The Indian and Chinese Academic Diaspora in Australia: A Comparison[1]

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Abstract

Australia's immigration has undergone remarkable changes in the last decade. India and China have become two significant sources of immigrants to Australia and are going to be even more important in near future because of a number of reasons such as Australia's requirements for skilled workers, family reunion induced migration, presence of a large number of full fee paying Indian and Chinese students, and several other linkages related to trade, business and tourism. Australia is also a country of significant emigration flows facing both settler loss and Australia-born's outflow. However, the substantial difference between the number of China- and India-born leaving Australia and the numbers going to China and India reflect a high incidence of third country migration. Significant number of university teachers and researchers are migrating from China and India to Australia and this phenomenon is likely to experience substantial increase in the flow to meet the projected requirements in Australian universities. The paper focuses on the relationship maintained by Chinese and Indian academics in Australia with their homeland. It also found that significant proportions of migrants from these countries intend to return home at some stage. Observing the significant role of the academicians and researchers in transmitting information and in facilitating technology transfer resulting in development of tertiary research and teaching organisation in the home country, policy intervention becomes necessary in this field.

Keywords: Migration, diaspora, university teachers, researchers, policy, student migration.

I. Introduction

One of the distinctive features of recent Australian immigration has been the increasing significance of China and India as origins of permanent settlers and in long term[2] and short term[3] movements to Australia. Together their share of settlers increased from 12.1 percent in 1996-97 to 18.2 percent in 2006-07[4], of long term visitors from 5.8 to 26.1 percent and short term from 2.0 to 7.6 per cent. However, it has been demonstrated that migration between Australia on the one hand, and Asian countries on the other, is best conceptualised as a system in which there is a complex pattern of movement both into and out of Australia rather than a south-north flow (Hugo, 2008a and forthcoming). This paper focuses on one element

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[1] This paper was prepared for the 20th International Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) held at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on November 14-17, 2008.

[2] Temporary visa holders arriving and residents departing temporarily with the intention to stay in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more, and the departure of temporary visa holders and the return of residents who had stayed in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more.

[3] Travellers whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than twelve months.

[4] However in 2006-07 there were an additional 16,138 China- and India-born who transferred from temporary to permanent residence in Australia so that in total they added 41,643 to the Australian population by migration – 21.7 percent of the total.

of this complexity – the relationship maintained by the diasporas of Indians and Chinese in Australia with their origin countries. After a brief discussion of the contemporary role of diaspora, the data sources used in the paper are explained. The nature of contemporary population movement between China and India on the one hand and Australia on the other is then examined. A case study of Indian and Chinese academics is then used to show how their diaspora communities have developed and maintained networks with their origin countries. Finally there is some discussion of the policy implications.

II. Contemporary Diaspora

There has been a major shift in social science research about international migration over the last two decades away from a focus on migration as definitive resettlement in a new country toward transnationalism which instead focuses on the linkages between origins and destinations (Piper [ed.] forthcoming; Dunn, 2005). This paradigm shift has seen greater attention being paid on the one hand to emigration and the process of leaving, and on the other to the relationships maintained with their homeland by migrants residing in destinations and also upon return migration and circular movement of the migrants from the destination country back to the origin. The latter has seen an increasing focus in international migration studies on the phenomenon of diaspora. Diaspora has its origins in the Greek word 'to colonise' and until relatively recently it has been used to refer largely to a group of people who are linked by common ethno-linguistic and/or religious bonds who have left their homeland, usually under some form of coercion, and who have developed a strong identity and mutual solidarity in exile. The Jewish diaspora has been the classic example (Cohen, 1997). In the contemporary context, with the acceleration in international mobility, the term has been used more broadly to encompass expatriate populations who are living outside their home countries and retain linkages with their origin countries (Safran, 1991; Vertovec, 1997). Reis (2004, 46) distinguishes between two groups of diaspora theorists: on the one hand are those who focus on 'classical' diaspora based on the Jewish archetype, while, on the other, are those who co-mingle contemporary diasporas with issues of transnationalism and globalisation. It is the latter, wider conceptualisation which is of particular relevance to contemporary discussion of the impacts of emigration on development in origin countries. A distinction also has been made in studies of diaspora 'between a symbolic ethnic identity of 'being' and a more active 'diaspora identity' requiring involvement' (Butler, 2001: 191-93) with the latter implying active participation in activity in the homeland.

Butler (2001) has built on the work of Safran (1991) to advance a number of criteria which he considers characterise contemporary diaspora. He argues that it is not necessary for communities of expatriates to fulfil all of the criteria but implies that they should meet most of them. They include:

- Expatriates should be spread over more than one destination.
- They should retain a relationship with their real or imagined homeland.
- There should be an awareness of group identity.
- The diaspora should exist beyond the first generation.

III. Migration from China and India to Australia

In most countries international migration data systems have not made the transition from the permanent displacement migration to transnationalism model that has occurred in the

research community. Most systems are unable to provide insights into transnationalism because:

a. They only detect, or at least keep data on, more or less permanent migrations and neglect non-permanent moves.
b. They overwhelmingly are concerned with immigration and inflows and give little or no information on emigration and other outflows.

Australia and New Zealand, as two long-standing migration countries, have more comprehensive data collection systems than most. This paper predominantly employs Australian migration flow data which collects information on all persons who enter or leave the country legally.[5] These moves into or out of the country are allocated to one of the three categories shown in Table 1 A major limitation of the categorisation is that it relies upon persons moving into or out of the country indicating their intentions about the degree of permanency or temporariness of their move. Of course such intentions are relatively often negated by unanticipated future events (Osborne, 2004). Nevertheless the flow data provide a relatively comprehensive indication of the totality of movement into and out of the country.

Table 1: Australian International Migration Flow Data Collection

Permanent movement	Persons migrating to settle in Australia and residents departing permanently
Long term movement	Temporary visa holders arriving and residents departing temporarily with the intention to stay in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more, and the departure of temporary visa holders and the return of residents who had stayed in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more
Short term movement	Travellers whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than twelve months

At the 2006 census there were 206,589 China-born and 147,105 India-born persons enumerated. This represented a 44.7 percent and 54.1 percent increase respectively over the numbers counted at the 2001 census. The China-born and India-born are the third and sixth largest overseas-born groups in the country but large scale settlement immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon. The annual settler intake of China- and India-born over the last six decades is shown in Figure 1 and demonstrates the recency of settlement, especially for India.

The settler flows shown in Figure 1, however, only represent part of the contribution of Indian and Chinese migration to Australian population growth in recent years. It is shown later that there has also been a substantial increase in non-permanent migration to Australia over the last decade. One of the impacts of this has been an increasing number of persons who enter Australia initially as temporary residents but subsequently apply for, and gain, permanent residency. Indeed in 2006-07, 27.0 percent of the total net immigrant gain in the Australian population was due to 'onshore' migration. Table 2 shows that 'onshore' arrivals for China doubled between 2002-03 and 2006-07. In 2006-07 while China was the fourth largest origin nation for settler arrivals (after United Kingdom, New Zealand and India) it was the largest origin nation for onshore arrivals. Hence Chinese are taking advantage of new immigration regulations which facilitate temporary residents changing status to permanent residence more than any other single birthplace group. It is clear too that Indians are making increasing use of the facility to transition from temporary to permanent residence with the numbers doing so doubling in the last two years.

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[5] Since Australia is an island nation policing the national boundaries is made easier than nations with land borders so that clandestine migration into or out of the country is miniscule.
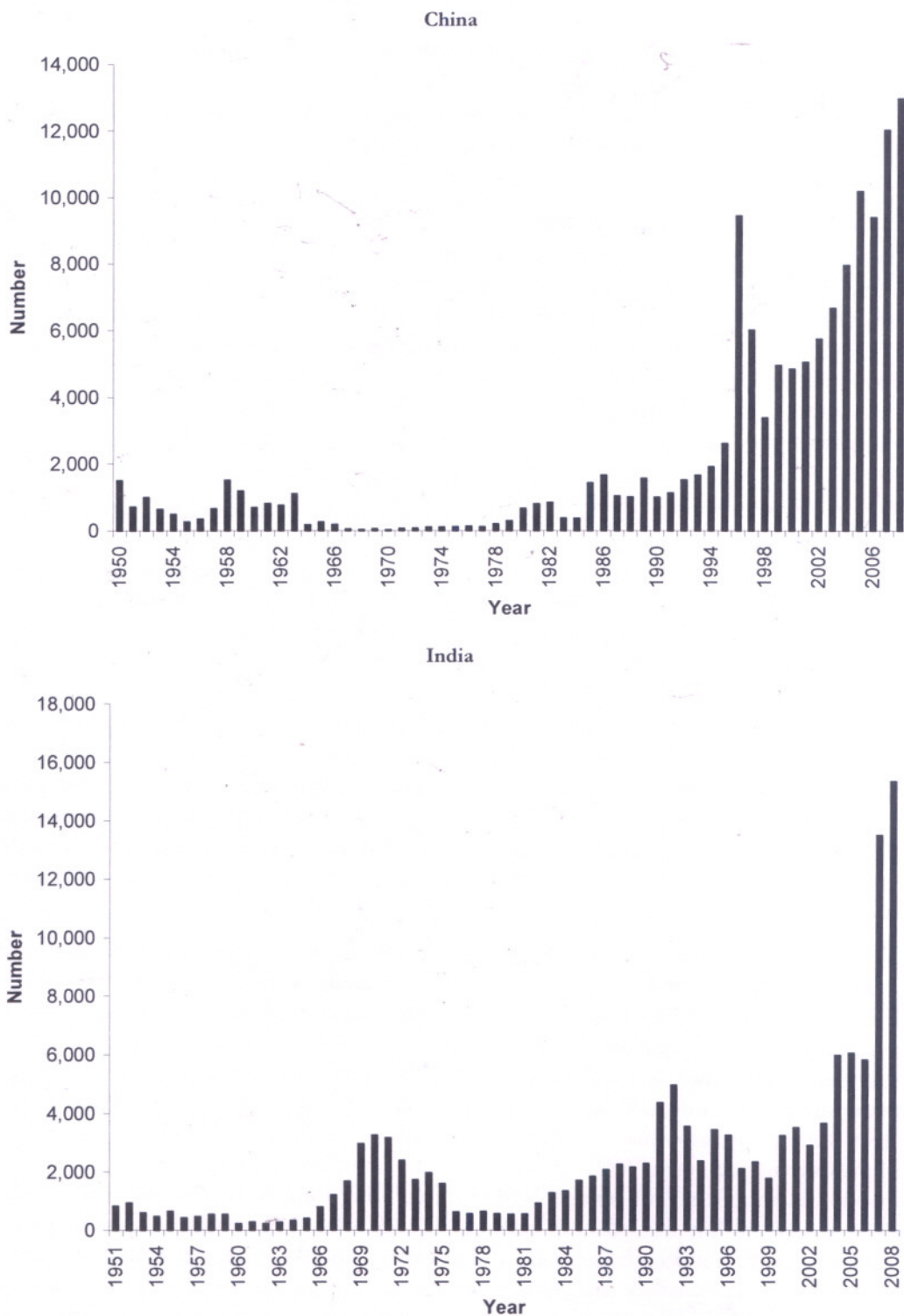
China

India

Figure 1: Settler Arrivals from China and India to Australia, 1950-2008

Note: Prior to 2007, data are for region of last residence. For 2007 and 2008, data are for country of birth.
SOURCE: CBCS DEMOGRAPHY BULLETINS; DIMIA AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION: CONSOLIDATED STATISTICS; DIAC 2008A; DIAC UNPUBLISHED DATA

Table 2: Permanent Additions to Australian Population of China- and India-Born, 2001-08

Year	Onshore		Offshore Arrivals		Ratio of Offshore: Onshore	
	China	India	China	India	China	India
2001-02	3,180	2,696	6,708	5,091	2.11	0.76
2002-03	3,369	2,503	6,664	5,783	1.98	0.87
2003-04	4,532	3,224	8,784	8,135	1.94	0.93
2004-05	4,903	3,464	11,095	9,414	2.26	0.85
2005-06	7,403	4,012	10,581	11,286	1.41	1.07
2006-07	9,811	6,327	12,009	13,496	1.22	1.12
2007-08	na	na	12,959	15,338	na	na

Source: DIAC Immigration Update, various issues and DIAC 2008a

Australian settlement migration is made up of a number of policy components:

a. Refugee and Humanitarian Movement – designed to resettle refugees and other forced migrants.
b. Family Migration – enabling family members to join earlier generations of immigrants.
c. Economic Migration – involving recruitment of people with skills in short supply in the economy.
d. Migrants are assessed and given points according to age, education, work experience and English language speaking ability.
e. Special Categories – involving mainly New Zealanders, people with special talents.

Table 3 shows that for both the China-born and the India-born the majority of settlers have come as skilled migrants. However there is a substantial difference between the Indian and Chinese with the proportion of family migrants having double for the latter compared with the former. To some extent this may be a function of the fact that the large scale Indian flow has been more recent so that there has been less chance for settlers to bring family to join them. However it also may be that chain migration is more significant among the Chinese than the Indians. However, the Indian influx is part of an increasing flow of Indian skilled persons to OECD nations (Khadria, 2004). Indians have a particular advantage when compared with several other Asian groups when applying to migrate to Australia through the skilled migration stream:

a. The fact that many have the particular training and skills which attract points in the Australian Points Assessment.
b. The fact that most have an excellent command of the English language which also attracts points in that Assessment.

Table 3: China- and India-Born Settler Arrivals to Australia by Eligibility Category, 2006-07

Settler Eligibility Category	China-Born		India-Born		All Settlers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	Per cent
Family Migration	5,317	44.2	3,401	22.5	37,138	26.5
Skill Migration	6,422	53.5	10,161	75.3	60,755	43.4
Humanitarian	34	0.3	7	0.1	12,247	8.7
Non-Program Migration	236	2.0	287	2.1	29,899	21.4
Total	12,009	100.0	13,496	100.0	140,039	100.0

Source: DIAC 2008b

IV. Non-Permanent Migration

However, south-north permanent migration is only part of a more complex pattern of repetitive, circular and reciprocal movement between the countries. Until the mid 1990s Australia eschewed non-permanent migration but in the last decade there has been a reversal of this policy. In response to restructuring of the Australian economy, internationalisation of labour markets and globalisation forces more generally, there was a major shift in policy which has allowed entry of large numbers of people who have the right to work in Australia on a non-permanent basis. This represented a parametric change in Australian immigration policy (Hugo 1999). Nevertheless, this type of visa entry has not been extended to unskilled and low skilled workers and has been strictly confined to people with skills in shortage in the Australian labour market and entrepreneurs. Of the main types of temporary movement there has been a significant involvement of the India- and China-born in all but the Working Holiday Maker Program[6]. One movement of particular significance is that of fee paying students who have entered Australia to study in Australian educational institutions. Australia has become one of the major global destinations of students from South nations (Abella 2005; Tremblay 2004) and Figure 2 shows that there has been a sharp increase in the numbers of overseas student arrivals from China and India since the turn of the century. In 1999 India and China were only the fifth and six largest origins of students coming to Australia accounting together for 13 percent of the total overseas student stock. By 2007 the total numbers had more than doubled and China and India were the largest contributors and together accounted for 34.4 percent of the total intake as Table 4 indicates. The recency of rapid growth in both groups and the doubling of numbers from India in the last two years duplicates the pattern observed earlier for permanent settlers. The synchronicity of the two patterns would indicate there are common forces underlying both.

Table 4: Stock of Chinese and Indian Students Present in Australia (as on 31 March)

| Date	India	China	Total	Per cent from China	Per cent from India
1999	8,608	7,411	120,555	6.1	6.9
2000	5,481	7,415	130,801	5.7	4.2
2001	2,744	7,420	102,331	8.4	2.7
2002	2,903	13,565	110,572	12.3	2.6
2003	6,529	23,991	186,102	12.9	3.5
2004	11,523	35,576	204,794	17.8	5.6
2005	17,256	43,367	213,892	20.3	8.1
2006	22,869	49,831	234,844	21.2	9.7
2007	35,804	55,550	265,999	20.9	13.5

Source: DIAC Immigration Update, various issues

Turning to other Australian temporary migration visa categories, the Temporary Business Visa category was introduced in 1996 and as DIMA (2000, p. 48) points out:

The employer sponsored temporary business visas allow employers to fill skill shortages from overseas and assess new ideas, skills and technology. The visa holders tend to be highly skilled and have relatively high income levels and therefore able to contribute to economic growth through improved productivity and increased demand for goods and services. The entry of managers and skilled specialists under these categories can also enhance Australia's ability to compete in international markets.

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[6] This is a programme open only to nationals of countries with which Australia has a special bilateral agreement. India and China are not currently among those countries.
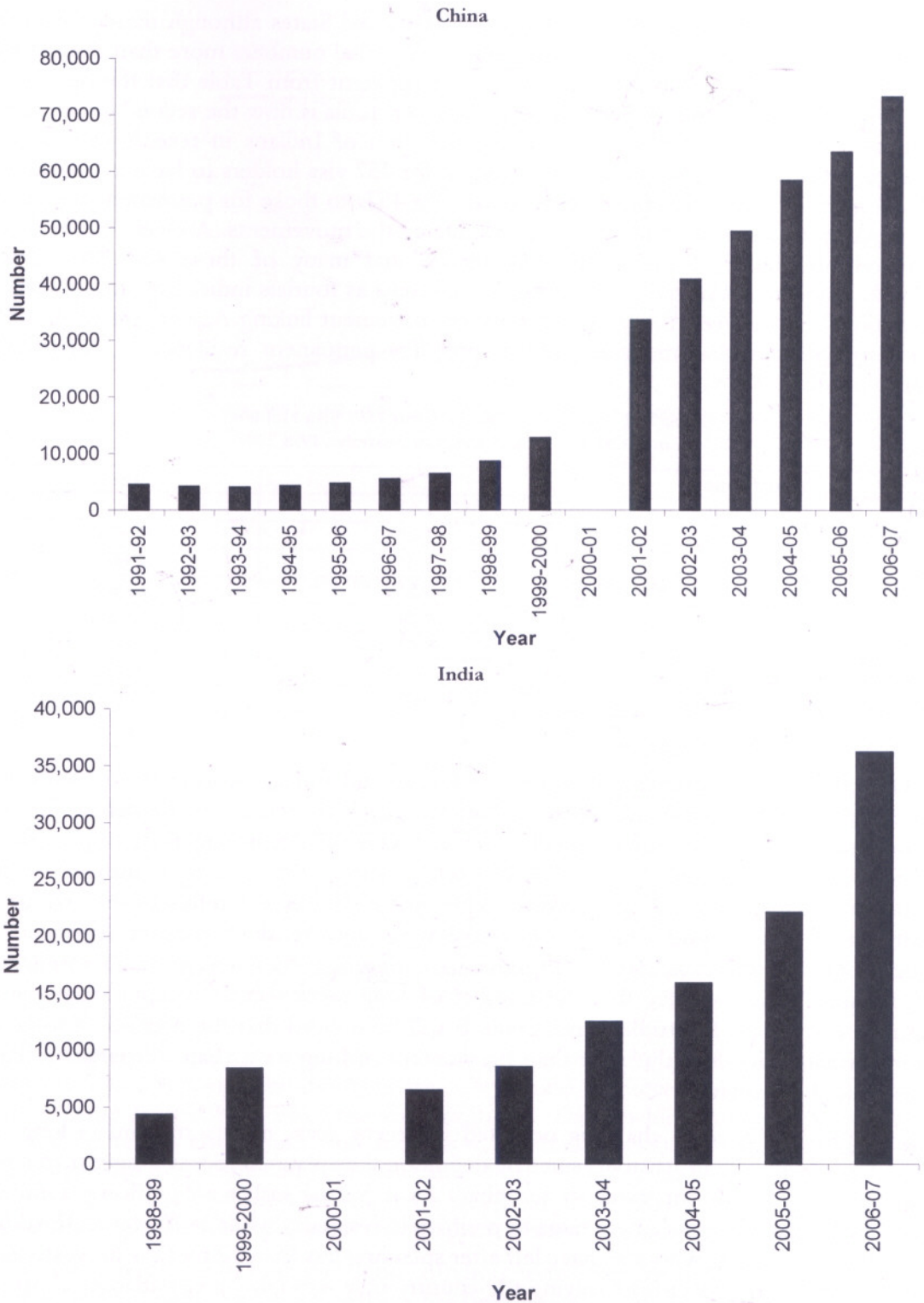
Figure 2: China-Born and India-Born Student Arrivals to Australia, 1991-92 to 2006-07

Note: Refers to the number of actual movements rather than the number of people who travelled.
Data not available for 2000-01.
Source: DIAC unpublished data and Immigration Update, various issues

The 457 visa is similar to the H-IB visa in the United States although there is no upper limit and it is totally driven by the labour market. The total numbers more than trebled from 31,550 in 1998 to 110,570 in 2008. However it is apparent from Table that the numbers of 457s from China and India have increased even faster. India is now the second largest source country and China the fifth. The greater participation of Indians in recent years is partly associated with the introduction of a requirement for 457 visa holders to have a basic level of English capability. The similarity of patterns among 457s to those for permanent settlers and tourists points to a similarity in the forces producing the movements. A recent paper (Khoo, Hugo and McDonald, forthcoming) has shown that many of these 457 holders were previously students in Australia or had visited Australia as tourists indicating again the strong interrelationships between the different types of movement linking Australia with Asia. The paper also indicates that many intend to apply for permanent residence in Australia on expiration of their 457 visa.

Table 5: Temporary Skilled Migrants (457 Visa Holders)
from China and India Present in Australia, 1998-2007

Year (June)	China	India
1998	1,621	943
1999	2,428	1,618
2000	2,887	2,607
2005	2,559	4,007
2006	4,219	5,889
2007	6,418	9,943
Change 1998-2007	296%	954%
Change 2006-2007	52%	69%

Source: DIAC Immigration Update, various issues

While there are a significant number of Chinese and Indians who arrive in Australia as 'long term'[7] temporary residents but make the transition to permanent residence, for many this type of movement is fundamentally circular involving a return to their origin country. This is evident when we examine Figure 3 which shows the long term movers between Australia and China over the last 15 years. The 'visitor' movement refers to the arrivals and departures of Indians and Chinese who have temporary resident visas in Australia. The 'residents' are Australian residents who move to, or return from China after, an absence of a year or more. This indicates that the number of long term visitors coming from the two countries to Australia has tripled since 2000. It will be noticed that the number of long term visitor arrivals is significantly larger than the number of long term visitor departures. This is due to a number of things:

a. The large increase that has occurred in recent years means that many long term visitors are still in Australia since by definition they planned to stay longer than a year.

b. There is significant 'category jumping'. As indicated earlier a significant number of long term visitors change status to permanent residency while in Australia. In addition there are others who may have left after spending less than 12 months in Australia.

c. Some long term visitors leaving the country may wrongly be classified as short term visitors.

Nevertheless it is apparent that there has been an especially large uptake of temporary migration visas since 2000 as has been the case with permanent settlement visas.

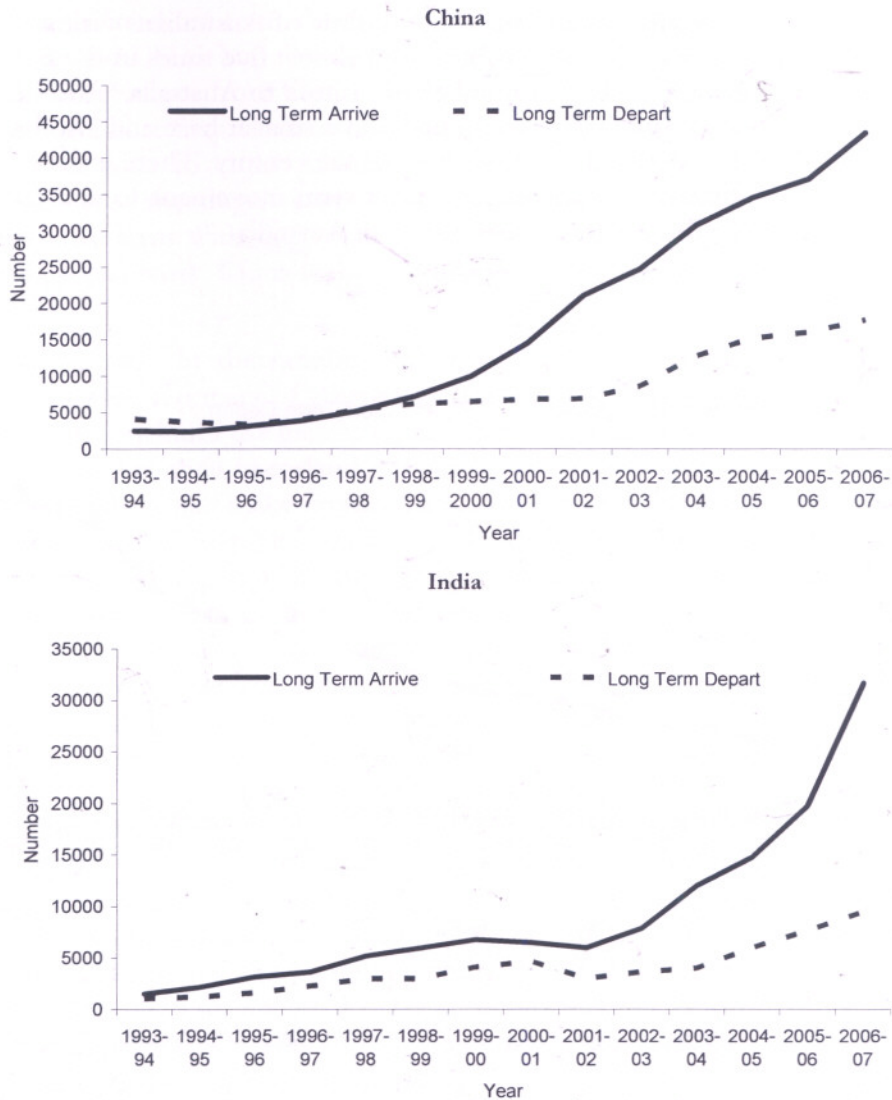[7] i.e. temporary but intending to stay longer than one year.

China

India

**Figure 3: Long Term Resident and Visitors In- and Out-Migration
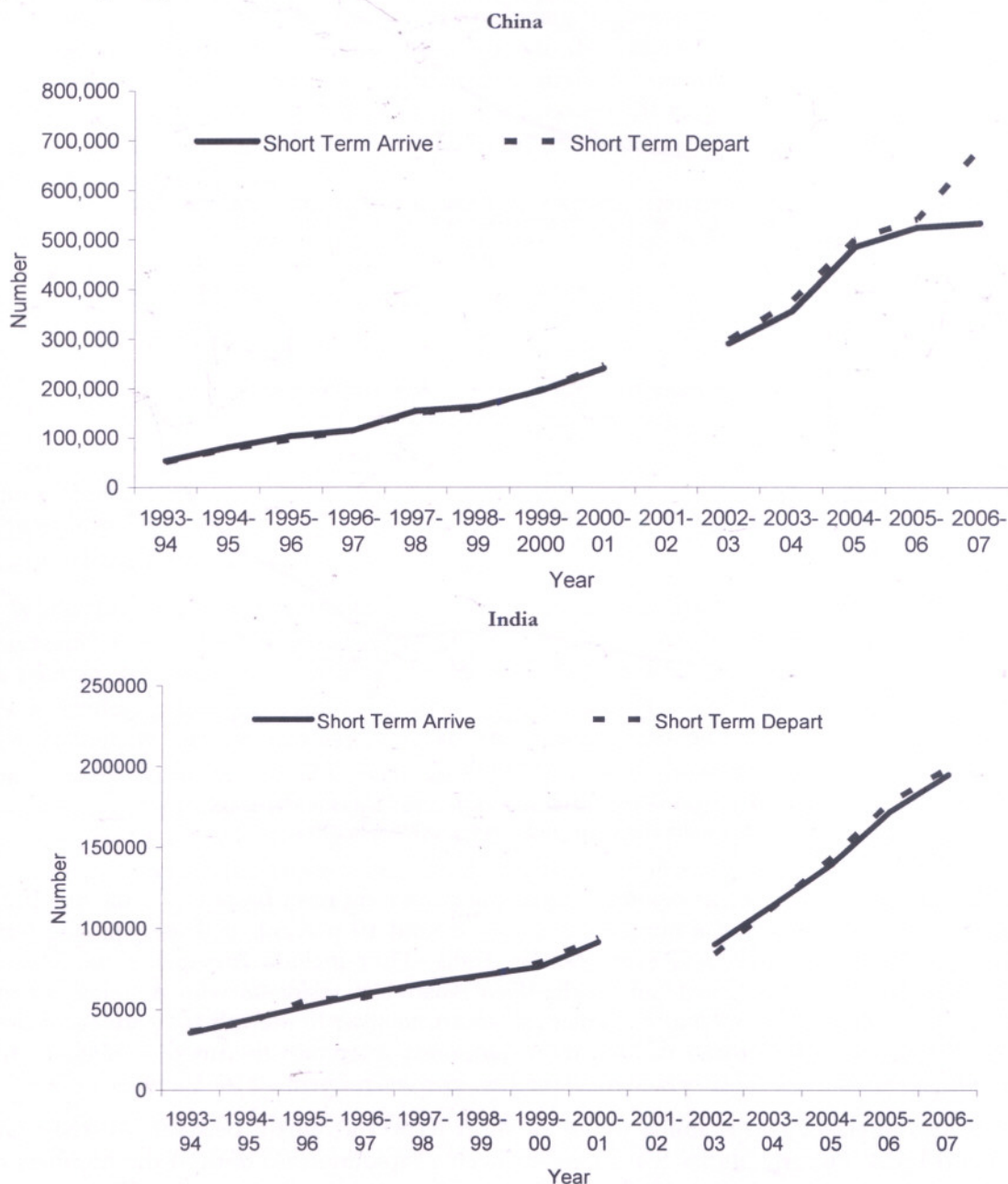from India and China to Australia, 1993-94 to 2006-07**

Source: DIAC unpublished data

The numbers of Australian residents travelling on a long term basis to China and India has also increased although the numbers are only around 10 percent of those for long term visitors coming from China and even less for India. They include Australians working in China and India but also China- and India-born Australian residents who maintain strong relationships with both China and Australia and return to their homeland for periods of over a year. The picture with respect to long term temporary migration then is one of circularity and complexity although there is an overall gradient toward movement to Australia.

It is also interesting to examine trends of short term[8] movement between Australia and China and India. Figure 4 shows that there has been a rapid increase both in the numbers of Chinese, and, to a lesser extent, Indian residents making short term (duration less than one year) visits to Australia as well as in Australians moving in the other direction. Clearly business and tourism travel between China and Australia has increased although the inflow of

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[8] i.e. temporary movers who intend to say less than one year at the destination.

Chinese to Australia is somewhat greater than the outflow of Australians visiting China. The numbers of Chinese visitors to Australia has increased almost five times in the last decade. In 2006-07 the Chinese had the fifth largest number of visitors to Australia (after NZ, the UK, Japan and USA). The increase for India has begun from a smaller base and also has increased more slowly although it has doubled since the turn of the century. There is also a difference to the China pattern in that Australian resident short term movement to and from India is significantly larger than the flow of Indians to and from Australia.

China

India

Figure 4: Short Term Resident and Visitors In- and Out-Migration from India and China to Australia, 1993-94 to 2006-07

Note: Data not available for 2001-02
Source: DIAC unpublished data

The increases in short term flows not only reflect a substantial growth in tourism in Australia, India and China but also a substantial increase in intensity of economic linkages. Hence among the visitors from China and India in 2005-06, 77,350 from China and 24,917 from India were Short Stay Business Visitors Visa Holders which are (DIMA, 2007, p. 62) 'for people who wish to enter Australia for business purposes–i.e., transacting business, attending business meetings, events or conferences; pursuing business investment opportunities consistent with their overseas business operations; or undertaking short term highly skilled project work. China is the largest user of this short term visa category and India the fourth largest.

The rapid increase in the number of *resident* departures evident in Figure 4 not only reflects the increased numbers of Australians travelling to China and India for tourism and business but it also includes the increasing number of China-born and India-born residents in Australia who travel to their homeland frequently. This again reflects an overlapping between the types of mobility which make up the Asia-Australia migration system. People from China and India who settle in Australia set up substantial linkages back to their home nation, an important part of which is regular visiting. The significance of this connection is evident in Table 6 which shows the proportion of Australian *resident* short term departures to China and India who were actually born in the country they were moving to. Over the last decade China-born residents of Australia have accounted for more than a third of all short term (less than one year) visits of Australians to China. This is a clear demonstration of the way in which a diaspora can produce increased interaction between origin and destination country. Indeed this interaction is a major factor in the diaspora developing and retaining strong linkages with their homeland. The movers not only include people visiting family and friends in their homeland but also many who maintain strong business and professional interests in China. The increase in short term movement thus reflects the increasing scale of business and other economic activity which is associated with migration and with the development of diaspora. The linkage between permanent migration and subsequent short term travel out of Australia is reflected in Table 7. This shows that there is a strong correlation between the size of an immigrant community in Australia and the amount of short term movement into and out of Australia to the homeland of that community.

Table 6: Short Term Departures to China and India of Australian Residents, 1994-2007

	To China			To India		
	Total	China-Born	Per cent	Total	India-Born	Per cent
1994-95	47,979	19,455	40.5	28,101	11,179	39.8
1995-96	54,376	21,588	39.7	38,296	14,933	39.0
1996-97	58,837	22,772	38.7	35,404	13,993	39.5
1997-98	81,557	29,974	36.8	38,806	16,050	41.4
1998-99	81,818	33,948	41.5	40,281	14,866	36.9
1999-2000	86,344	33,558	38.9	41,242	16,037	38.9
2000-01	100,569	42,181	41.9	48,517	18,953	39.1
2001-02	na	na	na	Na	na	na
2002-03	117,911	46,266	39.2	46,653	22,814	48.9
2003-04	150,162	59,854	39.9	60,555	28,587	47.2
2004-05	214,165	75,237	35.1	84,040	36,081	42.9
2005-06	239,915	81,313	33.9	99,186	42,402	42.7
2006-07	268,524	90,266	33.1	113,643	50,512	44.4

**Table 7: Correlation Co-efficient Between Short Term Travel in
and Out of Australia and the Size of Immigrant Communities, 2006**

Variables	Correlation Co-efficient(r)
Number of Short Term Arrivals	.555**
Number of Short Term Departures	.556**

** Significant at .01 level
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

The role of India-born in the outflow of Australian residents to India is not as marked as is the case for their Chinese counterparts. The reasons for this are not entirely clear. They may in part be associated with the greater recency of flows from India which may mean return visitation patterns have not had as much chance to develop. Another reason may well be the difference in the occupational profile of Indians and Chinese permanent settlers shown in Table. It will be noted that the Chinese are more likely to be in business/trade related occupations so that they may be more inclined than the Indian IT workers, professionals etc. to maintain economic linkages with their origin.

**Table 8: Occupation of China-Born and India-Born Permanent
and Long Term Arrivals in Australia, 1997-98 to 2006-07**

Major Occupation Group	China-Born		India-Born	
	Settler %	Long Term %	Settler %	Long Term %
Managers/Administrators	17.0	20.0	6.2	8.9
Professionals	53.3	43.3	61.7	64.4
Associate Professionals	9.6	13.6	9.2	11.5
Tradespersons and Related Workers	3.5	7.3	11.3	4.9
Advanced Clerical and Service Workers	1.9	1.7	2.0	0.6
Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers	8.6	7.6	5.8	4.9
Intermediate Production and Transport Workers	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.6
Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service Workers	4.6	5.4	3.1	3.8
Labourers and Related Workers	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	46,072	52,774	19,131	27,073

Source: DIMA unpublished data

The important point that the data that have been presented in this section demonstrate is that while there has been a rapid increase in the size of the Indian and Chinese communities in Australia in recent years there has been an equally rapid increase in the amount of temporary movement linking these communities with their homelands. This is obviously related to the cheapening of international travel which has meant that contemporary diasporas can visit their homeland (and be visited by residents of the homeland) to a much greater degree than was the case for earlier generations of migrants to Australia. European immigrants of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were able to visit their homeland only once or twice during their working lives. Regular visiting facilitates the maintenance of all kinds of linkages – social, cultural and economic. Moreover the visits refresh, strengthen and expand networks between the diaspora and the homeland and they become effective conduits for the two-way transfer of information, goods and money.

The argument here is that it is important to conceptualise the migration between China-India and Australia as a system because this draws attention to the frequent coming and going between the diaspora and the homeland. However the circulation of students, temporary business migrants, business people, tourists and visitors is only part of the two-way migration relationship.

V. Movement from Australia to India and China

There is a tendency for Australia to be categorised as a purely immigration country but, in fact, it also is a country of significant emigration. However Australia also has a high level of emigration comprising two components:

- 'Settler Loss'–i.e. former immigrants who have decided to leave Australia permanently.
- Australia-born–in fact this includes the Australia-born children who are more appropriately considered part of settler loss.

For much of the post-war period the settler loss component of emigration has been greater than the Australia-born outflow but in recent years the Australia-born outflow has begun to outnumber settler loss. In 2007-08 it accounted for 50.1 percent of the record 76,923 outflow. It has been shown elsewhere (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001, 2003; Hugo 2006) that the emigration outflow is slightly more skilled than the immigration intake although the gap has closed in recent years with the increasing emphasis on skill in the Immigration Program.

Settler loss has been an important feature of the post-war Australian migration scene with around a fifth of all post-war settlers subsequently emigrating from Australia. An indication of the extent of return migration can be seen in Table 9 which shows a striking pattern of greater emigration from Australia to China (permanent departures are around a third of permanent arrivals). It is also interesting to note that there is a substantial difference between the number of China- and India-born leaving Australia and the numbers going to China and India. This reflects a high incidence of third country migration.

Table 9: Permanent Migration from Australia to China
and India and of the China-Born and India-Born, 2000-08

Year	Total Permanent Departures to China		China-Born Departures	Total Permanent Departures to India		India-Born Departures
	Australia-Born	Overseas-Born		Australia-Born	Overseas-Born	
2000-01	432	1,445	2,430	50	65	265
2001-02	527	1,506	2,424	43	81	247
2002-03	602	1,448	2,129	60	53	268
2003-04	723	1,166	3,126	71	94	339
2004-05	798	2,699	3,736	75	122	426
2005-06	1,031	2,921	3,893	121	144	446
2006-07	1,092	3,012	3,962	147	209	527
2007-08	Na	na	4,480	Na	na	670

Source: DIMIA 2004; DIMA 2006; DIAC 2008c

VI. Migration of Academics and Researchers from China-India to Australia

The focus will now turn to a discussion of the migration of one occupational sub-group from India and China to Australia – that of university teachers and researchers. Although there is some difficulty in identifying this group in the data base, some indicative information can be obtained. Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the long term and permanent migration of academic teachers and researchers to and from China and India between 1997-98 and 2005-06.[9] All told

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[9] The occupation coding system in the DIAC data was changed in 2003-04.

over this period there were 384 and 6,264 permanent arrivals of teaching university lecturers and tutors and researchers respectively from China while the numbers of long term arrivals were 784 and 2,589. For India there were 278 and 4,651 permanent arrivals of teaching university lecturers and tutors and researchers respectively, and 207 and 508 long term arrivals. There are contrasting patterns. With respect to university teachers it is clear that Universities have switched from using permanent settlement to temporary business visas to bring in staff. This is partly a function of the increased number of contract positions in Australian universities but also is partly a function of the speed and relative simplicity of the 457 Temporary Business Visa (Khoo *et al.*,s 2003). It would seem certain that many of the long term arrivals will seek permanent residence at some stage. Researchers on the other hand are predominantly coming to Australia as permanent settlers.
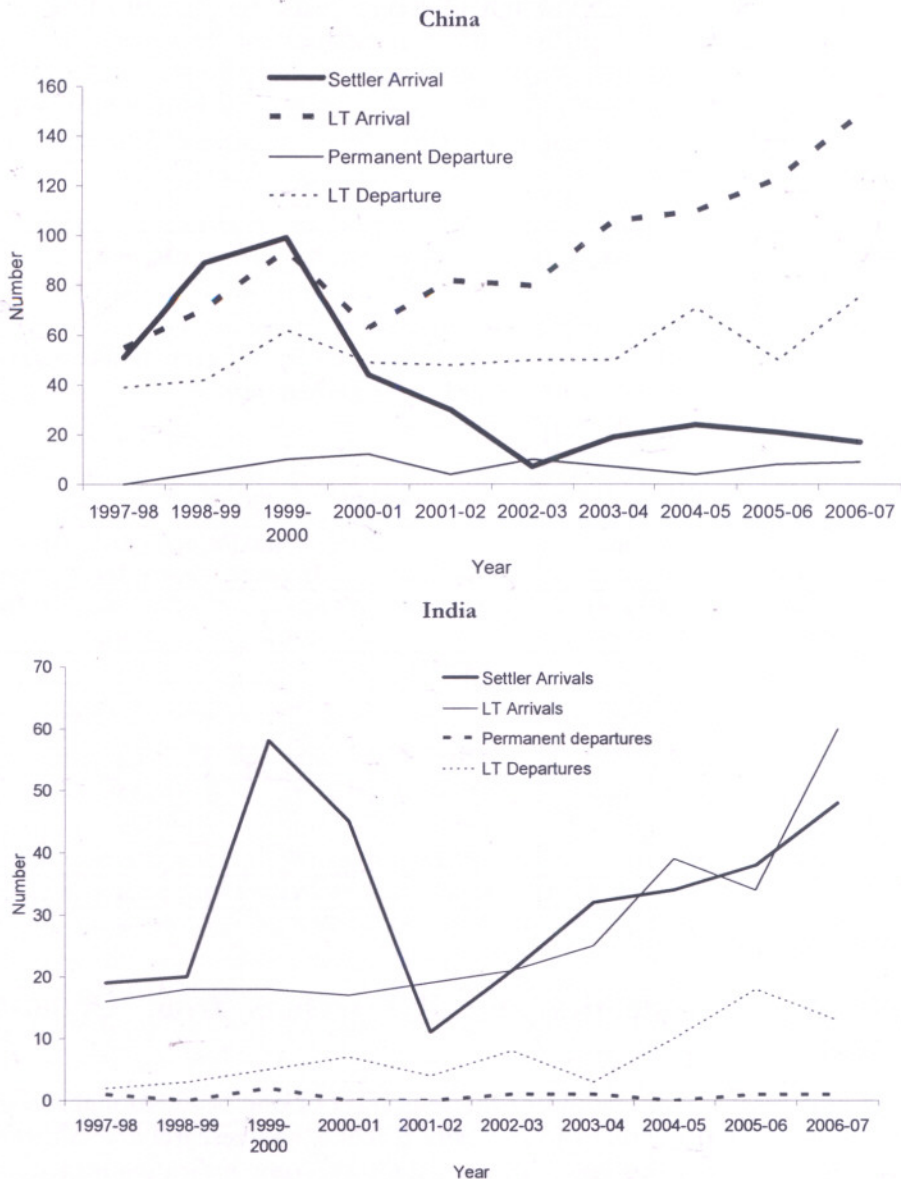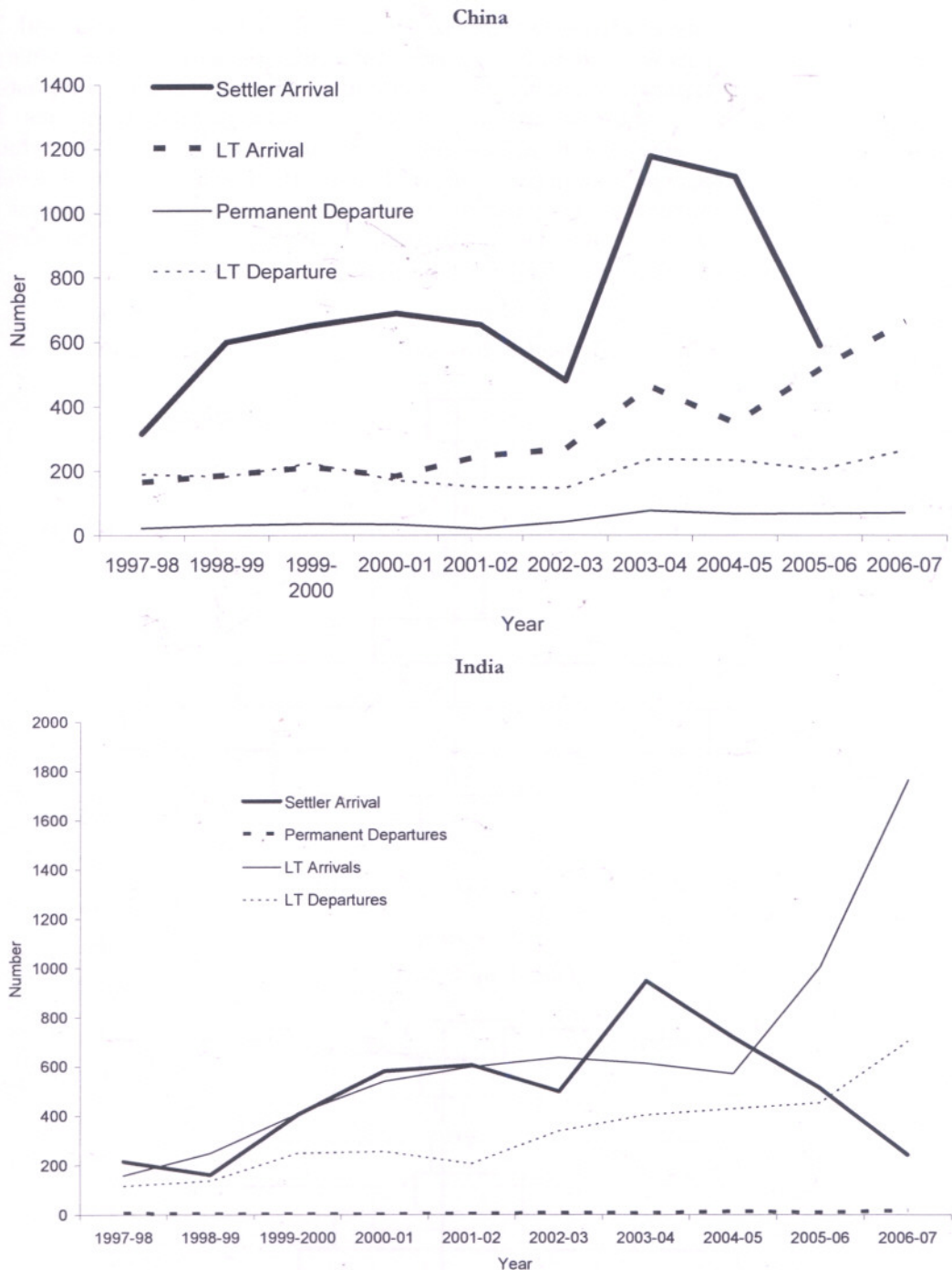

Figure 5: Australia: Permanent and Long Term Movement of Academics
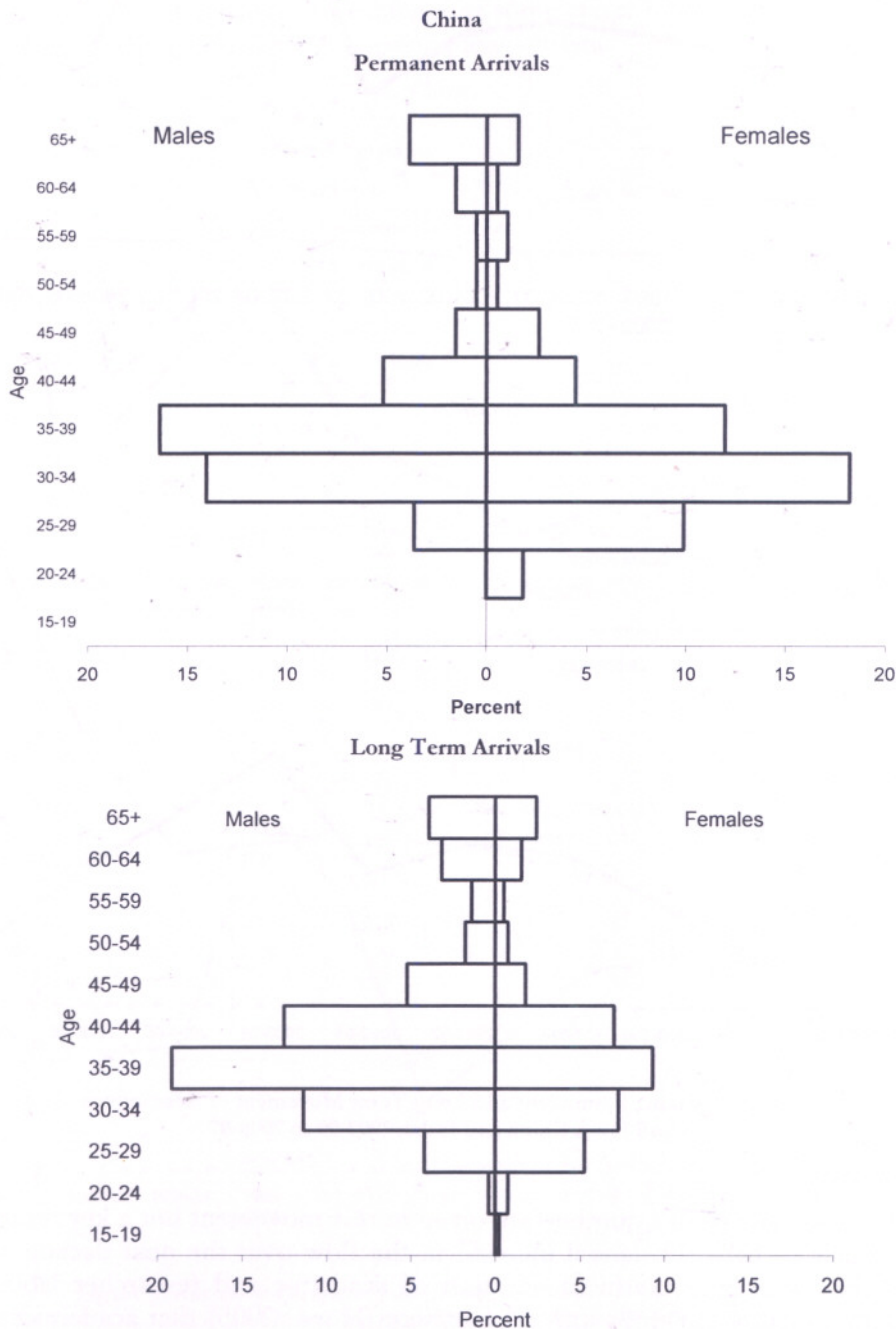to and from China and India, 1997-98 to 2006-07

China

India

Figure 6: Australia: Permanent and Long Term Movement of Researchers
to and From China and India, 1997-98 to 2006-07

Source: DIAC unpublished data

Clearly there are significant numbers involved in this movement but a key issue is the fact that there is likely to be a substantial increase in the flow over the next decade. This is not only due to the increasing internationalisation of academic and researcher labour markets associated with globalisation. It is shown elsewhere (Hugo, 2005) that academics are one of the oldest occupational sub-groups in the Australian workforce. At the 2006 census, some

24.7 percent of the university academic workforce were aged 55 years and over and 54.2 percent 45 years and over. This was due to a large influx of young academics in the 1960s and 1970s associated with a massive increase in student numbers due to the entry of post-war baby boomers into university going ages and increases in university participation rates. This was followed by a period of slow growth in academic staff numbers due to reduced student growth together with increasing student-staff ratios. Hence, there will be a high level of recruitment in Australian universities over the next two decades and it is unlikely that this demand will be met by the Australian labour market. Accordingly the opportunities for Chinese academics and researchers in Australia will increase.

China

Permanent Arrivals

Long Term Arrivals

(continued)   (continued)
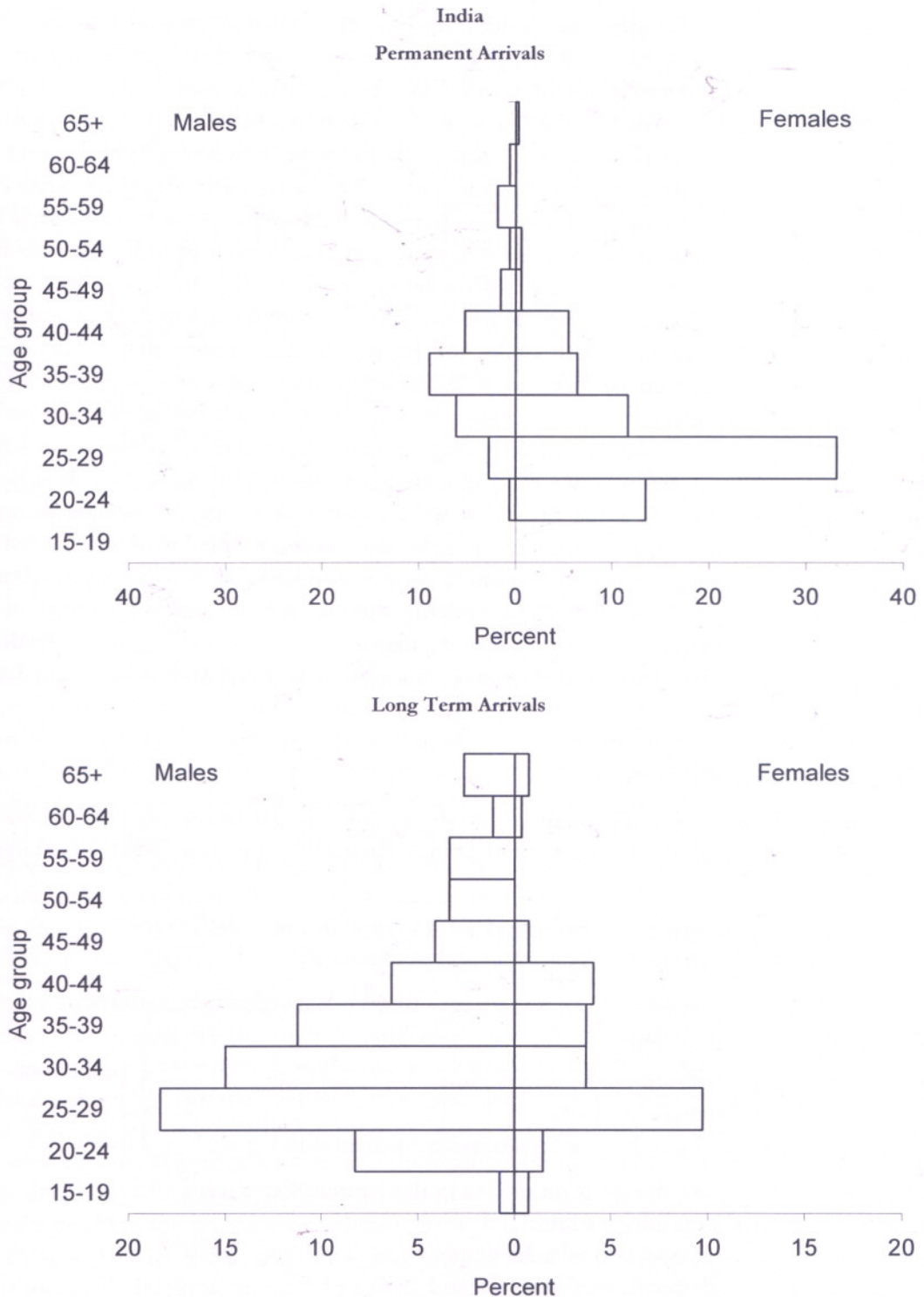
India
Permanent Arrivals

Long Term Arrivals

Figure 7: University Lecturers and Tutors, Permanent and Long Term Arrivals from China (1997-98 to 2005-06) and India (1997-98 to 2006-07) to Australia: Age Sex Structure

In order to investigate the migration process and the contacts maintained by Chinese and Indian university-based academics and researchers we draw upon web-based surveys of 239 China-born and 111 India-born academics based in Australia's universities. The survey was conducted in 2007 and was not based on a random sample. In virtually every study of migrants in Australia it is not possible to obtain a comprehensive sampling frame listing the entire population under study – in this case China- and India-born teachers and researchers in Australian universities. The sampling frame used here was derived by a search of the staff lists of Australian universities and identifying all persons considered to have an Indian or mainland China surname. Each of these was then emailed a letter explaining the survey and its purpose and asking them to go on-line and complete a short questionnaire regarding their migration to Australia, their current work, links with China and India and future intentions. As expected a number of those identified were of Chinese or Indian descent but had come to Australia from other countries. Nevertheless it was successful in identifying a substantial number in the target population. The survey was based on a similar study undertaken of Chinese academics in universities in the United States (Zweig and Changgui, 1995). The survey was conducted on-line and it is apparent that some problems were experienced because the questionnaire was identified by some university systems as spam so that some potential respondents did not get to see the letter asking for co-operation. The questionnaires that were returned were comprehensively completed and many respondents showed a high level of interest in the study. The questions asked included enquiries into reasons for coming to Australia, academic background, experience in China and Australia, linkages maintained with China and future intentions.

VII. The Migration Process

The decision to migrate is a complex and multi dimensional social and economic process. An in-depth study of ten Chinese in the United States (Pang and Appleton 2004) differentiated this decision between:

a. the factors influencing the origin decision to come to the United States.
b. the factors influencing the decision to *stay* permanently.

He crystallised the elements of the former into four clusters of considerations:

- the desire for more education;
- educational preparation;   pull factors
- availability of financial support;
- the push of wishing to escape an unpleasant situation in China.

The factors involved in the decision to stay in the United States were:
a. the desire to pursue a better life;
b. the recognition of educational achievements;
c. overcoming academic difficulties.

In the contemporary Australian context it is becoming evident that the decisions to immigrate and the decisions to stay are not separate decisions and that increasingly the decision to come to Australia as a student is influenced by the possibility that this would open up for permanent settlement in Australia. Nevertheless the factors identified by Pang and Appleton (2004) have resonance in the Australian context.

In the survey the nexus between student migration and settling in Australia is quite marked with 60 of the 111 Indian respondents having their highest degree from an Australian university (54.1 per cent). For the China-born 64.4 percent gained their degree from Australia. This is a pattern which is prevalent not only in the university sector but in other skilled areas as well. Having an Australian qualification gains points in the Points Assessment Test for permanent settlement. Nevertheless in the case of over a quarter of the Indian sample (25.2 per cent) and 17.2 percent of the Chinese sample the respondents had taken their highest degree from an Indian or Chinese university respectively. A small number reported that their degree was from a USA university, the UK or Canada.

Table 10: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia: Disciplines (n=111 and 239)

Discipline Area	India		China	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1. Science/Mathematics	24	21.8	49	21.5
2. Engineering/Architecture	18	16.4	50	21.9
3. Economics/Business	23	20.9	19	8.3
4. Social Sciences/Humanities	20	18.2	48	21.1
5. Medicine/Health	11	10.0	19	8.3
6. Information Technology	12	10.9	41	18.0
7. Law	2	1.8	2	0.9
Total (incl. Not Stated)	111	100.0	239	100.0

Source: Survey 2007

There are some differences between the two sample groups. Table shows the disciplinary orientation with economies and business being stronger among the Indians and Information Technology among the Chinese. The China sample is somewhat more established with 24.4 percent being in their current position less than 3 years compared with 42.3 percent of the Indians. Some 94 percent of the Chinese had become Australian citizens compared with 65.5 percent of the Indians. The study may be somewhat biased toward more established members of university staff since the sampling frame was the staff listings of universities which may not have included recent or short-term contract staff. Accordingly 66.7 percent of the India survey respondents had a continuing position in the universities compared with 60 percent of the China respondents.

Respondents were asked what they thought the reasons were why Indian and Chinese academics were coming to Australia and these are presented in Table and there are clear differences in the responses. For Indians the highest response related to Australia's standard of living although more than a half agreed that each of the factors was influential except for freedom of speech which only a quarter felt was a significant factor. It was interesting though that two thirds of respondents indicated that education of children was an important element in the decisions of Indians to come to Australia. Recent research on migration to Australia has indicated that the interests of children are a potent factor in immigrants deciding to come to Australia. Indeed some skilled migrants inpdicate that they would have been better off economically if they had remained in their home country or migrated to a destination other than Australia. However they had decided to move to Australia because they considered that their children would have a better future in Australia than in alternative countries. Undoubtedly an important element in this is education. For many skilled migrants a critical element in them deciding to migrate to a particular destination is that their children can get access to high quality educational resources at affordable cost. It was concluded (Hugo, Khoo

and McDonald, 2006; Hugo forthcoming) that while obtaining a satisfying and well renumerated job was a *necessary* condition for skilled persons to migrate to a particular destination it was not a *sufficient* condition. The latter includes factors like the education of children, lifestyle, standard of living etc. and they are crucial factors in the migration process. Hence in Table there is equally strong agreement with lifestyle and standard of living reasons for moving as for job related factors.

Table 11: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia: Reasons Why Indian and Chinese Academics are Migrating to Australia, 2007 (n=111 and 239)

India		
Reason	**Number**	**Per cent**
Job Opportunities	69	62.2
Salary	60	54.1
Standard of Living	85	76.6
Education of Children	75	67.6
Freedom of Speech	25	22.5
Research Opportunities and Funding	65	58.6
Lifestyle	64	57.7
China		
Reason	**Number**	**Per cent**
Career Advancement/Opportunities	65	32.7
Academic Training	61	30.7
Lifestyle/Environment	36	18.1
Family/Children	19	9.5
Adventure/Experience	10	5.0
Situation in China	6	3.0
Transfer	2	1.0

Source: Survey 2007

For Chinese the patterns are somewhat different. Few respondents gave family reasons coming to Australia and most of these indicated that one of their motivations was to give their children a greater opportunity in life than they felt would be possible if they remained in China. In-depth interviews with Chinese staff in Australian universities however do indicate that networks are an important influence on the decision to migrate and the decision of where to migrate to. Some 46.2 percent of respondents said all of their family lived in Australia and another 25.4 percent had more than half of their family in Australia. These include both family who lived in Australia before they arrived and those who they assisted to follow them. It was shown earlier that family migration has been more important among the Chinese than among other birthplace groups. Discussions with respondents indicated that networks with colleagues already in Australia are also an important influence. Only 36 of the respondents indicated that they did not have another colleague in their academic unit who was from China. The network factor is also strongly evident in the interactions which respondents have in Australia. All but one respondent socialise with other Mainland Chinese families although three quarters indicated that they socialise with other families as well.

It is apparent that a similar pattern is developing in the China-Australia academic migration situation to that which has applied in North America for a longer period (Zweig and Changgui, 1995). There are distinctive patterns in evidence with a nexus between initial temporary migration as a student and obtaining eventual permanent residency. In addition, networks of family and friends play an important role.

VIII. Linkages with China and India

In the recent renaissance of the debate on the impact of migration on development (GCIM, 2005; United Nations, 2006; World Bank, 2006) considerable emphasis has been placed on the positive influence which diaspora can have on development in origin countries. Accordingly the extent to which expatriates develop, maintain and expand their linkages with their home country is crucial. There is a growing appreciation in the development literature that 'a highly skilled diaspora may play several important roles in promoting development at home' (Lucas, 2001). In terms of academics and researchers in the diaspora it is their role in transmitting information and in facilitating technology transfer which is most significant. Lucas (2001, 22) has shown how professionals in origin and destination countries have maintained strong linkages so that ideas flow freely in both directions. In the scientific world, flows of information are of utmost significance and it may be that diaspora can play a role in technology transfers. The potential for such interaction to accelerate diffusion of new ideas, products, processes, etc. is considerable. For example, the ethnic linkages between Taiwan with Silicon Valley have had a major impact on the development of the information technology in the home countries (Saxenian, 1999). There has been an increasing recognition that there is considerable potential for linking expatriate researchers and scientists with colleagues in their home countries to facilitate knowledge transfer and the development of tertiary research and teaching organisation in the home nation (Meyer and Brown, 1999).

Governments in both China and India have begun to appreciate the positive role that the diaspora can play in development at home. India has been encouraging these linkages through such initiatives as providing taxation privileges to expatriates using Indian banks for their savings, organise an annual conference of expatriates and the setting up of a separate ministry to formalise its dealings with the diaspora. In China there has long been a policy at national and regional level to encourage the return of highly skilled emigrants and to encourage expatriates to retain strong linkages with home (Biao, 2006; Wattanavitukul, 2002; Wescott, 2005).

Diaspora is a very old concept and migrants have maintained linkages with their homeland over thousands of years. However in a globalising world immigrants can develop and maintain these linkages with a new intensity and immediacy for the following reasons:

a. The revolution in Information Communication Technology has meant that whereas migrants previously kept in contact with their homeland though letters they now regularly (daily, weekly) telephone or email family in the homeland. Moreover the internet means the migrant can keep up with events in the homeland through reading newspapers and other media at the same time as their homeland based counterparts.

b. The reduction of the real cost and travel times of international travel means that regular visiting by the diaspora and their families is feasible and at times of family emergency the family can be readily assembled.

c. It is increasingly possible to be bi-national in that one can lead active economic and social lives in both origin and destination.

One of the strongest findings of a survey of Australian Indian and Chinese academics was that they maintained strong linkages with India (Table). Over half the sample has contact with India and China more than twice a week and visit India and China at least once a year. Moreover 89.7 percent visit their family in India and 84.4 percent in China regularly. Hence the extent of interaction with India and China is intensive and frequent so the potential for the group to influence their homeland is substantial.

Table 12: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia:
Frequency of Contact with India and China, 2007 (n=111)

Frequency of Contact	India Per cent	China Per cent
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

Source: Survey 2007

Table 13: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia:
Professional Linkages Maintained with India, 2007

Type of Linkage	India Per cent (n=111)	China Per cent (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

Source: Survey 2007

In this context it is also important to examine the professional linkages maintained by the sample with their colleagues in India. Table examines the interaction of the Indian and Chinese academics to those of the larger sample of Chinese academics in Australia with their homeland. It is interesting to note that the extent of interaction movement by both is quite high with 73 percent of Indians and 69 percent of Chinese regularly visiting colleagues in their homelands in person and 71.4 and 59.5 percent respectively regularly presenting academic papers in their home country. It is interesting however that when it comes to maintaining linkages while based in Australia the Chinese are more active than Indians. Almost two thirds of Chinese scholars in Australia have active research projects with their colleagues back in China compared with 50 percent of Indians. Similarly those running seminars in their homeland, training students from their homeland and editing a book with a colleague in the homeland are higher in China. The higher rates may be due to the fact that China has a specific policy for funding the interaction of Chinese scholars overseas with their counterparts at home (Biao, 2006; Wescott, 2005).

Other important linkages among the Indian and Chinese scholars relate to running courses/seminars in China and India, training Indian and Chinese students, giving academic papers in China and India and, to a lesser extent, editing-books with Indian and Chinese scholars and undertaking consulting work in China and India. Few however had commercial linkages with companies involved in China although the proportion is larger in India. Individual respondents have a range of special linkages with China and India with a few having adjunct positions in home universities; others have set up joint China/India-Australia programmes and some serve on advisory committees to home governments.

Just over half of the Chinese respondents (56.6 per cent) indicated that the Chinese Embassy in Canberra had facilitated these interactions and some 20.9 percent saw the Embassy's role as being important in the networks and activities they maintain with China.

The respondents put considerable importance on their linkages with China. Several also indicated that their reasons for placing such importance on the linkages is not only for the enhancement of their own careers. More than half (74.0) indicated that they were interested in facilitating technology transfer to China and almost all (85.3) said that they had an interest in promoting quality research in China.

Although some of the linkages maintained by Indian expatriate academics with their colleagues in India are less frequent than those of Chinese academics in Australia, they nevertheless are substantial. Moreover is likely that similar linkages are maintained by other skilled Indians with their homeland. Clearly the potential for them to return regularly to interact with colleagues in India – both through temporary visits and virtually through ICT is huge. 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 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. Although the formal structure and financial support for encouraging 'virtual return' of scientists and academics is not as present in India as it is in China there is considerable potential for knowledge transfer between Indian academics based in Australia with those based in India.

IX. Future Migration Intentions

Another element in the new international discourse on the impact of emigration on development in origin communities relates to return migration. It is argued that to some extent the loss of human capital through 'brain drain' emigration of skilled persons can be offset by their return migration. Returnees are not only bringing back the human capital they took with them when they left the country but also the new skills, experience and contacts they have acquired while being overseas. Accordingly examining the extent of return migration is important. It has been demonstrated elsewhere (Hugo, 2008b) that there are distinct differences between East Asia and South Asia in the propensity for return migration. Table shows that permanent departures to China over the 1994-2007 period were 30.5 per cent, as big as settler arrivals while for India the proportion is only 3.7 per cent. There are a number of possible explanations:

a. The Indian migration to Australia is not as mature as that from China with much of the immigration being in the last few years.
b. There is more significant migration of Indians to third countries like the United Kingdom and the United States (Hugo, forthcoming).
c. Although India has recorded spectacular economic growth in recent years, work opportunities at home may not be as great as in China.
d. There may be cultural factors at work.

Table 14: Australia: India and China Permanent Arrivals
and Departures (Overseas- and Australia-Born), 1994-95 to 2006-07

	China	India
Settler Arrivals	83,253	47,724
Permanent Departures Overseas-Born	19,156	1,065
Permanent Departures Australia-Born	6,222	718
Total percent Departures	23,378	1,783
Permanent Departures as a percent of Settler Arrivals	30.5	3.7

Source: DIAC Overseas Arrivals and Departures

These patterns were also reflected in the results of the survey. The survey indicated that there was considerable potential for the Chinese academic diaspora in that country to return. Only 47.7 percent of the sample indicated that they intend to remain permanently in Australia although another 21.3 percent responded that they were undecided about where they will settle in the future. However a substantial number have definite plans of moving out of Australia at some stage. Moreover some 44.2 percent of respondents indicated that they would go back to China if they were offered a good position. Hence, the potential for Chinese academics to be lured back to China is significant.

Among the Indians interviewed, 54.9 percent indicated that they had plans to remain permanently in Australia and 17.6 percent were undecided. However a substantial number have definite plans of leaving Australia at some stage (27.9 per cent). Moreover some 14.2 percent of the sample had already tried to get a satisfactory job back in India. Moreover some 44.1 percent of the sample indicated that they would go back to India if they were offered a good job and a considerable majority (82.4 per cent) said they would prefer to have a joint position between India and Australia.

Family connections are an important influence on return migration. Only just over a quarter of cases (31.0 per cent), less than half of the families of the Indian academics interviewed, lived in Australia while for three quarters 50 percent or more of their families were in India. However it should be noted nearly half of the respondents (45.0 per cent) had family members in third countries although in only 8 percent of cases was this the majority of their family.

Hence, there is some potential for return migration among both Chinese and Indians. Having said this, however, it is apparent that a desire to leave Australia among Chinese and Indian academics does not necessarily mean they would like to return to India. For some, Australia is being seen as a stepping stone toward migration to North America, and to a lesser extent, Europe. It is interesting that this also has been observed in Canada. DeVoretz (2005) has identified a pattern of 'triangular' movement among the Chinese diaspora which sees that movement as a complex transnationalism model involving Canada, China and the Rest of the World. This model would certainly seem to have relevance to the Australian academic context. In the Australia context (Biao 2004) found a pattern of IT workers from India migrating to Australia, gaining permanent residency but then seeking to move to the United States. However, Australia was seen as more than a means of getting to the United States. It was seen also as a form of insurance whereby workers who were not successful in the US or who were victims of the collapse of the IT industry could return to Australia rather than go back to India. In this context the fact that nearly half of the academic sample had relatives in third countries is of some significance.

One of the findings of the survey was that Indian academics in Australia generally maintain social interaction with both the Indian community in Australia and the broader Australian community. In over three quarters of cases they were not the only Indian origin academic in their university department. More than 90 percent socialise with other Indian families in Australia and a similar proportion report they socialise with Australian families. There remains for many, however, a strong identity with their homeland and two thirds indicate that they associated with the expatriate Indian community.

X. Conclusion

Australia's immigration has undergone parametric change in the last decade (Hugo, 1999). The first sweeping shift was the transformation of the national Immigration Program from being one dominated by permanent settlement to one where each year several hundred thousand people are granted a visa to live and work on a temporary basis in Australia. The second was the increasing workforce/economic orientation of the program so that skill, education, Australian qualifications, ability to speak English and work experience became the dominant criteria in selecting both settlers and temporary migrants. A third and related element has been the increasing share of Australian settlement which has involved 'onshore' migration whereby temporary residents are granted permanent residency. While these changes have occurred, India has become Australia's second largest origin country of immigrants where the main language is not English (only the United Kingdom and New Zealand are more significant). Moreover there are a number of reasons why India and China are to become an even more significant source of migrants in the near future:

- Firstly, Australia is currently expanding its immigration intake in response to a perceived shortage of skilled workers.
- The Chinese and Indians use the family reunion component of the immigration programme more than most other birthplace groups so that increases in skilled migration will have a significant multiplier effect in family migration.
- The China- and India-born are now the largest Asian origin group in Australia and the most rapidly expanding so that the professional, family and other social networks linking Australia and India/China are increasing as will movement along those linkages.
- The fact that India and China are now the largest origins for full fee paying foreign students in Australia in a context where the Australian Government has increased the number of programmes whereby foreigners with Australian experience get preference in the immigration programme. For example, extra points in the Points Assessment Scheme are given if people have Australian qualifications. Overseas students who study at regional Australian universities have been given additional preference.
- Other linkages between India/China and Australia are expanding such as trade, business and tourism so that information flows are also increasing as well as population exchanges.

There are some additional factors which are likely to see an even greater movement of Chinese academics and researchers to Australia. Firstly there has been an increasing focus in Australian universities on recruiting Chinese and Indian students. This together with increasing prosperity in China is likely to lead to a continuation of the upward trajectory in Indian and Chinese student numbers over the next few years. Moreover, over the last few

years the Australian government has introduced a number of changes to its immigration regulations to facilitate overseas students obtaining permanent residence in Australia. A second factor is the ageing of the staff of Australian universities (Hugo, 2005). This will result in an increased demand for academics and researchers in Australian universities. This will be occurring at a time when the Australian labour market in this area has tightened. Australian higher degree graduates have shown a greater propensity than in the past to seek careers outside of the university sector and have increasingly sought positions outside Australia, especially the United States and the United Kingdom (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2003). Hence, there will be more opportunities for academics and scientists from countries like China and India.

Another particularly important finding from the present study is the strength of linkages maintained by Chinese and Indian academics in Australia with their homeland and the significant proportions who intend to return home at some stage. This suggests that there is considerable scope from the Chinese perspective of enhancing the flow of information and encouraging technology transfer. It means that there is considerable scope for policy intervention to enhance, strengthen and develop those linkages to increase their impact.

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