

**A new paradigm of international migration between
the European Union and Australia:
Patterns and Implications**

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Abstract: International migration between the European Union (EU) and Australia has a long history. However, the pattern of this migrational flow has undergone some profound changes in the last decade. This paper provides an Australian-end perspective on these changes using the 2001 Census of Population and Housing, arrival/departure information and survey results to establish the nature and scale of these changes. Australia is recognised, along with Canada, the United States and New Zealand, as a ‘traditional country of immigration’ and the EU has been one of the largest single suppliers of settlers to Australia with 12 percent of Australians at the 2001 Census being born in the EU and a similar number being Australian-born with a EU-born parent. However, with the massive global shifts occurring in international migration, the migration relationship has become much more complex. On the one hand, Australia has entered a new paradigm of international migration in which non-permanent settlement movements have assumed central significance. The EU has been a major source of such people moving to Australia. There has long been a substantial counter flow of people moving from Australia to the EU among which former settlers have dominated. In recent years the numbers of Australian-born moving on a permanent or long-term basis to the EU has increased substantially. It is argued that the bulk of research knowledge in Australia is based on the settlement paradigm which is now only a minor part of migration between Australia and Europe. There is a need to reorient research activity in Australia to encompass the new forms of movement. In addition to identifying the scale of the new forms of international migration influencing movements between the EU and Australia, trends in that movement and the composition of flows are explored. This paper traces a number of the policy implications which arise.

INTRODUCTION

Among the many sweeping changes in global international migration patterns over the last two decades, few have been more striking than the transformation of many European nations from being countries of net emigration for more than a century to become some of the world's major immigration nations (United Nations, 1997). This experience is typified by the United Kingdom which in 2000 recorded a net migration gain of 183,400 (Office of National Statistics, 2001) as compared with net gains of 107,275 in the 'traditional' immigration nation of Australia (DIMIA, 2002a). One of the world's major postwar international migration flows has been a substantial movement of settlers from Europe to Australia and a much smaller flow in the opposite direction made up predominantly of former settlers and their children. This pattern has persisted for more than two centuries, although its scale has varied (Hugo, 1995). As a result, some 88.1 percent of Australians in 1999 were European origin (Price, 1999). However, with the transformation of global migration programs over the last decade or so there have been some significant changes in the nature of population flows between Europe and Australia. The present paper identifies the major changes which have occurred in migration between Europe and Australia and seeks to place them in the context of global processes as well as changes occurring in Australia and Europe.

The paper has been written largely from an Australian perspective and it is suggested that international migration in Australia has entered a new paradigm in the last decade (Hugo, 1999). In the two centuries leading up to the mid 1990s the international migration focus among Australian policy makers and researchers has been overwhelmingly upon the more or less permanent settlement of immigrants in Australia. It is argued, however, that contemporary international migration influences on Australia are more complex than ever before and this has transformed the migration relationship with Europe. Among the major changes most important has been a proliferation of non-permanent moves into the country to work whereas in the past Australian governments have strongly eschewed temporary worker migration. A high proportion of persons seeking to settle in Australia now do so as 'onshore applicants'. This includes not only people seeking to enter Australia as economic family migrants but also for the first time Australia has been receiving significant numbers of asylum seekers. Another trend is that Australians are moving to other countries on a permanent or long-term basis more than ever before. The government is placing increasing emphasis on the skill component of migrant settlement and less on family reunion. These and other shifts have transformed Australia's international migration but the substantial body of Australian international migration research relates overwhelmingly to the permanent settlement type of movement so that there is a mismatch between the existing knowledge and contemporary patterns and processes.

SOME DATA CONSIDERATIONS

Australian data sources on both stocks and flows of movement between Europe and Australia are employed in the present paper. These are both of high quality by international standards. Firstly, regarding flows, the main source employed here is the Movements Data Base (MDB) maintained by the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). Each person entering or leaving Australia is required to complete arrival or departure cards containing questions on citizenship, birthplace, birthdate, gender, occupation, marital status, type of movement, origin/destination, reason (for short-term movers only) and address in Australia. This information forms the basis of the MDB which is one of the few in the world

to contain comprehensive information on both immigrants and *emigrants*. People leaving or coming in to Australia are classified into three types of categories according to their intended length of their stay in Australia or overseas:

- Permanent Movements
 - *Immigrants* are persons arriving with the intention of settling permanently in Australia.
 - *Emigrants* are Australian residents (including former settlers) departing with the stated intention of staying abroad permanently.¹
- Long-Term Movements
 - Overseas arrivals of visitors with the intended or actual length of stay in Australia of 12 months or more.
 - Departures of Australian residents with intended or actual length of stay abroad of 12 months or more.
- Short-Term Movements
 - Travellers whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than 12 months.

Clearly there are some problems associated with the use of ‘intentions’ as the key element in the definitions of type of movement for the MDB. It is apparent that there are no guarantees that intentions will become reality and as a result there is a significant amount of category jumping which occurs (Hugo, 1994, Chapter Three). Zlotnik (1987, 933-934) has also been critical of the concept of residence used in these definitions as a ‘fertile breeding ground for confusion’. Nevertheless the MDB provides useful and comprehensive information on *flows* of people into and out of Australia which have few equals globally.

Turning to sources of information about the *stocks* of migrants, the quinquennial national censuses of population and housing are utilised. Table 1 shows the immigration related questions asked at Australian censuses and indicates that a comprehensive range of questions have been asked, especially in postwar censuses. Of particular interest was the introduction in 1971 of a birthplace of parents question which has been in each subsequent census and the experiment with an ancestry question in 1986 and 2001. The latter has been excluded from several censuses because, although it produced a great deal of new insight into the diversity of Australia’s population it generally failed to identify third and older generations of immigrants (Khoo, 1989). Censuses have been conducted in Australia each five years since 1961 and have a low rate of under-enumeration (less than 2 percent). The census allows us to identify the first generation migrants and their Australia-born children and a number of their characteristics with a high degree of accuracy. However, the census does not provide information on former residents who have emigrated out of Australia. With respect to persons travelling out of Australia on a temporary basis, some information is obtainable if those persons left households behind who could report their absence in a question on the census schedule relating to usual residents who are absent on the night of the census. Visitors to Australia who happen to be in the nation on the night of the census are counted in the *de facto* enumeration but excluded from most data on birthplace.

¹ However, before 1974 former settlers were not classified as emigrants unless they had been in Australia for at least 12 months.

Table 1: Immigration and Ethnicity Related Topics Included in Australian Population Censuses, 1911-2001

Source: Paice, 1990; ABS, 2000

Topics	-	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
Persons															
Birthplace		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Birthplace of parents			*						*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Year of arrival (Period of residence in Australia)		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Citizenship		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*(1)	*(1)	*(2)	*	*	*
Aboriginal/TSI origin (Race)		*	*	*	*	*	*	*(3)	*(4)	*(4)	*	*	*	*	*
Ethnic origin												*(5)			*
Number of overseas residents or visitors									*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Language use			*(6)	*(7)						*(8)	*(9)	*(10)	*	*	*
Religion		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Notes:

- (1) Prior to 1976, 'nationality' rather than 'citizenship' was asked.
- (2) Since 1986 the person has been asked whether or not they were an Australian citizen.
- (3) In all censuses prior to 1971 respondents were required to state their race and, where race was mixed, to specify the proportion of each.
- (4) In the 1971 and 1976 censuses a question with response categories of European, Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and other was included.
- (5) A question on each person's ancestry was asked for the first time in 1986.
- (6) Question asked whether the person could read and write.
- (7) Question asked whether the person could read and write a foreign language if unable to read and write English.
- (8) The 1976 census asked for 'all languages regularly used'.
- (9) In 1981 ability to speak English was asked.
- (10) Since 1986 two separate questions have been asked – Language used and ability to speak English.

SETTLER MIGRATION FROM EUROPE TO AUSTRALIA

As a country with 23.1 percent (2001) of its population born overseas and 19.2 percent (1996) being Australia-born with at least one parent born overseas, Australia is closer to its immigrant origins than all other OECD countries. Only 2.2 percent of the 2001 population was of indigenous origin with the remainder being immigrants or the descendants of post-1788 arrivals in Australia. Hence Price (1999) estimates that the ethnic strength² of Europeans in the Australian population as 88.1 percent in 1999. The history of immigration from Europe to Australia in the first two centuries of non-indigenous settlement has been comprehensively described in a number of works (e.g. Appleyard, 1959, 1964; Eggleston, 1933; Crowley, 1954; Sherrington, 1980; Richards, 1991; Haines and Schlomowitz, 1990; Price, 1963; Borrie, 1954; Borrie and Price, 1982). Our main focus here is on the last decade but it is important to make brief reference to the earlier period.

If one roughly divides non-indigenous settlement in Australia into the five periods designated in Table 2, Europeans, especially people from the United Kingdom and Ireland, dominated the first four. The growth of the Europe-born population is depicted in Figure 1 and Table 3. It will be noted that it grew steadily in the nineteenth century peaking at 901,618. In the depressed 1890s and early years of Federation it declined to 664,323 recovering to 807,358 in 1933 due to the immigration years following World War I. It declined in the depression years of the 1930s and World War II to reach its lowest point for almost a century in 1947 at 651,606 when also for the first time since European settlement began the proportion of the foreign-born in the population fell below a tenth. The postwar period, as in many other dimensions of immigration and settlement, saw a transformation in the scale and composition of European immigration to Australia. Table 3 indicates that the British and Irish dominated the Europe-born population in Australia throughout the nineteenth century.

² Ethnic strength is derived by adding fractions of ancestry for generations.

Table 2: Eras in Non-Indigenous Settlement in Australia

Era	Approximate Years	Characteristics of Settler Intake
The Convict Period	1788-1840	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 157,161 convicts transported • Free settlement predominantly from the UK and Ireland
The Pre-Federation Settlement Era	1840-1901	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free settlement from the UK and Ireland (much assisted) • Limited other European settlement • Some Asian migration (much of it temporary)
The White Australia Era	1901-1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overwhelmingly British-UK settlement (much of it assisted) • Limited other European settlement
The Post-War European Era	1947-1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of free settlement to non-British European groups • Continuation of UK/Ireland being the predominant origin of settlers • Gradual loosening of White Australia Policy
The Multicultural Era	1975-present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening up of settlement to non-European origins • Reduction of inflow of Europeans • Increasingly planned nature of intake

Figure 1: Growth of the Europe-Born Population in Australia, 1861-2001

Source: Price *et al.*, 1984; Australian Censuses, 1901-2001

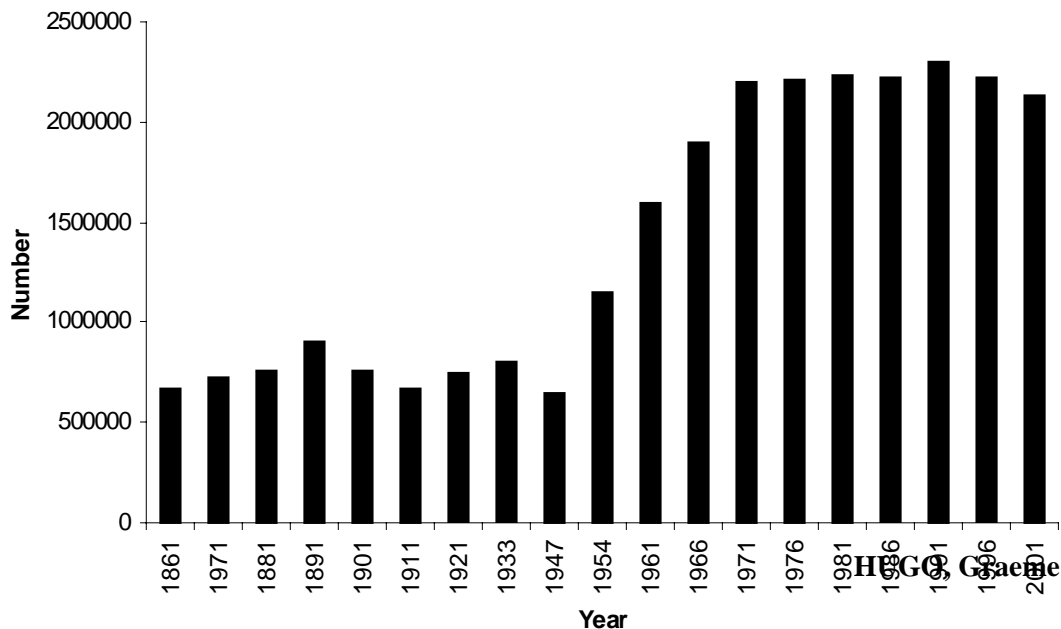


Table 3: Europe-Born Persons in Australia, 1861-2001Source: Price *et al.*, 1984; Australian Censuses, 1901-2001

Census Year	Percent Born	Overseas- Europe-Born Population	Percent Isles	British	Intercensal Percent per Annum Growth
1861	62.8	671,049	93.8		
1971	46.5	726,323	93.5		+0.79
1881	36.8	757,514	92.0		+0.42
1891	31.8	901,618	91.0		+1.76
1901	32.8	753,832	90.6		-1.77
1911	27.1	664,323	91.6		-1.26
1921	25.5	744,244	88.8		+1.14
1933	23.6	807,358	83.5		+0.68
1947	9.8	651,606	57.7		-1.52
1954	14.3	1,155,064	47.5		+8.52
1961	17.0	1,596,212	47.5		+4.73
1966	18.4	1,893,511	49.6		+3.48
1971	20.2	2,196,478	50.0		+3.01
1976	20.1	2,210,817	52.4		+0.13
1981	20.9	2,232,718	52.4		+0.20
1986	21.1	2,221,802	50.9		-0.10
1991	22.5	2,300,773	51.1		+0.70
1996	22.8	2,217,009	50.9		-0.74
2001	23.1	2,136,052	50.9		-0.74

There were small flows from other parts of Europe (Borrie, 1954) but at the turn of the century the UK/Ireland-born made up 91 percent of the Europe-born in Australia and 79.8 percent of all foreign-born. The inmovement of a significant number of non-British Europeans, especially from Southern Europe (Price, 1963) in the high immigration years following World War II, slightly diluted the British dominance but in 1947 they made up 83.5 percent of all Europe-born persons in Australia.

The unprecedented increase in the scale of immigration to Australia in the postwar period is evident in Figure 2. This saw the proportion of the nation's population born overseas increase from almost treble to reach 23.1 percent in 2001. It was not only a transformation in the scale of settlement but also in composition. Figure 3 indicates that the postwar era has seen an increasing diversity in the intake which has seen a reduction in the dominance of the UK/Ireland-born in the settler intake.

Figure 2: Australia: Annual Migration, 1850-2002

Source: Price, 1979; Hugo, 1986; ABS, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures Bulletins*; DIMIA, *Immigration Update*, various issues

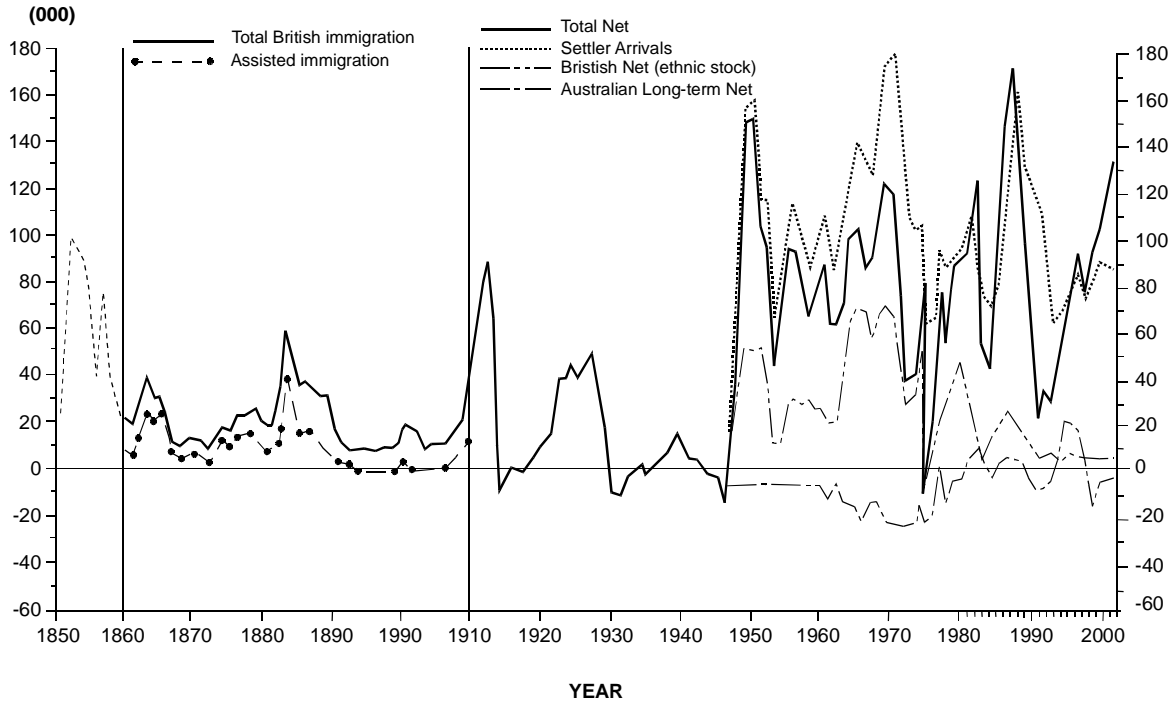
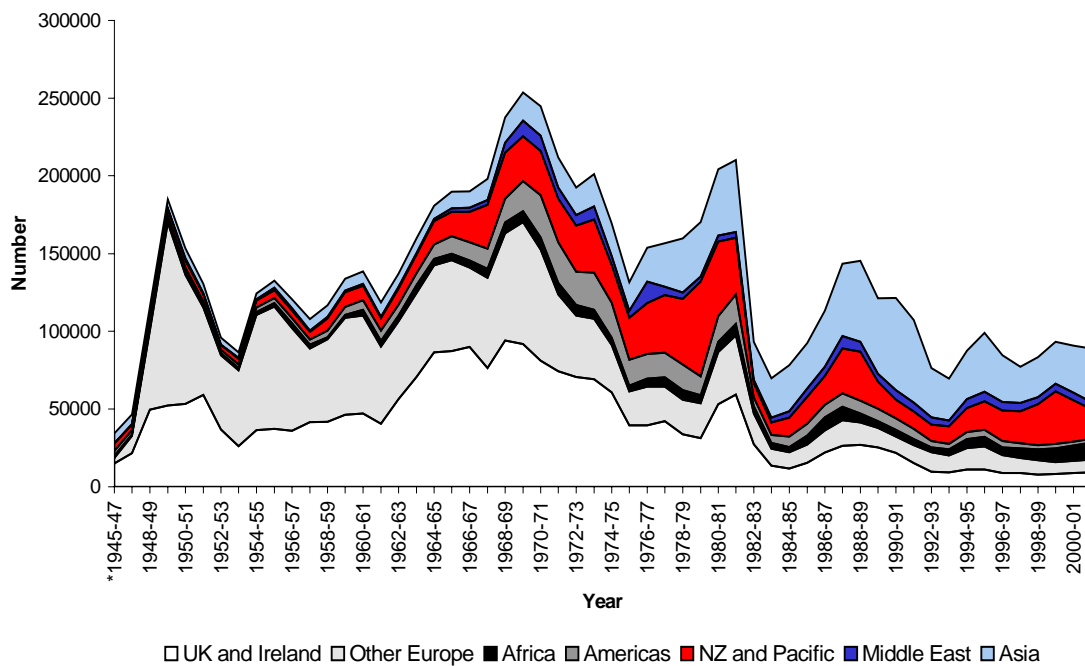


Figure 3: Australia: Settler Arrivals by Region of Last Residence, 1947-2002

Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues



The early postwar years saw a very rapid growth of the European population which doubled in a decade and doubled again in the 1960s to reach 2.2 million in 1971. Table 3 shows that over this period annual growth in the European population was over 8 percent in the early postwar years, 4.7 percent in the late 1950s and over 3 percent in the 1960s. European domination of Australian immigration during this period is in fact understated in Figure 3 since there was an influx of people of European origin but born in former European colonies in Asia, and to a lesser extent, Africa and immigrated to Australia during the decolonisation years (Hugo, 2003). The initial influx of over 300,000 Displaced Persons from Eastern Europe (Kunz, 1988) were the harbingers for later the large waves from Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia and smaller numbers from other European nations (Appendix A). Table 4 shows how the population in these groups grew massively in the early postwar years with several reaching their peak numbers in Australia in 1961 or 1971. These early postwar years saw a progressive increase in the cultural diversity in the Australian population that was overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic in 1945 and which began a multicultural transformation which has continued. The share of the UK/Ireland-born in the European population fell from 83.5 percent in 1947 to 47.5 percent in 1961.

Table 4: Growth of Largest Europe-Born Populations, 1947-2001

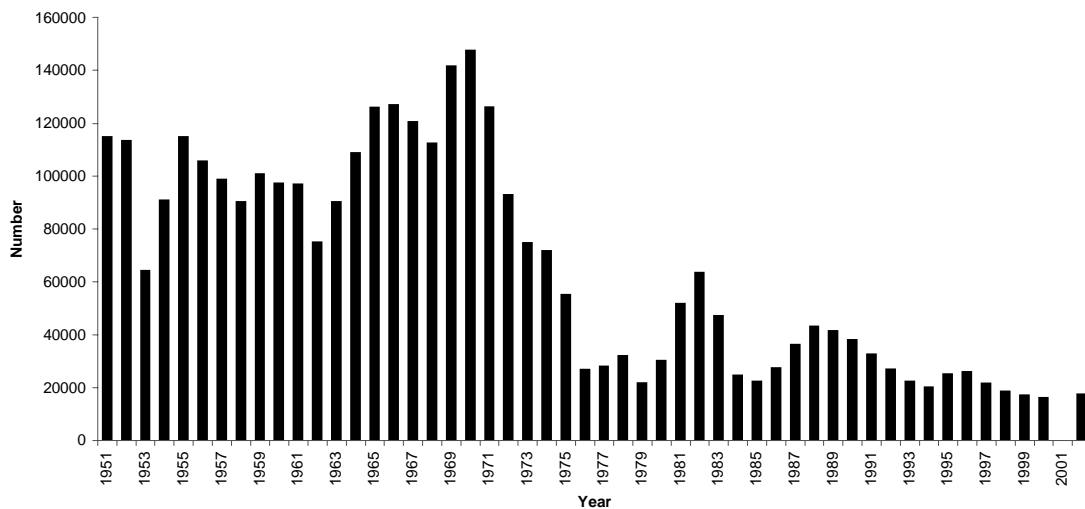
Source: Census of Population and Housing

Birthplace	1947 Population	Peak Population	Year	2001 Population	Population Change 1996-2001
UK/Ireland	543,829	1,173,865	1991	1,085,248	-37,551
Italy	33,638	289,447	1971	218,718	-19,498
Former Yugoslavia	5,867	181,811	2001	181,811	+13,752
Greece	12,292	160,200	1971	116,431	-10,093
Germany	14,583	114,915	1991	108,220	-2,112
Netherlands	2,174	102,086	1961	83,324	-4,574
Poland	6,524	68,931	1991	58,110	-7,009
Malta	3,239	58,747	1981	46,998	-3,873

There was a slowing down in the growth of the Australian European population in 1971 as the pressures to migrate out of many European countries diminished. At the same time the gradual dismantling of the White Australia Policy saw a considerable widening of the countries from which Australia drew settlers. Figure 3 shows how after 1970 the intake has increasingly been drawn from Asia, New Zealand and the Pacific, and to a lesser extent the Americas and Africa. Accordingly, the Europe-born population has stabilised around 2 million. Examination of the annual data regarding immigrants to Australia from Europe Figure 4 indicates that the postwar period can be divided into two distinct phases. In the period up to the early 1970s was of high levels of immigration and settlement, with inflow of more than 80,000 in more than half the years.

Figure 4: Australia: Immigrants from Europe, 1951-2002

Source: CBCS, *Demography Bulletins*; DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics* and *Immigration Update*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues

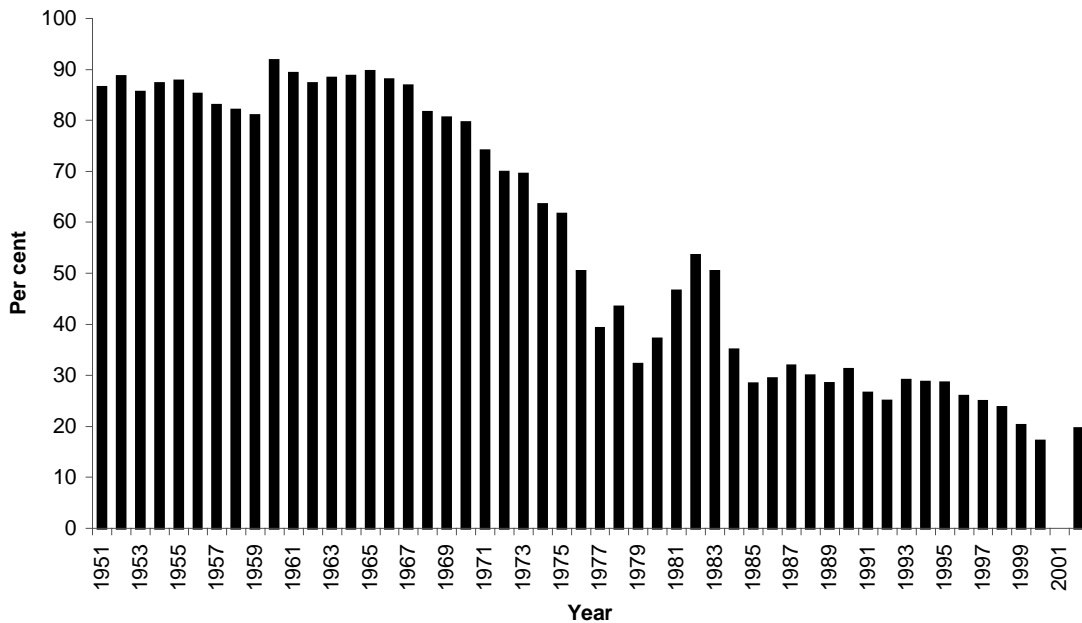


Note: Data for 2001-02 comprise immigrants by country of birth. Data prior to this date comprise immigrants by country of last residence. From 1960, data are for financial years. Prior to this, data are for calendar years. Data for 2001 are not available.

However, in the second half of the postwar period, with the exception of the early 1980s, the inflow has been around one quarter this size. The shift in postwar immigration is also reflected in Figure 5 which shows that up to the early 1970s, Europeans made up more than 80 percent of settlers in Australia. This proportion plummeted in the 1970s, and in most subsequent years Europeans were less than a third of settlers.

Figure 5: Immigrants from Europe as a Percentage of Total Immigrants, 1951-2002

Source: CBCS, *Demography Bulletins*; DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues

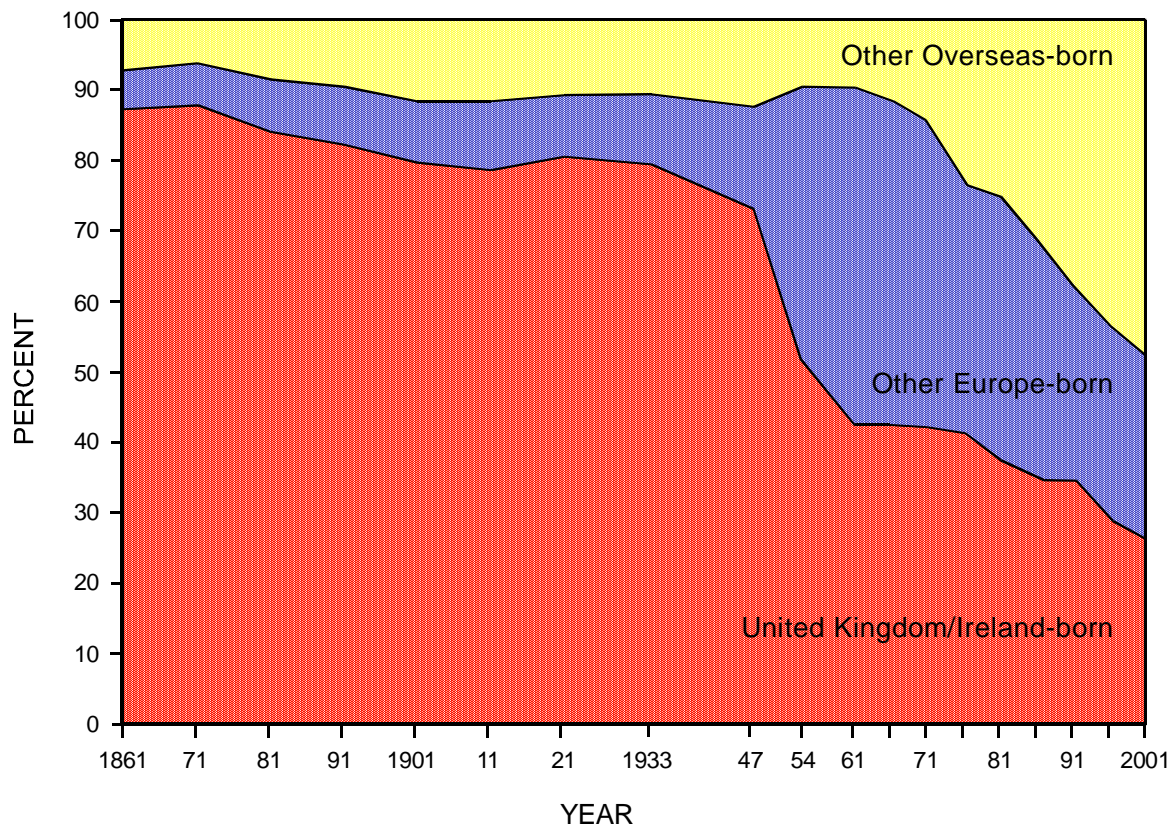


Note: Data for 2001-02 comprise immigrants by country of birth. Data prior to this date comprise immigrants by country of last residence. From 1960, data are for financial years. Prior to this, data are for calendar years. Data for 2001 are not available.

In terms of European settler immigration to Australia, Figure 6 shows that there have been three main eras. The first up to World War II when immigration was overwhelmingly European and overwhelmingly British. The next quarter century saw a continuation of European dominance but a rapid fall in the component born in England and Ireland. The last twenty-five years have seen a reduction in the proportion of Australia's overseas-born made up of Europeans.

Figure 6: Birthplace of the Overseas-Born Population, 1861-2001

Source: Price *et al.*, 1984; Australian Censuses



The demographic impact of postwar immigration in Australia has been considerable. Kippen and McDonald (2000) estimated that between the war and 2000 immigration was responsible for adding 7 million to the population and that if postwar net immigration was zero the national population would be 8 million instead of 19 million. However, more important than this numerical have been the social, cultural and economic transformations in which immigration has played a role. A major element in this has been the transformation of Australia from an overwhelmingly British dominated population to a multicultural society. Table 5 indicates this, showing that the proportion of the national population born in dominantly non-English speaking nations declined from 98.1 to 86 percent between 1947 and 2001, while that born in Asian countries increased from 0.3 to 6.5 percent. The shift which has occurred is evident in the rates of growth of various foreign-born groups.

Table 5: Change in the Composition of the Australian Population by Place of Birth, 1947-2001

Source: ABS, 1947 and 2001 Censuses

	1947		2001	
	Number Persons	of Percent	Number Persons	of Percent
English speaking origin	7,438,892	98.1	15,232,338	86.0
Australia	6,835,171	90.2	13,629,685	76.9
United Kingdom and Ireland	543,829	7.2	1,086,480	6.1
New Zealand	43,619	0.6	355,765	2.0
United States and Canada	10,304	0.1	80,983	0.5
South Africa	5,969	0.1	79,425	0.4
Non-English speaking origin	140,466	1.9	2,485,110	14.0
Other Europe	109,586	1.4	1,046,967	5.9
Asia*	23,293	0.3	1,151,438	6.5
Other Africa	1,531	0.0	104,811	0.6
Other America	1,323	0.0	79,821	0.5
Other Oceania	4,733	0.1	99,361	0.6
Total	7,579,358	100.0	17,717,448	100.0

* Includes Middle East

Table 6 shows that only the Russian Federation was among the 10 fastest growing birthplace groups in the nation in the 1990s expanding at 6 percent per annum. It will be noted that virtually all of the 10 fastest growing countries are 'south' nations, mainly from Asia. On the other hand, the slowest growing (indeed decreasing) birthplace groups were all European.

Immigration to Australia is a more highly planned and controlled process than in almost any other major immigration nation. In the three postwar decades the imperatives of Australian immigration policy were both economic and demographic. On the one hand, there were massive labour shortages in the postwar boom period and labour – skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled – was needed for the massive growth in manufacturing. Also, there was a 'populate or perish' argument in the aftermath of the nation being almost invaded by Japan during the war. With the end of the 'long boom' in the 1970s, the reduction in manufacturing employment and increases in unemployment, immigration policy was redefined to involve a planned numerical intake made up of a number of policy components:

Table 6: Australia: Fastest and Slowest Growing Groups of Foreign-Born Persons, 1991-2001*

Source: ABS, 1991 and 2001 Censuses

Country of Origin	Number of Persons 2001	Percent 1991-2001	Growth
Fastest growing groups:			
Iraq	24,832	16.9	
Afghanistan	11,297	15.3	
Samoa	13,254	8.7	
Pakistan	11,917	7.2	
Korea, Republic of	38,902	6.4	
China	142,781	6.1	
Russian Federation	15,020	6.0	
Taiwan	22,418	5.6	
Thailand	23,599	5.3	
South Africa	79,425	4.9	
India	95,455	4.5	
Slowest growing groups:			
Germany	108,220	-0.6	
Cyprus	19,482	-1.3	
Austria	19,313	-1.3	
Malta	46,998	-1.3	
Netherlands	83,325	-1.4	
Spain	12,662	-1.5	
Italy	218,718	-1.5	
Portugal	15,441	-1.5	
Greece	116,430	-1.6	
Poland	58,113	-1.7	
Hungary	22,752	-1.8	

* Countries with 10,000 or more persons in 2001.

The Migration Program operates within set planning levels and is made up of humanitarian and non-humanitarian programs. The former involves:

- The *Refugee Program* which provides protection for people outside their country fleeing persecution.
- *Special Humanitarian Programs (SHP)* which comprise the In-country Special Humanitarian Program for people suffering persecution within their own country, and the Global Special

Humanitarian Program for people who have left their country because of significant discrimination amounting to a gross violation of human rights.

- The *Special Assistance Category* (SAC) which embraces groups determined by the Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs to be of special concern to Australia and in real need, but who do not fit within traditional humanitarian categories. This program also assists those internally and externally displaced people who have close family links in Australia.

A new category in the humanitarian program in recent years is the Temporary Protection Visa (TPV). This was introduced in October 1999 and is granted to most of the asylum seekers who enter Australia unlawfully and who are assessed as meeting the requirements for refugee status. This is in contrast to those refugees who settle in Australia under the three traditional 'offshore' categories listed above. The 'onshore' component numbered 3,891 in 2001-02 and 5,741 in 2000-01 and comprised predominantly non-Europeans. Europeans have, however, made up a significant proportion of the offshore component of refugee-humanitarian migrations in recent years as Table 7 indicates. This is a function of the conflicts which have displaced populations in the former Yugoslavia and former USSR.

Within the non-humanitarian part of the Program there are three main components summarised in Table 8 – Family, Skill and Special Eligibility although within each there are a number of sub-programs.

Some components, i.e. Business Skills, Employer Nominated Scheme (ENS), Distinguished Talent, Spouses and Dependent Children are demand driven and not subject to capping. Increases in demand for these visas, beyond planned levels, are compensated by reductions in other program components, i.e. Independent and Skilled-Australian Linked, Parents, Fiancés and Interdependents. Family Migration consists of a number of categories under which a potential migrant can be sponsored by a relative who is an Australian citizen or permanent resident of Australia.

Table 7: Outcomes of the Offshore Component of Australia's Humanitarian Program by Region from 1997-98 to 2001-02

Source: Rizvi, 2002, p. 29

Region	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01	01-02
Africa	1,473	1,552	1,738	2,032	2,801
America	50	24	23	27	16
Asia	685	295	113	316	189
Europe	5,307	4,736	3,424	3,462	2,709
Middle East & S W Asia	2,952	2,919	2,206	2,155	2,743
TOTAL	10,467	9,526	7,502	7,992	8,458

Table 8: Program Management Structure (2001-02) Migration (non-Humanitarian) Program¹

Source: DIMIA, 2002b

Skill	Family	Special Eligibility
<i>Skilled Independent & Skilled-Australian Sponsored²</i>	<i>Parents and Preferential Family</i> Can be capped subject to demand in all other Family categories	Can be capped Former citizens or residents of Australia
• Points tested		
• Planning level adjusted subject to demand in Business Skills and ENS	<i>Fiancés & Interdependents</i> Can be capped subject to demand for spouse and dependent child places	Family of New Zealand origin
<i>Business Skills, ENS & Distinguished Talent</i>		
Demand driven	<i>Spouses & Dependent Children</i> • Demand driven • Exempt from capping	
<i>Contingency Reserve</i> To be utilised if States and Territories, business employers and regional authorities generate additional demand, and for ICT professionals with Australian qualifications	Contingency Reserve Legislation defeated in Senate October 2000	

¹ Doesn't include New Zealanders travelling to Australia under the Trans Tasman Agreement² Formerly Independent and Skilled-Australian Linked (until July 1999)

In recent years there has been an increased emphasis on economic and skill criteria in the selection of settlers (Birrell, 1999). The Skill Migration component of the program consists of a number of categories for prospective migrants where there is demand in Australia for their particular occupational skills, outstanding talents or business skills. These categories are:

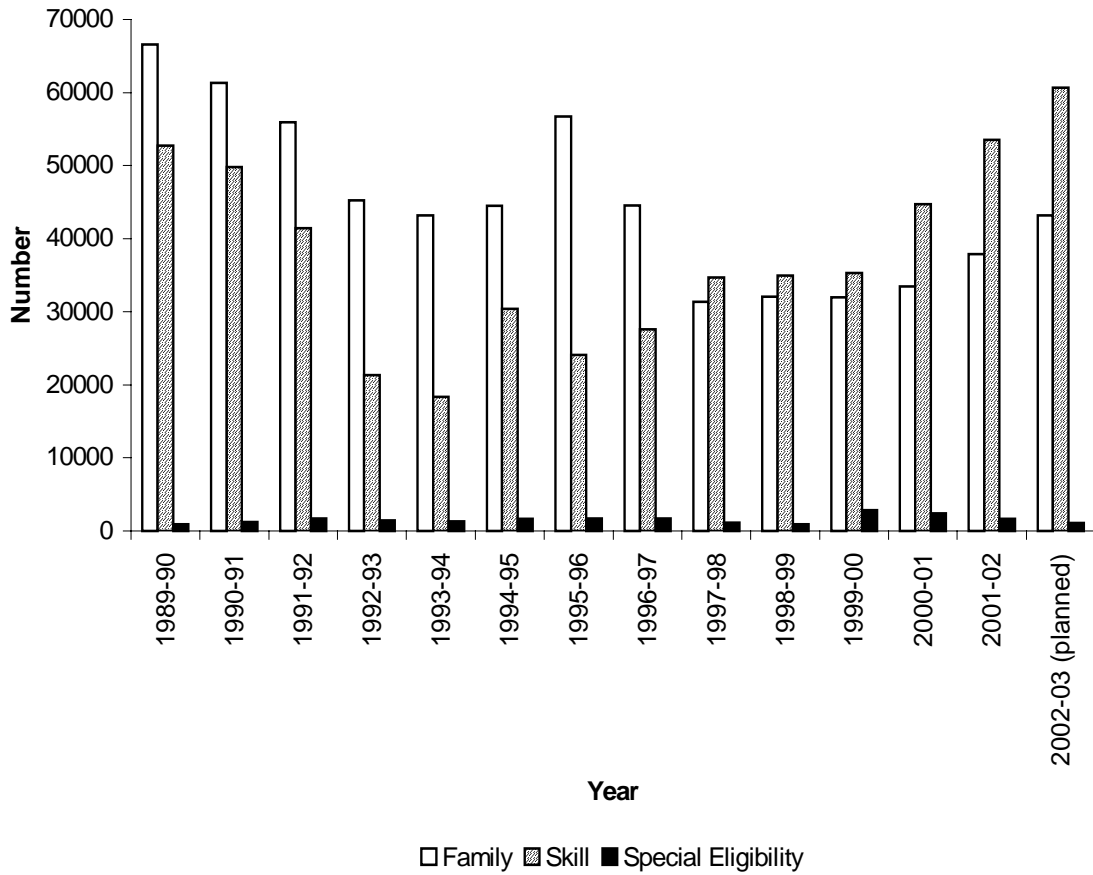
- Independent migrants - not sponsored by an employer or relative in Australia. They must pass a points test which includes skills, age and English language ability (21,778 visas in 2001-02).
- Skilled-Australian Linked - commenced on 1 July 1997 (replacing the Concessional Family Category). Applicants must pass a points test on skills, age and English ability and receive additional points for sponsorship by relatives in Australia (4,586 visas in 2001-02). Also includes Regional Linked for those sponsored by relatives in regional areas (not points tested).
- Employer sponsored - Employers may nominate (or 'sponsor') personnel from overseas through the Employer Nomination Scheme (ENS), Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS) and Labour Agreements. These visas enable Australian employers to fill skilled permanent vacancies with overseas personnel if they cannot find suitably qualified workers in Australia. A total of 1,817 visas were granted in 2001-02.
- Business skills migration - encourages successful business people to settle permanently in Australia and develop new business opportunities (6,409 visas in 2001-02).
- Distinguished talent - for distinguished individuals with special or unique talents of benefit to Australia (72 visas in 2001-02).

The 2001-02 migration program resulted in 93,080³ non-humanitarian immigrants settling in Australia. This was the largest intake for a decade. It was also the most number of skilled immigrants ever taken by Australia (Rizvi 2002, p. 20). The planning levels for each of the next four years are within the range of 100,000 and 110,000 places (66,000 in the skill stream). The shift away from family to skilled migration years in Australia is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Australia: Migration Program Outcomes by Stream

Source: DIMIA *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues and DIMIA 2002c

³ Note: this excludes New Zealanders and Humanitarian arrivals.



It will be noted in Table 9 that people born in the United Kingdom and Ireland are slightly overrepresented among family, sponsored and independent settlers and heavily overrepresented among employee nominated migrants and special eligibility migrants. They are underrepresented among business migrants and refugees. Other Europeans are slightly overrepresented among family, employee nominated and special eligibility settlers. They are strongly overrepresented among refugees and underrepresented among sponsored, business and independent migrants. Overall, then, there is a small underrepresentation of Europeans in the Skilled Migration settlement categories.

Table 9: Settler Arrivals Born in Europe Compared With Total Intake According to Eligibility Category, 2001-02

Source: DIMIA, 2002a, 7

Eligibility Category	UK and Ireland	Other Europe	Total	Percent of Total	Percent of Total	Percent of Total
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	Number	Number	Number	UK Ireland	and Other Europe
Family	2,744	3,045	23,344	11.8	13.0
Skill					
Sponsored	760	331	5,960	12.8	5.6
ENS	451	270	1,817	24.8	14.9
Business	274	137	6,409	4.3	2.1
Independent	3,580	1,418	21,850	16.4	6.5
Special Eligibility	119	31	176	67.6	17.6
Humanitarian Program	-	2,412	6,732	0.0	35.8
Non-Program Migration					
NZ Citizen	972	347	21,458	4.5	1.6
Other	353	167	1,154	30.6	14.5
Total	9,253	8,158	88,900	10.4	9.2

In considering this section on European settler migration to Australia it is important to stress that while in recent times non-European inmovement has increased, Figure 9 indicates that Europe and especially the United Kingdom are still dominant in the foreign-born population. This is also reflected in the dominance of European ancestry among the Australian population. The 2001 Census included, for the first time in 15 years, an ancestry question and Table 10 indicates the dominance of Europeans.

Figure 9: Australia: Birthplace of the Overseas-Born Population, 2001

Source: ABS, 2001 Census

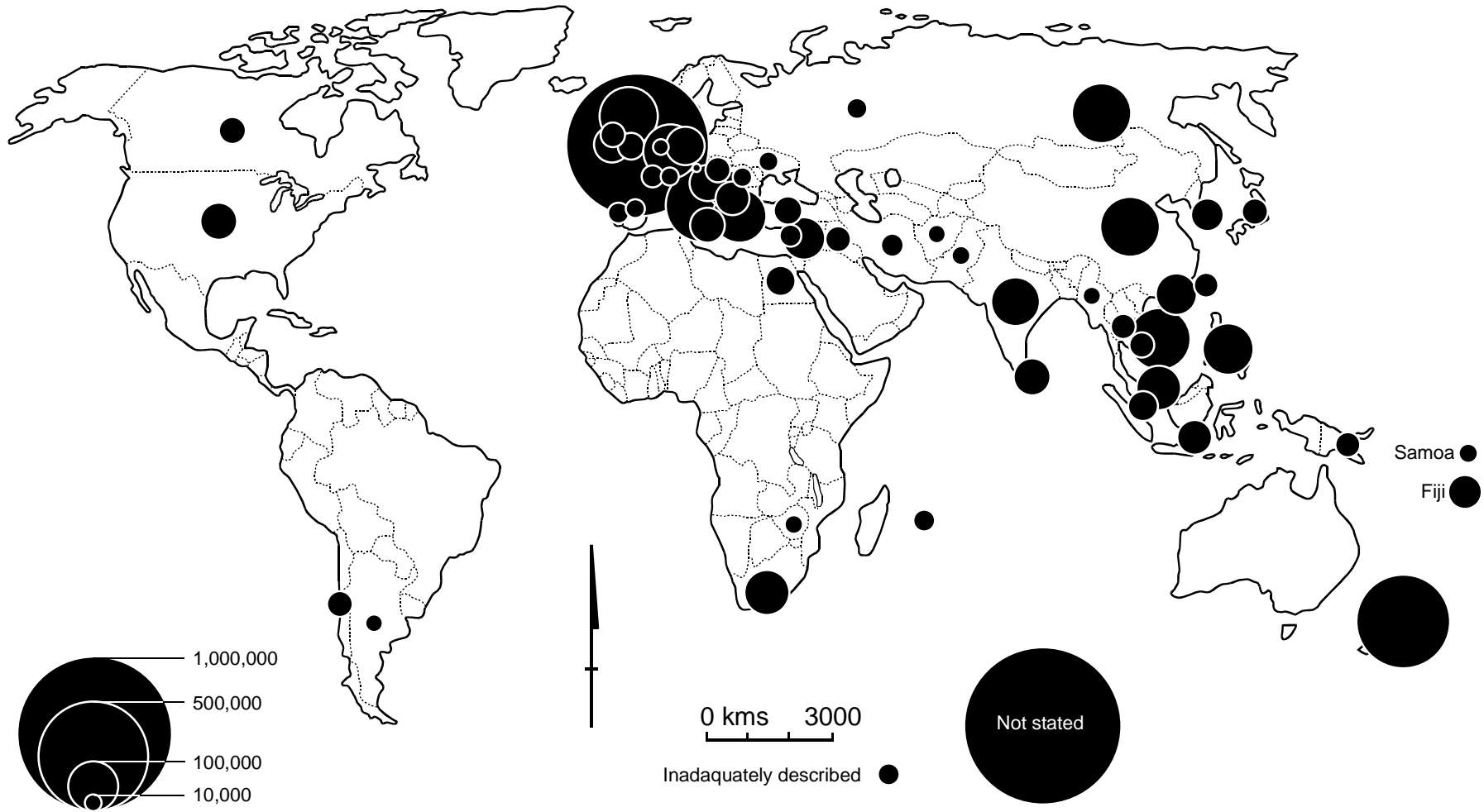


Table 10: Ancestry of the Australian Population, 2001

Source: ABS, 2001 Census

	Number	Percent
Oceania		
Australian	6,739,595	31.46
Other Australian Peoples	106,454	0.50
Maori	72,959	0.34
New Zealander	123,328	0.58
Other Oceanian	91,727	0.43
North West-European		
English	6,358,882	29.69
Scottish	540,043	2.52
Irish	1,919,723	8.96
Dutch	268,754	1.25
German	742,210	3.47
Other NW European	346,441	1.62
Southern and Eastern European		
Italian	800,257	3.74
Maltese	136,755	0.64
Croatian	105,745	0.49
Greek	375,699	1.75
Macedonian	81,893	0.38
Serbian	97,326	0.45
Polish	150,903	0.70
Russian	60,213	0.28
Other SE European	353,646	1.65
North African and Middle Eastern		
Lebanese	162,245	0.76
Turkish	54,597	0.25
Other North Africa and Middle Eastern	147,030	0.69
South-East Asian		
Vietnamese	156,572	0.73
Filipino	129,831	0.61
Indonesian	28,265	0.13
Other SE Asian	91,316	0.43
North-East Asian		

Chinese	556,553	2.60
Other NE Asian	80,676	0.38
Southern and Central Asian		
Indian	156,624	0.73
Other Southern and Central Asian	139,223	0.65
Peoples of the Americas	140,121	0.65
Sub-Saharan Africa	103,750	0.48
<hr/>		
Total	21,419,356	100.00
<hr/>		

Note: Table excludes inadequately described, not stated and not applicable.

TRENDS IN NON-PERMANENT MOVEMENT

There has been a tendency in Australia for all international migration attention to be focused on movement associated with permanent settlement in Australia. However, non-permanent movements have long been important in Australia (Price, 1979). Moreover, they have become of much greater significance in recent years. Table 11 shows that both long-term and short-term movement into and out of Australia have increased much faster than permanent migration over the last two decades.

Table 11: Growth of Population Movement Into and Out of Australia, 1982-83 to 2001-02

Source: Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, 1993; DIMIA, 2002a

	1982-83	2001-02	Percent Growth 1982-2002
<i>Arrivals</i>			
Permanent	83,010	88,900	+7.1
Long-term	79,730	264,471	+231.7
Short-term	2,171,200	8,113,300	+273.7
<i>Departures</i>			
Permanent	24,830	48,241	+94.3
Long-term	72,460	171,446	+136.6
Short-term	2,166,600	8,205,700	+278.7

Notes:

- Permanent movement - persons migrating to Australia and residents departing permanently.
- Long-term movement - visitors arriving and residents departing temporarily with the intention to stay in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more, and the departure of visitors 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.

Firstly, regarding short-term movement, there has been a rapid acceleration of both foreigners visiting Australia and Australians going overseas on a short-term basis. The number of visitor visas granted in 2001-02 was 3,368,170, representing a 6.4 percent fall over the previous year due to the effects of 11th September 2001 but also the fact that the previous year contained the Sydney Olympics. Table 12 shows the changes that have occurred in visitor numbers in the last year. It will be noted that five European countries are among the 16 largest senders of visitors to Australia. While Japan is the main origin of short-term visitors to Australia, it is closely followed by the United Kingdom.

Table 12: Visitor Visas Granted (Offshore) – Key Source Markets

Source: Rizvi, 2002, pp. 39-40

Country	2000 – 2001	2001 - 2002	per cent Change
Japan	673,543	630,863	- 6.3
United Kingdom	602,694	588,296	- 2.4
USA	451,841	384,960	- 14.8
Singapore	177,985	151,945	- 14.6
Korea (ROK)	156,664	176,868	+ 12.9
Germany	152,149	142,880	+ 6.1
Malaysia	130,134	128,423	- 1.3
China (PRC)	108,618	128,656	+ 18.4
Taiwan	103,242	85,060	- 17.6
Canada	92,284	91,978	- 0.3
France	86,732	86,522	- 0.2
HKSAR	74,591	65,377	- 12.4
Netherlands	59,804	56,435	- 5.6
Indonesia	56,996	58,049	+ 1.8
Italy	56,518	45,434	- 19.6
Thailand	50,478	49,503	- 1.9
Global Total	3,538,470	3,332,590	- 5.8

The number of Australians travelling to Europe on a short-term basis is only half the number of Europeans coming to Australia on a short-term basis but the United Kingdom is comfortably the most popular single destination of Australians going overseas for a short period. Figures 10 and 11 show how the short-term flows between Europe and Australia have grown substantially over the last two decades. These figures are almost the complete opposite. Figure 4, which showed postwar trends in European settlement in Australia, which was high until the early 1970s and subsequently declined substantially. Assessing the impact and significance of this mobility is difficult.

Figure 10: Europe-Born Short-Term Arrivals to Australia, 1947-2002

Source: CBCS, *Demography Bulletins*; ABS, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures Bulletins*

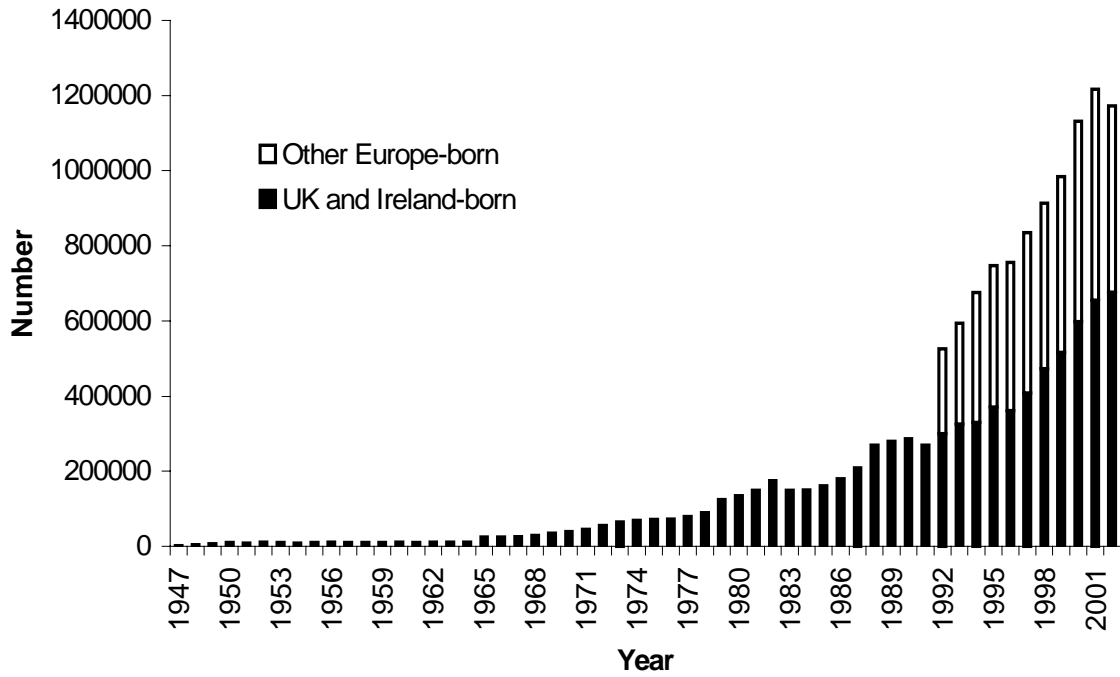
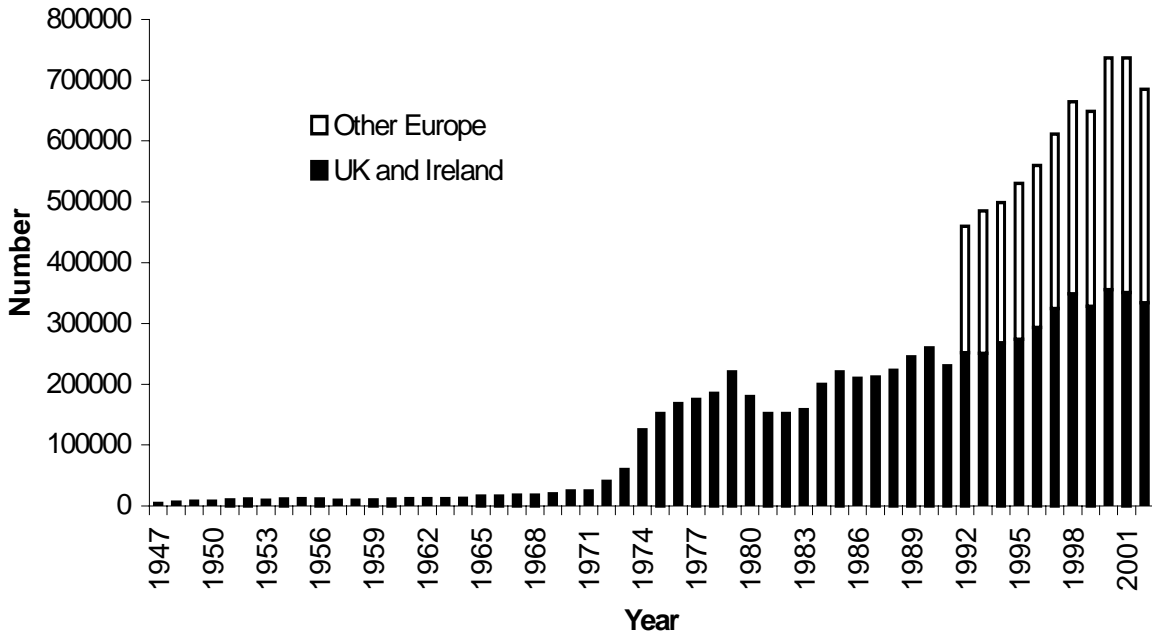


Figure 11: Australia-Born Persons Travelling to Europe on a Short-Term Basis, 1947-2002

Source: CBCS, *Demography Bulletins*; ABS, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures Bulletins*



It is interesting to note in Figure 12, however, that business and family based visits of Europeans to Australia are similar in size to those of Australians going to Europe but it is in tourism that the incomers are twice as numerous as the Australians going to Europe. There are, of course, differences in the mix of reasons for visiting in the various nations in Europe. While the United Kingdom and Ireland account for around half of both short-term visitors and permanent settlers from Europe, the other main origins of short-term visitors are Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and the Netherlands compared with Yugoslavia, Germany, former USSR and Baltic States and Croatia.

While the amount of visitor movement between Europe and Australia has increased substantially over the last two decades it has declined as a proportion of all short-term movement to and from Australia as Figure 13 indicates. The proportions have fallen from over a quarter to less than a fifth of all such movement. While Europeans visiting has increased, that from Asia has increased faster.

Australia has long had an emphasis on attracting permanent settlers to the country and a strongly expressed opposition to programs of inmovement of temporary and contract workers. During the labour shortage years of the 1950s and 1960s Australia's migration solution to the problem contrasted sharply with that of European nations like Germany and France when it explicitly opted to concentrate on attracting permanent migrants to meet worker shortages rather than contract workers. This thinking has changed dramatically since the mid 1990s with the introduction of new visa types involving temporary migration for work (Birrell and Healy, 1997). These often cut across the long-term and short-term categories. Hence there has been a shift in worker migration to Australia which has seen an increase in non-permanent moves. There has been a recognition that in the context of globalised labour markets it is essential to have mechanisms to allow non-permanent entry of workers at least in certain groups. Nevertheless, this form of entry has not been extended to unskilled and low-skilled areas and has been open to people with particular skills and entrepreneurs. Hence there has been an increase in people coming to Australia as short-term or long-term entrants and being able to work in the country.

Figure 12: Reasons for Short-Term Visits to Australia by Europeans and to Europe by Australians

Source: ABS, 1997

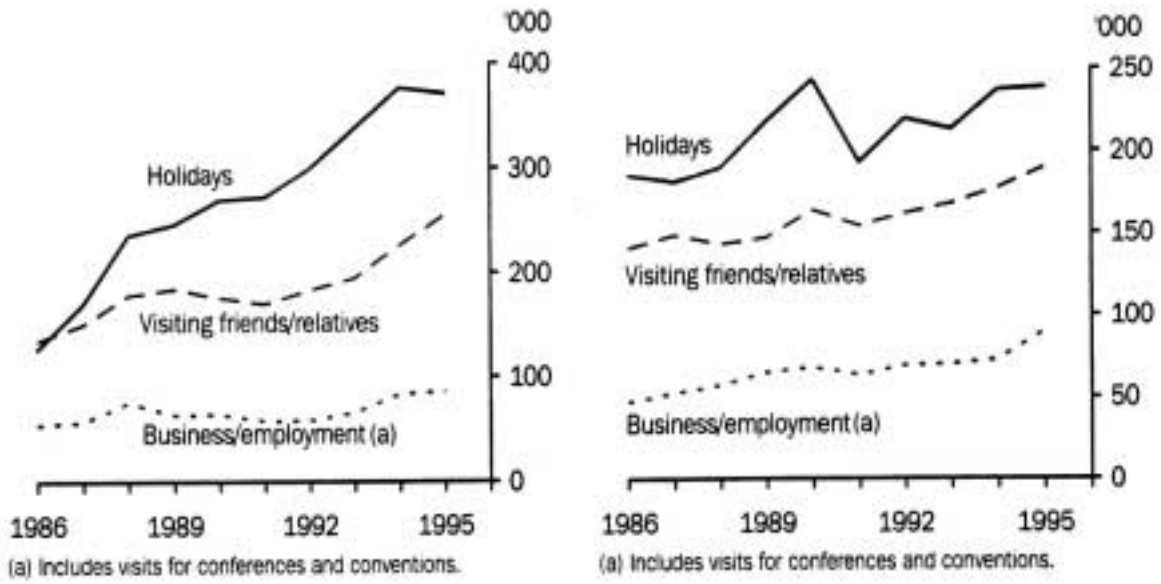
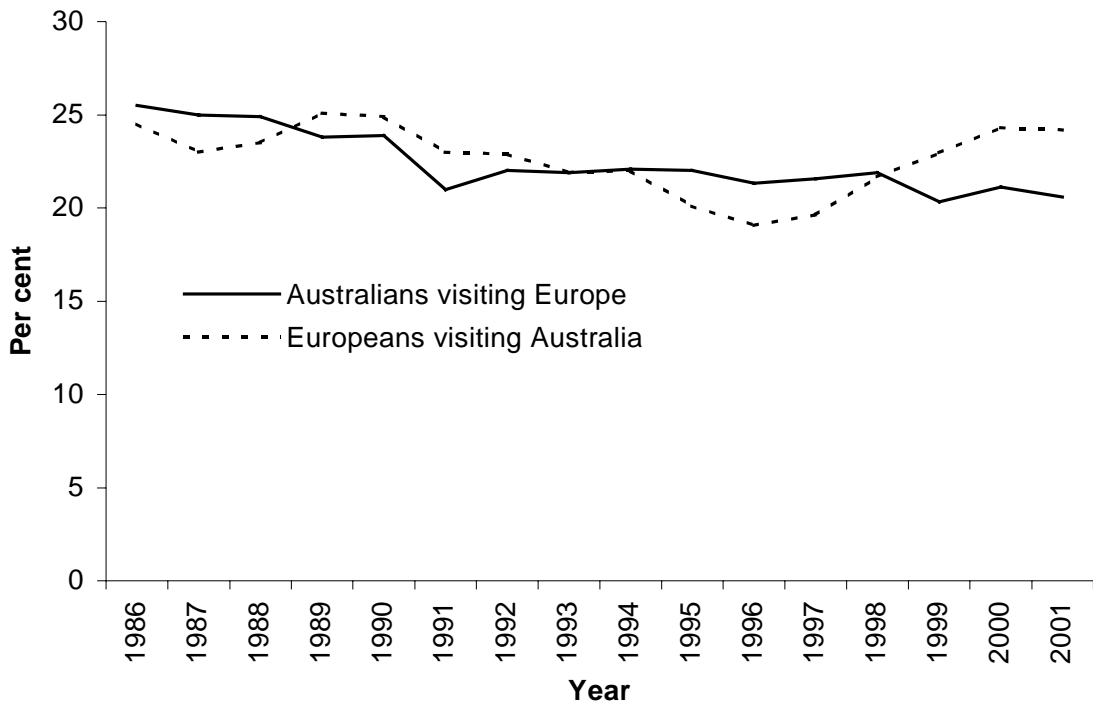


Figure 13: Proportion of Short-term Overseas Visits to and from Australia, 1986 to 2001

Source: ABS, 1997 and ABS, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures*, various issues



There has been increasing pressure from some groups to include some unskilled workers to enter the country temporarily to meet labour shortages in some areas. The most notable example of this is in the area of harvest labour, especially in fruit, vegetables and vines where significant seasonal labour shortages have occurred in recent years (Hugo, 2001). Nevertheless, the government has not responded positively to these suggestions.

Table 13: Long-Term Movement from United Kingdom/Ireland and Other Europe to Australia, 1991-2000

Source: ABS, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures Bulletins*

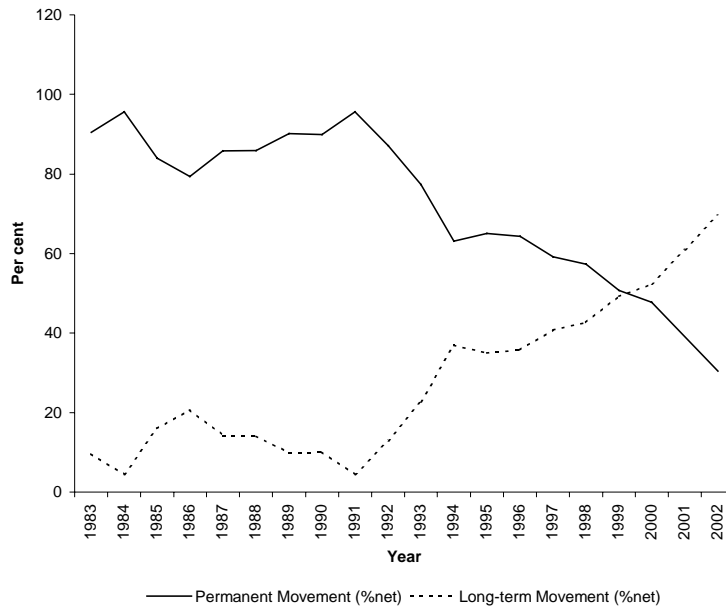
	UK/Ireland			Other Europe		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
1991	5,770	5,780	-10	4,290	3,430	860
1992	5,120	5,330	-210	4,110	3,380	730
1993	5,500	3,980	1,520	4,610	3,310	1,300
1993-94	5,979	4,925	1,054	4,105	3,390	715
1994-95	7,817	5,564	2,253	4,947	3,685	1,262
1995-96	9,280	6,324	2,956	5,802	4,222	1,580
1996-97	11,505	7,883	3,622	6,535	4,783	1,752
1997-98	14,336	10,105	4,231	7,438	5,909	1,529
1998-99	17,731	7,359	10,372	10,067	3,954	6,113
1999-2000	21,129	10,513	10,616	11,629	4,861	6,768

The increasing significance of people coming from Europe to work in Australia on a temporary basis is evident in Table 13. The massive increase in movement since the mid 1990s is immediately apparent. One interesting feature of the table is the relatively high levels of net migration gain of these groups. Indeed, the contribution of net gains of long-term immigrants to overall Australian population growth has been greater in recent years than the overall net gain of permanent immigrants as Figure 14 indicates.

The increases in the various categories of temporary movement which allows the incomers to work in Australia is shown in Figure 15 and the upward trend in recent years is apparent. Australia now is second only to the UK and USA in the numbers of foreign students it attracts (OECD, 2001). However, as Figure 16 indicates, very few of these are from Europe and the bulk are from Asia. In 2001-02 there were 151,894 visas granted to overseas students to study in Australia, increasing 4 percent over the previous year (Rizvi, 2002, 42). Of the twenty largest sources, only three were European – Norway (1,907), Germany (1,752) and Sweden (1,462). The next largest were the United Kingdom (905) and Switzerland (803).

Figure 14: Australia: Net Permanent and Long-Term Movement as a Percentage of Total Net Migration Gain, 1983-2002

Source: DIMIA, *Immigration Update*, various issues



The second category of visa in which temporary entrants to Australia can work are Working Holiday Makers (WHMs). WHMs are foreign nationals aged 18-30 from selected countries with which Australia has a reciprocal arrangement, who can work under certain conditions for up to 12 months (Australian Parliamentary Joint Study Committee on Migration, 1997). Their numbers have increased dramatically and reached 85,200 in 2001-02 more than doubling in the 1990s. Kinnaird (1999) reports that while the economic impact nationally of WHM migration is limited it has significant impacts in specific industries in specific areas.

Figure 15:

Temporary Migration to Australia by Category, 1986-2002

Source: DIMIA *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIMIA 2002d

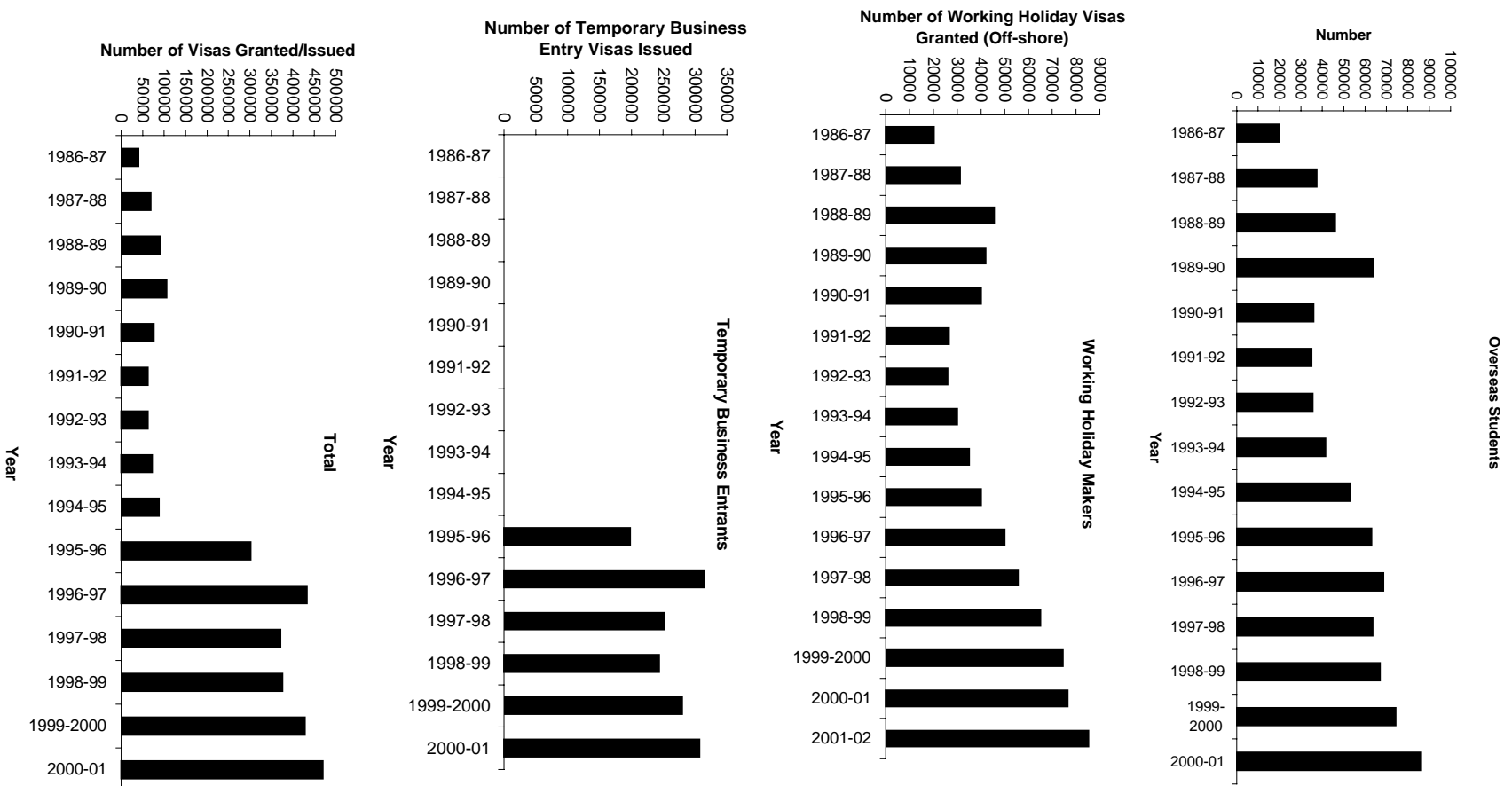
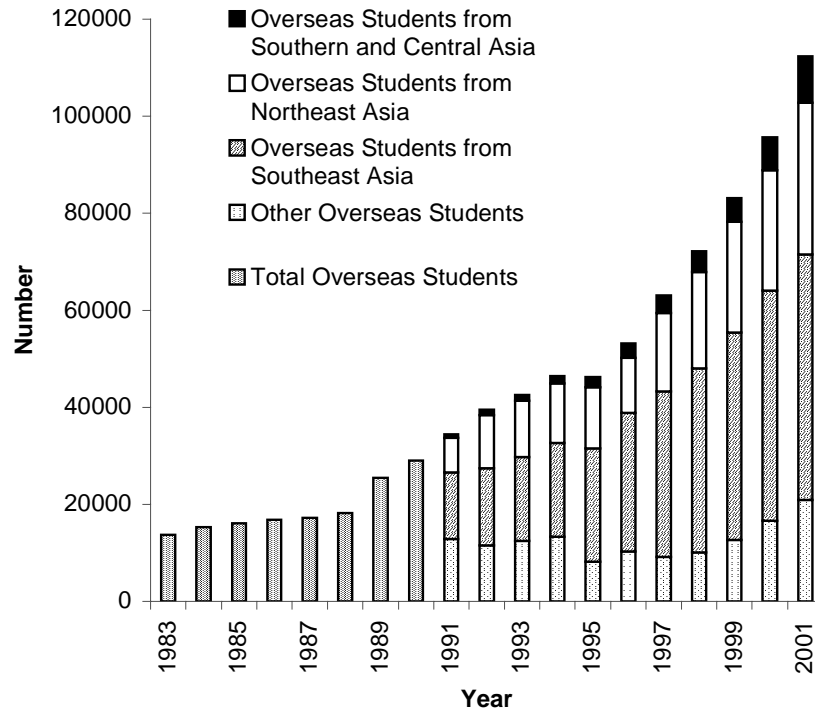


Figure 16: Overseas Students in Australian Universities, 1983-2001

Source: DETYA Selected Higher Education Student Statistics, various issues



They are especially important in areas such as tourism, hospitality, restaurants and in providing seasonal labour in primary industry. Indeed, WHMs have become a crucial element in providing honest labour in wine growing and fruit growing areas (Hugo, 2001). Since most of the countries⁴ with which Australia has a reciprocal WHM agreement are European, Figure 17 shows that young Europeans are dominant in this movement.

Since 1995 there has been a new visa category in Australia of Temporary Business Migrants. These are five types:

- Business visitors who come for short periods and are in the 'short-term' arrival category.
- Temporary business residents who come for longer periods and are usually in the 'long-term' arrival category.

⁴ These countries are the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands, Japan, Republic of Ireland, Republic of Korea, Malta, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of the People's Republic of China, Finland and the Republic of Cyprus.

Figure 17: Australia: Working Holiday Makers Arrivals, 2000

Source: Drawn from data in DIMIA, 2001



- Independent executives who enter Australia for the purpose of establishing, or buying into a business and managing that business.
- Medical practitioners – qualified general and specialist medical practitioners where there is a demonstrated need for employing practitioners from overseas.
- Educational – this visa is for qualified people to join educational and research organisations to fill academic teaching and research positions that cannot be filled from within the Australian labour market.

Figure 15 indicates there has been a fall in this category since a peak in 1996-97 and in 2000-01 a total of 260,957 Business Visitors visas were granted and 40,493 Temporary Business Residence visas, 3,411 Independent Executive visas, 3,438 Medical Practitioner visas and 1,738 Educational visas. In 2000-01 the total inflow was 310,037. In 2001-02 there were 258,020 Business Visitor Visas granted – 0.9 percent lower than in 2000-01. The main countries of origin of business visitors are depicted in Table 14 and while the overall pattern is dominated by people from Asia, it is apparent that Europeans are much more significant among the longer term business entrants. The Temporary Business Entry (Long Stay) sub-class 457 visa enables highly qualified/skilled persons to enter Australia for up to 4 years to take up pre-nominated positions with approved Australian sponsor-employers, mostly in professional or management positions (Rizvi, 2002, p. 45).

Table 14: Temporary Business Entry Visas Granted (Offshore), 2001-02

Source: Rizvi 2002, pp. 40-41

Country of Citizenship	Business short stay	ETA Business long validity	ETA Business short validity	Totals
USA	1,267	5,169	36,861	43,297
China (PRC)	49,919	0	0	49,919
United Kingdom	1,142	8,227	11,400	20,769
Japan	1,714	8,879	6,214	16,807
India	12,699	0	0	12,699
Indonesia	10,262	0	0	10,262
Canada	128	828	7,051	8,007
Thailand	8,013	0	0	8,013
France	183	538	5,330	6,051
Germany	523	1,672	3,897	6,092
Singapore	104	1,650	4,607	6,361
Taiwan	2,133	0	112	2,245
Korea (ROK)	193	945	1,462	2,600
HKSAR	181	400	579	1,160
Others	45,265	5,122	13,361	63,738
Total	133,726	33,420	90,874	258,020

The number of visas granted fell by 8.7 percent from 36,902 in 2000-01 to 33,705 in 2001-02. Rizvi (2002, p. 45) attributes this to the 30.8 percent drop in the number of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) professionals applying from offshore and the downturn in the Australian ICT industry. This was offset by some increase in nomination from other groups. For example, nurses increased by 144 percent from 1,049 to 2,563. Table 15 shows that over a quarter of all 457 visas in 2001-02 were granted to people from the UK. Ireland and France were the only other European nations in the ten largest origin countries of long stay temporary business entrants.

The changing trends in movement of temporary residents into Australia are depicted in Table 16. This indicates that the UK accounts for more than one third of these while Europe accounted for half (50.2 percent) of all temporary resident inflow in 2001-02. This contrasts to a tenth and 36.9 percent respectively for permanent inmovement. Hence, European dominance of the inmovement to Australia has to some extent been transferred from settlement migration to longer term temporary immigration of skilled workers.

Table 15: Temporary Business Entry (Long Stay) Visa Grants 2000-01 and 2001-02

Source: Rizvi, 2002, p. 46

Country	2000-01	2001-02	% Change
United Kingdom	8,737	9,653	9.5 %
India	3,294	3,075	-7.1 %
United States of America	3,005	2,640	-13.8 %
Japan	2,239	2,441	8.3 %
South Africa, Republic of	1,995	1,887	-5.7 %
Irish Republic	1,441	1,626	11.4 %
Korea, Republic of	1,264	1,606	21.3 %
China, People's Republic of	1,341	1,104	-21.5 %
Canada	1,164	1,042	-11.7 %
France	845	909	7.0 %
Other countries	11,382	7,722	-47.4 %

Table 16: Australia: Inflows of Temporary Residents by Region/Country of Citizenship, Financial Years 1990-91 to 2001-02 (Thousands)

Source: Rizvi, 2002, p. 94

2000-2001 financial year data is currently unavailable.

REGION/ COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP	1990 -91	1991- 92	1992 -93	1993 -94	1994 -95	1995 -96	1996 -97 (b)	1997 -98 (a)(b)	1998 -99 (a)(b)	1999 -00 (a)(b)	2000 -01	2001 -02
United Kingdom/Ireland	47.0	34.9	26.5	35.7	42.1	42.8	52.5	64.6	73.3	89.9	n.y.a	113.6
Other Northern Europe	15.5	14.4	12.7	15.9	16.9	17.7	18.9	21.9	24.4	29.0	n.y.a	53.4
Southern Europe	3.9	2.7	2.9	3.3	3.0	2.8	2.8	3.1	3.0	4.2	n.y.a	3.9
USA and Canada	29.5	26.1	20.8	24.1	26.1	27.9	27.5	31.6	33.6	34.5	n.y.a	61.8
South and Other America	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.9	2.3	n.y.a	1.9
Asia (excluding Middle East)	38.0	34.9	26.1	30.6	30.4	33.1	38.5	43.9	49.1	52.9	n.y.a	92.3
Middle East	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.8	n.y.a	2.5
Africa	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.9	2.2	1.8	2.7	4.2	5.0	6.7	n.y.a	8.4
Oceania	1.7	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.4	2.2	2.5	n.y.a	2.2
Other and not Stated	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	n.y.a	0.1
TOTAL	139.0	117.8	93.2	115.2	124.4	130.2	147.1	173.2	194.1	224.0	n.y.a	340.2
TOTAL FEMALES	52.4	44.0	34.8	43.2	51.3	55.9	62.4	74.3	81.0	94.6	n.y.a	140.1

Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs – unpublished tabulations.

(a) Includes arrivals under Temporary Business Entry (TBE) (Long Stay) Subclass 457
(b) Excludes Arrivals under TBE (Short Stay) Subclass 456 and Electronic Travel Authority (ETA) Business Entrant (Long Validity) Subclass 956 and ETA Business Entrant (Short Validity) Subclass 977

The increasing numbers of short-term worker entrants to Australia represents a huge change in Australian immigration policy which in the past has been adamant in its concentration on permanent settlers and its eschewing of temporary migration. Currently, non-residents make up a significant number of the people in Australia at any point in time.

Table 17: Temporary Entrants to Australia

Source: DIMA, 2000; DIMIA, 2002b

	Flow 2000-2001	Stock 30 June 2001
Visitors	3,279,549	201,700
Overseas students	86,277	138,200
Working holiday makers	76,576	46,600
Temporary business visitors	260,957	12,600
Temporary business residents	40,493	56,000
Bridging visa holders ⁽¹⁾	-	63,200
Social, cultural, international relations program	37,912	25,700
Other	65,476	11,200
Total	3,847,240	554,200

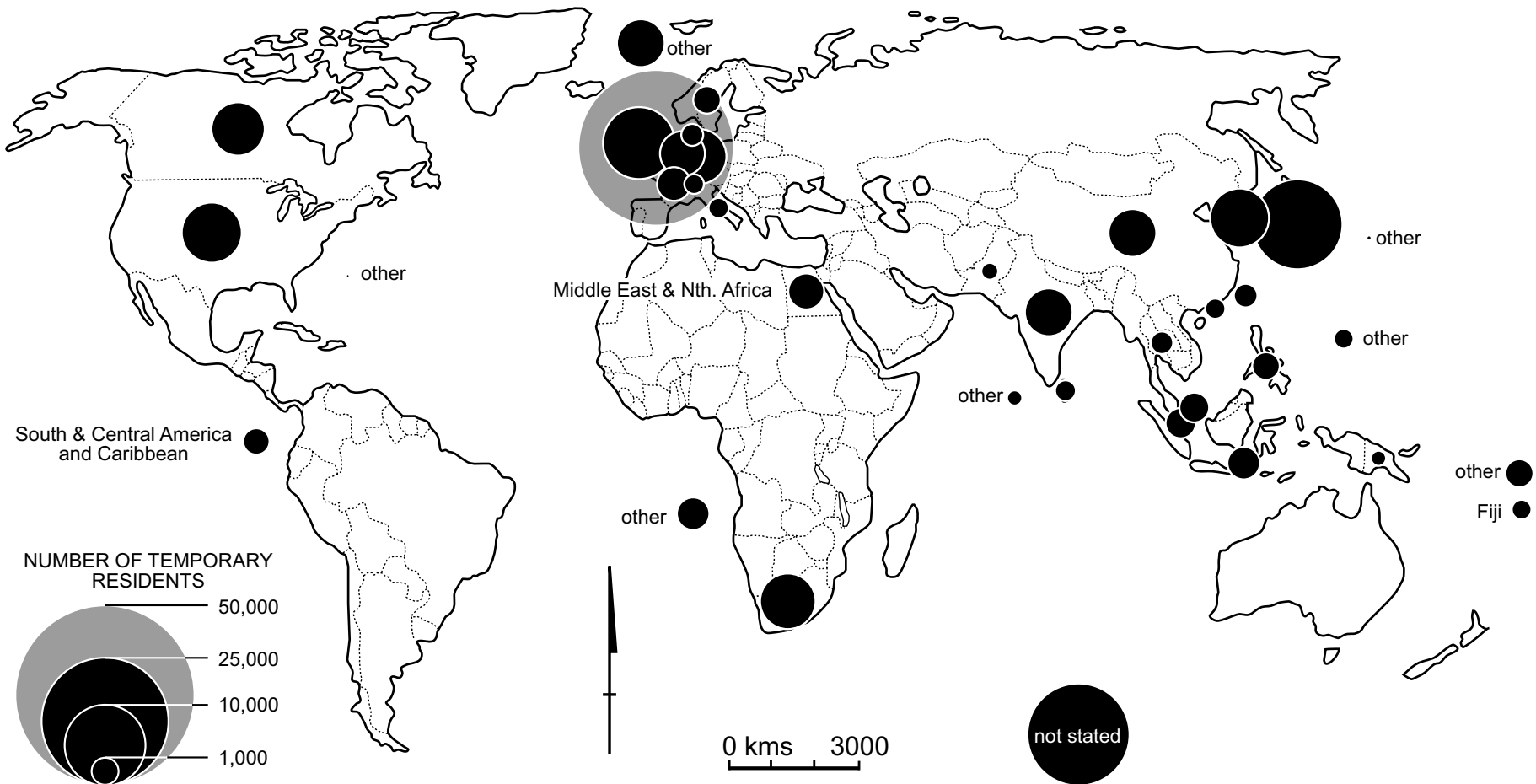
(1) Bridging visas provide lawful status to non-citizens who would otherwise be unlawful.

Table 17 presents official (DIMIA) estimates of the number of persons temporarily in Australia in mid 2000 and 2001. This indicates that there were over 200,000 people in Australia temporarily with work rights and a similar number without work rights. This represents a substantial number of people equivalent to 2-3 percent of the permanently resident workforce. DIMIA (2002b, p. 53) estimates that at 30 June, 2001 there were 554,200 persons in Australia on temporary visas – 202,500 had been in Australia for less than three months, 193,800 between three and twelve months and 157,800 longer.⁵ The largest group of the 554,200 were from the UK (93,400), followed by the USA (42,100), China (36,700), Japan (33,200) and Korea (33,100). The distribution of the countries of origin of the estimated stock of persons temporarily in Australia in mid 2002 is depicted in Figure 18. The largest single national group is from the United Kingdom which accounts for 12.8 percent of the total, while all of Europe accounts for some 26.4 percent.

⁵ These figures do not include New Zealand citizens.

Figure 18: Australia: Temporary Residents by Country of Birth, 30 June 2002

Source: DIMIA, 2002



While the UK is the dominant origin of both permanent settlers and temporary residents from Europe, the other major countries vary between the two categories. Hence Table 18 shows that former USSR and Yugoslavia nations are important among settlers. Western and northern European countries are dominant among visitors and temporary visitors.

Table 18: Ten Largest European Origins of Settlers, Temporary Residents and Visitors Coming to Australia, 2001-02

Source: DIMIA, 2002a

Settlers	Temporary Resident Entry	Visitors
United Kingdom	United Kingdom	United Kingdom
FR of Yugoslavia	Germany	Germany
Former USSR and Baltic States	Ireland	France
Germany	Netherlands	Netherlands
Croatia	France	Italy
Ireland	Sweden	Switzerland
Netherlands	Denmark	Ireland
Bosnia Herzegovina	Italy	Sweden
Former Yugoslavia	Norway	Austria
Romania	Switzerland	Denmark

It is interesting that while Europeans now make up less than a third of settlers coming to Australia, they still make up more than a half of the total overseas-born population counted in Australia at the 2001-02 Census. The comparative overrepresentation in the newly dominant non-permanent flows to Australia, however, results in Europeans accounting for more than a half of the stock of such people in Australia in mid 2002. Hence Table 19 shows that the overall representation of Europeans among the permanently resident and the temporarily resident population in Australia is similar.

It is somewhat puzzling that while there has been a transformation of the Europe-Australian migration regime in the last decade that the overwhelming bulk of our research knowledge is of the declining element in that movement – relocation of Europeans to settle more or less permanently in Australia. Our understanding of the cultural, economic, social and demographic effects and significance of the burgeoning temporary movements remain very limited while we know a great deal about postwar European settlement in Australia.

Table 19: Australia: Origins of the Australian Foreign-Born Total and Temporary Resident Populations, 2001 and 2002

Source: ABS 2001 census and DIMIA

	Total 2001	Overseas-Born, Percent*	Temporary Overseas-Born, 2002 Total	Resident Percent*
Oceania	455,126	11.1	1,892	1.7
Europe and Former USSR	2,136,158	52.3	60,563	53.1
Middle East and North Africa	213,942	5.2	1,854	1.6
Southeast Asia	497,076	12.2	6,289	5.5
Northeast Asia	298,831	7.3	22,181	19.5
Southern Asia	184,130	4.5	4,577	4.0
India	95,452	2.3	3,356	2.9
Northern America	81,403	2.0	9,616	8.4
Southern America	75,691	1.9	984	0.9
Africa	141,696	3.5	6,044	5.3
Not stated	1,051,805**	-	16,053	-
Total	5,135,858	100.0	130,053	100.0

* Excluding 'Not stated'.

** Includes 'Inadequately described', 'At sea' and 'Not elsewhere classified'.

This is partly a function of the demise of the Bureau of Immigration Research (Fincher, 2001) which coincided with a paradigmatic shift in Australian immigration (Hugo, 1999). However, it also is that most of our research remains rooted in a conceptualisation of immigration which was applicable to the first four decades of the postwar period but which is now only one element in a much more complex pattern of flows. There is a need for a more inclusive view of immigration to be taken.

Table 20: Onshore Residence Visa Grants as a Percentage of Total Migration Program Visas Granted

Source: DIMIA, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues

1989-90	11.6
1990-91	10.3
1991-92	14.8
1992-93	21.2
1993-94	17.4
1994-95	25.3
1995-96	17.7
1996-97	22.4
1997-98	22.8
1998-99	22.2
1999-2000	24.7
2000-01	28.1

There are many elements of the new movement which need to be urgently examined. From a demographic perspective, one crucial area relates to the extent the new temporary movement had to permanent settlement. Certainly, Table 20 shows how there has been a substantial increase in the proportion of 'settlers' obtaining an 'onshore' residence visa grant by virtue of the fact that they apply for immigration while being resident in Australia on a temporary visa. It shall be noted that this does not include the substantial numbers (1999-2002, 8,409 persons) of former asylum seekers who were granted a Temporary Protection Visa. This raises a number of issues such as:

- To what extent is the long-term net gain a temporary phenomenon which will eventually disappear? If all workers arriving under visa categories like temporary business, working holiday, student etc. eventually leave Australia, one would expect the losses to eventually be more or less equal to the gains.
- Clearly, there is some leakage across from long-term to permanent settlement. It has been estimated (Ruddock, 2002) that in 2000-01 about 10 percent of skilled temporary entrants changed to permanent residence. This suggests that there is significant 'category jumping' from long-term to permanent status and hence some double counting in the net gains of permanent and long-term residents. The extent of category jumping has been estimated by the ABS and is included in Table 21. It would appear that the category jumping has been quite large (35,100) in 2002 suggesting that this is becoming a most important phenomenon.

Table 21: Components of Net Overseas Migration ('000), 1983-2002

Source: DIMA 2000, p. 106; ABS 2002, p. 29

Year Ended 30 June	Permanent Movement			Long-Term Movement			Category Jumpers ^a	NOM	Perm ^b	L-t ^b
	Arrivals	Departures	Net	Arrivals	Departures	Net				
1983	93.0	24.8	68.2	79.7	72.5	7.3	-2.2	73.3	90.4%	9.6%
1984	68.8	24.3	44.5	76.5	74.4	2.0	2.6	49.1	95.6%	4.4%
1985	77.5	20.4	57.1	85.7	74.9	10.9	5.7	73.7	84.0%	16.0%
1986	92.6	18.1	74.5	93.8	74.4	19.4	6.4	100.4	79.3%	20.7%
1987	113.5	19.9	93.6	90.9	75.4	15.5	16.6	125.7	85.8%	14.2%
1988	143.5	20.5	123.0	98.8	78.6	20.2	6.1	149.4	85.9%	14.1%
1989	145.3	21.6	123.7	104.6	91.0	13.6	20.2	157.4	90.1%	9.9%
1990	121.2	27.9	93.4	110.7	100.2	10.5	20.8	124.6	89.9%	10.1%
1991	121.7	31.1	90.6	114.7	110.5	4.2	-8.3	86.4	95.6%	4.4%
1992	107.4	29.1	78.3	126.8	115.2	11.6	-21.3	68.6	87.1%	12.9%
1993	76.3	27.9	48.4	127.4	113.2	14.2	-32.6	30.0	77.3%	22.7%
1994	69.8	27.3	42.5	137.6	112.7	24.9	-20.8	46.5	63.1%	36.9%
1995	87.4	26.9	60.5	151.1	118.5	32.6	-12.9	80.1	65.0%	35.0%
1996	99.1	28.7	70.5	163.6	124.4	39.2	-5.5	104.1	64.3%	35.7%
1997	85.8	29.9	55.9	175.2	136.7	38.5	-7.3	87.1	59.2%	40.8%
1998	77.3	32.0	45.3	188.1	154.3	33.8	7.2	86.4	57.3%	42.7%
1999	84.1	35.2	49.0	187.8	140.3	47.5	-11.0	85.1	50.7%	49.3%
2000	92.3	41.1	51.2	212.8	156.8	56.1	-8.2	99.1	47.7%	52.3%
2001	nya	nya	nya	nya	nya	nya	nya	109.7	nya	nya
2002	88.9	48.2	40.7	264.5	171.4	93.0	nya	106.1 ^c	30.4%	69.6%

^a Category jumping is the net effect of persons whose travel intentions change from short-term to permanent or long-term, or vice versa.

^b The percentage contributions of permanent and long-term movement are based on the net migration totals before adjustment for category jumpers.

^c Includes category jumping for March and June Quarters 2000.

- A number of issues flow from the last point. To what extent is temporary entry now becoming a 'de facto' settlement migration category? To what extent are individual persons seeing temporary entry as a strategy to eventually obtain permanent residence? To what extent have people who intend to come to Australia to work and live for a limited period in the past entered as settlers because there was no temporary visa category available to them but since 1995 have come in to Australia under the new temporary visa categories?
- The government has introduced some mechanisms to facilitate the transfer from temporary to permanent residence. For example, some categories of foreign students can obtain more or

less automatic permanent residence if they have particular skills in high demand in the labour market.

The interface between permanent and temporary work-related migration to Australia is an important area of both policy and theoretical significance but little is currently known regarding it.

EMIGRATION

There is a tendency for Australia to be categorised as a purely immigration country but, in fact, it is also a country of significant emigration. Table 22 shows that over recent years departures on a permanent or long-term basis have been very substantial. In 2001-02 permanent departures numbered 48,241 compared with an average of 30,539 over the previous 14 years. This represents a 17.4 percent increase over 1999-2000 and a 61.6 percent increase over 5 years earlier. This is in spite of the fact that permanent arrivals in 2001-02 were 88,900 and well below the 14 year average of 100,012. Table 23 shows that while the ratio of permanent emigration to permanent immigration has varied between 14 and 52 percent since 1968, the ratio has been comparatively high in recent years. Over the post-war period there has been a close relationship between immigration and emigration trends with the latter tending to follow the former with a small time lag. This is because, as Table 23 indicates, former settlers have been a major part of emigration over the years.

Table 22: Australia: Settlers and Long-Term Migration, 1987-2002Source: DIMIA *Immigration Update*, various issues

	Year														
	1987- 88	1988- 89	1989- 90	1990- 91	1991- 92	1992- 93	1993- 94	1994- 95	1995- 96	1996- 97	1997- 98	1998- 99	1999- 2000	2000- 01	2001- 02
Permanent Migration															
Arrivals	143,480	145,316	121,227	121,688	107,391	76,330	69,768	87,428	99,139	85,752	77,327	84,143	92,272	na	88,900
Departures	20,470	21,647	27,857	31,130	29,122	27,905	27,280	26,948	28,670	29,857	31,985	35,181	41,078	na	48,241
Net	123,010	123,669	93,370	90,558	78,269	48,425	42,488	60,480	70,469	55,895	45,342	48,962	51,194	na	40,659
Long-Term Migration															
Arrivals	98,780	104,590	110,695	114,711	126,781	127,436	137,600	151,095	163,578	175,249	188,114	187,802	212,849	na	264,471
Departures	78,570	90,991	100,199	110,512	115,162	113,190	112,707	118,533	124,386	136,748	154,294	140,281	156,768	na	171,446
Net	20,210	13,599	10,496	4,199	11,619	14,246	24,893	32,562	39,192	38,501	33,820	47,521	56,081	na	93,025
Total	143,220	137,240	103,866	94,757	89,888	62,671	67,381	93,042	109,666	94,396	79,162	96,483	107,275	na	133,686

Permanent and Long-Term Net Gain	0	2	6							1						4
% Net Migration from Long-Term Movement	14.1	9.9	10.1	4.4	12.9	22.7	36.9	35.0	35.7	40.8	42.7	49.3	52.3	na	69.6	

Table 23: Australia: Permanent Movement, Financial Years, 1968-2002

Sources: DIMIA *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues

Financial Year	Settler Arrivals	Permanent Departures				Total	Departures as % of Arrivals
		Former Settlers* No.	% of Departures	Australia-Born** No.	% of Departures		
1968-69	175,657	23,537	74.3	8,141	25.7	31,678	18.0
1969-70	185,099	26,082	72.3	10,000	27.7	36,082	19.5
1970-71	170,011	28,244	71.8	11,072	28.2	39,316	23.1
1971-72	132,719	32,280	72.8	12,439	27.8	44,719	33.7
1972-73	107,401	31,961	71.2	12,945	28.8	44,906	41.8
1973-74	112,712	26,741	67.8	12,699	32.2	39,413	35.0
1974-75	89,147	20,184	64.0	11,361	36.0	31,545	35.4
1975-76	52,748	17,150	62.5	10,277	37.5	27,427	52.0
1976-77	70,916	15,447	62.8	9,141	37.2	24,588	34.7
1977-78	73,171	13,972	60.5	9,124	39.5	23,096	31.6
1978-79	67,192	13,797	54.3	11,632	45.7	25,429	37.8
1979-80	80,748	12,044	54.7	9,973	45.3	22,017	27.3
1980-81	110,689	10,888	55.8	8,608	44.2	19,496	17.6
1981-82	118,030	11,940	57.2	8,940	42.8	20,890	17.7
1982-83	93,010	15,390	62.0	9,440	38.0	24,830	26.7
1983-84	68,810	14,270	58.7	10,040	41.3	24,300	35.3
1984-85	77,510	11,040	54.2	9,340	45.8	20,380	26.3
1985-86	92,590	9,560	52.8	8,540	47.2	18,100	19.5
1986-87	113,540	10,800	54.2	9,130	45.8	19,930	17.6
1987-88	143,470	10,716	52.3	9,755	47.7	20,471	14.3
1988-89	145,320	15,087	69.7	6,560	30.3	21,647	14.9
1989-90	121,230	19,458	69.8	8,399	30.2	27,857	23.0
1990-91	121,688	21,640	69.5	9,490	30.5	31,130	25.6
1991-92	107,391	19,944	68.5	9,178	31.5	29,122	27.1
1992-93	76,330	18,102	64.9	9,803	35.1	27,905	36.6
1993-94	69,768	17,353	63.6	9,927	36.4	27,280	39.1
1994-95	87,428	16,856	62.6	10,092	37.4	26,948	30.8
1995-96	99,139	17,665	61.6	11,005	38.4	28,670	28.9
1996-97	85,752	18,159	60.8	11,698	39.2	29,857	34.8
1997-98	77,327	19,214	60.1	12,771	39.9	31,985	41.4
1998-99	84,143	17,931	50.1	17,250	49.0	35,181	41.8

1999-2000	92,272	20,844	50.7	20,234	49.3	41,078	44.5
2000-01	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
2001-02	88,900	24,095	49.9	24,146	50.1	48,241	54.3

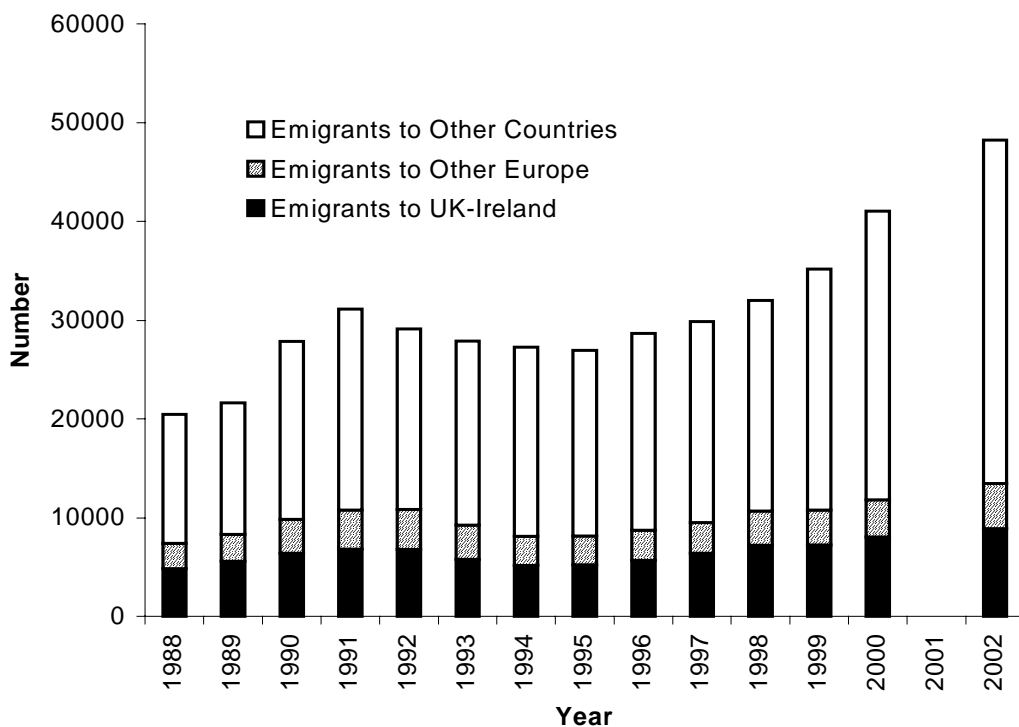
* Data 1988-89 to 2001-02 constitute permanent overseas-born departures due to a change in definition by DIMA. Data prior to this constitute former settler departures.

** Data prior to 1988-89 constitute permanent departures other than former settlers.

The return migration effect may have been understated in the data since a significant number of the Australia-born are the children born in Australia to overseas-born returnees. On the other hand, the return migration element is exaggerated to the extent that overseas-born persons who migrated to Australia as child dependents with parents decide to move out of Australia independently after they reach adulthood.

Figure 19: Australia: Number of Emigrants to UK/Ireland and Other Europe in Relation to Total Emigrants

Source: DIMIA, *Immigration Update*, various issues



Note: Data for 2001 are not available.

Figure 19 depicts the trends in emigration to Europe and it is apparent that the trends have followed the increase in total emigration. In 2001-02 Europe was the destination of almost a third (31.2 percent) of

Australia-born persons indicating they were leaving Australia permanently (7,538 persons) and a quarter (24.6 percent) of the overseas-born population leaving permanently (5,918 persons) (DIMIA, 2002a).

The distinction between the Australia-born and the overseas-born among emigrants is an important one. The latter group are referred to as 'settler loss' and at times this has been an issue of concern to the Australian government who has seen this as an indicator of the success (or lack of success) of the immigration program. In fact, it would seem that around a fifth of all settlers subsequently leave Australia, many returning to the country of birth, although the proportions vary widely between different birthplace groups. In fact, much of the settler loss is not associated with any 'failure' on the part of the settler since many intended for their stay to be temporary in the first place, other moves are triggered by life cycle events such as death of a relative or divorce while a significant number return 'home' to retire after completing their working life in Australia.

Among European groups, the highest rate of settler loss tends to be among the UK/Ireland-born group. European settler loss peaked in 1972 with the emigration of 26,400. This was three years after the peak immigration gain from Europe (145,000 settlers) reflecting the fact that half of all settler loss occurs within the first five years of settlement (ABS, 1997). These numbers have subsequently declined in concert with the decline in immigration from Europe so that in 1995, 4,900 Europe-born settlers emigrated from Australia but by 2002 they had increased to 5,918. This may have been a function of the increasing skill element in immigration since it has been found that the more highly educated and skilled groups of settlers experience higher levels of settler loss than unskilled groups (Hugo, 1994). It may also partly be associated with the fact that a large number of European immigrants who arrived in the early postwar years as young adults are now entering the retirement years so that there has been an upswing in retirement return migration. Over a third (34 percent) of Europe-born settlers leaving Australia had lived here for more than twenty years (ABS, 1997, 18). The increasing significance of the latter factor is reflected in data on Australian overseas pensions paid to foreign addresses. The Australian social security scheme is portable and although the true amount of retirement return migration is hidden somewhat by bilateral country agreements on pensions, in 2001, 54,291 pensions were paid overseas and 18 of the top 20 nations receiving overseas pensions were European. This represents a substantial increase over the last decade as Table 24 indicates.

Table 24: Australia: Overseas Pensions Paid in Fortnight Ending 15 June 1992 and 26 June 2001

Source: Centrelink

Country	Recipients		Amount \$A	
	1992	2001	1992	2001
Greece	7,555	8,742	2,023,062	2,783,318
Italy	10,661	24,638	1,623,884	3,176,345
United Kingdom	3,678	3,314	821,948	822,721
Turkey	1,294	1,869	332,256	591,811
Yugoslavia	1,166	1,070	320,513	354,186
Malta	1,214	n.a.	270,512	n.a.
Croatia	695	1,303	196,680	432,407
New Zealand	685	14	192,257	3,283
Spain	783	4,074	188,405	605,419
Portugal	512	1,141	137,325	284,008
Others	6,249	20,476	1,664,705	3,802,685

The distribution of European destinations among emigrants from Australia varies somewhat between the settler loss and Australia-born components as is reflected in Table 25. The UK and Ireland are the dominant destination for both groups but it is especially so among the Australia-born. Among Southern Europeans, on the other hand, settler loss is the dominant form of movement, much of it of the retirement migration type.

Despite the significance of settler loss, it is now the permanent emigration of Australia-born persons which is becoming an important focus of discussion. Table 25 indicates that in 2001-02, 7,538 Australia-born persons left Australia with the intention of not returning to live here compared with a European settler loss of 5,918. When these figures are put against the equivalent permanent immigration figures in Table 26 it is found that there is almost equal sized permanent movement from Australia to Europe than there is in the traditionally important Europe to Australia direction. Indeed, if it were not for the significant refugee/humanitarian related movement from the former Yugoslavia and USSR there would be a net flow from Australia to Europe. Indeed, there were net losses in 2001-02 to Ireland, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Malta, Austria, Belgium, France, Netherlands, Switzerland, Finland and Norway.

Table 25: Permanent Departures of Australia-Born and Former Settlers to Europe, 2001-02

Source: DIMIA, 2002a

Destination	Australia-Born		Overseas-Born	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UK and Ireland	5,392	71.5	3,498	59.1
Southern Europe	551	7.3	947	16.0
Western Europe	1,270	16.8	1,108	18.7
Northern Europe	220	2.9	182	3.1
Eastern Europe	105	1.4	183	3.1
Total Europe	7,538	100.0	5,918	100.0

Table 26: Australia: Permanent Immigration From and Emigration To Europe, 2001-02

Source: DIMIA, 2002a

	Immigration Birthplace	by Departures Destination	by Net Migration	Ratio of Immigration: Departures
UK and Ireland	9,253	8,890	+363	1.04
Southern Europe	4,118	1,498	+2,620	2.75
Western Europe	1,712	2,378	-666	0.72
Northern Europe	321	402	-81	0.80
Eastern Europe	1,151	288	+863	4.00
Total Europe	17,411	13,456	+3,955	1.29
Total	88,900	24,146	+64,756	3.68

Moreover within the UK, which has been the traditional source of immigrants to Australia, there were 100 Australia-UK emigrants for every 104 UK-Australia settlers. This 'balance' between immigration and emigration is not evident in interactions with Asia, Africa and South America where there are more than five immigrants for every emigrant on average. However, for the USA and Canada there was a substantial net emigration loss (1,730 immigrants and 4,716 emigrants).

Before considering in more detail the remigration of the Australia-born, it is necessary to include in the analysis data on long-term departure from Australia (i.e. persons indicating that they intended to leave Australia for more than a year but did intend to return). There is considerable 'category jumping' between the long-term and permanent departure categories. Table 27 indicates that long-term departures reached unprecedented levels in 2001-02 of 171,446. This was well above the 14 year average of 123,128 and 9.4 percent more than two years earlier. Clearly, there has been a significant growth of movement out of Australia in recent years (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2001), increasing by 22.2 percent between 1998-99 and

2001-02. Here the pattern for Australian residents is interesting with the numbers increasing by 10 percent over the previous three years. In 2001-02 there was a net migration loss of 3,473 through 'long-term' movement among the Australia-born compared with a net gain of 96,498 among the overseas-born.

The patterns of long-term movement to and from Europe are summarised in Table 28. This indicates that there has been a significant increase in the long-term outmovement of Australian residents to the UK and Ireland over the last decade.

Tables 29 and 30 put the long-term and permanent outmovement of Australia-born to the UK and to other European destinations together. In 1999-2000, 33.1 percent of all Australians leaving the country on a permanent or long-term (an anticipated absence of over a year) basis went to the UK. It will be noted that the numbers have almost doubled over the last six years (Table 29). Females outnumber males in the movement but there has been a faster increase in male outmovement than in female outmovement in recent years. The movement to elsewhere in Europe is much smaller but it has increased substantially in recent years.

Table 27: Australia: Long-Term Movement, 1959-60 to 2001-02

Source: DIMA *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues

	Arrivals			Departures			Net Overseas Movement		
	Australian Residents	Overseas Visitors	Total	Australian Residents	Overseas Visitors	Total	Australian Residents	Overseas Visitors	Total
	1959-60	16,049	11,748	27,797	24,730	7,838	32,568	-8,681	3,910
1960-61	16,870	13,320	30,190	28,542	11,823	40,365	-11,672	1,497	-10,175
1961-62	19,301	13,423	32,724	33,370	12,591	45,961	-14,069	832	-13,237
1962-63	21,376	13,971	35,347	34,324	13,219	47,543	-12,948	752	-12,196
1963-64	23,066	14,170	37,236	39,931	12,325	52,256	-16,865	1,845	-15,020
1964-65	24,065	16,484	40,549	42,702	13,640	56,342	-18,637	2,844	-15,793
1965-66	27,279	18,461	45,740	51,785	11,808	63,593	-24,506	6,653	-17,853
1966-67	31,161	20,078	51,239	53,750	12,707	66,457	-22,589	7,371	-15,218
1967-68	37,032	23,341	60,373	51,847	12,516	64,363	-14,815	10,825	-3,990
1968-69	37,376	24,442	61,818	53,296	13,817	67,113	-15,920	10,625	-5,295
1969-70	38,711	29,842	68,553	63,454	17,414	80,868	-24,743	12,428	-12,315
1970-71	43,554	31,225	74,779	66,463	19,928	86,391	-22,909	11,297	-11,612
1971-72	51,356	27,713	79,069	68,069	23,328	91,397	-16,713	4,385	-12,328
1972-73	58,292	26,733	85,025	67,379	23,579	90,958	-9,087	3,154	-5,933
1973-74	64,297	27,212	91,509	60,636	21,246	81,882	3,661	5,966	9,627
1974-75	60,239	23,615	83,854	72,397	24,386	96,783	-12,158	-771	-12,929
1975-76	60,224	21,687	81,911	64,475	21,528	86,003	-4,251	159	-4,092
1976-77	59,193	26,133	85,326	68,792	19,724	88,516	-9,599	6,409	-3,190
1977-78	57,311	28,043	85,354	60,099	19,194	79,293	-2,788	8,849	6,061
1978-79	60,947	34,064	95,011	57,255	21,216	78,471	3,692	12,848	16,540
1979-80	59,963	29,586	89,549	52,114	19,228	71,342	7,849	10,358	18,207
1980-81	59,871	34,220	94,091	47,848	18,778	66,626	12,023	15,442	27,465
1981-82	57,860	34,760	92,620	46,500	20,310	66,810	11,360	14,450	25,810
1982-83	48,990	30,740	79,730	47,020	25,440	72,460	1,970	5,300	7,270
1983-84	49,190	27,280	76,470	49,490	24,950	74,440	-300	2,330	2,030
1984-85	53,770	31,980	85,750	51,710	23,160	74,870	2,060	8,820	10,880
1985-86	56,560	37,250	93,810	49,690	24,670	74,360	6,870	12,580	19,450
1986-87	53,597	67,325	120,92	48,854	26,538	75,392	4,743	40,787	45,530
			2						
1987-88	54,804	43,978	98,782	50,499	28,054	78,553	4,305	15,924	20,229
1988-89	53,798	50,766	104,56	57,733	33,258	90,991	-3,935	17,508	13,573
			4						

1989-90	53,967	56,728	110,69	62,300	37,899	100,19	-8,333	18,829	10,496
			5			9			
1990-91	59,062	55,649	114,71	66,883	43,629	110,51	-7,821	12,020	4,199
			1			2			
1991-92	62,920	63,861	126,78	67,191	47,971	115,16	-4,271	15,890	11,619
			1			2			
1992-93	69,594	57,842	127,43	65,446	47,744	113,19	4,148	10,098	14,246
			6			0			
1993-94	75,600	62,000	137,60	64,786	47,921	112,70	10,814	14,079	24,893
			0			7			
1994-95	79,063	72,032	151,09	68,377	50,156	118,53	10,686	21,876	32,562
			5			3			
1995-96	79,206	84,372	163,57	70,253	54,133	124,38	8,953	30,239	39,192
			8			6			
1996-97	80,170	95,079	175,24	73,777	62,971	136,74	6,393	32,108	38,501
			9			8			
1997-98	84,358	103,756	188,11	79,422	74,872	154,29	4,936	28,884	33,820
			4			4			
1998-99	67,910	119,892	187,80	82,861	57,420	140,28	-14,951	62,472	47,521
			2			1			
1999- 2000	79,651	133,198	212,84	84,918	71,850	156,76	-5,267	61,348	56,081
			9			8			
2000-01	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
2001-02	88,598	175,873	264,47	92,071	79,375	171,44	-3,473	96,498	93,025
			1			6			

Table 28: Australia: Long-Term Movement To and From Europe and Australia, 1994-2000Source: ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues

	Long-Term Australian Resident						Long-Term Australian Visitor						Total Long Term Net Migration	
	UK and Ireland			Other Europe			UK and Ireland			Other Europe				
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	UK and Ireland	Other Europe
1994	21,443	16,563	4,880	12,367	8,363	4,004	5,979	4,925	1,054	4,105	3,390	715	5,934	4,719
1995	21,306	18,080	3,226	12,426	8,088	4,338	7,817	5,564	2,253	4,947	3,685	1,262	5,479	5,600
1996	21,314	19,286	2,028	11,900	7,771	4,129	9,280	6,324	2,956	5,802	4,222	1,580	4,984	5,709
1997	22,253	21,027	1,226	11,670	6,698	4,972	11,505	7,883	3,622	6,535	4,783	1,752	4,848	6,724
1998	23,679	24,960	-1,281	11,323	8,298	3,025	14,336	10,105	4,231	7,438	5,909	1,529	2,950	4,554
1999	20,775	28,304	-7,529	8,398	8,131	267	17,731	7,359	10,372	10,067	3,954	6,113	2,843	6,380
2000	26,957	29,424	-2,467	9,412	8,292	1,120	21,129	10,513	10,616	11,629	4,861	6,768	8,149	5,648

Table 29: Permanent and Long-Term Outmovement of the Australia-Born Who Went to the UK, 1994-2000

Source: DIMA Movements Data Base (unpublished)

Year	Total	Sex (m/100f)	Ratio Percent
1994-95	14,657	71.5	28.3
1995-96	15,873	70.2	29.2
1996-97	17,812	74.5	30.9
1997-98	21,209	80.1	33.7
1998-99	25,210	79.3	33.9
1999-2000	26,493	79.0	33.1

Table 30: Australia: Permanent and Long-Term Outmovement of the Australia-Born to Continental Europe, 1994-2000

Source: DIMA Movements Data Base

Year	Germany	France	Other Europe
1994-95	738	473	3,963
1995-96	664	457	3,961
1996-97	713	457	4,057
1997-98	672	557	4,532
1998-99	845	630	4,985
1999-2000	904	684	5,401

It is of importance to examine the workforce characteristics of those Australia-born who are moving to other countries on a long-term or permanent basis. Table 31 shows that the movement to the main destination countries is dominated by highly skilled groups. Almost 60 percent of workers going to the UK, the largest single destination are drawn from the manager, administrative, professional and associate professional categories while 72.8 percent of these going to the USA are in those occupations. This compares with 37.7 percent of all employed persons in Australia being in this group. Hence it is very much

a 'brain drain' phenomena which is selective of highly skilled groups. Moreover, it is clear from Table 31 that this selectivity characterises the flows to other destinations as well.

Table 31: Long-Term and Permanent Departures of Australia-Born to Other Areas by Occupation, 1994-2000

Source: DIMA Movements Data Base

Country	Total Workers	Managers, Administrative, and Para Professional	
		No.	%
United Kingdom	95,961	57,464	59.8
New Zealand	17,303	10,329	59.7
United States	31,199	22,686	73.0
Germany	2,677	1,933	72.2
France	1,934	1,369	70.7
Other Europe	14,845	9,127	61.5
Singapore	7,876	6,566	83.4
Hong Kong	6,423	5,362	83.5
Malaysia	3,727	3,002	80.5
Japan	7,418	5,855	78.9
Other Asia	19,786	15,190	76.8
Other	35,491	24,720	69.8

Another important characteristic of the emigrants which needs to be considered is age. Table 32 shows the age-sex breakdown of Australia-born persons leaving permanently or on a long-term basis. The pattern is one of an overwhelming concentration in the young adult age groups. There are some significant differences. In the movement to the UK two thirds of the migrants are aged between 20 and 29 years. These are clearly part of the reciprocal movement to the Australian Working Holiday Maker Program, i.e. it involves young people on holidays who intend to return to Australia after a year or two. The pattern in the US is quite different. There is currently no Working Holiday Program with the US so each of the people going on a long-term basis need to qualify for movement under a work related criteria. It is interesting that the age structure of movement to the US is somewhat older than that to the UK. This reflects the fact that movement to the US is overwhelming of people who are already in the workforce and are not a recent graduate. Moreover, it is interesting that many young Australian families including dependent children are moving to the US. The proportion of Australia-born aged less than 10 years in the movement to the US is

twice that to the UK due to the fact that young professionals often with their families dominate among the migration to the US.

Table 32: Permanent and Long-Term Departures of Australia-Born to Other Areas by Age Structure

Source: DIMA Movements Data Base

Destination	Percent Aged 20-29	Percent Aged 30-39
United Kingdom	64.5	16.0
New Zealand	23.6	20.3
United States	32.2	26.7
Germany	36.5	24.6
France	31.6	25.4
Other Europe	34.5	21.2
Singapore	20.1	27.5
Hong Kong	18.1	26.2
Malaysia	12.3	24.2
Japan	45.6	24.4
Other Asia	15.2	23.8
Other	25.4	21.9

A survey of Australians based overseas was undertaken by the author and two colleagues in 2002 which included the completion of questionnaires by 763 Australians based in the UK or elsewhere in Europe. There is insufficient space here to detail the results but a few points can be made:

- Most respondents gave economic/employment reasons for leaving Australia.
- Less than a fifth indicated they had no intention of returning to live in Australia and over half had definite intentions to do so.
- Most gave lifestyle and family reasons for returning.
- More than three quarters 'still call Australia home and see themselves as Australian'.
- A quarter had annual earnings in excess of A\$200,000.

Australia has a diaspora of more than 900,000 citizens living more or less permanently overseas and more than a third are in Europe (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2002). This raises a number

of issues which can only be briefly mentioned here. With such a large and highly qualified diaspora in relation to the national resident population, the issue of brain drain arises. It is apparent, however, that Australia has experienced, and continues to experience, a net gain of highly skilled workers through international migration. *Indeed, the introduction of a liberalised temporary worker entry policy has meant that the intake of skilled workers into Australia has greatly increased.* The number of person years of skilled workers added to the Australian labour market by non-permanent migration is substantially greater than that added through traditional settlement migration. Yet prior to the mid 1990s this form of international migration provided only a miniscule amount of skilled labour to the national labour market. The introduction of new categories of temporary labour movement has thus added substantially to the brain gain experienced by the country. In net terms there can be no doubt that Australia continues to experience a substantial 'brain gain'. The proportion of this gain coming from Europe has declined but not as much as appears to be the case from an examination of percent settlement data.

On the other hand, there can equally be no doubt that the movement of skilled workers out of the nation has increased over the same period. One element of this has been the inevitable outmovement of the skilled workers entering Australia under temporary visas but there has been an increase in the numbers of Australian citizens leaving as well. While the latter may well, in many ways, represent a 'loss' to Australia it has been shown that skilled emigrants can contribute significantly to their home economy.

- Sending remittances to the home country which can improve the balance of payments situation. Indeed, in several Asian nations such remittances are larger earners of foreign currency than any single good trade.
- Encouraging investment of their foreign-based companies in their home area.
- Creating bridgeheads for the export of Australian goods and services.
- Eventually returning to the home nation, not only with enhanced skills and wealth to invest but also the business linkages to facilitate the development of industry at home.

The increase in the number of Australians going overseas on a long term or permanent basis has certainly raised the level of public discussion about an 'Australian brain drain'. For example, the federal government's 29 January 2001 statement *Backing Australia's Ability: An Innovation Action Plan for the Future* had a number of initiatives to attract back and retain leading Australian researchers. There has been expressions of concern from some professional groups about the loss of young skilled people overseas.

The upswing in outmovement of Australia-born young people with skills is a function of:

- The longstanding tradition of young Australians travelling overseas on extended working holidays. Such a practice has become more possible than previously through such programs as the WHM Program but also through processes of globalisation which have put overseas travel within the reach of more Australians.
- The new element, however, is the internationalisation of labour markets which means that young skilled Australians are looking for jobs in labour markets which extend beyond Australia's boundaries. In addition, more who get jobs in Australia do so with employers who are themselves

multi-nationals or have links with companies in other countries that facilitate the transfer of Australian staff.

There are two ways of looking at this development. One is to say that this represents a significant loss to Australia and a lack of return on community investment in the education of young people. Such reactions would argue for policies which attempt to keep young people in Australia. An alternative approach is one which *accepts* that there will be a significant outmovement of young Australians for both of the reasons mentioned above. However, this approach should not accept that all of these skilled Australia-born emigrants are lost to Australia. A major priority would be to ensure that a substantial proportion of these emigrants are in fact *circulators* rather than emigrants. If the majority return to Australia after spending a period working overseas, their value to Australia will be even greater than if they stayed in Australia. This is because:

- They will return more experienced than when they left and in a globalising world the *international* experience will be of value to their Australian employers seeking to compete in international markets.
- They will have substantial overseas networks and contacts which will assist their Australian employers in penetrating overseas markets.
- They may bring back with them capital as investment from their larger overseas employers. This has certainly been the case in the Indian information technology industry.

Moreover, while they are still overseas they can still be contributing to development within Australia:

- By remitting sums back to Australia.
- By serving as bridgeheads of Australian businesses in the destination nations. An example here is how Australian mining engineers in Asia have been instrumental in making Australian mining and mining supplies companies paramount in the region.

CONCLUSION

The migration relationship between Europe and Australia has changed profoundly, especially in the last decade. Whereas the early postwar years saw more than two million Europeans migrate to, and settle in, Australia. In recent years the numbers have dwindled dramatically such that a majority of European countries now experience a net gain of population by migration from Australia. Even for the UK which has been the dominant origin of non-indigenous Australia over two centuries, the two flows of permanent migration are similar in size. An important element in the reverse flow is Australia-born young people who are responding largely to a globalisation of labour markets, especially skilled labour markets. Indeed for its national population size, Australia has a very significant diaspora, especially in Europe. However, a concentration on the permanent displacement of population through settlement type migration conceals the fact that there has been a massive escalation in temporary movements between Australia and Europe. There is a tendency to dismiss these types of movements as ephemeral and lacking in substantial and long-term impact but this is certainly not the case, although we have only a scant research base to draw upon. In many

ways policy development has outpaced progress in research in this respect and there is a pressing need to reorient much migration research activity to encompass the new forms and patterns of mobility.

APPENDIX A: LARGEST EUROPE-BORN GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA, 1947-2001

Source: Australian Censuses 1947-2001

Birthplace							Overseas-	Rank
	1947	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	Born 2001	2001
North-West Europe								
Channel Islands					2,074	1,929	0.05	96
England	381,592	556,478	842,032	889,124	909,043	847,365	20.64	1
Isle of Man					747	670	0.02	119
Northern Island	5,539	13,158	21,936	21,958	25,034	21,746	0.53	41
Scotland	102,998	132,811	159,292	151,629	156,638	137,252	3.34	6
Wales	11,864	15,898	23,096	24,110	27,956	26,051	0.63	31
Ireland	39,274	37,057	41,854	45,780	52,373	50,235	1.22	21
Western Europe								
Austria	4,219	23,807	23,941	22,805	22,118	19,313	0.47	43
Belgium	572	2,083	4,172	4,314	4,759	1,900	0.05	75
France	2,215	5,409	11,845	13,335	15,890	17,268	0.42	45
Germany	14,567	109,315	110,811	110,758	114,915	108,220	2.64	8
Netherlands	2,174	102,083	99,295	96,044	95,818	83,324	2.03	11
Switzerland	1,663	4,281	6,854	7,726	9,888	10,753	0.26	58
Denmark	2,759	5,654	7,566	7,911	9,368	9,029	0.22	64
Finland	1,373	6,488	10,359	9,507	9,110	8,258	0.20	65
Iceland					358	463	0.01	128
Norway	2,024	3,219	3,306	2,935	2,713	4,324	0.11	80

Sweden	2,209	2,674	3,725	4,404	6,009	6,818	0.17	69
Southern and Eastern Europe								
Southern Europe								
Gibraltar					412	416	0.01	132
Italy	33,632	228,296	289,476	275,883	254,780	218,718	5.33	3
Malta	3,238	39,337	53,681	57,001	53,838	46,998	1.14	23
Portugal	76	958	6,967	11,768	18,001	15,441	0.38	47
Spain	992	3,831	14,663	15,153	14,708	12,662	0.31	52
South Eastern Europe								
Albania	1,402	1,473	1,380	1,364	988	1,451	0.04	102
Bosnia and Herzegovina						23,848	0.58	34
Bulgaria	525	1,396	1,421	1,678	1,764	2,571	0.06	89
Croatia						51,909	1.26	20
Cyprus	681	8,576	13,267	23,332	22,212	19,482	0.47	42
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia						43,527	1.06	25
Greece	12,291	77,333	160,200	146,625	136,327	116,431	2.84	7
Moldova					19	477	0.01	126
Romania	493	4,391	4,662	1,861	11,328	12,821	0.31	51
Slovenia						6,685	0.16	72
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic of						55,365	1.35	17
Eastern Europe								
Armenia					396	900	0.02	114
Belarus						1,039	0.03	112
Czech Republic						6,973	0.17	67
Estonia	1,102	6,046	5,313	5,040	3,381	2,389	0.06	92

Georgia					16	309	0.01	143
Hungary	1,227	30,553	29,160	27,987	27,176	22,752	0.55	39
Kazakhstan					3	437	0.01	130
Latvia	447	16,451	14,478	12,061	9,322	6,688	0.16	71
Lithuania	273	7,678	7,051	5,844	4,588	3,687	0.09	82
Poland	6,573	60,049	59,700	59,441	68,931	58,110	1.42	16
Russian Federation					8,365	15,021	0.37	48
Slovakia						2,984	0.07	86
Ukraine	*4,976	13,873	12,450	10,941	9,051	14,062	0.34	49
Uzbekistan					3	416	0.01	133

* Includes former USSR

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