

MIGRATION BETWEEN THE ASIA-PACIFIC AND AUSTRALIA – A DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

Of all the economic, social and demographic changes that have swept across Asia and the Pacific in the last three decades none have been so significant as the increase in personal mobility which has been both a cause, and a consequence, of wider economic, social and political transformation. In the last decade there has been a heightened awareness of the complex relationship between mobility and two areas of key importance in the region – economic and social development on the one hand and national and regional security on the other. This interest has been sharpened in the case of the latter by events such as September 11 and the Bali Bombing while the former has become a major focus of multilateral development assistance agencies, especially the World Bank (2006a), Asian Development Bank (2004), United Nations Population Division (2006a) and DFID (House of Commons 2004). The focus of new interest in the migration and development relationship has seen a shift in global discourse which previously concentrated almost entirely on ‘brain drain’ losses of human capital caused by emigration of skilled people from low income countries toward emphasis on the positive effects that migration can and does have on origin nations. As the former Secretary General of the United Nations put it:

‘The potential for migrants to help transform their native countries has captured the imaginations of national and local authorities, international institutions and the private sector. There is an emerging consensus that countries can co-operate to create triple wins, for migrants, for their countries of origin and for the societies that receive them’ (United Nations 2006a, 5).

This shift has seen renewed activity, both within Asia and the Pacific and outside of it, regarding the potential positive benefits to be gained from migration for poverty reduction and betterment of the lives of people in poor countries. Yet the empirical base on which the ‘triple win’ thinking is based is very meagre and this especially applies to the Asia-Pacific

region which by virtue of the fact that it has 55 percent of the global population and some of its most dynamic economies must loom large. The dearth of knowledge regarding the complex migration and development relationship is in part a function of the lack of comprehensive data relating to mobility within most of the region. This paper overcomes this problem by viewing Asia-Pacific mobility from the perspective of Australia.¹ Australia has one of the most comprehensive migration data systems of any country, which captures all flows into and out of the country and stocks of migrants every five years at its population census which includes a large number of migration related questions (Hugo 2004). Of course this perspective does not provide insights into the several elements of international migration of the region which do not impinge on Australia to any major extent. This involves particularly the massive unskilled labour migration between Asia-Pacific countries and to the Middle East (Hugo and Young [eds.] 2008). However, as will be demonstrated, the Australian perspective provides a unique insight into south-north migration.

Hence this paper seeks to review some of the consequences of migration between the countries of the Asia-Pacific region and Australia for development of origin countries. It begins with an examination of scale, composition and trends in population mobility between Australia and Asia-Pacific countries. It demonstrates that it is more realistic to depict Australia's migration relationship with Asia and the Pacific as a system involving a complex of two-way movements than as the 'north-south' displacement that is conventionally employed in the migration and development discourse. The paper demonstrates that there has been an exponential increase in movement to Australia from Asia and the Pacific in recent years but this has been overwhelmingly selective of highly skilled groups and it has only been in the last year that Australia has announced a pilot scheme to bring in temporary seasonal

¹ With a quarter of the population born in a foreign country and nearly half the population at any one time being an immigrant, the child of an immigrant or a temporary migrant Australia is one of the nations most influenced by international migration.

agricultural workers from the region. The consequences of the two-way movement for development in origin countries remain unclear since there has been little examination of these impacts. The paper assesses the limited information that is available and concludes that thus far the impacts have been limited. It is argued, however, that the strong circular dimension within the migration system opens up considerable potential for the positive development effects of migration to be enhanced. Migration can in no way be seen as a 'silver bullet' solution to poverty and lagging development in the region and is not a substitute for good governance and sound development policy. Nevertheless it can play a positive supporting and facilitating role in improving economic and social development in origin areas. Moreover in several of the small and vulnerable countries in the region migration can play a major role. However, for this to be achieved there needs to be a substantial shift in migration policy and thinking regarding migration not only in the origin countries but also in Australia.

SOME DATA CONSIDERATIONS

There has been a strong bias in migration research toward immigration and impact at the destination, usually a high income country, while emigration, and the impact on the origin, usually a low income nation, remain neglected. This bias has been highlighted by the increasing policy interest in the impact of emigration on development in low income economies. There has also been a bias toward what Ley and Kobayaski (2005, 112) term the 'narrative of departure, arrival and assimilation.' The focus has been on permanent settlement at the destination. However the paradigm shift in international migration research from permanent settlement to transnationalism has seen greater attention being paid to return and circular migration between origin and destination. Nowhere is the bias towards immigration and permanent settlement at the destination more evident than in international

migration *data collection*. In most countries the data collected relates only to immigration and not emigration and they also focus on permanent movement (Dumont and Lemaitre 2005; Schachter 2006).

Australia and New Zealand are rare exceptions with respect to both these issues. All² persons entering and leaving Australia are asked questions about country of birth, date of birth, gender, occupation, country of origin/destination, intended/actual length of residence in Australia (or in the case of Australians leaving, abroad) and reasons for moving. The Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship divides them into three categories according to the length of time they intend to stay in Australia for arrivals or be away from Australia for departures:

- *Short Term movers* – Australian residents and citizens whose intended stay abroad is less than 12 months and Foreign visitors whose intended stay in Australia is less than 12 months.
- *Long Term movements* – departures of Australian residents and citizens who intend to return but with the intended length of stay abroad being 12 months or more and Foreign visitors with temporary residence who intend to leave Australia but after a period of more than 12 months.
- *Permanent movements* – Australian residents and citizens (including former settlers) departing with the stated intention of residing abroad permanently. Foreigners arriving with the stated intention of remaining permanently in Australia.

Of course people's intentions do not always eventuate and they can change their minds as to the degree of permanency of their move. Osborne (2004), for example, examined the mobility of people who indicated they left Australia 'permanently' in 1998-99. However he established that by mid 2003 some 24 percent had returned to Australia. Clearly this

² The island nature of Australia means that clandestine international migration is extremely small.

would be counterbalanced to some extent by those who indicated they were leaving on a long term basis but in fact changed their mind and stayed away permanently. Nevertheless the Australian data do provide a good indication of the totality of permanent and temporary migration to and from Australia while in other countries the data only refer to immigration.

An additional dimension of Australian arrival/departure data is that, as from July 1998, a Personal Identifier (PID) number has been assigned to every individual moving to and from the country. This enables the movement history of individuals into and out of Australia to be traced. In the context of the present paper, data on all Asia-born individuals arriving to, and departing from Australia over the 1998-2006 period which show all the moves those individuals subsequently make were obtained. This has allowed us to construct the migration history of those individuals over the period. Hence, we can establish the extent to which permanent arrivals from Asia have returned on a permanent or temporary basis to their homeland and the extent to which they have moved to third countries.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT MIGRATION FROM ASIA AND THE PACIFIC TO AUSTRALIA

Since the abolition of the last vestiges of the infamous White Australia Policy in the 1950s, there has been an increase in permanent settlement of Asians in Australia. There has been a permanent settler immigration of 561,532 Asians to Australia over the 1994-2008 period comprising 38.2 percent of the total 1.47 million settler arrivals over those fourteen years. The numbers fluctuated between 25,339 in 1997-98 and 63,121 in 2007-08 but a general upward trajectory is evident in the last couple of years. The relative significance of the four Asian sub-regions has fluctuated over the period with South Asians recording the most rapid increase in recent years. Asian countries account for seven of the ten top birthplace countries of migrant settlers over the 1994-2008 period with the largest numbers

being from China (117,558), India (95,142), Philippines (53,471), Vietnam (36,602), Indonesia (32,934) and Hong Kong SAR (27,666).

Table 1: Australia: Visa Category of Settler Arrivals from Asia, 1993-2007
Source: DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues

Year	Family	Skill	Humanitarian	Other	Total	Ratio of Family to Skill in Migration from Asia	Total Intake Ratio of Family to Skill
1993-94	12,552	10,202	4,206	806	27,766	1.23	1.22
1994-95	14,690	13,157	3,198	1,331	32,376	1.17	1.04
1995-96	21,885	13,841	2,376	1,422	39,524	1.62	1.36
1996-97	14,481	13,665	2,302	1,636	32,084	1.06	1.01
1997-98	10,381	12,065	1,326	1,475	25,247	0.86	0.81
1998-99	11,275	12,987	921	1,936	27,119	0.87	0.77
1999-2000	9,644	15,937	882	4,594	31,057	0.60	0.62
2000-01*	10,000	19,818	654	6	30,478	0.50	0.51
2001-02	9,546	13,895	706	1,745	25,892	0.69	0.65
2002-03	13,755	19,532	1,092	1,303	35,682	0.70	0.73
2003-04	15,042	24,554	1,276	1,486	42,358	0.61	0.57
2004-05	17,282	28,178	1,262	1,683	48,404	0.61	0.62
2005-06	18,509	29,505	2,448	1,660	52,122	0.63	0.58
2006-07	21,640	30,570	3,585	1,662	57,457	0.71	0.61
2007-08	22,361	34,064	4,005	2,690	63,120	0.86	0.58

* 2000-01 data is presented using the Settlement Database and excludes Non-Program Migration.

Australia's permanent settlement program for immigrants has four components – skill, family, refugee-humanitarian and special migration. Table 1 shows that over the last 14 years the mix of policy categories among settler arrivals from Asia has changed. While in the early part of the period family reunion migrants outnumbered skilled migrants in the Asian intake, there are now more than two skilled Asian migrants for every family migration settler. This mirrors an increased focus on skill in the Australian immigration program since the mid 1990s. It will be noted too that there has been a reduction in refugee-humanitarian arrivals with the decreased numbers of refugees in Asia although in more recent years Afghanistan and Burma have provided significant numbers (Hugo 2005). The high skill profile of settler arrivals from Asia is also evident in their occupational profile.

Over the 1997-2007 period 49.3 percent of Asian arrivals were in the workforce compared with 35.1 percent for the entire settler intake. Table 2 compares the occupational breakdown of Asian settler arrivals with those of the total intake and this shows that while 65.9 percent of Asian settlers were professionals or managers, this was the case for only 53.8 percent of the total intake. Asians are under represented in the other two high skill categories (17.8 percent compared with 27.5 percent) and are also under represented in the intermediate and lower skilled occupations. Hence overall, at a time when the skill profile of Australian permanent settlers has increased substantially, the skill profile of the Asian intake has been higher than that of total settler arrivals. Hence from a development perspective there is increased potential for brain drain affects due to increased loss of skilled human capital from poorer Asia-Pacific countries.

Table 2: Australia: Settler Arrivals of Asia-Born and Total Persons by Occupation, 1997-98 to 2006-07

Source: DIAC Overseas Arrivals and Departures

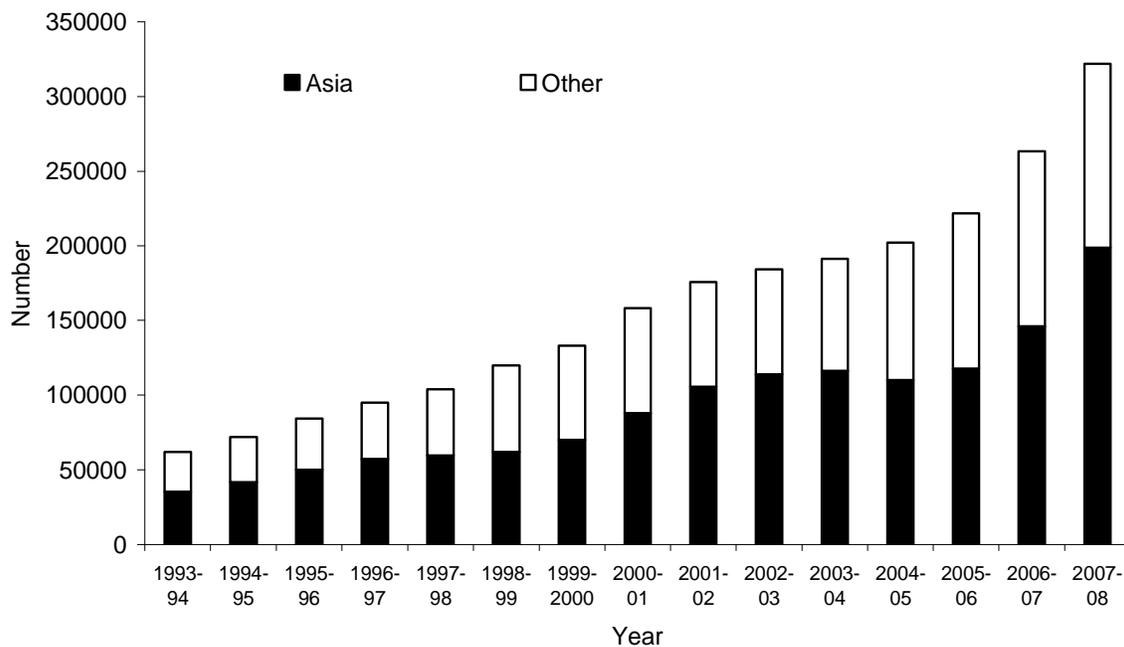
	Asia-Born		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%
Manager and Administrators	24,777	13.5	41,073	12.5
Professionals	96,491	52.5	135,875	41.3
Associate Professionals	18,210	9.9	34,864	10.6
Tradespersons	14,455	7.9	55,464	16.9
Adv Clerical and Sales	3,866	2.1	3,871	1.2
Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service	14,930	8.1	25,035	7.6
Int Production and Transport	2,169	1.2	12,088	3.7
Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service	7,261	3.9	12,078	3.7
Labourers	1,771	1.0	8,659	2.6
Total	183,930	100.0	329,007	100.0

CIRCULAR MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA FROM ASIA

However, the permanent settlement program only reflects a part of Asia-Pacific skilled migration to Australia. Perhaps the most striking change in Australian immigration

over the last decade has been the increased non-permanent immigration of workers (Hugo 1999). Hitherto, Australia's immigration policy had eschewed temporary worker migration in favour of an overwhelming focus on permanent settlement. This is reflected in the number of long term arrivals of foreigners as is reflected in Figure 1 which indicates that Asia has

Figure 1: Australia: Long-Term Visitor Arrivals by Birthplace, 1993-94 to 2007-08
Source: DIAC unpublished data



been an important source of such arrivals. As is the case with permanent arrivals, the long term migrants from Asia have a high skill profile. Table 3 shows that 74.5 percent of long term arrivals from Asia were in the top three occupational categories compared with 71.1 percent of the total intake over the 1997-2008 period. Hence, the increased intake of skilled workers from Asia in the last decade or so has not only been in the traditionally important permanent migration program but this has been supplemented by a large intake of skilled temporary residents. Long term arrivals include only those persons who intend

staying in Australia for more than twelve months and many of the new temporary migrant worker visa holders coming to Australia from Asia would be classified as short term arrivals (intend staying less than one year) and, hence, not be included in this table.

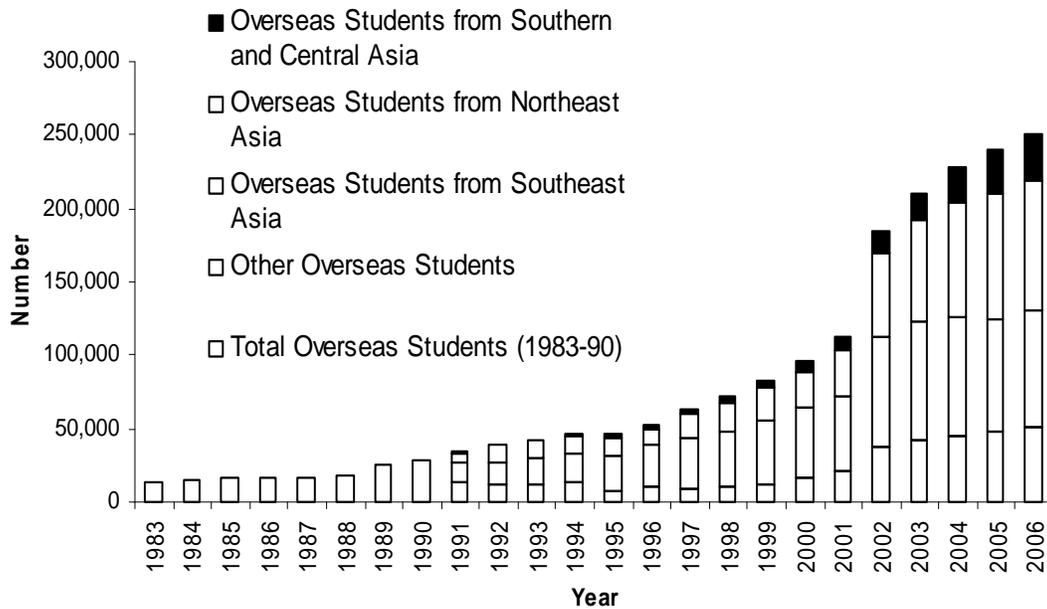
Table 3: Australia: Long Term Arrivals of Asia-born and Total Persons by Occupation, 1997-98 to 2007-08

Source: DIAC Overseas Arrivals and Departures

	Asia-born		Total	
	No	%	No	%
Manager and Administrators	61,808	16.8	215,458	15.5
Professionals	167,167	45.5	646,539	46.4
Associate Professionals	45,716	12.4	139,317	10.0
Tradespersons	25,001	6.8	115,235	8.3
Adv Clerical and Sales	7,143	1.9	36,659	2.6
Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service	38,969	10.6	154,780	11.1
Int Production and Transport	2,581	0.7	21,094	1.5
Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service	17,313	4.7	50,531	3.6
Labourers	1,529	0.4	14,622	1.0
	367,227	100.0	1,394,235	100.0

One of the largest categories of skilled temporary residents with the right to work are foreign students and Figure 2 shows that there has been a rapid increase in the number of foreigners moving to Australia to study and Asians have made up around three quarters of them. On 30 June 2007 there were 248,500 people on student visas in Australia and in the year 2007-08, there were 409,136 arrivals on student visas, 311,543 (76.1 percent) from Asia. Of the largest ten countries of origin, eight are Asian –India (12 percent), China (22 percent), Korea and Malaysia (6 percent), Hong Kong and Thailand and Indonesia (4 percent) and Japan (3 percent).

Figure 2: Overseas Students in Australian Universities, 1983-2006
 Source: DEST, *Students: Selected Higher Education Statistics*, various issues



In mid 2008 there were 134,238 persons on 457³ – Business Long Stay Visas resident in Australia (a 29 percent increase over the previous year). Asians are not as prominent as among students but they account for 39 percent of 457 arrivals and of the top ten origin nations four are Asian (India – 10.1 percent, Philippines – 8.8 percent, China – 6.8 percent and Japan – 2.8 percent). Some 368,333 Short Term Business Visa's were granted (a 8.5 percent annual rate of increase) and China was the largest origin country (21 percent), Japan (6 percent), India (6 percent), Thailand (3 percent), Indonesia (3 percent) and Singapore (3 percent) were also in the 10 largest sources (DIMA 2007, 62). It is important to point out that eligibility for a 457 (Long Term Business) Visa is to have an occupation in the top four Australian Standard Classification of Occupation (ASCO) categories (Table 3) so again a strong skill selectivity applies.

³ This visa category is analogous to the HB1 visa in the United States.

An important emerging feature of Australian skilled immigration is the strong nexus which has developed between temporary migration on the one hand and permanent settlement on the other. Since around 2000 the proportion of persons granted permanent residence as settlers who are made up of ‘onshore’ candidates, people already in Australia on some form of temporary visa, has increased to reach 27.5 percent in 2007-08. In this context it can be observed that Asians make the transition from temporary to permanent residence greater than other birthplace groups. In 2007-08 they made up a higher proportion of onshore migrants (54.9 percent) than of offshore arrivals (42.3 percent). Hence, as Australia moves more toward a system whereby a large proportion of settlers initially enter the country as temporary migrants of one kind or another (as is already the case in New Zealand and the United States) this new pattern is stronger among Asians than among immigrants from other regions. Over the 2002-08 period, almost a third of all Asian permanent additions to the Australian population were onshore settlers. It is also important to point out that skilled migrants are more prominent among Asian onshore settlers than they are among settler arrivals.

Table 4: Australia: Visa Category of Permanent Additions from Asia, 2002-08
Source: DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues

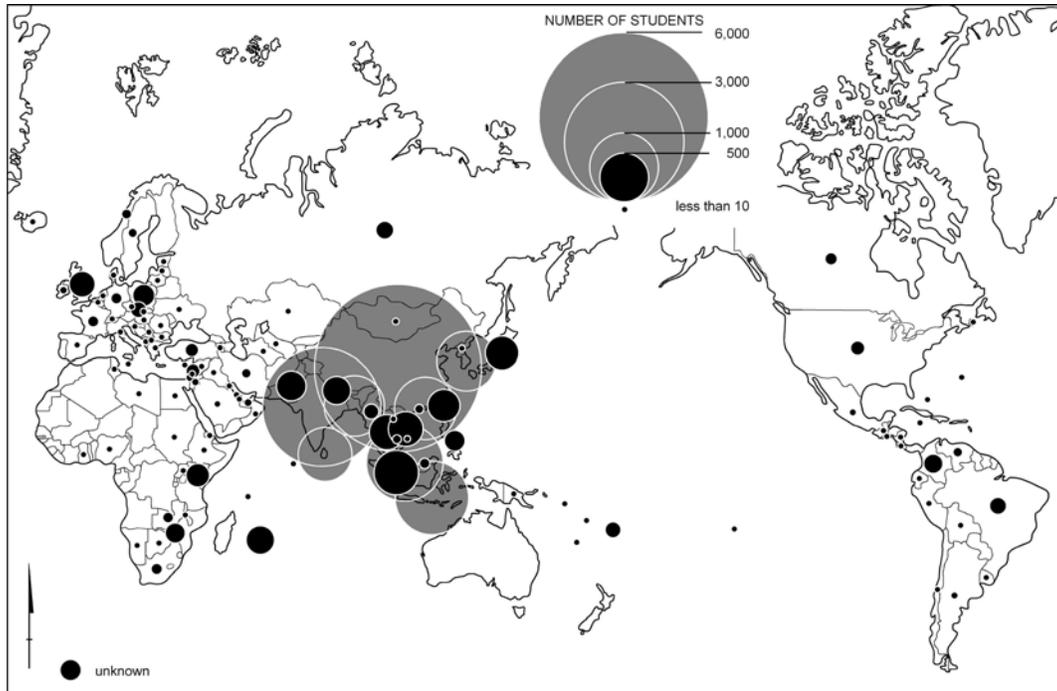
Visa Category	Onshore		Offshore		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Skill	113,752	77.3	166,903	55.7	280,655	62.8
Family	28,427	19.3	108,589	36.2	137,016	30.7
Refugee-Humanitarian	3,338	2.3	13,668	4.6	17,006	3.8
Other	1,630	1.1	10,484	3.5	12,114	2.7
Total	147,147	100.0	299,644	100.0	446,791	100.0

Table 4 shows that over the 2002-08 period skilled migrants made up three quarters of onshore migrants from Asia compared with 55.7 percent of the offshore permanent arrivals.

Hence, the growing onshore component of Asia-Australian migration is even more skill focussed than the longstanding offshore settlement part.

Figure 3: Australia: Overseas Students Transferring to Permanent Residence by Country of Citizenship, 2005-06

Source: DIAC unpublished data

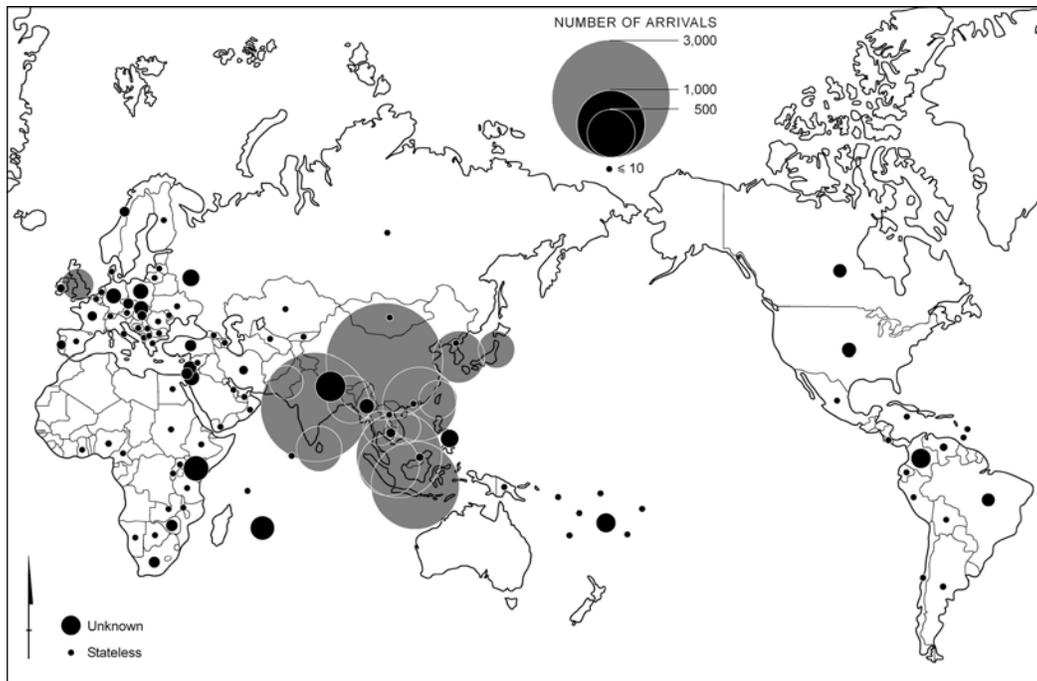


Since 1999 a number of changes in regulations have favoured temporary migrants changing to permanent residence. This has included regulations which have made it possible for some foreigners on student visas to gain permanent residence without returning to their origin country. Hence, in 2005-06 some 17,896 students in Australia changed their status to permanent residence, 89.6 percent were from Asia and Figure 3 shows the dominance of the origin countries of this group. The nexus between student migration and eventual permanent settlement is becoming an increasingly important process in skilled migration, not only in Australia but throughout the OECD region. Ongoing research is showing that the possibility

of eventually obtaining permanent residence in Australia is increasingly a motivation for Asian students choosing to study in Australia (Hugo and Tan 2007).

Figure 4: Australia: Number of Skilled Stream Outcome Principles with Points for Australian Qualification by Citizenship, 2004-05

Source: Unpublished data supplied by DIAC



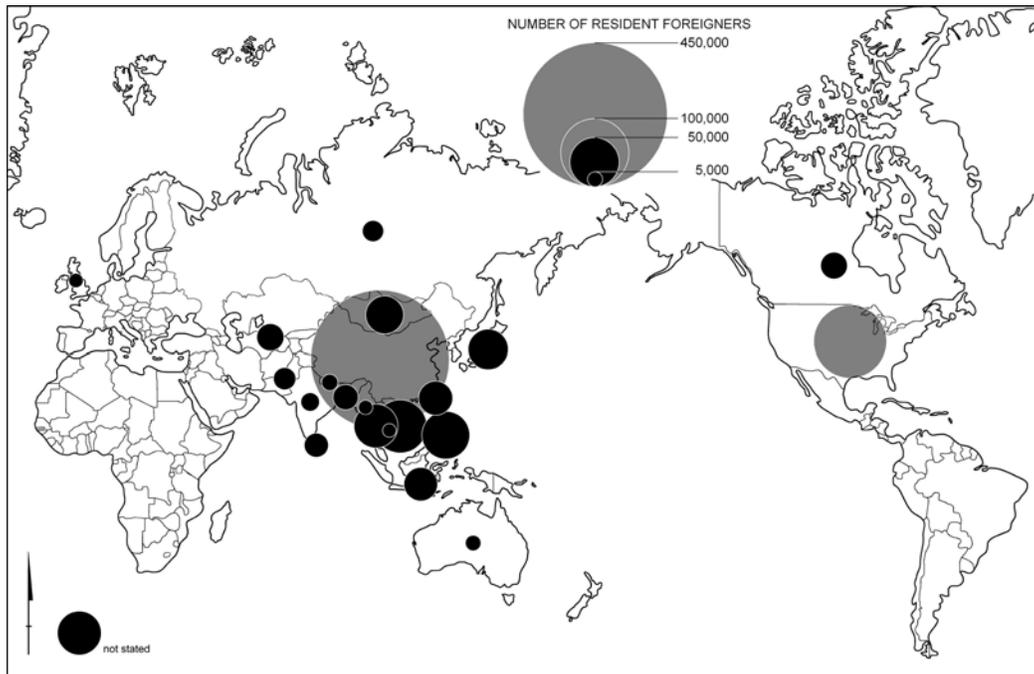
The link between studying in Australia and eventually permanent settlement is not confined to students seeking permanent residence immediately after completing their studies. The Australian Points Assessment Scheme for selection of skilled settlers now gives points for having an Australian qualification so large numbers of former students who studied in Australia and then returned to their origin country have subsequently come back to Australia as settlers. Accordingly, in 2004-05 some 15,719 new arrivals had an Australian qualification and Figure 4 shows that among this group Asians are again dominant accounting for 88.9 percent of such arrivals.

A MORE COMPLEX PROCESS – THE ROLE OF RETURN MIGRATION

Too often so-called south-north skilled migration is depicted as a one-way flow from less developed countries in regions like Asia to OECD countries. However there are three important processes, which emphatically negate this view. The first is that there is considerable *intra-regional* south-south skilled migration within Asia not only from less developed to more developed countries in the region but in the opposite direction as well. There are increasing numbers of skilled migrants moving between countries. South Korea, for example, has almost 1 million resident foreigners and Figure 5 shows most are from other Asian nations.

Figure 5: Number of Resident Foreigners in Korea by Country of Origin, 31 May 2007

Source: Korea Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice



Singapore, too, is a major destination of skilled Asians although it does not release data on its immigrants (Fong 2006) but it is considered that of its 4.7 million residents,

around 1.7 million are foreigners of whom around 1 million are permanent residents and 700,000 temporary workers. Skilled workers are dominant in the first group and make up about half of the second. China's rapid economic growth has attracted skilled workers from all over Asia with Taiwan expressing concern at the brain drain to the mainland.

The second element of complexity in Asian skilled migration is the counter flow to the predominant trend of migration of skilled persons from Asia to OECD nations like Australia. As Dumont and Lemaitre (2005) have pointed out, this flow is significantly underestimated in size and influence by analysts and policy makers largely because there is little or no data on its scale. On the one hand, destination nations rarely collect information on who leaves the country and concentrate only on immigration, on the other, source countries have little data on immigration at all, especially immigrants who are citizens returning after a sojourn abroad. Australian data is an exception since information is collected on all who leave the nation and can provide some insights into this flow. Table 5 provides data on permanent departures from Australia to Asia-Pacific countries over the 1994-2006 period and these are divided into two groups:

- (a) The foreign-born who mainly represent *return migration* and *third country migration* of former settlers (61.0 percent of the migrants from Australia to Asia).
- (b) The Australia-born who are partly the Australia-born children of those returnees but who are predominantly Australian citizens of long standing moving for one reason or another to an Asian country (39.0 percent) as the reciprocal migration referred to earlier.

It is shown in the table that the permanent outflow from Australia over the study period is a third the size of the inflow although its significance varies from nation to nation.

Table 5: Australia: Asian Country of Origin, Permanent Arrivals and Permanent Departures (Overseas and Australia-Born), 1994-95 to 2005-06
Source: *DIAC Overseas Arrivals and Departures*

Country of Origin	Settler Arrivals	Permanent Departures Overseas born	Permanent Departures Australia born	Permanent Departures	Permanent Departures as percent of Settler Arrivals
South East Asia					
Mainland					
Burma (Myanmar)	2,027	43	66	109	5.4
Cambodia	5,493	346	219	565	10.3
Laos	478	145	120	265	55.4
Thailand	15,075	3,193	3,341	6,534	43.3
Vietnam	26,946	4,627	1,554	6,181	22.9
Maritime SE Asia					
Brunei	1,378	499	981	1,480	107.4
East Timor	92	80	88	168	182.6
Indonesia	28,686	5,573	4,447	10,020	34.9
Malaysia	29,214	3,085	3,187	6,272	21.5
Philippines	38,639	1,816	1,233	3,049	7.9
Singapore	43,394	9,114	13,547	22,661	52.2
Total South East Asia	191,422	28,521	28,783	57,304	29.9
North East Asia					
Chinese Asia					
China	75,563	16,144	5,130	21,274	28.2
Hong Kong	37,797	26,660	12,967	39,627	104.8
Macau	681	219	233	452	66.4
Mongolia	35	15	28	43	122.9
Taiwan	14,194	6,604	848	7,452	52.5
Japan and the Koreas					
Japan	8,757	3,592	4,525	8,117	92.7
Korea, Dem People' Rep	10	1	0	1	10.0
Korea, Rep of	9,712	2,901	777	3,678	37.9
Total North East Asia	146,749	56,136	24,508	80,644	55.0
Southern Asia					
Bangladesh	4,838	81	36	117	2.4
Bhutan	4	2	0	2	50.0
India	44,097	856	571	1,427	3.2
Maldives	34	28	82	110	323.5
Nepal	940	8	22	30	3.2
Pakistan	14,484	193	95	288	2.0
Sri Lanka	14,064	304	140	444	3.2
Afghanistan	1,372	32	27	59	4.3
Total Southern Asia	79,833	1,504	973	2,477	3.1
TOTAL ASIA	418,004	86,161	54,264	140,425	33.6
Pacific					
Norfolk Island	68	430	1258	1688	2482.4
New Caledonia	211	316	267	583	276.3
Papua New Guinea	3413	1283	3315	4598	134.7
Solomon Islands	418	198	457	655	156.7
Vanuatu	340	447	1352	1799	529.1
Guam	41	36	131	167	407.3
Kiribati	76	27	71	98	128.9
Nauru	64	57	89	146	228.1
Cook Islands	544	303	147	450	82.7
Fiji	19377	1253	1491	2744	14.2
French Polynesia	61	57	52	109	178.7
Samoa	1496	939	435	1374	91.8
Tonga	1321	633	343	976	73.9
Tuvalu	90	3	12	15	16.7
Other Pacific (not incl NZ)	63	35	69	104	165.1
Total Pacific	27583	6017	9489	15506	56.2

Note Pacific Countries are for 1994-95 to 2006-07

The migration of the overseas-born from Australia to Asian destinations is predominantly return migration. Some striking differences between Asian countries in the extent of return migration is in evidence, but there are interesting contrasts between the three Asian regional groupings of countries. Hence there have been 56,136 return migrants to North East Asian countries – equivalent to 38.3 percent of arrivals suggesting a return rate of over one in three immigrants. Most important here are Hong Kong returnees which is part of a wider pattern of circulation of Hong Kong immigrants to Australia with their homeland involving ‘astronauting’ (Pe Pua *et al.* 1996). It also is associated with significant numbers of Hong Kongers taking out Australian citizenship before the 1997 handover to China (Skeldon 1994) and significant numbers subsequently returning to China. Similar patterns have been observed and analysed in Canada (Ley and Kobayashi 2005). There is also a substantial return migration to Japan which is a longstanding feature of Australian-Asian migration (Hugo 1994) with many Japanese coming to Australia on long term company transfer with the intention of returning home on completion of that assignment (Iguchi 2008). Perhaps more surprising in Table 5 is the large proportion of Chinese and, to a lesser extent South Koreans, who have returned home. With 75,563 permanent arrivals between 1994 and 2006 the China-born have been the largest Asian-Australian migration flow. However, despite the relative recency of the large China flows the return flow is substantial, equivalent to 21.4 percent of the inflow. For South Koreans it is 29.9 percent. It is clear from fieldwork that this reflects a considerable extent of bilocality with many Chinese and South Korea origin Australians maintaining work, family and housing in both countries and are circulating between them.

For Southeast Asia overall the amount of return migration has been somewhat less – equivalent to 14.9 percent of the inflow. It nevertheless has been significant, especially in Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. Even for Vietnam there has been a significant

backflow. This is a recent phenomenon. Much of the Vietnamese migration to Australia was of refugee-humanitarian migrants and occurred in the first 15 years following reunification in 1975 (Viviani 1996) and was characterised at that time by a very low rate of return migration (Hugo 1994). However, it is apparent that with *doi moi* and the opening of the Vietnamese economy that an increasing number of Vietnamese-Australians have returned to their birthplace and taken advantage of the liberalisation of the economy to invest and set up businesses.

Perhaps the most striking figures are for South Asia where rates of return are extremely low, especially for India where there have been 51.5 immigrants for every returnee. This may be partly a function of the recency of much of the South Asian, especially Indian, immigration to Australia but it still contrasts greatly with the China flows which also are mainly quite recent.

If we focus only on the 1997-2008 period, there were 209,496 Asia-born workers who migrated permanently to Australia but 59,931 Asia-born (equivalent to 28.6 percent) who moved in the opposite direction. Table 6 shows the breakdown by occupation of arrivals and departures and indicates that while Australia experienced a substantial net gain in the high skill categories, the flow of skill in the opposite direction is by no means insignificant.

Return migration is a longstanding feature of Australia's international migration. Hugo (1994) estimated that about a quarter of settler arrivals in post-World War II Australia subsequently remigrated out of Australia. Much of the return movement occurs within the first seven years of settlement. Hence in examining the pattern of Asian return migration it is important to recognise that there are considerable differences between origin countries in the timing of migration to Australia. This is evident in Table 7 which shows the proportion of different Asian countries enumerated in the 2006 population census who had arrived in Australia during the 2001-06 intercensal period. It shows, for example, that the proportion is

quite low for the Vietnamese because much of the community arrived in Australia in the 1970s and 1980s as refugee-humanitarian migrants (Hugo 1990). On the other hand for India, China, Korea and Japan the proportion arriving in recent years are very large reflecting the increased focus on skill in the Australian migration program at the expense of family migration.

Table 6: Australia: Asia-born Permanent Arrivals and Departures by Occupation, 1997-98 to 2007-08

Source: DIAC Overseas Arrivals and Departures

	Permanent Arrivals	Permanent Departures	Net Gain	Net Gain as Percent of Total Arrivals
1. Manager and Administrators	28,342	11,707	16,635	58.7
2. Professionals	108,689	19,335	89,354	82.2
3. Associate Professionals	21,880	11,313	10,567	48.3
4. Tradespersons	16,732	3,411	13,321	79.6
5. Adv Clerical and Sales	4,314	1,259	3,055	70.8
6. Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service	17,390	6,467	10,923	62.8
7. Int Production and Transport	2,420	1,375	1,045	43.2
8. Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service	7,645	3,458	4,187	54.8
9. Labourers	2,084	1,606	478	22.9
Total	209,496	59,931	149,565	71.4

Table 7: Australia: Asia-Born According to Their Length of Residence in Australia, 2006

Source: ABS 2006 Census

	Year of Arrival 2001-2006	Percent Arrived 2001-2006	Year of Arrival Not Stated	Total
China (excl. SARs and Taiwan Province)	71,712	36.5	10,312	206,590
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	13,360	19.3	2,567	71,793
India	59,853	42.2	5,417	147,101
Indonesia	16,882	34.6	2,188	50,974
Japan	12,329	44.2	2,879	30,778
Korea, Republic of (South)	20,880	43.7	4,956	52,763
Malaysia	23,167	26.1	3,533	92,347
Philippines	22,910	19.8	4,921	120,533
Singapore	13,742	36.0	1,846	39,973
Sri Lanka	13,140	21.9	2,120	62,252
Thailand	10,833	38.4	2,327	30,552
Vietnam	12,902	8.6	9,554	159,854

A third stream of migrants between Asia and Australia which needs to be considered are the Australia-born. Table 5 shows that over the 1994-95 to 2005-06 period there were 54,264 Australia-born permanent departures from Australia to Asian countries – equivalent to 13.0 percent of permanent arrivals from those countries. Of course one important element in this group are the children of return migrants to Asian countries who were born to them during the time they resided in Australia. Nevertheless it is also apparent that there is increasing skilled migration of Australians with no family linkage with Asian countries who are motivated by career and economic factors. This is evident from the fact that almost half of the Australia-born flow (48.9 percent) was directed to the citystates of Singapore and Hong Kong SAR. There is also significant movement of skilled Australians to Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Japan associated with the internationalisation of skilled labour markets in the Asian region. Of the 63,478 Australia-born people leaving permanently for Asian destinations over the 1997-2007 period, 60.2 percent were in the workforce and Table 8 shows that they were strongly concentrated in the high skill occupations. Overall, there

Table 8: Australia-Born Permanent Departures to Asia by Occupation, 1997-98 to 2007-08

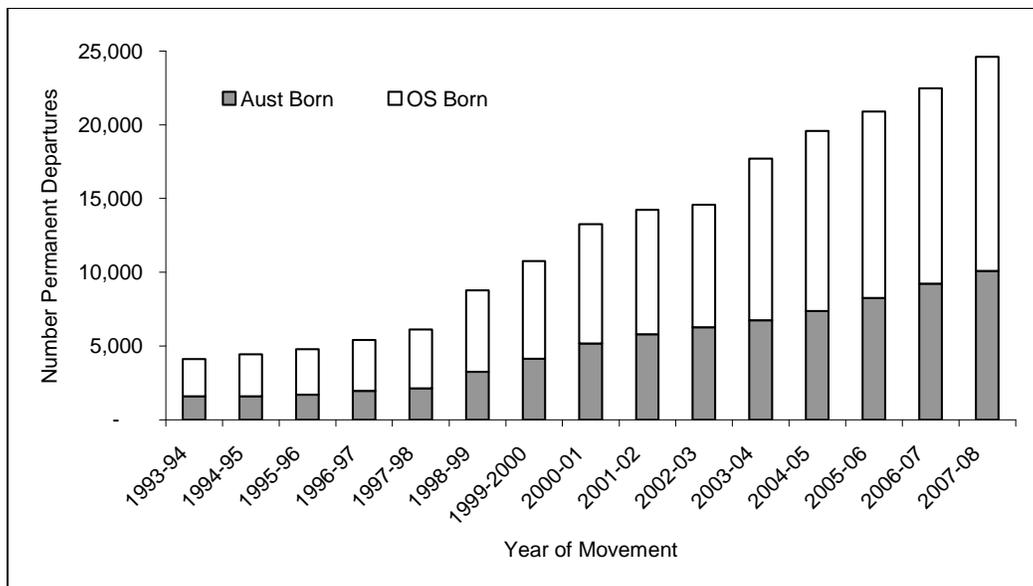
Source: DIAC unpublished data

	Number	Percent	Net Gain of Asia- Born	Overall Net Gain	Net Gain as Percent of Arrivals
1. Manager and Administrators	11,789	24.3	16,635	4,846	9.9
2. Professionals	22,607	46.5	89,354	66,747	41.0
3. Associate Professionals	4,911	10.1	10,567	5,656	13.0
4. Tradespersons	1,300	2.7	13,321	12,021	18.6
5. Adv Clerical and Sales	733	1.5	3,055	2,322	43.8
6. Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service	5,169	10.6	10,923	5,754	17.8
7. Int Production and Transport	351	0.7	1,045	694	5.0
8. Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service	1,468	3.0	4,187	2,719	20.6
9. Labourers	282	0.6	478	196	2.0
Total	48,610	100.0	149,565	100,955	25.6

were 183,930 Asian permanent arrivals who were employed in the workforce but 93,331 permanent migrants who were working who moved from Australia to Asian destinations. There was, however, a net gain in all occupational categories except in unskilled labourers. It is interesting to note in Table 8 that the net gain of managers and administrators was only 9.9 percent as large as the permanent arrivals in this occupational category indicating a high degree of circularity in the movement. On the other hand the net gain of professional workers was over a third the size of the permanent intake. The data hence do show that there is a significant north to south flow of skilled workers from Australia to Asia. The substantial increase which has occurred over the last 15 years in both the return flow of Asians as well as the flow of Australians than people to Asia is depicted in Figure 6. Hence while the

Figure 6: Permanent Departures to Asia of Australia and Overseas-Born, 1993-94 to 2007-08

Source: DIAC unpublished data



dominant permanent flow in the Asia-Australia migration system is toward Australia, there is a smaller but nevertheless significant counterflow. Table 9 shows that over the 1993-2008

period over half a million Asians settled in Australia but that a sixth returned to Asia and there were 72,773 Australia-born persons who moved permanently to Asia. Hence, the net migration gain was 389,786 representing a migration efficiency percentage of 53.3 i.e. it takes two immigrants to get a net migration gain of a migrant. It is also relevant to see how the net migration pattern is distributed across particular occupations (Table 6). This indicates that both Asia-born settlers and permanent departures are concentrated in the high skill areas. What is striking is that while professionals represent just over half of the settlers, they make up 82.2 percent of the net gain indicating there is a below average rate of return for this group. On the other hand almost a half of managers and administrators return. The pattern is clear however that while the gradient is toward Australia there is a substantial flow of skilled migrants in the other direction.

Table 9: Australia: Permanent Migration In and Out, 1993-94 to 2007-08
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Asia-born moving to Australia	560,111
Asia-born moving from Australia to Asia	97,552
Australia-born moving from Australia to Asia	72,773
Net migration	389,786

A further element in the complexity of the migration relationship between Australia and Asia is the movement of Asians to Australia on a permanent basis and then subsequently moving permanently elsewhere as ‘third country migration’. Biao (2004, 164) has explained:

‘In the international migration of the highly skilled ‘brain bypass’ has become a new phenomenon. The term refers to the movement of skilled migrants from the South to countries such as Canada and Australia, where using experience acquired in those countries as leverage, they then move onto other countries, particularly the USA’.

Biao (2004) found that there is a significant pattern among Indian Information Technology immigrants who study and settle in Australia, gain permanent residence and then migrate to the United States. He explains that the immigrants have complex strategies which involves them assessing they have a greater chance of migration to the USA from Australia than from India. Moreover, their Australian permanent residence status can serve as an insurance backup should they not be successful in the USA or in a downturn of the USA IT economy.

Table 10: Australia: Permanent Departures of Asia-Born According to Whether They Return to Their Birthplace or a Different Country 1993-2007

Source: DIAC unpublished data

Country of Birth	Arrivals	Departures	Percentage Returning to Country of Birth	Ratio of Arrivals to Departures
China	107,339	25,919	57.4	4.1
India	82,447	3,631	22.0	22.7
Singapore	19,354	3,075	53.0	6.3
Hong Kong	30,227	20,700	84.6	1.5
Philippines	51,540	3,395	44.5	15.2
Malaysia	27,881	5,350	34.4	5.2
Vietnam	39,351	8,874	57.1	4.4
Indonesia	31,768	6,359	74.6	5.0
Taiwan	18,073	8,350	80.3	2.2
Burma	5,977	277	10.5	21.6
Cambodia	9,618	1,013	29.1	9.5
Laos	465	173	28.0	2.7
Thailand	13,171	2,517	74.8	5.2
Japan	8,456	2,864	77.8	3.0
South Korea	14,802	3,811	74.9	3.9
Bangladesh	8,665	228	25.4	38.0
Nepal	2,250	37	8.1	60.8
Pakistan	12,163	520	31.3	23.4
Sri Lanka	25,052	1,285	24.0	19.5
Afghanistan	13,643	254	12.2	53.7

Table 10 shows the proportions of departures of Asian birthplace groups from Australia over the 1993-2007 period that were directed toward the country of birth. Again there are some striking inter country differences. The South Asia: East Asia contrast is apparent. Among East Asian countries not only are the ratios of immigrants to emigrants

much smaller and the outflows more substantial but the proportions that are returning to their birthplace are considerably greater. This is apparent in the two largest countries of origin – China and India. Table 10 shows that of the 25,919 China-born Australian residents who indicated they were leaving Australia permanently, 57.4 percent returned to China. Moreover more than another quarter went to Hong Kong SAR. This pattern observed by Zweig and Hand (2007) to also apply for the China-born leaving the USA and Canada.

CIRCULAR MIGRATION FROM AUSTRALIA TO ASIA

In the literature on return migration and its impact on development in origin countries the almost total focused is on permanent return. Yet non-permanent return can also impinge upon development. Returnees can not only bring with them money and equipment but also new ideas and new ways of doing things. It is apparent that settlement of Asian groups has resulted in an upswing of *non-permanent* return migration out of Australia. Figures 7 and 8 show how long term and short term movement from Australia to Asian countries has greatly increased in recent years. Moreover it is apparent that the Asian-born have been an important component in that temporary movement out of Australia. Clearly the permanent settlement of Asians in Australia is creating a significant temporary flow back to countries of origin in which former settlers are an important component. This is especially the case in long term movement in which the overseas-born make up an increasing majority of the flow from Australia to Asia.

The special data set created using the personal identifiers of all persons moving into and out of Australia allow us to establish the extent to which this temporary movement out of Australia into Asia involves former settlers. Table 11 shows the average number of return trips made into and out of Australia over the 1998-2006 period by different Asian birthplace groups. They are differentiated according to their visa status granted by the Department of

Immigration and Citizenship. To take China born persons for example the data in the table can be interpreted as follows:

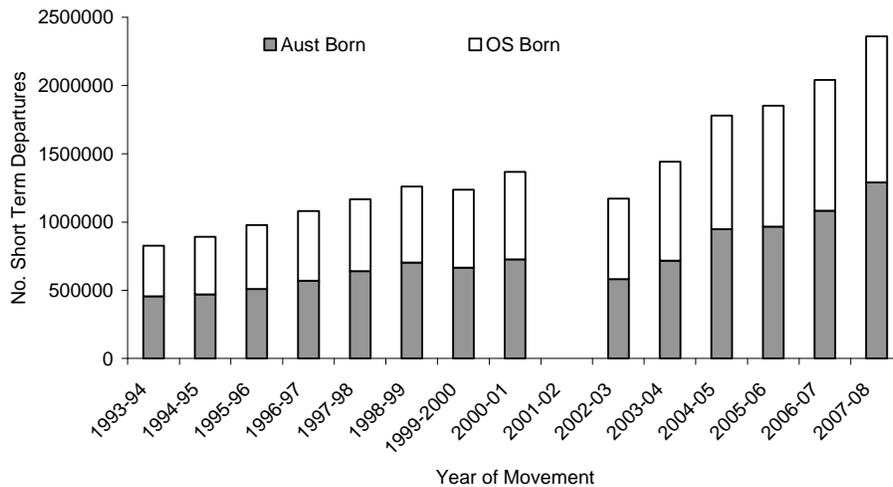
Figure 7: Australia: Long Term Departures to Asia of Australia and Overseas-Born, 1993-94 to 2007-08

Source: DIAC unpublished data



Figure 8: Australia: Short Term Resident Departures to Asia of Australia and Overseas-Born, 1993-94 to 2007-08

Source: DIAC unpublished data



Note: Data not available for 2001-02

- China-born settler arrivals had made an average 2.4 return trips to Australia in the period before coming to settle.
- China-born visitors had made an average 4.4 trips per person.
- China born residents of Australia made an average 6.4 return trips during the reference period.

Table 11: Australia: Country of Birth by Type of Movement: Average Number of Return Trips by Individuals, 1998-2006 Type of Movement

Source: Special data set received by DIAC

Birthplace of Mover	Status of Mover					
	Settler Arrival	Visitor Arrival	Resident Return	Visitor Departure	Resident Temporary Departure	Resident Permanent Departure
	Average Number of Return Trips					
Burma (Myanmar)	1.0	3.6	5.8	4.4	5.9	4.1
Cambodia	1.3	4.8	4.0	5.2	4.0	4.1
Laos	1.2	3.2	5.2	3.5	5.6	4.3
Thailand	2.4	4.9	5.9	5.3	6.2	5.0
Vietnam	1.4	3.9	4.7	4.4	4.8	4.3
Brunei Darussalam	4.1	7.3	8.8	7.6	9.1	7.3
Indonesia	4.8	6.1	10.5	6.4	10.3	9.2
Malaysia	4.0	5.9	9.4	6.1	9.4	6.9
Philippines	1.5	3.9	4.8	4.7	5.0	4.1
Singapore	3.7	6.4	10.2	6.5	10.2	5.9
China	2.4	4.4	6.2	4.8	6.1	5.9
Hong Kong	3.5	5.4	6.4	5.6	6.7	5.1
Macau	3.2	5.1	6.2	5.3	6.4	4.8
Mongolia	1.6	2.5	4.7	3.1	4.4	0.0
Taiwan	5.1	5.8	8.7	6.0	8.9	8.0
Japan	4.0	5.4	8.3	5.6	8.5	6.3
Bangladesh	1.7	2.4	4.1	3.1	4.0	3.4
Bhutan	1.3	1.7	3.7	2.0	3.8	0.0
India	1.9	3.7	5.7	4.7	5.5	4.6
Maldives	2.6	4.6	13.0	5.0	12.1	0.0
Nepal	1.6	2.2	5.1	3.2	4.9	5.1
Pakistan	1.6	3.5	5.0	4.3	4.9	4.5
Sri Lanka	1.9	3.8	6.2	4.7	6.2	6.2
Afghanistan	0.6	2.2	2.4	3.3	2.3	3.4
Korea	2.5	3.7	7.5	4.2	7.5	6.4

This clearly shows both that there is considerable circulation between Australia and Asian contexts of former settlers and also that there are significant numbers of China-born – based in China who circulate frequently to Australia. In both cases the potential for significant development impacts in China are considerable.

The rate of resident return are especially high for those born in Singapore, Indonesia, Taiwan, Japan, Korea and Malaysia indicating a high level of business interaction with their homelands by Australian-based immigrants from these countries. Clearly immigrant Asians set up very active circuits of movement between Asian countries and Australia. Obviously a significant amount of this movement is family based visitation. However it is also apparent that much of the movement involves other motives. A study of Chinese academics in Australia (Hugo 2005) showed clearly that almost all maintained strong linkages with Chinese Universities with joint research projects, regular teaching stints in China and knowledge exchange being substantial. These circuits already are powerful conduits for the flow of money, goods and expertise into origin countries. Perhaps more importantly they have the potential for becoming even more significant channel to facilitate development in an appropriate policy setting.

The long term arrival/departure information for Australia do not include information on the reasons for movement but this is available for short term movement.⁴ Table 12 shows the dominance of motivations of visiting friends and relatives among the Australian Asia-born residents making short term visits back into Asia. This indicates that in 2007-08 there were 709,410 short term visits made by Australians who were born in Asia. Of these 31.8 percent were for holidays and 49.1 percent were to visit family and friends. It is undoubtedly the case however that many of the half who nominate visiting family and friends as their main reason for travel actually in this visit:

⁴ i.e. for temporary movers in which the intended length of stay is less than 12 months.

- Combined it also with business activity.
- In their interaction with friends, and to a lesser extent family, passed on knowledge and information gained in Australia.

Table 12: Australia: Asia-Born Short Term Resident Departures by Country of Destination (Asia) by Reason for Travel, 2007-08

Source: DIAC unpublished data

Reason for Travel	Number	Percent
Exhibition	888	0.1
Convention / Conference	10,072	1.5
Business	80,004	11.8
Visiting friends/relatives	332,834	49.1
Holiday	215,176	31.8
Employment	15,617	2.3
Education	5,393	0.8
Other	17,661	2.6
Not stated	31,766	
Total	709,410	100.0

This notwithstanding one in five of Asia-born Australians visiting Asia did so for a reason *other* than to visit family or friends or to holiday. Hence it is apparent that short term home visiting of this group is already a significant mechanism of business activity and knowledge transfer. Moreover Table 13 shows that there is considerable variation between Asian countries in the extent to which return visiting is associated with business and other non-holiday family visitation. The table indicates that in the largest single destination, China, 29.1 percent of all visitors had motives other than to holiday or visit family and friends. Similarly high proportions applied in other East Asian destinations as well as Singapore and Brunei. The proportions were lower in South Asia and in other countries which were sources of refugee migrants to Australia.

Table 13: Australia: Asia-Born Residents Making Short Term Visits to Asia by Country of Destination and Reason, 2007-08

Country of Destination	Total Number of Visits	Percent Not Visiting Family/Friends Holiday
Burma	2,094	11.4
Cambodia	7,644	10.1
Laos	1,226	6.7
Thailand	32,289	13.4
Vietnam	57,896	11.5
Brunei	2,153	31.3
Indonesia	45,051	26.7
Malaysia	67,640	22.9
Philippines	45,377	15.8
Singapore	57,126	34.6
East Timor	1,231	62.3
China	124,423	29.1
Hong Kong SAR	86,956	25.3
Macao SAR	2,139	27.3
Taiwan	26,919	21.7
Japan	32,260	22.4
Korea	19,477	31.9
Bangladesh	6,562	12.6
India	64,311	14.8
Maldives	146	10.3
Nepal	1,784	7.2
Pakistan	8,270	14.8
Sri Lanka	15,227	15.7
Afghanistan	919	7.7
Total	709,414	19.1

IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN ORIGIN COUNTRIES

Introduction

The Australian international migration flow data analysed here have demonstrated conclusively that the Asia-Australia migration system is characterised by a high degree of complexity and circularity. This stands in sharp distinction to the conventional depiction of it as 'south-north migration' where, at least implicitly, it is assumed that the overwhelming dominant pattern is of permanent redistribution of highly skilled people from poorer to better-off countries. While the explosion of this myth of south-north migration is important for the

Australian case the only difference between it and most other OECD ‘destinations’ of south-north migration is the fact that it has a more comprehensive data collection system which allows the inherent circularity and complexity in the system to be quantified. Australia is not a special case; such patterns are characteristic of south-north migration in most cases the data limitations simply conceal it. It is argued here that circularity, reciprocity and complexity are structural features of the Asia-Australia migration system – they are not peripheral or ephemeral. The material analysed here point to a pressing need to on the one hand reconceptualise the whole concept of south-north migration so that it recognises the fundamental complexity of the population flows which are involved. On the other it also points to the urgency of improving our migration data collection systems which in many countries remain grounded on the outmoded settlement migration model and are biased toward migration receiving countries and considerations.

Another of the striking findings regarding Asia-Australia international migration relates to the substantial blurring between permanent and non-permanent migration. It is apparent that categorising international movers as permanent or temporary is becoming increasingly problematical. It has long been the case that this dimension of mobility is more appropriately conceptualised as a continuum than as a binary dichotomy but the overlap has increased in recent times. Many ways in which permanent and temporary migration are linked have been demonstrated in the Asia-Australia case. These include:

- Persons arriving in Australia as temporary migrants (e.g. students, temporary business migrants) becoming permanent residents of Australia.
- Persons arriving as permanent settlers in Australia but subsequently returning to their homeland or on to a third nation on a permanent basis.
- Persons arriving as permanent settlers in Australia but then returning to their homeland on a temporary basis, in many cases frequently travelling between Australia

and their Asian homeland. Hence there is an important connection between permanent and temporary movement.

- Enhanced flows of Australians to Asia, not only returnees but also it is apparent that the linkages fostered by permanent settlement migration have led to enhanced flows of tourists, business people and others into Asia.

Some of the most significant implications which flow from the findings presented here however relate to the increasing global discourse on migration and development (GCIM 2005; United Nations 2006; World Bank 2006).

Brain Drain

It has been shown earlier that although there is significant circularity in the migration between Asia-Pacific countries and Australia there is a significant net migration gain of skilled people by Australia and net loss for the origin countries. While in recent years there has been a shift in the discourse on migration and development away from an overwhelming focus on brain drain toward acknowledgement that the effects of migration can be more complex and have net positive impacts in origin areas there are at least two reasons why brain drain needs to be considered an issue of significance in the Australian context. The first relates to the fact that many of the origin nations, especially in the Pacific region, are quite small. The second relates to the specific issue of the emigration of medical personnel from Asia-Pacific countries to Australia.

OECD⁵ research has indicated that 88 percent of immigrants from south to north nations have secondary education or higher qualifications but, that except in relatively small nations, south countries do not lose a high proportion of their highly skilled persons to OECD nations. Hence in large nations in the region such as China, India, Indonesia, Bangladesh and

⁵ <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/43/12/34107784>

Pakistan the OECD analysis showed that despite some losses the bulk of highly educated groups remained at home. In the Australian context however several of the origin countries of migrants, especially in the Pacific, are quite small nations where 'brain drain' can have a devastating quantitative and qualitative impact in robbing the country of the talent most likely to facilitate economic and social development. In Pacific Island countries there is now an intensive debate on brain drain. Fiji has lost half of its middle to high level labour through emigration since 1987 (Fiji National Planning Office 2005) and Voigt Graf (2003, and Voigt Graf et al. 2007) has demonstrated how significant migration losses of experienced and highly qualified teachers, health personnel, accountants and bureaucrats have been a barrier to development. Moreover these are losses of skill in tourism, construction and a range of professional services which also have had a damaging impact. Connell (2003) argues that:

- 'Brain drain' has been excessive in several small Pacific Island countries such as the Cook Islands, Tonga, Fiji and Samoa where it has hindered development and reduced the welfare and bargaining position of those countries.
- Ironically some of these migrants become part of a 'brain loss' or 'brain waste' because their qualifications, despite getting them entry, are not recognised by appropriate occupational licensing bodies in the destination.
- Although data are poor or non existent, he considers return migration to be very limited.
- It is unusually difficult to replace the skilled migrants in small island states because of the duration of training involved and the limited local demand for particular skills.

A second area of concern however relates to the impact of skilled migration in particular *sectors* of origin economies which can have a damaging effect on the well being of local populations as well as in the development effort. This is especially apparent in the sector of medicine and health. At the 2006 census 32.1 percent of the total Australian

medical workforce was born in a foreign country compared to less than a quarter of the total workforce. For doctors 58.8 percent were born overseas and for nurses it was 28.9 percent. Between the 2001 and 2006 censuses there was an increase of 28.4 percent in the overseas born medical workforce compared to 11.4 percent in the Australian born medical workers. Table 14 shows that Asia and the Pacific have made a major contribution to the gain of medical workers over the 2001-06 period. At the 2006 census Asia- and the Pacific-born people made up 11.6 percent of the total Australian medical workforce, 27.1 percent of the doctors and 11 percent of nurses.

Table 14: Australia: Change in Medical Workforce From Asia and the Pacific, 2001-06

Source: ABS Australian Censuses

Region	Total Medical Workforce			Doctors			Nurses		
	2001	2006	Change	2001	2006	Change	2001	2006	Change
Pacific	2,577	3,303	28.2	368	453	23.1	4,651	5,691	22.4
SE Asia	14,046	18,097	28.8	3,780	4,649	23.0	6,630	8,479	27.9
NE Asia	5,758	8,724	51.5	1,604	2,076	29.4	1,996	3,281	64.4
S Asia	5,132	8,708	69.7	2,855	4,849	69.8	1,328	2,284	72.0
Total	27,487	38,832	41.3	8,607	12,027	39.7	14,605	19,735	35.1

It has been argued that a more ethical approach to recruitment of health workers needs to be adopted in Australia (Scott *et al.* 2004). However, like other OECD nations, Australia has through its contemporary immigration policies, encouraged the flow of skilled personnel from less developed nations. Under the Colombo Plan and other later programs to train students from Asia and Africa in Australia, students were compelled to return to their homeland for at least 2 years following completion of their studies. This is no longer the case and indeed in recent years Australia has facilitated completing foreign students in some skill areas to gain permanent residence in Australia without returning home. Moreover the increased skill focus in the migration program has encouraged the outflow of skilled workers from less developed nations.

Table 15: Australia: Arrivals and Departures of Skilled Health Workers, 1993-2006
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Doctors	Permanent				Long Term			
	Arrivals	Departures	Migration Effectiveness	Net	Arrivals	Departures	Migration Effectiveness	Net
Africa (not incl N Africa)	340	28	84.7	312	1,702	824	34.8	878
Asia	2,812	989	48.0	1,823	9,376	6,254	20.0	3,122
New Zealand	1,788	773	39.6	1,015	1,631	950	26.4	681
Other Oceania	106	43	42.3	63	531	638	-9.2	-107
Europe and UK	1,491	1,097	15.2	394	11,608	8,224	17.1	3,384
North America	215	437	-39.0	-222	2,547	2,378	3.4	169
South America	72	22	53.2	50	194	139	16.5	55

Nurses	Permanent				Long Term			
	Arrivals	Departures	Migration Effectiveness	Net	Arrivals	Departures	Migration Effectiveness	Net
Africa (not incl N Africa)	892	80	83.5	812	2,560	975	44.8	1,585
Asia	3,758	825	62.6	2,933	7,041	5,897	8.8	1,144
New Zealand	4,104	2,799	18.9	1,305	3,392	2,333	18.5	1,059
Other Oceania	372	225	24.6	147	630	1,123	-28.1	-493
Europe and UK	5,861	3,792	21.4	2,069	23,904	18,458	12.9	5,446
North America	576	1,690	-49.1	-1,114	3,982	2,980	14.4	1,003
South America	47	58	-10.5	-11	192	254	-13.9	-62

Table 15 shows the arrivals and departures of doctors and nurses for Australia over the 1993-2006 period according to region of origin and destination. Some interesting patterns are in evidence:

- There is a high degree of circularity in evidence. Over the period there were 2,918 permanent arrivals of doctors from Asia-Pacific and 1,032 permanent departures to the region with the comparable figures for nurses being 4,130 and 1,050. This indicates a moderate to high 'efficiency'⁶ of migration of 48 and 62.6 percent respectively. This means for every net permanent addition of one doctor and one nurse to the Australian doctor and nurse by migration from Asia and the Pacific there needs to be an immigration of 2 doctors and 1.6 nurses respectively.

⁶ Migration efficiency is obtained by dividing net migration (in minus out) by gross migration (in plus out) and is a measure of the effectiveness of migration in increasing the numbers of medical workers.

- This contrasts to the relationship which Australia has with Europe and the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent, New Zealand. These also are significant origins of doctors and nurses permanently settling in Australia but there are also significant numbers moving in the opposite direction so that the migration has very low efficiency. Indeed for North America there are more permanent departures than arrivals resulting in a net migration loss. In the case of Europe and the UK there needs to be 6.6 doctor settlers to achieve a net gain of a single doctor and for nurses it is 4.8.
- It will be noted that the data for Africa shows a greater ‘effectiveness’ of permanent migration of doctors and nurses than is the case for Asia with only 1.2 doctor and nurse settler arrivals to get permanent gains of 1 doctor and nurse.
- Hence although there is a substantial net gain of doctors and nurses from Asia there are smaller but still significant flows in the other direction. In the Pacific (‘Other Oceania’ in the table) the migration is less effective with a greater degree of circularity in the movement than is the case for Asia.
- Turning to long term movement⁷ it is apparent that the migration is much less ‘effective’ as we would expect because the arrivals enter Australia under temporary resident visas. Nevertheless it will be noted in Table 15 that the net gains are in fact larger than for those entering under permanent settler visas – 8,182 compared to 3,435 doctors and 9,682 compared to 6,141 nurses.
- The low levels of effectiveness of long term migration providing doctors permanently for Australia is evident in the fact that it takes 5 long term arrivals from Asia to get a single person addition. For nurses it is 18.1 indicating a high degree of circularity. There are net losses to the Pacific.

⁷ i.e. people indicating on arrival in Australia they will be staying in Australia longer than one year but intend *not* to stay permanently.

- Again it is noticeable that for Africa there is much less circularity in evidence and a significant brain drain effect is in evidence.

Clearly there has been an increase in the tempo of migration of medical personnel from Asia and the Pacific to Australia in recent years. Many of these doctors and nurses go to rural and remote areas in Australia where there is an overall shortage of medical personnel (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2003). This has led to a debate within Australia about the ethics of such movement and raising such issues as:

- Developing a code of conduct for ethical recruitment.
- The possible reimbursement of the sending country for costs incurred in training of personnel.
- The need for more training of health worker in Australia.
- Selectively limiting proactive recruitment of skilled health professionals.
- Better supporting health care training systems in less developed countries.
- Encouraging the return of these doctors after they complete a period in Australia.

(Reid 2002; Scott *et al.* 2004).

It is not feasible for Australia to unilaterally selectively disallow immigration of particular skilled people like doctors and nurses from Asia and Africa. There would, however, appear to be some other policy options. Instead it would seem possible that receiving countries make an investment in training/education in the low income countries of origin of skilled migrants in recognition of the costs invested by those origin nations in the development of the human capital encapsulated the migrants. This of course would forge a link between immigration and development assistance policies and ministries in Australia. It could be considered that such investments would be only for the creation of training institutions to produce future migrant settlers for Australia. However, the *raison d'être* should be the recognition that destination nations have a responsibility to meet development

costs of human capital paid for in origin nations. Thus the investment could be ‘tied aid’ in the sense that it is targeted to particular areas of activity in the origin nation. In some ways this is analogous to the levies at present placed on migrant workers by some immigrant countries. Singapore, for example, imposes such a levy to be paid by the employers of skilled foreign workers and the funds generated are put into the training/education of Singaporeans so that skill shortages in the long term can be met internally. It is not too large a jump to envisage a similar payment to and/or investment in the training/education system in origin countries. Moreover the work of Stark and his colleagues suggests that while enhancing education indeed can lead to greater emigration it also has substantial spillover effects in that some of those educated remain at home.

Circular Low Skilled Labour Migration

One of the major planks of the contemporary argument that migration can be positive for development in origin countries relates to circular migration of low skilled workers (GCIM 2005; Vertovec 2004). It is argued that non permanent movement of low skilled workers from low income to high income countries, because such workers have a higher level of commitment to their origins than permanent workers, they remit a high proportion of their earnings home and are more likely to return to their homeland. On the other hand opponents contend that such movement tends to be exploitative of migrants and results in high levels of overstaying among the migrants (Castles 2003).

In the Australian government there has been longstanding bipartisan agreement that low skilled temporary migration has no place in the Australian international migration program. Both permanent and temporary migration elements are strongly oriented to highly skilled groups and it is only under the increasingly restricted family and refugee-humanitarian programs that low skilled workers can enter Australia to work. However there has been an

increasing view that there may be a growing mismatch between immigration policies focused on skill and a tightening labour market with demand for labour across a broader skill spectrum. While such temporary low skilled emigration in no way can be a substitute for better education, training and labour force policies in less developed nations, it can relieve 'labour surplus' situations in particular areas especially in small economies like in the Pacific and East Timor. In short, there would appear to be a case to look at the full gamut of labour force needs in More Developed nations and not just focus on skill and talent search in considering migration.

In recent years falling unemployment levels in Australia have seen a tightening of the labour market which has created demand not only for skilled labour but also for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. A specific case in point are growth sectors within agriculture. Labour shortages are felt most strongly in the horticultural sector, which is having increasing difficulty attracting sufficient labour to properly harvest their crops (National Harvest Trust Working Group 2000, National Farmers Federation 2008). The latter estimates that the Australian agricultural sector will need an additional 100,000 workers as it emerges from drought. Ironically, although Australia has eschewed bringing in migrant labour for agriculture, the horticultural industry has relied significantly on migration to supply its workforce. Table 16 shows that more than a third of the workforce are 'backpackers' who are young European foreign tourists, most of them coming to Australia under the Working Holiday Program.

The shortage of harvesting workers has resulted in many representations to the Minister of Immigration for programmes similar to those in nations like the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada to bring in guest workers on a temporary basis. These have usually argued for bringing in workers from the Pacific. The representations have generally come from growers' organisations although a 2003 Australian Senate Committee (Senate

Legal and Constitutional References Committee 2005) proposed that agricultural workers from the Pacific be granted special seasonal access to Australia. One of the distinctive

Table 16: Australia: Proportional Breakdown Of Origins of Horticultural Workforce

Source: National Farmers Federation 2008, 13.

Source	Percent of Workforce
Backpackers	38
Locals	34
Non Local Australians Ages Less than 55	12
Students	7
Non Local 'Grey Nomads' Over 55	4
Other	5

features of this proposal was that it explicitly argues that it not only would benefit Australian industry but also could produce economic gains and assist long term regional security and stability in the Pacific. Until recently the government have rejected these proposals using the following arguments:

- The high level of unemployment in Australia would suggest that growers are not paying adequate wages or providing appropriate conditions for workers.
- It would undermine the integrity of Australia's immigration program in that:
 - (a) it involves unskilled workers;
 - (b) it is discriminating in that it is only available to people from one region.
- It has been questioned whether the Pacific Island workers would indeed gain from the migration because of the high costs of travel in relation to the type and amount of work available and the wages paid.

- The negative impact of the loss of human resources on the economies of home nations.

There also has been some opposition to the use of migrant workers in harvesting from the Australian Workers Union (*The Age*, 14 February 2000)

It is interesting that there have also been calls for a scheme to bring into Northern Australia guestworkers from East Timor as fruit and vegetable harvesters (*Asian Migration News*, 1-15 October 2004). Again a similar argument to those raised concerning the Pacific has been made namely:

- It meets a labour shortage in Australia.
- It involves workers from a very poor nation with substantial labour surplus.
- It is a small nation where an influx of remittances may have a measurable impact on the local economy.
- It is located very close to Australia and figures strongly in the nation's security considerations.

The debate within Australia regarding the possibility of bringing in temporary migrant agricultural workers has been made more complex by other considerations. The first relates to the fact that due to climate change sealevels in the region are rising and the direct and indirect (e.g. increased frequency of extreme events) effects of this will cause serious problems for the inhabitants of some of the islands during the twenty-first century (Church, White and Hunter 2006: 166). The atolls and reef islands comprising Tuvalu have become a particular focus of the global discourse on this issue and a '*cause celebre*' in the international media (Connell 2003). The Tuvaluan government has been very active in seeking compensation from, and immigration opportunities in, countries like Australia and New Zealand. Yet there is an argument that is also heard in Tuvalu that:

Emotion, environmental degradation and politics have overwhelmed science. Crucially the emphasis that Tuvalu and others have given to the present impacts of sea level rise, and the need for imminent relocation, have diverted attention from the real need both to transform those policies in metropolitan states that continue to contribute to global warming and to develop appropriate environmental management policies within atoll states (Connell 2003: 105).

There has been pressure for Australia (and New Zealand) to officially indicate that they would be prepared to settle climate change induced migrants.

Similar pressure regarding Pacific migration to Australia has come regarding the small Island of Nauru (2004 population, 12,809). Australia has mined phosphate from the island over a long period. This has now ceased but the mining has resulted in substantial environmental damage and greatly reduced the island's capacity to support its population. There is now a proposal seeking to allow Nauru citizens to live and work in Australia (*Asian Migration News* 1-15 August 2004).

While there have been a number of proposals for Australia to open up to temporary migrant low skilled workers from the Pacific (Milbank 2006) they were resisted until September 2008. The new Australian Labor government introduced regulations expanding an existing visa category (416) to enable Pacific Islanders to come to Australia as seasonal guest workers. This represented a significant shift in policy although it was only to be a pilot program involving up to 2,500 seasonal workers from Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Tonga and Vanuatu to work in the horticultural industry in regional Australia for up to seven months each year (Evans 2008). This decision undoubtedly was influenced by the fact that New Zealand in 2006 introduced a similar scheme which has run for a year and been closely monitored and assessed (Ramasamy *et al.* 2008). While the New Zealand, and the planned Australian. programs are expressly designed to meet perceived labour shortages in the

destination economies they also have a dimension of seeking to facilitate development in origin countries. To this end the design of the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE – the New Zealand) scheme has expressly attempted to maximise the benefits to origin communities and has built in evaluation procedures to measure the impact on development and poverty in the Pacific origins. The early findings from the evaluation (Ramasamy *et al.* 2008) of 5,079 RSE workers, while finding some problems, have been cautiously optimistic (Hammond and Connell 2008; Maclellan 2008). It remains to be seen whether the global economic meltdown of late 2008 influences New Zealand and Australia in their plans for seasonal labour migration from the Pacific and East Timor.

Remittances

There is a burgeoning literature on the significance of the flow of remittances from OECD nations to less developed countries and their role in poverty reduction (Adams 2003; Hugo 2003a; Asian Development Bank 2004; Johnson and Sedaca 2004; Terry, Jiminez-Ontiveros and Wilson [eds.] 2005; World Bank 2006, GCIM 2005). It is stressed that remittances have particular value as a transfer from More Developed to Less Developed Countries since they flow directly to families and hence can have an immediate impact in improvement of well-being at grass roots level. The role of the destination countries here is in the realm of facilitating these flows; reducing the degree of rent taking exacted on remittance flows by intermediaries and ensuring that there are safe, quick and reliable channels for migrants to make remittances to their families in Less Developed Countries. Efforts to reduce the transfer costs imposed by intermediaries are needed if the full benefits of remittances are to be realised.

Australia had some 5,253,852 persons who are foreign-born in 2007 with 1,527,650 born in Asia, 234,253 born in Subsaharan Africa (excluding South Africa) and 127,098 born

in Oceania (excluding New Zealand and Australia). This represents, potentially at least, a significant opportunity for the development of diasporic communities within Australia which are connected to Low Income Countries and provide conduits for flows of remittances, investment, technology and knowledge to them. With the important exception of the Pacific, there has been little research in Australia on the relationship between Australian-based immigrant communities who are resident in Australia and their home countries and on the flow of remittances they send. However, again with the important exception of the Pacific, the level of outward remittance flow from Australia would seem to be small. Among the reasons for this are the following:

- The increasing emphasis on skill in the Australian migration program means that the families from which many migrants come are among the better off groups in their home countries so there will not be a pressing need for migrants to remit funds. Indeed for some the opposite is the case. Obviously the inflow of funding from Asian Countries to Australia from families supporting foreign higher education students studying in Australia is substantial (137,000 in 2003, 85 percent from Asia). It is estimated that in 2007-08 international education activity contributed A\$14.2⁸ billion in export income to the Australian economy, the largest services export industry ahead of tourism. The main contributors are China (A\$3.1 billion), India (2), Korea (1), Malaysia (0.7), Hong Kong and Thailand (0.6), Indonesia (0.5), Vietnam (0.4) and Japan (0.3). This export income grew by 23.4 percent over the previous year.

Remittance flows appear to be greater among some groups of migrants than others. Unfortunately there are little data available relating to this in Australia but the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA) which involved two groups of migrants arriving in 1993-95 and 1999-2000 who were re-interviewed twice in the

⁸ 1 \$A = US\$0.71, January 2009

first case and once in the second (Hugo 2004a) has some information. Table 17 shows that when the first survey migrants were interviewed within a few months after arrival in Australia less than 8 percent sent remittances back to relatives. This of course is understandable given that it takes time for immigrants to become established. When interviewed for a third time (1998 -99), a larger proportion had sent remittances home to relatives. It will be noted that the largest proportions sending remittances were the refugee-humanitarian migrants who also are the poorest group with the highest level of unemployment and greatest reliance on benefits (Richardson, Robertson and Ilsley 2001).⁹ The highest proportions of birthplace groups sending back remittances were drawn from regions which were made up of mostly Low Income Countries – Pacific (41.4 percent), South Asia (47.5 percent), Southeast Asia (42.3 percent), Middle East (33.1 percent) and Africa (31.8 percent).

Table 17: Australia: Remittances Sent to Relatives by Immigrants According to Visa Category of Arrival

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia, unpublished data

	None	Less than \$1,000	\$1,000-\$5,000	\$5,001-\$10,000	\$10,001 +
Family					
1 st Interview	97.6	6.2	1.0	0.1	0.1
3 rd interview	72.1	12.7	11.9	1.9	1.3
Skill					
1 st Interview	92.0	5.1	2.4	0.2	0.1
3 rd interview	69.6	6.0	14.4	4.6	4.5
Humanitarian					
1 st Interview	90.5	8.8	0.7	-	-
3 rd interview	55.4	21.1	18.1	3.0	2.5
Total					
1 st Interview	92.1	6.3	1.3	0.2	0.1
3 rd interview	68.9	12.3	13.6	2.8	2.3

⁹ Moreover Cobb, Clarke and Khoo (eds.) (2007) have shown that the refugee-humanitarian migrants were the only visa category to experience a worsening of labour market conditions over the time between the two interviews.

These large scale surveys are notoriously poor in detecting remittances and it is in detailed fieldwork that it is evident that among some groups there are substantial flows of remittances. This has been especially demonstrated for immigrants from Tonga, Samoa and Fiji in Australia (e.g. Connell and Brown 2004). More recent data (Brown 2008) shows the high level of remittances in Fiji and Tonga (Table 18). Brown (2008) shows that in Tonga remittances have important poverty alleviation impacts.

Table 18: Fiji and Tonga Estimates of Total Remittances, 2004 (US\$)
Source: Brown 2008

	Fiji	Tonga
Remittances Received Per Capita	\$370.88	\$753.02
Population	836,002	98,322
Percent Who Are Recipients	42	90.9
Total Remittances (US 000\$)	\$130,343	\$67,330
As Percent of GDP	6.2	41.8
As Percent of Exports	8.3	154.2

Recent fieldwork among recently arrived groups from the Horn of Africa (Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia) would indicate substantial flows of remittances being sent back despite recent arrival and high levels of unemployment. Table 19 shows the very low incomes that this group have in Australia, a result of high levels of unemployment and reliance on unemployment benefits. Nevertheless, despite their low incomes the proportion remitting are high and the amounts remitted are a significant proportion of their incomes.

- Another issue is that since Australia until recently eschewed temporary worker migration and focused almost totally on permanent settlement of families in migration. This may have had a dampening impact on remittances (Ryan 2005).

High levels of remittances tend to be associated with temporary migration whereby migrants leave their families behind in the origin and those families are often almost totally dependent on remittances for their day to day existence. For most of the post World War II period, Australia's immigration programme as favoured permanent

Table 19: Survey of Horn of Africa Settlers in Melbourne and Adelaide: Income and Remittances in A\$, 2008

Source: Wege, forthcoming

Annual Income	Number	Percent Not Remitting	Average Annual Remittance (\$)
Less than \$10,000	105	74.2	1,500
10,000-20,000	70	91.4	4,039
20,001-30,000	51	90.2	3,815
30,001-40,000	60	96.7	3,543
40,001-50,000	30	96.7	3,190
Over 50,000	20	90.0	4,083

settlement and the family migration part of the migration program facilitated the 'reunion' of families in Australia. Ryan (2005) argues this is the main explanation of remittances out of Australia being low. He shows how Australia's Balance of Payments on Current Account include remittances in an 'Other Sectors' item. This item has been around A\$2.8 billion in recent years. Given that Australia now hosts a significant influx of temporary skilled workers and a minority¹⁰ are from 'south' nations (Hugo 2003b), the north-south flow of remittances from Australia would seem to be limited.

In the Pacific, particularly the Polynesian countries, remittances are a more significant factor in local economies than any other part of the world (Bertram and Watters 1985). As Crocombe (2001, 66) points out 'of the two million Polynesians in the world, only 14 percent

¹⁰ Except in the foreign students category.

live in independent Polynesian nations'. Remittances contributed 47.9 percent of Tonga's GDP and 21.1 percent of Samoa's in 2001 (Asian Development Bank 2005). It is apparent too that remittances are increasingly important in Fiji's economy. In the Melanesian Pacific countries there is little emigration, although internal mobility levels are high. The potential for future high levels of worker outmigration from nations like Papua New Guinea is high because of high levels of unemployment and under employment and significant population growth. Remittances from Australia to 'south' countries have undoubtedly been significant, although the nature of migration to Australia, both in terms of its historical emphasis on family settlement and more recently on skilled temporary migration, has not been conducive to the initiation of large flows of many which go directly to families in poverty in migrant origin nations. However in line with a total focus in Australia on international migration impact on Australia and a lack of intent in the effort on origin countries there are no reliable representative data available on remittances. Nevertheless there is a new concern with migration's impact on the development in origin countries (within both the Development assistance agency and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship). Accordingly it would seem worthwhile to:

- (a) establish the extent of remittance flows out of Australia and especially those directed toward poorer nations.
- (b) examine the work currently being undertaken in agencies such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, which are designed to facilitate the flow of such remittances, the reduction of the rent-taking and overheads associated with them and the provision of facilities to encourage their productive and effective use by the recipients.

Other Development-Related Functions for the Diaspora

In Australia the recent emergence of the discussion on migration and development has focused strongly on remittances. However it is recognised that expatriates can have other beneficial impacts on development in their home countries. The key to this is the development of network linkages between the expatriate community and the homeland. This often involves organisation of diaspora communities at destination and interaction with family and others in the homeland, a phenomenon which has a long history but which is greatly facilitated by modern information and communication technology (Hugo 2004b). Since the 1970s, Australia has espoused a policy of multiculturalism, which among other things, stipulated that:

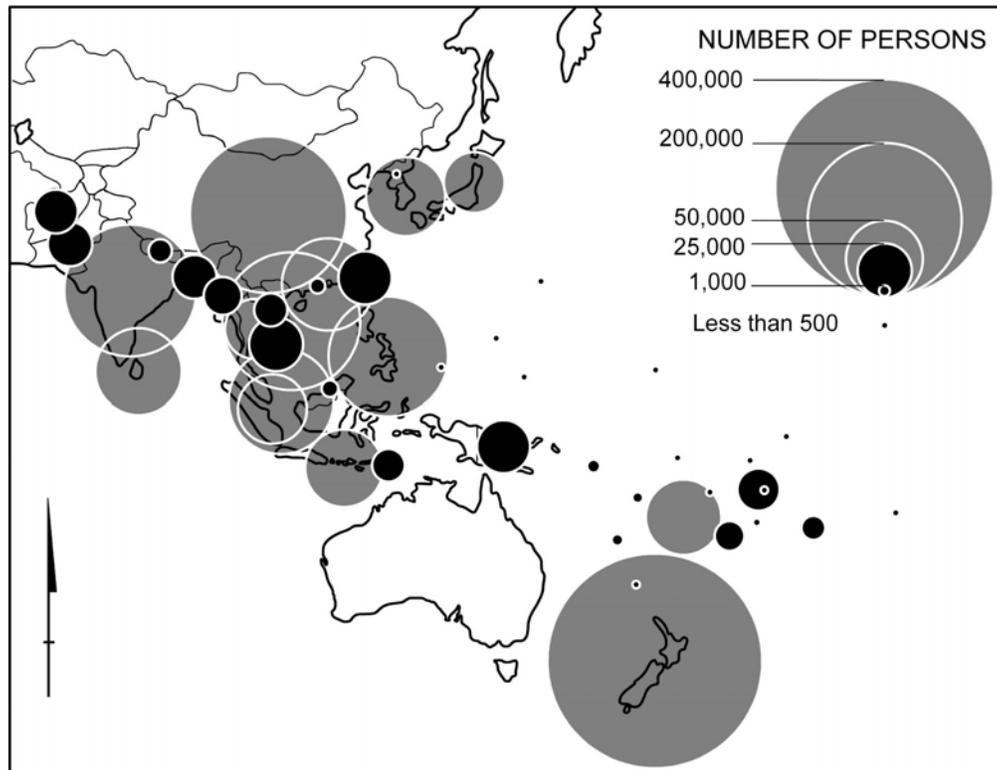
‘every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage’ (Jupp 2002, 87).

Although, Australian multiculturalism policy places less emphasis on cultural maintenance than that in Canada (Jupp 2002, 84), this has meant that the development of diasporic organisations has not been hindered, and, in some cases has been enhanced by government policy. Until recently, immigrants were required to renounce their prior citizenship before they could become Australian citizens. Dual citizenship was introduced in 2002 largely due to lobbying by Australian expatriates (Hugo 2004b).

There is growing evidence that some diasporas often continue to have strong family and professional linkages with their homelands and that these can have beneficial development impacts (Newland and Patrick 2004). It should be noted, however, that all diasporas do not have such effects. Nevertheless it is relevant that Australia has strong expatriate communities from all Asia-Pacific nations as is shown in Figure 9. In the UK, DFID undertook in 2007 to ‘build on the skills and talents of migrants and other ethnic minorities within the UK to promote the development of their countries of origin’ (DFID

1997; DFID 2007, 23). These activities need to be considered with a view to the possibility of some such initiatives being undertaken in the Australian context since Figure 9 shows there are substantial Australian-based communities of Asia-Pacific origin groups.

Figure 9: Australia: Persons Born in the Asia-Pacific by Country of Birth, 2006
Source: ABS 2006 Census



The extent to which migrant groups have formed themselves into groupings in Australia through residential concentration, development of ethnic/nationality based media, formation of formal ethnic/nationality organisations and maintaining linkages with home nations has varied considerably between origin groups. There are no Australian government policies or programmes which seek to enhance or support linkages between expatriates and their homelands, although destination countries like the Philippines have a suite of organisations and structures to maintain and sustain linkages with their diaspora. There is

little research available regarding the role of those linkages in the development of origin communities and nations. Undoubtedly, Australia's Chinese and Vietnamese communities have been substantial contributors to the massive influx of investment into their homelands in recent years. The increased availability of goods from Asia in Australia may in small part be associated with the bridgehead markets established by expatriate communities and their involvement in trade. There have been a number of nationality-based chambers of commerce developed in Australia to facilitate trade between Australian and Pacific nations in which the diaspora has played a role. Undoubtedly the development of diaspora communities has encouraged the flow of people (mainly tourists and business people) between their homelands and Australia. The five largest increases in visitors to Australia in 2003-04 were Taiwan, People's Republic of China, Malaysia, India and Indonesia (DIMIA 2005a, 54) and Asian countries make up 6 of the top 10 origins of visitors.

One issue about which little is known is the role of diaspora in knowledge transfer and the spread of ideas. There is considerable interest in the emergence of networks of academics, researchers, scientists and technologists in the spread of knowledge and in countries maintaining a competitive edge in global innovation and trade (Meyer and Brown 1999). In this context Hugo (2008) has studied the linkages maintained by Indian and Chinese academics and researchers in Australian Universities and these are summarised in Table 20. This indicates a high level of maintenance of professional linkages with colleagues in China and India. The potential for such channels of communication to facilitate knowledge transfer is substantial.

Table 21 shows that the academics visit their homelands frequently as well as being in regular contact by phone and email. There has been an increasing recognition in the literature that the existence of a diaspora of researchers, scientists and technologists can provide a 'brain gain option' without returning to their home nation since they can be avenues for

technology transfers, information spread and training for people in their home country (Barre, Hernandez, Meyer and Vinck 2003; Meyer *et al.* 1997; Meyer 2001a and b; Meyer *et al.* 2001). China has used administrative means in order to encourage such networking (Biao 2006). The potential of ‘virtual return’ through the use of modern information and

Table 20: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia: Professional Linkages Maintained with India, 2007

Source: Hugo 2008

Type of Linkage	India Percent (n=111)	China Percent (n=239)
Running Seminars/Courses in India	41.1	61.0
Training Indian/Chinese Students in Australia	27.0	51.5
Editing a Book with an Indian/Chinese Scholar	19.3	19.5
Collaborative Research with Indian/Chinese Scholars	50.0	65.6
Gave Academic Papers in India/China	71.4	59.5
Consulting in India/China	14.0	24.6
Have a Company that Works in India/China	7.2	3.9
Visit Colleagues in India/China Regularly	73.0	69.0

Table 21: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia: Frequency of Contact with India and China, 2007

Source: Hugo 2008

Frequency of Contact	India Percent	China Percent
Visit Family in India/China Regularly	89.7	84.4
Visit India/China at Least Once a Year	57.1	59.9
Contact India/China at Least Weekly	61.0	56.5

communication technology has led to a significant change in China’s official policy toward the high skill people in its diaspora. Wescott (2005) has pointed out that the policy has changed from ‘*huiuo fuwu*’ (return and serve the motherland) to ‘*weiguo fuwu*’ (serve the motherland) in recognition of the increasing ability of the diaspora to deliver benefits to the homeland while abroad.

Return Migration

One of the ways in which the effects of brain drain can be best negated is when the outflow of skilled workers from Less Developed Countries is circular and not permanent. Hence, removal of barriers at both destination and origin to return migration are important. This includes not only making available a range of both permanent and temporary migration options to immigrants but also ensuring the portability of benefits and savings accumulated while the migrants are in the destination. Indeed one could argue that a circular pattern of south-north migration could have significant advantages not only to the south nation but also north countries. One of the major areas of concern in such nations is the ageing of their populations. What is apparent from research on the effect of migration on ageing is that its impact is marginal because migrants themselves age and contribute to the ageing problem (United Nations 2000). However, if a pattern of circular migration is set up, the migrant workforce is maintained with a young profile because of the return outflow of older workers being replaced by an inflow of younger workers.

In an immigration nation such as Australia it is often overlooked that there is a substantial element of return migration among settlers. It is estimated (Hugo 1994; Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001) that up to a quarter of all settlers to Australia in the postwar period have subsequently emigrated from Australia, although the rates of return vary greatly between birthplace groups. It has been earlier shown that the ratio of permanent departures to permanent arrivals for several Asian and Pacific born settler migrants coming to Australia is considerable. However there are some important exceptions, there is generally a low rate of return migration among immigrants to Australia from the poorest country origins. On the other hand, there is a very high rate of return among immigrants from more developed countries like New Zealand, the United States, Canada, Japan and the United Kingdom (Hugo 1994; Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001). It is also a consistent finding in Australia that return

rates are lowest among settlers who come to Australia under the refugee-humanitarian criteria. Another consistent pattern is that patterns of onward migration are greatest for skilled persons and least for unskilled. The meanings of these findings for development impacts in origins need to be fully explored.

Australia does not have a policy of encouraging skilled settlers from less developed nations to return to their home nation. Indeed the *raison d'etre* of Australia's postwar migration policy, at least until the mid 1990s, was to eschew 'guest worker' migration and the total emphasis was permanent settlement. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s there was some concern among Australian immigration officials of what was seen as a significant 'settler loss' (Hugo 1994). The fact that up to a quarter of settlers to Australia eventually left the country was seen by some as a failure of the immigration settlement system although many (especially those who are highly skilled) never had an intention of settling permanently in Australia. In the period up to the early 1990s there was a substantial investment of government resources into 'post arrival services' to facilitate the adjustment of migrants and to reduce the chance that they will return to their home nation (Jupp 2002). Hence it would take a substantial 'conceptual leap' for the Australian government to develop policies to encourage return migration of skilled settlers to their home country.

A DEVELOPMENT-SENSITIVE MIGRATION POLICY FOR AUSTRALIA?

Australia has been a world leader in the development and management of migration policies which are not discriminatory on religious, ethnic, national or racial lines and which have a mix of humanitarian, economic and family elements. While these policies have had an important humanitarian component and recognised national responsibilities to the international refugee problem the policies have been developed with Australian national (especially labour market) interests being the overwhelming consideration (Ryan 2005; Hugo

2005c). The new thinking on international migration and development, however, suggests that it is possible to develop immigration policies in migration destinations which have win-win-win outcomes not only for the destination but also the migrants themselves and the origin communities. Injecting an element of development sensitivity into destination country policies need not mean the sacrifice of any gains the country experiences from migration nor the autonomy of that country. This presents a major challenge to the international community in a public policy arena which already is a highly sensitive one.

The implication of the contemporary discourse on migration and development (United Nations 2006) is that there needs to be a conceptual change among migration policy makers not only in origin countries but also in destinations if the potential for win-win-win is to be realised. From the perspective of a destination country like Australia what would be involved in a *development-sensitive migration policy*?

To begin with such a policy should *not* involve:

- any loss of national sovereignty and/or reduction in the total control over who can enter Australia or settle in Australia;
- any sacrifice of the undoubted benefits of international migration to Australian economy, society and culture.

Can Australia develop effective policies to assist in migration in Asia and the Pacific playing a positive role in the development and poverty reduction without any loss of the gains being delivered by current Australian immigration policy? What are the elements in a destination country immigration policy which can deliver benefits to an origin country? Such questions are being increasingly raised in Europe and North America (DFID 2007) but there are a number of elements which can be put forward in a preliminary way:

- Fundamentally it involves examining and considering the benefits and impacts of a particular migration policy, not only from the perspective of the destination country but also from that of the origin countries.
- One consideration relates to issues of brain drain, especially that of medical workers. The potential for such elements as Codes of Practice or providing medical training development assistance to origin areas need to be considered in a pragmatic and realistic way. It needs to be recognised that not all skilled emigration is negative in its effects on low income countries but it is true that some is and where this is the case effective, workable ways of counterbalancing its effect need to be considered. Undoubtedly some coordination of migration and development assistance policy in education and training needs to be investigated.
- Another consideration relates to circular migration. Australia has developed one of the most effective temporary migration programs in the world, albeit one focusing on skill (Khoo *et al.* 2003). Although there have been abuses of the program it has overwhelmingly had a positive impact in Australia (Khoo *et al.* 2003). There has been increasing discussion in Australia as to whether this program should be extended to unskilled workers (Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Workforce Relations and Employment 2006). The justification has been both from the perspective of the positive benefits this will have for the poor in low income nations, especially in the Pacific (Maclellan and Mares 2006) but also that it would meet labour shortages for unskilled and semi-skilled workers in particular sectors.

This issue needs to be confronted squarely in Australia and a comprehensive and authoritative investigation made into it. It needs to be established if there are real sectoral labour shortages for unskilled or semi-skilled workers who do not meet correct criteria for temporary entry or permanent settlement and if so in what areas? Moreover this analysis

should not be confined to the contemporary situation but be projected over the next two decades in the light of the ageing of the workforce and structural change in the economy. It has been shown, for example (Hugo 2007b), that Australia faces an increase in the number of paid care workers of 3.0 percent per annum between 2001 and 2011 and 3.2 percent and 3.9 percent per annum over the next two decades. In all, over the three decades there will be an extra 69,954 workers needed in the residential area and 136,457 in the non-residential area. This investigation also needs to not only look at the *past* experience of temporary labour migration schemes but also look at the potential for Australia to develop best practice in such schemes using all of the tools available in migration management and governance in the twenty-first century. The question needs to be asked as to whether all unskilled temporary labour migration is bad or whether it is the way such schemes have been managed in the past which has caused its negative effects. The fact is that they are often beneficial to the movers and their families.

As has already been discussed, consideration needs to be given to ways in which, at the Australia end, positive diaspora linkages with home nations can be facilitated. This would involve examination of dual citizenship, portability of entitlements, facilitating joint activities in business and research, involving the diaspora in Australia in planning the effective delivery of development assistance in the origin countries. Consideration should also be given to whether Australia should extend its policy of multiculturalism to encourage binationality so that immigrants from low income countries are encouraged to be fully involved with their home country not just maintain their culture, language and heritage. Indeed their participation in development of their origins could be encouraged.

With respect to remittances the World Bank (2006; Terry and Wilson 2005) is placing considerable emphasis on the development of policies to maximise the amount of money remitted by migrants to their home area and the effective capturing of these resources to

facilitate poverty reduction and development at home. There would seem to be potential for Australia to play a role in this effort in the Asia-Pacific region.

- (a) Firstly in co-operation with other multilateral agencies and partner governments to:
- improve access to safe, fair, transparent remittance service providers;
 - reduce the excessive rent taking in remittances and maximise the amount which is received by the recipient;
 - link remittances to other mainstream financial services (banks etc.) so that senders and receivers gain access to a wider range of such services.
- (b) Secondly to work with partner governments and NGOs to develop ways of increasing the effectiveness of remittances in poverty reduction and development.

CONCLUSION

The involvement of development assistance agencies in high income nations in migration and development initiatives is a new phenomenon (DFID 2007, 1). However, the growing evidence of the positive role that migration can and does play in the reduction of poverty, and facilitation of economic and social development (World Bank 2006), has meant that multilateral and national development agencies are now seriously considering how they can direct resources to ‘increase the benefits and reduce the risks of migration for poor people’ (DFID 2007, 1) for people in low income countries. It is necessary, however, to make a few cautionary remarks:

- Migration can not be seen as a substitute for good governance and the development of a sound economic development policy within Asia Pacific countries. Its role is purely subsidiary and facilitating in the development process.
- Migration is a sensitive issue in Asia and the Pacific (as it is elsewhere) and there are real sensitivities about the involvement of foreign nations in matters relating to the

movement of people into countries. Over a long period this has been a barrier to developing meaningful dialogue between pairs of sending and receiving in the region.

- In the Australian context migration issues have been the preserve of a single government department (currently the Department of Immigration and Citizenship) for almost the entire postwar period. That Department has developed a substantial body of experience and capacity in migration but that experience has not related at all to the development impact of migration on origin economies. Formulation of more development sensitive migration policies would involve a wider range of government instrumentalities especially the Development Assistance Agency.
- Consideration of migration and development initiatives involves, potentially at least, not only activities in low income nations but also in destination countries and this differentiates it from most development assistance programs.

Nevertheless three basic points also need to be made:

- People movement has increased, and is increasing, in Asia and the Pacific.
- The weight of empirical evidence is that this mobility can potentially be harnessed to facilitate and assist in poverty reduction and positive developmental outcomes although it is not a substitute for good governance and sound economic policy.
- Australia is better placed than almost any other high income nation to provide development assistance relating to migration because of its long experience with migration and the highly developed knowledge of migration, migration policy and management and its impacts.

Australia is an important destination for both permanent and temporary migration from low income Asian and Pacific nations. Like most destination nations, Australian immigration policy is overwhelmingly formulated in terms of its own national interest, which in the past has involved little or no consideration of the impact of migration on origin nations.

This, however, may change partly because of the global discussion on the migration – development nexus but also because it increasingly can be seen as being within Australia’s national interest to do so. In the post September 11 situation, there has been a rethinking of security considerations in Australia as there has been elsewhere in the world. This has involved a re-evaluation of the nation’s relationship with neighbouring nations and the realisation that enhancing the security, stability and wellbeing of those nations is fundamental to Australia’s security. This has seen significant increases in investment, capacity building and strategic interest in those countries. Hence, whereas in the past migration and development considerations may have been small elements in the formulation of migration policy and practice this may well change in the future.

At present, however, it would take a substantial ‘conceptual leap’ for destination governments like Australia to factor in the impacts in origin countries as a major element shaping immigration/settlement policy. Migration to Australia is not the answer to remedying low development levels in origin nations but it can potentially contribute to some improvement of the situation in origin areas. However it will take policy intervention to maximise such impacts. At the very least there needs to be the development of a more substantial evidence base on which to consider policy formulation in this area. Moreover, it is important if recommendations are to be considered by government then the implications of migration and development policy for the national interest at the destination needs to be considered. In the post September 11 world it could be argued, for example, that the Australian national interest would be served if neighbouring countries are stable and secure and have populations whose wellbeing is improving to the extent that migration can play a role in achieving this it needs to be seen as part of this effort. It is probable that achievements in this area will be slow and incremental rather than massive and dramatic, as it is realised that ‘win-win-win’ scenarios can be formulated which enhance the wellbeing of migrants and

their families, serve the labour market needs of Australia and have a net positive development effect in the home country.

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