

Australia

With almost half of its total resident population either born in a foreign country or the child of such a person, Australia is one of the world's quintessential immigration countries. Moreover, in mid-2008 there were also over 800 000 people in Australia on a temporary basis (equivalent to 3.8 percent of the resident population) and a million Australians living overseas on a permanent or long-term basis.¹ It is, together with Canada, the United States and New Zealand, one of the world's traditional immigration countries, with a history of planned immigration extending more than two centuries and a majority of its resident population perceiving migration as having a positive economic and social impact.

On the eve of European settlement in the late eighteenth century, Australia had an indigenous population of an estimated 300 000 persons. However, while the contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population was estimated to be 517 043 in 2006, the total Australian population had grown to 21 644 000 by the end of 2008.² as a result of waves of immigration and their subsequent fertility.



Background Information

Capital: Canberra

Official language: English

Area: 7 759 538.2 km²

Population (Dec. 2008): 21 644 000

Population Density (Dec. 2008): 2.8 inhabitants per km²

Population Growth Rate (2008): 1.9 %

Labour Force Participation Rate (Aug. 2009): 63.5%

Foreign-Born as Percentage of Total Population (June 2008): 25.6

Unemployment rate (Aug. 2009): 6.1%

Religion (2006): Percent Catholic 25.8, Protestant 18.7, Other Christian 19.4, Buddhist 2.1, Muslim 1.7, Other 2.3, No Religion 18.7, No Answer 11.2

Historical Development of Immigration Policy

In examining Australian immigration, the Second World War is a clear watershed. The arrival of the first European settlers in 1788, involving mostly transported convicts, was the beginning of more than a hundred years in which the separate colonies of New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia had their own immigration policies. While there was steady growth in immigration over the period leading to the federation of Australia in 1901, there were spikes associated with mining rushes and major extensions of the agricultural frontier. The flow was overwhelmingly from Britain, although there was a major influx of Chinese associated with the mining boom in the 1870s and 1880s. The federation saw immigration policy being taken over by the new Commonwealth government and one of its first acts was to declare the White Australia Policy, which limited immigration to Europeans, especially those from the British Isles. However, there were significant waves of migrants from Germany (in the 1840s and 1850s) and Italians (especially in the early twentieth century). The level of immigration ebbed and flowed with the economy, reaching high levels in the 1920s and then plummeting during the Great Depression of the 1930s, even recording net emigration in some years.

After World War II the level of immigration to Australia reached a new high level, which has been maintained over most of the subsequent six decades with rises and falls associated with economic fluctuations and shifts in immigration policy. However, the significant shift in the scale of immigration is only one element in the transformation of immigration to Australia in the post-war period.

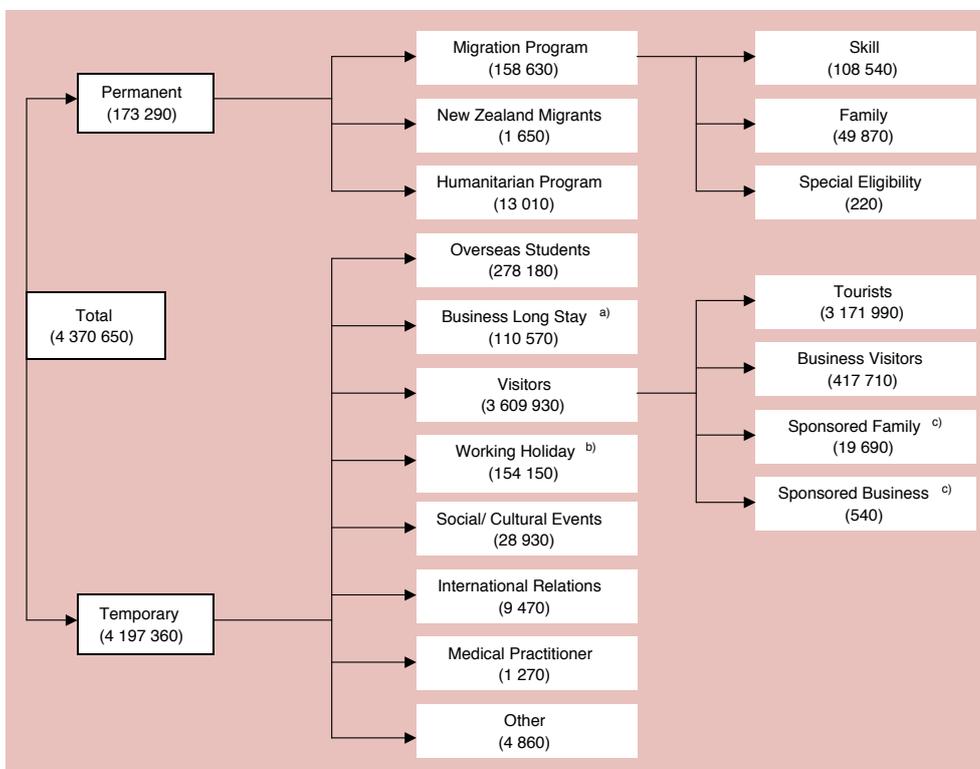
Permanent Migration Program

Contemporary migration is planned in yearly migration programs. The main elements in Australia's current migration program are shown in figure 1. There is an important distinction between the permanent and temporary migration programs, although one third of permanent settlers in 2007-08 were made up of persons granted permanent status after entering Australia on a temporary visa.

While there have been considerable changes in migration-settlement policy following World War II, the current program is highly organised and bureaucratised with four separate streams of permanent settlement:

- Skilled workers – groups with training or skills in shortage in the Australian labour market.
- Family migrants who are related to earlier generations of migrants.

Figure 1: Permanent program outcomes and temporary entry visa grants (fiscal year 3 2007/2008)



a) Visa for managers and selected high-skill occupations with a maximum duration (category 457 explained in the text).

b) Visitors visa with a maximum duration of four months and the permission to work

c) Short-term stay fully financed by family, employer or business partner

Source: Australian Government (2009:25).

(c) Refugee-humanitarian migrants who either are recognised under the UNHCR 1952 Convention or are accepted on other humanitarian grounds.

(d) Others, mainly New Zealanders who have more or less free access to settle in Australia.

Each year the federal government carries out consultations with a range of stakeholders in Australia to fix a quota on each of the four categories of migrants.

Skilled migration

The Skilled/Labour Migration part of the immigration program is designed to target skills which will contribute to the Australian economy. A points assessment system has been put in place whereby potential economic/skill settlers are assigned points associated with education/training, work experience, age, English language ability and other labour market attributes. A moving cut-off level (depending on the points scores of migrants in a given year) is recognised above which settlers are accepted. The skill stream in the program comprises several visa categories and has become of increased significance in recent years, as governments have sought to place a stronger emphasis on migration contributing to national economic growth. It now accounts for around 70 percent of the migration program, more than double its share in the early 1990s. Moreover, in 2008-09 the quota of 190 000 was the highest ever, although acknowledgement of the effects of the global financial crisis saw it reduced by 30 000 for 2009-10.

Regional migration

In recent years a number of new visa categories have been introduced under the *State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme (SSRM)*, which is part of the Skilled Migration program. Hence SSRM figures are a subset of the Skilled Migration program. The SSRM directs immigrants to settle in particular areas – away from the major metropolitan centres of the east and southeast coastal areas. The essence of the SSRM was to enable employers, state and local governments and families in designated “lagging economic regions” to sponsor immigrants without the immigrants having to fully meet the stringent requirements of the Australian Points Assessment Scheme.

The program began in 1997-98 when 1 753 SSRM settlers arrived in Australia. It has gathered particular momentum since 2003, with State governments like South Australia mounting substantial independent immigration, recruitment and settlement activities. In 2007-08, some 26 162 immigrants came to Australia

Table 1: General Skilled Migration Points Test Assessment

Criteria	Points (maximum)
Skill	60
Age	30
English language ability	25
Specific employment	10
Australian employment	10
Australian qualifications	25
Occupation in demand (and job offer)	20
Designated language	5
Studying and living in regional Australia	5
Partner skills	5
State/Territory government nomination	10
Designated Area sponsorship	25
Total Skill Points (maximum)	230

Note: Each year a "pool" mark is set for each visa category which gets people into the group to be considered for immigration. A "pass mark" is set which is equivalent to or higher than the pool mark. Changes to the pass and pool marks occur to address Australia's labour market needs.

Source: DIAC.

under this scheme. The SSRM marks two particular shifts from previous Australian immigration policy⁴:

- The Australian states and territories are becoming increasingly involved in immigration and recruitment of immigrants, which, historically, has been almost exclusively the responsibility of the national government.
- Many of the SSRM migrants enter Australia as temporary residents. Then, after a period (around 2 years) in which they demonstrate that they have successfully adjusted to the labour market and Australia more generally, they are granted permanent residence.

Family migration

The Family Stream of Australia's migration program is designed to enable the migration of immediate family members such as spouses, children, parents and certain other relatives. Following a deliberate government strategy to relate the migration program to the skill needs of the labour market, the relative significance of family migration in the migration program has declined since the early 1990s: Whereas skilled migrants made up 23.7 percent of the intake in 1993-94, they made up 62.1 percent in 2008-09. As a consequence, the Family Migration Stream has become increasingly restricted over the years. For example, the number of places for parents has been reduced. Nowadays, the program is essentially dominated by married partners who accounted for 80 percent of the 49 870 family migrants in 2007-08.

The refugee-humanitarian program

Australia has a long history of accepting UN Convention re-fugees for permanent resettlement, but the current form of the program was developed in 1981 to include not only Convention refugees but others who, while not fitting the precise definition, suffer substantial deprivation of human rights. Since

World War II, over 700 000 migrants have settled in Australia under the refugee-humanitarian program. Traditionally, the bulk of the intake in this category has been of entrants selected by an orderly process offshore, and this remains the case. In recent years, the refugee-humanitarian intake per annum has been around 13 000 persons, with more than three quarters being offshore at the time the selection procedure was initiated. However, there was an increase in unauthorised arrivals of asylum seekers mostly from Iraq and Afghanistan after 1997, reaching 3 800 in 2000. Prior to 1991, asylum seekers were processed in Australia and lodged in former migrant hostels. In 1990, a system of detention was introduced while the individual cases for refugee status were assessed. While the numbers of asylum seekers in Australia has been small in comparison to several OECD countries, the issue of "boat people" arriving on Australia's northern shores is a major one within Australia. There has been considerable criticism of Australia's policies toward asylum-seekers arriving in Australia unlawfully – detaining them in centres while their claims are determined and diverting boats of asylum seekers to neighbouring countries for determination of their status.

Trans-Tasman migration

Despite a number of changes over the years, there has been more or less unrestricted movement of Australians and New Zealanders across the Tasman Sea separating the two countries.⁵ New Zealanders are granted a Special Category Visa upon arrival and this remains valid as long as they wish to stay in Australia. The number of New Zealanders in Australia was 521 233 in mid 2008, an increase of 3.3 percent over the previous year.⁶

The permanent migration figures, however, are only the tip of the iceberg of Trans-Tasman movement. In the 2007-08 financial year there were a total of 1 392 136 movements of New Zealand citizens to Australia, an increase of 3.2 percent over the previous year. There were nearly as many movements of New Zealand citizens in the other direction (1 369 837), an increase of 4.2 percent over the previous year. A distinctive feature of New Zealander movement to Australia is a high level of temporary work-related migration and significant return migration among many long-term settlers.⁷ Another element that differentiates New Zealand migration to Australia from that originating from other countries is that, once it is controlled for age, there is little difference between the New Zealand citizen population in Australia and the Australia-born.⁸ The New Zealand-born in Australia have a higher level of workforce participation (78.5 percent) compared with the Australia-born (68.9 percent) and a similar unemployment rate (4.8 percent).⁹ Indeed, international migration between Australia and New Zealand has more similarities with internal migration patterns within Australia¹⁰ than it does with other international migration flows. This reflects the fact that, despite Australia and New Zealand being separate nation states, they largely form a single labour market.

Temporary Migration

Australia has long had an emphasis on attracting *permanent* settlers to the country and a strongly expressed opposition to attracting 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 opted to concentrate on attracting permanent migrants to meet worker shortages rather than contract workers. However, since the mid 1990s attitudes have changed in Australia and it has been recognised that in the context of globalised labour markets it is essential to have mechanisms to allow non-permanent entry of workers in certain skilled groups in shortage in Australia (e.g. nurses, engineers) and it has introduced a suite of temporary-residence visa categories. The temporary migration program has an even greater focus on skill than the permanent settlement program.

The numbers reflecting those arriving and their various temporary visa categories are presented in figure 1. The Temporary Business Entry Visa (457 "business long stay") is similar to the H-1B visa in the United States in that it is initiated by employers. Contrary to the United States, it is not capped (no maximum quota). It is even more focussed on skill than the permanent migration program via the points system, being confined to the managerial, professional, paraprofessional and trades occupation categories. Recent research has shown it has been generally quite successful.¹¹ However, the 457 Program has come under intense scrutiny in recent times, with some employers being accused of misusing the scheme to displace Australian workers, especially in some regional areas. The number of new 457s continued to increase rapidly so that in 2007-08, some 61 390 new applications were lodged and in mid-2008 there were 134 238 people in the 457 designation working in Australia. The onset of the global financial crisis saw the number of new applications fall to 54 810 in 2008-09.

The largest, and most rapidly increasing, inflow of temporary migrants with the right to work in Australia has been of foreign students. In mid-2008 there were 317 897 foreign students resident in Australia, with 80.2 percent being from Asia. This inflow brought an estimated A\$15.5 billion into Australia in 2008, which makes it the third largest export earner after mining and tourism. Australia, with around a fifth of its university population made up of foreign students, has one of the highest such proportions for any country. Students can work for up to 20 hours during term time and full time during breaks. They can and do often apply for permanent residence after completion of their studies.

The *Working Holiday Maker* (WHM) program has also reached record levels, with 154 148 arrivals in 2007-08, doubling in the last 10 years and increasing by 15 percent over the previous year. The WHM program is a reciprocal one that allows young people (aged 18-30 years) from 19 nations to have working holidays in Australia for periods of up to a year. The fact that WHMs fill some important niches in the labour market, such as in harvesting, tourist activity and restaurants, has been recognised by recent legislation allowing WHMs to extend their stay in Australia if they work in particular areas of labour shortage.

A distinctive feature of the temporary migration program is that it is restricted to skilled workers. However, an initiative of the new Labour government¹² was the announcement in 2008 of a new visa which is a pilot project intended to run over three years and allow 2 500 seasonal workers from Kiribati, Papua-New Guinea, Tonga and Vanuatu to work in the horticultural industry in regional Australia for up to seven months each year. This follows considerable pressure from regional horticultural employers, and from Pacific countries to provide employment for their burgeoning workforce-age populations.¹³

Irregular Migration

Australia does not share any land borders with other countries; its isolated island geography has been a major factor in the low levels of irregular migration that it experiences. Figure 2 shows the numbers of unauthorised arrivals in Australia over recent years. In recent years most of the boat arrivals have come from Iraq, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. There is a well-organised route with migrants flying in to Malaysia and travelling by land and sea through Indonesia to Australia. The Australian government is making intensive efforts to collaborate with Indonesia and Malaysia to reduce this flow.

A large number of irregular migrants in Australia is attributed to the persons who enter on valid visas and then subsequently overstay. All foreigners visiting Australia must hold a valid visa and are registered on entry and exit, so counting of overstayers is possible. It is estimated that in mid-2008 there were 48 500 overstayers in Australia, with around 10 percent of those being from China.¹⁴

While most unauthorised arrivals apply for asylum after entry, the majority of overstayers avoid contact with immigration authorities.

Emigration

While Australia is perceived as a quintessential "immigration country", it also experiences significant emigration. Moreover, Australia is one of the few countries that collect detailed and comprehensive information on people leaving the country as well as those entering. Figure 3 shows that there has been a substantial upturn in permanent movement of Australian residents out of the country. In 2007-08 there were a record number of permanent departures¹⁵ of Australian residents (76 923) of whom 50.8 percent were born in Australia. The numbers of Australia-born leaving permanently has more than doubled: from 17 264 in 1997-98 to 39 144 in 2007-08. Over the same time period the number of resident long-term departures increased from 79 422 to 102 066. The rate of return migration of former settlers varies considerably among particular birthplace categories¹⁶ with especially high rates among those born in New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Japan and the USA.

The destinations of recent permanent departures are depicted in Figure 5 and it is apparent that the dominant destinations are other developed nations, including the following:

- The largest flow is to neighbouring New Zealand, with which Australia has a special arrangement that allows more or less free mobility.
- The second largest flow is to the United Kingdom, which partly reflects longstanding linkages having origins in colonial times as well as the new role of London as a global city attracting highly skilled Australians.
- The third largest flow is to the United States, and this is the fastest-growing emigrant flow associated with the central role of the destination in the global economy, especially the cities of New York and Los Angeles.
- There is a substantial movement to Continental European nations. This is partly return migration of former settlers, but is increasingly involving the Australia-born – especially the second-generation children of former settlers, many of whom have become dual citizens. Again, the movement is overwhelmingly to large cities in Europe.
- There is a substantial flow to Asia, primarily directed toward the high-income rapid growth city-states of Hong Kong and Singapore but increasingly, too, to rapidly growing China. The Asian movement is almost totally to the megacities of the region.

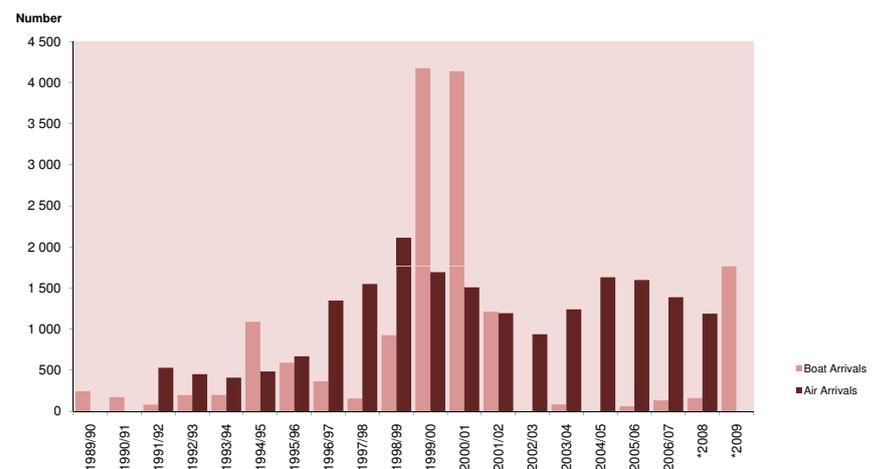
An Increasingly Diverse Population

Without post-war migration, Australia's current population would be 12 million rather than the actual figure of 22 million, but the impact of migration on the Australian population has been greater than a numerical one. A half-century ago Australia's population was overwhelmingly of Anglo-Celtic origin, but post-war migration has transformed it into one of the most multicultural of societies. Capturing all the dimensions of the diversity is difficult but some of the findings from the 2006 population census are illustrative:

- Some 23.9 percent of the total population were born outside of Australia, 14.8 percent in countries where English is not the main language. The comparative figures for 1947 were 9.8 percent and 2.0 percent.
- Over a fifth of the overseas-born (21.5 percent) speak a language other than English at home.
- 26.4 percent of the Australia-born population have at least one overseas-born parent.
- In 2006 there were 12 birthplace groups with more than 100 000 persons living in Australia and 61 birthplace groups with more than 10 000 Australian residents.

Figure 5 demonstrates how the intake of settlers into Australia has diversified over the post-war period. The pre-war dominance of the United Kingdom was changed in the early post-war years by the influx of continental Europeans. Then in

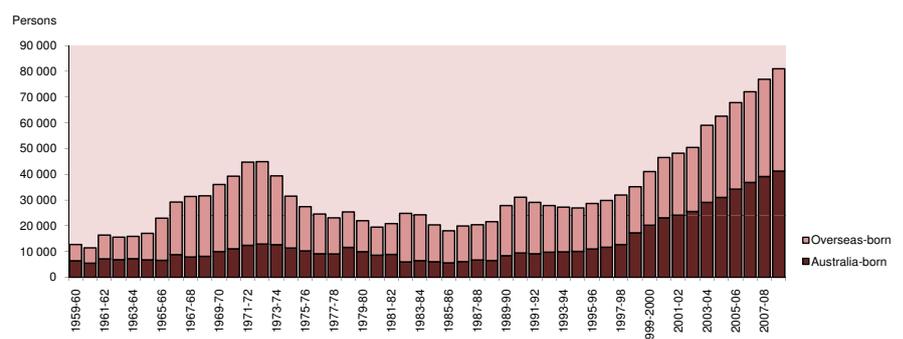
Figure 2: Unauthorised Arrivals, 1989-90 to 2009



* In 2008, boat arrivals are for the calendar year. In 2009, boat arrivals are for calendar year to 13th October. Air Arrivals are not available.

Source: DIMIA, 2002, 2004; DIAC, 2007, 2009b; Maley and O'Brien, 2009; The Australian, <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,26204109-2702,00.html>, accessed 22 October 2009.

Figure 3: Permanent Departures of Residents 1959-60 to 2007-08



Source: DIMIA, Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics; DIAC Immigration Update, various issues; DIAC 2008b.

the 1970s the “White Australia Policy”, which had been in the process of being gradually dismantled since the late 1940s, was finally buried, and an influx of refugees from Indo-China after 1975 heralded the beginning of a continuing migration of Asian settlers into Australia. At various stages over the ensuing three decades different Asian groups have been dominant in the influx, but in recent years China and India have been the main origin countries. The extension of the refugee-humanitarian program to Africa during the last decade saw, for the first time, substantial numbers of black African immigrants settle in Australia, adding an extra element of diversity to the population. Dominant in the Oceania group are New Zealanders, whose movement to Australia is not only facilitated by the Trans-Tasman Agreement allowing entry, but increasing integration of the Australian and New Zealand economies.

Figure 6 depicts the distribution of the countries of origin of recent permanent settlers to Australia. It shows that, while the traditional origin countries of the United Kingdom and New Zealand remain important, there is a wide dispersion in evidence. Moreover, it indicates the significance of Asia, especially India and China.

Citizenship and naturalisation

Australia has strongly encouraged settlers to take up Australian citizenship, for which they became eligible to apply after two years of residence up to 2007 and after four years thereafter. Of the overseas-born population in Australia, slightly more than three quarters have taken up Australian citizenship. The citizenship take-up rate has increased from less than two thirds in 1989. The take up rate varies depending on the country of birth, with especially high rates for those born in Greece, Hungary, Lebanon, Egypt, Vietnam, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and particularly low rates for the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Other nationalities with large numbers of eligible persons who have not taken up citizenship are Italy, Malaysia, India and the People's Republic of China.¹⁷

The Australian Citizenship Act of 1948 stipulated that those born in Australia who acquired another nationality forfeited their Australian citizenship. With increasing Australian emigration there was considerable opposition to this, culminating in 2001 in a Senate Inquiry and a subsequent amendment to the Act in 2002, which made dual citizenship possible for Australians.

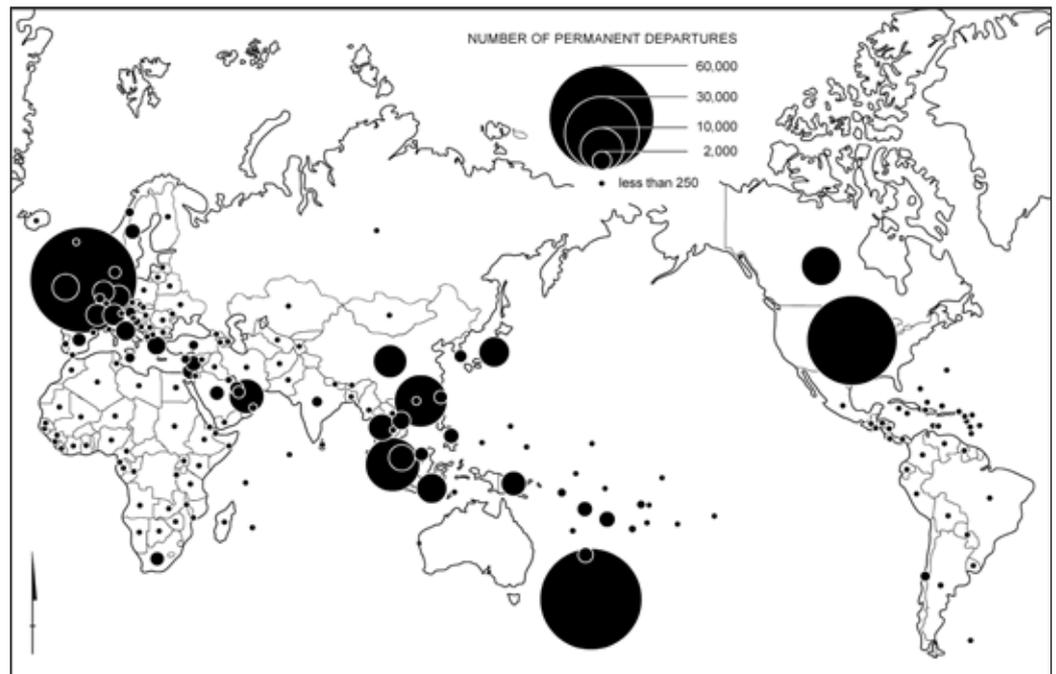
A record number of citizenships were approved in 2006-07 (136 256) ahead of some changes in the Citizenship Act in 2007. These changes involved an increase in the residence requirement and the introduction of a citizenship test. The latter was somewhat controversial but in its initial year 95 percent of people who sat the test passed it.

Integration

Until the late 1960s the Australian government adopted an assimilationist policy which placed emphasis on immigrants adopting an assumed "majority culture" which was essentially British, Christian and Caucasian. However, this began to change with the high level of non-British European migration in the 1950s, and the 1970s saw the adoption of a multicultural policy by the Australian government. The Galbally Report (1978)¹⁸ laid down the guiding principles of Australian multiculturalism which largely remain in place, although the extent to which they have been heeded has varied with successive Australian governments¹⁹:

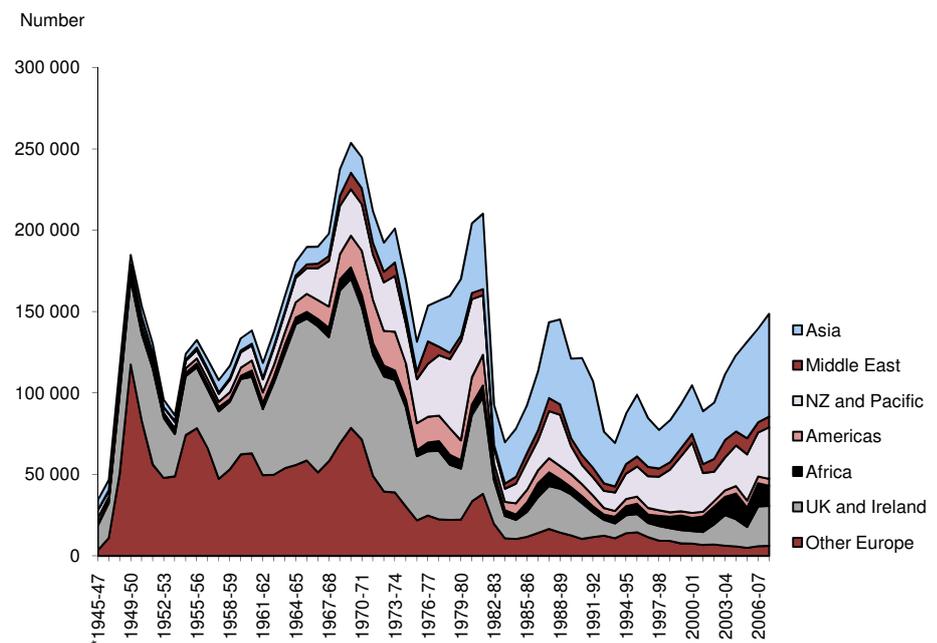
- All members of Australian society must have equal opportunity to realize their full potential and have equal access to programs and services.
- Every person should be able to maintain their culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures.
- Needs of migrants should be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and

Figure 4: Australia-Born Permanent Departures, 1993-94 to 2006-07

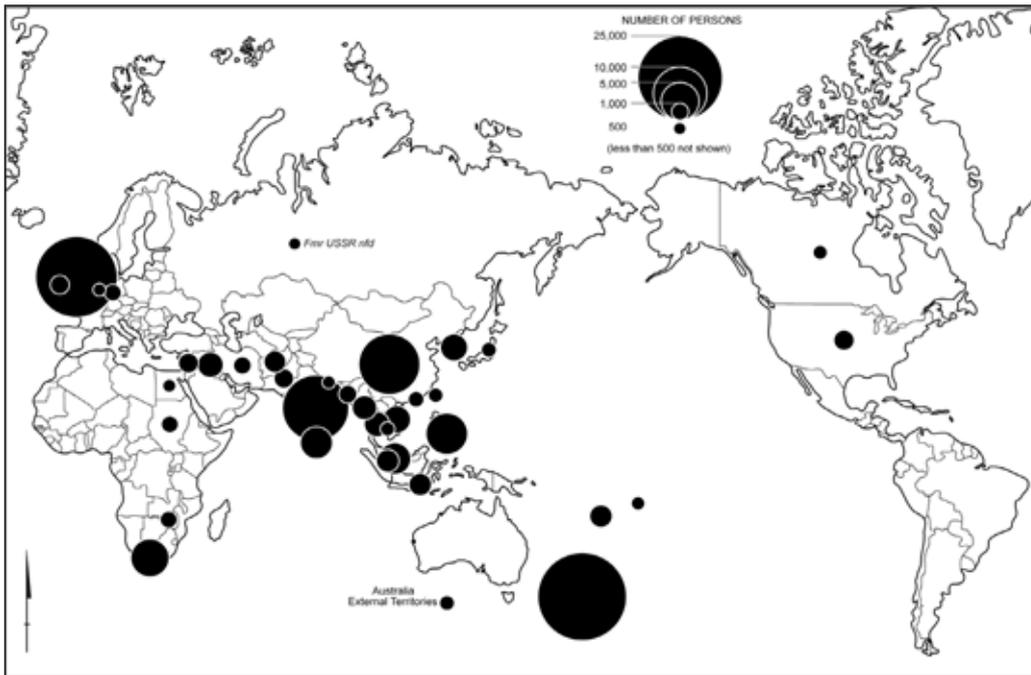


Source: DIAC.

Figure 5: Settler Arrivals by Region of Last Residence, 1947 to 2008



Note: From 2006-07 onwards, data are by region of birth
 Source: DIMA Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update, various issues; DIMA unpublished data.

Figure 6: Settler Arrivals by Country of Birth, Financial Year 2007/2008

Source: DIAC unpublished data.

programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision.

- Services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible.

While the extent to which these principles have been followed has varied over the last three decades, and there has been considerable controversy surrounding them, especially during the period of conservative government between 1996 and 2007, there were certainly vocal opponents to immigration and to the official policy of multiculturalism. Yet these opponents remained a minority, as there has been an increasing level of public acceptance that immigration is, on balance, a positive force in Australia. Whereas in 1993, 67 percent of Australians considered that “the number of migrants has gone much too far”, by 2004 this had declined to 29.7 percent, although by 2007 it had increased again.²⁰ A recent study of 6 088 South Australians in metropolitan and rural areas found 87.7 percent believed cultural diversity was a positive influence on the community.²¹

Both federal and state governments in Australia have strong multicultural policies, programs, agencies and institutions. A neglected dimension of multicultural policy and thinking has been the role of indigenous societies and cultures, which are a crucial element in national diversity. This group make up around 2 percent of the national population and remain disadvantaged and excluded from aspects of mainstream society.

Immigrants have lower rates of participation in the labour market although some categories (e.g. skilled migrants) have higher participation than the Australian-born.

Migration and population policy

Population issues have not been more prominent in Australia during the post-war period than they are at present. Nationally there have been a number of reports that have defined the outlook of Australia’s ageing population. Without migration, the size of age groups entering the workforce becomes smaller than those leaving it within the next decade. A baby bonus of \$3 000 (\$4 000 after 1 July 2006, now \$5 000) was introduced with other “family friendly” initiatives. In addition, a raft of policy interventions encourages baby boomers and hitherto-disengaged groups to participate in the workforce. Moreover, several states (Government of South Australia, 2004; State of Victoria, 2004)

have introduced comprehensive population policies. In all of this discussion immigration issues have loomed large.

Australia is anticipated to be one of the nations most likely to be influenced by climate change. This has given further fuel to an ongoing national debate on the environmental constraints, especially that of water, on further population growth. With immigration now accounting for more than half of the population growth the “population-environment” debate is very much a migration-environment one.

Conclusion

Australian post-war immigration has had a profound impact on the national economy, society and demography. Moreover, this massive change has been with little conflict and must be judged as highly successful. One of the intrinsic features of post-war migration has been its dynamic nature with levels, types, composition and countries of origin of migration shifting readily in response to forces both within and outside of Australia. Moreover, the rapidly changing global situation and Australia’s demography ensure that international migration will remain crucial over the next quarter century.

There have been a number of elements in the success of Australia’s post-war immigration program. The doyen of immigration research in Australia, Professor Charles Price, attributed it to the fact that Australian post-war immigration was similar to a python feeding – new groups of migrants were introduced and then allowed to digest and adjust before a new group was introduced. Hence, although there are present in Australia strong opponents of migration and multiculturalism, as there are in many other receiving countries, there is a majority view acknowledging that migration is good for the country.

Another element in the relative success of migration in post-war Australia is related to policy development and governance. For most of the post-war period Australia has had a separate ministry of immigration and encouraged the development of a cadre of professional immigration civil servants, which fostered the development of a substantial capacity in policy making and administration in migration and settlement. Australian immigration policy has been flexible and, with some notable, relatively recent exceptions, strongly evidence-driven, drawing on an excellent migration data collection system and a vibrant body of immigration research.

Australia faces a range of immigration challenges over the next decade. In 2010 it appointed a Minister of Population for the first time with the mandate to produce a national population policy within the next year. Asylum-seekers dominate the national migration debate, yet the numbers are small – 0.5 percent of the global total in 2008-9. Debates about onshore or offshore processing of asylum seekers continue together with internment and whether or not asylum-seekers should be granted the same rights as offshore humanitarian settlers. The role of migration in population growth is a significant contemporary issue with debate between those arguing for a “big Australia” and continued rapid immigration growth and environmentalists warning of the substantial environmental constraints on population growth. Recent government policy changes have made it more difficult for students to obtain permanent residence, and the number of occupational groups who gain extra points in the Points Assessment Test has been drastically reduced. The global financial crisis saw a temporary reduction in skilled migration to Australia, but by 2010 it has returned to record high levels. In 2009-10 Australia had a record net migration gain, and significant skill shortages in particular sectors and regions means that high levels of migration, both permanent and temporary, will definitely continue in the short and medium term. In the longer term, the importance of ageing, while less drastic than in European countries and Japan, will also mean that international migration will continue to be a major influence on Australia’s demography, society and economy.

Endnotes

- ¹ Hugo (2006).
- ² ABS (2009).
- ³ Fiscal year: 1. July to 30 June of the following year.
- ⁴ Hugo (2005a).
- ⁵ Bedford et al. (2003).
- ⁶ DIAC (2008a: 44).
- ⁷ Sanderson (2009).
- ⁸ Hugo (2004).
- ⁹ DIAC (2009a: 85).
- ¹⁰ Bell and Hugo (2000).
- ¹¹ Khoo et al. (2007).
- ¹² The Labour government was elected in 2007 after eleven years of the conservative Liberal and Country parties being in power.
- ¹³ World Bank (2006).
- ¹⁴ DIAC (2009a).
- ¹⁵ Permanent departures are permanent residents and citizens of Australia who, when leaving the country, indicate they are leaving permanently. Research has indicated, however, that a significant proportion return (Osborne 2004).
- ¹⁶ Hugo et al. (2003).
- ¹⁷ DIAC (2009a: 12).
- ¹⁸ Galbally (1978).
- ¹⁹ Jupp (2002: 87).
- ²⁰ Betts (2008: 20).
- ²¹ Government of South Australia (2008).

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ABOUT FOCUS MIGRATION

Publisher: Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI), Heimhuder Strasse 71, 20148 Hamburg, Tel.: +49 (0)40 34 05 76-0, Fax: +49 (0)40 34 05 76-776, E-Mail: info@hwwi.org
In cooperation with: The German Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb) and Network Migration in Europe e.V.
Editorial staff: Dita Vogel (head), Gunnar Geyer, Rainer Münz, Antje Scheidler, Jan Schneider, Daria Braun.

focus Migration country profiles (ISSN 1864-6220) and policy briefs (ISSN 1864-5704) are published with the support of the German Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb).

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