skilled migrants (Birrell et al., 2001), the skill profile of emigrants is found to be higher than that of immigrants, and the gap between the number of skilled immigrants and emigrants decreasing (Hugo et al., 2001 p.59).

Table 1.1: Occupation¹ Australia-born permanent and long-term resident departures, 2005-06 to 2007-08

	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08
<i>n</i>	132 397	138 492	141 210
Managers and Administrators	10.4	10.7	10.8
Professionals and Associate Professionals	41.1	41.3	40.1
Tradespersons	4.1	3.9	3.7
Clerical Sales and Service	15.1	12.4	11.7
Intermediate Production and Transport	0.8	0.8	0.7
Labourers and Related workers	0.6	0.6	0.5
Not in employment ²	0.3	0.4	0.4
Not in labour force ³	25.8	25.4	25.8
Not stated ⁴	1.8	4.4	6.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹Using data provided on passenger departure cards, occupations are classified by DIAC according to Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO).

²This includes those who stated 'unemployed' or are not elsewhere classified.

³This includes children, persons stating 'home duties' as their occupation, students and retired persons.

⁴This includes persons listing occupations that could not be classified according to ASCO.

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2008b

Contributing to the concern of skill loss is the fact that Australia-born permanent and long-term departures are heavily concentrated among persons aged 20-39, whereas Australia's national resident population is much more evenly distributed across age groups (DIAC 2008b, ABS 2007c).

1.3.2 Australia's diaspora

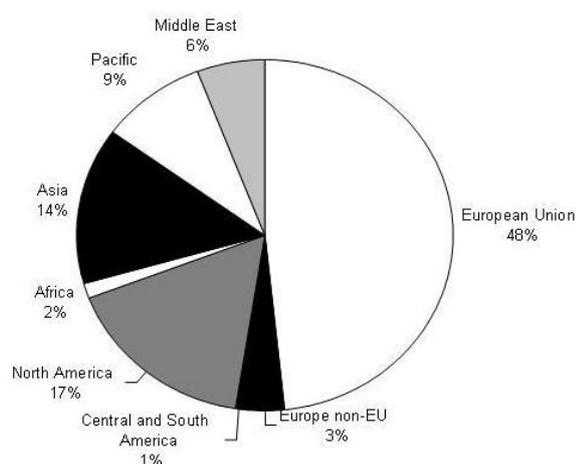
An increasing number of departures from Australia results in a large and growing number of Australians living overseas. There are an estimated 900,000 to 1 million Australians currently living overseas (Hugo, 2005a, Fullilove, 2008 p.106, Southern Cross Group, 2002, Hugo et al., 2003, Advance 2006). Table 1.2 shows the size of Australia's diaspora relative to other countries, to put it in global perspective. It is clear Australia's diaspora is not the largest in number, but it is significant that relative to Australia's total national population, more than four percent of Australians are living outside of Australia.

Table 1.2: Estimated diaspora size, various countries

Country	Estimated diaspora size	Diaspora size relative to national population (%)
Australia	1 million	4.5
New Zealand	850 000	22.0
United States	7 million	2.5
China	33 million +	2.9
India	20 million +	1.9
Russia	25 million +	na
Mexico	30 million +	na
Philippines	8 million	9.0
Singapore	100 000-150 000	3.5
Italy	3.9 million	7.0
South Korea	5.6 million	12.0

Source: Hugo et al. 2003, Fullilove and Flutter 2004, Hugo G. 2006a, Fullilove 2008

There are a few key destinations for Australians living overseas, particularly the European Union (mainly the United Kingdom (UK)), North America (mainly the US) and Asia (Figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4: Estimates of Australian citizens living overseas by region of residence¹, 2001

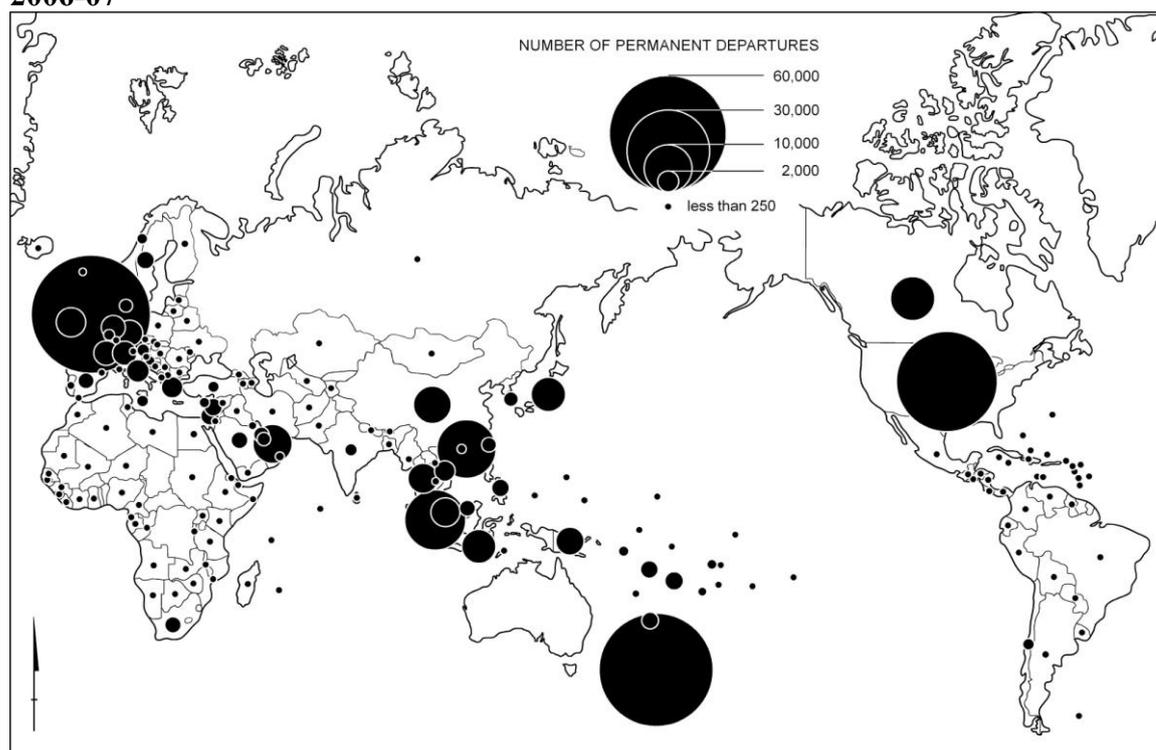
¹ n=858,866

Source: Compiled from SCG 2002 from data provided by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra 2001

The locations of the Australian diaspora reflect the major countries of destination for departures from Australia. Figure 1.5 shows the UK and Western Europe, the US, Asia and New Zealand have been important countries of destination for Australia-born

permanent emigrants over the past decade. Historical, economic and cultural ties, Commonwealth agreements, and geographical proximity of these countries with Australia help to explain why these are key countries of destination for Australians. The structural factors underlying movement to destination countries important to Australian emigrants will be explored in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Figure 1.5: Country of destination, Australia-born permanent departures, 1993-94 to 2006-07



Source: Hugo 2008; data from DIAC various years

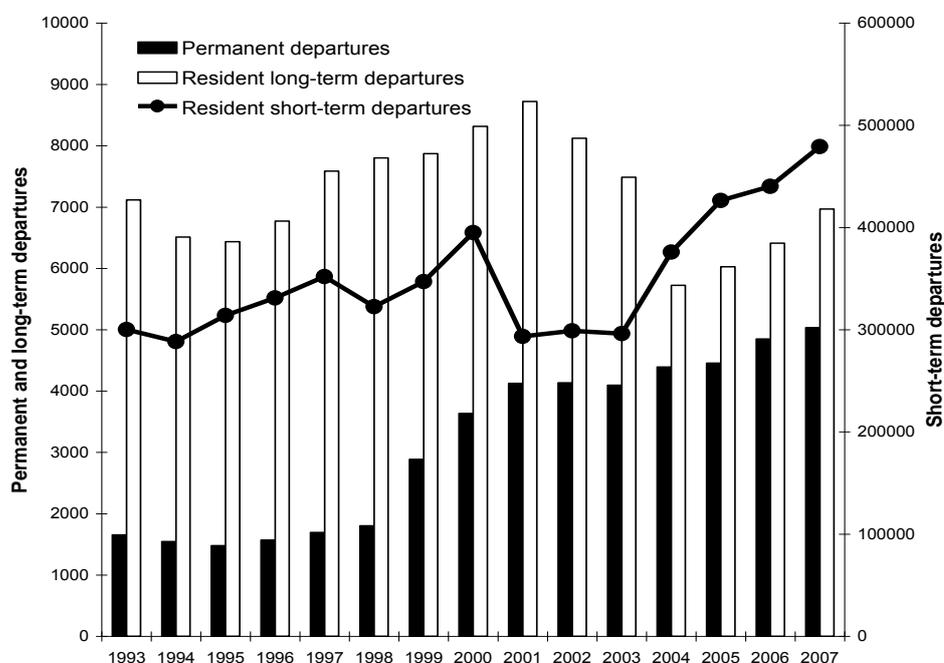
1.3.3 Movement of Australians to the US

While the importance of the UK and New Zealand as destination countries for Australia-born departures varies based on the intended length of departure from Australia, the US is of about equal importance as a destination country for permanent, long-term and short-term Australia-born departures. In 2006-07, the US was the second most popular destination country for long-term and short-term Australia-born departures, and the third most common country of intended destination for Australia-born permanent departures (DIAC 2007e). Increasing mobility in response to intensified globalisation has become especially apparent since the mid-1990's, and the central position of the US in the global economy makes it a key destination for migrants worldwide (Florida, 2004).

Although there has been some fluctuation in the number of Australian departures to the US over the past 15 years (Figure 1.6), it is apparent that all types of departures to the US have been increasing since 2003. The downturn in temporary departures to the US from 2001 until 2004 is likely to have been in response to a restricted number of temporary visas to the US following the events of September 11, 2001, and a general downturn in migration worldwide. Australia-born permanent departures to the US have been on the rise since 1995.

Interestingly, permanent departures from Australia to the US have become increasingly important relative to long-term departures to the US over time. Approximately 43 percent of all Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to the US in 2006-07 were permanent departures, compared to approximately 20 percent of all permanent and long-term departures prior to 1999. Short-term departures vastly outnumber long-term and permanent departures in all years, as was found to be true of all short-term movements from Australia (see Figure 1.2), and the number of short-term departures to the US has increased significantly in the past few years.

Figure 1.6: Australia-born resident permanent and long-term¹ and resident short-term departures² to the US, 1992-93 to 2006-07



¹ Source: Permanent and long-term departures compiled from DIAC OAD data, various years, unpublished

² Source: Short-term departures data compiled from ABS 2007c

The continued importance of the US as a destination country for Australian emigrants means the US is home to a substantial and growing community of Australians living overseas.

1.4 Emerging interest in Australian emigration and diaspora

In Australia, research and policy focus on immigration has historically been much more prominent than research about emigration (Hugo, 1994, Hugo, 2005a, Hugo, 2006a). Until the 1990's, the few studies on emigration that were completed focused mainly on the re-emigration of previous settlers to Australia. As an outcome of factors associated with globalisation and policy changes in Australia, a shift in Australia's migration situation took place in the mid-1990's resulting in vastly increasing temporary mobility and out-movement of Australians. Emigration research thus began to focus more attention on these components, and eventually interest in the Australian diaspora has gained momentum.

Hugo's 1994 publication, *The Economic Implications of Emigration from Australia*, was the first to focus significant attention on the Australia-born component of outflows from Australia. The fact that 'migration is usually selective of the more adventurous, entrepreneurial, better-trained and risk-taking population' (Hugo, 1994 p.67) was applied to migrants leaving Australia. The results in this report pointed out that just like all migrants, emigrants from Australia tend to be highly-skilled, young adults. More recently, a series of publications have come out of research from Hugo et al. (2001, 2003) exploring the economic impacts on Australia as a result of emigration. The 2001 publication, *Emigration from Australia: Economic Implications*, represents a pivotal shift in the conceptualisation of Australian emigration. This report gave attention to the transnational linkages Australian emigrants sustain with Australia, and argued that these networks are potentially beneficial to Australia (Hugo et al., 2001 pp. 20-21). The recognition of these linkages marks the beginning of the 'Australian diaspora' concept related to Australian emigration. Hugo et al. (2001 p.20) state: 'Indeed it is possible to hypothesise that the movement of highly educated Australians could result not only in benefits to the movers themselves but also in Australia more generally...?'

In 2003, another report in the series of research on Australian emigration by Hugo et al. titled, *Australia's Diaspora: It's Size, Nature and Policy Implications* was released. This report moved beyond examination of secondary data to analysis of data collected directly from Australians living overseas in the Australian Emigration Survey. It was found that most respondents (79 percent) 'still consider Australia home' (Hugo et al., 2003 p.46) and about half of all respondents planned to return to Australia in the future (Hugo et al., 2003 p.50). These findings led to the following recommendations (Hugo et al., 2003 p.14):

- The development of mechanisms for the greater inclusion of the diaspora into the national culture and the encouragement of the expatriate community to identify with and be involved in Australia;
- Increasing the strength of linkages between the diaspora and Australia, especially business and research linkages;
- Increasing the involvement of the diaspora in the national economy;
- The facilitation and encouragement of return migration.

Since the 2003 Hugo et al. report, and in response to global enthusiasm towards understanding more about diasporas, interest in Australia's diaspora has continued to grow. In 2004, the Lowy Institute for International Policy produced a paper *Diaspora: The World Wide Web of Australians* (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004). This paper aimed to provide some new data about the Australian diaspora from demographic, economic and public opinion perspectives and '...to suggest ways in which public and private institutions in Australia can harness the diaspora to further our national interests' (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004 p.2). Though steps are being made towards recognition Australia's diaspora, and recommendations on how to better interact with this population have been put forward, there is still no clear policy towards the diaspora (Hugo, 2004). As stated by Fullilove and Flutter (2004 p.55) 'there is little doubt that increasing the frequency and quality of interactions among expatriates, and between expatriates and resident Australians, would advantage both groups.'

The Australian government has also acknowledged it is to Australia's advantage to capitalize on the linkages Australians living overseas keep with Australia. In 2005, a government inquiry into the Australian diaspora entitled: *They Still Call Australia Home:*

Inquiry into Australian Expatriates was undertaken (Parliament of Australia, 2005). This inquiry generated a huge response and resulted in:

...a view to ensuring that this important part of the Australian community is recognised and embraced, its needs and concerns are addressed, and that we make the most of the opportunities presented by our global community of Australians.

Parliament of Australia 2005 p.v

These examples show the attitude towards the Australian diaspora is increasingly positive. In light of this response, further attempts have been made to better understand and engage with this population. In 2006, key Australian expatriate organizations Advance Global Australian Professionals (Advance) and The Southern Cross Group (SCG), worked together to create a large scale survey of Australian diaspora members called the One Million More Census of Australians Abroad (OMM) (see Advance 2008) which generated information about more than 15,000 Australians living overseas. Also in 2006, Advance held a *Global Australians Summit*; a gathering of elite members of the Australian diaspora community and Australia-based organizations⁴. Former Prime Minister John Howard introduced the event by stating: ‘In the globalised world in which we all now live...it is enormously to Australia's advantage that we have a talented, energetic, achieving, highly successful diaspora’ (Howard, 2006).

1.5 Research aims and objectives

This research intends to build on this impetus of interest in the Australian diaspora and contribute to the body of knowledge about emigration from Australia and the community of Australians living overseas. Using a combination of macro and microanalyses, the determinants of emigration from Australia and the experiences of Australians living overseas, more specifically in the US, will be explored. The overall goal of the thesis is to enhance knowledge about the Australian diaspora by exploring experiences of the Australian diaspora living in the United States. The thesis has the following four major research objectives:

⁴ The researcher attended and worked with the Advance organization at the Global Australians Summit.

Objective 1: To investigate the macro factors motivating emigration and diaspora and encouraging transnational migration experiences.

Objective 2: To establish patterns and characteristics of Australian emigration and diaspora, in general and more specifically looking at the US as a destination country.

Objective 3: To explore the experiences of the Australian diaspora in the US at the micro level across three major dimensions; motivations for migration, patterns of international mobility, and transnational connections maintained with Australia.

Objective 4: To explore the implications for theory, for policy related to Australian emigration and diaspora and for future research based on findings of the study.

Objective one reflects the conceptualisation of migration as a multifaceted process driven by global and national level factors. Individual level factors also play a role in driving migration, but these factors must be understood within a broader context. The framework for emigration and diaspora established in objective one is applied to the case of Australians moving to, and living in, the US. Objective two involves review of literature and analysis of administrative data to establish the Australian emigration and diaspora context. Objective three explores the population of Australians living in the US, and is achieved with collection and analysis of primary data. Objective four relates to both theoretical and practical observations that come out of the research, and based on these findings, suggestions for theory, policy and future research.

1.6 Data sources and primary research methods

Primary data for the study are obtained with an online survey and in-person interviews with Australians living in the US. Administrative data comes primarily from immigration and census data sources in Australia and the US. In Australia, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) provide the most administrative data. In the US, the majority of administrative data comes from the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) and the US Census Bureau.

Other secondary data sources, such as responses to relevant survey questionnaires, are also used when appropriate.

A triangulation approach (Denzin, 1989), utilizing mixed quantitative and qualitative methods, is employed in this study in order to meet research objectives. Primary quantitative method includes analysis of responses (n = 1,581) to the online survey questionnaire designed for Australians living in the US. Qualitative data are available from select responses to the survey questionnaire and from semi-structured interviews with survey respondents. A major goal of collecting qualitative information is to illuminate findings from the quantitative survey.

1.7 Overview of the thesis

The thesis is organized into 10 chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 explores the conceptual framework applied to the research. Review of literature will help to contextualise emigration from Australia in contemporary terms by exploring forms of international mobility and communication influenced by globalisation. A transnational view of migration will also be defined, examined and applied to the research. Chapter 3 will explore how interest in diasporas has grown recently among both researchers and policy-makers in light of increasing emigration and a transnational migration perspective.

Chapter 4 will utilize administrative data to examine the characteristics and trends in movement of Australian emigrants and the characteristics of the Australian diaspora. Previous research about Australian emigration and diaspora will also be discussed. This will provide a practical framework for understanding these populations.

Chapter 5 examines the transnational linkages Australia and the US share. This macro relationship is influenced by the relative global positions of the US as a core country and Australia as peripheral. The migration policies and geographical, political, social and cultural setting in each country are explored to help explain the drivers of mobility between these countries and to provide a foundation to explore the experiences of Australians living in the US. Administrative data are utilized to establish trends in mobility and the characteristics of movement between Australia and the US.

The methodology and methods used in the collection and analysis of primary data for the research are described in Chapter 6. The rationale behind the use of mixed methods is explained, as are data sources, research design, and development and distribution methods of the survey questionnaire. Qualitative methods used in the research are discussed including development of interview questions, selection of interviewees and the interviewing process. Data analysis methods are also described. Descriptive information about survey respondents and secondary data relating to Australians moving to, or living in, the US are compared to substantiate the study population.

Chapters 7 through 9 explore results data collected from Australians living in the US. Results are discussed in light of theoretical perspectives about each topic. Themes explored are: Motivation for migration and progression of the migrant experience (Chapter 7), International mobility patterns (Chapter 8), and Transnational connections with Australia (Chapter 9). Themes explored in the survey relate to broader research objectives by considering how individual-level decisions and activities are influenced by structural factors.

Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by summarizing the major findings and discussing implications of the research findings for theory, for policy and for future research. Strategies towards enhancing knowledge about Australian emigration and diaspora will be considered, as well as ways Australia could better engage with the Australian diaspora in order to benefit both Australia and members of the diaspora.

1.8 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has explained that the focus of this research is to explore the Australian diaspora living in the US. Emigration from Australia, and the Australian diaspora, is growing in size and these populations have been an under-researched element of Australia's migration situation. Recently however, interest in emigration and diaspora populations is growing, both globally and in Australia, and this study builds on this momentum. The global and national level frameworks for migration between Australia and the US are described in the first half of the thesis (Chapter 2 to Chapter 5). Micro

level analyses describing the experiences of Australians living in the US, based on survey and interviews with this population, are examined in the second half of the thesis (Chapter 7 to Chapter 9). The thesis concludes (Chapter 10) with a review of major research findings and based on these findings implications for theory, policy and future research. A dominant theme throughout this study is that migration and diaspora must be understood in the context of global, national and individual level factors.

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical framework for exploring emigration and diaspora

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will emphasize the importance of studying migration and its outcomes as the result of a complex global system. A number of factors contributing to a change in circumstances affecting migration and the migrant experience will be discussed in order to explain shortcomings of historical theories of migration and to establish the conceptual framework for this research. The chapter will look at the underlying factor responsible for much of the change surrounding migration recently, a period of intensified globalisation. Globalisation affects both the wider context within which people are moving and the experiences migrants have. Different types of mobility, and diversity in the origin and destination countries of migrants resulting from global demand and macro transnational linkages between countries, are increasingly important. The chapter will also explore migration from a transnational point of view as a key change in perspective. The increased ability to connect across distance and changing forms of mobility lead to a rise in the importance and dynamism of diaspora communities.

2.2 Context for understanding migration

Coming to terms with explanations for migration has been a long debated issue. One of the first scholarly efforts to explain why people move was made by E.G. Ravenstein in 1885, in response to the opinion that migration was basically 'lawless' (Ravenstein, 1885 p.167). He analysed census data in the United Kingdom (UK) and explained that there are factors including economic conditions, distance of a potential move, and demographic characteristics that encourage or discourage migration of individuals; thus a combination of factors are seen as important in fuelling migration. Lee (1966) expanded on these ideas and created the push-pull model of migration, which acknowledged pull factors in a

destination area but focused more on how individuals characteristics and circumstances influence their propensity to move. The push – pull model has been critiqued because it overstates migration as a rational decision-making process of individuals and doesn't explain why some people in the same circumstance as movers don't move (Dostie and Legér, 2006, Green et al., 2008). Other economic and human capital theories of migration also stress the part of the individual or family as the decision making unit, migration is usually seen to take place for reasons relating to a better economic situation (Iredale, 1999, Constant and Massey, 2002, Doyle, 2004). Individual level characteristics, such as age and personality type, are also found to influence the propensity to migrate (van Dalen and Henkens, 2007, Petersen, 1958, Taylor, 1969, Boneva and Frieze, 2001).

Structural migration theories move beyond individual and family level determinants and see migration as '...not only the result of aggregation of individual decisions and actions but the product of objective social and spatial structures that produce the necessary conditions for migration' (Goss and Lindquist, 1995 p.322). Giddens Structuration Theory (Giddens and Turner, 1987, Giddens, 1984), stresses the importance of the underlying relationship between capable human beings (agents) and wider social structures and systems in explaining behaviour. Structuration theory is applied to migration theory by Findlay and Li (1999 p.53) to mean 'a migrant is not completely a free actor or completely controlled by structural mechanisms.'

This research adopts a migration systems approach that emphasizes the underlying macro level structures that create the context for international migration. Migration systems theories take into account the context in origin and destination countries and the specific linkages between sending and receiving areas to explain mobility (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987, Fawcett, 1989, Boyd, 1989).

Such approaches [migration systems] force attention on stability and movement in both sending and receiving areas, examine flows within the context of other flows, and emphasize that flows of people are part of, and often influenced by, flows of goods, services and information.

Fawcett and Arnold 1987 p.456

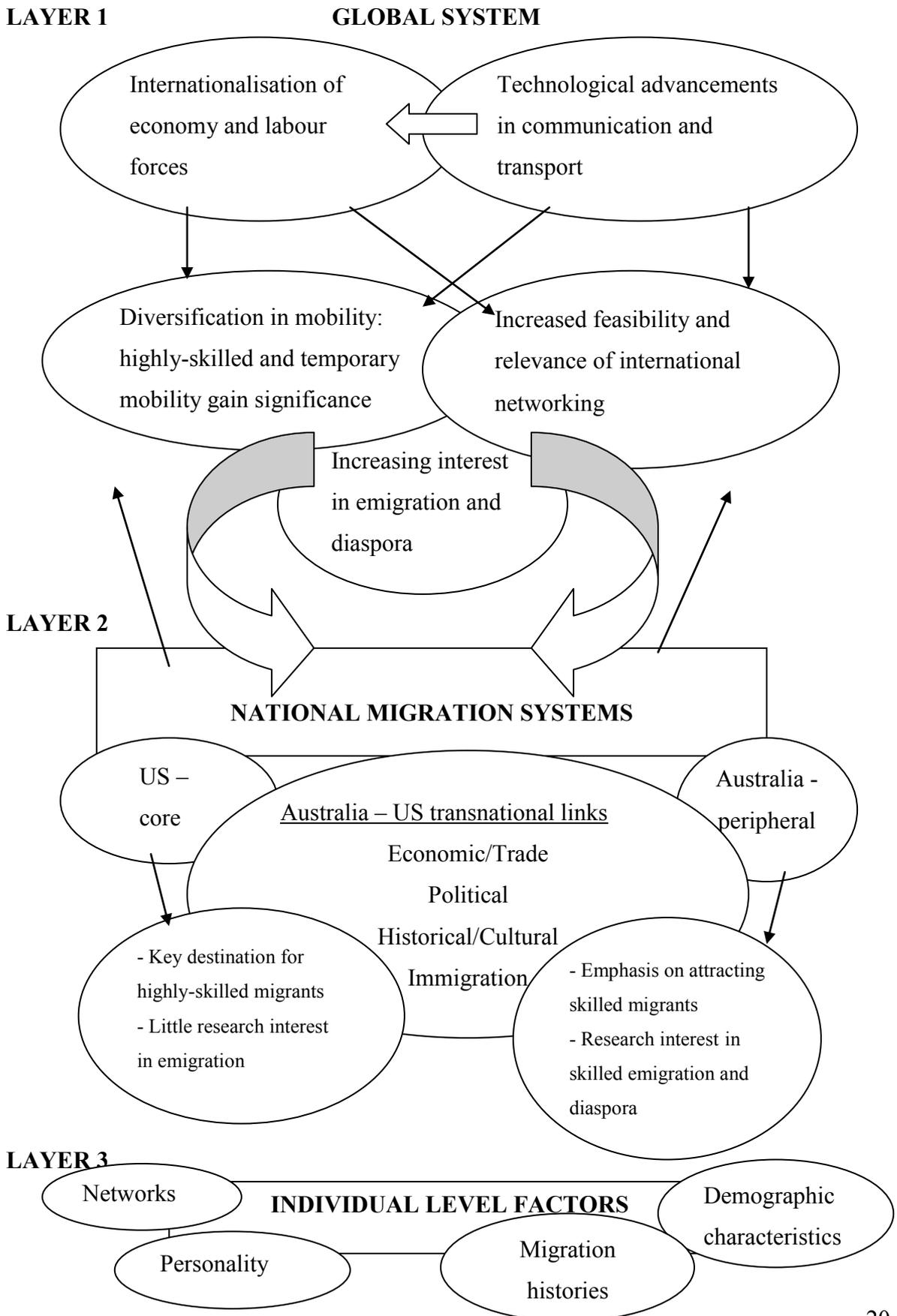
These theories view the political and economic systems of countries involved in a migration flow as more important than physical proximity (Massey, 2003 p.25). It is clear that migration systems theories also acknowledge that wider global forces and global migration systems underpin the migration systems in place between a particular set of countries (Goss and Lindquist, 1995, Massey et al., 1998 p.50, Kritiz et al., 1992, Massey, 2003, Hugo, 1994).

2.2.1 Conceptual framework for research

Figure 2.1 shows the broad conceptual framework applied to this research to explain mobility and the experiences of the Australian diaspora living in the US. At the global level, technological innovations and internationalisation of the economy and labour forces are seen as key forces relevant in the context of the Australia – US migration system (Layer 1). The current chapter addresses these global factors in light of their impact on mobility and migrant experiences. The global situation sets the stage for national level systems (Level 2) to exist within. Each nation has its relative place within the global system; for example the US is a core country and Australia is peripheral, and in light of the global situation and national characteristics and ideologies, nations create applicable policies and research agendas. Within the milieu of migration systems this includes immigration, economic and trade policies and migration research about relevant groups. Finally, individual level factors also play a role in migration decisions and experiences (Layer 3); but they must be understood against the broader backdrop of global and national level factors.

It is important to stress that macro structures and micro level factors are not only responsible for initial migration decisions; they also influence the perpetuation of migration and the experience of migration. The cumulative causation theory of migration declares that once established, migration perpetuates itself over time with the creation of migrant networks, the growing presence of institutions that facilitate the adjustment of migrants into the destination society, and the strengthening of links between the countries involved in a migrant flow (Massey et al., 1998 pp.448-451). This is in line with the interconnectedness idea of migration systems theory (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987).

Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework for exploring emigration and diaspora: The case of migration from Australia to the US



2.3 Globalisation: A paradigm and a process

Globalisation is a central macro level structure driving particular types of international linkages and thereby human mobility. Globalisation leads to increases in all types of mobility and communication, but certain types of mobility and communications between countries with extensive linkages will particularly increase (Hugo et al., 2001). Globalisation is usually used as a backdrop to explain various phenomena. The perspective one is coming from, and what events are being explored as an outcome of globalisation, shape the definition used. The globalisation concept is also multifaceted; as Dirlik (2000 p.2) states 'an analytical distinction between globalisation as process and paradigm is necessary to grasping globalisation as a new mode of comprehending the world...'. For the purposes of this research, a globalisation paradigm is used as a framework to help explain increasing and diversifying migration and networking across national borders. It is important to understand why and how an intensified period of globalisation has come to be, as these processes are directly related to the movement of people and communication across distance, and help to explain the changing context of international migration and migrant communities.

2.3.1 Defining and quantifying globalisation

Devising a concrete definition and demonstrating empirical evidence of the extent of globalisation has been a task undertaken by many (Martens and Zywiets, 2006, Scholte, 2005, Kearney, 2007, see for example Randolph, 2001, Putko and Chun, 2006, Backer and Yamano, 2008, OECD 2008, UN 2007a); yet there is still no consensus as to what the term explicitly means. Putko and Chun (2006 p.1) comment:

The term, originally intended to describe an integration of economies, has evolved to become an all encompassing phrase to characterize any activity or relationship which extends beyond national borders.

There is also controversy about whether there should be distinction or overlap between terms related to globalisation, such as internationalisation. Some sources define globalisation and internationalisation as one and the same (for example IMF 2000), while others claim they are completely different; internationalisation emphasizes the importance

of the nation-state as a foundation for increasing linkages and interactions between distinct nations, whereas globalisation is seen to downplay the importance of nation-states and create a global melting pot of integrated places and economies (Daly, 1999 p.316, Johnston et al., 2000).

There have been attempts to narrow the definition of globalisation to explore its impacts within a particular school of thought. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2000 p.2) for example, narrows their definition to economic globalisation and defines this as:

...a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The term sometimes also refers to the movement of people (labor) and knowledge (technology) across international borders. There are also broader cultural, political and environmental dimensions of globalization ...

For the purposes of this study, globalisation is understood in these economic terms. A significant component of economic globalisation is internationalisation of labour markets, which has had a substantial impact on international migration particularly in the context of mobility between Australia and the US.

Based on the belief that 'far more people have an opinion about globalisation than a deep understanding of the concept' (Martens and Zywiets, 2006 p.331), there have been attempts to provide empirical evidence of the phenomenon by creating indices of globalisation, thus enabling comparison of regions/countries that are more or less 'global' than others (Kearney, 2006, Kearney, 2007, Martens and Zywiets, 2006, Randolph, 2001). A problem with these measures is that they too are subjective to the definition and choice of indicators.

2.3.2 Processes intensifying globalisation

Although it isn't possible to measure globalisation objectively, it is possible to explore indicators that show the pace at which people and places are becoming connected is intensifying. Air travel has become increasingly accessible, allowing more people to

directly interact with more places by actually travelling there. Apart from a downturn in the number of flights from 2001 to 2003 resulting from the events of September 11, 2001 (OAG 2002), data show that since 2003, the frequency and capacity of flights worldwide has been consistently increasing (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Number of flight schedules worldwide, 2001-2007

<p>NOTE: This table is included on page 23 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.</p>
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Source: Adapted from OAG 2007b

In addition, the number of low-cost flights is also on the rise; they accounted for 16 percent of all flights worldwide in 2007, a growth of two percent over the previous year (OAG 2007b, OAG 2007a).

Technological advancements associated with globalisation also enhance the ability to communicate across distance, both because of improved technological capabilities and lowered cost (Vertovec, 2004). International phone traffic has increased dramatically over time; from 12.7 billion call minutes in 1982, to 42.7 in 1992, to 154 billion in 2001 (Held et al. 1999 p.344). Internet usage has increased worldwide by 250 percent from 2000 to 2007; internet usage in developing regions has improved the most dramatically in this time period, usage in Africa and the Middle East has increased by approximately 900 percent (Miniwatts Marketing Group, 2008). The introduction of programs like *Skype*TM, an internet-based communication tool that allows people to connect instantly by voice, video and instant message for free (Skype, 2008) means people are able to communicate across distance more frequently and they are also able to communicate better (instantaneously and with more clarity).

The total number of international migrants has also grown over time. Increasing rates of international migration are ‘...both a result of global change and a powerful force for further change in migrant-sending and receiving societies’ (Castles, 1998 p.179). There were an estimated 191 million international migrants in 2005 compared to 165 million in

1995 (UN 2006c). Relative to total population size, growth of the international migrant stock over this time period has been modest (increased from 2.9 percent to 3 percent) but it is important to consider that those defined as international migrants according to the UN definition usually do not include temporary migrants, and increasing temporary mobility is one of the most significant changes to global mobility in the current era (Hugo, 2004). Increasing numbers and diversifying forms of migration as a result of globalisation are also blurring the definition of countries historically known as countries of immigration and countries of emigration. In accordance with the conceptualisation of international migration as a part of larger system, the UN (2006a p.1) states:

It is increasingly difficult to sustain the distinction that has traditionally been made between sending and receiving countries. Almost all countries in the world are now countries of origin, transit or destination for migrants, and increasingly they are all three of these simultaneously.

2.3.3 Expanding global linkages and demand for skilled migrants

Transnational linkages between countries have grown and strengthened in the context of economic globalisation. There is evidence of the increasing interconnectedness of places in the number of active regional trade agreements in the world; in 1990 there were 46 such agreement, 169 in the year 2000 and a further increase to 194 in 2007 (WTO 2008). Because governments in many countries have taken action to increase international trade links and capital flow to meet the goal of creating an open economy (Bell, 1995 p.57, Papastergiadis, 1999 p.96, Withers, 2003 p.20), it is logical to conclude that the movement of people will follow these flows. Interestingly, immigration and trade policies often do not coincide, as they are usually handled by different government departments (Keely, 2003). There are a number of ways macro linkages between places relate to and influence global human mobility; in fact the claim has been made that ‘migration is the human face of globalisation’ (Dade, 2006 p.1).

There are a few specific locations in the world where the vast majority of internationally influential economic, political and social activities are carried out, and migrants may be especially attracted to these areas (Sassen, 1995). These global cities are areas containing

a major financial centre, transportation headquarters, international organizations, high rates of business growth, an important manufacturing centre and a large population size (Massey et al., 1998 pp.93-94). In order to remain current and competitive, these global cities create a demand for highly-skilled workers in certain sectors, especially electronics, telecommunications, banking/finance, insurance, law and government industries (Massey et al., 1998 p.90, Winkelmann, 2002 p.134). Often headquartered in these global cities are a growing number of transnational corporations. These organizations create a channel for mobility of highly-skilled people (Salt, 1992, Salt, 1997, Salt, 1990, Beaverstock, 2005), which is often temporary and circular in nature (Tzeng, 1995, Beaverstock and Boardwell, 2000). Employees may move overseas through intra-company transfer for a specified period of time before returning home or moving on to another branch location.

The increasing significance of attracting skilled and temporary persons has become the trend worldwide, particularly in economically and politically powerful countries (OECD 1998 p.9, Martin and Lowell, 2000 p.1, Withers, 2003 p.20). Because so many countries share a clear objective of acquiring skilled migrants, there is intense competition globally for the world's best employees. Along with facilitating entry of individuals with desired characteristics, a number of countries offer financial incentives to attract these individuals (see examples in Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005, Liebig and Sousa-Poza, 2004). In high immigration countries there has been increased government involvement in shaping migration schemes to bring in migrants who meet the development goals of the nation (Birrell and Healy, 1997 p.44, Hugo, 1999 p.7). Australia and the US have each responded to the global competition for skilled workers by making changes to immigration policy; this will be discussed in Chapter 5.

A more recent development is that some countries, like Australia, have also begun to take notice of skilled persons leaving the country in response to global demand. More feasible than halting this out-movement is taking advantage of the transnational migration experience many emigrants have whereby they retain connections with the country of origin.

2.4 A transnational perspective on migration

It is well known that international migrants have long kept networks with their home country, but factors associated with globalisation allow for facilitation of a transnational migrant experience. Migrants can be physically involved in more than one country with rapid and low cost travel, and there are the facilities available to keep in touch across distance. According to the Random House Unabridged Dictionary (2006), 'transnational' is defined as: 'going beyond national boundaries or interests'. Following on from this definition, 'transnationalism' implies action and involvement between multiple countries or interests. Glick Schiller et al. (1995 p.52) state:

Immigrant transnationalism is best understood as a response to the fact that in a global economy, contemporary migrants have found full incorporation in the countries within which they resettle either not possible or not desirable.

The ease with which transnational journeys can be made and connections from afar can be maintained also allows migrants to develop multiple identities. These identities are not just with the country of origin and the country one is living in, but are also created by shared experiences with others who have similar lifestyles involving frequent international travel (Kennedy, 2004, Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003, Olwig, 2003). Migrant transnationalism has traditionally been identified as a grassroots phenomenon, it is only recently that countries of origin and other institutions have become involved in initiating these linkages because they can see the potential benefit of engagement with diaspora populations (Portes et al., 1999 p.220). Understanding the migrant experience and migration itself in a transnational context is important because of the different conclusions this leads to in terms of outcomes from migration. The transnational phenomena represents 'a new potential lever for development: financial, human and social capital gained abroad can have powerful benefits for the source country if migrants return or maintain strong ties' (MPI 2003). In response to a transnational view of migration, Glick Schiller et al. (1995 p.52) note that '...parties, factions, and leaders within many countries which can claim dispersed populations have looked to their diasporas as a global resource and constituency'.

It is important to emphasize that the relevance of migrant transnationalism depends on the type of networks that are kept and the frequency with which these networks are utilized. Some migrants are intensely transnational, while others make only occasional or periodic contact with the country of origin (Levitt et al., 2003). Some migrants keep transnational linkages purely to maintain social or family ties, while others do so for professional, political or for a combination of reasons (Portes et al., 1999). The propensity to keep transnational linkages will also depend on macro level factors such as the structures in place in the countries migrants are moving between (Conway, 2000). Migrant circumstances, such as the time that has elapsed since migration (Morawska, 2003) and demographic characteristics, also influence the type of linkages that are kept (Portes, 2003, Conradson and Latham, 2002). Other individual level factors such as the reason for mobility and future mobility intentions also play a role. These influences on the extent and type of transnational activities migrants involve themselves in will be explored in relationship to the research study population of Australians living in the US in Chapters 8 and 9.

2.4.1 Transnational mobility

One key element to a transnational perspective on migration is moving beyond the conceptualisation of migration as a permanent event. There is growing recognition that contemporary flows are not well understood (MPI 2003, Hugo, 2004), however most migration research continues to be based in a permanent migration paradigm, with insufficient consideration of the temporary and/or circular nature of movement which characterizes a growing portion of international migrant flows. ‘...a more flexible view of migration taking circularity into account’ (MPI 2003) is needed.

In OECD countries, an estimated 20–50 percent of previous settlers have re-emigrated within five years of arrival; the rate of re-emigration is even higher among countries that are similarly developed (OECD 2008 p.172). There are many factors that influence the propensity to re-emigrate such as years since arrival (OECD 2008 p.172), age or life circumstance (Klinthäll, 2006, De Coulon and Wolff, 2006, Dustmann, 2003) or policies that affect the ease of return. Although there have always been cases of re-emigration, current technologies make it much easier to actually travel from one place to another. Figure 2.2 shows various cases of return and circular migration. There is often circulation

between a single country of origin and a country of destination (item 1.1). Sometimes migrants move sequentially from origin country to an intermediary country and then on to a further destination (item 1.2) before returning to the country of origin and in some cases migrants may circulate between several countries (item 1.3). In reality a number of destination countries may be involved, and a variety of back and forth movements between countries is likely to occur.

Figure 2.2: Various cases of return migration

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 28
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Reproduced from OECD 2008 p.165

Migration that is intended to be temporary is increasingly relevant, but even migrants who intend to more or less permanently settle in the country of destination often end up changing their mind or continue to retain a physical connection in the form of visits with the country of origin. It is even possible to have livelihoods in multiple countries (OECD 2008 p.176). The growing prevalence of migration policies that encourage temporary migration, and the ease of long-distance travel, makes physical transnational linkages more readily sustained. This promotes continued identification and association with multiple places and affects the scale and type of long-distance transnational networking migrants are involved in.

2.4.2 Long-distance transnational networking

The second element of a transnational migration perspective is the recognition of long-distance linkages migrants keep with their country of origin (and other countries to which they identify). Current technologies do not actually create transnational connections or provide the motivation for networking, but rather reinforce networking because upkeep is much easier (Castells, 2000, Vertovec, 2004). There are, however, some forums for migrant transnationalism that have been created and widely expanded directly because of

technological advancements, such as online diaspora networks (Bernal, 2006 p.163). Proliferation of online communities, though based in 'cyberspace' outside of national borders, are argued to strengthen national identities (Eriksen, 2007 p.1).

2.4.3 Outcomes of migration in a transnational context

It has been determined that there are two main ways countries of origin can benefit from emigration of individuals with desirable characteristics: through the eventual return of these migrants to the country of origin with enhanced skills and networks (transnational mobility) and/or through the establishment of valuable transnational networks that facilitate technology and knowledge transfer and linkages between countries, even if the migrants themselves do not return (Meyer, 2001 p.97, Regets, 2001 p.10).

Whereas previously the aim was to attract highly skilled migrants back to their countries of origin, states now actively encourage a diasporic imagination in which there is scope for multiple affiliations and associations. Both conceptually and politically, the distinction is now explicitly made between the 'return option' and the 'diaspora option'. ...although it is not unusual for them to now run concurrently...

Larner, 2007 p.337

In light of a transnational view of migration and the increase in emigration of highly-skilled persons in response to global demand there is growing interest from origin countries in their diasporas.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the theoretical framework for the research and explained a systems approach to understanding migration. Migration systems theories acknowledge global level factors, as well as the context in origin and destination countries, as important to explaining the reasons migration occurs and the experiences migrants have (Fawcett, 1989, Massey, 2003). In accordance with Structuration Theory (Giddens, 1984, Goss and Lindquist, 1995), individual and family level factors are also seen to play a role in behaviour, but these factors can only be understood within the context of the wider system.

Globalisation is a major factor underlying a changing migration situation. Although the definition of globalisation has been debated, a growing number of international trade agreements, international flights and international migrants indicate the world is becoming more connected. Technological advancements, including improved internet access and other modes of communicating across distance, as well as the increased speed and lowered cost of international travel, have played an extensive role encouraging global connections and migrant transnationalism. Additionally internationalisation of labour markets promotes highly-skilled mobility and macro-level transnational connections. Like many other countries, Australia and the US have responded to the global competition for skilled workers by making changes to immigration policy.

International mobility is becoming increasingly diverse, and temporary or circular migration is common. The recognition of the transnational experience many migrants have has led countries of origin to consider how these networks might be used to national advantage. The next chapter will define diaspora and explore the growing interest in these communities.

CHAPTER 3: Increasing interest in diaspora

3.1 Introduction

In recent years, interest in diaspora populations has grown substantially among both researchers and policy-makers. This has been fuelled by a number of factors including increasing emigration of migrants with desirable characteristics in response to the global demand for highly-skilled workers and increasing international mobility generally. The increased interest in diaspora in countries of origin, including high income countries not previously concerned with emigration, reflects a growing consensus that because of their continued identification with the origin country, connecting with diasporas can be beneficial. Facilitated long-distance communication allows transnational connections to be readily maintained, and origin countries are becoming interested in exploiting these networks to connect with nationals living overseas.

This chapter will begin by defining diaspora and examining how the definition of diaspora communities is contested among scholars and has changed over time. The case is made for the community of Australians living overseas to be defined as a diaspora. Debates about strategies countries of origin can use to engage with their diasporas will also be discussed.

3.2 The diaspora concept

The word 'diaspora' is based on the word of Greek origin meaning 'a scattering or sowing of seeds' (Webster's Dictionary, 2008). In reference to overseas migrant communities, the term was originally used to describe the exile of Jews from Israel and more generally the movement of people from their homelands by force (see for example Cohen, 1997). Diaspora as it has recently been used in literature is often subjective to the individual scholar and field he or she comes from, the time period referred to and the population being discussed. A broadening of the definition of diaspora has resulted from recognition

of the growth in overseas communities as a result of increasing and diversifying forms of international mobility and transnational networking.

Some scholars continue to insist that a key characteristic of a diaspora population is movement from the homeland by force. Cheran (2003 p.4) for example makes a clear distinction in naming an overseas community based on the driver of out-movement, calling 'diasporas' the result of forced migration and 'transnational communities' the result of voluntary migration. Many propose that diasporas can be formed by either forced or voluntary out-movements (see for example Lucas and Parr, 2000, Reis, 2004, Kuhn, 2001, Kasasa, 2001). Butler (2001 p.189) for example notes that 'more recent usage [of term diaspora] is a departure from earlier identifications in which a sense of powerlessness, exile, displacement was strongly associated with the Jewish Diaspora'. A loosening of the term diaspora is a concern for many because the original meaning has such strong emotional connotations that should not be trivialized. Vertovec and Cohen (1999) suggest one way to address this may be to put an adjective in front of the term to apply it to a more specific community (for example 'labour diaspora'). Fullilove (2008 p.23), for example, suggests the Australian diaspora be considered a 'gold collar diaspora', because it is largely made up of highly mobile, highly-skilled persons participating in the global labour market. This is clearly a sharp contrast to 'diaspora' defined by powerlessness and exile.

Another way to deal with the issue of extremely different interpretations of the definition of diaspora is to differentiate by time period to account for the global conditions contributing to the creation and nature of diaspora communities at particular points in time. Reis (2004) differentiates between classical and contemporary definitions of diasporas, explaining that the current situation, which fuels contemporary diasporas, is completely different than the environment that existed for classical diasporas, typically based on the Jewish experience. The Classical Period is associated with ancient Greece and Classic diasporas, and the Contemporary, or Late-Modern Period, started at the end of World War II and continues to the present day. The Contemporary Period is a period that 'illustrates the progressive effect of globalisation on the phenomenon of diasporization' (Reis, 2004 p.41). Reis claims that reliance on the classical definition of diaspora does not take into account time and space, and since time and space have changed, there are different frameworks that different types of diasporas exist within.

In the context of globalization there are examples of 'opportunity-seeking' diasporas, whose displacement arises due to situations that are neither traumatic nor associated with disaster. Pursuit of work and the seizing of opportunities to study and travel abroad, facilitated by the globalizing process, are sufficient reasons to stimulate the diasporic process in the contemporary context.

Reis 2004 p.49

This research fits within this contemporary definition of diaspora.

Several theorists have outlined the criteria required to define a group as a diaspora (see for example Safran, 1991, Vertovec and Cohen, 1999, Cheran, 2003, Butler, 2001). Key defining characteristics are a shared identity with others based on a position outside of the original homeland and a continued identification with a community outside the place of current residence. According to Vertovec and Cohen, diasporas involve a 'type of consciousness' (1999) and as Shuval states (2000 p.43):

Diaspora is a social construct founded on feeling, consciousness, memory, mythology, history, meaningful narratives, group identity, longings, dreams, allegorical and virtual elements, all of which play a role in establishing a diaspora reality.

The definition of diaspora used in this research is as follows:

Diasporas may be defined as the totality of individuals, who identify themselves by, and act upon, their origin in and/or ties to a territory other than the one in which they reside... The number of people who qualify as Diaspora under this definition has been growing through a conflux of two factors, the rising volume of people and the proliferation of technologies of connection.

Dade 2006 p.1

This definition is used because it includes both identities and actions as important elements, and it recognizes the range of relationships migrants keep; with both origin and

destination countries and with other individuals in a similar circumstance. Dade's definition also takes into account global factors that have contributed to the expansion of diaspora communities.

3.2.1 Defining the community of Australians living overseas a diaspora

Increased interest in diasporas worldwide has led to academic discourse about which overseas populations constitute a diaspora. Hugo (2006a) applied the criteria identified by Butler (2001) to the Australian situation to determine if there is an Australian diaspora according to these specifications. Hugo determined that Australia meets three of the four conditions that scholars agree define a population as a diaspora. One criterion is that populations are spread in 'a minimum of two destinations after dispersal' (Butler, 2001 p.192). There are several major destination countries of Australians living overseas, including the United Kingdom (UK), the US and New Zealand⁵. Moreover Hugo (2006a p.108) confirms this condition is met.

Another stipulation is that diaspora members have a 'relationship with an actual or imagined home' (Butler, 2001 p.192). There is evidence Australians living overseas are maintaining contact with Australia and thinking about returning home⁶. The final condition that Hugo (2006a) argues is met by the community of Australians living overseas is a 'self-awareness of the group identity'. This self-awareness means diaspora members are aware of their position as an expatriate, this awareness is a part of their identity and they interact with and relate to others in a similar circumstance (Butler, 2001 p.192).

Existence over two or more generations is the only criterion Australians overseas may not meet in large scale. Hugo (2006a p.125) points out Australia has a long history of emigration, but it is only recently that emigration from Australia has occurred in significant numbers. It is argued, however, that the community of Australians living overseas should qualify as a diaspora and a distinct and important segment of Australia's population. Fullilove (2008 p.2) agrees that 'Diasporas should not be thought of...in terms of

⁵ Patterns of Australian emigration and diaspora will be explored in detail in Chapter 4.

⁶ These activities have been identified in results from the Australian Emigration Survey (Hugo et al. 2003) and The One Million More Census of Australians Abroad (Rudd & Hugo 2007).

citizenship or the number of generations since emigration, but rather in terms of connectedness.’

In reference to the widespread debate about defining a country’s overseas population as a ‘diaspora’ Wahlbeck (2002 p.231) states:

The point is that regardless of whether a community is fully a diaspora or not, the concept might be used in order to describe some specific characteristics of the group in question. Far too much discussion has been devoted to whether this or that community really is a ‘genuine diaspora’ or not. Instead, it should be considered whether the concept of diaspora can be used to describe and study some specific qualities of the particular community in question.

3.2.2 Studying diasporas

The activities and identities of diasporas are diverse and multifaceted. Diasporas interact among themselves, and with the home country and the host country (Shuval, 2000 p.46). Diaspora member circumstances, and the group identity, changes and builds as the communities themselves shift. Butler (2001, 1998 pp.225-226), suggests five areas studies of diaspora should address in order to better understand these populations:

- Reasons for and conditions of emigration;
- Relationship with the homeland;
- Relationship with the host-land;
- Interrelationships within diaspora communities;
- Comparative studies of different diasporas

When exploring these dimensions it is also important to be clear on the broader aims of understanding a particular diaspora population. For example, is the research primarily focused on understanding the theoretical implications surrounding national identity? Mobility or networking patterns? Creating practical strategies origin countries can use to deal with these populations? Study of diaspora transverses a range of academic disciplines. The fields of anthropology, cultural studies and sociology, for example, have

taken an interest in how diaspora, and factors associated with a globalising world, relate to identity (Appadurai, 2003, Gellner, 1997, Edensor, 2002, Eriksen, 2007, Guibernau, 2004, Phillips and Holton, 2004, See for example Appadurai and Breckenridge, 1989, Appadurai, 1995). This study comes from the perspective of migration and population geography, which views diasporas as an outcome of emigration. Time and space are important elements to study in these fields, and factors such as the global context or era research is taking place in, and structural considerations related to the countries migrants are moving between, play an important part understanding diaspora. Population and migration geographers also think in terms of how trends in international movement, including the number and characteristics of migrants, relate to outcomes for the countries migrants are moving between (Hugo, 2006b, Hugo, 2006a, Hugo, 2005a, White, 2003, Boyle, 2001, See for example Bedford, 2001, Zhang, 2007). This study of the Australian diaspora in the US is interested in both better understanding the dynamics and characteristics of this population and to suggest strategies towards better engagement between Australia and its diaspora.

3.3 Increasing policy interest in diasporas

Interest in diaspora has moved beyond the academic realm to include governments and industry in countries of origin. Increasing high-level dialogue and a growing number of policies designed to bridge a connection between origin countries and their diasporas is evidence that understanding diasporas is becoming a higher priority for many countries. The latest UN *World Population Policies* report (2007b p.30) notes:

...a number of countries, both in more and less developed regions, were concerned by the level of emigration, especially of highly skilled workers...several countries established Government units to manage emigration flows, or entered into bilateral agreements with receiving States to protect the rights of their citizens while abroad... Governments...increasingly encourage transnational communities to invest in the countries of origin and to participate in transnational knowledge networks.

Also revealed in this UN report was growth in the number of countries with policies or programs in place to encourage return migration, from 59 in 1996 to 79 in 2005 (United Nations, 2007b p.30).

3.3.1 Benefits to origin countries from their diasporas

In response to increasing emigration and diaspora (particularly highly-skilled) and evidence diaspora members retain identification and linkages with their homeland, many countries are attempting to engage with their diasporas for national benefit. These 'benefits' are most often conceptualised in economic or political terms. There are five general areas where engagement with diasporas populations is seen to be potentially beneficial to countries of origin (Hugo, 2009, Zhang, 2006, Mahroum et al., 2006, See for example Fullilove and Flutter, 2004). These are:

- **Remittances** – Money sent from the diaspora back to the origin country;
- **Promotion of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) through networks** – The diaspora can encourage foreign direct investment in the country of origin both directly (from diaspora members themselves) and indirectly (from contacts diaspora make in origin country);
- **Facilitation of trade/business relationships across countries through networks** – Through their contacts and knowledge, the diaspora can create business relationships and facilitate trade, etcetera, in the destination country;
- **Return migration (knowledge and skills transfer)** – By returning to the country of origin either permanently or periodically, the diaspora can share the skills and knowledge they acquired while abroad;
- **Knowledge transfer (long-distance)** – Through both formal and informal networks kept with the country of origin.

The focus of a particular country to the items on this list will vary depending on the origin country and diaspora in question. Remittances from the diaspora are often seen as extremely important to the economy in developing countries. In the Philippines, for example, migrant remittances account for about 10 percent of the country's \$80 million GDP (Martin et al., 2004). The Global Commission on International Migration (2005) found that remittances are nearly triple the value of Official Development Assistance to

low income countries, and are the second largest source of external income for these countries after FDI. In higher income countries, remittances as a potential benefit are not often emphasized. Gamlen (2006 p.15) for example notes:

Research seems to have overlooked remittances to 'developed' 'migrant-receiving' countries; for example, it is never mentioned that in 2002 remittances to New Zealand...formed a larger percentage of local GDP (2.24%) than they did in India (1.65%), Turkey (1.06%) and Mexico (1.73%)...

Promotion of FDI and the facilitation of trade or business partnerships by way of the diaspora and/or networks created by the diaspora with others outside the country of origin are another huge potential economic benefit to origin countries. For example the OECD estimates that in 2004, investments made by the Chinese diaspora accounted for around 45 percent of the country's total FDI (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005).

There is good evidence that people living in a country other than their own can stimulate bilateral trade between the two markets. Immigrants' ties to their homelands, including their knowledge of home country markets, languages, preferences and business contacts, can reduce transaction costs and facilitate trade.

Fullilove 2008 p.34

Until recently return migration was emphasized as the most promising way for origin countries to benefit from the experiences of their diaspora. It is assumed that with return migration, migrants bring the knowledge and skills they have acquired while overseas and these will be transferred to the origin country in some way as they engage with people upon return. One of the first efforts to connect diasporas with their origin countries was the *Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals* program (TOKTEN) created in 1977 by the United Nation Development Program (UNDP). The purpose was to lessen the negative impacts of emigration from African countries by encouraging expatriates to return to work in the country of origin for a period of time and share knowledge and experience gained while abroad. A major focus of the program was on eventual return and re-integration in the origin country, and re-emigration from Africa was considered a failure of

the program. Because re-emigration quite frequently eventuated, a new program was developed ('Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA)) which instead placed emphasis on temporary and periodic returns and regular transnational communication (Wescott, 2006 p.2). This was based on the realization that expecting complete and permanent return for those who have left and experienced life elsewhere is often not realistic.

The evolution of policies in China related to the Chinese diaspora provides further example of the changing attitude towards emigration. Mitchison (1961 p.45) writes that in the 18th and 19th centuries:

Most scholarly opinion in China agreed with the government that emigrants were criminals or potential criminals...It was not an attitude that helped to bind successful emigrant Chinese to their home country.

Things have since changed considerably; since 1989 China has had a service centre to help encourage and assist returnees by providing things like housing assistance and return-airfares (Agunias and Newland, 2007 p.8). Importantly, the attitude towards the Chinese diaspora has shifted. It is suggested that overseas professional Chinese should be regarded as an overseas reservoir of talent and knowledge and are even a political constituency (Wescott, 2006 p.23).

These examples show that diaspora philosophies have evolved in response to a changing global situation. There is recognition that in addition to permanent return, long distance linkages, occasional non-permanent return, and continued identification with the home country can also lead to valuable emigration outcomes for the country of origin.

'Knowledge transfer', through both long-distance networks and return migration is the most difficult benefit to empirically measure and define (Fullilove, 2008 p.35, Gamlen, 2006, Lucas, 2004). Long-distance networks (called by some the 'diaspora option' (Meyer and Wattiaux, 2006, Meyer, 2001)) focus on the transfer of social capital through international linkages. Although it is promising that these networks exist and it is intuitively known that this collaboration and sharing of knowledge is beneficial to both

nations and migrants, there is still a way to go in explicitly quantifying and articulating this benefit.

...the key point to note is that this approach is founded on a vision of an emerging future, rather than on a tried and true set of widely available practices. The idea of using virtual clusters and brain circulation networks to develop new, commercially viable ideas to benefit the home-country is itself a new, commercially viable idea that is still in development.

Gamlen 2006 p.16

3.3.2 Who is responsible for diaspora policy building?

The strategies origin countries should use to relate to their diaspora populations and extract these benefits are still in the early stages of development, particularly in countries where emigration and diaspora have only recently been of interest, such as Australia. When attempting to facilitate engagement with the diaspora, it is important to consider that diasporas are diverse and by their nature involve populations who also interact with, and adhere to the rules and laws of, other country(s) besides the country of origin. Structural factors may dictate how much or what type of interaction diasporas can potentially have with their country of origin (Wahlbeck, 2002). Additionally individual characteristics and activities vary widely within diasporas, which means there is no one-size-fits all approach to relating to these populations from the perspective of the country of origin (see for example Mahroum et al., 2006, United Nations, 2005). Fullilove (2008 p.70) states:

Being both second order in importance and extremely difficult to resolve, diaspora issues very often fall between bureaucratic stools. Furthermore, even if states manage to get their organisational ducks in a line, diasporas have their own agendas which are not always consistent with their homelands' interests...

Activities of the diaspora are intertwined with other State-based policies and issues (for example economic, political, social, migration) that fluctuate in importance at any given time (Gamlen, 2006, Zhang, 2006). There is often confusion as to which area of the public or private sector should have the role of engaging with these populations; departments that handle migration and the creation of policies related to return migration seem a logical

choice when it comes to data collection about migration patterns or return migration initiatives, but attracting remittances, philanthropic contributions and FDI are economic in nature. Voting rights and political participation belong with institutions concerned with electoral affairs, professional engagement and knowledge transfer often happens through private industry-based collaborative networks. ‘...no longer is the diaspora simply the concern of migration officials, rather economic development agencies have become central, assisted in some cases by the efforts of international organisations’ (Larner, 2007 p.337).

A United Nations conference in 2005 titled *Policy Needs on Diaspora Data Collection* found that responsibility for diaspora policies were taken by a range of different stakeholders in different countries of origin (United Nations, 2005). Kulkarni & Bougias (2008) explored the diaspora engagement strategies used in China, India and Scotland and classified the strategies used in each country as ‘hard-power’ or ‘soft-power’ networks. Hard power networks focus on attracting return migration or monetary contributions, and these networks are usually handled by government intervention (for example by promoting tax breaks or other benefits to diaspora members if they return), while soft-power networks focus more on maintaining identification with the country of origin and networking, and are more often driven by individuals and private associations. As an example of the diverse strategies used by different countries, they found China relied mostly on hard-power networks, India used both hard-and soft-power approaches and Scotland relies more on the soft-power approach (Kulkarni and Bougias, 2008 p.42). It has been argued that effective knowledge networks may rely more on ‘passionate businesses and individuals’ (Kulkarni and Bougias, 2008 p.47) more so than government intervention (L.E.K. Consulting, 2001 p.83). Moreover because the characteristics, activities and potential benefits of engaging with the diaspora are diverse, the stakeholders and strategies used by a particular county of origin to deal with them will also be varied.

3.3.3 How origin countries can facilitate engagement with their diaspora

Gamlen (2006) explored the strategies used by 60 countries of origin in attempting to engage with their diasporas; it was determined these strategies often fit within three areas:

- Capacity building – or creating a shared identity related to the country of origin within the diaspora;
- Extending rights – providing rights such as dual citizenship or political participation to diaspora members;
- Extracting benefits – promoting the diaspora to share knowledge, remittances, skills, etc. with the country of origin.

Gamlen (2006 p.13) argues that in order for countries to ‘extract benefits’ effectively, they must also reciprocate by providing diaspora members with something useful to them, such as by extending rights; in other words by creating a mutually beneficial relationship between the country of origin and the diaspora. Likewise Fullilove & Flutter (2004 pp.51-52) agree that successful diaspora networks will be segmented (to accommodate diaspora diversity), be mutually beneficial, involve both virtual and physical networks, and require private – public partnership. The most common engagement strategy, and initial strategy required for further engagement between origin countries and their diasporas, is ‘capacity building’, that is creating a sense of shared identity and community with others from the same country of origin (Gamlen, 2006). A shared identity is in fact necessary in order for a group of overseas nationals to be considered a diaspora, and there has been a growing body of research exploring how this continued identification and communication with the country of origin might translate into practical benefits for origin countries (Rudd and Hugo, 2007, Smith and Guarnizo, 1998, Carr et al., 2005, See for example Glick Schiller et al., 1995). ‘The discourse of belonging to a diaspora is crucial in attempts to produce this governable mentality...’(Gamlen, 2006 p.7).

3.3.3.1 Diaspora engagement strategies used in select countries of origin

China

It is estimated there are more than 33 million Chinese and people of Chinese ancestry living outside of China (Zhang, 2006, Fullilove, 2008). As previously mentioned, over time the attitude towards the overseas Chinese has shifted, and they are now seen as an overseas reservoir of talent (Wescott, 2006). Engagement with the Chinese diaspora has been largely a government responsibility. Policies have been put in place that focus on encouraging return migration (temporary and permanent) by creating knowledge and technology hubs in China. There are tax incentives to fund projects in China, science and

technology parks to attract return and knowledge transfer from highly-skilled migrants, financial support for returnees, and loosening of immigration and emigration procedures to allow freer international movement (Kulkarni and Bougias, 2008, Brinkerhoff, 2006). The way China approaches its diaspora has also changed; from an emphasis linked to patriotism towards China to a focus on transnational investment opportunities (Biao, 2006). Thus China is clearly interested in the potential economic and trade benefits that may come from engaging with its diaspora and has therefore put in place rhetoric and explicit policies to this end.

India

India's diaspora is estimated to include approximately 20 million people and is comprised of 'Non-Resident Indians' and 'Persons of Indian Origin'. Since the early 1980's, when a large number of Indians were leaving India to work in developed countries, the Indian government took the initiative to encourage expatriates to invest money in their Indian bank accounts and keep financial ties to India (Lessinger, 1992 p.62). Key to India's diaspora engagement activities is maintaining a sense of identification with India and an Indian heritage across the diaspora. The Indian government has encouraged involvement from the diaspora in India by creating an attitude of respect towards this population; there is a high level committee on the Indian Diaspora, conferences and even a national day in India which celebrates the achievements of the diaspora (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004 p.8). A Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs serves as a symbolic reminder of India's high regard for the diaspora (Xavier, 2009). Compared to China's approach to the diaspora, India is much less focused on return migration as the best pathway to benefit. It is well known that the Indian diaspora have facilitated investment and created business in India by way of diaspora networks. For example the Asian Development Bank notes (2004 p.85):

Nineteen of the top 20 Indian software businesses were founded by or are managed by professionals from the Indian diaspora. The industry relies for new ideas, new technologies and new markets on diaspora-led professional organizations in India and abroad, and diaspora-led subsidiaries in key markets such as the United States.

It has, however, also recently been made easier for the diaspora to return to India. The government has created a 'Persons of Indian Origin Card' and 'Overseas Citizenship of India' which allow relaxed entry conditions (Kulkarni and Bougias, 2008 p.44).

Philippines

There were approximately 7.7 million overseas Filipinos in 2003, including a large share of the most educated, most productive age group (Opiniano and Castro, 2006, Brinkerhoff, 2006). The Philippines encourages emigration in order to ease unemployment; there are coordinated bodies dedicated to facilitating emigration, return migration and protecting the rights of Filipinos working overseas (Martin et al., 2004). It appears that the biggest concerns in the Philippines with respect to emigration is the loss of highly-skilled youth to jobs abroad, leading to a skills deficit in some industries, particularly health. In attempts to remedy this, medical doctors and specialists now encourage new graduates to serve in the country for a few years before migrating (Wescott, 2006). This experience also serves the purpose of creating Philippines-based networks for those who do eventually go overseas to work, which will help to encourage both return migration in the future and knowledge and investment transfer. There have also been policies put in place which encourage return migration. In 2003, the Philippines offered dual-citizenship rights to the diaspora which in turn allows them to own property, engage in business and vote in the Philippines (Development Research Centre on Migration Globalization and Poverty, 2008)

Interestingly while the Philippines is a leader in managing emigration and protecting the rights of its citizens overseas, there are no real systems or policies in place to take advantage of the Filipino diaspora by way of knowledge transfer while they are overseas (Macaranas, 2005). Formal government and United Nations sponsored programs to promote knowledge exchange did exist in the 1980's and 1990's, but many have been discontinued (Opiniano and Castro, 2006 p.81). It is noted that while the government offers rhetoric on the human capital value of the Filipino diaspora, '...to date, it has not developed a proactive and integrated policy to harness potential gains from Filipinos who remain overseas. Policies and programs are mainly focused on facilitating return' (Brinkerhoff, 2006 p.134).

The examples from these three countries show there is diversity among less developed countries in the way they approach emigration and diaspora. All countries recognize and celebrate the value of their diasporas, thus engage in what Gamlen (2006) would call ‘capacity building’; this is of particular focus in India.

3.4 Diaspora interest in high income countries

Until recently, emigration and diaspora research was largely placed in the South – North paradigm (Hugo, 2005a). The impact emigration has on less-developed versus developed countries is dramatically different. For some less-developed countries, contributions from the diaspora are essential to functioning and survival. In higher income countries, where well-established infrastructures and economies already exist, connecting with the diaspora has the potential to be a bonus to countries that, according to global standards, are already thriving. A new era has emerged where high income and traditional countries of immigration are beginning to realize that collection of information about emigration and diaspora is a valuable exercise, and that they can and should take advantage of this potential resource (Portes et al., 1999 p.220). Developed nations such as Australia, Canada (Zhang, 2006, Zhang, 2007, Zhang, 2009, see for example De Voretz and Woo, 2006), Ireland, Singapore and New Zealand (see for example Bryant and Law, 2004, Bedford, 2001, Gamlen, 2005a, L.E.K. Consulting, 2001, Searle, 2007, Walrond, 2008) have taken notice of emigration and have ‘...begun to make explicit attempts to identify and mobilise their expatriate communities in the effort to stimulate economic development’ (Larner, 2007 p.336).

Many developed countries, including New Zealand, Canada and France, are experiencing a rise in the number of nationals moving offshore, especially to the United States. Some have been slow to react, but others are starting to reach out to their diasporas and establish concrete means of communication and engagement.

Fullilove and Flutter 2004 p.8

Emigration and diaspora engagement strategies in developed countries also encourage return migration or ‘retaining talent’ by assuring highly-skilled people are not forced to migrate to find suitable opportunities (see for example L.E.K. Consulting, 2001 p.4, Hugo

et al., 2003 p.58). Recently, however, the focus of diaspora engagement has placed more attention on the little understood knowledge networks as a major potential contribution from the diaspora (see for example Gamlen, 2005a, Lerner, 2007 p.337). Migrant networks or expatriate organizations are increasingly being seen as an important resource for origin countries to negotiate in order to tap into the many potential benefits of diasporas (Faist, 2008). These organizations often exist for the specific purpose of exchanging knowledge and experiences between diaspora members. Diaspora networks have increased radically in light of rising emigration and improving technology. Wescott (2006 p.26) states: ‘...Many challenges remain to be addressed by governments, diaspora groups and development agencies so that the potential gains from knowledge exchange can be more fully realized’.

In both more and less developed countries the pathways towards understanding and engaging with diaspora populations remains little understood. As Gamlen (2005b) states:

The problem is, there is nobody else in the world to copy a strategy from; the jury is still out on how migrant-sending societies can and should respond to emigration, transnationalism and diasporas.

An essential starting point for evaluating how to engage with diaspora populations is to understand more about the characteristics and activities of these populations. Many countries, particularly high income countries more recently interested in connecting with their diaspora populations, have never collected data about people leaving the country and have had little interest in the activities of the diaspora. Some of these countries are now considering attempts to take stock of their overseas populations. In the US there has historically been little data collected about emigration or Americans living overseas (Warren and Kraly, 1985). The data that have been collected show inconsistencies in the definition of the overseas population from Census to Census (Mills, 1993). There has been some recent interest in determining how many US citizens are living overseas (see for example Schachter, 2006), and research has continued to explore the possibility of including overseas US citizens in the US Census (Gibbs et al., 2003). Canada, New

Zealand and Australia have all recently undertaken surveys of their diaspora populations⁷ in an attempt to better understand them. Australia is in a better position to explore emigration and diaspora compared to many other countries because data are collected from all persons departing Australia.

3.5 Conclusion

The evolution of the meaning of the term ‘diaspora’ has been discussed and it is determined the population of Australians living overseas qualify as a diaspora according to the contemporary definition. An essential element of diaspora is that members maintain a sense of identity with the country of origin and with other diaspora members. Origin countries have begun to use this to their advantage, capitalizing on the remittances or knowledge transfer that takes place by way of the networks emigrants maintain with home. Less developed countries were the first to attempt to connect with their diasporas in order to lessen ‘brain-drain’ resulting from emigration of skilled and educated persons to higher income countries. Programs have moved from viewing permanent return to the country of origin as the only way to alleviate skill loss, to an appreciation of both temporary return moves and long-distance networking with the home country as also potentially beneficial. More recently high income countries, including Australia, are becoming interested in evaluating and engaging with their diaspora. The next chapter will examine trends in Australian emigration and diaspora.

⁷ These surveys are described in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 4: Australian emigration and diaspora

4.1 Introduction

Australia continues to receive a vastly larger number of arrivals compared to departures, however, 'It is frequently overlooked that Australia is a significant emigration nation with some of the world's highest rates of out-movement of people on a permanent and long-term basis' (Hugo et al., 2001 p.20). In the past decade a substantial and increasing number of these permanent and long-term departures are Australians, resulting in a growing number of Australians living overseas. This chapter will begin by addressing the difficulties in studying international migration, including emigration and diaspora. The resources available to study these populations in the Australian context will be considered. Estimates of where, and how many, Australians are living overseas will be discussed. Data on departures provide an excellent starting point for exploring the Australian diaspora, and the trends in Australian emigration will be examined in relationship to the global context established in the previous chapters, and within the framework of the Australian migration system. Previous research about Australian emigration and diaspora will also be described in light of recent trends.

4.2 International migration data

In order to inform policy and theory related to international migration, including emigration and diaspora, there must be some way to collect information about the activities of migrants that allows exploration of numbers and trends, and thus determine what the implications of migration may be. International migrants should be counted twice (Heiniger, 2006, United Nations, 2006a); once by the country they have left as a departure and once by the country they have entered as an arrival. It is important to first recognize how migrants are defined and classified according to the relevant countries or sources of information used, and then establish what information is collected by each country or source of information and how this information is collected. Migration data are classified

as flow or stock data. Flow data measure the number or categories of movements to or from a country in a specified period of time, whereas stock data record a population in a given area at a specific moment in time. International movement is most commonly measured with flow data (Bilsborrow et al., 1997 p.136) because migrants, particularly temporary movers, often do not meet the criteria to be included in many sources of stock data. The Australian Census, for example, represents a form of stock data as a wide range of information is collected about people who have been in Australia for at least 12 months. Overseas visitors are also counted in the census but there is not much information about these visitors recorded. Data are also collected about usual residents who are temporarily overseas, but the information gathered about these individuals is limited.

The ability to establish trends across data sources can be difficult since different countries, and sometimes even different sources within a single country, count and define migrants differently (Bilsborrow et al., 1997 p.8, Zlotnik, 1987). Since the end of the 19th century there have been efforts to standardize statistics on movements across borders with the aim of increasing the comparability of migration statistics across countries (Zlotnik, 1987, Kraly and Gnanasekaran, 1987). For example, in the United States and Canada consideration has been given to applying the UN recommended method of identifying and counting different types of migrants (Kraly and Warren, 1992, Kelly, 1981). Despite the many difficulties associated with defining and collecting information about internationally mobile populations and furthermore comparing these data across different countries, there have been some recent signs that progress is being made (see for example Lemaitre, 2005, Lemaitre et al., 2006, Fron et al., 2008). *International Migration Outlook*, an annual publication from OECD, used long-term migration statistics that were harmonized across a number of countries for the first time in 2006; previously data definitions were unique to each country (Lemaitre et al., 2006 p.1).

4.2.1 Studying emigration and diaspora

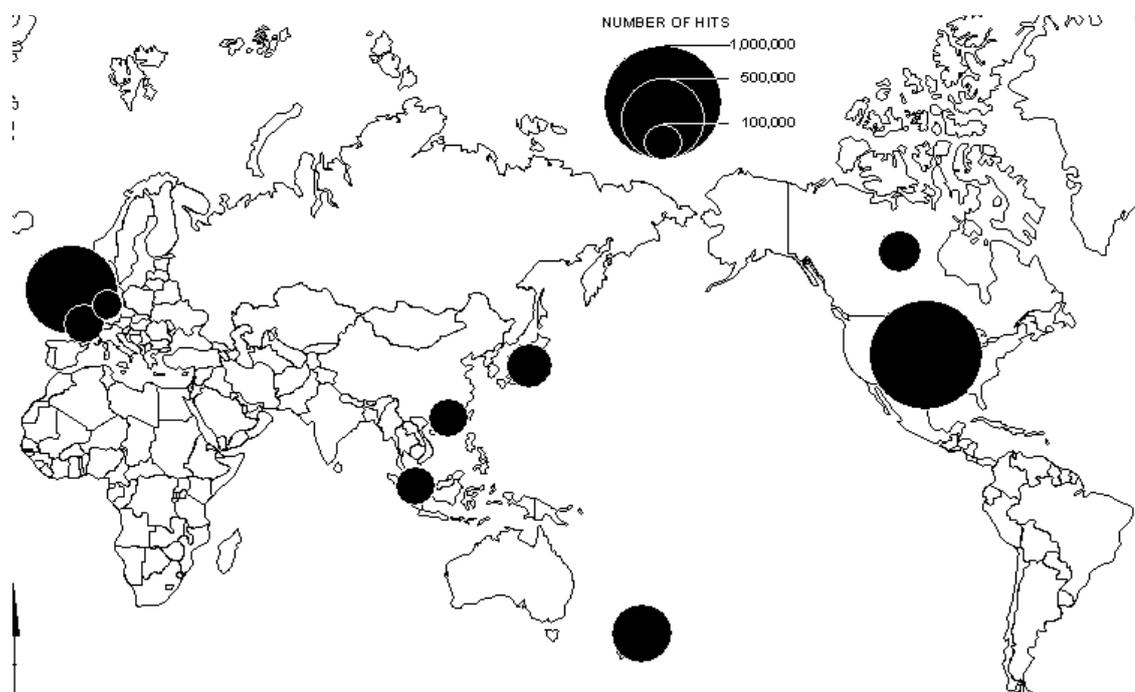
Obtaining information about emigration and diaspora brings further difficulties. Many countries do not collect information about persons departing, and diaspora members are outside of the country concerned. There are, however, some administrative sources abroad and in the country of origin that are useful in providing data about diaspora populations. These sources include data from consular offices, registers of international pension

payments and census or survey data collected about family members of resident nationals who are overseas. It is also possible to utilize data collected by sources in the country of destination, such as immigration data, population censuses, population sample surveys or population registers to provide information about diaspora populations.

Countries interested in their overseas populations can also use creative strategies to locate and survey those not present in the country of origin. Details of membership in various organizations or institutions (for example, information about international students from universities in the destination country, professional organizations or expatriate groups) are another approach that can be used to acquire information about nationals living overseas. These organizations are clearly targeted at expatriates with certain characteristics so generalizations about the wider population can not be made, however they do serve the purpose of providing insights about particular groups and thereby add to the body of information about overseas populations as a whole.

An example of such a source of information about Australians living overseas is data from the Australian Rules Football League (AFL), the major professional organization associated with Australian Rules football, a popular Australian sport. The AFL collects data on participation in AFL activities outside of Australia. In 2004, a *World Footy Census* was undertaken which enumerated AFL players actively involved in AFL programs around the world. The largest number of AFL players outside of Australia were in New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and the US (World Footy News, 2004). There is also information available on the number of hits on the AFL website from overseas, which would apply to a wider audience than those who actually play the sport, and it is clear Australians living overseas make up a substantial component of those who utilize the AFL website. ‘The AFL has indicated that an average of a quarter of all hits on its website come from foreign nations – around 2.5 million each week in season’ (Hugo, 2005a p.26). As evident from a map produced by Hugo (2005a) from AFL data (Figure 4.1), website hits from the US and the UK are the most common, but there are also a number of hits from Canada, New Zealand and Asian countries.

Figure 4.1: Number of hits from foreign nations on Australian Football League website



Source: Hugo 2005a from AFL data

In addition to these administrative sources of information, another way to obtain information about overseas populations is by surveying the group directly. In light of increasing interest in Australia's diaspora, there are two recent examples of surveys that have directly targeted Australians living overseas worldwide, The Australian Emigration Survey (Hugo et al., 2003) and the 2006 One Million More Census of Australians Abroad (OMM)⁸. Similar to the data collected from special interest or expatriate groups, these surveys are directed at individuals with certain characteristics so wider generalizations can not be made, but it is interesting to note the UK and the US were also key countries of residence for Australians overseas according to results from these surveys.

4.3 Location of Australians living overseas

It is difficult to gather accurate information about the estimated one million Australians living overseas (Advance Global Australian Professionals, 2006, Hugo, 2005a, Fullilove, 2008 p.106, Southern Cross Group, 2002). The Southern Cross Group (SCG) (2002)

⁸ These surveys are discussed in light of survey design for primary data collection in this study in Chapter 6.

compiled consular data from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) to provide some information on the location of Australians living overseas. The number of Australians living overseas who registered at Australian consulate offices abroad in 2001 is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Estimates of Australian citizens living overseas by country of residence, 2001

NOTE:
This table is included on page 52
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Adapted from SCG 2002

It is important to point out the estimates shown in Table 4.1 are based on Australian citizenship. This means not only Australia-born citizens are counted but also previous migrants to Australia who subsequently acquired Australian citizenship before re-emigrating overseas, and persons born overseas who have obtained Australian citizenship by descent. It is clear the United Kingdom (UK), Greece, the US and New Zealand are key countries of residence for Australian citizens living overseas. When exploring this data by region of residence, nearly half of all Australian citizens living overseas are living in the European Union (48 percent), 17 percent are in North America, 14 percent in Asia and 9 percent in the Pacific⁹. Registration at overseas consulates is not compulsory, therefore not

⁹ An expanded version of these data by region of residence is available in Chapter 1.

all Australian citizens living overseas are included in this count. Another potential problem with this source of data is that individuals may not deregister upon departure, which could lead to overestimation in numbers (Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005 p.9).

Australia-born individuals counted in overseas population censuses are shown in Table 4.2. Population censuses often include only those migrants who have been living in the destination country for an extended period of time, thus many temporary migrants are likely to be excluded. Although the number of Australia-born is much smaller than the number of Australian citizens living overseas as shown above (Table 4.1), the main countries of residence are found to be similar. The UK, the US, New Zealand, Greece and Canada are key destinations.

Table 4.2: Number of Australia-born counted by measures in destination countries, 2001

	n
UK (incl. Ireland)	113 978
US	75 314
New Zealand	56 259
Greece	20 449
Canada	20 155
Netherlands	9 529
Japan ¹	9 200
Germany ²	8 322
Hong Kong ³	6 251
France	4 216
Spain	3 913
Switzerland	3 420
Turkey	2 938
Sweden	2 525

¹ Population with Australian nationality, source: Hugo 2006a

² Source: Hugo 2006a

³ Population with Australian/New Zealand ethnicity born outside of Hong Kong. Source: Hugo 2006a
Source: Dumont and Lemaitre 2005 p.33

4.3.1 Growth in the number of Australians living overseas

There are many indicators that the number of Australians living overseas is increasing over time. The Australian Census collects information on the number of persons temporarily absent from Australia on census night. Table 4.3 shows that while the proportion of

Australians estimated to be overseas on census night relative to the national resident population has remained about the same over the past 10 years, the number of persons absent has continuously increased and is close to double the number in 1986. These counts include only persons normally resident in Australia, those overseas on a long-term and permanent basis are not included, so the actual number of persons overseas is much higher (Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005 p.9)

Table 4.3: Estimated number of persons temporarily absent (overseas) on census night, Australia, 1986-2006

	n	% National resident population
1986	189 207	1.18
1991	223 900	1.29
1996	296 900	1.62
2001	330 200	1.70
2006	346 000	1.67

Source: Compiled from Hugo et al. 2003 p.19, ABS 2007a

There has also been a substantial increase in the number of Australians voting in Australian elections from overseas (see Table 4.4). The slight downturn in the number of overseas voters in 2001 compared to the previous period was attributed to the fact that many postal votes may have been delayed or not received, particularly in the US, as the result of anthrax scares following the events of September 11 2001 (SCG 2006).

Table 4.4: Number of Australians voting from overseas¹, 1986, 1998, 2001 and 2004

Overseas voters	
	n
1986	46 307
1998	65 086
2001	63 016
2004	68 544

¹Figures are comprised of votes issued to voters who voted in person at an overseas post or returned a ballot to an overseas post. Some postal votes issued overseas are returned directly to Australia, and not to the issuing post.

Source: Compiled from SCG 2006; Hugo et al. 2003 p.20

The number and proportion of graduates from Australian universities who are living overseas, as recorded by the Graduate Destination Survey in Australia, has also increased (Hugo et al., 2003 p.20).

In addition, the number of passports issued to Australian citizens has been on the rise (Figure 4.2), an indication that a growing number of Australians have or intend to travel

overseas. Interestingly over 61,000 of the passports issued in 2005-06 (approximately five percent of total) were issued to Australians citizens already living overseas, which sheds some light on the extent to which Australian citizenship is obtained by descent.

Figure 4.2: Number of Australian passports issued, 2001-2006

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 55
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: DFAT 2006a p.169

Evidence of this growing community of Australians living outside of Australia has raised questions about just who should be included as a part of Australia's population. While censuses normally include only those resident in the country on the night of the census '...should we be attempting to count the population who identify themselves as Australians, regardless of where they happen to be on the night of the census?' (Hugo et al., 2003 p.19).

In addition to this conceptual question, there are also practical reasons knowledge of the size, location and characteristics of the Australian population living overseas is important. Table 4.5 shows an increase in the number of Australian travellers corresponds with growth in demand for consular assistance. Agencies providing services to overseas Australians must be informed about the number and characteristics of Australians living overseas in order to be appropriately equipped to deal with the increase in demand for services (Parliament of Australia, 2005 p.21).

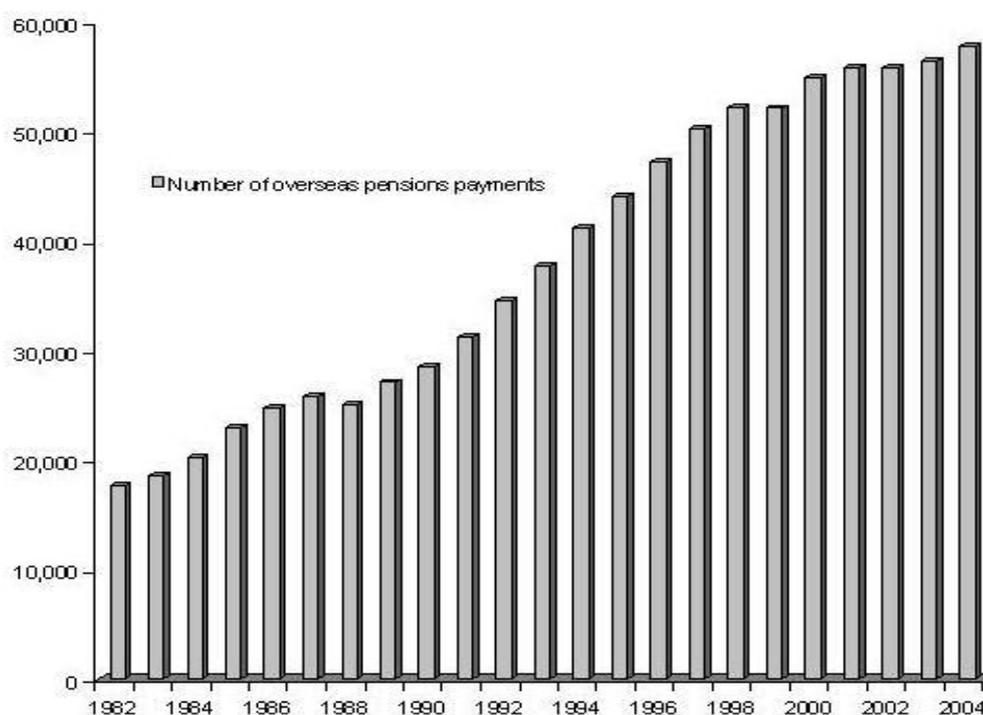
Table 4.5: Consular services provided to Australian travellers, 2001-02 to 2005-06

	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06
Australian travellers ¹	3 508 200	3 429 960	4 080 300	4 745 540	5 000 860
Total number of Australians given consular assistance	99 090	92 710	100 491	126 582	132 923

¹This figure draws from ABS data and includes permanent, long-term and short-term departures of Australia residents.

Source: DFAT 2006a p.167

An increase in the number of Australians' resident overseas also means more Australian Government money is leaving Australia. As an example, pension payments to Australians who have been resident overseas for at least one year have risen steadily (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Pension payments¹ to Australians resident overseas², 1982-2004

¹ Includes all pension payments; age pensions, disability pensions, wife pensions, widow pensions, and parenting payments. Until 1992 aged pensions comprised approximately 50 percent of all overseas pension payments. Since 1992 aged pensions have made up an increasing proportion of all pension payment, equivalent to 82 percent of all pension payments in 2004.

² All payments are for persons who been outside Australia for more than 12 months. Sourced from Centrelink's administrative customer data.

Source: Compiled from FaHCSIA, 2005

Overall the number of pension payments to Australians living overseas has increased 227 percent from 1982 to 2004. In 2004, approximately A\$4 million in pension payments were paid to Australians who had been living overseas for at least 12 months. Conversely, over A\$1.2 billion was paid from overseas pensions to persons living in Australia in 2004, representing a huge source of inflow funds to Australia (FaCHSIA 2005).

4.4 Emigration from Australia

Emigration is the action required to generate overseas communities, a starting point for diasporas. There are some limitations to data collected upon departure; most notably some responses are based on intentions and are subject to an individual's disclosure. However, emigration data are valuable because they point to key destinations of Australians heading overseas and provide information about the characteristics of those leaving which allows for evaluation of the net migration outcomes and trends over time. Countries that collect emigration data, such as Australia, are in an advantageous position to conduct research and ultimately understand diaspora populations.

4.4.1 Australian emigration data

Australia's Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) collects information from arrival and departure cards¹⁰ about all arrivals to, and departures from, Australia; these data are represented here in Overseas Arrivals and Departures data (OAD data). This resource provides a range of information about departures from Australia including country of intended destination, occupation, age, State/Territory of origin, intended length of stay overseas and main reason for travelling overseas. Different information is collected depending on resident status and intended length of stay away from Australia.

Arrivals to, and departures from, Australia are classified as either Australian residents or overseas visitors, and are also defined by the intended length of their stay in, or away from, Australia. While the meaning of permanent departures and settler arrivals are straightforward, temporary movement is further classified as either short-term or long-term. A movement is considered short-term when the intended or actual stay is less than

¹⁰ An example of overseas arrival and departure cards is available in Appendix 2.

12 months, and long-term if the intended or actual stay is greater than 12 months, but not permanent. In the case of Australian residents, intentions are recorded upon departure from Australia and actual length of stay is recorded upon return to Australia, the opposite is true for visitors (see Table 4.6). It is primarily permanent and long-term movements of Australia-born residents that are relevant to this research. There are instances, however, when other types of migrant data are explored. All tables and figures are labelled as appropriate throughout the text to clarify the type of movement being discussed.

Table 4.6: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) categories of movement to and from Australia

NOTE:
This table is included on page 58
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2008a

It is important to note OAD data are based on the number of total movements in a given year, not the number of individuals moving. Multiple movements from a single individual may be recorded. The researcher had access to unpublished OAD data from 1991–2007; most information included here is from the most recent year available when data analysis occurred, 2006-2007.

DIAC produces a number of publications each year based on OAD data and other immigration information that are relevant to this research including: *Emigration Australia* (2005-2006 and 2006-2007) and *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects* 2006 and 2007. These publications are available from the DIAC Publications, Research and Statistics web page. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) also produces a monthly report called *Overseas Arrivals and Departures, Australia* utilizing OAD data and estimates. An annual report produced by ABS called *Migration Australia* provides calculated net migration levels and is used in the analysis of migration trends.

4.4.2 Trends in emigration from Australia

As previously stated, one of the reasons interest in emigration from Australia has emerged is because the number of permanent and long-term departures from Australia are increasing over time¹¹ (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Australia-born and overseas-born permanent departures, Australia 1976-2008

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 59
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2008b

¹¹ In Chapter 1 it was shown that the total number of short-term movements has increased substantially in the past 30 years however the number of arrivals to, and departures from, Australia has been approximately equal in all years.

The Australia-born component of permanent departures has become more significant, accounting for approximately half of all permanent departures from Australia since 1998-99 (DIAC 2008b).

This relatively new trend in substantial permanent departures of the Australia-born population helps to explain why emigration research in Australia prior to the 1990's was mainly focused on the re-emigration of previous settlers. Australia has a long history of aiming to attract migrants with desirable characteristics (Price, 1975 p.307, Freeman and Jupp, 1992) and until recently, Australia has primarily aimed to attract permanent migrants. This emphasis on permanent migrant intake was based on the idea that Australia would be better off if migrants 'commit to Australia' by moving permanently rather than temporarily (Hugo, 2008, Hugo, 2004 p.17). The fact that Australia was losing permanent immigrants to re-emigration prompted investigation and research into the scale and reasons for this out-movement (for example Price, 1975, Appleyard et al., 1988, Lukomskyj and Richards, 1986, Immigration Advisory Council Committee on Social Patterns, 1973, Fortey, 1978)¹².

It was important to examine the extent of re-emigration of so-called permanent migrants to more accurately assess Australia's migration situation. Lukomskyj and Richards (1986) were the first to use Australian departures data to provide empirical evidence on the rates of re-emigration for different types of previous settlers to Australia. Their research showed rates of re-emigration were influenced by a migrant's country of origin and their individual circumstances. Lower rates of re-emigration were found among refugees compared to other migrants, and higher re-emigration rates were found for those from high income countries (Lukomskyj and Richards, 1986).

There are continued efforts to gauge 'category jumping' (switching between permanent and temporary migrant categories) in Australia (see for example Khoo and McDonald, 2000, Khoo and McDonald, 2002, Khoo et al., 2003, Pink, 2007). In 2004, for example, Osborne tracked the in and out movements of individuals between 1998-2003, and

¹² An overview and summary of key results from these and other studies of emigration undertaken prior to the mid-1990's is available in Hugo's 1994 publication *Economic Implications of Emigration from Australia*.

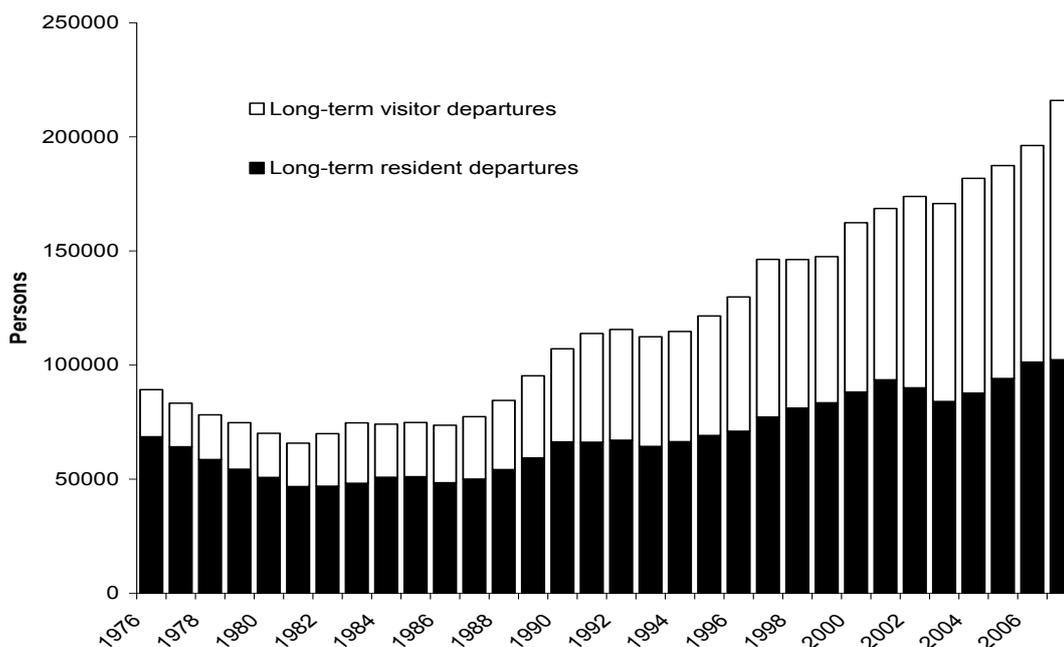
determined that nearly a quarter of supposed permanent departures from Australia actually ended up coming back (Osborne, 2004). The re-emigration of previous settlers to Australia demonstrates circular mobility has always existed, even when migration policy in Australia was intent on attracting permanent migrants. In 1975 Price (p.309) states:

...yet others are persons who, though calling themselves settlers on arrival, never really intended to stay; rather they have taken advantage of the assisted passage scheme to spend two or three years working in Australia before finding a leisurely way back to Europe via Asia or America, or else belong to that growing body of persons with specialist skills who move from country to country, spending some years in each, before returning home for their old age... many settlers who departed did come back to Australia a second time.

4.4.2.1 Temporary Migration

It is clear the number of both Australia-born and overseas-born long-term departures from Australia are increasing over time, and overseas visitors are making up a considerably larger portion of outflows compared to the pre-1990's period (Figure 4.5). This is a reflection of increased long-term temporary immigrant intake in Australia since the mid-1990's, and the rise in temporary migration globally in this era.

Figure 4.5: Australia resident and visitor long-term departures, 1978-2007



Source: Compiled from ABS 2008

A dramatic shift in Australia's migration situation took place in 1995. In order to be internationally competitive, it was recognized that there had to be a way for skilled migrants to enter Australia on a temporary basis (Hugo, 2004 p.20, Phillips, 2006). The Temporary Business Visa was introduced, which allowed temporary entry (on a short-term or long-term basis) to persons with certain skills, an initiative that 'radically' deregulated temporary entry provisions (Birrell and Healy, 1997 p.43). As a result, Hugo et al. (2001 p.36) found that 'the occupations of the non-permanent migrants tend to be of the highly-skilled, high-income, high-education type'. Long-term migrants have increasingly outnumbered permanent migrants since 1999, in both arrivals and departures (ABS 2008).

4.4.3 Destination countries of departing Australians

While overseas-born departures are often returning to their country of origin (Fortey, 1978), Australia-born permanent departures are most often going to other high income, English speaking countries, namely the UK, the US or New Zealand (Hugo et al., 2001 p.102, DIAC 2007b, Hugo et al., 2003). Information about Australians living overseas, as discussed in section 4.3, substantiates the fact that these are also popular destinations for Australians who are living overseas. Table 4.7 shows the UK, the US and New Zealand are important destinations for Australia-born departures leaving Australia in all length of movement categories; permanent, long-term and short-term.

Table 4.7: Major destination countries of Australia-born resident departures, 2006-07

Permanent departures		Long-term departures		Short-term departures	
	% (n = 36 882)		% (n = 65 915)		% (n = 2 922 010)
UK	22.4	UK	41.0	New Zealand	16.0
New Zealand	15.4	US	10.6	US	10.9
US	13.6	New Zealand	3.9	Thailand	8.3
Singapore	6.8	Singapore	3.9	UK	7.9
Hong Kong	5.6	Hong Kong	2.5	Indonesia	5.1
Other	36.2	Other	38.1	Other	51.8
TOTAL	100.0	TOTAL	100.0	TOTAL	100.0

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e, OAD data unpublished

Asian destinations are also becoming more important, particularly for Australia-born temporary departures, however there have been fluctuations in the movement to these destinations as a result of changing economic conditions (Hugo et al., 2001 p.56).

Although the proportion of Australia-born permanent and long-term emigrants heading to the traditionally popular destinations of the UK, the US and New Zealand has remained about the same for the past 10 years, the number of departures to each of these destinations has approximately doubled since 1994-95 (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8: Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to major destination countries, 1994-2007

	UK		US		New Zealand	
	n	% Total	n	% Total	n	% Total
1994-95	14 657	28.3	6 495	12.5	4 838	9.3
1995-96	15 873	29.2	6 821	12.6	5 408	10.0
1996-97	17 812	30.9	7 526	13.1	5 159	8.9
1997-98	21 209	33.7	8 236	13.1	5 125	8.2
1998-99	25 210	33.9	10 164	13.7	6 072	8.3
1999-00	26 493	33.1	11 472	14.3	7 074	8.8
2000-01	29 931	35.5	11 739	13.9	6 175	7.3
2001-02	30 789	36.5	10 766	12.8	6 019	7.1
2002-03	na	na	11 579	14.1	7 581	9.2
2003-04	30 024	35.8	10 114	12.1	7 735	9.2
2004-05	33 231	36.6	10 483	11.5	8 275	9.1
2005-06	34 613	35.3	11 260	11.5	8 696	8.9
2006-07	35 270	34.3	12 001	11.7	8 288	8.1

Source: Compiled from Hugo et al. 2003 p.29, DIAC OAD data various years, unpublished

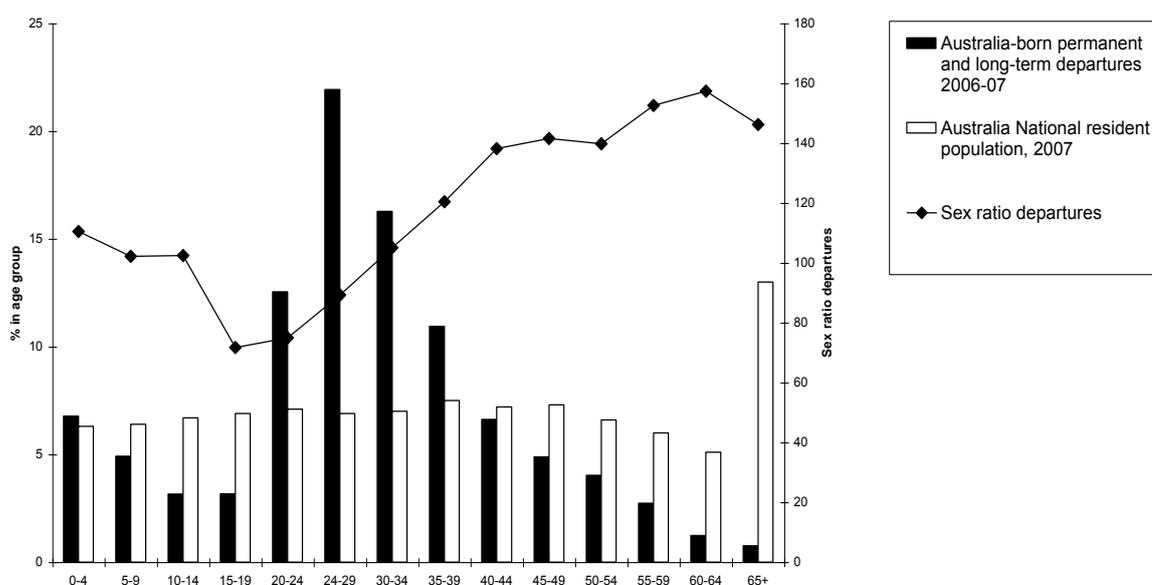
Movement to particular countries by the Australia-born is explained in large part by historical ties and current policies, so it is important to keep a global perspective when interpreting migration trends (Hugo, 1994 p.133). There is facilitated entry of Australians into the UK due to commonwealth ties, and a trans-Tasman agreement between Australia and New Zealand which allows for free movement between these countries. It is only recently that immigration policy in the US has changed to facilitate the entry of Australians who meet certain criteria (see Chapter 5). The popularity of the US as a destination for Australians can be attributed to the central position of the US in the global economy, making it a key destination to migrants globally (Florida, 2004). There are also historical ties and cultural similarities Australia and the US share that help to facilitate movement¹³.

¹³ Factors influencing mobility from Australia to the US are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.4 Age and sex of Australia-born departures

Migration is selective of young adults, and Australia-born long-term and permanent departures are no different. Figure 4.6 shows these departures are heavily concentrated among persons between the ages of 20–39, whereas Australia’s national resident population is much more evenly distributed across all age groups. Other research has similarly found departures from Australia, particularly the Australia-born, tend to be younger and more educated than the population of the nation as a whole (Hugo et al., 2001 p.13). Figure 4.6 also shows that Australia-born permanent and long-term departures aged 15–29 are more often females, and departures aged 35 and older are more often males.

Figure 4.6: Age and sex ratio*, Australia-born permanent and long-term departures 2006-07¹, and age Australian national resident population, 2007²



* Males per 100 females

¹Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e OAD data unpublished

²Source: Compiled from ABS 2007b

Turning to the age-sex structure of Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to key destination countries, it is apparent there are some differences in the characteristics of departures based on the intended destination country and type of movement taking place. There are a greater proportion of long-term departures of young adults (20–34 years of age) to all major destinations, except Singapore, compared to permanent departures in this age group (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9: Age Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to major destination countries, 2006-07

	UK	US	New Zealand	Singapore	Hong Kong	Total
PERMANENT DEPARTURES						
0–4	5.4	5.7	12.1	11.0	10.9	9.1
5–19	5.7	9.3	18.4	14.7	15.3	12.6
20–34	57.3	37.5	35.7	28.3	29.3	38.1
35–64	30.6	46.5	32.0	45.7	43.8	39.0
65+	0.9	1.1	1.9	0.3	0.6	1.1
<i>n</i>	8 268	5 033	5 691	2 524	2 048	36 882
LONG-TERM DEPARTURES						
0–4	2.1	6.4	8.5	10.4	7.7	5.5
5–19	5.5	13.2	15.8	16.6	16.7	10.5
20–34	80.7	49.4	44.9	26.6	30.1	57.9
35–64	11.5	30.6	30.2	46.1	45.1	25.7
65+	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5
<i>n</i>	27 002	6 968	2 597	2 547	1 642	65 915

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e OAD data, unpublished

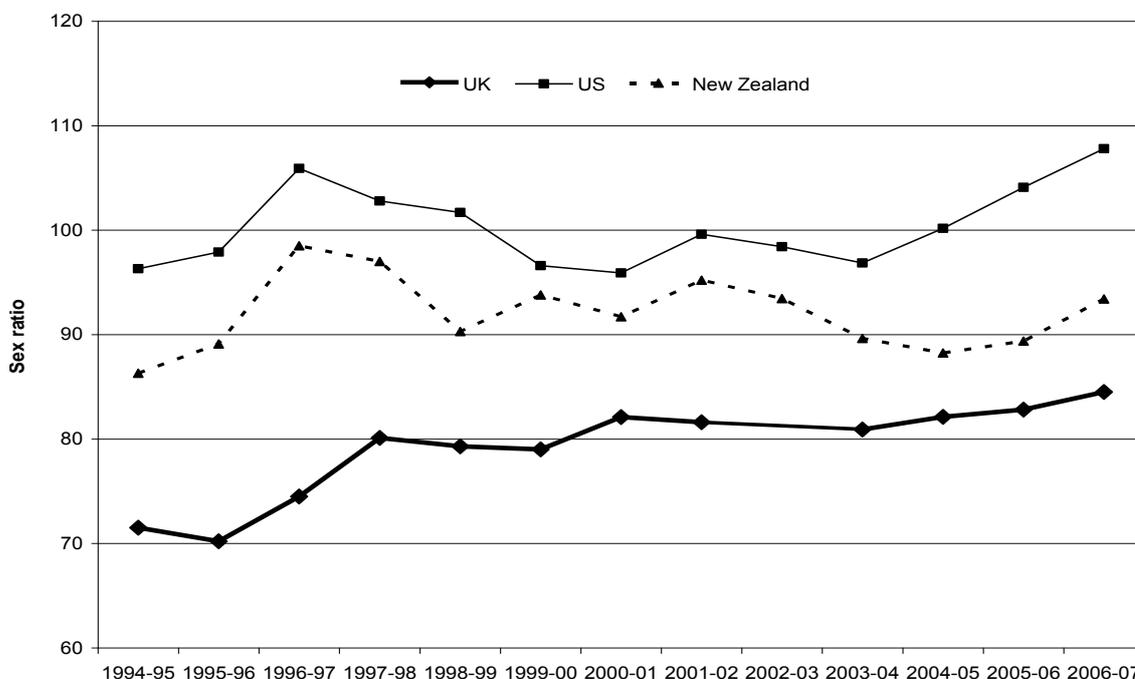
Long-term departures aged 20–34 are particularly prominent for emigrants heading to the UK. This is explained in large part by the Working Holiday Maker program, a reciprocal agreement between Australia and the UK, that allows persons under the age of 30 entry and work rights for a temporary period of time (Hugo et al., 2001 p.50). Australia and the US recently signed a Work and Holiday agreement (DIAC 2007c) which has slightly different criteria than Working Holiday Maker program visas. It will be interesting to see what influence this agreement has on mobility between Australia and the US in the future¹⁴. Permanent and long-term departures to the US, Singapore and Hong Kong are more likely to be in the older working force age range (age 35–64), reflecting these countries as destination for individuals with more workforce experience (Hugo et al., 2003 p.34). Migrants of this age are more likely to have dependent children, which helps to explain why Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to Singapore and Hong-Kong are comprised of more departures under the age of 20 compared to other destinations.

¹⁴ The Work and Holiday visa is explained in more detail in Chapter 5.

Australia-born permanent departures to New Zealand are much more balanced across age groups compared to permanent departures to other countries. The Trans-Tasman agreement allows for free movement between Australia and New Zealand¹⁵, resulting in an age structure of departures that more closely matches that of Australia's population as a whole.

Figure 4.7 shows departures to the UK and New Zealand have comprised of more females than males for the past decade.

Figure 4.7: Sex ratio¹ Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to the UK², the US and New Zealand, 1994-2007



¹ Males per 100 females

² Data not available for departures to the UK in 2002-03.

Source: Compiled from DIAC OAD data various years unpublished, Hugo et al. 2003 p.29

The gap between female and male departures to the UK has narrowed over time, while the sex ratio of departures to New Zealand has fluctuated in the time period. Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to the US have always comprised of more males

¹⁵ Which means, for example, that there are no age or skill criteria migrants are required to meet in order to be allowed entry to each country

compared to the UK and New Zealand, and there have been more male than female departures to the US in some years, including the most recent period. This likely reflects the fact that mobility to the US is often for business and employment in male dominated industries, such as information technology (IT).

There is also a difference in the gender balance of permanent compared to long-term departures to these destinations. Table 4.10 shows long-term departures to the US and New Zealand include more males when compared to permanent departures; there is not much difference in the sex ratio of long-term and permanent departures to the UK. It is also apparent there has been an increase in the number of male departures relative to female departures to each of these destinations in the past few years.

Table 4.10: Sex ratio* Australia-born permanent departures and long-term departures to the UK, the US and New Zealand, 2001-2007

	UK		US		New Zealand	
	Permanent	Long-term	Permanent	Long-term	Permanent	Long-term
2001-02	81.5	81.1	90.9	105.0	90.1	104.9
2002-03	na	na	89.5	103.6	91.0	97.7
2003-04	81.1	80.9	86.0	106.0	86.9	97.7
2004-05	78.9	83.0	93.8	105.1	83.9	100.3
2005-06	79.8	83.7	100.0	107.3	84.7	101.0
2006-07	84.8	84.4	104.5	110.2	89.2	103.4

* Males per 100 females

Source: Compiled from DIAC OAD data various years unpublished

Hugo et al. 2003 explored the sex ratio of Australia-born long-term and permanent departures to many destination countries and found long-term departures to most destinations except the UK, France, Italy, Greece, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates were comprised of more males (Hugo et al., 2003 p.35). Males were found to make up the majority of both permanent and long-term departures to Asian and Middle Eastern countries, except the United Arab Emirates where there was a vastly larger number of female departures, reflecting demand for teachers and nurses in this location (Hugo et al., 2003 p.35).

4.4.5 Skill profile of Australia-born departures

In addition to the fact that Australia-born permanent and long-term departures are of prime workforce ages, the skill profile of these departures adds to the concern of skill loss. The

skill profile of long-term and permanent departures from Australia is high; this is particularly true of Australia-born departures (Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8: Occupation Australia-born permanent and long-term resident departures and overseas-born permanent and long-term visitor departures, 2007-08

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 68
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2008b

The departure of highly-skilled persons from Australia reflects the response to increasing global demand for such migrants. The high skill profile of long-term and permanent departures from Australia has sparked research such as the Birrell et al. (2001) report *Skilled Labour: Gains and Losses*, which examined the occupations of arrivals to, and departures from, Australia and determined that Australia was in fact experiencing a ‘brain gain’ of skilled workers. There were debates, however, as to whether sheer net numbers were a sufficient basis for conclusions. In fact the authors themselves note ‘the lack of qualitative data on movers leaves open the possibility that Australia is losing high quality residents and replacing them with lower quality settlers and visitors’ (Birrell et al., 2001 p.6). When looking at the occupations of permanent arrivals and departures, it is evident there is not a net gain of arrivals in all skilled occupations. In 2006-07, there was actually a net loss of 923 Managers and Administrators leaving Australia on a permanent basis, and there is a much larger portion of permanent departures who are in the labour force (62

percent) compared to settler arrivals (44 percent) (DIAC 2007e). The same has been found in previous years (see for example Hugo et al. 2003 p.37).

Managers and Professionals make up over half of Australia-born departures leaving for long-term or permanent stays abroad, while nearly half of overseas-born departures are not in the labour force. Those not in the labour force may be spouses or children travelling with a primary migrant, and in the case of the overseas-born, may be persons leaving Australia after finishing an employment contract or re-emigrating upon retirement.

Figure 4.9 depicts the occupations of Australian permanent and long-term departures that are in the workforce.

Figure 4.9: Occupation Australia-born permanent and long-term departures¹ to the UK, the US, New Zealand and in total, 2006-07



¹Includes only departures stating they are in the workforce
Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e OAD data, unpublished

Approximately 70 percent of those headed to the UK and the US are employed in highly-skilled occupations, compared to about 60 percent of Australians headed to New Zealand. All Australia-born departures are much more likely to be employed in highly-skilled occupations compared to the total Australian resident population (Hugo et al., 2001 p.13).

Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to the US and New Zealand are much more likely to be out of the workforce compared to departures to the UK. This reflects the age structure of departures to each country; there was a larger portion of departures under the age of 20 heading to the US and NZ compared to the UK (see Table 4.9).

4.5 Conclusion

Gathering information about international migrants is inherently difficult, even more so for emigration and diaspora. Creative strategies for collecting information must be employed, including the use of administrative data that provide relevant information about migrants, and sources in destination countries such as population censuses and immigration data. There are a number of data sources that can be used to provide information on the Australian diaspora. Exploring information from consular offices, destination country censuses and organizations that Australian expatriates are involved in show the UK, the US, Greece and New Zealand are important locations of the Australian diaspora. Australian census data, voting registry information, data on the number of passports issued, increasing demand for consular services and growth in the number of pension payments to Australians living overseas all point to an expanding Australian diaspora.

Australian departures data also confirm the number of Australia-born permanent and long-term departures has been increasing. Temporary movements have become particularly significant in response to both global trends and changes to migration policy in Australia, including the introduction of the Temporary Business Visa in 1995. Australia-born individuals are making up an increasing portion of permanent departures relative to overseas-born permanent departures, but overseas-born individuals are comprised of a larger portion of long-term departures relative to the Australia-born.

Overseas-born departures are often found to be returning to their country of origin, whereas Australia-born departures are primarily headed to the UK, the US and New Zealand. The number of Australia-born departures to these destinations has approximately doubled since the mid-1990's. Many of those departing Australia have desirable characteristics from an economic and demographic standpoint; they are often young and employed in highly-skilled occupations. Australia-born permanent and long-term

departures are heavily concentrated among persons aged 20–39. Australia-born long-term departures are generally younger than permanent departures, and departures to the UK are younger than departures to other major destinations, resulting from the Working Holiday Maker program. Departures to the US are comprised of more males compared to Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to other key destinations.

Australia-born permanent departures are more often employed in highly-skilled occupations compared to overseas-born permanent departures. Although there is always a total net gain of skilled arrivals to Australia, there are not necessarily net gains of skilled workers in all skilled occupations. Australia-born permanent and long-term departures headed to the UK and the US are more often employed in highly-skilled occupations compared to those going to New Zealand. The next chapter will look more specifically at the US as a destination country for Australians.

CHAPTER 5: The Australia – US migration system

5.1 Introduction

The migration systems perspective places emphasis on both political and conceptual transnational linkages (Fawcett, 1989 p.673). This chapter will explore the transnational linkages Australia and the US share which underpin the type of migration that takes place and the experiences the Australian diaspora living in the US have.

... [Migrants] go to places to which they are already linked economically, socially, and politically. Economic links reflect broader relations of trade and investment. Political links stem from formal treaties, colonial administration, and military deployments. Social ties stem from any institutional arrangement that brings people into contact with one another on a regular, sustained basis, such as overseas military deployments, student exchange programs, diplomatic missions, tourism, trade, and multinational corporate activities.

Massey 2003 p.25

The social, economic, political and cultural settings in Australia and the US, as well as immigration policies, are influenced by wider global processes. These factors will be considered and related to mobility between these countries. Administrative data will be used to investigate the characteristics and patterns of mobility between Australia and the US.

5.2 Australia–US linkages

Australia has historically been heavily influenced by the United Kingdom (UK) because of its ties to the Commonwealth, but more recently this sphere of influence has shifted to the US (Gelber, 2002, Mosler and Catley, 1998 p.38). A good place to identify the starting point of this shift is the first strategic alliance between Australia and the US. This came

about during World War II when the US used Australian ports for strategic positioning during the war, and in return helped protect Australia from invasion (The University of Sydney, 2008). Since this initial alliance, a strategic relationship between Australia and the US has continued to be strong with the ratification of formal policies and the creation of organizations that cement these linkages. Formal associations include the ANZUS Treaty, signed in 1951, which created a formal military alliance between Australia, New Zealand and the US (DFAT 1997), Australia – US Ministerial (AUSMIN) – ministerial meetings held alternately in Australia and the US annually since 1985 (DFAT 2008a), and the Australia – US Free Trade Agreement (AUSFTA), which took effect in 2005, and allows for freer movement of goods and people between Australia and the US (DFAT 2007). Visas that directly encourage mobility between Australia and the US have also been created as a part of AUSFTA¹⁶.

The economic and business ties Australia and the US share have a substantial influence on international mobility, particularly of the highly-skilled. The US is the world’s largest economy (see Table 5.1). In the context of globalised labour markets, this is a very important factor promoting international mobility.

Table 5.1: Economic and trade information about Australia and the US

	Australia	US
GDP estimate (2006)	US\$666.3billion (18th)	US\$12.98 trillion (1st)
Export Partners (2005)	Japan (20.3%), China (11.5%), South Korea (7.9%), US (6.7%), NZ (6.5%), India (5%)	Canada (23.4%), Mexico (13.3%), Japan (6.1%), China (4.6%), UK (4.3%)
Import Partners (2005)	US (13.9%), China (13.7%), Japan (11%), Singapore (5.6%), Germany (5.6%)	Canada (16.9%), China (15%), Mexico (10%), Japan (8.2%), Germany (5%)

Source: Compiled from 2007 CIA world fact book

¹⁶ These visas will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

For the better part of the last century, the United States held an indisputable edge: its cities were among the most economically vibrant, most open, and most exciting in the world.

Florida 2004 p.158

There are also a number of major Australian companies with significant operations in the US. Box 1 shows several examples. It is seen as a normal and wise career move for Australians to spend some time working in the US (Russell, 2007, Higley, 2007).

Many Australian companies now have extensive operations in the United States, and it is commonplace for Australians to work there. Australian companies explicitly focus on the United States when they develop their business strategies. For many companies, a successful American operation is an imperative if the company wishes to be internationally competitive.

Russell 2007 p.229

Box 1: Examples of Australian companies operating in the US

Company	Market Cap 26/6/06	Description
Aristocrat (ALL)	A\$5.9b	World second largest slot/gaming machine manufacturer and gaming software developer. Sydney based; 50 percent business in United States, rest in Japan and Australia
Billabong (BBG)	A\$3.1b	Self branded surf stores; 48 percent of revenue in North America, 28 percent in Australia/Japan, 24 percent in Europe
Fosters (FGL)	A\$11.0b	Worldwide alcohol company; 32 percent of revenue from international wine (Beringer Blass)
CSL (CSL)	A\$9.4b	No 2 in global plasma products, manufacturing in United States, Europe, and Australia
Cochlear (COH)	A\$2.8b	World leader in cochlear implant industry with more than 60 percent world market share
Rinker (RIN)	A\$15.6b	One of the world's top 10 heavy building materials groups, 80 percent of earnings in United States, 10,000 employees in United States

Source: Russell 2007 p.231

It will be critically interesting to see what impact the US and global financial crisis, which began in 2008, has on international labour migration and more particularly skilled migration to the US¹⁷.

¹⁷ This issue is considered further in Chapter 10.

The US and Australia also share a pension agreement (FaCHSIA 2007) which helps make the US an attractive destination for Australians who plan to work while overseas. Additionally, a securities regulation arrangement between Australia and the US was signed in 2008 ‘that will pave the way for easier access by investors and financial markets to each other’s financial systems’ (Sherry, 2008).¹⁸

Despite the growing strength of economic ties between these countries, and the importance the economic relationship between Australia and the US has in explaining mobility, ‘the economic and business aspects of the U.S.–Australia alliance traditionally have been among the least studied and understood dimensions of that relationship’ (Taylor, 2007 p.181). A noted exception is the recent focus on the trade relationship between Australia and the US following the signing of the AUSFTA in 2005 (see for example Capling, 2005, Hulsman, 2007, Rosenberger, 2007, Weiss et al., 2004).

5.2.1 Cultural influence

The strengthening alliance between Australia and the US as a by-product of the globalisation process has also resulted in increasing US cultural influence in Australia. American influence in the cultural realm is generally viewed negatively, and there has long been a ‘fear of Americanization’ in Australia (Bell and Bell, 1993 p.27). In 1962, for example, there was a Senate committee hearing relating to anxieties about the cultural impact American programming might have on young Australians (Docker, 1991). In response, the Australian Federal government has regulated the amount of foreign content on television (Waitt et al., 2000) and these regulations have been highly contested over time (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2007). There is continuing debate about the loosening of restrictions on foreign content in the media as a part of AUSFTA (Coslovich, 2004, Global Trade Watch, 2005).

Strategic partnerships between Australia and the US that are not seen to have as much direct cultural influence, such as security agreements, are usually viewed more favourably by the Australian public (O'Connor, 2007 p.169). There has, however, been a largely negative response among Australians to the trade relationship between the US and

¹⁸ More details about these agreements are available in Appendix 3.

Australia (Ravenhill, 2001 p.249, Taylor, 2007 p.184). This concern has intensified following the signing of AUSFTA, with some arguing that the US stands to gain a lot more from the agreement than does Australia (Rosenberger, 2007, Global Trade Watch, 2005, Weiss et al., 2004).

Results from the 2008 Lowy Institute for International Policy poll, *Australia and the World: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy* show signs that attitudes in Australia towards the US are improving since the first poll in 2005 (Hanson, 2008 p.2). Most Australians polled, however, continue to believe the US has a mainly negative influence in the world and that Australia should take less notice of the US in foreign policy decisions (Hanson, 2008).

5.3 Countries of immigration

Although economic, political and cultural linkages indirectly affect migration, mobility between Australia and the US is directly affected by immigration policies. The settlement and immigration policy histories of Australia and the US provide insight into where the immigration philosophies in Australia and the US are similar, and where they are different. They also help to explain how current migration policies came to be. Both Australia and the US have strong immigration-based foundations and current human geographies that are heavily influenced by their migration histories. Many similarities can be drawn between the white settlement origins of Australia and the US. Both countries were originally British colonies; however America rebelled against the British and won Independence in 1776, whereas Australia remains a part of The British Commonwealth.

Throughout their histories, both Australia and the US have sought to shape the country's population by putting in place immigration policies and procedures that encourage the movement of some and discourage or forbid the entry of others. Both countries have had periods of very liberal, albeit racist, immigration procedures, when major goals were to populate the country in order to expand or distribute the population, help the economy by building the labour force and/or build the population to protect against foreign threat (see examples in Table 5.2). Discriminatory policies have been rationalized in the name of national security to protect the country from outsiders and/or to protect the population

within the country from unrest by disruption of the culture (Price, 1975, Price, 1974, Jupp, 2002).

Table 5.2: Selection of historical immigration policies in Australia and the US

	Australia	US
Population growth and expansion of the nation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Populate or perish’ view after the threat of Japanese Invasion resulting in dramatically increased immigration intake (late 1940’s – 1950’s) • Regional Immigration Schemes (1920-Present) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frontier expansion (1800’s) • Immigrant labour migration after World Wars
Ethnically discriminatory migration policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 (Official legislation to continue the de facto ‘White Australia Policy’) • Assisted Migration Scheme (‘Ten Pound Poms’) available to British subjects and select other countries from 1945 – 1972. Additional racially selected immigration procedures also in existence until 1972. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 • Immigration Act of 1924 and National Origins Formula • Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952

Source: Compiled from sources including Price 1974; Price 1975; Freeman & Betts 1992; Jupp 2002

Benefiting the economy and protecting the interests of the national resident population have been important themes throughout the migration policy histories of both Australia and the US. These fundamental goals continue to be reflected in the migration policies of both nations today, however quite different philosophies towards migration policy have always existed in each country. Compared to the US, immigration to Australia has been much more directly controlled and shaped by the government since Federation (Freeman and Betts, 1992, Freeman and Jupp, 1992, Hugo, 2008). This is possible in part because of Australia’s geographic position as a nation with no land borders, making it easier to regulate inflows and outflows of people. The US shares extensive land borders with Canada and the substantially less developed country of Mexico, leading to the massive issue of illegal immigration at entry in the US (Freeman and Jupp, 1992 pp.18-19). In

Australia, overstaying visas and engaging in activities outside the scope of the allocated visa is the more common pathway to becoming an illegal migrant (Hugo, 2008).

Because of the smaller population size in Australia, immigration has more impact per capita and immigration policy is much more visible to the public and actively managed by government compared to the US (Freeman and Betts, 1992). Economic justifications for immigration are more widely accepted compared to altruistic ones, and public opinion towards immigration is affected by the state of the economy, with stronger economic conditions relating to greater support for increasing immigration (Betts, 2005). This is in contrast to the less micro-managed system in the US, where immigration is mainly for family reunion and is generally seen to contribute to the American experience (Freeman and Jupp, 1992). US immigration policy and philosophy places less emphasis on ‘making the most of immigrant skills’ (Dawkins et al., 1992 p.128), though there has been some change in this area recently. Neither Australia nor the US has an emigration policy.

5.3.1 Current immigration policies

The main categories of permanent migrant intake in both the US and Australia are family reunion, employment/skill-based and humanitarian. US immigration policy has always and continues to be focused on family reunion, and immediate family members of US citizens¹⁹ are admitted without limitation (Congressional Budget Office, 2006 p.4). In Australia, the largest category of immigrant intake is skilled workers and their family members (see Figure 5.1).

The higher proportion of immigrants to Australia who enter in worker categories reflects Australia’s focus on attracting migrants based on economic rationale. In fact compared to other OECD countries, countries that are a part of the Commonwealth (Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the UK) have the greatest proportion of permanent migrants entering as workers and family members of workers. Conversely, the proportion of permanent immigrants allowed in family reunion categories is high in the US compared to most other

¹⁹ Immediate family members of US citizens are spouses, parents of US citizens aged 21 and older and unmarried children under the age of 21. See glossary for expanded definition.

OECD countries. Free movement accounts for much of the permanent immigration that takes place between countries in the European Union.

Figure 5.1: Permanent-type immigration by category of inflow, 2006, standardized data – percentage of total inflows

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 79
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Adapted from OECD 2008 p.38

Immigration policy in both Australia and the US has changed in response to globalisation and the intense competition for skilled workers. The number and/or portion of immigrants allowed in skilled and employment-based entry categories in both the US and Australia has dramatically increased in the past 10 years. In the US, most legal permanent entry policies have remained the same since the 1960's, with the exception of a three-fold increase in the quota of highly-skilled immigrants allowed entry beginning in 1990 (Martin and Lowell, 2004 p.2). As discussed in the previous chapter, skill focus in Australian immigration has increased substantially since the mid-1990's. Skill-stream visas accounted for 66 percent of total visas granted in Australia's migration program²⁰ in 2006-07, up from only 29 percent in 1995-96 (DIAC 2007d).

²⁰ The Migration Program includes skilled migration and family migration streams. This does not include refugee or asylum seeker admissions or New Zealanders entering Australia under the Trans-Tasman agreement.

5.3.1.1 Temporary migration

Temporary immigration makes up the vast majority of all arrivals to both Australia and the US. In 2006, there were approximately 31 million temporary entries to the US; about half of all temporary entries were recorded in the visa waiver program²¹, most entering as tourists. In Australia in 2006-07, approximately 11 million short-term and 375,000 long-term temporary arrivals were recorded in arrival and departure statistics (DIAC 2007e). In both countries, temporary migrant programs have been developed and given increasing attention in order to promote political, economic and population goals of the country and to meet obligations of multilateral agreements (Batalova, 2006). In the both the US and Australia, the total number of temporary entrants and the number of temporary migrants entering for employment or study related reasons is increasing over time (DIAC 2007f, USCIS 2008c). A major difference between permanent and non-permanent admissions is that temporary migrants are restricted to the activity and time period for which their visa was issued.

Temporary migration has always been an important form of entry for low-skilled or semi-skilled workers to the US (Ueda, 2007), but it is only recently that highly-skilled temporary migration has become an important form of temporary migration to the US (Martin and Lowell, 2004). In the US there is no limit on the total number of temporary arrivals each year, but there are restrictions on the number of visas allocations, such as for skilled workers entering on H-1B visas. H-1B visas are the primary means of nonimmigrant²² entry to the US for employment purposes: ‘an H-1B temporary worker is an alien admitted to the United States to perform services in ‘specialty occupations’ based on professional education, skills and/or equivalent experience’ (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2004 p.3). The US Immigration Act of 1990 established a limit of 65,000 to the number of H-1B visas that could be issued; this limit was meant to provide access to foreign talent while also protecting US workers (USCIS 2005b). In response to the American Competitiveness and Work Force Improvement Act in 1998, which argued that US

²¹ The Visa Waiver program allows nonimmigrants from certain countries (including Australia) a stay of up to 90 days in the US without a visa. See glossary for expanded definition.

²² ‘Nonimmigrants’ is the term used to describe both long-term and short-term temporary migrants in the US. See Glossary, Appendix 1.

companies needed increased access to foreign talent, there was a dramatic increase of in the number of available H-1B visas (from 115,000 to 195,000) from 1999 through 2003 (Lowell, 2000, USCIS 2005b). This increase was temporary, but there has been continuous lobbying, particularly by the Information Technology (IT) industry, to increase the number of H-1B visas allowed in the name of remaining internationally competitive. The cap on H-1B visas since 2005 has been 65,000. In 2005, 986 Australians were issued H-1B visas (H-1B base, 2007, Gawenda, 2005).

In Australia there is no limit on the number of temporary migrants allowed entry, including skilled temporary workers.

5.3.1.2 Pathways of entry to the US for Australians

Movement to the US from Australia is often for business and employment related reasons. A significant new development and facilitated path of entry for Australian citizens since 2005 is the E3 visa, created in conjunction with signing of AUSFTA (DFAT 2007)²³. Former Australian Trade Minister Mark Vaile called the new visa ‘a significant breakthrough’ that will allow Australian business to benefit from the opportunities created by the free-trade agreement with the US (Gawenda, 2005). The E3 visa has the same requirements as the H-1B visa described above except it is only available to Australian citizens. Additionally, the E3 visa can be renewed indefinitely and spouses are allowed working rights. There is a limit of 10,500 E3 visas available for allocation to Australian citizens each year; spouses and dependent children do not count towards the annual quota nor do people renewing their E3 visas (U.S. Department of State, 2007). Although only 1,917 Australians entered the US on E3 visa in 2006 (USCIS 2007), it is yet to be determined what impact the creation of this visa will have on migrant flows from Australia to the US. Presumably it will lead to a continuous increase in the movement of skilled Australians to the US.

Also resulting from AUSFTA, a reciprocal Australia–US Work and Holiday visa went into effect in October 2007. This visa allows Australians who are enrolled in a post-secondary

²³ For more information about this visa, and other current policies relevant to Australians living in, or moving to, the US please see Appendix 3.

education course or have graduated from such a course within the past year, and are sponsored by a US employer, to go to work in the US for up to 12 months (DIAC 2007c). Likewise, Americans who meet certain criteria are allowed to enter Australia to work for up to a year. The criteria attached to this visa places emphasis on migrants having skilled characteristics, which differs from the requirements of Working Holiday Maker visas frequently used by young Australians as a pathway for entry to the UK. There is no limit to the number of Work and Holiday visas that can be issued and it is expected that within four years about 15,000 Australians will travel to the US on this visa each year, and about 30,000 Americans will travel to Australia on this visa each year (DIAC 2007c).

Another formalized agreement which will contribute to the expansion of movement between Australia and the US is the ‘Open Skies’ agreement, signed in February 2008. The Open Skies agreement removes the restriction that formerly limited any new airlines making the Australia–US journey to only four flights per week (Rochfort, 2008). In response, the airline Virgin Blue created a new international service called *V Australia* which is expected to boost travel and create competitive lower-cost airfares for travel between Australia and the US (Robins, 2008).

5.4 Australian emigration and diaspora in the US

5.4.1 Data sources

In addition to the Australian data sources described in the previous chapter, there are several sources of data in the US that provide information relevant to the Australian diaspora in the US. These include immigration statistics from the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) and data from the US Census Bureau. The annually produced USCIS *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* provides information about immigrants in the US across a range of topics. This includes information about arrivals to the US who are granted legal permanent residence, those admitted to the US on a temporary basis, and foreign nationals who become US citizens. Information from USCIS is presented in tables in Microsoft Excel or PDF formats and can be accessed online through statistics section of the USCIS website²⁴. Information relevant to Australians in the

²⁴ <http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/data/index.shtm>

US was obtained from the 2005, 2006, and 2007 *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. Also available from USCIS are *Profiles on Legal Permanent Residents* and *Profiles on Naturalized Citizens*. From these sources it is possible to examine the traits of Australians who were granted Legal Permanent Residence or citizenship in a particular year and compare these traits to other immigrant groups. Profiles on Legal Permanent Residents and Naturalized Citizens for the fiscal years 2005 and 2006 are used in this research.

Profiles of particular sub-populations in the US are also available in US Census data, for example, *Profile of Selected Demographic and Social Characteristics: 2000, People Born in Australia*, provides a range of information on the Australian born population as recorded by the US Census in the year 2000. US Census information about the Australian-born population can then be compared to demographic and social characteristics of the total US population and to other groups; this will be undertaken in the following chapter. The US Census takes place every 10 years; therefore data from the 2000 US Census is the most recent. Aggregate data are available to the public from the US Census Bureau website²⁵ through the *American FactFinder* tool. Also available from the US Census Bureau is data from the *American Community Survey*, a sample of the US population that takes place between censuses and provides more up-to-date sample data.

5.4.2 Overview and trends in movement

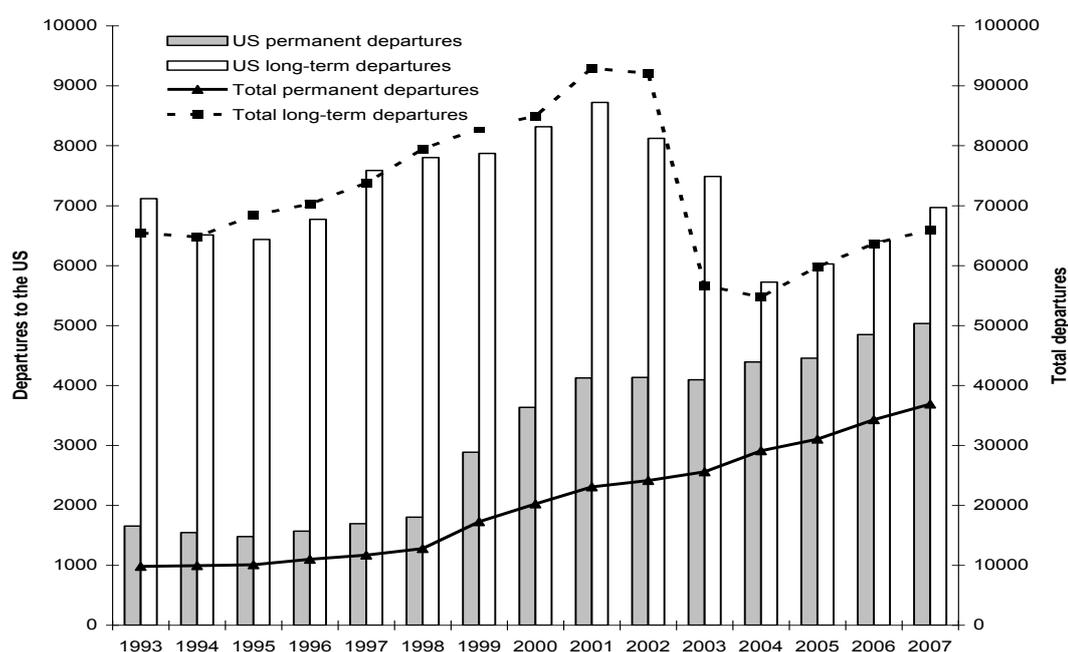
The US is home to one of the largest groups of Australian expatriates. In the previous chapter it was shown that long-term and permanent departures to the US have accounted for approximately 12 percent of all Australia-born resident long-term and permanent departures in the last decade. Table 5.3 illustrates all categories of departures to the US from Australia in 2006-07. It is clear that the majority of departures to the US are short-term (as is true for departures to all countries). The number of Australian departures to the US have been generally increasing over time with the exception of a downturn in temporary movement in the early 2000s (see Figure 5.2 and Table 5.4). It is apparent that the pattern of long-term and permanent departures of Australia-born to the US follows the pattern of total Australia-born long-term and permanent departures. Permanent departures from Australia, both to the US and in total, have been increasing steadily.

²⁵ <http://www.Census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html>

Table 5.3: Departure type, Australia-born departures to the US, 2006-07

Departure type	n	%
Permanent resident	5 033	1.4
Long-term resident	6 968	2.0
Long-term visitor	638	0.2
Short-term resident	318 439	90.8
Short-term visitor	19 438	5.5
TOTAL	350 515	100.0

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e OAD data

Figure 5.2: Australia-born resident long-term and permanent departures in total and to the US, 1992-93 to 2006-07

Source: Compiled from DIAC OAD data, various years, unpublished.

Figure 5.2 shows there was a downturn in temporary out-movement from Australia from 2001-2004 following the events of September 11, 2001. The total number of Australia-born long-term departures decreased significantly from 2002 to 2003, while the decrease in long-term departures to the US was more gradual over the 2001-2004 period. Table 5.4 shows short-term departures to the US decreased considerably more than all Australian resident short-term departures between the year 2000 and 2001. Since 2004, temporary departures have been on the rise. There has been a particularly dramatic increase in the number of short-term Australia resident departures, to the US and to all destinations, since 2003.

Table 5.4: Short-term departures from Australia to the US and total short-term departures from Australia, Australia residents, 1993-2007

	Short-term departures to the US		Total short-term departures	
		% Change		% Change
1993	300 200	na	2 267 100	na
1994	288 400	-3.9	2 354 500	3.9
1995	314 000	8.9	2 518 600	7.0
1996	331 100	5.4	2 732 000	8.5
1997	352 000	6.3	2 932 800	7.3
1998	322 600	-8.4	3 161 200	7.8
1999	347 100	7.6	3 210 000	1.5
2000	395 100	13.8	3 498 200	9.0
2001	293 400	-25.7	3 442 600	-1.6
2002	298 900	1.9	3 460 900	0.5
2003	296 200	-0.9	3 388 000	-2.1
2004	376 000	26.9	4 368 700	28.9
2005	426 400	13.4	4 755 700	8.9
2006	440 300	3.3	4 940 600	3.9
2007	479 100	8.8	5 462 300	10.6

Source: Compiled from ABS 2008

Immigration data from the US also show the number of Australians entering the US as temporary migrants, and those establishing more permanent ties to the US, are increasing over time (see Table 5.5). The number of Australia citizen nonimmigrant arrivals according to these statistics is much higher than the number of Australian temporary departures recorded by Australian data sources (see Table 5.3 and Table 5.4). This may indicate many Australian citizens arriving in the US are coming from countries outside Australia. Nonimmigrant arrivals have increased at a much higher rate over the past 10 years compared to the number of Australia-born obtaining Legal Permanent Residence in the US.

There has been an especially sharp increase in the number of Australians obtaining US citizenship, more than doubling from the year 2002 to 2003. The dramatic increase in this period is likely in response to legislation passed in 2002 in Australia, making it much easier for Australians to hold dual citizenship (DIAC 2007a, SCG 2007a). Since 2002, Australian citizenship is not automatically renounced when citizenship is taken up in another country, and there are ways to reclaim Australian citizenship if forced to renounce it under previous policy²⁶.

²⁶ For more information about the legislation passed in 2002 allowing dual citizenship for Australians see Appendix 3.

Table 5.5: US Immigration information about Australians, 1996-2007

	Australia citizen nonimmigrant arrivals	Australia-born obtaining legal permanent US residence ¹	Australia-born obtaining US citizenship
1996	458 121	1 949	437
1997	na	1 626	258
1998	508 218	1 139	202
1999	525 152	1 103	342
2000	590 558	2 044	433
2001	548 842	2 811	391
2002	514 311	2 557	424
2003	550 317	1 836	882
2004	645 236	2 604	1 295
2005	702 108	3 193	1 155
2006	750 504	3 249	1 240
2007	813 558	2 518	1 067
% change 1996 - 2007	77.6	29.2	144.2

¹Includes both immigrant arrivals and persons granted US permanent residence onshore in the US.

Source: Compiled from USCIS 2007 and 2008b, Tables 3, 21, 26 and 27.

From the perspective of the US, Australians make up a very small portion of total immigrants and nonimmigrants. Australia-born have made up less than 0.3 percent of the total gaining US permanent residency and less than 0.3 percent of total immigrants acquiring US citizenship in the past 10 years (USCIS 2008c Tables 3 and 21). Australian citizens have accounted for about two percent of total nonimmigrant arrivals to the US in the past 10 years; however the portion of Australian immigrants and nonimmigrants relative to other groups has been increasing slightly over time (USCIS 2007 Table 27).

5.4.3 Characteristics of Australians moving to the US

Australia-born immigrants in the US are most likely to be granted Legal Permanent Residence as immediate relatives of US citizens or for employment-based reasons (Table 5.6). Compared to all immigrants granted US permanent residence in 2007, Australia-born immigrants are nearly twice as likely to be granted permanent residence in employment-based preferences category of entry. This is in part because categories such as refugee and asylee do not apply to migrants from Australia. Australia-born immigrants are also more

likely to be granted permanent residence in the US in diversity program categories; however this type of entry is not available to all immigrants²⁷.

Table 5.6: Major class of admission to the US, Australia-born and total immigrants granted US Legal Permanent Residence¹, 2007

NOTE:
This table is included on page 87
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

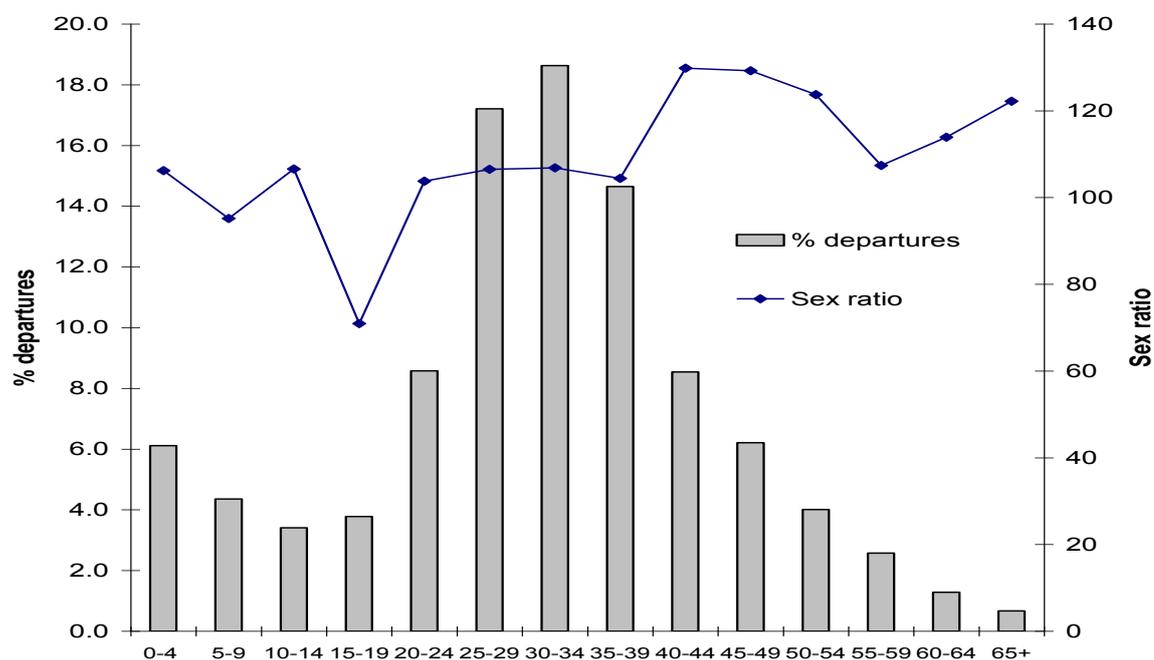
¹ Includes both onshore and offshore grants of permanent residency

² Includes both immediate relatives of U.S. citizens and family-sponsored preferences categories
Source: Compiled from USCIS 2008b, Table 10

Figure 5.3 illustrates the majority of all Australia-born permanent and long-term departures to the US are aged 25–39. Emigration data in the previous chapter showed that relative to Australia-born departures to the UK and New Zealand, permanent and long-term departures to the US are more likely to be at the older end of the labour-force-aged spectrum, and to be male. Although there are more female than male departures to the US aged 15–19, there are an approximately equal number of male and female departures aged 25–39. Departures aged 40 and over are substantially more likely to be males.

The previous chapter also showed permanent and long-term departures to the US are somewhat more likely to be employed in highly-skilled occupations compared to permanent and long-term departures to the UK, and substantially more likely to be employed in these occupations compared to permanent and long-term departures to New Zealand. Table 5.7 shows that while permanent and long-term departures to the US are about equally as likely to be of persons employed in highly-skilled managerial or professional occupations, there are more males than females employed in these occupations.

²⁷ Diversity program visas are available by lottery to people from countries with low rates of immigration to the US. See glossary for more details.

Figure 5.3: Age and sex ratio* Australia-born permanent and long-term resident departures to the US, 2006-07

*Males per 100 females

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e OAD data, unpublished

Table 5.7: Occupation Australia-born permanent and long-term departures¹ to the US by sex, 2006-07

	Permanent departures		Long-term departures	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
<i>n</i>	2 244	2 144	3 137	2 810
Managers/Administrators	17.2	12.9	15.2	8.8
Professionals and Associate Professionals	50.1	40.3	50.0	44.3
Tradespersons and labourers	8.3	2.0	7.0	1.6
Clerical, sales and services	10.5	18.3	8.9	16.9
Other	0.9	0.2	0.7	0.3
Not in employment	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.6
Not stated	6.4	7.6	4.6	5.3
Not in workforce	6.2	18.1	13.5	22.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Includes only departures aged 15+

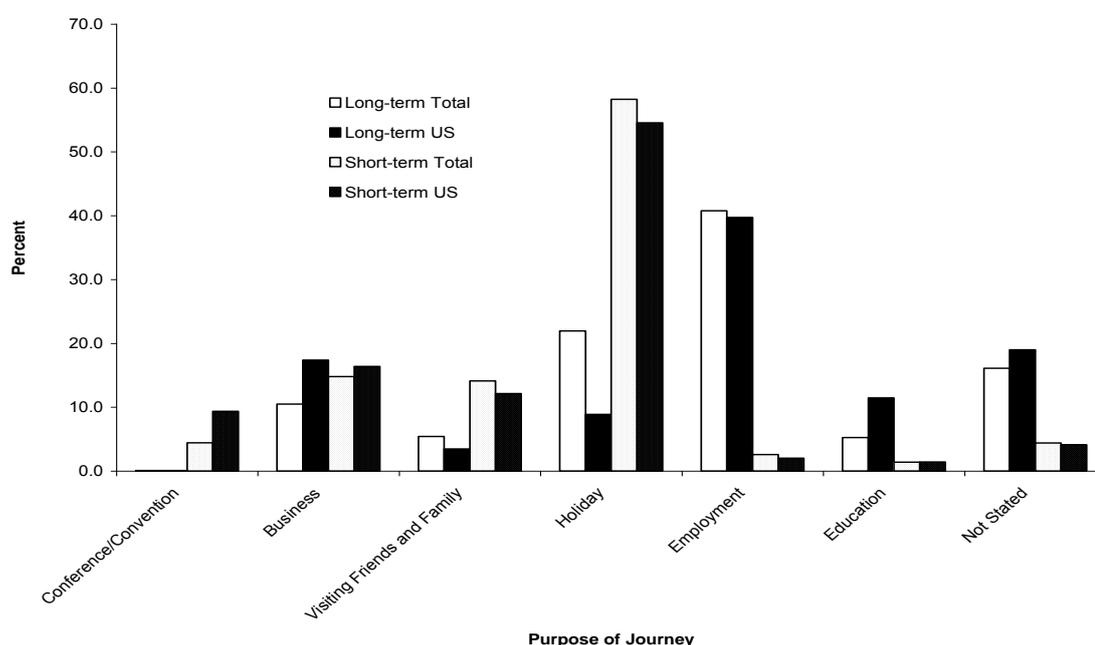
Source: Compiled from DIAC OAD data 2007e unpublished

There are more long-term departures to the US who are not in the workforce compared to permanent departures. This most likely reflects spouses and dependent children over the age of 15 who are accompanying a migrant who is in the workforce. In both permanent and long-term departures, females are more likely than males to be out of the workforce or employed in clerical, sales and service occupations.

5.4.3.1 Temporary movement

Australian departures data records the main purpose of journey for temporary arrivals to, and departures from, Australia. The difference in the intended purpose of journey for long-term compared to short-term departures is evident; most short-term departures are going overseas for the purpose of a holiday, while employment is the reason most are leaving on a long-term basis (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Purpose of journey¹, Australia-born resident long-term and short-term departures, to the US and all destinations, 2006-07



¹ Purpose of journey as stated on DIAC overseas departure cards
Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e, OAD data unpublished

Comparing long-term departures to the US with total long-term departures, it is clear that a larger proportion of long-term departures to the US are going overseas for education or business, and a smaller proportion of departures to the US are going overseas for the purpose of a holiday. A larger proportion of short-term departures to the US are travelling for a conference or business compared to the proportion of total Australia-born short-term departures travelling for this reason, reflecting the position of the US in the global economy as a popular destination for skilled workers. Interestingly, a slightly smaller proportion of departures to the US were going overseas for employment purposes compared to total Australia-born long and short-term departures.

Most Australia-born residents leaving Australia for the US on a long-term basis intend to be away from Australia between one to three years (80 percent), the same result is found for all Australia-born long-term departures heading to any overseas destination (DIAC 2007e). Short-term departures to the US are generally planned to be longer in duration compared to all short-term departures from Australia, reflecting the large distance and travel time required for trips between Australia and the US.

Immigration information from the US agrees with departure statistics from Australia, showing Australians arriving in the US for a non-permanent stay are most often temporary visitors for pleasure (see Table 5.8). Visitors from Australia are more than twice as likely compared to all nonimmigrant visitors to enter the US temporarily for business in the Visa Waiver program. Australians are less likely compared to total nonimmigrants to be going to the US as academic students (F-1 visa), but about as likely as other nonimmigrants to be entering as exchange visitors (J-1 visa). The E3 visa is available only to Australians working in specialty occupations²⁸.

Table 5.8: Main visa/type of admission to the US, Australia citizens and total nonimmigrants, 2006¹

Visa Name	Description	Australia citizens % (n = 750 492)	Total nonimmigrants % (n = 33 667 328)
B-2	Temporary visitors: for pleasure	1.5	33.5
E-3	Australian Free Trade Agreement	0.2	0.0
F-1	Students and exchange visitors: academic students	0.5	2.1
GT	Temporary visitors: for pleasure, visa waiver, Guam	0.4	2.1
H-1B	Temporary workers and trainees: specialty occupations	0.8	1.3
J-1	Students and exchange visitors: exchange visitors	0.9	1.1
L-1	Intracompany transferees: principals	1.3	1.0
WB	Temporary visitors: visa waiver, business	16.7	7.0
WT	Temporary visitors: visa waiver, pleasure	73.1	38.4
	Other Nonimmigrant visas	4.6	13.5
TOTAL		100.0	100.0

¹A complete listing and description of all nonimmigrant visas for admission to the US, and the portion of Australia citizens and total nonimmigrant arrivals in each visa class in 2006, is available in Appendix 4. Source: Compiled from USCIS 2006, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Supplementary Table 1

²⁸ ‘Specialty occupations’ require theoretical and practical application of a body of specialized knowledge along with at least a bachelor’s degree or its equivalent (USCIS 2008a). See Glossary, Appendix 1, for an expanded definition. The majority of HI-B visas are granted to individuals whose specialty occupations are in the Information Technology industry.

Although the E3 visa will undoubtedly contribute to increasing movement from Australia to the US in the future, the number of Australian citizen nonimmigrants who entered the US on the visa in 2006 make-up only a small portion of total entrants in this year.

5.5 The US as a destination country for Australians

This chapter has examined how the global situation has influenced immigration policy and the linkages Australia and the US share, which thereby affects mobility between these countries. This section will briefly explore the physical and human geographies of Australia and the US, to provide insight into the experiences Australians living in the US have. In terms of physical geography, the US is a slightly larger country in land area but both countries are large in area in contrast to other countries of the world (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Physical and human geographies of Australia and the US, 2006-07

	Australia	US
Geography		
Land Area	7,686,850 km ² (7th)	9,826,630 km ² (4th)
Population Density	2.7 /km ²	30.7 /km ²
Demographics		
Population Estimate 2007	20,825,178 (53rd)	301,711,000 (3rd)
Median Age	37.1	36.6
Population Aged 0-14	19.3%	20.2%
Population Aged 65+	13.2%	12.6%
Birth Rate	12.02 births/1,000 population	14.16 births/1,000 population
Death Rate	7.56 deaths/1,000 population	8.26 deaths/1,000 population
Net Migration Rate	3.78 migrants/1,000 population	3.05 migrants/1,000 population
Major Ethnic Groups	white (92%), Asian (7%), Aboriginal and other (1%)	white (81.7%), black (12.9%), Asian (4.2%), American Indian and Alaska native (1%)

Source: Compiled from 2007 CIA world fact book; US Census Bureau 2007; ABS 2007a

Both countries have extremely diverse physical geographies, but there is a much larger area of uninhabitable land in Australia, resulting in a highly urbanized population (Freeman and Jupp, 1992 p.11). Over 85 percent of the Australia's population lives within 50 kilometres of the coast where the land is more hospitable and infrastructures are better established (ABS 2003). There are some major concentrations of the population in some US cities and States (for example New York and California), but in general the US

population is much more evenly distributed throughout the country compared to Australia. The US is also much more densely populated than Australia; an outcome of the significantly larger population in the US in a country of roughly similar size to Australia.

Both Australia and the US have populations and cultures that have been shaped by immigration. Both are multicultural countries with one major ethnic group or race (white), very small indigenous populations, and a few other important minority groups (see Table 5.9). The US has the largest immigrant stock in the world. In 2005 it was estimated that there were 38.4 million immigrants in the US, considerably larger than the immigrant stock of around 4.1 million in Australia (United Nations, 2006c p.5). In terms of immigrants relative to national population size however, the Australian population is made up of a much larger portion of immigrants (25 percent) compared to the US population (12 percent immigrants) (Ueda, 2007). The percentage of foreign-born in the US relative to the national population has not been above 15 percent since the year 1850 (MPI 2005).

Qualities of the populations in the US and Australia are alike in many ways with very similar age structures, birth and death rates and rates of net migration. Factors associated with population composition and population growth and decline in both Australia and the US are intertwined with strong cultures of international migration. A higher net migration rate and lower birth rate in Australia compared to the US means the Australian population grows at a greater rate directly from migration compared to the US, but higher birth rates in the US are a by-product of large immigrant populations in the US who have higher birth rates than the native born population (Camarota, 2005, Bouvier, 1991).

European ancestry, particularly English, Irish and German are important in both Australia and the US (Brittingham and de la Cruz, 2004, ABS 2006a). In both countries, persons of mixed ethnicity are becoming more important than any one ethnic group (Price, 1999). About 80 percent of both the Australian and US population speak only English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006, ABS 2006a). As Baum and Young (1989 p.28) state: ‘When language and other aspects of culture are similar, as is true of Australia and the US, an important barrier to migration is removed’.

5.6 Conclusion

The central position of the US in the global economy and other factors associated with globalisation has played a role in the shifting sphere of influence in Australia; from the UK to the US. The relationship between Australia and the US has strengthened and these countries share a number of transnational agreements. The most significant recently is the free-trade agreement (AUSFTA). The introduction of new visas as a part of AUSFTA, including the E3 visa and the Work and Holiday visa, provide greater accessibility to the US for Australians and will likely result in a continued increase in mobility between Australia and the US in the future.

Immigration policies in both Australia and the US have been influenced by globalisation, and both countries have accepted an increasing number of skilled migrants. The number of temporary admissions for employment reasons has also amplified. The US as a key destination for skilled migrants globally, and the fact that Australia and the US are becoming more connected, has resulted in increasing highly-skilled movement from Australia to the US. Departures data from Australia (DIAC OAD data) as well as immigration and census data from the US provide empirical information about Australians moving to, and living in, the US. Just like all movements from Australia, permanent departures of the Australia-born to the US have steadily increased over time, and after a temporary decline following September 11 2001, temporary departures have also been increasing. Moreover the number of Australians obtaining US Legal Permanent Residency and citizenship is also growing. The vast majority of long-term and permanent Australia-born departures to the US are between the ages of 25–40, and the majority of these departures are employed in highly-skilled occupations.

Contrasts in physical and human geographies and immigration histories of Australia and the US have also been explored to give a perspective to the experiences of Australians moving to, and living in, the US. The next chapter describes the methodology and methods used to study the Australian diaspora living in the US.

CHAPTER 6: Research design and methodology

6.1 Introduction

Multiple sources of data, and mixed methods in obtaining and analysing primary data, are required to better understand diaspora. This chapter begins by describing the triangular research strategy utilised in this research. The methods used to study the Australian diaspora in the US are described. The primary source of data is responses to an online survey questionnaire distributed to Australians living in the US. In addition to the quantitative data gathered in the survey questionnaire, a number of in-person interviews were undertaken. The interview process used in the research will also be explained. The characteristics of the surveyed population are described in order to establish how the study population compares to other sources of information about the Australian diaspora, and to provide a basis for understanding research results discussed in the following chapters.

6.2 A triangulation approach to researching migration

The ability to explore trends and compare data across different countries and sources of information is an essential starting point to understanding a particular flow of international migrants. It is important, however, not to limit analyses to defining and measuring migration quantitatively as the human side of a migrant's experience also plays a key role in explaining the reasons for, and outcomes of, migration. Ideally, information from all countries involved in the migrant journey, and from migrants themselves, should be collected and explored in order to completely understand the migrant experience and capture information from all perspectives. Research that takes into account multiple perspectives is referred to as a triangulation approach. One of the most well referenced advocates of triangulation methods in studying social phenomena is Denzin (Denzin, 1970, Denzin, 1989) who states (1989 p.236):

Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, is a plan of action that will raise sociologists above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies. By combining methods and investigators in the same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one investigator or one method.

Denzin (1989 p.237) identifies four different types of triangulation that can be applied to enhance social research: data, investigator, theoretical and methodological.

The term triangulation was originally used as a military and navigational term that meant multiple points of reference are used to most accurately identify a specific location (Jick, 1979 p.602, Decrop, 1999 p.158, Blaikie, 1991 p.117). Triangulation was adapted to research in the social sciences as a metaphor for multiple perspectives resulting in a more comprehensive understanding of a particular event. This approach is congruent with the migration systems perspective adopted in this research, exploring multiple layers of a single problem. The use of triangulation in the social sciences was first advocated by Campbell and Fiske (1959), who argued that more than one method should be used to validate findings and ensure what is being tested is not just an outcome of the particular methods used (Jick, 1979 p.602)

This research draws a great deal of information from secondary data sources in both Australia and the US and explores information gathered from studies of a similar target population (the Australian diaspora) at a different points in time. Thus data triangulation, or the use of a number of data sources including primary and secondary data sources (Decrop, 1999 p.159), is employed.

6.2.1 Secondary data sources

Introductory chapters have discussed administrative data sources that can be used to evaluate Australian emigration and diaspora²⁹. In addition to these sources, the 2003 Australian Emigration Survey (Hugo et al., 2003) and the 2006 One Million More Census

²⁹ The main sources of administrative data from Australian sources are described in Chapter 4. The main sources of administrative data from US sources are described in Chapter 5.

of Australians Abroad³⁰ (OMM) are useful sources of recent information about the Australian diaspora. Information collected in these surveys can be used as a starting point to better understand this population as a whole, and some information specific to the Australian diaspora in the US is also available. The Australian Emigration Survey aimed to reach young Australian university graduates living in any country outside of Australia. This survey was distributed by post and online by way of Australian alumni groups with contact information for graduates living overseas, participating expatriate organizations and snowballing methods. A total of 2,072 useable responses were collected; about half of survey responses were returned by post and half online with the authors noting (Hugo et al., 2003 p.40):

One result of the study was the success of the online questionnaire. These were generally well completed and often contained lengthy informative narratives about the expatriate experience, which proved highly useful in the study.

Australians living in many regions of the world were represented, and 35 percent of responses came from Australians living in the US.

The OMM survey took place from September to October 2006. An online survey was the only means of data collection, with a link to the survey distributed through a range of Australian expatriate organizations worldwide. The initiative was coordinated by Advance - Global Australian Professionals (Advance) in partnership with The Southern Cross Group (SCG)³¹. Respondents were asked to answer questions for themselves and up to six additional household members; some of the main themes explored in the questionnaire were reasons for migration, how they remain connected with Australia and future plans in terms of mobility (Rudd and Hugo, 2007). In total 9,529 household forms were returned which provided information about more than 15,000 Australians living overseas (Advance 2008). Nearly a third (28 percent or 2,582 forms) of OMM forms returned came from respondents living in the US. Data available to the researcher was only the aggregate data

³⁰ *The One Million More Census of Australians Abroad* is the official name of this survey; however it was not truly a 'census' since responses were not collected from the total population of Australians living overseas.

³¹ For more information about these organizations please see Table 6.1 and Appendix 5.

set, so it is not possible to explore the characteristics of respondents living in the US only. However, this source of data does provide useful information about the Australian diaspora as a whole.

6.2.2 Utilizing mixed methods

The most emphasized type of triangulation is usually methodological triangulation, which most simply means that multiple methods are used to study a single problem. Methodological triangulation can be described as within method, that is using different tactics within a single method (for example exploring a question qualitatively using both focus groups and in-depth interview) or between method. Clearly the favoured approach, between method means using different types of methods to study a single problem (Denzin, 1970, Blaikie, 1991). Denzin argues that the value in this approach is that the flaws in one method are often the strengths of another and ‘...by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each while overcoming their unique deficiencies’ (Denzin, 1989 p.244). This point has been critiqued (see for example Blaikie, 1991, Fielding and Fielding, 1986, Jick, 1979, Mathison, 1988) with claims that most researchers favour a particular methodology and consequently use additional methodologies with less rigour and confidence, therefore increased validity of results and/or reduction in bias may not be achieved by combining methods. The great value in using multiple methods may not be increasing the validity or accuracy of findings, but in giving results more depth and meaning. As Fielding and Fielding (1986 p.33) state: ‘...different methods have emerged as a product of different theoretical traditions, and therefore combining them can add range and depth, but not accuracy.’

Quantitative analysis normally involves a large amount of objective data arranged in pre-defined categories making for relatively straightforward analysis. Because of the large amount of data, patterns and trends can be determined and often results can be generalized to other groups. Findlay and Li (1999 pp.51-52) note that historically in migration research the focus has been on quantitative techniques to ‘uncover empirical realities’ without sufficient attention paid to ‘deeper causes of the phenomenon that connect migration to events’ and the ‘multiple meanings of events like migration’.

The major goal of qualitative analysis is to explore a number of variables with a single subject, in order to obtain a detailed and comprehensive understanding of an event, including how variables relate to and influence one another. Qualitative research also often has the quality of being in a format that both the researcher and the reader can relate to, ‘...rich with detail and insights into participants’ experiences of the world’ (Hoepfl, 1997 p.49). Qualitative analysis thus results in a large amount of information about a small number of subjects meaning results usually cannot be generalized to the wider population. Mixing methodologies is beneficial because large-scale quantitative data can be used to establish important trends and themes, and then expanded analysis of important subgroups can be undertaken with qualitative methodologies. Findlay and Li (1999 p.51) note that population geographers have recently become more willing to consider the human side of migration rather than just the empirical trends and consequently argue that migration scholars must ‘...seriously consider the view that mixing methods is a highly desirable research strategy, rather than an optional area’.

Researching the Australian diaspora resident in the US provides an ideal opportunity to utilize mixed quantitative and qualitative methods. The primary quantitative method includes analysis of responses to a survey questionnaire designed for Australians living in the US. This questionnaire will establish tendencies and characteristics of the study group. Quantitative secondary data from the Australian Emigration Survey and OMM will also be explored.

Qualitative data are gathered from select responses to the survey questionnaire and from semi-structured interviews with survey respondents. A major goal of collecting qualitative information is to illuminate findings from the quantitative survey. Qualitative research also allows the opportunity for respondents to express feelings, attitudes, issues or concerns surrounding their migration experience that are important to them; thus ensuring a well-rounded understanding of their experience.

6.3 Thematic research design

Introductory chapters have explained why and how migration from Australia to the US, and the experiences migrants have, are in part a product of the contemporary global

situation and the systems in place in the countries migrants move between. The *Australians in the US Survey*³² (referred to throughout the thesis as AUSS), was developed to explore the actions, opinions and characteristics of the Australian diaspora in the US at the micro level across a range of themes. A theme represents something important to the research question found in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006 p.82). Thus the selected themes allow exploration of the experiences of the Australian diaspora in the US within the wider theoretical debates surrounding migration in a contemporary context. The research design involves both theoretical thematic analysis, whereby theory plays a fundamental role in developing themes of data collection, and inductive thematic analysis, in which results themes develop based on the data received and literature relevant to the findings is reviewed (Braun and Clarke, 2006 pp.83-84). The following themes are addressed in the survey questionnaire:

- **Reasons for movement; from Australia in general and to the US specifically.**

Global and national level factors play a role in encouraging certain types of international mobility (as discussed in Chapter 2, 4 and 5). The AUSS survey explores micro level factors that affect mobility decisions (results pertaining to this theme are discussed in Chapter 7).

- **Mobility patterns; between Australia and the US and to other countries.**

Factors associated with improving technology and increasing globalisation create conditions for more frequent transnational travel and networking (as discussed in Chapter 2). The AUSS questionnaire assesses the transnational mobility patterns of Australians living in the US across a range of individual characteristics in order to examine the frequency and reasons for mobility (results pertaining to this theme are discussed in Chapter 8).

- **Transnational networking; linkages maintained with Australia and/or other Australians in the US.**

The AUSS questionnaire establishes the transnational networking activities of Australians living in the US across a range of individual characteristics in order

³² To view a complete version of the Participant Information Sheet and AUSS survey questionnaire, see Appendices 6 and 7.

to explore the frequency and type of transnational networking taking place (results pertaining to this theme are discussed in Chapter 9).

6.4 The Australians in the US Survey questionnaire

Design of the AUSS survey questionnaire was based in large part on the Australian Emigration Survey (described in section 6.2.1) used in the study of emigration from Australia detailed in the 2003 Hugo et al. report: *Australia's Diaspora: It's Size, Nature and Policy Implications*. The general aims of this research are similar to those of the Australian Diaspora study, with a few notable differences. Most obviously, while the Australian Emigration Survey aimed to attract responses from Australians living in all overseas destinations, the AUSS survey was narrower in scope, focusing only on the US as a destination country for Australians. AUSS survey questions are thus more explicit to the experiences of Australians living in the US. Additionally, the Australian Emigration Survey aimed to gather responses from university graduates (Hugo et al., 2003 p.39). Though it is acknowledged (and has been shown in Chapters 4 and 5) that Australian emigrants tend to be highly-skilled and AUSS respondent characteristics will confirm this, the survey was not aimed at any particular type of Australian emigrant. Rather, a wide range of organizations distributed the AUSS survey³³ (20 in total) including social and professional networking organizations, athletic groups, student organizations and companies selling Australian products in the US.

Despite these differences, the Australian Emigration Survey questionnaire was a highly relevant guide in creation of the AUSS questionnaire. Through consultation with the authors of the Australian Emigration Survey, the strengths and weaknesses of the questionnaire were discussed. Based on these discussions the AUSS questionnaire was adapted accordingly in order to maximize successful data collection.

³³ Survey distribution will be discussed further in section 6.4.5. A complete listing of information about organizations that assisted in survey distribution is available in Appendix 5.

6.4.1 Pilot surveys

Because it was based largely on the successful Australian Emigration Survey questionnaire, effectiveness of the design of the AUSS survey was considered to be high. In order to further test the content of the AUSS survey, a small number of pilot surveys were administered. Individuals participating in the pilot survey were familiar with the experience of living in a country outside of their own and thought to be in a position to give valuable feedback about the content of the survey. There were three types of people who completed pilot surveys:

- 1) Australians currently living in the US
- 2) Australians returned to Australia after living in the US or elsewhere overseas
- 3) Foreign-born persons currently living in Australia

The feedback from pilot surveys was extremely valuable, particularly in the case of those individuals who had lived in the US and were familiar with the unique challenges that face Australians living in the US. For example, some pilot survey respondents had moved to the US with their spouse because their spouse was offered a job there. Although these individuals were skilled and desired work in the US, they were unable to work because of visa restrictions in place at the time. Therefore, inability to work greatly affected their experience and income, although their spouse's income increased with the move. In response to this insight, a survey question about change in financial situation was changed to include two parts; respondents were asked to declare both change in *individual* financial situation and *family* financial situation. Recognition of this issue also applied to analysis of results that had to do with perceptions of the migration experience and employment status. It was considered, for example, that respondents with an employment status of 'not in the workforce' may not be in this position by choice.

Another valuable insight to come from the pilot survey was that the length of stay away from the country of origin had, for most respondents, changed from the intended time away upon initial departure from the country of origin. It was considered important to include questions relating to this issue in the AUSS survey to get an idea of how often this happens, whether individuals stay away from Australia for a longer or shorter period of time than intended, and why this change of plans occurs. It was found that the majority of AUSS respondents had changed the duration of their stay from their original intentions

upon arrival in the US, and the evolution of the migrant experiences became a key theme in semi-structured interviews.

6.4.2 Sampling methodology

Because of the populations being studied, it is often not possible nor sensible to use random sampling techniques in social research (Research Methods Knowledge Base, 2002, Orr, 2005). It is not possible to know the total number of Australians living overseas (Hugo et al., 2003 p.11); therefore the only available means of sampling the Australian diaspora is by non-probability sampling. As Hugo et al. (2003 p.41) state:

There is no representative sampling frame of Australians living and working overseas. This does not mean that the diaspora is not important and that it does not have rights, does not experience a number of problems and that there is no need for the Australian government to consider the issues which are of special significance to the more than 4 per cent of Australians who live in foreign nations. Data availability should not dictate what is important.

Statistical tests are not an appropriate form of analysis because survey respondents are not a random or quasi-random sample. As a result, findings from the AUSS survey cannot be generalized at a statistical level to a wider population. Nonetheless, a major aim in survey distribution was that information and links to the survey be given to a wide range of Australians in the US, of diverse social backgrounds and migrant experiences. One way to assess the quality of the sample is to compare characteristics of the surveyed population with other sources of information available about the population (Statistics Canada, 2006). It is evident from data collected that characteristics of AUSS respondents are comparable with characteristics of Australians in the US as found by other sources, and AUSS respondents represent a diverse group of Australians living in the US (this is discussed further in section 6.6).

6.4.3 AUSS respondent criteria

The AUSS survey questionnaire was made available to any Australians living in the US. Considerable attention was given to defining what criteria respondents should meet in order to be eligible to answer the AUSS questionnaire. There was no minimum length of

stay in the US requirement, since temporary mobility (of varying lengths) is an important form of movement between Australia and the US, and mobility that does not fit neatly into short-term or long-term categories is increasingly common and a key theme in this research. Although Australian tourists who are in the US on a short-term basis were not sought as a part of the study group since their reasons for travel are fairly straightforward, it was hoped that the criteria ‘currently *living* in the US’ would mean most short-term tourists would be excluded. Requiring respondents to have lived in the US for a minimum period of time could also have excluded or led to confusion for individuals who have lived in the US on multiple occasions. Many respondents had lived in the US for a period of time, then lived somewhere overseas, then moved back to the US. Although their current living experience in the US may be short-term, the total sum of time spent in the US may be substantial. This scenario did emerge posing difficulties for some respondents. For example, the reasons for moving to the US for someone who has moved back and forth multiple times could be different in each instance.

The complexities related to globalisation and increasing rates of international migration mean nationally based memberships, such as citizenship, country of birth and country of residency, do not necessarily equate to feelings of belonging to that particular nation or that nation only (see for example Castles and Davidson, 2000). Therefore the participation of those who identify with being Australian was deemed to be more important than actually meeting the criteria of being Australian-born, an Australian citizen or an Australian resident³⁴. In fact more than 98 percent of AUSS respondents were Australia-born and/or an Australian citizen and thus had an official tie to Australia.

6.4.4 Online survey method

The success of diaspora studies that have used online survey as a method of data collection, as well as the need to make data collection as timely and cost-efficient as possible, suggest an online survey as a desirable and appropriate way to gather information for this research. Both the Australian Emigration Survey and OMM used an online survey

³⁴ There was also the concern that participation of Australians who unwillingly gave up their Australian citizenship before 2002, when dual citizenship for Australian citizens became more straightforward, may be excluded if respondents had to be an Australian citizen to be eligible to answer the questionnaire.

method as a way to collect information from Australians living overseas. In addition, New Zealand used an online survey to collect information about more than 29,000 Kiwis living outside of New Zealand in the 2006 *Every One Counts* survey (KEA, 2008). A study of the Canadian diaspora living in the US and Asia also utilized an online survey questionnaire to gather information about the diaspora (Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2007).

Internet-based surveys are one of the most time and cost-efficient ways to collect information from diaspora populations since they require no postage or printing costs, responses can be returned instantaneously and are often able to be downloaded directly into analysis programs without data-entry or coding by hand (Orr, 2005 p.265). A major advantage of online surveys is the ability to distribute them widely to geographically dispersed populations. As Dillman (2000 p.354) says 'the potential offered by Web surveys for conducting innovative surveys is enormous. They offer multiple possibilities that cannot be realized with paper surveys...'. While the only means of distribution of the AUSS survey was online, there was an option to download the surveys and return the completed survey directly to the researcher by email or by post if preferred.

With the assistance of a computing officer, the questionnaire was formatted to a webpage template and an internet address was created for the survey: <http://www.aisr.com.au/AustraliansInUS.asp>. Most questions were designed in a way that allowed responses to be automatically coded as data were collected. The online survey application was formatted so that when respondents submitted their survey online, the data came directly to the researcher in a formatted Microsoft Excel worksheet that contained the coded responses to each question. Responses to questions that could not be automatically coded (responses to open-ended questions) were coded by the researcher after all surveys had been received. A number of test-runs of the online survey were completed to ensure the intended response was reflected in the data collected.

There was no way to identify individuals who submitted the questionnaire online. Surveys returned by post or email were coded and transferred manually by the researcher into a formatted spreadsheet. Respondents were given a unique identification number to allow for cross-tabulations in analysis. Data were then cleaned and transferred to the data

analysis tool, *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (SPSS). Coded string and numerical data transferred to SPSS were used to produce descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations. Open-ended responses provided some qualitative data.

Once survey distribution began, the survey was accessible to anyone informed of the link to the survey who had access to the Internet. Surveys were overwhelmingly returned online, in-fact of the 1,581 total useable surveys returned, only 5 were returned by email or post.

6.4.4.1 Potential limitations and biases of an online survey method

The use of an online survey as a means of gathering information leads to bias in that respondents would need to have access to a computer and the Internet in order to both receive and complete the questionnaire, thus some potential respondents may be excluded. As the country with the most internet users in the world (World Association of Newspapers, 2008), finding access to a computer and the Internet in the US should not hinder potential respondents. Certain populations, especially those who are highly-skilled, educated, have high incomes or employment that involves the use of a computer, generally have computer and internet access (Dillman, 2000 p.365, Orr, 2005 p.263). The Australian diaspora as a whole, and the Australian population in the US, are more highly-skilled and educated when compared to the nationally based populations of both Australia and the US³⁵. Therefore, it was presumed that by and large the Australian population living in the US would have access to a computer so the majority of potential respondents should not have been excluded from participation for this reason.

When using an online survey format it is also important to consider the ‘digital divide’ that could potentially bias response towards individuals with particular socio-demographic characteristics (Dillman, 2000). Higher rates of internet usage are found, for example, among males and those who are younger in age, highly educated and earn high incomes (Ewing et al., 2008). This will be an important consideration in analysis of responses to this survey³⁶.

³⁵ This has been shown in Chapter 4; this will be discussed further in section 6.6.3 of this chapter.

³⁶ The characteristics of respondents to the AUSS survey are compared to characteristics of Australians living in or moving to the US in section 6.6 to assess if any potential biases have arisen in response.

6.4.5 Survey distribution

Participation with organizations that have a relationship with Australians living in the US was essential to the successful distribution of the AUSS survey questionnaire. The name and type of organizations that participated in survey distribution (when known) are shown in Table 6.1.³⁷

Table 6.1: Name and type of organization/groups who distributed the AUSS survey questionnaire

Organization name	Organization type
About Australia	Store selling Australian products in the US
Advance – Global Australian Professionals	Professional and social networking
American Australian Association (AAA)	Non-profit social/corporate group
Aussie_Expats Chat group on Yahoo	Social networking
AussieinAmerica.com	Social networking
AustraLA events	Social networking
Australia - New Zealand Association Tech Network (ANZA Tech)	Technical/professional networking
Australia - New Zealand Chamber of Commerce	Australia-New Zealand-US relations
Australian American Chamber of Commerce (AACC)	Australia-US relations
Australian American Chamber of Commerce San Francisco	Professional and social networking
Australian students at Harvard and MIT	Australian student organization
Australians Abroad	Social networking
Australians in America	Social networking
Expatriate Connect	Professional networking
Mates up over	Social networking
Newcomers Network	Social and professional networking
Simply Australian (Simply Oz)	Store selling Australian products in the US
Southern Cross Group (SCG)	Advocacy and support organization
USAFL (US footy)	Australia Football clubs in the US
WWII War Brides Association	Social networking

³⁷ Additional information about organizations that participated in survey distribution, including web addresses and date of survey distribution, can be found in Appendix 5.

These organizations were sought out through internet searches, consultation with informants familiar with the target population and also snowballing techniques. Attempts to target a wide range of organizations were made so diverse groups of Australians living in the US could be reached. Organizations were first approached by email with information about the research project, contact information for the researcher and the Internet address of the online survey³⁸.

Most organizations approached were enthusiastic about the topic of research and were very cooperative in distributing the questionnaire. Participating organizations and individuals distributed the survey at different times between February 2006 and June 2006. Members were informed about the research at the discretion of the participating organization. Some organizations chose to inform their members through a group email or attach information about the study as part of a regular newsletter, while others posted a link to the survey on their internet homepage. Snowball sampling techniques were also used, as respondents were asked to forward information about the survey on to other Australians living in the US who might be interested in participating. All organizations participating in the survey distribution, and any respondents who expressed interest, were given a report with basic results from the survey upon completion of the preliminary analysis³⁹.

6.4.5.1 Location of participating organizations

Some Australian expatriate organizations that connect with Australians living in the US are purely internet-based, therefore are not tied to a particular location (for example Aussie_Expats Chat group on Yahoo). Conversely, some organizations do cater to Australians living in certain areas in the US (for example AustrLA events is a group that organizes activities for Australians living in Los Angeles). The US States where organizations known to have distributed links to the AUSS survey are based are shown in Table 6.2. It is clear the survey was available to Australians living in a range of US states and regions.

³⁸ A sample of emails sent to organizations asking for their participation in survey distribution is available in Appendix 8.

³⁹ See Appendix 9 for a copy of this report.

Table 6.2: US State where organizations/groups participating in AUSS survey distribution are based¹

	n
Arizona	1
California	4
Illinois	1
Indiana	1
Massachusetts	1
New York	2
Washington	1
Wisconsin	2

¹Represents only those organization where the headquarters location is known

There is no way to know how many people were referred to the survey from each organization or group. There was a two-part question in the survey, however, asking respondents about their participation in Australian clubs or organizations in the US. The first part of the question asks respondents if they participate in Australian clubs or organizations in the US and, if applicable, respondents are then asked to fill-in-the-blank with the names of the organizations they participate in. It was surprising that less than 40 percent of total respondents said they do participate in Australian clubs or organizations (Table 6.3) as this was assumed to be the way most respondents heard about the research and survey questionnaire.

Table 6.3: Participation in Australian clubs/organizations in the US, AUSS sample

	n	%
Yes	623	39.4
No	715	45.2
Not stated	243	15.4
Total	1 581	100.0

Source: AUSS 2006

6.4.5.2 Potential limitations and biases of survey distribution method

The AUSS survey was distributed through a diverse range of organizations in the US; however, many Australians living in the US were not informed about, and could not participate in, the research. One potential bias based on the survey distribution method is that Australians living in certain areas of the US may have had more opportunities to

access the survey than those living in other areas. Many Australian expatriate groups are based in states where the greatest portion of the migrant population lives, like New York and California (see Table 6.2 and Table 6.6). An online format helps to make the survey available to widely geographically dispersed populations. However, it is possible that Australians living in areas of the US with fewer opportunities to participate in expatriate organizations may be less inclined to become involved with these organizations, thus would have had no way to become informed of the AUSS survey.

Another potential bias lies in the type of expatriate organizations that were used to distribute the survey questionnaire. This must be considered to ensure there is not over or under-representation of those who participate in particular types of networking activities. In fact, AUSS respondents who named the clubs and organizations they participate in listed a range of different types of organizations (see Table 6.4). Advance Global Australian Professionals (Advance) was clearly the more frequently mentioned organization. As the name states, this is a networking group for professional Australians. The over-representation of respondents who belong to this group is some indication that the AUSS sample is biased towards the highly-skilled.

Table 6.4: Australian clubs/organizations¹ respondents are a part of in the US

	n	Organization participants² % (n = 600)
Advance-Global Australian Professionals (Advance)	241	40.2
American Australian Association (AAA)	90	15.0
USAFL (US footy)	75	12.5
Australia-New Zealand groups	74	12.3
American Australian Chamber of Commerce	44	7.3
Mates up over	32	5.3
Southern Cross Group (SCG)	23	3.8
Australian embassy/consulate	19	3.2
Other (stated)	7	1.2
Total³	605	100.0

¹For more information about these organizations, see Table 6.1 and Appendix 5

²Total respondents who stated they do participate in Australian clubs in the US

³Indicates some respondents are involved in more than one organization

Source: AUSS 2006

Although less than 40 percent of AUSS respondents said they participate in Australian clubs/organizations in the US (see Table 6.3), it is also important to emphasize the probable bias in the AUSS sample towards greater participation in networking activities

and higher rates of internet usage than may be found among other populations. This is a result of the methods used to collect data. One of the research themes of this study is to explore the networking activities of Australians living in the US; this potential bias will be considered when analysing results related to this topic.

Finally it must be acknowledged that those who did respond to the survey clearly have an interest in the research topic if they are willing to dedicate the time required to participate. Australians living in the US who were not involved in the research may not share views expressed by those who did participate. However, it is the individuals who are interested in making a contribution and connecting with home and destination countries that are of most interest in the context of this research, so there is value in understanding the activities and attitudes of this group who did participate.

6.5 Interviews with Australians living in the US

Following the online survey questionnaire, the next phase of primary data collection aimed to gain a more in-depth look at key research themes by conducting a number of qualitative interviews with survey respondents. As noted by Hoepfl (1997 p.50), qualitative research is emergent in nature and it is often 'neither possible nor appropriate to finalize research strategies before collection of data has begun'. Accordingly, interview questions were developed based on themes covered in the survey questionnaire but were only finalized following preliminary analysis of AUSS results.

Reasons for moving, reasons for maintaining transnational linkages, and future plans were addressed in both the online questionnaire and during in-person interviews because it was concluded that responses would be best understood when both answered in quantitative form and fleshed out in conversation. Some items were explored in interview rather than the quantitative survey because it was believed responses could be better understood in that context. For example, to provide cultural insight into their experiences interviewees were asked about any major differences they experienced between life in Australia and life in the US, and what (if anything) they missed about Australia.

Other interview questions were determined after preliminary analysis of AUSS survey results, when it became clear that a more expanded understanding of respondent's experiences in the US would be useful. Because a major aim of the research is to evaluate how to better understand and interact with the Australian diaspora, the opinion of migrants themselves on these issues was considered extremely important. Although the survey questionnaire did ask respondents their perception of benefits to Australia and/or the US based on their experiences, migrant opinion and attitudes are explored more comprehensively in qualitative form.

It also became clear after preliminary analysis of survey results and after interviewing a few respondents, that Australians living in the US (and in fact all migrants) often come to be where they are in an evolving, relatively unplanned process. Understanding this journey is very important. These complexities were better expressed in interviews where individual experiences could be understood within the detailed context of their unique circumstances.

A semi-structured approach was used in interviews, whereby certain information was desired from all interviewees but the wording and order of questions were flexible as they applied to each respondents characteristics and experiences (Denzin, 1989 pp.105-106, Dunn, 2000). A list of interview questions was created⁴⁰ and in most cases all questions were asked of participants, but the main objective was to let the interview develop throughout discussion and to focus on the issues that were important to each respondent.

6.5.1 Selecting interviewees

Individuals answering the AUSS questionnaire who were interested in further involvement were asked to contact the researcher directly; replies from 54 respondents were received. An email was sent out to these individuals in order to keep in contact⁴¹ and, when state of residence was not known, to ask where in the US they were living in order to make a preliminary plan for interviewing in various locations in the US.

⁴⁰ A copy of the question guide used in interviews is available in Appendix 10.

⁴¹ A sample of email follow-ups sent to potential interviewees is available in Appendix 11.

Due to time and financial constraints, the number of locations for interviews was limited. The location of Australians in the US as shown by both US Census and US immigration data, as well as AUSS results, played a role in determining where interviews were to be conducted (see section 6.6.4, Table 6.6). Some 17 interviews were conducted in total, with most undertaken in the US States of New York (eight interviews) and California (six interviews). There was also one respondent interviewed in North Carolina and two interviews were completed over the phone. Once a field-work travel schedule was established for a visit to the US, a further follow-up email was sent out to potential interviewees informing them of available dates and locations for interviews. Every effort was made to obtain as diverse a range of interviewees as possible, but the sample was subject to where the interviews were taking place and who volunteered to participate. Six interviewees were female and 11 were male, participants ranged in age from 29-69, most were Australia-born (15) and/or had Australian citizenship (15). Interviewees represented those who had been living in the US longer than most AUSS respondents. Less than 25 percent of AUSS respondents had first arrived in the US more than 10 years ago, 59 percent of interviewees had been living in the US for more than 10 years⁴².

6.5.2 Conducting interviews

Prior to travel to the US to complete interviews, a pilot interview was undertaken with an Australian who lived in the US but was in Australia at the time for a visit home. The main purpose of the pilot interview was to trial the interpretation of questions and to determine the best way to record information from interviews. Handwritten notes were the only form of recording undertaken during the pilot interview. This was found to be a distraction from the dialogue, and insufficient information was recorded. Ideally a combination of occasional note-taking and audio or visual recording has been found to provide the most complete record of the interview and be the least intrusive to conversation (Dunn, 2000 p.71). Therefore with permission of interviewees, a digital recording device was used in all future interviews (except telephone interviews), and hand written notes were also taken when appropriate.

⁴² More detailed information about the characteristics of interviewees can be found in Appendix 12.

A mutually agreed upon time and location was arranged between interviewees and the researcher. Questions to be addressed in the interview were available in hardcopy to respondents during the interview. Interviews lasted an average of 30–45 minutes. An interesting aspect of the interview was the surprise most interviewees expressed when they discovered that the interviewer/researcher was not Australian but American, since all correspondence had come from the University of Adelaide⁴³. Comments from respondents to the AUSS questionnaire also gave the impression that the identity of the researcher was assumed to be Australian (for example some respondents explained what Americans were like ‘...Americans in general are very much like Aussies...’). There was some concern that interviewees would be guarded in their response on some topics because they were talking to an outsider, as some negative comments about interviewees experience in the US were prefaced with something like ‘no offence, but...’. As it turned out, the position of the researcher as an individual familiar with life in both Australia and the US, as well as the issues associated with living and moving between these countries, facilitated an insider status and a shared set of experiences with the interviewees that was extremely valuable in establishing rapport.

It has been argued that in some cases having a clear position as a researcher or identification with the participants (for example a migrant interviewing migrants) can lead to fuller disclosure by respondents and/or understanding from the researcher (Berg and Mansvelt, 2000 p.167). Good rapport between interviewer and interviewee can also lead to more meaningful conversations (Bouma and Ling, 2004 p.177). This position as the researcher also helped to alleviate concerns about methodological nationalism, or bias in the techniques used and interpretation of information based on national backgrounds and/or frames of reference of the researcher (Fahey and Kenway, 2006 p.39); often an issue with research that involves multiple countries.

Upon completion of the interview, contact information for the researcher was given to all interviewees for any required follow-up. Interview recordings were transferred to a computer and then transcribed. Information and quotations from each interview were

⁴³ I, the researcher, was born in the US and have lived in the US states of California and North Carolina. I have been living in Australia since February 2002.

organized to fit in with the major themes of the AUSS survey and results chapters when applicable. All interviewees and AUSS survey respondents quoted in the following chapters are given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

6.6 The AUSS study population

An overview of some characteristics of the AUSS sample compared to other sources of data that provide information about Australians resident in, or moving to, the US is shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Select characteristics of AUSS respondents compared to other sources of information on the Australian population living in or moving to the US

	AUSS ¹ (2006)	Australian Emigration Survey ² (2003)	OAD data ³ (2006-07)	US Census ⁴ (2000)
Born in Australia	87.0	82.4	100.0	100.0
Has Australian citizenship	95.1	91.1	99.8	na
Aged < 35	34.3	38.4	62.1	39.9
Aged 35–59	57.6	54.4	36.0	44.4
Aged 60+	6.4	6.7	1.9	15.7
Male	47.7	57.6	51.9	44.4
Married	72.7	72.9	na	61.5
Have children*	36.5	35.1	na	30.0
Currently employed**	81.5	87.8	84.3	64.8
Employed as Professionals or Managers	81.2	83.0	53.0	60.4
Has Postgraduate degree	34.9	50.6	na	20.3
Income over US\$100,000 year***	33.3	65.4	na	27.3
Homeowners	55.4	na	na	57.4

*AUSS group - percent respondents who have children under the age of 18 living in the US. Australian Emigration Survey group - percent respondents living in a family-with-children household. US Census group - percent living in a household with children under the age of 18.

** OAD group includes only those ages 15+

*** Income recorded in US\$ except Australians Emigration Survey group income is in A\$.

¹ Source: AUSS 2006. (n = 1,581)

² Source: Hugo et al. 2003, Australian Emigration Survey. Select information about respondents living in the US (n = 700).

³ Source: DIAC 2007e, OAD data, unpublished. Australia-born resident long-term and permanent departures to the US, 2006-07 (n = 12,001).

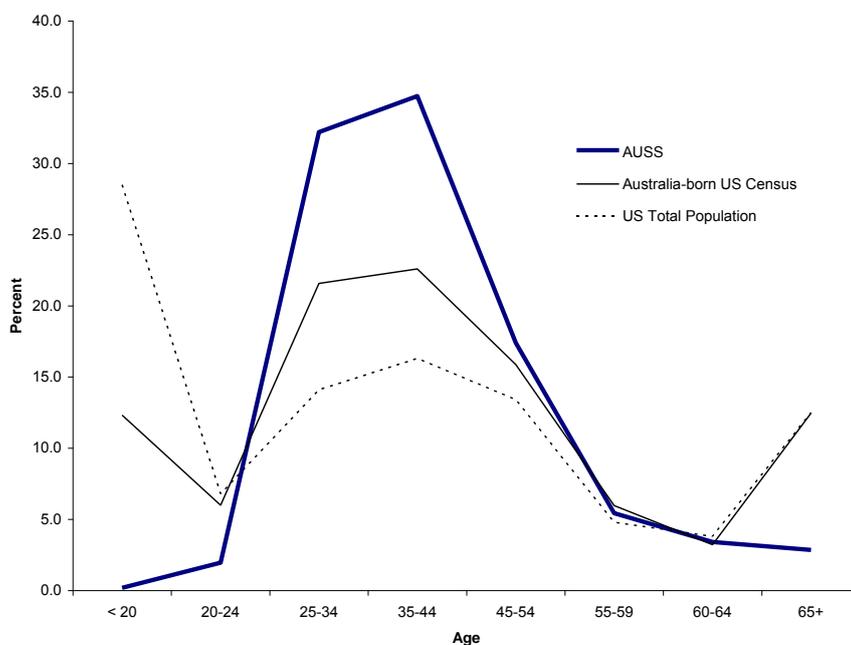
⁴ Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2000. Australia-born respondents to the 2000 US Census (n = 60,965).

The quality of the sample of the Australian population living in the US obtained as respondents to the AUSS questionnaire is assessed in this section by comparing characteristics of AUSS respondents to other sources of data. Examination of the characteristics of AUSS respondents will also help to determine whether response was in fact biased towards individuals with particular characteristics, as discussed previously. Furthermore, the description of general characteristics of the AUSS sample in this section will provide a contextual base for understanding research results discussed in subsequent chapters. The main sources of data used for comparison with the AUSS sample are: respondents to the Australian Emigration Survey who were living in the US (Hugo et al., 2003), Australia-born resident long-term and permanent departures to the US in 2006-07 as recorded in DIAC Overseas Arrival and Departure statistics (OAD data), and Australian-born respondents to the most recent (2000) US Census (US Census).

6.6.1 Age and sex

It is clear that almost all AUSS respondents (91 percent) are between the prime workforce ages of 25–59 (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Age: AUSS sample 2006, 2000 US Census Australian-born respondents and US total population



Source: Compiled from US Census Bureau 2000 Table FBP-1, AUSS 2006

The age structure of the Australia-born population as recorded in the 2000 US Census is more evenly distributed compared with the AUSS respondent sample. The US Census enumerates the entire population living in the US, therefore it is not surprising that there are a greater proportion of younger and older persons in this population compared to the AUSS sample. The Australia-born population in the US as recorded in the US Census is more concentrated in the age range of 25–59 compared to the total US population (Figure 6.1). Based on this age structure, it would be expected that the Australian population in the US have higher rates of employment compared to the total US population.

About a third of AUSS respondents were between the ages of 20–35, similar to the age structure of the Australian Emigration Survey sample. The age structure of the OAD sample is noticeably different, a reflection of the fact that departures of all ages, and movements rather than individuals, are recorded by this data source. According to OAD data, most departures to the US are under the age of 35 (see Table 6.5). The high portion of the OAD sample under the age of 35 results because young adults are particularly mobile. Additionally, 18 percent of the OAD sample is under the age of 20, and the AUSS survey would not have been relevant to most in these younger age groups. In fact almost all AUSS respondents (99.7 percent) are at least 20 years of age.

There are slightly more female than male AUSS respondents. The US Census also recorded more Australian-born females than males (see Table 6.5). There was about an equal number of male and female departures to the US in 2006-07. As shown in previous chapters, there is a higher proportion of female departures in younger age groups and a higher proportion of male departures in older age groups. This is in part a reflection of different reasons for moving between the sexes (to be discussed in Chapter 7). Compared to AUSS there was a stronger representation of male respondents to the Australian Emigration Survey. The age-sex pattern of Australian Emigration Survey respondents is consistent with departures from Australia; there is a higher proportion of females in younger age groups and a higher proportion of males in older age groups.

6.6.2 Marriage and partnership

Similar to Australian Emigration Survey figures, over 70 percent of AUSS respondents are married, a higher proportion than Australia-born US Census respondents who are married

(see Table 6.5). The high proportion of married persons responding to AUSS (and the Australian Emigration Survey) is not surprising given the age structure of these populations. In the AUSS sample there may have been a very different rate of marriage if marital status was gathered upon departure to the US, as nearly half (48.1 percent) of AUSS respondents had changed their marital status since leaving Australia. Marriage/partnership is one of the main reasons given by AUSS respondents for a move to the US (this will be discussed in Chapter 7). Over half of AUSS respondents who changed their marital status since their move to the US said getting married was the reason for this change.

Most married AUSS respondents are partnered with a spouse who was born in the US⁴⁴. Having an American spouse plays a direct role in mobility because it facilitates the process to apply for US Legal Permanent Residence. This process of application restricts in and out movements and as a result length of stay in the US. Marriage to a US spouse also likely plays an indirect role in the connections to the US that will be established as a part of a multi-national relationship. Moreover this may affect the networks kept with other Australians in the US and/or with Australia. This will be considered in results chapters that explore mobility patterns (Chapter 8) and transnational networking (Chapter 9) themes.

Having children is also likely to impact experiences in the US. About a third of respondents to AUSS, the Australian Emigration Survey and Australians in the US Census have dependent children. Over 25 percent of AUSS respondents have children over the age of 18, and 11 percent of respondents have children living in countries other than the US (most in Australia); which could also be a factor encouraging transnational networking and visits outside of the US.

6.6.3 Employment, education and income

Australians living in the US are more highly-skilled and educated when compared to the total populations of both Australia and the US. Rates of employment of Australians in the US are also found in the US Census to be higher for Australians compared to the total US

⁴⁴ For more information about partnership and children of AUSS respondents refer to Appendix 9, section 3.

population. Some 64.8 percent of the Australia-born population aged over 16 as recorded by the US Census in 2000 were employed in the civilian labour force, higher than the rate of 59.7 percent for the total US population. Furthermore, the rate of employment in highly-skilled occupations is nearly double that of the total US population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Australia-born persons granted permanent residence in the US in 2005 are also overrepresented in executive and managerial and professional and technical occupations compared to all immigrants granted US permanent residency in the same year (USCIS 2005a). Just over half of Australia-born long-term and permanent departures to the US are employed in highly-skilled occupations, about the same as long-term and permanent departures to all destinations. The rate of employment in highly-skilled occupations is much higher for Australian emigrants compared to the Australian resident population (Hugo et al., 2003 p.36).

Characteristics of the AUSS sample show they are even more highly-skilled and educated than the Australia-born population in the US as recorded in the US Census. The AUSS sample is slightly less dominated by highly-skilled and educated respondents when compared to the Australian Emigration Survey sample, however, not surprising since that survey was explicitly distributed to university graduates who are more likely to be highly-skilled.

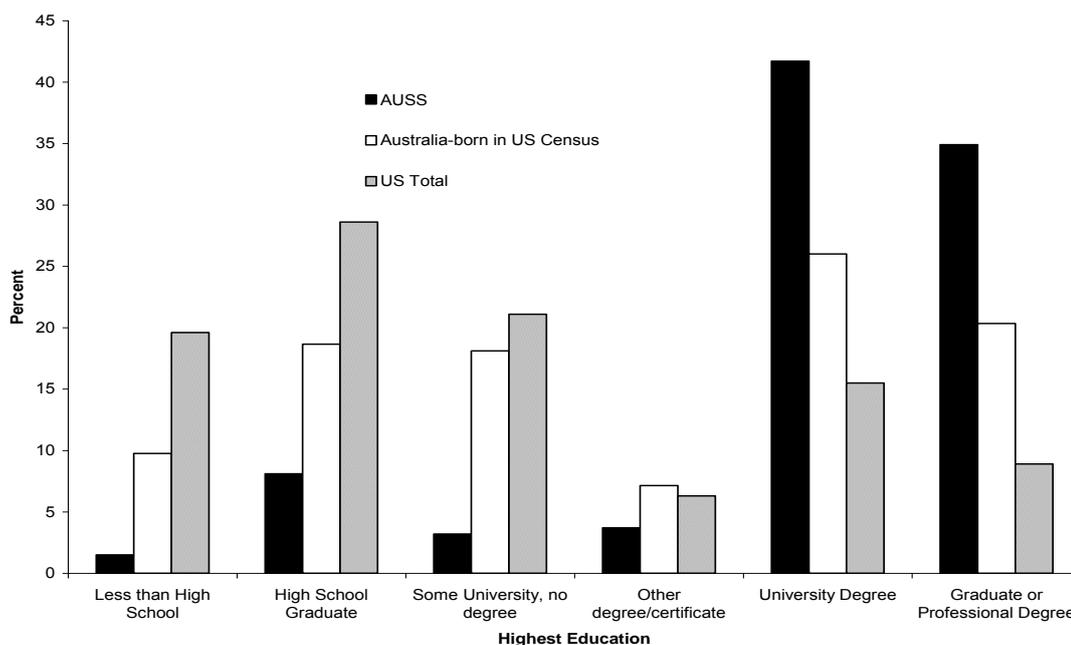
AUSS respondents have higher rates of employment currently compared to before they left to go overseas (81.5 and 77.3 percent respectively).⁴⁵ Most AUSS respondents are either a US resident or the spouse of a US resident, or have US citizenship, therefore meet the criteria to engage in employment and education as they please. Respondents with other types of visas would have more restrictions on the type of activities they could undertake in the US, however most AUSS respondents who were not a US resident or citizen are in the US on working visas.⁴⁶ Important industries of current employment for AUSS respondents include Information Technology (IT) and Education.

⁴⁵ For more information about employment and income of AUSS respondents please see Appendix 9, sections 5 and 6.

⁴⁶ More information about the immigration status or visa type of AUSS respondents is available in Appendix 9, section 4.

Australians living in the US also have higher levels of education compared to the total US population, and AUSS respondents have much higher levels of education than even the Australian-born population living in the US as recorded in the US Census (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Highest completed education: AUSS respondents 2006¹ and 2000 US Census Australia-born respondents and total US population²



¹ Includes all AUSS respondents; 97.8% of respondents aged ≥ 25 years.

² US Census 2000 Australia-born and total population includes population over the age of 25 only.

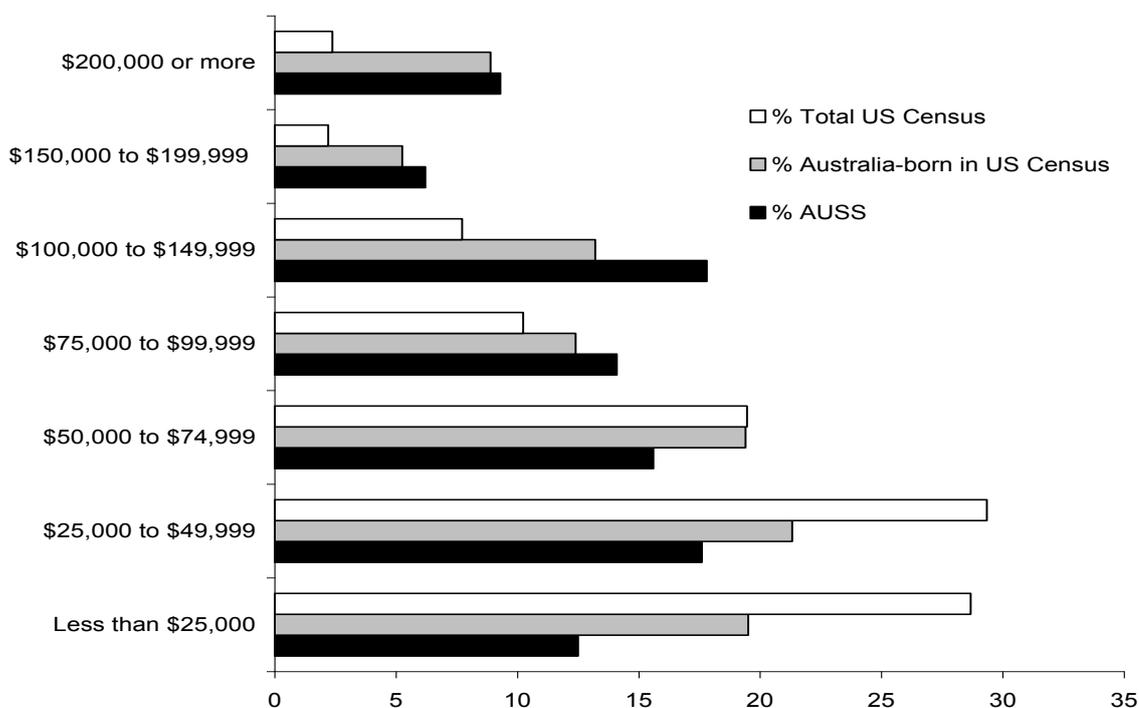
Source: Compiled from US Census 2000 Table FBP-1 Australia and Summary Table 3, AUSS 2006

Thirty-five percent of AUSS respondents have a postgraduate degree, and of this group 11 percent have a Doctoral degree and 17 percent a Masters degree. Most AUSS respondents acquired their highest educational qualification in Australia (62.6 percent), followed by the US (18.1 percent). Again reflecting different means of survey distribution, over 50 percent of Australian Emigration Survey respondents living in the US have a postgraduate degree, further evidence that this sample is more highly-skilled and educated compared to the AUSS sample.

Australians in the US are also doing well for themselves financially, which is not surprising given their characteristics. The Australian-born population in the US have higher incomes compared to the total US population (Figure 6.3). AUSS respondents have even higher incomes than Australia-born respondents to the US Census. Most AUSS

respondents said both their individual and family financial situation had improved with their move to the US.

Figure 6.3: Income (\$US): AUSS respondents 2006 and 2000 US Census Australia-born respondents and total US population¹



¹ Income captured in the 2000 Census was for the year 1999

Source: Compiled from US Census 2000 Tables P52 and FBP-1, AUSS 2006

6.6.4 Residency information

In order to avoid the concern that results would be biased in representing Australians from particular areas of the US more than others, organizations based in a range of US States agreed to distribute the AUSS survey questionnaire (as shown in Table 6.2). All US States were represented in AUSS responses except the State of South Dakota. Table 6.6 shows the top 10 US States of residence of AUSS respondents. Most AUSS respondents are living in California and New York, places popular to all immigrants obtaining US permanent residency in 2006, and the US population as a whole (see Table 6.6).

The index of dissimilarity shown in Table 6.6, which measures how evenly groups are distributed across a particular area, indicates that the distribution of AUSS respondents throughout US states most closely matches the distribution of Australian-born recently

granted permanent residence in the US. The distribution of AUSS respondents and both Australia-born and total immigrants recently granted Legal Permanent Residence in the US are very similar when compared with the distribution of the total US population.

Table 6.6: State of residence: AUSS respondents, Australia-born and Total immigrants obtaining US permanent residency and Total US population, 2006

	AUSS	Australia-born obtaining permanent residence in 2006	Total immigrants obtaining permanent residence in 2006	Total US population ¹
<i>n</i>	1 581	3 249	1 266 264	298 754 819
	%	%	%	%
California	17.6	21.3	20.9	12.1
New York	13.0	12.5	14.2	6.5
Massachusetts	7.5	2.4	2.8	2.2
Texas	7.0	5.4	7.0	7.8
Washington	5.9	3.3	1.9	2.1
Virginia	3.7	2.3	3.0	2.6
Pennsylvania	3.4	2.9	2.0	4.2
Colorado	3.3	3.0	1.0	1.6
Florida	3.0	5.4	12.3	6.0
Arizona	1.9	2.1	1.7	2.1
Other states	33.6	39.5	30.7	52.9
Index of dissimilarity with AUSS sample		12.1	15.1	24.1

¹ US population as of 1 July 2006

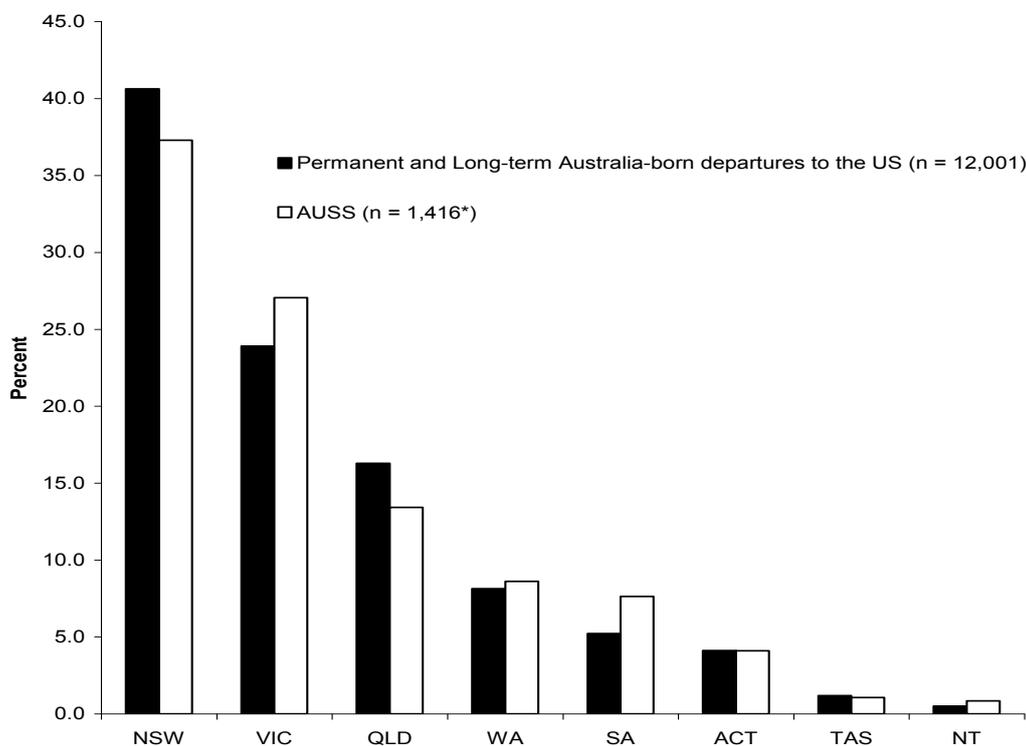
Source: Compiled from USCIS 2005b; USCIS 2006 Profile on Legal Permanent Residents, US Census Bureau 2007 Population Estimates, AUSS 2006

The total US population is more evenly distributed throughout the US compared to Australia-born and total immigrants granted Legal Permanent Residence in 2006, and the AUSS sample. Massachusetts is clearly over-represented as a state of residence in the AUSS respondent group. This is likely the result of bias in survey distribution as the survey was distributed through Australian student groups at Harvard and MIT.

6.6.4.1 Departure from Australia

Most Australians left the States of New South Wales or Victoria to move to the US. The States/Territories of departures from Australia for AUSS respondents closely match the State/Territories of departure of Australia-born long-term and permanent departures who left for the US (according to OAD data) in 2006-07 (Figure 6.4); the index of dissimilarity between these groups is only 6.4.

Figure 6.4: State/Territory of origin: AUSS respondents 2006 and Australia-born long-term and permanent departures to the US, 2006-07



*150 (9.5 percent) of AUSS respondents were living outside of Australia before moving to the US, and 15 respondents (0.9 percent) did not state a previous place of residence.

Source: Compiled from DIAC 2007e OAD unpublished data, AUSS 2006

The ranking of States/Territories of departure from Australia are also closely aligned with the proportion of the Australian population living in these States/Territories. Sydney and Melbourne were the most popular cities of residence among AUSS respondents before their move to the US⁴⁷.

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the theoretical, data and methodological triangulations used in the research have been explained. Following the example of methods used in previous diaspora studies, including the Hugo et al. 2003 Australian Emigration Survey, an online survey was concluded to be a pertinent way to gather information from the Australian diaspora in the US. Non-probability sampling methods were used in distribution of the AUSS survey to reach Australians living in the US by way of Australian expatriate organizations and also

⁴⁷ For more information about departure from Australia of AUSS respondents see Appendix 9, section 7.

snowball sampling methods. The survey questionnaire addresses the following themes: reasons for migration, mobility patterns and transnational networking activities. Socio-demographic characteristics were also recorded. Survey responses from 1,581 Australians living in the US were received. Responses to the AUSS survey provided mainly quantitative data, and some qualitative data. The bulk of qualitative data used in the research was obtained from semi-structured interviews with 17 Australians living in the US.

Comparing characteristics of the AUSS sample with other sources of information about Australians living in, or moving to, the US served the purpose of both bringing a number of biases in the sample to light and explaining some basic characteristics of the surveyed population. Almost all AUSS respondents are over the age of 20, and most are in the prime workforce ages of 25–59. There were slightly more female than male respondents, and about three-quarters of all respondents are married, the majority to a US-born spouse. Several professional expatriate organizations distributed the questionnaire, which contributes to the fact that AUSS respondents as a whole are highly-skilled and educated. The survey was also biased toward highly-skilled respondents due to the online survey format. Although US Census and US immigration data find Australia-born populations to have higher levels of employment in highly-skilled occupations compared to the total US population and all US immigrants, the AUSS sample is even more highly-skilled and educated than these groups. Approximately 35 percent of AUSS respondents have a postgraduate degree and 81 percent are employed as Professionals or Managers.

Most AUSS respondents were living in California or New York. These states are also the most populous in the US, and where the largest numbers of all immigrants live. The majority of AUSS respondents had previously lived in the Australian states of New South Wales and Victoria before their move to the US, which is also where most Australians live. The next chapter will use AUSS results to explore reasons for moving from Australia to the US, and how migrant's journeys have evolved over time.

CHAPTER 7: Motivations for mobility and progression of the migrant experience

7.1 Introduction

Both the drivers of the initial decision to move, and opportunities and experiences that arise after migration help to explain why a migrant is overseas at a given moment in time. Butler (2001 p.195) suggests examining the ‘reasons for and conditions of dispersal’ is important to the study of diaspora. As discussed previously, a range of theories exist to explain why people make an international move, and in fact it would be impossible to develop a single theory that can be applied to explain all international movements (Borowski et al., 1994 p.51, Massey et al., 1998). In the case of migration from one high income country to another, as is the case of those moving from Australia to the US, factors attracting migrants to a destination are often more apparent than those driving them away from the country of origin (Green et al., 2008, Khoo et al., 2008). Structural forces such as globalisation of labour markets, the dominant position of the US in the global economy, and factors specific to the relationship between Australia and the US, play a role in the mobility that occurs. At the micro level, individuals’ personality types, histories, lifestyle and networks are also important to consider (Taylor, 1969, Boneva and Frieze, 2001, Petersen, 1958) as are demographic characteristics such as age and sex (see for example van Dalen and Henkens, 2007, Dostie and Legér, 2006). Responses from AUSS respondents relating to their reasons for moving from Australia to the US will be explored across a range of respondent characteristics.

Coming to terms with why people move in the first place is only one part of this understanding. The experiences migrants have once they have moved also are encouraged by, and contribute to, an ongoing cycle of migration decisions. Things that happen after arrival often change the migration experience to something different than expected, and can have an influence on future plans. The nature of the original move and migrant

characteristics at the time of migration also have something to do with the migration journey that follows. The second half of this chapter will look at how AUSS migrant experiences have evolved since arrival in the US to bring respondents to their current situation, and how this accumulation of experiences relates to future plans.

7.2 Reasons for moving from Australia to the US

The decision to move from one country to another is usually complex. For some there are arguably less adjustments and challenges; migrants moving through specific channels, such as those on a direct work or study transfer (Peixoto, 2001b, Iredale, 1999) and those with personal networks in the destination country may have work, accommodation and contacts in place before their move, making their mobility and adjustment more straightforward (Vertovec, 2002, Boyd, 1989 p.639, Massey and Espana, 1987). Even in this scenario, adjustments and confrontations with differences will arise. For those who make the choice to move for less specific reasons, have fewer networks in place or who bring along spouses or children who also have to make their way in a new country there may be additional risks and challenges.

There is great diversity in the main reasons AUSS respondents stated for their decision to move to the US. International experience, marriage/partnership, employment opportunities and career and promotion opportunities are all important drivers of movement (Table 7.1). Other studies of the Australian diaspora have found similar key reasons for moves away from Australia. The Australian Emigration Survey found better employment opportunities, professional development and higher income to be the top three reasons for moves out of Australia (Hugo et al., 2003 p.44). The One Million More survey (OMM) found better employment opportunities, international experience, and marriage/partnership to be the main reasons respondents were currently living overseas (OMM 2006 from Rudd and Hugo, 2007).

Each of the main reasons AUSS respondents gave for moving are motivated by a range of factors. Moves for marriage/partnership are clearly based on individual circumstance and movement by way of a network with their spouse, while moves for employment opportunities and career and promotion opportunities are influenced by structural forces

CHAPTER 7: Motivations for mobility and progression of the migrant experience

such as internationalisation of workforces and perhaps business networks, but are also likely driven by individual factors such as family situation, personality type and aspirations (Goss and Lindquist, 1995 p.344, Lee, 1966).

Table 7.1: Main reasons for decision to move to the US by sex – percent indicating ‘yes’ response to each reason, AUSS respondents

	Total % (n = 1 581)	Males % (n = 754)	Females % (n = 799)
International experience	43.3	47.5	39.4
Marriage/partnership	36.8	29.6	43.7
Employment opportunities	32.6	42.6	23.3
Career and promotion opportunities	28.2	34.6	22.2
Professional development	25.8	33.8	18.3
Higher income	24.0	33.2	15.3
Education/study	17.6	21.5	14.0
Overseas job transfer/exchange	16.0	20.6	11.8
Partners employment	13.0	5.7	19.9
Lifestyle	12.2	15.0	9.6
More favourable income tax regime	11.4	17.6	5.5
Business opportunities	9.2	14.2	4.5
No equivalent jobs in Australia	7.7	10.9	4.8
Better educational institutions for skill training and upgrading	5.8	8.4	3.4
To be close to family/friends	4.5	3.7	5.3
More favourable business tax regime	3.7	5.7	1.8
Want to expand, establish or relocate a business to the US	3.0	4.5	1.6
Better employer supported or work-based training	2.7	3.8	1.6

Note: Respondents could select all that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

The most popular choice of international experience as a reason for moving is less specific and could be driven by both personal and professional factors. The differences between males and females in their reasons for moving to the US are evident. Males were more likely to select economic and employment related reasons for moving, while females were more likely than males to select marriage/partnership and partner’s employment as reasons for moving. However, it is important to note that employment and career and promotion opportunities were also important reasons for moving for females, but less so than for males.

AUSS respondents could select multiple reasons for their decision to move to the US (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Selection of multiple reasons for moving to the US, AUSS respondents

	International experience % (n=680)	Marriage/ partnership % (n=577)	Employment opportunities % (n=515)	Career and promotion % (n=443)	Professional development % (n=406)	Higher income % (n=378)	Education/ study % (n=278)	Overseas transfer % (n=252)	Partners employment % (n=205)	Lifestyle % (n=192)	Total Response % (n=1 581)
International experience	na	23.6	59.8	68.8	73.6	65.3	52.9	65.5	37.1	79.7	43.3
Marriage/partnership	20.0	na	20.0	15.1	12.6	22.8	18.3	6.3	42.0	25.5	36.8
Employment opportunities	45.3	17.9	na	62.3	64.8	74.1	42.4	36.1	29.8	60.4	32.6
Career and promotion opportunities	44.9	11.6	53.6	na	66.7	59.5	30.6	54.8	19.5	50.5	28.2
Professional development	44.0	8.8	51.1	61.2	na	51.9	38.1	41.3	12.7	46.9	25.8
Higher income	36.3	14.9	54.4	50.8	48.3	na	21.2	36.9	27.3	59.4	24.0
Education/study	21.6	8.8	22.9	19.2	26.1	15.6	na	4.4	9.8	13.0	17.6
Overseas job transfer	24.3	2.8	17.7	31.2	25.6	24.6	4.0	na	13.7	22.4	16.0
Partners employment	11.2	14.9	11.8	9.0	6.4	14.8	7.2	11.1	na	10.9	13.0
Lifestyle	22.5	8.5	22.5	21.9	22.2	30.2	9.0	17.1	10.2	na	12.2

Source: AUSS 2006

CHAPTER 7: Motivations for mobility and progression of the migrant experience

Many reasons for moving were found to be related to employment or income, therefore it is not surprising that there are high rates of multiple responses within these types of selections (for example, respondents who selected career and promotion opportunities as a reason for moving also often selected employment opportunities). Interestingly, there are especially high rates of multiple-response between employment related reasons for moving and international experience as a reason for moving, an indication that in the AUSS sample, international experience may be interpreted as related to economic opportunities. Respondents who selected lifestyle as a reason for moving also frequently selected employment and income related reasons for moving, and three-quarters of those who selected lifestyle also selected international experience as a reason for moving. This suggests that the lifestyle factors that encourage a move are also often related to the economic conditions in the US.

7.2.1 Partnered moves

Although moves for education/study are sometimes associated with economic reasons for moving (Iredale, 2001, Peixoto, 2001b), moves for marriage/partnership and partners' employment can be influenced by very different factors. Moves for marriage/partnership were by far the most common reason female respondents gave for a move to the US, and about one-third of male respondents were also moving for this reason. Although not as important a reason for moving overall compared to the AUSS sample, the Australian Emigration Survey found more respondents living in the US/Canada had moved for marriage/partnership reasons compared to those living in other regions (Hugo et al., 2003 p.44-45).

Building on the work of Birrell (1995), a study of spouse migration to Australia by Khoo (2001) differentiates spousal moves as either marriage migration, whereby a spouse is specifically sought from abroad, or family reunion, migration that occurs in order to keep the family unit together or reunite the family after a period of separation. It is suggested that a common form of family reunion spousal migration is of partners who have met while one or both were working, travelling or studying overseas. This type of spousal migration is furthermore most likely to occur between birthplace groups where there has been extensive travel in both directions (Khoo, 2001 p.114). These type of partnerships are

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growing in significance as more young people travel as a part of working holiday and student exchange programs (Hugo, 2008).

Family reunion migration is therefore most likely the type of spousal migration that is taking place between Australia and the US. There is frequent mobility between the two countries and in fact more than 60 percent of total AUSS respondents, and 81 percent of those moving to the US for marriage/partnership, are married to a US-born spouse. Additionally, over 48 percent of total survey respondents had experienced a change in marital status since their move to the US, while only 32 percent of respondents who moved to the US for marriage/partnership had a change in marital status, indicating that movements for marriage/partnership in the AUSS sample are most often for family reunion reasons rather than to actually marry. Table 7.3 shows most respondents moving for marriage/partnership said they chose the US as a destination country because their partner is working there. In agreement with the suggestion that multiple factors are considered when making a move from Australia to the US, Khoo (2001) also found that spouse migration to Australia from English-speaking or European countries was more likely to also be motivated by climate and lifestyle factors compared to spousal migration from other parts of the world where the migration is more distinctly tied to marriage.

Table 7.3: Select reasons for move to the US and reason the US was chosen as a destination, AUSS respondents

	Total % (n = 1 581)	International experience % (n = 680)	Marriage/ partnership % (n = 577)	Employment opportunities % (n = 515)	Education/ study % (n = 278)
Reason US chosen as a destination¹					
Better opportunities	32.5	41.3	14.0	61.7	58.6
Higher salaries	18.2	24.7	9.9	39.8	24.5
English speaking	20.4	28.8	12.7	33.8	32.0
Similar cultures	14.5	21.0	10.1	26.2	18.0
Direct work/study transfer	16.1	22.2	5.0	16.5	11.5
Spouse/partners work	36.0	20.4	85.3	19.2	14.4
US only option	21.4	23.1	15.6	26.0	23.0

¹ Respondents could select all reasons that apply

Source: AUSS 2006

The high prevalence of females moving for marriage/partnership and partners employment should not lead to the assumption that these females are unskilled or passive in the

migration decision-making process (Zlotnik, 1995, Kofman, 2000, Yeoh and Khoo, 1998). Female migrants have often historically been seen to be simply following men (Houstoun et al., 1984, Pedraza, 1991) and are sometimes relegated to the position of ‘trailing spouse’ (Yeoh and Khoo, 1998). Boyle (2002) criticizes the view of males and females as distinct social groups, rather than a joint unit in decision-making, because this undermines the role of women in the migration process. He argues for a perspective which acknowledges a joint decision-making unit between partners. As Hiller and McCaig (2007 p.457) state: ‘while some women may still follow men in relocation, partnered women have their own labour-force interests at the destination and relational issues are critical in the migration process’. Pedraza (1991) has suggested that a view of migration that takes into account gender and family can provide the linkage between macro and micro drivers associated with migration. The formerly mentioned study by Khoo (2001) looking at reasons for spousal migration also explored who the decision-maker was in the spouse migration process. Khoo found that spouse migration to Australia from English-speaking or European countries was more likely to be both spouses’ idea when compared to spouse migration from other countries. ‘This points to the more egalitarian migration decision among spouses from Western countries and would be consistent with a family lifestyle choice’ (Khoo, 2001 p.121).

In dual-career couples, one member of the couple often has to give up his or her job in order to move with their spouse on an international assignment. This is most often done by women and can lead to depreciation in the professional sphere which can create a great deal of stress leading up to and following a move (Harvey, 1998 p.311, Shahnasarian, 1991 p.181). It is promising that in light of increasing international moves through multinational assignments, there are calls for increasing attention to meeting the needs of the so-called ‘trailing spouse’ in order for moves to be successful (Harvey, 1998).

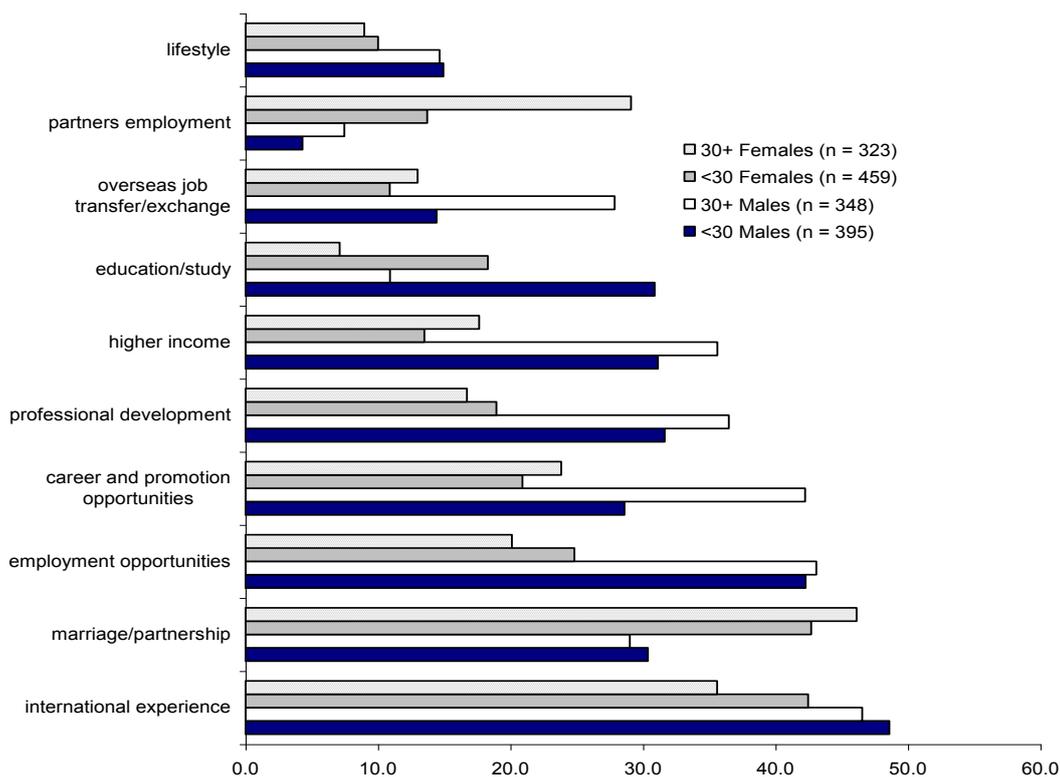
7.2.2 The influence of age on migration decisions

Previous research shows a negative relationship between age and likelihood of migration, resulting from the fact there is less time to recover the social and economic investment of a move for those who make an initial migration at older ages (Gallaway, 1969, Goss and Paul, 1986, Dostie and Leg er, 2006). There were some differences in AUSS respondent’s reasons for moving based on age. The most popular reason for moving among AUSS

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respondents, international experience, was most likely to be selected by respondents under the age of 30 at the time of their move. While this reason for moving in the AUSS sample is often related to economic factors, migrants moving for employment/economic reasons are often over the age of 30 at the time of their move (as shown in Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Reason for move by age at arrival in the US and sex, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

Those younger in age typically have fewer strings attached, therefore may have both more freedom to make a move and see moving as a way to negotiate their identity:

Relatively free of commitments to a house, a job and dependents, they are more prone to experiments and rove geographically and socially for more satisfactory social and economic arrangements. Geographic mobility is thus just one form that this searching for a role takes in the phase of youth or early adulthood.

Bonney et al. 1999 p.139

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There is a consensus in the migration literature that migrants are often risk takers (see for example Brockerhoff and Biddlecom, 1999, Petersen, 1958) and AUSS respondents are no different. A quest for adventure, and a 'see what happens' attitude, appear to be underlying traits of many AUSS respondents and interviewees, especially those who moved to the US at a younger age. In accordance with survey results showing most respondents stated multiple reasons for moving, a theme in conversations with interviewees was that if they had to tick a box, they would say they moved for employment, education, higher income, etcetera, but the underlying driver of moving for many was the adventure of living somewhere else and the opportunity to do something different.

Susan, for example, moved to the US to complete a Master's Degree at a top US university, but in reality it was more the adventure of living in the US that drove the move. Enrolling at university gave her a direct channel for moving and ensured a positive outcome would come from the experience:

RESEARCHER: What made you decide to move here, school and the experience?

SUSAN: Yep. It was more to have an experience and then school was a good excuse. And it was easier to get in the country...with business school it was like, well you didn't want to do it in Australia, that's boring, I just wouldn't do it, so make it an adventure.

Susan, age 30, New York, has been living in the US two years

Interviewee Simone also came to the US primarily because she was looking to do something unique and wanted to continue to travel and see the world. She went with a nursing qualification as her safety net and means of finding work:

I had been to England and Greece, I just thought I'd come to the US...

Simone, age 53, California, first arrived in the US at age 29

Other studies looking at mobility between developed nations have drawn similar conclusions, Conradson and Latham for example (2005) explored the motivations for migration of young New Zealanders moving to the UK, and found that in addition to career

opportunities, ‘formulations of the self as a creative project’ was a key factor driving migration.

AUSS respondents who selected overseas job transfer or exchange and career and promotion opportunities as reasons for moving are much more likely to have first arrived in the US at age 30 or older. Moving for career related reasons may be more popular for those over the age of 30 compared to younger individuals. Persons aged 30 years and over have had more time in the workforce to develop skills and create opportunities for an overseas employment move (Goss and Paul, 1986). Most respondents moving for these reasons are male, which helps to explain the higher percentage of females over the age of 30 who moved to the US for partner’s employment.

Moving for education or study was largely a response for those under the age of 30. According to the Institute of International Education (IIE), the US was the top destination of overseas students from Australia in the year 2004⁴⁸ (IIE 2007), receiving nearly twice the number of students (2,706) compared to the second most popular destination country, the UK (1,501 students). The reasons most AUSS respondents who moved to the US for education or study chose the US as a destination were better opportunities, because the US is an English-speaking country and higher salaries (see Table 7.3). The fact that higher salaries were an important factor in the decision to move to the US may indicate some respondents plan to stay in the US and work after completion of their studies. In fact respondents moving for education/study were also likely to select employment opportunities and career and promotion as main reasons for moving. These are the same main reasons the US was chosen as a destination by those moving to the US for employment and income reasons, highlighting the link between student and highly-skilled mobility.

7.2.3 Level of education and migration

There is a positive relationship between level of education and the likelihood of migration (van Dalen and Henkens, 2007, Schwartz, 1976, Courchene, 1970, Dostie and Legér, 2006). Additionally, there is evidence that OECD countries are becoming more selective

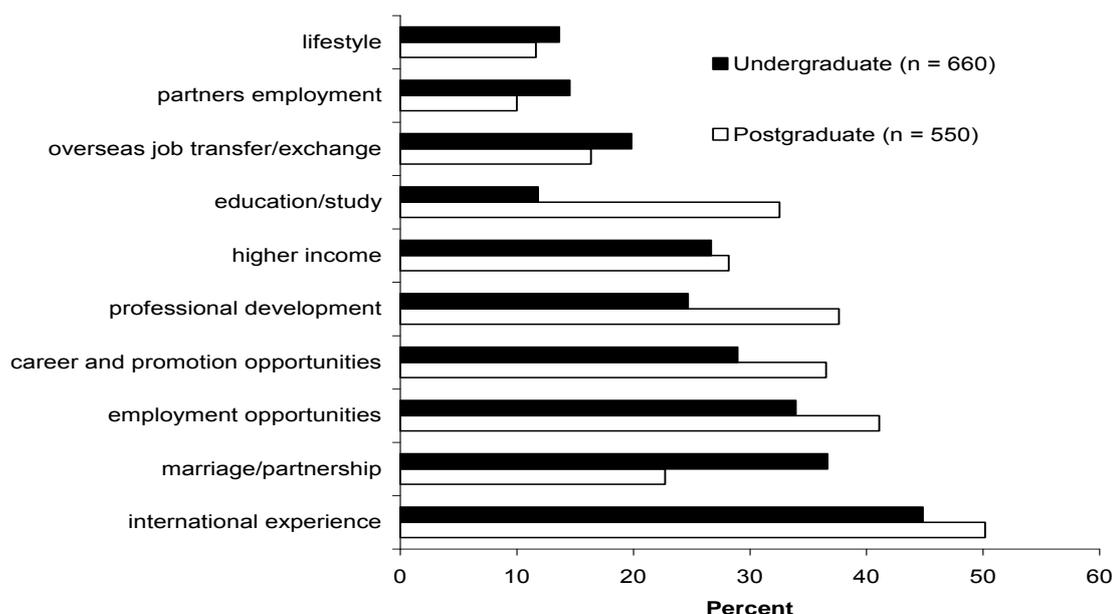
⁴⁸ This was the most recent year data available from this source.

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of migrants with high levels of education as time goes on, in response to changing global labour force demands (Docquier and Marfouk, 2005). A relationship between level of education and distance travelled has also been found, with more educated migrants generally travelling greater distances (Schwartz, 1976, Schwartz, 1973). The AUSS survey population is highly educated relative to both the Australia-born population living in the US as recorded in the US Census and the total US population (as discussed in the previous chapter). They are also highly educated relative to Australia's population. While 83 percent of male and 71 percent of female AUSS respondents have at least an undergraduate diploma, only 23 percent of the total Australian population over the age of 15 have this qualification (ABS 2006c). Furthermore, 35 percent of AUSS respondents have a postgraduate diploma/degree.

There is some difference in the reasons for moving to the US between those with undergraduate and those with postgraduate qualifications. Employment related reasons for moving were selected by those with a postgraduate degree more so than those with an undergraduate degree (Figure 7.2). Respondents in the undergraduate group were more likely to choose marriage/partnership as a reason for moving compared to those with a postgraduate qualification. This is true of both males and female respondents.

Figure 7.2: Reason for move by highest educational qualification, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

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It is not surprising that more respondents with higher educational qualifications moved to the US for study, as over 30 percent of respondents with a postgraduate degree completed their highest educational qualification in the US. Many respondents stayed on after completing their educational qualification in the US. The reasons for stays in the US longer than planned will be discussed later in this chapter.

Reasons for moving in the AUSS sample were also explored by occupation and employment status. As would be expected, employment and income related reasons for moving were more important to those employed in highly-skilled occupations compared to other occupations, and employed respondents compared to those who were not working.

7.2.4 Choice of the US as a destination country

It has been shown that migrants moving from Australia to the US are highly-skilled and educated, and all migrant flows are selective towards these characteristics. However, the factors driving movement between high income countries remains somewhat obscure (van Dalen and Henkens, 2007 p.37-38). Relative to the drivers of migration from less to more developed regions, push factors are less obvious for migrants moving between highly developed nations such as Australia and the US. There is a body of literature that explores moves within transnational corporations by way of intra-company transfers as increasingly common, especially in the context of rapidly expanding economic connections between countries (Khoo et al., 2007, Koser and Salt, 1997, Peixoto, 2001a, Salt, 1997, Sklair, 1998, Salt, 1990, Salt, 1992). The expanding economic linkages between Australia and the US and the influence this has on migration were explored in Chapter 5. In the AUSS sample 16 percent of total respondents stated job transfer or exchange as the main reason for a move to the US, and the same percentage said they chose the US as a destination because they moved by way of a direct work or study transfer (see Table 7.3). Highly-skilled and educated migrants, and those moving from high income countries, are at greater liberty to consider a range of factors before making a decision to move, and may wait until a certain tipping point is reached before moving to a place where they will be more highly valued (Zodgekar, 1990, Freeman, 1999).

Non-economic factors are also important considerations (Winchie and Carment, 1989, Conradson and Latham, 2005) even for migrants moving for economic reasons. Different

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types of migrants may in general be driven by better opportunities, but in the finer details there are differences in the reasons for their choice of a particular destination. Immigration procedures, the quality of work available and lifestyle factors (Mahroum, 2000, Green et al., 2008 p.36) influence the decision to move to a particular place. Australians visiting the US for 90 days or less are eligible for the visa-waiver program and the E3 visa provides a pathway for Australians with specialized skills to stay in the US on a longer basis⁴⁹. Many who move to the US for employment or education do so because there are opportunities in the US, perceived differently by each individual, that simply are not available in Australia:

The type of things that I'm doing, there's not really that scope and scale of work in Australia and I've got to think about the financial implications because I have a family. It's not just a matter of what makes me feel good. I'm doing something here that makes me feel good and it pays the bills...

Daniel, age 46, New York, Logistician

I'm totally sucked into this lifestyle...I'd never find this back home...yeah, I could work at the Fringe Festival or in a box office of a little theatre company or something but I don't know whether that would make me happy...

Natasha, age 29, California, Television Producer

There's jobs here you'll never get in Australia. There's opportunities here you'll never get in Australia. And you'll never get compensated the same amount of money. That is just a reality.

Doug, age 32, New York, Business Analyst

Although there are examples of movement from core to peripheral regions (Findlay et al., 2002), movement between developed nations, especially for economic reasons, typically involves movement to a more affluent First World Country (Green et al., 2008). In the case of Australia and the US, Australia is clearly peripheral to the core country of the US.

Higher incomes in the US have been shown to be an important factor in the decision to move from Australia to the US, particularly for those moving for employment related

⁴⁹ As discussed in Chapter 5. See Glossary for further explanation of these forms of entry to the US.

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reasons. Not surprisingly, high income inequalities between countries has been found to be an important motivator for migration of the highly-skilled (Liebig and Sousa-Poza, 2004).

Many interviewees expressed feelings of a more ambitious, global outlook in the US compared to Australia, which is important to some who move to the US for employment reasons:

...there was this attitude we [Australia] were so far removed from everybody else...what role could we possibly have on the world stage? Whereas here it's just assumed. If you produce something of course you will try to sell it overseas...nobody is saying we can't do that because we are too far away or too small or haven't got the domestic market or whatever. Here, anything seems possible.

Steven, age 45, New Jersey, Computer Programmer

[In the US] Interests are broader, the country is more global. A lot of the work I do here I could easily do there, [but] in terms of time-zones it is easier to connect with where it is all happening during business hours in the US compared to Australia which is so far away from everything, except Asia.

William, age 56, North Carolina, owner of a Consulting firm

Given the different reasons for moving between the sexes, it would be expected that more males move to the US because of better opportunities and higher salaries while more females choose the US as a destination because their partner is working there (see Table 7.3). About 20 percent of both males and females said the US was the only destination considered. With regard to highly-skilled mobility in this context, the destination itself may be less important than the opportunities or facilities available (Norwicka, 2006). Those moving for employment related reasons only may be more flexible in their choice of destination (compared to those moving specifically to be with a partner) and simply move to where there is a desirable opportunity.

Steven, for example, ended up in the US not because he was looking to work there particularly, but because qualities of the US environment made it a sensible destination:

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I was looking for a change and had a desire to experience a different culture and lifestyle...when I thought about destinations I knew I would have to go somewhere English speaking, so that narrowed the choices down. The US also seemed like a natural choice for my career path in technology.

Steven, age 45, New Jersey

Interviewee Patrick would have preferred to work in Bangkok or Beirut over the US, but his most attractive job offer was from a job headquartered in New York. Thus it was not working in the US that drew him to New York but rather accepting a job offer that just happened to be based there.

Similarly, respondent Bradley has simply move where his work takes him:

BRADLEY: I worked back in Australia for a couple of years. I was sent out on assignment from my company in the US. After a couple of years in Australia I came back to the US and then was shipped off to work in China for the next five years.

RESEARCHER: So you are just following where work sends you?

BRADLEY: Absolutely

Bradley, age 50, California, has been living in the US 23 years

7.2.5 Learning of opportunities in the US

Also important to explaining why the US was chosen as a destination is exploring how respondents learned of opportunities in the US that encouraged the move. It has long been acknowledged that previous migrations and the presence of migrant networks encourage future migrations.

Free migration is always rather small...the most significant attribute of pioneers...is that they blaze trails for others to follow, and sometimes the number who do so grows into a broad stream.

Peterson 1958 p.7

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Migrant networks are well documented as instrumental in encouraging mobility by lowering the financial and social cost of migration by helping in job searches, finding accommodation, and acting as a source of social support (Massey and Espana, 1987, Boyd, 1989, Vertovec, 2002, Massey et al., 1998, Epstein and Gang, 2006, Iredale, 1999, Meyer, 2001, Liang and Chunyu, 2005). Networks are very important factors encouraging and facilitating movement of AUSS respondents; some 70 percent had contacts in place in the US before moving there and as Table 7.4 shows, existing networks in the US are how many learned of opportunities that encouraged a move there.

Table 7.4: How AUSS respondents learned of opportunities in the US by sex

	Total % (n = 1 581)	Males % (n = 754)	Females % (n = 799)
Been to the US before	31.8	34.5	29.9
Existing networks in the US	26.8	32.0	22.4
Independent search	22.6	25.7	20.3
Partner/family going there	20.7	13.9	27.4
Networks in Australia	17.4	21.2	14.3
Experience of others who have been to the US	14.7	20.3	9.9

Source: AUSS 2006

Respondents most often learned of opportunities in the US through previous visits. Networks and associations with the destination country may be created during an initial experience that encourages additional movement in the future. Findlay and Li (1999 p.56) remark that understating the role of networks and contacts in driving migration decisions may lead to falsely interpreting migration as simply a response to existing social and cultural events. It is also important to consider:

...other interpretations that might identify the seeds of the migration decision as long predating spatial relocation and which would interpret changing social and cultural influences during the life course as significant in moulding the deeply held values that underpin the decision to migrate.

Findlay and Li 1999 p.56

Carling (2008 p.472) also notes that both individual and life course factors, including family migration histories, are important in explaining mobility behaviours. Some AUSS interviewees had lived in the US or other countries outside of Australia when they were

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younger and these early experiences made them aware of the possibilities that existed in living overseas, and also took away some of the apprehension in deciding to make an international move, since the experience would not be completely unfamiliar. Susan, for example, lived in the US for a few years as a teenager when her father was there on a work assignment:

RESEARCHER: You were intrigued from that experience as a teenager and wanted to try it again?

SUSAN: I enjoyed it, so thought we'd come back and try it again.

Susan, age 30, New York, has been living in the US two years

Annette lived in England for a few years when she was growing up, and that experience played a part in her willingness to move overseas in the future:

Ever since I was little I was pouring over maps and looking at things, but I'm not sure I would have ever gotten off my backside and gone, unless we'd done that first. I certainly doubt I would have ever decided to move to America by myself, I think that was a really big influence, because I was kind of like 'oh yeah, I've done this before, I've moved a few times internationally, I know what the deal is'...

Annette, age 29, California, has been living in the US four years

Males learned of opportunities that encouraged a move to the US through networks in both Australia and the US more often than females (see Table 7.4). Females, in contrast, learned of opportunities in the US because their partner was going there (in fact another type of network), clearly related to the fact that marriage/partnership was the most common reason female respondents gave for moving to the US. Those in highly-skilled occupational groups have been found to rely more on the networks of colleagues and organizations rather than kinship networks (Vertovec, 2002). This helps to explain the larger portion of males stating they learned of opportunities in the US through networks compared to females; perhaps these networks are perceived in more formal terms.

There is also some difference in the way respondents learned of opportunities in the US based on their reasons for moving there; respondents who stated marriage/partnership or

education/study as a reason for moving to the US had ways of learning about opportunities in the US that were least like other groups. Not surprisingly, ‘partner/family going there’ was the most common means of learning of US opportunities for respondents moving for marriage/partnership. Those moving for education or study were more likely to have learned of opportunities in the US by independent search, networks in Australia or experiences of others who had been to the US, compared to respondents who moved to the US for other reasons. Perhaps those moving for study became aware of opportunities in the US during their studies in Australia, or by word-of-mouth from other students who returned after studying abroad. Nearly half of those who selected lifestyle as a reason for moving learned of opportunities from having been to the US before, indicating they were quite clear on the type of lifestyle there were moving to. Many who chose lifestyle as a reason for moving also learned of opportunities through existing networking in the US, possibly made or strengthened when they visited the US before.

7.3 Progression of the migrant experience

A global environment that promotes international mobility and a transnational migration framework requires a shift away from conceptualising migration in terms of permanent or temporary time frames. There is great difficulty in exploring migration outcomes in these terms since some sources of data are based on migrant intentions at the outset of a journey, while others are based on retrospective accounts of what actually occurred. Additionally, intentions in terms of duration of the migration journey often do not match the journey that eventuates (Waldorf, 1995, Migration Policy Institute, 2003, Osborne, 2004, Agunias and Newland, 2007, Hugo, 2006c, Ruhs, 2005). Put simply: ‘People sometimes become migrants by default when they keep living in the country to which they moved temporarily. Conversely, migrants intending to stay permanently sometimes return to their homeland’ (Green et al., 2008 p35).

A central problem with defining migrants according to a particular timeframe is that the motivations and outcomes of permanent migration and temporary migration are often considered very differently (Balaz et al., 2004), when in fact it is often the same migrants who shift between categories as their journeys evolve. Although the things that perpetuate migration are often different than the original reasons for making a move (Massey et al.,

1998), certain characteristics of the migrant and the reasons for their initial mobility decisions do influence the type of migrant experiences that develop (Constant and Massey, 2002, Güngör, 2005, Alberts and Hazen, 2005). This section will explore how the journeys of AUSS respondents have evolved and consider how particular characteristics and reasons for moving play a part in shaping these journeys. Future intentions influenced by their migration experiences will also be explored across a range of characteristics.

7.3.1 Changes in duration of the migrant journey

Much migration is not intended to be permanent, particularly between developed nations, since migrants moving between these countries know they can return to the country of origin at any time (Green et al., 2008 p.34, Gold, 1997). However, more than 60 percent of all AUSS respondents said they were staying away from Australia for longer than originally intended; about one-third of respondents said there had been no change to their intended length of stay. Although very few said they were staying away from Australia for less time than originally planned, it is likely that this group was underrepresented since individuals already returned to Australia were not included.

Just as reasons for an initial move to the US are complex and multifaceted, so are the reasons for changes to the intended duration of stay. Some migrants start out with more specific intentions in terms of duration of stay; those overseas on a direct work or study transfer for a specified period of time for example, but in many cases plans change as opportunities arise, and some migrants in fact never had a specific plan in terms of length of their journey.

This offer looked attractive so I thought I'd come out for maybe 12 months...and then another 12 months...and maybe another 12 months after that...

Bradley, age 50, California, has been living in the US 23 years

When I left Australia I didn't have any great ties, I was even thinking I could either take or leave my family. Not for any particular reason but...I just felt like seeing the world, and off I went, and the consequences of settling so far from home, and having kids, that never occurred to me.

Simone, age 53, California, has been living in the US 24 years

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Although changes to the length of the migrant journey of AUSS respondents reflect mainly individual level reasons, it is important to consider structural factors as well. For example, the ability to obtain a visa to legally stay on in the US longer may narrow the possibilities in terms of length of stay and future plans. Some temporary migrants do not have the option to stay on in the destination country longer than planned. Some international students, for example, may be funded by their home country under the proviso that they return there to work once their studies have finished. Similarly those who moved for an overseas work exchange may be required to stick to specific timeframes and return to the country of origin once an assignment has finished. In their research on the mobility decisions of international students in the US, Alberts and Hazen (2005 p.150) comment:

Those students from countries with stable democracies, decent economies, and high levels of personal freedom, (i.e. where there are no overarching deterrents to their return) the decision is typically more strongly influenced by individual preferences.

Relative to migrants from some other countries, Australians in the US have more opportunities to make individual decisions regarding their evolving mobility. This is true given their highly-skilled characteristics and the fact there are specific pathways for Australians to apply for ongoing visas (for example the E3 visa), however things like visa status do play an important part in mobility decisions for some Australians in the US. About 17 percent of respondents staying on in the US longer than planned said they were doing so because their visa situation changed (see Table 7.6), and some respondents said they went so far as to get married earlier than they ideally would have, in order to secure a US visa.

Respondents who stated international experience and education/study as a reason for moving were the most inclined to end up staying away from Australia longer than planned (Table 7.5). Respondents who selected these reasons for moving to the US were also more likely to be under the age of 30 compared to those who moved for other reasons (see section 7.2.2), demonstrating there may be a relationship between age at migration and the propensity to stay in the destination country longer than intended.

Table 7.5: Reason for move to the US and changes to intended length of stay in the US since arrival, AUSS respondents

	n	% Staying longer than planned	% Staying for less time than planned	% No change
International experience	680	70.7	1.9	26.3
Marriage/partnership	577	47.1	2.9	48.7
Employment opportunities	515	64.1	1.9	32.0
Career and promotion opportunities	443	65.0	1.8	31.8
Professional development	406	67.7	2.0	29.1
Higher income	378	62.4	1.1	34.4
Education/study	278	68.3	0.7	29.9
Overseas job transfer/exchange	252	66.7	1.6	30.2
Partners employment	205	64.9	1.0	32.2
Lifestyle	192	54.7	1.6	41.1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1 581	61.4	1.8	34.9

Source: AUSS 2006

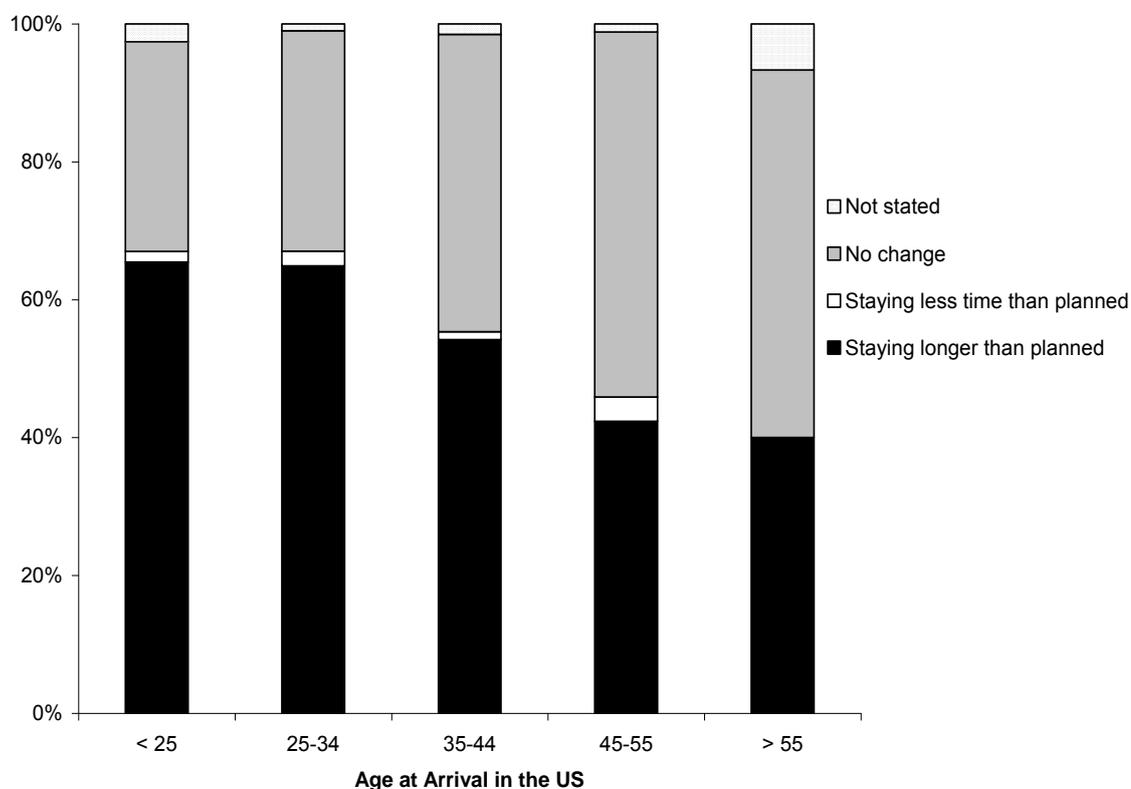
There is a direct connection between AUSS respondent's age at arrival in the US and the likelihood of staying in the US longer than originally planned. Figure 7.3 shows those who first arrived at younger ages are more likely to have extended their stay in the US, and those who first arrived at older ages less likely to have made any change to the intended length of their stay in the US.

You do like a twelve-month to two-year transfer but then people get attached. ...Why rush home? It doesn't change...it's a good back-up plan. Family, such a good lifestyle. It's an easier life back there [in Australia], do this while you're young and can do it and see what happens.

Susan, age 30, New York, has been living in the US two years
(Planning to stay in the US at least two more years)

Other research has also found this to be the case, for example the study by Green et al. (2008 p.41) looking at migration experiences of New Zealanders moving to Australia found those aged 18–24 were the group most likely to have gone to Australia 'temporarily but decided to stay'.

Figure 7.3: Age at arrival in the US and changes to intended length of stay in the US, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

7.3.2 Reasons for increasing duration of stay

Recent research in Australia examining the reasons skilled temporary migrants take up or intend to apply for permanent residency also provides useful insight to understanding the temporary-to-more-long-term channel that seems to be common among AUSS respondents. Khoo et al. (2008) found that migrants from Europe, the UK, Japan and North America were less likely than migrants from developing nations to have intentionally used temporary migration as a path to permanent residence. The propensity for temporary migrants to take up or intend to apply for permanent residency in Australia for those from developed nations was influenced by experiences migrants had while in the Australia. Learning to like the Australian lifestyle, finding an Australian partner or having established strong friendship networks were reasons for taking up Australian permanent residency. The desire for permanent migration was thus facilitated by the temporary migration experience:

For skilled temporary migrants from other developed countries, temporary migration may be an opportunity to gain international experience; but it can also become permanent migration if they come to like the lifestyle of the destination country or have formed personal relationships or friendships with local residents. These findings suggest that temporary migration can be expected to result in permanent migration for a number of reasons.

Khoo et al. 2008 p.222

7.3.2.1 Family reasons for increasing length of stay

Employment or family related reasons were the most common reasons AUSS respondents stated for staying on in the US longer than planned (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6: Reasons for a stay away from Australia longer than intended by sex¹, AUSS respondents

	Total % (n = 970)	Males % (n = 467)	Females % (n = 498)
Employment related reasons	60.1	66.0	54.6
Family situation changed	44.1	42.8	45.4
Lifestyle considerations	28.5	28.5	28.5
US visa situation changed	16.7	16.3	17.1
Education opportunities changed	10.1	10.5	9.6
Want to be close to friends and family	7.2	6.0	8.2
% of TOTAL RESPONDENTS (n = 1581)	61.4	61.9	62.3

¹ Includes only those respondents who responded 'yes' to staying in the US longer than planned.

Source: AUSS 2006

It is interesting that the rank of importance of reasons for staying on in the US longer than planned is the same for both sexes, since there were distinct differences between the sexes in reasons for moving to the US. The percentage of males who are staying in the US longer than planned for employment related reasons is, however, much higher than females. About equal portions of males and females are staying on because family situation changed.

We got married...and then after that, when the children arrived, their opportunities were better here.

Michael and Barbara, aged late 60's,
Massachusetts, have lived in the US 39 years

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Marriage/partnership as the original reason for moving was much more important to females compared to males; perhaps more males met their spouse after moving overseas and thus ended up staying away from Australia for longer than planned for family related reasons.

I just came out here to work on a project for six months, we were centralizing a lot of our project in Sydney...I came out here to do that and then met my wife about two months into it...

James, age 40, New York, has been living in the US 11 years

STEVEN: I took a years unpaid leave [from Australian employer] and came over here fully intending to go back in a year and just never got around to it, one thing led to another...I was just looking for the next place to go and experience. It just so happened that while I was here that I got to the point that I was ready to settle down. So wherever you are when that happens...

RESEARCHER: And who you meet...

STEPHEN: Right. Yeah.

Steven, age 45, New York, has been living in the US 18 years

Ties resulting from marriage and having children are usually assumed to be restricting factors when it comes to migration (van Dalen and Henkens, 2007 p.47). Nearly half of those AUSS respondents who are staying away from Australia longer than planned had changed their marital status since moving to the US and about half had children living with them in the US. As mentioned, the majority of married respondents (60 percent) are married to a US-born spouse, and not surprisingly, those with a US-born spouse have intentions to stay in the US permanently more often than those with an Australia-born spouse (36 percent and 10 percent respectively). A larger portion of respondents married to an Australia-born spouse plan to return to Australia (55 percent) compared to those married to a US-born person (30 percent). Similar trends were found in the Australian Emigration Survey. Respondents with an overseas-born spouse and those who had married since leaving Australia were more likely to remain overseas (Hugo et al., 2003 p.51).

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Families become a more important factor in making decisions about international moves once children are involved for some respondents:

If we were ever going to do it [move to the US], it was going to be when the kids were younger not older because my opinion was that I had no faith in the American school system...I just didn't know the system ...Alright, we'll [live in the US for] five years, make our million... but it doesn't always work out that way.

Tracey, age 38, California, has been living in the US seven years

Interestingly, those who originally moved to the US for marriage/partnership were less likely to say they were staying longer than planned but more likely to say there was no change to the length of their stay away from Australia. Perhaps those moving for these reasons have firmer plans in terms of duration of stay at the outset of their migration journey because their reasons for moving are dependent on less volatile factors than, for example, the employment situation.

7.3.2.2 Education, employment and length of stay

Respondents who moved to the US for education/study were also more likely to end up staying in the US longer than planned (see Table 7.5). The link between international student mobility, which usually starts out as long-term temporary migration, and permanent settlement is an emerging research area (Alberts and Hazen, 2005, Güngör, 2005, Hazen and Alberts, 2006). International students headed for the US need to prove 'nonimmigrant intent', an 'ambiguous and cryptic endeavor' (Association of International Educators, 2006 p.7). Although some international students may intentionally use study as a pathway to permanent residency (Iredale, 1999), the fact that many international students end up staying in the destination country longer than planned is not surprising. These migrants are usually young and in the process of formulating their careers, and are often open to taking opportunities as they come. International students also tend to spend a significant length of time in the destination country while completing their studies, meaning social and cultural attachments will be formed during their stay. It is a natural progression that many students seek the opportunity to gain some work experience in the same context as their studies, thus crossing the bridge from international student to highly-skilled migrant (Peixoto, 2001b p.48).

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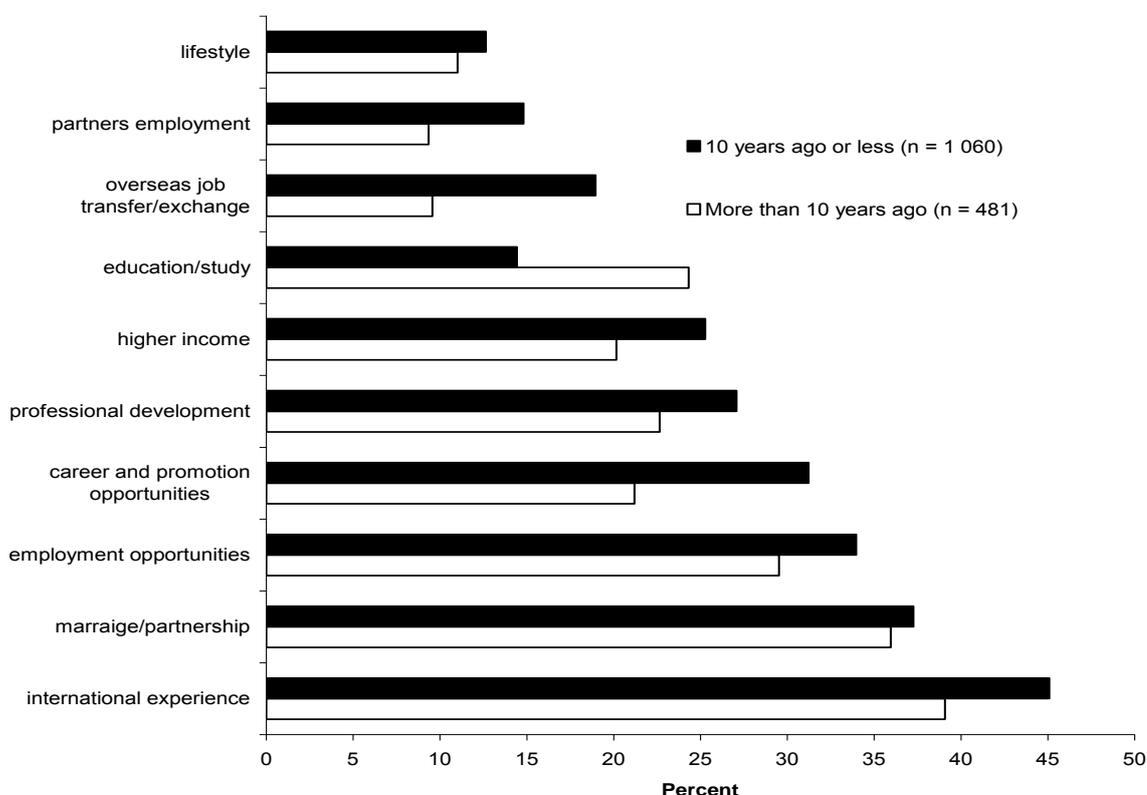
I just came for the study. ...I was in a point of re-transition so it [staying overseas] was a possibility, I didn't rule it out...either way it wasn't going to be a bad thing...I figured 'you know what? If it doesn't work out I will just go back to Australia.' I was pretty philosophical about it, I was 24 at the time so pretty open to anything. See what happens.

Doug, 32, New York, has been living in the US eight years
(originally came to the US for six months of study)

Education/study as a reason for moving was much more important to AUSS respondents who arrived in the US more than ten years ago compared to those who had arrived within the past ten years (Figure 7.4). This is reflective of both the fact that student migrants are likely to stay on in the destination country, and the growing importance of other forms of migration to the US in more recent years. The higher prevalence of employment related reasons for moves to the US in the past ten years is indicative of shifts in global demand for highly-skilled workers, and the strengthening economic relationship between Australia and the US. Individuals on a specified work contract, or who are doing a fixed term exchange, may be less inclined or not have the option to stay in the US for a long period of time. This helps to explain why respondents moving for an overseas job transfer or exchange were most likely to have first arrived in the US within the past 10 years.

Most respondents claimed they were staying in the US longer than planned for employment related reasons (see Table 7.6), which are likely linked to higher incomes available in the US. Those staying away from Australia longer than planned generally had higher rates of improved individual and family financial situation compared to those who had no change to their intended length of stay. This could also mean that it takes longer to reap the financial benefits of moving, as those staying away from the US longer than planned are also more likely to have been living in the US for a longer period of time. It often takes some time to recover the initial investment of making an international move (van Dalen and Henkens, 2007). AUSS respondents living in the US more than 10 years were much more likely to say both their individual and family financial situations had improved compared to those who had arrived within the past 10 years, but in fact over 60 percent of all respondents stated an improved individual and family financial situation.

Figure 7.4: Years since move to the US and main reason for move, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

7.3.3 Future plans

Just over one-third of AUSS respondents plan to return to Australia to live in the future, 25 percent plan to stay in the US permanently, and 32 percent are undecided about their future plans⁵⁰. The reasons for moving back to Australia, for those who plan to, are quite distinct from the reasons for moving to the US (Table 7.7). While employment and educational opportunities were much more important reasons for moving from Australia to the US, family and friends and the lifestyle in Australia are by far the most important things encouraging return.

The Australian Emigration Survey also found that while work related factors dominated as a reason for emigration, lifestyle and family were overwhelmingly given as the reasons for

⁵⁰ Future plans of AUSS respondents will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

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returning to Australia (Hugo et al., 2003 p.51). The OMM survey had similar findings; of those respondents who planned to return to Australia, 78 percent were returning for reasons relating to family and 65 percent for Australia’s lifestyle (Rudd and Hugo, 2007).

Table 7.7: Reasons for moving to the US and reasons for planning return to Australia, AUSS respondents

	Reason US move %	Reason Australia return %
	Total respondents (n = 1 581)	Plan to return to Australia (n = 565)
Employment opportunities	32.6	9.6
Educational opportunities	17.6	4.8
To be close to family and friends	4.6	73.5
Lifestyle	12.1	61.2

Source: AUSS 2006

There are some minor differences in the future intentions of male and females AUSS respondents. More males intend to stay in the US permanently (28 percent of males compared to 23 percent of females), and more females plan to return to Australia (38 percent compared to 33 percent of males).

Want to go home. Home is always home. Better lifestyle and culture, close to family and friends.

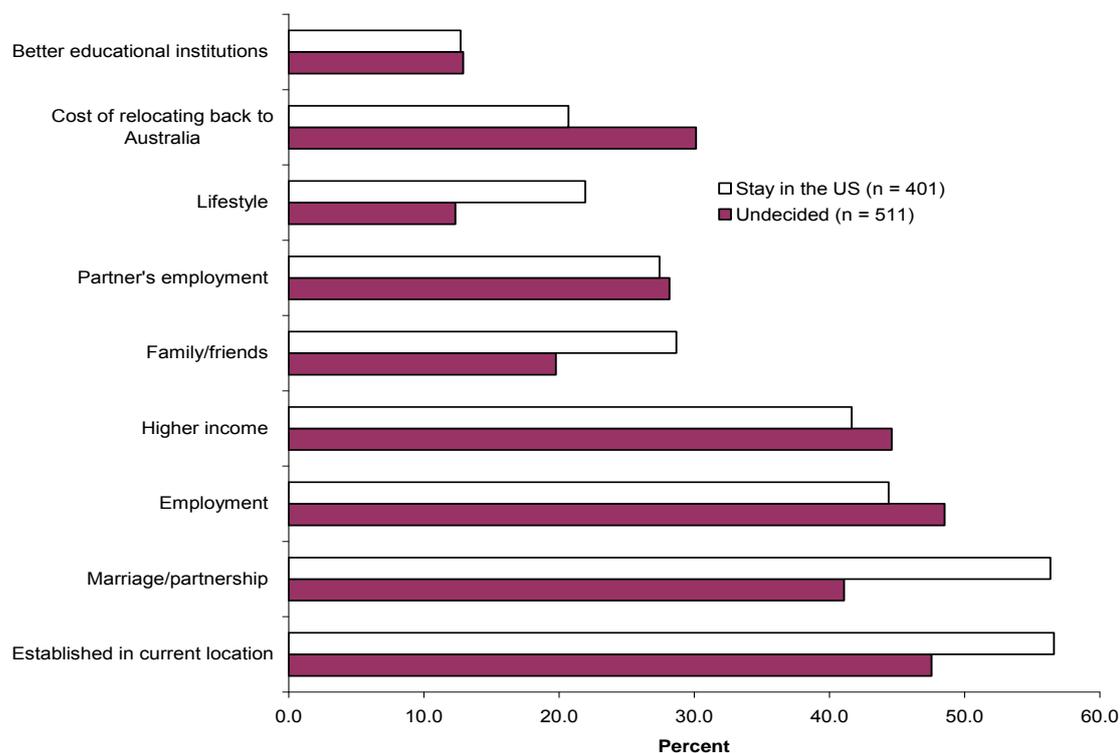
Justine, age 42, Oklahoma, has been living in the US seven years

I’ve got two sisters, I’d want to be near my sisters, I now have a nephew...its family that pulls me back. Not friends, not job, it would only be them.

Susan, age 30, New York, has been living in the US two years

Being established in their current location and marriage/partnership were the main reasons respondents gave for plans to stay in the US permanently (Figure 7.5). Other studies of migration between developed nations have also found that non-return is often a social rather than strictly economic process (Ganga, 2006). It appears that family and life situation are the most important things involved in making more long-term mobility decisions, whether migrants intend to return to Australia or stay in the US.

Figure 7.5: Reasons for NOT planning/undecided about returning to Australia for AUSS respondents with these future plans



Source: AUSS 2006

The Australian Emigration Survey found that respondents from the US and Canada were particularly likely to claim employment and income and the desire for their children grown up there as reasons for *not* planning to return to Australia compared to respondents living in other destinations (Hugo et al., 2003 p.53). Employment and income were also important factors in the decision not to return to Australia for AUSS respondents. In their comments, many respondents emphasize lower salaries, fewer resources and a smaller range of employment opportunities in Australia compared to the US as factors encouraging movement outside of Australia and/or hindering return.

Lifestyle for the kids, that sort of thing, we'd be gone [back to Australia]...but the employment here, the package that I get is just too good. If I went back to Australia I'd probably take a 50 percent hit in my wage. I get a huge education subsidy for my kids, the schools they could go to around here and the opportunities it's going to give them in their lives...

Daniel, 46, New York, has lived in the US seven years

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RESEARCHER: Do you think you would find suitable work there [back in Australia]?

PATRICK: That's the big dilemma...work-wise what to do that will still see me wake up in the morning saying 'I can't wait to get to work today'. That is my big dilemma...well not dilemma, but issue; what can I do to keep me entertained.

Patrick, 34, New York, UN Spokesperson

Although efforts should be made to provide as many opportunities as possible in Australia for those who wish to stay and/or return to Australia, the reality is a wide range of sometimes bigger and better opportunities outside of Australia will continue to exist. There will also always be an outflow of people moving for adventure and discovery outside of Australia. In addition, there is a conundrum in that many respondents suggest the smaller scope and scale of opportunities in Australia is not necessarily a bad thing, but simply a matter of fact, and in actuality the simpler lifestyle in Australia is a reason many overseas Australians *do* plan to return to Australia at some stage.

[Australia offers] Better education for child, more relaxed lifestyle, family and friends.

Carrie, age 38, Texas, first arrived in the US 17 years ago

Respondent Andrew also points to the fact that movement from Australia should speak well of the country, as evidence it fosters a population that has the initiative and skill to embrace opportunities that present themselves overseas:

I am here by virtue of the fact that Australia is a great country, not because it is in any way inadequate...my being here [is] a compliment to Australia and not a sign of an unsatisfactory value proposition... A diverse multicultural society gives Australians an appreciation for the opportunities in the world outside Australia. Add to that the fact that we come from one of the most successful economies, in the world's most dynamic region, means we have the wealth to be able to pursue those opportunities.

Andrew, age 33, Washington DC, first arrived in the US eight years ago

This highlights the need to retain the strengths of Australian environment that currently exist and create a balance between providing ample opportunities in Australia for those who wish to stay or return, and encouraging those Australians who do make the decision to travel and even stay overseas to pursue adventure or opportunities.

7.4 Conclusion

Structural forces, migrant networks, and individual characteristics and circumstances have all been shown to play an important part in both initial and subsequent migration decisions. Most in the AUSS sample originally moved to the US for international experience, marriage/partnership and/or employment opportunities. This is consistent with the findings of other Australian diaspora studies. The migration journey has been shown to evolve based on experiences in the US, and many emigrants end up staying in the US longer than planned, especially those who first moved to the US at younger ages. Many Australians in the US are unsure of or unwilling to commit to specific future plans, but of the migrants who do plan to return to Australia, it is for very different reasons than they had for originally leaving Australia to move to the US. Based on reasons for moving to the US, it would be expected that mobility from Australia to the US will continue to be a prominent flow in the future. The natural tendency for migrant journeys to develop as opportunities and circumstances change means it is likely that many will return to Australia when they are older, change jobs, or have children. It is unreasonable, however, to expect that all those who leave could be enticed to return to Australia. One of the ways Australians in the US keep connected to Australia is through visits to Australia. Respondent mobility patterns will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: International mobility patterns

8.1 Introduction

International mobility is increasingly thought of as circular and continuous, or transnational, rather than linear and finite. This is in large part because technological advancements make it easier to travel between, and maintain attachments to, multiple countries. In the previous chapter it was established that migrants end up where they are as an outcome of both structural forces that influence migration decisions and as a product of choices made based on the experiences and opportunities they encounter in their lives. Many migrants are unwilling to commit to a single country as their only place of belonging, and international mobility, in the form of visits and return moves, are ways in which they can remain connected with multiple locations (Baldassar, 2001).

Migrant characteristics influence the type and frequency of certain forms of international mobility, as do the reasons for making international moves. Different types of international mobility will be explored within the AUSS sample in order to better understand the experiences of the Australian diaspora living in the US and to determine how their patterns of international mobility relate to findings from relevant literature.

8.2 A continuous cycle of mobility

It is well documented that most moves are not first or last moves but part of a pattern of mobility that will continue in the future for certain highly mobile individuals (Goldstein, 1964, DaVanzo, 1983, Morrison, 1971), termed by Morrison (1971) 'chronic movers'. Previous research has shown that for some populations, the likelihood of migration continues to increase with the number of trips taken (Massey, 1986, Massey et al., 1998 p.47). Moreover the same migrant characteristics or type of opportunities that inspired an original move are likely to encourage further mobility (van Dalen and Henkens, 2007 p.55). The previous chapter discussed how the migrant journeys of Australians in the US

are often evolving. It is useful, however, to understand just how many AUSS respondents are intending to return to Australia. As experience accumulates in the destination country, stronger ties will be formed there that make the prospect of returning to the country of origin more difficult. Several studies have found a positive relationship between length of stay in a destination country and non-return (Massey, 1986, Dustmann et al., 1996, Güngör, 2005). It is logical that AUSS respondents who have lived in the US longer are more likely to plan to live in the US permanently and less likely to plan to return to Australia to live compared to more recently arrived respondents (as shown in Table 8.1). Conversely, respondents who more recently arrived in the US are much more likely to plan to return to Australia. Interestingly, a larger proportion of those who have been living in the US for more than 10 years are undecided about their future plans, indicating attachment to Australia, and possibly other countries, continues even after living in the US for a substantial period of time.

Table 8.1: Years since arrival in the US and future plans, AUSS respondents

	≤10 years ago	> 10 years ago	Total respondents
	% (n = 1 060)	% (n = 481)	% (n = 1 581)
Return to Australia	43.3	19.8	35.7
Move to another country	7.3	1.7	5.4
Stay in the US permanently	18.4	40.5	25.4
Undecided	30.4	36.8	32.3
Not stated	0.6	1.2	1.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AUSS 2006

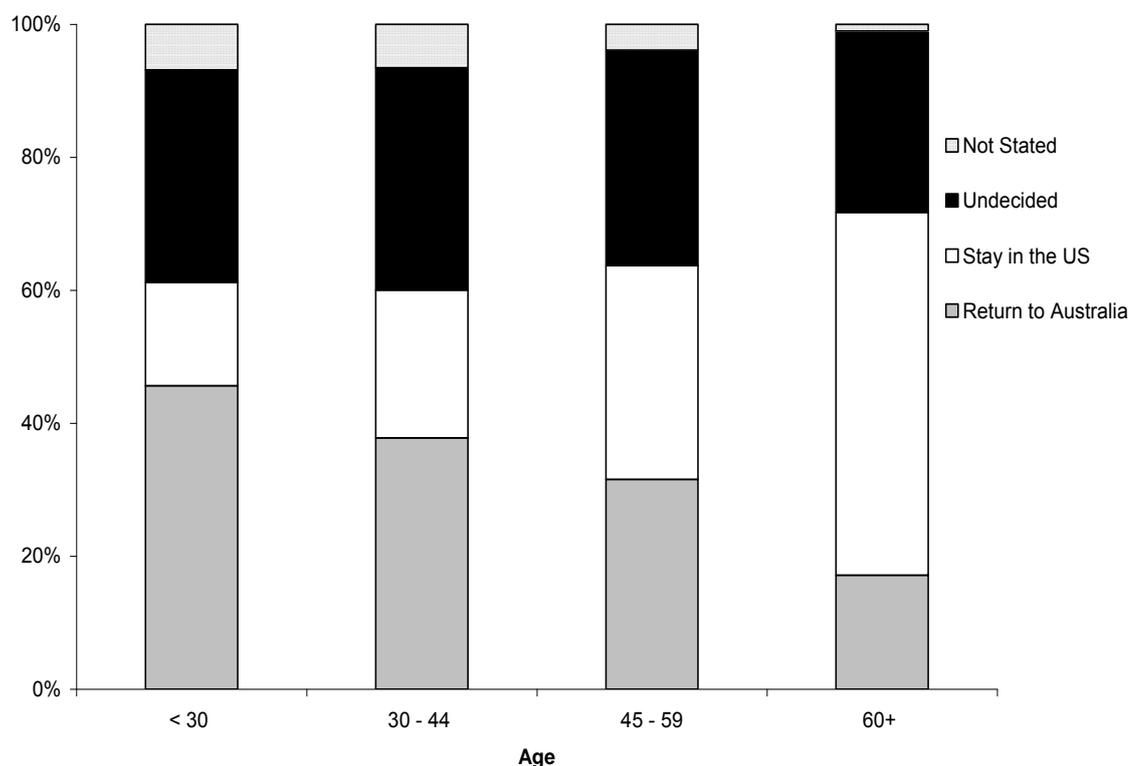
A study of international students in the US found (Alberts and Hazen, 2005 p.148):

Deciding whether to return to their home countries or stay in their host countries is a dilemma...it seems that many find the decision becomes increasingly complex as their stay in the host country lengthens.

In addition to difficulties in coming to decisions about future mobility for personal reasons, the influence of structural factors, that dictate the procedure to apply for a permanent visa for example, also play a part in the decision. Khoo et al. (2008) found temporary migrants in Australia who cannot make up their minds to stay or go may apply for permanent residency if possible as a way to keep their options open.

Future plans and years since arrival in the US are also a reflection of the age structure of the AUSS respondent population. There is a direct relationship between age and years since arrival in the US⁵¹, and older respondents are more likely to plan to stay in the US permanently and less likely to plan to return to Australia (see Figure 8.1). Respondents over the age of 60 are less likely than younger respondents to be unsure of their future plans, yet approximately 25 percent still claim to be undecided. Research has found a relationship between return moves to the country of origin and stage of the life cycle (OECD 2008 p.163, Klinthäll, 2006, see for example Ley and Kobayashi, 2005). As discussed in the previous chapter, return moves are often planned around having children, when children become school aged, or at retirement (Hugo, 2008). AUSS respondents over the age of 60 have already gone through many of these life events, except perhaps retirement, therefore are more inclined to have decided their future plans.

Figure 8.1: Age and future plans, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

⁵¹ Respondents who are younger in age are more likely to have first arrived in the US more recently, and older respondents are more likely to have first arrived in the US longer ago.

The Australian Emigration Survey found respondents in the US and Canada were the least likely of all destination regions to have future intentions to return to Australia (45 percent of respondents in the US/Canada planned to return to Australia compared to 51 percent of total respondents) (Hugo et al., 2003 p.50). In contrast, only 36 percent of AUSS respondents have plans to return to Australia. About one-third of AUSS respondents are undecided about their future plans, similar to the Australian Emigration Survey response (Hugo et al., 2003 p.50).

8.2.1 Flexibility of future plans

In light of the fact that many migrants are not willing to make permanent migration decisions, some recent surveys of diaspora populations have asked questions about future plans in a more flexible fashion. The format of questions and responses to the One Million More Census of Australians Abroad (OMM), as shown in Table 8.2, provide some valuable insights.

Table 8.2: One Million More (OMM) survey response to future plans, 2006

NOTE:
This table is included on page 158
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: OMM 2006 data from Rudd and Hugo 2007

While about one-quarter of OMM respondents said they were not decided about their future plans, less than one-fifth of respondents said they *will* return to Australia or *will* remain overseas permanently. Most have non-specific plans in terms of future mobility and many intend to make multiple international moves in the future. Similarly, a survey of New Zealand's overseas population found that while most respondents said they were likely to return to New Zealand at some stage, only 23 percent said that they *will* return to New Zealand permanently (KEA, 2006).

Although most in the AUSS sample said they planned to either return to Australia or stay in the US, it is unknown whether they would have prefaced their response with 'likely' or 'will return but go again' if given the option. Based on respondent comments and

conversations with interviewees, it is clear most keep an open attitude to mobility in the future like respondent Doug:

I feel that I probably will return or I will spend more time there.

Doug, age 32, New York, has been living in the US seven years

Regardless of the years they had lived in the US or the type of networks they have, such as family living with them in the US, many AUSS respondents still kept in the back of their mind the possibility of returning to live in Australia sometime in the future, usually at some point of life transition.

When I made the decision to get married, I decided that I would always live here [in the USA].... although the prospect of raising American children is going to be interesting. We'll see what happens when children come into the picture.

Natasha, age 29, California, has been living in the US seven years

I couldn't see myself going back to Australia unless one of two things happened. One: I retire – I can definitely see going back to Australia for that
Two: some event happens that makes my wife so fed up with living in the US that she wants to go anywhere else.

Steven, age 45, New Jersey, has been living in the US 18 years

Unwillingness to call to a single place home sometimes results in 'bilocality', or livelihoods that involve actual residence in more than one location on an ongoing basis (see for example Eapo Zmegae, 2007, De Coulon and Wolff, 2006, Krumme, 2004). De Coulon and Wolff (2006 p.4) call this 'va-et-vient' (French for 'coming and going') and recognize this is a strategy used by some migrants to stay connected with family members, particularly in retirement when they are no longer constrained to a single location by a job. Several AUSS respondents commented that they hoped to split their time actually living between Australia and the US in the future:

I don't foresee selling or leaving California...so I would expect between age 50 and 70 I'm just going to go back and forth [between Australia and the US] and then at age 70, when I'm sick of travelling, I guess I'll have to pick one.

Brian, age 45, California, has been living in the US 42 years

I really want to spread time equally between both countries.

Chris, age 35, California

Ultimately plan to try and live in both places part-time...

Emily, age 50, Colorado, has been living in the US 18 years

We want to retire in Australia and spend six months of each year in Australia and six in the US ...

Louise, age 56, Michigan, has been living in the US 13 years

Many consider the option of splitting time between two countries a realistic option, which attests to fact that in the current era lifestyle choices are not limited because of distance. It also shows that many Australian emigrants have explicit plans to keep a tangible connection with more than one country.

About one-third (34 percent) of AUSS respondents who planned to either move back to Australia or move to another country planned to leave the US within two years, 28 percent planned to leave the US in two to five years, 18 percent in more than five years and over 20 percent were undecided on when they would leave. The Australian Emigration Survey also found that about two-thirds of respondents who planned to return to Australia said they would remain overseas for another two years or more before returning (Hugo et al., 2003 p.52), and over 80 percent of OMM respondents who planned to return to Australia said it would be at least one year before their return (OMM 2006 from Rudd and Hugo, 2007). Even those who intend to return to Australia at some stage may change their mind if opportunities arise or circumstances change after their arrival in the country of destination. It will be interesting to see, for example, how the major downturn in the US economy beginning in 2008 affects international mobility.⁵²

⁵² This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 10.

Literature suggests that having an explicit plan for return greatly increases the likelihood that return migration will occur (see for example Dustmann et al., 1996, Agunias and Newland, 2007), but even the most firmly laid plans are subject to change.

I actually had money saved up...enough money to go home and put a down payment on a little house in Melbourne if I wanted to, and that was the ultimate plan. But ultimately I ended up putting a down payment down on a house here in California.

Simone, age 53, California, has been living in the US 24 years

RESEARCHER: When you came out here it was going to be for five years and that's what you're doing pretty much?

TRACEY: We said five years, now it has been seven or so

RESEARCHER: but you are going back for sure...

TRACEY: Today, (laughs) we are going back for sure.

Tracey, age 38, California

The following sections of this chapter will explore the mobility of Australians in the US to demonstrate the transnational nature of their experiences and how return visits, and return moves to Australia for a period of time, are a way of staying connected with Australia, regardless of where they live.

8.3 Migrant characteristics and mobility

There are a number of qualities that increase the likelihood of heightened international mobility. While it is acknowledged that the drivers and outcomes of mobility will vary based on the specific type of migration taking place and/or the particular characteristics of the migrant in question (Mahroum, 2000, Finnie, 2001, Dostie and Legér, 2006), it is widely agreed that in general, the world opens up for highly-skilled and educated migrants (Salt, 2002, Schifferes, 2004, Peixoto, 2001a, Chiswick, 1999, Castles, 1998).

As is true of all Australian emigrants, AUSS respondents as a whole are highly-skilled, educated and earn high incomes relative to other populations⁵³. Respondents classified as highly-skilled⁵⁴ and highly educated⁵⁵ in the AUSS sample can be characterised as very high achievers. While respondents in the AUSS sample do have high incomes compared to other populations, most respondents (64 percent) earn incomes of US\$100,000 per year or less (see Chapter 6), and females are particularly under-represented in higher income categories (see Table 8.4). Mobility levels are evaluated in the AUSS sample by exploring whether respondents have lived in countries in addition to Australia and the US⁵⁶, the number of visits made to Australia and whether respondents have made a return move to Australia for a period of time since first arrival in the US (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Select economic characteristics and types of mobility, AUSS respondents

	n	% 'Yes' Lived in other ¹ countries	% Have made ≥ 4 visits to Australia	% 'Yes' Moved back to Australia
<i>Educational Qualification</i>				
Undergraduate	660	46.5	47.0	16.1
Postgraduate	550	52.2	58.4	16.5
<i>Occupation</i>				
Other	254	39.0	37.0	15.4
Highly-skilled	1 048	47.1	53.9	15.9
<i>Income</i>				
≤ US\$100,000	945	41.5	40.8	17.7
> US\$100,000	524	51.7	62.0	14.1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1 581	44.9	48.4	16.1

¹Countries in addition to Australia and the US
Source: AUSS 2006

⁵³ See Chapter 6 for more details about the characteristics of this population.

⁵⁴ Respondents employed as Associate Professionals, Professionals, and Manager and Administrators (according to the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO) codes (ABS 2009)) are classified as 'highly-skilled' (66 percent of total AUSS respondents are employed in these occupations) and respondents in all other occupation categories are classified as 'other occupations' (16 percent of total AUSS respondents are employed in these occupations).

⁵⁵ Respondents with a postgraduate qualification are classified as 'highly educated'. Level of highest educational attainment is broken down into postgraduate (35 percent of total respondents) and undergraduate (42 percent of total respondents) because the vast majority of respondents had at least an undergraduate educational qualification.

⁵⁶ Referred to herein as 'lived in multiple countries' or 'lived in other countries'.

Although there is little difference based on economic characteristics in the propensity to have moved back to Australia to live at some stage, those in higher education, occupational skill and income categories were more inclined to have lived in multiple countries and to have made a greater number of visits back to Australia compared to respondents with other characteristics. These results suggest these types of mobility are influenced by economic factors. Because the propensity to have moved back to Australia to live does not vary based on economic characteristics, perhaps personal attachments in Australia provide the strongest motivation for return moves.

8.3.1 Mobility by age and sex and years since arrival in the US

In the AUSS sample, males of all ages are much more likely than females to be highly educated, employed in high-skilled occupations and earn high incomes (see Table 8.4).

Table 8.4: Selected economic characteristics by age and sex, AUSS respondents

MALES		%	%	%
Age	n	Highly educated¹	Highly-skilled occupation	High income
< 30	84	23.8	56.0	13.1
30 - 44	414	43.2	85.5	47.1
45 - 59	191	44.0	84.3	60.2
60+	62	54.8	67.7	56.5
Total Males	754	42.3	80.4	47.5
FEMALES				
< 30	134	18.7	44.0	7.5
30 - 44	455	31.9	58.7	22.0
45 - 59	168	28.0	51.8	25.6
60+	37	24.3	35.1	16.2
Total Females	799	28.3	53.8	20.2

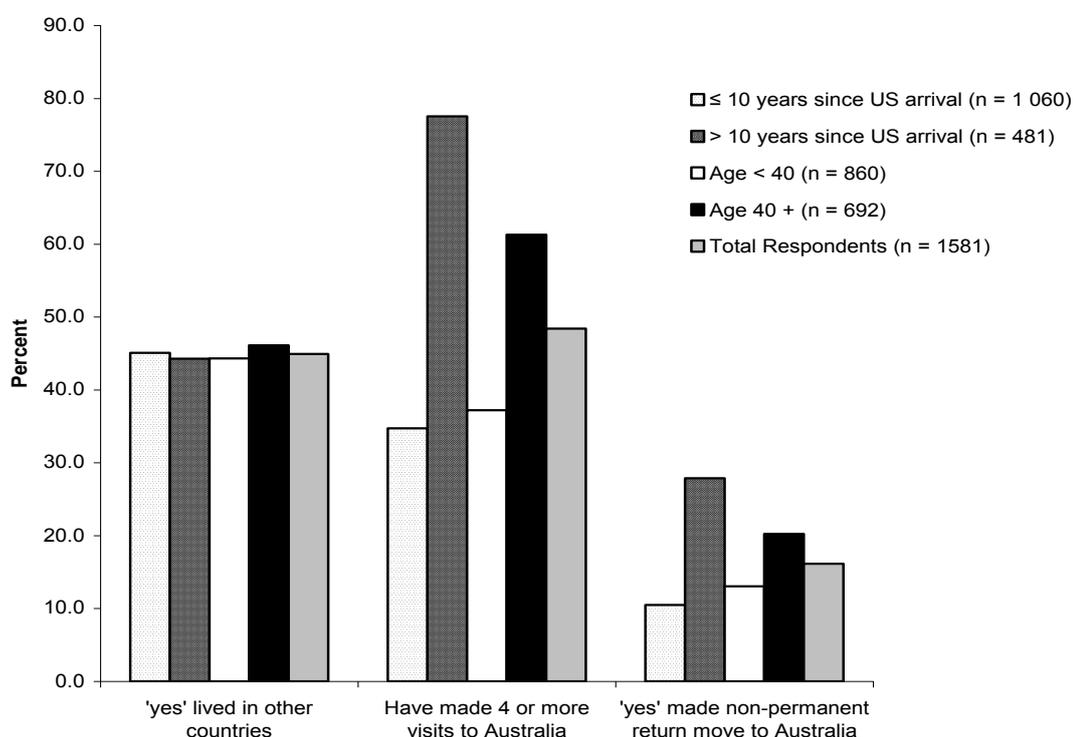
¹ Indicates a postgraduate level of education

Source: AUSS 2006

Within each sex, respondents between the ages of 30–59 are the most likely to be employed in highly-skilled occupations and to have high incomes. Respondents over the age of 60 may be retired, explaining the decline in the portion of respondents earning high incomes and employed in highly-skilled occupations in this age group. Those under the age of 30 do not have as much workforce experience, which helps to explain the under-representation of young respondents with these characteristics.

Older migrants have had more time to make multiple international moves in their lives, so it is not surprising that there is a positive relationship between age and heightened mobility levels (Figure 8.2). It is also apparent that AUSS respondents who have lived in the US for some time are more likely to have made four or more visits to Australia and/or a non-permanent return move to Australia at some stage compared to those who more recently arrived in the US.

Figure 8.2: Select mobility indicators by years since first arrival in the US and current age, AUSS respondents



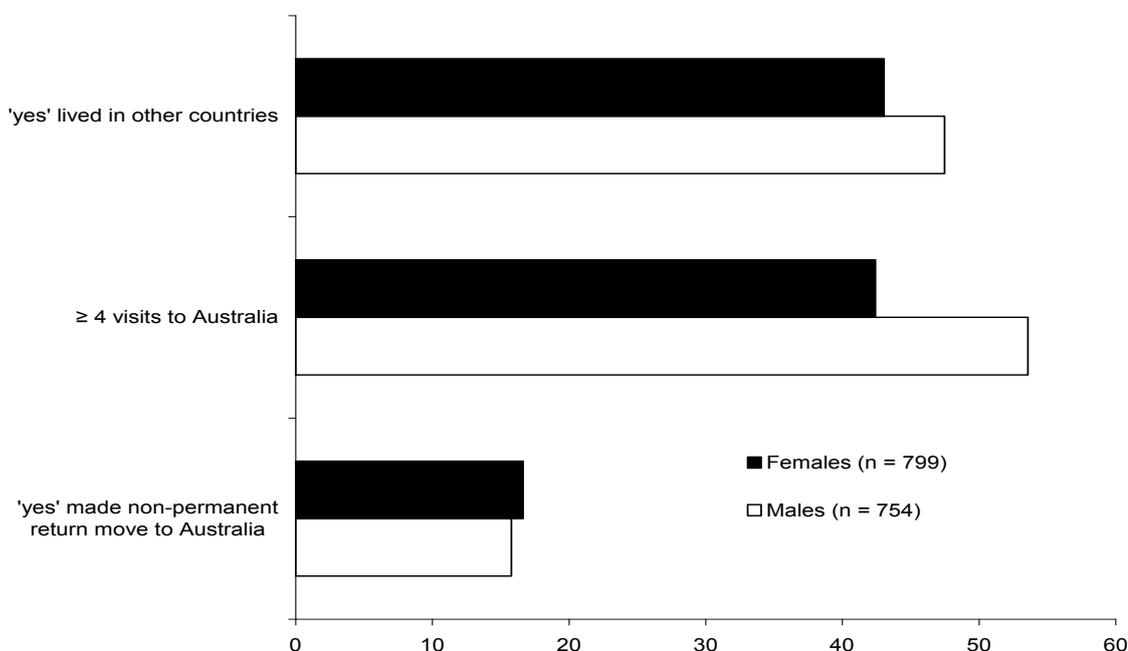
Source: AUSS 2006

Interestingly, there appears to be no relationship between having lived in other countries and age or years since arrival in the US. This is likely a reflection of the fact many lived in other countries because they were born there (this will be discussed in section 8.4).

There is some variation in the mobility of males and females in the AUSS sample. Figure 8.3 shows that males and females were about equally likely to have returned to live in Australia at some stage since first arriving in the US, while slightly more males have lived

in countries in addition to Australia and the US and a substantially larger portion of males have made four or more return visits to Australia.

Figure 8.3: Select mobility indicators by sex, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

The higher mobility of males relates to the fact that males in the AUSS sample are substantially more likely to be highly educated, employed in highly-skilled occupations and earning high incomes compared to females (as shown in Table 8.4). Employment related reasons for international moves are also associated with more frequent mobility⁵⁷, and males in the AUSS sample more often move for these reasons.

8.3.2 Multiple citizenships

In addition to possessing certain socio-demographic characteristics, having citizenship in multiple countries directly influences international mobility. Citizenship allows for facilitated movement to that country, and citizenship in certain countries may allow easier access to additional countries as a result of a perceived reduced security threat and/or where there is some type of reciprocal agreement between countries (for example the Trans

⁵⁷ This will be shown later in this chapter.

Tasman Agreement between Australia and New Zealand, the visa waiver program in the US and travel agreements between Commonwealth countries).

As a part of the growing prevalence of people living their lives between a number of countries, the incidence of multiple citizenships and/or being resident in several countries is also on the rise (Sanderson, 2005). The means of acquiring and retaining citizenship vary by nation, but the most basic function of citizenship is making one a legal constituent of a nation. Citizenship is also an important factor in identity for many, although the relationship between citizenship and national identity is debated by scholars in the context of an increasingly global world (Gilbertson, 2006, Castles and Davidson, 2000, Aleinikoff, 2003). Moreover those with multiple citizenships will have not only increased access to a number of countries, but may also have attachment to a number of countries⁵⁸, both factors that may encourage mobility to several international destinations.

Legislation passed in 2002 allows Australians to hold dual citizenship⁵⁹. Many AUSS respondents explained how they proudly kept their Australian citizenship or begrudgingly gave it up in order to acquire US citizenship before Australia allowed dual citizenship. Most respondents who commented on the issue were aware that current policy allows dual citizenship, but there is a feeling of resentment from many longer-term emigrants towards the Australian government for ever putting them the difficult position of being forced to surrender their Australian citizenship:

I feel bitter and astounded that the Australian Government revoked my Australian citizenship a few years ago when I acquired US citizenship; I have since reclaimed it again. Though this issue is now resolved, I think the Australian government still hates its overseas expatriate community and places little or no value on the Australian diaspora.

Bill, age 64, Pennsylvania, has been living in the US 26 years

⁵⁸ The relationship between considering Australia 'home' and citizenship is discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁹ See Appendix 3 for more details.

The Australian Emigration Survey found similar response to this issue (Hugo et al., 2003 p.59). There are some credible concerns associated with allowing dual/multiple citizenship, such as increasing consular responsibility, particularly in providing relief in overseas emergencies (White, 2007). The Lebanese conflict in 2006 brought this topic to debate in Australia when many Australian citizens were evacuated from Lebanon at a cost of A\$25 million (Mercer, 2006). Based on citizenship rules in some countries, including Australia, there is the potential for individuals to be citizens of a country without ever having lived there; should such a citizen have the same rights as citizens who have spent most of their lives living in and paying taxes in Australia? Issues surrounding multiple citizenships are complex and rightly receive continued debate.

Most AUSS respondents (78 percent) were citizens of only one country and of those, most had Australia citizenship only (94 percent) followed by the US only (5 percent). Of the 22 percent of respondents who had citizenship in more than one country, 62 percent were citizens of Australia and the US, and 37 percent were citizens of Australia and other countries. Having dual citizenship in Australia and the US makes mobility between these countries easier in terms of immigration procedures. AUSS respondents who have citizenship in both Australia and the US are substantially more likely to have made four or more visits to Australia (71 percent have made four or more visits) compared to respondents who are not citizens in both countries (45 percent have made four or more visits). The acquisition of citizenship in both Australia and the US also clearly has to do with years since arrival in the US, with those who arrived longer ago more likely to have obtained dual citizenship⁶⁰.

For the 10 percent of respondents who have citizenship in a country outside Australia and/or the US, heightened mobility to countries outside the US and Australia was also expected. In fact, 80 percent of respondents who have citizenship in a country outside Australia and the US have lived in Australia, the US *and* other countries compared to 42 percent of respondents who were not citizens of additional countries. There is no

⁶⁰Approximately 65 percent of AUSS respondents who first arrived in the US more than 10 years ago have dual Australian/US citizenship compared to 35 percent of respondents who first arrived in the US with the past 10 years.

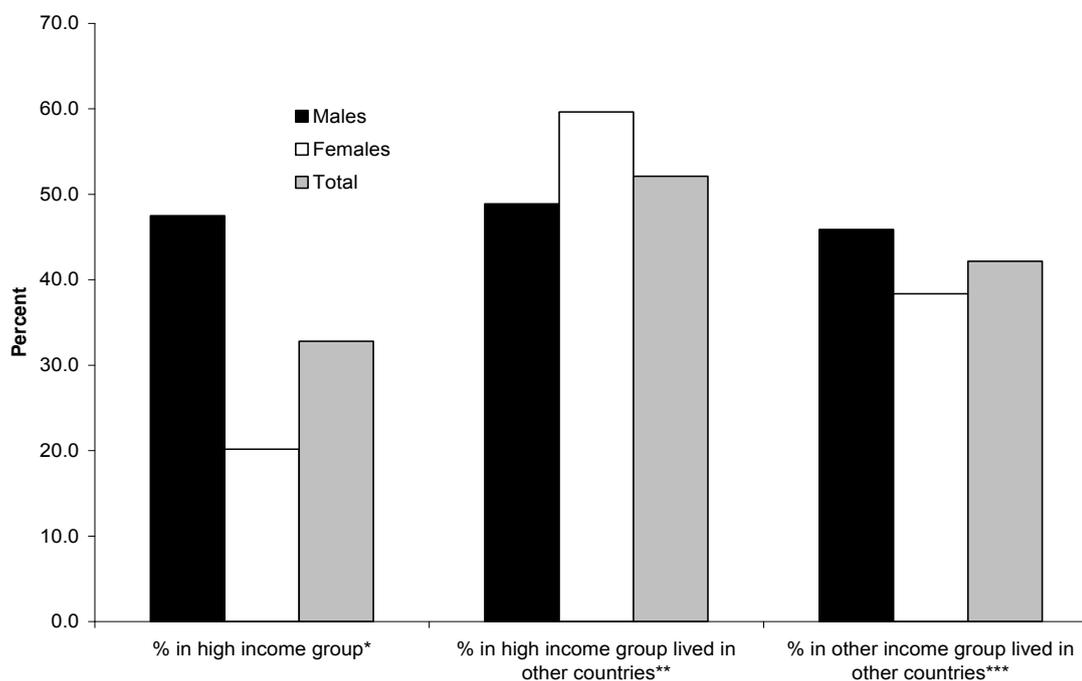
relationship between citizenship and the propensity to have returned to live in Australia at some stage.

8.4 Movement to multiple countries

Some migrants engage in stepping-stone migration whereby movement takes place as a staggered course, with destinations building in stature as the journey progresses. Migrants may spend some time in an intermediary or, as termed by DeVortez and Ma (2002) an ‘entrepôt’ country, where they acquire experience before moving on to another higher profile destination. In a study of Canadian emigrants in the US, King and Newbold (2007) found that those who engage in such a stepping-stone migration process are often the highest achievers in terms of skills and income. Nearly half of all AUSS respondents had at some point in time lived in a country in addition to Australia and the US (as shown in Table 8.5), and migrants who have lived in other countries are substantially more likely to be the highest achievers in terms of income, level of education and employment. Have Australians who previously lived in another country outside of Australia embarked on a stepping-stone migration journey that eventually brought them to the US?

Overall more males than females had lived in additional countries, however a larger portion of females aged 45–59 had lived in additional countries compared to males (54 percent of females compared to 43 percent of males in this age group). This relates to the fact that in the AUSS sample, higher incomes are most common for those emigrants in the 45–59 year age range (see Table 8.4). Although there are considerably fewer females than males earning high incomes in the AUSS sample, the relationship between heightened mobility in the form of having lived in other countries and income appears to be particularly important for females compared to males (see Figure 8.4).

The relationship between migration and occupational achievement has been found to vary between men and women. Mulder and van Ham (2005) found men to be positively affected in the long-term from migration whereas women have to make multiple moves in order to positively affect their occupational achievements. Perhaps this helps explain the stronger relationship between high income and having lived in other countries for females compared to males.

Figure 8.4: AUSS respondents who have lived in other countries¹ by sex and income

¹Countries in addition to Australia and the US

* 'high income group' includes respondents who earn incomes of > US\$100,000 per year, 'other income group' includes respondents who earn income of ≤ US\$100,000 per year

** males n = 358 females n=161 total n = 519

*** males n = 364 females n = 566 total n = 930

Source: AUSS 2006

Interestingly, unlike other forms of international mobility discussed in this chapter, age and years since first arrival in the US did not strongly influence the propensity to have lived in multiple countries. Many respondents currently under the age of 30 have lived in a number of countries (37 percent), meaning a great deal of long-term international mobility has taken place early in their lives. While it is clear that the global situation plays a role in heightened mobility levels of the highly-skilled for instance, it is not always in response to these global forces or individual choice that takes a migrant overseas.

8.4.1 Reasons for living in multiple countries

Nearly a quarter of the Australian population is overseas-born (ABS 2006b), thus a substantial portion of the Australia population have a connection to another country because of nativity. In the AUSS sample, 11 percent of respondents were born in countries

other than Australia or the US⁶¹. In fact in the AUSS sample those born in countries outside of Australia and the US are much more likely to have lived in other countries. Hence some respondents had lived in other countries because they were born somewhere outside of Australia or they lived outside Australia with their family while still a child; quite a different experience than proactively making the choice to move outside of Australia when older.

Most AUSS respondents stated reasons for living in additional countries that were similar to key reasons for moves to the US, that is, international experience and employment (Table 8.5). It is important to note being born or having grown up in a country outside of Australia was not an option for response to this item in the survey. Not surprisingly, more males than females had moved to other countries for employment related reasons and more females had moved to other countries for their partner's employment. Marriage/partnership was not an important reason for moving to other countries for males or females, whereas this was an important reason for moves to the US.

Table 8.5: Reasons for living in other countries¹ by sex, AUSS respondents

	Total % (n = 710)	Males % (n = 358)	Females % (n = 344)
International experience	56.9	55.3	58.4
Employment/business	43.4	55.0	31.4
Lifestyle	21.3	23.7	19.2
Education	14.4	12.8	16.3
To be close to family and friends	9.3	8.9	9.6
Partners employment	8.3	2.2	14.8
Marriage/partnership	5.2	5.0	4.9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS % (n = 1 581)	44.9	47.5	43.1

¹ Countries in addition to Australia and the US.

Note: Totals do not equal 100 percent because respondents could select all that apply

Source: AUSS 2006

Employment related factors are the most commonly selected reasons for multiple moves. This is not surprising given the nature of the international labour market (as discussed in Chapter 2) which creates demand for intensified mobility of highly-skilled individuals to move between multiple countries through intra-company transfers for example (see for example Findlay and Garrick, 1990, Beaverstock and Boardwell, 2000, Beaverstock, 2005,

⁶¹ Most respondents were born in Australia (87 percent); 2 percent were born in the US.

Beaverstock, 2002, Salt, 1990, Salt, 1992, Koser and Salt, 1997). Nearly half of AUSS respondents who said they moved to other countries for employment also selected employment opportunities as a reason for moving to the US. In addition, nearly half of those who had moved to other countries for partner's employment also selected this reason for moving to the US.

While it is clear that many respondents have lived in foreign countries for employment reasons before moving to the US, it cannot be concluded that they ended up in the US as part of a strategic stepping-stone process, as described above. Having been born or growing up overseas is an important and distinct reason for having lived in multiple countries. It also appears that many AUSS respondents have an open attitude towards mobility and do not consider being in a particular place an endpoint to mobility but rather a stage of the journey. The following comments from survey respondents speak of the experiences of many:

I have lived in several different countries and am somewhat of a globetrotter. I had never been to this country before, so when the opportunity arose, I took it.

Andrea, age 40, California, has been living in the US for 10 years

I had already been to England and Europe. Thought I would see the US before settling down to buy a house in Melbourne.

Ellen, age 53, California

I had already worked in the UK and Canada and traveled extensively but had not had the same experience in the US.

Samantha, age 28, New York, has been living in the US two years

I actually moved to New York after two years in London. My visa was running out and I didn't feel ready to go home.

Lisa, age 37, California, has been living in the US seven years

Most respondents do not expect that their days of international mobility are over once they arrive in the US. As shown previously (see Table 8.1), some respondents plan to move to

another country outside of Australia and the US in the future, and many plan to return to Australia or are undecided about their future plans.

8.5 Visits to Australia

Another form of international mobility very common among migrants, including Australians living in the US, is return visits to the country of origin. Facilitated by reductions in the cost and time required for travel, it is more feasible to keep this sort of linkage even given the vast distance between countries such as Australia and the US. Return visits may be part of what Duval (2004 p.51) calls ‘...a specific social practice allowing migrants to maintain multiple, yet socially meaningful, identities in both their current place of residence and their external homeland.’ Based on findings of the Australian Emigration Survey, Hugo et al. (2003 p.48) found ‘regular visits home were considered to be important in retaining linkages with Australia...’

Most AUSS respondents have been back to visit Australia at some stage (see Table 8.6). Overall, males have made more visits compared to females, and nearly half of all respondents had made at least four visits back to Australia. Age and years since first arrival in the US have a positive relationship with the number of visits made to Australia, as do highly-skilled characteristics (see section 8.3).

Table 8.6: Number of visits to Australia by sex, AUSS respondents

	Males % (n = 754)	Females % (n = 799)	Total % (n = 1 581)
None	11.7	15.1	13.2
One	12.5	17.9	15.0
Two	11.9	12.1	11.8
Three	10.3	12.5	11.3
Four-five	17.2	14.0	15.3
> Five	36.2	27.9	31.4
Not specified	0.1	0.5	2.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: AUSS 2006

Putting AUSS survey findings into context, the Australian Emigration Survey found 44 percent of respondents in the US/Canada had made five or more return visits to Australia, similar to AUSS findings. Australian Emigration Survey respondents in Asia had made the most visits back to Australia (60 percent had made more than five visits) and respondents

in the UK and Ireland had made the fewest visits (30 percent had made five or more return visits). The variation in number of visits by country of residence was attributed to the proximity of the location to Australia and other factors such as reason for moving and type of employment (Hugo et al., 2003 p.48).

8.5.1 Reasons for visits to Australia

Over 85 percent of AUSS respondents made visits to Australia to see family and friends or as a place to go on holiday (Table 8.7). Visits to Australia for employment related reasons were much more common among males compared to females, a finding not surprising since more males had gone to the US for employment related reasons and may be travelling back and forth between Australia and the US for these reasons.

The Australian Emigration Survey also found that while visiting family and friends was the more popular reason for visits to Australia for respondents living in all overseas destinations, respondents in North America and Asia were more likely to make visits to Australia for business compared to respondents in the UK/Ireland (Hugo et al., 2003 p.49). This likely relates to the fact that more respondents had moved to the US and Asia for business.

Table 8.7: Main reasons for visits to Australia by sex, AUSS respondents

	Males % (n = 754)	Females % (n = 799)
Visit family and friends	86.3	85.4
Holiday	41.0	35.0
Employment/business	22.4	9.6
To attend a conference/meeting	11.5	5.4
Education	0.9	1.4

Note: Totals do not equal 100 percent because respondents could select all that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

There are often a number of motivations for making visits home. Comments about the reasons for visits within the AUSS sample were generally along these lines:

To see family, but also because there are other things that I have really missed about Australia while being away.

Wendy, age 30, New York, first arrived in the US six years ago

My brother and his family still live in New South Wales...since I have been back so many times I have been able to stay in contact with lifetime friends.

Patty, 68, Texas, first arrived in the US 43 years ago

Respondents who stated employment and attending a conference/meeting as the main reasons for visits to Australia had made more trips to visit Australia compared to those stating visiting family and friends or holiday as their main reasons for visits to Australia (see Table 8.8).

Table 8.8: Main reason for visits¹ to Australia and number of visits to Australia since first arriving in the US, AUSS respondents

	Visit family and friends	Holiday	Employment/ business	To attend a conference/ meeting
	% (n = 1 340)	% (n = 591)	% (n = 246)	% (n = 131)
One	16.9	11.5	6.5	3.1
Two	13.7	13.2	8.5	4.6
Three	12.5	12.0	9.8	9.9
Four-five	17.8	17.6	14.6	15.3
> Five	37.0	43.7	60.6	66.4
na*	2.1	2.0	0.0	0.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Respondents could select all main reasons that apply.

*Represents respondents who selected a reason for visits and 'none' as the number of visits.

Source: AUSS 2006

Respondents who moved to the US for employment opportunities, professional development, higher income and education/study were also more likely than respondents stating other reasons for their move to the US to have made more than five visits back to Australia since first arrival in the US. For those who moved for study reasons, this also reflects the number of years since arrival: respondents who moved to the US for education/study were most likely to have first arrived in the US more than 10 years ago. Because most respondents, regardless of their reason for moving to the US, first arrived in the US within the past 10 years (see Chapter 7), it can be concluded there are higher levels of mobility, in the form of a greater number of visits back to Australia, among those who moved to the US for employment related reasons. Not surprisingly, those who moved to the US for economic reasons are also most likely to have also made visits back to Australia for employment related reasons (Table 8.9).

Table 8.9: Main reasons for move to the US and percent selecting employment-related reasons for visits to Australia, AUSS respondents

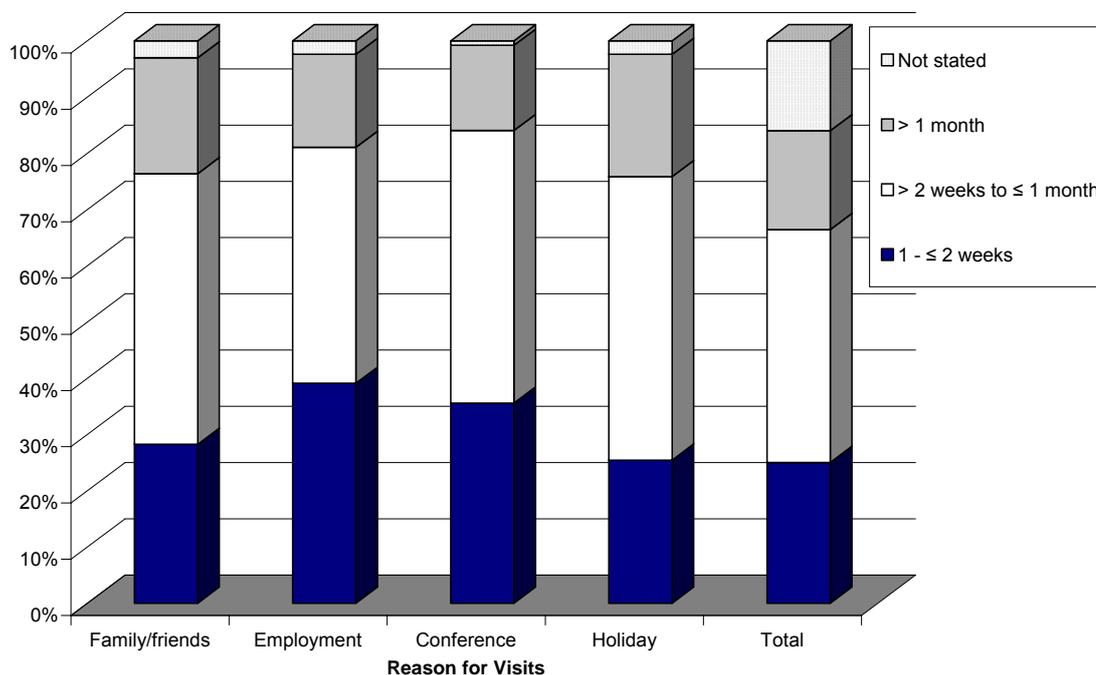
Reason for move to the US	n	Main Reasons for visits to Australia	
		% Employment/ business related reasons	% To attend a conference/ meeting
International experience	680	18.7	9.7
Marriage/partnership	577	8.8	3.3
Employment opportunities	515	17.9	10.9
Career and promotion opportunities	443	21.0	12.4
Professional development	406	24.1	16.0
Higher income	378	21.2	11.4
Education/study	278	17.6	13.3
Overseas job transfer/exchange	252	29.0	12.7
Partners employment	205	10.2	5.4
Lifestyle	192	18.8	5.7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1 581	15.6	8.3

Source: AUSS 2006

Interestingly, respondents who moved for international experience and lifestyle reasons are also more likely than total respondents to have selected employment/business related reasons for visits to Australia, further indication that in the AUSS sample, international experience and lifestyle may be related to economic factors (as discussed in the previous chapter).

8.5.2 Length of visits to Australia

Most visits back to Australia are for at least two weeks. This attests to the distance and cost of travelling between Australia and the US. Although the current state of technology and travel makes this less of an issue than in the past, a certain period of time on visits is required to make the trip worthwhile. It is obvious that visits to Australia to see friends and family and for a holiday serve a very different function than visits to Australia for employment. These trips also happen with different frequency and for varying lengths of time. Compared to visits to Australia for employment related reasons, visits to see family and friends and for a holiday are less frequent (Table 8.8), but greater in duration (Figure 8.5).

Figure 8.5: Length of stay on visits to Australia by main reason for visits, AUSS respondents

Note: Respondents could select all reasons for visits that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

Visits to Australia for employment or a conference are likely to be shorter in duration than visits to Australia for other reasons because they are for a specific purpose, returning to the US once obligations are met. It is also likely that individuals making visits to Australia for employment or conference reasons have their travel expenses covered by their employer. They may thus be flying a higher service class, reducing the requirement to stay away for a longer period of time in order to compensate for the travel time and expense.

A study of the mobility decisions of international students in the US found the minimal vacation time in the US (typically 10 working days per year) to strictly limit mobility decisions to either spending all vacation time on visits to the home country or going on a holiday somewhere else, the motivations behind each option very different (Alberts and Hazen, 2005 p.143). Compared to Australia (and many other countries), the number of annual vacation days in the US is very limited. Some AUSS respondents commented on how they creatively incorporate holiday time in with visits to Australia, or combine visits back to Australia with travel to other destinations:

We have been back to visit [Australia] a couple of times with kids and once before the kids were born. My employer pays for a trip home for us every two years...because it is the same price roughly we make it into an around-the-world trip every two years.

Daniel, 46, New York, has been living in the US seven years

Once every two years [we return to Australia] for a business trip and I take the family along and tag some vacation time onto the end of that. Typically a week of work, and then two weeks holiday...

James, 40, New York, has been living in the US 11 years

8.5.3 Visits to Australia and future plans

There are suggestions that visits to the home country may be part of ‘...a rational strategy to prepare for return or onward migration’ (Poot and Sanderson, 2007). In accordance with this idea, emigrants who plan to return to Australia to live may want to keep their links with Australia more alive by making more frequent visits. However, it is actually those who are planning to stay in the US permanently or are undecided about their future plans that have made the most visits back to Australia (see Figure 8.6). This is a consequence of the fact that respondents with these future plans were in general older and had been living in the US for a longer period of time compared to those planning to return to Australia or move to other countries (see Table 8.1); thus have had more time to make a number of visits to Australia.

It is also important to consider that the number of visits made to Australia do not necessarily reflect the degree of attachment to Australia or how many visits to Australia respondents may wish to have made; some people have the opportunity and means to visit Australia more frequently, while others cannot even if they so desire:

We would have visited more often but couldn’t afford many trips when my children were younger.

Ellen, age 53, California

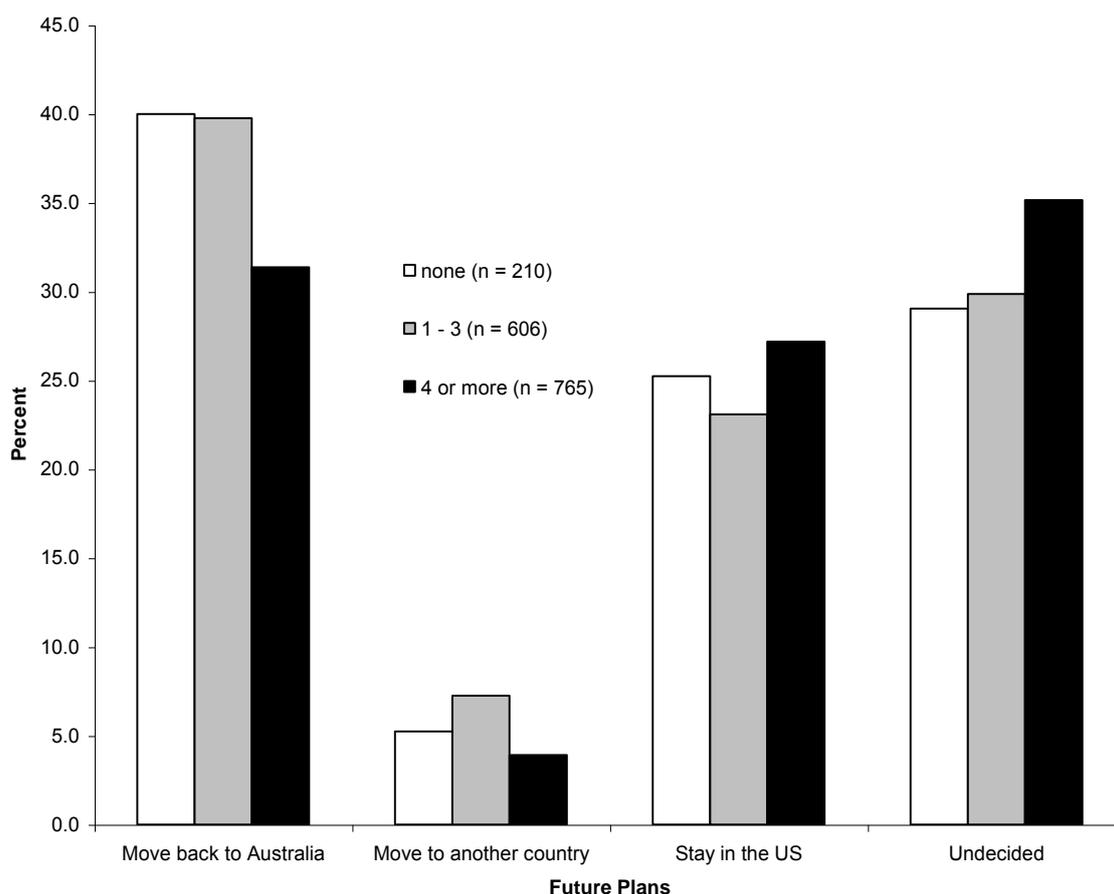
Since first leaving Australia in 1960, I have been able to go back over 40 times, as my first husband worked for the airlines...since remarrying...we have returned 4 times.

Marcia, Texas, has been living in the US 43 years

When I was younger, it was probably once every seven years because travelling back became a big ordeal...now it's obviously much easier and I have become more interested in Australia as I got older and more interested in maintaining the family ties...Currently I go once a year. I hope to eventually go twice a year for an extended period of time.

Brian, age 45, California, has been living in the US 42 years

Figure 8.6: Number of visits to Australia and future plans, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

Structural factors such as immigration regulations may also require or prohibit trips outside of the US, which can affect the number or length of visits.

I'm currently not allowed to leave the US due to immigration regulations. We are midway through applying for residency, therefore, any attempt to leave the US will result in my being banned on re-entry.

Karen, 42, California, has been living in the US 18 years

I would have visited but couldn't because I had to wait for my Greencard, then got pregnant, then bought a business right after that...Argh; desperately need a trip back there.

Ali, 29, Arizona, has been living in the US five years

Data from AUSS sample confirm that highly-skilled individuals, and those moving for employment related reasons, are more frequently mobile. The number of visits made to Australia does not necessarily indicate the desired degree of association with Australia, and it does not appear that visits back to Australia at some stage are part of a strategic plan to assist adjustment on a return move to Australia at some point in the future. These visits for business or pleasure are more likely just another phase in the circular mobility cycle.

8.6 Non-permanent return moves to Australia

Although it was determined that return visits to Australia are not generally part of an intentional strategy towards eventual permanent return to Australia, moves back to the country of origin for a period of time are usually longer in duration than visits and influenced by different factors. While most visits to Australia were less than one month in duration (see Figure 8.5), about half of non-permanent return moves to Australia were for more than one year (see Table 8.10)⁶². Like visits, returning to the country of origin to live for a period of time is a way of keeping identity alive and connections strong (Ahlburg and Brown, 1998, Duval, 2004, Ganga, 2006) and may be a way, intentional or not, in making the transition back to the country of origin easier if a return migration eventuates. Approximately 16 percent of AUSS respondents had moved back to Australia at some stage since their first arrival in the US. The characteristics of respondents who have moved back to Australia at some point in time have been shown to be different in some

⁶² About 20 percent of respondents said their visits to Australia were usually one month or longer. It is interesting to consider how much time needs to pass before a return is called a *move* rather than a *visit*.

ways from those of respondents who have lived in multiple countries and made a number of visits to Australia (see section 8.3 of this chapter).

Returning to live in the country of origin for a period of time may have more to do with social rather than economic factors, as discussed in the previous chapter. Similar to responses to the AUSS, the Australian Emigration Survey found 19 percent of respondents living in the US and Canada had moved back to Australia to live at some stage (Hugo et al., 2003 p.47). The Australian Emigration Survey also found that relative to respondents in the US/Canada, a higher portion of those living in Asia (30 percent) and a smaller portion of respondents living in the UK/Ireland (15 percent) had returned to live in Australia at some stage⁶³. This is similar to Australian Emigration Survey results relating to the number of visits made to Australia by respondents living in each of these destinations. Physical distance from Australia, intentions of migrants at the start of their journey, cultural similarities between Australia and the US/Canada and the UK/Ireland relative to Asia all play a part in the different propensities to return to Australia to live at some stage by country of residence (Hugo et al., 2003, Hugo et al., 2001).

8.6.1 Reasons for moves back to Australia

The previous chapter has shown some examples of the importance of prior experiences in influencing a decision to move. The most common ways AUSS respondents learned of opportunities that encouraged a move to the US were previous visits to the US and existing networks in the US (as shown in Chapter 7). Those who are from Australia are already equipped with knowledge about the country and most have some existing networks still in place in Australia, so the decision to move back to Australia for a period of time should involve less confrontation with the unknown than moving away from Australia in the first place. To be close to family and friends was in fact the most common reason for a move back to Australia for a period of time (Table 8.10), followed by business/employment.

⁶³ The Australian Emigration Survey found that compared to other destinations, a high percentage of respondents in Asia were there on fixed-term contracts (Hugo et al. 2003, p.43). This could provide some explanation for the higher rate of return among respondents in Asia; perhaps it is common for Australians living in this region to go back and forth between Australia and Asia on a temporary basis.

Table 8.10: Reason for a move back to Australia by length of time spent back in Australia, AUSS respondents

	≤ 1 year % (n = 121)	> 1 year % (n = 128)	Total % (n = 255)
To be close to family and friends	48.1	59.7	55.7
Business/employment related reasons	31.8	40.3	36.9
Education	9.3	11.9	11.0
Lifestyle	20.2	20.1	20.8
TOTAL (n = 255)¹	49.0	51.0	100.0

¹ Includes only respondents who have made a non-permanent return move to Australia (n = 255)

Note: Percentages do not equal 100 percent because respondents could select all that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

Many respondents selected multiple reasons for return moves to Australia. For example, 39 percent of respondents who selected business/employment as a reason for a return move to Australia also said they moved to be close to family and friends, and many also returned because of Australia's lifestyle (22 percent).

The propensity to have returned to live in Australia at some stage is clearly dependent on other respondent characteristics such as age and years since first arrival in the US, as were the number of visits. As shown in Table 8.11, the incidence of having made a non-permanent return move to Australia increases with years since first arrival in the US, and as previously discussed, there is a positive relationship between years since arrival in the US and age.

Because of the variation in reasons for moving to the US based on age and years since arrival in the US (see Chapter 7), respondents who went to the US for career and promotion opportunities or overseas job transfer/exchange were less likely to have moved back to Australia at some stage (12 percent of respondents moving for this reason compared to 16 percent of total respondents). Those who moved to the US for education/study and lifestyle reasons were slightly more likely to have moved back to Australia at some stage (22 percent and 19 percent respectively). Unlike return visits to Australia and moves to other countries, non-permanent return moves to Australia are not influenced by economic characteristics (as discussed previously, see Table 8.3).

Table 8.11: Years since first arrival in the US and percent respondents who have made a non-permanent return move to Australia, AUSS respondents

Years since arrival in the US	n	% 'Yes' have made non-permanent return move to Australia
≤ 5 years ago	637	7.2
6-10 years ago	423	15.4
11-20 years ago	261	22.2
> 20 years ago	220	34.5
Not stated	40	25.0
TOTAL	1 581	16.1

Source: AUSS 2006

8.6.2 Return moves to Australia and future plans

Are moves back home for a period of time part of a strategy to remain actively connected with Australia and therefore paving the way for permanent return to Australia in the future? If this strategy were in use, a relationship between having returned to Australia to live and planning to return to Australia in the future would be expected. In fact, those who have moved back to Australia at some stage are slightly more likely to be undecided or plan to stay in the US permanently compared to respondents who have not made a non-permanent return move to Australia (Figure 8.7). Those who have lived in the US for a longer period of time are more likely to have made a non-permanent return move to Australia (as shown in Figure 8.2 and Table 8.11), and respondents who have lived in the US for a longer period of time were likely to be undecided about future plans or plan to live in the US permanently (as shown in Figure 8.1).

Similar to discussion in reference to the frequency of visits to Australia in the previous section, the number of respondents who have returned to Australia to live at some stage does not necessarily reflect all emigrants who would have liked to move back to Australia for a period of time, for many the timing and the right opportunities are everything.

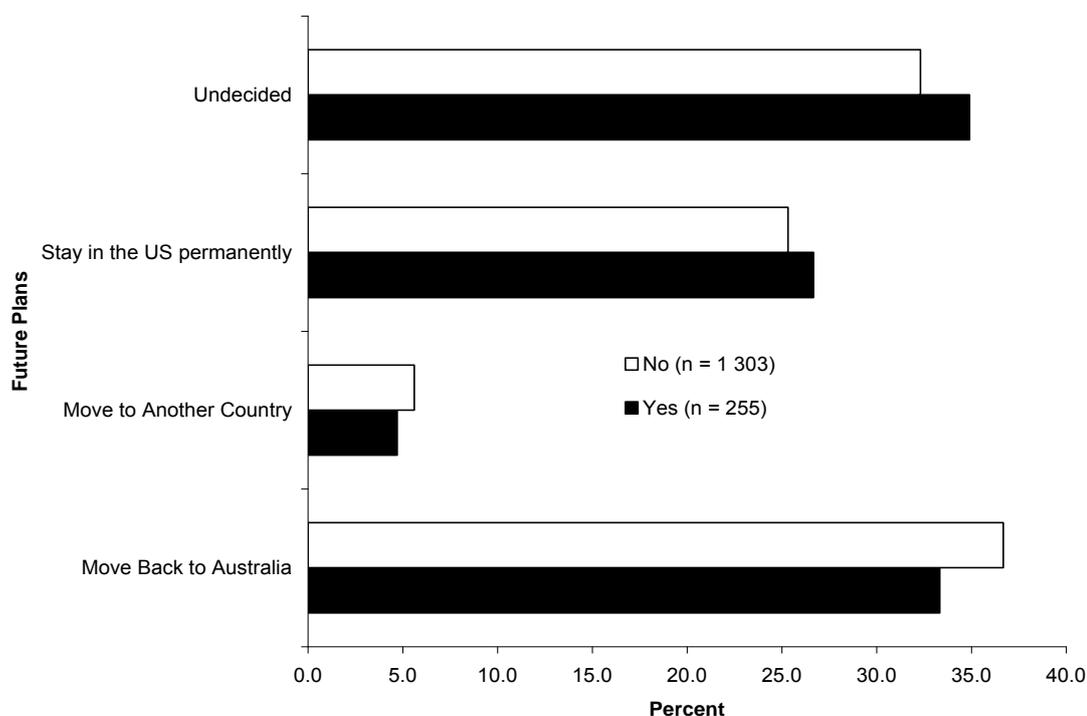
I would have moved back [to Australia] sooner had there been more work opportunities for me.

Katie, age 39, New York, has been living in the US for 11 years

Conversely some respondents commented that they had moved back to Australia for a period of time *not* because they wanted to, but because they had to for some reason (for

example to secure a US visa that required application from outside the US, or to attend to family matters in Australia).

Figure 8.7: Future plans by response to the question 'Have you moved back to Australia at any stage since first arriving in the US?', AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

It seems that non-permanent moves back to Australia are simply made when the opportunity arises, sometimes by way of a temporary employment transfer back to Australia. The main reason behind temporary return moves is reconnecting with family and friends for a period of time.

8.7 Conclusion

The international mobility patterns and future plans of AUSS respondents show most emigrants do not conceive of their emigration from Australia as a single, permanent shift from Australia to the US. The activities of respondents demonstrate they maintain transnational livelihoods and a flexible attitude towards future mobility. Many do plan to return to Australia to live in the future (36 percent) and 32 percent are undecided. Many AUSS respondents have lived in additional countries (45 percent) and have made several

visits to Australia, with some (16 percent) having made a non-permanent return move to Australia for a period of time. AUSS respondents who earn incomes over US\$100,000, have a post-graduate level of education and are employed in highly-skilled occupations are more likely to have made a greater number of return visits to Australia and/or to have lived in countries in addition to Australia and the US. AUSS respondents who move for employment related reasons were found to make more frequent international moves; individuals moving for these reasons are also most likely to be highly-skilled. AUSS respondents in the prime workforce ages of 35–59 are more likely to have highly-skilled characteristics, and males are more likely than females to have these characteristics and to move for reasons related to employment, thus tend to have been more mobile. The likelihood of having made a non-permanent return move to Australia was not found to be related to economic characteristics. All forms of mobility, however, were influenced by age and years since arrival in the US; respondents who arrived in the US longer ago and/or who are older are more likely to have been more mobile.

It was determined that most AUSS respondents are not making international moves as a strategy to pave the way for future, permanent moves. The reasons for visits and non-permanent return moves to Australia are most often to be close to family and friends and to reconnect with Australia and the people living there for a period of time. Employment, however, was also an important reason for having lived in other countries and having made visits or return moves to Australia. The next chapter will explore the transnational networks Australians living in the US maintain with Australia.

CHAPTER 9: Transnational connections with Australia

9.1 Introduction

It has been shown that Australians living in the US frequently keep linkages with Australia in the form of return visits and, in some cases, return migration. As a result of the transnational livelihoods the Australian diaspora maintain, identities and networking activities that transcend national borders are also increasingly common. These activities are facilitated by the same factors that have encouraged heightened mobility; technological advancements that have made frequent and rapid connections possible.

Identification with the home country is essential for a group of expatriates to be called a diaspora (see for example Vertovec, 1999, Vertovec and Cohen, 1999, Safran, 1991). Continued association with Australia in the AUSS sample takes many forms. This includes transnational networking with Australia from afar and with other Australians living in the US, continued identification with Australia as ‘home’ and the maintenance of tangible linkages, such as the ownership of assets in Australia. The activities of Australians in the US explored in this chapter will demonstrate that many maintain a strong sense of identification and engage in regular communication with Australia and other Australians in the US as a part of their daily lives. The transnational linkages that migrants keep serve a range of functions, and the outcome of these activities from the perspective of origin and destination countries is largely dependent on the type of networks that are kept and the frequency with which these networks are utilized (Levitt et al., 2003, Portes, 2001). Sustained involvement with the country of origin varies based on migrant characteristics and circumstances. The networking activities of the AUSS sample will be examined across a range of migrant characteristics to explore both the type of networks kept and how often different types of linkages are used.

9.2 Continued identification with Australia

Some researchers envisaged that technological advancements enabling communication and mobility outside of national borders would lead to a decreasing sense of national identity for individuals living abroad (see for example Gellner, 1997, Szerszynski and Urry, 2002, Vertovec, 2002). Other researchers argue that the ability to sustain connections so easily has strengthened identification with the home country for many living overseas (Eriksen, 2007). There are different ways of conceptualising where one belongs or who belongs depending on perspective. Country(s) of citizenship, birth or residency are commonly used to associate an individual with a particular place from a macro perspective. Defining belonging by these characteristics downplays the intricacy of networks and identities that often transcend national boundaries (Olwig, 2003, Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003). There is a growing body of literature exploring the ‘cosmopolitan’ identities that some highly mobile migrants uphold whereby they relate more strongly to elements of their unique lifestyle than to a particular nation(s) (Huntington, 2004, Vertovec and Cohen, 1999, Kennedy, 2004, Norwicka, 2006). In the previous chapter it was found that many AUSS respondents have livelihoods that involve movement between a number of different countries, and many have multiple citizenships. Which country do they identify with most strongly?

Migrants themselves may define where they feel they belong quite differently than where they are a citizen, where they were born, or where they currently reside. The concept of ‘home’ is subjective, but is often regarded in an emotional sense of:

...where one belongs, or wants to belong. Therefore a distinction must be made between the actual geographic location of a place where somebody lives and where a person thinks he/she belongs.

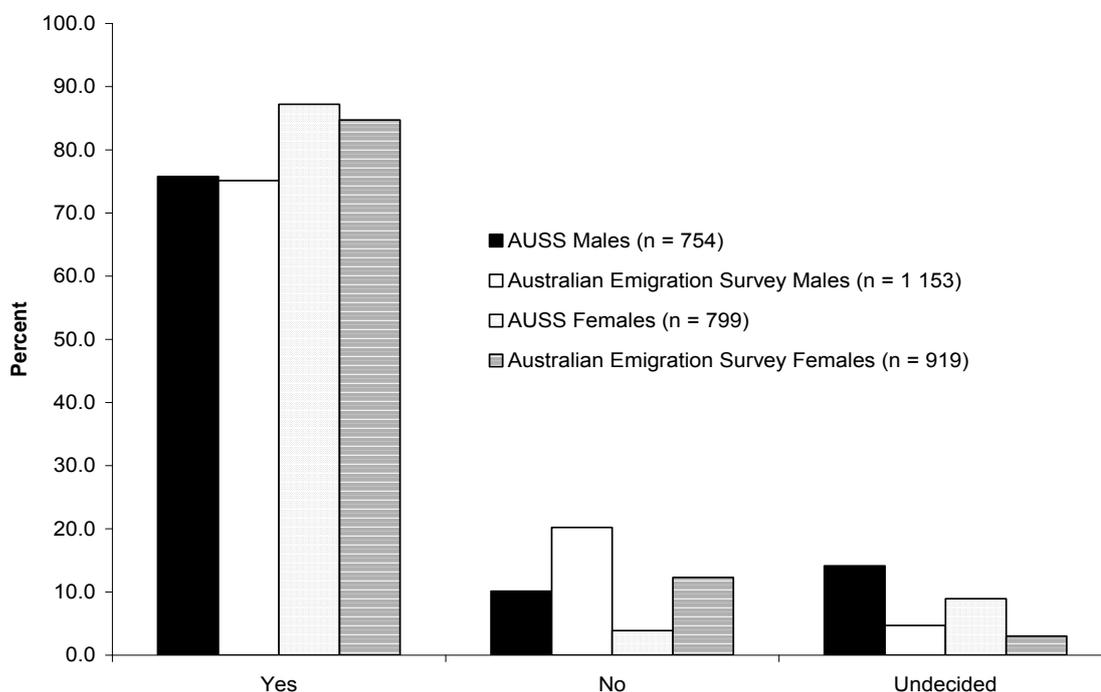
Demuth 2000 p.24

Some migrants find it difficult to define a single location or country as home. A study of the Canadian diaspora, for instance, found identification with Canada as home varied depending on what aspect of life is in question. Most Canadian emigrants claimed Canada was the country they identified with most strongly for their personal and family life, but

were split about equally as to whether they considered Canada or their current country of residence to be where they identify most strongly in terms of professional life (Zhang, 2007 p.6, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2007). This example points to the complexities involved in exploring national identity and feelings of attachment to a particular place. There are both different types of identifications (for example personal or professional) and attachments evolve as circumstances change.

In the AUSS population, continued identification with Australia as home was explicitly measured by response to the question ‘do you still consider Australia to be your home?’ Approximately 80 percent of AUSS respondents said they do still consider Australia home. This finding is similar to that of the Australian Emigration Survey findings (see Figure 9.1), indicating that many Australian emigrants, in a number of overseas destinations, still identify with Australia in this way.

Figure 9.1: Responses to the question 'Do you still consider Australia to be your home?' by sex, AUSS and Australian Emigration Survey responses



Source: Compiled from Hugo et al. 2003 p.46, AUSS 2006

It would have been interesting to see how identity varied if other response options, such as ‘consider both Australia and the US home’, were offered. Perhaps response would vary

depending on what aspect of life is considered, as was the case in the study of the Canadian diaspora discussed above.

In both AUSS and the Australian Emigration Survey samples, the perception of Australia as home varies based on migrant characteristics. In both groups, females were more likely to consider Australia home than males. In the Australian Emigration Survey sample, country of citizenship was found to be the biggest determinant of whether respondents still consider Australia home (Hugo et al., 2003 p.46). Zhang's (2007 p.5) research on the Canadian diaspora (discussed above) also found perception of Canada as home varied among respondents according to *how* they had obtained their Canadian citizenship, that is, by descent, by birth or through immigration and naturalization procedures.

Although it is not possible to explore this dimension in the AUSS sample, a relationship between having Australian citizenship and considering Australia home is evident. As stated by Rivzi (2002 p.81) '...citizenship equals a formal symbol of commitment to the basic principles and values of modern Australia...'. While almost all in the AUSS sample have Australian citizenship (95 percent), those with Australian citizenship *only* are even more inclined to say they still consider Australia home compared to respondents without Australia citizenship, and those who have both Australian and US citizenship (see Table 9.1). This has to do with the fact that respondents with Australian citizenship only are more likely to be younger in age and to have first arrived in the US more recently, factors that also relate to continued identification with Australia as home. Moreover it is important to point out that more than 50 percent of respondents who do not have Australian citizenship, and over 70 percent of those who have dual Australia and US citizenship, *do* still consider Australia to be home, indicating a sense of continued identification with Australia often remains regardless of country(s) of citizenship.

Time since departure from the country of origin also plays a role in the strength and type of attachments migrants have in countries of origin and destination (Carling, 2008 p.467). A study of New Zealanders in Australia found feelings of attachment evolve as time in the destination country lengthens (Green et al., 2008 p.43). Identification with New Zealand was found to be strongest in the first two years since departure; those away for three to 10 years felt attachment about equally to both home and destination countries, and those away

for more than 10 years were more strongly connected to the country of destination. The Australian Emigration Survey also found identification with Australia as home to be stronger for those who had spent fewer years living outside of Australia (Hugo et al., 2003 p.46). In accordance with these findings, AUSS respondents who are younger and first arrived in the US more recently are more likely to say they still consider Australia home compared to those who are older and first arrived in the US longer ago (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1: Select characteristics of AUSS respondents who 'Still consider Australia home'

	n	% 'Yes' Still consider Australia home
Current Age <40 ¹	860	86.0
Current Age 40+	692	75.3
First arrived in the US ≤ 5 years ago	637	89.3
First arrived in the US > 5 years ago	904	74.8
Have made < 4 visits to Australia	816	84.8
Have made ≥ 4 visits to Australia	745	77.4
Plan to return to Australia	565	94.7
Plan to stay in US permanently	401	59.9
Has Australian citizenship	1 504	81.3
Does not have Australian citizenship	77	53.2
Has Australian citizenship only	1 169	84.5
Has dual Australian and US citizenship	209	70.8
Australia-born	1 375	81.3
TOTAL	1 581	80.4

¹99.7 percent of this group is aged 20+

Source: AUSS 2006

AUSS respondents with plans to return to Australia to live at some stage are particularly likely to still consider Australia home. This is related to the fact that those who plan to return to Australia are also more likely to be younger, more recently arrived in the US and have Australian citizenship only (see Chapter 8). Although these survey results reveal a large difference in the propensity to associate with Australia as home based on future plans, it is important to note that nearly 60 percent of respondents who plan to stay in the US permanently still consider Australia home. Interestingly, those who have returned to Australia to live at some stage and those who have made more visits to Australia are marginally *less* likely to still consider Australia home. This is a reflection of the fact that they are also more likely to have lived in the US for a longer period of time (as shown in Chapter 8).

The information in this section has shown most AUSS respondents continue to identify with Australia as home. Migrant characteristics including citizenship, age and sex do play a role in response, but migrant circumstances, particularly years since arrival and future plans, have the most influence on the rate respondents still consider Australia home.

9.3 Migrant transnationalism

Abstract identification with Australia as home is only one way to gauge continued association with Australia. Transnational connections maintained with other Australians living in the US, and with Australia, are also ways members of the diaspora keep connected with the country of origin. Networks have come to be seen as a form of social capital which is as valuable, albeit less tangible, than financial and human capital assets (Bourdieu, 1986, Portes, 1998). Networks with others from the origin country kept by migrants in the country of destination may be sought for both practical and personal reasons. It is important to identify what types of transnational linkages are occurring and distinguish between different forms of migrant transnationalism (Portes et al., 1999). Disaggregating transnational networking is necessary in order to theorise how particular types of linkages relate to positive outcomes for origin and destination countries, and for migrants themselves.

9.3.1 Disaggregating different types of migrant transnationalism

Attempts to classify a particular type of migrant transnationalism as more or less important or 'true' based on the level of formality of the network, purpose of the network and frequency of network maintenance can lead to confusing contradictions. According to Glick-Schiller et al. (1995 p.48), transmigrants are 'immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state'. Although it is noted that formalized networks are often recognized as more tangible and important than informal networks (Aranda, 2005 p.10), this is at odds with the view that 'true transmigrants' are those who maintain regular and frequent cross-border contacts (Guarnizo et al., 2003 p.1213). Informal social networks with family and friends are often the most frequent and regularly maintained. Levitt and Dewind et al. (2003 p.570) suggest

differentiating between migrants who are intensely transnational and those who engage in occasional or periodic transnational activities. Again this can lead to confusion because migrants may be intensely transnational in one arena (for example daily emails to family back home) and only occasionally participate in other types of transnational networks, for example, political involvement with the country of origin at election time.

Smith and Guarnizo (1998) differentiate between transnationalism ‘from above’, which are transnational activities that are initiated by nations or institutions, or ‘from below’, networks that are started by migrants themselves. There is also the possibility of distinguishing between transnational networking that takes place through a formal channel, like membership in an expatriate organization, and cross-border activities that are less formal. In the AUSS sample for example, although almost all respondents said they network with Australia and most also have contact with other Australians living in the US, just one-third of total respondents participate in Australian clubs/organizations in the US, thereby keeping a formalized network in the US based on their identity as an Australian⁶⁴. The problem with the formal/informal dichotomy is that informal networks may arise from formal networks, and formal and informal activities are often intertwined. Although transnational networking through an organization qualifies as a formal linkage since it is taking place through a specific channel, organizations vary among themselves in the degree of formality, and the type of participation members chose to have within these organizations also fluctuates widely (Vertovec, 2005, Fullilove and Flutter, 2004). Some emigrants may be looking very generally for a connection with others from the same country of origin, while others may join an expatriate organization for reasons that go beyond their identity as a migrant (for example professional interests).

AUSS respondents network with other Australians in the US for a variety of reasons, and the types of organizations respondents are involved in vary accordingly⁶⁵. These range from very casual groups, some which exist only in cyberspace, to those with regular in-

⁶⁴ Respondents were not asked whether they participate in any clubs/organizations in Australia, however about one-third of total respondents commented on the professional linkages they keep with Australia, some of which are likely to take place through formalized channels.

⁶⁵ The expatriate organizations AUSS respondents belong to are discussed in Chapter 6. Please refer to Chapter 6 and Appendix 5 for more information.

person gatherings and events. Most have a main objective or theme, but also provide a range of networking opportunities for their participants. For example, Advance - Global Australian Professionals (Advance), the most popular organization of AUSS respondents, is promoted as a networking organization for Australian professionals. Advance also offers its members social gatherings, information about Australian cultural events in the US and current affairs issues relevant to Australians overseas. This organization therefore could be classified as economic, socio-cultural or political depending on the type of involvement members decide to have. Another popular group for AUSS respondents, The American Australian Association (AAA), is a non-profit organization 'devoted to the relations between the United States, Australia and New Zealand' (American Australian Association, 2007), a very broad mission statement. Branches of the organization, however, focus more explicitly on corporate, social, cultural, philanthropic and educational networking; members can select the type of network within the organization that suits them.

Some clubs are small and are much more specific in their focus, for example Australian Rules Football Association in the US, but even these groups are likely forums for wider networking. Comments from AUSS respondents demonstrate that participation in a single US-based Australian network can serve a number of purposes:

It's [Australians in the US] a very close community actually...you feel like you have 200 friends from home. Things like Advance [overseas Australians professional organization] where you are able to keep in touch...like Friday night we all went to a [Australian Football League] Grand Final party, there were about four or five Grand Final parties in the city...there's lots of events like that if you listen out for them you can find them.

Susan, age 30, New York, has been living in the US for two years

Portes et al. (1999 p.221) suggest untangling migrants transnational activities by clarifying both the purpose of the network and frequency of usage of the network. Economic, political and socio-cultural networks are each seen as distinct types of migrant transnationalism. As discussed above, a single network or organization may serve a range of functions, so often it is not possible to define as strictly 'economic' or 'cultural'. In the AUSS sample it will be shown that participation in networking with Australia and with

other Australians living in the US varies based on respondent characteristics and the type of networks they engage with.

9.3.1.1 Structural considerations

The likelihood of maintaining transnational linkages, and the value of these networks, are highly subject to the specific circumstances that exist for the individual migrant and the wider context of the countries involved in the networking activities (Peixoto, 2001a, Conradson and Latham, 2002, Voigt-Graf, 2004, Conway, 2000, Portes, 2003, Ueda, 2007, Panagakos and Horst, 2006). It is essential to examine structural factors that may inhibit or encourage the maintenance of transnational networks, for example having the money and legal status that allow participation (Aranda, 2005 p.8), and the psychosocial inclination to engage in transnationalism (Snel et al., 2006). In the case of Australians in the US, few barriers to communication exist.

The rise of online networks means geographic proximity is often not essential to membership in expatriate groups, since active participation in internet-based organizations can happen from anywhere. Bernal (2006) claims the proliferation of online networking mediums has ‘created a new diasporic space’. Geography cannot be disregarded, however, as location often does play a part in defining the type of experience migrants have. The ability to be physically present at functions or meetings of an organization is clearly dependent on the proximity of the organization or event to where migrants are living. Many Australians-in-the-US groups are based in major cities where the greatest portion of the migrant population lives, like New York or Los Angeles (see Chapter 6). Australians living in these areas have the option to actively participate in Australians clubs more readily available to them; Australians living in other places may not have such opportunities:

I have extremely limited contact [with other Australians] due to work location, no other known Australians within two hours.

Elise, age 43, Massachusetts, first arrived in the US six years ago

I do not participate [in Australian clubs] because there are none where I live, but I actively seek out other Australians.

Justine, age 42, Oklahoma, has been living in the US seven years

Research has shown migrants may be more inclined to maintain certain types of linkages with others from the country of origin if they are in a destination country that is very different culturally to the country they came from (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). Migrants who move between countries that share a number of cultural similarities, such as Australia and the US, may be less prone to seek out others from the same country of origin in order to feel comfortable. Some comments from AUSS respondents reflect a reduced need to seek out others from Australia in the US, at least socially, as a result of the similarities between countries:

I think Americans are so similar in lifestyle to Australians that I don't feel a great need to seek out fellow Australians. Whereas maybe if I was from India I'd want to find people of my culture.

Simone, age 53, California, has been living in the US 24 years

I occasionally meet other Australians but it is pretty rare, and I don't find myself seeking out clubs.

Ellen, age 53, California

A study of New Zealanders living in the United Kingdom found most in their study population kept a strong association with their country of origin (New Zealand) as home, but some did not want to be a part of New Zealander expatriate groups for fear they would then have a 'Kiwi experience' abroad rather than an international one (Wiles, 2008 pp.119, 124). Similarly some AUSS respondents expressed a distinct desire *not* to associate with other Australians living in the US because they thought that undermined the experience of living in another country:

I never got into Aussie-in-the-US clubs because I didn't see the point of going to the US and hanging out with other Australians. ...but now that I won't be working for an Australian company anymore and won't have that contact I may want to involve myself more to have that contact.

James, age 40, New York, has been living in the US 11 years

Although some migrants may actively avoid too much involvement with others from the same country of origin, most AUSS respondents do keep linkages with other Australians living in the US (77 percent, see Table 9.4) and almost all keep networks with Australia from afar (94 percent, see Table 9.3). Almost all respondents who keep networks with Australia from afar keep social networks. Informational/current affairs links and employment links are also fairly common. Almost all respondents who have networks with other Australians living in the US keep social networks, and about 45 percent also have employment networks. Some AUSS respondents also keep educational links with Australia or with other Australians living in the US.

As discussed in Chapter 6, it is important here to emphasize the probable bias in the AUSS sample towards greater participation in networking activities and higher levels of internet usage due to the data collection methods employed in this research. Although results from the AUSS sample cannot be generalized to the wider Australian diaspora population, the networking activities of those within the AUSS sample can be compared across migrant characteristics to provide interesting insights.

9.4 Maintaining transnational networks with Australia

In the AUSS sample, linkages⁶⁶ kept with other Australians living in the US and with Australia from afar are both explored. Contacts kept by AUSS respondents with Australia are clearly transnational in nature because they involve contact across national boundaries. Networks kept with other Australians living in the US are also a form of migrant transnationalism since these networks are constructed based on a hybrid identity that includes Australian and American elements. According to Butler (2001 p.192), in order to consider a group a diaspora, a ‘self awareness of a group identity’ that binds members to the home country and each other is required. Engagement with other Australians living in the US is an example of such self-awareness. The networks AUSS respondents keep with other Australians are broken down by purpose (defined by respondents themselves as social, economic, educational or related to current affairs); the frequency of engagement

⁶⁶ The terms ‘networks’, ‘links/linkages’ and ‘contacts’ are used interchangeably in this chapter to describe the connections AUSS respondents keep with Australia and with other Australians living in the US.

across different types of networks is also examined in the links kept with Australia. Studies of migrant transnationalism have been criticised for focusing on what may be incidental transnational networking, and not considering the resources migrants use as a part of their daily lives (Conradson and Latham, 2002). Exploring the networks migrants keep for a range of purposes, in both destination and origin countries, provides a comprehensive overview of different types of transnational resources used as a part of the livelihoods of AUSS respondents.

9.4.1 Maintenance of multiple networks

It is important to point out that respondents could select all network types that apply to them. Many keep a variety of networks both with Australia and with other Australians living in the US. Regardless of the type of networks kept, most AUSS respondents who engage in networking with Australia also have social contact with other Australians living in the US (Table 9.2). Results also show those who keep employment networks with Australia are much more likely to participate in all types of networks with other Australians living in the US.

Table 9.2: Type of networks kept with Australia and type of networks kept with other Australians living in the US, AUSS respondents

Type of network with Australia		% Network with Australians in the US, by network type		
	n	Social	Employment	Education
Social	1 467	71.8	35.7	7.5
Current Affairs	817	71.7	40.0	8.1
Employment	591	80.4	57.9	24.2
Education	198	75.3	47.5	10.8
TOTAL¹	1 480	71.8	35.7	7.6

¹ Only applicable to respondents who do have contact with people or organizations in Australia.

Note: Respondents could select all network types that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

Migrants often lead lives that involve both movement and connections with a number of countries (Trotz, 2005). Therefore, transnational networking for many is not limited to communication between the country of origin and current country of destination. Many AUSS respondents have lived in or travelled to countries in addition to Australia and the US (as discussed in the previous chapter), and linkages may be maintained as a result of these experiences. Comments from respondents express this point:

I probably maintain as many contacts in Hong Kong as I would in Australia...Business links with Hong Kong are very easy to utilize.

Bradley, age 50, California, has been living in the US 23 years

I still keep a lot of business contacts with Australia ...I have contact with Australia and London on a daily basis.

James, age 40, New York, has been living in the US 11 years

9.4.2 Characteristics of migrants who keep transnational networks

Almost all AUSS respondents have networks in Australia and most have contact with other Australians living in the US (as shown in Table 9.3 and Table 9.4). Transnational networking takes place for different reasons and at different stages of the migrant journey. The propensity to keep some types of networks varies by migrant's circumstances and socio-demographic characteristics. Networking is often a precursor to movement; it has been previously shown that many AUSS respondents (69 percent) used networks in the US as a way to learn of opportunities that encouraged a move there (see Chapter 7). After arrival in the destination country, networks with others are often utilized to assist in adjustment in their new location (see for example Boyd, 1989, Massey and Espana, 1987, Massey, 1986). Time in the destination country clearly plays an important role in adaptation and therefore involvement in transnational networks (Morawska, 2003 p.626). Just as years since arrival in the US influenced the propensity of AUSS respondents to still consider Australia home (see section 9.2), networking with the country of origin is usually found to decrease as time in the destination country increases (Carling, 2008 p.465-466).

AUSS respondents who first arrived in the US within the past five years had higher rates of network participation with other Australians, both in Australia and in the US, compared to those who had been in the US longer (see Table 9.3 and Table 9.4). There is also a higher rate of membership in Australian organizations in the US for those who first arrived in the US within the past five years. The fact that more recent arrivals are involved in Australian organizations in the US indicates that these networks are being used as a way to assist in adjustment to life in the US soon after arrival. This also reflects the continual growth of communication forums in recent years that allow more opportunities for participation.

Table 9.3: Networks kept with Australia by select characteristics, AUSS respondents

	n	% 'Yes' networks in Australia ¹	Type of contacts in Australia ²				
			n	% Social	% Current affairs	% Employment	% Education
First arrived in the US ≤ 5 years ago	637	95.9	611	99.3	57.3	46.6	16.0
Plan to return to Australia	565	95.4	539	98.9	59.0	48.2	14.1
Plan to stay in US permanently	401	91.5	367	99.2	45.8	27.5	10.9
Undecided future plans	511	96.9	493	99.4	56.6	38.3	12.4
'Yes' still consider Australia home	1 271	95.8	1 217	99.0	57.4	41.3	14.0
Have made ≥ 4 visits to Australia	745	94.8	706	98.9	55.2	44.1	12.6
Male	754	94.8	715	98.6	54.7	46.9	12.9
Current Age <40	860	95.1	818	99.5	54.2	41.1	14.4
Has Australian citizenship	1 504	95.2	1 412	99.1	55.5	40.7	13.4
Does not have Australian citizenship	77	93.2	68	100.0	48.5	25.0	13.2
Married	1 149	95.0	1 092	99.0	56.1	39.6	11.9
Income >US \$100 000	524	93.9	492	98.4	55.5	54.9	13.6
Has postgraduate degree/diploma	550	95.3	524	98.9	56.7	53.6	22.5
Employed in highly-skilled occupation	1 048	94.9	995	98.9	57.4	47.2	14.5
TOTAL	1 581	93.6	1 480	99.1	55.2	39.9	13.4

¹ Represents percentage of total respondents with characteristic who network with other people or organizations in Australia.

² Includes only respondents who have contact with other people or organizations in Australia.

Source: AUSS 2006

Table 9.4: Networks kept with other Australians living in the US by select characteristics, AUSS respondents

	n	% 'Yes' network with Australians in US ¹	Type of contacts in US ²			
			n	% Social	% Employment	% Education
First arrived in the US ≤ 5 years ago	637	78.8	502	89.9	48.0	11.6
Plan to return to Australia	565	81.2	459	92.4	51.2	9.4
Plan to stay in US permanently	401	71.3	286	91.6	36.4	7.3
Undecided future plans	511	77.1	394	88.1	44.2	8.9
'Yes' still consider Australia home	1 271	79.3	1 008	91.2	45.1	9.5
Have made ≥ 4 visits to Australia	745	81.5	607	93.6	47.3	8.9
Male	754	79.0	596	89.4	52.0	11.6
Current Age <40	860	80.5	692	91.9	45.7	11.7
Has Australian citizenship	1 504	77.3	1 162	90.5	45.3	9.7
Does not have Australian citizenship	77	62.3	48	91.7	35.4	4.2
Married	1 149	76.1	874	91.1	44.1	7.8
Income >US \$100 000	524	82.6	433	90.5	57.0	7.2
Has postgraduate degree/diploma	550	81.3	447	90.4	50.1	13.6
Employed in highly-skilled occupation	1 048	80.0	838	90.7	51.9	7.3
Total	1 581	76.5	1 210	90.6	44.9	9.5

¹ Represents percentage of total respondents with characteristic who network with other Australians living in the US.

² Includes only respondents who have networks with other Australians living in the US.

Source: AUSS 2006

Just as the propensity to keep networks is influenced by the time that has passed since migration, it is suggested that the value and role of social networks change as time since departure from the origin country increases (Hagan, 1998). In the AUSS sample, the likelihood of keeping social linkages, with both Australia and with other Australians in the US, is not influenced by years since arrival in the US. It is possible the *value* of these social networks change as more time is spent in the US, but this was not measured in the survey. Involvement in employment and educational networks does vary based on the number of years respondents had been living in the US. Respondents who first arrived in the US within the past five years are more likely to keep employment and education links with Australia and with other Australians in the US compared to those who first arrived in the US some time ago. It is not surprising that migrants who more recently departed Australia are more likely to have linkages related to their professional livelihoods in Australia still intact.

AUSS respondents who still consider Australia home are more likely to have current networks with Australia and with other Australians in the US compared to respondents who are undecided or who do not still consider Australia home⁶⁷. Respondents who still consider Australia home are also more likely to have more recently arrived in the US and have future plans to return to Australia to live (as shown in Table 9.1); qualities that make networking with other Australians more likely.

Respondents who first arrived in the US more recently are more likely to be younger in age and have plans to return to Australia compared to those who have been living in the US for a longer period of time (see Chapter 8). Respondents who plan to return to Australia also have a higher rate of participation in networking with Australia compared to those who intend to remain in the US permanently (see Table 9.3). Research by Portes (2003 pp.878-879) has found migrants who are expected by those living in the country of origin to return home are more likely to maintain transnational links with the country of origin. It is not surprising that migrants who plan to return to the country of origin are more likely to maintain networks there. More notable is the finding that respondents in the AUSS sample

⁶⁷ Ninety-one percent of the respondents who are undecided or do not still consider Australia home keep networks with Australia and 70 percent have networks with other Australians living in the US.

who plan to stay in the US permanently are *less* likely to have networks with other Australians living in the US, and those who plan to return to Australia more likely to keep such networks (see Table 9.4).

Networking with other Australians living in the US thus may not be part of a strategy to adapt permanently to the US, but instead is more often undertaken by those who do plan to return to Australia and want to keep strategic linkages and identification with Australia alive and current. Interestingly, respondents who are undecided about their future plans have higher rates of networking with Australia and with other Australians in the US compared to total respondents. In other instances the activities of respondents who are undecided about their future plans more closely align with the activities of those who plan to stay in the US permanently (see section 9.4.6).

Employment networks in particular are much more likely to be kept by AUSS respondents who plan to return to Australia compared to those who plan to stay in the US permanently. Comments from some respondents highlight the importance of keeping employment linkages with Australia in order to facilitate eventual return:

I have made connections with a couple of educators in Australia in case I should find myself moving back at some point in the future.

Frank, age 30, California, first arrived in the US 12 years ago

I keep relationships with former employers in case I want to go back when I return to Australia.

Lauren, Pennsylvania, first arrived in the US two years ago

I stay in touch with past employers to keep door open for return to Australia.

Jess, age 36, Montana, first arrived in the US 12 years ago

There were people that I worked with that I kept in social contact with but not so much professional contact. If I had, then I may have been more inclined to come back.

Steven, age 45, New Jersey, has been living in the US 18 years

9.4.2.1 Reason for moving and network maintenance

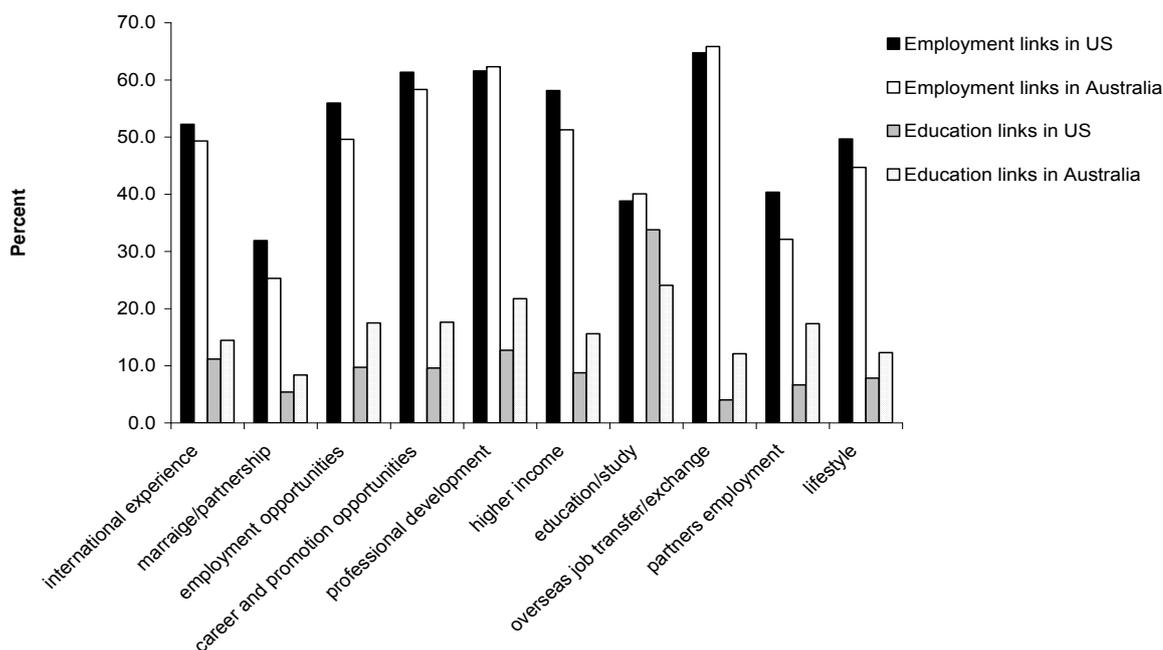
Professional and educational networks are usually more defined compared to social and informational or current affairs links, and are often inherent for migrants who move for these reasons through specific channels (Peixoto, 2001a), like AUSS respondent Lachlan:

As I transferred to the US with the company with which I was employed in Australia and as my work is international, I have regular contact with my Australian colleagues.

Lachlan, age 30, has been living in the US for one year

Therefore it is not surprising that the types of linkages kept are often related to reasons for moving to the US (see Figure 9.2).

Figure 9.2: Type of networks kept with Australia and with Australians living in the US by main reason for move to the US, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

AUSS respondents who moved to the US for employment and reasons related to income are more likely to keep employment networks in both Australia and the US compared to respondents who moved primarily for partnership reasons or education/study. It is evident AUSS respondents moving for education or study reasons are also the most likely to keep

educational contacts in both Australia and the US (see Figure 9.2). The more formal mechanisms in place for people moving for employment or education reasons may provide increased access to networking opportunities, which plays a part in explaining the higher rates of network participation for certain types of migrants (see section 9.4.1). Highly-skilled individuals may also have more opportunities to engage in networks related to their employment, and they may be continuing involvement in networks that were in place before their move to the US.

9.4.2.2 Socio-demographic characteristics and network maintenance

There is little difference in the propensity of AUSS respondents to keep networks with Australia based on socio-demographic characteristics. There are greater differentials due to migrant characteristics and the likelihood of having networks with other Australians living in the US (see Table 9.4). Respondents who are under the age of 40, earn an income of more than US\$100,000, have a postgraduate educational qualification, and/or are employed in highly-skilled occupations are more likely to maintain networks with other Australians in the US compared to total respondents (see Table 9.4). This is an indication that networks with other Australians in the US may be more often used for employment purposes. Bias in survey distribution to a large number of professional expatriate organizations may also be a factor.

The maintenance of social linkages does not vary markedly by respondent's socio-demographic characteristics, but employment networks do. Not surprisingly, employment links with both Australia and with other Australians living in the US are more often kept by males, high income earners, persons who have a postgraduate qualification and persons employed in highly-skilled occupations. These are also often characteristics of AUSS respondents who moved for reasons related to employment.

Respondents who have made more visits to Australia are slightly more likely to keep employment linkages with Australia and with other Australians living in the US. This relates to high mobility levels among highly-skilled individuals and those making visits to Australia for employment reasons, as discussed in the previous chapter. This result also shows migrants with highly-skilled characteristics, and those moving for employment

reasons, have both higher levels of international mobility and higher rates of participation in transnational networking activities.

Although education networks are the least common type of linkage kept by members of the AUSS sample, respondents who have postgraduate educational qualifications and who are employed in highly-skilled occupations are more likely to keep this type of network with Australia. Educational links with other Australians living in the US were also more likely to be kept by those with postgraduate qualifications, but *less* likely to be kept by respondents who were employed in highly-skilled occupations. This could indicate that different types of educational links are kept in each location. A probable scenario is that respondents who have educational networks with other Australians living in the US are current students, while educational linkages kept with Australia may be alumni or research contacts kept by academics (or those employed in other highly-skilled occupations) currently working in the US.

In conclusion, the maintenance of employment and education linkages is much more dependent on migrant characteristics, reasons for moving to the US and circumstances (years since arrival in the US and future plans) than are social networks. Employment linkages kept with both Australia and with other Australians living in the US are also strongly associated with future plans to return to Australia.

9.4.3 Civic involvement as a way of connecting with Australia

Another way Australians living overseas can stay actively involved in Australian current events is by engaging in political transnationalism and voting in Australian elections from afar. Just over one-fifth of all AUSS respondents who first arrived in the US prior to 2005 voted in the last Australian election⁶⁸, as shown in Table 9.5.

The One Million More Census of Australians Abroad (OMM) found similar rates of voting among respondents; 24 percent of OMM respondents voted in Australian election (in 2004)

⁶⁸ The last Australian federal election prior to the AUSS survey was in October 2004. Only respondents who first arrived in the US before 2005 are included in this analysis in an effort to exclude most respondents who voted in the last Australian election because they were still living in Australia at the time.

and 44 percent remain on the Australian electoral role (Rudd and Hugo, 2007). In the AUSS sample, considerably higher rates of having voted in the last Australian election were found among those who plan to return to Australia, who are under the age of 40, who have a postgraduate educational qualification and who first arrived in the US 10 years ago or less (Table 9.5). These characteristics align with those who are more likely to keep all types of linkages with Australia.

Table 9.5: Select respondent characteristics and voting participation in last Australian election¹, AUSS respondents

	n	% Voted	% Did not vote
Current age < 40	699	28.5	71.1
Current age 40+	615	14.3	85.0
First arrived in US ≤ 10 years ago	883	27.5	71.9
First arrived in US > 10 years ago	433	9.9	89.6
Plan to return to Australia	457	29.3	70.0
Plan to stay in US permanently	344	16.3	82.6
'Yes' consider Australia home	1 072	23.5	75.7
Undergraduate degree	538	21.6	77.3
Postgraduate degree	470	27.9	71.3
Highly-skilled occupation	891	22.9	76.8
TOTAL²	1 320	21.7	77.5

¹ The last Australian Federal election prior to the AUSS survey was in October 2004.

² Only applicable to respondents who have contacts in Australia. Includes only respondents who first arrived in the US prior to 2005.

Source: AUSS 2006

Research into the political activities of the diaspora from other countries suggests that it is usually the country of origin, not the overseas individuals, that initiate political transnationalism (Margheritis, 2007, Baubock, 2003). An issue may be given publicity in the home country, for example, which encourages civic participation from expatriates. Ultimately it is the government in the country of origin that decides if, and how, overseas citizens can participate in its politics. There is widespread disagreement as to how much involvement from the diaspora should be allowed in electoral matters (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004, Carli, 2006, Fedi, 2006), since the outcomes of elections arguably affect members of the population resident in a country more than those living overseas. Some arguments against allowing electoral participation from overseas are that individuals who reside overseas often do not pay taxes so should not have a say on how tax dollars are spent, or since overseas persons are living outside of the country they will not be adequately informed to vote.

The specific country of origin and its diaspora population are clearly important to consider when making judgments as to how the diaspora should be involved in electoral matters. In Italy for example, the number of Italian citizens living outside of Italy is larger than the resident Italian population, therefore the impact of expatriate voting has the potential to be enormous (Carli, 2006). In the Australia case, less than five percent of the Australian population are living overseas, so although there are enough people to have a voice in an election, votes from Australians overseas will not overshadow the votes of resident Australians. To counter other arguments put forward against overseas electoral participation, many overseas Australians *do* pay Australian taxes, clearly keep on top of what is going on in Australia by way of networking, and many have and/or plan to return to Australia and contribute to Australia from a distance.

The survey question about voting was meant to be an indicator of continued attachment to Australia, since individuals have to actively maintain enrolment in Australia to be eligible to vote. It is clear based on response that the number of individuals who did participate by voting in the last Australian election is not indicative of all who had the desire to participate. Many respondents were unaware of their voting rights and responsibilities when they left Australia, and when they tried to participate discovered that they were no longer eligible⁶⁹:

I attempted to vote in the Australian election, yet was advised I'd been living outside of Australia for too long and my name has been taken off the electoral role. I believe that Australians living overseas should still be able to vote in Australian elections.

Luke, age 38, California, first arrived in the US nine years ago

AUSS respondents who did actively maintain their enrolment and voted in the last Australian election have nearly double the rate of participation in employment networks compared to those who did not vote (Table 9.6). Involvement in educational and information networks is also substantially higher than non-voters.

⁶⁹ A submission was made to the Australian Senate Inquiry into Civics and Electoral Education in May 2006 which utilized data from the AUSS survey to demonstrate a lack of clear and accurate information about the voting rights of Australians living overseas. For a copy of this submission please see Appendix 13.

Table 9.6: Voting activities in last Australian election and type of networks kept with Australia, AUSS respondents

	n	% Social	% Current affairs	% Employment	% Education
Voted	286	99.3	63.6	56.9	19.9
Did not vote	1 023	99.0	53.3	32.6	10.3
Not stated	11	100.0	9.1	36.4	18.2
TOTAL¹	1 320	99.1	55.2	38.0	12.4

¹ Only applicable to respondents who do have contact with people or organizations in Australia and who first arrived in the US before 2005.

Note: Totals do not equal 100 percent because respondents could select all network types that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

9.4.4 Frequency of transnational networking with Australia

The frequency of contact respondents have with Australia varies according to network type, but most respondents are in contact with Australia at least once per week. Social and current affairs links are utilized the most often, and education networks with less frequency (Table 9.7).

Table 9.7: Frequency of contact with Australian networks by network type, AUSS respondents

	n	% ≥ Once per week	% Every 2 - 4 weeks	% < Monthly	% Not stated	Total
Social	1 467	50.4	30.5	13.8	5.2	100.0
Current Affairs	817	56.8	27.4	12.0	3.8	100.0
Employment	591	48.6	32.0	18.6	0.8	100.0
Education	198	40.9	33.8	22.7	2.5	100.0
TOTAL¹	1 480	50.3	30.6	14.0	5.1	100.0

¹ Only applicable to respondents who do have contact with people or organizations in Australia.

Note: Totals do not equal 100 percent because respondents could select all network types that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

The frequency networks with Australia are maintained also varies based on migrant characteristics. Not surprisingly, respondents who more recently arrived in the US, and those who still consider Australia home, engage in networking with Australia more frequently when compared to those who have been living in the US for a longer period of time and those who do not or are undecided whether they still consider Australia home. Respondents who plan to move back to Australia in the future are also more likely to be in contact with Australia at least once per week compared to those who plan to live in the US permanently. However, even those who plan to stay in the US permanently or are undecided about their future plans are often in contact with Australia on a regular basis.

I keep pretty regular contact. I make sure I read the papers everyday, keep informed about what's going on in Australia...I stay informed especially about relations between Australia and the US, I make that a very high priority because my medium to long term goal is to at least facilitate more time in Australia...

Doug, age 32, New York, has been living in the US eight years

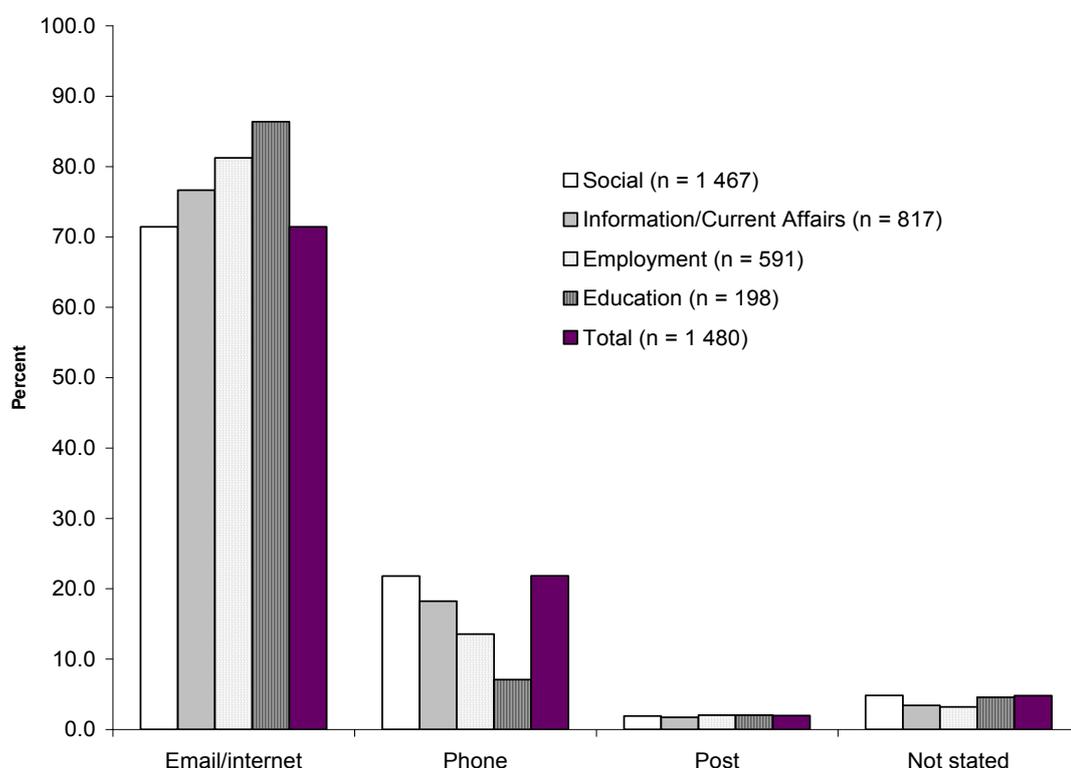
AUSS respondents who are male and those who have highly-skilled characteristics have more frequent contact with Australia (at least once per week) compared to females. This is in part because females are not as likely to have highly-skilled characteristics (as shown in the previous chapter).

9.4.5 Methods used to keep in contact with Australia

Most AUSS respondents (70 percent) use internet/email, 28 percent use telephone, and just two percent use post as their primary method of contact with Australia. Bias towards high rates of internet usage in this population is expected due to the survey distribution method (see Chapter 6); therefore the high prevalence of the internet/email as a way of communicating with Australian networks is not surprising. Exploring rates of internet usage across different types of networks and migrant characteristics does however provide some insights. Although the AUSS sample as a whole is selective of individuals with highly-skilled characteristics⁷⁰, AUSS respondents who moved to the US more recently (within the past five years), are younger (under the age of 40) and employed in highly-skilled occupations, are more likely to use the Internet as a primary method of contact with Australia compared to respondents who have been living in the US for a longer period of time, are over the age of 40 and who are not employed in high skilled occupations.

AUSS respondents who keep employment or education networks have the highest rates of internet usage as their primary method of contact with Australia (Figure 9.3).

⁷⁰ See Chapter 6 for more information.

Figure 9.3: Primary method of contact with Australia by type of network, AUSS respondents¹

¹ Only applicable to respondents who do have contact with people or organizations in Australia.

Note: Respondents could select all network types that apply.

Source: AUSS 2006

The telephone is more popular for the maintenance of social and current affairs networks compared to employment and education networks, although the Internet is still by far the most common primary method of contact.

There is also a difference in the frequency of contact with Australian networks based on the primary method of network maintenance. The use of post as a primary means of communicating with Australia is rare, and the few respondents who do keep in contact with Australia primarily by post do so infrequently compared to those who utilize other methods. Respondents who use either the Internet or telephone as their primary method of contact most often make contact with Australia at least once per week, however it is interesting that telephone users made contact with Australia the most frequently (Table 9.8).

Table 9.8: Primary method of contact with Australia and frequency of network maintenance, AUSS respondents

	n	% ≥ Once per week	% Every 2 - 4 weeks	% < Monthly	% Not stated	Total
Email/Internet	1 057	51.1	29.8	15.9	3.2	100.0
Telephone	323	56.7	32.8	6.8	3.7	100.0
Post	29	17.2	62.1	20.7	0.0	100.0
TOTAL¹	1 480	50.3	30.6	14.0	5.1	100.0

¹ Only applicable to respondents who do have contact with people or organizations in Australia

Source: AUSS 2006

A number of AUSS respondents commented that they keep in touch with Australia using a variety of methods; many said they use telephone and the Internet about equally. Some respondents remarked on the innovative technologies they use to keep in touch with Australia. Research showing the extremely rapid growth and expansion of telephone traffic globally led to the conclusion that ‘arguably nothing has facilitated global linkages more than the boom in ordinary, cheap international telephone calls’ (Vertovec, 2004 p.219). Technology is continually advancing and creating new ways for people to connect across distance. The availability of a range of communication methods has clear implications for the feasibility of doing business and keeping employment links from a distance, but appears to be most revered by AUSS respondents as a means to keep up-to-date or even real-time social linkages with people in Australia:

Thank God for the Internet...It makes such a huge difference having that, feeling a part of your friend’s lives back home. Wedding photos, baby pictures, whatever...

Patrick, age 34, New York, has been living in the US three years

Where I grew up...they have a local newspaper online so every now and then I’ll look it up and see who’s died and who’s had babies.

Simone, age 53, California, has been living in the US 24 years

Interviewee James was even able to ‘attend’ his parents’ anniversary party in Australia and see and talk to guests thanks to inventive technology:

They put me on *Skype* videoconference and put the laptop on the bar, and I met everyone who came to get a drink. I even gave a speech on the laptop. ...video conferencing was always going to make difference for business...but people use it for personal communication, community sort of stuff, family stuff.

James, age 40, New York, has been living in the US for 11 years

There were many stories from interviewees about a big technology learning curve, either for themselves or relatives and friends back in Australia, prompted by a desire to keep involved in each other's lives from afar. Interviewee Daniel, for example, left parents in Australia who knew very little about computers or the Internet, but once he had children in the US and his parents in Australia wanted to be involved in the lives of their grandchildren, things changed:

Once we had kids we started sending photos via internet, [my parents] went and took a Photoshop course... and now my father has the biggest, badest computer you can imagine...every Saturday night we have video conferences over the Internet.

Daniel, age 46, New York, has been living in the US seven years

9.4.6 Assets and connection to Australia

In addition to long-distance communication, there are a number of ways migrants can keep tangible linkages with the origin country that also help to retain their connection there. In the previous chapter it was suggested the return moves and visits were one way to keep such links with the country of origin. Financial remittances, investments and property ownership are also regarded as explicit and valuable linkages kept by the diaspora (assets owned by AUSS respondents are shown in Figure 9.4). Positive impacts to less developed origin countries resulting from emigration to more developed countries have traditionally been discussed in terms of financial remittances (Guarnizo, 2003, Wescott, 2006). As previously mentioned, human capital and knowledge transfers are usually emphasized over monetary remittances in the case of migration between high income nations. There is limited empirical information available on the financial remittances Australian emigrants contribute to Australia while living overseas (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004). However, many

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AUSS respondents commented that Australia stands to benefit from their experience in the US because of the financial remittances that are sent back to Australia; either while they are still living in the US or when eventual return to Australia takes place.

As an Australian expatriate, I invest most of my disposable income in Australia.

Rob, age 37, New York, has been living in the US two years

I transfer income and assets from US to family members.

Cameron, age 44, California

I am earning income that will in future be used to purchase assets in Australia.

Ava, age 53, New Jersey, has been living in the US five years

I will eventually bring accumulated wealth to Australia and feed into economy.

Joe, age 36, California, first arrived in the US nine years ago

Conversely, many AUSS respondents think it is the US that stands to gain financial and human capital benefit as a result of their presence:

Australia paid for my education but US organizations have been the ones that have had the benefit of it.

Ian, age 40, Virginia, has been living in the US eight years

I contribute to the US economy, and to the advance of US science, technology and industry.

Jason, age 36, New York, has been living in the US two years

I have worked here as a professional social worker, paid taxes here, raised four US citizens with university degrees.

Paula, age 61, Maryland, has been living in the US 45 years

Research has shown a positive relationship between the sending of financial remittances and maintenance of assets in the country of origin, and plans to return (Ahlburg and

Brown, 1998). In the AUSS sample there is clearly a relationship between owning assets in Australia or the US and future plans. Respondents who own assets in Australia, particularly a home or property, more frequently plan to return to Australia compared to total respondents (Table 9.9). This also has to do with years since arrival in the US; respondents who first arrived in the US five years ago or less are more likely to own assets in Australia compared to total respondents, and those who arrived in the US longer ago are more likely to own assets in the US.

Table 9.9: Assets owned in Australia or the US, plans for future mobility and identification with Australia, AUSS respondents

	n	% Plan to return to Australia	% Stay in US permanently	% Still consider Australia home
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1 581	35.7	25.4	80.4
Own in Australia				
Home	308	55.2	7.8	87.7
Property	174	53.4	10.9	82.8
Business	48	41.7	14.6	85.4
Bank account	949	46.4	16.8	86.7
Financial investments	698	45.3	17.6	85.0
Own in the US				
Home	876	28.5	32.6	77.6
Property	237	26.6	35.0	77.8
Business	227	23.8	36.6	75.7
Bank account	1 396	35.7	26.1	81.4
Financial investments	914	31.8	30.1	77.1

Source: AUSS 2006

Respondents who own assets in the US, most notably a business, a property or a home, more often have plans to stay in the US permanently. Respondent comments demonstrate asset ownership in a particular place is sometimes a strategy towards future mobility:

I own a home in Sydney that I purchased after I had relocated to the USA. It has always been my intent to return to Australia.

Sam, age 43, Washington, first arrived in the US 11 years ago

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I [purchased property] in part to maintain the contact [with Australia], so that I will go over there every year....so that is intentionally designed, among other things, as a way for me to maintain over the long term the family connection to Australia.

Brian, age 45, California, has been living in the US 42 years

Interviewee Tracey said she and her family made the active decision *not* to buy a home in the US to avoid getting too invested there:

We don't own this house; we never bought because we wanted the freedom to leave whenever we wanted to.

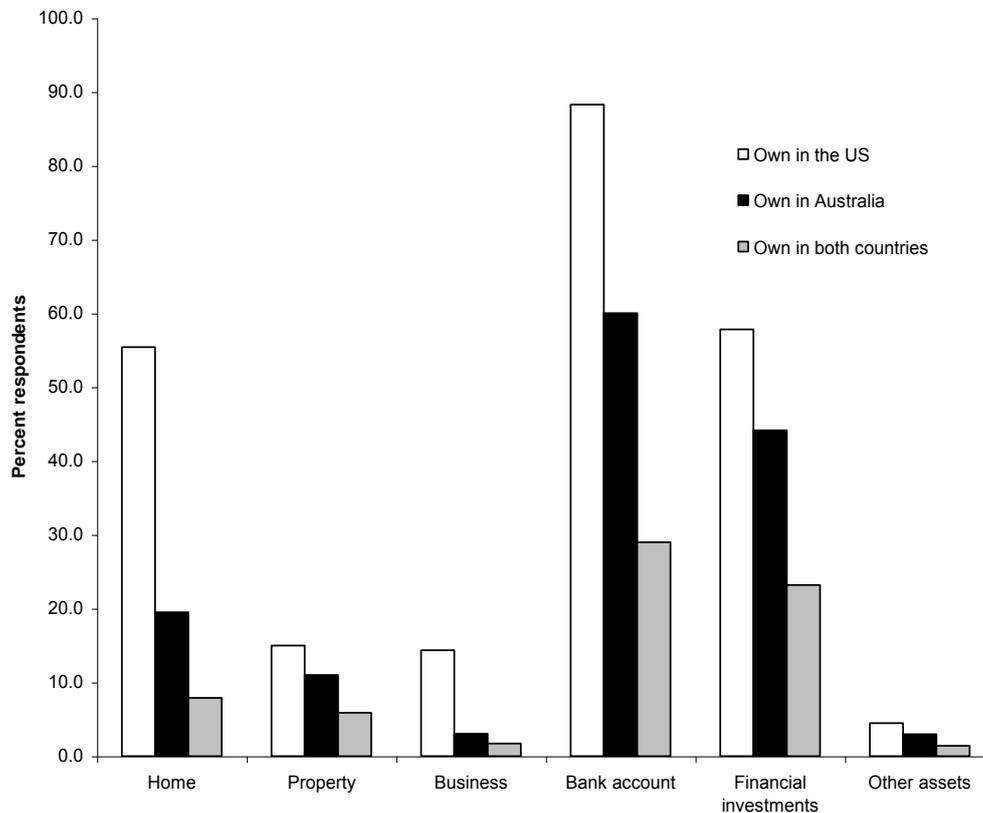
Tracey, 38, California, has been living in the US seven years

The majority of respondents do still consider Australia home, regardless of where they own assets, but those who own assets in Australia, especially a home or an Australian bank account, are even more likely to say they still consider Australia home. Conversely, respondents who own assets in the US say they still consider Australia home at a lower propensity compared to total respondents, with the exception of those who have a bank account in the US. Of the selected assets, a bank account is the most flexible in terms of commitment (bank accounts can be opened or closed with relative ease). The majority of AUSS respondents (88 percent) have a bank account in the US, while 60 percent of respondents have a bank account in Australia (see Figure 9.4). A bank account in the US may be opened to make life easier while living there and paying bills, earning an income, etcetera, while keeping a bank account in Australia while living overseas appears more indicative of continued association and plans to return to Australia.

It is shown in Figure 9.4 that some respondents own assets in both Australia and the US, keeping commitments and financial attachments in more than one place. The relationship between owning assets and attachment to a particular place is complex. Some migrants, including some AUSS respondents, plan to split their time living in more than one country, maintaining attachments to multiple countries. A bank account and financial investments are by far the most commonly owned assets in both the US and Australia (see Figure 9.4).

Just as many move between and keep networks with a number of countries, it is likely that some individuals also have assets in countries other than the US and Australia.

Figure 9.4: Assets owned in the US, Australia and both countries, AUSS respondents



Source: AUSS 2006

Respondents who own tangible assets in Australia are also more likely to network with Australia and with other Australians living in the US when compared to both total respondents and respondents who have assets in the US (see Table 9.10). A positive association between having assets in Australia and maintaining networks there is not surprising, as one respondent articulates:

I maintain investments and property in Australia so that's another reason to keep informed of what is happening in Australia. I need to know what's going on there.

Doug, age 32, New York, has been living in the US eight years

Table 9.10: Rate of network participation by asset ownership in Australia and the US, AUSS respondents

	n	% Have networks in Australia	% Network with Australians in the US
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	1581	93.6	76.5
Own in Australia			
A home	308	97.7	87.0
Property	174	97.1	85.1
A business	48	97.9	79.2
A bank account	949	96.5	81.9
Financial investments	698	97.0	83.8
Own in the US			
A home	876	93.9	74.5
Property	237	97.4	76.2
A business	227	94.7	77.1
A bank account	1 396	95.0	78.1
Financial investments	914	94.3	78.7

Source: AUSS 2006

It is interesting that respondents who own assets in Australia also have higher rates of keeping networks with other Australians living in the US. This provides additional support to the claim that the linkages respondents are keeping with other Australians living in the US are most often kept to maintain association with Australia rather than to integrate into the US permanently. The fact that respondents who own assets in Australia are more likely to keep these networks is also related to the characteristics of those who own assets in Australia. Australians with assets are more likely to be more recent migrants and have future plans to return to Australia, qualities that also lead to higher rates of networking with other Australians living in the US.

Most respondents who own assets in the US do not have markedly different rates of participation in networking activities compared to total respondents. Those who own a home in the US have slightly lower rates of keeping networks with other Australians in the US, this is because those who own a home in the US are more likely to plan to remain in the US permanently (see Table 9.9), and those who plan to live in the US permanently have lower rates of networking with Australia and other Australians living in the US. Respondents who own property in the US actually have higher rates of networking with Australia from afar compared to total respondents.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown most AUSS respondents still identify with Australia as home, and most utilize transnational networks for a multitude of reasons; as a source of information prior to moving, as a way of adjusting or advancing themselves in the US, and as a way of maintaining a connection with Australia. Years since arrival in the US and future plans have the greatest influence on the type of transnational linkages that are kept. Respondents who have more recently moved to the US and those who plan to return to Australia in the future are more likely to keep all types of networks with Australia. Respondents make the most of innovative technologies to sustain their transnational networks. The Internet is by far the most common medium used to keep in contact with Australia. Most emigrants are in contact with Australia at least once per week.

Almost all respondents keep social linkages with Australia and with other Australians living in the US, but the maintenance of employment and education linkages is largely related to reasons for moving and migrants socio-demographic characteristics. The likelihood of having networks with other Australians living in the US is higher among respondents with highly-skilled characteristics, suggesting this form of networking often has to do with employment. It was also found that respondents who plan to return to Australia have higher rates of keeping networks with other Australians in the US compared to total respondents. This is an indication that networking with other Australians living in the US may be used as a strategy to keep connections with Australia current, rather than to assist in adjustment to the US on a permanent basis. Respondents with plans to return to Australia are also much more likely to keep employment networks in both Australia and with other Australians living in the US.

Ownership of assets is found to relate to future plans; AUSS respondents who own assets in a particular country are more likely to also have future plans to live there. Those who have assets in Australia are also more inclined to keep networks with Australia. The next chapter will conclude the thesis by considering the implications of research findings for theory, for Australian emigration and diaspora policy and for future research.

CHAPTER 10: Implications and conclusions

10.1 Introduction

Emigration and diaspora have been understudied elements of the migration situation. This study has intended to build on the recently increasing interest in understanding Australian emigration and diaspora. As a key destination country for Australians living overseas, this research contributes new knowledge about the Australian diaspora living in the US. This thesis has argued that the global level context, structural factors explicit to the Australia-US relationship and individual migrant characteristics and circumstances all play a role in explaining mobility and experiences of the Australian diaspora in the US. An in-depth survey of Australians living in the US (AUSS) has allowed the opportunity to explore the inter-related factors that influence migration decisions and experiences.

This final chapter will begin by summarizing major findings in relationship to the research objectives. The last research objective will also be met in this chapter by considering implications of the results of this research for migration theory, for Australian policy and for future research. As a part of this discussion, limitations of the study and suggestions for improved data collection will also be made.

10.2 Summary of major findings

The overarching aim of the thesis has been to better understand the Australian diaspora by exploring the Australian diaspora in the US. In order to meet this aim, four research objectives were established.

The first research objective was to examine the macro factors motivating emigration and diaspora and encouraging transnational migration experiences.

10.2.1 Macro factors motivating emigration, diaspora and transnational migration

This study was approached from a migration systems perspective (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987, Fawcett, 1989, Boyd, 1989). The conceptual framework for this research (explained in Chapter 2) considers the global level situation to be the foundation of the migration system. A changing global context for migration, and national-level responses to these changes, have played an important part in encouraging the burgeoning interest from countries of origin in understanding emigration and diaspora. Moreover it has been determined trends in emigration from Australia, and the characteristics and activities of Australia's diaspora, can only be understood against the backdrop of the wider global and national level contexts.

An intensified period of globalisation has changed the migration situation. Systems that were formerly nationally based, such as labour forces, have become international, and competition for skilled workers has grown to be global in scale. Thus emigration has become more feasible and attractive as a way to advance or change life circumstances, even to residents in developed and traditional countries of immigration, such as Australia. Globalisation has also allowed a transnational migration experience to thrive in two major ways. Firstly, international travel is more common and frequent therefore in-person connections can be maintained with multiple countries. Temporary and circular mobility have come to be recognized as prevalent forms of international movement. Secondly, social, employment or other multi-national networks may be regularly maintained across distance. As a result of these changes, the conceptualisation of migration as a transnational experience has flourished.

The proliferation of temporary and circular migration means some categorisations used to describe the activities of migrants are no longer appropriate. Technological advancements that allow frequent travel and long distance networking, and national policies that encourage temporary rather than permanent migration for some migrants, allow individuals plans for future mobility and national identifications to remain flexible. This changing migration context must be acknowledged in shaping the way international mobility is conceptualised.

The second research objective was to establish patterns and characteristics of Australian emigration and diaspora, as a whole and looking specifically at the US as a destination country.

10.2.2 Patterns and characteristics of Australian emigration and diaspora

Both global and national level factors were taken into account to explain patterns of Australian emigration and diaspora in Chapter 4. It has been shown that Australia-born permanent departures have increased substantially in the past 10 years and long-term departures have also increased steadily over time. Short-term movement has also expanded significantly in the past five years. The number of short-term departures from Australia, however, has remained approximately equal to the number of short-term arrivals. This increase in mobility is due in large part to global changes as mentioned above; these changes also impact national level policies. For example, the increased global competition for skilled workers has led Australia (and many other countries) to change its immigration policies in an attempt to attract more highly-skilled immigrants. The global competition for skilled persons also helps to explain the increasing number of highly-skilled, young Australian departures. Consequently, research interest in Australian emigration and diaspora has mounted.

Australia-born long-term and permanent departures were found to be concentrated in the prime workforce ages of 20-39. Australia-born long-term and permanent departures are also much more likely to be employed in highly-skilled occupations when compared to overseas born departures from Australia and Australia's national resident population (Chapter 4). The characteristics of Australian emigrants were shown to vary based on their intended destination, reflecting the role of historical connections and explicit migration policies in place in destination countries. The main destination countries of Australia-born long-term and permanent departures are other high income, English-speaking countries, namely the UK, New Zealand and the US. Data collected from Australians living overseas also confirm these as important countries of residence for the diaspora.

Australians departing for the US are even more highly-skilled than Australian emigrants departing to other countries of destination. Moves to the US are often for employment related-reasons, and many Australian emigrants heading to the US are employed in highly-

skilled managerial or professional occupations. This is an outcome of the influence of the core position of the US in the global economy, and policies that overtly allow Australians with highly-skilled characteristics facilitated entry to the US. The economic relationship between Australia and the US, and the shift in Australia's sphere of influence from the UK to the US were shown as key factors influencing the context for mobility between these countries. Formalized agreements and policies, for example the Australia-US Free Trade Agreement and the concurrently created immigration visas, both strengthen the transnational relationship these countries share and have a direct influence on the type of mobility that occurs.

The third research objective was to explore the experiences of the Australian diaspora in the US across three major dimensions; motivations for migration, patterns of international mobility, and transnational connections maintained with Australia.

10.2.3 Experiences of the Australian diaspora in the US

This research objective was achieved with analysis of responses to the AUSS survey. Responses to the AUSS survey demonstrate the transnational nature of migrant experiences and activities that are allowed to exist in a contemporary migration situation, thus confirming findings related to the first research objective. For example, respondents were found to be highly internationally mobile and keep a number of long-distance attachments with Australia. In accordance with findings related to the second research objective, national level factors were also shown to influence migration outcomes. For example, the core position of the US in the global economy also helped to explain the many respondents who moved to the US for reasons related to employment and the fact that many respondents made frequent international movements between Australia and the US for business.

10.2.3.1 Motivations for mobility

From Australia's perspective, where the departure of young, skilled natives is a concern, it is important to understand both the complexity of the migration decision-making process and the diversity in the reasons for leaving Australia. The reason for initial and subsequent migration decisions was the first theme investigated in the AUSS sample (Chapter 7). The

main reasons respondents stated for moving from Australia to the US were international experience, employment and/or reasons related to marriage/partnership. There was evidence that many factors are considered in making the decision to migrate; most respondents selected several reasons for their move. Reasons for moving in the AUSS sample are very diverse, and it was shown that different reasons for moving also reflected different migrant characteristics. Migrants moving for international experience were often young and in the process of formulating their identities and careers. Employment reasons for moving were more important to males than females and conversely more females than males moved for partnership reasons; this trend is in agreement with findings from other research about the Australian diaspora (for example Hugo et al., 2003).

One of the complexities in the migration decision-making process is the choice of a destination country. In some cases the destination itself is the reason for the move. In others, an opportunity is a primary factor, with the destination of that opportunity secondary. In order to examine how macro level factors specific to the US context impact micro level decisions, AUSS respondents were asked the reasons the US was selected as a destination. 'Partner working there' was the single most popular response given, clearly reflecting the importance of marriage/partnership as a reason for moving, followed the much more general response of 'better opportunities'. It was also found that previous visits to the US and migrant networks played an instrumental part in motivating mobility to the US, as these are the ways most AUSS respondents learned of opportunities in the US that encouraged a move there.

An interesting finding was the degree to which the migration journey evolves over time. A majority of AUSS respondents had changed the intended length of their journey since departure from Australia, and most were remaining away from Australia longer than originally planned. The tendency for this to happen related to both age at departure from Australia and reasons for moving. Those younger in age when they left Australia and those who moved for less specific reasons (for example international experience as opposed to a direct work or study transfer) were more likely to stay away from Australia longer than planned. Employment and changes to family situation, such as getting married or having children, were the most common reasons for a stay away from Australia longer than planned.

Many respondents (35 percent) had plans to return to Australia eventually. The main reasons for plans to return to Australia were to be close to family and friends and because of Australia's lifestyle; much different than reasons for the original move to the US. Respondents who had plans to stay in the US permanently most often said they were not moving back to Australia because they are established in their current location and/or marriage/partnership keeps them away. Those who were undecided about their future plans said employment and income related factors and concerns about the cost of making a return move discouraged them from returning to Australia. These findings are important to consider in attempts to entice Australian emigrants to move back to Australia at some point in the future (this will be discussed further in section 10.4.4).

10.2.3.2 Mobility patterns

Chapter 8 explored the second theme in the AUSS survey, international mobility patterns. This includes future mobility plans, travel to countries outside of Australia and the US, visits and non-permanent return moves to Australia. Results in Chapter 7 showed migration decisions often evolve as experiences occur and opportunities arise. It is, therefore, not surprising that many AUSS respondents are hesitant to commit to either Australia or the US as their permanent place of residence. Although it is much more common for more recently arrived migrants to plan to eventually return to Australia and for those who have lived in the US for a substantial period of time to plan to stay in the US, many remain undecided about their future plans and many also consider living in both countries a viable option. Research has found this to be a strategy used by some migrants particularly in retirement (De Coulon and Wolff, 2006). This has implications for how Australian emigrants, even so-called permanent departures, should be conceptualised. It is also important to consider that mobility is not always limited to two countries only: over 40 percent of AUSS respondents had lived in a country in addition to Australia and the US and five percent planned to move to another country in the future.

The availability of high-speed international travel allows migrants to more readily keep tangible connections to multiple countries. The vast majority of AUSS respondents (85 percent) had returned to Australia to visit since moving overseas and nearly half of all respondents had made four or more visits to Australia. Additionally 16 percent had made a

non-permanent return move to Australia to live for a period of time. Mobility levels are found to be influenced by migrant characteristics. In the AUSS sample, migrants who are highly-skilled, highly educated and earn high incomes were more likely to have made at least four visits to Australia. Respondent age and years since arrival in the US also increased the propensity to have made a number of visits to Australia and to have made a non-permanent return move to Australia at some stage. These return movements serve a number of purposes. Reconnecting with family and friends is of primary importance and employment is also a motivation. It was found that AUSS respondents who most often visited Australia for employment related reasons made more frequent trips and had a greater total number of visits, but those visiting for the purpose of connecting with family and friends or a holiday stayed in Australia for a longer period of time on their visits home.

It is important the circular nature of migrant's mobility and the continued involvement with Australia be recognized. It is evident that members of the Australian diaspora retain tangible connections with Australia.

10.2.3.3 Transnational connections with Australia

The transnational connections Australians living in the US keep with Australia were explored in Chapter 9. It is evident that Australians living in the US retain an emotional connection with Australia and engage in networking activities that keep them associated with Australia from a distance. Over 80 percent of AUSS respondents still consider Australia to be home. While future plans and length of time that has passed since departure from Australia do influence response, 60 percent of respondents who plan to live in the US permanently say they still consider Australia home. This continued identification with Australia is a relevant consideration in assessing the impact of emigration from Australia.

AUSS respondents keep a variety of transnational linkages with Australia and other Australians living in the US. Almost all (99 percent) keep social linkages and many (40 percent) also keep employment related networks with Australia. It was found that those who keep employment networks are the most prolific networkers. Migrants who have more recently arrived in the US have higher rates of networking with both Australia and with other Australians living in the US. An interesting finding was that employment

networks and networks with other Australians living in the US are most often maintained by those planning to return to Australia who want to keep their knowledge of the Australian context current. This has implications for the type of networking that could be promoted by Australia in order to help facilitate return migration (see section 10.4.5). Not surprisingly, it was found that the vast majority of all types of transnational networks with Australia are kept by email/internet. This demonstrates the importance of these technologies in facilitating migrant transnationalism and also has implications as to what may be the best method to connect with the Australian diaspora.

The location of respondent's assets was related to their future plans and extent to which they still consider Australia home. In general those who own assets in Australia were more likely to plan to return to Australia and still consider Australia home compared to those who own assets in the US. AUSS respondents who own assets in Australia are also more likely to maintain transnational networks with Australia and with other Australians living in the US compared to those who own assets in the US.

The fourth research objective is to explore the implications for theory, for policy related to Australian emigration and diaspora and for future research.

10.3 Theoretical implications

10.3.1 Conceptualise migration as a transnational experience

The global context of population movements has changed. Therefore, the conceptualisation of migration as a transnational experience has become more relevant. There is growing recognition that contemporary migrant flows are not well understood (MPI 2003, Hugo, 2004) and '...a more flexible view of migration...' (MPI 2003) is needed. It is important that the language and approaches to measuring migration and its outcomes reflect the transnational nature of migration. There should be more flexibility in measuring and defining migrants in terms of the duration of their migration and recognition that a migrant's geographical location does not necessarily reflect their identifications. This applies to both future migration research and to categorisations used for migrants in countries of origin and destination.

In this study, for example, it has been shown that even migrants who have so-called permanently departed their country of origin often in fact return to visit, live, plan to return in the future, and/or keep long-distance transnational ties. Previous migration research has also found significant rates of re-emigration among settlers, particularly those moving between countries that are similarly developed (OECD 2008 p.172). A substantial rate of return migration has also been found among Australian emigrants who at the point of departure say they are leaving permanently (Osborne, 2004). Conclusions that come from categorising migrants as a permanent arrival or departure may result in misleading conclusions about the implications of migration. Not only is permanent migration less relevant for some populations, temporary migration of various forms is a growing trend so countries interested in accurately measuring and understanding immigration and emigration should aim to collect more information from and about temporary migrants.

A changing global context also means assumptions based on an individual's country(s) of citizenship and/or residency are not as straightforward. Citizenship and/or residency may be acquired through a range of pathways depending on the country and individual in question, and in some cases these memberships may be less linked to identification with a nation and more related to increasing accessibility to a number of countries (Castles and Davidson, 2000, Smith and Guarnizo, 1998, Gilbertson, 2006).

10.3.2 Australians living overseas - a diaspora

There has been widespread debate about use of the term 'diaspora' to describe a group of expatriates (Chapter 3). It has been argued that the most important factor in labelling a community of expatriates a 'diaspora' in contemporary terms is identity. Diasporas retain identification with their country of origin and with other expatriates. They also '...act upon, their origin and/or ties to a territory other than the one in which they reside' (Dade, 2006 p.1). It is clear from the results of this study and from other surveys of the Australian diaspora (the Australian Emigration Survey and the One Million More Census of Australians Abroad (OMM)) that many overseas Australians retain regular long-distance linkages and identification with Australia. Hugo (2006a) contends that Australians living overseas should be considered a diaspora. Based on the activities of Australians living in

the US as explored in this research, it is agreed they should be considered a ‘diaspora’, that is as persons who identify and act as Australians who happen to be living overseas.

10.3.3 The diaspora - part of Australia’s population

Conceptualising Australians overseas as a diaspora is much different than thinking of them as removed, disconnect expatriates. The diaspora should be envisaged as a distinct segment of Australia’s population. Hugo (2007 p.354) states: ‘It needs to be stressed that the national populations, which are the basis of virtually all demographic analysis, are only one of several national demographics in a globalising world.’ If the diaspora is considered part of the Australian population, what are the implications? How can they be enumerated? What rights and responsibilities should they be given? It seems from origin country perspectives focus has been primarily placed on the practical gains diaspora populations can bring (Chapter 3), rather than the conceptual implications resulting from growing diaspora and transnationalism. In order to create policies to foster a mutually beneficial relationship with the diaspora, emigration and diaspora must first be better understood. As Hugo (Hugo, 2007 p.354) states:

...little information is collected on diaspora populations and this is a major constraint on research designed to understand its dynamics and to develop relevant and timely recommendations on policy regarding it.

Moreover continued data collection and research about these populations is a first order priority (this will be discussed further in section 10.5.1).

Additionally, a decided stance by Australia to consider the diaspora a distinct segment of the wider population has implications for interaction between Australia and the diaspora. In India for example, the government sends a clear message to the diaspora that they are highly regarded; there is a high level committee on the Indian diaspora and even a national day to honour diaspora achievements (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004, Xavier, 2009). If Australia does view the diaspora as part of the Australian population as suggested, it is important as a first step to provide clear information about the basic rights and responsibilities of Australians living overseas. Rules relating to voting, marriage laws,

citizenship, taxation, health coverage and retirement funding⁷¹ may be different for Australians living overseas (and sometimes also by their destination country) compared to resident Australians. There is currently a perceived lack of disclosure on these issues, which gives some emigrants the impression that Australia views those who are overseas as no longer a part of the nation. The *Senate Inquiry into Australian Expatriates* committee also found: ‘The sense of exclusion created by a perceived lack of government coordination of service delivery translates into a wider, symbolic sense of being left out’ (Parliament of Australia, 2005 p.31).

Comments from AUSS survey respondents make it clear that they are often confused about how they fit as a member of the Australian population when overseas, in both a practical and conceptual sense. There is a feeling of disconnection from Australia, and evidence there is desire to be more involved with Australia from afar:

Australia certainly fights above its weight on international affairs, but we certainly miss a lot of opportunities...we’re all here [Australians overseas], and we’d all want to be engaged.

Daniel, age 46, New York, has been living in the US seven years

I like to hope more could be done to keep the Aussies living overseas more connected to Australia. ...I am a proud Australian, but it is very easy to feel disconnected.

Chris, age 39, California, first arrived in the US nine years ago

...my ties to Australia are strong and I believe there are ways I can help forge better relationships, but the current Australian government approach seems to discount those possibilities. ...I am very interested in active participation.

Steve, age 57, Utah, has been living in the US 29 years

Hugo et al. (2003 p.58) also noted in their discussions with Australians living overseas that many expatriates resented the fact they felt they had been forgotten as part of the nation.

⁷¹ Current policy on these issues relevant to Australians living in the US is available in Appendix 3.

In order to improve the relationship between Australia and the diaspora, Australia must acknowledge overseas Australians as an important segment of the population.

10.4 Implications for policy related to Australian emigration and diaspora

As a relatively new trend in high income countries, knowledge about emigration and diaspora, as well as appropriate strategies to facilitate engagement between the diaspora and countries of origin, is still lacking. The first implications for Australian policy discussed in this section relate to making emigration and diaspora a higher national priority by fostering recognition of these populations. Following from this, implications for Australia to engage with its diaspora in order to bring economic and human capital benefit will be discussed.

There have been previous attempts at identifying how to enhance understanding and engagement with the Australian diaspora, including the *Senate Inquiry into Australian Expatriates* (Parliament of Australia, 2005) and suggestions from Australian diaspora studies by Hugo (1994), Hugo et al. (2003, 2001), Fullilove & Flutter (2004) and Fullilove (2008)⁷². There has been discussion in Australia about creating policy related to the Australian diaspora, for example The Southern Cross Group (SCG) has recommended that Australia establish an Australian Expatriate and Diaspora Office (AEDO)⁷³ located within the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet in Canberra. It was suggested the role of the AEDO would be to:

- Act as a focal point and coordinating body within government concerning various disparate policy areas of relevance to overseas Australians;

⁷² See Chapter 1 for a more thorough discussion of these publications.

⁷³ This recommendation was in response to the Australian Treasurers call for input for the Commonwealth Budget for 2008-09. A statement of support for SCG's recommendation that an Australian Expatriate and Diaspora Office be created was submitted by the researcher; please see Appendix 14 for a copy of this submission.

- Develop and lead the implementation of the nation's first Australian Expatriate and Diaspora Policy;
- Represent the interests of Australian citizens living overseas, and the broader Australian Diaspora, to Governments at the Commonwealth, State and Territory level, and to the broad Australian community generally;
- Provide the Commonwealth Government and Parliamentary Committees with an expatriate impact statement on proposed legislation and/or administrative changes as appropriate; and
- Provide Parliamentary Committees and other entities established to review or examine matters in the public interest, with input which reflects the interests of the Australian Diaspora.

SCG 2008a pp.2-3

In accordance with the objectives of SCG, the AEDO proposed would focus mainly on advocacy issues and giving a voice to the Australian diaspora in Australian affairs. Based on experiences of the Australian diaspora living in the US as explored in this study, it is agreed these are areas where improvements are needed.

Hugo et al. (2003 p.58) suggests three areas of policy formation related to Australian emigration and diaspora:

- Policies relating to expatriates living abroad on a long-term or permanent basis;
- Policies designed to encourage expatriate return;
- Policies designed to keep talented Australians in Australia.

This segmentation in policy focus reflects the fact that characteristics and activities of the diaspora are diverse and of interest to a variety of stakeholders (as discussed in Chapter 3). It is unlikely a single Australia diaspora policy would be effective. Different strategies of engagement would need to be implemented depending on the population and objective of engagement in question. In terms of building policy related to the Australian diaspora it is important to consider:

As a relatively new type of policy making, approaches towards the diaspora are very much evolving and Australia is poised to learn from the approaches of other countries...Whatever Australia does choose, it will be critical that the approach to our diaspora reflects our own circumstances, in particular our priorities and aspirations and, of course, opportunities and challenges.

Kulkarni & Bougias 2008 pp.48-49

10.4.1 Provide information about the rights and responsibilities of Australians living overseas

Clear information about the rights and responsibilities of Australians living overseas needs to be made widely available to the diaspora. The *Senate Inquiry into Australian Expatriates* committee recommended the Australian government create a centralized web portal to provide links to government agencies web pages pertinent to expatriates (for example Medicare – international travel page, Australian Taxation Office (ATO) – international taxes page, Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) – overseas voting page, etc.) (Parliament of Australia, 2005 p.122). It was also suggested a monitored list of ‘related links’ to relevant non-government diaspora organizations be accessible from this web portal, which could help to encourage transnational networking (Parliament of Australia, 2005 p.128).

Based on findings from this research it is agreed a resource providing practical and administrative information explicit to Australians living overseas is needed. An internet-based resource would be an affordable way to allow this material to be accessible from all areas of the globe. Some web-based resources that provide information about the rights and responsibilities of Australians living overseas do currently exist. For example, The Southern Cross Group website has links to resources for Australians living overseas, with a particular focus on providing information about citizenship and voting rights (SCG 2009). The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade’s (DFAT) ‘smartraveller.gov.au’ website also provides information for Australians who are planning to travel, or are currently, overseas (DFAT 2006b). The main purpose of this website is to ensure the safety of Australians overseas and to encourage travellers to register their details online or at an overseas embassy.

Additionally the Australian government maintains a website called *australia.gov.au*, which provides links to over 900 Australian government agencies to inform users on any government-related information they are seeking (australia.gov.au, 2009a). It is possible to navigate to an 'Australians Abroad' web page, which offers links to a wide range of government department websites pertinent to Australians living overseas (australia.gov.au, 2009b). Although it is promising this information for overseas Australians is available online, pathways to access are not straightforward. For example in the case of the australia.gov.au service, the user must click on several different web links before arriving at the 'Australians Abroad' webpage. Moreover the government-run websites (Australia.gov.au and DFAT's smartraveller.gov.au) do not go beyond providing information to actually encouraging interaction with the diaspora.

Fullilove & Flutter (2004 p.50) suggest a '...tailored, up-to-date and comprehensive website should be created to function as a 'one-stop-shop' for expatriates.' The *Senate Inquiry into Australian Expatriates* also made this suggestion (Parliament of Australia, 2005 p.122) and based on findings of this research it is agreed this would be beneficial. Furthermore, there must be a way for all Australians leaving Australia or currently living overseas to become aware that this resource exists. An information leaflet could be distributed alongside overseas departure cards with the Internet address, and purpose of, an 'Australians Overseas' website. Advertisements for this service could also be posted around airports and near departure gates. These strategies would get the message to Australians heading overseas that Australia views providing relevant information to them as important, yet keeps participation in accessing this information voluntary.

10.4.2 Foster a positive attitude towards the diaspora

Fostering a positive and inclusive attitude towards Australia's diaspora could also enhance recognition that Australians living overseas are considered a part of Australia's population. Many countries have publicly displayed a high regard for their diaspora as a first step towards better engagement with these population (see Chapter 3). The strategies used in India were previously mentioned. China also presents a positive attitude towards its diaspora by recognizing emigrants as a reservoir of overseas talent and a political constituency (Wescott, 2006 p.23). Australia could promote public and formal recognition

of the diaspora by using the following strategies (Southern Cross Group, 2008b, Parliament of Australia, 2005, Fullilove and Flutter, 2004, L.E.K. Consulting, 2001):

- Widely publicize accomplishments of the diaspora;
- Create an expatriate of the year award;
- Fund temporary return movements for expatriates to share knowledge and form networks with institutions in Australia.

Although the approaches mentioned here would highlight the achievements of highly-skilled and extraordinary members of the diaspora, this type of public recognition could generally ‘help raise awareness within Australia of the unique contribution offshore Australians make to the country’ (SCG 2008b). Additionally, events like *The Advance 100 Global Australians Summit*, where members of the Australian diaspora and representatives from Australia-based firms and institutions are brought together to engage in dialogue about how they can better connect (Advance 2007)⁷⁴, should be continued.

Appreciation of the potential that lies in connecting with the Australian diaspora does continue to grow from Australia’s perspective. At Australia’s *2020 Summit* in May 2008, a meeting about shaping Australia’s future, several points were made about encouraging return migration and networking from the Australian diaspora (Smith et al., 2008).

10.4.3 Engaging with the diaspora for Australia’s benefit

There are five generally agreed upon areas where engagement with diasporas populations is seen to be potentially beneficial to countries of origin in an economic or human capital sense (Hugo, 2009, Zhang, 2006, Mahroum et al., 2006, See for example Fullilove and Flutter, 2004). These are:

- Remittances
- Promotion of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) through networks

⁷⁴ This event was described in Chapter 1. As a follow-up to the 2006 Summit held in Sydney, an *Advance Asia 50 Summit Program* was held in Shanghai in 2009 (Advance 2009) focusing on the Australian diaspora in Asia and Australia-Asia relations.

- Facilitation of trade/business relationships across countries through networks
- Return migration (knowledge and skills transfer)
- Knowledge transfer (long-distance).

The pathways used by some countries to achieve these benefits were explained in Chapter 3, and it was noted that remittances from the diaspora are more often emphasized as a potential benefit to less developed countries (Gamlen, 2006). Moreover in Australia, remittances from the diaspora are only understood to be of minor benefit (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004 p.23), however the benefit to Australia from philanthropic contributions are an area of interest (Fullilove, 2008), with the diaspora contributing an estimated A\$80 million per year to charitable causes (Fullilove and Flutter, 2004 p.61). Creative thinking is required to collect information about monetary contributions to Australia as a result of Australian emigration and diaspora. In Chapter 4, for example, it was mentioned that a substantial amount of money flows across countries in the form of pension payments to Australians living overseas and pension payments made from overseas to persons living in Australia (FaCHSIA 2005). The number of superannuation agreements between Australia and other countries is continually increasing which will also generate an increase in the flow of money across countries. Remittances and other financial contributions the Australian diaspora make to Australia should continue to be investigated, as it is likely they are in fact considerable.

FDI and the creation of trade or business relationships are seen as important diaspora contributions in both low and high income countries. Incentives are offered by some countries to attract FDI from their diaspora. For example, China offers tax breaks and infrastructure support to investors, and non-resident Indians are allowed to invest in a wider range of real estate options in India than other foreign investors (Lucas, 2004 p.155). Australia could explore similar strategies to facilitate foreign investment in Australia from the diaspora. The Australian property industry for instance has recently recognized the Australian diaspora as a potential market for investment (Bougias, 2009).

Recently Austrade has embarked on a 'National Brand Project' in the recognition that:

A strong brand makes it easier for a nation's citizens, governments and businesses to interact with other countries and to take advantage of commercial opportunities as they arise. With this in mind, the Austrade National Brand project is designed to improve the depth and profitability of Australia's participation in the global economy through trade and investment.

Austrade 2009

The diaspora are valuable as an asset to market an Australian 'brand' overseas. They are a resource of up-to-date knowledge and contacts which could help to facilitate or strengthen international trade and business relationships. The strengthening business and trade relationships between Australia and the US were explored in this study (Chapter 5). It has been found that some Australian companies explicitly focus on the US when developing their business strategies. There were also several examples given of Australian companies which have extensive operations in the US (Russell, 2007). There is clearly an international mindset towards business relationships. Australia should continue to think of the diaspora in fostering these relationships.

10.4.4 Promote return mobility

There are many reasons it would be beneficial to Australia to facilitate return mobility from the diaspora. It has been shown that the diaspora are often young and highly-skilled; valuable characteristics to the Australian labour force. The knowledge and skills gained from overseas experiences are valuable social capital and enhance the character of Australia's population, and can be used in Australia if return migration eventuates. It is apparent based on the findings from this research that emigration from Australia is usually not the start or endpoint to international mobility (see section 10.2.3.2). Return migration to Australia, on a temporary or long-term basis, is thus a realistic option for many overseas Australians, and it is important that Australian employers and government departments consider the circular nature of international mobility and attempt to lure departed Australians back to Australia.

10.4.4.1 Include return migration from the diaspora as an Australian immigration objective

One of Australia's major immigration objectives is to attract highly-skilled persons to Australia in order to address skill shortages and grow Australia's human capital. It has

been suggested highly-skilled members of the Australian diaspora should be included among these schemes (Hugo, 2008, Hugo et al., 2003 p.56). This strategy has been used in Russia in attempts to counterbalance the loss of a substantial population when the Soviet Union dissolved and borders changed, and thereby millions of people became part of Russia's diaspora by default (Fullilove, 2008 pp.19-20). There is some evidence that promoting return migration from the diaspora is starting to be publicly considered. A recent article in *The Australian* (Trounson, 2009) emphasized the need to draw highly-skilled Australian academics back to Australia in order to compensate for the large number of baby boomers employed at Australian Universities who are reaching retirement age. This has also been suggested by Hugo (Hugo, 2005c, Hugo, 2005b) who states: 'The Australian academic diaspora represents a potential source of recruits at a time when Australian universities are facing their greatest recruiting task for three decades' (Hugo, 2005b p.341).

10.4.4.2 Ensure minimal deterrents to return mobility

It is crucial that Australia understand what overseas Australians view as discouraging them from returning to Australia, and make it as easy as possible for those who wish to return to do so. There are several examples of economic policies in Australia which may have repercussions for Australians living overseas and/or influence their plans to return to Australia. Higher taxes in Australia compared to many other countries (including the US) were frequently mentioned by AUSS respondents as a disincentive to returning to Australia to live. Taxation of wealth upon repatriation to Australia is another area of concern. It is important that when Australian policies are created or changed, consequences for the diaspora are also considered. For example, a recent change in tax legislation will make Australians living overseas for between 91 days to two years liable to pay Australian tax unless they are granted an exemption⁷⁵ (Main, 2009b, Main, 2009a). This change in policy could persuade some Australian emigrants to stay away from Australia for a longer period of time. As Main (2009a) states: '...Be assured that a lot of overseas postings that were going to be for 18 months are suddenly going to grow to two years...'

⁷⁵ This change in legislation is the abolition of section 23AG of the Income Tax Assessment Act, passed in June 2009.

One of the deterrents to return to Australia, higher taxes, is justified by a more extensive range of welfare and community services in Australia. Many AUSS respondents saw the health and welfare systems in Australia as favourable, and a factor encouraging the idea of return movement to Australia at some stage. The US has no equivalent of Australia's *Medicare* which entitles all residents and citizens' access to free or low cost medical and hospital care. This is unlikely to be a pertinent concession to many overseas Australian professionals, however, since highly-skilled and highly paid individuals have the resources to provide for their own well-being and health cover is often provided by employers as part of a benefits package (Finnie, 2001).

The issue of taxation associated with home ownership in Australia is also a relevant consideration for Australians living overseas. Many AUSS respondents currently, or desire to, maintain residences in both Australia and the US. The location of AUSS respondents' assets was found to be related to their future plans and the extent to which they still consider Australia home. This has implications for the Australian government to ensure that assets in Australia can be maintained by Australians living overseas without undue taxation, in order to encourage both transnational networking and return movement.

Additionally, in terms of promoting future return migration to Australia, it is important that Australians living overseas are aware of any transnational retirement fund agreements that exist between Australia and their country of destination⁷⁶.

Those kind of agreements [superannuation across countries], they need to be publicized as well. It is very important that expatriate Australians understand and know these agreements exist.

Doug, age 32, New York, has been living in the US eight years

10.4.4.3 Provide transparency into the Australian job market

'The Australian lifestyle' is often used to lure immigrants to Australia, and many respondents in the AUSS sample mentioned this as a factor encouraging their return to

⁷⁶ Information about the Superannuation agreement between Australia and the US is available in Appendix 3.

Australia at some point in the future. Lifestyle alone, however, may not be enough to draw back some highly-skilled expatriates. As Young (2005) states:

Australia's three biggest selling points when attracting migrants to plug our skills shortfalls are lifestyle, lifestyle and lifestyle. Yet lifestyle is far more elusive when Australia's best and brightest consider returning home after furthering their careers overseas.

Lower salaries and a smaller scope of work opportunities within Australia compared to some other countries, things many AUSS respondents said pushed them to move overseas and/or hinder their return to Australia, are realities. However many Australians living overseas do wish to return to Australia at some stage, and there must be greater transparency into the Australian job market from overseas in order to capitalize on this. Some AUSS respondents comment:

How do we get more resources for making good decisions to move home?
More resources [are needed] to transition expats who'd like to move back but have been gone so long and feel disconnected from working in Australia.

Dan, age 42, Washington, has been living in the US 11 years

We have no transparency into the Australian job market from here.

Susan, 30, New York, has been living in the US two years

Providing forums for Australians living overseas to network with other migrants and Australia-based institutions (see section 10.4.5) is one way to open dialogue about employment possibilities in Australia. Hugo et al. (2003 p.65) recommended the creation of a database to match overseas Australians with jobs in Australia. Some Australian expatriate organizations attempt to create a bridge between overseas Australians interested in returning to Australia to work and information about Australia-based opportunities. For example Advance Global Australian Professionals (Advance) has a 'Talent Return Initiative' which allows Australian professionals living overseas to network with Australia-based employers and other former-expatriates familiar with the experience of finding a job after returning to Australia.

As highly-skilled members of the Australian population, employment opportunities should also be explicitly marketed and made accessible to Australians living overseas. In Ireland, a *High Skills Pool Recruitment Fair* takes place around the Christmas holiday season when many expatriates are visiting home (Warren, 2000). This provides an opportunity for Irish employers to talk directly with expatriates about job opportunities in Ireland. It has been suggested that a similar strategy be used in New Zealand (L.E.K. Consulting, 2001 p.87-88); this could also be successful in Australia. Results of this study show return visits to Australia are common and particularly frequent among highly-skilled migrants and those moving for employment reasons. Therefore it is recommended that well-planned and advertised career fairs be used to inform visiting expatriates of Australia-based employment opportunities.

10.4.4.4 Recognize overseas qualifications and experience as valuable in the Australian context

In order to actively participate in the global competition for talent, Australia must recognise overseas qualifications and experience. Many AUSS respondents commented that they were discouraged from returning to Australia because of unsatisfactory recognition of overseas qualifications and work experience:

My return to Australia is hindered by Australia's restrictions on the recognition of overseas professional qualifications. My wife is a US trained Medical Practitioner, unable to continue her practice in Australia.

Phillip, 58, VA, first arrived in the US 13 years ago

At one time I explored the possibility of returning to Australia, but was discouraged by the fact that additional qualifications I had gained in the US were not recognized in Australia.

Brett, 68, OR, has been living in the US 32 years

Post-post-doc, it is very, very difficult to find an appropriate job back in Australia that would mean I could return to Australia to live... I am too experienced to do another post doc and the pay would be too low, but I am not experienced enough to obtain a faculty position in Australia. I wish that Australia would embrace me and my expertise...

Kate, age 32, California, has been living in the US six years

Australian employers are often perceived as lacking an understanding of the value or relevance of overseas work experience (see for example Magowan, 2008). This view was also shared by some AUSS respondents:

Many Australians I know in the US would like to move home but are concerned that they will be penalized professionally. There is a perception that Australian business does not value international experience as much as experience gained in Australia.

Mel, age 35, Washington DC, first arrived in the US 14 years ago

It is also suggested that Australian companies encourage movement back to Australia by recruiting Australian students finishing their studies at overseas universities. Finishing students are at a point of transition and this could be a real window of opportunity to encourage return to Australia. There is a feeling from some AUSS respondents that graduate education is more highly valued in the US compared to Australia. When finishing study overseas, Australian students may be inclined to look for employment in the US.

10.4.4.5 Advocate periodic and temporary return

Permanent or long-term return to live in Australia may not be a feasible option to some expatriates. Australia should make more non-permanent return options available which serve the purpose of strengthening links with the diaspora and promoting knowledge exchange. In the AUSS sample, 16 percent of respondents had made a non-permanent return move to Australia to live for a period of time, showing this is a feasible option for some. There have been programs created in some Australian States to fund the return of exceptional Australian academics who have considerable experience abroad, which helps in the formation of networks of Australian researchers (Field and Gaensler, 2004)⁷⁷. ‘The costs associated with such a program are considerably smaller than what is needed to

⁷⁷ In New South Wales, for example, *Expatriate Return Awards* were established in 2003 which allow expatriate researchers and their families an all-expenses-paid opportunity to relocate to Australia for three to six months to share their knowledge and provide ‘real life’ examples of successful Australian academics. Queensland offers a similar program called the *Smart Returns Fellowships* (Queensland Government 2004) as does Victoria in the *Victorian Endowment for Science, Knowledge and Innovation* (VESKI) program (Hugo et al. 2003 p.69).

entice our best researchers to move back home' (Field and Gaensler, 2004 p.156). These temporary or periodic return initiatives should continue to receive funding and be expanded beyond academia to include other industries.

10.4.5 Facilitate transnational networking

Australia could do more to support long-distance knowledge exchange by providing access to forums for transnational networking. In the current global context 'diaspora knowledge networks' (Meyer and Wattiaux, 2006) of highly-skilled migrants often exist by way of the Internet. Study participants for this research were found by way of Australian expatriate organizations in the US; it was shown that a wide range of transnational networking organizations for the Australian diaspora exist⁷⁸. The challenge lies in filtering through the great quantity of information available and direct users to reliable resources and networking forums. As Meyer & Brown (1999) state:

The world, today, is one where information is abundant. The problem for the user is to get access to the one which is relevant, useful and eventually translatable into action.

A centralized space which comes to be known by the diaspora, and by Australia-based institutions interested in networking with the diaspora, as a starting platform for linking into other, more specific transnational networking forums, is needed. Links to these networking forums could be organized by subject of interest (for example by current country of residence, industry of employment, research interests, etc.) and included in a list of 'related links', from a central government-run website providing information about the rights and responsibilities of overseas Australians (as described in section 10.4.1)

The proliferation of the Internet makes establishing such networks in an online format realistic in terms of affordability and accessibility. An example of a successful networking website for the Irish diaspora is Irishabroad.com. On this website users can, for instance, search for other persons of Irish origin by destination country, search for Irish events in their country of destination, investigate genealogy, and keep informed of news in Ireland.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 6 and Appendix 5 for more information.

Importantly there is also the opportunity for users to communicate with each other. Although this is a privately run social networking site, links to more formalized information is also available. There are links to information about employment in Ireland, immigration procedures and resources to find housing in Ireland. In addition to enticing the diaspora to engage in transnational networking by way of a centralized website, Australian employers, universities and other Australia-based institutions could create explicit channels to encourage more formal transnational networking and knowledge exchange with the diaspora.

Long-distance knowledge transfer from the diaspora is one of the most difficult potential benefits of diaspora engagement to empirically measure and define, and there is still a long way to go in explicitly quantifying this benefit (Fullilove, 2008 p.35, Gamlen, 2006, Lucas, 2004). However, opening the lines of communication across the diaspora and between Australia-based institutions and overseas Australians not only allows migrants to share their experiences and network with one another from a distance, but will also likely help to facilitate return mobility among members of the diaspora. Results from this study have found that those who engage in transnational networking, in both the country of destination and with the country of origin, are more likely to have plans to return to Australia.

10.5 Implications for future research

This thesis has contributed to a deeper understanding of Australian emigration and diaspora. This section suggests some opportunities for further research and data collections and notes some limitations of this study.

10.5.1 Australian emigration and diaspora data

In Australia, and in many other countries, immigration still far surpasses emigration as ‘the important’ migration issue (see for example Hugo et al., 2003, United Nations, 2009, Hugo et al., 2001). The difficulties in collecting data about emigration and populations living overseas have been discussed in Chapter 4, and this has limited the data available for analysis in this research. As noted in section 10.3.3, it is essential that emigration and diaspora research and data collection continue to be undertaken so updated information is available to inform practical strategies for countries of origin and destination to understand

and engage with these populations. Five types of improvements to data collection are discussed here as ways to remain up-to-date about Australian emigration and diaspora; passenger arrival and departure cards, data from overseas registries, destination country immigration and census data, a regular survey of overseas Australians and diversification in the methods of data collection for research.

10.5.1.1 Make better use of data from overseas passenger arrival and departure cards

Australia is in an advantageous position compared to many other countries in understanding emigration and diaspora because of the information collected on overseas passenger arrival and departure cards⁷⁹. The information provided by these cards is of great value, and could be better capitalized. For example, the Travel and Immigration Processing System (TRIPS) matches overseas arrival and departures cards of individuals in order to achieve more accurate net migration numbers (since individuals are counted instead of movements) and to correctly place migrants in ‘short-term’ or ‘long-term’ migrant categories (Pink, 2007). While these classifications are extremely important for planning, the use of this information could be expanded to inform wider knowledge about temporary and circular mobility, and the nexus between migrant intentions and actual migration outcomes.

Furthermore, additional data could be collected about emigrants from Australia on overseas passenger cards if data collected in these cards were more comprehensive. For example while the intended length of stay overseas, country of intended destination, and reason for travel is collected from Australian residents departing Australia temporarily, little information is collected from visitors or Australian residents departing Australia permanently⁸⁰. Visitors/non-residents departing Australia may have lived in Australia for a number of years, and it would be valuable to collect more information about these migrants. It would also be beneficial to collect more information from so-called permanent Australian resident departures, as many in fact will return to Australia and keep strong ties with Australia while overseas. Fundamentally, the same information should be collected

⁷⁹ Emigration data collected on overseas passenger arrival and departure cards is described in detail in Chapter 4.

⁸⁰ A copy of an overseas arrival and departure card is available in Appendix 2.

from all departures regardless of their residency status or length of departure intentions. Passengers could simply tick whether they are an Australian resident or visitor, and state the intended length of their stay away from Australia (including a permanent option).

10.5.1.2 Improve DFAT's online registration system

There is currently some information available about the number of Australians living overseas from DFAT's voluntary online registration system. Making this resource accessible and seen as worthwhile by Australians overseas will encourage more users and increase available data about Australians living overseas (for example DFAT advertises the value of registering details with the online registration system in facilitating contact with home in case of emergency while overseas). Hugo et al. (2003 p.60) suggested that the Australian government expand DFAT's online registration system. In addition to expanding data collection it is important to ensure the data collected from this resource remains up-to-date and accurate. One of the problems in data accuracy is that Australians overseas are not required to de-register upon departure and/or their return to Australia (Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005 p.9). In order to help solve this problem, registered Australians could be sent an occasional email reminder to keep their registration with DFAT current. This could also serve as a forum to provide relevant information to Australians living overseas based on their country of residence.

10.5.1.3 Utilize immigration and census data from destination countries

As interest in emigration and diaspora has increased, so has the thinking about how existing sources of data could be used to inform about these populations (recent examples include Hovy, 2009, United Nations, 2009). As previously mentioned, more data is typically collected on and about immigrants compared to emigrants. Data collected about immigrants can also potentially inform about emigrants from the origin country perspective. The difficulties in comparability of data between countries and across different sources of data is an issue (as discussed in Chapter 4), however it is promising there is interest in improving data collection and data sharing across countries:

...there is a clear need for a strong exchange of data and metadata between countries, in the short term, and the need of a harmonized system of migration statistics, in the medium and long term.

United Nations 2009 p.14

Data about immigrants gathered in destination country censuses (see Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005) can also be useful in informing about the diaspora. Several suggestions have been made for the 2010 round of censuses which would increase the amount of information collected about migrants (United Nations, 2006b). Collection of data on the following topics has been recommended (Hovy, 2009):

- Country of birth
- Country of citizenship
- Country of birth of parents
- Country of previous residence
- Country of residence 5 years ago
- Date of arrival
- Reason for migration (employment, family, study, asylum)

While most national censuses have long collected data about migrants' country of birth and citizenship, additional variables would be extremely useful for both destination and origin countries to increase knowledge about migrants and migration. Australia should monitor census developments in countries of destination and collect and analyse data about Australian migrants from these sources.

10.5.1.4 Survey Australians living overseas on a regular basis

Information about resident Australians is regularly collected in the Australian Census in order to inform policy and planning. As an important segment of Australia's population, data should also be regularly collected about the characteristics and activities of Australians living overseas. The primary purpose of the Australian Census is to collect information from the total resident Australian population, and it has been argued the Census is not the place to gather information from Australians living overseas because 'this is not regarded as practical, nor is a quality outcome achievable' (ABS 2004). However, a survey of overseas Australians should take place on a regular basis. This survey could be sponsored by one or several government departments, and just like the Australian Census for resident Australians, a wide-scale survey of Australians living overseas should be well planned and publicized. In order to keep running costs low, a web-based format could be used (although it would be ideal if multiple methods were used,

see section 10.5.1.5). A survey of overseas Australians could correspond with the Australian Census and take place every five years, so eventually Australians living overseas would come to expect the survey as a routine occurrence. Although participation would not be mandatory and there is no way to collect a representative sample of this population⁸¹, the willing participation of Australians living overseas in the Australian Emigration Survey (Hugo et al., 2003), OMM (Advance 2006) and the AUSS survey, demonstrate there would likely be a sizable response.

10.5.1.5 Diversify data collection methods in research

One of the limitations of this study is that non-probability sampling methods were used in primary data collection. Therefore the study population is not a representative sample and results cannot be generalized to the wider population of Australians emigrating to the US. It is important to consider that the experiences of Australians living in the US who did not respond to this survey may be different than those who did. Vertovec's (2005) research on the political participations of diaspora notes it is usually those with loudest voice who are heard, not necessarily the voice that belongs to the most people. It is particularly important to consider which groups may have been left out of this survey because of the method used to obtain respondents. Although an online survey was determined to be the most efficient and cost effective way to gather information from a wide range of Australians living in the US, there are clear limitations to using this method only. These limitations have been identified throughout the thesis (most explicitly in Chapter 6). Many respondents were obtained from professional type organizations so there was bias towards highly-skilled respondents, and affiliation with Australia and transnational networking may have been exaggerated since respondents were found by way of expatriate organizations. It has been shown that many recent studies of diasporas in high income countries have used the Internet as a method to reach diaspora members for research (KEA, 2006, see for example Advance 2006, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2007). Technological advancements such as the expansion of the Internet greatly increase the possibility of achieving high response rates for research about dispersed populations. It would be valuable if future research use a range of methods to sample diaspora populations and attempt to contact

⁸¹ In Chapter 6 it was explained that the only way to sample the Australian diaspora is by non-probability sampling. Although this method has its disadvantages, the merits of studying this population using this method have been described.

members of the diaspora who are not using the Internet regularly. This segment of the diaspora is the most likely to have been left out of emigration and diaspora research based on the popularity of internet-based methods.

10.5.2 Expand study to other groups

This study explored the Australian diaspora living in the US, and although the US is a major destination for Australian emigrants and diaspora, it would be beneficial if there were research about Australian emigration and diaspora in different areas of the world. Implications for theory and policy would be better informed by comparing the experiences of Australian emigration and diaspora across different destination areas. This was achieved to some extent in this study by comparing results from the AUSS survey to those of the Australian Emigration Survey and OMM. The Hugo et al. (2003) study of Australia's diaspora looked at a number of important destination areas, which provided a valuable comparative element to their findings. Additionally OMM surveyed the Australian diaspora in a number of destination countries. It is important that multinational research such as this is continued. It would also be useful if several different stand-alone research projects were dedicated to different areas of destination of Australian emigrants and diaspora, in order to clarify the country or region-specific factors influencing migration outcomes.

10.5.3 Limit study to a more specific group

Although many Australians living in the US would have been left out of this study due to sampling methods, there was a very large pool of potential respondents: all Australians living in the US. This study was intended to be broad in order to gain information from a wide range of Australians living in the US. Consequently there were no specifications that respondents meet particular criteria on variables such as years since departure from Australia, age, occupation, state of origin, etc. in order to participate in the research. It would be useful to look in more detail at the migration patterns and experiences of diaspora members who share specific characteristics. A study by Kennedy (2004), for example, looked the implications of professional transnationalism by exploring the experiences of migrants in the building design industry. It may be of interest to build on this study and research more particularistic segments of the diaspora; for example students, Information Technology (IT) workers, or emigrants/diaspora members of a certain age to

comprehensively understand and limit theoretical application to a more specific group. Research that targets a particular ‘type’ of migrant would also mean focus could be placed on diverse ways to attract research respondents within that group.

10.5.4 Monitor changing global and national level circumstances

A systems approach to understanding migration acknowledges that the context for migration is always changing. This study took place at a moment in time; global and national level situations have since, and will continue to, shift. As an example relevant to this research, the global economic crisis, first widely acknowledged in 2008, has affected all parts of the globe and will certainly impact global and national level migration situations in due time. In response to the economic downturn in the US, for example, many companies have had to scale back operations which has meant there are fewer job opportunities in some industries, particularly finance, therefore many companies are not entitled to employ skilled migrant workers (Lightman, 2009). Additionally, there has been an increase in the number of foreign graduate students returning to their country of origin or moving beyond the US to look for employment upon the completion of their studies in the US (Herbst, 2009).

It remains to be seen whether this is indicative of a shift away from the US as the core global economy and thereby the top global destination for highly-skilled migrants. There is some suggestion that Asia’s promising economy has been reinforced with the economic crisis centred in the US. ‘They [migrants] see the US as a sinking ship, whereas Asia is the up-and-coming entity’ (Nason, 2009). This is particularly true in the Australian context. Because of Australia’s geographic proximity to Asia and strengthening economic alliances in the Asia-Pacific region will Asia, rather than the US, come to be the core destination for highly-skilled Australian emigrants?

In addition to the possibility that the destinations of skilled Australian emigrants may shift, the global economic crisis may also help Australia in its attempts to encourage skilled diaspora members to return to Australia. There is some indication the lack of overseas jobs and changing employment conditions are prompting some Australians living overseas to return to Australia (Dart, 2008, Nason, 2009).

In a normal market, I might have stayed another three to five years [in the US], but in the current climate it's definitely not monetarily compelling to stay. We have two kids and have always known we would return to Australia eventually, so now seems like the right opportunity.

Nason 2009

Migration research in Australia and globally must continue to monitor international population mobility and its outcomes within the context of dynamic global and national level systems.

10.6 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together major findings and implications of the thesis. This study was based on the argument that Australian emigration and diaspora are understudied elements of Australia's migration situation. This research aimed to enhance understanding of the Australian diaspora by exploring the Australian diaspora living in the United States. The recognition of multi-level factors in explaining migration and its outcomes is an important implication for theory. In this study it has been shown that a changing context for migration at the global level helps to explain national level policies and individual level migration outcomes. This changing context for migration also means overseas populations should be conceptualised differently.

Using data collected from Australians living in the US, it has been argued that because of their continued identification and involvement with Australia, the Australian diaspora should be considered a distinct segment of Australia's population. Policy implications related to conceptualising Australians living overseas this way include providing information to these populations about their rights and responsibilities and publicly recognizing them as a part of the population. Other policy implications from research findings relate to how Australia could better engage with, and thereby benefit from, its diaspora population. This includes monitoring financial contributions from the diaspora, promoting foreign investment in Australia and facilitating business and trade linkages. There are also a number of policy implications towards encouraging long-distance transnational networking and return migration. In order to enhance understanding about

emigration and diaspora in the future, it is imperative that Australia continue to collect data and to conduct research on the characteristics and activities of these populations.

APPENDIX 1: Glossary

Alien	(US) Any person who is not a citizen or a national of the United States.
Australian Resident	(Australia) A person identifying themselves as an 'Australian resident' when completing an incoming or an outgoing <i>Passenger Card</i> . This excludes persons travelling on <i>Temporary Entry</i> visas.
Business non-immigrant	(US) An <i>alien</i> coming temporarily to the United States to engage in commercial transactions which do not involve gainful employment in the United States, i.e., engaged in international commerce on behalf of a foreign firm, not employed in the U.S. labour market, and receives no salary from U.S. sources.
Country of origin	Defined for the purposes of this study as the country an emigrant claims to be from and/or feels is their home. This may be but is not limited to a migrant's country of birth, country of citizenship and/or country of legal residence. Country of origin is also sometimes referred to as the <i>home country</i> .
Diaspora	A community living outside their country of origin whose members keep tangible and/or emotional linkages with the <i>country of origin</i> .
Diversity program visas (DV)	(US) Each year, the Diversity Lottery (DV) Program makes 55,000 immigrant visas available through a lottery to people who come from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States.
E3 visa	(US) <i>Nonimmigrant</i> visa implemented as a part of

the US-Australia Free Trade Agreement. Allows Australians employed in specialty occupations to enter the US temporarily. (see Appendix 3 for more information)

Emigrant

A type of migrant, a person leaving or who has left their country of origin. The act of leaving the country of origin is referred to as ‘emigration’. The terms emigrant and emigration as used in this study have no relation to the amount of time an individual has spent or plans to spend outside their home country. Use of these terms also implies that such movement outside of the *home country* is on one’s own free will. Used interchangeably with *expatriate* in this research.

ESTA

(US) Electronic System for Travel Authorization. As of 1 January 2009, registration system for *Visa Waiver Program* entrants to the US.

Exchange Visitor

(US) An *alien* coming temporarily to the United States as a participant in a program approved by the Secretary of State for the purpose of teaching, instructing or lecturing, studying, observing, conducting research, consulting, demonstrating special skills, or receiving training.

Expatriate

Used interchangeably with *emigrant* in this research.

Family Sponsored Preferences

(US) A capped category of permanent entry to the US. First preference is given to unmarried children (aged 21 and over) of US citizens and their children. Second preference is given to spouses, children, and unmarried children of alien residents. Third preference is given to married children of US citizens and their spouses and children. Fourth preference is given to brothers and sisters (over the

age of 21) of US citizens and their spouses and children. Admission of *immediate relatives of US citizens* are not numerically capped.

Fiancé(e)s of U.S. Citizen

(US) A *nonimmigrant alien* coming to the United States to conclude a valid marriage with a U.S. citizen within ninety days after entry.

Foreign Government Official

(US) As a *nonimmigrant* class of admission, an alien coming temporarily to the United States who has been accredited by a foreign government to function as an ambassador, public minister, career diplomatic or consular officer, other accredited official, or an attendant, servant or personal employee of an accredited official, and all above *aliens'* spouses and unmarried minor children.

Form 1-94

(US) Arrival-departure record completed upon arrival in the US that shows the date of arrival in the United States and the 'admitted until' date, the date when authorized period of stay expires. As of 1 January 2009, all non-immigrants entering the US as part of the visa waiver program will be required to register with *ESTA* prior to departure for the US rather than completing a paper *Form 1-94*.

Green Card

(US) *Lawful permanent residence*, gives official immigration status to non-citizens in the United States.

H1-B

(US) Visa workers with *specialty occupations* admitted on the basis of professional education, skills, and/or equivalent experience.

High income country

A country with a Gross National Income per capita of high income, \$11,456 or more (The World Bank 2008). Both Australia and the US are 'high income' countries. For the purposes of this study, high income country is synonymous with

‘developed country’, ‘North country’ and ‘First World country’.

Home Country

See *country of origin*

Immediate relatives of US citizens

(US) An uncapped number of admissions to the US are granted to spouses, children (under 21 years of age and unmarried) and parents of US citizens 21 years of age and older.

Immigrant

(US) A non-citizen who has been granted lawful permanent residence in the United States and is issued a *Green Card*.

In Australia this is called a *settler*.

Intracompany Trainee

(US) An *alien*, employed for at least one continuous year out of the last three by an international firm or corporation, who seeks to enter the United States temporarily in order to continue to work for the same employer, or a subsidiary or affiliate, in a capacity that is primarily managerial, executive, or involves specialized knowledge. Also allows entry to the alien’s spouse and minor unmarried children.

Lawful Permanent Residence

(US) see *Green Card*.

Long-term resident departure

(Australia) Departure of a person identified on an outgoing *Passenger Card* as an Australian resident who is intending to stay overseas for 12 months or more before returning to Australia.

Long-term resident return

(Australia) Arrival of a person identified on an incoming *Passenger Card* as an Australian resident who has been overseas for 12 months or more since their last departure from Australia.

Long-term visitor arrival

(Australia) Arrival of a person who is a visitor or temporary entrant intending to stay in Australia for 12 months or more before their next departure.

Long-term visitor departure

(Australia) Departure of a person who is a visitor or

Migrant

temporary entrant whose stay in Australia was for 12 months or more from the date of their arrival.

A person who crosses an international border. The action of crossing an international border is herein referred to as international ‘migration’ or ‘mobility’ (used interchangeably).

(US) A person who leaves his/her *country of origin* to seek residence in another country.

Nonimmigrant

(US) Used in the US to describe an *alien* who seeks temporary entry to the United States for a specific purpose. The *alien* must have a permanent residence abroad (for most classes of admission) and qualify for the nonimmigrant classification sought. The nonimmigrant classifications include: *Foreign Government Officials*, visitors for business and for pleasure, *aliens* in transit through the United States, treaty traders and investors, *students*, international representatives, *temporary workers and trainees*, representatives of foreign information media, *exchange visitors*, *fiancés of U.S. citizens*, *intra-company transferees*, NATO officials, religious workers, and some others. Most nonimmigrants can be accompanied or joined by spouses and unmarried minor (or dependent) children. (USCIS 2008).

In Australia this is called a *temporary entry*.

OAD data

(Australia) Unpublished data collected by Australia’s Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) from Overseas Arrival and Departure cards (see Appendix 2)

Passenger Card

(Australia) Information is collected on these cards from all arrivals to (incoming passenger card) and departures from Australia (outgoing passenger

	card) (see Appendix 2)
Permanent departure	(Australia) Departure of a person identified on the Outgoing <i>Passenger Card</i> as an Australian resident intending to permanently depart from Australia.
Permanent resident	(US) Any person not a citizen of the United States who is residing in the U.S. under legally recognized and lawfully recorded permanent residence as an <i>immigrant</i> . Also known as Permanent Resident Alien, <i>Lawful Permanent Resident</i> , Resident Alien Permit Holder, and <i>Green Card</i> holder.
Settler	(Australia) A person arriving in Australia who holds one of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a permanent visa • a temporary (provisional) visa where there is a clear intention to settle e.g. Intending Marriage visa • a New Zealand citizen who indicates an intention to settle • a person otherwise eligible to settle (e.g. an overseas-born child of an Australian citizen).
Short-term resident departure	(Australia) Departure of a person identified on the outgoing <i>Passenger Card</i> as an Australian resident who is intending to stay overseas for less than 12 months before returning to Australia.
Short-term resident return	(Australia) Arrival of a person identified on the incoming <i>Passenger Card</i> as an Australian resident who has been overseas for less than 12 months since their last departure from Australia.
Short-term visitor arrival	(Australia) Arrival of a person who is a visitor or temporary entrant intending to stay in Australia less than 12 months before their next departure.

Short-term visitor departure	(Australia) Departure of a person who is a visitor or temporary entrant whose stay in Australia was for less than 12 months from their previous arrival.
Specialty occupations	(US) <i>H1-B visas</i> require applicants to be employed in a <i>specialty occupation</i> . A specialty occupation requires theoretical and practical application of a body of specialized knowledge along with at least a bachelor's degree or its equivalent. For example, architecture, engineering, mathematics, physical sciences, social sciences, medicine and health, education, business specialties, accounting, law, theology, and the arts are specialty occupations.
Students	(Australia) Non-permanent entrants to Australia whose visa is for a specific period and for the purpose of undertaking formal or non-formal study. (US) As a <i>nonimmigrant</i> class of admission, an <i>alien</i> coming temporarily to the United States to pursue a full course of study in an approved program in either an academic or a vocational or other recognized non-academic institution.
Temporary Entry	(Australia) The Temporary Entry Program allows people from overseas to come to Australia on a temporary basis for specific purposes which result in some benefit to Australia. Main categories of entry are <i>Students</i> , <i>Temporary Residents</i> and <i>Visitors</i> .
Temporary Residents	(Australia) These include <i>Working Holiday Makers</i> , long-term temporary business entrants and other persons intending to work or temporarily reside in Australia. These types of temporary resident visas are granted on the basis of there being an economic, social, cultural or sporting benefit to Australia. Initial stay in Australia is generally for more than 3

	months but not more than 4 years.
Temporary Worker and trainees	(US) An <i>alien</i> coming to the United States to work for a temporary period of time.
Visa Waiver Program	(US) Allows citizens of certain selected countries, travelling temporarily to the United States under the <i>nonimmigrant</i> admission classes of visitors for pleasure and visitors for business, to enter the United States without obtaining <i>nonimmigrant</i> visas. Admission is for no more than 90 days. Australians are eligible for the Visa Waiver program. As of 1 January 2009 all non-immigrants entering the US as part of the visa waiver program will be required to register electronically (with <i>ESTA</i>) prior to departure for the US rather than completing a paper <i>Form I-94</i> .
Visitors	(Australia) Non-permanent entrants to Australia whose visa is for tourism, short stay business, visiting relatives or medical treatment.
Working Holiday	(Australia) The Working Holiday and Work and Holiday Programs provide opportunities for people aged 18-30 to holiday in Australia and to supplement their travel funds through incidental employment. As of December 2008, there were reciprocal working holiday programs for Australians in 23 countries (including the US). (see Appendix 3 for more information)
WB – Visa Waiver Business	(US) <i>Visa Waiver/Business</i> - Temporary visitors for business who are a part of the Visa Waiver Program are granted entry to the US this way. A substantial portion of Australian arrivals to the US enter the US this way.
WT – Visa Waiver Tourist	(US) <i>Visa Waiver/Tourist</i> - Temporary visitors for pleasure who are part of the Visa Waiver Program

are granted legal entry to the US this way. The vast majority of all Australians arrivals to the US enter the US this way.

Sources: DIAC 2008a; The World Bank 2008; USCIS 2009; USCIS 2008a

Departure (Outgoing passenger) card

OUTGOING CARD - FRONT

Outgoing passenger card • Australia

PLEASE COMPLETE IN ENGLISH WITH A BLUE OR BLACK PEN

Family/surname

Given names

Passport number

Flight number or name of ship

Country where you will get off this flight

What is your usual occupation?

Nationality as shown on passport

Date of birth

PLEASE AND ANSWER D OR E OR F

D Visitor or temporary entrant departing

State where you spent most time

NSW Vic
 Qld SA
 WA Tas
 NT ACT
 Other

Country of Residence

E Australian resident departing temporarily

In which State do you live?

NSW Vic Qld
 SA WA Tas
 NT ACT Other

Intended length of stay overseas

Years Months Days

Country where you will spend most time abroad

Main reason for overseas travel (X one only):

Convention/conference 1 Employment 5
 Business 2 Education 6
 Visiting friends or relatives 3 Exhibition 7
 Holiday 4 Other 8

F Australian resident departing permanently

In which State did you live?

NSW Vic
 Qld SA
 WA Tas
 NT ACT
 Other

What is your country of future residence?

DECLARATION The information I have given is true, correct and complete.

YOUR SIGNATURE _____ Day _____ Month _____ Year _____

TURN OVER THE CARD
English

OUTGOING CARD - BACK

Are you taking out of Australia AUD\$10,000 or more in Australian or foreign currency equivalent? If answered "Yes" you must complete an International Currency Transfer Report to present with this card. Yes No

If you worked in Australia as a temporary resident you may be eligible for a Departing Australia Superannuation Payment (DASP).

If you would like to receive further information please provide your e-mail address.

For example
 WILLIAMS_JENNIFER
 @
 HOTMAIL.COM

Visit www.ato.gov.au/super for more DASP information.

MAKE SURE YOU HAVE COMPLETED BOTH SIDES OF THIS CARD. PRESENT THIS CARD, ON DEPARTURE WITH YOUR BOARDING PASS AND PASSPORT.

© Commonwealth of Australia 2003
 16 (Design date 07/03)
 MC/MILLAN PRINT

Outgoing passenger card used from July 2003.

Source: ABS 2008 pp.24-25

APPENDIX 3: Policy relevant to Australians living overseas and in the US

Issue 1: Citizenship rights of overseas Australians

Since 2002, Australian citizenship is not automatically renounced when citizenship is taken up in another country and there are ways to reclaim Australian citizenship if forced to renounce it under previous policy. The most recent Australian Citizenship Act (July 2007) includes stipulations that allow for citizenship by descent if one parent is an Australian citizen. Second generation persons can also become an Australian citizen by descent so long as at least two years of parent's life were spent in Australia.

Source: DIAC 2007c, SCG 2007a

For more information see: <http://www.citizenship.gov.au/>

<http://www.southern-cross-group.org/dualcitizenship/dualcitizenship.html>

Issue 2: Voting rights of overseas Australians

In order to retain the right to vote in Australian federal elections while overseas individuals must:

- 1) Inform the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) when going overseas for any length of time about change in residential status. Options then are a) to keep a 'temporarily absent status' if planning to be overseas for less than a year and planning to return to same address in Australia or; b) become an 'eligible overseas voter' if planning to be away for more than a year and/or not returning to the same address in Australia.
- 2) Australians overseas are allowed to enrol as an eligible overseas voter for up to three years after leaving Australia. If more than three years passes and/or participation by voting in federal elections from afar lapses during that time, individuals become ineligible to vote from overseas. In order to resume voting rights, individual must return to Australia and be resident at an Australian address for at least one month.

- 3) When enrolled, overseas voters are not penalized for not voting on Election Day but must participate somehow in person (i.e. at an overseas embassy or consular office) or by post within a specified time limit or face the possibility of being removed from the electoral roll. If removed in this way and more than three years has passed since moving overseas, individuals are ineligible to re-enrol from overseas (see above).

Source: Australian Electoral Commission 2007, SCG 2007b

For more information see: http://www.southern-cross-group.org/archives/Overseas%20Voting/2007/Brochure_Expatriate_Voting_August_2007.pdf
http://www.aec.gov.au/FAQs/Voting_Overseas.htm

Issue 3: Transfer of superannuation/retirement funds

- 1) The number of superannuation agreements between Australia and other countries is ever-increasing; Australia currently has social-security agreements with 18 countries. The US and Australia have had such an agreement since October 2002.
- 2) Australians living and working in the US will not be penalized in terms of retirement benefits for time spent working in the US if/when they return to Australia to live and/or if they end up in the US for time spent working in Australia, so long as certain minimum criteria are met in each country in terms of time spent working there.
- 3) Drawing retirement benefits from the US upon retirement, whether living in the US or Australia at that stage, requires having worked for at least 18 months in the US and at least ten working years (in the US or Australia) in total. Individuals can then draw benefits from the US for the time spent working there. Payment from Australian retirement funds will also be made based on the amount of time working and contributing to superannuation in Australia. This agreement makes it possible to contribute only to the retirement program in the country where currently working, to not be penalized for not making contributions while overseas, and to receive benefits from both countries upon retirement for the years spent working in that country.

Source: FaHCSIA 2007, SCG 2007c

For more information see:

<http://www.facsia.gov.au/internet/facsinternet.nsf/international/agreements-current.htm#usa>

<http://www.southern-cross-group.org/socialsecurity/bilateral.html>

Issue 4: Income tax

- 1) Determine if an Australian resident or non-resident for tax purposes; if usual home is overseas and/or have been working outside of Australia for more than half of the financial year, usually classified as an Australian non-resident for tax purposes.
- 2) Australian tax residents are taxed on global income whereas non-residents are taxed on Australian-sourced income only. Non-residents do not have a tax-free threshold and do not pay a Medicare levy. Tax will be withheld on dividends and interest in Australian accounts; if the Australian Taxation Office (ATO) is informed of an overseas address these items will be taxed at a lower rate. Non-residents are not eligible for some tax offsets available to residents, and must declare income from Australian rental properties.
- 3) If the decision is made to stay an Australian resident for tax purposes, may qualify for foreign tax credit if tax was already paid on income earned overseas in the country it was earned in.

*Same rules apply from the US perspective based on resident/non-resident status in the US
Source: Australian Taxation Office 2007a, Australian Taxation Office 2007b, IRS 2007

For more information see: <http://www.ato.gov.au/individuals/>

<http://www.irs.gov/publications/p519/index.html>

Issue 5: Taxes associated with home ownership in Australia when living overseas

Australians overseas are able to keep home in Australia as the main residence for tax purposes as long as desired if no income is being made from it (i.e. if the home is not being renting it out for income) and up to 6 years to produce income without being penalized. Only one dwelling can be nominated as a main residence for tax purposes.

Source: Australian Taxation Office 2007a

For more information see:

<http://www.ato.gov.au/individuals/content.asp?doc=/content/29092.htm>

Issue 6: Health cover outside of Australia

Medicare benefits are not available for treatment received overseas. There are reciprocal health care agreements between Australia and a number of countries, but there is no such agreement with the US (Medicare Australia 2007).

- 1) Those going to the US short-term must take out travel insurance which includes health cover for the time spent in the US; these benefits may be covered by Australian employer if going to the US for work purposes.
- 2) Individuals going to the US for a longer period of time who wish to have health cover in the US must apply and pay for private insurance in the US if not offered as a benefit by employer.

Source: Medicare Australia 2007

For more information see:

http://www.medicareaustralia.gov.au/yourhealth/going_overseas/to.shtml#what

<http://www.smarttraveller.gov.au/tips/travelwell.html>

Issue 7: Marriage outside of Australia

Marriages made overseas are usually considered valid in Australia as long as requirements were met in overseas country to be legally married there and the marriage would have been recognized as legal in Australia if it had occurred there. (e.g. same sex marriages may be recognized in other countries, but not in Australia). Australian citizenship for a non-Australian spouse is not guaranteed based on marriage (DIAC 2007c), although spouses of Australian citizens are able to apply and in most cases would be granted a long-term or permanent stay in Australia. Spouses of US citizens are a in a high preference category for an immigrant visa in the US.

Source: DFAT 2006b

For more information see: http://www.smarttraveller.gov.au//marriage_os.html

Current policies relevant to Australians living in, and moving to, the US

Electronic System of Travel Authorization (ESTA) for visa waiver non-immigrants traveling to the US

As of 1 January 2009 all non-immigrants entering the US as part of the visa waiver program will be required to register electronically with the Electronic System for Travel Authorization (ESTA) prior to departure for the US, rather than completing a paper Form 1-94. It is recommended that an ESTA approval be obtained as soon as the traveler begins to plan a trip to the United States, and no later than 72 hours before departure. ESTA has, however, been designed to allow for the accommodation of last minute and emergency travelers.

An approved ESTA travel authorization is:

- valid for up to two years or until the traveler's passport expires, whichever comes first;
- valid for multiple entries into the U.S.; and
- not a guarantee of admissibility to the United States at a port of entry. ESTA approval only authorizes a traveler to board a carrier for travel to the U.S. under the Visa Waiver Program. In all cases, immigration officers make admissibility determinations at ports of entry.

Source: US Department of Homeland Security 2008

For more information see:

http://www.dhs.gov/xnews/releases/pr_1212498415724.shtm

E3 visa available to Australian citizens employed in specialty occupations

The E3 visa is a nonimmigrant visa implemented as a part of the US-Australia Free Trade Agreement (AUSFTA). Available only to Australian citizens employed in specialty occupations, the E3 visa allows entry to the US for a maximum initial period of two years. The E3 visa can be renewed indefinitely and spouses are allowed working rights. There is a limit of 10,500 E3 visas available for allocation to Australian citizens each year; spouses

and dependent children do not count towards the annual quota nor do people renewing their E3 visas.

Source: US Department of State 2007

For more information see: <http://canberra.usembassy.gov/consular/visas/niv/e3.html>

Australia–US Work and Holiday visa

A reciprocal Australia–US Work and Holiday visa, created as a part of AUSFTA, has been in effect since October 2007. This visa allows Australians who are enrolled in a post-secondary education course or have graduated from such a course within the past year, and are sponsored by a US employer, to go to work in the US for up to 12 months. Likewise, Americans who meet certain criteria are allowed to enter Australia to work for up to a year. There is no limit to the number of Work and Holiday visas that can be allocated in either the US or Australia.

Source: DIAC 2007d

For more information see:

http://www.immi.gov.au/visitors/working-holiday/462/pdf/fact_1_whv_us.pdf

Securities agreement between Australia and the US– Securities regulation arrangement with the US Securities and Exchange Commission

Signed in August 2008, the arrangement provides a framework to permit eligible US and Australian stock exchanges and broker-dealers to operate in both jurisdictions without the need for these entities (in certain aspects) to be separately regulated in both countries.

Source: DFAT 2008b

For more information see:

http://www.austrade.gov.au/ArticleDocuments/1358/Data_alert_%2005Sept08.pdf.aspx

APPENDIX 4: Classes of immigrant and nonimmigrant entry to the US, 2006

Table 1: Description of major class of immigrant entry to the US, total and Australia-born arrivals, granted permanent residence in the US in fiscal year 2006

NOTE:

This table is included on page 268 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Compiled from USCIS 2007, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics Table 10.

Table 2: Description of visas for nonimmigrant entry to the US, total and Australia citizen arrivals, fiscal year 2006

NOTE:

This table is included on page 269-72 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

1 Admissions represent counts of events, i.e. arrivals, not unique individuals. Admission totals exceed the number of nonimmigrants admitted. Also, the majority of short-term admissions from Canada and Mexico are excluded.

2 Australia includes Australia, Norfolk Island, Christmas Island, and Cocos (Keeling) Island.

- Represents zero.

D Data withheld to limit disclosure.

Source: Compiled from USCIS 2007

APPENDIX 5: Information about survey distribution organizations

Organization name	Organization type	Website address	Date distributed
About Australia	Store selling Australian goods in the US	http://www.about-australia-shop.com/	unknown
Advance Global Australian Professionals (Advance)	Professional and social networking	www.advance.org	18/04/2006
American Australian Association (AAA)	Non-profit social/corporate group	http://www.americanaustralian.org/	18/04/2006
Aussie_Expats Chat group on Yahoo	Social networking	http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Aussie_Expats/	13/04/2006
AussieinAmerica.com	Social networking	www.aussieinamerica.com	19/04/2006
AustraLA events	Social networking	http://www.austraLAEvents.com	unknown
Australia - New Zealand Association Tech Network (ANZA Tech)	Technical/professional networking	www.anzatechnet.com	22/04/2006
Australia - New Zealand Chamber of Commerce	Australia-New Zealand-US relations	http://www.anzacc-midwest.org/chambers.htm	unknown
Australian American Chamber of Commerce (AACC)	Australia-US relations	http://www.usa.embassy.gov.au/whwh/AACCinUS.html	unknown
Australian American Chamber of Commerce San Francisco	Professional and social networking	www.sfaussies.com/	unknown
Australian students at Harvard and MIT	Australian student organization	distributed through intermediary contact	9/02/2006
Australians Abroad	Social networking	http://www.australiansabroad.com/	13/04/2006
Australians in America	Social networking	www.OZinAmerica.org	13/04/2006
Expatriate Connect	Professional networking	http://www.expatriateconnect.com	19/04/2006
Mates up over	Social networking	www.matesupover.com/	unknown
Newcomers Network	Social and professional networking	www.newcomersnetwork.com	9/02/2006
Simply Australian (Simply Oz)	Store selling Australian goods in the US	http://www.simplyoz.com/	unknown
Southern Cross Group (SCG)	Advocacy and support organization	http://www.southern-cross-group.org/index.html	13/04/2006
USAFL (US footy)	Australia Football clubs in the US	http://www.usfooty.com/usfooty/	15/04/2006
WWII War Brides Association	Social networking	http://www.geocities.com/us_warbrides/index.html	unknown

APPENDIX 6: AUSS survey participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet
Survey of Australians in the United States



The number of Australians living and working outside of Australia has grown tremendously in recent years. This is especially true of highly skilled and educated Australian professionals, whose skills and experience are in demand worldwide. The United States continues to gain popularity as a destination for overseas Australians, particularly Australian professionals.

My name is Kelly Parker; I am a PhD student at the University of Adelaide. My topic of study is migration between Australia and the United States; I am conducting this survey as a part of my PhD research. The survey includes questions about the motivations, activities and future intentions of Australians living in the US. The knowledge gained from analysis of survey results will in turn provide insight as to what the outcome of movement between Australia and the US may be for Australia, for the United States, and for the people moving between these countries.

This online survey takes **20-25 minutes** to complete and requires either a tick or just a few words. Please be sure not to include any personal and/or confidential information in any open-ended questions in the Online Survey. The study is completely confidential and whatever is reported in the study will not identify you in any way. All responses will not be able to be traced to any individual and all steps will be taken to protect your privacy. All analysis of responses will be undertaken at an aggregate and not an individual level. Once the survey data has been analysed, all results will be made available for your viewing.

I am extremely grateful to you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. As an Australian living in the United States, your participation in completing this survey will be invaluable in helping increase knowledge about a very important group of overseas Australians. It would be greatly appreciated if you could complete this survey within a week of receiving it.

I would also like to interview a number of individuals in relation to the findings of the survey. If you are interested in participating further, please express your interest and provide me with your

contact details at the email address listed below. I will contact you at a later date to arrange a mutually convenient time for an interview.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or wish to obtain more information about this study. Once again, thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely,

Kelly L. Parker

PhD Candidate

Contact Details

Ms. Kelly Parker
PhD Candidate
Discipline of Geographical and Environmental Studies
University of Adelaide, Adelaide SA 5005
Phone: +61 8 8303 6415 or +61 407 530 871
Email: kelly.parker@adelaide.edu.au

APPENDIX 7: Survey of Australians in the United States

Survey of Australians in the United States



Please mark multiple-choice answers with an “X”. Use as much space as necessary to complete fill-in-the-blank questions. Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Completed forms may be returned as an email attachment to: Kelly.parker@adelaide.edu.au by fax: +61 8303 3772 or by post: The University of Adelaide, Dept. of Geography and Environmental Studies, Level 8 Napier Building, Adelaide, SA 5005

<p>A1. What is your country of birth? _____</p> <p>A2. Please state your country(s) of citizenship: _____</p> <p>A3. Please state your country(s) of residency: _____</p> <p>A4. Which US visa do you hold? _____</p>

<p>B1. Where are you currently living in the US? City/Town _____ State/Territory _____ Zip Code _____</p> <p>B2. Where were you living when you left to go to the US? Suburb/Town _____ State/Territory _____ Postcode _____ Country _____</p>
--

<p>C1. In what year did you first arrive in the US? _____</p> <p>C2. How old were you when you first arrived in the US? _____</p>

D1. Please indicate the main reasons for your decision to go to the US: (select all that apply)

- Better Employment Opportunities
- Education/study
- Marriage/partnership
- To be close to family/friends
- International experience
- Lifestyle
- Higher income
- Partner's employment
- Business opportunities
- Career and promotion opportunities
- Overseas job transfer/exchange
- Professional development
- More favorable income tax regime
- More favorable business tax regime
- Better employer-supported or work-based training
- Better education institutions for skill training and upgrading
- Want to establish, relocate or expand a business to the US
- No equivalent jobs in Australia
- Other (please specify) _____

E1. What is your current employment status?

- Employed full-time (go to question E2)
- Employed part-time (go to question E2)
- Unemployed (go to question F1)
- Not in workforce (go to question F1)
- Student (go to question F1)

E2. If currently employed, is your job:

- Permanent
- Contract

E3. Current main occupation: _____

E4. Industry employed in: _____

E5. In this occupation, are you:

- Working for wages, salary or commission
- In your own business and employing others
- In your own business, not employing others
- Other (please specify) _____

F1. Current annual income:

Please select currency: US\$ AS\$

- < \$25,000
- \$25,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$74,999
- \$75,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$124,999
- \$125,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 - \$174,999
- \$175,000 - \$199,999
- \$200,000 - \$300,000
- > \$300,000

G1. Employment status before going overseas:

- Employed full-time
- Employed part-time
- Unemployed
- Not in workforce
- Student
- Other (please specify) _____

G2. Has your *individual* financial situation changed since going to the US?

- Improved
- Got worse
- Stayed about the same

G3. Has your *family* financial situation changed since going to the US?

- Improved
- Got worse
- Stayed about the same
- Not applicable

H1. Are you currently studying?

- Yes, full-time (go to question H2)
- Yes, part-time (go to question H2)
- No (go to question I1)

H2. Location of Educational Institution (City/State/Country): _____

H3. Field of Study: _____

H4. Type of award you are seeking:

- Doctoral degree
- Masters degree
- Postgraduate diploma
- Bachelors/Honours degree
- Undergraduate diploma
- Other (please specify) _____

I1. What is your highest completed educational qualification? (select award or equivalent)

- Doctoral degree
- Masters degree
- Postgraduate diploma
- Bachelors/Honours degree
- Undergraduate diploma
- Other (please specify) _____

I2. Field of Study: _____

I3. Location of educational institution:
 City/town _____ State _____ Country _____

I4. Year of award: _____

J1. Did you have networks in place with people/organizations in the US before moving there?

- Yes
- No

J2. How did you learn of opportunities in the US that encouraged your move there? (select all that apply)

- Existing networks in the US
- Networks in Australia
- Partner/family going there
- Been to the US before
- Experiences of others who have traveled to the US
- Independent search
- Other (please explain) _____

J3. What made you choose the US over other international destinations? (select all that apply)

- Better opportunities
- Higher salaries
- English speaking
- Similar culture
- Direct work or study transfer
- Spouse/partner there
- US only option considered
- Other (please specify) _____

K1. Have you moved back to Australia to live at any stage since first arriving in the US?

- Yes (go to question K2)
- No (go to question L1)

K2. How long did you live back in Australia?

- Less than 6 months
- 6 months - 1 year
- 1 - 2 years
- Longer than 2 years

K3. Why did you move back to Australia to live?

- To be close to family and friends
- Employment/Business related reasons
- Education
- Lifestyle
- Other (please specify) _____

L1. Have you lived in countries other than Australia and the US?

- Yes (go to question L2)
- No (go to question M1)

L2. What were your main reasons for living in countries other than Australia and the US? (select all that apply)

- Employment/business related reasons
- Partner's employment
- Education/study related reasons
- Marriage/partnership
- To be close to friends and family
- International experience
- Lifestyle
- Other (please specify) _____

M1. How many visits have you made to Australia since first arriving in the US?

- None
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4 - 5
- More than 5

M2. Main reason for visits to Australia: (select all that apply)

- Visit friends and family
- Employment/business related reasons
- To attend a conference/meeting
- Holiday
- Education
- Other (please specify) _____

M3. Average length of stay in Australia on visits there?

- less than 1 week
- 1 - 2 weeks
- 2 weeks - less than 1 month
- 1 month - less than 3 months
- 3 months - less than 6 months
- 6 months or more

N1. Do you plan to live in the US permanently?

- No, plan to move back to Australia (go to question N2)
- No, plan to move to another country (go to question N2)
- Yes (go to question O1)
- Undecided (go to question O1)

N2. When do you plan to leave the US?

- Within 1 year
- 1 - 2 years
- 2 - 3 years
- 3 - 5 years
- 5 years or more
- Undecided

N3. What are your main reasons for planning to leave the US? (select all that apply)

- End of employment contract
- Work opportunities elsewhere
- To be close to family/friends
- Lifestyle better elsewhere
- Education opportunities elsewhere
- US visa expires
- Other (please specify) _____

N4. If returning to Australia, where do you plan to live upon return? (city/state/postcode):

O1. Main reasons NOT planning/Undecided whether to return to Australia (select all that apply)

- Employment opportunities better outside Australia
- Higher Income outside Australia
- Better educational institutions outside Australia
- Partner's employment located outside Australia
- Marriage/partnership keeps me outside Australia
- Family/Friends outside Australia
- Lifestyle more attractive outside of Australia
- Established in current location
- Cost of relocating back to Australia
- Other (please specify) _____

P1. Has the intended length of your stay in the US changed since your first arrived in the US?

- Yes, staying in the US for more time than originally intended
- Yes, staying in the US for less time than originally intended
- No

P2. Please explain reasons for the change in your intended length of stay (select all that apply)

- Employment opportunities changed
- Education opportunities changed
- Family situation changed
- US visa situation changed
- Lifestyle considerations
- Want to be close to friends and family
- Other (please specify) _____

Q1. Do you still consider Australia to be your home?

- Yes
- No
- Undecided

R1. Do you have contact with other Australians living in the US?

- Yes (go to question R2)
- No (go to question S1)

R2. What type of contacts do you have with other Australians in the US? (select all that apply)

- Social (family and friends)
- Employment/business related
- Education/study related
- Other (please specify) _____

R3. Do you participate in any Australian organizations/clubs in the US?

- Yes
- No

R4. Please list any Australian organizations/clubs you are involved with in the US:

S1. Do you maintain contact with people/organizations in Australia?
 Yes (go to question S2)
 No (go to question T1)

S2. What type of linkages do you keep with Australia? (select all that apply)
 Social (family and friends)
 Employment/business related
 Education/study related
 Informational/Current Affairs
 Other (please specify) _____

S3. Please describe any professional linkages you keep with Australia:

S4. How frequently do you make contact with your networks in Australia?
 At least once per week
 Fortnightly
 Monthly
 Every 3 - 6 months
 Less than every 6 months

S5. What is the *primary* method you use to maintain contact with Australia?
 Email/Internet
 Telephone
 Post
 Other (please specify) _____

T1. Do you feel your presence in the US has any benefits for Australia?
 Yes (go to question T2)
 No (go to question U1)
 Undecided (go to question U1)

T2. If yes, what?
 Existing contacts useful for other Australians
 Learning skills/gaining experiences that are transferable back to Australia
 Encouraging goodwill towards Australia
 Increasing knowledge about Australia in the US
 Creating links with US organizations
 Other (please specify) _____

U1. Do you feel your presence in the US has benefits for the US?
 Yes (go to question U2)
 No (go to question V1)
 Undecided (go to question V1)

U2. If yes, what?
 Creating international contacts for Americans
 Contributing skills/experiences that are transferable to the US
 Encouraging goodwill towards the US
 Increasing knowledge about Australia in the US
 Creating links with Australian organizations
 Other (please specify) _____

V1. Current marital status:
 Never married
 Separated/Divorced
 Widowed
 Married (including de facto)

V2. Has your marital status changed since you left Australia?
 No
 Yes (please explain) _____

V3. What is your current partner's:
Country of birth: _____
Citizenship(s): _____
 Not applicable

V4. Do you have a spouse/partner living in a country other than the US?
 Yes, in Australia
 Yes, in a country other than Australia
 No

W1. Do you have children? (select all that apply)
 Yes, living in the US
 Yes, living in Australia
 Yes, living in a country other than the US and Australia
 No

W2. Do you have children living in the US in the following age groups? (select all that apply)
 Birth to 1 year
 1 - 5 years
 6 - 10 years
 11 - 15 years
 16 - 18 years
 Over 18 years
 Have no children living in the US

X1. Current housing tenure in the US:
 Homeowner
 Purchasing home
 Renting
 Other (please specify) _____

X2. Please select any of the following that you own in the US and/or Australia:

A home	<input type="checkbox"/> US	<input type="checkbox"/> Australia
Property	<input type="checkbox"/> US	<input type="checkbox"/> Australia
A business	<input type="checkbox"/> US	<input type="checkbox"/> Australia
A bank account	<input type="checkbox"/> US	<input type="checkbox"/> Australia
Financial investments	<input type="checkbox"/> US	<input type="checkbox"/> Australia
Other (please specify)	_____	

Y1. Did you vote in the last Australian election?
 Yes
 No

Z1. Sex:

- Male
 Female

Z2. Year of birth: _____

Please provide comments or suggestions that you feel may be of use to this study:

APPENDIX 8: Sample email asking for organization participation

Dear _____ ,

My name is Kelly Parker and I am a PhD student at the University of Adelaide. I am working with Professor Graeme Hugo on a research project looking at the experiences of Australians moving between Australia and the United States. As a part of my research I have designed an online questionnaire to be distributed to Australians in the United States. My aim is to capture as many and as diverse a range of Australians as possible and learn about their experiences and what their movement to the United States means to Australia.

I am enquiring whether it would be possible to post a link to my survey on your website and/or email my survey to your members. Individual responses are completely confidential; all results will be presented in aggregate form and will be used for academic purposes only. I would keep you updated as the study progresses and inform you of all research results.

Thus far I have gained the cooperation of several organizations that network with Australians in the US (Southern Cross Group, Advance and USFooty.com to name a few) who have agreed to distribute my questionnaire, and it would be great to have the survey posted with your organization where it could be accessed by even more Australians living in the US.

The survey can be accessed at this address:

<http://www.aisr.com.au/AustraliansinUS.asp>

Please let me know if working with your organization is a possibility. Thank you very much for your time.

Kind Regards,

Kelly

APPENDIX 9: Preliminary report of AUSS results

Introduction

1,581 individuals answered the ‘Australians in the US’ survey questionnaire, which was distributed as part of a PhD research project investigating the experiences of Australians living in the United States. The purpose of this document is to share basic results from the survey.

The document is organized into different sections based on themes in the survey. At the beginning of each section the data is briefly described in word form, then the data from relevant survey responses are shown in Tables and Figures. There is little attempt made in this report to examine how the results across different variables relate to each other; that will follow at a later stage.

The report concludes with a section on the survey sampling methodology used in data collection. This section can be used as reference to provide context to the results.

1 Basic Demographics

1.1 Age and sex

The majority of survey respondents are aged between 30-44 (Table 1.1), ages in which individuals are most likely to be active members of the workforce.

There are slightly more female than male respondents (Table 1.2), and a somewhat younger age structure for females survey respondents compared to males (Figure 1.1).

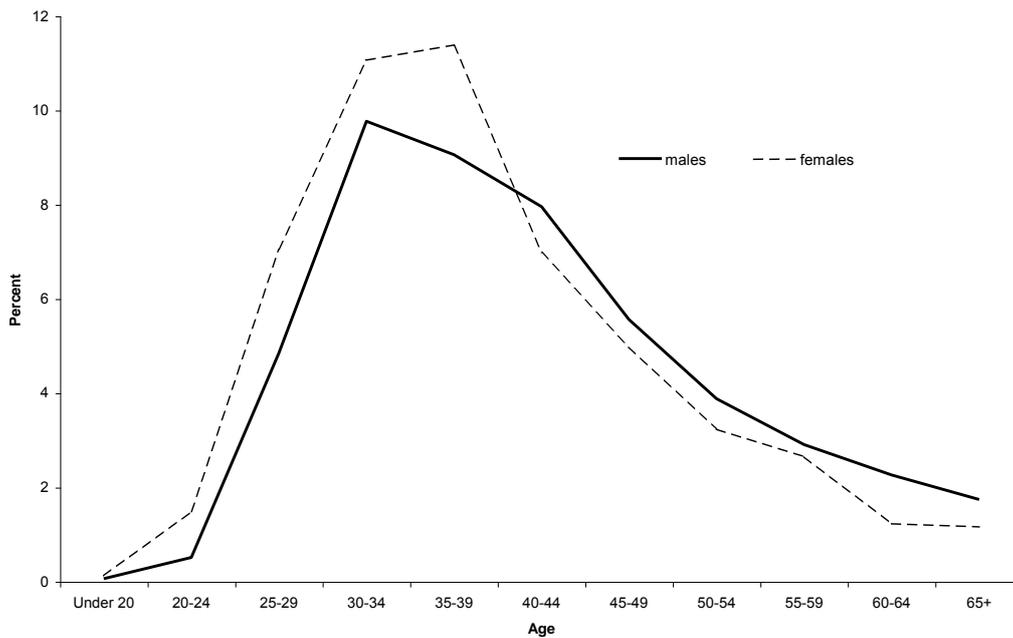
Table 1.1: Current age

	n	%
Under 20	3	0.2
20-24	31	2.0
25-29	185	11.7
30-34	324	20.5
35-39	317	20.1
40-44	232	14.7
45-49	165	10.4
50-54	110	7.0
55-59	86	5.4
60-64	54	3.4
65+	45	2.8
Not stated	29	1.8
Total	1581	100.0

Table 1.2: Sex

	n	%
Male	754	47.7
Female	799	50.5
Not stated	28	1.8
Total	1581	100.0

Figure 1.1: Survey respondents by age and sex



1.2 Country of birth, citizenship and residency

Most survey respondents were born in Australia. A total of 47 countries of birth were represented in responses, covering all regions of the globe (Table 1.3).

The majority of respondents are Australian citizens (Table 1.4). Survey respondents typically stated their country of residency as the USA (Table 1.5). What is not clear from country of residency results is if respondents disclosed where they have *legal* residency or simply where they are currently living.

Table 1.3: Region/country of birth

	n	%
Australia	1375	87.0
USA	36	2.3
Western Europe	70	4.4
Eastern Europe	10	0.6
Asia	41	2.6
Middle East	3	0.2
Africa	9	0.6
Americas (excl. USA)	9	0.6
Oceania (excl. Australia)	28	1.8
Total	1581	100.0

Table 1.4: Region/country(s) of citizenship

	n	%
Australia	1504	95.1
USA	277	17.5
Western Europe	119	7.5
Eastern Europe	2	0.1
Asia	2	0.1
Middle East	3	0.2
Africa	0	0.0
Americas (other than the USA)	13	0.8
Oceania (other than Australia)	17	1.1

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

Table 1.5: Region/country(s) of residency

	n	%
Australia	146	9.2
USA	1476	93.4
Western Europe	11	0.7
Eastern Europe	0	0.0
Asia	2	0.1
Middle East	0	0.0
Africa	0	0.0
Americas (other than USA)	9	0.6
Oceania (other than Australia)	2	0.1

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

1.3 Arrival information

Most respondents had arrived in the US for the first time fairly recently; over 40% had arrived within the past five years, and over 75% had arrived within the past ten years (Table 1.6).

The majority of respondents were between 20-39 years of age on their first arrival in the US (Table 1.7). Both males and females were most likely to be in the 25-29 year age group on first arrival (Figure 1.2), although overall females were slightly younger at first US arrival compared to males.

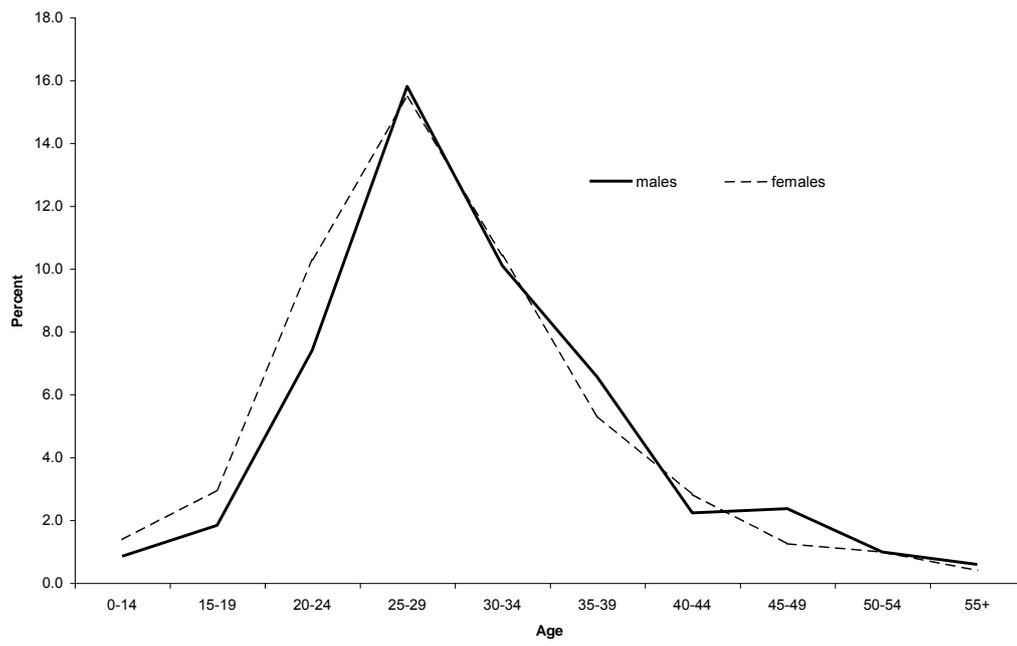
Table 1.6: Year of first arrival in US

	n	%
2006	19	1.2
2005	113	7.2
2004	138	8.7
2003	113	7.2
2002	133	8.4
2001	121	7.7
1996-2000	423	26.8
1991-1995	156	9.9
1986-1990	105	6.6
1976-1985	65	4.1
Before 1976	155	9.8
Unknown	40	2.6
Total	1581	100.0

Table 1.7: Age upon first arrival in the US

	n	%
0-14	37	2.3
15-19	74	4.7
20-24	274	17.3
25-29	484	30.6
30-34	317	20.1
35-39	183	11.6
40-44	79	5.0
45-49	55	3.5
50-54	30	1.9
55+	15	0.9
Unknown	33	2.1
Total	1581	100.0

Figure 1.2: Age at arrival in the US by sex



2 Reasons for moving to the US

‘International experience’ was the reason given by the largest percentage of respondents for a move to the US (Table 2.1). The type of international experience that inspired a move to the US is likely to be interpreted differently by each individual. More straightforward reasons for the decision to move were professional, employment and income improvements. Another reason important to many was ‘marriage/partnership’. It should be noted that ‘marriage/partnership’ was second only to ‘international experience’ in the percentage of respondents who stated this as a major reason for the decision to move to the US.

It makes sense then, that ‘spouse/partner working there’ was selected by the greatest number of respondents as a reason the US was chosen as a place to live over other international destinations (Table 2.2).

Table 2.1: Main reasons for decision to move to the US

	n	%
International experience	680	43.0
Marriage/partnership	577	36.5
Employment opportunities	515	32.6
Career and promotion opportunities	443	28.0
Professional development	406	25.7
Higher income	378	23.9
Education/Study	278	17.6
Overseas job transfer/exchange	252	15.9
Partners employment	205	13.0
Lifestyle	192	12.1
Other (stated)	191	12.1
More favourable income tax regime	178	11.3
Business opportunities	145	9.2
No equivalent jobs in Australia	121	7.7
Better educational institutions for skill training and upgrading	90	5.7
To be close to family/friends	73	4.6
More favourable business tax regime	57	3.6
Want to expand, establish or relocate a business to the US	47	3.0
Better employer supported or work-based training	42	2.7

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

Table 2.2: Reasons the US was chosen over other destinations

	n	%
Spouse/partner working there	569	36.0
Better opportunities	514	32.5
US only option considered	339	21.4
English speaking	323	20.4
Higher salaries	287	18.2
Other (specified)	282	17.8
Direct work or study transfer	254	16.1
Similar cultures	229	14.5

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

3 “Significant others”

3.1 Marital status

Most survey respondents are married (Table 3.1), and nearly half have changed their marital status since leaving Australia (Table 3.2). Getting married was the most common reason for a change in marital status (Table 3.3). It is also interesting to note that over 10% of respondents have experienced multiple changes to their marital status since leaving Australia.

Table 3.1: Marital Status

	n	%
Never married	268	17.0
Separated/divorced	119	7.5
Widowed	16	1.0
Married (including de facto)	1149	72.7
Not stated	29	1.8
Total	1581	100.0

Table 3.2: Marital status changed since leaving Australia

	n	%
Yes	761	48.1
No	784	49.6
Not stated	36	2.3
Total	1581	100.0

Table 3.3: Reasons for change in marital status (n=761)

	n	%(n=761)*
Got married	417	54.8
Divorced/separated	31	4.1
Multiple changes**	80	10.5
Other	21	2.8

*Question applies only to respondents who have had a change in marital status since leaving Australia.

**For example married then divorced or divorced and remarried.

3.2 Information about respondents spouses

Most spouses of survey respondents were born in the USA, followed at a distant second place by Australia (Table 3.4). 63 countries were represented in ‘spouse country of birth’ responses.

Most spouses are citizens of the USA, followed by Australia (Table 3.5).

Table 3.4: Spouse country/region of birth (n=1277)

	n	%(n=1277)*
Australia	295	23.1
USA	767	60.1
United Kingdom	50	3.9
Canada	29	2.3
Other country stated	136	10.6

*Percent is based on the number of respondents who filled in a country of birth for their spouse/partner.

Table 3.5: Spouse region/country(s) of citizenship spouse (n=1265)

	n	%(n=1265)*
Australia	377	29.8
USA	848	67.0
Western Europe	88	7.0
Eastern Europe	5	0.4
Asia	11	0.9
Middle East	3	0.2
Africa	1	0.1
Americas (other than the USA)	39	3.1
Oceania (other than Australia)	10	0.8

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Percent based on the number of respondents who filled in country(s) of citizenship for their spouse/partner.

3.3 Children

Results are just about split down the middle between respondents with children and those with no children (Table 3.6). Of those respondents who do have children, the vast majority are living with them in the US.

Table 3.7 shows the age of respondents children. Percent of respondents with children in each age group are shown for both total survey respondents and those who answered ‘yes’ to having children living with them in the US. Over 60% of respondents who have children living with them in the US have at least one child under the age of five. Over 85% have at least one child under the age of 10.

Table 3.6: Children

	n	%
Have no children	748	47.3
Have children living in the US	697	44.1
Have children living in Australia	146	9.2
Have children living in a country other than the US and Australia	31	2.0

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

Table 3.7: Age of children living in the US

	n	%	%(n=697)*
Birth to 1 year	150	9.5	21.5
1 - 5 years	270	17.1	38.7
6 – 10 years	174	11.0	25.0
11 - 15 years	148	9.4	21.2
16 - 18 years	83	5.2	11.9
Over 18 years	181	11.4	26.0
Have no children living in the US	544	34.4	
Not stated	31	2.0	
Total	1581	100.0	

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Percent based on the number of respondents who have children living in the US.

4 Current situation in the US

4.1 US immigration status/visa type

65% of respondents are either a US citizen, resident or spouse of a resident and therefore do not require a US visa (Table 4.1). Of those respondents who do require a visa to live in the US, most are on a working visa.

Table 4.1: US immigration status/visa type

	n	%
Foreign government officials visa	46	2.9
Working visa	325	20.6
Treaty traders and investors (trade agreement visas)	46	2.9
Student visa	50	3.2
Fiancé of US citizen visa	17	1.1
US resident/spouse of resident	757	47.9
US citizen, no visa required	270	17.1
Other/unknown	70	4.4
Total	1581	100.0

4.2 Where respondents are living in the US

The most popular states of residence are shown in Table 4.2. It is clear that the largest percentages of respondents are living in California or New York. All US states were represented in responses except South Dakota.

The most popular US cities of residence are shown in Table 4.3. Many respondents live in or near a major US city.

Table 4.2: US state where currently living

	n	%
CA	281	17.8
NY	206	13.0
MA	120	7.6
TX	115	7.3
WA	94	5.9
VA	59	3.7
PA	53	3.4
CO	53	3.4
FL	50	3.2
AZ	30	1.9
MD	31	2.0
Other	489	30.9
Total	1581	100.0

Table 4.3: Top US cities where currently living*

	n	%
New York	155	9.8
Boston/Cambridge	88	5.6
Houston	63	4.0
Los Angeles	55	3.5
Seattle	49	3.1
San Francisco	40	2.5
Chicago	31	2.0
Washington DC	28	1.8
San Diego	26	1.6
Philadelphia	21	1.3
Total main cities	556	35.2

*Data on some cities may be underrepresented. Unknown suburbs of major cities may not have been recoded to major cities.

5 Employment and education

5.1 Employment status

Most respondents were full-time employed before going overseas (Table 5.1), and an even larger percentage are full-time employed currently (Table 5.2). A greater percentage of respondents were students before going overseas compared to currently, and more are ‘not in the workforce’ currently compared to before going overseas.

Table 5.1: Employment status before going overseas

	n	%
Employed full-time	1107	70.0
Employed part-time	116	7.3
Unemployed	31	2.0
Not in workforce	69	4.4
Student	196	12.4
Unknown	62	3.9
Total	1581	100.0

Table 5.2: Current employment status

	n	%
Employed full-time	1180	74.6
Employed part-time	109	6.9
Unemployed	30	1.9
Not in workforce	165	10.4
Student	83	5.2
Unknown	14	0.9
Total	1581	100.0

5.2 Information about current employment

Most employed respondents are Professionals, followed by Managers and Directors (Table 5.3). As shown in Table 5.4, important industries of current employment include Information Technology and Education. Most employed respondents are working for wages, salary or commission, while about 15% of respondents own their own business (Table 5.5). The majority of employed respondents are permanently employed, while 14% are employed on contract (Table 5.6).

Table 5.3: Current main occupation (n=1289)

	n	%(n=1289)*
Managers and Directors	288	22.3
Professionals	648	50.3
Associate Professionals	111	8.6
Tradespersons and Related workers	30	2.3
Advanced Clerical and Service workers	25	1.9
Intermediate Clerical Sales and Service workers	109	8.5
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	7	0.5
Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service workers	52	4.0
Labourers and related workers	14	1.1
Other	17	1.3

*Question only asked of respondents who said they were full-time or part-time employed.

Table 5.4: Industry currently employed in (n=1289)

	n	%(n=1289)
Information technology	161	12.5
Education	149	11.6
Banking and finance	103	8.0
Health	94	7.3
Media, arts	72	5.6
Energy	58	4.5
Government	57	4.4
Tourism and hospitality	38	2.9
Construction and building	29	2.2
Law	26	2.0
Real Estate	23	1.8
Business and consulting	21	1.6
Other	458	35.5

* Question only asked of respondents who said they were full-time or part-time employed.

Table 5.5: Current job type (n=1289)

	n	%(n=1289)*
Working for wages, salary or commission	1102	85.5
In own business and employing others	82	6.4
In own business but NOT employing others	101	7.8

* Question only asked of respondents who said they were full-time or part-time employed.

Table 5.6: Job permanent or contract

	n	% (n=1289)*
Permanent	1101	85.4
Contract	180	14.0

*Question only asked of respondent who said they were full-time or part-time employed.

5.3 Highest educational qualification

It is evident that survey respondents are generally a highly educated group; over 60% have at least a Bachelors/Honours degree; this includes over 25% who have a Masters or Doctoral degree (Table 5.7).

Most respondents acquired their highest educational qualification in Australia, followed by the US (Table 5.8). 17 countries were represented in responses to this question.

Table 5.7: Highest completed educational qualification

	n	%
Doctoral degree	178	11.3
Masters degree	257	16.3
Postgraduate diploma	115	7.3
Bachelors/Honours degree	479	30.3
Undergraduate diploma	181	11.4
Other degree/certificate	58	3.7
Some college	51	3.2
High school	128	8.1
Less than high school	23	1.5
Unknown	111	7.0
Total	1581	100.0

Table 5.8: Country where highest educational qualification completed

	n	%
Australia	990	62.6
USA	286	18.1
Other country	55	3.5
Not stated	250	15.8
Total	1581	100.0

6 Financial information

Over 45% of respondents stated an income between \$25,000 – 99,999 US dollars (Table 6.1). It is important to note that these results are based on total survey respondents, not just those who are currently employed.

Most respondents said that their individual and family financial situation had improved with their move to the US (Table 6.2). It is interesting that respondents were nearly twice as likely to say their *individual* financial situation got worse since moving to the US than to say that their *family* financial situation got worse since the move.

Table 6.1: Income group (US\$)

	n	%
Less than 25,000	197	12.5
25,000-49,999	279	17.6
50,000-74,999	246	15.6
75,000-99,999	223	14.1
100,000-124,999	166	10.5
125,000-149,999	115	7.3
150,000 - 174,999	55	3.5
175,000 - 199,999	42	2.7
200,000 - 300,000	74	4.7
More than 300,000	72	4.6
Refused to answer	51	3.2
Missing	61	3.9
Total	1581	100.0

Table 6.2: Change in individual and family financial situation since going to the US

	n	%
Individual financial situation		
improved	1077	68.1
got worse	212	13.4
stayed about the same	262	16.6
Family financial situation*		
improved	881	72.3
got worse	90	7.4
stayed about the same	201	16.5

*n=1218 for family financial situation change; 363 respondents answered ‘not applicable’ to this question.

7 Background before arrival in the US

Most respondents moved to the US from Australia (Table 7.1), and most who came from Australia had been living in New South Wales or Victoria (Table 7.2). It is not surprising then that Sydney and Melbourne were the most common capital cities for respondents to have been living in before their move to the US (Table 7.3). About 10% of respondents had been living in a country other than Australia before arriving moving to the US.

Table 7.1: Country left to go to the US

	n	%
Australia	1409	89.1
United Kingdom	67	4.2
Other	105	6.6
Total	1581	100.0

Table 7.2: State left to go to the US

	n	%
NSW	528	33.4
VIC	383	24.2
QLD	190	12.0
WA	122	7.7
SA	108	6.8
ACT	58	3.7
TAS	15	1.0
NT	12	0.8
Total Australia	1416	89.6
Overseas (not Australia)	150	9.5
Other USA	12	0.8
Not stated	3	0.2
Total	1581	100.0

Table 7.3: Main city left when moved to US

	n	%
Sydney	237	15.0
Melbourne	168	10.6
Brisbane	85	5.4
Perth	66	4.2
Adelaide	53	3.4
Canberra	42	2.7
Total Australian capital cities	651	41.2
London	38	2.4

*Cities may be underrepresented. Unknown suburbs of major cities may not have been recoded to major cities

7.1 Networks and knowledge about opportunities in the US before moving

Most survey respondents had contacts in place in the US before moving there (Table 7.4). The most common ways of learning about opportunities in the US were having ‘been to the US before’, followed by ‘existing networks in the US’ (Table 7.5).

Table 7.4: Contacts in place in US before moving there

	n	%
Yes	1094	69.2
No	453	28.7
Not stated	34	2.2
Total	1581	100.0

Table 7.5: How learned of opportunities in the US before moving there

	n	%
Been to the US before	503	31.8
Existing networks in the US	423	26.8
Independent search	358	22.6
Other (commented)	358	22.6
Partner/family going there	328	20.7
Networks in Australia	275	17.4
Experience of others who have travelled to the US	233	14.7

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

8 International mobility

8.1 Moves back to Australia and living in other countries

Most respondents have not moved back to Australia at any time since first moving to the US, however it is significant that 16% have done so (Table 8.1).

It is apparent that respondents are a very ‘global’ group; nearly half have lived in countries besides Australia and the USA (Table 8.2). This is especially noteworthy given the age structure of respondents, indicating that these individuals are doing a lot of travelling early in their lives and careers.

Table 8.3 shows that of those who had lived in a country besides Australia and the US, ‘international experience’ and ‘employment/business’ were the most frequently selected reasons for living elsewhere.

Table 8.1: Moved back to Australia at any time since moving to the US

	n	%
Yes	255	16.1
No	1303	82.4
Not stated	23	1.5
Total	1581	100.0

Table 8.2: Lived in other countries besides Australia and the US

	n	%
Yes	710	44.9
No	848	53.6
Not stated	23	1.5
Total	1581	100.0

Table 8.3: Reason for living in other countries besides Australia and the US

	n	%(n=710)*
International experience	411	57.9
Employment/business reasons	313	44.1
Lifestyle	155	21.8
Other (specified)**	114	16.1
Education/study related reasons	105	14.8
Partners employment	66	9.3
To be close to family and friends	66	9.3
Marriage/partnership	45	6.3

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Question only applies to respondents who answered 'yes' to having lived in another country besides Australia and the US.

** 'Other' responses included being born in a country besides Australia and the US (about 10% of respondents).

8.2 Visits to Australia

Over 85% of respondents have made at least one visit back to Australia since first arriving in the US; this includes over 45% who have made at least four trips to Australia (Table 8.4). Most respondent's stay an average of two weeks – one month on visits to Australia (Table 8.5), and almost all said one of the main reasons for these trips is to visit with family and friends, followed by the large number of respondents who said they travel to Australia for a holiday (Table 8.6).

Table 8.4: Number of visits to Australia since first arriving in US

	n	%
None	210	13.3
One	241	15.2
Two	187	11.8
Three	178	11.3
Four - five	243	15.4
More than five	502	31.8
Not stated	20	1.3
Total	1581	100.0

Table 8.5: Average length of stay on visits to Australia (n=1351)

	n	%(n=1351)*
Less than one week	20	1.5
One-two weeks	372	27.5
Two weeks to less than one month	648	48.0
One month to less than three months	248	18.4
Three months to less than six months	21	1.6
Six months or more	22	1.6

*Question only applies to respondents who had made at least one visit to Australia.

Table 8.6: Reasons for visits to Australia (n=1351)

	n	%(n=1351)*
Visit family and friends	1344	99.5
Holiday	593	43.9
Employment/business related reasons	248	18.4
To attend a conference/meeting	132	9.8
Other (specified)	71	5.3
Education	18	1.3

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Question applies only to respondents who had made at least one visit to Australia.

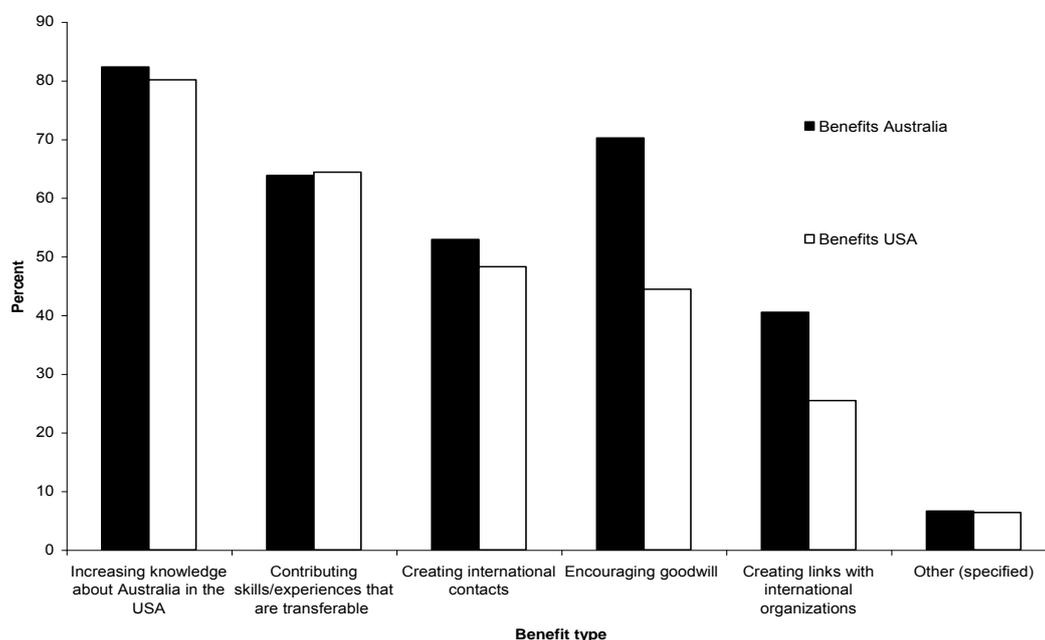
9 Opinions about the experience

Most think their presence in the US benefits both Australia and the US, however more respondents think the US benefits (Table 9.1). When it comes to opinions on how Australia and the US benefit from respondents presence in the US, most benefits are seen as equally important to both Australia and the US, but a larger percent think that Australia benefits more by ‘encouraging goodwill’ and ‘creating links with international organizations’ than does the US (Figure 9.1)

Table 9.1: Respondents opinion of whether their presence in the US benefits Australia and US

	Benefits Australia	Benefits USA
Yes	62.4	77.6
No	24.4	13.7
Undecided	11.4	8.7

Figure 9.1: Respondents opinion of how their presence in the US benefits Australia and the USA



10 Networks with Australia and Australians in the US

The majority of respondents have contact with other Australians in the US (Table 10.1). Most of this contact is social and employment/business related (Table 10.2).

39% of respondents said they participate in Australian clubs or organization in the US (Table 10.3).¹ Popular Australian clubs/organizations in the US are shown in Table 10.4. Percent of respondents in each club/organization are shown based both on total survey respondents and on the number of respondents who said they participate in Australian clubs/organizations. Advance was the organization of membership stated by the greatest number of respondents, followed by the American Australian Association.

Table 10.1: Have contact with other Australians in the US

	n	%
Yes	1210	76.5
No	371	23.5
Total	1581	100.0

Table 10.2: Type of contact with other Australians in the US (n=1210)

	n	%(n=1210)*
Social	1112	91.9
Employment/business related	546	45.1
Education/study related	116	9.6
Other (specified)	71	5.9

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Question only applies to respondents who do have contact with other Australians in the US.

Table 10.3: Participate in Australian clubs/organizations in the US

	n	%
Yes	623	39.4
No	715	45.2
Not stated	243	15.4
Total	1581	100.0

¹ It is interesting that there was not a higher rate of Australian club/organization membership stated, since it was assumed Australian clubs/organizations in the US were the major source of survey distribution.

Table 10.4: Australian clubs/organizations respondents are a part of in the US

	n	%	%(n=623)*
Advance	241	15.2	38.7
American Australian association	90	5.7	14.4
Australian rules football in the US	75	4.7	12.0
Australia-New Zealand groups	74	4.7	11.9
American Australian chamber of commerce	44	2.8	7.1
Mates up over (internet group)	32	2.0	5.1
Southern Cross group	23	1.5	3.7
Australian embassy/consulate	19	1.2	3.0
Other (stated)	7	0.4	1.1

*Percent of respondents in each organization based on total of those who said they do participate in Australian clubs/orgs.

11 Networks with Australia

As shown in Table 11.1, more than 90% of survey respondents keep contact with people and/or organizations in Australia. All keep social links, and many also keep information/current affairs and employment/business related links (Table 11.2).

Table 11.3 shows that of those respondents who keep contact with Australia, over 30% made a comment about the professional links they keep with Australia.

Over half of respondents who keep contact with Australia say they do so at least once per week (Table 11.4), and most keep in touch by email/internet (Table 11.5).

Table 11.1: Keep contact with people and/or organizations in Australia

	n	%
Yes	1480	93.6
No	76	4.8
Not stated	25	1.6
Total	1581	100.0

Table 11.2: Type of links kept with Australia (n=1480)

	n	%(n=1480)*
Social	1513	102.2**
Information/Current Affairs	834	56.4
Employment/business related	597	40.3
Education/study related	202	13.6
Other (specified)	58	3.9

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Question only applies to those who answered 'yes' to keeping contact with people/orgs in Australia.

**Percentage over 100 indicates that some people who answered 'no' to keeping contacts with Australia ticked this response.

Table 11.3: Comments about professional links kept with Australia

	n	%	%(n=1480)*
Comments	468	29.6	31.6

* Percent of respondents who left comments about professional links with Australia based on total of those who said they do participate in Australian people/orgs.

Table 11.4: Frequency of contact with Australia (n=1480)

	n	%(n=1480)*
At least once per week	756	51.1
Fortnightly	219	14.8
Monthly	250	16.9
Every three - six months	147	9.9
Less than every six months	72	4.9

*Question only applies respondents who keep contacts with people/organizations in Australia.

Table 11.5: Primary method of contact with Australia (n=1480)

	n	%(n=1480)*
Email/internet	1084	73.2
Telephone	341	23.0
Other (stated)**	97	6.6
Post	30	2.0

*Question only applies respondents who keep contacts with people/organizations in Australia.

**Vast majority of 'other' statements are respondents explaining they used multiple methods of contact equally; i.e. phone and email.

11.1 Other connections with Australia

Nearly 25% of respondents voted in the last Australian election²(Table 11.6), and over 80% of respondents say they ‘still call Australia home’ (Table 11.7).

Table 11.6: Vote in the last Australian election

	n	%
Yes	387	24.5
No	1163	73.6
Not stated	31	2.0
Total	1581	100.0

² The results from this question were meant as an indicator of connectedness to Australia, with the hypothesis that greater levels of participation in the last Australian election would represent higher levels of connectedness with Australia. However one of the major themes in respondent comments at the end of the questionnaire was about their desire to participate in Australian elections but their inability to participate for some reason. Therefore results to this question may not necessarily indicate lack of involvement in Australian affairs.

Table 11.7: Still consider Australia home

	n	%
Yes	1271	80.4
No	107	6.7
Undecided	178	11.3
Not stated	25	1.6
Total	1581	100.0

12 Assets in the US and Australia

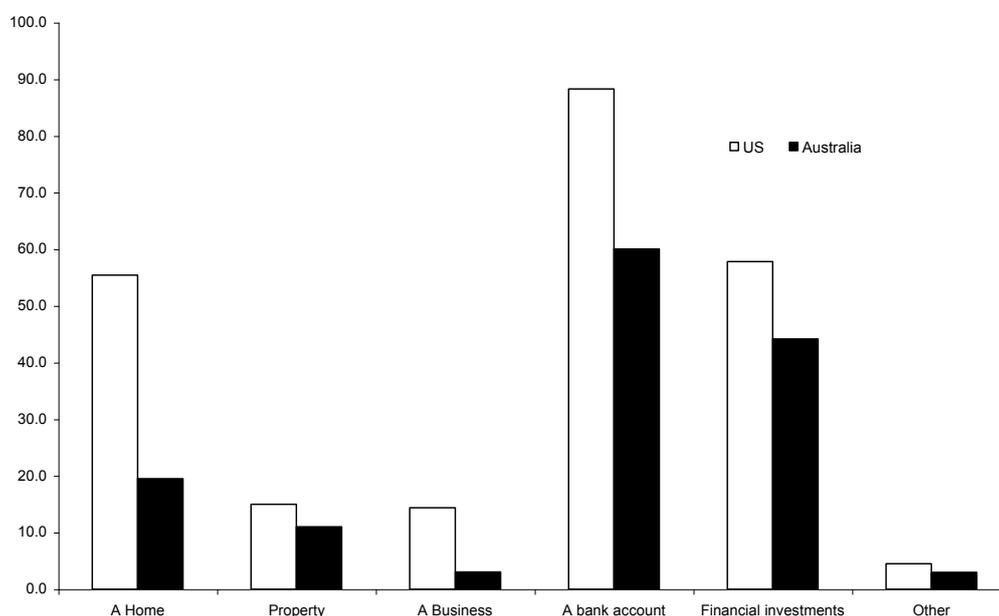
Nearly half of respondents are homeowners in the US (Table 12.1). ‘Renting’ follows as the second most common type of housing tenure.

Figure 12.1 shows the assets owned by respondents in the US and/or Australia. It is evident that respondents own a number of assets in Australia even though they are living in the US. Nearly 20% of respondents own a home in Australia and about 60% have an Australian bank account; many also have financial investments in Australia.

Table 12.1: Housing tenure in the US

	n	%
Homeowner	772	48.8
Purchasing home	106	6.7
Renting	643	40.7
Other/not stated	60	3.8
Total	1581	100.0

Figure 12.1: Assets owned in the US and/or Australia



13 Previous intentions and future plans

13.1 Change in length of stay in the US

Over 60% of respondents are staying in the US for more time than originally intended (Table 13.1), with more than half of respondents stating a reason for the change in their length of stay in the US as employment related; nearly half also said a change in family situation was a reason for the change in length of stay (Table 13.2).

Table 13.1: Length of stay in the US changed from intentions upon arrival

	n	%
Staying away for MORE time than originally intended	970	61.4
Staying away for LESS time than originally intended	29	1.8
No	552	34.9
Not stated	30	1.9
Total	1581	100.0

Table 13.2: Reasons for change in intended length of stay in the US

	n	%(n=999)*
Employment related reasons	611	61.2
Family situation changed	478	47.8
Lifestyle considerations	321	32.1
US visa situation changed	169	16.9
Other (specified)	159	15.9
Want to be close to friends and family	108	10.8
Education opportunities changed	106	10.6

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Question only applies to those who said they were staying in the US for more or less time than originally intended.

13.2 Future plans

Most respondents either plan to move back to Australia at some stage or are undecided if they will live in the US permanently (Table 13.3). 25% of respondents do plan to stay in the US permanently.

Of those who do not plan to live in the US permanently, over 30% are undecided about when they will leave the US and 18% don't plan to leave the US for at least five years (Table 13.4). About 35% plan to leave the US within two years.

Of those respondents who plan to leave the US at some stage, the most common reasons are to be close to family and friends and/or because they believe the lifestyle is better elsewhere (Table 13.5).

There were a number of important reasons given for being undecided/not planning to return to Australia (Table 13.6). Nearly half of respondents in this category said they were ‘established in their current location’, had better employment opportunities and incomes outside of Australia, and declare that marriage/partnership keeps them out of Australia.

Table 13.3: Plan to live in the US permanently

	n	%
No, plan to move back to Australia	565	35.7
No, plan to move to another country	85	5.4
Yes	401	25.4
Undecided	511	32.3
Not stated	19	1.2
Total	1581	100.0

Table 13.4: When plan to leave the US (n=650)

	n	%(n=650)*
Within one year	115	17.7
One - two years	112	17.2
Two - three years	94	14.5
Three - five years	94	14.5
More than five years	120	18.5
Undecided	215	33.1

*Question applies to only those who are planning to leave the US.

Table 13.5: Main reasons for plans to leave the US (n=650)

	n	%(n=650)*
To be close to family/friends	491	75.5
Lifestyle better elsewhere	432	66.5
Other (specified)	130	20.0
Work opportunities elsewhere	115	17.7
End of employment contract	82	12.6
US visa expires	79	12.2
Education opportunities elsewhere	39	6.0

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Question applies only to respondents who plan to leave the US.

Table 13.6: Reasons not/undecided if returning to Australia (n=912)

	n	%(n=912)*
Established in current location	489	53.6
Employment opportunities better outside of Australia	484	53.1
Marriage/partnership keeps me outside of Australia	459	50.3
Higher income outside of Australia	446	48.9
Partner's employment located outside of Australia	275	30.2
Cost of relocating back to Australia	260	28.5
Family/friends outside of Australia	227	24.9
Lifestyle more attractive outside of Australia	176	19.3
Other (specified)	140	15.4
Better educational institutions outside of Australia	126	13.8

Total does not equal 100% because multiple responses allowed.

*Question applies only to respondents who were undecided or planned to live in the US permanently.

13.3 Where returning in Australia

Over 50% of respondents who plan to return to Australia plan to live in Sydney or Melbourne (Table 13.7).

Table 13.7: If planning to return to Australia, city planning to live in (n=565)

	n	%(n=565)*
Sydney	178	31.5
Melbourne	127	22.5
Brisbane	62	11.0
Perth	56	9.9
Adelaide	31	5.5
Unsure but a capital city	23	4.1
Canberra	12	2.1

*Question only applies to respondents who said they planned to move back to Australia.

14 Survey sampling methodology

Non-probability sampling methods were used (meaning not every Australian in the US had an equal chance of answering the survey) to acquire survey respondents; therefore findings from the survey cannot be generalized to a wider population (all Australians living in the US). That said, a major aim in survey distribution was that information and links to the survey be given to as extensive an array of Australians in the US as possible, in order to capture a wide range of experiences. It is evident in data collected that respondents represent a diverse group of Australians living in the US.

14.1 Sampling frame

Those eligible to take the survey were Australians living in the United States including the following:

- Australia-born individuals
- Australian citizens
- Australia residents

It was not an essential criterion for respondents to be any of the above. 1,581 Australians living in the US answered the survey.

14.2 Sampling methods

Volunteer and snowball sampling methods were used in survey distribution. A variety of organizations with links to Australians in the US participated in getting the word out about this research (volunteer sampling). Survey respondents and other individuals with links to the relevant population were also asked to inform other Australians living in the US about the survey (snowball sampling).

Table 14.1 shows the type of organizations that participated in survey distribution (when known). Because there was no question in the survey on where the respondent had been notified about the study, there is no way to know how many people were referred to the survey from various sources. There is also likely to have been a lot of ‘snowball effect’ in getting word out about the survey, and there is no way to measure this.

Table 14.2 shows the US state where organizations known to have distributed links to the survey are based. In many cases, organizations that distributed the survey information were internet-based, therefore the state where the organization is headquartered is not important or is unknown.

Table 14.1: Type of organization used for survey distribution

	n
Social	8
Professional	6
Informational/networking	4

Table 14.2: State where distribution organization based, when known

	n
AZ	1
CA	4
IL	1
IN	1
MA	1
NY	2
WA	1
WI	2

14.3 Administrative information about survey response

Participating organizations and individuals distributed the survey at different times from February 2006 to June 2006. It is apparent in Table 14.3 that the vast majority of surveys were submitted in the month of April.

The only means of survey distribution was online, however there was the option to return the survey in email format or by post if preferred.

Table 14.4 shows that overwhelmingly surveys were submitted online.

Table 14.3: Month of survey submission

	n	%
Feb-06	62	3.9
Mar-06	4	0.3
Apr-06	1398	88.4
May-06	102	6.5
Jun-06	9	0.6
Unknown	6	0.4
Total	1581	100.0

Table 14.4: Method of survey response

	n	%
Online	1576	99.7
Email	2	0.1
Post	3	0.2
Total	1581	100.0

APPENDIX 10: Question guide used in interviews

How long have you lived in the USA?
What made you decide to move here?
Where are you living in the US...have you lived here the whole time you've been in the US?
What type of contact do you keep with Australia?
How often do you travel back to Australia to visit?
...had family/friends come out from Australia to visit you in the US?
Do you know other Australians living in the US?
Any major differences between life in the US compared to Australia?
Things you miss most about Australia?
Future plans: Plan to stay in the US permanently?

...why or why not?
...what would it take for you to move back to Australia?
How long did you plan to live in the US when you first arrived?
...if this length of time changed, why?
<p><i>Basic Information:</i></p> <p>Age:</p> <p>Sex:</p> <p>Country born:</p> <p>Where from in Australia:</p> <p>Country(s) of citizenship:</p> <p>Marital status:</p> <p>Children:</p> <p>Occupation:</p>
<p><i>Additional comments:</i></p>

APPENDIX 11: Follow-up email sent to potential interviewees

UNKNOWN RESIDENCE

Thank you very much for your response and willingness to participate in my research! Response to the survey/research has thus far been fantastic and I really look forward to sharing some interesting results.

I plan to be in the US in late September/early October to do interviews with Australians living there. All dates are tentative at the moment and it would help me if you could let me know where in the US you are living so I can plan my interviews to represent Australians living in different areas of the US.

I will certainly keep your name and contact details and will be in touch again at a later date. Thanks again!

Cheers,
Kelly

KNOWN RESIDENCE:

Thank you very much for your response and willingness to participate in my research! Response to the survey/research has thus far been fantastic and I really look forward to sharing some interesting results.

I plan to be in the US in late September/early October to do interviews with Australians living there. All dates are tentative at the moment but I will certainly keep your name and contact details and will be in touch again at a later date. Thanks again!

Cheers,
Kelly

Second follow-up email

Hello again Australians living in the USA!

Kelly Parker here, PhD student at The University of Adelaide researching Australians living in the US. It has now been a few months since the completion of my online survey, most of you should have received a report of the results via-email. The next phase of the project is soon set to begin; interviews. I am sending this email out to all of you who expressed interest in being interviewed for this project. Below are the dates I will be in various cities/states in the USA. If you are still willing and available to be interviewed, can you please let me know and we can arrange a time and place to meet.

Places and dates I will be in the USA:

New York, NY: 1-3 and 8-15 October

Atlanta, GA: 4-5 October

Raleigh-Durham, NC: 6-7 October

California: 17 October - 4 November (I will be based in the Sacramento area and will make trips around the State as needed).

Interviews will last approximately 30-45 minutes. I prefer to voice record the interviews, but if you are not comfortable with that it is not required. The interviews will be semi-structured; i.e. I have some set questions to ask of you, but I expect that many questions and topics of discussion will evolve as we talk. The purpose of these interviews in my study is to gain in-depth information about the unique experiences of individuals living in the US which may not have been captured in the more general online questionnaire. By combining the results of both the survey and interviews I hope to gain a well-rounded understanding of the experiences of Australians living in the US.

I am really looking forward to talking with you and hearing your stories! Thank you again so much for your participation in this study.

Kind regards,

Kelly

APPENDIX 12: Select information about Australian interviewees

Age	Sex	Country born	Where from in Australia	Country(s) of citizenship	Years lived in the US	Where living in the US
30	F	Australia	Melbourne	Australia	2	NY
60's	M	USA	unknown	Australia, USA	40+	PA
56	M	Australia	country NSW	Australia, USA	23	NC
34	M	Australia	Brisbane	Australia, Spain	3	NY
56	M	South Africa	Sydney	Australia, applying for USA	29	NY
45	M	Australia	Melbourne	Australia, applying for USA	18	NJ
32	M	Australia	Sydney	Australia, applying for USA	8	NY
40	M	Australia	Newcastle, NSW	Australia, applying for USA	11	NY
46	M	Australia	Sydney	Australia	7	NY
68	F	Australia	Melbourne	USA	39	MA
69	M	Australia	Melbourne	USA	38	MA
53	F	Australia	country NSW	Australia, applying for USA	24	CA
50	M	Australia	Melbourne	Australia, USA	23	CA
38	F	Australia	Brisbane	Australia, USA	7	CA
29	F	Australia	Adelaide	Australia, UK	7	CA
29	F	Australia	Melbourne	Australia	4	CA
45	M	Australia	Adelaide	Australia, USA	42	CA

APPENDIX 13: Submission to Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters



HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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31 May 2006

Committee Secretary
Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters
Department of House of Representatives
P.O. Box 6021
Parliament House
CANBERRA ACT 2600

Dear Committee

My name is Kelly Parker; I am a PhD student at the University of Adelaide under the supervision of Professor Graeme Hugo. My research explores the movement patterns and experiences of Australians currently living in the United States. As part of my research I designed a survey that was distributed to Australians living in the United States. I find some of the responses to this survey - namely answers to a question about voting the last Australian election and comments some respondents left at the end of the survey about voting issues - to be relevant to this inquiry. Based on comments from survey respondents, there appears to be a lack of clear and accurate information about the voting rights and procedures for Australians living overseas.

In the following document I have included responses and comments about voting from Australians living in the United States who answered my survey. It is my position that these comments support the claim that Australians overseas need to be provided with more information about their voting rights and procedures while overseas.

For your information I have also attached a copy of the survey questionnaire that was distributed to Australians in the United States for my research, as well as some supplementary tables based on preliminary analysis to provide some information on the survey sample. Thank you very much for your attention.

Yours sincerely

KELLY PARKER

Introduction

The purpose of this submission is to advise the committee of preliminary research findings that suggest Australians who are living or planning to live overseas need more information about their voting rights and procedures.

“Terms of reference” relating to this submission:

- The adequacy of electoral education of migrant citizens (Australian emigrants)
- The role of the Australian Electoral Commission and State and Territory Electoral Commissions in promoting electoral education

Research Findings

The information presented here is based on the findings from a survey given to Australians living in the United States as a part of PhD research. More than 1,500 Australians living in the United States answered the survey¹. One question in the survey was “Did you vote in the last Australian election?” 73.4 percent of respondents had not voted in the last Australian election². The intended purpose of placing this question in the survey was to use the answer as a possible illustration of a way Australians living overseas remain connected and engaged in their homeland, by continuing to vote even while living away. Other responses in the survey indicate that the group does keep strong links with Australia (94 percent of respondents said they did keep contacts with people and/or organizations in Australia³); therefore it was expected that rates of voting participation would be higher.

At the end of the survey was an open-ended section where respondents were free to leave comments with regard to the contents of the questionnaire. Apart from the single yes-or-no question mentioned above, nothing in the survey referred to voting and/or elections, yet the voting rights (or lack thereof) and the **lack of information** Australians in the USA felt

¹ Survey analysis is still in process; a brief summary of the available respondent characteristics can be found in Table 4 of the Appendix.

² See Appendix Tables 1-3 for more detailed information on the characteristics of those who voted in the last Australian election.

³ See Appendix Tables 5 and 6 for more detailed information on the contact respondents keep with Australia

they had received regarding their voting rights and opportunities as Australians overseas was one of the most common themes of respondent comments. I will provide some anonymous comments from survey respondents that are relevant to this submission to the inquiry.

Voting-related comments came under two major themes:

- 1) Respondents lacking information about their voting rights while overseas and/or lack of information specifically about elections.
- 2) Respondents who were aware they could not participate in Australia elections and were upset about that fact.

Comments regarding a lack of information about voting rights and procedures will be presented first, as this is most relevant to the inquiry. Other voting comments will also be included to support the idea that a lack of desire to be involved in Australian elections while living overseas is not the issue.

Comments relating to a lack of information about voting rights and opportunities

“I know a number of Australians over here and most are still very interested in what is happening at State and Federal levels Our Government doesn’t do a good job of keeping in touch with us, or letting us know how to keep in touch with them.”

“I’d like to vote in the Australian elections but it wasn’t possible when I first left Australia. Recently I heard that it is now possible to vote even if you are living abroad but when I went to apply it was too late to be in time to vote for the last election.”

“Hard to find information about voting in Australian elections, which I would have liked to do.”

“I didn’t know I could vote in any elections in Australia.”

“I am a proud Australian, but it is very easy to feel disconnected. Plus I’d love to be able to vote.”

“I requested a postal vote, but never received any documentation. I did want to participate.”

“I have always wondered about voting while absent...”

“Difficult to vote because being on the electoral roll triggers fines if I don’t vote in state and local elections. It is too difficult to keep up on state and local issues for voting purposes, however I would be interested in voting in Federal elections.”

“I am not on the voting role anymore because I used to get fined for not voting in local elections that I would not necessarily know about. It was easier to take my name off the electoral role, rather than be fined. The national and state elections are advertised and easier to find than local ones.”

“I tried to vote in the last election but since I had signed off the electoral roll when I left the country in 2000, I was told I had to re-register and could only do that in Australia.”

“I attempted to vote in the Australian election, yet was advised I’d been living outside of Australia for too long and my name has been taken off the electoral role. I believe that Australians living overseas should still be able to vote in Australian elections...”

Comments from respondents who would like to vote but cannot

“I would like to vote in Australian elections but am ineligible to do so due to length of residency outside of Australia can we fix this?”

“I’m unable to vote in either the US, as I’m not a citizen, or Australia, as I’m not a resident. I would like to be able to vote in Australia under certain circumstances...”

“Although I wished to vote in Australian elections, Australian laws currently prohibit me from voting”

“I have voted in every election that I was permitted to until my name was removed from the electoral roll and I became disenfranchised.”

“...question Y1 [voting question] could allow for changed voting patterns, there is a limit of 5 years to being registered as an international voter, I voted during the first five years abroad, but since have been struck off the electoral roll.”

“I didn’t vote in the Australian election because I was removed from the electoral roll.”

“Didn’t vote in the Australian election because I was kicked off the roll.”

“Need to be able to vote again, as we were dropped off the register many years and cannot get back on until we reside in Australia...”

“ I would very much like to vote in the Australian elections, but I am prohibited by antiquated laws based on my non-resident status. However, I continue to pay taxes in Australia, therefore I should be able to vote.”

“To my dismay I was told by the Australian consulate that I was not allowed to vote.”

“Having been out of the country for over 5 years, I have been removed from both the Federal and State electoral lists due to the fact that I am no longer paying taxes in Australia and because I have been away for more than 3 years. I find this to be a right which as an Australian citizen I should be able to exercise even if I never return to Australia. I am yet to understand the reasoning behind this, and would like to see a change to this rule so that Australians overseas my vote in elections no matter how long they have been out of the country.”

“ I would have voted in the last election, but am ineligible due to the amount of time I have spent living abroad.”

“I did not vote in Australian elections because of changed validity laws.”

“Did not vote because Aust Govt sent us a letter saying that we could no longer vote in elections in Australia. We are citizens but are residents in the USA. We disputed this but it seems we are not able to vote.”

“Think I should be able to vote and utilize Medicare benefits if I pay for these.”

Conclusion

It is hoped that presenting these comments collectively gives a louder voice to what appears to be a concern for many Australians living overseas. The comments included here show that for this group of people it is not the desire to participate in Australian elections while overseas that is lacking, but rather the correct information about voting rights and how to be involved that needs to be improved.

APPENDIX: Survey response data

(Survey analysis is still in process; these figures are what are available to this point)

Table 1: Respondents voting in last Australian election

	n	%
Yes	384	24.5
No	1152	73.5
Unknown	31	2.0
Total	1567	100.0

Table 2: Respondents who voted in last Australian election and years since first arrival in the USA

	n	%
5 years ago or less	250	65.1
6-10 years ago	80	20.8
11-15 years ago	20	5.2
16-20 years ago	8	2.1
More than 20 years ago	16	4.2
Unknown	10	2.6
Total	384	100.0

Table 3: Respondents who voted in last Australian election by age group

	n	%
Under 25	12	3.1
25-29	75	19.5
30-34	117	30.5
35-39	79	20.6
40-44	34	8.9
45-49	31	8.1
50-54	14	3.6
55+	19	4.9
Unknown	3	0.8
Total	384	100.0

Table 4: Survey respondents by age and sex

	Females		Males	
	n	%	n	%
Under 20	2	0.1	1	0.1
20-24	23	1.5	8	0.5
25-29	108	6.9	74	4.7
30-34	169	10.8	151	9.6
35-39	173	11.0	139	8.9
40-44	107	6.8	121	7.7
45-49	76	4.9	85	5.4
50-54	50	3.2	60	3.8
55-59	40	2.6	45	2.9
60-64	19	1.2	35	2.2
65+	18	1.1	27	1.7
Total	785	50.1	746	47.6

*Missing 2.3% age/sex values (36 responses)

Table 5: Respondents contact with people/organizations in Australia

	n	%
Yes	1468	93.7
No	74	4.7
Unknown	25	1.6
Total	1567	100.0

Table 6: Respondents who are in contact with Australia by type of contacts kept (n=1468)

	%
Social	99.1
Information/current affairs	55.0
Employment and professional	39.9
Education and study related	13.4

APPENDIX 14: Submission to support funding for an Australian Expatriate and Diaspora Office (email submission)

27 January 2008

Dear Prime Minister,

I am a PhD student at the University of Adelaide; my research explores the activities of the Australian diaspora in the United States. Findings from my research indicate:

- (1) Australians living overseas have characteristics that make them valuable assets to Australia.
- (2) Many Australians living overseas are unsure about their rights and responsibilities as overseas Australians.
- (2) Many Australians living overseas wish to remain engaged with Australia but are unclear how to do so.

It is evident that Australia has much to gain by better understanding and engaging with the diaspora. Transparent pathways to such engagement and understanding are essential. I thereby strongly support the Southern Cross Group's budget submission of 18 January 2008 calling for the establishment of an Australian Expatriate and Diaspora Office.

Yours sincerely,

Kelly Parker

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