

MIGRATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

This study is about migration between Australia and South Africa. It examines mobility between these countries and the linkages created through this movement, particularly focussing on the largest flow from South Africa to Australia. There has been consistent growth in the number of South Africans living in Australia in recent decades as they have responded to conditions in their origin country and sought out new countries to call home. Despite being among the top ten source countries for the Overseas-born in Australia, and forming a conspicuous group in the Australian community, there has been little research on the migration and experiences of these migrants. This study employs a transnational lens to address this gap in the literature and provide a topical and comprehensive overview of migration between South Africa and Australia.

A mixed methods approach is used here to maximise the benefits of quantitative and qualitative data. Secondary administrative data provide crucial information on the scale and composition of movement between these countries and identifies patterns, trends and key migrant characteristics. This provides a useful framework within which primary data from two online surveys and a series of semi-structured interviews are contextualised.

These data show that migration from South Africa to Australia is primarily permanent movement driven by push factors in South Africa, chiefly the security situation. Unlike some skilled migrant groups, economic factors were present among the reasons South Africans emigrate but were by no means dominant. While this movement continues to be dominated by White, English-speaking South Africans this study found evidence of increasing ethnic diversity among this group. However, it also highlights difficulties recruiting migrants from less well represented ethnic backgrounds and identifies this as an area for future research. This study reveals South Africans in Australia to be highly educated: a clear benefit for Australia. At the same time, primary data shows that South Africans maintain significant social and emotional ties with their origin country as well as some financial and political linkages. Hybrid identities are common and a number of migrants hold dual citizenship. Although return migration is rare, in some cases it does not necessarily signify the end of migration.

DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will in the future, be used in a submission in my name for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide.

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Romy Gail Wasserman

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Of course, this submission would not have been possible without the unwavering care of Dr Dianne Rudd in the final stages of this project. Di's academic and emotional support was fundamental to the completion of this thesis. I am incredibly grateful for her time, effort and rock-solid backing when I needed it most. Thanks Di.

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May I also thank the migrants who so generously gave time to share their migration stories. It is only through these we can learn and expand our knowledge about this fascinating phenomenon.

On the subject of migrants, I would like to thank my parents who took the brave decision in their mid-twenties to move their young family to the other side of the world for a better life. Though this move was not without challenges; a better life you surely gave us.

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Above all, I thank Wayne. This thesis simply would not have been possible without him.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Affirmative Action
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CRC	Christian Reformed Church
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DIEA	Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
ERP	Estimated Resident Population
FNB	First National Bank
GCCSA	Greater Capital City Statistical Area
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rate
LSIA	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia
MESB	Mainly English Speaking Background
NESB	Non English Speaking Background
NSW	New South Wales
NOM	Net Overseas Migration
NT	Northern Territory
OAD	Overseas Arrivals and Departures
PA	Primary Applicant

QLD	Queensland
RMS	Return Migrant Survey
RSMS	Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme
SA	South Australia
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SLA	Statistical Local Area
SSA	Statistics South Africa
SSAM	Survey of South African Migrants
TAS	Tasmania
UER	Unemployment Rate
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
VIC	Victoria
WA	Western Australia

1.1 Introduction

Immigration has proved an unrivalled force in the formation of Australia's population. It has determined the size of the nation's population, its structure and composition. The arrival of the British in 1788 and subsequent colonisation set the tone as Australia has constantly been reshaped and defined by the arrival of people from around the world. Historically Anglo-Celtic peoples dominated migration to Australia. After the Second World War, they were joined by North-Western Europeans and then Southern and Eastern Europeans. The abolition of the White Australia policy in the 1970s led to greater diversity among the migrant population as people arrived from South-East Asia, particularly Vietnam, and later other Asian countries. Recently there has been a huge increase in arrivals from the Middle East and Africa. This diversity has had an enormous effect on the fabric of Australian society as migrants have contributed culturally, socially, and economically. While debates about a 'big Australia' loomed large in recent years (Alexander 2010; Rudd 2009; Symons-Brown 2010), immigration seems likely to be sustained at its current levels at least. It will thus continue to shape Australia and, ipso facto, the people who live there.

The rich history of people flowing in to Australia has engendered a strong migration-related research tradition. Indeed, vast amounts of scholarship on immigration and many related issues have been published. Among these are books and articles on the immigration of specific ethnic groups including work on migrants from the United Kingdom (Appleyard 1964), Italy (Baldassar 2001; O'Brien 1989; Randazzo and Cigler 1987), Greece (Burnley 1976), Vietnam (Viviani 1984), Germany (Harmstorf and Cigler 1985), Ireland (O'Connor 2010), India (Voigt-Graf 2005) Europe (Khoo et al. 2011) and many more (Jupp 2001). Largely absent from this literature is the story of migrants from South Africa. A handful of publications illuminate aspects of this migration but are increasingly out-dated, particularly given the immense growth in this migrant group in Australia. This can be seen in stock data which shows the number of South Africa-born persons in Australia trebled from 49,420 in 1991 to 145,683 at the most recent Census in 2011 (ABS 1993, 2012a). Ranked 19 of the top 20 countries of birth in Australia in the 1991 Census,

South Africa was in the top ten in 2011, ranked number eight (ABS 1993, 2012a), thus South Africa is now a major source country of migrants to Australia. There has also been a shift in the types of migration from South Africa. These new dimensions have not hitherto been addressed in the literature.

This thesis presents research on migration between Australia and South Africa. Analysis of secondary data from Australian agencies provides an up-to-date understanding of the scale of migration between these countries and the types of movement involved. Particular consideration is given to the largest flow between these countries: South African migration to Australia. Secondary data reveals key characteristics of this burgeoning migrant group and enables a profile to be built. Primary data add to this understanding and give new insight into South African migrants' reasons for migration, their settlement experiences and the linkages they maintain with their origin country. The empirical findings are discussed within the context of relevant migration theories, particularly transnationalism. Although the primary focus of this study is migration from South Africa to Australia, consideration is also given to movement and linkages in the opposite direction; Australians migrating to South Africa as well as South African return migrants. Ultimately, a complex migration system between Australia and South Africa is revealed. This stands in contrast to traditional approaches that have tended to portray this migration simplistically as a unidirectional, permanent movement from South Africa to Australia. Increasingly this is an out-dated conception of migration (Hugo 2008; King 2002).

1.2 Aims and objectives

The overall aim of this study is to provide greater understanding of the movement between Australia and South Africa and to demonstrate the complexity of migration. The objectives of this project are:

- To examine the nature and extent of migration between Australia and South Africa and identify patterns, trends and migrant characteristics since the mid-Twentieth Century
- To determine key migration drivers; historical, political, economic and social
- To examine the reasons and motivations for migration from South Africa to Australia and whether these have changed over time
- To determine the extent and reasons for return migration
- To examine the settlement experiences of South African migrants in Australia

- To examine the transnational linkages that South Africans in Australia maintain with their origin country
- To engage with and contribute to theories of migration with particular emphasis on conceptualisations of migration and transnationalism.

1.3 Relations between Australia and South Africa

Situated as they are on either side of the Indian Ocean, Australia and South Africa are physically separated, and at the same time, connected by this expanse of sea (Limb 1999). The focus and intensity of relations between them has changed over time resulting in a “see-sawing relationship” where “the elements in it have frequently reconfigured” (Davidson 2006 p.694). Historically, Australia and South Africa were inadvertently connected by the fact they were both part of the British Empire. Later military and mining ties reinforced this connection. Today, these countries enjoy strong diplomatic relations and ever strengthening economic ties driven by increased trade and investment. Their citizens share a love of sport and significant migration between them, particularly from South Africa to Australia, has heightened the awareness and understanding each country has of the other and its people. Notwithstanding the shifting focus of the relationship, the mobility of people between these nations has been constant, although flows have varied in volume and direction.

Governed as they were by the British Colonial Office, Australia and South Africa shared “certain affinities” during the colonial period (Davidson 2006 p. 693). Cape Town was a key port on shipping routes from Britain to Australia (Tothill 2000), and some of the earliest contact between South Africa and Australia proved life sustaining for the latter as news, food, timber and livestock from the Cape prevented starvation and eased isolation in early Australian settler society (Kennedy 2001). Over time military, economic, diplomatic and intellectual ties came to form the basis of the connection between them (Limb 1999). Militarily, the Boer War (1899-1901) brought Australians and South Africans together on the side of the British and, it has been argued, increased Australians’ interest in the region (Kennedy 1984). Links were again forged during the World Wars when Australians and South Africans fought alongside each other on the Somme in World War I and in North Africa during World War II (Davidson 2006; Keese 1998).

Formal state diplomatic relations between Australia and South Africa were established in 1947. After some strain during the apartheid years, relations have since normalised and today are described by South Africa's Department of International Relations and Cooperation as "excellent" (DIRCO 2013). South Africa and Australia are both members of a number of international organisations including the G-20¹ and the Cairns Group² (Costello 2006; Davidson 2006). Importantly, some of these organisations are formed along geographical lines. The Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), for example, was established in 1997 with a view to promote economic cooperation in the Indian Ocean region (IOR-ARC 2013).

Economic ties between Australia and South Africa were forged in the second half of the nineteenth century, through shared experiences of mining, as both knowledge and manpower were exchanged (Kennedy 1984). Relations were strained in the 1970s and 1980s as Australia, among others, lobbied hard against the apartheid regime and were active in implementing cultural, trade and financial sanctions against South Africa (Overseas Development Institute 1986). Indeed, financial sanctions are considered a major catalyst for the end of apartheid (Rowland 2013). Since then, economic relations have strengthened considerably (Costello 2006). In 2010, a memorandum of understanding between these countries was signed (DFAT 2015b), recognising their long-standing history of cooperation it sought to strengthen their economic, political and strategic engagement (DFAT 2015b). Indeed, two-way investment flows have expanded to the point that South Africa leads African investment in Australia (Australian Industry Group 2015). At the same time, Australian investment in South African mining, agriculture and services is increasing (Australian Industry Group 2015). Today, South Africa is Australia's largest trading partner in Africa with total trade (exports and imports) valued at \$2.15 billion in 2014 (DFAT 2013). Of particular note is the trade in services between the two, especially tourism. The number one service import to Australia from South Africa between 2011 and 2014 was outbound tourism while Australia's second largest service export was inbound tourism (DFAT 2012a, 2013, 2015a)³.

¹ That is, the 'Group of 20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors

² The Cairns Group brings together 20 nations, including Australia and South Africa, to promote their agricultural products. It is interesting to note that Davidson (2006) finds the marketing of agriculture and mining in Australia and South Africa has resulted in a degree of competition between these two nations.

³ In the balance of payments, travel is separated into business and personal travel. The latter is divided again into travel for education and other personal travel. The latter records tourism, mostly recreational (DFAT 2012b). The top service import to Australia from South Africa in 2011-12, 2012-2013 and 2014 was 'Personal travel excluding education' (outbound tourism) valued at A\$ 204, A\$ 234 and A\$266 million respectively (DFAT 2012a, 2013, 2015a). At the same time Australia's second largest service export was

On a less formal level, Australia and South Africa are connected through sports (Costello 2006; Kennedy 1984), particularly those inherited from Britain, like cricket and rugby. Socially, too, English-speaking South Africans, at least, have much in common with their Australian counterparts. Davidson (2006 p. 698) argues,

“Increasingly English South Africans...came to see what they shared with Australians – a liberal democratic tradition, climate and lifestyle”.

Others have drawn parallels between the cultural and social practices in South Africa and Australia, as well as comparable climate and lifestyle (Kennedy 2001; Van Rooyen 2000; Visser 2004). In 1951 an early commentator writing on aspects of history in Australia and South Africa referred to them as ‘Sisters of the South’ (Lighton 1951), because “each country was essentially a variant of the other” (Davidson 2006 p. 697).

More pertinent to this study are the connections between Australia and South Africa forged through the migration of people. Migration between Australia and South Africa began in the colonial era. From its earliest inception, mobility between the two consisted of flows in both directions as personnel from the British Colonial Office, who administered both colonies, circulated between them (Davidson 2006 p. 694). During the mid-nineteenth century South Africans were attracted to the fields of the Australian gold rush (Kennedy 2001; Tothill 2000 p. 64). When gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in 1886 (incidentally, by an Australian) Australians moved in the opposite direction to try their luck (Kennedy 2001; Lucas 2000). Many also moved to South Africa in response to depression, drought and high unemployment which plagued Australia’s eastern colonies in the 1890s (Kennedy 1984). At the turn of the century significant flows continued in the direction of South Africa as Australians fought in the Boer War (1899-1902). More than half the volunteer colonial soldiers who fought this war came from Australia (Kennedy, 1988 p. 17 in Davidson, 2006 p. 695).

After the war, many Australian soldiers opted to remain in South Africa, with as many as 5,000 recorded living on ‘the Rand’ in the 1904 Census (Kennedy 2001 p. 688). Among this population were a number of Australian miners as well as artisans who moved to Johannesburg at the turn of the century (Davidson 2006; Kennedy 1984). At this time, it has been said, “Johannesburg became another Australian city in the minds of many

‘Personal travel excluding education’ (inbound tourism) valued at A\$ 109, \$A 85 and A\$ 92 million (DFAT 2012a, 2013, 2015a).

Australians back home” (Wilcox 2002 p. 16). Over subsequent decades, movement continued in both directions although the dominant stream was from South Africa to Australia. This was cemented as the dominant stream when political unrest in 1960 “marked the beginning of an exodus” from South Africa (Tohill 2000 p. 66).

As early as 1987 one commentator noted the presence of South Africans in Australia was becoming more obvious (Anon 1987 p.30). Today the South African migrant presence in Australia is as keenly felt as the more ‘traditional’ migrant groups in Australia – Italians, Greeks, Vietnamese, etc. This is particularly the case in Queensland and Western Australia where large South African communities are concentrated. Perth has, in fact, been affectionately dubbed ‘*Perthfontein*’ by South Africa migrants, a direct reference to the large Afrikaans community residing there⁴ (Expatform.com 2009; Weertman 2009). All around Australia, however, shops, cafes and churches cater specifically (but not exclusively) to the dietary and religious inclinations of this growing migrant group. The South African community in Australia has gained significant strength in recent years and strong networks have been established between the two countries. There is every reason to think that migration from South Africa to Australia will continue in earnest in coming years.

1.4 Australian migration context

In 2011 over one quarter of Australia’s population was born overseas and one fifth had at least one Overseas-born parent (ABS 2012a). In other words, almost half of Australia’s population are migrants or the children of migrants. Migration is a substantial component of Australia’s population growth, and since 2005 net overseas migration (NOM) has contributed more to population growth than natural increase (births minus deaths) (DIBP 2014b). Between March 2011 and March 2012 NOM contributed 197,200 people to Australia’s population making up 59.5 percent of growth in that period (DIAC 2013a). Although migration has long been pivotal in the formation and growth of Australia’s population, its nature and composition has changed in response to global and domestic events, as well as government policy. The latter tightly controls the flow of people into Australia, the types of migrants and their countries of origin. Today, as ever, Australia’s immigration programmes are highly planned according to annual targets and caps for each

⁴ The researcher first became aware of this term in a focus group with South African students in Adelaide, Australia. An internet search revealed the term used in blogs and forums authored by South Africans. ‘Fontein’ is an Afrikaans word meaning ‘fountain’ or ‘spring’ and is a commonly used suffix in place names.

of the four main streams of entry. Skilled, Family and Special Eligibility⁵ streams make up the main Migration Programme while a Humanitarian stream forms a separate Humanitarian Programme. The planned and actual intakes for each of these streams are shown in Table 1.1 and show the tightly controlled nature of the migration programme with little variation in planning levels and outcomes.

Table 1.1: Visa stream outcome against planning levels, 2012-13 and 2013-14

	Planning levels 2012-13	Outcome 2012-2013	Planning levels 2013-14	Outcome 2013-14
Skill stream	128,970	128,973	128,550	128,550
Family stream	60,185	60,185	60,885	61,112
Special eligibility	845	842	565	338
<i>Migration Programme Total</i>	190,000	190,000	190,000	190,000
Humanitarian stream	20,000	20,019	13,750	13,764
<i>Humanitarian Programme Total</i>	20,000*	20,019	13,750	13,764

Source: DIBP Migration Programme Statistics, 2014; DIBP Australia's Offshore Humanitarian Programme: 2013–14, 2014; DIBP 2013–14 Migration Programme Report, 2015

*An increase from the previous five years where planning levels were steady at 13,000. Planned levels have back to 13,000 for 2013-2014.

Note: References to planning levels are to final planning level at 30 June 2013. Initial planning may have changed during the programme year as a result of changes in demand and other factors. Immigration outcomes are measured and monitored on a monthly basis against planning levels and adjustments are made throughout the year (DIAC 2012b) hence planning levels and outcomes are so close (DIAC 2012b).

Historically Australia has been a country of permanent settlement. From the post-war period until the 1970s Australian immigration policy emphasised settler labour migration until, in the 1980s, the focus turned to family and humanitarian migration (Cobb-Clark and Connolly 1997; Khoo et al. 2008). The policy focus has since shifted again with the emphasis over the past two decades firmly on attracting skilled migrants. There has also been a shift in the type of migration, from largely permanent to temporary. Coined a “paradigmatic shift”, Australian immigration policy changed in 1996 through legislation to allow large numbers to enter on a non-permanent basis (Hugo 1999). A range of temporary visas were introduced which allowed migrants temporary abode, with the right to work or study. Table 1.2 shows the most well-known temporary, skilled visa is the temporary business (long stay) subclass 457 visa, better known as a ‘457’. There are, however, a range of temporary skilled and business visas allowing either short (12 months) or long stays (up to four years). In contrast with permanent migration, there are no targets and caps on temporary visas. In recent years, temporary migration has thus exceeded permanent migration to Australia (Khoo 2010).

⁵ Allows for the resettlement of former Australian residents (DIAC 2012b)

Table 1.2 Australian temporary resident programme categories

Working Holiday Makers	Allows young adults extended holidays in Australia with short term work and study rights. Australia currently has reciprocal working holiday arrangements with 26 nations
Overseas students	Allows people to study registered full-time courses in Australia for the duration of the course
Skilled temporary residents	Allows skilled people temporary abode and work rights in Australia. The most common visa - Temporary Business (Long Stay) (subclass 457) visa - allows people recruited by Australian companies to work in Australia for up to four years
Other temporary residents	A range of other visas allow people to come to Australia on a temporary basis for social, cultural, international relations and training reasons.

Source: DIAC Population Flows, 2012

A corollary of temporary migration has been an increase in onshore migration whereby migrants transition from temporary to permanent status once in Australia (Khoo et al. 2008). In 2010-11, slightly fewer than half the Migration Programme places allocated went to people already in Australia compared to around one third in 2001-02 (DIAC 2012b). By 2013-14 the proportion of onshore applicants accepted in the Migration Programme was more than half (50.4 %) (DIBP 2014a). Most migrants receiving onshore visas are former international students and migrants on 457 visas who apply for sponsored visas (DIAC 2012b). A final important element of the Australian migration context is emigration. While Australia is often thought of as a traditional immigration country there is also a significant amount of emigration (Hugo 2008). This takes the form of settler loss (the departure of former migrants) as well as the departure of Australia-born people. Approximately one million Australians live outside Australia on either a permanent or long-term basis (Hugo 2006a).

Migrants make a substantial contribution to Australia. In the first instance, they comprise a significant proportion of Australia's population growth. In the year ending March 2015, Australia's population grew by 1.4 percent, 45 percent of which was natural increase and 55 percent from net overseas migration (ABS 2015a). This growing population alleviates

pressure Australia faces due to its ageing population (DIAC 2011e). In other words, migrants provide fiscal benefits as they increase Australia's workforce and expand the tax-base required to support an ageing populace (Markus et al. 2009). Migrants also provide the much needed skills that drive economic growth (DIAC 2011e). Indeed, their economic contribution has been described as "one of the strongest justifications for Australia's migration program" (DIAC 2011e, p.22). Migrants also make a substantial contribution to Australian society more broadly, and their local communities, through the culture and ideas they bring with them. For all of these reasons, studies have shown the majority of the Australian public is in favour of relatively high immigration (Markus 2012; Markus et al. 2009).

1.5 South African migration context

Like Australia, South Africa was historically the recipient of significant settler migration. Until the 1970s migration from elsewhere in Africa largely consisted of white immigrants, particularly as countries to the North gained independence (Mattes et al. 2000). Western Europe, however, particularly the United Kingdom (UK), was the major source of immigration in South Africa until the mid-1980s when European immigration declined sharply (Mattes et al. 2000). Between 1945 and 1999 South Africa recorded 1.2 million documented immigrants with net gains in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s (Lucas et al. 2006). However, as Lucas et al. (2006) point out, during the period 1985-1989 the net gain was negligible and this moved to a net loss after 1995. The latter reflected significant political change in South Africa as apartheid was dismantled. Once it was clear apartheid would end, many suspected violently, people left.

At the same time, while statistics show there was net immigration to South Africa during the transition years (1990 to 1994), Mattes et al. (2000a) argue this is an inaccurate picture resulting from under enumeration of out-migration. This is confirmed when South Africa's self-reported emigration statistics are compared with data collected in receiving countries - UK, United States of America (USA), Canada, Australia, New Zealand – which highlight the remarkable degree of underreporting in South Africa. For example, between 1989 and 1997 Statistics South Africa (SSA) counted 82,811 emigrants compared to 233,609 settling in the main receiving countries (Mattes et al. 2000). It has also been argued that as

emigration increased South Africa's immigration policy became more restrictive after 1994 (Mattes et al. 2000).

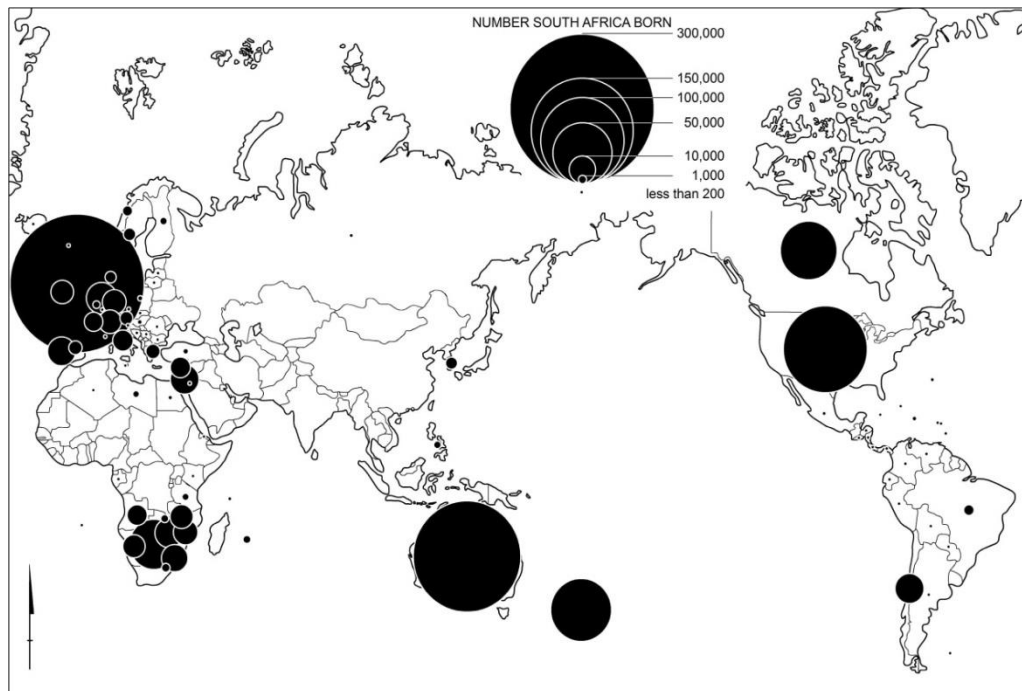
United Nations (UN) data shows the main destination for South African emigrants is the UK (27.2 %) (United Nations 2013), where many South Africans already hold citizenship (Lucas et al. 2006 p. 54). Australia is the next major destination (21.2 %) followed by the USA (13.0 %), New Zealand (6.8 %) and Canada (5.9 %) (United Nations 2013). As Hugo (2009 p. 10) observed,

“the colonial connections that South Africa has as a former part of the British Empire is evident in the concentration of its diaspora”.

Indeed, a number of commentators (Crush et al. 2013; Louw and Mersham 2001; Marks 2006; Rule 1994) have referred to South Africans living outside South Africa as a diaspora. Cohen (2008)⁶ offers a general typology of diaspora that is often used to assess the dispersion of migrant groups around the world (Hugo 2006a; Lucas et al. 2006). A common feature of classical diaspora is “the idea of dispersal following a traumatic event in the homeland, to two or more foreign destinations” (Cohen 2008 p. 2). Although it is beyond the scope of this study to test with rigour the South African case against detailed typologies, it can be said with certainty that significant numbers of South Africans have emigrated from their common homeland to more than two foreign destinations. While the level of trauma behind this migration is open to debate (especially in the context of other diasporas) many commentators (Khawaja and Mason 2008; Louw and Mersham 2001; Rule 1994; Van Rooyen 2000) acknowledge that push factors are at play in emigration from South Africa and some go further, entertaining the notion that South African migrants are forced to leave (Khawaja and Mason 2008; Louw and Mersham 2001).

Recent United Nations data illustrate the extent of South African emigrants globally (Figure 1.1). Five destinations stand out, although it is worth noting the dispersal of this migrant group in many more destinations around the world. More than 80 percent of these destinations are in More Developed regions (United Nations 2013).

⁶ Incidentally, Robin Cohen is a member of the South African diaspora who resides in the UK.

Figure 1.1: International distribution of South Africa-born migrant stocks, 2013

Source: United Nations, 2013

For decades large numbers of South African emigrants have been skilled (Ellis 2008; Marks 2006; Polonsky et al. 1989; Rule 1994) and many believe this loss of professional and technical skills is tantamount to a serious brain drain (Crush 2002, 2003; Crush et al. 2000; Human Sciences Research Council 2005; Kaplan 1997; Mattes and Mniki 2007; Meyer et al. 2000). Unsurprisingly, this loss of skills and the implications for South Africa have received a great deal of academic attention (Brown et al. 2001; Crush 2002; Crush et al. 2000; Kaplan 1997; Mattes and Mniki 2007; Schrecker and Labonte 2004). While the extent and impact of the South African brain drain remains the subject of debate, a recent discussion concluded,

“Most knowledgeable commentators agree that the exodus of skills from South Africa in the last twenty years has had serious negative impacts on the country” (Crush et al. 2013 p. 20).

Quite separate from South Africa’s almost exclusively white immigration (and indeed emigration) was the labour migration of Africans to South Africa’s mines. Since the late nineteenth century male workers from as far as Angola and Tanzania, as well as from within South Africa, were recruited to work in South Africa’s mines but never allowed to settle in South Africa (Castles and Miller 2009; Crush 1995). Lucas et al. (2006 p. 49) note,

“Oscillatory migration was preferred for both black South African workers and foreign workers because it permitted lower wages and gave employers more control”.

Since 1994, regularised migration from other African countries has increased dramatically (Pelser 2003). Migration from Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, for example, has increased ten times since 1990 to over four million visitors each year (Crush and McDonald 2002). At the same time, streams of undocumented migration from outside the SADC have also opened up (Crush and McDonald 2002). While undocumented migration is obviously not captured in censuses, it is estimated to run into the millions (Lucas et al. 2006). The 1990s also saw South Africa emerge as a destination for refugees fleeing persecution elsewhere on the African continent (Crush and McDonald 2002). Unfortunately there has been a strong xenophobic reaction to new arrivals in South Africa (Crush 2008; Peberdy 2001). This negative sentiment starts with the South African government which has taken a “dim view” of immigration (Mattes et al. 2000). More than 1.7 million undocumented migrants have been deported from South Africa since 1994 (Crush 2008).

1.6 Global migration context

International migration is “a global phenomenon that is growing in scope, complexity and impact” (United Nations 2013). In 2013, there were 232 million international migrants globally, up from 175 million in 2000 (United Nations 2013). Most of these people (59.3 %) live in developed countries (United Nations 2013). Highly skilled migrants represent an ever growing component of these global migration streams (Findlay 1988; Iredale 2002; Vertovec 2002) and their movement is commonly linked to globalisation, including the opening up of labour markets globally, and flourishing information and communication technology (Lowell 2002). There is a widespread perception that the flow of skilled people occurs from the global south towards the global north (Freitas et al. 2012), resulting in a brain drain for less developed countries. Although these questions are not the focus of this study, it is indisputable that the majority of South African migrants in Australia are highly skilled.

Of course, skilled migration includes a “great diversity of empirical cases” (Freitas et al. 2012), and this study shows that while South African migration to Australia is largely undertaken by skilled persons it is not skilled migration as it might usually be defined; as roving talent driven by economic incentives or even interesting and challenging work

environments (Hall 2005). This study reveals an altogether different set of reasons for the migration of individuals who happen to be highly skilled. Moreover, this migration is mostly permanent whereas contemporary skilled migration has been seen to be “intermittent and short-term” (Vertovec 2002 p.2).

1.7 The study of South African migration

Despite the prolificacy of migrant research in Australia, the South African story has been largely neglected (Khawaja and Mason 2008). A limited number of books and articles published over the last four decades vary in both function and quality. There has been even less research on migration in the reverse direction: from Australia to South Africa. The earliest publication looking at the dominant flow was a general discussion focussing on issues of race (Abdurahman 1974). Other early studies (Polonsky et al. 1988, 1989; Rule 1989, 1994; Simon 1989) offered empirical observations based on primary data collected at the time but these are largely out-dated now. With the exception of a small study (Rule 1994) looking at the volume of migration as well as migrants’ motivations and settlement experience, little was written about this movement in the 1990s despite momentous political changes in South Africa at the time, and the subsequent increase in emigration. Interest in the topic gained momentum in the 2000s (Khawaja and Mason 2008; Louw and Mersham 2001; Lucas et al. 2006; Visser 2004) and early 2010s (Arnold 2011; Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Forrest et al. 2013). This coincided with a rapid increase in the scale of migration from South Africa to Australia and the increasingly visible presence of South Africans in the Australian community.

To date Lucas (2000, 2001, 2006) and Arnold (2010, 2011) have been the most prominent voices on the topic of South African migration to Australia. Since 1994 Lucas’ work has provided important historical and political contexts within which to view the subject. His analysis of secondary data has been pivotal in understanding the broader migration trends. Arnold (2011), on the other hand, has honed in on the experiences of particular South Africans in Australia, namely Jewish South Africans and South African doctors. His work involved primary surveys that have contributed valuable empirical data to the topic. Other important studies include an article by Louw and Mersham (2001) which gave an overview of the development of the South African diaspora in Australia and an unpublished PhD has contributed to our understanding of South African migrant’s settlement processes (Visser 2004). More recently Forrest et al. (2013) have made an important contribution to our

understanding of how South African and Zimbabwean skilled migrants have settled in Australia, particularly Perth. However, a broad critique of the existing literature reveals three main issues: generality, a dearth of empirical data and a lack of current analysis.

Overall, detailed coverage of the subject is lacking. Some studies have focussed on the broader South African diaspora (Van Rooyen 2000). Although they can be valuable in their own right, these studies afford Australia only cursory attention as one among several destination countries. Similarly, in works that examine migration from Africa to Australia, South Africa is one among many sending countries and therefore not considered in any detail (Hugo 2006c; Keese 1998). In other cases, the focus has been on migration from South Africa to single cities or states within Australia (Batrouney 1991; Simon 1989). Short summaries serve well as introductory discussion pieces but their size duly means coverage of the topic is superficial (Kennedy 2001; Lucas 2001). By contrast, other studies have focussed on very specific aspects of migration between South Africa and Australia. Two examples are a study examining the motives of South African doctors migrating to Australia (Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010) and a study on the psychological impacts of migration on South African migrants in Australia (Khawaja and Mason 2008).

A second criticism of the literature is that very little empirical research on this topic has been undertaken. Of the few studies that collected their own data, the survey methodologies involved interviews (Khawaja and Mason 2008), questionnaires (Polonsky et al. 1988, 1989; Rule 1989) and ethnographic surveys (Louw and Mersham 2001). Participant recruitment commonly involved non-probability methods and most often used the 'snowball method' (Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Khawaja and Mason 2008; Louw and Mersham 2001; Rule 1989). In several cases where primary data was collected (Polonsky et al. 1988, 1989), the survey methodology has been viewed as problematic (McDonald and Crush 2002a; Schönfeldt-Aultman 2009). There remains a need for more empirical research into migration between South Africa and Australia empirical data needs to support theory. With the exception of Arnold (2011), studies either don't employ a specific theoretical framework or don't explicitly discuss the framework underpinning the study. Few studies that focus on this topic engage with theories of migration in a meaningful way when trying to explain the movement (Arnold 2011; Visser 2004). The most simplistic explanation for migration is the Push/ Pull theory espoused initially by Lee (1966), and commonly used to explain South African migration (Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Bhorat

et al. 2002; Khawaja and Mason 2008; Lucas et al. 2006; Marks 2006; Simon 1989), although many more explanatory theories have been put forward since.

The above chronology highlights two things. In the first instance it illustrates the deficit of total contributions to the subject of migration between Australia and South Africa. Secondly it shows that publications on the subject came out prior to major political changes in South Africa during the 1990s, not to mention significant changes to Australia's immigration policies in the same decade. Since these events the scale and composition of migration between Australia and South Africa has changed considerably. By definition, earlier research lacks contemporary relevance. For example, two articles published in the 1980s present results from a survey of migrants travelling by ship from South Africa to Australia (Polonsky et al. 1988, 1989). Although useful for understanding a point-in-time, these studies were written more than two decades ago. There have been many changes since, not least in the mode of transport. Twenty years on from the end of Apartheid, an overview of the movement and migrants' experiences is much needed.

In New Zealand scholars have led the way in researching the recent experiences of expatriate South Africans (Barkhuizen and Knoch 2005; Johnston et al. 2006; Phillip and Ho 2010; Schoonees 2005; Trlin 2010, 2012). Yet, Trlin (2012 p. 57) recently noted,

“South African immigrants in New Zealand have been largely ignored by researchers in comparison with ‘visible’ migrants from Asia and the South Pacific”.

He goes on to discuss the lack of research in Australia and New Zealand. Likewise, despite being the number one destination for South African migrants, there is a dearth of literature on South Africans migrating to the UK (Lucas et al. 2006). In Canada, a comprehensive study of Southern African migrants was recently completed (Crush et al. 2013). This work makes a very important contribution to our understanding of the linkages this migrant group maintains with its origin country. Still, it has been said that,

“More seems to have been written from the point of view of the sending country, South Africa, than the receiving countries...” (Lucas et al. 2006 p. 59).

Indeed this is certainly the case if the extensive literature on the brain drain is considered. The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) has contributed a great deal in this area (Crush 2003; Crush and McDonald 2002; Crush et al. 2000; Mattes et al. 2000; McDonald and Crush 2002b; SAMP Website).

It is useful to consider why this topic has hitherto received limited research attention. One reason may be the assumption that South African migrants integrate quickly and easily into Australian society. Perceived similarities in culture and lifestyle, as well as shared language, may make the transition easier for South Africans when compared with other migrant groups. Added to this, the fact that most South African migrants are of Anglo ancestry (Kennedy 2001, p.689) makes them outwardly and culturally less visible in the Australian community. Trlin (2012) argues that this is the case in New Zealand, where visible migrants have been ignored in migration research. Together or separately, these factors may have made researching their experiences appear less important or simply less newsworthy. Furthermore, South African migrants are not a group who have needs in the sense some refugee groups might and, as such, research for the purpose of informing policy or policy redirection is not a priority. But, as James Jupp observed in the *Forward to Worlds Apart*,

“The more we know about the myriad nations, religions and cultural groups that go to make up Australia, the better” (Tatz et al. 2007 p. 10).

In the public realm, much of the information about this migrant group is circulated by the media who have been criticised in the past for sensationalising the issues (Rule 1989; Simon 1989; Visser 2004). Some articles have even been unashamedly critical of South African migrants in Australia (Pryor 2008). In a country where migrants receive indifferent press at best, pejorative at worst, it is important to understand their experiences and, where possible, demonstrate the ways in which they contribute to Australian society.

The final word on the literature about this topic must go to the authors themselves. There is no doubt researching the experiences of South African migrants in Australia holds a certain allure for South African migrants themselves (Arnold 2011; Simon 1989). Indeed, it has previously been noted that scholars write about the group from which they come (Diner 2006). So-called ‘insider research’ can be both beneficial and problematic. By the same token, issues can also arise when researchers are from a different cultural background to participants in their migration research (Boyle et al. 1998). The researcher here, a South African migrant to Australia at a young age, is cognizant of these arguments and has approached this research as objectively as possible.

1.8 The Rainbow Nation

At this stage, it is important to set out the conventions this study employs to describe particular groups within the broader South African population. South Africa is a vastly multicultural society with a history scarred by racial and ethnic conflict and prejudice. Today, alongside indigenous Africans who make up the majority of South Africa's population are the descendants of Dutch, French, German (Afrikaans peoples) and English colonial settlers. Added to this are more recent European settlers, a sizeable Indian population⁷, a notable Jewish community⁸ and a number of African migrants from elsewhere on the continent. Race-based policies of separateness (apartheid) during the twentieth century firmly entrenched notions of racial difference among the population for the purpose of either inclusion or exclusion. During apartheid, racial classifications were used as a political tool to discriminate while more recently they have been used to “affirm positively” (Christopher 2002). The result is that South Africans still see their society in racialised terms. As Seekings (2008 p. 3) explains,

“...race does remain ever present in contemporary South Africa. To a large extent this is due to a deep-rooted and enduring consciousness of race in society. To some extent this is due to factors that reflect choices made by post-apartheid elites: the use of the race card in public life, including in politics, and new policies of racial discrimination involving, especially, affirmative action in employment”.

Moreover, racial categories continue to have cultural meaning in everyday life as “South Africans continue to inhabit social worlds that are largely defined by race” (Seekings 2008 p. 1). These are reinforced at an official level through instruments like the census which, for a century, have been “confounded by racial classification” (Khalfani and Zuberi 2001 p. 161). While the repeal of apartheid legislation,

“...theoretically led to the end of the legal basis of race classification in South Africa... Acts such as the Employment Equity Act (1998) required classification of the population to monitor progress in the employment of Africans, Coloureds and Asians and more generally the effects of affirmative action programmes designed to redress the imbalances of the previous era (Christopher 2002 p. 406).

This study utilises the same categories as the recent 2011 South African Census – Asian, Black, Coloured, Indian and White⁹ - to describe the various groups from South Africa. This enables the different migration experiences of South Africans from different

⁷ In fact 6 per cent of non-India residents and people of Indian origin live in South Africa, the equal fourth highest concentration of Indians outside of India.

⁸ A number of Jews moved to Transvaal at the turn of the Nineteenth century, mostly from Lithuania.

⁹ Note that the South African Census results combine data for Indians and Asians into the category Indian/Asian.

backgrounds to be assessed. While the researcher hastens to recognise the negative historical associations imbued in these categories, as well as how they may be cautiously received in a culturally inclusive country such as Australia, so entrenched are they in South African culture it would be futile to undertake a study such as this and not differentiate the experiences of South Africa's so-called population groups¹⁰. The Australian government itself states, "It is acceptable and common place to refer to the different groups as 'blacks', 'whites' and 'coloureds'" (Australian Trade Commission 2012 p. 1). Moreover, there is a precedent among contemporary commentators on South African immigration who refer to these categories (Khawaja and Mason 2008; Lucas et al. 2006; Sonn 2002; Van Rooyen 2000). Indeed, Arnold (2011, p. 19) provides sound justification for doing so. He says,

"...it is important for the reader to understand South African race terminology. The use of euphemisms which are 'politically' correct in other countries would prove to be confusing. Because racial classifications, and their terminology, determined much or all of someone's life-course in apartheid South Africa (with unfortunate ramifications even after apartheid was abandoned), the reader must accept the language which applied so ruthlessly to every South African".

1.9 Thesis outline

This thesis consists of ten chapters. The present chapter has introduced the research topic and provided a general context within which to view the issues raised throughout this thesis. The literature review here has outlined the knowledge gaps and provided an essential foundation for the discussion that follows. Each of the remaining chapters are grouped to form three sections. The first section includes Chapters Two and Three which present the results of extensive secondary data analysis. Chapter Two introduces the secondary data sources and analyses migration stock and flow data. Through this analysis, a complex migration system is revealed. Chapter Three draws on secondary data to identify key characteristics of South African migrants in Australia, the most substantial flow in the Australia-South Africa migration system. Together these chapters address the first aim of this study: to examine the nature and extent of migration between Australia and South Africa and identify patterns, trends and migrant characteristics from mid-Twentieth century.

¹⁰ Statistics South Africa defines **Population group as**: "A group with common characteristics (in terms of descent and history), particularly in relation to how they were (or would have been) classified before the 1994 elections. The following categories are provided in the census: black African, coloured, Indian or Asian, white, other" (Statistics South Africa 2003).

Chapter Four considers the theoretical framework upon which this study is built and introduces the research methods and survey instrumentation. Chapter Five follows on to introduce the study populations, their key characteristics and attributes. Important comparisons are made here with 2011 Census data to determine parallels between the study population and the broader South African community in Australia. Despite drawing on non-representative samples, the study population bears a striking resemblance to the total South African population in Australia. Chapters Three and Five focus on the ethnic characteristics of South African migrants. This has hitherto been omitted from studies of South African migration to Australia (Arnold 2011). This study identifies new patterns in the ethnic composition of South African migrants in Australia.

Chapters Six through Nine present the results of primary data collected as part of this study. Chapter Six examines the reasons South Africans migrate to Australia, as told in the surveys and interviews. This discussion draws heavily on earlier studies to determine changes in the drivers of this migration over time. Consideration is also given to theories of migration that have been proffered to explain why migrants move. While single theories are not adequate for explaining this migration, insights from a range of theories help to explain elements of it. Chapter Seven describes the settlement experiences of the study population who, by many measures, are a successful migrant group but are not immune to the emotional and economic strains of migration. Chapter Seven also discusses migrants' thoughts on identity and citizenship, so engaging with subjective conceptualisations of transnationalism. Chapter Eight engages further with theory as the linkages South African migrants' retain with their home country are explored. Pivotal findings reveal a group that maintains significant social and emotional linkages with their origin but who are not as economically or politically engaged as other diaspora groups. This raises important theoretical implications about the definition of transnationalism. Finally, Chapter Nine presents the results of a unique survey designed to better understand return migration to South Africa. Again, this discussion engages with transnational theory as it considers a topic virtually absent from the literature. Chapter Ten concludes by summarising the key findings with reference to the aims and objectives of the study. Policy implications are discussed and the methodological and theoretical implications of this study are assessed. Finally, possibilities for future research are canvassed.

1.10 Conclusion

There is scope and a necessity for understanding migration between Australia and South Africa and the experiences of South Africans in Australia. This is a relatively large migrant group in Australia which numbers among the top source countries for both permanent and temporary migrants. They have shown consistent migration for more than a century. It follows that more should be understood about these migrants and why they choose to leave South Africa to come to Australia. South African migrants in Australia settle relatively successfully and have formed significant communities in several Australian capital cities. Yet this group is an excellent contemporary example of a diaspora that interacts back to its origin. Indeed, this group exhibits considerable transnational behaviour which includes, for a small proportion of migrants, return migration to South Africa. Migration between Australia and South Africa should not, therefore, be viewed simply as a one-way phenomenon. On the contrary, secondary data analysed in the next chapter reveals a complex migration system. Meanwhile, the surveys conducted for this study give a voice to South African migrants in Australia who spell out their reasons for migrating, their settlement experiences and the links they maintain with their origin country. To date, these voices have been conspicuously absent in the literature.

2.1 Introduction: the pillars of Australian migration data

This chapter presents secondary administrative data collected by two key government agencies in Australia. Migrant ‘stock’ data collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in its quinquennial Census of Population and Housing enumerates South African migrants in Australia at a given point in time. It also provides a detailed understanding of the characteristics of these migrants to include basic demographics and more detailed aspects of their social, cultural and economic lives. To that end, the nature and extent of migration between Australia and South Africa is revealed, an overarching research question driving this project. In addition, ‘flow’ data, provided by the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) from arrivals and departures cards, show the scope of contemporary movements between Australia and South Africa. These data reveal a complex, multi-faceted migration system between these countries.

Migration data collected by government agencies in Australia is recognised as being of an exceptionally high quality by international standards (Hugo 2009a). Collection methods are sophisticated, highly organised and reliable. They produce comprehensive, accurate data which is of particularly high quality when compared to South African data, thus the former is favoured in this analysis. It is beneficial to use migration data from either the origin or the destination country, but not both, because countries tend to employ different definitions and frames of reference, making it difficult to compare data, hence this study utilises Australian data.

2.1.1 Migrant stock data

The ABS Census of Population and Housing is arguably the most valuable and comprehensive statistical source on the Australian population. Every five years it counts the population and collects data on their specific demographic, housing and social characteristics. Different groups within the broader Australian population are thus easily identifiable in census data and their experiences better understood. Among groups commonly identified for analysis are first and second generation migrants to Australia who are identified by birthplace and the birthplace of their parents. In this way, the South

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Africa-born population can be distinguished, analysed and compared with other sectors of the population.

An important benefit of using data from the Australian Census is the ability to trace changes in the population and its sub-groups over time. Although it is noteworthy that South Africans were recorded in the earliest historical censuses¹¹, the analysis conducted here extends back to the mid-Twentieth Century. A particular focus here are data collected in the most recent Australian Census on August 9, 2011, the most up-to-date data on South African migrant stocks in Australia. Much of these data, and data from the 2006 Census, was generated using TableBuilder software, an online tool provided by the ABS (ABS 2014b). Data from previous censuses was obtained from ABS statistical publications, also available on the ABS website (ABS 2013c, 2014a).

Note should be made about the limitations of using census data. Firstly, a general limitation is the issues that can arise when comparing data from different census years because census questions are not always consistent (Hugo 2009a). Secondly, and this relates especially to analyses of persons born in countries other than Australia, it does not provide data on the visa category on which overseas born people enter the country (Birrell and Hawthorne 1999; Birrell and Healy 2008). Unfortunately this means any understanding of migrant characteristics by their stream of entry is limited to less detailed data collected by the Department of Immigration. Furthermore, the census fails to identify and differentiate the characteristics and experiences of permanent and temporary migrants.

Finally, of concern here, the greatest limitation with census data is being able to identify the cultural or ethnic background of migrants. It is widely known that different racial and ethnic groups in South Africa have historically had very different social and economic experiences in their homeland. By extension, it might then be assumed that these differences carry over to their new home in Australia. However this assumption cannot be easily tested using census data which does not explicitly ask about ethnicity. Questions on

¹¹ The geo-political make-up of South Africa in the nineteenth century meant the South African population in Australia were not easily or clearly enumerated. At this time, South Africans were classified not as 'South Africans' but rather by the colony from which they came. These colonies - the Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Natal, and Orange Free State - were listed separately in Australian censuses along with the country of birth category 'South Africa (undefined)'. The South African colonies unified in 1910 but it wasn't until 1921 when the category 'South African Union' was first used. Similarly, early Australian censuses were conducted in each colony until Australia was Federated in 1901 (ABS 2011). The earliest national census in Australia was conducted in 1911. South Africa became a republic in 1961 at which time it left the British Commonwealth but re-joined again in 1994 (Thompson 2006).

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa ancestry, language and even religion are used here as proxies but are not infallible alternatives. They almost certainly under enumerate South Africa's diverse range of population groups and therefore are used here with caution. These limitations are discussed in more detail as they arise throughout this chapter.

2.1.2 Migrant flow data

Comprehensive flow data are available in Australia from Overseas Arrivals and Departures (OAD) data, administered by DIBP (formerly DIAC). This information is gathered from incoming and outgoing passenger cards at air and sea ports and counts all movements by each traveller not just the number of travellers (DIAC 2013d). One potential issue with these data is that they are based on migrants' intentions with regards to their anticipated duration of stay in or out of Australia. These intentions are subject to change which then results in over or under enumeration. On the whole, emigration measured using these data tends to overestimate outflows (DIAC 2012b). Nevertheless, it remains a highly regarded and comprehensive resource that has been widely used to determine patterns and trends in migration (Hugo 2009a; Shah and Burke 2005).¹² They are also the key source of information on migrants' visa of entry and their status on arrival in Australia, be it permanent or temporary. In addition, the Settlement Database, also maintained by DIBP, provides valuable statistical data on permanent settlers in Australia.

Finally, an array of published statistics released by the Department of Immigration in its various guises (formerly DIAC and currently DIBP) are utilised here to add to this statistical account of migration between Australia and South Africa. Publications consulted include: *Immigration Update, Consolidated Statistics, Settler Arrivals, Emigration and Population Flows, Australian Migration Trends, The People of Australia, Net Overseas Migration*. These are among the most informative works published on the South African population in Australia to date. However, they do not focus exclusively on South African migrants and a gap in the literature remains where a comprehensive account focussing on migration between Australia and South Africa can fit. Statistical data from the above range of sources are of a high standard and the analysis presented in the next two chapters goes some way to fill this gap. By contrast, migration data collected in South Africa is not held in such high regard.

¹² In some cases, these authors utilise the Movements Database (MDB) also based on traveller's cards.

2.2 South African migration data

South African data sources on international migration, particularly emigration, are viewed as unreliable and most often criticised for underestimation (Kaplan 1997 p. 392; Lucas et al. 2006; Van Rooyen 2000 p. 26-27). This has been attributed to two factors. Firstly, as is customary in most countries, it is not compulsory to fill out departure paperwork when leaving South Africa. Secondly, there is no requirement to notify authorities of an intention to leave the country permanently (Lucas 2000 p. 1). So, emigration data collected in South Africa is self-declared and commentators have found a propensity among South African migrants to leave on the pretence of a temporary move when in fact the move is planned to be permanent (Simon 1989).

Even the national statistical service in South Africa, Statistics SA (SSA), acknowledges shortcomings in its emigration data. In the most recent publication of *Documented Migration* from 2003, SSA concedes chronic under-reporting of emigration:

“Over the years official statistics on self-declared emigration from SA show that the five leading overseas destination countries are the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As these countries have good statistical systems, in principle, it would be possible to obtain data on South African residents and/or South African citizens who have permanently settled in these countries. The figures obtained from those sources could be compared with official figures on self-declared emigration and the degree of under-reporting of emigration could be assessed.” (Statistics South Africa 2005 p. x).

After conducting an analysis of destination data, SSA (2005, p. xi) found,

“...for the USA, Australia and New Zealand, the estimated number of resident immigrants from SA far exceed the Stats SA estimate of total emigrants to those countries”.

In light of this, Australian migration data is clearly more accurate than corresponding data from South Africa. Another reason for favouring Australian data in the analysis here is that South Africa no longer collects data on emigration, self-declared or otherwise, and hasn't since 2004 (Statistics South Africa 2009).

2.3 The South Africa-born in Australia

From the Australian Censuses, the experiences of the South Africa-born can be evaluated against other migrant groups as well as the total Overseas-born population and the Australian population at large. The earliest national census in Australia was conducted in 1911 when the South Africa-born population was 3,883 (ABS 2008a). This was more than double the 1,500 persons recorded in the pre-Federation Census of 1901, which was

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa counted on a state by state basis (ABS 2008a). Since then the South Africa-born population in Australia has increased at every census with the exception of the first after the Second World War (1947). These census counts are shown in Table 2.1 indicating that South African migration to Australia is long-standing and has grown rapidly in recent decades.

Table 2.1: South Africa-born stocks in Australia since Federation, 1901 to 2011

Census year	South Africa-born	Intercensal change (n)	Intercensal gain (%)
1901	1,500		
1911	3,883	2,383	158.9
1921	5,408	1,525	39.3
1933	6,179	771	14.3
1947	5,866	-313	-5.1
1954	5,971	105	1.8
1961	7,896	1,925	32.2
1966	9,692	1,796	22.7
1971	12,655	2,963	30.6
1976	15,656	3,001	23.7
1981	26,965	11,309	72.2
1986	37,058	10,093	37.4
1991	49,009	11,951	32.2
1996	55,821	6,812	13.9
2001	79,425	23,604	42.3
2006	104,126	24,701	31.1
2011	145,683	41,557	39.9

Source: ABS Australian Historical Statistics, 2008; ABS Cultural Diversity, 2012

In numerical terms, the stock of the South Africa-born in Australia doubled in the 15 years between 1991 and 2006. However, the biggest growth was between the most recent censuses of 2006 and 2011. During this time another 40,000 South Africans made Australia their home. The intercensal change in South Africa-born stocks in Australia has fluctuated over the last century with an average gain of 36.7 percent. At the last census in 2011, of 5.2 million people in Australia who were born overseas, 145,683 were born in South Africa (ABS 2012a), and made up 2.8 percent of the Overseas-born population.

Although this is a fraction of the Overseas-born population one needs to consider the high level of diversity in Australia. People from more than 250 countries have made Australia their home (ABS 2014b). In fact, at the last two consecutive censuses, South Africa-born numbered among the top ten countries of birth for the Overseas-born population in Australia. Table 2.2 shows that South Africa moved from tenth place in 2006 to be the eighth largest migrant stock in Australia in 2011.

Table 2.2: Top ten countries of birth in Australia, 2006 and 2011

2006		2011	
Country	Population	Country	Population
United Kingdom	1,038,156	United Kingdom	1,101,100
New Zealand	389,464	New Zealand	483,400
China	206,590	China	319,000
Italy	199,132	India	295,400
Viet Nam	159,854	Italy	185,400
India	147,101	Vietnam	185,000
Philippines	120,533	Philippines	171,200
Greece	109,988	South Africa	145,700
Germany	106,515	Malaysia	116,200
South Africa	104,120	Germany	108,000

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

From another perspective, stock data shows South Africa is the source of more migrants to Australia than any other African country (Table 2.3). In 2011 there was close to five times the number of South Africa-born than migrants from the next largest Sub-Saharan African country, Zimbabwe. Still, there has been phenomenal growth between censuses in stocks of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa in Australia, with stocks of Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Tanzania-born rising by 50 percent, and Nigeria-born migrants by a staggering 80 percent.

Table 2.3: Top ten stocks of Sub-Saharan Africa-born in Australia, 2006 and 2011

Country of origin	2006	2011	% increase
South Africa	104,132	145,700	39.9
Zimbabwe	20,155	30,251	50.1
Mauritius	18,173	23,279	28.1
Kenya	9,935	13,831	39.2
Ethiopia	5,634	8,452	50.0
Zambia	4,078	5,537	35.8
Somalia	4,314	5,686	31.8
Nigeria	2,500	4,519	80.8
Ghana	2,769	3,866	39.6
Tanzania	2,300	3,437	49.4
Sierra Leone	1,809	3,043	68.2

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

Some issues that arise when using birthplace data should be acknowledged. Firstly, by definition, it excludes second and later generations of South Africans in Australia, and also fails to account for people who emigrated to South Africa and spent their lives there (Lucas 2001; Tatz et al. 2007). In their work on Zimbabweans in Australia, Lucas et al. (2011, p.1) recognise,

“Birthplace data from censuses has the disadvantage that it is a poor substitute for a migration history”.

In other words, statistics that consider only people born in Zimbabwe omit those who were born elsewhere but who have spent most, if not all, of their lives in Zimbabwe. Migration history in this sense is important in countries like Zimbabwe and South Africa which were formerly destinations for European immigrants. For decades South Africa received large numbers of migrants, particularly from the UK, Ireland, Germany, Portugal, Greece, Zambia and, indeed, Zimbabwe (Pelser 2003). Many of these people identify more with South Africa than their birthplace but are not counted in birthplace data. It could be argued that ‘South Africans’ in Australia are under enumerated when birthplace data alone is considered. Data on ancestry can be a partial remedy by taking into account migrants’ subjective judgements about whether they are South African, but is not without its own set of issues.

In addition to census count data, the ABS calculates Australia’s estimated resident population (ERP) on a quarterly basis. This estimate takes the ‘Usual Residence’ population count from the most recent census and adjusts it according to those absent on census night. Natural increase (births minus deaths) is then added along with net overseas migration (NOM) (ABS 2012b). The result is a more frequent and accurate measure of the Australian population, as well as the birthplace groups that comprise it, during intercensal years. Table 2.4 shows the ERP for the South Africa-born, total Overseas-born and total Australian population from 1996 to 2013. The ERP typically counts between 5,000 and 10,000 more South African migrants than the census. For example, in 1996 the census counted 55,821 South Africa-born in Australia while the ERP in the same year was 61,749. In 2011 the census count was 145,683 South Africa-born and the ERP was 161,600. The average annual growth of the South African ERP is 6 percent compared to 2.5 for the Overseas-born and just 1.4 percent for the total Australian population. Since 2010 the South African ERP has grown by less than 5 percent per annum. This decrease is not reflected to the same extent among other groups which suggests that while the South Africa-born population is still increasing, growth may not be occurring at the same rate as in previous decades.

Table 2.4: South Africa-born estimated resident population in Australia, 1996-2014

	South Africa-born		Overseas-born		Total Australia	
	ERP	Annual growth %	ERP	Annual growth %	ERP	Annual growth %
1996	61,749		4,258,637		18,310,714	
1997	66,091	7.0	4,314,453	1.3	18,517,564	1.1
1998	69,369	5.0	4,332,141	0.4	18,711,271	1.0
1999	74,786	7.8	4,369,314	0.9	18,925,855	1.1
2000	80,718	7.9	4,412,043	1.0	19,153,380	1.2
2001	86,948	7.7	4,482,061	1.6	19,413,240	1.4
2002	95,311	9.6	4,585,653	2.3	19,652,562	1.2
2003	101,656	6.7	4,695,729	2.4	19,898,066	1.2
2004	108,710	7.0	4,798,833	2.2	20,132,756	1.2
2005	114,548	5.3	4,929,918	2.7	20,399,836	1.3
2006	119,989	4.7	5,093,420	3.3	20,701,488	1.5
2007	126,283	5.2	5,253,852	3.1	21,017,222	1.5
2008	138,280	9.5	5,478,710	4.3	21,250,330	1.1
2009	150,720	9.0	5,730,740	4.6	21,692,820	2.1
2010	155,960	3.5	5,882,690	2.7	22,033,410	1.6
2011	161,600	3.6	6,018,180	2.3	22,340,240	1.4
2012	168,220	4.1	6,208,430	3.2	22,725,170	1.7
2013	173,820	3.3	6,411,050	3.3	23,132,020	1.8
2014	176,340	1.5	6,600,400	3.0	23,491,000	1.6

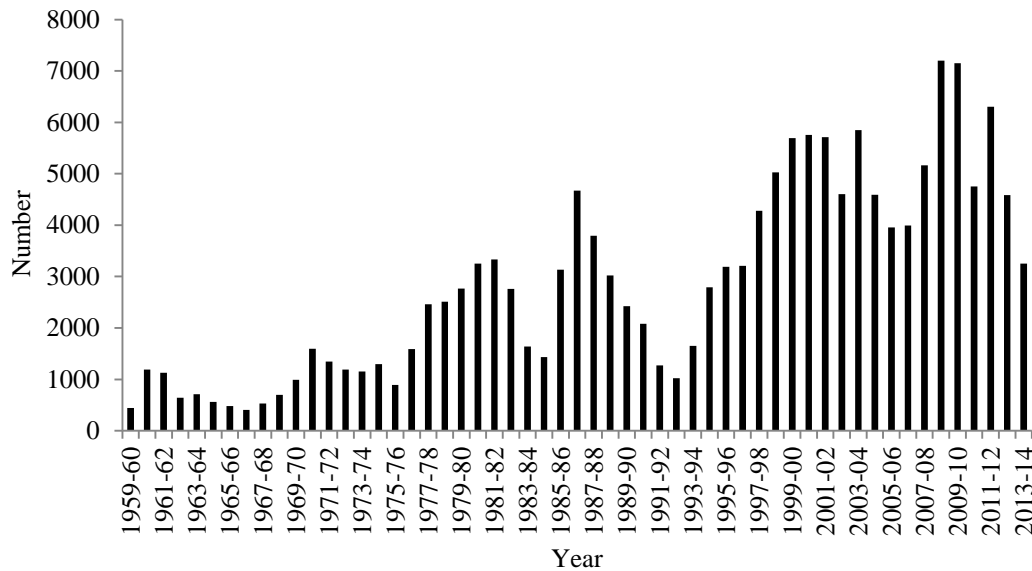
Source: ABS Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2008; ABS Migration, Australia, 2013

2.4 Permanent settlement from South Africa

A ‘settler arrival’ is a person arriving in Australia with either the entitlement or intention to reside permanently. Statistics from these arrivals are collected from passenger cards and other data on overseas arrivals (DIAC 2011d). South African settler arrivals in Australia from 1960 are shown in Figure 2.1. Flows changed in the early 1990s as South Africa transitioned from its apartheid regime to democracy (Hugo 2009a). In Australia this equated to a dramatic increase in settler arrivals every year over the next decade. Although settler arrivals fell in the period 2004 to 2007, they later peaked from 2008 to 2010. This record number of South African settlers was in step with broader immigration trends, as the Rudd government drastically increased immigration quotas in 2008-09 before quickly reducing them again in response to the Global Financial Crisis (DIAC 2010c; Markus et al. 2009). The decline in South African settler arrivals has reflected the broader settler arrivals trend in Australia that saw declines from 2009-2011, a recovery in 2011-12 but declines since (DIBP unpublished data 2015). The decline in South African settler arrivals has been

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa tempered somewhat by an increase in temporary arrivals and onshore transitions to permanent residency.

Figure 2.1: Settler arrivals in Australia from South Africa, 1959-60 to 2013-14



Source: DIBP Historical Migration Statistics, 2015; DIAC Consolidated Statistics, 2002; DIAC, Settler Arrivals, 2011; DIAC Immigration Update 2010-11.

Note: Settler Arrivals from 2006-07 onwards are from Country of Birth

For a complete understanding of migration to Australia,

“consideration needs also to be given to those who change intention or legal entitlement from temporary to permanent stay, and actual behaviour rather than stated intention” (DIAC 2011d p. Forward).

Permanent additions data do this because offshore settler arrivals are included as well as onshore migrants, namely those arriving in Australia on temporary visas who later convert to permanent residency. Table 2.5 shows the breakdown of onshore and offshore arrivals for South African permanent additions. Over the past decade, these have fluctuated largely because of the settler arrival component. However, there has been an overall increase in permanent additions driven by a huge increase in the number of South Africans arriving in Australia on a temporary basis that apply for, and are granted, permanent resident status once onshore. The proportion of permanent additions made onshore has increased to being almost half the permanent additions in 2010-11 (48.5 %). The proportion of onshore migrants fell slightly thereafter but increased again to 44.3 percent in 2013-14.

Table 2.5: South Africa-born permanent additions to Australia, onshore and offshore, 2000-01 to 2013-14

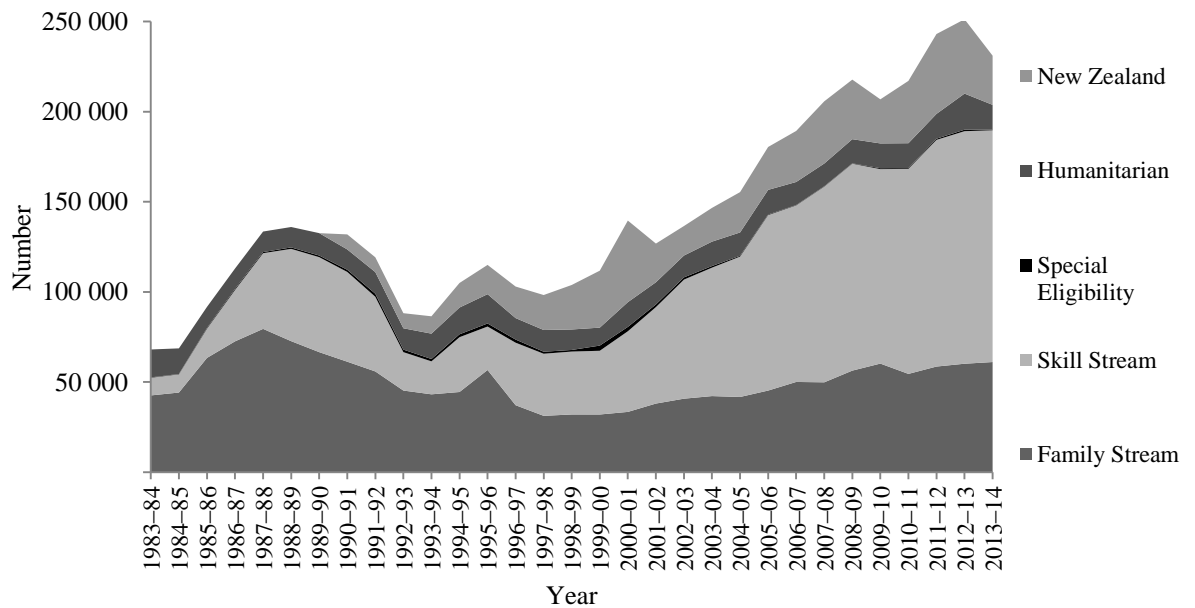
	Onshore	Settler arrivals (Offshore)	Permanent additions (Total)	% Onshore
2000-01	1700	5755	7455	22.8
2001-02	1820	5715	7535	24.2
2002-03	1703	4603	6306	27.0
2003-04	1729	5849	7578	22.8
2004-05	1719	4594	6313	27.2
2005-06	1559	3953	5512	28.3
2005-06	1559	3953	5512	28.3
2006-07	1974	3996	5970	33.1
2007-08	2596	5166	7762	33.4
2008-09	4765	7201	11966	39.8
2009-10	4795	7153	11948	40.1
2010-11	4478	4752	9230	48.5
2011-12	3350	6305	9655	34.7
2012-13	2688	4585	7273	37.0
2013-14	2586	3253	5839	44.3

Source: DIAC Immigration Updates, various; DIAC Country Profiles, various; DIBP unpublished data

2.4.1 Permanent migrants' stream of entry

Migrants who arrive in Australia with a view to permanent settlement do so through the General Migration Programme run by the Department of Immigration. The programme consists of three streams which are highly selective and tightly controlled; Skilled, Family and Special Eligibility streams. A key feature of Australia's Migration Programme is a points assessment system. Points are allocated to applicants according to a range of criteria including, but not limited to, age, education, occupation, English language skills and family present in Australia (Khoo et al. 2008). Figure 2.2 shows how the Migration Programme has been split between these three streams since the early 1980s. The Family stream facilitates the entry of close family members of Australian citizens and permanent residents. However, in the 1990s, the Howard government refocussed immigration policy to prioritise migrants' skills over family reunion, and the Skill stream became the dominant means of entry (Khoo 2002). In 2013-2014, 68 percent of permanent arrivals to Australia through the Migration Programme entered via the Skill stream, 32.2 percent through the Family stream (DIBP 2014b).

Figure 2.2: Australian Migration Programme outcome by stream, Humanitarian Programme and New Zealand settlers, 1983–84 to 2013–14



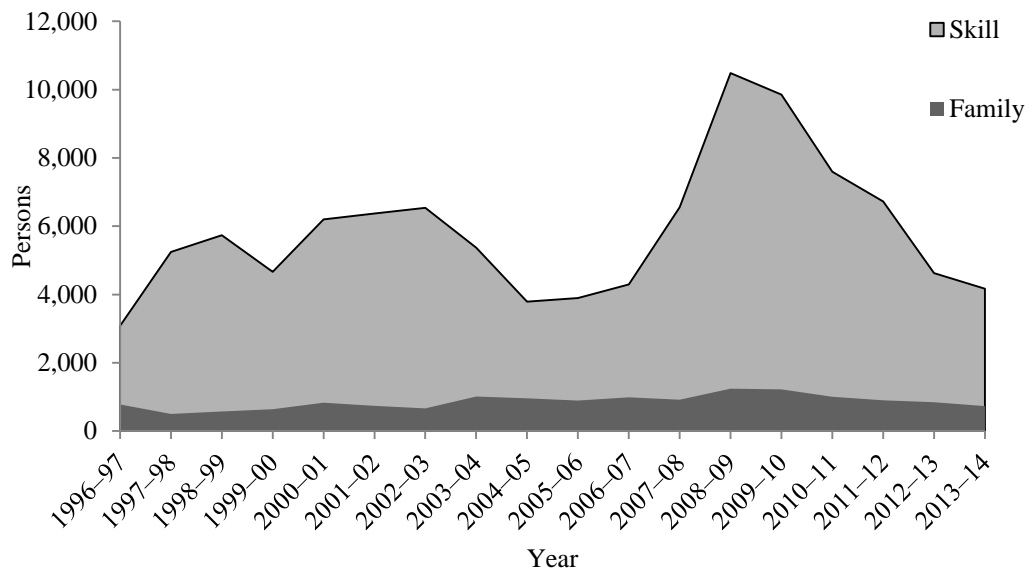
Source: DIBP, Historical Migration Statistics, 2015; DIBP, Australia’s Migration Trends, 2014

Figure 2.2 shows that the Special Eligibility stream is the smallest of the Migration Programme and is barely discernible. This stream includes former citizens and residents of Australia as well as dependents of New Zealand citizens who have settled permanently (Immigration Update 2010-11). Although New Zealand citizens are not included in the Migration Programme (DIAC 2012b), they are shown here for comparative purposes. New Zealanders can freely enter Australia under the 1973 Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement (ABS 2010 p. 2). Indeed they form a substantial component of overseas migration to Australia. Although there have been fluctuations from year to year, the average number of permanent settlers from New Zealand since 1990 has been around 23,882 per year (DIBP 2014b, 2015d). Finally, concurrent to the General Migration Programme, the Humanitarian Programme offers resettlement to refugees and displaced peoples who meet specific criteria. Since 2000-01, the Humanitarian Programme has granted between 12,000 and 14,000 visas to people in need, with an anomalous 20,019 humanitarian grants in 2012-13. Very few South Africa-born have been granted humanitarian visas to Australia over the years, just 36 between 1997 and 2007 (ABS), although a small number are recorded against South Africa as the country of departure – an average of around 60 per year between 2004 and 2009 (Refugee Council of Australia 2011).

Figure 2.3 shows that South African arrivals in Australia are dominated by entrants in the Skill stream, reflecting the broader trend in Australia. The number of Family stream entrants has remained fairly consistent for two decades, with small peaks in 2003-04 and the late 2000s. In 2012-13, 843 Family visas were granted to South Africans, just 1.4 percent of the all Family entrants to Australia (DIBP 2013). Most family migrants to

Australia are partners or dependent children (DIBP 2015c). However, while 57 percent of South African Family stream entrants were partners of an Australian resident, 30 percent were parents and just 11 percent were children (DIBP 2015c).

Figure 2.3: South African settlers by migration stream, 1996-97 to 2013-14



Source: DIBP, Historical Migration Statistics, 2015

Since the mid-1990s, South African Family entrants have comprised around 14 percent of South African arrivals to Australia. The Skill stream makes up the remaining 86 percent of South African arrivals. Skill stream entrants soared from the early 1990s until they peaked at 6,538 in 2002-03. Skilled entrants then fluctuated throughout the 2000s, peaking at 10,485 in 2008-09 and falling dramatically to 4,168 in 2013-14, less than the 1999-2000 level. Despite the decrease, South Africa remained the in the top ten sources of skilled migrants to Australia in 2013-14, ranked seventh (DIBP 2015c). However, this was the first time it had moved from 5th position since 2010 (DIBP 2015c).

Table 2.6 lists all permanent visa subclasses issued to South African settlers from 2000 to 2014. The dominance of skilled visas is clear, and the most common visa issued during this period was the 856 Employer Nomination Scheme visa which was later replaced by the

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186 visa (also listed in Table 2.6). This visa is issued to migrants onshore in Australia and is a common progression for temporary 457 visa holders as is the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS) visa. A number of South Africans were also granted Skilled Independent visas offshore, based on a points-assessment system which enables migrants who are not sponsored by employers or government to enter Australia.

Table 2.6: South Africa-born settlers by visa sub-class, 2000-2014

Visa	Description	Skilled or Family	Onshore or Offshore	South Africa
856	Employer nomination scheme* (replaced by 186)	S	On	20,645
136	Skilled - independent	S	Off	17,274
175	Skilled - independent*	S	Off	8,816
857	Regional sponsored migration scheme*	S	On	6,844
176	Skilled sponsored*	S	Off	5,686
186	Employer nominated scheme	S	Off	4,587
126	Independent* (replaced by 136)	S	Off	4,572
100	Spouse	F	Off	4,047
801	Spouse	F	On	3,483
138	Skilled Australian sponsored	S	Off	2,908
119	Regional sponsored migration scheme	S	Off	2,309
121	Employer nomination*	S	Off	2,300
127	Business owner*	S	On	1,969
105	Skilled Australian linked (was Concessional Family)*	S	Off	1,890
139	Skilled Regional sponsored - designated area*	S	Off	1,411
101	Child	F	Off	1,168
892	State/Territory sponsored business owner	S	On	1,106
137	Skilled- State/Territory nominated independent*	S	Off	1,012
163	State/Territory spons. business owner (provisional)*	S	Off	851
845	Established business in Australia*	S	On	844

Source: DIBP Settlement database, unpublished

*Repealed visas, no longer available (Australian Government 2014)

From 2000 to 2014 more sponsored visas were granted than independent visas. This is not the case for some other major source countries. The number one ranked visa for Indian and Chinese migrants, for example, is the Skilled - Independent visa which is granted offshore. In general, the main occupations of South Africa-born Skill stream entrants vary from year to year although accountants, as well as software and applications programmers have respectively been the number one and two occupations for six years although just the last three years are shown in Table 2.7 (DIAC 2010a, 2011a, 2012a; DIBP 2013, 2015c). Engineers of all persuasions dominated the top occupations from 2009-12 alongside registered nurses and secondary teachers but these have given way to ICT-based jobs, primary teachers and general managers. Occupations admitted under the General Skilled Migration programme are influenced by the government list and also employer demand.

Table 2.7: South Africa-born main occupations for General Skilled Migration programme entrants, 2011-12 to 2013-14

2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
Accountants	Accountants	Accountants
Software and applications programmers	Software and applications programmers	Software and applications programmers
Metal fitters and machinists	Industrial, mechanical and production engineers	Auditors, company secretaries and corporate treasures
ICT business and systems analysts	Secondary school teachers	Primary school teachers
Electricians	Auditors, company secretaries and corporate treasures	General managers
Other engineering professionals	ICT business and systems analysts	Civil and engineering professionals
Industrial, mechanical & production engineers	Other engineering professionals	Industrial, mechanical and production engineers
Secondary school teachers	Civil and engineering professionals	Secondary school teachers
Auditors, company secretaries & corporate treasures	Dental practitioners	Database and systems administrators, and ICT security specialists
Civil and engineering professionals	Primary school teachers	Human resource specialists

Source: DIAC Country Profiles, various

2.5 Temporary migration

Research (Khoo et al. 2008 p. 194) shows that globally,

“the flow of temporary migrants has increased in recent years as more people look for employment and education opportunities overseas”.

In Australia, Hugo (1999) observed a definitive shift in immigration from permanent migration, thought to be for life, to temporary migration. Indeed, the 1990s saw a “proliferation of new visa types involving temporary migration, especially...for work” (Hugo 1999 p. 17). By the end of the 2000s Hugo (2009, p. 37) found, “Africa, especially South Africa has participated in the substantial expansion of temporary migration to Australia”. Temporary migrants in Australia fall into one of three categories: students, visitors and temporary residents. The vast majority of temporary visas issued to South Africans are to visitors, including tourists and short-term business arrivals. However, South Africa-born visitors make up less than two percent of the total visitors to Australia. Temporary residents include working holiday makers, occupational trainees and long-stay business migrants, including 457s (DIAC 2011c). The South Africa-born have comprised between two and four percent of the total temporary resident arrivals in the last decade (Table 2.8). This is mostly due to large numbers of South African temporary 457 visaed migrants rather than working holiday makers.

Table 2.8: South Africa-born visitors and temporary resident arrivals, 2002-03 to 2010-11*

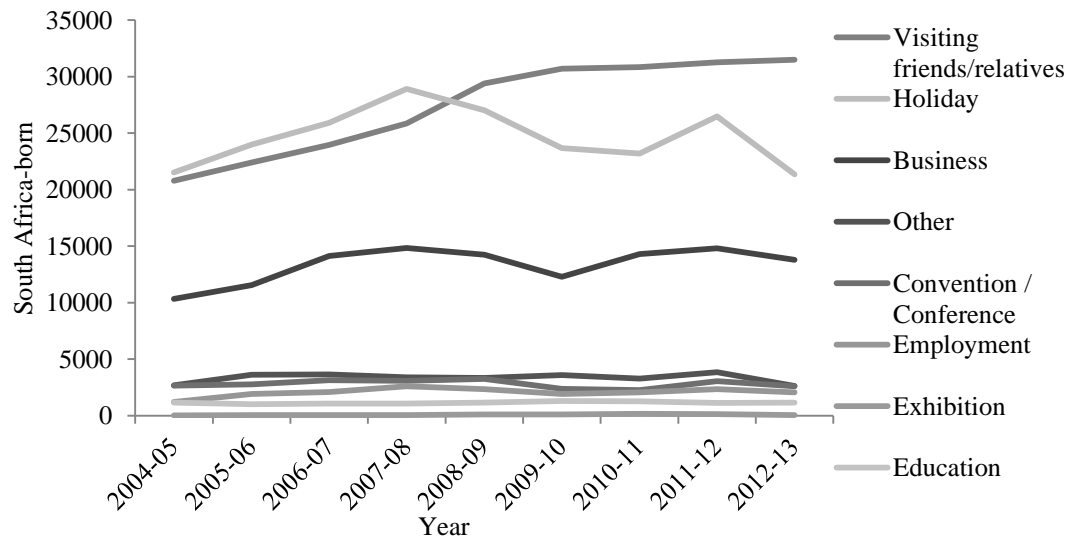
	Visitor arrivals	% of total visitor arrivals	Temporary resident arrivals	% of total temporary resident arrivals
2002-03	44,334	1.4	6,705	2.7
2003-04	44,335	1.4	6,599	2.5
2004-05	49,236	1.4	7,516	2.6
2005-06	50,112	1.3	9,572	3.0
2006-07	56,022	1.5	11,066	3.0
2007-08	58,534	1.6	14,129	3.4
2008-09	58,273	1.6	17,818	3.7
2009-10	56,614	1.6	10,687	2.3
2010-11	55,706	1.5	11,156	2.2

Source: DIAC Immigration Updates, various

*Immigration Updates not published after this time

The Working Holiday Visa Programme allows young people aged 18-30 to holiday in Australia for extended periods with short-term work and study rights (DIAC 2012b). Australia has reciprocal working holiday arrangements in place with 26 countries but no exchange programme currently exists between Australia and South Africa, although a small number of South Africa-born persons are recorded in this programme because country of birth is recorded for this stream of entry.

Figure 2.4: South Africa-born short-term visitor arrivals reasons for travel of 2004-05 to 2012-13



Source: DIBP unpublished data

Reasons for short-term travel to Australia by South Africans are shown in Figure 2.5. In the late 2000s, visiting friends and relatives moved past holiday to become the main reason for South Africans to undertake short-term travel to Australia. This is indicative of the

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa
 ever-growing South African community in Australia. Fewer South Africans have travelled to Australia for holidays since this time, while business travellers have remained fairly steady.

2.5.1 Long-stay business migrants (457 visas)

The most well-known of the skilled temporary visas in Australia is the 457 Business (long-stay) visa, introduced in the mid-1990s. This popular visa allows Australian employers to sponsor skilled people from overseas for up to four years. At the end of this time, visas can be renewed or visa holders can apply for permanent residency (Khoo et al. 2008). As they are driven by demand, 457 visa grants are highly responsive to labour market conditions in Australia (DIAC 2012a). Table 2.9 shows 457 visa grants to South Africans between 2007 and 2014, and the high numbers in 2007-2009 have gradually declined to only 1680 in 2013-14. To some extent, this can be explained by an overall decrease in 457 migrants after 2008, caused by a slowing economy due to the Global Financial Crisis (Khoo 2010).

Table 2.9: South Africa-born 457 visa grants, 2007-08 to 2013-14

	Primary application	Secondary applications	Total applications granted to SA-born	Total 457 applications	% SA of grants	SA rank among total applicants
2007-08	3,260	6,080	9,330	110,570	8.4	3
2008-09	3,190	6,530	9,720	101,280	9.6	4
2009-10	1,030	1,740	2,780	67,980	4.1	7
2010-11	1,300	2,190	3,490	90,120	3.9	6
2011-12	1,550	2,540	4,090	125,070	3.3	7
2012-13	1,050	1,820	2,870	126,350	2.3	7
2013-14	600	1,080	1,680	98,570	1.7	12

Source: DIBP, Subclass 457 Business (long stay) Summary Reports, various

However, after this period the recovery of 457 visa grants to South Africans does not mirror the broader, stronger recovery of 457s to Australia. Having picked up only slightly after the low point of 2009-10, the number of grants has again dropped since 2011-12 to the extent South Africans have fallen outside the top ten source countries for 457 migrants to Australia. Moreover, they are declining as a proportion of the total 457 grants. This appears to signal a change in flows, certainly when considered in combination with the decrease noted in settler arrivals. However, it is difficult at this stage to attribute this change in flows to any particular thing. On the face of it, policies in Australia have not changed. This warrants ongoing monitoring and investigation that needs to consider policies and the political environment in South Africa, as well as policies in other major receiving countries that may be attracting South Africans.

Table 2.9 shows grants to both primary and secondary applicants. The primary applicant (PA) is the person whose eligibility to come to Australia is assessed and, where applicable to the visa, the person sponsored to work. Secondary applicants can be the spouse or partner of the PA, or their dependent/s. Many more South Africans enter on 457 secondary applications which show temporary migration as a family group is common (although secondary applications have also declined). The spouse or partner of a 457 visa holder is permitted to work in Australia which is a benefit because they are also highly skilled (Markus et al. 2009). Most 457 visa holders from South Africa fulfil a range of occupational requirements, and the occupations they tend to hold are the same as those who enter permanently under the General Migration Programme (Table 2.10).

Table 2.10: South Africa-born, main occupations for 457 visa grants, 2011-12 to 2013-14

2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
Contract, program and project administrators	Other specialist managers	Accountants
Other specialist managers	General practitioners and resident medical officers	Advertising, public relations and sales managers
Civil and engineering professionals	Motor mechanics	Software and applications programmers
General practitioners and resident medical officers	Mechanical engineering draftspersons and technicians	ICT business and systems analysts
Electrical engineering draftspersons and technicians	Technical sales representatives	General practitioners and resident medical officers s
Mechanical engineering draftspersons and technicians	Advertising, public relations and sales managers	Management and organisation analysts
Motor mechanics	Electrical engineering draftspersons and technicians	Advertising and marketing professionals
ICT business and systems analysts	Contract, program and project administrators	General managers
Management and organisation analysts	Production managers	Technical sales representatives
Metal fitters and machinists	Other building and engineering technicians	Electrical engineering draftspersons and technicians

Source: DIAC Country Profiles, various

It should be noted that for many the 457 visa programme in Australia is viewed as a stepping stone to permanent settlement (Mares 2013). This is the result of deliberate policy changes that have resulted in a two-step system allowing 457 visa holders and international students to apply for permanent resident status once onshore in Australia (Mares 2013). Not all temporary migrants stay in Australia. However, for some, there are clear benefits in obtaining a temporary visa and transferring status later, rather than applying for a permanent visa through Australia’s Migration Programme at the outset. To begin, the process is cheaper, with the employer bearing most of the costs of the 457 programme

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa (Bahn et al. 2012). It is also quicker and can be conducted with relative ease online (Migration Council Australia 2013). Of course, a major drawback is that migrants who find themselves out of work or operating outside the terms of their visa are deported. There are also concerns about abuse and exploitation within the temporary worker system (Bahn et al. 2012; Mares 2013). In addition temporary migrant workers are forced to rely on their employers and not able to access the same economic and political rights as Australians (Mares 2013) or participate fully in Australian society (Migration Council Australia 2013).

2.5.2 Students

Hugo (2006b) argued that the massive increase in the international migration of students was a defining element of contemporary international migration. Indeed, students are an important component of temporary migrants to Australia and education, particularly tertiary, have become one of Australia's largest exports with tens of thousands of students paying their way in Australian educational institutions each year. There has been a gradual increase in student visas grants to South Africans, although student migration from South Africa remains small (Table 2.11).

Table 2.11: Student grants by South African citizenship, 2002-03 to 2014-15

Year	Offshore	Onshore	Total	Onshore (%)
2002-03	272	69	341	20.2
2003-04	235	46	281	16.4
2004-05	218	44	262	16.8
2005-06	250	93	343	27.1
2006-07	336	54	390	13.8
2007-08	431	64	495	12.9
2008-09	527	113	640	17.7
2009-10	385	206	591	34.9
2010-11	409	132	541	24.4
2011-12	306	146	452	32.3
2012-13	264	131	295	44.4
2013-14	255	123	378	32.5
2014-15	291	149	440	33.9

Source: DIBP Study in Australia Statistics, 2015

Most student visas are granted to offshore students, although the proportion of onshore grants has been gradually increasing. Table 2.12 shows that the majority of international students to Australia are from China, India and other Asian source countries. For the past ten years South African student visas have not exceeded 700, whereas student visa grants to the top source countries have not fallen below 7,300 (Saudi Arabia in 2009-10), ten times the number of South African students. In other words, student migration is not a major part of South African migration to Australia.

Table 2.12: Student grants, top ten source countries, 2012-13 to 2014-15

Citizenship	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
China	54,015	60,315	65,737
India	24,808	34,130	29,573
Korea	19,942	12,883	13,229
Brazil	10,682	12,115	13,034
Thailand	9,274	11,245	11,686
Malaysia	9,143	9,592	10,414
Vietnam	10,725	12,495	10,283
Indonesia	8,060	8,862	9,178
Nepal	7,112	10,651	8,987
Saudi Arabia	8,084	8,164	8,739
Other	72,067	78,136	84,150
Total	259,278	292,060	299,540

Source: DIBP, 2013-14 Migration Programme Report, 2014; DIBP Student Visa and Temporary Graduate Visa Programme Trends, 2015

2.6 Onshore migration

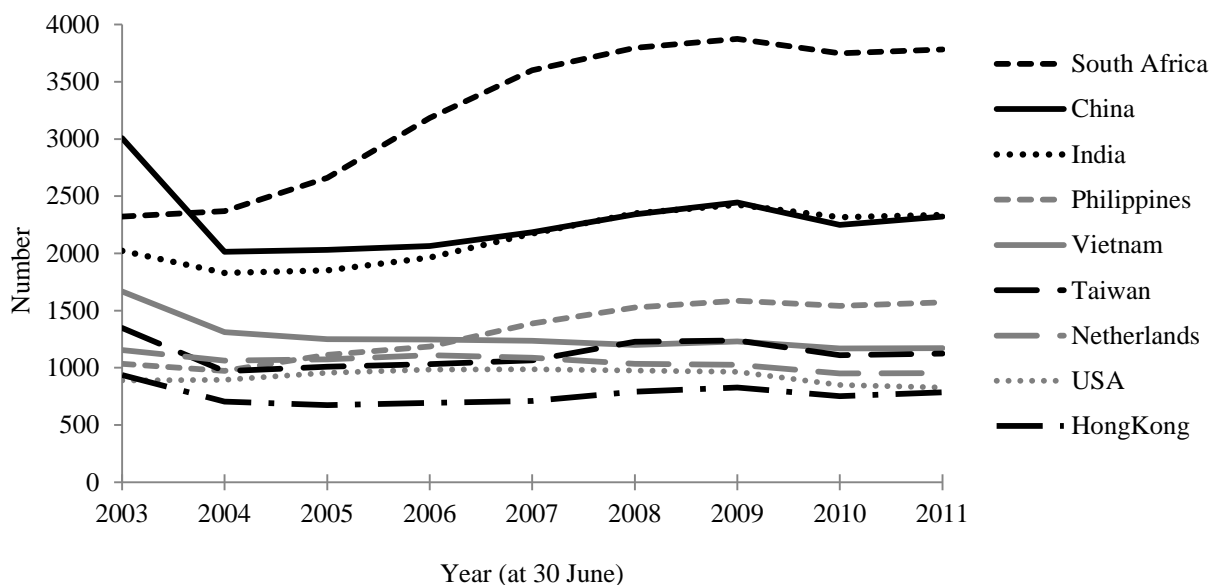
Khoo et al. (2008, p.198) note that, “Australia’s temporary migration programme is providing a pathway to permanent settlement”. Indeed, migrants on a range of temporary visas have been able to apply for permanent residency whilst in Australia since 2000, and over the past decade there has been substantial growth in onshore migration. In 2014-15, 48.3 percent of places in the Migration Programme went to temporary migrants already in Australia, compared to just a third of places granted to onshore migrants in 2001-02 (DIAC 2012b; DIBP 2015a). Onshore visas typically go to Skill stream migrants, mostly students and 457 visa holders who apply for visas in the Employer Nomination, Regional Sponsored Migration and Labour Agreement Schemes (DIAC 2012b). Almost half the offshore visas granted are in the Family stream, typically to partners of Australian residents (DIAC 2012b).

It was shown that onshore arrivals comprise around half the South Africa-born permanent additions to Australia which clearly indicates a propensity among this group to convert from temporary to permanent status onshore. An important question is whether this is a deliberate strategy in the minds of migrants before they come to Australia or whether it evolves out of their migration experience. To determine this, a specific set of questions was included in the primary survey conducted as part of this study. Unfortunately, there was a low response rate to these questions, an issue discussed in detail later. Nevertheless, Chapter Six will show that a number of temporary migrants had already applied for permanent residency when they completed the survey.

2.7 Indirect migration

An important trend revealed in secondary data is a tendency for South African migrants to travel to Australia via New Zealand. Under the 1973 Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement New Zealand citizens can freely enter Australia where they have the right to live and work indefinitely (DIAC 2012b). Migrants from New Zealand aren't counted in Australia's main Migration Programme (DIAC 2012b), but are an integral element of migration to Australia nonetheless. In fact, New Zealand is the second largest migrant group in Australia next to the United Kingdom (ABS 2015c). There is limited published data in Australia on the country of birth of New Zealand citizens although, tellingly, South Africa is one of only a few countries for which data are provided. Figure 2.5 shows New Zealand citizens in Australia by their country of birth from 2003-2011.

Figure 2.5: New Zealand citizens in Australia by country of birth, 2003-2011



Source: DIAC Immigration Updates, various

A New Zealand citizen refers to permanent residents, temporary residents, students and visitors. This figure includes published data provided for countries, not regions, and only countries outside the Oceanic zone. Australia, New Zealand and other nations in the region are not counted here. Similarly, the United Kingdom has been left out of this analysis as there were between 16,000 and 18,000 UK-born, New Zealand citizens in Australia during this time, considerably more than the next highest country. In 2003 there were many more China-born, New Zealand citizens (3,007) than the next top country of birth, including

South Africa (2,322). By 2004, the number of China born-New Zealanders decreased (2,015) while South Africa remained stable (2,369). However, from 2005 the number of South Africa-born New Zealand citizens steadily increased until stocks peaked in 2009 at 3,873. The stock of all New Zealand citizens, regardless of country of birth, decreased slightly thereafter.

South Africa is an important migrant source for New Zealand too. In both the 2001 and 2006 New Zealand Censuses, South Africa was the sixth most common birthplace among the Overseas-born in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2007). In the most recent New Zealand Census in 2013 the South Africa-born moved into fifth place with 54,276 people comprising 5.4 percent of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand 2014). However, a small proportion of these migrants, having obtained New Zealand citizenship, move to Australia. Again, it is not clear whether this is a deliberate strategy by migrants who more readily satisfy New Zealand's entry requirements, although primary data presented in Chapter Five give some insight into this issue. According to Sanderson (2009, p. 304), before 1991 most permanent and long-term New Zealanders in Australia were New Zealand-born but by the late 1990s the proportion of "non-native born New Zealand citizens began to rise sharply". Interestingly, Sanderson (2009, p. 304) writes,

"While the changing composition of migrant flows partly reflected the changing composition of the New Zealand population as a whole, the non-New Zealand born were somewhat overrepresented...From the Australian government's perspective this was taken as evidence that residents from third countries were taking advantage of the less stringent immigrant requirements set by the New Zealand government in order to gain first permanent residence then citizenship in New Zealand, thereby gaining a de facto right to reside in Australia, a system that became known as "back-door" migration"

Changes made in 2005 to New Zealand's Citizenship Act required permanent residents to wait five years before they can apply for citizenship, more than the previous wait of three years (New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs 2015), and the four year wait in Australia (DIBP 2014d), which may have slowed 'back door' migration. Other explanations for the movement of South Africans from New Zealand to Australia might then be found in social, cultural and environmental differences between the two countries or the possibility of family reunion in Australia.

2.8 Movement from Australia to South Africa

There is a tendency to categorise Australia as a “purely immigration country” when it is also a country from which there is significant emigration (Hugo 2008 p. 280). This outflow consists of Australia-born people as well as former immigrants. The latter, commonly called ‘settler loss’, can be further broken down to include migration back to the origin country (return migration) as well as migration to a third destination. In post-war Australia, settler loss has been an important element of the immigration landscape. It is estimated that one in five post-war settlers ultimately leave Australia (Hugo 2008). This loss is significant for a range of reasons including, but not limited to, the following impacts summarised by Lukomskyj and Richards (1986, p. 603-604).

- 1) Immigration is a major component of population growth in Australia and any departures have an effect on this growth
- 2) The loss of settlers can represent the loss of skills and capital
- 3) Settler arrivals are a cost to Australia in terms of operating the migration programme and settlement services. Any loss of settlers negates return on this investment
- 4) Characteristics of settlers departing differ from those arriving, thus return has an effect on the composition of the net gain from migration.

While migration from South Africa to Australia has long been the dominant flow, people also move in the opposite direction. This includes short-term and long-term movements as well as permanent departures. The Department of Immigration defines these categories as:

Short-term movements

Resident - the departure of an Australian resident who is intending to stay overseas for less than 12 months before returning to Australia

Visitor - the departure of a visitor or temporary entrant who stayed in Australia for less than 12 months since their previous arrival

Long-term movements

Resident - the departure of an Australian resident who is intending to stay overseas for 12 months or more before returning to Australia

Visitor – the departure of a visitor or temporary entrant who stayed in Australia for 12 months or more since their previous arrival

Permanent departures

The departure of Australian residents whose intention it is to leave Australia on a permanent basis (ABS 2015b).

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa

These movements are captured in OAD data which allows movements to be analysed according to movers' characteristics and mobility patterns of Australia-born and South Africa-born can be analysed separately. This is particularly useful for identifying settler loss and return migration. Table 2.13 shows a range of movement streams from Australia to South Africa. This includes movements by all travellers and not any one birthplace group. There has been a sharp increase in the short-term categories of travellers to South Africa since the 1990s, including both Australian residents planning on staying overseas for less than 12 months (short-term resident departures), and those who have been in Australia for less than 12 months (short-term visitor departures).

Table 2.13: Category of traveller from Australia to South Africa, 1991-92 to 2014-15

Year	Permanent depart.	Long term resident depart.	Long term visitor depart.	Short term resident depart.	Short term visitor depart.
1991-92	205	454	109	8,101	11,573
1992-93	88	496	127	8,669	18,595
1993-94	115	424	151	14,325	28,422
1994-95	100	685	319	20,916	33,891
1995-96	126	713	370	23,020	35,706
1996-97	123	662	423	29,958	44,057
1997-98	116	774	749	29,671	46,769
1998-99	140	691	694	29,508	64,608
1999-00	157	704	1,089	35,479	60,740
2000-01	190	725	1,127	33,840	67,851
2001-02	222	633	1,102	na	na
2002-03	231	652	1,342	43,344	50,108
2003-04	262	675	1,399	42,850	59,076
2004-05	278	624	1,164	49,365	51,505
2005-06	283	677	1,151	52,502	55,562
2006-07	322	655	1,496	58,743	61,250
2007-08	291	727	1,880	61,301	67,956
2008-09	359	614	2,262	62,695	68,622
2009-10	419	694	2,818	78,905	64,712
2010-11	386	711	2,252	79,001	63,863
2011-12	502	578	1,731	77,719	66,612
2012-13	449	542	1,557	85,097	57,883
2013-14	442	568	1,488	91,223	55,156
2014-15	428	585	1,231	92,974	55,933

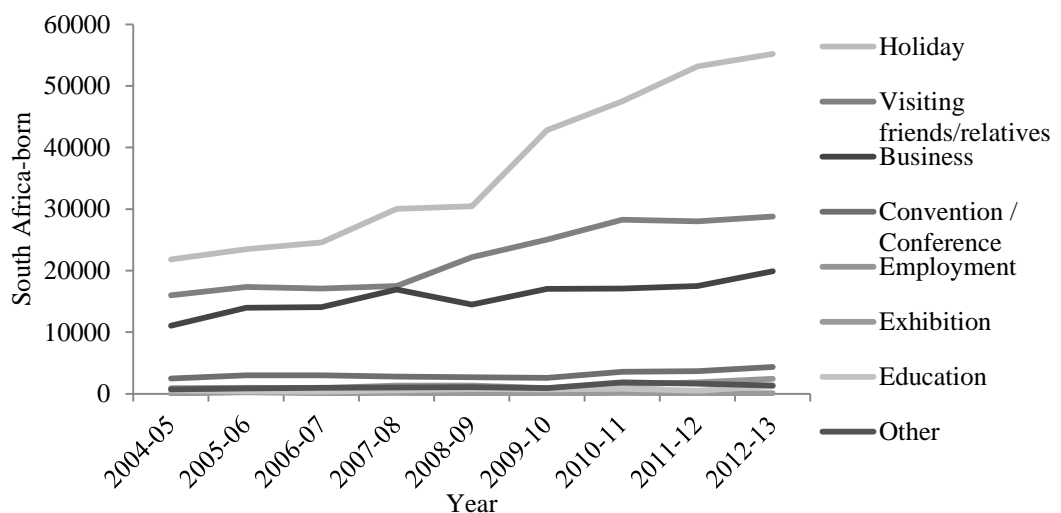
Source: DIBP unpublished data

It is interesting to note that short-term visitor arrivals and departures are closely matched, obviously because of tight restrictions on length of stay for these visas. The increase in short-term departures to South Africa, residents and visitors, are due to a combination of the following:

- 1) International travel is more accessible due to reduced airfares in recent decades
- 2) Post-apartheid South Africa has opened itself to the world so that Australian and others tourists more readily travel there.
- 3) Stocks of the South Africa-born have built up in Australia and the connections between these countries have strengthened as a result, hence more people (both Australia and South Africa-born) travel between these countries for business, leisure, sport, and other reasons. Similarly,
- 4) With more South Africans living in Australia, more family and friends travel between these countries.

Indeed, DIBP data show the foremost reason for South Africa-born short-term travel abroad from Australia is holiday, then to visit family and friends and business (Figure 2.7).

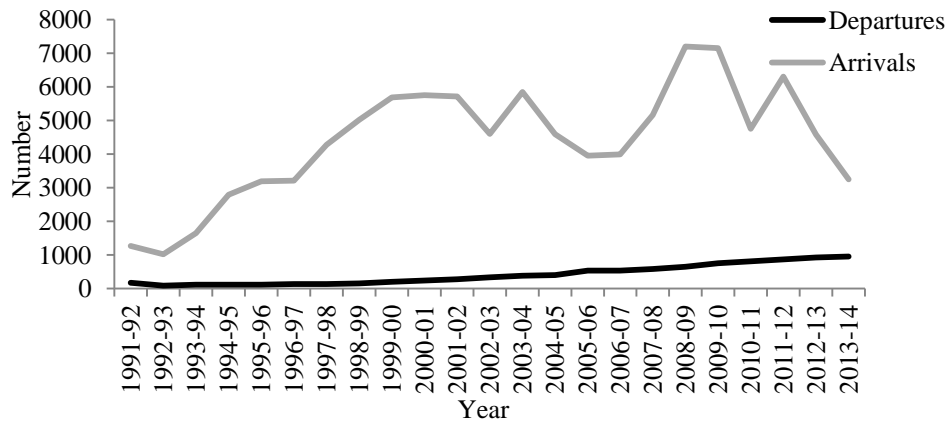
Figure 2.6: South Africa-born, short-term resident departures (less than 12 months), reasons for travel, 2004-05 to 2012-13



Source: DIBP unpublished data

Permanent departures from Australia to South Africa have increased slowly since 1991. So gradual is this increase that the total number of permanent departures to South Africa only just doubled in twenty years, from 1991 to 2012. Certainly the numbers of people making a permanent move in this direction are small compared to the opposite flows. Since 1991, the total permanent departures from Australia to South Africa were 4,915, only slightly more than the average number of settler arrivals from South Africa to Australia each year. Figure 2.7 shows the vast difference between South Africa-born permanent settler arrivals and permanent departures and the latter are disaggregated by destination in the next section.

Figure 2.7: South Africa-born permanent departures and settler arrivals, 1991-92 to 2013-14



Source: DIBP unpublished data

2.9 Return migration

Table 2.14 shows that between the years of 1991-92 and 2013-14 more Australia-born (44.7 %) left for South Africa than South Africa-born (36.5 %).

Table 2.14: Permanent departures from Australia to South Africa by birthplace, 1991-92 to 2013-14

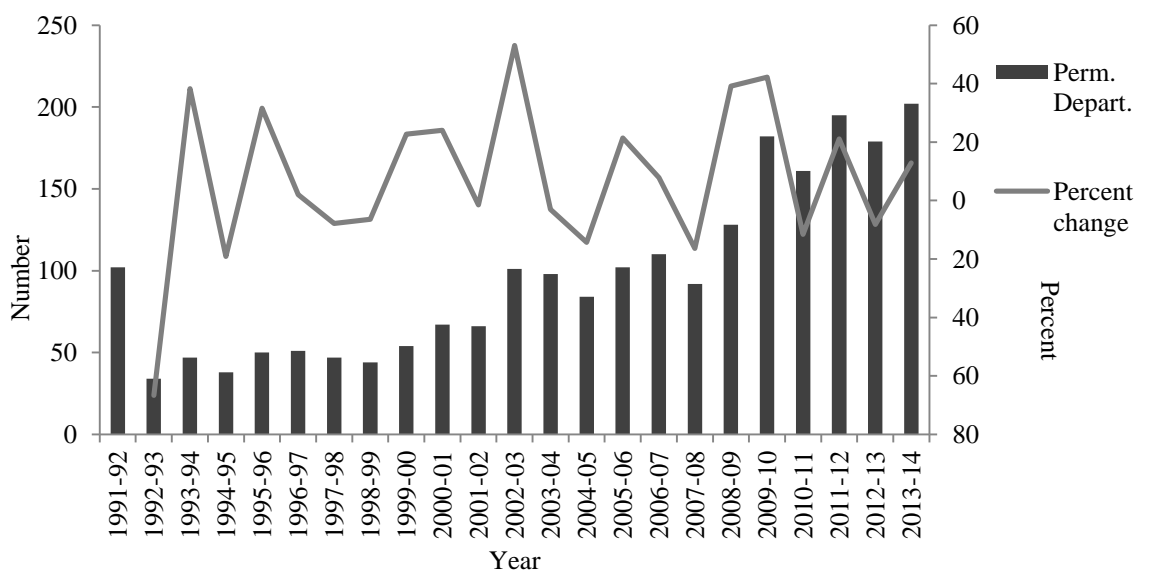
Year	Aust-born	%	South Africa-born	%	Other birth-places	%	Total Perm. dept. to SA	Total Settler arr. from SA
1991-92	63	30.7	102	49.8	40	19.5	205	1,274
1992-93	30	34.1	34	38.6	24	27.3	88	1,021
1993-94	46	40.0	47	40.9	22	19.1	115	1,654
1994-95	42	42.0	38	38.0	20	20.0	100	2,792
1995-96	53	42.1	50	39.7	23	18.3	126	3,190
1996-97	48	39.0	51	41.5	24	19.5	123	3,211
1997-98	51	44.0	47	40.5	18	15.5	116	4,281
1998-99	77	55.0	44	31.4	19	13.6	140	5,024
1999-00	69	43.9	54	34.4	34	21.7	157	5,691
2000-01	90	47.4	67	35.3	33	17.4	190	5,754
2001-02	116	52.3	66	29.7	40	18.0	222	5,714
2002-03	91	39.4	101	43.7	39	16.9	231	4,603
2003-04	121	46.2	98	37.4	43	16.4	262	5,849
2004-05	124	44.6	84	30.2	70	25.2	278	4,594
2005-06	130	45.9	102	36.0	51	18.0	283	3,953
2006-07	156	48.4	110	34.2	56	17.4	322	3,996
2007-08	138	47.4	92	31.6	61	21.0	291	5,166
2008-09	163	45.4	128	35.7	68	18.9	359	7,201
2009-10	168	40.1	182	43.4	69	16.5	419	7,153
2010-11	146	37.8	161	41.7	79	20.5	386	4,752
2011-12	206	41.0	195	38.8	101	20.1	502	6,306
2012-13	139	32.4	179	41.7	111	25.9	429	4,585
2013-14	153	34.6	202	45.7	87	19.7	442	3,253
Total	2,777	44.7	2,270	36.5	1,167	18.8	6,214	103,555

Source: DIBP unpublished data

However, it was found that around 15 percent of SSAM migrants were not born in South Africa but identify as ‘South African’ (Chapter Six). It is therefore likely that a proportion of the permanent departures from ‘Other birthplaces’ (18.8 %) are South Africans returning home. Some would also be children born in Australia of South African parents. At different times the proportion of Australia-born departures for South Africa varied from between 30 and 50 percent. South Africa-born departures to South Africa have tended to comprise between 30 and 40, although they increased as a share of departures to South Africa from 2009-10, with a corresponding decline in Australia-born departures.

As the number of South Africans in Australia has grown so too have the number of South Africans who depart on a permanent basis (Figure 2.8). While there has been overall growth in departures since 1991, gains have fluctuated dramatically from between 0.4 and 34 percent. In 1992-93, they dropped by almost half, taking six years to recover to the previous high levels of 1991-92. While it can sometimes be difficult to attribute each fluctuation to specific factors, the decline in the early 1990s almost certainly reflects dramatic political changes in South Africa at the time.

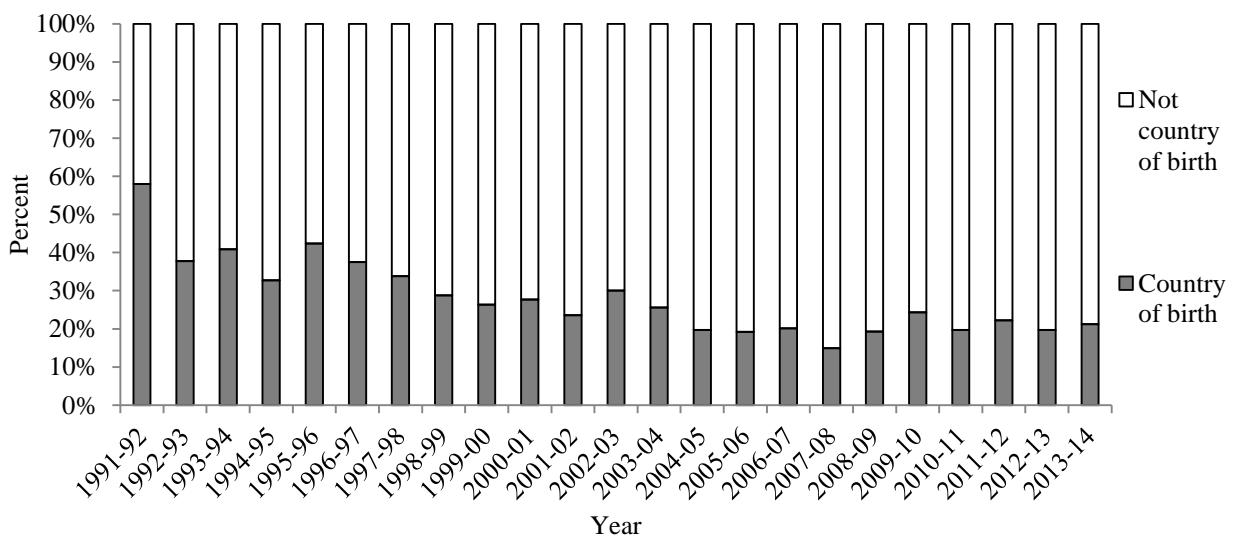
Figure 2.8: South Africa-born permanent departures from Australia to South Africa, 1990-91 to 2013-14



Source: DIBP unpublished data

Figure 2.9 shows permanent departures of the South Africa-born to South Africa and other countries. In 1991-92, 58 percent of South Africa-born departures returned to their home country. Thereafter, more departed Australia bound for other destinations and the proportion returning to their origin declined. Brink (2012) makes the poignant observation that in 2008-09 South Africans were the fifth least likely group to return to their country of birth preceded only by countries at war or in extreme turmoil. This suggests, of course, that conditions on the ground in South Africa are a major deterrent to return migration.

Figure 2.9: South Africa-born permanent departures to country of birth and other countries, 1991-92 to 2013-14



Source: DIBP unpublished data

On the other hand, a small proportion of the increasing rate of remigration is likely a function of contemporary skilled mobility. As Hugo (2008, p. 281) notes,

“there is an increasing pattern of remigration in which migrants, usually skilled, move from country to country as they enhance their experience and gain promotion”.

Table 2.15 lists the most common third country destinations for South Africa-born permanent departures from Australia. It is most interesting to observe reciprocal movement to New Zealand, the number one third country migration destination. Although South Africans are moving to a broad range of countries, albeit on a small scale, the popular destinations such as the USA, Singapore, Hong Kong and UAE would suggest people are moving for work. Canada and the UK could also signify migration for work or family reunification while movement to Israel is possibly for religious/Zionist reasons.

Table 2.15: South Africa-born permanent departures by destination country of more than 100 persons, 1991-92 to 2013-14

Destination	
South Africa	2,234
New Zealand	1,858
UK	1,371
USA	882
Singapore	670
Hong Kong	397
United Arab Emirates	289
Canada	226
Israel	169
Switzerland	134
China	106

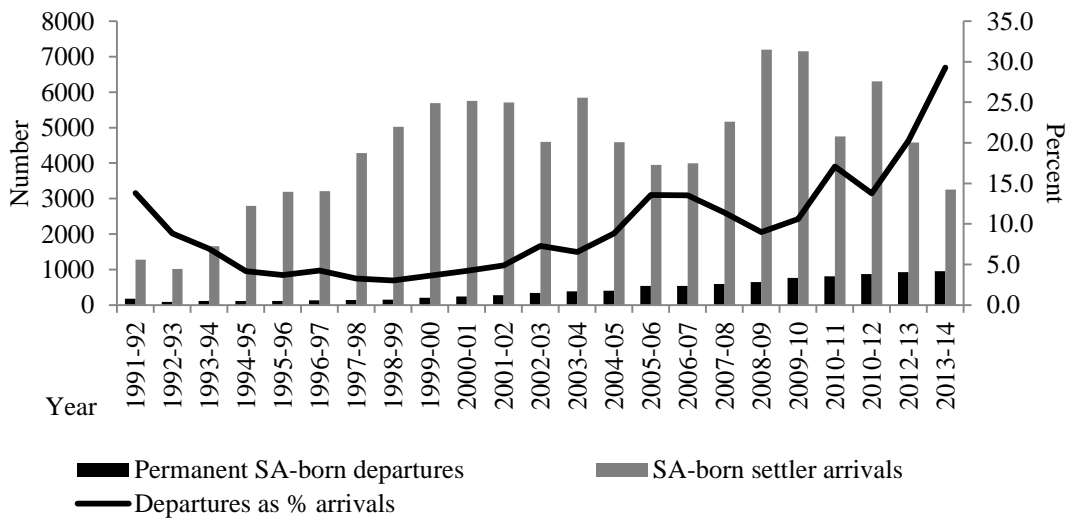
Source: DIBP unpublished data

Although permanent departures to South Africa have increased since the early 1990s, the overall number of departures is low compared with departures to other countries. In 2010-11, for example, there were 15,119 permanent departures from Australia to the UK, 5741 to China, 632 to India and just 386 to South Africa, placing it outside the top 20 countries of future residence (DIAC 2011b). It is, therefore, important for an analysis such as this to consider the rate of return as well as absolute numbers and Figure 2.10 shows South Africa-born settler arrivals in Australia, permanent departures and departures as a percentage of arrivals. During the 1990s, South Africa-born departures accounted for less than ten percent of arrivals. In the 2000s, notwithstanding a dip in the latter half of the decade, departures generally accounted for a greater share of arrivals, peaking at 17.2 percent in 2010-11 and then again 29.3 percent in 2013-14 as settler arrivals have declined.

Overall, though, the rate of South African departures from Australia is low compared to other groups, which has persistently been the case for the last few decades. In the mid-1980s, overall settler loss stood at 12.4 percent but was as high as 22 percent among Greek and American settlers, 16 percent among Northern European settlers and 12.6 percent to Ireland and the UK (Lukomskyj and Richards 1986). Settler loss to South Africa, by contrast, was just 5.3 percent (Lukomskyj and Richards 1986). The rate of settler loss varies substantially between birthplace groups. For example, while there are substantial rates of return among New Zealand and China-born settlers the rates of settler loss among India and other South-Asia born migrant groups are low (Hugo 2008). Generally speaking,

skilled immigrants are thought to have a higher probability of return (Constant and Massey 2002; Hugo 2009a) but this is clearly not the case among South Africans in Australia which again suggests the security factor has resulted in a distinctive migration from and back to South Africa.

Figure 2.10: South Africa-born permanent departures, settler arrivals and departures as a proportion of arrivals, 1991-92 to 2013-14

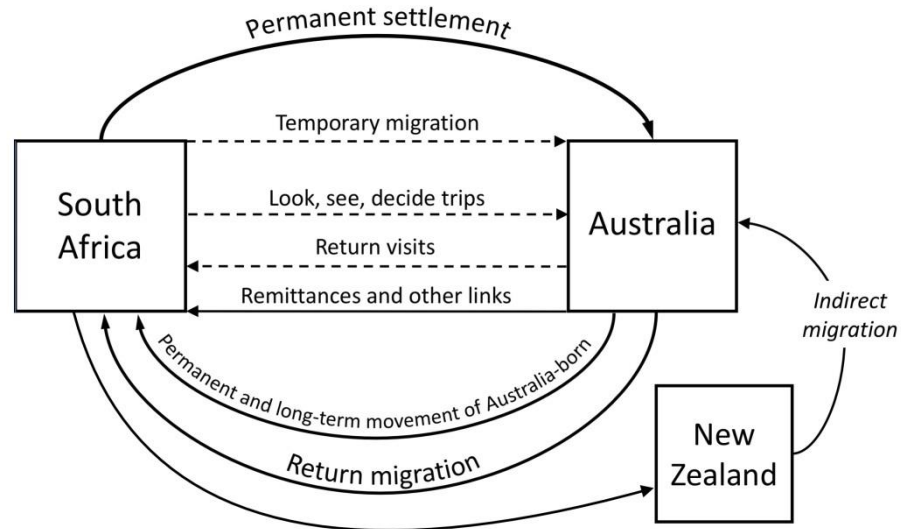


Source: DIBP unpublished data

2.10 An established migration system

This chapter has examined various mobilities between Australia and South Africa. These different migration streams are defined not only by the direction of movement but also by the length of stay at destination, and even by movements that may precede them. When considered together, it becomes clear there is an established migration system between these two countries. Figure 2.11 presents a model of this system. The term *system* is consciously employed here because while it implies structure and regularity, it simultaneously denotes complexity. Indeed migration between these two countries comprises movement in multiple directions, driven by a range of factors and undertaken for varying lengths of time.

Figure 2.11: A model of the Australia-South Africa migration system



Source: Based on work by Hugo (2008)

The Australia-South Africa migration system is dynamic and prone to change, as most migration trends are. Currently, however, the key elements of the system are as follows:

Permanent settlement - this includes settler arrivals from South Africa to Australia as well as onshore migrants who transition from temporary to permanent status. The former typically leave their origin country with the intention of residing permanently in their destination, while it is not clear the proportion of temporary migrants that also plan to settle permanently, there is a strong propensity for this behaviour among South Africans.

Temporary migration - there are several types of temporary movement in this system including tourists (short-term visitors), students and business migrants, both short and long-stay, including 457 visa holders. The largest of these flows is short-term visitors although they are a small proportion of the total visitors to Australia. Long-term business migrants from South Africa have been a major source of 457 visaed people in Australia.

Indirect migration – this movement captures South Africans who have previously resided in New Zealand. Having become New Zealand citizens they later move to Australia under the auspices of the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement in place between Australia and New Zealand. This type of movement is also called step migration, remigration or secondary migration (Takenaka 2007).

Return migration - return migration here refers to the permanent return of South Africans to their origin country. Although not depicted here, a small number of

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa

South African settlers also leave Australia on a permanent basis for third country destinations. Also not shown are return migrants that later remigrate.

Permanent and long-term movement of the Australia-born – this movement represents a small number of Australians who move on a more or less permanent basis to South Africa.

Return visits – this element of the system includes the frequent and often multiple journeys a significant proportion of South African migrants make to visit their origin country. These are an important element in this system as they highlight the transnational tendencies of this migrant group.

(Elements seen in the model above but not described here are discussed in detail in later chapters).

Such holistic conceptualisations of migration are common among transnational perspectives of international migration, to which scholars are increasingly turning (Bailey 2001). Such a perspective,

“means that migration is not an irrevocable process but may entail repeated movements and, above all, continued transactions – bounded communication between actors – between migrants and non-migrants across borders of states” (Faist et al. 2013 p. 1).

According to King (2002, p. 89), conceptualising migration in these terms “blurs” the old dichotomies of migration studies – internal versus international, forced versus voluntary, temporary versus permanent, legal versus illegal – and accounts for increasingly diverse “motivations and modalities of migration”. Hugo’s (2008, p.285) conceptual scheme of the Asia-Australia migration system, upon which the model presented here is based, shows,

“Complexity, circularity and reciprocity are structural features of the migration system, not peripheral or ephemeral elements” (Hugo 2008 p.285).

Both models update traditional conceptions of migration where it has been viewed simplistically as a unidirectional, permanent movement, which is how studies of South African migration to Australia have largely been depicted. However, as Crush et al. (2002, p. 6) argue,

“One of the consistent failings of the South African migration literature is its failure to examine the entire migratory nexus. The transnationalism perspective, with its focus on networks and linkages, stands as an important corrective”.

As well as embracing a transnational perspective here there are clearly also echoes of migration systems theory. For Fawcett (1989, p. 671), the “basic notion of a migration

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa system - [is] two or more places linked by flow and counterflows of people". As an approach or framework from which to explore migration, migration systems has been seen to offer a range of benefits including: directing attention to both ends of a migration flow, highlighting the range of linkages between places, a focus on the interconnectedness of parts within system and reinforcement of the view migration is a dynamic process (Fawcett 1989 p.672-673). However, not all elements of the migration systems approach are fully compatible with the system designated in this study, for example, the view that systems include groups of receiving countries and often multiple sending countries (Arango 2004; Kritz and Zlotnik 1992). The present study obviously only focuses on one receiving country and the transnational perspective is just as effective for identifying the links in a system. It is interesting to note, that Massey (2006, p. 63) describes a "migratory sub-system" that centres on South Africa that focusses on immigration to South Africa from elsewhere in Africa but omits emigration. Rather, South Africa is the "hegemonic economic power within the region" and "lies at the core of a stable system of population inflows" (Massey 2006 p. 63).

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has used secondary data collected in Australia to determine the nature and extent of migration between Australia and South Africa. It has been firmly established that a significant migration system is in place between these countries. This system comprises movements in both directions, although the overwhelmingly dominant flows are permanent moves from South Africa to Australia. Even in cases where South African migrants arrive in Australia as temporary migrants, transition to permanent residency is common. Since the mid-2000s, there have been between 5,000 and 10,000 South Africa-born permanent additions in Australia each year. This has placed South Africa firmly in the top ten source countries of birth for two consecutive censuses and, for the past few years, around half of these permanent additions have been onshore migrants. Most migrants from South Africa enter via the Skilled, rather than the Family stream. Since 2011-12 Accountants and Software and applications programmers have been the main occupations granted entry under the General Skilled programme along with a wide variety of other professionals including teachers, nurses, doctors and engineers.

Two important revelations here have been the indirect migration of South Africans to Australia through New Zealand and the decline in the number of South Africans arriving

Chapter 2: Trends in migration between Australia and South Africa on 457 business long-stay visas. The first reminds us that migration patterns are complex and dynamic, as migrants are resourceful and adaptive. Although it is widely acknowledged in migration studies that secondary migration occurs, a lack of data means it is not well understood (Takenaka 2007). Data presented here have identified a secondary migration flow and raised questions about the drivers of this movement which are discussed further in Chapter Five with reference to primary data. The latter can be explained, in part, by a broader decline in 457 grants after the Global Financial Crisis, but the recovery of 457 visa grants to South Africans does not mirror the broader recovery in Australia. Although South Africans are still in the top ten source countries for 457 migrants to Australia, they are declining as a proportion of the total 457 grants, which could signal a change in flows. Because settler arrivals have not declined at the same rate, this may be an issue confined to the 457 visa. With an understanding now of the scale and type of movement between Australia and South Africa, the discussion will once again turn to ABS Census data for an understanding of the characteristics of South African migrants in Australia.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a picture of the demographic, social, cultural and economic characteristics of migrant groups in Australia. The following analysis of census data considers each of these elements to build a profile of the current South African community in Australia. Particular attention is given to the ethnic background of the South Africa-born. Previously, studies have found South African migrants are predominantly White, of European heritage (Abdurahman 1974; Hugo 2009a; Jakubowicz 2010; Kennedy 2001; Lucas et al. 2006; Visser 2004). Increasingly, however, there is evidence that Black South Africans are just as likely to emigrate from South Africa (Crush 2002; Crush et al. 2000; Ellis 2008; Mattes and Mniki 2007). Key demographic characteristics of permanent departures to South Africa are also summarised here.

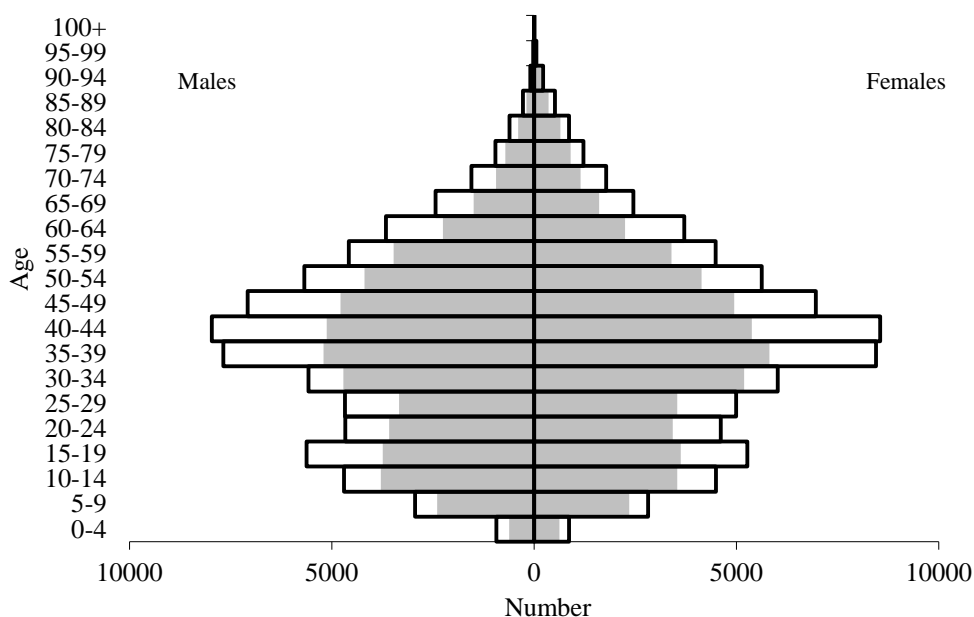
3.2 Age and sex of South African migrants

Figure 3.1 shows the age and sex structure of the South Africa-born population in Australia at the 2006 and 2011 Censuses. Several points are clear. Firstly, with counts just five years apart there were minor changes only in population structure between the two censuses. At both counts, males and females were evenly distributed across the age cohorts. Both pyramids also show a population group predominantly comprising men and women in the middle age groups. Importantly, these are people of working age, many of whom have considerable qualifications and labour market experience. In 2011, more than a third of the South Africa-born were aged between 35 and 54 years (39.8 %), which was similar to 2006 (38.0 %). There are very few young South Africans aged 0 to 9 years, indicating that very few migrants make the move with young children. It also reminds us that children born to South Africa-born migrants, the so-called second generation, are classified as Australia-born (Lucas et al. 2011). A slight hollowing in the 20 to 29 age groups may reflect a cohort that is travelling or living outside Australia before entering the family stage of their life cycle.

In 2011, only 8.9 percent of South Africans were aged above 65 years, however there is some indication of a population that is ageing. This will occur gradually as the middle age

bulge moves through to their senior years. However, because immigration in Australia is selective of skilled workers, if South African migration continues in its current trend, the middle age group will continually be replaced. In this case, the South African population age structure will begin to look more like the pyramid of the total Overseas-born population in Australia.

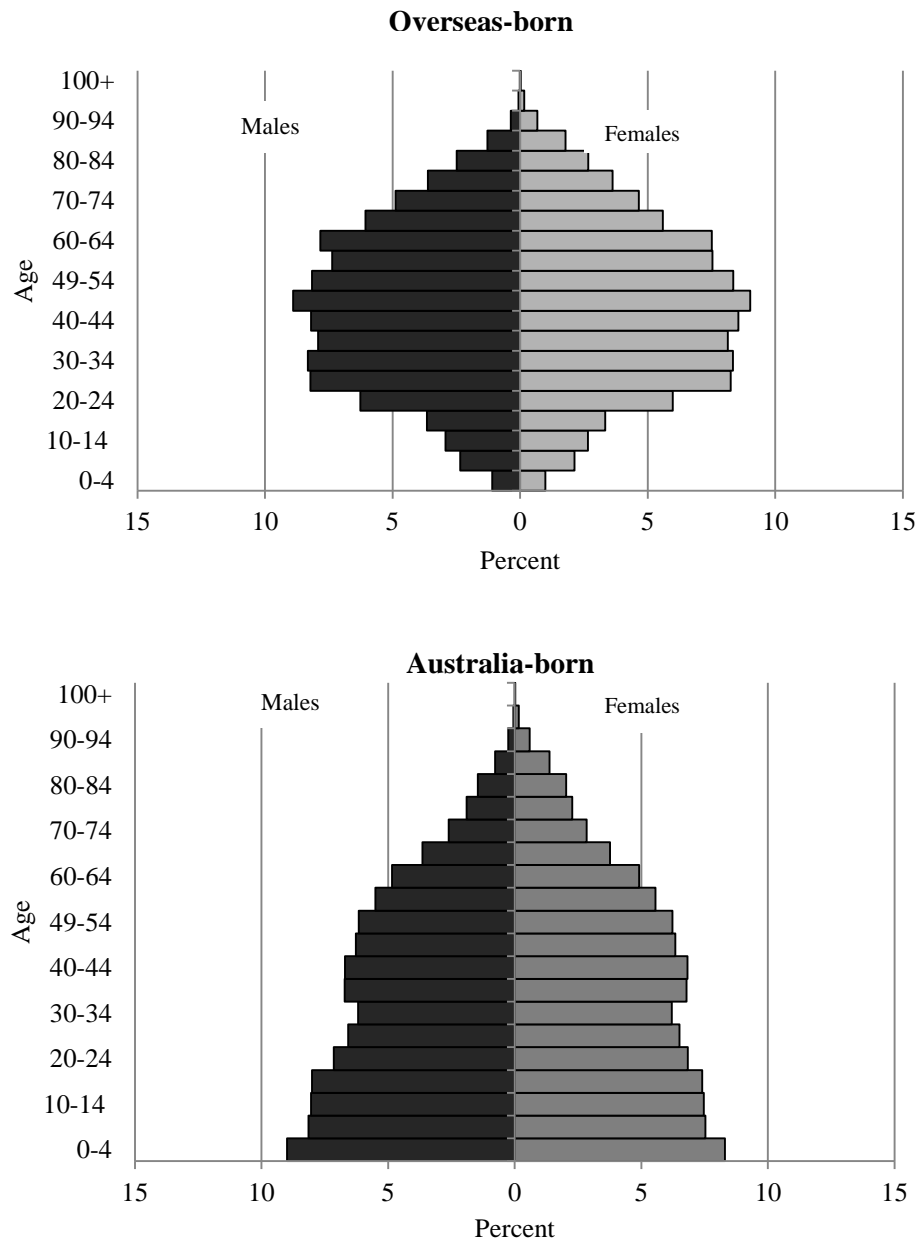
Figure 3.1: Age and sex distribution, South Africa-born, 2006 (shaded) and 2011



Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

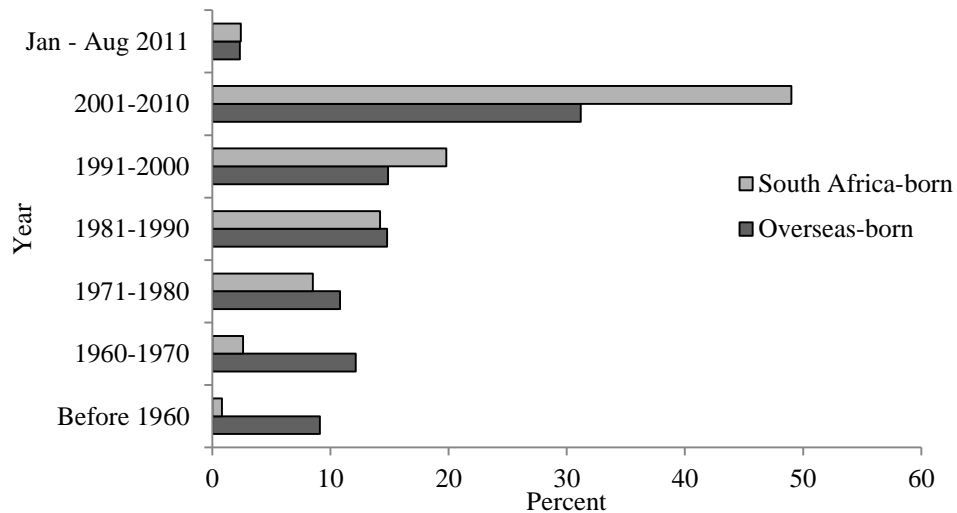
Figure 3.2 shows the age and sex structure of the Overseas-born in Australia and the total Australia-born population in 2011 for comparative purposes (Figure 3.2). Clearly the Overseas-born population is an ageing one with more than twice the proportion of people in the over 65 cohort (19.0 %) than the South Africa-born (8.9 %). However, as indicated above, the middle age groups continue to be well-represented due to sustained migration over time and the pyramid is thus shaped more like a diamond. On the other hand, children and teenagers are under-represented, even more so than among the South Africa-born. Just 6.1 percent of the Overseas-born are aged under 15 years compared to 11.5 percent of South Africans. By contrast, the Australia-born population pyramid has a broad-base indicating a youthful population. In fact, one quarter of the Australia-born population were aged under 15 (24.2 %). Importantly, the proportion of working age people among the total Overseas-born and the Australia-born is considerably smaller than among the South Africa-born. In 2011 the median age of the South Africa-born in Australia was 39 years (DIAC 2012a), only slightly more than the total Australian population at 37 years and less than the total Overseas-born population at 45 years (ABS 2012a).

Figure 3.2: Age and sex distribution, Overseas-born and Australia-born, 2011



Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Figure 3.3 shows how recently arrived South African migrants in Australia are compared to their Overseas-born counterparts. This goes some way to explain the differences in the age structures indicated above. Half the South Africa-born arrived in Australia between 2001 and 2010, while just under one third of all Overseas-born people arrived during the same period. Conversely, the majority of the Overseas-born in Australia have a longer history of migration with significant proportions of migrants arriving throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

Figure 3.3: Year of arrival, South Africa-born and Overseas-born in Australia, 2011

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

3.3 Patterns of settlement

South African migrants have settled throughout Australia although they are concentrated in particular States, cities and even suburbs. Table 3.1 shows that the South Africa-born are mainly concentrated in three Australian States, New South Wales (27.6 %), Queensland (24.4 %) and Western Australia (24.2 %), with the remaining quarter distributed between the other five States and Territories¹³. Factors that affect where migrants live are the location of family members or people with the same ethnic background, the point of entry into the country, the economic attractiveness of the destination in terms of employment opportunities, and certain visa conditions (ABS 2012a). Chapter Two showed around half the visas issued to South Africans since 2000 went to sponsored entrants. In these cases, and when people move under economic visa categories, employment and visa conditions are likely to dictate migrants' initial settlement locations (Richardson et al. 2002b). Independent migrants, on the other hand, are free to settle where they choose although, given that substantial populations settle in New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia, it seems migrants follow family and friends who move before them. Moreover, it has been noted in previous research that migrants tend to stay in the place they first settle in Australia (Richardson et al. 2002b).

¹³ At points hereafter the names of the Australian States and Territories are abbreviated as follows: New South Wales (NSW), Victoria (VIC), Queensland (QLD), South Australia (SA), Western Australia (WA), Northern Territory (NT), Tasmania (TAS) and Australian Capital Territory (ACT).

The South Africa-born are underrepresented in Victoria compared to the Australia-born and total Overseas-born. However, they are significantly overrepresented in Queensland and, in particular, Western Australia.

Table 3.1: Comparison of South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born populations, distribution between Australian States and Territories, 2011

	South Africa-born (%)	Overseas- born (%)	Australia- born (%)	Total Australia (%)
NSW	27.6	33.6	31.6	32.2
VIC	16.8	26.6	24.4	24.9
QLD	24.4	16.8	21.3	20.1
SA	4.3	6.7	7.8	7.4
WA	24.2	12.9	9.4	10.4
TAS	1.0	1.1	2.8	2.3
NT	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.0
ACT	1.1	1.6	1.7	1.7
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

To assess the degree of geographic concentration among the South Africa-born, dissimilarity indices were calculated. An Index of Dissimilarity is a commonly used measure of the evenness with which two groups are distributed across a given geographical area (Farley 2000). An index where the minimum value is zero indicates no difference; a maximum of 100 indicates total segregation. Table 3.2 shows the concentrations of South Africa-born and Overseas-born when measured against the distribution of the total Australian population by Statistical Local Area (SLA). As might be expected, the South Africa-born are most concentrated in NSW, the State that is home to the largest share of South Africans. Local areas in NSW with high concentrations of South African migrants include Ku-ring-gai, Waverley, Woollahra and Warringah, essentially forming a band through Sydney's affluent northern and eastern suburbs.

In every State and Territory, the South Africa-born show a higher degree of spatial concentration than their Overseas-born counterparts. This is likely to reflect their recent arrival and the homogeneity of this group compared to the Overseas-born. The latter comprise a myriad of birthplaces that have arrived at different points in time and settled in locations around Australia for a range of reasons including job and housing opportunities and pre-existing networks in Australia (Hugo 1995). Indeed, both groups are only moderately concentrated compared to humanitarian entrants (Hugo 2011a). In 2008-09, the Index of Dissimilarity between the birthplace composition of refugee-humanitarian

entrants and all other categories of migrant group was 74.8, while their distribution compared to skilled migrants was even higher at 91 (Hugo 2011a).

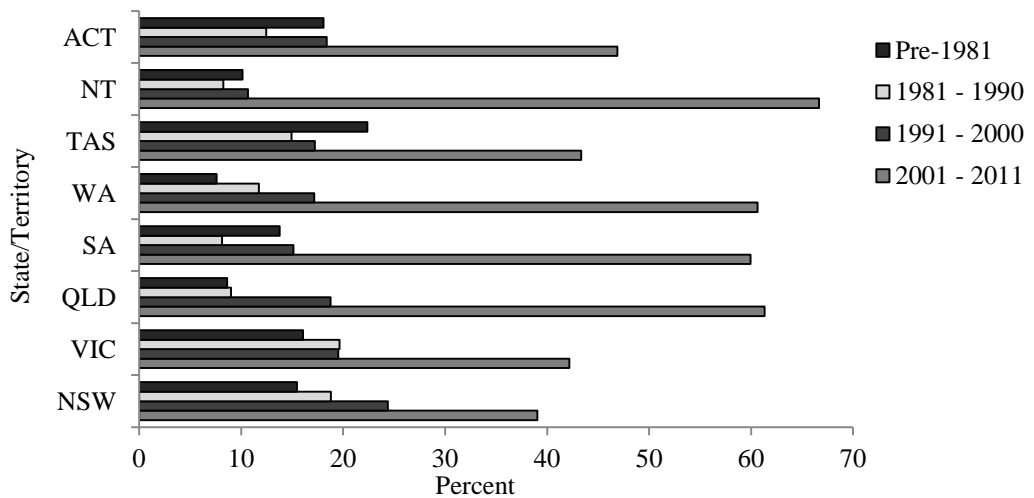
Table 3.2: Indices of dissimilarity for South Africa and Overseas-born by Australian States and Territories compared to total Australian population, 2011

State	South Africa-born	Overseas-born
NSW	41.0	32.6
VIC	34.3	26.4
QLD	31.2	19.6
SA	27.3	16.4
WA	21.9	14.3
TAS	29.1	10.3
NT	38.8	27.5
ACT	22.4	14.0

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

As seen earlier, most South Africans in Australia are relatively recent arrivals, with more than two thirds arriving since 1991 (68.8 %). When 2011 Census data on State of residence is cross-referenced with data on year of arrival (Figure 3.4), longer-term settlement dating to before 1981 can be seen in NSW, Victoria and, surprisingly, Tasmania (37.3 %). In each of these States, around one third of South Africans arrived before 1981. The Tasmanian case is particularly interesting because the overall number of arrivals here remains very low. Conversely, while Queensland and Western Australia have much larger populations, they are more recent.

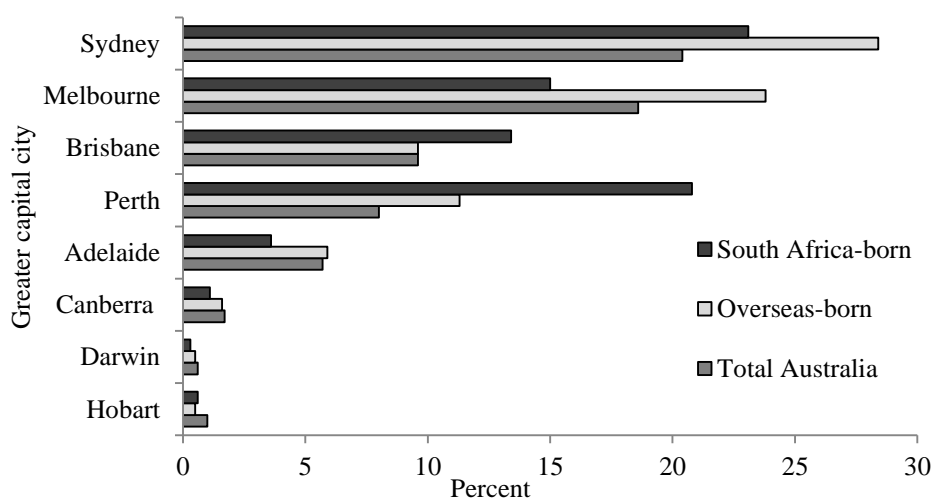
Figure 3.4: South Africa–born, year of arrival by State/Territory of residence, 2011



Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

In 2011, 82 percent of the Overseas-born lived in capital cities compared with 66 percent of all people in Australia (ABS 2012a). This preference among the Overseas-born for city living has been evident since the 1970s (ABS 2004). Figure 3.5 shows the proportion of South Africa-born living in Australia’s capital cities compared to the Overseas-born and total Australian population. The total population is more evenly distributed between cities than the migrant populations. The Australian population is highly urbanised with 88.9 percent of its population residing in urban areas (ABS 2014b). However, the South Africa-born have even higher rates of urbanisation with around 95 percent living in urban areas.

Figure 3.5: Comparison of South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born living in Greater Capital City Statistical Areas (GCCSA), 2011



Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Note: Data is for Greater Capital City

For many people in South Africa the Australian city of Perth is synonymous with Australia as a whole. Indeed, Perth has become a symbol of South African migration to Australia. In South Africa, this is epitomised in the expression ‘*Packing for Perth*’ which has considerable currency in South African lingo (Pryor 2008). The term refers to emigration from South Africa generally (Louw and Mersham 2001), but has also been used pejoratively (‘*Packing for Perth*ers’ or ‘*PFPs*’) to describe ‘disloyal’ South Africans emigrating to Australia in the 1980s (Davidson 2006; Rule 1989). In Australia, Perth is also symbolic among the expatriate South African community as a place with a large South African population. Although Sydney is home to more South African migrants, because Perth is smaller,

“...the South African diasporic presence is more strongly felt...hence South Africans... form a higher and more visible percentage of the population” (Louw and Mersham 2001 p. 325).

One explanation for the disproportionately large South African community in Perth is the ‘Indian Ocean Connection’ (Hugo 1996). This was first observed by Hugo (1996) who used Australian census data to demonstrate,

“...the ring of nations around the Indian Ocean had a disproportionately large share of their Australian based populations living in the state of Western Australia” (Hugo 2009a p.57).

In the South African case, Perth was also “the first port of call of early visitors and settlers” and the subsequent “establishment of substantial South African communities in Perth...served as anchors for later settlement” (Hugo 2009a p.57). Several commentators have observed concentrations of South Africans in particular suburbs around Australia (Arnold 2011; Louw and Mersham 2001). St Ives in Sydney, for example, has become “significantly South Africanized” and is reportedly known locally as St. Africa (Louw and Mersham 2001 p. 329). Arnold (2011) describes South African enclaves that have formed along ethnic lines. He finds,

“Jewish South Africans’ and ‘Coloured South Africans’ have, like most migrants, congregated in areas where earlier migrants of similar culture have settled. Jewish South Africans have settled predominantly in Sydney’s eastern suburbs and north shore, in Caulfield and Doncaster in Melbourne and in Perth’s northern suburbs. A sizeable number of ‘Coloured South Africans’, many of whom are skilled artisans and tradespeople, live in Sydney’s southern suburbs” (Arnold, 2011 p. 43).

3.4 Ethnicity

South Africa being an ethnically and racially diverse nation, it is important to establish which South Africans are migrating to Australia. While early studies note the presence of non-White groups from South Africa in Australia, particularly Coloured South Africans (Abdurahman 1974; Arnold 2011; Keese 1998; Polonsky et al. 1989), it is generally accepted that most migrants from South Africa are White, English-speaking Europeans (Abdurahman 1974; Hugo 2009a; Jakubowicz 2010; Kennedy 2001; Kler 2006; Lucas et al. 2006; Visser 2004). Among these White migrants, there has also been a smaller, steady flow of Jewish South Africans (Arnold 2011; Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Tatz et al. 2007) and increasing numbers of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (Arnold 2011; Van Rooyen 2000). Scholars have argued that skilled Black South Africans are just as likely to emigrate from South Africa as other members of the community (Crush et al. 2000; Ellis 2008; Mattes and Mniki 2007; Mattes and Richmond 2000).

Indeed, it is increasingly common to hear more Black South Africans are making Australia home¹⁴. The press, for instance, has noted Black South African nurses working in Australia (Lucas et al. 2006). A major issue in studies of South African migration has been the lack of data to support claims about who is migrating. Indeed, Arnold (2011) notes a serious gap in the literature when it comes to examining the ethnic origins of South African emigrants. The next section uses ABS Census data to rectify this. Unfortunately, nowhere does the instrumentation used by data collection agencies in Australia directly ask migrants for details about their ethnicity. Still, the ethnic background of migrants is revealed in data on country of birth as well as language and ancestry, all of which have previously been used as “proxies for ethnicity” (Lucas et al. 2011 p. 1).

3.5 Eleven official languages

Historically, English and Afrikaans were the two official languages in South Africa, with nine indigenous African languages added in 2003 - Zulu, Xhosa, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Ndebele, Swati, Xitsonga and Tshivenda - there are eleven official languages in South Africa today (Conner 2004). However, English remains “the de facto lingua franca of the state, largely due to it being the language of business” (Wallmach 2006 p. 2). Table 3.3 shows the top ten languages spoken in the homes of the South Africa-born in Australia at the 2006 and 2011 Censuses. Two official South African languages are clearly dominant, English and Afrikaans, with more than 95 percent of South Africans speaking either of them. The next most common languages were European - German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch and French – although only a small proportion of South Africans speak these.

Although there was growth in the number of both English and Afrikaans-speakers between 2006 and 2011 the number of Afrikaans-speakers in Australia more than doubled. This is significant given many commentators have considered South African emigration as being undertaken by English-Speakers (Abdurahman 1974; Hugo 2009a; Lucas 2001; Polonsky et al. 1989). Of course, while English and Afrikaans are most often associated with White South Africans these languages are not the reserve of these population groups. In

¹⁴In interviews conducted as part of this research, Eric, owner of South African food shops reported he had ‘lots’ of Black customers and Annelie, director of a recruitment and migration agency, reported an increase in Black and Indian South African clients. Francois, also a director of a migration agency with a largely South African client base, knew of only a handful of Black (but many Indian) South Africans who had migrated to Australia.

particular, Afrikaans is spoken by, among others, the group referred to in South Africa as Coloureds. Although there is anecdotal evidence of a sizeable community of Coloured South Africans in Australia¹⁵, it is difficult to identify this group in Australian Census data. However, there is evidence that South Africa's culturally and ethnically diverse population is represented in Australia, albeit on a small scale. Besides English and Afrikaans, Zulu is the only other official South African language in the top ten languages spoken at home in Australia. While the number of Zulu-speakers is small, they grew 74.7 percent from 166 persons in 2006 to 290 in 2011. Xhosa, Tswana and Ndebele, also official languages, were recorded in both 2006 and 2011, although very small numbers, the number of South Africa-born speaking these languages did increase between 2006 and 2011. Of course, it is possible that some African language speakers speak English at home and so are not captured here.

Table 3.3: South Africa-born, top ten languages spoken at home and other official languages, 2006 and 2011

2006			2011				
Language	No.	%	Language	No.	%	Intercensal change (%)	
English	84,599	81.2	English	108,882	74.7	English	28.7
Afrikaans	15,092	14.5	Afrikaans	31,484	21.6	Afrikaans	108.6
German	475	0.5	German	612	0.4	German	28.8
Greek	378	0.4	Greek	440	0.3	Greek	16.4
Italian	244	0.2	Portuguese	350	0.2	Portuguese	48.6
Portuguese	235	0.2	Zulu	290	0.2	Zulu	78.4
Gujarati	212	0.2	Italian	281	0.2	Gujarati	14.6
Hebrew	172	0.2	Dutch	264	0.2	Hebrew	2.9
Zulu	166	0.2	Gujarati	243	0.2	Dutch	68.2
Dutch	157	0.2	French	193	0.1	French	27.8
<i>Other official languages</i>							
Xhosa	100	0.1	Xhosa	112	0.1		12.0
Tswana	54	0.1	Tswana	76	0.1		40.7
Ndebele	3	0.0	Ndebele	8	0.0		166.7
<i>Other languages</i>							
African Lang. nfd*	109	0.1	African Lang. nec*	136	0.1	nfd	10.1
African Lang. nec**	83	0.1	African Lang. nfd**	120	0.1	nec	63.9
Other	2,053	2.0	Other	2,192	1.5		-
Total	104,132		Total	145,683			

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

*nfd = not further defined, **nec= not elsewhere classified

Table 3.3 also shows that African Languages not further defined (nfd) or not elsewhere classified (nec) increased in absolute terms between 2006 and 2011 increasing by 10.1 and 63.9 percent, respectively. The presence of indigenous South African language groups

¹⁵ For example, two interview participants in this study discussed the Coloured community in Australia.

identified in Australian Census data is significant and provides credible evidence that increasing numbers of Black South Africans are migrating to Australia. Similarly, Gujarati was among the top ten languages spoken at home, and the presence of South Africa-born Gujarati, Tamil and Hindu-speakers in Australia indicate South African-Indians are among those migrating to Australia¹⁶.

Overall, the increase in European languages has been less than that in African languages between the censuses. There was also only a small increase in the proportion of South Africa-born Hebrew-speakers. Moreover, while the proportion of South Africa-born who speak English decreased from 81.2 percent to 74.7 percent, the share of Afrikaans-speakers among the South Africa-born increased from 14.5 percent to 21.6 percent. This increase in Afrikaans-speakers and other African-language speakers coupled with the decline in English-speakers suggests a shift in the ethnic make-up of migrants from South Africa.

As well as asking about language spoken at home, recent censuses have included a question about proficiency in English. Table 3.4 shows some interesting trends. Firstly, the proportion of South Africans in Australia who speak only English decreased from 87.2 percent in 2001 to 81.2 percent in 2006 and to 74.7 percent in 2011. In other words, by 2011 one quarter of South Africans spoke a language other than English at home. This is further evidence that the South African population in Australia is changing from the homogenous group of White, English-speaking people it was once thought to be. Although South African migrants in Australia will never be fully representative of the population in their origin country this group is nonetheless becoming more ethnically diverse.

Table 3.4: South Africa-born English-only speakers as a proportion of the total South Africa-born population, 2001, 2006 and 2011

	South Africa-born English-only speakers	% of total SA-born population
2001	68,761	86.6
2006	84,599	81.2
2011	108,881	74.7

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

A second interesting trend here is that the majority of South Africa-born who do not speak English at home still have an excellent command of English (Table 3.5). In 2011, 97.5

¹⁶ Tamil and Hindu are not listed here but are nevertheless present in census data.

percent of those who don't speak English at home said they still speak English very well or well. Only a small number indicated they did not speak English well.

Table 3.5: Proficiency in English for South Africa-born who speak a language other than English at home, 2001, 2006 and 2011

	2001		2006		2011	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
Very well or well	10,181	95.5	18,771	96.1	35,888	97.5
Not well	137	1.3	278	1.4	308	0.8
Not at all	43	0.4	78	0.4	72	0.2
Not stated	303	2.8	406	2.1	534	1.5
Total	10,664	100	19,533	100	368,02	100.0

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses; ABS Census Table 2068.0, 2001

The changing ethnic diversity of the South Africa-born in Australia over time is shown in Table 3.6. Of the South Africans who speak English at home, 19.5 percent arrived between 1990 and 1999 while 42 percent arrived in the 2000s. By contrast, more than three quarters of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans arrived after 2000 (81.9 %). Fewer than ten percent of migrants who speak Zulu arrived before 1990 but more than 80 percent of South Africa-born Zulu-speakers arrived after 2000. Even greater proportions of Xhosa and Tswana-speakers arrived after 2000, 86.9 and 94.7 percent respectively. Although few Ndebele-speakers were recorded in 2011, all of them had arrived in the last decade.

Table 3.6: Top ten languages and African languages spoken at home by year of arrival, 2011

	Before	1980-	1990-	2000-	2010-	Not	n	Rank
	1980	1989	1999	2009	2011	stated		
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<i>Official South African languages</i>								
English	12.9	17.9	19.5	42.0	5.4	2.3	108,885	1
Afrikaans	1.8	4.1	9.4	71.5	10.4	2.8	31,488	2
Zulu	4.1	3.4	10.9	64.5	14.0	3.1	293	6
Xhosa	0.0	0.0	13.2	71.1	12.3	3.5	114	16
Tswana	0.0	0.0	5.4	75.7	6.8	12.2	74	18
Ndebele	0.0	0.0	0.0	42.9	57.1	0.0	7	49
<i>Other languages</i>								
German	5.2	13.0	18.2	53.4	9.6	0.6	616	3
Greek	8.4	15.8	24.6	45.8	2.9	2.5	443	4
Portuguese	3.1	6.5	19.5	58.8	7.6	4.5	354	5
Italian	16.5	10.6	25.4	36.3	7.7	3.5	284	7
Dutch	10.9	21.3	13.5	46.1	5.2	3.0	267	8
Gujarati	5.7	23.4	30.7	36.1	1.2	2.9	244	9
French	17.3	16.8	16.3	34.2	12.8	2.6	196	10
African lang. nec	0.0	3.8	0.0	82.7	13.5	0.0	133	14
African lang. nfd	3.3	14.9	13.2	57.0	7.4	4.1	121	15

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

3.6 Ancestry

The ancestry question in the Australian Census is considered contentious. It was first asked in 1986 to gauge the ethnic composition of the Australian population but proved to be confusing and little use was made of the data (ABS 2007). Evaluation of the question showed it produced highly subjective data and it was left out of the 1991 and 1996 Censuses (ABS 2007). However, it was brought back in 2001 and has been used since because,

“...it was determined an ancestry question in combination with a question on whether the person's parents were born in Australia or overseas would produce data of acceptable quality” (ABS 2007 p. 1).

Comparisons of ancestry data from different census years can be problematic because of differences in the questions posed and the classifications against which the data is coded (ABS 2007). However, despite concerns around the efficacy of this question, it still does reveal useful information about South African migrants in Australia today.

The top ancestries of the South Africa-born in the 2006 and 2011 Censuses are listed in Table 3.7. ‘South African’ was the most commonly stated ancestry, cited by more than half the South Africa-born in both 2006 and 2011. Indeed, ‘South African’ was the 22nd most common ancestry in the 2011 Census (DIBP 2014f). Unfortunately, this broad category goes no further to identify different ethnic groups, but the next top responses do. In both censuses the next most common ancestry was ‘English’ and the number of South Africa-born claiming this heritage grew by 31.6 percent between censuses. The ancestry question also showed the number of Afrikaner South Africans in Australia rising rapidly.

The number of people with Afrikaner ancestry grew 75 percent between 2006 and 2011. Persons claiming Dutch, German and French ancestry, the provenance of the Afrikaner peoples, also grew during this time. Indian South Africans were also identified through the ancestry question and they grew 24.1 percent, although their ranking slipped between 2006 and 2011. The number of South Africa-born with African ancestry increased 40.9 percent between 2006 and 2011, from 1,130 to 1,592. South Africans with Jewish lineage are also identified here by those stating Lithuanian ancestry (Tatz et al. 2007). Although the

proportion of South Africans claiming the latter decreased by 3.6 percent between 2006 and 2011, the number who said they had Jewish ancestry grew a staggering 200 plus percent, from a small base number. It is interesting to note that just half all the Jewish people in Australia are born in Australia (50.5 %). The next most common birth place for Jewish people in Australia is South Africa (13.4 %), followed by Israel (6.2 %) (ABS 2014b).

Table 3.7: South Africa-born, top 16 ancestries (multiple response), 2006 and 2011

Ancestry	2006	Ancestry	2011	Intercensal change (%)
South African	50,801	South African	71,245	40.2
English	31,562	English	41,551	31.6
Scottish	6,375	Dutch	9,957	72.7 (Dutch)
Dutch	5,764	Scottish	9,140	43.4 (Scottish)
German	5,352	German	8,401	57.0
Indian	4,785	Irish	6,427	24.1 (Indian)
Irish	4,660	Indian	5,936	37.9 (Irish)
Australian	2,392	Afrikaner	3,829	11.2 (Australian)
Afrikaner	2,181	Jewish	3,044	75.6 (Afrikaner)
French	1,515	Australian	2,659	51.4 (French)
Lithuanian	1,462	French	2,293	-3.9 (Lithuanian)
Italian	1,237	Italian	1,715	38.6
African*	1,130	African*	1,592	40.9
Jewish	990	Portuguese	1,513	207.5 (Jewish)
Portuguese	977	Lithuanian	1,405	54.9 (Portuguese)
Zulu (37 th)	161	Zulu (36 th)	171	6.2
Total	104,132		145,683	

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

Note: Place of enumeration data used

*African, so described

Table 3.8 shows the South Africa-born first ancestry response by year of arrival. Keeping in mind the majority of South Africans arrived in the 2000s, it can be seen there is a longer history of people citing ‘South African’ and Jewish ancestry. There is a history of Indian migration too, with just under half those with Indian ancestry arriving before 2000. Again, the evidence from ancestry data is that Afrikaner migration from South Africa is a more recent phenomenon. Three-quarters of South Africa-born with Afrikaner heritage arrived after 2000 compared to 61 percent citing English ancestry.

Table 3.8: South Africa-born ancestry (first response) by year of arrival, 2011

	Before 1980	1980- 1989	1990- 1999	2000- 2009	2010- 2011	Not stated	2011 population
South African	7.4	13.4	15.8	53.6	7.4	2.4	58,996
English	14.2	15.3	18.0	44.2	6.1	2.2	41,050
Indian	6.2	16.7	20.5	48.4	5.8	2.4	5,586
German	10.5	12.6	16.7	51.4	6.7	2.1	5,414
Dutch	8.4	7.8	13.9	61.0	6.3	2.5	5,223
Scottish	15.4	17.4	18.0	41.0	5.9	2.3	4,408
Irish	13.2	17.1	17.6	44.5	5.7	2.0	3,749
Afrikaner	4.3	5.1	11.5	66.8	9.2	3.0	2,771
Jewish	10.8	30.0	31.3	25.5	1.1	1.3	2,770
Australian	22.9	18.8	19.3	30.7	4.5	3.9	1,609
African*	10.1	19.1	12.4	47.3	8.1	3.0	1,124
Zulu	0.0	9.6	12.0	65.1	9.6	3.6	83
Not stated	10.7	14.0	15.3	39.2	6.1	14.7	2,166

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census, *So described

The apparent dearth of Black African migration prior to the 1990s, revealed here in both language and ancestry data, may be explained, in part, by the controversial White Australia Policy. This policy severely restricted non-White migration to Australia before it was brought to an end in the 1970s (Jupp 2001; Markus et al. 2009). However data here shows it was at least a decade before Black African migration to Australia from South Africa really began. A more likely explanation as to why few non-Whites migrated from South Africa before the 2000s are the political circumstances in South Africa, chiefly the segregation of races under apartheid. Lucas (2000, p. 2) argues that White South Africans were better off under the apartheid system, which gave them greater access to quality education and, subsequently, skills, jobs and money, than other population groups. This set them in better stead to satisfy Australia's strict entry requirements as well as giving them the economic resources to make the move. As Arnold (2011, p. 37) notes,

“One consequence of the repressive control over non-white education during the apartheid era was that very few non-whites had the opportunity to become professionals. In addition, it was close to impossible for a non-white person to obtain a passport to leave South Africa, and it became a crime to leave the country without one”.

3.7 Religion

Religion has been used before in analyses such as this because it “provides another sense of the diversity of the African-born population in Australia” (Jakubowicz 2010 p. 13). Similarly, it is used here to further establish heterogeneity among the South Africa-born. In 2011 over two thirds of South Africans identified with Christian religions, a higher proportion than seen among the total Australian population (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Most frequently stated religion (1 digit level), South Africa-born and total Australian population, 2011

	South Africa-born		Total Australia	
	n	%	n	%
Christianity	99,017	68.0	13,150,670	61.1
Judaism	13,035	8.9	97,336	0.5
Hinduism	3,865	2.7	275,535	1.3
Islam	2,827	1.9	476,290	2.2
Buddhism	729	0.5	528,977	2.5
No religion	19,830	13.6	4,796,786	22.3
Not stated	4,837	3.3	1,839,649	8.6

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Judaism was the next most common religion with close to 9 percent of South Africa-born identifying as such, compared to just .5 percent of the total Australian population. Of course, the presence of a strong South African-Jewish community in Australia has previously been documented (Arnold 2011; Tatz et al. 2007). According to Jakubowicz (2010), on the other hand, Hindu and Muslim adherents among the South Africa-born in Australia point to Indian migration from South Africa. It is interesting to note, a decidedly smaller proportion of South Africans had no religion (13.6 %), compared to the total Australian population (22.3 %). Among the Zimbabwe-born, Lucas et al. (2011, p. 6) observe a decline in Judaism and ‘no religion’ but a rise in Pentecostal and ‘other Christian’ categories. The implication, as they see it, is that

“...black Africans (as distinct from whites) are becoming more common amongst the Zimbabwe-born in Australia since Syncretic churches are strong in the Central African region” (Lucas et al. 2011 p. 6).

Similar declines among the South Africa-born are also likely to point to increasing Black migration (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: South Africa-born religion by year of arrival, 2011

	Before 1980	1980- 1989	1990- 1999	2000- 2009	2010- 2011	Not stated	N
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Buddhism	22.4	23.9	16.2	32.2	3.7	1.6	729
Christianity	9.5	12.0	14.9	53.6	7.4	2.6	99,014
Hinduism	3.8	15.1	20.1	51.9	6.4	2.7	3,865
Islam	8.8	26.5	18.4	40.1	3.9	2.2	2,826
Judaism	8.8	26.9	31.4	28.9	2.2	1.8	13,033
Other religion	15.2	20.2	17.6	38.8	6.5	1.7	415
No religion	16.0	18.5	18.7	39.1	5.5	2.1	19,833
n	15,116	21,523	25,064	70,741	9,552	3,687	

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Any discussion of religion in the South African context would be incomplete without reference to the Dutch Reformed Church and its affiliated Reformed churches. In South Africa, these churches are strongly linked with Afrikaans culture (Clark and Worger 2011; Sparks 2003). In 2011, 3,336 South Africa-born were members of Reformed churches. While this equated to only 3.4 percent of the South Africa-born Christian population (Anglican, Catholic, Jewish, Uniting, Baptist and Pentecostal churches made up the greater share) it is worth noting South Africa-born Reformed church affiliates comprised more than a quarter of all Reformed church members in Australia (27.8 %) (ABS 2014b).

3.8 “The Good Citizens”

In 1994, the Australian Immigration Department released an information sheet alongside a publication on the South African community in Australia, entitled “South Africa: the Good Citizens” (DIEA 1994). This description was based on two things. First and foremost it was recognition of the high take up of Australian citizenship by South African migrants at that time. Indeed, nearly three-quarters of South Africa-born migrants were recorded as having gained Australian citizenship in the 1991 Census (72.1 %). This grew to 77.2 percent in 1996 but had dropped to 67.8 percent by 2006 and to 64.3 by 2011 (ABS 2014b; DIMA 2000). For context, Table 3.11 shows the proportion of migrants from the top ten source countries in 2011 that have Australian citizenship, with South Africa about somewhere in the middle. However, more than 100 of the countries of birth represented in Australia, have a share of their population greater than 70 percent that are Australian citizens (ABS 2014b).

Table 3.11: Australian citizenship by birthplace, 2011

Birthplace	Australian citizens (%)
United Kingdom	52.7
New Zealand	32.5
China	47.3
India	44.5
Italy	78.9
Vietnam	81.8
Philippines	67.3
South Africa	64.3
Malaysia	48.5
Germany	68.9

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

One reason for the decline in the proportion of South Africans who are Australian citizens is because many of them are recently arrived (Chapter Seven). To apply for citizenship one needs to have lived in Australia for four years, one year of which has been as a permanent resident (DIAC 2013e). Still, South Africans are in the top ten countries of people conferred Australian citizenship, and have been for several years (Table 3.12). Secondly, in conjunction with their high citizenship conferral, the ‘Good Citizens’ were no doubt seen as such because of their contribution to Australia, not least through skills.

Table 3.12: Top ten countries of previous citizenship of people conferred Australian citizenship, 2010-2011, 2012-13 and 2013-2014

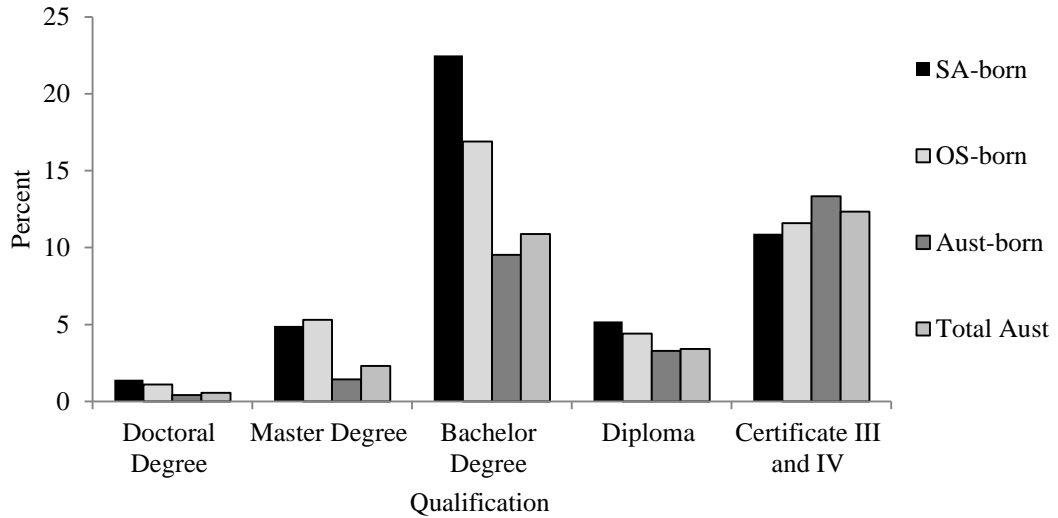
Former citizenship	2010-11		2012-13		2013-14			
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
UK	19,101	20.1	UK	20,478	16.6	India	27,827	17.1
India	12,948	13.6	India	19,217	15.6	UK	25,883	15.9
China	8,898	9.3	Philippines	9,090	7.4	Philippines	11,628	7.1
South Africa	4,389	4.6	China	8,979	7.3	South Africa	9,286	5.7
NZ	4,304	4.5	South Africa	7,900	6.4	China	9,203	5.6
Philippines	4,051	4.3	NZ	3,794	3.1	NZ	5,361	3.3
Sri Lanka	2,520	2.6	Sri Lanka	2,746	2.2	Sri Lanka	3,957	2.4
Korea	2,321	2.4	Iraq	2,739	2.2	Vietnam	3,514	2.2
Malaysia	2,207	2.3	Vietnam	2,568	2.1	Iraq	3,150	1.9
Vietnam	1,688	1.8	Pakistan	2,100	1.7	Ireland	2,843	1.7
Other	32,857	34.5	Other	43,827	35.5	Other	60,365	37.0
Total	95,284	100	Total	123,438	100	Total	163,017	100

Source: DIAC Population Flows, 2012; DIBP Australian Citizenship Statistics, 2014, 2015

3.9 Education

South African migrants are a highly educated group. This reflects the dominance of South Africans arriving in Australia through the Skilled visa stream. Indeed, the proportion of South Africa-born with a Bachelor degree is twice that of the Australia-born and 5 percent more than the Overseas-born (Figure 3.6). More South Africans also have a doctorate than the Overseas-born and Australia-born, while more Overseas-born have a Masters degree. Naturally, one reason migrants outdo the Australia-born in terms of qualifications is because the migration system is engineered to admit the ‘best and brightest’ as it focuses on recruiting highly educated, skilled migrants.

Figure 3.6: Comparison in educational qualifications of South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born populations, 2011



Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

In Table 3.13 the Overseas-born category is further broken down to show educational qualifications of the top ten countries of birth in 2011. Again, the benefits of the skills-based Migration Programme are clear. While nearly a quarter of South Africans have a Bachelor degree, they rank fourth behind Malaysia, Philippines and India. South Africa ranks fifth for postgraduate qualifications. More South Africans have an Advanced Diploma or Associate Degree than other source countries.

Table 3.13: Post-school qualifications for top ten countries of birth, 2011

	Postgraduate	Graduate Diploma or Certificate	Bachelor Degree	Advanced Diploma or Diploma	Certificate Level
	%	%	%	%	%
UK	4.3	2.1	13.6	9.8	20.1
NZ	2.6	1.4	10.3	8.1	19.4
China	13.4	1	22.2	9.3	4.5
India	20.6	2.4	26.1	11.1	7.4
Italy	1.2	0.4	3.6	3.9	13.3
Vietnam	2.5	0.6	14	6.1	7.4
Philippines	2.4	0.7	32.7	6.8	12.6
South Africa	6.6	2.1	22.5	13.2	13.2
Malaysia	9.4	2.7	34.6	9.8	5.9
Germany	6.5	1.5	11.3	9.6	24.1

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Importantly, migrants with degree-level qualifications from Mainly English Speaking Countries (MESC)¹⁷ have considerable success in the labour market. As Birrell et al. (2006, p. 12) found,

“Recently-arrived persons holding degree-level qualifications born in MESC countries do almost as well in the labour market as do similarly qualified Australia-born persons”.

3.10 Labour force status

The proportion of South Africans employed full-time in 2011 was 43.3 percent (Table 3.14). This is a considerably higher rate than for the Overseas-born (34.3 %) and Australia-born (29.8 %). There was also a greater share of South Africans in part-time employment while those not in the labour force (21.1 %) was less than the other groups. People not in the labour force can be in a range of different circumstances. This includes people who have retired, have a disability, and are involved only in home duties or doing unpaid voluntary work. A greater proportion of South Africa-born not in the labour force participate in unpaid voluntary work (18.8 %) than Overseas-born persons (13.9 %) or the total Australian population (14.4 %) (ABS 2014b).

Table 3.14: Labour force status for South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born, 2011

Labour Force Status	SA-born		Overseas-born		Australia-born	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Employed full-time (FT)	63,073	43.3	1,815,817	34.3	4,481,489	29.8
Employed part-time (PT)	25,399	17.4	810,128	15.3	2,217,335	14.8
Employed, away from work	4,040	2.8	163,017	3.1	452,112	3.0
Unemployed, looking for FT	2,542	1.7	110,356	2.1	241,722	1.6
Unemployed, looking for PT	2,308	1.6	82,160	1.6	157,224	1.0
Not in labour force	30,717	21.1	1,904,866	36	3,691,038	24.6
Total	145,683		529,0200		15,021,791	

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011Census

Note: Does not include not stated and not applicable (people aged 15 and under)

Two key employment indicators are the unemployment rate (UER) and the labour force participation rate (LFPR). The UER divides the total number of unemployed by the labour force (people aged 15 years and over who are employed in full or part-time work plus those actively seeking employment). The LFPR is the labour force as a percentage of the working age population (people aged 15 and over). Table 3.15 shows the South Africa-

¹⁷ Mainly English Speaking Countries (MESC) includes UK, Ireland, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and USA.

born have a very high LFPR (75.5 %) compared to the Overseas-born (60.0 %) and the broader Australian population (61.4 %). They also have a lower UER (5.0 %).

Table 3.15: Labour force participation rate and unemployment rate for South Africa-born, Overseas-born and total Australia, 2011

	LFPR (%)	UER (%)
South-Africa born	75.5	5.0
Overseas-born	60.0	6.46
Total Australia	61.4	5.63

Source: Calculated using data from ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

3.11 Occupation

In 2011 the majority of South Africans in the labour force worked either as managers (20.9 %) or professionals (43.8%) (Table 3.16). By contrast, just 16 percent of the Overseas-born and 19.9 percent of the total Australian population worked as professionals. Twice the share of South African males worked as professionals than all males in Australia. The next largest occupation group among the South Africa-born was technicians and tradespeople. Again, this was higher than for the Overseas-born and the Australian population.

Table 3.16: Occupations of employed males and females (1 digit level) by South Africa-born, Overseas-born and total Australian population, 2011

	South Africa-born		Overseas-born		Total Australia	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Managers	15.1	5.8	8.6	4.3	7.9	4.2
Professionals	22.5	21.3	13.5	12.5	9.3	10.6
Technicians and Trades	13.8	1.9	12.0	2.2	11.4	1.9
Community & Personal Serv.	2.8	6.2	3.2	6.5	2.8	6.2
Clerical and Administrative	4.3	14.4	4.0	10.2	3.3	10.4
Sales	4.2	5.0	3.3	4.4	3.4	5.4
Machinery Operators and Drivers	2.5	0.3	6.3	0.9	5.6	0.6
Labourers	3.6	1.8	6.7	4.5	5.8	3.1
n	49,348	41,916	1,497,222	1,232,978	5,253,240	4,616,071

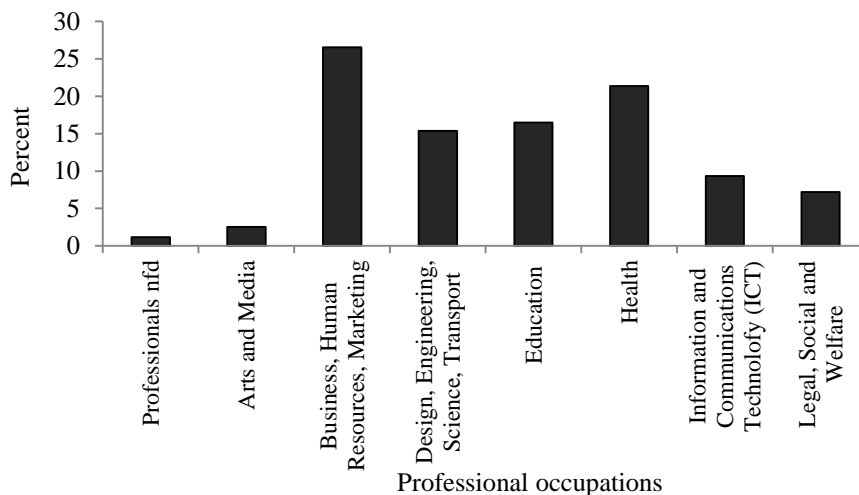
Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

The top occupations for South African males in 2011 were professionals, managers and technicians and tradespeople. For South African women the top occupations were professionals, clerical and administrative workers, and community and personal service workers. The greatest equality between the sexes is thus seen in professional occupations. On the other hand, the division of labour is greatest among managers, with three times more male managers than female managers. This gap is smaller for the total Australian

population where 7.8 percent of males work as managers compared to 4.2 percent of females, while a higher proportion of women work in clerical and administrative roles (ABS 2014b).

Given the disproportionate number of South African migrants, both men and women, employed in professional occupations it is worthwhile considering this category in detail. Figure 3.7 shows the majority of South African professionals are Business, Human Resources and Marketing professionals (26.5 %), followed by Health (21.4 %) and then Education professionals (16.5 %). Hawthorne (2012) considered the ethical questions raised by Australia accepting doctors from countries experiencing significant brain drain. She noted that while South Africa can't stop doctors leaving and Australia can't stop them coming, they can take steps to slow the rate of emigration through skills recognition barriers (Hawthorne 2012b). As such, South African doctors are not eligible for the 'fast' pathway into Australia, otherwise known as the Competent Authority Pathway. This option exists for doctors registered in a range of nations although some source countries, including Singapore and South Africa, have opted out in order to "minimise workforce loss" (Hawthorne 2012a p. 19).

Figure 3.7: South Africa-born working in professional occupations (2 digit level) in Australia, 2011



Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011Census

3.12 Industry

Table 3.17 shows the top ten industries of employment for the South Africa-born population at the 2006 and 2011 Censuses. The same industries were in the top ten in both censuses although their rankings changed. There has been a preoccupation in the literature

with the emigration of South African health professionals to Australia and other English-speaking destinations (Arnold 2011; Bourne 1983; Grant 2006; Joudrey and Robson 2010; Schrecker and Labonte 2004). In 2006 more South Africans worked in Health than any other sector, and in 2011 the health industry was the second largest employer after Professional, Scientific and Technical services. Other noteworthy shifts between censuses have been a decrease in the proportion of South Africans working in Manufacturing and Retail and an increase in Education and Training and Construction.

Table 3.17: South Africa-born, top ten industries of employment, 2006 and 2011

	2006		2011	
1	Health Care and Social Assistance	8,448	Professional, Scientific & Tech. Services	12,834
2	Professional, Scientific & Tech. Services	8,101	Health Care & Social Assistance	12,393
3	Manufacturing	6,535	Education & Training	8,640
4	Retail Trade	6,049	Manufacturing	8,312
5	Education & Training	6,038	Retail Trade	7,715
6	Financial & Insurance Services	4,030	Construction	5,701
7	Wholesale Trade	3,647	Financial & Insurance Services	5,181
8	Construction	3,587	Wholesale Trade	4,685
9	Accom. & Food Services	2,887	Accom. & Food Services	4,056
10	Public Admin. & Safety	2,625	Public Administration & Safety	3,944

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

Note: Uses place of enumeration data

Table 3.18 shows that more than half the South African migrants in the workforce in 2011 were employed in the private sector, which was higher than the Overseas-born (44.8 %) and the broader Australian population (39 %). The proportion of South Africans employed by the Federal government was the same as the Australia-born but slightly less than the Overseas-born.

Table 3.18: Employment in public and private sectors for South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born populations, 2011

	South Africa-born		Overseas-born		Australia-born		Total Australia	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
National Government	2,891	2.0	113,863	2.2	296,854	2.0	413,448	1.9
State Government	8,111	5.6	240,373	4.5	760,460	5.1	1,009,731	4.7
Local Government	893	0.6	27,013	0.5	119,934	0.8	148,585	0.7
Private sector	80,127	55.0	2,372,362	44.8	5,906,716	39.3	8,378,360	39.0

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

3.13 Income

Hugo (2009) has noted the high socio-economic status of the South Africa-born population. Indeed, Table 3.19 shows their considerable earning capacity compared to the Overseas-born and total Australian populations. In general, South Africans earn incomes in the middle and higher ranges. In 2011 nearly a quarter of working South Africans (24.0 %) earned more than \$1500 per week (\$78,000 per annum) compared to 12.3 percent of Overseas-born and 10.2 percent of all Australians. Conversely, smaller proportions of South Africans earn \$600 per week or less.

Table 3.19: Personal weekly income of South Africa-born, Overseas-born and total Australia, 2011

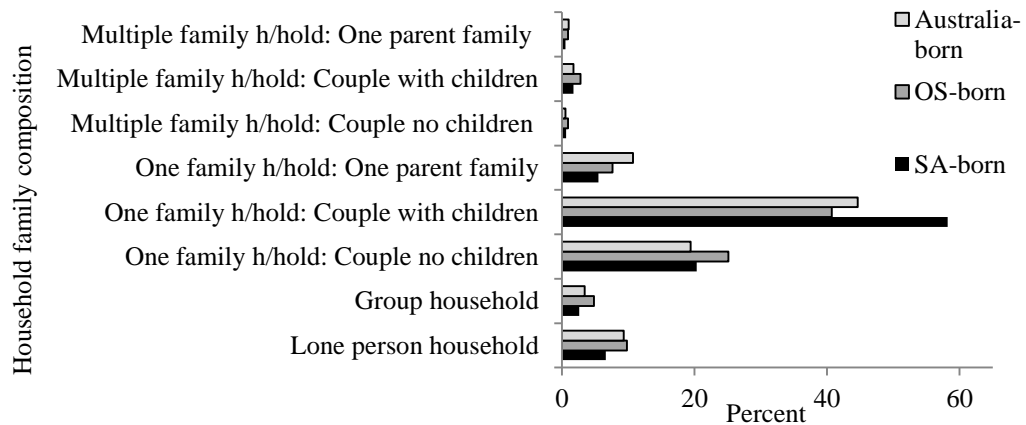
Weekly income	South Africa-born		Overseas-born		Total Australia	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
\$1-\$199	8,898	6.1	331,815	6.2	1,285,556	6.0
\$200-\$299	7,099	4.8	615,079	11.6	1,797,356	8.4
\$300-\$399	6,698	4.6	514,191	9.7	1,715,819	8.0
\$400-\$599	9,990	6.9	560,495	10.6	2,006,076	9.3
\$600-\$799	10,148	7.0	509,894	9.6	1,799,650	8.4
\$800-\$999	10,281	7.1	407,524	7.7	1,436,397	6.7
\$1,000-\$1,249	12,017	8.2	382,459	7.2	1,372,002	6.4
\$1,250-\$1,499	9,906	6.8	271,865	5.1	959,619	4.5
\$1,500-\$1,999	13,434	9.2	313,629	5.9	1,120,842	5.2
\$2,000 or more	21,525	14.8	336,766	6.4	1,081,279	5.0
Total	145,683		5,290,200		21,507,719	

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Note: Not stated, not applicable and nil/negative income not included in table.

3.14 Living arrangements and housing

Figure 3.8 shows that the composition of South African households differs from other population groups in Australia. The vast majority live in single-family households and more than half of these households comprise couple families with children, while only 2.7 percent live in multiple family households. Comparable data for the Overseas-born and total Australian population show fewer one family households and slightly more multiple family households. Marriage data from the 2011 Census show 54.8 percent of South Africans were married (ABS 2014b). This was marginally less than the Overseas-born (55.3 %) but higher than the Australia-born (34.0 %). Fewer South African migrants were divorced (5.43 %) than Overseas-born (7.7 %) or Australia-born (6.3 %), reflecting the younger age structure of this population.

Figure 3.8: Comparison of household family composition, South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born populations, 2011

Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Note: Uses place of enumeration data

For multiple family households, only the family composition of the primary family is recorded.

In 2011 more than three quarters of South African migrants lived in separate dwellings (76.0 %) as opposed to semi-detached dwellings, either one-storey (4.4 %) or two-storey (5.5 %) (ABS 2014b). This was less than the Australia-born population but more than the Overseas-born, while a higher proportion of the Overseas-born live in flats, units or apartments. Surprisingly, in 2011, just 16 percent of South Africans in Australia owned their home outright, less than the other groups shown in Table 3.20.

Table 3.20: Tenure type for South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born populations, 2011

	South Africa-born	Overseas -born	Australia -born	Total Australia
	%	%	%	%
Owned outright	16.0	27.1	26.3	25.6
Owned with a mortgage	44.5	32.9	42.2	37.9
Being purchased (rent/buy scheme)	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.2
Rented	34.7	31.5	25.1	25.9
Being occupied rent-free	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.9
Occupied under life tenure scheme	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other tenure type	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4

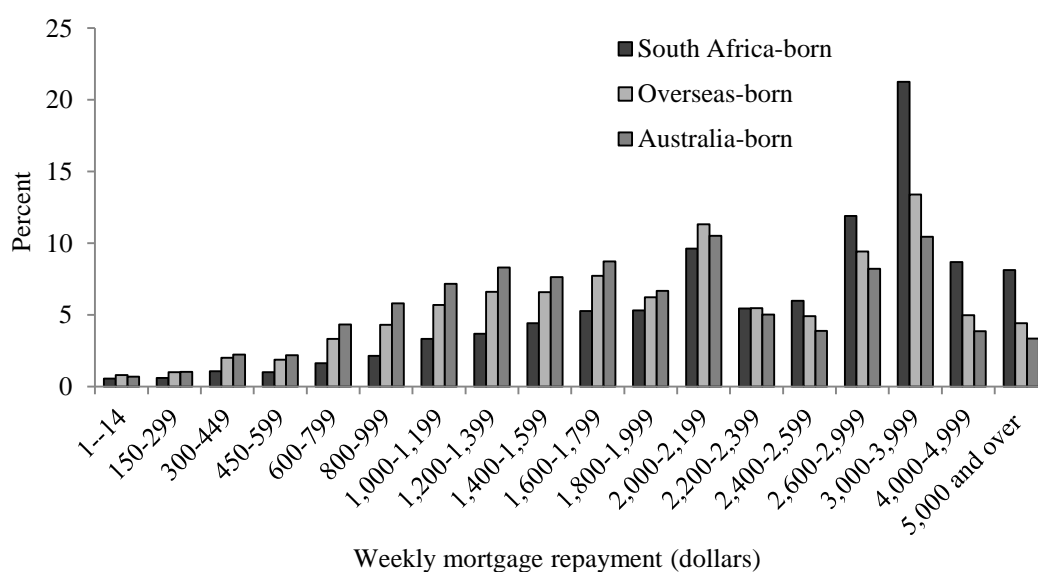
Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Note: Uses place of enumeration data

However, more South Africans owned their home with a mortgage, meaning 60.5 percent of South Africans owned their home either with or without a mortgage, a similar rate to their Overseas-born counterparts (60.0 %) but less than the Australia-born (68.5 %). Evidently, while there is a high propensity for South Africans to buy their own home, because they are recently arrived and younger, most are still paying a mortgage in 2011.

South African migrants tend to pay more in weekly mortgage repayments than their Overseas-born counterparts and Australia-born (Figure 3.9). Half the South Africa-born (50.0 %) pay \$2,600 or more per week compared to one third of Overseas-born (32.2 %) and a quarter of Australia-born (25.9 %). Similarly, South Africans tend to pay more weekly rent than the Overseas-born and the Australia-born populations. Overall, 40.1 percent of the South Africa-born pay \$450 or more per week compared to 23.4 percent of the Overseas-born and 14.3 percent of the Australia-born population (ABS 2014b). The concentration of South Africans in major cities is one reason for more expensive housing.

Figure 3.9: Weekly mortgage repayments for South Africa-born, Overseas-born and Australia-born, 2011



Source: ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

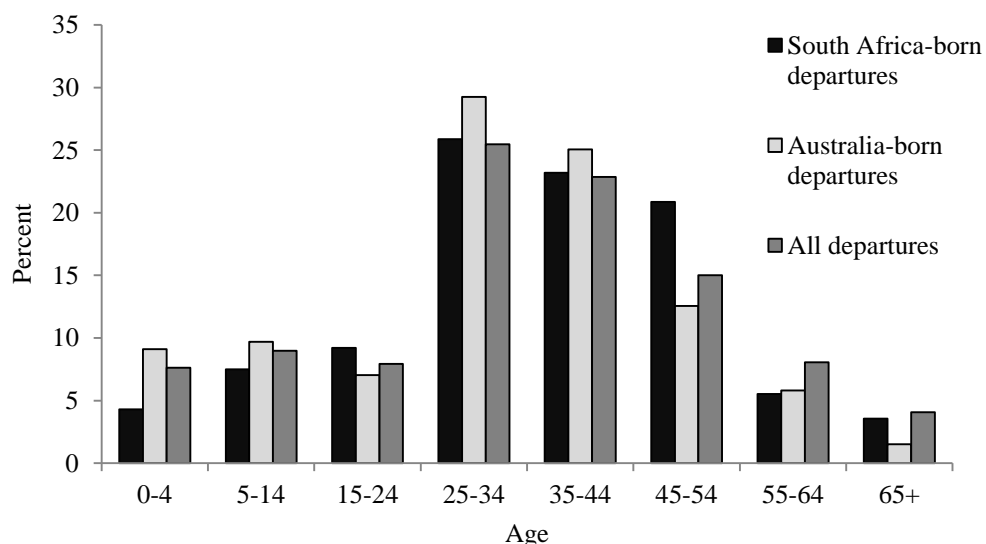
Note: Uses place of enumeration data (dwelling characteristics).

3.15 Demographic characteristics of permanent departures

Figure 3.10 shows 70 percent of South Africa-born permanent departures are of prime working age - between 25 and 54, more than Australia-born departures (66.8 %) and total departures (63.3 %). Just over one quarter of South Africa-born departures are aged 25-34 (25.9 %). However, compared to the total Australia-born departures, South African departures tend to be older with considerably more departures in the 45-54 and 65+ age groups. Unsurprising, given a major motivation for South African emigration is to secure a better future for their children, few children (aged <14) are among South Africa-born departures. Certainly, a study of Hong Kong Chinese in Australia found so-called “stayers” included those with school age children and those who migrated to achieve a better future for family (Mak 1997). Dubbed ‘reluctant exiles’, this migrant group, like South Africans,

were motivated to emigrate because of political conditions in their origin and therefore offer a useful point of comparison.

Figure 3.10: Permanent departures of South Africa-born and Australia-born from Australia by age, 2010-11*



Source: DIAC Emigration, 2011

*Emigration not published after 2011

For the past several years more than three-quarters of South African departures from Australia have been resident there for more than five years (Table 3.21). This could indicate several things. Firstly, it may suggest some effort is made to settle before returning. It is also possible that migrants are living in Australia long enough to secure Australian citizenship before they return.

Table 3.21: South Africa-born, period of residence in Australia before permanent departure 2005-06 to 2010-11*

	<2 years	%	2 to 5 years	%	5 + years	%	Total dept.
2005-06	77	14.4	67	12.6	389	73.0	533
2006-07	83	15.6	63	11.9	385	72.5	531
2007-08	82	14.1	72	12.4	427	73.5	581
2008-09	106	16.7	81	12.8	440	69.3	635
2009-10	90	11.9	111	14.6	540	71.2	758
2010-11	109	13.4	107	13.1	581	71.3	815

Source: DIAC Emigration, 2005-06 to 2010-11

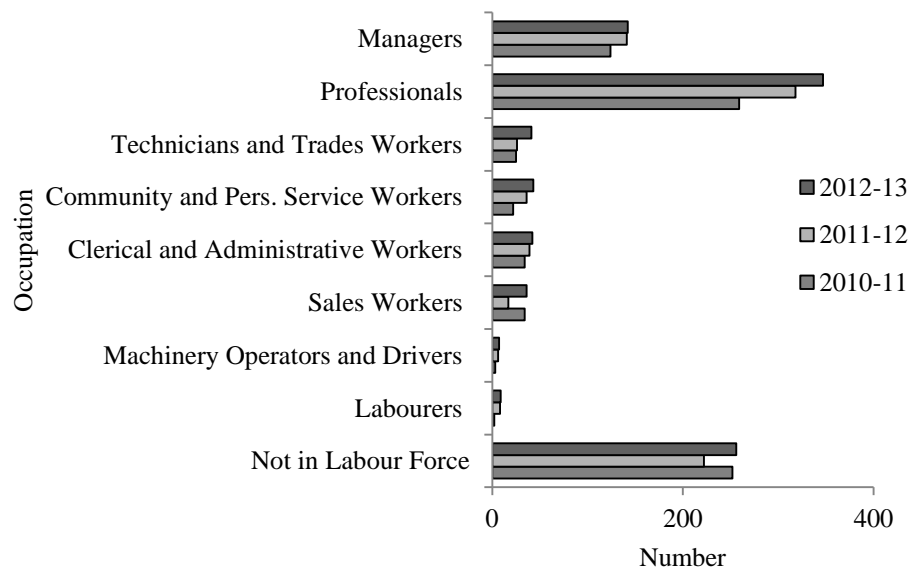
*Emigration not published after 2011

There is some evidence in Western countries, including Australia, that people who plan to return, “are those who have obtained residence status abroad and who are able to take advantage of both sides” (Iredale and Guo 2001 p. 11). Certainly, securing an Australian

passport has been viewed as a “risk-minimization strategy or insurance policy” before the Hong Kong-born return to their origin country to work (Mak 1997 p. 171). It could also be a sign of inter-company transfers of highly skilled migrants who have worked for a period in Australia before transfer (Salt 1997).

Managers and professionals dominate the occupations of South Africa-born departures (Figure 3.11). This reflects the total South Africa-born in Australia. Of note is the increase in the departure of professionals, which grew by around 10 percent between 2010-11 and 2012-13. The numbers of technicians and trades workers departing also increased during this time, although they remain very low.

Figure 3.11: South Africa-born permanent departures by occupation, 2010-11 to 2012-13



Source: DIBP unpublished data

3.16 Conclusion

Australian census data (ABS) has provided a comprehensive profile of the South Africa-born community in Australia, indicating that this migrant community is evenly split between males and females and is predominantly aged between 35 and 50 years of age, the prime working ages. South African migrants in Australia are highly educated compared to both their Overseas-born counterparts and the total Australian population, and more than half of them are employed as professionals and managers and have an excellent command of English. A range of other indicators point to a migrant group that is outwardly successful. For example, rates of employment, income and home ownership are all high.

For each of these reasons, South Africans can be seen to satisfy the standard Australia seeks to achieve in their skilled migration programme.

Although migrants from South Africa to Australia are predominantly White, typically English-speakers, this analysis indicates that this migrant group is becoming increasingly more culturally and ethnically diverse. Among the White migrants, for example, the number of Afrikaans-speakers migrating has increased dramatically. Data on language, ancestry and religion also point to a small but growing number of Black migrants from South Africa in Australia. This finding is significant because it updates earlier, unsupported studies that found South Africans migrants to Australia are mainly White and English-speaking (Abdurahman 1974; Hugo 2009a; Jakubowicz 2010; Kennedy 2001; Lucas et al. 2006; Visser 2004). This increasingly diverse group are highly urbanised and primarily live in capital cities around Australia. They are over-represented in New South Wales, Queensland and, in particular, Western Australia. Likely reasons for this are the existing migrant networks in these locations which generate further migration and are considered further in Chapter Six.

4.1 Introduction

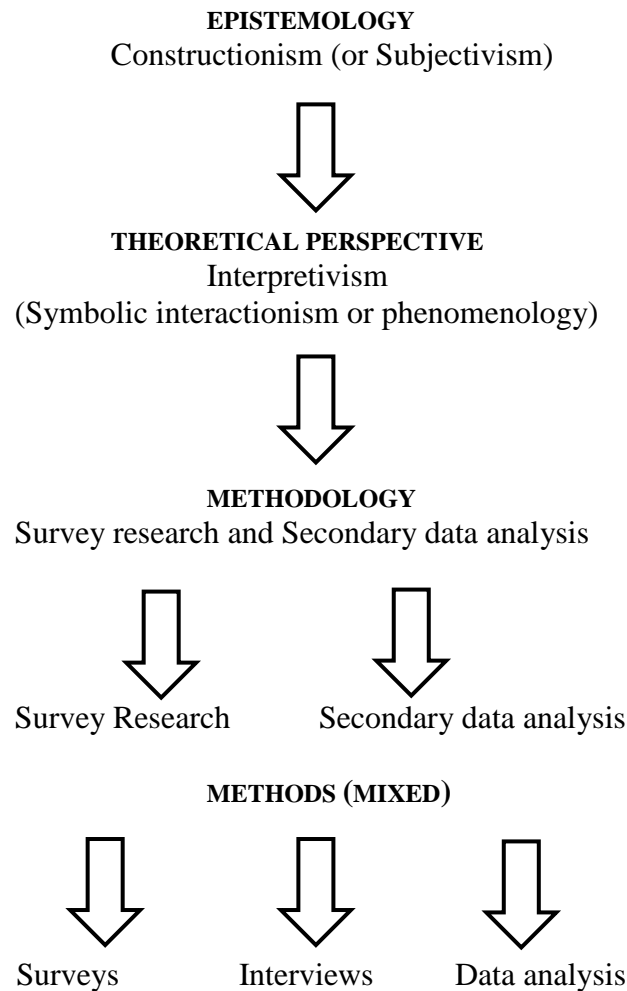
In a bid to understand the movement of people between Australia and South Africa and demonstrate the complexity of this migration, this study has several aims. They centre on establishing the nature and extent of migration between these countries as well as revealing the motivations and settlement experiences of South African migrants in Australia, and the links they maintain with South Africa. Research carried out in this study employed specific strategies to answer the questions posed in Chapter One. This chapter examines the theoretical framework and research design, as well as the methods of primary data collection, in particular the data collection instruments, collection procedures and the participant recruitment used in this study. This included two online surveys and a series of semi-structured interviews with migrants, stakeholders and other key informants. Of the surveys, the largest was of South African migrants living in Australia, referred to as the SSAM. The smaller survey, known as the RMS, collected data from return migrants, defined here as South Africans who migrated to Australia but have since returned to their country of origin. First, the theoretical framework underpinning the research methods is briefly described.

4.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical perspective forming the basis of this research project is interpretivism which is strongly linked to the broader philosophical stance of constructionism (Creswell 2009; Crotty 1998). Together these form the foundations of this research and underpin the ‘production of knowledge’. The relationship between these two paradigms, as well as the methodologies and more specific methods these drive are depicted in Figure 4.1. This shows how the epistemology informs the theoretical perspective and, in turn, the methodology and methods used in this research. Constructivism stands in opposition to objectivism or realism which purports reality exists independent of any human presence (Jaccard and Jacoby 2010). Rather, constructivism works from the premise that reality is what humans make of it. That is, reality is a construction of the human mind and this construction is tied to temporal and social contexts. Interpretivism stands in opposition to positivism which searches for cause and effect laws that dictate phenomena and consider

actors rational (Crotty 1998). By contrast, interpretivism “looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty 1998 p.67).

Figure 4.1: Theoretical foundations informing the research presented here (based on work by Crotty 1998)



McGuirk and O’Neill (2010, p. 213) make the critical observation,

“The power of qualitative data lies in its revelation of a respondent’s understandings and interpretations of the social world, and these data, in turn, are interpreted by the researcher to reveal the understandings of structures and processes that shape respondents’ thought and action”.

This shows how the methodology employed in this research directly relates to the epistemological paradigm of constructionism and, by extension, the theoretical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm. Researchers who work within the latter theoretical framework focus on, “investigating the complexity, authenticity, contextualisation, shared subjectivity of the researcher and the thing being researched” and qualitative research in particular shares these assumptions (Kasim et al. 2006 p. 188).

This research is further underpinned by two related theories from migration studies: migration systems approaches and transnationalism. In particular, migration systems forms the basis of the analysis undertaken in this study of flows between South Africa and Australia and Chapter Two showed that these flows, in turn, form a distinctive migration system. The identification of this system provided strong justification for the adoption of a predominantly transnational framework in this study. Also identified in Chapter Two, common to these theories is the view that migration is best conceived of holistically, so that the full complexity of flows and counter-flows of people between countries are recognised. Both theories also highlight the range of other linkages between places that are initiated and perpetuated by migration, although the ongoing interactions, networks and links that migrants maintain across borders are the primary focus of transnational migration theory (Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Vertovec 1999), thus it informs much of the analysis of primary survey data in this study. Of the many migration theories that have been put forward to explain why migration occurs, migration systems approaches and transnationalism – along with related network theory - are deemed the most valuable for explaining why South Africans migrate to Australia. The relevant literature on migration theory, particularly systems approaches and transnationalism, is reviewed as specific aspects of South African migration to Australia are discussed in subsequent chapters.

4.2.1 Mixed methods

This research employs a mixed methods research approach, that has been defined by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p. 17) as,

“the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study”.

Mixed method research approaches are increasingly being used and are endorsed by researchers who believe “the combination of different sources of data will enable a fuller and richer analysis of the research questions” (Hall 2008 p. 56). Quantitative research methods, “attempt to maximize objectivity, replicability, and generalizability of findings” (Harwell 2011 p. 149). Many quantitative studies use survey instruments such as closed-ended questionnaires and rating scales, the data from which are statistically tested and analysed. By contrast, qualitative research methods, “focus on discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives, and thoughts of participants” (Harwell 2011 p. 149). Qualitative research methods such as interviews, surveys and focus groups allow “detailed exploration of a topic of interest” (Harwell 2011 p. 148). Mixed method research

approaches offer an important third research paradigm in a research landscape previously divided into quantitative and quantitative camps. Importantly, Findlay and Li (1999) argue that mixed method is highly appropriate in the field of migration research.

Working from a population geography perspective, McKendrick (1999) claims that there can be multiple goals of multi-method research. In fact, he claims there are eight models of multi-method research, each with their own goals. Importantly, these models are not mutually exclusive and multi-method research can therefore satisfy the goals and objectives of more than one model (McKendrick 1999). Two of these models are applicable in this study, both of them variations on the research principle of triangulation or drawing on multiple data sources (Given 2008). In a social science research context, triangulation allows a subject to be examined from a multiplicity of angles through the mixing of data or methods (Olsen 2004), allowing greater accuracy of understanding and validity of results according to proponents of this approach (Hussein 2015; Jick 1979; Webb et al. 1966). Denzin (1989) argued triangulation can involve data, investigators, theories and methods. Data triangulation, or the use of a variety of data sources pertaining to the same subject (Denzin 1989), often for validation purposes (Hussein 2015; Olsen 2004), is achieved in this study through the use of secondary administrative data (quantitative) which provide an important framework within which primary data (quantitative and qualitative) from two surveys are contextualized. In particular, each of these sources provide data on migrants' characteristics that can be cross-referenced to enhance our understanding of trends and, to an extent, verify the quality of primary data though its findings cannot be generalised to the broader population.

Methodological triangulation has been described as “within” or “between” method (Denzin 1989), where “within” method triangulation involves using a variety of strategies to collect data within the same method, thus checking for internal consistency (Blaikie 1991; Hussein 2015; Jick 1979). By contrast, “between” method triangulation combines dissimilar methods to examine the same issue, therefore testing the degree of external consistency and validity (Blaikie 1991; Hussein 2015). The McKendrick (1999) models applicable in this study are multi-method, that is, they use more than one method to address the research question/s and therefore fall into the “between-method” category. The first uses triangulation principles for confirmatory purposes, namely to,

“strengthen a research conclusion with supporting evidence derived from an independent and different approach” (McKendrick 1999 p. 42-43).

The second model uses multiple research methods “to address different aspects of the same research question” (McKendrick 1999 p.43), for example, enhancing data from household questionnaires with in-depth interviews with individual family members to “tease out the personal significance” of a given experience. In this study, a mix of data-gathering techniques is employed to address the research aims and objectives. As discussed above, quantitative secondary data layered with primary quantitative and qualitative survey data reveal the complex nature and extent of migration. The remaining study objectives are achieved through the collection and analysis of primary data from surveys that yield both quantitative and qualitative data respectively through closed and open-ended questions. As per McKendrick’s (1999) second model described here, these data are enhanced with qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with migrants and key stakeholders which allow in-depth exploration of themes canvassed in the survey.

4.3 Secondary data sources

The secondary data used in this study are dealt with only briefly here to highlight their function within the greater research design. Stock data from the ABS Census measure the number of people in Australia and record a range of their characteristics (ABS 2013a). Importantly, this study includes data from the most recent census in 2011. Flow data, or data capturing people’s movements to and from Australia are derived from Overseas Arrivals and Departures data (OAD) maintained by the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP). These data represent the movements of travellers rather than the numbers of travellers. Together, data from these Australia agencies are considered to be comprehensive and of high quality by international standards (Hugo 2009a p. 2). By contrast, statistics on migration from South African sources are widely considered unreliable (Kaplan 1997; Lucas et al. 2006; Van Rooyen 2000). Most often they are criticised for underestimating emigration (Kaplan 1997 p. 392; Van Rooyen 2000 p. 26-27). The quantitative (or statistical) data obtained from Australian sources is critical for determining the scale of migration between Australia and South Africa. It also provides an excellent profile of South African migrants in Australia.

4.4 Primary data sources

As a complement to these secondary data, a series of methods were devised to collect more information about the migration and settlement experiences of South Africans in Australia. As has been noted, “Survey analyses are complimentary to macro level analyses that describe broad migration trends and differentials” (Fawcett and Arnold 1987 p. 1524). Primary quantitative data were collected through two online survey questionnaires. The largest one, surveyed South African migrants in Australia and elicited crucial demographic data as well as details on South African migrants’ motivations for migration and their settlement experiences in Australia. The second survey was of return migrants. It was smaller and was distributed to South Africans who had previously migrated to Australia but had since returned permanently to South Africa. Although secondary data reveals the extent of return migration to South Africa, this survey provides invaluable information on the actual experiences of return migrants, particularly their reasons for returning. Primary qualitative data were collected for this study through a number of semi-structured interviews with South African migrants in Australia, stakeholders within the South African community in Australia, and other key informants. The next part of this chapter considers the design and implementation of both of these primary data collection methods.

4.5 Surveys in migration research

It has been said the questionnaire “is by far the most widely used instrument for data collection in the social sciences” (Hall 2008 p.148). Certainly surveys are a major data source in contemporary studies of international migration (Fawcett and Arnold 1987). Within the Australian context alone, a plethora of studies have collected crucial data on migrants through survey, among them studies of particular ethnic or cultural groups (Batrouney 1991; Mosler and Catley 1998; Parker 2010), migrant types (permanent or temporary) (Khoo et al. 2008) or mobility types (Hugo et al. 2003). Fawcett and Arnold (1987, p. 1523) found that, “migration surveys provide richer and more detailed data than are available from other sources, such as censuses”. Particular advantages are their flexibility, manageability, timeliness, multi-site design and, compared to some alternative data collection methods, reduced costs (Fawcett and Arnold 1987).

4.5.1 Online survey instrumentation

In the past, common means of distributing surveys for research purposes have been mail outs or face-to-face interviews. More recently, researchers are increasingly distributing

surveys online through the Internet (Orr 2005; Schonlau et al. 2002). Obviously online surveys are not suitable in all settings. At a minimum, participants require access to the necessary technology and requisite skills to operate it. Where appropriate, however, online surveys provide a cheaper and less labour intensive alternative to traditional methods of survey distribution, among other benefits (Orr 2005). In the South African case, census data more than justify this method of survey distribution. In 2011, 91.1 percent of South Africa-born persons had access to an Internet connection, 85.4 percent of which were broadband connections (ABS 2014b). Therefore it was decided the online mode of survey distribution alone would be satisfactory for this technologically adept migrant group. A further benefit of using online surveys was the ability to reach South Africans in locations around Australia, a vast study site. This was particularly important given the need to adopt alternative sampling techniques due to there being no available sampling frame.

The survey instrumentation for both surveys primarily consisted of closed questions which generated quantitative data. Some qualitative data was also collected through open-end questions. The SSAM was a large survey comprising 104 questions (Appendix 1). However, the number of questions each respondent was required to answer varied depending on their unique story and the resulting combination of responses they gave. This was possible because the inbuilt skip function logic in the survey software allowed surveys to be tailored to each respondent as they progressed through the questionnaire. The SSAM survey questions were broken down into the following question types:

- Open ended short answer (22)
- Open ended comment/essay (15)
- Closed, Yes or No (25)
- Multiple choice (34)
- Multiple choice, Yes or No (1)
- Matrix (3)
- Rating scale (4)

4.5.2 Pilot study

Pilot surveys were distributed to twelve people known to the researcher and ten responses were returned. Most pilot participants were migrants to Australia from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Malaysia. Feedback from the migrants was useful for honing both the content and format of survey questions. For example, the comments of one participant highlighted the connection some migrants maintain with their origin country through

charitable work and donations. Two questions were thus included in the final survey asking whether respondents supported charitable organisations or projects in South Africa. Another pilot respondent pointed out there was no option for retirees in the question about employment status. This was subsequently included. Similarly, an Australia-born respondent married to a Swedish national raised the issue of marriage migration, so an option about marriage migration was included in the multiple choice questions about reasons for migration. Basic analysis of pilot survey responses was undertaken to ensure the survey questions elicited useful data that corresponded with the research questions.

Surveys were also piloted among willing colleagues and associates who completed 'dummy' surveys in an effort to eliminate technical problems or glitches with the online survey software, as well as to test the question logic (an automated skip function within the software). As such, the efficacy of the online questionnaire tool, as well as the survey content, was tested. Finally, respondents to the pilot were asked to comment on the survey instructions. In all cases these were deemed satisfactory.

Of concern to the researcher was the length of the survey. While Foddy (1994, p. 112) finds little evidence that long questionnaires lead to lower response rates, he acknowledges there is likely to be a point at which the length of a questionnaire has an effect on response rates. Indeed, compared to other surveys of South African migrants (Arnold 2011; Brink 2012; Rule 1989; Simon 1989), the SSAM questionnaire is lengthy. However, feedback on survey length from pilot participants, especially migrants, was positive. Several participants commented that the questions were interesting and thought provoking, thus compelling them to continue with the questionnaire. This was corroborated by positive feedback the researcher later received from South African migrants who completed the live survey. Many went out of their way to contact the researcher and express interest in the topic as well as offer support. A number of participants also requested a copy of the results.

4.5.3 Online survey sampling (participant recruitment)

It is recognised that "building a representative sample of migrants at destination is often a challenge" (Beauchemin and González-Ferrer 2011 p. 105). A major reason for this is the lack of appropriate sampling frames (Beauchemin and González-Ferrer 2011; Pernice 1994). As there was not an established sampling frame of South African migrants in Australia from which a random and representative sample could be taken for this study, alternative ways of accessing the most representative cross-section of South Africans in

Australia were considered. In order to gain access to as diverse a group of South African migrants as possible, several different methods of participant recruitment were used. These methods were devised by the researcher as the best practicable ways of making contact with the South African community in Australia. In this way, a non-probability, purposive sampling technique was used whereby “the researcher purposively chooses subjects who are thought to be relevant to the research topic” (Hall 2008 p. 195). Hall (2008, p. 195) explains that these subjects,

“include people with special knowledge or who are in key positions, or organisations having special characteristics of particular interest to the researcher”.

Arguably the greatest advantage of non-probability sampling in a case like this, where there is not a specific sampling frame, is the ability to follow new leads that present themselves during data collection (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010 p. 75). A second sampling technique employed here was a variation of a well-known social science method; snowball sampling (Bryman 2004; Hall 2008; Henn et al. 2009). In this study, survey and interview participants were provided an opportunity to nominate other migrants they thought may like to participate in the study and so the sample grew. The snowball sampling technique has previously been used in migration research generally (Beauchemin and González-Ferrer 2011; Mak 1997; McDonald et al. 1999; O'Connor 2010; Voigt-Graf 2005), as well as for research on the experiences of South African migrants in Australia (Arnold 2011; Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Khawaja and Mason 2008; Louw and Mersham 2001; Simon 1989). A recognised limitation of this technique is that it can lead to a less representative sample as like people recruit like people (Mak 1997). However, this is where multiple research methods play a role to produce “a reasonably heterogeneous though not necessarily representative sample” (Mak 1997 p. 174).

The nature of non-probability sampling, as used in this study, means the sample is not representative of all South Africans in Australia. This has significant implications because generalisations cannot be extended beyond the research participants to be applied to the broader South African community in Australia. Furthermore, statistical tests on the resulting data are not possible. Still, considerable effort was made to distribute the survey in as many ways and to as many groups as possible to capture as diverse a range of views as possible. The efficacy of these efforts is assessed in Chapter Five when the study populations are introduced in detail. Suffice to say, primary data collected here appeared to produce a study population that reflected a range of key characteristics evident in the

broader South African community in Australia. Another issue related to sampling the South African community in Australia is the dispersion of these migrants nationally. It was not possible for travel to be undertaken to each Australian State and Territory to recruit participants hence the adoption of online surveys.

In terms of eligibility to participate in the surveys, the criteria were deliberately broad for two reasons. Firstly, having clicked on the link and been directed to the online survey, potential participants were required to read the eligibility criteria on the introduction page (see Appendix 2), self-assess their eligibility and either proceed with the survey or not. In other words, participants were not able to have the eligibility criteria explained to them. It was thus thought prudent not to complicate the survey criteria. Secondly, because of the dearth of information about the South Africa-born in Australia, this study focussed on understanding the experience of the broad population. A diverse range of participants were targeted to participate in the hope of garnering a broad range of views. To do this, limited stipulations were applied to who could participate. Any migrants from South Africa, whether they were born there or not, could fill in the SSAM provided they were aged over 18 years and were the primary applicant (PA) or the spouse of the PA on their entry visa. Similarly, RMS participants could be anyone who had previously migrated to Australia but since returned to South Africa permanently, provided they were aged over 18 years.

4.5.4 Survey distribution

This research used contemporary data collection techniques. Not only did it use online software for the design and hosting of the questionnaire, but email was the primary method of communication with both survey and interview participants. Although the researcher was prepared to post hard copies of surveys, no surveys were distributed in this way. As mentioned, one of the biggest issues when planning a survey of South African migrants to Australia is the wide dispersion of migrants around the nation. To achieve the best results South African expatriate clubs, organisations and forums from around Australia were located. Indeed, there is a precedent for using community groups to access migrants for the purposes of research (Bernard 2011; Fawcett and Arnold 1987; Mak 1997), including among South African migrants (Crush et al. 2013; Hatoss et al. 2011; Pernice et al. 2000). Participants for ethnographic surveys in one study were also recruited through South African food shops in Australia (Louw and Mersham 2001). This is a common technique, but it has disadvantages. As Fawcett and Arnold (1987, p. 1531) recognise, the strategy of

recruiting migrants through social groups “would be acceptable if the target of the study were immigrants in those groups”. Issues of generalisability arise from samples thus recruited, although they still consider surveys a valuable method of data collection.

In the end, five different State-based groups and three organisations with national membership were approached to help with the advertisement, promotion and distribution of the SSAM survey hyperlink (Table 4.1). The Internet was used to communicate with the selected clubs. Indeed, the Internet is seen to be the “core to an apparent growth and intensity of expatriate organisations” (Lowell 2002 p. 13). This certainly seems true of the South African community, as some organisations emailed the survey link, while others posted it on a website or included it in their organisation’s newsletter (online).

Table 4.1: Name and type of organisation through which the SSAM was distributed, including membership base and distribution method

Organisation Name	Type of Organisation	Membership base	Distribution*	Members
Survey of South African Migrants (SSAM)				
The Southern African Tasmanian Network	Social club	South Africans in Tasmania	Survey link emailed to members	Not available
Allboks Social Club, Melbourne	Social club	South Africans in Melbourne	Survey link emailed to members	Not available
Africa Club, Queensland	Social club	All Africans living in Queensland	Article with link* included in newsletter emailed to members	Not available
South African Military Veterans Organisation Australia (SAMVOA)	Social networking	Clubs contacted in WA and NSW	Survey link emailed to members	Approx. 500-700
<i>SAbona</i> Magazine	Online magazine (with membership)	Online. Aimed at South Africans in Australia	Article with link* posted online and distributed in email to members	Approx. 4,500
South Africans in Perth	Website	Online. Aimed at South Africans in Perth.	Article with link* posted on website	Not applicable
Return Migration Survey (RMS)				
Homecoming Revolution	Website	Online. Aimed at South Africans globally.	Article with link* posted on website	Not applicable
SAAustralia Forums	Online forum	Online. Aimed at South Africans in Australia and still in South Africa	Link to survey posted with information about research on website	Not applicable

*See Appendix 4 for articles with links

Throughout the duration of fieldwork, migrants were encouraged to forward the survey link to other migrants they knew who might want to participate in the study. Similarly, space was provided in both surveys for participants to provide the email addresses of other migrants who might like to participate. The researcher then emailed prospective participants (Appendix 3), informed them of the study and invited them to participate. In total, the SSAM elicited 511 responses.

These innovative approaches are not without precedent (Bernard 2011; Crush et al. 2013; Hatoss et al. 2011; Mak 1997), and are relatively new to social science research, particularly the online components. As discussed above, there are certainly significant advantages to using modern online technologies in a research context. However, it needs to be acknowledged that the researcher relinquishes a degree of control when using these techniques. For example, it is not easy to quantify how many people were exposed to the SSAM and RMS survey links once they were ‘posted’ online. Compared to traditional research methods, it is thus difficult to calculate an accurate response rate.

In fact, the notion of response rates is made altogether redundant when blanket invitations recruiting research participants are published online, although the online platforms in this case were aimed at a niche group; South Africans in Australia. Unfortunately, details about the membership of small expatriate social groups were not available. However, calculations based on known memberships reveal a poor response rate of less than ten percent. This would be even less when online exposure through website postings is accounted for. Other surveys of South Africans have had higher response rates, albeit with smaller samples overall (Arnold 2011; Polonsky et al. 1989; Rule 1989). Arnold (2011), for example, achieved a very healthy response rate of 72 percent with 469 responses. On the other hand, only 158 people from a database of 100,000 migrants responded to Brink (2012) and only 48 were eligible South Africans. Polonsky et al. (1989) achieved a response rate of 22.3 percent (89 responses), while Rule achieved a rate of 32.4 percent with a smaller sample of 22 respondents. A recent Canadian study successfully used modern social networking platforms to achieve a response rate around 40 percent (Crush et al. 2013), with a healthy sample of 1,624. Distribution methods for the RMS differed slightly and are discussed separately in the next section.

4.5.5 Limitations of survey

In addition to the matters raised in relation to online surveys, it is recognised that a standard bias in survey research is that respondents who feel strongly about the issues raised in the survey are more likely to take the time to respond. This is especially the case when surveys are required to be posted back (McDonald and Crush 2002b p.4), but is also applicable to online surveys as they too require an investment of time. Moreover, in the case of the SSAM and RMS, the researcher was keenly aware that the views of migrants who do not participate in expatriate organisations or no longer identify as South African were less likely to be captured in the study. This can be a significant disadvantage because individuals who refuse to take part or cannot be located usually have different characteristics from those who do participate (Fawcett and Arnold 1987). To the extent that it is possible to mitigate this source of bias, this was done by contacting as many organisations as possible and collecting as many survey responses possible within the time and monetary constraints of this project. Indeed, where the SSAM population can be compared to the wider South Africa-born population in Australia through census data, they bear a striking resemblance (refer Chapter Five).

A second bias occurs due to the inherent partiality towards people with access to computers and the skills to operate them (also likely to cause bias towards a younger, more technologically savvy sample). That said, in view of data showing a high proportion of South Africa-born in Australia have access to the Internet, online surveys were deemed suitable for this technologically capable migrant group. Another limitation of online surveys is that it can never be known exactly who is completing the survey. This arises when a survey is distributed via the Internet and the researcher is unable to confirm a respondents' eligibility to participate in the study. However, the same applies to postal and telephone surveys, common social science research techniques, and can really only be mitigated by administering a survey in person (Bryman 2004). Still, surveys play an important role in migration research despite the limitations. The onus lies with the researcher to recognise possible limitations and, where possible, minimise their impact on data. This study tried to minimise survey bias in several ways:

- 1) Firstly, only one survey response was allowed per computer IP address. This influenced who could fill in surveys in two ways. Firstly, it prevented people from filling in more than one survey and thus skewing results. Secondly, in a household with one computer, only the

PA or their spouse could fill in a survey or, indeed, they could fill in the survey together which would be suitable. It is acknowledged, however, that in an age where many households have more than one computer and where individuals within the household may have access to personal laptops, tablets and mobile phones on which they can access the Internet, this deterrent to complete multiple surveys could be circumnavigated. The researcher considered the likelihood of this as small as there is little to gain doing so.

2) Secondly, as mentioned earlier, the eligibility criteria for this survey were not stringent. South African adults aged 18 and over who had migrated at any time as the PA or their spouse could participate. The information page at the beginning of the survey clearly stated these criteria but as the survey was online there was no way to enforce them. In effect, the responsibility lay with participants to read the statement on eligibility and self-assess whether they matched the criteria. In order to return some control to the researcher, a question in the first section of the survey asked respondents if they were 1) the primary applicant 2) the spouse of the primary applicant 3) the dependant of the primary applicant or 4) Other. This ‘check’ was designed to verify the eligibility of respondents. It revealed 94.6 percent of respondents were, in fact, eligible to participate (Table 4.2). The remaining respondents were either dependants of the primary applicant (4.2% n =21) or selected ‘Other’ (1.2%, n = 6).

Table 4.2: SSAM respondent eligibility, PA or spouse/partner

	n	%
Primary applicant (PA)	277	55.4
Spouse/partner of PA	196	39.2
Dependant of PA	21	4.2
Other	6	1.2
Total	500	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Although this research intended only to survey the PA or their partners, surveys completed by dependants were not automatically excluded. Throughout the analysis, assessments were made on a case by case basis as to the relevance and efficacy of including dependants’ responses. Two respondents aged less than 18 years were excluded from the analysis to comply with the ethics approval granted to this study.

3) Finally, inbuilt functions in the SurveyMonkey software that was used protected against common problems that can occur in survey research. In particular, the randomisation function was useful in minimising the likelihood of the ‘primacy effect’. This occurs when

respondents presented with a list of options “tend to select options early in the list...to seize upon the first option that *satisfies* their interpretation of the question” (Foddy 1994 p. 59). To prevent this, SurveyMonkey automatically randomised the order of answer choices when a new respondent opens the survey.

4.6 RMS methodology

Due to the lack of an appropriate sampling frame, the RMS also employed a non-probability sampling procedure, as SSAM participants were asked to provide email addresses of former migrants they knew who had returned to South Africa. These potential participants were emailed information about the research and invited to participate. A hyperlink to the survey was included in the email so interested return migrants could be directed straight to the online survey (Appendix 3). As the response rate for this recruitment technique was low (18 email addresses were provided and 3 surveys filled out using this method), it was supplemented by posting articles with the RMS link on two websites aimed at expatriate South Africans, shown in Table 4.3. This method elicited a further 22 responses. Having posted the link online, the survey was left open from March to December 2012 (refer Appendix 5 for RMS survey).

Table 4.3: Online website and forum used to distribute the RMS

Organisation name	Type of organisation	Membership base	Distribution method
Homecoming Revolution	Website	Online. Aimed at expatriate South Africans globally	Article with link posted on website
SAAustralia	Online forum	Online. Aimed at South African migrants in Australia and still in South Africa	Link to survey posted with information about research on website

Of the total 25 responses, two were not return migrants but South Africans still living in Australia. Another 11 did not complete the entire survey and, more importantly, did not clearly answer questions pertaining to their return. In other cases, migrants stopped at the first question about return. It is possible these were also migrants still in Australia who until this point had misunderstood the focus of the survey. After some deliberation, partial responses were omitted from the analysis leaving 11 valid responses. A small consolation is the quality of these as most respondents gave candid answers to the open-ended

questions which generated rich and useful data. Still, RMS data are not representative and cannot therefore be applied to the broader population of South African returnees. To an extent, RMS data is selective of return migrants who use online forums.

As with the SSAM it is not clear how many responses each recruitment technique elicited. Future research using these techniques should try to circumvent these issues. This could, perhaps, be done by using different survey links for each distribution method or a time-delayed release of survey links with enough lag to be able to attribute surveys to the most recent means of distribution.

4.7 Semi-structured interviews

Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted as part of this research. Participants included South African migrants, as well as stakeholders in the South African community and other key informants with a connection to or knowledge of South African migration to Australia. Semi-structured interviews were chosen for the qualitative data they produce, which could complement and enhance the largely quantitative survey data. Interviews were a mechanism by which to get closer to the study subjects through discussion with migrants themselves. This allowed in-depth exploration of the issues around South African migration to Australia. On the other hand, interviews with stakeholders and key informants provided an insight into the South African community in Australia and the broader experiences of this group. Such insights into key themes are common when qualitative strategies are employed (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009 p. 6).

Additionally, semi-structured interviews were chosen because of their inherent flexibility. As Bryman (2004) points out, although the interviewer has a schedule in these cases, the questions on it can be general and asked in an order that best suit the interview scenario. Moreover, the interviewer has greater freedom to pursue points of interest or significance as they arise (Bryman 2004). Equally, interviewees could ask the researcher questions resulting in a conversation-style interview, previously also used in migration research (Phillip and Ho 2010). Of course, the lack of structure can also be viewed as a limitation with data produced less conducive to comparison with other interviews.

4.7.1 Semi-structured interview instrumentation

Interview schedules were based on two things. At a broader level, they were guided by the research questions central to this study. More specifically, they were based on the SSAM. Thus information elicited during interviews complemented survey responses and enhanced the quantitative data generated by the SSAM. Interview schedules for key stakeholders and informants were designed to elicit information about the informants' connections with or knowledge of South African migration to Australia (Appendix 7). Their schedules were based on the following key themes: stakeholder interest or connection with the topic, understanding of the reasons for South African migration to Australia, knowledge of settlement experiences, knowledge of return migration and the costs and benefits of South African migration to Australia.

While informant schedules were based on these themes, they were also tailored to suit the role or occupation of the informant and their particular experience or knowledge of South African migration. In cases where stakeholders were also migrants, schedules were conflated to gain an insight from the interviewee in their capacity as both migrant and stakeholder. In most cases, dialogue began with the interviewee in the course of setting up an interview. This typically included a discussion around the individuals' eligibility for participation in the research and, as a result, the researcher was able to judge the suitability of certain questions and modify schedules accordingly. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews was, therefore, important for this research.

4.7.2 Interview sampling

Potential interview participants were located through extensive Internet research. Searches were concentrated around South African expatriate clubs and organisations. The emphasis was on locating group leaders and position holders with knowledge of the community. Additionally, informants from the migration process were sought for interview. For example, migration agents, organisers of migration expos in South Africa, recruitment companies, and companies known to employ South Africans. Business and community leaders were also approached including people involved in chambers of commerce and bilateral business groups. Community leaders included church and social club position holders. In three cases, participants were located through word of mouth. In many cases, interviewees satisfied both selection criteria in that they were migrants with a unique insight into the South African community because of their role within it. Table 4.4 lists

interview participants that were both stakeholders or key informants *and* migrants from South Africa. Pseudonyms are used and details given about participants' gender, State of residence, time in Australia, occupation and how they are connected to South African migration and therefore qualified to speak about it. Table 4.5 lists the same information for stakeholders or key informants that are not migrants.

Table 4.4: Participants in semi-structured interviews, migrants (including stakeholders and key informants)

Name*	Gender	State	Time in Australia	Occupation	Role as stakeholder or informant
Annelie	Female	SA	10 months	Company owner and Director	Director, Recruitment Agency recruiting South Africans for Australian companies
Hendrik	Male	SA	-	Town Planner	Migrant
Danie	Male	QLD	8 years	Sales Manager	President, Expatriate Club and well-known figure in Brisbane's South African community
Eric	Male	QLD	22 years	Company owner and Director	Owner/operator of South African food manufacturer and distributor
Stephen	Male	QLD	20 years	Small business owner	Editor, South African magazine in Australia
Nicola	Female	QLD	14 years	Freelance writer	Author of a book about migrating from South Africa to Australia.
Spencer	Male	SA	2 years and 9 months	Business owner	President, relevant Chamber of Commerce
Emily	Female	SA	-	Student	Temporary migrant
George	Male	WA	8 years	Uniting Church Minister	Uniting Church Minister , runs Afrikaans services in Perth
Harry	Male	WA	4.5 years	Business consultant	Vice President, relevant Bilateral Business Council and organiser of several South African social groups in Perth
Francois	Male	WA	17 years	Company Director	Director, Migration Agency with substantial South African client base
Malla	Female	WA	-	Engineer	Migrant
Paul	Male	SA	19 years	Specialist Doctor	Migrant

*Pseudonyms used here

Table 4.5: Participants in semi-structured interviews, stakeholders and key informants (non-migrants)

Name*	Gender	Location	Connection with South African migration
Paula	Female	SA	Representative, Immigration SA Travelled to South Africa several times to run expos and recruit skilled migrants for South Australia
Richard	Male	SA	HR Manager, Mining Company Travels to South Africa to recruit staff directly
Joanne	Female	VIC [#]	Cultural Coach English migrant and cultural coach who has worked extensively with South African migrants in Australia
Patrick	Male	NSW [#]	Director, Expo Company Extensive experience running expos in South Africa to recruit migrants
Michael	Male	SA	Former President, relevant Chamber of Commerce Nigerian migrant connected to South African migrants through Chamber of Commerce.
Angela	Female	SA	CEO, Migration Resource Centre Decades experience working with migrants, mostly humanitarian but also South African groups
Jenny	Female	SA	Director, Migration Agency Many years' experience operating large migration agency

* Pseudonyms used here

Phone interview

As this study is national in focus, interviews were conducted in two sites outside the researcher's home state of South Australia. Brisbane and Perth were selected as fieldwork sites because of the high proportion of South African migrants residing there. Locating migrants and their networks was deemed to be an easier prospect in these locations. Again, a concerted effort was made to interview a diverse range of South African migrants with regards to gender, location and ethnicity. In particular, it was hoped that participants from each of South Africa's five population groups could be recruited. It should be noted that while an ethnically diverse range of people were approached for interview, the interviews did not always eventuate for different reasons. The ethnicity of interview participants is not included here because participants were not asked to identify their ethnic background. However, while the majority of interview participants were White Afrikaans-speakers, interviews were conducted with people from each South African population group except Indian/Asian.

4.7.3 Interview recruitment procedures

Having collated potential interviewees' contact details, emails were sent to organisations and individuals. Included in the email was a short explanation about the research and a request for interview (Appendix 6). When individuals agreed to be interviewed, a mutually agreeable time and place to meet was settled upon via email correspondence. Two phone interviews were conducted where interstate travel was not possible. It should be noted that the people approached were overwhelmingly supportive and positive about the research and happy to be interviewed. Once interviews had begun, several interviewees suggested other groups and individuals to contact.

Interview participants were advised interviews would take about one hour. In 12 cases interviews ran over the specified time. It was observed in almost every case the discussion could have continued for longer as migrants opened up and shared their stories. In several cases, respondents were not asked all the questions on the schedule owing to time restraints and the flow of conversation to other related topics. As such, the researcher felt the decision to conduct semi-structured rather than structured interviews was justified. Interviews were conducted between 24 October 2011 and 23 February 2012. Interviews were recorded for transcription purposes. This was advantageous as the researcher did not need to be concerned with note-taking.

4.7.4 Limitations of interviews

As with surveys, the interview research method can be limited and shaped by who replies to requests for interview. In some cases, no response was received to the initial email contact. This could be for a range of reasons including the simple fact that email addresses may not be in use. In other cases, people responded that they were willing to be interviewed but thereafter did not reply to emails seeking to confirm time and location. Unfortunately, in several cases, these were migrants and stakeholders from population groups under-represented in both surveys and interviews. For example, organisers from an African soccer club, a well-known Coloured South African social group in Sydney, and families approached for a case study in a rural mining town in South Australia. The reasons for this are not clear making it difficult to comment on how to counteract this effect. Although follow-up phone calls, in addition to emails, might improve recruitment, one needs to consider carefully this more invasive method of participant recruitment.

4.8 Ethical considerations

This research was conducted with the approval of the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee. As with all research involving human participants, specific consideration was given to the ethical dimensions of both the survey and interview methods used. Arguably the three most important ethical considerations were obtaining the informed consent of participants, ensuring their participation was voluntary and respecting the rights of participants to remain anonymous. Other considerations included handling complaints, securing data storage and providing participants with access to interview transcripts and research findings. Owing to the different modes of communication involved (online and in person), each of the issues stated above was conveyed to the participants of surveys and interviews in different ways.

To obtain their informed consent all research participants were presented with a *Participant Information Sheet* (Appendix 8), outlining the research, its aims, what was expected from participants and the researcher's contact details. These sheets advised participants that their involvement in the research was voluntary and any information that identified them would remain confidential. Participants in the online survey were advised that completion of the survey would be considered their consent to be a part of the study. Interview participants were asked to sign a consent form before the interview (Appendix 9). The consent form provided additional information to interviewees who were also given a *Complaints Procedure Form* (Appendix 10).

4.9 Data processing and analysis

One of the benefits of using an online survey package is the automatic coding of responses. In addition to collecting and coding responses, SurveyMonkey software makes them available for download into several formats including Excel. The SurveyMonkey plan used for this study also featured an SPSS integration function whereby responses could be exported directly into an SPSS (.sav) file. Once there, data were cleaned before analysis was undertaken. The principal form of data analysis was descriptive statistics expressed through data frequencies and cross tabulations. Most qualitative data from the SSAM and RMS underwent manual text analysis. In some cases these data were coded to allow the frequency of responses to be analysed. Initial analysis of open-end questions in the online survey was conducted using the text analysis function in the SurveyMonkey software. This allows for responses to open ended questions to be coded and categorized. It also provided

the useful option to filter respondents' important (most frequent) words and phrases. Once transcribed, qualitative data collected during semi-structured interviews underwent basic text analysis to identify key themes and quotations.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has articulated the theoretical framework upon which this research has been built; a constructivist epistemology and interpretivist research philosophy. Both perspectives understand the role of humans in the production and understanding of knowledge. As such, they are suited to studying events like migration, a truly human phenomenon. Furthermore, these perspectives drive knowledge production through particular methods which have been tried and tested in the study of migration. This study employs a mixed methods approach which is thought to produce more robust data, particularly when it yields both quantitative and qualitative data. Surveys (quantitative) and semi-structured interviews (qualitative) are the main methods of primary data collection used here.

Quantitative data is primarily sourced from secondary, administrative sources as well as from primary surveys designed specifically for this study. The Survey of South African migrants (SSAM) surveyed South African migrants in Australia and generated quantitative data through closed and open questions respectively. This study incorporated an especially large area in that it focussed on migration to Australia as a whole rather than migration to a single State or city. Online survey methods were employed to overcome difficulties posed by the large and dispersed study area. A second survey, the Return Migrant survey (RMS) also produced quantitative data. Again, online surveys proved pivotal in contacting South African migrants who had returned home. Interviews allowed migrants in Australia to share their personal migration stories, while interviews with stakeholders tapped into their broader knowledge of South African migration to Australia.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces and characterises the study populations from both the Survey of South African Migrants (SSAM) and the Return Migrant Survey (RMS). Key characteristics including stream of entry, visa status and year of arrival as well as a detailed demographic profile for each population are provided. To contextualise and test the quality of these primary data, comparisons are made with the total South Africa-born population in Australia at the 2011 Census, and any biases in the study population are explained. The profiles presented here are pivotal before key results from this study are discussed in subsequent chapters.

5.2 SSAM stream of entry and visa status

Table 5.1 shows that SSAM respondents migrated from South Africa to Australia on a range of visa types, although the most common entry visas were Skilled (69.8 %) and Business (13.7%), and only 8 percent entered through the Family visa stream. This corresponds with data presented earlier that showed that most South Africa-born migrants enter Australia via the Skill stream of the General Migration Programme. Overall, a higher proportion of SSAM respondents entered Australia as permanent migrants (55.4 %) than temporary migrants (44.6 %). This shows South African migrants are very much part of the ‘new’ migration to Australia. In other words, they are significant contributors to temporary migration to Australia which has burgeoned in the last two decades. The two most common streams of entry for temporary migrants were also the Skilled (40.7 %) and Business (77.9 %) streams.

The high rate of temporary business migration is not surprising given the majority of Business visas offered in Australia are provisional, although most offer a pathway to permanent migration (DIAC 2013b). On the other hand, more Family visas allow permanent settlement from the outset, hence three quarters of SSAM Family migrants entered Australia on a permanent basis (DIAC 2013c). As would be expected, all students entered on temporary visas.

Table 5.1: Entry visa, SSAM permanent and temporary respondents

	Permanent		Temporary		Total SSAM	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Skilled	208	59.3	143	40.7	351	69.9
Family	30	75.0	10	25.0	40	8.0
Business	15	22.1	53	77.9	68	13.5
Student	0	0.0	9	100	9	1.8
NZ	14	89.5	2	10.5	19	3.8
Other	8	53.3	7	46.7	15	3.0
Total	278	55.4	224	44.6	502	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Of particular note, more than three quarters of SSAM respondents who entered on temporary visas transitioned to become permanent residents by the time they participated in the survey. This means that while 44.6 percent had entered Australia as temporary migrants, just 10.8 percent still had temporary status at the time of completing the SSAM. Not only did a high proportion of the study population enter Australia on a temporary basis, but they also demonstrated a strong propensity to transition to permanent status. Again, an important yet difficult question to answer is whether this is a deliberate strategy employed by these migrants, or it occurs as a result of satisfaction with settlement. The temporary migration programme is seen by some as a convenient stepping stone to permanent migration, and the SSAM survey included several questions to ascertain the intentions of temporary migrants in this regard.

Some SSAM respondents did not select a specific visa category but chose *Other* (6.8 %), and in most cases the type of visa could not be identified owing to insufficient detail. However, it was established that for 19 cases they had entered Australia through New Zealand. As noted in Chapter Two, indirect migration via New Zealand is an important element of the Australia-South Africa migration system and particularly South African migration to Australia. South Africans were in the top birthplace groups of New Zealand citizens in Australia and it is therefore important that some indirect migrants were counted in the SSAM population. As with temporary migrants, the question remains whether entry to Australia via New Zealand is a deliberate strategy by those who may not meet the more stringent entry criteria in Australia, and therefore cannot enter directly. The SSAM reveals that the majority who entered Australia through New Zealand said their migration to Australia was a permanent move (89.5 %). While many factors could be driving these

moves it is not inconceivable permanent settlement in Australia may always have been the eventual intention of these migrants, especially since it has been documented that South African migrants to New Zealand generally have positive settlement experiences (Meares et al. 2011). Indeed, at least one SSAM respondent did employ this strategy. They explained,

Had 2 young daughters...and feared for their safety. Immigrated to New Zealand first, waited three years to gain citizenship and then moved to Australia for a better lifestyle. Did not immigrate directly to Australia as the processing waiting time was too long. Went to NZ as a visitor, made points after securing work and then applied for PR.

Respondent #13, female, migrated 2003, aged 45

While a later survey question about *preferred* migration destination was not aimed specifically at indirect migrants, it is interesting to note their responses. Of the 19 entrants from New Zealand, 12 stated New Zealand had been their preferred destination. Only 6 said Australia was preferred, one did not respond. Thus for around one third of indirect migrants, migration to New Zealand was part of a longer-term strategy to end up in Australia. Interestingly, seven respondents who said New Zealand was their preferred destination gave reasons for their subsequent move to Australia. Two obtained good jobs in Australia, one followed children to Australia and one didn't like New Zealand. All had spent between 7 and 12 years in New Zealand.

5.3 SSAM migrants' key characteristics

5.3.1 Year of arrival

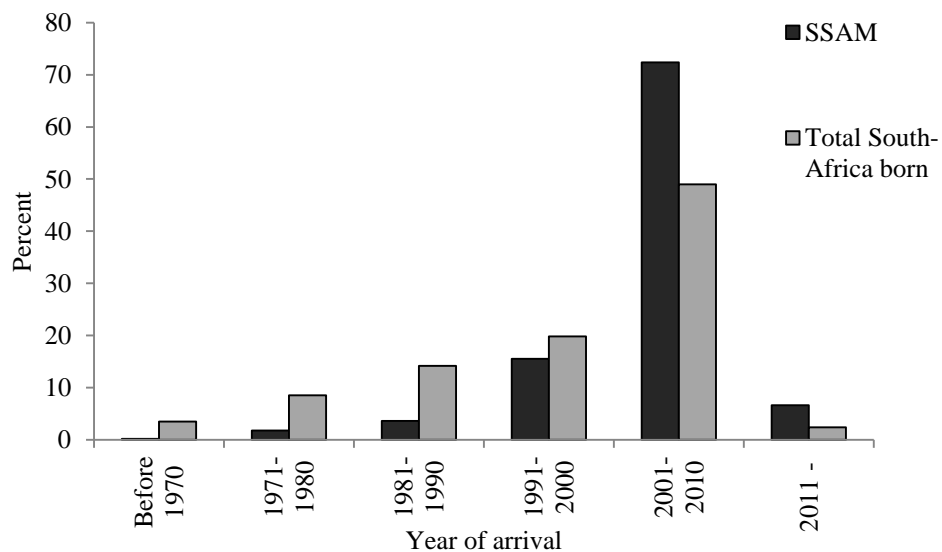
Table 5.2 shows close to three quarters of SSAM respondents arrived in Australia between 2001 and 2010, compared to less than half the total South Africa-born in Australia recorded in the 2011 Census (49.0 %), and SSAM temporary migrants arrived more recently than those who were permanent. While temporary visa options in Australia were only introduced from the mid-1990s (Khoo et al. 2008), they also only allow a maximum stay of four years (although migrants can re-apply for another visa). Temporary migrants are therefore, by definition, recent arrivals. Despite a history of permanent South African migration to Australia, only a handful of longer term arrivals were captured in SSAM data including 5.6 percent arriving before 1990 and just 2 percent before 1980. This will be in part due to the distribution of the survey online, because younger migrants are more likely to respond.

Table 5.2: Year of arrival, SSAM permanent and temporary respondents

Year	Permanent		Temporary		Total SSAM	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Before 1970	1	0.2			1	0.2
1971-1980	9	2.0			9	1.8
1981-1990	18	4.0			18	3.6
1991-2000	78	17.4			78	15.5
2001-2010	318	71.0	45	83.3	363	72.3
2011 -	24	5.3	9	16.7	33	6.6
Total	448	100	54	100	502	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Importantly, the year of arrival of SSAM migrants follows the broad trend of the total South Africa-born population in Australia (Figure 5.1). Arrivals of all South Africa-born persons experienced growth between 1971 and 1980. This was slightly earlier than the SSAM population for whom arrivals grew from the mid-1980s and then more substantially from the mid-1990s. Both populations experienced peak arrivals in the 2000s. In fact, the year with the most arrivals, 2008, was the same for both the study population and the total South Africa-born. The steep decline in arrivals for both populations is due to incomplete data for the decade. However, SSAM data suggests the strong growth in South African arrivals will continue in coming years, with 6.6 percent of respondents arriving in 2011, the survey year, almost double the arrivals between 1981 and 1990.

Figure 5.1: Year of arrival, SSAM respondents and total South Africa-born population at 2011 Census

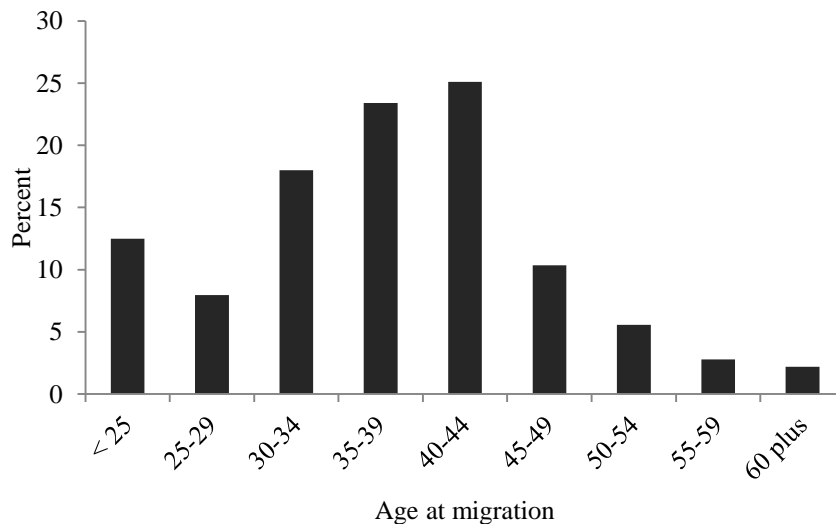
Source: SSAM 2011/2012; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Overall, the arrival times of the total South Africa-born are more spread out than the SSAM population which doesn't have a large older cohort. This probably reflects bias from data collection methods. After all, it is recently arrived migrants who are still establishing social and business networks in their new country who are likely to become members of the types of expatriate organisations through which the SSAM was distributed. That said, not all members of these groups are recently arrived. Indeed, the SSAM study population included some longer term migrants and ultimately recruited respondents of whom less than one third were members of South African groups, clubs or organisations.

5.3.2 Age and sex

Figure 5.2 shows the age of the study population at migration, and indicates that the majority of migrants moved to Australia as young adults with two thirds aged between 30 and 45. In fact, one quarter of respondents were aged 40 to 44 at the time of migration. Only 12.5 percent of SSAM respondents migrated under the age of 25 and much fewer again over the age of 60 (2.2 %). On the whole, the age of SSAM migrants at arrival reflects the Migration Programme in Australia which assigns points according to a range of criteria including age, and is selective of migrants aged 18 to 49 (DIAC 2012b).

Figure 5.2: Age when migrated to Australia, SSAM respondents



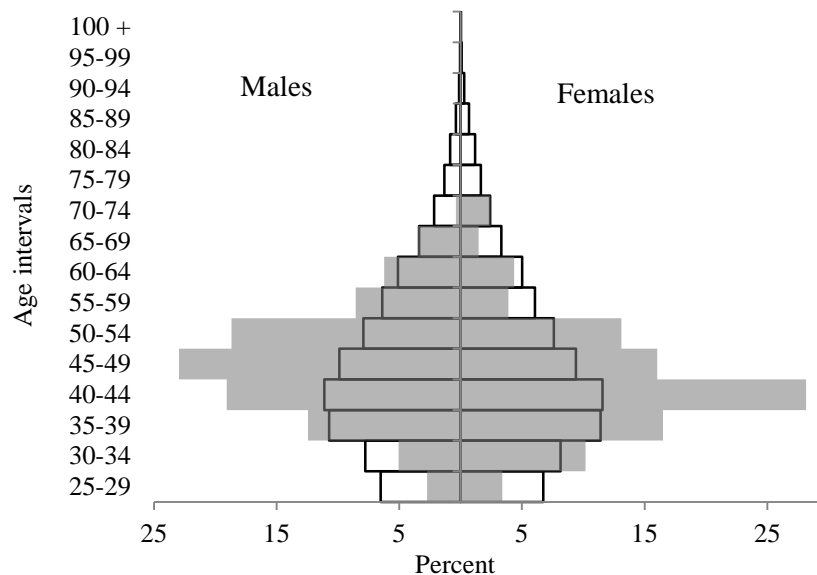
Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Figure 5.3 shows two thirds of adult respondents were at the tail-end of or had just moved through their child-bearing years (35 - 45 years) when they completed the survey which suggests they migrated with children rather than starting families in Australia. This hypothesis is supported by the oft-cited reason for emigrating from South Africa, namely

to provide children with a secure future and better opportunities (refer Chapter Six). Moreover, the SSAM revealed 70.4 percent of SSAM households had children. While it is not specified whether these children were born in South Africa or Australia, 10 percent of households comprise children aged less than 5 years while 60.4 percent have children of all ages. Given the recent arrival of SSAM migrants and the fact most children in these families are older than five years, it seems likely they were born in South Africa and migrated with their parents.

Compared to the total South Africa-born population in Australia, the SSAM population is selective of people who are of prime working age. In fact, Figure 5.3 shows SSAM migrants aged between 30 and 60 years are grossly overrepresented. The proportion of SSAM respondents aged 40 to 44 (47.1 %) is twice that of the total South Africa-born population (22.7 %). On the other hand, older age groups (75 + years) were underrepresented, as were young adults. Overall there were more males (55.3 %) than females (44.7 %) among SSAM respondents. The reverse was seen in the 2011 Census which counted fractionally more South Africa-born females (50.8 %) than males in Australia. Temporary SSAM migrants were evenly split between males and females.

Figure 5.3: Age and sex, SSAM respondents' age at survey (shaded) and total South Africa-born population at 2011 Census

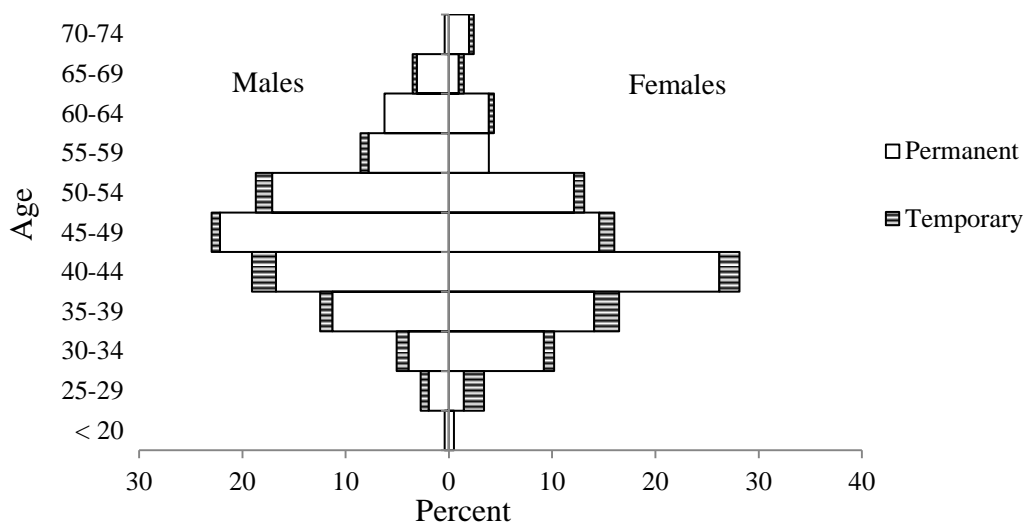


Source: SSAM 2011/2012; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Figure 5.4 shows the age and sex of permanent and temporary SSAM migrants. Broadly, there were more females than males in younger age ranges, particularly aged 30 to 44.

Thereafter, from 45 to 59 years, there were more males (50.2 %) than females (33.3 %). Among the 65-69 plus respondents, the number of men falls considerably.

Figure 5.4: Age at time of survey and sex, SSAM respondents



Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Most SSAM households comprise either couples or single parents with children, and Table 5.3 shows a greater proportion of permanent SSAM migrants have children (71.1 %) than temporary migrants (63.8 %), yet still a high proportion in both cases. More permanent migrants (5.1 %) live in single person households than temporary migrants (2.1 %), while more temporary migrants (29.8 %) live in couple-only households than permanent migrants (20.9%). The household structure of the SSAM population strongly reflects the total South Africa-born population in Australia as recorded at the time of the 2011 Census.

Table 5.3: Household structure, SSAM permanent and temporary respondents and total South Africa-born population at 2011 Census

	SSAM Permanent		SSAM Temporary		Total South Africa-born	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Single person household	23	5.5	1	2.1	9,631	6.6
Couple only household	88	20.9	14	29.8	29,524	20.3
Couple, children < 5 years	43	10.2	4	8.5		
Couple, children all ages	238	56.5	25	53.2	84,800*	58.2
One parent, children all ages	18	4.3	1	2.1	8,003	5.5
Other	11	2.6	2	4.3	13,725	9.4
Total	421	100	47	100	145,683	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census,

*Census only records single variable: couple with children

5.3.3 Birthplace

As discussed in Chapter Two, analyses that rely on country of birth data neglect migrants' personal migration histories and omit second or even third-time migrants who may identify as South African without having been born there. Since the SSAM invited 'South Africans' to complete questionnaires, it is clear respondents consider themselves South African. As such, they are included in this analysis regardless of birthplace. Still, the majority of SSAM respondents were born in South Africa (84.3 %). Of those born elsewhere, birthplaces tend to reflect South Africa's colonial ties with Britain as well as its geographical location and economic significance within Sub-Saharan Africa (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Country of birth, SSAM respondents

Country	Total SSAM	
	n	%
South Africa	391	84.4
United Kingdom	18	3.9
Zimbabwe	29	6.3
Other Sthn African country	18	3.9
Other	7	1.5
Total	463	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

5.4 Ethnicity

Chapter One discussed the persistence of ethnic and racial classifications in South Africa today, despite apartheid having been dismantled in the early 1990s. As Lucas et al. (2006, p. 46) point out,

“Because of persisting inequalities, Statistics South Africa continue to publish census and survey data for each...population or racial group”.

Foreign as these classifications may be to Australian and other observers, they are, as Arnold (2011) points out, essential to understanding South African populations both at home and abroad. Arnold (2011, p. 206) defends the survey in his study of South African doctors as,

“the only one of any size which has asked about and received complete information on the respondents' ethnicity in South Africa. Politically incorrect it might have been, by Australian (and other) civilised standards, to have asked these questions, but its ready acceptance by all respondents is unambiguous proof of its validity. The analysis of the

responses has further validated this approach; there is almost no facet of this migration which was not predicated on each respondent's South African identity"¹⁸.

Around the time Arnold's (2011) work was published, the SSAM asked a series of questions to ascertain the ethnic background of South Africans in Australia. In particular, this survey aimed to evaluate the increasing empirical (Ellis 2008) and anecdotal (Lucas et al. 2006) evidence that more, Black, skilled South Africans are emigrating from South Africa to destinations around the world. For example, a study in 2000 surveyed skilled South Africans and reported skilled Black South Africans were just as likely to leave South Africa as skilled Whites (Mattes and Richmond 2000). As such, the SSAM and RMS asked participants a similar question to the one asked by Statistics SA in their 2011 Census.¹⁹ The answers revealed SSAM data is seriously biased to a single population group. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of SSAM migrants were White (95.7 %). Next were Coloured South Africans (2.6 %), followed by Indian South Africans (1.1 %). Only two Black South Africans responded to the survey.

Several important points arise in relation to these results. Firstly, data collection methods were, unavoidably, biased towards White South Africans. An extensive effort was made to contact an ethnically diverse combination of South African migrants through as many expatriate groups as possible but most groups had a predominantly White membership. At the same time, for reasons that are unclear, efforts to recruit Black, Indian and Asian migrants were not wholly successful²⁰. The problems experienced here are likely to have been exacerbated by the snowball-style collection methods as respondents who distributed the survey link to family and friends are more likely to have done this within their population group (Seekings 2008). Other researchers have also experienced difficulties recruiting non-White South African participants (Renzaho and Burns 2006). One study did not recruit any non-White participants (Phillip and Ho 2010), another (Khawaja and Mason 2008 p.230) found the,

“majority of those willing to participate were white South Africans. A number of Indians were invited to participate, but no completed scales were received from them”

¹⁸ Arnold acknowledges here, by way of a footnote, the 1989 study of South African families in Melbourne by Alan Simon. This study included considerably fewer respondents (108), than Arnold's (469 respondents).

¹⁹ The South African Census included the following question in Section A, Demographics:
P-05 Population Group – How would (name) describe him/herself in terms of population group?
1 Black African, 2 Coloured, 3 Indian or Asian, 4 White, 5 Others (Statistics South Africa 2011).
Sample Household Questionnaire from <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2011/CensusQuestionnaire.asp>.

²⁰ Two groups - one social group and one online forum - agreed to participate in this research but could not be contacted later or did not follow through with distribution of the survey link as agreed.

A recent survey of South Africans in Canada, however, attracted a larger sample and a greater proportion of non-White migrants (Crush et al. 2013).

Although there is a bias towards White South Africans in the SSAM data, this sample does at least resemble the South African community in Australia. Certainly, much of the prior literature says South African migration to Australia is largely a White migration (Abdurahman 1974; Hugo 2009a; Jakubowicz 2010; Kalule-Sabiti et al. 2003; Kennedy 2001; Visser 2004), and Census data presented in Chapter Two supports these conclusions by providing strong evidence of a largely European, particularly Anglo, migration.

5.4.1 Ancestry

The ancestry question included in the SSAM was open-ended and elicited an array of responses. Some respondents claimed a single ancestry while others listed several, some as many as four or five. This analysis takes the first ancestry response and lists them according to the most commonly cited ancestries of the South Africa-born in Australia at the 2011 Census (Table 5.5). The somewhat nebulous ‘South African’ ancestry category was the most common followed by English, then Dutch. The latter are most probably Afrikaner South Africans. Some of the *Other* responses included people who stated their ancestry as Belgian, Brazilian, Chinese, Polish, Russian, Mauritian and Zimbabwean. In most cases only one or two respondents gave these ancestries. Nevertheless, they are further evidence of the ethnic and cultural diversity among South Africans in Australia.

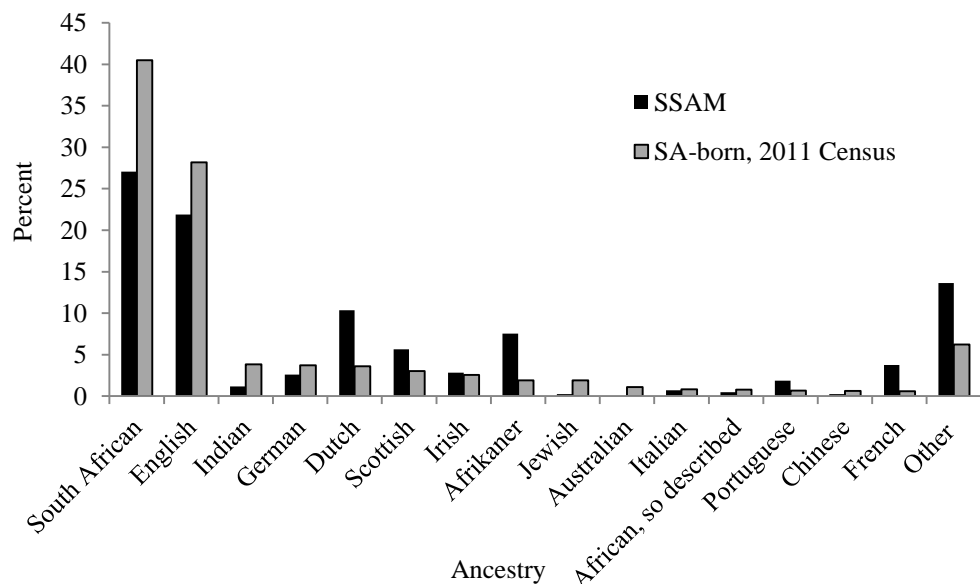
Table 5.5: Ancestry (multiple response), listed to reflect census data, SSAM respondents

	First response	%
South African	115	27.1
English	94	21.9
Dutch	44	10.4
Scottish	24	5.6
German	11	2.6
Irish	12	2.8
Indian	5	1.2
Afrikaner	32	7.5
Jewish	1	0.2
French	16	3.8
Italian	3	0.7
African, so described	2	0.5
Portuguese	8	1.9
Lithuanian	1	0.2
Other	58	13.6
Total	426	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Obviously these data bear close resemblance to census data against which they are coded. However, as Figure 5.5 shows, the proportion of first responses was similar anyway. The top two ancestries were South African and English. In both cases, a higher proportion of the total South Africa-born population nominated these ancestries, 40.5 and 28.2 percent respectively. By contrast 27.1 percent of the SSAM stated they had South African ancestry and 21.9 percent had English ancestry. The next most common ancestry for the total South Africa-born was Indian (3.8 %) followed by German (2.6 %). The proportion of the study population who nominated these ancestries is again smaller. On the other hand, higher proportions of the study population have Dutch (10.3 %) or Afrikaner (7.5 %) heritage than the total South-Africa born (3.6 % and 1.9 %, respectively). Thus it seems White Afrikaner as opposed to White English-speaking peoples are over-represented in the study population. Certainly this is corroborated by SSAM data on first language (discussed below). The identification of a significant Afrikaner population is important because the literature has tended to find South African migration to Australia was made up mostly of English-speaking Whites (Hugo 2009a; Kler 2006; Lucas 2001; Polonsky et al. 1989).

Figure 5.5: Ancestry (first response), SSAM respondents and total South Africa-born population at 2011 Census



Source: SSAM 2011/2012; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census
 Note: Place of enumeration data used

By contrast, while there is evidence of a small number of Black South African migrants in Australia this group is not expanding rapidly. More work needs to be done to locate Black,

Coloured, Indian and Asian South Africans so their motivations for moving, settlement and other migration experiences can be understood. Historically, these groups were systematically disadvantaged in South Africa. Among many other things, the best education was chiefly reserved for Whites leaving other population groups without ready access to the resources needed to migrate (Ellis 2008; Lucas 2000). It stands to reason they might therefore have different experiences of migration. Indeed, inequalities resulting from South Africa's history is one reason why data on different population groups continues to be collected today; to determine how these groups fare in the new South Africa (Lucas et al. 2006).

5.4.2 Language

Language is another useful indicator of ethnicity and further evidence that White migrants from South Africa are not a homogenous group. As the study population are predominantly White, it is little surprise the majority nominated one of the two White languages as their first language (Table 5.6). Over half spoke English (59.7 %), while a significant proportion also spoke Afrikaans (38.2 %). Indeed, a greater proportion of the SSAM population were Afrikaans-speakers than the total South Africa-born in Australia in 2011 (21.6 %). Of the *Other* languages only one, Tswana, was as an African language. However, a small proportion of respondents were multilingual (6.8 %) and spoke one or more of South Africa's nine other official languages, predominantly Zulu (n=20) and Xhosa (n=6)²¹. As Chapter Three outlined, the top two languages spoken at home by the broader South African population in Australia are also English and Afrikaans.

Table 5.6: First language, SSAM respondents

	Permanent		Temporary		Total SSAM	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
English	233	58.7	30	68.2	263	59.6
Afrikaans	155	39.0	14	31.8	169	38.3
Other	9	2.3			9	2.1
Total	397	100	44	100	441	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

²¹ Multiple response question 'Which of South Africa's official languages do you speak at home? (you may tick more than one).

5.5 Religion

The dominant religion among the study population closely reflects the total South Africa-born in Australia, although other religions are under-represented (Table 5.7). Christianity was the most common religion among both the SSAM population and the broader South African population in Australia, with 78 and 70.9 percent respectively stating they are Christian. South African Jews are especially under-represented in the study population. Judaism was the second most common religion among the total South-African population (9.3 %), but only 1.1 percent of SSAM migrants are Jewish. A greater proportion of the SSAM population had no religion (17.2 %), compared to the total South Africa-born population (14.2 %).

Table 5.7: Religious affiliation, SSAM respondents and total South Africa-born population at 2011 Census

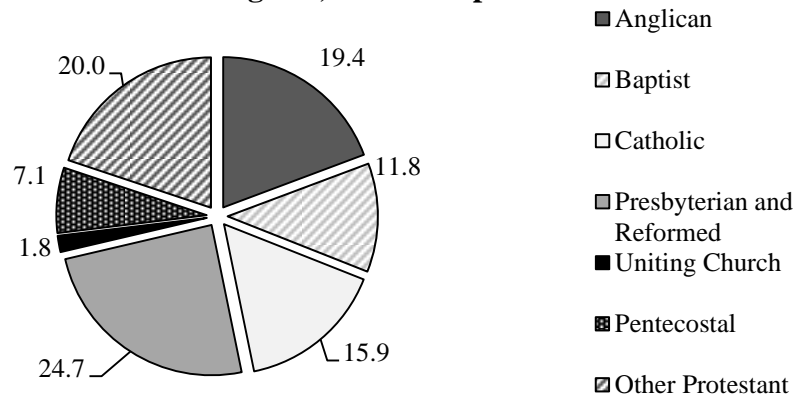
	Total SSAM		Total South Africa-born	
	n	%	n	%
Buddhism	2	0.5	729	0.5
Christianity	343	78.0	99,017	70.9
Hinduism	4	0.9	3,865	2.8
Islam	1	0.2	2,827	2.0
Judaism	5	1.1	13,035	9.3
Other	9	2.0	416	0.3
No religion	76	17.3	19,830	14.2
Total	440	100	139,719*	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

* Does not include not stated and supplementary codes

To some extent, religious affiliation in South Africa remains indicative of the ethnic diversity to be found there. Hindu points to the sizeable Indian population and Judaism to the sizeable Jewish population in South Africa²². More insight into ethnicity can also be gleaned by breaking down the largest religious group in South Africa – Christianity (Figure 5.6). In particular the proportion of Christians who ascribe to Presbyterian and Reformed churches (24.6 %) point to the Afrikaner community where Calvinist tradition and Dutch Reformed Churches are entwined with the Afrikaner culture. This again points to a substantial Afrikaner presence among the SSAM study population.

²² The 2001 South African Census revealed 61, 675 White, 11,979 Black, 1,286 Coloured and 615 Indians stated Judaism as their religion. This is however, considered a declining population (Tatz et al. 2007 p. 62).

Figure 5.6: Christian religions, SSAM respondents

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=170

5.6 Geographic distribution

The distribution of SSAM migrants across Australia differs slightly from the total South African population in Australia (Table 5.8). The 2011 Census tells us more South Africa-born persons live in New South Wales (27.6 %), Queensland (24.4 %) and Western Australia (24.2 %). However, substantially more SSAM migrants live in Queensland (32.3 %) and Western Australia (28.8 %) than New South Wales (13.5 %), the latter of which was underrepresented in the organisations through which the SSAM survey was distributed. In other States, too, the proportion of SSAM respondents in South Australia (9.2 %) and the Australian Capital Territory (2.6 %) was greater than the total South Africa-born population.

Table 5.8: State/Territory of residence, SSAM respondents and total South Africa-born population at 2011 Census

	Total SSAM		Total South Africa-born	
	n	%	n	%
SA	43	9.2	6,211	4.3
QLD	150	32.0	35,550	24.4
WA	134	28.8	35,327	24.2
NSW	63	13.5	40,247	27.6
VIC	56	12.0	24,446	16.8
TAS	5	1.1	1,512	1.0
ACT	12	2.6	1,632	1.1
NT	2	0.4	750	0.5
Total	465	100	145,675	100

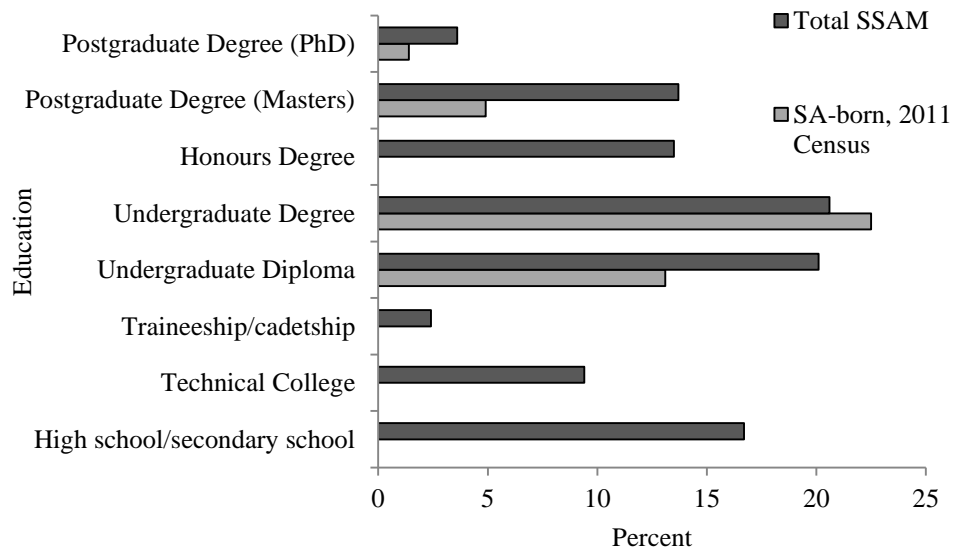
Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Overall, the online methodologies used here were successful in reaching migrants in all Australian States and Territories and, while not representative, the distribution of SSAM respondents broadly correlates with all South Africans in Australia at the 2011 Census.

5.7 Education

Commentators have noted South African migrants in Australia are a highly educated, highly skilled group (Polonsky et al. 1989; Visser 2004). Where possible, Figure 5.7 compares the educational qualifications of the SSAM study population with the total South Africa-born in Australia. Although a slightly larger proportion of the total South Africa-born have Undergraduate or Bachelor degrees (22.5 %) than SSAM respondents (20.6 %), a greater proportion of the latter have postgraduate qualifications. Three times as many SSAM migrants have a Masters degree (13.7 %), than the total South Africa-born (4.9 %). Similarly, more SSAM migrants have a Doctorate qualification (3.6 %) than the total South Africa-born in Australia (1.4 %).

Figure 5.7: Educational qualifications*, SSAM respondents and total South Africa-born population at 2011 Census



Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=468; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

*SSAM categories shown with comparable Census data where possible

Importantly the SSAM asked where migrants received their education. It revealed 79.8 percent of SSAM migrants obtained their highest qualification in South Africa before migrating. Not only are these migrants highly qualified but their age at migration (predominantly between 35 and 55 years) indicates they will have accumulated several years work experience in South Africa before moving. These qualified and experienced migrants are an asset for the Australian skilled labour market.

5.8 Employment

Looking at the overall employment picture, the vast majority of SSAM migrants are employed either part-time or full-time or are self-employed (87.1 %). A small proportion are also retired (4.5 %) or students (0.9 %). The labour force participation rate among SSAM migrants is 88.2 percent. This is considerably higher than labour rates for the total South Africa-born, which are higher again than the total Australian and Overseas-born populations (Table 5.9). The unemployment rate among SSAM migrants is also considerably higher than the total South African population and other selected populations.

Table 5.9: Labour force participation and unemployment rates for SSAM respondents, South Africa-born, Overseas-born and total Australian population at 2011 Census

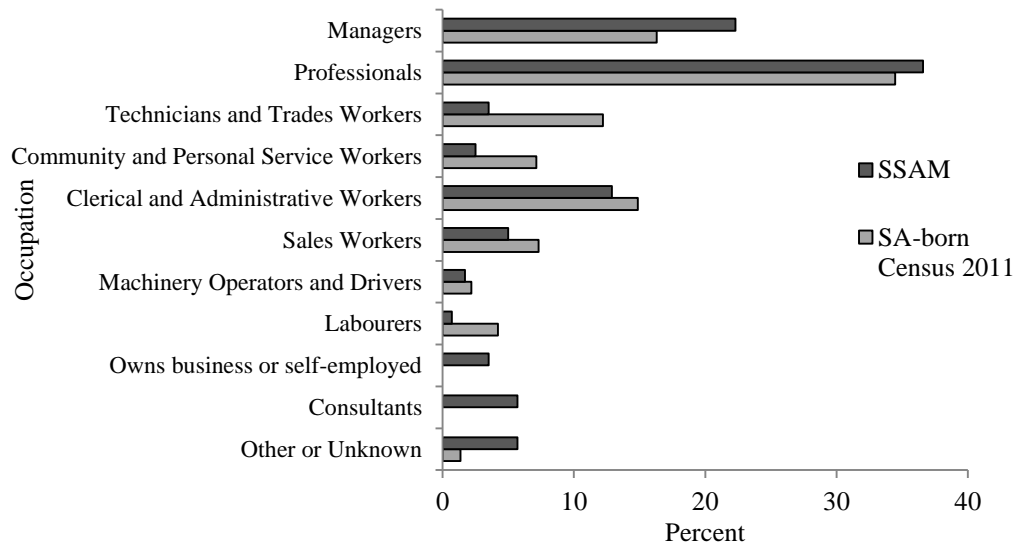
	Labour force participation rate %	Unemployment rate %
SSAM	88.2	8.1
Total South Africa-born	75.5	5.0
Total Australia	61.4	5.6
Total Overseas-born	60.0	6.5

Source: SSAM 2011/2012; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

Figure 5.8 shows the jobs these highly qualified migrants do in Australia and compares their occupations with the total South Africa-born population in Australia. For ease of analysis, SSAM data collected in an open-ended format has been coded using the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO), used by the ABS to code census data (ABS 2013b). The most common occupations for both populations are professionals and managers. The proportion of each population in these occupations differs slightly but in both cases the proportion of SSAM migrants is slightly higher. 36.6 percent of SSAM migrants work in professional occupations and 21.3 percent are managers compared, respectively, to 34.5 and 16.3 percent of the total South Africa-born. The next most common occupations for both groups are clerical and administrative and the share of each population in these jobs is on par. A greater proportion of the total South Africa-born are technicians or trades workers, community and personal service workers and sales workers. Still, a glance at Figure 5.8 shows the broader trends are similar for the study and total populations.

As professional occupations employ more SSAM migrants than any other, it is worthwhile examining this category in more detail. There has been a preoccupation in the literature

Figure 5.8: Occupation*, SSAM respondents and South Africa-born population at 2011 Census



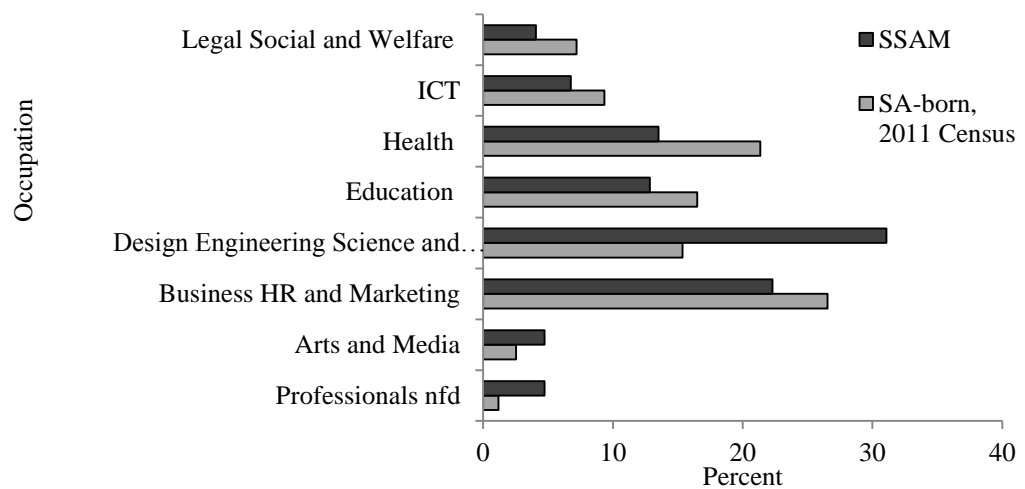
Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=405

*SSAM data coded using Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO), First edition, Revision 1, major groups. Additional categories are ‘Owns business or self-employed’ and ‘Consultants’.

Note: Excluded from Census data are *Non Applicable* persons including unemployed, not in the labour force and aged under 15 years.

with the emigration of South African doctors to Australia (Arnold 2011; Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010) and abroad (Grant 2006). One also tends to hear anecdotal accounts that ‘many’ South African accountants and engineers (particularly since the mining boom), have made the move to Australia²³.

Figure 5.9: Professional occupations* (two digit level), SSAM respondents and South Africa-born population at 2011 Census



Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n= 405; ABS TableBuilder, 2011Census

*SSAM data coded using Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO), First edition, Revision 1, sub-major groups.

²³ Some evidence for this is the South African chapter of Chartered Accountants in Australia.

Figure 5.9 shows Design, Engineering, Science and Transport professions are the main employers of SSAM migrants (31.1 %) though it is not the same for the total South Africa-born (15.4 %). More of the total population are employed in Business, Human Resources and Marketing (26.5 %). Interestingly, the first of these categories includes engineers, the latter includes accountants. A smaller proportion of SSAM migrants are employed as Health professionals (13.5 %) than the total South African population (21.4 %). Again, though, the overall pattern of professional occupations is similar for both populations. Once in Australia, two thirds of SSAM migrants worked in jobs and industries similar to those they had worked in in South Africa. This trend was more common among temporary (68.3 %) rather than permanent migrants (62.6 %).

SSAM data on income is not directly comparable with census data as different income intervals were used in the questionnaires. Still, as Chapter Three revealed, the South Africa-born population in Australia commanded considerable earning capacity with close to a quarter (24 %) earning more than \$78,000 per annum, 14.8 percent of whom earn more than \$104,000 per annum (ABS 2014b). In fact, the SSAM population tend to enjoy higher incomes than the total South Africa-born in Australia. Almost one half of SSAM migrants earn more than \$75,000 per annum (48.3 %). A staggering 13.6 percent of these migrants earn \$200,000 or more. A caveat should be made here about common data quality issues around questions of income where underreporting and non-response is common (Khoo et al. 1994).

5.9 Housing

With these sorts of incomes it comes as no surprise that 63.1 percent of SSAM migrants own outright or are buying their own home²⁴ (Table 5.10). Similarly, 60.5 percent of the total South Africa-born in Australia is in the same situation. Most of the remaining SSAM migrants rent and a very small proportion live in homes provided by their employers (1.4 %). All respondents who selected *Other* were living with family members. Not surprisingly, more than three quarters of temporary migrants rent. Although 19.1 percent of temporary migrants also said they were home owners, it is not clear whether these homes

²⁴ It is considered unlikely that 55 percent of SSAM respondents would own their homes outright. It may be there was an issue with how the question on housing tenure was phrased which resulted in people selecting the home owner option when, in fact, they are still paying a mortgage. Census data for the total South Africa-born confirms this. However, SSAM data is still valid when combined, as it is here, into a new variable where respondents 'own outright or are purchasing a home'.

are in South Africa or Australia. A further 2.1 percent said they were buying a home. Again, these homes may not be in Australia. If they are, this would indicate a strong intention to settle permanently in Australia.

Table 5.10: Housing tenure, SSAM respondents, permanent and temporary and South Africa-born, 2011

	Total SSAM		Total South-Africa born	
	n	%	n	%
Home owner	257	55.0	23,281	16.0
Purchasing home	38	8.1	64,805	44.5
Renting	122	34.0	50,500	34.7
Other	13	2.8		
Total	430	100	145,683	95.2

Source: SSAM 2011/2012; ABS TableBuilder, 2011 Census

5.10 The RMS study population

The RMS population are introduced only briefly here as return migration is the focus of Chapter Nine. Suffice to say, RMS migrants broadly reflect the SSAM population. The majority also entered Australia as Skilled or Business migrants, however more RMS migrants arrived on temporary visas, 8 of the 11 respondents. The same number arrived between 2001 and 2010. All but three respondents were born in South Africa; the others were born in Zimbabwe, Swaziland and England but all RMS migrants had South African citizenship. They were also all White South Africans, just over half of whom speak English as a first language, the remainder speak Afrikaans. Of those who indicated they were religious, six were Christian and one Jewish. RMS respondents were aged between 30 and 57. This is slightly older than the total South Africa-born departures from Australia, the majority of whom are aged 25-44 years (50.6 %). Most RMS migrants returned with families, typically with children of all ages, but some with young children under 5 years old. Two-thirds of RMS respondents were male.

In Australia, RMS migrants tended to live in either Western Australia or Queensland, states which are overrepresented among this group compared to the total South Africa-born in Australia (ABS 2014b). One respondent lived in South Australia and none in the other States or Territories. Two respondents had lived in more than one state. Before migrating, RMS migrants lived in either the Western Cape (Cape Town) or Gauteng (Johannesburg). In most cases, RMS respondents returned to the province they had lived in before migrating. In the two cases where migrants moved to a different province, they had

Chapter 5: Introducing the SSAM study population previously lived in Gauteng but returned to the Western Cape. This is interesting in light of comments by Van Rooyen (2000) that many South Africans who can't leave South Africa move instead to the supposedly safer Western Cape. Importantly, all RMS migrants went directly back to South Africa.

Most return migrants were educated in South Africa; just two were educated in Australia and one in England. The highest qualification among RMS respondents was a postgraduate Masters degree. On the whole, returnees' qualifications were fairly evenly spread along the education spectrum from traineeship/cadetship and technical college to Undergraduate degree, Honours degree and the Masters.

5.11 Conclusion

The SSAM study population introduced in this chapter is composed of highly educated, highly skilled recent arrivals, predominantly of working age. As well as being highly qualified, most SSAM migrants were educated in South Africa meaning Australia benefits from South African migrants' skills and work experience without bearing the cost of their education. Importantly, the SSAM sample includes both permanent and temporary migrants as well as migrants who have transitioned from temporary to permanent status onshore in Australia. The sample also includes indirect migrants who entered Australia via New Zealand.

The study population followed the broad trends of the total South Africa-born population in terms of education and employment, although SSAM migrants tended to command higher incomes. However, similarities between the SSAM sample and the total South Africa-born population were seen in household structure and home ownership. The overwhelming majority of SSAM migrants were White South Africans, which also reflects the total South African population in Australia. However, SSAM data show a sample that captured a higher proportion of Afrikaans-speaking migrants than is in the total South Africa-born population. Although the two most commonly stated ancestries were South African and English, a significant number of SSAM migrants had German, Dutch, French and Afrikaner ancestry, which also shows the strong presence of Afrikaner peoples among the study population. Similarly, Christianity was the dominant religion among SSAM migrants and a notable portion were affiliated with Presbyterian and Reformed Churches

which are strongly linked to the Afrikaner culture. Judaism was underrepresented among the study population.

The online recruitment methods employed here managed to reach migrants from around Australia, although the distribution of SSAM migrants differed somewhat from the total South Africa-born in Australia. Indeed, Queensland and Western Australia were over-represented. There is also bias in the study population toward more recently arrived migrants, possibly the result of using expatriate organisations to recruit participants. Similarly, younger tech-savvy migrants are more likely to respond to online surveys which skew the sample towards a younger age structure. More importantly, attempts to recruit non-White South Africans to participate in the SSAM and RMS were unsuccessful. It is imperative that future research on this topic locate underrepresented population groups from South Africa to canvass their reasons for migration, settlement experiences and linkages with origin country. With the above characteristics in mind, the discussion will now turn to key results elicited from the SSAM.

6.1 Introduction

The causes and perpetuation of migration form the bedrock of migration theories which offer a range of concepts, models, constructs and principles to explain various dimensions and processes of migration (Arango 2004; Massey et al. 1998). This chapter is the first to present primary data from the Survey of South African Migrants (SSAM). In doing so it addresses a key aim of this study: to examine the reasons and motivations for migration from South Africa to Australia and whether these have changed over time. The discussion occurs within the context of theories on migration and with reference to work by scholars who have contributed empirically-based research to our understanding of South African migration to Australia and South African emigration more broadly.

To date, nearly all work on migration from South Africa to Australia has posited reasons for this movement, however only a few of these take the further step of engaging with theory (Arnold 2011; Visser 2004). Similarly, while a number of studies cite multiple reasons for migration from South Africa to Australia there is an overall lack of empirical evidence for these claims. Although South Africa's fraught political history offers clear reasons why people might decide to emigrate, without empirical data to support them, these explanations are supposition, albeit considered and well-reasoned. A handful of primary studies that have directly asked South African migrants their reasons for migrating are referred to in this chapter thus SSAM findings are seen within the context of previous research.

6.2 Theoretical considerations on why people migrate

The reasons people choose to leave the country of their birth are many and varied. Generally, to understand why migration occurs, macro conditions in both the origin and destination country needs to be considered along with the micro-level conditions of the individuals or families that move. At the macro level, arguably the most basic and yet longstanding, approach to explaining migration are the 'push' and 'pull' concepts. Early migration scholars recognised the need to differentiate between push factors in the origin country and pull factors at the destination (Lee 1966). As Kunz (1973, p.131) noted,

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“In traditional parlance migration is based on push and pull factors. The ‘push’ factor of the old home environment provides the future migrant with causal motivations to leave the old country, and the ‘pull’ factor of the country of choice provides him with a purpose and a wish to migrate”.

Many subsequent and contemporary studies of migration use this model to explain why people move (Massey et al. 1998; Toren 1976), including studies focussing on movement out of South Africa (Arnold 2011; Brink 2012; Forrest et al. 2013; Khawaja and Mason 2008; Louw and Mersham 2001). Although this approach has been criticised as simplistic (Castles and Miller 2009) and said not to be a true theoretical framework (Massey et al. 1998), push-pull concepts remain “a means of classifying migration and ordering its determinants in space” (Massey et al. 1998 p.12). Having assessed a migration system according to these concepts, more complex theories of migration can then be applied. After all, while migration is widely considered too diverse to be explained by one theory alone (Arango 2000; Massey et al. 1993), theory can nevertheless offer important insights into specific dimensions of the process. Table 6.1 presents the major theories of migration, their primary proponents and key premises.

Most of these theories view migration in economic terms (Herman 2006). For example, neoclassical economics, segmented labour market, world systems, and the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theories all have economics at their core. With the exception of NELM because it shifts the unit of analysis from the individual to the family/household (Stark and Bloom 1985), theories that are based solely on economic factors have little resonance in the case of South African migration to Australia. Although employment opportunities in Australia attract some South Africans to emigrate these are by no means a major driver of this migration. Rather, economic motivations are what have been described as a necessary but not a sufficient condition to initiate migration (Khoo et al. 2011; Massey et al. 1998). In fact, it will be shown here that South Africans are primarily driven to migrate by socio-political factors in South Africa. Theories that focus less on economic factors and more on social and historical factors are therefore more pertinent to understanding South African migration to Australia.

Table 6.1: Major theories of migration

Theory	Proponent/s	Key premise
Neoclassical economics	Sjaastad 1962, Todaro (1969, 1976)	Assumes a difference in wages and employment conditions (macro level) between sending and receiving countries which results in people moving from low-wage to high-wage countries so individuals can maximise income (micro level).
New economics of labour migration theory (NELM)	Stark and Bloom (1985), Stark (1991)	Examines the family or household unit as the key decision making unit. This unit employs strategies to benefit the family or household from which some members may migrate to diversify risk (incomes) or counteract production constraints and market failures.
Segmented labour market theory	Piore (1979)	Argues that international migration stems from the modern labour demands of industrialised societies. Migration is therefore caused by the demand for labour in developed countries
World systems theory	Portes and Walton (1981), Sassen (1988)	This complex theory takes its start from the structure of world markets, international relations and historical and contemporary ties between countries. A major premise is that flows of capital into a country will be followed by out migration from that country. Other factors that can lead to migration are colonial ties, common language, trade relations, transportation and communication links.
Migration systems theory	Mabogunje (1970), Zlotnik (1992), Kritz et al. (1992)	Migration systems are characterised by a stable association of a group of receiving countries that receive migrants from a number of origin areas. The countries are joined not just through migration but through varied links and connections.
Network theory	Boyd (1989), Massey et al. (1993, 1994), Massey, Goldring and Durand (1994)	This theory posits that migrants follow the paths of those before them (at both household and community level) because networks lower the costs and risks of migration and increase net benefits. Migrant networks link migrants with friends and relatives in the country of origin and migrants provide support to later arrivals.
Transnational theory	Glick Schiller et al. (1992), Basch et al. (1994)	Includes multiple conceptualisations of migration that focus on migrants' links between origin and destination countries. Can therefore include migrants' activities, relations and subjectivities as well as transnational fields.

Source: Massey et al., 1993; Massey et al., 1998; Massey, 2006; Arango 2000, 2004.

In particular, the migration systems approach and network theory as well as transnational theories are more applicable and have value in explaining elements of the Australia-South Africa migration system (Arnold 2011; Visser 2004). At their core, these theories focus on

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration ties between sending and receiving countries. According to the migration systems approach, first described in Chapter Two,

“international migrations do not occur randomly but usually take place between countries that have close historical, cultural, or economic ties” (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992 p. 1).

Chapter One already highlighted the substantial historical links between Australia and Anglo-South Africa that began with their shared colonial past and have been sustained since by military, economic, diplomatic and social links. Indeed, each of these factors in their own right has triggered migration between Australia and South Africa at one point or another (Davidson 2006; Kennedy 1984, 2001). Of course, it must be noted that fewer cultural links exist between indigenous Africans and Australia. As well as elucidating macro-level drivers of migration in the form of links between nation states, the migration systems approach draws attention to the networks of migrants (Kritz et al. 1992; Kritz and Zlotnik 1992). A central tenet of migration systems analysis (Boyd 1989 p. 661), these networks are themselves micro-level determinants of migration and form the basis of a separate theory to explain migration (Gurak and Caces 1992; Haug 2008; Kuznetsov 2006; Meyer 2001; Vertovec 2002).

Network theory is considered by Arango (2000) one of the most important explanatory factors of international migration. Certainly it offers valuable insights into the movement from South Africa to Australia (Arnold 2011). Migration networks are social (or personal) networks based on family/household, friendship and community ties and relationships that exist across time and space (Boyd 1989). These relationships serve as conduits of information as well as social and financial assistance thus shaping migration outcomes (Boyd 1989 p. 639). Sometimes called ‘migration chains’ or the ‘family and friends effect’ (Massey et al. 1998 p.43), it is hypothesized that these social networks

“increase the likelihood of emigration by lowering the costs, raising the benefits, and mitigating the risks of international movement” (Massey et al. 1994 p.727)

They therefore “explain the persistence of migration long after changes in the original migration inducing structural conditions” (Boyd 1989 p. 645). An implication of migration chains is the recurrence of migration to the same destination, as opposed to diverse destinations.

The dynamic nature of migrant networks, particularly their ability to connect people across time and space, ensures movement is not bound by time or direction, nor does it need to be

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration permanent (Boyd 1989). Network theory is therefore eminently compatible with transnational theories of migration which highlight a paradigm shift away from models of permanent migration and instead re-focus on the cross-border linkages that migrants maintain (Hugo 2011b). Related to network theory is the theory of cumulative causation which argues migration tends to sustain itself over time (Massey et al. 1998). This chapter will show that many South Africans know people in Australia before they migrate and, indeed, that their migration is influenced and facilitated by these people.

6.3 Reasons for migrating from South Africa

A small recent study of Afrikaans families in Queensland, Australia found all participants gave similar reasons for their migration, "citing they left South Africa to create a better life for themselves and their children" (Hatoss et al. 2011 p. 10). Some SSAM migrants also used the term 'better life' to explain their reasons for migration. Arguably this common reason for migration (Castles 2013; Hall 2005) is self-evident, as the desire for a better life motivates all unforced migrants who leave their homeland for another. Still, migration is not easy nor is the decision to migrate taken lightly. What, then, are the conditions that precipitate a search for a 'better life'? It needs to be understood that migrants' reasons are nuanced and the reasons they articulate do not automatically correspond with underlying drivers of migration which may stem from the broader social, political or economic situation in the origin country. Moreover, these drivers need to be considered separately from specific 'trigger' factors that can result in migration, although the two may be related. Moreover, as Castles (2013, p.124) notes, the term 'drivers',

"does not imply determinism...there is always an element of choice or agency in the decision to migrate...I see 'drivers' as factors that increase the likelihood that people will decide to leave their homes in search of a better life"

Two SSAM questions asked respondents why they migrated and a third asked why they chose Australia. The first question was open-ended and asked respondents to '*explain your reasons for migration*'. It produced excellent qualitative data that is valuable for two interconnected reasons. Firstly, migrants' give reasons for migration in their own words. The language they use and their choice of words reveals their emotions and feelings around migration. In some cases anger or sadness are palpable. In other cases, it is clear respondents felt exasperated and worn down by their experiences or the situation in South Africa. The second important quality of these data is that responses to the open question

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration were unsolicited. Migrants were not prompted by key words that may have led their responses.

Overall migrants' responses reveal an astoundingly broad range of motivations for migrating from South Africa. Furthermore, most migrants gave more than one and often multiple reasons for migrating. Nevertheless several themes were consistently repeated, as demonstrated in the following selection of responses:

Concern about economic and political future in RSA. Australia offered a more stable environment for children ... Crime in RSA also played a role

Respondent #257 permanent skilled, migrated 1997, age 50, male

Apartheid and the bleak future for my kids

Respondent #316 permanent family, migrated 1987, age 55, male

Crime, unemployment and economic situation...

Respondent #217 temporary skilled, migrated 2006, age 35, female

I was a victim of a serious car-jacking in Oct 2003. Decided that there was no future for me or my family

Respondent #242 temporary skilled, now permanent, migrated 2004, age 42, male

Transferred with company

Respondent #323 temporary skilled, now permanent, migrated 2009, age 49, male

I was always ashamed of the situation in South Africa and the fact that it was written in Law to discriminate against people of colour...investigated opportunities to move abroad in 1986

Respondent #73 Family migrant-partner, migrated 1993, age 48, female

Better opportunities for my children when they grow up and perception of political mismanagement in South Africa and violent crime levels increasing

Respondent #209 permanent skilled, migrated 2004, age 42, -

Political. Being of 'mixed' heritage, we suffered from discrimination...under the apartheid regime. The level of violence by the army and security forces, banning orders, killings by government agencies and the level of injustice entrenched in legislation made life unbearable

Respondent #464 permanent skilled, migrated 1988, age 64, female

We were looking for an adventure, we did not flee... We...always dreamt about living and working in other countries. We were very aware of

South Africa's problems and unsure how it would end up, so we jumped at the opportunity to come and work here

Respondent #456 permanent business, migrated 2008, aged 42, female

The broader political situation in South Africa was strongly identified here as a driver of migration, and a number of other themes were also repeated. To better understand these detailed textual analysis was undertaken to identify the main themes and the frequency with which they were raised. Themes raised two or more times are shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Most common themes in open-end responses from SSAM migrants' on reasons for their migration

Themes	%
Crime/violence	35.4
Better future and/or opportunities for children	28.5
Safety and Security	26.2
Employment opportunities and conditions in Australia (job offers and transfers, job security, career development options and job security etc.)	21.5
Employment situation in SA (lack of employment, unemployment, lack of job security, direct job losses etc.)	10.5
Affirmative Action (AA) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies	9.9
Discrimination against whites, poor outlook for whites	9.0
Uncertain or no future or opportunities for children in SA	9.0
Concern about political situation in SA including instability and uncertainty	8.6
Dissatisfaction with SA government (deteriorating governance, perceived incompetence and corruption etc.)	8.0
Better life, opportunities and future in general	6.4
Declining standards in education, health, infrastructure, service delivery and civil society in SA	6.4
Uncertain or no future and opportunities in SA	6.0
Better education or greater opportunity for better education in Australia	5.6
Directly a victim of crime (or immediate family)	5.4
Adventure/travel/change/different lifestyle/ new challenge or experience	4.9
Standard of living	4.1
Concern with South African economy (weak, unstable, devaluing rand, etc.)	4.1
Discrimination and prejudice in general	3.2
Peace/stability/freedom	3.4
Lifestyle	2.8
Family reunion or to keep family together	2.6
Overseas experience (including work experience) and personal development	2.6
Apartheid	1.3
Racism	1.1
Cost of living	0.9
Equal opportunities	0.9
Marriage	0.6

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=466

Note – Themes represent broad categories seen to best represent a wide variety of reasons.

The Table highlights the variety of reasons for migrating. Together the top ten themes can be summarised as five main issues: crime and violence; better opportunities for children; employment related motivations; political instability and discrimination. Each of these

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration issues is complex in its own right, but they are also inter-related. Moreover, they reflect contemporary South Africa; the product of a troubled and turbulent past.

Crime and violence were the most commonly raised themes. Closely associated are issues of safety and security, the third most commonly cited theme. One or other of these issues was given by almost two-thirds of respondents. Thus it is clear the internal security situation in South Africa is a critical push factor driving emigration. For some migrants crime was a triggering factor. Indeed, 5 percent stated they or a member of their immediate family had been the victims of crime including armed robbery, car-jacking and murder. In relation to high rates of crime, several respondents raised issues around poor policing in South Africa in their reasons for migrating.

Children were also a major reason for migrating from South Africa, in particular the desire to secure a better future and more opportunities for them, was raised by more than a quarter of respondents. This desire was also expressed conversely in terms of migrants' feeling uncertain about the future for their children in South Africa or that there was no future for them there at all, also a top ten theme. Of course, most voluntary migrants coming to Australia seek better opportunities for themselves and their children but, with the possible exception of some countries in Eastern Europe (Khoo et al. 2011), are not typically doing so in response to unsatisfactory conditions in their origin country. However, all of the top themes in Table 6.2 go some way to explain why people felt the need to secure a better future for their children and amount to an internal situation in South Africa that is quite a distinct push factor not present in the reasons why skilled migrants generally come to Australia (Baldassar 2008; Khoo et al. 2011).

Employment related reasons for migrating were the fourth and fifth most commonly cited themes. Employment conditions in Australia were the drawcard for these migrants who were attracted to more and/or better employment opportunities in Australia. On the other hand, poor employment conditions in South Africa were also repeatedly raised as a reason for moving. Common complaints were a lack of employment, unemployment, lack of job security and job losses. A major contributing factor to dissatisfaction with the employment situation in South Africa are Affirmative Action (AA) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies which, together, were another frequently raised theme along with the political situation in general. Some respondents felt the latter was unstable; others expressed dissatisfaction with the government, especially corruption and perceived

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration incompetence. Either the pull of employment conditions in Australia or the push of the employment situation in South Africa was raised by a third of respondents.

Lastly, discrimination or race-related issues were a commonly cited reason for migrating from South Africa. This discrimination took three broad forms. Firstly there was the overarching discrimination sanctioned under the apartheid regime that people either sought to escape being the direct victim of or because they objected to it without being the target of its practices. Secondly, some migrants' felt they were disadvantaged by affirmative action policies in South African workplaces. For example:

Affirmative action reduced my employment opportunities and business opportunities to virtually zero

Respondent #234 permanent skilled, migrated 2001, age 41, male

My husband and I were tired of trying to further our careers and constantly coming up against BEE

Respondent #30 skilled permanent, migrated 2008, age 41, female

Finally, SSAM migrants' raised a more general discrimination directed at White South Africans, including by the government and elements of the African National Congress (ANC). For example, migrants' left, among other things, for the reasons below:

Fear as a white person for our future especially in light of comments from ANCYL²⁵ and even members from the ANC

Respondent #475 permanent skilled, migrated 2012, age 34, male

Although I believe that affirmative action was necessary, I felt alienated from the "new order", being a white, middle-aged male

Respondent #204 permanent skilled, migrated 2003, age 50, male

Daily news highlighted that government was not interested in the welfare of white South Africans and our children's future

Respondent #444 temporary skilled, migrated 2009, age 34, female

Essentially, I began to feel like an unwanted guest in my own home country

Respondent #443 temporary skilled, migrated 2011, age 27

²⁵ ANCYL is an abbreviation for the ANC Youth League. The former leader, Julius Malema (expelled from the ANCYL in 2012), has since founded his own political party and continues to draw significant press attention, often for espousing anti-white sentiments. Several SSAM respondents and interviewees directly referred to Malema.

In addition to the open-ended question, SSAM migrants were asked to identify from a list, factors that did or did not influence their migration decision. Respondents could submit multiple responses and the results are shown in Table 6.3. These data confirm the high proportion of migrants influenced by personal safety and security (82.6 %) and the related issue of crime (79.3 %). Uncertainty about the future also ranked highly in this list (80.5 %) as did better opportunities for their children (79.3 %).

Table 6.3: Influences on SSAM migrants' decision to migrate (% yes to listed reasons) (multiple response)

	n	% Yes
Personal safety and security	473	82.6
Uncertainty about future	468	80.5
Crime	469	79.3
Better opportunities for children	469	79.3
Political instability	458	72.5
Declining standard of public services	450	63.9
Lifestyle	447	57.0
Better employment opportunities	445	50.8
Education	447	49.0
Opposition to government	438	41.9
Career advancement	427	28.7
Higher income	426	17.1
High cost of living	420	12.0
Marriage/partnership	407	9.9
Family reunion	410	5.6

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=502

6.4 Push versus pull factors

It should be noted that the top six influences on migration in Table 6.3 amount to push factors in the origin country; civil, social and political drivers. Lifestyle in Australia is the most commonly cited pull factor influencing two thirds of respondents. Similarly, lifestyle is the chief reason most other skilled migrants come to Australia. As Khoo et al. (2011, p.563) found,

“Much immigration policy, including that in Australia, assumes that skilled migration is driven overwhelmingly by salary levels and job and career opportunities...however...the motivations of skilled migrants are much more complex. Indeed, it has been shown that skilled migrants invariably refer to Australia’s lifestyle as an important reason for migration”

Visser (2004 p.258) also observed in his study the distinctive nature of South African migration to Australia, though his comparison is with other English-speaking groups. He writes,

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“Other than emigration from Zimbabwe...South Africans represent an English speaking immigrant group that is different from other migrant groups to Australia. The political and security issues are a push factor from their homeland and this is quite different to most English speaking immigrant groups”.

Interestingly, Visser (2004, p. 258) argues South Africans emigrate not for the lifestyle Australia offers but in an effort to maintain the lifestyle they were accustomed to in South Africa.

Better employment opportunities in Australia were given as the second highest pull factor by SSAM migrants. This ranked eight and influenced the migration decision of half the respondents (50.8 %). Significantly this is the most highly ranked economic factor, while other economic factors, including career advancement, influenced just over one quarter of respondents and higher income 17 percent. Clearly, while economic factors play a role they are not a major influence on migration from South Africa but a necessary one. As is the case with skilled migration from Western Europe, while “a rewarding and relevant job is a necessary condition for migration, it is often not a sufficient one to initiate migration” (Khoo et al. 2011 p. 563). Family factors - reunion or marriage – influence just 7 percent of respondents in the SSAM.

Several SSAM migrants explicitly stated they were pushed or forced by conditions in South Africa:

Crime is at an unacceptable level with an inept government that seems helpless or unwilling to fight crime. Basically pushed...

Respondent #232 permanent skilled, migrated 2001, age 41, male

Fleeing mainly, South Africa felt incredibly unsafe for me and my future social wellbeing

Respondent #437 temporary student, migrated 2010, age 33, female

Husband's business (dental lab) went down because of corruption. I applied for teaching jobs but it was unsuccessful. I immigrated not because I wanted to, but because I was financially forced to

Respondent #438 permanent skilled, migrated 2004, age 45, female

The dominance of push factors in the reasons for migrating among South Africans stands in stark contrast to why the majority of migrants (humanitarian entrants aside) come to Australia. The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) commissioned by the Department of Immigration, showed that most migrants “come to Australia as an active

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration choice rather than because their circumstances at home are bleak" (Richardson et al. 2002b p. 6). Indeed, the majority of LSIA respondents were attracted to Australia's opportunities, natural attributes and lifestyle (Richardson et al. 2002b). Only a small proportion of the respondents were dissatisfied with life in their former country, primarily these migrants worried about high levels of crime and violence (Richardson et al. 2002b). SSAM data shows South African migrants fall into the latter group.

A number of studies focussing on migration from South Africa give the reasons for this movement as a combination of push and pull factors (Arnold 2011; Brink 2012; Khawaja and Mason 2008; Simon 1989), although push factors are often seen to be dominant (Brink 2012; Khawaja and Mason 2008; Visser 2004). Early on Polonsky et al. (1989, p.943) made a critical observation about the stage of life at which people leave. In particular they query why people leave South Africa at a time when "they would be expected to be consolidating their careers and building an asset base". They conclude,

"only a very powerful perception of a gloomy future...reinforced by positive perceptions of life in Australia, could have caused the emigrants to give up their careers in their formative stages in order to move to a country where there were, at the time..., few concrete prospects of employment" (Polonsky et al. 1989 p. 943).

Louw and Mersham (2001, p. 305) also argued that South Africa had produced "push-migrants" for decades. Similarly, Arnold and Lewinsohn (2010, p. 288) concluded,

"Most South African doctors who migrated to Australia were impelled to emigrate by South African issues, rather than attracted to Australia"

Meares et al. (2011) also found that push rather than pull factors have been the main drivers of migration from South Africa to New Zealand in the past two decades.

Generally speaking, push factors are associated with the origin country and are seen as negative and involuntary (Toren 1976). It is significant to note, however, that a number of commentators use even stronger language to describe the pressure on South Africans to leave. Arnold (2011 p. 75), for example, describes how apartheid "drove out" migrants before 1990. Similarly, Van Rooyen (2000, p. 140) says South Africans are "driven from their beloved homeland", while Visser (2004, p. 256) says, "the politics of South Africa forced the South Africa-born to leave". Khawaja and Mason (2008, p. 227) argued that, "If they feel as though they have been 'pushed' out of South Africa, their immigration could be to some extent considered involuntary". Having conducted a survey of 101 South

Africans in Australia they concluded, South African immigrants resemble the anticipatory refugee category proposed earlier by Kunz (Khawaja and Mason 2008 p. 240). Kunz (1973) claimed that anticipatory refugee movements were one of two “kinetic models of refugee movements”²⁶. According to this model the anticipatory refugee,

“...arrives door-to-door to the country of immigration, leaves his home country before deterioration of the military or political situation prevents his orderly departure. He arrives...prepared...the anticipatory refugee may be mistaken for a voluntary migrant seeking better opportunities...From the purely kinetic point of view, anticipatory refugee movements appear to follow the same pattern as the free push-and-pull migrations. However motivationally the ‘pull’ has little part to play” (Kunz 1973 p. 131-132).

Others have also drawn on Kunz (1973). For Pernice et al. (2000, p. 27), South African migrants were categorised as semi-voluntary due to the dominance of push factors in their reasons for migration. As a result, they suggested that South Africans may therefore feel ambivalent about leaving their origin country (Pernice et al. 2000). Louw and Mersham (2001, p.305) also refer to Kunz although they describe a group that is “impelled” and not “forced”. According to Kunz (1973), refugees are *pushed* out of their country, whereas immigrants are *pulled* from their homeland (Pernice and Brook 1994; Tran 1993)²⁷. Of course South African migrants are not refugees but they also do not fit neatly into either of these categorisations. At the same time, parallels between their experiences and Kunz’s (1973) anticipatory refugees are clear. However, Butler’s (2001) definition and use of the term ‘voluntary exile’ is, perhaps the most fitting in the South African context. Butler (2001, p. 201) states,

“Voluntary exile, while also involving intolerable relationships between the diasporizing group and the homeland is the choice of the exiting group”.

There are thus similarities here between the emigration of South Africans and the migration from Hong Kong of “reluctant exiles” before ‘the handover’ in 1997 (Skeldon 1994).

In emphasising the forced nature of emigration from South Africa, Van Rooyen (2000) considers Cohen’s (1997) conception of ‘victim diaspora’. This is one of several categories of diaspora, others include labour, imperial, trade and business diasporas (Cohen 2008). The victim diaspora, however, involves “dispersal following a traumatic event in the homeland, to two or more foreign destinations” (Cohen 2008, p.2). This “classical”

²⁶ The other “kinetic type” is *acute refugee movements*.

²⁷ Emphasis added.

definition is most often applied to the cases of Jewish, Armenian, Greek and African diasporas in which case it does not relate to the South African situation. But Van Rooyen (2000, p. 2) believes,

“If one broadens the definition of the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘exile’ to include South African emigrants who leave because of life threatening crime, a clear link can be established with the notion of ‘victim diaspora’”.

As discussed in Chapter One, some commentators have referred to South Africans abroad as a diaspora (Crush et al. 2013; Louw and Mersham 2001; Marks 2006; Rule 1994) but there has been little critical evaluation of the term as a descriptor with the exception of the work by Crush et al. (2013). At its most basic level diaspora is defined as the dispersal of people from their homeland (Butler 2001 p.189). By this definition alone, South Africans living abroad might be so-called. However, most other conceptualisations of diaspora are considerably more complex and include a number of typologies (Butler 2001; Cohen 2008; Safran 1991). Scholars have put forward broader definitions than the archetypal, classical interpretation of diaspora (Butler 2001; Cohen 2008; Reis 2004; Safran 1991; Shuval 2000). It is beyond the scope of this study to examine in any depth the South African case against these definitions, suffice to say that after even a cursory look South African migrants' appear to meet the criteria of several of them. Safran (1991, p. 83), for example, defines diaspora as expatriate minority communities that:

- 1) have been dispersed from a ‘centre’ to two or more foreign regions,
- 2) retain memory, vision or myth about the homeland,
- 3) believe they are not fully accepted by the host society
- 4) idealise return to their homeland
- 5) have an ongoing relationship with the homeland.

Keeping in mind that Safran (1991) did not expect all criteria to apply (Reis 2004 p. 43), there is no doubt that point one applies for all while points two and three could apply to some members of the South African community. Return migration is complicated for South Africans who feel pushed. However, most of them have ongoing connections with South Africa meaning point five is also applicable. Indeed nearly a quarter of SSAM migrants still felt South Africa was their home (22.9 %), another 14.7 percent were undecided. These connections with home are considered very important in identifying diaspora (Brinkerhoff 2009; Shuval 2000).

Van Rooyen (2000, p. ix) asserts that most South Africans love South Africa and are reluctant to leave but crime and the perpetual fear of it tends to force people to look for an alternative home. For Kunz (1973, p. 130) "reluctance to uproot oneself" is what characterises refugees and separates them from their voluntary counterparts. Incredibly, more than half the SSAM population said they were reluctant to leave South Africa (40.6 %), or not sure (12.6 %). This seems to support the claim that South Africans feel pushed or forced to leave their home country. Interviewee *Harry* poignantly observes,

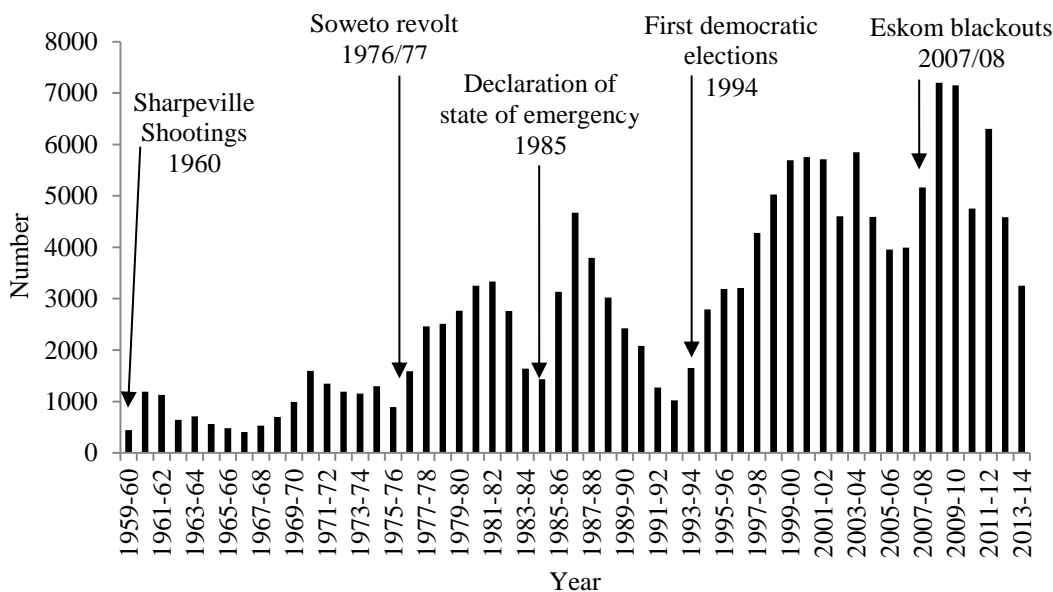
But when you leave a country because of motives or because of reasons other than a job opportunity I think that's where the reluctance starts building into it. Because you are always going to be torn because it's not possible for you to replicate your family, your friends, your social structure or to bring them with, that's just not going to happen. So the most excited, enthusiastic, happy migrant, there's going to be a deep reluctance within them. In every single one of them...I don't think any of them would change it but there's still a massive loss, a massive sense of loss.

Harry

On the other hand, many respondents indicated they were exasperated by life in South Africa and therefore keen to leave. This may account for the roughly equal proportion of SSAM migrants who were *not* reluctant to leave (46 %).

6.5 Migration from South Africa since the 1960s

Figure 6.1 shows South African settler arrivals to Australia from 1960 onwards. Against the background of an overall increase, there has been considerable variation in settler arrivals from year to year. Many commentators recognise emigration from South Africa has occurred for different reasons at different times (Arnold 2011; Human Sciences Research Council 2005; Visser 2004), others have observed 'waves' of migration, particularly in response to the domestic situation, mostly political events in South Africa (Adepoju 2003; Arnold 2011; Kaplan 1997; Kaplan and Charum 1998; Louw and Mersham 2001; Van Rooyen 2000). These events have been overlayed on settler arrivals data in Figure 6.1 and a spike in arrivals is evident after each event. Included here are the rolling electricity blackouts of 2007-2008, thought to have prompted the most recent wave (FNB 2013; Thakali 2008; Van Schalkwyk 2008). It will be interesting to observe future arrivals patterns in light of another recent spate of electricity "load shedding" (Visser and Burkhardt 2014), especially because Australian policy also played a role in the late 2000s spike in arrivals.

Figure 6.1: Settler arrivals in Australia from South Africa, 1959-60 to 2013-14

Source: DIBP Historical Migration Statistics, 2014; DIAC Consolidated statistics, various; DIAC Settler Arrivals, various; DIAC Immigration Update 2010-11.

Note: Settler Arrivals from 2006-07 onwards are from Country of Birth

Siddique (2004, p. 24) has argued that “After each period of upheaval, emigration decreases as public order and confidence are restored”. Certainly the substantial drop in arrivals before the first democratic election is likely to reflect a “wait and see” attitude among prospective emigrants (Pelser 2003 p. 331). At this time, Louw and Mersham (2001, p. 313) observed a,

“...mood of optimism following then President De Klerk’s ending of the civil war, which led to the belief that South Africa was finally going to build a political culture that transcended race and ethnicity”

However, they noted this quickly waned (Louw and Mersham 2001). Of particular note is the massive increase in arrivals after the elections in 1994. There is a strong argument that this was a key turning point in the scale of migration from South Africa (Hugo 2009a). The end of apartheid has been used as the point at which to separate migrants and compare their reasons for migration (Arnold 2011; Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Griffiths and Prozesky 2010; Visser 2004). The difficulty is that apartheid wasn’t dismantled at a single point in time, but over a period of years. Still, when Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990 and the ANC ban lifted, it became clear that the end of apartheid was in sight (Arnold 2011).

The analysis here thus considers the influences on migrants' decisions to migrate before and after 1991 (Table 6.4), which also allows a direct comparison with a recent study of South African doctors in Australia (Arnold 2011). Migrants who moved before 1991 felt uncertain about the future (53.5 %) and wanted better opportunities for their children (46.4 %). Their uncertainty is likely to have stemmed from the apartheid regime in place at this time, hence political instability (39.3 %) and opposition to government (39.3 %) were higher ranked influences compared to migrants who left later. Indeed, an early commentator (Abdurahman 1974 p. 135) said,

“As close parallels can be drawn between the standard of living of Australians and white South Africans, there was little incentive for the latter to migrate...Those that did migrate from South Africa did so more for political reasons than any other”

The Human Science Research Council (2005) also recognised political upheavals from the 1960s until the late 1980s as a driver of emigration.

The SSAM survey shows personal safety and security was also a significant influence on early migrants, no doubt due in many cases to the violent enforcement of apartheid policy. Of course, this influence has persisted until recent times and is indicated in the SSAM as the number one influence on migrants from South Africa but in response to increasing levels of crime. In fact, arguably the biggest difference between early and later migrants is that crime jumped to being the third influence for recent migrants, as opposed to sixth for early migrants, while opposition to government dropped back to rank tenth for recent migrants, where it ranked fifth for early migrants (Table 6.4).

Uncertainty has been a consistent and major factor for pre and post-1991 arrivals in Australia. For early migrants apartheid and political instability were likely the cause of this feeling. In this case, it could be the regime itself that made people feel uncertain or fear of the consequences were it to be dismantled. As an early study of South Africans in Australia concluded,

“people are generally mainly concerned with their overall standard of living and do not fear terrorism or violence...A more concrete fear would be the possible change in standard of living resulting from economic problems or changes in government structure” (Polonsky et al. 1988 p. 1307).

Table 6.4: Influences on pre and post-1991 SSAM migrants' decision to migrate (% yes for pre-1991 respondents to listed reasons) (multiple response)

	Yes (%)	Pre-1991 rank	Post 1991- rank
Uncertainty about future	53.5	1	2
Better opportunities for children	46.4	2	4
Political instability	39.3	3	5
Personal safety and security	39.3	4	1
Opposition to government	39.3	5	10
Crime	28.6	6	3
Lifestyle	25.0	7	7
Education	17.9	8	8
Better employment opportunities	17.9	9	9
Declining standard of public services	10.7	10	6
Marriage/partnership	10.7	11	14
Career advancement	7.1	12	11
High cost of living	3.5	13	13
Higher income	3.5	14	12
Family Reunion	3.5	15	15

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, pre-1991, n=28; 1991-2011, n=474

In other words, migrants surveyed in the late 1980s were uncertain about the future because of apartheid, but not necessarily its politically charged and violent nature. Rather, uncertainty came with the prospect of the prevailing system changing or being reversed. For later migrants, especially Whites, uncertainty has no doubt been the by-product of a changing political structure whereby state-sanctioned privilege was lost and increasing levels of violent crime have occurred (Adepoju 2003; Andrucki 2010; Arnold 2011). Unemployment, declining public services, political instability and corruption have also left South Africans feeling uncertain in recent decades (Arnold 2011). As Horowitz et al. (2001, p. 12) explain,

“life for whites in the new South Africa is much more difficult and uncertain than it was in the old South Africa. Twenty-five years ago daily living was much more structured. White people were generally guaranteed a job...had a house... and could depend on relative political, economic and social stability”.

Only a small number of early SSAM respondents were influenced by economic factors. The most highly ranked of these was better employment opportunities, ranked ninth with just over a quarter stating it influenced their decision to move. Even fewer pre-1991 migrants were influenced by the prospect of career advancement (14.3 %), cost of living (7.1 %) or higher income (3.6 %). Later migrants were influenced by personal safety and

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration security, uncertainty about the future and crime. On the whole this supports previous studies that compared pre and post-apartheid reasons for migrating. Louw and Mersham (2001) found crime and racial re-ranking to be the main reasons for migrating after apartheid, while in Arnold's (2011) recent survey of doctors, crime and uncertain futures were the main reasons for migrating post-apartheid, while earlier migrants had left because they opposed apartheid.

6.6 Ethnic differentials

Arnold (2011, p. 44) emphasises the need to analyse the migration of South African doctors along ethnic lines because the ramifications of "apartheid-induced ethnic segregation of peoples" has dictated who went to university, trained to become doctors and later migrated to Australia. This logic can and should be applied to the broader population of South African migrants for whom different groups have historically had vastly different experiences and are therefore likely to have different reasons for migrating. For these reasons Visser (2004) cautions against viewing South Africans as a homogenous group. SSAM data analysed along ethnic lines are presented in Table 6.5. Since the majority of SSAM respondents were White South Africans, these data are from a small sample and therefore susceptible to bias, although some interesting and important results can still be noted²⁸.

The top five reasons for non-White South Africans are similar as for White SSAM migrants but the top three for White migrants are not ranked as highly for non-Whites. The number one reason indicated by non-Whites was better opportunities for children, which only ranked fourth for White respondents. Arguably, related to this desire to achieve better opportunities for children is education, ranked fourth for non-White migrants but only ninth for the White migrants for whom security factors were a greater influence. Visser (2004) also found Whites and Coloureds had different reasons for migrating before Apartheid was dismantled. Although both population groups migrated in response to turmoil and violence in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s, they had differing views on South Africa's political future (Visser 2004, p. 171). Since then, he found South Africans' reasons for emigrating have coalesced in response to crime (Visser 2004).

²⁸ The small number of respondents from population groups other than White are grouped together at points in this analysis and called non-White migrants. This description is used, with some reluctance, because it allows quick and easy identification of the group.

Table 6.5: Influences on non-White SSAM migrants' decision to migrate (% yes to listed reasons) (multiple response)

	Yes (%)	Non-White rank	White rank
Better opportunities for children	85.0	1	4
Uncertainty about future	75.0	2	2
Education	75.0	2	9
Personal safety and security	70.0	3	1
Crime	55.0	4	3
Political instability	55.0	4	5
Lifestyle	55.0	4	7
Better employment opportunities	45.0	5	8
Declining standard of public services	45.0	5	6
Opposition to government	40.0	6	10
Career advancement	30.0	7	11
High cost of living	25.0	8	13
Higher income	15.0	9	12
Family Reunion	10.0	10	15
Marriage/partnership	10.0	10	14

Source: SSAM 2011/2012; non-White - n=20

Another ethnic distinction among South African migrants is their main language. White South Africans are mainly English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking peoples. On the whole there were only subtle differences between their reasons for migration, as 90 percent of migrants in each language group were influenced by personal safety and security. Concerns about the future ranked second for English-speakers (86.0 %) and fourth for Afrikaans-speakers. Crime was a slightly more important reason for Afrikaans-speakers (88.2 %) than English-speakers, while more Afrikaans-speakers were motivated to attain better opportunities for their children, lifestyle, better employment opportunities and education.

6.7 Why Australia?

Having made the decision to emigrate South Africans must choose a destination. Why do they choose Australia and do their reasons for doing so differ from South Africans who settle in other locations? For the majority of SSAM respondents, Australia was their preferred destination (87.8 %), while a small number preferred New Zealand (4.2 %), Canada (2.9 %), and the USA (1.9 %). Table 6.6 shows that the most popular reason for choosing Australia was its lifestyle (64.0 %) followed by a perception that it was similar to South Africa (61.1 %), and other reasons included peace and climate. Overall, respondents tended to select social and environmental factors rather than economic, mainly

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration employment opportunities. Indeed, 145 SSAM migrants had pre-arranged employment, reflecting conditions attached to temporary 457 visas and Employer Nominated visas in the permanent Migration Programme.

Table 6.6: SSAM respondents, reasons for choosing Australia as their migration destination (multi response)

	n	% yes to listed reasons
Lifestyle	311	64.0
Similar to South Africa	297	61.1
Peace	279	57.4
Climate	244	50.2
Employment opportunities	230	47.3
Democracy	168	34.6
Pre-arranged employment	145	29.8
Culture	144	29.6
Freedom of speech	94	19.3
Family in Australia	84	17.3
Affordability	49	10.1
Partner is Australian	16	3.3

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=486

English, the main language spoken in Australia, is an obvious attraction for South African migrants for whom English is the language of business even if it is not a first language (Wallmach 2006). Only a handful of SSAM respondents explicitly stated language as a reason for choosing Australia, but it is reasonable to assume it could play a subconscious role in their decision. Arnold (2011, p.100) found, this is “a criterion too obvious to mention” among South African doctors that were surveyed. Indeed, Jupp (2011) and Arnold (2011) agree that there is no reason to think South Africans choose Australia for reasons that are unique when compared to other English-speaking countries. It is difficult to rigorously test this assertion due to the lack of comparable data in major receiving countries. However, a New Zealand study found lifestyle was the main reason South Africans chose to move there, as well as opportunities for children and the environment (Johnston et al. 2005). More recently, Meares et al. (2011) reported that South Africans choose New Zealand to enjoy a safer environment and a better lifestyle, which included educational and employment opportunities. Therefore, research coming out of New Zealand does not appear to differ drastically from this study.

Van Rooyen (2000) believes South Africans like Australia for the sun, a similar culture, sport, open spaces, and language. Researchers (Arnold 2011; Davidson 2006; Meyer 2001; Simon 1989) also discuss the similarities between Australia and South Africa. Equally,

commentators have observed similarities between South Africa and other destination countries. Griffiths et al. (2010 p. 37) claim that South Africans,

"move to Britain or ex-British colonies, in search of a material lifestyle that is similar to SA, trusting they will feel at home there, perhaps even subconsciously assuming fellowship with Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders simply because they too are white."

A final important factor in why South Africans choose a particular destination is the people they know already settled there. Polonsky et al. (1989 p.942) found family reunification or familial ties were "an overriding factor contributing to the reasons why individuals choose Australia as a destination". With at least 27 percent of emigrants in their study having a familial connection with Australia, they concluded that this was an important reason for choosing Australia (Polonsky et al. 1989 p. 942). Two decades on, only 5 percent of migrants in this study said family reunion influenced their migration, although a substantial proportion did know people in Australia before migrating. Perhaps, like English language, this reason is thought to be too common to cite or is not perceived to be a factor, because it certainly does play a role.

6.8 Networks in and prior travel to Australia

Of the SSAM respondents, over half the surveyed population had family or friends in Australia prior to migrating (54.4 %), some 42.3 percent of them had a relative outside of their immediate family while 48.9 percent had friends in Australia. One quarter of cases had a sibling and 5 percent had children, while 3 percent had parents in Australia 8 percent had a colleague in Australia. Interestingly, 55.6 percent of temporary migrants had family and friends in Australia, which was almost the same as permanent migrants (54.2 %). Again, these connections were most commonly relatives outside the immediate family (43.3 %) and friends (56.7 %), although a slightly higher proportion of temporary migrants had children in Australia (10 %). SSAM data reflect Arnold's (2011) finding whereby half the doctors surveyed had relatives who had moved to Australia before them.

Of the SSAM respondents with family or friends in Australia, 44 percent said their decision to migrate was influenced by the people they knew in Australia, some 50 percent by family members and 26 percent by friends, very few by colleagues and employers. Table 6.7 shows that respondents were most commonly influenced by friends and family who showed them the positive aspects of living in Australia (34.7 %), others gave them general advice, support or information (26.7 %). Interestingly, a higher proportion of

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 temporary (63.3 %) than permanent (41.7 %) migrants said their decision to migrate to Australia was influenced by the people they knew.

Table 6.7: SSAM respondents, ways in which friends/family influenced their decision to migrate

	n	%
Showed the positive aspects of living in Australia (lifestyle, safety)	26	34.7
General advice, support and information	20	26.7
Visiting friends and family convinced them to move	10	13.3
Offered information about employment or offered employment	8	10.7
Observing success of migrants before them	5	6.7
Practical assistance (sponsorship, accommodation, financial support)	4	5.3
Showed the negative aspects of South Africa	2	2.7
Total	75	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

It was interesting that 52.4 percent of SSAM respondents were not just influenced but actively supported by family and friends, which came most often in the form of information and advice (87.6 %) and emotional support (68.6 %). Other common means of support included help finding accommodation or housing (56.2 %), and with social introductions (52.6 %). Information plays a particularly important role here, and when migrants are successful and share their positive experiences with people back home, they encourage further migration to Australia (Visser 2004). Indeed, LSIA data show the majority of South Africans were satisfied with their life in Australia and would encourage others to move there (Visser 2004).

From the SSAM survey it was found that there were substantial social networks between migrants and non-migrants in the Australia-South Africa migration system. Moreover, these networks tend to both influence and facilitate migration from South Africa, as predicted by network theory (Boyd 1989; Massey et al. 1998; Massey et al. 1994). Massey et al. (1998) found the probability of international migration was likely to be greater for people related to someone with migration experience or already living overseas. The likelihood of movement was also thought to increase with the closeness of the relationship (Massey et al. 1998 p.56). According to Herman (2006, p. 200), spouses/partners, parents, siblings, and children constitute strong familial ties, while grandparents, other relatives and non-relatives are weak ties. By these definitions, South Africans would have weak ties but the ties identified here don't appear as such, as they undoubtedly influenced the decisions of half of these migrants to move. The question remains whether they influenced their overall decision to migrate or the destination they ultimately migrated to.

The findings of this survey contradict Visser (2004, p. 33) who argued,

“South African migration has not yet reached a stage whereby a continuous stream of migrants could be seen to be flooding into Australia because of [network] processes”.

However, Visser (2004) rightly points out, network theory might provide a useful framework for understanding whether migrant networks in this system influence, firstly, Australia as the destination and, secondly, the State/Territory where migrants settle. Migrants' networks can have a channelling effect whereby migrants are channelled into geographical areas where migrants they know have settled before them (Massey 2006; Massey et al. 1994; Meyer 2001). Commonly known as the ‘family and friends’ affect, this seems to be occurring in Australia with high concentrations of South Africans in Sydney, Brisbane and Perth. Of course, these networks do not occur exclusively in Australia, nor are they unique to South African migrants. Having family in Australia is an “important drawcard” for migrants generally (Richardson et al. 2002a).

6.8.1 Pre-migration visits

The SSAM highlighted another important trend around migrants' pre-migration connections with Australia, namely that 57 percent of respondents had travelled to Australia prior to migrating. The most common reason for undertaking this travel was to holiday (32.4 %), for business or work purposes (17.3 %) or to visit family and friends (14.4 %). Some 58 percent of temporary migrants had also visited Australia before migrating . Indeed, some SSAM respondents explicitly stated that visiting family and friends in Australia convinced them to migrate (8.8 %), while others undertook pre-migration visits with the express intention of investigating Australia as a migration destination. So entrenched is the idea of ‘checking out’ Australia before migrating that South Africans refer to these trips as ‘LSD’ trips or *Look, See, Decide* trips, and they have been observed in the literature before (Arnold 2011; Visser 2004).

Around 13 percent of SSAM migrants travelled to Australia to look and decide if they would make the move, 8.6 percent used the phrase *Look, See, Decide* or the shorter form, *LSD*, in their explanations. This term is widely used among migrants from South Africa²⁹ and it is not unique to the Australia-South Africa migration system but also occurs between

²⁹ The notion of LSD trips was raised several times in interviews conducted as part of this research. Further evidence that this term has widespread usage can be found on online forums and in *SAbona* magazine.

South Africa and other countries. At least one company in New Zealand operates '*Look, See, Decide*' tours for prospective migrants (FourCorners 2011). Qantas have also promoted "Look, See, Decide!" flight and accommodation packages to Sydney, Melbourne and Auckland (Qantas 2014). The LSIA also surveyed migrants on "prior visits" to Australia, and about half of the respondents in Cohort 2, and 42 percent in Cohort 1 had spent time in Australia prior to migration (Richardson et al. 2002b). When these data are disaggregated, South Africans in the LSIA were almost twice as likely to have visited Australia prior to emigration with 75.6 percent visiting at least once beforehand (Visser 2004 p.223). This was a substantially higher proportion than among respondents to this study though there are differences between the surveys, with the LSIA conducted in the early and then late 1990s, and comprising only permanent settlers.

Table 6.8 shows that recent arrivals were more likely to have undertaken travel to Australia before migrating, with two thirds making trips compared to less than one third of pre-1991 arrivals, which is not surprising given the advent of cheaper and more accessible long-distance travel (Castles 2013). A greater proportion of Whites than non-Whites undertook travel to Australia before migration, and among them more English-speakers than Afrikaans-speakers. The small sample of non-White migrants mean this data should be treated cautiously.

Table 6.8: SSAM migrants' pre-migration trips to Australia by selected cohorts

	% undertaken pre-migration trips
Non-Whites	25.0
Whites	58.3
English-speakers	60.5
Afrikaans-speakers	53.8
Before 1991 arrivals	28.6
After 1991 arrivals	65.2
Total SSAM	57.0

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Travel carried out with the purpose of evaluating a destination as a potential new home involves time and money, particularly when people visit several locations around Australia³⁰. For Groutsis and Arnold (2012, p. 339), pre-migration visits are evidence of a "strategic approach" to the migration decision. The extent of this practise among South

³⁰ At least two SSAM respondents indicated that they visited cities, plural, in their bid to find a place to settle.

African migrants is suggestive of two things. Firstly, it points to the significant personal resources many South African migrants have that they can afford these trips before committing to migration. Secondly, it shows how seriously South African migrants take the decision to migrate. This is indicative of the permanent nature of this migration and suggests return migration rates would be low among this group.

6.9 Temporary migrants' reasons for migrating

Particular note should be made about the experiences of temporary migrants; their reasons for migration, networks in Australia and future intentions. Factors that influence temporary migrants' decision to migrate are an important finding of this research, given that they differ very little from the reasons given by permanent migrants. Indeed, Table 6.9 shows that the main influence on temporary migrants is the same as for permanent migrants, although they are in the reverse order. Reasons that might be automatically associated with temporary migration - work, career, employment, education - appear further down the list. One conclusion that might then be drawn is that SSAM temporary migrants had a permanent move in mind when they made the decision to migrate.

Table 6.9: Influences on temporary migrants' decision to migrate (% yes to listed reasons) (multiple response)

	n	% Yes
Personal safety and security	50	80.5
Crime	50	77.0
Uncertainty about future	48	72.4
Better opportunities for children	48	69.1
Declining standard of public services	49	68.7
Political instability	46	56.9
Lifestyle	47	54.8
Better employment opportunities	46	50.6
Opposition to government	46	44.2
Education	46	44.2
Career advancement	47	35.4
Higher income	46	22.0
High cost of living	45	15.4
Family reunion	45	10.9
Marriage/partnership	44	10.5

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=54

Of the 44.6 percent of respondents who claimed that they entered Australia as temporary migrants, just 10.8 percent had temporary status at the time of completing the survey (Table 6.9). In other words, more than three quarters of temporary entrants had become permanent residents by the time they participated in the SSAM. Together, these data

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration confirm the strong propensity for South African migrants to transition to permanent status onshore, as seen in official DIBP data which showed 44.3 percent of permanent additions in 2013-14 were onshore migrants.

Table 6.10: SSAM respondents, migration status on arrival and at the time of the survey

Status	On arrival (n)	% of total	At time of survey (n)	% of total
Permanent	278	55.4	448	89.2
Temporary	224	44.6	54	10.8
Total	502	100	502	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Unfortunately the section of the SSAM that targeted only temporary migrants had an inconsistent and low response rate, in part because such a large number had changed status. As seen in Chapter Five, one in ten SSAM migrants (10.8 %) are currently in Australia on a temporary basis. Of the 54 respondents who identified as temporary at the time of the survey, just one answered the question, *Before you left South Africa, did you intend to apply for permanent residency upon arrival in Australia?* This person had intended to do so. The reason for this poor response is not entirely clear as the survey section was visibly marked for temporary migrants and a skip logic was in place to separate permanent migrants. It is possible that migrants may not have thought in this way or assumed that this is what all migrants did.

On the one hand, this result could suggest temporary migrants are reticent to disclose the intentions they have held from the outset, at least before they secure permanent status. On the other hand, further questions asked of temporary migrants had a markedly better response. For example, 85 percent answered the question: *Since arriving in Australia have you applied or will you apply for permanent residency?* A significant 18.5 percent had already applied while 53.7 percent intended to do so. Again, this highlights their strong propensity to transition to permanent status. It also reflects the results of a study (Khoo et al. 2008) of temporary migrants in Australia, whereby in a survey of 1,175 temporary migrants in Australia it was found that more than 95 percent had applied or intended to apply for permanent residency. Moreover, making an application for permanent residence was an important reason for coming for 60 percent of respondents. Khoo et al. (2008, p. 221) thus concluded that,

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“the dichotomy between temporary and permanent migration appeared to be a false one as the intention was always permanent migration”.

They also concluded for South African participants in their study (n=51), that *all* had applied or intended to apply for permanent residency.

Generally speaking, the Khoo et al. (2008) study showed temporary migrants from developing countries were more likely to seek permanent residence than migrants from developed countries, chiefly for employment reasons. Migrants from South Africa, on the other hand, were six times more likely to become permanent residents than migrants from the UK and Ireland, because of dissatisfaction with conditions in the origin country (Khoo et al. 2008). Employment factors were also found not to be as important for South Africans (Khoo et al. 2008), as was the case for SSAM respondents. For migrants from the UK, Ireland, Europe, Japan, and the USA, Australia's lifestyle was more likely to be the reason for transitioning to permanent residency (Khoo et al. 2008). Thus for migrants from these countries the decision to transition to permanency appears to have been made post-migration, having experienced Australia's lifestyle. By contrast, South Africans surveyed by Khoo et al. (2008) were more likely than migrants from these other countries to indicate that an important reason for wanting permanent residency was to escape war or the political situation in the origin country. Once more, this suggests permanent migration is the goal of temporary movers before they arrive in Australia.

Further evidence that permanent migration is the goal of many temporary South African entrants is that 69.6 percent of temporary SSAM respondents intended to become Australian citizens. This demonstrates a remarkably high level of commitment to the receiving country by people ostensibly in Australia on a temporary basis. Again, this strong, early commitment could suggest permanent migration was indeed their intention from the outset. It is clear that many South African temporary migrants to Australia will and do transition to permanent resident status. Based on observations from this study and found by Khoo et al. (2008), there is a high probability that this is their plan from the outset. Still, “little is known about the processes whereby temporary residents decide to apply for permanent residence” (Hugo 2006b p. 114). Although for some there is, “nothing more permanent than temporary foreign workers” (Martin 2001), for others permanent migration is not a foregone conclusion, particularly where circular migration systems are in place (Khoo et al. 2008). Certainly, this is an area for future research in general, as well as specifically focussing on South African migrants in Australia.

6.10 Emotional language

The anonymity afforded migrants by the online survey resulted in notably candid responses. The overall impression is that respondents did not censor their answers as they might in face-to-face interviews. Emotional and personal stories as well as a handful of blatantly racist remarks are testament to this. Exasperation is one of many emotions revealed by SSAM migrants in their open responses. Collectively, SSAM migrants' reasons for migrating are a sobering read. They paint a bleak picture of life in a South Africa where social, civil and political problems are rife. Indeed, the sense that migrants feel pushed is apparent in the emotive language they use. Along with their exasperation, there is anger, sadness and stress in the responses of these migrants which denote an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty in South Africa. Some examples of this include:

Exposed to too much violence in South Africa. Held at gun point outside my own house. Too afraid to keep doors or windows open. Both me and husband work in medical profession so saw too many of the victims. Tired of living in fear.

Respondent #415 temporary skilled, migrated 2009, age 37 female

I have 2 teenage daughters and felt that I could no longer live in SA as I was always living in fear for their safety

Respondent #332 permanent skilled, migrated 2010, age 45 female

Everything became a struggle and uncertain. Crime [is] cause for too much stress and panic and living with the fear of being someone's next victim does not sit well with me

Respondent #317 permanent family (dependent), migrated 2009, age 24, male

I could not stand the urban decay in South Africa - it really made me anxious. I also did not like the constant stories in the news about Julius Malema, it was really unsettling and it felt that the country was teetering on a knife's edge

Respondent #470 temporary skilled, migrated 2012, age 27, male

Louw and Mersham (2001) found a sense of loss and displacement evident in interviews of 'South African Australians' conducted for a South African women's magazine. However, this sense of loss was not exposed in their own ethnographic studies where migrants were questioned in a group. Rather, in these situations they found migrants talked about "making a go of it" (Louw and Mersham 2001 p. 322). For the purposes of future research into the migrant experience, it is apparent that migrants must be anonymously able to provide details of their migration. Surveys that can be completed in private allow respondents to

“freely report attitudes and behaviours without embarrassment or fear of reprisal” (Chadwick et al. 1984 p. 137.) In one-on-one interviews bias from participants' efforts to project a certain image or present socially desirable views can be mitigated, to an extent, if rapport between the interviewer and interviewee is developed (Chadwick et al. 1984). In focus groups or group interviews, however,

“Although participants should be moderately homogenous, this does not always ensure an openness and willingness to share beliefs and opinions candidly” (Neuman 2014 p. 471).

Rather, participants “may exaggerate, minimize or withhold experiences depending on social contexts” (Neuman 2014 p. 472).

6.11 Further theoretical consideration of why people migrate

The dominance of socio-political factors in South African migration is highly significant because they do not reflect the economic factors commonly seen to drive international migration (Fawcett and Arnold 1987). Other commentators have also emphasised this characteristic of South African migration. Visser (2004, p. 116) is firm in his findings that the political structure in South Africa has impacted migrant behaviour, particularly changes to the social structure as a result of political events. Arnold (2011), too, labours the fact that this makes the migration of South African doctors unique from the migration of other skilled professionals to Australia.

The standard neo-classical economic model which assumes a difference in wages and employment conditions between sending and receiving countries does not entirely fit the South African migration experience. Neo-classical economics theory has also been critiqued in the context of South African migration due to its inability to account for migration between two developed countries and because its ‘rational actor’ perspective fails to account for situations when migrants are forced to move (Visser 2004). It has been argued here that, while they may feel pushed, South Africans ultimately have the choice to move, they certainly are not forced. Still, commentators (Massey et al. 1998 p. 8) have observed a “crisis of rational expectations” which highlights the inability of models to account for non-economic moves. Although a cost-benefit analysis is almost certainly undertaken by migrants from South Africa, this is far more likely to weigh up security-related, rather than monetary, risk versus gain.

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration

Another economic theory, the dual labour market theory, focuses on macro level structural determinants in the receiving country and posits that international migration stems from intrinsic labour demands in advanced industrialised countries (Arango 2000; Massey et al. 1998). Certainly, Australia's political environment and the migration policies that result from it are structural features of the receiving country that both facilitate and shape migration from South Africa. Changes in the focus of the Migration Programme from family to skilled migration, the introduction of temporary visas in the mid-1990s and the advent of onshore migration in 2000 have all been shown here to influence the type of migration from South Africa to Australia. However, this migration remains driven by factors in South Africa, and beyond drawing attention to labour markets this theory has limited explanatory value in the context of South Africa-Australia migration.

Still, with attention now on labour markets it is worth noting how changes in the South African labour market are triggering migration for some people and contributing to general feelings of uncertainty for others. In particular, since the end of apartheid, the changed political situation in South Africa has led to a changed labour market structure. Labour policies aimed at increasing participation of Black Africans in the workforce are viewed by some as having the reverse effect on Whites. For at least ten percent of SSAM migrants, this was raised as a reason for migrating and could be influencing those who said they sought better job opportunities. Certainly, given the other major motivations for migrating, it seems likely South Africans are motivated less by the opportunities that might be available to them in Australia than by the lack of opportunities for employment and career advancement in South Africa. At the same time, if job opportunities were not available in Australia it would not be viewed favourably as a migration destination.

Elements of the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory can be more usefully applied to understanding South African migration to Australia (Arnold 2011; Visser 2004). This theory has developed out of the neo-classical tradition (Arango 2004) but considers the agency of the family or household unit in the decision to migrate, rather than the individual (Stark and Bloom 1985). According to NELM, the unit adopts migration as a strategy to spread or share risks such as unemployment, loss of income and crop failure or to loosen the constraints of credit and insurance markets (Arango 2004). Its relevance for understanding South African migration stems from the emphasis on the family or household, not the individual (Visser 2004). SSAM data and insights from interviews

highlight that it is the family unit, in particular a desire to protect it and expose it to the best possible environment that is at the core of why South Africans emigrate.

The role of the family can be extended also to include those who might have migrated before and so generate and facilitate later migrations. Network theories, sometimes called 'chains' are used to explain migration thus generated. This chapter has outlined the extensive networks that exist among South African migrants in Australia and the ways in which these serve to influence as well as support new arrivals. Previous studies have also acknowledged that network theories are useful in understanding migration from South Africa to Australia (Arnold 2011). The extensive practice of *Look, See, Decide* travel is further evidence of the considerable interaction South Africans have with Australia before they migrate. There is a keen sense that prospective migrants in South Africa are threaded to Australia through their connections with people and travel even before they arrive as migrants. This opens up this migration to transnational theories, a broad sweeping perspective of migration but one that is apt in the South Africa-Australia migration context. The transnational practices of South African migrants are examined in greater detail in Chapter Eight with more detailed reference to these important theories.

6.12 Conclusion

The decision to migrate can be seen as a two-part process involving, firstly, the initial resolution to emigrate and, secondly, the choice about destination. Although the major influences on emigration from South Africa have changed over time, the key underlying drivers of this movement have consistently stemmed from socio-political conditions in South Africa. Economic drivers are not entirely absent from the picture but rather serve as a necessary but not sufficient reason to move. While some migrants move for jobs already secured in Australia, a function of a number of temporary and permanent visas available in Australia, for others the Australian labour market offers an attractive alternative to the South African one. One still has to think that if other socio-political push factors did not exist, Australia's employment opportunities and conditions would likely not interest many South Africans.

Nevertheless, having decided to migrate, South Africans are attracted to Australia for its lifestyle and because of its similarities to South Africa in terms of lifestyle, climate, language, and environment. Peace was also a drawcard for migrants both before and since

the end of apartheid. Of course, these conditions are not unique to Australia and can be found in other major receiving countries, all of which are English-speaking nations that share a British-Colonial past. However, this research has provided strong evidence that migrant networks play a substantial role in influencing and facilitating movement from South Africa to Australia. More than half the study respondents knew family and friends in Australia before they migrated and almost half said their decision to migrate was influenced by these people. Naturally, these networks are also not exclusive to the Australia-South Africa migration system. In fact, they highlight similarities in the experiences of South African communities wherever they are around the globe.

There is no simple answer to why South Africans are leaving their country. The reasons are multi-layered; political, social, economic and, although many wouldn't like to admit it, racial. Whichever combination of these factors influence individuals, there is a keen sense among commentators and migrants themselves that South African migrants are pushed and, some argue, impelled or forced to leave their homeland. Although many are reluctant, South African migrants ultimately move voluntarily. It is a stretch, indeed, to count South Africa amongst the Jewish and other classical diasporas as Van Rooyen (2000) does. There are many more factors at play in the South African case beyond crime or the fear of becoming a victim of crime. Not least, there has been radical political, economic and even racial re-structuring over the past two decades. Power has changed hands in South Africa and it cannot be denied that those who formerly held power now comprise the majority of leavers. As South Africa has transitioned to majority rule, dismantled a system of inequality and begun to tackle the implementation of a new 'way', people have been displaced. Migration has been linked to policies of affirmative action and black economic empowerment virtually since their inception. Many migrants and, indeed, scholars have described these policies as 'racial re-ranking' or reverse discrimination. However, the identification of a more broadly felt discrimination as a reason for migrating is a disturbing revelation.

This chapter has presented up-to-date primary data on the reasons South Africans migrate to Australia. Although the reasons for migration have changed over time and can differ for different sectors of the population, it is clear the overwhelming majority of South Africans are influenced to move by internal conditions in South Africa. It might then be assumed that until these conditions change, migration from South Africa will continue in earnest. This may have real consequences for South Africa as well as the main countries receiving

Chapter 6: South African migrants' motivations for migration
these migrants, not least if one considers the high degree of human capital South African
expatriates represent.

7.1 Introduction

Researchers (Davidson 2006; Forrest et al. 2013; Louw and Mersham 2001 p.306; Rule 1989) have found that South African migrants integrate into Australian society, preferring not to be noticed and therefore assimilating. They are also considered successful migrants in respect to indicators of settlement and adjustment (employment outcomes, income, home ownership), and the rate at which they take up Australian citizenship (DIEA 1994; Forrest et al. 2013; Lucas 2001; Lucas et al. 2006). In New Zealand too, a recent study (Phillip and Ho 2010 p.84) found positive employment and housing outcomes among South Africans reinforces the “popular view” that they settle easily in New Zealand “due to their economic participation and assumed cultural proximity”. Ease of settlement has also been attributed to similarities in educational, occupational and cultural systems in South Africa and other Commonwealth countries (Forrest et al. 2013; Meyer 2001 p. 990). However, as Phillip and Ho (2010, p. 84) point out in New Zealand, “the subjective migration and settlement experiences of this migrant group are not well researched or understood”. Nor are they in Australia. While economic and other indicators are important, they fail to offer an insight into the *lived* migration and settlement experiences of South African migrants. Having made the decision to migrate to Australia, what are their settlement experiences and how do they ultimately feel about their decision? The SSAM survey addresses these questions and offers new insight into South African migration from the migrants' perspective.

Common conceptualisations of transnationalism refer to, among other things, subjectivity or perspectives (Dunn 2005 p.17). The migrant becomes the unit of analysis, resulting in a shift in focus from the receiving country to the “changing experience of immigration viewed from the perspective of the immigrant” (Markus et al. 2009 p. xvi). Accordingly, transnationalism provides a fitting framework for the discussion that follows. In particular, conceptualisations of transnationalism that evoke migrants' subjectivities have focussed on identity (Friesen 2008; Ghosh and Wang 2003) and citizenship (Castles 1997; Faist 2000a; Ip et al. 1997; Ong 1999; Soysal 2000). As migrants live in social ‘spaces’ or ‘fields’ that incorporate origin and destination, their relationships with both countries can undergo

significant transformation, often resulting in conflated associations and affiliations. Empirical data show how South African migrants experience the move to Australia. On the whole, migration is a profoundly difficult event in their lives but one where the net effect is positive. While migrants are keen to acquire Australian citizenship they are divided when it comes to the retention of their South African citizenship. These divisions are also reflected in the degree to which this group has socially integrated into Australian society and how they perceive themselves in terms of national identity. Indeed, this discussion provides an insight into the transnational identity of many South Africans in Australia.

7.2 What is 'successful settlement'?

Judging how successfully, or otherwise, migrants settle in a location is complex. Many factors apply, not all of them measurable, and questions of perspective are ever present. How a government or receiving population view the success of migrant settlement may be quite different from how migrants see the process. Jupp et al. (1991) outlined requirements for successful settlement based on "minimalist" and "maximalist" approaches. The first is based on achieving certain things in the first few years of settlement, for example, securing accommodation and employment, not being dependent on welfare and not being alienated from society. The "maximalist" approach, on the other hand, is based on the multicultural principals of access, participation and equity (Jupp 1991; Lester 2005). It considers migrants are successfully settled when they are employed at the same level as non-migrants and have the same access to services. This approach views success as having full command of English, Australian citizenship and an intention to remain permanently in Australia - it is accepted that these processes may take a lifetime to achieve. Other definitions of successful settlement consider equality, access to resources and power and self-reliance (Lester 2005).

Khoo and McDonald (2001) outline four dimensions of successful settlement: 1) social participation 2) economic participation 3) economic well-being and 4) physical well-being. These categories offer a comprehensive perspective on settlement by focussing on different facets of migrants' lives and thus go beyond a preoccupation in government and academia with using employment to measure successful settlement (Ho and Alcorso 2004; Lester 2005). Unlike some benchmarks for success, these dimensions can also more readily be measured allowing comparisons with other migrant and non-migrant groups. While the analysis that follows does not adhere strictly to the categories laid out by Khoo and McDonald (2001), elements of their four dimensions of settlement are discussed.

7.3 South African migrants' settlement experiences

Approximately one third of SSAM migrants found the overall migration experience easy (36.9 %), while almost half found it difficult (46.8 %). This is unexpected given the perception that South Africans settle easily and integrate quickly. It is interesting to note the disjuncture between migrants' expectations of migration and their actual experience. Of course, many South Africans are well-informed about the process and the destination country through family and friends in Australia and previous travel. The Internet also provides a valuable source of information, particularly online forums where prospective and newly arrived South African migrants can ask questions and share information³¹. Migration expos run by Australian companies in South Africa are another popular, alternative source of information³². More generally, the LSIA showed two thirds of primary applicants (65.6 %) received an information form from the Department of Immigration before leaving the country of origin, 16.9 percent had accessed Australian government information on the Internet and 40 percent sought information about job prospects from a range of sources before leaving (Lester 2005).

Notwithstanding their preparation, nearly half the SSAM population found migration harder than they expected (47.7 %), while almost one third found it matched their expectations and 18 percent claimed it was easier than expected. A similar trend was found among Taiwanese business migrants, one third of whom found settlement harder than they expected, despite half having travelled to Australia beforehand (Ip et al. 1998). In fact, a greater proportion of South Africans who had visited Australia before migrating said their experience was difficult (50.2 %), compared to their counterparts who had not visited Australia before (42.5 %). It seems knowledge of or even first-hand experience of a destination does not necessarily adequately prepare migrants for migration. Table 7.1 shows that the survey suggested a positive correlation between migrants' pre-existing networks in Australia and ease of migration, with just over 40 percent of migrants with networks in Australia finding migration easy, compared to 32.2 percent of migrants with no family. Moreover, just over half the migrants with no connections in Australia found migration difficult compared to a smaller proportion with established networks (41.7 %).

³¹ See SAAustralia forum www.saaustralia.org and Expat Forum www.expatform.com. SAAustralia forum, for example has more than 13,000 members (SAAustralia Forums 2006), who discuss topics like visa applications, migration agents, finding work and schools and return migration.

³² See, for example, WorkingIn-Australia, www.workingin-australia.com

Table 7.1: SSAM respondents, experience of migration by networks in Australia prior to migration

	Family in Australia (n=264)	No family in Australia (n=221)
	(%)	(%)
Easy/very easy	40.9	32.2
Neither	17.4	14.9
Difficult/very difficult	41.7	53.0
Total	100	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Table 7.2 lists the most difficult aspects of migration stated by male and female respondents. An overwhelming number of SSAM respondents found the wrench from family and friends the most difficult aspect of migration, making new friends at the destination was also difficult, more so for men than women. These data are significant given the adverse effect separation from networks can have on migrants (Sonn 2002). Adjusting to a different culture was the next most difficult aspect but not because of language incompatibility. Of the small number who did find language difficult, men comprised the majority. This is a vastly different experience to other migrant groups, particularly those from non-English speaking countries for whom language and communication are the most major difficulty faced in Australia (Burnett 1998; Ip et al. 1998 p. 83). Around a third of SSAM migrants experienced financial hardship and just over a quarter said finding a job was difficult. The only factor that women found more difficult than men was settling children into schools (56.1 %). *Other* difficulties include problems with skills recognition, issues doing business and feeling unwelcome or unaccepted. It should be noted that men generally expressed more difficulties than women.

Table 7.2: SSAM respondents, most difficult aspects of migration by sex (multiple response)

	Male	Female	Total
	% of responses	% of responses	n
Leaving family and friends	53.5	46.5	359
Making friends	52.3	47.7	199
Adjusting to a different culture	51.7	48.3	178
Financial hardship	58.4	41.6	149
Finding employment	56.3	43.7	119
Settling children in new schools	43.9	56.1	66
Different language	65.4	34.6	26
Other	58.0	42.0	50
n	257	207	

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

7.4 Settlement challenges

A number of interviewees also highlighted the difficulties faced by South African migrants. Finding jobs was a common problem, while on a more personal level several respondents indicated they'd been through marriage breakdowns or had relationship problems as a result of migration. Other issues included social isolation and adjusting to a different way of life, particularly where loss of social standing was experienced. Some participants tended to view these difficulties along gendered lines. *Danie*, for example, felt women suffered from social isolation:

I think women struggle in this country. I think here, to a certain extent, the social aspect; blokes go to work and have all the social interaction that they require at work. They go home, they have their wives there...their lives are complete, essentially. The women on the other hand, some don't work and the ones that don't work don't make friends.

Danie

Counter to this rather simplistic gender stereotype are claims about the difficulties that male migrants face. Studies of African refugee women have also found women settle much better than males (Njuki 2014). Several interviewees outlined how men struggled to find their place in Australian society and had lost status.

A lot of people have to do a job that is several rungs lower than they're used to and, you know...South Africans, they have got such a sort of masculine culture as well, that whole provider, you need to have the man looking after his family, that must be devastating, and I know it is really devastating to them. They've gone from being this person who can provide all this stuff...to someone who can't.

Joanne

Stephen also described the troubles of a male in his extended family that migrated after him. Again, he describes someone who struggles with a lack of status, having no standing in the community and no background in Australia:

[In South Africa] He is the top man in town...everybody knows him...So he comes over here...even having been here nine times before...and really, really struggled...the bank...said "you've got no credit history"...he was trying to find a business, couldn't find a business... then he decided he would go back into pharmacy...then he had to write his final year exam ...he'd been a pharmacist for 17 years...he went into a complete depression...he'd sit in the corner ... just sit there and not talk to anybody, he just couldn't...that's what I

saw for the first time what Australia can do to you. Well, I shouldn't call it Australia but migrating to another country. That's when I started trying to find psychologists to help South African men...South African men typically don't like asking for help.

Stephen

Similar observations have been made of male Hong Kong migrants in Canada whose self-esteem was affected by difficulties finding work and loss of status (Ley and Kobayashi 2005). *George*, a religious leader from Perth, flagged a high rate of psychological issues among South Africans, many of whom were the victims of crime and violence in South Africa. Again, he recognised the value for migrants having people around them who understand their background and experiences. He said,

...then the Afrikaans people started coming and they started making appointments, pastoral ones and they'd sit there where you're sitting and tell me stories...they would say to me things like, you know, you can't really explain to someone...If they don't understand what it is to have a car-hijacking they can't help really. You know, if they've never met someone who's been raped they will not understand...if they haven't even heard of a bank robbery, how can they know the fear? ...So, what I've found is a lot of people are dealing with that baggage now, after emigrating. They now find that they need to talk to someone and they need to talk to someone who understands where they're coming from.

George

Yadid (2013, no pagination) talks about the migration experienced by members of the South African Jewish community whom he says are “traumatized by the dislocation that comes with emigration”. He says,

“To leave one's home is no small feat...the truth is that many South African Jews would have preferred to stay in their birth land” (Yadid 2013).

Considering the push factors behind emigration from South Africa it is not surprising migrants bring what *George* calls ‘baggage’ with them.

7.4.1 Employment issues: downward mobility and skills recognition

Employment is crucial for the successful settlement of migrants (Burnett 1998; Lester 2005; Richardson et al. 2002b). Not only does a job provide income to support the migrant and their family, it can engender self-worth and facilitate integration into broader society (Richardson et al. 2002b). Conversely, unemployment (especially long-term) can negatively affect the well-being of migrants and their families, interrupting settlement and

adjustment (Lester 2005; Pernice et al. 2009 p. 273). In Australia, many studies have linked higher levels of human capital among migrants, namely educational qualifications and proficiency in English, to superior employment outcomes (Ho and Alcorso 2004). Indeed, for decades studies (Hawthorne 1997; Ho and Alcorso 2004; Richardson and Lester 2004; Shah and Burke 2005) have shown migrants from mainly English-speaking backgrounds (MES) enjoy higher rates of employment, more rapid entry into the labour market, better pay, employment in preferred positions and other labour market advantages over their counterparts from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB). Plus migrants from former Commonwealth countries have also fared better than NESB migrants (Hawthorne 1997). Refugees and “visibly different” migrants, on the hand, tend to generally suffer greater disadvantage in the labour market (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007; Junankar and Mahuteau 2005).

South African migrants form a substantial and productive part of the Australian labour force, with high rates of participation and low unemployment (refer Chapter Three). Yet, SSAM data presented earlier revealed one quarter of migrants said finding a job was among the hardest aspects of migration (Table 7.2). Interviews highlighted the employment-related challenges these migrants face, among them were issues of skills recognition and downward mobility. The latter, sometimes referred to as ‘brain waste’, is chiefly understood to be,

“deskilling that occurs when highly skilled workers migrate into forms of employment not requiring the application of the skills and experience applied in the former job” (Salt 1997 p. 5).

It is widely accepted in the literature that a substantial proportion of skilled migrants do not find employment commensurate with their education, qualifications, skills and training (Groutsis and Arnold 2012; McAllister 1995). Shah and Burke (2005) note that although Australia’s migration programme has shifted in recent decades to focus on highly-qualified skilled entrants, migrants’ experiences of downward occupational mobility have continued. As well as the obvious waste of skills at a macro level, from an individual’s perspective there is the concern that being over educated in a job can lead to reduced job satisfaction and lower productivity (Fleming and Kler 2008). Patterns of downward mobility were also clear in LSIA data (Chiswick et al. 2003; Ho and Alcorso 2004) which showed 53.7 percent of employed immigrants were in the same occupation, while 36.6 percent were in a

lower status job, and 9.7 percent were in higher status jobs (Lester 2005)³³. McAllister (1995, pp.454-455) found English-speaking migrants, including South Africans, experienced a “not inconsiderable” drop in occupational status as a result of moving to Australia, though, it must be acknowledged, not to the same degree as their non-English speaking counterparts. Commentators (Chiswick et al. 2003; Ho and Alcorso 2004; Liebig 2007) do, however, expect improvements in migrants' occupational status over time.

Joanne, alluded to the brain waste phenomena when she said “*A lot of people have to do a job that is several rungs lower than they're used to*”. Four interviewees recounted their own experiences of taking jobs for which they were over qualified. *Danie*, for example, said there is work to be had in Australia, although it may not be the work you want to do:

Over here, I always say to people, if you want to work there's work. If you're in this country and you're not working it's because you don't want to work. I've delivered pizzas, I've driven taxis... I've taken lots of jobs that I didn't want to do, but was prepared to do.

Danie

He describes the experience of a man who was qualified to work in nuclear science and entered Australia on the basis of these qualifications but worked folding boxes in a factory because he couldn't find related work. *Harry* held senior positions in marketing in South Africa but was forced to take unskilled work when he came to Australia. He said:

...my background is marketing, marketing operations, general manager...when I got here I sent CVs out to everyone. I applied for countless jobs... I don't think I ever got a single response other than automated response, to the point...There's a restaurant at the bottom [of the mall] called Coco's. Eventually I came in and worked as a kitchen hand.

Harry

Harry's abilities were ultimately recognized by the restaurant managers who promoted him to front of house where a customer spoke to him about his qualifications and offered him a job commensurate with his skills and work experience. *Harry* put his inability to find work down to employers having no “frame of reference”. They were not able to understand the level he had worked at in the South African labour market. This is a common grievance, with studies (Shah and Burke 2005) showing a lack of local work experience can be a major barrier to getting work in Australia. A lack of local work experience has also

³³ Data from wave 1, of cohort 2. Wave 2 showed marginal improvement (Lester 2005).

hampered South African migrants to New Zealand (Trlin 2012). *Spencer* described a similar work trajectory:

I started out in the production area as an assembler. Now, believe me if I tell you...I never, never ever would have done that job in South Africa. It's just, it's not that it's beneath me or anything; it's just that I didn't have any other choice at the time. I just got here, I had a partner, I didn't want to be a burden on her, and I just wanted to bring my, you know, my part to the table...I started building machines and a year after that I got a promotion. I then got in to the office.

Spencer

By the time of the interview, *Spencer* had been promoted two more times. He said:

There are guys who have been there... longer than me but after a year I got a promotion and after five months in that job I got another promotion...So, where I started two years ago, I'm running the whole production.

Spencer

Spencer's rise in his company is a common story. Several interviewees discussed the speed with which South African migrants rise through the ranks. This has been recognised in the broader community. For example, Hyland (2011) quotes South African migrant and business man, Andrew Reitzer who said,

Anyone who comes from South Africa to Australia takes a massive setback in all aspects of their life: their position in the company, their status and the size of their job and their position in society...But that just makes you more hungry. It just makes you drive harder. You want to play catch-up a lot faster (Hyland 2011 p. 58).

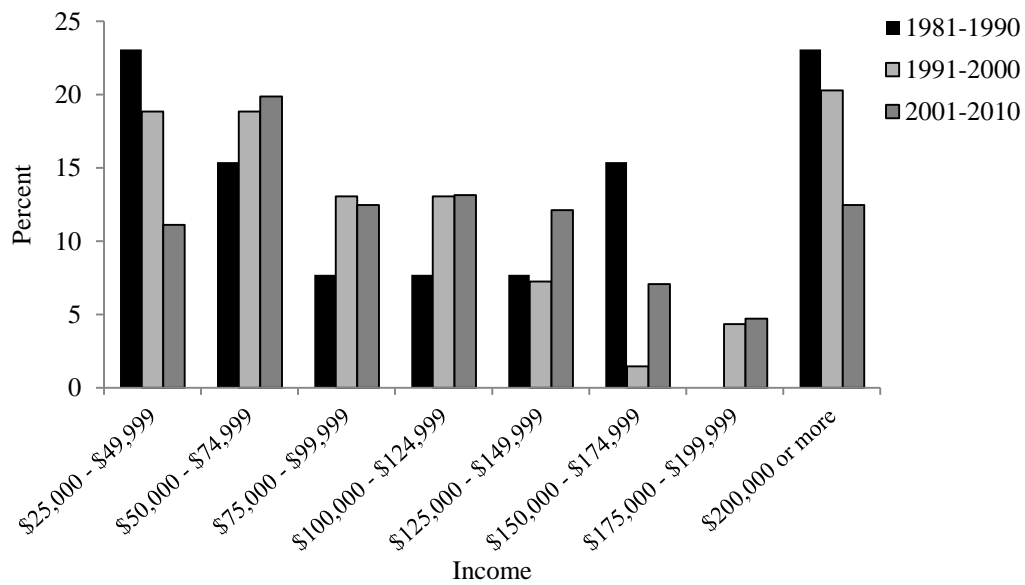
With English language ability less of an issue than it is for some migrant groups, one barrier to getting a job commensurate with skills level could be a lack of Australian labour force experience. In Australia, research shows “visibly different” migrant groups have had significant trouble finding work fitting their qualifications owing to a lack of local work experience and the subsequent inability to provide Australian references (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007). This is compounded for refugees who flee unprepared (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007), but is also an issue for skilled migrants (Liebig 2007).

The SSAM survey shows just under two thirds of migrants worked in the same job or industry in Australia as in South Africa (63.3 %). This seems to suggest that most South Africans transition fairly seamlessly into the Australian workforce without widespread downward mobility. It is also in the range of a study of employed migrants in Australia and

Canada that showed around half were in the same occupations pre and post-migration (Richardson and Lester 2004). However, there were several issues with the question that was asked in the SSAM survey. Firstly, the question was too broad, asking respondents if they “worked in a similar *job/industry* in South Africa?”, and therefore conflated data on jobs and industry that might tell us different things. Secondly, the broad nature of the question means it is not particularly useful for determining migrants' experiences of initial downward mobility. Someone who ticked yes to this question because they are working in a similar job in Australia might reasonably be assumed to be working at a similar level as they did in South Africa, but they could also be working in the same industry at a quite different level post-migration. This question would be greatly improved if it were two-fold and asked migrants about *first* jobs in Australia as well as current job (with comparisons to last job in South Africa).

Another possible indicator of downward mobility is earning capacity although, in Australia, migrants, in particular English-speakers, tend to earn more on average than Australia-born persons (Richardson and Lester 2004). The survey data found that 59 percent of respondents were earning more in Australia at the time of completing the survey than they had in South Africa, while one quarter were earning less and 15.7 percent were earning the same. It could therefore be concluded that around a quarter of SSAM migrants experience some sort of downward mobility but these data need to be viewed cautiously. Not only is it difficult to draw comparison between the labour markets and respective remuneration structures in origin and destination but income data is fraught with potential underreporting and non-response (Khoo et al. 1994).

Nevertheless, income data shows an interesting trend when SSAM respondents' income at the time of the survey is matched with when they arrived (Figure 7.1). Keeping in mind a likely source of bias is that fewer respondents arrived before 1990, it is still clear that migrants that have been in Australia longer command higher salaries than those recently arrived. With the exception of the \$25,000-\$49,999 income range, an apparent anomaly, more arrivals from the 1990s and 2000s make up a greater share of the lower to middle income ranges. This supports the conclusion by Chiswick et al. (2003) and others (Ho and Alcorso 2004; Liebig 2007; Shah and Burke 2005) that employment outcomes, including income, improve for migrants over time.

Figure 7.1: Income by year of arrival of SSAM respondents

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

A final potential barrier to gaining employment commensurate with skills is difficulties having qualifications recognised in Australia. This issue was raised by some SSAM respondents³⁴, particularly in the medical profession. This has been a perennial issue for doctors coming to Australia (Hawthorne 1997). Sometimes called a 'transferability gap', not having skills recognised can again lead to downward occupational mobility (Ho and Alcorso 2004 p. 242). LSIA data showed around one third of migrants were using their highest qualification 'only sometimes', 'rarely', or 'never' in their main job (Lester 2005). The reasons were equally divided between qualifications not being relevant and being unable to find a job where qualifications could be used (Lester 2005 p. 80). Of course, while migrants flagged the issues discussed above, further research is needed to determine their extent, and who they affect most.

Employment does not automatically translate into successful settlement, as a New Zealand study showed when it examined the mental health status of three migrant groups – Chinese, Indian and South African (Pernice et al. 2009). The authors hypothesized South Africans would have greater employment success because they are mostly European and English-speaking and that this would result in better mental health for this group. Indeed, while South Africans had higher rates of employment this did not translate to better mental

³⁴ Respondent #98 Qualification not recognised in Australia making employment challenging
 Respondent #244 Had to sit medical examinations
 Respondent #306 Wife's medical qualifications not automatically recognised

health scores. Pernice et al. (2009) attribute this to the reasons South Africans' migrate - violence, crime and political instability. These push factors can be the cause of distress in their own right but also limit migrants' options for return (Pernice et al. 2009 p. 282).

7.5 Support for South African migrants

The Australian government has been criticised for assuming skilled migrants have little need for assistance when they arrive in Australia (Mak 1997), despite many of them facing a different cultural and linguistic environment and associated challenges. Since the 1990s the Federal government has focussed designated settlement services on "high needs groups", chiefly humanitarian entrants, family stream migrants with low English proficiency and dependents of skilled migrants in rural areas with low English proficiency (Spinks 2009 p. 3). Several stakeholders in the migration industry commented on this lack of government support for skilled migrants:

It is non-existent...There's no assistance for them...there's no logic at all in that. Why do you penalise the very guys that are really making this country grow? Migrants certainly get nothing. It's unfortunate...There's nothing, not even from the Department of Immigration.

Francois

No, unfortunately until recently there was Immigration SA that provided an orientation and also a volunteer kind of reception programme and also at one stage provided some accommodation...I think that skilled migrants are more on their own at the moment...

Angela

We hardly offer anything anymore. We used to offer a range of services but they were cut...In terms of services being offered to skilled migrants there isn't a huge amount and common sense will tell you why that is. Because they are expected to have, you know, have the capacity to really be self-sustaining when they arrive.

Paula

It is not surprising that only one in ten SSAM migrants used services offered by the Department of Immigration (11.5 %). In lieu of formal support, some migrants turned to religious organisations (24.8 %), others to expatriate groups (20.3 %) or community groups (5.2 %). However, one third of SSAM migrants did not use any support services at all upon arrival (33.1 %). On the one hand, this may reflect the financial and human capital these migrants bring with them, as well as the networks they already have in Australia. However, it is also likely to reflect the dearth of formal support offered to skilled migrants. Non-

religious South Africans and those who choose not to associate with expatriate groups are left to their own devices. Although no respondents complained about this, it remains a cause for concern given migration is difficult and stressful (Khawaja and Mason 2008; Stillman et al. 2009).

7.5.1 Support from religious organisations

In 2011, a very high proportion of the total South Africa-born in Australia had a religious affiliation (82.3 %), predominantly Christianity (68.0 %), compared to the total population (68.3 %), 61.1 percent of whom were Christian. While English-speaking South Africans are mostly Protestant, Afrikaans-speaking migrants have bolstered numbers in Australia's Reformed Churches, the Afrikaans culture being deeply entwined with the Calvinist tradition and Dutch Reformed Churches (Thompson 2006). South African Jews, too, have made their mark on Jewish communities, particularly in Sydney and Melbourne (Goldberg 2013b; Yadid 2013). Several church groups across different religious denominations have sizeable South African memberships³⁵. In some cases, they comprise such a large proportion of the congregation that specifically South African services are run concurrent to regular services and these are often conducted in Afrikaans³⁶.

South Africans have also started their own religious organisations. The Grace Reformed Church in Perth was started by a South African minister specifically for migrants (Grace 2014). In Melbourne a recently opened synagogue is said to be the "first in Australia built by South African immigrants largely for South Africans" (Goldberg 2013b). Although religious groups provide an opportunity to worship with people who share a common culture and language, they are also an important source of social interaction and support. The 'Afrikaans Connect' service at Citipointe church in Brisbane, for example, is "specifically designed for those new to Australia [from South Africa] and looking for a church community to fit into" (Citipointe Church 2015). Similarly, a Sydney church operates an outreach programme for South Africans which includes seminars and regular days where migrants can share aspects of their culture with the community (Christian Reformed Church of Sydney 2012). Likewise, the *Jewish Communal Appeal* works to help new immigrants (Goldberg 2013a).

³⁵ For example, Uniting Church, Perth City; Citipointe, Brisbane; Grace Reformed Church, Perth; Hallett Cove Reformed Church, Adelaide; Campbelltown Reformed Church, Adelaide; various synagogues in Sydney and Melbourne (Goldberg 2013b; Tatz et al. 2007).

³⁶ See, for example, the Uniting Church in Perth and Citipointe Church in Brisbane.

7.5.2 Support from expatriate organisations

As well as turning to religious groups, a similar number of SSAM respondents turned to groups, clubs or organisations with a specifically South African membership (32.5 %). These tend to be in capital cities or other large population centres and are often organised by a small group of individuals or committee. They commonly organise social gatherings including breakfasts, braais (barbeques), and camping trips. In some cases, groups unite to support and promote South African musicians and performers touring Australia. Boyd (1989, p. 651) recognised the fundamental influence that membership in ethnic associations and other ties to kin and friends can have on settlement and integration processes as they provide,

“...food, shelter, job information and contacts, information on health care and social services, recreation and emotional support.”

For Sonn (2002, p. 6), too, migrant groups are central to adaptation as they provide meaningful social engagement as well as security, belonging and acceptance.

Organisers of South African expatriate clubs are well placed to understand the needs of their community and the benefits that expatriate groups can bring it. As interviewees see it, these benefits fall into two categories. Firstly, expat groups bring migrants together to support one another, particularly new arrivals. As *Danie* describes, this often takes the form of practical assistance:

...every person that lands in Australia as a new migrant...they land here with a suitcase full of clothes and that's it. And we acknowledge that and...we get the new members or the new migrants to come to the club and introduce themselves and find a network or find a clique to click in with. And, more to the point is, we offer them - through the members - cups and pots and pans and blankets and beds

Danie

As well as practical support, *Danie* noted the importance of networking. *Eric* also found networks enable migrants to access advice and assistance, particularly pertaining to employment, a major advantage of expatriate clubs. He said:

The biggest advantage, I think, of little clubs... [is] when new people come, they... have a little community where like-people do a little bit of networking. So, finding a job...that happens a lot... people will offer advice, assistance, even job opportunities that come up. Just from a little bit of networking I think is the most convenient part of it

Eric

In addition to tangible benefits, South African groups are valuable because they bring together people from similar backgrounds and who have had similar experiences.

The club is about helping people assimilate into the... wonderful, new country and into the society, and the little quirks and idiosyncrasies that a country has...we only look the same [as Australians], we're totally different people and we need to help new migrants slot into the society and assimilate without losing their identity and that's another reason why the club exists.

Danie

But the benefits of associating with people who share your background and experiences can run much deeper. Both *Harry* and *Stephen* point out that a major benefit of sharing a common background or migration story is that it allows migrants a greater degree of understanding. This better equips migrants to support each other and, significantly, provides support that cannot be matched by the receiving population.

So, the one thing that you find in all of these expat groups...there are a whole lot of different levels of support. There's a level of support of that understanding of loss in terms of losing and left something that you really didn't want to necessarily leave. There's understanding of...the horrific, violent nature - the stories that forced a lot of people over... unless Australians have been over there - there really is no understanding.

Harry

The reason we can help South Africans is because we understand South Africans...it's a little bit different now, with all the numbers here...a lot of people arrive here and they already know people, but so many people in the beginning especially, you arrive here and you know absolutely nobody... If we don't support each other, you know, no one else is going to...

Stephen

The benefits of socialising with other South Africans have also been recorded in a study of Coloured South Africans in Australia (Sonn 2002). SSAM respondents in this study enjoyed the sense of familiarity they had with other migrants. However, they also enjoyed staying informed about South Africa, reminiscing about the life they had there and maintaining their ethno-cultural identity (Sonn 2002). Still, the role of expatriate groups in the integration of migrants in the destination society requires more research attention (Boyd 1989).

7.6 The satisfaction of immigrants

According to Lester (2005) immigrant satisfaction matters because satisfied immigrants are more likely to remain permanently in Australia and become active, productive members of society. Despite the social and other challenges described here, most SSAM migrants were satisfied or very satisfied with their lives in Australia (87.1 %), only a small proportion were not sure (8.4 %). There was little difference between the level of satisfaction (either satisfied or very satisfied) of women (86.9 %) and men (87.1 %) which reflect the broader pattern recorded in the LSIA survey (Lester 2005). However, a slightly higher proportion of Afrikaans migrants (91.1 %), with their unique cultural heritage and language, were satisfied compared to English-speakers (84.4 %) who are, arguably, culturally closer to Australia. The high rate of satisfaction among South Africans reflects LSIA data that showed migrants were “overwhelmingly” satisfied, with a very high proportion of around 90 percent satisfied or very satisfied with life in Australia (Lester 2005 p. 5)³⁷.

Nearly all SSAM migrants listed safety (88.8 %) among the things they found most enjoyable in Australia (Table 7.3). This obviously pertains to their reasons for migrating and sets them apart from migrants surveyed in the LSIA who mostly enjoyed the country/environment. Thereafter, though, there is some convergence in the things these two groups enjoy. While SSAM migrants enjoyed lifestyle (72.8 %), peace (70.1 %) and access to services and facilities (67.4 %), LSIA respondents enjoyed lifestyle/social factors, friendly people and Australia being quiet/peaceful/safe. Only a third of SSAM respondents nominated education or employment as the most enjoyable aspects. Again, this reflects LSIA data that showed non-economic or “non-material” aspects of Australia were enjoyed the most by migrants (Lester 2005 p. 42). By and large, English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans enjoyed the same things about living in Australia although a greater proportion of Afrikaans-speakers valued safety (94.1 %), lifestyle (75.7 %) and better opportunities (71.6 %) than their English-speaking counterparts (86.7 %, 70 %, and 66.2 % respectively). Higher proportions of English-speakers enjoyed the people and climate in Australia, but not by a substantial margin. With safety the aspect of Australia that South Africans enjoy most, it appears that those who migrated because of security concerns have achieved their goal.

³⁷ Migrants were from wave 2, in cohorts 1 and 2, of the longitudinal study.

Table 7.3: SSAM respondents, most enjoyable aspects of living in Australia (multiple response)

	n	% yes to listed options
Safety	428	88.8
Lifestyle	351	72.8
Peace	338	70.1
Access to services and facilities	325	67.4
Better opportunities	285	59.1
Climate	245	50.8
Environment	242	50.2
Healthcare system	216	44.8
Education system	176	36.5
Employment conditions	172	35.7
People	161	33.4
Low cost of living	35	7.3
Close to family	31	6.4
Other	25	5.2

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=482

By this measure alone South African migration might then be considered successful. However, other reasons for migrating - uncertainty about the future and crime - also appear to have been dealt with through migration with a high proportion of migrants enjoying the lifestyle, peace and better opportunities in Australia. Consistent with migrants' reasons for migration, peace and lifestyle were enjoyed by a higher proportion of those who migrated in the 1970s when apartheid was in full swing. From the early 1990s on, more migrants cited safety as the factor they most appreciated about living in Australia. Brink (2012, p. 77) also found that South Africans are satisfied with the quality of life in Australia and that sources of dissatisfaction that they experienced in South Africa were being remedied in their new country.

Unsurprisingly, given these levels of satisfaction, most SSAM respondents indicated that they were happy with their decision to migrate (86.2 %), while a smaller proportion were unhappy (3.1 %) or unsure (10.9 %). Paradoxically, men were happier with the decision (91.0 %) than women (81.6 %) despite suggestions, discussed earlier, that men indicated more difficulties than women. It is possible that while men do experience difficulties post-migration, the aggregate benefit of migrating for their family outweigh the personal costs. Interestingly, slightly more Afrikaans-speakers were happy with the decision to migrate to Australia (89.3 %) than their English-speaking counterparts (85.2 %), despite acknowledged difficulties they face when they migrate to an "Anglophone" country like Australia (Arnold 2011, p. 162-163).

Table 7.4 shows an association between how long migrants have lived in Australia and their level of satisfaction. Although data on early arrivals are limited, it is clear longer-term migrants are overwhelmingly satisfied with life in Australia, with more than 90 percent of arrivals before 2000 expressing satisfaction. Newer arrivals, in the 2000s, are more spread along the spectrum, although the majority are still satisfied (86.6 %) and more are unsure (8.9 %). Meanwhile, the newest arrivals, in the survey year or later, were most likely to express dissatisfaction or uncertainty. The proportion of migrants happy with their decision to migrate also decreases each decade after 1990 from 90.5 percent (1990s) to 85.7 percent (2000s) and 71.9 percent (2011 and later).

Table 7.4: SSAM respondents, satisfaction with life in Australia by year of arrival

	Dissatisfied (%)	Unsure (%)	Satisfied (%)	n
Before 1991	0.0	4.2	95.8	24
1991-2000	4.1	2.7	93.2	74
2001-2010	4.5	8.9	86.6	350
2011 or later	9.7	19.4	71.0	31
Total	4.6	8.4	87.1	479

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

As well as potential bias due to the low response of longer-term migrants, the high rate of satisfaction among this group could be skewed by dissatisfied migrants having emigrated, either back to South Africa or a third destination. However, Chapter Nine will show there is not a high propensity for South African migrants to make either of these journeys.

7.7 Social participation

Common measures of social incorporation include English proficiency, participation in education, citizenship and social networks (Ip et al. 1998; Khoo and McDonald 2001). Having established that South Africans are competent in English and with the next section focussed on citizenship, the discussion here looks at South African migrants' social networks. Do South African migrants integrate into Australian society or do they form insular enclaves? In fact, less than one third of SSAM migrants are members of a South African group, club or organisation (32.5 %). It is possible, too, that this figure is inflated as a result of the methodological choice to distribute surveys to migrants through expat organisations and online forums. By way of comparison, a study of Taiwanese business immigrants showed a roughly equal split between members of Taiwanese groups and half

non-Taiwanese social groups (Ip et al. 1997 p. 85). Group membership for different sub-groups within the South African migrant community is shown in Table 7.5, as well as their participation in groups that are not specifically South African. The SSAM survey gave examples of these other groups as social, charitable, religious and sporting groups.

It is interesting that a higher percentage of SSAM respondents are members of other community groups (58.9 %), rather than exclusively South African groups (32.5 %). This is reflected across all sub-groups. English-speaking migrants have the lowest rates of participation among either type of group. On the other hand, a greater proportion of Afrikaans-speaking migrants are members of South African groups, as are migrants who arrived after 1990. This compares with the 2011 Census data that showed a high proportion of recently arrived South Africans were Afrikaans-speakers. Interestingly, a slightly higher proportion of Afrikaans migrants are also involved with non-South African groups (60.4 %). Less surprising is that two-thirds of established migrants, having arrived before 1990, are members of other groups.

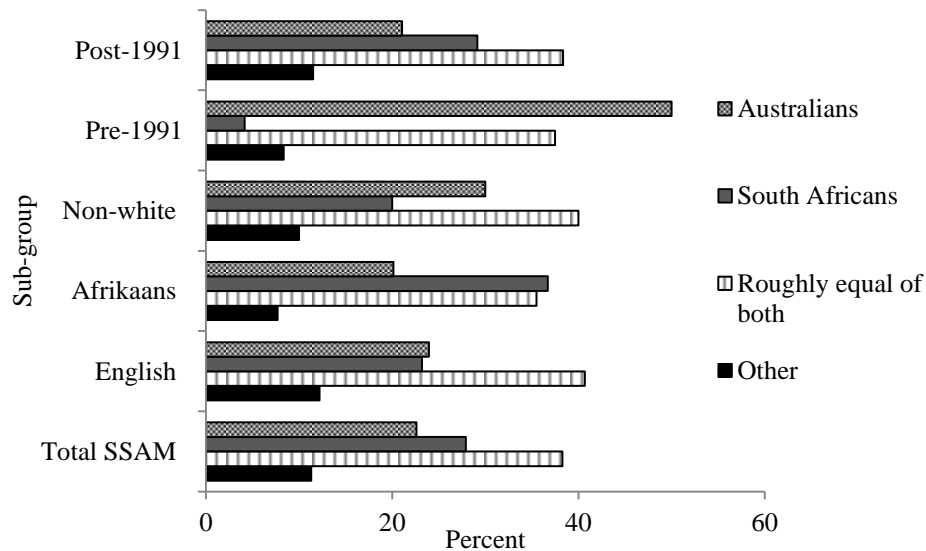
Table 7.5: SSAM respondents, membership in South African and other groups (social, charitable, religious, sporting etc.) by year of arrival

	Member of SA club (%)	Member of other group (%)
Pre-1990	25.0	66.7
Post-1990	33.0	58.5
Non-White	5.3	70.0
Afrikaans	38.7	60.4
English	28.7	58.9
All SSAM	32.5	58.9

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Outside formal groups and organisations, the survey asked migrants who they socialised with most, and nearly 40 percent socialised with both South Africans and Australians. Of those who socialise with just one group, a slightly higher proportion socialise with South Africans (27.9 %) than Australians (22.6 %). While sub-groups exhibit similar social behaviour overall, exceptions tend to reinforce common-sense assumptions (Figure 7.2). For example, people who have been in Australia longer and have therefore had an opportunity to integrate into the community are more likely to socialise with Australians (50.0 %) than South Africans (4.2 %).

Figure 7.2: SSAM respondents, persons most often socialised, selected cohorts



Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Afrikaans South Africans are more likely to associate with fellow South Africans (36.7 %) than Australians (21.1 %). This can probably be explained by their common language and culture. On the other hand, because other population groups from South Africa are so grossly under-represented, both in the SSAM and the South African community in Australia more broadly, there are likely to be fewer opportunities to socialise with others from the same groups. On the whole, SSAM data supports findings in New Zealand (Trlin 2012, p.75) where,

“Apart from a marginal tendency for Afrikaners to be less inclined than other panel members to favour some form of social integration, there were no appreciable intra-group differences among the participants with respect to...social engagement experiences and views”.

Although SSAM data doesn't capture the experiences of Jewish migrants as a separate group, Goldberg (2013a) says South African Jews in Australia are an insular community. Professor Colin Tatz and colleagues explain (Tatz et al. 2007 pp.287-289),

“South African Jews...have been able to duplicate their lifestyles and keep, even strengthen, their culture, ways of thinking and of doing...There is an obvious reluctance to move into Australian social, as opposed to professional and business, life”.

Although not directly comparable, the trends outlined above do appear to be reflected in other parts of the South African diaspora. For example, more than one third of South Africans surveyed in Canada (37 %) said that most of their best friends in Canada were from South Africa (Crush et al. 2013).

7.8 Citizenship

Of the permanent migrants surveyed, more than half (55.4 %) were Australian citizens. Although this is a smaller proportion than among the total South African population in Australia (64.3 %) (ABS 2014b), half the SSAM respondents arrived in 2007 or later (49.2 %), and weren't therefore eligible to apply for citizenship. Importantly, Table 7.6 shows that of the respondents who were not yet Australian citizens, 86.4 percent intended to do so, while only 3.7 percent had no such intention and 9.9 percent were unsure. Those with no intentions were already citizens of a third country or over 45 years of age.³⁸ As previously mentioned, SSAM citizenship data highlights temporary migrants' intentions to transition to permanent status with 69.6 percent of temporary migrants stating they intend to become Australian citizens.

Table 7.6: SSAM respondents, permanent and temporary, intention to become Australian citizen

	Not yet Australian citizens		Temporary	
	n	%	n	%
Yes	210	86.4	32	69.6
No	9	3.7	2	4.3
Not sure	24	9.9	12	26.1
Total	243	100	46	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

South African migrants have been in the top five countries of birth conferred Australian citizenship for several years, but the proportion of South Africa-born in Australia who are Australian citizens is much smaller than many other Overseas-born groups (refer Chapter Three). One explanation has been that migrants from English-speaking countries feel, and are, socially integrated in Australian society and therefore forgo Australian citizenship (Khoo et al. 1994). By contrast, refugees are more likely to apply for citizenship to establish a new nationality and secure a passport (Khoo et al. 1994). Generally, Khoo et al. (1994) found that migrants most likely to take up citizenship are those unable or unlikely to return to their origin country because of political, social or economic conditions (Khoo et al. 1994 p. 367-368). Given the push factors behind emigration from South Africa, and the low propensity among South African migrants to return, it seems reasonable to assume

³⁸ That is, six were already citizens of New Zealand, Britain or The Netherlands, two were aged over 45 years and another stated, "I am a South African and intend to remain one. I am proud of my country and not ready to give that up".

they would exhibit a high take-up of Australian citizenship relative to other groups, but this is not evident in the survey data.

While census data counts the number of South Africa-born who have become Australian citizens, it offers no insight into their motivations for doing so or not. The SSAM survey fills a considerable gap on this count. Table 7.7 shows that migrants' motives for acquiring Australian citizenship varied but were mostly intangible, emotional reasons based on their sense of home and desire to be part of Australia, to integrate and belong. For some, this sense of belonging extended to respondents' identifying as Australian and expressing pride in Australia, as well as a desire to integrate. For others, citizenship was the obvious next step in the process of their permanent relocation. Some wanted to 'give back' to Australia, a country they feel indebted to for allowing them a chance at a new life. A common sentiment among migrants was that Australia had 'saved' them and offered them 'safe harbour'. Thus reasons for becoming Australian citizens strongly relate to their main reasons for migrating. Similarly, many migrants' felt Australian citizenship provided security and stability as well as a better future. Significantly, another common reason for becoming an Australian citizen was because migrants' had no desire or intention to return to South Africa.

Table 7.7: SSAM respondents, top reasons for conferral of Australian citizenship

Reasons	%
Australia is home /new country/ love Australia	17.1
Not wanting to return to SA/permanent move	13.8
Better future (including for children)/opportunities/benefits	11.0
Security and stability	9.5
To be part of Australia/participate/integrate/to belong	6.6
Australian passport	5.2
Travel made easier/Australian citizens supported OS by their government	5.2
Vote	4.3
University	3.3
To support or give back, contribute or show commitment to Aust.	3.3

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=210

These reasons stand in contrast to less frequently cited, but more tangible, benefits such as access to passports, easier travel (including consular assistance), education and the right to vote. Classified as "instrumental" reasons, these relate to practical benefits which are the most common reasons that Asian migrants in Australia take up Australian citizenship (Ip et al. 1997 p.373). Instrumental reasons stand in contrast to "expressive" reasons which include "favourable assessment of Australia and lifestyle" and "particularistic or

integrative” reasons which are seen to relate to “family or personal ties...and the desire to integrate socially into Australian society” (Ip et al. 1997, p. 373). The reasons stated by South African migrants fall mostly within the latter categories. However, among the instrumental benefits of Australian citizenship, they most valued having an Australian passport. Not only was this seen to make overseas travel easier, some migrants linked having an Australian passport with security. For example, migrants stated,

I want to secure a future for my child and the only way to do that is to get him Australian citizenship

Respondent #445, temporary now permanent, migrated 2009, age 34, female

Provides security of residence

Respondent #52, permanent skilled, migrated 2008, age 40, male

Secure my family's future in our adopted country

Respondent #16, temporary student now permanent, migrated 2008, aged 37, male

In this way, their approach to Australian citizenship is similar to ‘reluctant exiles’ from Hong Kong (Skeldon 1994), who, as Ip et al. (1997, p. 379-380) found,

“...consider the acquisition of a new citizenship as the means for a valid passport – an insurance policy to protect their freedom of movement or the relocation of personal assets in view of uncertain political changes after the change over of government in Hong Kong in July 1997”

Driven to migrate by a range of push factors, South African migrants clearly find themselves in a similar situation; trying to secure an insurance policy for the future. Australian citizenship is thus seen as a mechanism by which they can do this.

7.8.1 Dual citizenship

Most SSAM migrants had South African citizenship at some point (84.5 %), and three quarters of them retained this citizenship post-settlement in Australia. Almost half of them also acquired Australian citizenship, so they became dual citizens when entitled to do so (41.9 %). Of those who weren't yet Australian citizens, 89 percent intended to become one. Table 7.8 shows that the most common reason for keeping South African citizenship was because they were not yet eligible for Australian citizenship. Again, while many of these migrants said they would become Australian citizens when eligible, they were divided on dual citizenship. Some indicated they would let their South African citizenship lapse while others actively sought to hold both. To do this, migrants must be pro-active. Failure to

notify South African authorities of an intention to acquire a second citizenship results in the cancellation of South African citizenship (South African High Commission 2013). Interestingly, Hage (2002) suggests high rates of citizenship take-up - between 80 and 90 percent - occur when migrants have access to dual citizenship, but this does not seem to apply to the South African case.

Migrants' strong desire to become Australian citizens is evidence of the permanent nature of migration from South Africa to Australia and SSAM data show the ways in which these migrants strategize to secure a future for themselves and their families. Yet the reasons for retaining South African citizenship reveal the transnational lives of migrants in Australia. That is, South African migrants consciously keep their origin citizenship because of connections they maintain with South Africa: family and friends left behind, South African identity, travel back and financial links with South Africa (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8: SSAM respondents, top reasons for keeping South African citizenship

Reason	%
Not eligible for Australian citizenship yet	23.0
Family and friends in South Africa	12.6
May return to live one day/keeping options open	11.2
Still a South African/identify with South Africa	10.8
Travel back often/easier to travel back	10.4
History in South Africa/heritage/born, grew up there	8.9
Emotional attachment or sentimental reasons (incl. loyalty, pride etc.)	7.2
Financial investments in South Africa still	6.1

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=278

On the other hand, the main reason why South Africans do *not* keep South African citizenship was because one third of respondents had no intention of returning to South Africa. Other common reasons were loyalty to Australia, identifying as Australian or viewing Australia as the new home (16.6 %). Again, all of these reasons demonstrate the permanent nature of this migration. A small proportion of respondents did not realise they could hold dual citizenship or were unaware of the process to do so.

7.9 Identity

Vertovec (2001, p. 573) acknowledges identity is a nebulous concept but one that is useful because it “can suggest ways in which people conceive of themselves and are characterised by others”. In this context, identity refers to a person’s affinity with a given nation and

imbued in this notion are concepts of attachment, emotional connection and belonging. Discussions of identity feature very little in the existing literature on South African migrants in Australia. Indeed, as Inglis (1997, p.268) writes, despite the value in understanding it, there has been very little work that focuses on the identity of migrants to Australia in general,

“While much has been written about the extent and nature of these migrant flows, far less attention has been paid to the ways in which these flows have been associated with changing perceptions of the migrant groups, as they are perceived and constructed by the society and the state or by the migrants themselves. Yet how these migrant identities are constructed is extremely important. It has direct implications for many of the current debates about the nature of citizenship and for the ways in which individual identities are related to broader concerns about the role of diaspora and the development of transnational identities.” (Inglis 1997, p. 268).

Understanding migrants' identities is important because it tells us something of their connection to, and affiliation with, *both* the origin and destination countries. This occurs in a formal sense through citizenship as well as through the development of transnational identities (Ip et al. 1997). As Clarke (2008, p.9) points out,

“Transnationalism has emerged as an important interdisciplinary field which emphasises multiple attachments that migrants hold towards several idealised homelands, and questions narrow views of how national boundaries shape everyday subjectivities of citizens”.

According to Portes et al. (1999) transnationalism offers a new understanding of migrants identities that stands in contrast to assimilation, whereby migrants reject the ways of their origin country to adopt those of the receiving country. Instead, transnational researchers,

“argue that identity must be seen as one of hybridity where migrants take on a multiplicity of identities that are a combination of home and host” (Crush and McDonald 2002, p. 6).

Indeed, Table 7.9 shows most SSAM migrants have a hybrid identity that is both South African and Australian (39.4 %). Fewer migrants identify solely as South African (34.0 %) and fewer again as solely Australian (17.2 %). Some respondents indicated that they felt they were *South African Australians* or *citizens of the world*. Others identified with a third destination - New Zealand, in a small number of cases. Incredibly, only half of the temporary migrants identified as South African compared to around one third of permanent migrants. Thus despite only having the right to stay in Australia on a provisional basis, they show a decidedly strong commitment to Australia with 35.4 percent identifying as both South African and Australian.

Table 7.9: SSAM respondents, permanent and temporary, by identity

	Permanent		Temporary		Total SSAM	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Australian	82	18.3	1	2.1	83	17.2
South African	140	31.3	24	50.0	164	34.0
Both	173	39.9	17	35.4	190	39.4
Other	39	9.0	6	12.5	45	9.3
Total	434	100	48	100	482	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Hage (2002) finds migrant identity formation is influenced by situation factors including age, immigration category, education, job and time in Australia. The SSAM survey showed that migrants identify less with South Africa the longer they reside in Australia (Table 7.10), with no respondents prior to 1991 indicating they identify as South African, but 41.7 percent identifying as Australian and 54.2 percent as both. However, 54.8 percent of the most recent arrivals identify as South African and just 3.2 percent as Australian. Interestingly, around one third of recent arrivals maintain they have a hybrid identity.

Table 7.10: SSAM respondents, identity by year of arrival, percentages

	Before 1991	1991- 2000	2001- 2010	2011 or later	Total (n)	Total (%)
n	24	74	353	31		
Australian	41.7	35.1	13.0	3.2	83	17.2
South African	0.0	13.5	38.8	54.8	164	34.0
Both	54.2	40.5	38.8	32.3	190	39.4
Other	4.2	10.8	9.3	9.7	45	9.3
Total	100	100	100	100	482	100

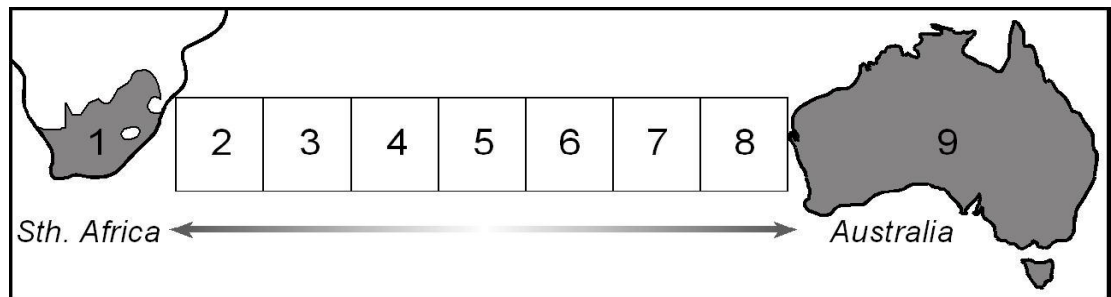
Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Of family factors that influence identity, Hage (2002) finds Arab Australian immigrants with family overseas are least likely to cut ties with the origin country. Although the SSAM did not ask directly if migrants still have family in South Africa, many do, as of those migrants who had travelled back to South Africa, 63 percent claimed to have visited family and friends. Equally, growth in the South African community in Australia is likely to provide an environment in which migrants continue to identify with their origin country, its people, culture, language and even religion.

The concept of hybridity has gained significant attention in cultural theory as it stands “for the contemporary truism that identities are necessarily multiple and fluid” (Noble and

Tabar 2002 p. 128). In an attempt to better understand the nuances of hybrid identities, migrants were asked to indicate on a scale the number that best represented their identity. This scale was overlaid onto a map, as shown in Figure 7.3. Migrants were asked to 'Please indicate the number that best represents your identity on this scale' according to the following instructions: 'The closer the number is to either country, the more you identify with this country. Consider 1 represents a wholly South African identity and 9 a wholly Australian identity'. The inclusion of this scale was to determine if, within a hybrid identity, migrants tended to identify more with their origin or destination country.

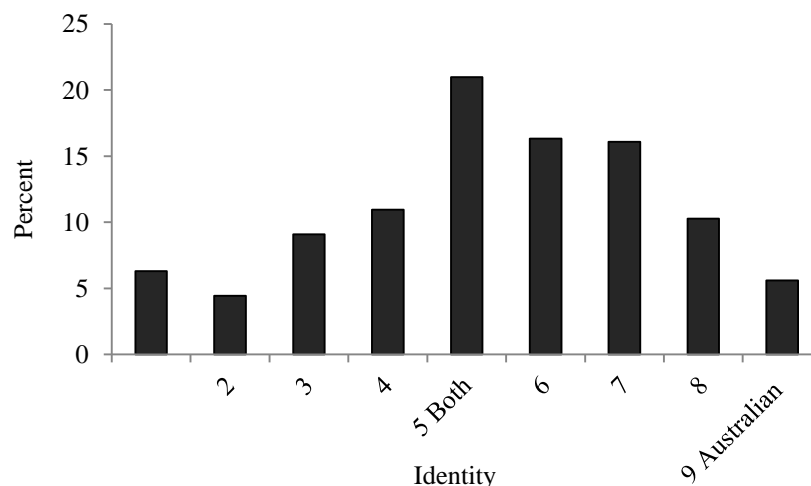
Figure 7.3: Identity map included in Survey of South African Migrants



Source: SSAM 2011/2012

The results are shown in Figure 7.4, which shows that the most common identity is a joint or hybrid identity that incorporates an even affinity for both South Africa and Australia, as represented by number 5.

Figure 7.4: SSAM respondents, identity scale responses



Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Overall not many migrants identify with a single country, and are more likely to identify themselves along the spectrum of South African and Australian identities, which is skewed

towards Australia. Scales such as these are an imperfect measure but they highlight the complexity of identity, particularly as people who have lived in more than one place will often identify with both places.

A final reflection on identity includes respondents' thoughts on a series of statements about belonging (Table 7.11). Around two thirds of SSAM migrants felt they had integrated into Australian society and a similar proportion agreed they felt welcome when they arrived in Australia, as well as being accepted by the Australian community. Equally, around half the SSAM respondents disagreed that they had experienced discrimination in Australia or that they felt like a foreigner in Australia. Overall, SSAM migrants' responses to these statements reflect positive experiences in Australia, although not for everyone. Around a quarter of respondents had experienced discrimination in Australia, a similar proportion felt like a foreigner in Australia. They were, however, in the minority and reports of discrimination against South Africans were less frequent than among Taiwanese migrants for whom racial discrimination was a major settlement problem (Ip et al. 1998 p. 86).

Table 7.11: SSAM respondents, thoughts on selected statements about belonging

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I felt welcome when I arrived in Australia	24.1	39.7	22.7	10.6	2.9
I feel accepted by the Australian community	22.3	42.3	22.1	11.0	2.3
I have experienced discrimination in South Africa	31.5	30.1	16.9	14.6	6.9
I have experienced discrimination in Australia	6.5	25.3	18.6	28.5	21.1
I feel I have integrated into Australian society	25.2	40.4	24.6	8.3	1.5
I feel like a foreigner in Australia	5.0	20.3	23.2	29.7	21.8

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

7.9.1 Identity and accents

Much can be said on how South African migrants are viewed by the broader Australian population. Many participants in this study speculated on such matters, offering an array of positive and negative feedback. In the course of this research an interesting friction emerged in terms of migrants' identities, their accents and how they are received by the

broader population. In a small number of cases, migrants identified as an Australian, or at least would have liked to, but found Australians were inclined to remind them they were South African:

I may identify myself as an Australian but they never left me forget that I am South African

Respondent # 353 permanent, migrated 2001, age 46, female

Am South African (Australians make sure I know that) but would like to be Australian

Respondent #415 temporary now permanent, migrated 2009, age 37, female

Once we obtain Australian citizenship we will feel more Australian...Wish I could just lose my Saffer accent, then I wouldn't be asked all the time, "So where in South Africa you from?"

Respondent #52, skilled, migrated 2008, age 44, male

The tone of these statements is of regret and even resentment at not being left alone to be Australian. In other instances, migrants' South African accents branded them as migrants or foreigners in the eyes of Australians.

As I still have an accent, Australians remind me I am a foreigner

Respondent #434 temporary business, migrated 2010, age 43, female

Australia feels like my country now, I feel accepted but because of accent and certain cultural aspects you will always be identified as a foreigner

Respondent #127, skilled, migrated 2006, age 50, female

These comments show how migrants' accents draw unwanted attention. Furthermore, some migrants' accents denote an identity they do not necessarily still associate with. South Africans may not experience the isolation or discrimination that 'visible' migrants in Australia do (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007) but there is little doubt their accent expose them as "other". In New Zealand, too, South African migrants' accents identified them and even exposed them to prejudiced attitudes or behaviour (Trlin 2012). Interestingly, *Danie* felt Australians view South Africans sceptically or with mistrust when they claim to be Australian and when they clearly are not. Conversely, there is defensiveness and awareness that South Africans sticking together can be viewed negatively by the wider Australian population. It has been reported that within the Australian Jewish community, South Africans have "been met with resistance and derision" largely due to their "persistence in retaining their identity" (Yadid 2013 no pagination).

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on common indicators of successful settlement, both economic and social. Standard economic measures have been assessed alongside subjective measures, an increasingly regular practice in economic analysis since the 1970s (Lester 2005). The literature on South African migration has long reported South African migrants integrate quickly and with success into Australian society (Davidson 2006; Louw and Mersham 2001). However this view downplays the difficulties that some migrants, including South Africans, can face. The SSAM survey and interviews conducted as part of this research have revealed a great deal about the overall settlement experience of South Africans in Australia, including the challenges they confront while working towards the goals of migration.

What SSAM migrants found most difficult were not aspects of migration easily prepared for, namely separation from family and friends and making new friends at the destination. Adjusting to a different culture was difficult for a third of SSAM migrants, but, significantly, this was not because of language which is a major difficulty faced by many other migrants groups to Australia. Interviews highlighted the social and emotional issues migrants experience as well as employment challenges, including downward mobility and problems with skills recognition. The latter are particularly important as they can easily be overlooked in light of the more general success of South Africans seen in the labour force participation rate, the high level of skills among this group and the high incomes they attract. At the same time, one does not want to overstate the hardship. Still, generally, South Africans and other skilled migrants proficient in English are likely to experience better settlement outcomes in Australia than their counterparts in the humanitarian and family streams, particularly in the early years of settlement.

Stakeholders in the expatriate community were well placed to discuss the benefits expatriate groups bring to their respective communities. In particular, interviews showed the practical support these groups provide as well as the sense of belonging they foster. They fill a gap the Australian government has left unattended for a number of years. Still, South Africans themselves say they feel integrated into Australian society. The SSAM data confirmed ready take-up of Australian citizenship and provided an insight into why South Africans do so. These migrants find considerable meaning in citizenship because it demonstrates their commitment and gratitude to Australia, and their reasons for acquiring

Chapter 7: South African migrants' settlement experiences

Australian citizenship were mostly 'expressive' rather than 'instrumental'. South African migrants are divided on the issue of dual citizenship; some want to cut all ties with South Africa, while others will forever feel connected.

A significant proportion of South Africans identify as Australian without this necessarily being at the expense of their South African identity. Rather, South African migrants have a hybrid identity that is both Australian and South African. Many migrants indicated they would become Australian but could never forget or deny their South African 'heritage', 'roots' and 'personal history'. Others explicitly reject their origin identity, identifying themselves as Australian instead. The number of migrants who act in this way is not known but is not expected to be a large proportion of the population. In summary, South Africans in this study revealed they are overwhelmingly satisfied with their lives in Australia and consider Australia home, though it is not without its challenges. Moreover, they are happy with their decision to migrate, chiefly because they have achieved the goal they set out to achieve when they emigrated: safety, security and a better future for their families.

8.1 Introduction

South Africans are keen to formalise their connection with Australia by becoming Australian citizens, without necessarily disrupting their connections with South Africa. Like many contemporary migrants, the majority of South Africans do not sever ties with their origin country upon arrival in a new destination (Castles 2013 p. 122; Martiniello and Lafleur 2008). It is even possible to argue that South African migrants today interact more with their origin country than their predecessors (Shuval 2000), given that modern technologies allow faster, easier and cheaper communication and travel (Hugo 2006b; Markus et al. 2009). Where migrants once relied on land-line telephones and post they now enjoy a range of digital platforms, each incorporating multiple means of communicating: computers, mobile phones, and tablets all support instant messaging, video calls, email and social media. Added to this, air travel is more affordable with real costs falling about 60 percent over the last four decades (International Air Travel Association 2011). This has given more migrants the option to travel back to South Africa more often. Incorporating into Australian society as they do, South African migrants are definitely *here* and yet, simultaneously, a number of them participate in transnational activities and, in that sense, are also *there*.

Transnational migration theories refer to ongoing interactions migrants maintain across borders and particularly with their country of origin (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Vertovec 1999). As such, such theories are an important framework within which to examine South African migration to Australia. The previous chapter examined subjective conceptualisations of transnationalism which focus on migrants' identities and citizenship but these linkages really only hint at the transnational lives of South African migrants in Australia. As Dunn (2005, p. 15) explains, transnationalism has also been defined as specific activities, sets of relations and new social fields. In theoretical terms,

“Activities within the transnational field comprise a whole gamut of economic, political and social initiatives” (Portes et al. 1999 p.217).

South African migrants in Australia connect with their origin in each of these ways, although most of their linkages are social and, then again, mostly familial. Nearly all

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country migrants communicate with family and friends still in South Africa and a substantial proportion travel back to visit. A small number also maintain financial and, in a few cases, political linkages with South Africa. Importantly, not all links involve direct contact with South Africa as cultural practices undertaken within Australia allow migrants to bond with their origin and with fellow migrants with whom they may share cultural, religious or ethnic backgrounds.

Research into the rate and strength of these linkages has not hitherto been undertaken in Australia. However, a recent study in Canada shed considerable light on the transnational experiences of South Africans there (Crush et al. 2013). The authors concluded that majority of South Africans in Canada are a 'disengaged diaspora' (Crush et al. 2013), but this term does not appear applicable to their counterparts in Australia. South African migrants maintain a range of links with their origin, and while the political and social factors driving emigration from South Africa undoubtedly complicate migrants' relationships with their homeland (Hatoss et al. 2011), it is not inevitable that people who leave automatically disengage. Of course, questions remain about the extent to which the second generation will connect with South Africa.

8.2 Transnational conceptualisations of migration

Transnationalism was taken up by migration theorists in the early 1990s, beginning with Basch et al. (1994, p. 7) who said transnationalism was,

“the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement”.

Prior to the rise of transnationalism in migration studies, literature on immigration assumed migrants “settle in the host society and undergo a gradual but inevitable process of assimilation” (Portes et al. 1999 p. 228). More recently, Vertovec (2001, p.578) finds the literature,

“generally underscores the fact that large numbers of people now live in social worlds that are stretched between, or dually located in, physical places and communities in two or more nation-states”.

In other words, there has been a paradigm shift towards transnationalism away from models of permanent migration whereby mores at the destination are adopted at the expense of an ongoing relationship with the origin country. According to Dunn (2008, p. 2), transnationalism “allows a transcendence of traditional understandings of immigration”,

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country where 'traditional' has been unidirectional, permanent and expected to result in the loss of origin culture and adoption of the destination society's culture. Thus transnational theory captures the complexity of migration as it reveals a more holistic migration, informing us on all the mobilities, links and identities of migrants (Dunn 2008). This shift has occurred in both policy settings and research practise (Hugo 2008, 2011a).

Conceptualisations of transnationalism have included migrants' activities that link them with their origin country, including short-term visits, sending remittances and correspondence (Dunn 2005, p. 16). They also include the basic relationships and links people have with one or more places through people and institutions (Vertovec 1999). However, transnationalism has also been seen to incorporate migrants' senses of identity and allegiance (Dunn 2008). Such subjective conceptualisations of transnationalism not only explore migrants' sense of identity and allegiance but also their ideas of belonging and home. Transnationalism thus accepts that migrants' identities can be dual and sometimes even multiple. Other scholarship has conceptualised transnationalism in terms of social 'spaces' (Faist 2000b; Pries 2001; Voigt-Graf 2004), or 'fields' in which transnational migration takes place (Dunn 2010; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007).

Among the earliest writers on the subject, Glick Schiller et al. (1992, p. 1) define transnationalism as,

“the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and country of settlement”.

Later, Levitt et al. (2007, p. 131-132) found transnational migration occurs in,

“fluid social spaces that are constantly re worked through migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society”,

and that these “multi-layered and multi sited” spaces include home and host countries plus other sites globally that connect migrants to their co-nationals. Irrespective of the words used – space, place or field - the implication of each of these concepts is that a variety of interactions occur within and between the various sites in which migrants connect. To be considered transnational in the theoretical sense, these interactions need to occur with a certain level of intensity (Portes et al. 1999).

Some critics have questioned the utility of transnationalism as a 'new' conceptual framework because, they argue, migrants have always engaged in transnational behaviour in one form or another (Foner 2001; Kivisto 2001). In response Vertovec (2004b p. 4) argues,

“long distance connections maintained by migrants one hundred years ago were not truly ‘transnational’ in terms of one contemporary sense of regular and sustained social contact (Portes et al. 1999); rather, such earlier links were just border crossing migrant networks that were maintained in piecemeal fashion as best as migrants at that time could manage.”

Portes et al. (1999, p. 217) also argue that although migrants have always had “back-and-forth” interactions, they had not reached a critical mass or the necessary complexity to consider them an area worthy of analysis in its own right. In other words, modern transnational behaviour is more sophisticated and defined by an increased or heightened intensity of linkages (Itzigsohn 2000; Martiniello and Lafleur 2008). Developments in transport and communication technology undoubtedly play a role here (Faist 2000b; Portes et al. 1999), certainly compared to the experiences of earlier generations of migrants (Mahler 2001; O'Connor 2010).

However, care also needs to be taken not to label all migrant behaviour transnational thereby nullifying the concept. Some scholars thus categorise migrants' transnational behaviour according to their level of engagement with the origin country. Itzigsohn et al. (1999), for example, describe “broad” and “narrow” transnational practices where broad practices are occasional and not highly institutionalised and narrow are constant and highly institutionalised. As Portes et al. (1999) explain, if all things migrants do are defined as ‘transnationalism’, then none of them actually are. Thus for the term to be useful, it is necessary to,

“delimit the concept of transnationalism to occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time and across national borders for their implementation” (Portes et al. 1999 p. 219).

The operative words here are regular and sustained; two criteria by which the transnational lives of South African migrants are judged in the following analysis.

8.3 Linkages with South Africa

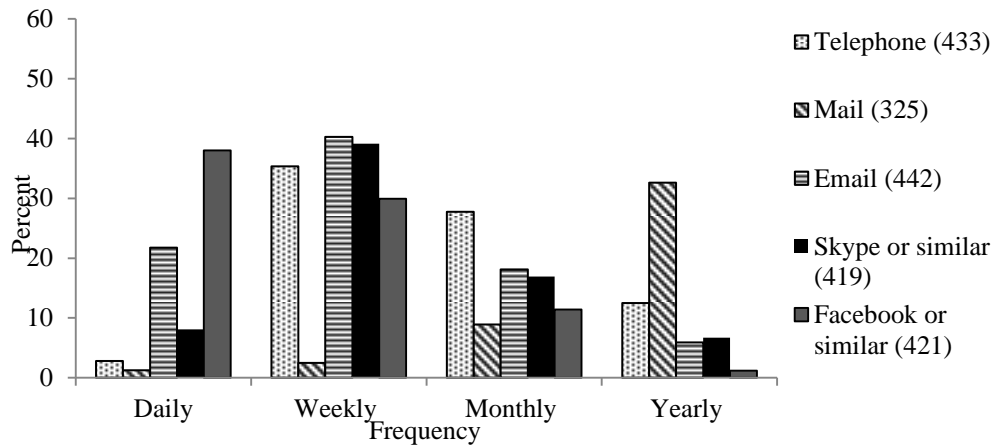
Polonsky et al. (1989), among others, make the important observation that South African migrants retain strong emotional connections with South Africa. South Africans surveyed in Melbourne, for example, missed the familiarity of South Africa and their family and

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country friends (Simon 1989). Besides these observations Arnold (2011) has looked at the family South Africans leave behind, otherwise the linkages South African migrants in Australia maintain with their home country have not been explored in detail. Yet understanding these links is imperative to understand the migrant group itself and the potential implications of their behaviour. Migration, particularly transnational practices can transform economies, culture and everyday life in origin and destination (Levitt 2004). Examining the transnational linkages that South African migrants maintain with their origin country is just one way in which this study makes a contribution to the existing body of knowledge, and addresses the stark gap on South African migrants and their experiences.

8.3.1 Communication with South Africa

The SSAM survey undertaken here shows that few South Africans arrive in Australia and abandon all ties with South Africa. At a minimum, they continue to connect with their origin through family and friends left behind. Nearly all respondents (98.7 %) communicate with people in South Africa, mostly communication of a personal nature (85 %), although a small amount is for business (2.1 %) or a combination of personal and business reasons (12.7 %). Figure 8.1 shows many South African migrants have daily or weekly contact with people in South Africa and that they rely heavily on newer forms of online communication to stay in touch. The most common forms of contact are weekly email (40.3 %) and Skype (39.1 %), and daily contact using Facebook or similar social media sites (38.0 %). Weekly telephone calls are also still an important part of this communication mix (35.3 %). One in five migrants were found to communicate daily with email (21.7 %), while traditional postal services are now the least common form of communication.

These findings strongly reflect recent studies in Australia of Italian (Baldassar 2008), Indian (Voigt-Graf 2005) and Irish (O'Connor 2010) migrants, as well as research on Australians living in the USA (Parker 2012). In each of these cases, migrants maintain strong transnational connections with their origin, mostly centred on social and familial associations. For example, nearly all Australians in the USA maintain networks in Australia and almost all were social (Parker 2012). A similarly high proportion of Irish migrants in Australia maintain regular contact with family in Ireland (O'Connor 2010). Moreover, a broader study of migrants in Australia showed 93 percent of English-speaking migrants and 91 percent of non-English speaking migrants stayed in contact with family in their own or their parents' country of birth (Ang et al. 2002 p. 35).

Figure 8.1: SSAM respondents, mode and frequency of communication with South Africa

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

The importance of the Internet in the lives of contemporary South African migrants cannot be overstated. Indeed it is seen (Van Rooyen 2000 p. 140) as a “valuable tool” that enables South Africans outside of the country to interact with each other and with their origin. Moreover, the Internet gives migrants access to news as well as a platform to disseminate their own news and organise meet-ups (Van Rooyen 2000). The majority of South Africans are well educated and well-resourced, and have the know-how and access to the latest technologies, including the Internet. The 2011 Census showed a massive 90 percent of South Africa-born persons had access to an Internet connection, and 85.4 percent to a Broadband connection (ABS 2014b). By contrast, 60 percent of all dwellings in Australia have access to a Broadband connection (ABS 2014b)³⁹. As discussed earlier, the Internet is a crucial resource for migrants before they emigrate. Purpose-built on-line forums allow potential and actual migrants to communicate; asking questions, sharing experiences and giving advice⁴⁰. Equally, SSAM data shows here that it is the main means of staying in contact with South Africa post-migration. Email is clearly important, as are video-calling services such as Skype. Online social-media allow migrants to keep in touch through profile pages and instant messaging.

Traditional telephone also remains important and migrants today can make cheap international phone calls thanks to a proliferation of pre-paid phone cards which make

³⁹ ABS initially released internet connection data by birthplace group but later changed the place of enumeration database so person characteristics only (not dwelling or household) were available.

⁴⁰ In particular, *SAAustralia Forum* but also see Global Buzz Saffers, *Rainbow Nation: Connecting South Africa*, Oznetworx, greattrek.net, and general expat forums such as Expat Exchange, expat blog and InterNations.

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country international calls more affordable than they once were (Vertovec 2004a). But 'land-lines' are undoubtedly being eclipsed by mobile phones which allow instantaneous connections with South Africa not just through voice calls, but through 'IM' (instant message) and camera functions that can send photographs and facilitate video calls. The Internet can also be accessed on 'smart phones' and other portable devices allowing migrants to connect with South Africa in real-time from any location. The intricacies of communicating with South Africa today are keenly captured by an interview participant:

I was desperately wanting to put mechanisms in place to be able to communicate with my family...I gave my Notebook [computer] to my Mum and I showed her how it worked and put Skype on and got her one of these 3G cards... Now we just buy the Lebara card ... and you can phone South Africa for something like five cents a minute. So...that's working to speak to the previous generation...So there are different ways of how you can go about that...Now you get on the smart phones, What's App and free texting from any smart phone to any smart phone worldwide so that is a brilliant mechanism for us to stay in touch as well...We'll take the boys swimming and I'll take a photo of them and I can text it to some of the family and it keeps us in touch...not just talking on birthdays or Christmas. You know, these little things, special occasions in between which we can actually share both ways.

Annelie

8.3.2 Travel back to South Africa

Regular trips 'home' are another important way migrants retain linkages with their origin (Hugo et al. 2003; Voigt-Graf 2005), and have been observed among the South African diaspora before (Marks 2004). Almost three quarters of SSAM respondents were found to have travelled back to South Africa since migrating (71.9 %). This is a smaller proportion of migrants making return trips than seen among Irish migrants in Australia (94 %) (O'Connor 2010) and Australians in the USA (85 %) (Parker 2012) but remains a substantial share of the South African population nevertheless. It also reflects the proportion of English-speaking migrants more broadly (74 %) who make return trips to their country of birth (Ang et al. 2002). Almost all of the SSAM return travellers were permanent settlers (92.7 %), as opposed to temporary migrants (7.3 %). Half the migrants who travelled back had done so at least once before (54.8 %), while others had travelled back more frequently. Table 8.1 shows that men travelled back to South Africa more frequently than women, or at least had more numerous visits.

Table 8.1: SSAM respondents, frequency of travel to South Africa by sex

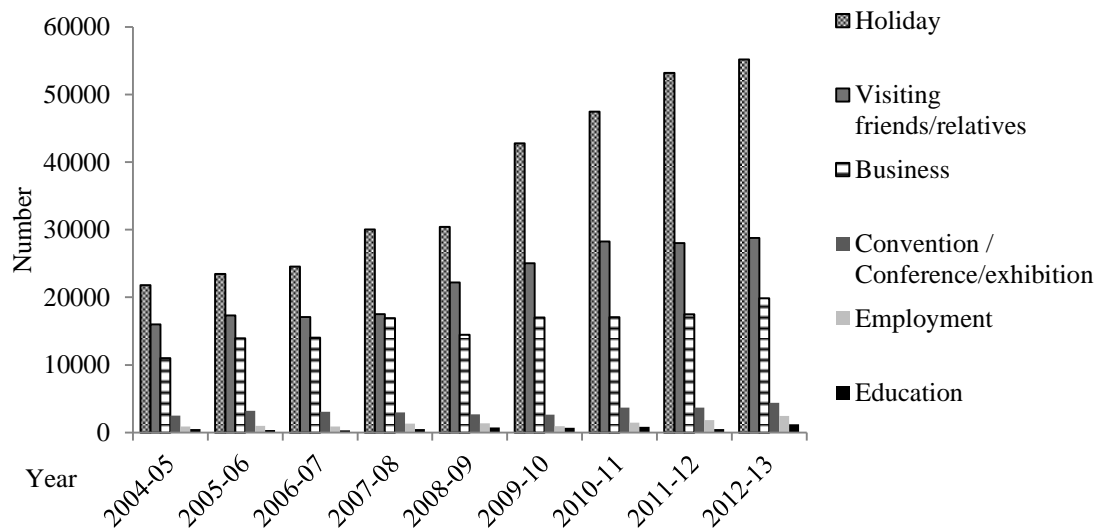
No. of trips back	Males (%)	Females (%)	Total (n)	Total %
Once	31.8	37.6	112	34.5
Twice	19.8	20.8	66	20.3
3 to 5 times	17.0	15.4	53	16.3
6 to 9 times	8.0	9.4	28	8.6
10 or more times	17.0	12.8	49	15.1
'Many' or so stated	6.3	4.0	17	5.2
Total	100	100	325	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

The primary reasons for travel are personal, with most trips undertaken to visit family and friends (63.3 %) or to holiday (12.6 %). Only one in ten respondents travelled back for work or business reasons. Where respondents travelled for *Other* reasons, familial ties and obligations were the most frequently cited reasons for travel. Family weddings and funerals, for example, were common reasons for return travel, while others returned to fulfil family obligations such as caring for elderly or ill parents or for unspecified 'family emergencies'. Although to maintain family responsibilities is difficult post-migration (a point of friction within some families), many migrants go back to attend to more serious matters. In these cases it seems that distance and the financial costs of travelling do not hinder familial responsibilities. Baldassar (2001,2007,2008) has extensively researched the transnational care giving arrangements between Italian migrants in Australia and non-migrants left behind. She found that,

“The enormous geographic distances that separate some migrants and their kin do not, for the majority, diminish the concern they have for each other and most engage in continuing practices of transnational caring” (Baldassar 2007 p. 278).

By and large, SSAM migrants' reasons for travelling back to South Africa reflect those of the wider South Africa-born community in Australia (Figure 8.2). Figure 8.2 shows the growth in South Africa-born short-term resident departures from Australia over the past decade and highlights holiday as the number one reason for these trips, and driver of this growth. Visiting friends and family is the next main reason, although the increase in these trips has not been as dramatic and travel for business has remained relatively steady.

Figure 8.2: South Africa-born short-term resident departures from Australia, reasons for travel, 2004-05 to 2012-13

Source: DIPB unpublished data

The means to travel back home is important and SSAM migrants earning less than \$50,000 per annum were found to be less likely to do so than migrants earning higher incomes (\$175, 000 or more). Not surprisingly previous studies have also found migrants earning higher incomes make more visits back than others (Parker 2012 p. 48).

8.3.3 Transnational families

In New Zealand, Phillip and Ho (2010, p. 97) observed among six South African women migrants that,

“While a physical return was not possible, these women maintained contact with family, relatives and friends back home through phone calls, text messages and emails. These transnational ties enable them to be simultaneously part of the communities in both their country of origin and their current home”.

Similarly, in Australia, South African migrants' are linked directly with communities in South Africa and the country more broadly through regular communication and visits home. These links serve as a strong foundation for transnational identities to be built upon but direct links of this nature also raise the notion of transnational families (Graham et al. 2012; Huang et al. 2008; Mazzucato and Schans 2011; Yeoh et al. 2002). A typical definition of a transnational family is,

“a family that has adopted a deliberate strategy of living in two or more countries in order to maximize opportunities for education, employment and social advancement for family members”(Ho and Bedford 2008 p. 43).

Outwardly this does not apply to South African families who migrate as a nuclear unit in response to push factors in South Africa. However, another important point about transnational families is that they are,

“primarily defined by the fact that they continue to maintain shared imaginaries and narratives of belonging... through frequent contact, either via recurrent visits back and forth among the different locations or through ‘virtual intimacies’ (Huang et al. 2008).

A key component of Asian migration, for example, is the transnational family where,

“family members continue to share strong bonds of collective welfare (both economic and emotional) despite being scattered over two or more nations” (Huang et al. 2008 p. 3-4).

So, complex family formation across borders can be a deliberate (family) strategy to make the most of economic opportunities and avoid risk but it can also include emotional bonds of the kind that span between Australia and South Africa. Although most South Africans migrate as a nuclear family unit, they typically leave extended family behind. They are thus part of extended transnational families where one or even several related families migrate to Australia (or elsewhere) and are separated from parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles and cousins in the process. Separation from relatives when some family members re-form in another location, as occurs through migration, are “key affective drivers for maintaining transnational social spaces” (O'Connor 2010 p. 75).

8.3.4 Other linkages with South Africa

As well as the more conventional linkages discussed above, SSAM migrants connect with South Africa in a variety of other ways (Table 8.2). Most notably, nearly three quarters continue to purchase products imported from South Africa (73.3 %). Unfortunately the SSAM did not question the frequency with which these purchases are made, however, South African food, drinks and other items are increasingly available in Australia, either online or in specialty shops which trade in most capital cities. Most Australian states support one or two South African grocery stores, while those with larger populations support as many as five⁴¹. In addition, stores specialising in the traditional meat product, biltong, are becoming more commonplace in Perth, Sydney and Brisbane. These are testament to the burgeoning South Africa-born population in Australia which is now large enough to offer a viable market for sellers of South African goods. In addition, selected

⁴¹ At the time of writing, the author was aware of five grocery-type stores selling South African goods in Brisbane, two in Perth and one each in Melbourne and Adelaide. Typically these stores are Australian owned and operated albeit by South African expatriates.

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country
 branches of Australia's two major supermarket retailers stock a small range of popular
 South African products.

**Table 8.2: SSAM respondents, other forms of contact with South Africa
 (multiple response)**

	n	% yes to listed options
Purchase imported SA food	332	73.3
Read SA news or magazines	248	54.7
Listen to music from South Africa	227	50.1
Follow SA personalities & sports teams	196	43.3
Access on-line forums	112	24.7
Watch SA films or television	85	18.8
Alumni connections	80	17.7
Business networks	77	17.0
Skills networks	40	8.8
None	24	5.3
Other	85	18.8

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=453

Media consumption is another common way more than half the respondents connect with South Africa, either reading South African news and magazines (54.7 %), most of which are likely to be accessed online, or listening to music from South Africa (50.1 %), while almost half of the respondents followed South African personalities and sports teams. Business and skills networks are less popular and 5.3 percent of respondents did not keep any of these forms of contact with South Africa.

8.4 Critical mass

It can be argued that the South African community in Australia is thriving, reaching a critical mass, the result of which is that South African migrants in Australia can be more 'South African' than ever before. Several SSAM respondents commented on the presence of a large South African community. One observer noted,

South Africans generally quickly become Australianised, while retaining their African roots. The African wave is changing the culture and attitudes in Perth

Respondent #19 permanent skilled, migrated 2009, age 44, male

Another said,

There are so many South Africans here [Sydney] that one doesn't feel alone

Respondent #201 permanent skilled, migrated 2011, age 34 female

Nationally, of course, it has been noted, that there are many groups and clubs with exclusively South African memberships, as well as religious organisations with largely South African congregations. In addition to selling South African products, some South African stores also operate as meeting places and at least two magazines catering for the South African expatriate community are published in Australia (one digital and one print)⁴². Further evidence of the growing South African community in Australia is a television service, launched late in 2013, that screens South African TV and film content (ONStv 2015). The company that provides this service state on their website:

“This is a new television service which has been established with the main objective to keep South African families living abroad connected to their South African heritage through South African TV and film...[company name] will broadcast and promote exclusively South African films and popular TV content in English and Afrikaans (with English sub-titles) ... With approximately one million South Africans currently living outside South Africa, it has become a necessity for South Africans to have access to these films” (ONStv 2015).

Further evidence of this burgeoning migrant community is the number of South African performers and artists who have toured Australia in recent years filling venues with South African audiences (Musiek Fabriek 2015; South African Events 2015)⁴³. These activities comprise what Portes et al. (1999, p. 221) describe as,

“socio-cultural enterprises oriented towards the reinforcement of a national identity abroad or the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods.”

Coupled with advancements in communication technologies, these enterprises mean South Africans are not disconnected from their homeland or the family and friends they left behind as they might once have been. While South African migrants largely have positive settlement experiences and are considered successful settlers, many occupy a middle ground in which they simultaneously continue to engage with South African culture and traditions. These, of course, are not mutually exclusive states of being (Foner 2002).

It is interesting to note the ways in which the burgeoning South African community together with advancements in technology allow greater interaction for longer-term migrants, as has happened in the researchers own experience. In this case, relationships with family and friends in South Africa were virtually non-existent during the 1980s and early 1990s when telephone and traditional mail were the only readily available means of

⁴² See *SAbona* magazine and *Merise- your magazine for migration inspiration*.

⁴³ Johnny Clegg, Steve Hofmeyr, Mango Groove, and Jonathan Butler to name a few.

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country communicating. Travel back to South Africa and visits from family were also rare. Overall, contact with a handful of family members was intermittent and did not exist with others. With the advent of email and social media applications on the Internet, familial bonds have been strengthened and, in several cases, new bonds have been formed.

8.5 Connecting without leaving

Research in New Zealand focussed on the settlement experiences of South African women migrants and their sense of home and belonging post-migration (Phillip and Ho 2010). A major finding in this study was the ways in which migrants maintain connections with South Africa *without* crossing borders. The authors (Phillip and Ho 2010 p. 98) accept that transnationalism literature has typically considered transnational migrants form relationships that span borders, but they found not all “transmigrants” had been back, yet all of them kept links with “home” through memories, familiar objects, consuming South African products and connections with family and friends. Thus they claim that,

“not all transnational practices involve physical movements across borders of nation states; some take place within the borders of the country of destination.” (Phillip and Ho 2010 p. 98).

One example they give is shopping at the South African butcher, where nostalgic products can be purchased but also a place for socialising with fellow South Africans. Phillip and Ho (2010, p. 98) argue practices like these can therefore “establish transnational belonging without travelling to the countries to which they feel they belong”.

Several transnational activities described thus far enable SSAM migrants to connect with their origin country in precisely this way. Shopping, reading news and magazines, watching TV and film, attending South African performances and socialising with expatriate South Africans all take place in the destination country, but allow migrants to connect with their origin culture, language, and general way of life. In terms of socialising, the survey showed a greater proportion of South Africans socialise with Australians and other South Africans, rather than just Australians or expatriate South Africans. The fact that many South African migrants socialise with both groups demonstrates South African migrants are adopting Australian society while they are still part of the South African community, both in Australia and South Africa. This simultaneity is readily incorporated in transnational conceptions of migration (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004).

8.6 Financial links

As well as strong interpersonal connections SSAM data showed that a number of respondents maintained financial linkages with South Africa. By and large they are connected through investment and remittances, while a few had other financial links that were more benevolent in nature. At the behest of a participant in the pilot study, a keen donor themselves, the final survey included a question asking migrants about their support of charitable organisations or projects in South Africa. Twenty percent of migrants indicated they had supported a charity, mainly through monetary donations, with 39.8 percent giving occasionally and 22.4 percent often (Table 8.3). Several respondents indicated they sent money to churches in South Africa. Another third of migrants supported charitable causes by donating goods or materials to South Africa. Fewer migrants gave their skills or technical assistance and this type of support did not take place as often. One migrant involved in this way taught English at an NGO when they visited for long periods of time.

Table 8.3: SSAM respondents, type and frequency of charitable work in South Africa

	Monetary donation % (n=98)	Skills or technical assistance % (n=48)	Donation of goods or materials % (n= 57)
One-off donation	29.6	8.3	15.8
Rarely	6.1	10.4	8.8
Occasionally	39.8	22.9	29.8
Often	22.4	6.3	7.0
Never	2.0	52.1	38.6
Total	100	100	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Over 30 percent of SSAM respondents reported that they have financial investments in South Africa, with more than 80 percent of them being permanent migrants. Almost one quarter of them held some combination of the investment types shown in Table 8.4. Twenty percent have retirement annuities or superannuation funds in South Africa while around ten percent have stocks, bonds or shares, with only a small number owning or operating businesses based in South Africa (5.2 %). In addition, a handful of participants mentioned in open-responses that they operated businesses in Australia that import or sell South African goods.

Table 8.4: SSAM respondents, financial investments in South Africa

	n	%
Multiple investment types	31	23.1
Retirement annuities or superannuation	28	20.9
Property	19	14.2
Insurance or other annuities	17	12.7
Stocks, bonds or shares	14	10.4
Other investments	14	10.4
Own business or company	7	5.2
Money in bank accounts	4	3.0
Total	134	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

*Multiple investment types refer to two or more of the investments listed in this table.

Table 8.5 shows that 20 percent of SSAM migrants own property in South Africa, which was greater for temporary (45.7 %) than permanent migrants (16.8 %). Although on the face of it this seems to be a small proportion it is nevertheless a strong connection for migrants to maintain when they have ostensibly migrated on a permanent basis. For the temporary migrants it is not surprising that only 45.7 percent of temporary migrants own property in South Africa, as many are possibly young people yet to establish themselves, and likely to be renters or have sold their property prior to migrating. Then again, given the high propensity of South Africans to transition from temporary to permanent status, it can be assumed that some of them have sold their properties in anticipation of such a transition.

Table 8.5: SSAM respondents, permanent and temporary, ownership of property in South Africa

	Temporary		Permanent		Total SSAM	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Property in SA	21	45.7	71	16.8	92	19.7
No property	25	54.3	351	83.2	376	80.3
	46	100	422	100	468	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

In most cases the property migrants owned in South Africa was private property (87.7 %), with the remainder commercial (9.2 %) or agricultural (3.1 %). The maintenance of a property and other investments at origin could indicate leaving the door open for return or feelings of uncertainty that limit the extent to which ties are severed (Crush et al. 2000; Crush and Williams 2005). However, it is questionable whether this is the case for South Africans for whom so many migration is intended to be a permanent solution to issues in their home country.

Table 8.6 shows the majority of South Africa property owners are recent arrivals suggesting that many in the early stages of migration might retain property in the event that it is unsuccessful. It is also possible that tighter foreign exchange regulations are forcing migrants to retain assets in South Africa. On the other hand, at least one participant claimed that they were keeping their property in South Africa until the local property market strengthened so as not to sell below value.

Table 8.6: SSAM permanent respondents, property ownership in South Africa by year of arrival

	Before 1990 (n=23)	1991- 2000 (n=74)	2001- 2010 (n=303)	2011 or later (n=24)
	%	%	%	%
Property (n=71)	0	5.4	19.5	36.4
No property (n=351)	100	94.6	80.5	63.6
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

8.7 Remittances

In this study remittances are considered money transfers from migrants back to their origin country; defined as 'worker's remittances' by the World Bank (World Bank 2011). It is recognised that remittances can take other forms, in-kind remittances, for example, but the SSAM survey did not ask about these. Remittances are an important way in which migrants connect with their origin. World Bank data show interesting trends in remittance sending from Australia and South Africa overall, as well as in bilateral remittance estimates. In 2014, total remittances from Australia totalled 15.9 billion compared to just 2.3 billion from South Africa. The top ten recipients of remittances from Australia are shown in Table 8.7. South Africa is included here, although it ranks 15, with USD \$211 million flowing to it. Conversely, Australia ranks 21 among the countries receiving remittances from South Africa with just USD \$17 million flowing to it. Before it are neighbouring African countries and European countries with historical and colonial ties.

Table 8.7: Remittance estimates, top ten countries receiving remittances flowing from Australia, 2015

Remittance receiver	\$US million
China	2,936
India	1,842
Lebanon	1,057
Vietnam	1,029
Philippines	868
Italy	611
Germany	522
United Kingdom	458
France	416
Sri Lanka	384
South Africa (rank 15)	221

Source: (World Bank 2015b)

South Africa is classified by the World Bank as an Upper Middle Income country (World Bank 2015a). While much of the financial, legal, communication, energy and transport systems in South Africa are on par with developed nations (CIA 2014), there are major disparities in wealth distribution among South Africans. The majority of wealth is in the hands of a small, albeit expanding, middle-class and smaller elite while many millions live in poverty. For these reasons, South African migration to Australia does not fit the accepted South to North (developing to developed nation) migration pattern typically associated with remittance sending. Despite the fact South African emigrants are among the financially better off in their home country, more than a third of SSAM respondents (37.2 %) sent remittances to South Africa (Table 8.8). Although South African emigration is not the type of labour migration of which remittances have been considered an “essential element” (Carling 2008), the marginally higher proportion of temporary (41.3 %) than permanent (36.7 %) remitters could signify some families separate for periods of work abroad or are separated for a time before reuniting in Australia to settle permanently.

Table 8.8: SSAM respondents, temporary and permanent, who send remittances

	Temporary		Permanent		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Remitters	19	41.3	156	36.7	175	37.2
Non-remitters	27	58.7	269	63.3	296	62.8
Total	46	100	425	62.8	471	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country

From the SSAM survey it was found that the majority of remittances are sent to migrants' parents (58.7 %), other relatives (15.1 %) and children (12.2 %) living in South Africa. This reflects remittance literature more broadly which has found migrants generally remit to immediate family members (Dustmann and Mestres 2010; Grieco 2004; Koc and Onan 2004). While South African migrants do not migrate with the express purpose of supporting family left behind (as some migrants groups strategically do so (Glytsos 1997)), family are nonetheless left behind in the process. Often it is parents who do not meet entry criteria due to age and other factors that work against them in points-based or employer sponsored systems. However, two thirds of SSAM respondents do not remit, suggesting the need for support lies in the minority of those left behind.

Table 8.9 indicates that the average monthly remittance amount is around \$390 (approximately R3, 833 at an exchange rate of 1 = 9.83) and the most commonly stated use of remittances is day-to-day consumption needs (Table 8.9). For example, much of the money sent to South Africa is spent on food and clothes (51.8 %), health (33.5%) and rent (23.5%). Other day-to-day expenses include money to pay for utilities, feed animals and general household living expenses. Migrants who gave *Other* responses commonly remitted money to pay for airfares so family could travel to Australia or as gifts. The remittance behaviour of South African migrants thus complies with,

“Conventional wisdom...that remittances are overwhelmingly used for consumption objectives and limited amounts are directed towards investment” (Connell and Brown 2004 p. 17).

Table 8.9: SSAM respondents, remitters (multiple responses)

	n	% of each response listed
Food and clothes	88	51.8
Rent	40	23.5
Education	15	8.8
Health	57	33.5
Investments	28	22.4
Other day-to-day	18	10.6
Other	20	11.8

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=170

Although 22.4 percent of remitters sent money to South Africa for investment purposes, the vast majority of the remittance behaviour occurs at a household level. Money is transferred so family members, most often parents, can meet basic consumption needs thus remittance-sending in this context appears to be motivated by family obligation or

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country altruism. There is little to suggest remittances contribute in any way to national or even community development in South Africa. Indeed, it was found that, in some cases, remittances were spent on luxury items and activities such as horse-riding and piano lessons.

A potential flaw in SSAM data is highlighted by comparison with the Canadian study of South Africans in Canada (Crush et al. 2013), and pertains to the frequency of remittance sending. The SSAM asked migrants the broad question '*do you send money back to South Africa?*' and later asked them to estimate how much they sent per month. The implicit assumption in these questions was that remittance sending behaviour would be regular. However, Crush et al. (2013) found that remittance sending from South Africans in Canada was irregular. Around 45 percent of respondents in the Canadian survey had never sent remittances. Interestingly, this is fewer than among SSAM migrants of whom 62.8 percent had not remitted. Still, of the Canadian remitters only 12 percent remitted regularly - at least once a month. The remainder remitted on an irregular basis and the remittance amounts varied.

Both studies showed, however, that remittance recipients in South Africa are close family members who typically use remittances to meet household consumption needs and not for investment. While comparisons between the studies on individual remittance amounts are not directly possible, the overall value of remittances from Australia to South Africa (USD \$211 million) is much larger than the flow from Canada to South Africa (USD \$61 million) (World Bank 2015b). Obviously this reflects the larger migrant stock in Australia, but it may also point to a more established flow of remittances from Australia, and possibly one that is more regular.

8.7.1 Determinants of remittance sending

Early on, the seminal work of Lucas and Stark (1985) surmised migrants' motivations to remit stemmed from altruism, self-interest or contractual agreements between migrant and family (Lucas and Stark 1985). Since then, much of the work on remittance behaviour has utilised and expanded this framework (Carling 2008), but has also considered a vast array of remittance determinants ranging from migrant characteristics including income, education, marital status, gender, length of stay in destination country and visa status (Carling 2008; Hagen-Zanker and Siegel 2007). Here the impact on remittances of visa status, length of time in Australia, age and ethnicity are examined.

Remittance literature has previously observed a point of difference in the remittance behaviour of permanent and temporary migrants, where temporary migrants are more likely to remit, and for sustained periods, compared to their permanent counterparts (Dustmann and Mestres 2010; Glytsos 1997; Grieco 2004). Glytsos (1997) attributes this to their respective motives for migrating, either moving with the aim of working and accumulating wealth or making a new start in a different country. For the former, remittances are an integral part of a strategy to support family left behind whereas permanent migrants tend to relocate with their immediate family, so having a different attitude to remittances (Glytsos 1997).

Together, survey data from this study and secondary data firmly establish that South African migrants are pushed from their origin country and are setting up new permanent homes for their families in Australia. Rather than being part of a household strategy to maximise income and diversify risk, data in this study suggest temporary migration from South Africa to Australia serves as a proxy permanent migration. Indeed, SSAM data on remittances shows little difference in the remittance sending behaviour of permanent and temporary South African migrants. It is interesting to note that Indians in Australia - also a highly educated and skilled migrant group, many of whom relocate permanently (Hugo 2008) - do not remit regularly (Voigt-Graf 2005, p. 378). Indeed, Voigt-Graf (2005) found that as this group had come from a middle class background in India, few of the families they left behind required financial support for day-to-day subsistence. There is a belief that highly skilled migrants are less likely to remit than lower skilled (Bollard et al. 2010), and wealthier families at origin generally receive fewer remittances (Osili 2007).

Only 8.5 percent of SSAM remitters arrived before 1995. While this appears to show long-term migrants are not strong remitters, the data needs to be treated with caution due to the small sample of longer-term arrivals. Moreover, the number of remitters closely reflects the distribution of time of arrival, with the majority of remitters arriving after 2001 (82.1 %). Over time, remitters have made up a greater proportion of arrivals. In the mid-1990s they comprised around 20-30 percent of arrivals, but made up between 30 and 45 percent of arrivals in the 2000s.

Of course, one reason migrants who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s remit less, or not at all, is that ties with the origin country may diminish naturally over time, phenomena called the

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country 'remittance decay hypothesis' (Brown 1997b; Hunte 2004). Its original proponent (Stark 1978) suggested migrants' remittances peak soon after arrival in the destination and then decline, increasing sporadically thereafter in response to specific events or if the migrant decides to return home permanently (Grieco 2004). Where remittances do decline over time, family reunification is a commonly cited reason why (Brown 1997a; Grieco 2004). Carling (2008) notes that long-term migrants are less likely to be separated from kin, either because of family reunion or, especially in the case of parents, death. The extent to which family reunion occurs among South African migrants in Australia was not canvassed in the SSAM and remains an area for future research. It has been seen, though, that parents are the main recipient of remittances to South Africa. It is therefore plausible that their passing could explain the cessation of remittances from longer term migrants. On the other hand, if most of the family unit migrates, as in the South African case, there is less need for remittances.

Other determinants of remittance behaviour can be found in characteristics such as age, sex and ethnicity. It was found in the SSAM survey that migrants' aged between 40 and 49 years are the largest group of remitters (81 %), and they are most likely to have elderly parents still in South Africa. Only 6 percent of remitters were aged 25 to 29 years and few migrants aged over 55 years sent remittances. In terms of gender, SSAM data showed more South African males (56 %) remitted than women (44 %), however due to a poor response to the SSAM survey by non-White South Africans, it is difficult to ascertain with confidence any relationship between migrant ethnicity and remittance behaviour. Still, Table 8.10 has been included to show that half the non-White respondents sent remittances compared to a third of White respondents which is suggestive of difference remittance sending practices among different ethnic groups, possibly related to income and the well-being of family left behind.

Table 8.10: SSAM respondents, remitters by ethnicity

	White		Non-White		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Remitters	161	36.4	10	50	171	37.0
Non-remitters	281	63.6	10	50	291	63.0
Total	442	100	20	100	462	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

Table 8.11 shows the breakdown of remittance data by language group and that the same number of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking migrants sent remittances home.

However, less than 30 percent of the total English-speakers remitted compared to almost half the total Afrikaans-speaking cohort. This could reflect the more recent nature of Afrikaans emigration, and that newer migrants are more likely to have family still in South Africa. Given that the migration of English-speakers from South Africa has been occurring longer, there may be fewer family members to receive monies having already left South Africa to join vanguard movers or to live in other destinations. Then again, these data might also be showing different remittance practices between culturally different groups.

Table 8.11: SSAM respondents, remitters by first language

	English		Afrikaans	
	n	%	n	%
Remitters	76	29.1	77	45.6
Non-remitters	185	70.9	92	54.4
	261	100	169	100

Source: SSAM 2011/2012

8.8 Political linkages

At the turn of the millenium, Itzigsohn (2000, p. 1127) observed that,

“...we are witnessing the emergence of new forms of political action and citizenship that transcend the territorial and political boundaries of states.”

Political linkages that migrants' maintain with their origin country can take many forms and include activities as widely varying as participating in elections (as voters or candidates), membership in political organisations, fundraising, protesting, lobbying, rallying and campaigning (Itzigsohn and Villacrés 2008 p. 668; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Martiniello and Lafleur 2008 p. 651). The literature is full of examples of migrants from an array of source countries in the USA and Europe that keep strong political ties with their origin for sustained periods of time (Itzigsohn and Villacrés 2008; Martiniello and Lafleur 2008 p. 659; Voigt-Graf 2005).

In the 1960s, political exiles from South Africa carried on their fight from outside the country, mostly from Britain, but some in Australia were at the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement (Davidson 2006). This is likely to have continued thereafter until the collapse of apartheid, but little else is known about transnational political activities of South Africans outside their origin. While the SSAM survey didn't expressly canvass respondents' political links with South Africa, we know from other sources (DA Abroad 2013; Electoral Commission of South Africa 2015) that South Africans living outside

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South Africa have been more politically engaged with their origin country in recent years. This is largely due to legislative changes in South Africa enabling citizens living outside the country to vote in national elections. In 2009, only registered South Africans who were outside the country on a temporary basis were permitted to vote. However, the Electoral Amendment Act 2013 granted *all* South African citizens living or travelling abroad the right to register and vote in national (but not provincial) elections (Electoral Commission of South Africa 2015). Ultimately, in the 2014 election, 18,446 votes were cast at 116 diplomatic missions around the world, double the number of votes cast abroad in 2009 (9,857). The largest voting centres were London (6,809), Dubai (1,300), The Hague (529), Doha (475) and Canberra (460) (Electoral Commission of South Africa 2014). In Australia some 1,243 people were registered to vote but only 460 did so, a voter turnout of 37 percent (DA Abroad 2014). Some of these voters may have been visitors to Australia and not permanent residents or dual citizens.

The main opposition party in South Africa, the Democratic Alliance (DA), was pivotal in lobbying for changes to South Africa's electoral legislation (Davis 2014; Selfe 2013). Indeed, the DA, as it is commonly known, received the overwhelming majority of votes cast outside South Africa (84.5 %), a far higher proportion than it achieved inside South Africa (22.2 %) (News24 2014a, 2014b). This is not surprising given the concerted campaign by its overseas wing, DA Abroad, to mobilise the diaspora. DA Abroad has branches or representatives in more than 15 countries, including Perth. Its London chapter is the largest and has been vocal in its opposition to political events in South Africa, including organising protests and demonstrations at the High Commission (DA Abroad 2011, 2012). While the turnout to vote in 2014 was small, it is early days. Clearly, while the majority of South Africans in Australia keep strong social and some economic ties, only a small proportion are involved in transnational political activities. In fact, South Africans abroad tend not to be involved in the domestic politics at their origin as other African diasporas are (Bernal 2006; Kleist 2008; Lyons 2007). While a number of them continue to identify as South African, they are not "constituents of their home country" as Haitian and Filipino migrants (among others) have been described (Glick Schiller et al. 1995 p.52).

8.9 Second generation linkages

Vertovec (2001, p. 577) asks important questions regarding second generation migrants:

“how exclusive is transnationalism to the first generation of migrants? Will the so-called ‘second-generation’...also maintain socio-cultural, economic and political ties of some kind (if so, what kind?) with homelands and co-ethnic members around the world?”.

Others, too, have acknowledged the puzzle that is the second generation and, at the same time, its importance to understanding the migration experience, particularly its success (Skrbiš et al. 2007 p. 264). Although the transnational experiences of second generation South Africans in Australia were not explicitly explored in this study, a number of participants discussed their children's experiences of migration. In particular, concerns were raised in relation to the 1.5-generation, namely children born in South Africa who migrate before adolescence. These concerns are discussed here briefly as well as other observations that allow some preliminary conclusions to be made about the links 1.5 and second generation migrants might maintain with their origins.

Obviously children are not passive chattels in their parents' decision to migrate. In many cases children are among the major drivers of migration as parents seek safety and security for their families and a better future for their children. Time and again study participants mentioned their children when discussing their reasons for migration. It has been seen that most South African migrants have positive migration experiences and are satisfied with their decision to migrate. It has also been argued that one explanation for this is that migrants' reasons for migrating – crime and issues of safety and security – are largely assuaged through emigration. Naturally, though, parents' concerns for their children do not end after relocation. On the contrary, while they may be safer and have brighter futures in terms of education and employment, or so parents think, a different set of issues can arise. The most significant of these is the tyranny of distance as children are estranged from extended family. In a few cases members of extended family, sometimes spanning generations, move to Australia. However, this is not the norm. Most migrants are separated from extended family that remain in South Africa or emigrate to other parts of the world. Several research participants commented on the lack of connection their children have with family left behind, particularly grandparents. For example,

Actually...my son is ten and he's never met his grandparents, which is really sad... if he had to meet my dad he would go, "Who is this guy?"

He has spoken to him on the phone a couple of times but there's no connection...

Stephen

That's another thing we need to talk about is how our kids don't adapt... This is something that I feel very strongly about...I left for excitement and adventure, my wife left for her reasons, and every couple and every person leaves for their own reasons but we seem to forget about our kids. We say they've got mates, they've got family and we think the kids have us. In our case...well he's got no uncles and he's got no aunties, he's got no family, he's got no nanna.

Danie

Danie acknowledges here that the decision to migrate rests with the parents (as it typically would) and while migration is undertaken for the benefit of children there are inherent negatives with such a move. He goes on to describe his son's lack of connection with his Grandmother and raises the concern that migrant children do not grow up with a family network around them or ready access to the support these relatives can provide:

My mother phoned one day... and she says [to grandson] 'Ouma loves you...' and he said nothing, there was silence. So I was like... 'Why didn't you say you love her', and he said, 'I don't even know her' ...and then...we went through the family tree and... nothing...they were just meaningless. We took him back and we stayed there for six weeks so that he could actually feel them and see them and touch them and experience them. We don't know how much our kids actually miss that network, that family network and bonding.

Danie

Of course the difficulties associated with this separation are not the reserve of children from South Africa; all 1.5 and second generation migrants are susceptible to them.

In some non-English speaking South African migrant families concerns were raised about a loss of language and culture among the next generations. Khoo (1995) recognises first generation migrants are more likely to want to retain their ethnic language for familiarity, loyalty, preservation of culture and tradition or lack of an alternative. Indeed, the desire some parents have for their children to retain the 'old' culture and succeed in the new one can cause conflict in families (Barkhuizen 2006; Tannenbaum and Howie 2002). Australian research has shown a trend whereby ethnic languages are replaced by English with each succeeding generation with variances in the rate of replacement from group to group (Khoo 1995). Broadly speaking, migrants from Western Europe and South Asia switch to English before those from Southern European or Middle Eastern origins (Khoo 1995). Of course, English is the language of business in South Africa and, according to the

2011 Census, is spoken very well by 97.5 percent of the South Africa-born in Australia. The urgency to master English for day-to day use does not therefore exist for this group. Rather, questions of language maintenance pertain more to holding on to culture and tradition. Others (Barkhuizen and Knoch 2005 p. 216) have observed "linguistic longing" amongst Afrikaans-speakers residing outside South Africa. Afrikaans families in particular highlighted language concerns in this study. For example, Stephen said,

We've never had...Afrikaans in our home here. I've tried to speak to my kids and teach them Afrikaans but it's very difficult unless you're speaking so it is sad in a way because it would have been nice for them to know Afrikaans. I speak Afrikaans a lot still so my Afrikaans is fluent...and of course I speak to my family [in South Africa].

Stephen

In Danie's case, the loss of culture caused a division between the parents and child.

[We] were driving... and did the whole 7,500km drive and sometimes we would sit and chat and he [son] would sit in the back and go, 'English please'. And I go, 'Oh shoot, sorry ...oh mate'.

Danie

I have a couple of mates coming around on a Saturday night and he hermits in his room and I say, 'Come out', and he says, 'Oh, you speak that language.'

Danie

As well as dividing families in the destination country, the loss of language or culture post-emigration can compound issues of ostracization from family when visiting South Africa, an issue raised by one interview participant. Certainly, Foner (2002, p. 245) muses that,

"loss of the parental language surely has implications for the second generation's ability to maintain ongoing ties with their parents' homelands".

On the other hand, one SSAM participant who migrated as a child lamented their parent's active attempts to shake their South African culture:

It is interesting that my parents worked very hard to be Australian and at school it was easier not to stand out but I wish we had maintained our Afrikaans at home and other aspects of our culture also

Respondent # 343 permanent family (dependent), migrated 1982, age 34, male

In fact, the following comments from the survey show it was quite common for parents to encourage their children to 'Australianise' and make Australia home.

This is our new home and I want my children to consider themselves 100 percent Australian

Respondent # 284 permanent skilled, migrated 2009, age 36, male

I believe that you have to be loyal to the country that adopted you and you should show this example to your children so that in time they fully integrate and therefore do not long for the past. The South Africa we love so dearly hardly exists anymore

Respondent # 151 permanent skilled, 2000, age 42 female

We oldies who were seen to have gone on the 'chicken run' tended not to look back. Our children were raised Australian, and return for visits only

Respondent # 172 entered as member of Commonwealth, 1972, age 72, female

Children in these homes are not likely to maintain strong links with their South African background. Yet, in other cases, families actively seek to continue their cultural affiliation with South Africa. Of particular interest is the way in which these efforts are made within a distinctively Australian milieu or identity. In several cases, migrants are definitive about moving forward with their lives in Australia while also maintaining a cultural connection with their origin. For example,

I'm Australian, we're Australian...I can't imagine living as a South African again...but we're teaching the new generation Afrikaans and Zulu so they know where they came from and aren't too distant from SA family

Respondent # 377 permanent skilled, migrated 1996, age 49, female

We do owe Australia a lot for providing a future for us and our children. I hope I will be able to repay the trust that Australia put in us in the years to come. I do raise my children with Afrikaner values but they are true blue Aussies in accent and sometimes even habits

Respondent # 232 permanent skilled, migrated 2001, age 41, male

Other parents deliberately kept their South African citizenship so their children could connect with Africa should they choose. It remains to be seen whether these children will do so but for those who have spent time in South Africa, ties to relatives and friends are likely to have been reinforced which could lead to more intense transnational links going forward, although Foner (2002) cautions against drawing this as an automatic conclusion.

Finally, several interviewees commented on their children's post-migration identities. Significantly, their comments reflect the hybridisation of identity seen among first generation South Africans earlier.

Interestingly, my eldest son came to Aus [sic] as an 18-month-old and he regards himself as South African, not Australian... My daughter is Australian and couldn't care less really about South Africa. My older one definitely has strong ties [with South Africa.]

Nicola

They [sons] see themselves as Australians; definitely, there's no doubt about it. They're very proud of their South African heritage. Maybe it's just the biltong [laughs] but they're very, very proud of being ex-South African.

Annelie

Importantly, each of these comments illustrates a situation where the lines between South Africa and Australia are blurred.

On the whole, children arriving in Australia from South Africa tend to integrate into their new country, although some obviously remain culturally and emotionally connected to their origin. The 1.5-generation who have spent some time in South Africa are especially likely to have memories and attachments of their own and their 'South Africaness' may be perpetuated in Australia by socialising with other migrant families and through transnational activities. Even if children don't participate directly in these activities they are observers of their parents' connections and, as Levitt (2004b, p. 5) notes, having "been raised in households saturated by homeland influences" they can simply "activate these values and identities" if and when they choose to. Similarly, many second generation children grow up in households with connections to South Africa through language, cultural practice and transnational activities but it is not clear what, if any, links they will maintain. Certainly much of the literature (Foner 2002; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Levitt and Waters 2002; Rumbaut 2002) found that the linkages of the second generation are substantially weaker than their parents. However, if the ever increasing number of South Africans in Australia hang on to their 'South Africaness', the children and grandchildren growing up in these families may continue to socially, culturally and maybe economically straddle the two countries.

In at least some of the cases raised here, the 1.5 and second generation will continue to have a cultural and emotional connection with South Africa but there are clear divisions in the experiences of children and discerning trends beyond this is difficult. More research is needed in the area of their transnational practices, as it is for children of immigrants everywhere (Levitt and Waters 2002 p.2). Of course parents have provided the comments on which these preliminary conclusions have been drawn. There are important ethical

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country considerations if the views of migrant children are to be canvassed but more work is needed on the unique issues they face.

8.10 South Africa looks to its diaspora

Levitt et al. (2007) describe how "fluid social spaces" are,

"multi-layered and multi-sited, including not just the home and host countries but other sites around the world that connect migrants to their co-nationals" (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007 p. 131).

Moreover, they offer an excellent description of the way in which these spaces are occupied by migrants *and* non-migrants because,

"the flow of people, money and "social remittances" (ideas, norms, practices and identities) within these spaces is so dense, thick and widespread that nonmigrants' lives are also transformed, even though they do not move" (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007 p. 132).

The inference here is that migrants are the active transnationals and through their actions non-migrants are caught up in transnational social spaces. In fact, the relationship can also work in the reverse, particularly on an institutional or national level. In these cases, entities in the origin country reach out to their respective nationals living abroad, often in an effort to harness human or other capital. As Glick Schiller et al. (1995, p. 52) explain,

"...parties, factions, and leaders within many countries which can claim dispersed populations have looked to their diasporas as a global resource and constituency".

According to United Nations data, more than three-quarters of a million South Africans were living outside their origin country in 2013 (United Nations 2013)⁴⁴, many of them skilled professionals (Kuznetsov and Sabel 2006; Marks 2006). For numerous commentators this is tantamount to serious skills loss, if not a brain drain (Crush 2002, 2003; Crush et al. 2000; Human Sciences Research Council 2005; Kaplan 1997; Mattes and Mniki 2007; Meyer et al. 2000). Beyond an acknowledgment in South Africa's International Migration White paper (Mokoena 1999) that the Constitution renders emigration, either permanent or temporary, a matter of right and, rather ironically and contradictorily, mention of the tight controls on foreign exchange⁴⁵, emigration per se has received little policy attention in South Africa. Indeed, between 1994 and 2002, Ellis (2008, p. 115) finds the South African government's "official position was generally

⁴⁴ They put the figure at 786,507

⁴⁵ Admittedly, these controls have loosened dramatically in recent years (Grant 2013; Schulze 1997).

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country unfavourable to both immigration and emigration of skilled labour". Others have described the government's approach to immigration policy as "confused and contradictory" (Siddique 2004 p. 20), with the process of developing new legislation as "long and fraught" (Crush and Williams 2005 p. 23).

Skills shortages in South Africa are not simply the result of emigration but arise from a complex mix of factors that include the divided education system under apartheid and more recently affirmative action (Rasool and Botha 2011). After 2002, as the gravity of the skills shortage was realised, the government began to pay attention to it (Ellis and Segatti 2011; Rasool and Botha 2011), although Ellis (2008) has argued they did not want to pursue an aggressive immigration recruitment policy or a policy to reverse the brain drain. Changes to the administrative management of migrant recruitment through the Immigration Act of 2002 were seen as a largely passive effort that produced no meaningful improvement in official figures (Ellis 2008). A change in policy was only palpable in 2004 when the government launched the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) (Crush 2008; Ellis and Segatti 2011).

At this point, Crush (2008) finds the government began to see immigration as part of the solution to the skills crisis. JIPSA was tasked with identifying urgent skills needs and providing advice on how they could be met. Among interventions they flagged as urgent were mentoring programmes, overseas placement of trainees, encouraging new migrants and bringing back retirees and expatriate South Africans (South Africa.info 2006). Sadly, JIPSA, and the broader programme under which it fell (ASGISA -Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa), "seem to have vanished from government priorities" (Ellis and Segatti 2011). Given the skills deficit in South Africa, Segatti (2012, p. 184) says there is room for the return of emigrants but says there is "no specific government initiative to manage the returns or to research them."

There is, however, a history of organisations from within South Africa that have reached out to the diaspora (Table 8.12). *The South African Network of Skills Abroad* (SANSA) was started in 1998 by the University of Cape Town (UCT) and a French agency (Kuznetsov and Sabel 2006). Its first aim was to enumerate the number of South Africans living abroad (Brown 2003) and thereafter promote collaboration between expatriate South African scientists and technologists and their colleagues in South Africa (Kuznetsov and Sabel 2006). *The South African Diaspora Network*, also developed by UCT, but this time

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country alongside the World Bank, operated to connect firms in South Africa with talented and entrepreneurial South Africans in the UK (Kuznetsov and Sabel 2006). Sadly both programmes are now defunct.⁴⁶

Table 8.12: South African diaspora engagement networks

Organisation	Aim	Operating in (2015)
The South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA)	Promote collaboration between expatriate South African scientists and their colleagues in South Africa	No
The South African Diaspora Network	Connect firms in South Africa with talented and entrepreneurial South Africans in the UK	No
Homecoming Revolution	Promotes South Africa and encourages expatriates to return and contribute	Yes
Global South Africans	A network encouraging South Africans abroad to be ambassadors for South Africa as well as to connect so that they may work together to benefit South Africa	Yes

Source: (Global South Africans 2015; Homecoming Revolution 2013; Kuznetsov and Sabel 2006)

A seemingly more successful venture is *Homecoming Revolution*, established in 2003. This private organisation, sponsored by First National Bank (FNB) describes itself as “a proven one-stop platform for African skills repatriation” (Homecoming Revolution 2013). Through its website, expos, newsletters and other sophisticated marketing and PR campaigns *Homecoming Revolution* promotes South Africa and encourages expatriates to return and contribute to their origin country. Presumably the start-up has had some success because ten years on the organisation now also operates in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda. According to their website,

“Homecoming Revolution leverages the emotional hook of connecting the African diaspora to home. In partnership with public and private sectors, this platform showcases jobs, property, schools, products, services, advice, investments & entrepreneurial opportunities in Africa.” (Homecoming Revolution 2013)

Homecoming Revolution directly links itself to the fact “South Africa’s brain drain retention ranking has dramatically improved in the global competitiveness report” (moving from 80th to 47th position) (HomecomingRevZA 2013) but offers no evidence to support this claim. There is a need for objective research to be conducted into the success of this organisation which describes itself as a ‘brand’ and claims to have reached 15,000 South Africans at various events for expatriates around the world (HomecomingRevZA 2013).

⁴⁶ Confirmed in private communication with Professor David Kaplan, UCT

Nevertheless, this organisation is an excellent example of a party within the origin country recognising the skills of migrants abroad and reaching out to them.

8.11 A disengaged diaspora?

A comprehensive study in Canada (Crush et al. 2013) recently surveyed migrants from the 15 countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)⁴⁷. Influenced by debates surrounding the migration and development nexus, the study (Crush et al. 2013 p. 1) sought to present a “systematic knowledge base about Southern African diasporas in Canada”, with particular focus on the links diasporas maintain with their origin and the extent to which they impact development in the home country. In short, the focus of this study was ‘diaspora engagement’. The Canadian survey results revealed such stark differences between South African and *Southern* African migrants that data for the two groups were presented separately and, in summarising, the authors concluded that migrants from SADC countries other than South Africa comprise an “engaged diaspora” while South African migrants are a “disengaged diaspora” with an engaged minority (Crush et al. 2013).

In light of SSAM survey data presented here, this description is somewhat surprising. Undoubtedly some South Africans reject their origin country and sever ties with it upon arriving in Australia. Because these migrants dissociate themselves with South Africa, they tend also to distance themselves from other South African migrants in Australia and therefore fall outside the scope of recruitment processes that utilise expatriate networks. It is thus difficult to estimate the number of migrants that ‘opt out’, although they are almost certainly in the minority. After all, SSAM data confirms social and emotional links with South Africa are commonplace as are some financial, and fewer political, links. Moreover, South Africans demonstrate keen simultaneity as they integrate readily into Australian society and consider Australia their new home while, at the same time, identifying as South African or as having a hybrid South African-Australian identity.

One explanation for the Crush et al. (2013) conclusion of a disengaged diaspora is the statement that the South African diaspora in Canada,

⁴⁷ SADC countries include: Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

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“displays an attitudinal and behavioural profile which leads us to the conclusion that it is largely disengaged and unlikely to play a significant role in South Africa's development” (Crush et al. 2013 p. 5).

In other words, migrant engagement is understood within the context of the migration-development nexus. It is not viewed as necessarily significant in its own right but rather is conferred value according to the role it plays in development, if any. This was not the approach taken in this study, which ultimately shows most South African migrants in Australia are incredibly engaged at a personal and social level and somewhat financially connected. A more accurate description of South Africans in Australia might be a 'disenchanted diaspora'. Having made the decision to migrate to Australia, most South African migrants try to 'make a go of it' (Louw and Mersham 2001). The SSAM survey showed many exhibit gratitude at the opportunity to have a better, safer life in Australia and they make a conscious effort to embrace Australia as their new home. Yet in spite of the outward success of this group, emigration from South Africa is fraught with mixed emotions. Around 40 percent of SSAM respondents were reluctant to move and just under half found migration and settlement in Australia difficult. Some migrants also feel a sense of loss, anger and sadness at being 'pushed' from their homeland. The term 'disenchanted diaspora' recognises these elements of South African migration, whereas viewing South African migration through the prism of the migration-development nexus negates the important social and emotional connections migrants have with their country of origin. These are particularly important connections because they are often all migrants feel is left for them in their country of origin.

8.12 Implications for transnational theory

Conceptualised in four key ways, it has so far been seen that transnationalism can include migrants' subjectivities, the activities they undertake, their relationships with the origin country and social fields or spaces (Dunn 2010; Faist 2000b; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Pries 2001). SSAM data has provided solid empirical examples of each of these four major conceptualisations of transnational migration as well as the gamut of transnational activities, divided as they often are into economic, social and political categories (Portes et al. 1999 p.217). These observations can both support and inform transnational theory. Early in this chapter, consideration was given to what constitutes transnational behaviour or linkages within a given migration system. The general consensus is that while transnational links have been around in one form or another for as long as people have moved homes, transnationalism

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country occurs where there is a heightened intensity of linkages between the origin and destination countries resulting in regular and sustained practices (Portes et al. 1999; Vertovec 2004b).

By this definition, the social and cultural activities of South African migrants in Australia certainly qualify as transnational. These links are widespread and frequently undertaken. They include regular personal and some business contact with people in South Africa and frequent return trips. By contrast economic and political ties are not as strong. While around one third of migrants send remittances, the frequency with which they do so is not known. A smaller proportion had links with South Africa through charitable activities. The extent of political linkages maintained by this group is also not fully understood but appears to be weak. Certainly only a handful of South Africans in Australia voted in South Africa's national election in 2014. For some, such 'loose' ties among permanent migrants might not qualify them as transnational migrants (Castles and Miller 2009 p. 32). However, if all of the links outlined above are considered in combination with one another, it seems difficult to ignore the transnational spaces many South African migrants undoubtedly occupy. Of course, we don't want to exaggerate migrants' connections but we don't want to understate them either, particularly where migrants are cognizant of living in such a space. This latter point is seldom considered in the theoretical literature.

In defining transnational behaviour, the literature has also been preoccupied with the degree to which it is institutionalised or not (Bauböck 2003; Itzigsohn 2000; Itzigsohn et al. 1999). As in other studies (Mahler 2001), obviously much of the social interaction between South African migrants and their origin is conducted on an interpersonal level and therefore not institutional. Remittance-sending, too, occurs at a household level and performed out of familial obligation and altruism. Arguably the only institutionalised connections occur through charitable organisations and churches or, on a national level when migrants vote in South African elections, which is rare. This is important to note as the literature seems to value highly institutionalised transnational activity, particularly of an economic and political nature (Voigt-Graf 2005) (Itzigsohn 2000). Certainly, despite strong emotional and social ties with South Africa, the Canadian study deemed these migrants disengaged based on their lack of connections that contributed to development in South Africa.

On one level, it is easy to understand the value placed in more institutionalised behaviours. They are, arguably, easier to identify and quantify. They are also more likely to have a

Chapter 8: South African migrants' linkages with origin country perceptible impact on the sending and receiving countries at a national and or community level. But is this fair to migrants? Social ties have less impact, potentially, in the origin and destination countries though they are arguably more beneficial for migrants undergoing a major upheaval in their lives. Outwardly, there therefore seems to be a strong argument for differentiating the level of analysis, be it individual, community or national. But such an approach ignores the intertwined nature of transnational behaviour and the considerable crossover between these levels. Although South African transnational practice is mostly family-centric these social and emotional linkages with the origin should not be discounted in conceptualisations of transnationalism. In fact, these linkages are just as valuable as those that have wider economic or political consequences in the origin or destination countries, particularly for migrants themselves.

A noted gap in the scholarship on transnational families relates to the conceptualisation of families that span borders and the need to move beyond nuclear families to new units of analysis (Mazzucato and Schans 2011). Stretching families across countries has implications on families' support systems and the emotional well-being of migrants and non-migrants alike. The South African case is also evidence that greater consideration must be given to the transnational activities migrants undertake within the destination country. Activities that don't span borders nevertheless allow migrants to connect with their origin through social and cultural practices. For South Africans, such activities allow them to hold on to their heritage further cementing their transnational status. These are grossly undertheorized elements of transnationalism.

An important lesson from the South African transnational experience is that the broader migration experiences of migrants need to be kept in perspective. In other words, the transnational behaviour of South African migrants should be considered alongside their reasons for migrating and their settlement experiences. After all, South African migrants mostly move to Australia on a permanent basis in response to conditions in South Africa they consider unsatisfactory. Crime and issues of safety and security drive much of the migration, so as well as pragmatic reasons for wanting to move, migrants are also driven by feelings of desperation, fear and anger. At the same time, and arguably because of these reasons, South African migrants settle successfully into the Australian community both on a social and an economic level. With these factors in mind, migrants' level of interaction with South Africa is perhaps greater than might otherwise be expected.

8.13 Conclusion

Transnationalism is a key factor in contemporary migration and is pivotal in fully understanding any migration system as it captures the complex reality of migration; all of the mobilities, relations, active linkages and identities. South African migrants in Australia are exemplars of transnational behaviour. The bedrock of their transnational lives is the strong social links that the vast majority maintain with their origin country. These social links manifest as regular communication, mostly electronic, as well as travel back to South Africa. Migrants commonly make return trips to participate in family events – births, deaths and marriages – as well as to fulfil family responsibilities such as caring for sick family members. It is expected that most South Africans leave their extended families behind when they move to Australia and this forms the basis for strong emotional bonds back to South Africa. The nature of this interaction includes financial connections in the form of remittances. A small proportion of migrants also maintain investments, including property.

There is a very emotive element to South African emigration. Pushed as they are, many South Africans are resigned to emigrating in order to secure better and safer futures for themselves and their families. For many, major sacrifices are made in the process as people leave family, homes, careers and familiar surrounds. Some participants expressed regret at having to leave a country they loved and undoubtedly feel a deep sense of loss. However, not all migrants feel this way and generalisations should be avoided. A minority articulated a deep resentment towards their origin country and actively sought to cease their association with the country. So, while South Africans in Australia are arguably not disengaged with their origin country to the extent of their Canadian counterparts, they are undoubtedly a migrant group disenchanted with their origin. By the same token, while most South Africans make a concerted effort to succeed in what many see as a second chance at life in Australia, another subgroup within the South African community transplant their South African ways and belongings to Australia and continue to live as South Africans, resisting Australia's way of life and, in some known cases, treating Australians and Australia with disdain. On the whole, there is little sympathy for migrants like this in the wider South African community. So, South African migrants are divided in their feelings and connections with South Africa and often disenchanted but seldom disengaged.

9.1 Introduction

To understand the Australia-South Africa migration system in its totality consideration must be given to the return of South Africans to their origin country. Return migration is a significant and yet under-studied aspect of international migration (Arowolo 2000; Guarnizo 1997). One reason for this is a lack of reliable quantitative data collected at a country level which makes it difficult to know the extent of return (Cassarino 2004; Constant and Massey 2002). Fortunately, as Hugo (2011b, p. 164) notes,

“Australia is one of the few countries where the international migration flow data collection system enables return migration to be measured”.

These data formed the basis of the analysis of departures from Australia to South Africa, of both the Australia and South Africa-born, outlined in Chapter Two.

It was found that permanent departures to South Africa are small compared with arrivals from South Africa, and also the extent of South Africa-born permanent departures to other destinations. Moreover, most permanent departures to South Africa are either Australia-born or born in countries other than South Africa. Return migrants have for the most part comprised less than 30 percent of South Africa-born permanent departures. The remainder are leaving for other destinations and some of them are likely a function of the global contemporary movement of highly skilled labour, as is the case with South Africa-born departures who are mostly professionals and managers. Departures are also aged in the middle to later working years, with few at retirement age. This chapter focusses on primary data from the SSAM survey and the specifically focussed RMS survey. Together they add to our understanding of return migrants’ characteristics and possible determinants of return. Despite the low response rate to the RMS survey, it provided a valuable empirical insight into migrants’ reasons for returning to South Africa and their experiences of repatriation. These data are profound because of the elusive nature of return migrants and the difficulties locating them once they return to their origin country.

9.2 A theoretical perspective on return migration

In this study, as in others (Arowolo 2000), return migration is understood to be the process whereby a migrant returns to their country of origin. Return can be temporary (King 1978) but is widely viewed in the early literature as permanent, with the migrant resettling in their homeland and intending to stay (Gmelch 1980). Return migration thus differs from ‘circular migration’, or the frequent movement between two or more places seen among groups such as seasonal labour migrants (Gmelch 1980). It may, however, incorporate ‘brain circulation’, defined by some as skilled people returning to their origin countries (Chappell and Glennie 2010). Return migration can also be followed by ‘remigration’ whereby returnees later emigrate again (Gmelch 1980). Cassarino (2004, p. 253) argues,

“the growing diversity of migratory categories (ranging from economic migrants to refugees and asylum seekers) necessitates a distinction between the various types of returnee”.

Indeed, the literature offers a number of classifications of return based on a range of factors, some of which are presented in Table 9.1.

Typologies of return commonly deal with the length of time migrants intend to stay in the destination and their reasons for return, both of which can indicate whether the initial migration is intended to be temporary or permanent (Gmelch 1980). The distinction between temporary and permanent are seen as crucial for understanding a number of aspects of immigrant behaviour (Dustmann and Weiss 2007). It also highlights several important dichotomies often discussed in relation to return migration: planned versus forced return (King 1978), voluntary versus forced return (Cassarino 2008) and successful versus failed return (Cerase 1974). Temporary migration typically sees migrants return having achieved the goals (often monetary) that saw them migrate in the first place. In this context, return migration is planned, voluntary and, arguably, successful. By contrast, migrants who intend to migrate permanently but ultimately return can be voluntary or forced. Voluntary returnees repatriate to their origin having been unable to adapt or adjust economically or emotionally to life at the destination. King (1978, p. 177) has further categorised these migrants as “spontaneous”, but others have also seen them as “failures” (Cerase 1974; De Haas and Fokkema 2011), a characterisation associated with neoclassical explanations of migration (Cassarino 2004; Constant and Massey 2002). However, permanent migrants can also be forced for political, racial or religious reasons (King 1978).

Table 9.1: Return migration classifications

Return classification	Description	Author
Return of failure	Considers the migrants' capacity to adjust to their new environment. An inability to overcome the difficulties in the destination country result in return	Cerese (1974)
Return of conservatism	When the migrant continues to uphold the customs of the origin country while accumulating capital at the destination that will allow them to return and better afford the way of life they value	Cerese (1974)
Return of retirement	After a life working in the destination country, the migrant returns to the origin country to grow old in a place they are emotionally connected to. A preoccupation with this type of migration has been noted in the literature (Hugo 2009b).	Cerese (1974)
Return of innovation	Describes the migrant who returns to their origin with new skills and experiences and a desire to apply them to endeavours in the origin country thus contributing to its development	Cerese (1974)
Level of economic development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Less developed to more developed countries 2) More developed to less developed countries 3) Between countries with equal levels of development <p>Much of the literature on return has focussed on labour migration, commonly from developing to more developed countries, or the global South to North (Gmelch 1980; Thomas-Hope 1999).</p>	King (1978)
Temporal classifications	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>Occasional returns</u> for holiday, family visits etc. 2) <u>Periodic returns</u>, epitomised by today's fly in-fly out workers 3) <u>Seasonal returns</u>, migrants whose work is dictated by the nature/the nature of their work 4) <u>Temporary returns</u>, often for personal or work reasons but migrants intend to remigrate soon 5) <u>Permanent returns</u>, return with no intention of migrating again 	King (1978)
SKILLED MIGRANTS		
Improvement in conditions at origin	Improvement can be economic or political. Return occurs when the push factor that motivated migration has declined in significance. Relevant to most skilled migrants	Chappell and Glennie (2010)
Feeling of belonging to origin	Driven by a feeling of belonging to the origin culture and society, some migrants' attachment to their home country motivates them to return and contribute to that country's development	Chappell and Glennie (2010)

Source: Cerese (1974); King (1978); Chappell and Glennie (2010)

Whether a migrant sets out with the aim of moving permanently has important theoretical implications. Neoclassical economic theories of migration assume a difference in wages and employment conditions between sending and receiving countries which result in people migrating to maximise their incomes. Obviously, the same cost-benefit analyses undertaken in the destination country can result in return,

“if migrants' expectations to earn more money are not met ...or because the psychic costs of moving are higher than anticipated” (Constant and Massey 2002 p. 10).

Hence, the failure 'label' is applied. By contrast, new economics of labour migration theory (NELM) purports that people move on a temporary basis as part of a family or household strategy to diversify risk. Migrants return when they have achieved their income goal and their return is, therefore, seen as a success (Constant and Massey 2002). Instead of individual migrants' experiences, structural theoretical approaches consider social and institutional factors in the origin country to explain return migration. In this context, success or failure, "is analysed by correlating the "reality" of the home economy and society with the expectations of the returnee" (Cassarino 2004 p. 257). Transnationalism and social network theories focus on linkages between the origin and destination that drive return. Moreover, these frameworks shift their focus from an integration-assimilation narrative that talks about adjustment to one of 'adaptation' (Cassarino 2004). In doing so, questions about whether migrants successfully integrate at destination, or not, are somewhat nullified. Rather, it is expected that migrants simultaneously embed themselves in the destination country while maintaining significant linkages with their origin.

Research on return migration exists largely in the shadow of broader migration studies (Gmelch 1980; Guarnizo 1997), although in recent decades there has been a more sustained scholarly interest in return (Cassarino 2004; Conway and Potter 2009; Dustmann and Weiss 2007), particularly as,

"anthropology and its sister disciplines have begun to treat migration as a system, examining both stream and counter streams"(Gmelch 1980 p.136).

These multi-directional streams are central, of course, to transnational conceptualisations of migration which have generated renewed interest in return migration. Most notably, to view migration through a transnational lens is to reject migration as linear, viewing it instead as a circular process (Ley and Kobayashi 2005). In this way, views of migration where assimilation (integration) is the dominant theme are superseded. As Ley and Kobayashi (2005, p. 111) write,

"In its conventional use, return migration conveys the same sense of closure and completion as the immigration – assimilation narrative. But in a transnational era, movement is better described as continuous rather than completed".

Transnationalism thus provides a logical and apt conceptual framework for studies of return migration and, indeed, has been employed before to understand it (De Haas and Fokkema 2011; Duval 2004; Guarnizo 1997).

There are of course a number of reasons for return migration (Vanderkamp 1972) and these can be “complex and multi-layered” (De Haas and Fokkema 2011 p. 767). Among them are push and pull dynamics (King 1978; Toren 1976; Zhao 2002), just as they are used in explanations of initial migration. A number of studies have found pull factors at the destination are the dominant influence on return (Gmelch 1980). Moreover, there is some consensus in the literature (Glaser and Habers 1974; Waldorf 1995) that among the variety of factors that influence return the most notable are “noneconomic factors such as patriotic and social ties and a lack of assimilation into the host society” (Waldorf 1995 p. 126). Still, as Cassarino (2008, p. 100) observes,

“return migrants constitute a highly heterogeneous group of actors in terms of migration experiences, length of stay abroad, patterns of resource mobilisation, legal status, motivations and projects”.

Indeed, the literature has considered a range of determinants: wage differentials (Borjas and Bratsberg 1994; Dustmann 2003), education and occupation (Toren 1976), return visits (Duval 2004), the role of career and family (Khoo and Mak 2000), life cycle (Ley and Kobayashi 2005) and personal attributes (Waldorf 1995).

9.3 South African return migration in the literature

Recent works present the results of a survey of return migrants from a range of countries to South Africa, as a precursor to investigating their impact on South Africa’s development (Morcillo-Espina and Bhat 2013, 2014). Important comparisons between this work and the present study are made in the analysis below, although these are necessarily broad because the Morcillo-Espina et al. (2013) analysis does not disaggregate data by destination country.⁴⁸ In Australia, while the extent of return migration to South Africa is available from secondary data the broader issue has received only minor attention (Brink 2012) and is not well understood. Little is known about why South Africans return or how they experience repatriation in their origin country. There is, however, a degree of consensus in the literature that rates of return migration to South Africa are low (Brink 2012; Crush et al. 2013; Lucas 2001; Polonsky et al. 1989). When 22 South African migrants in Australia were surveyed in 1989 about what would make them return, 13 said “nothing” (Polonsky et al. 1989). In a more recent survey of South Africans in Australia, Brink (2012) sought information on their return intentions. Only 4 percent of respondents said they intended to return, while close to 44 percent had no intention of returning and 10 percent were

⁴⁸ Furthermore, while the Morcillo-Espina et al. (2013) survey recruited 35 South Africans in Australia they are not identified by their status: returnees, planners or stayers (the three categories compared in the study).

undecided⁴⁹. Similarly the SSAM survey canvassed the return intentions of South Africans in Australia, and when asked if they would return permanently, only 5.2 percent said yes, while a staggering 86.7 percent said they would not return and 8.2 percent did not answer the question.

South Africans in Canada also have a low propensity for return migration with 46 percent never having considered it while and just 13 percent giving it serious consideration (Crush et al. 2013). South Africans living in the UK may prove an exception within the diaspora. Andrucki (2010, p. 359) describes migration from South Africa to the UK as a “mass migration” and one that is “by no means one-directional”. He notes,

“those living in the UK have the most interest in and are the most likely to return to South Africa” (Andrucki 2010 p.359),

Although the reasons for this are not made explicit, it appears Andrucki (2010) is referring to heightened mobility between South Africa and the UK made possible by many Whites having British or European passports.

Despite documented low rates of return, Louw and Mersham (2001, p. 304) describe a longing among the South African diaspora to return to their country of origin. Van Rooyen (2000, p. 140) describes South Africans as homesick but says only 5 percent return because they miss family and friends. According to Van Rooyen (2000, p. 140), the remaining 95 percent do not return because they were “driven out of their beloved country by crime, violence and fear”. Indeed, given the drivers of migration it might reasonably be assumed that return migration is not commonplace. This hypothesis is discussed with reference to the RMS data collected here, after a brief discussion of its methodology and sample size.

9.4 Methodology used in Return Migration Survey

Although secondary data provide an excellent quantitative understanding of the extent of return they are limited in what they reveal about who is returning and why. Small surveys, case studies and participant observation are often better suited to this task (Gmelch 1980; Thomas-Hope 1999). Hence mixed method approaches, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative data, are common in studies of return migration (Byron and Condon 1996; Gmelch 1980). A precedent has been set for using small surveys to study return migration

⁴⁹ The remaining 42 percent of respondents did not answer the question (Brink 2012).

(Thomas-Hope 1999), however, they are inherently difficult. Arowolo (2000, p. 62-63) acknowledges the need for special surveys is why studies of migration have hitherto ignored return migrants, with a major issue facing these surveys being locating return migrants “in the field” (Arowolo, 2000 p. 63). Not only do these migrants return to their origin country at different times, they are also dispersed in many locations making it extremely difficult to locate them.

The Return Migrant Survey (RMS) was specifically aimed at South Africans who had returned permanently to their origin country and the online method of survey distribution was discussed in Chapter Four. Typically online surveys present a practical way of reaching participants outside the destination country. However, despite their documented advantages (Orr 2005), online surveys do not automatically increase participant recruitment. Challenges remain locating and recruiting participants with no obvious sampling frame and the RMS suffered from low participant uptake as it struggled to locate returnees in the field. This was no doubt made more difficult by the small number of returnees to South Africa overall. Nevertheless, the RMS (and the SSAM) provides excellent preliminary insights into the motivations and experiences of return migrants to South Africa, as well as their characteristics.

Indeed, the following analysis considers return migration from two perspectives as the two surveys produced different types of data. The SSAM canvassed return migration *intentions*, while the RMS covered *actual* migration. A number of studies are based on return migration intentions (De Haas and Fokkema 2011; Waldorf 1995) as well as observed return (Toren 1976), while some look at both (Morcillo-Espina and Bhat 2013). Dustmann (1996, p. 234), thinks of return intentions as future plans and finds them to be “valid information”, but, at the same time, acknowledges an issue with how intentions relate to realisations. In a study of return migration among labour migrants in Germany, only 40 percent of return intentions were realised, either positively or negatively (Dustmann 1996). Thus, when measuring return migration, Bentolila (1996) favours actual returns over stated intentions (Dustmann 1996 p. 243). Given return migration to South Africa is adequately counted in Australian secondary data, this is less of a concern here. However, having two data sources provides greater qualitative insight into different aspects of return migration thus enriching our understanding of the process.

9.5 Determinants of return

Constant and Massey (2002, p. 8) write,

“If researchers are unsure about the rate immigrants return home, they are less confident about the characteristics of those who leave”.

However, secondary data and the RMS have provided some understanding of return migrants' key characteristics, analysed here to draw out possible determinants of return. In total there were only 11 respondents to the RMS, of these three arrived in Australia on visas that allowed them to settle permanently. One entered via the Business stream, another on a Family visa and the third had a New Zealand passport. The remaining 8 respondents were temporary migrants, four arrived on Skill visas, two were Business entrants and one a Family entrant. The low numbers of family entrants is significant and likely reflects the finding of Khoo and Mak (2000) who found migrants entering in the Concessional Family category, and therefore have relatives in Australia sponsoring them, are more likely to settle on a permanent basis than those arriving in the Independent Skill or Business categories.

Key data on the migration and subsequent return of RMS migrants are shown in Table 9.2. It can be seen from the length of time they were in Australia that four of the temporary arrivals transitioned to permanent resident status. Indeed, three of them became Australian citizens while a fourth lived in Australia for 18 years. It is not clear if initially these migrants were planning a long-term stay in Australia but changed their minds, or if they planned to live and move freely between Australia and South Africa. In fact, five of the 11 returnees had obtained Australian citizenship. This shows citizenship does not mean, ipso facto, that migrants will remain permanently in their new country. It also raises the prospect that a type of circular migration may be undertaken by a small number of South Africans. All return respondents were South African citizens, although five had also attained Australian citizenship. Given the procedure to retain South African citizenship when acquiring a second citizenship, it is clear that those who became Australian citizens were deliberate in their decision to do so. Again, questions are raised as to whether this is a deliberate strategy by migrants seeking freedom to move between Australia and South Africa.

Table 9.2: RMS respondents, key data on migration and return

Resp. #	Year migrated	Year returned	Years in Australia	Visa status on arrival	Visa stream	Aust. citizen
1	2008	2009	1.5	Permanent	NZ passport	NO
2	2011	2011	<1	Temporary	Skilled	NO
3	1994	2012	18	Temporary	Family	NO
4	2007	2012	5	Temporary	Skilled	YES
5	1977	2010	33	Permanent	Family	YES
6	2008	2012	4	Temporary	Business	NO
7	2001	not yet	12	Temporary	Skilled	YES
8	2001	2003	3	Temporary	Business	NO
9	2008	2009	2	Temporary	Skilled	NO
10	1997	2005	7	Temporary	Skilled	YES
11	2002	2010	8	Permanent	Business	YES

Source: RMS 2012

The period of residence in Australia of the returnees roughly reflects secondary data on permanent departures, as the majority had lived in Australia for more than 5 years (5 respondents), and three had lived there less than two years. Similarly, secondary data showed 71.3 percent of departures had lived in Australia more than 5 years (DIAC 2011b). There is a view (Constant and Massey 2002; Dustmann 1996; Hugo 2006a) that the longer a migrant stays in the destination country, the less chance they will undertake return migration, particularly as more time spent in the destination allows migrants to integrate, while they also disconnect from their origin (Dustmann 1996). Moreover, declining returns have been attributed to ethnic communities in the destination becoming more established (Waldorf 1995). It is difficult to determine with certainty any of these patterns among South African return migration from Australia.

The majority of RMS respondents were recent returnees with three returning in the same year as the survey and another planning to return soon. Almost half returned within two years of the survey, 80 percent in the five years prior and just two respondents returned more than five years before the survey was undertaken. Migrants' age at initial migration and age at return are shown in Table 9.3, indicating that the majority of returnees were in their late 30s or early 40s when they migrated to Australia. This reflects the SSAM population but is older than arrivals to Australia generally which is important because it has been argued that "the older the migrant is upon entry, the lower is his probability of remaining permanently" (Dustmann 1996 p. 229). One possible reason is older migrants tend to have stronger links with their origin and can be less flexible when it comes to

integration in a new country (Dustmann 1996). While more needs to be brought to bear on this issue, an important preliminary finding here is that older South Africa migrants entering Australia may be more prone to return.

Table 9.3: RMS respondents, age at survey, initial migration and return

Resp. #	Current age	Year of migration	Age at migration	Year of return	Age at return
1	30	2007	25	2012	30
2	40	2008	36	2009	37
3	41	1977	6	2010	39
4	43	2011	42	2011	42
5	44	2008	40	2009	41
6	45	2001	34	not yet	45
7	47	2002	37	2010	45
8	51	2001	40	2003	42
9	52	2008	48	2012	52
10	55	1994	37	2012	55
11	57	1997	42	2005	50

Source: RMS 2012

RMS respondents' age at return ranged from late 30s to mid-50s, providing little evidence of strong retirement migration among this group. This is supported by secondary data that showed only 3.6 percent of South Africa-born permanent departures are retirement age, 65 years and over, and by the family structure of RMS returnees; mostly families with children. Indeed, returnees to South Africa have been found to place significant value in bringing their children up in South Africa (Morcillo-Espina and Bhat 2013). By contrast, some migrants, for example, Greeks, Italians, Turks and West Indians, habitually return 'home' upon retirement (Ley and Kobayashi 2005), hence retirement migration has been an important part of the migration literature (Hunter 2011; King et al. 1998).

Overall, RMS migrants are not as highly qualified as SSAM migrants or the total South Africa-born in Australia. Thus, if educational attainment is used as a measure of skills, the South African outflow does not reflect broader emigration from Australia which has traditionally seen outflows comprise more skills than inflows (Hugo 2008). However, if occupational category is used as a measure of skills, the RMS, like the South Africa-born departures, appear highly skilled with all but two working as professionals or managers. Back in South Africa the majority of returnees are employed full-time or self-employed. Four of nine respondents indicated their annual salary in South Africa is less than in Australia, three earned the same and only two earned more money back in South Africa. On the whole, fewer RMS migrants' are in the top income brackets compared to SSAM

migrants. RMS returnees therefore tend to exhibit downward mobility in terms of earning capacity so, it would seem, are not necessarily attracted back to higher incomes.

9.6 Reasons for return migration

Like their SSAM counterparts, RMS respondents were provided a list of factors and asked to indicate 'yes' or 'no' as to whether they influenced their decision to return. Most migrants indicated they simply did not enjoy living in Australia (7 of 11 returnees). Lifestyle was the next most common reason for return, given by six respondents. It was initially presumed this was for a better lifestyle in South Africa, but open-end responses from the SSAM suggest a number of returnees fail to adapt to or adjust to the Australian lifestyle (see Table 9.4). Work or business-related factors were a common influence on the decision to return, as six respondents returned to pursue business opportunities, five for a specific job and the same number returned for better employment opportunities. Bearing in mind the multiple choice nature of this question, work or business-related reasons for returning were more frequently cited than family reunion, being unable to settle in Australia or a desire to contribute to South Africa. In fact, three of the 11 respondents returned to contribute to their origin country, an interesting finding in light of the assessment of a 'disengaged diaspora' in Canada (Crush et al. 2013). Again, noting there is duplication from multiple responses, these results appear to stand in opposition to the widespread view that non-economic factors generally play a bigger role than economic factors in return migration (Glaser and Habers 1974; Gmelch 1980; Waldorf 1995).

The open-end responses to the question about why RMS respondents returned are more telling about the complexity of migrants' decisions. Because of the small sample, all responses are listed in Table 9.4. Migrants' reasons for returning are classed into one of three useful categories, used before by Toren (1976); economic and occupational, patriotic and social, and familial and personal. Clearly returnees to South Africa are a heterogeneous group in terms of their reasons for returning. Mak (1997, p. 171) writes,

“the decision-making processes associated with return migration are complex and likely to be the outcome of a dynamic interplay of social, familial, personal and economic factors”.

Table 9.4: RMS respondents' individual reasons for returning to South Africa

	Status at return	Years in Aust.	Category
Did not renew the working contract after our son passed away	Permanent (Aust. citizen)	7	Personal
Financial difficulties. Culture difference. Longing for family	Temporary	< 1	Economic Social Familial
Got retrenched in early 2009 during the Global Financial crunch, felt a bit negative. A business opportunity arose with my sister in SA so I returned after a lot of thought	Permanent	< 1	Occupational
I missed my family and friends too much as well as the culture and the SA vibe. I also have more employment opportunities here	Permanent (Aust. citizen)	5	Familial Social Occupational
I wanted to go home	Permanent	18	Personal Patriotic
My children are living in South Africa	Temporary	4	Familial
I find Australia dull and boring... Aussies are racist, they have no culture... I got divorced in 2009 and I thought this would be a wonderful opportunity to come back to where I was born	Permanent (Aust. citizen)	33	Personal
We returned to South Africa as my wife could not find work, work she could find ended up paying for aftercare for the children which in turn cancelled each other out. Cost of living was far too high and earning minimum wage of \$45000 per year was not enough to sustain a family of 4 with one of the children having to enter high school and no schools being available. We did not have a support structure as we did in South Africa	Temporary	2	Occupational Economic Social
Work	Temporary	3	Occupational

Source: RMS 2012

Indeed this is clear where RMS respondents cite a number of different reasons for return. In this analysis, the categories are first split (for example, the economic and occupational category is separated) and then listed against the applicable reasons in Table 9.4. Frequencies of each separate reason for returning are then tallied and the categories are re-joined. The result is, of all the reasons RMS respondents give for returning, 6 are economic and occupational, 6 are familial and personal and 4 are patriotic and social. Overall, non-economic factors play a greater role in this return which is in line with the return literature

generally (Chappell and Glennie 2010; Gmelch 1980; Ní Laoire 2007; Waldorf 1995).

Gmelch (1980, p. 138-139) notes,

“Most studies...report noneconomic factors as the primary reasons for return migration...Most frequently mentioned are strong family ties and the desire to be in the company of one’s own kin and long-time friends... For many...the social and cultural advantages of life in their native society outweighs the economic costs...of returning”.

Certainly social attachments to the origin country have been seen to “positively predict return migration” (Constant and Massey 2002 p. 24), particularly family ties (Chappell and Glennie 2010; De Haas and Fokkema 2011; Gmelch 1980; Ní Laoire 2007), but also family obligations (Guarnizo 1997). Morcillo-Espina et al. (2013) found their respondents returned to South Africa for similar reasons to those revealed here with family, homesickness and bringing children up in South Africa the most commonly cited reasons for return. However, economic and occupational factors were also significant among the small RMS cohort. For the temporary migrants, two of whom cite occupational reasons for returning, this reflects the trend among temporary skilled Europeans in Australia who indicated their main reasons for expecting to leave were employment related, including opportunities for promotion and better salaries (Khoo et al. 2011). However, occupational reasons were also given by two permanent RMS migrants.

Interviewees corroborated RMS data and cited both family and economic drivers for return. While *Eric* didn’t know any returnees personally, he frequently heard about people who had gone back from customers in his South African food shop. He said,

I’ve heard a lot of stories of people telling me...friends... have gone back...I’ve found the excuses, the reasons vary chronically. For me, there’s no one reason why they go back...the main ones anyway, are people come here and they find it difficult to get a job for starters...Other people will go back because of family. They didn’t realize how hard it was to leave family.

Eric

George, a Church Minister spent hours every week providing pastoral care to South Africans in his congregation and consequently he developed his own theories on why they returned. He said,

My theory on people going back...Top of my list is family...I think it's not only the family thing; it's the lack of ability to make friends...I think a second category are those who struggle with status...That

egalitarianism thing in Australia is incomprehensible to a lot of South Africans... Then the third category I found were the people with kids in high school... If the kids are younger they... move on.... If they come at uni age, they're adults... but those... who move whilst in high school... They walk in here and they're nobody and the kids struggle... And, then my fourth category would be those who really struggle, you know, "I can't do my own garden and I can't do all the washing and dishes. This is too hard".

George

A combination of push and pull factors are also evident among RMS migrants' reasons for return. Four migrants were influenced by both, three were pulled back to South Africa and one was pushed. Indeed, pull factors or "the attractions or positive attributes of the home society" are often seen to have more influence on return than factors at the destination (Gmelch 1980 p. 140). In the case of RMS migrants, the pull of family and friend networks played a role, as did the pull of work or business opportunities. Others were, arguably, pushed by a lack of opportunities, financial difficulties in Australia or a dislike of the Australian culture.

The respondent that was retrenched raises the issue of whether return migration is voluntary or forced in some cases. Most South African migrants return voluntarily, although in cases where a migrant loses their job or cannot find adequate employment, they may *feel* forced to return to networks that can support them. The exception is when a visa contingent upon employment is cancelled and migrants can be forced to leave and there is evidence that this occurs from time to time for temporary visa holders (Table 9.5). Dustmann (1996) finds migrants return deliberately when there are net benefits for them. For RMS respondents such benefits include having family and friend networks to hand and improved employment opportunities. On the other hand, costs of staying in Australia include being separated from family and friends, financial difficulties, high cost of living and cultural disconnection. Another preoccupation in the literature has been the extent to which return is the result of success or failures on the part of the migrant (Arowolo 2000; Gmelch 1980; Toren 1976). This is a problematic enquiry, not least because there are many things on which either can be judged. Suffice to say, several returnees exhibit an inability to adjust to the Australian culture, lifestyle or people and/or to find adequate employment.

Although 7 of the 11 returnees said they did not enjoy Australia, only one explicitly stated in their open-end response that they returned because of this. By contrast, of the 5.6

percent of SSAM migrants who *thought* they would one day return to South Africa, unhappiness in Australia and, in particular, a bond with South Africa were common reasons for wanting to do so. For example,

Inability to adapt and would like to die in a country I love

Respondent #71, skilled permanent, Australian citizen, migrated 1994, age 58, male

I still love the excitement and wildlife of SA, all other country's [sic] are boring compared to home

Respondent #311, permanent, New Zealand citizen, migrated 2008, age 51, male

I don't feel like I belong in Australia. South Africa is where my heart is

Respondent #493, temporary business migrant, migrated 2010, age 36, female

However, low rates of return would suggest that while ‘home’ is a strong emotional pull for South Africans, it does not outweigh their initial reasons for migration. Interestingly, the SSAM question that asked respondents why people known to them had returned to South Africa offered some alternative views not raised elsewhere in this study (Table 9.5).

Table 9.5: SSAM migrants, most common themes in the reasons why people they knew returned to South Africa

	%
Missed family and friends/ couldn't settle without family or South African networks / homesick	33.0
Couldn't adapt or settle/couldn't cope with lifestyle change (culture shock)	25.1
Financial difficulties/hardship	11.5
No domestic help in Australia	10.1
Visa complications/cancellation	10.1
Unhappy/unsatisfied (especially with Australian climate, culture, people, government, regulations etc.)	8.8
Couldn't settle socially or make friends Australia (didn't integrate)	7.5
Better work or business opportunities in South Africa	7.0
Misplaced expectations, not willing/prepared to adapt, didn't let go of the past	5.3
Couldn't find a job	4.4
Spouse or children couldn't settle	4.4
Illness/death in family or elderly parents	3.5
Better lifestyle in South Africa	2.6
Couldn't adjust to work or business environment	2.2
Marriage break up/ relationship breakdown	1.8
Loss of status in Australia	1.8
Missed Afrikaans culture or strong Afrikaans family ties	1.8
Decline in standard of living	1.8
Children still in SA	1.8
High cost of living in Australia	1.3
Discriminated against (including in workplace)(racism)	1.3

Source: SSAM 2011/2012, n=227

Indeed, SSAM respondents were remarkably candid and, at times, critical of returnees. Homesickness, missing family and friends and lack of social networks were the most common reasons they gave for why people returned (33 %). One quarter of SSAM respondents said they knew returnees who failed to adapt to the Australian way of life, while around one in ten knew people who returned due to financial difficulties. Less common reasons were marriage break ups, illness in the family and children failing to settle. Unlike RMS data, this shows family/social and economic reasons in the top three, not work/occupational reasons. Reasons for return migration that had not been flagged elsewhere included things returnees themselves may not be inclined to admit. For example, a number of returnees are reported to have left because of a lack of domestic service in Australia or due to a loss of status.

Interviewees also raised these contentious reasons for leaving. *George* has already raised the lack of domestic assistance in Australia as a reason for returning to South Africa. *Danie*, too, knew several people who had returned and spoke about a case where the spouse had failed to settle. When asked if not having domestic assistance played a role in this inability to settle, he replied, “I’m convinced there’s an element of that”. *Danie* also commented on migrants’ loss of status in Australia resulting in return. He said,

People go back because they couldn’t cope with the adjusted lifestyle. It is difficult if you live in a two, three or four million Rand house with all the mod-cons and the BMWs and everything... and you come here and you have to live in a two or three hundred thousand dollar wooden house that’s half the size... people struggle with that. It’s a psychological struggle.

Danie

Nicola also commented on return migrants’ struggling with a loss of status.

Another friend who went back...He bought a bakery, one of the franchises...and he was from one of the top private schools in Natal, which is a very old school tie sort of establishment where you do business with your friends from school...he felt like a fish out of water here because he had no history at all and no identity. A lot of people can't handle a lack of identity. Where they might have been someone there, to being absolutely nobody here with no one knowing any of your previous accolades...Some people just can't handle it.

Nicola

9.7 Motivations for initial migration

Reasons for return migration are thought to be “intimately related to the objectives set out for migrating in the first place” (Arowolo 2000 p. 63-64). Remembering that SSAM migrants were mostly influenced by personal safety and security factors, because they felt uncertain about their future and crime, it is interesting to note that 9 out of the 11 RMS migrants moved to Australia to achieve better opportunities for their children. Outwardly, seeking opportunities for children might usually preclude migrants from returning, as a study of Asian migrants in Australia found, migrants whose reasons for moving included a better future for their family were more likely to settle permanently than those who did not give this as a reason for migrating (Khoo and Mak 2000). Certainly, this may be one reason for the overall low permanent departures back to South Africa. But the majority of RMS migrants also moved because they felt uncertain about their future in South Africa (Table 9.6). Crime and personal safety and security influenced a number of them, as did political instability. Interestingly, career advancement was also a major influence, which means career influenced many RMS respondents’ initial move to Australia as well as their return, and could indicate return is selective of intensely career-focussed individuals. That said, in their open-end responses about why they migrated RMS respondents talked about the problems in South Africa.

Table 9.6: RMS respondents, influences on their decision to leave South Africa (multiple response)

	n
Better opportunities for children	9
Uncertainty about future	9
Career advancement	8
Crime	8
Political instability	8
Personal safety and security	8
Better employment opportunities	6
Lifestyle	6
Declining standard of public services	5
Opposition to government	3
Education	3
Higher income	2
High cost of living	2

Source: RMS 2012, n=11

Australia was the preferred migration destination for 10 of the 11 RMS respondents, and 8 of them were familiar with Australia having visited before for either work and/or holidays. Two thirds of returnees chose Australia because it is similar to South Africa. Just over half

had pre-arranged employment, a requirement of several visas in the migration programme, and 6 out of 7 of these arrived as temporary migrants. The Australian lifestyle appealed to just over half the respondents. However, despite Australia being the preferred destination for most RMS migrants, 6 of the 11 were actually reluctant to migrate, another two were not sure. It is noteworthy that a smaller proportion of SSAM migrants were reluctant to move or not sure (53.2 %). This suggests migrants who ultimately return to their origin were reluctantly responding to push factors in the first instance and may, therefore, be less inclined to 'make a go of it' and more susceptible to homesickness.

The literature highlights an interesting distinction between the reasons why skilled migrants return to their country of origin. A study of European migrants to Australia found most British and Western European skilled migrants who intend to return 'home' cited family reasons and homesickness. On the other hand, although their reasons for returning weren't explicitly stated, skilled migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were less likely to return (Khoo et al. 2011). The inference is that permanent skilled Southern and Eastern Europeans are less inclined to return because of the reasons for their initial migration, namely a better future for family but also push factors in the origin country. The authors concluded that if social, economic, and political conditions in their origin country improve they may be attracted back home (Khoo et al. 2011 p.564). Indeed, Chappell and Glennie (2010, p. 5) also argue,

“if the original reasons for departure diminish in importance, many would consider returning...However, the change needs to be substantive”.

Brink (2012) has previously noted from secondary data that the propensity for South African migrants to return to their origin from Australia is on par with or less likely than people who left war zones or extreme turmoil.

Overall, RMS migrants do not migrate to Australia for reasons that differ vastly from SSAM migrants, although more were influenced by economic and occupational factors. Given the predominance of push factors in South Africa, one has to ask, unless conditions in South Africa are perceived to have improved (and there is no evidence that returnees think this), why do they return? It must be that the benefits of family and social networks, lifestyle and culture or better occupational opportunities in South Africa outweigh costs in the destination or indeed risks at the origin. There is a precedent for this, too. Jamaican returnees can achieve excellent standards of living upon return, and do so, despite

returning to high levels of serious crime (Thomas-Hope 1999). In deciding whether to return the benefits clearly neutralise even potential dangers the migrant might face. Thomas-Hope (1999, p. 193) argues that if the situation in Jamaica is worse than the returnee expects there will be a “re-incentive to re-migrate” after a period (Thomas-Hope 1999 p. 193). There is evidence in this study, too, that while the motivation to go home might be strong, the reality returnees face in South Africa leads to a fresh round of emigration.

9.8 Settlement experiences in Australia before return

Clues for why migrants return can also come from understanding their settlement experiences in the destination. Theoretically speaking, the expectation is that “migrants who are satisfied with their jobs and residences in the host country are less likely to express the intention to return” (Waldorf 1995 p. 127). Two thirds of RMS migrants found migration difficult or harder than they expected it to be. By contrast, just under half the SSAM population found migration difficult or harder than they expected. Financial hardship was the thing most returnees found difficult. Adjusting to a different culture, leaving family and friends and making new friends in Australia were also difficult aspects of moving country. Importantly, financial hardship ranked behind these three factors for SSAM migrants, indicating this is a common driver of return.

Five of the 11 RMS respondents disagreed with the statement that they had experienced discrimination in South Africa, whereas one in five SSAM migrants disagreed with the same statement. On the other hand, five of the 11 RMS respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they had experienced discrimination in Australia while, again, a smaller proportion of SSAM migrants agreed. Similarly, nine of 11 return migrants said they felt like a foreigner in Australia, compared to just one quarter of SSAM migrants who felt this way. It thus seems returnees are potentially less likely than ‘stayers’ to harbour negative feelings about South Africa because of discrimination they have experienced there. At the same time, they appear to be selective of people who feel discriminated against or on the fringe of Australian society. Certainly the majority of RMS respondents identify themselves as either South African (6 respondents) or as both South African and Australian (3 respondents), whereas hybrid identities were more common among SSAM migrants. No RMS respondents identify themselves solely as Australian.

Interestingly, seven of the 11 RMS respondents agreed with the statement '*I felt welcome when I arrived in Australia*', as did a similar proportion of SSAM migrants. However, only one third agreed with the statement '*I felt accepted by the Australian community*', compared to two thirds of SSAM migrants. A slightly larger proportion of SSAM migrants also agreed that they felt integrated into Australian society than RMS migrants. De Haas and Fokkema (2011, p. 773) observed in their study of African immigrant groups in Spain and Italy,

“There is an unequivocally negative correlation between sociocultural integration and return intentions: the higher their level of sociocultural integration, the less likely the migrants were to express return intention.”

On the whole, and especially compared to SSAM migrants, fewer RMS respondents have family in Australia that might anchor them, they also identify strongly with South Africa and do not appear to feel as accepted or integrated in Australia as their SSAM counterparts.

9.9 Is return migration the end?

Ley and Kobayashi (2005, p. 113) observe while,

“return has an air of finality ...for some migrants return migration is less a final adjustment than another stage in a continuing itinerary with further movements ahead, whether unexpected or...eagerly awaited”.

Certainly, there is evidence among skilled migrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong (in Australia and Canada, respectively) that the migration process continues even after a 'permanent' return (Iredale and Guo 2001; Ley and Kobayashi 2005). Indeed, Morcillo-Espina et al. (2013) find evidence that emigration and return are part of a cycle for many South Africans. RMS results indicate return migration is also not the end of the migration process for some South Africans that have returned from Australia. No RMS respondents had been back to visit Australia since their return but, of the ten respondents who answered the question, half said they would like to move again to another country. Just four of the 11 respondents were happy with their decision to return to South Africa. The remaining respondents evenly divided between being not happy or not sure. Indeed, previous studies have found return migrants can experience disappointment or dissatisfaction upon returning home (Ní Laoire 2007). Gmelch (1980, p142-143) found, it is common for returnees to experience dissatisfaction and a “reverse culture shock” upon return to the home country. He goes on to say,

“Many migrants are ill prepared for their return. They do not realize how much they or their communities have changed during their absence...A few migrants, the extreme cases, feel they have been so changed by their migration experience that they now have more in common with people of the host society” (Gmelch p.142 – 143).

At least two RMS migrants were changed by their experience of migration to Australia. The respondent who gave their reason for return simply as ‘*I wanted to go home*’ found upon returning that their notion of home and sense of belonging had been complicated by their experience of migration. They said,

It is always difficult. You don't belong anywhere.

Respondent #3, female, aged 55, migrated to Australia in 1994, returned to South Africa in 2012

In another case, the time an RMS respondent and their family spent in Australia changed their outlook on South Africa. Having returned because of financial difficulties, cultural differences and a longing for family, this respondent reflected,

We went to Australia to make a better life...however the experience was not nice, the kids could not fit in and Australia was very expensive. The longing for family was strong, so we returned within 2 months. We have been living in RSA now for 6 months and my family wants to go back again, we miss the lifestyle and, strange enough, my family cannot adapt to the South African life anymore...I think we tasted freedom

Respondent #2, temporary skilled migrant, migrated to Australia in 2011 for two months

For some, the reality of return clearly does not meet their expectations. For a proportion of them the result is remigration. Incredibly, three respondents indicated they would migrate to Australia again. A fourth would like to return to Australia but age restrictions would likely see them move to New Zealand or the UK. Another respondent would like to move to the USA. Of the three respondents wanting to move back to Australia, two had been temporary migrants. One had their 457 visa cancelled when they lost their job during the Global Financial Crisis. The other had ostensibly migrated permanently to Australia. In fact, on several occasions during this research, participants identified migrants they knew had returned to South Africa but since come back to Australia.

Francois, director of a large migration agency in Perth only knew of two cases of return migration. He said,

Migration back; rare...But you do hear...that they go back to South Africa and then come back here. They go back, I think because they have a romantic vision or something about South Africa, the old times and the old ways and they go back then and they realize it's not the same

Francois

Harry also told an interesting story about his friends who went back to South Africa but ultimately returned. He said,

One of our close friends...he has a wife and two, young, young kiddies and they went over earlier this year to catch up with family and friends ... they were having such a good time ...he got on a plane back here by himself. She said "that's it, I'm not going back"... I think she then suddenly got to see that this is a holiday...this is not how everyday life is in Southern Africa...and then jumped on a plane and came back...and they are here now, they are not going back...but that shift needed to happen, you know

Harry

9.10 Hope and despair

This chapter has shown few South Africans ultimately do return to South Africa, and SSAM survey data found that there was a disconnect between migrants' desire to return on the one hand and the likelihood of it happening. Ten percent of SSAM respondents expressed a desire to return and a further 13.7 percent were not sure, but only 5.6 percent thought they would return. Elsewhere it has been noted that a number of South Africans would like to return (Louw and Mersham 2001), but for one reason or another they don't. As would be expected, most SSAM migrants who provided reasons for why they did not want to return cited their initial reasons for migration. Other reasons include:

- No family left in South Africa
- Financial cost of moving back prohibitive
- Perception that the situation in South Africa is worse
- Australia is home now (settled)
- Don't see a future in South Africa
- Spouse does not want to return
- Nothing to go back for
- Enjoy life in Australia

Crush et al. (2013) also found the reasons for migrating to Canada in the first place, primarily safety and security, were major reasons for not wanting to return.

So, most South Africans don't return because of what drove them to migrate in the first place, and the push nature of migration clearly leaves these migrants feeling conflicted about their country of origin and overall migration experience. Exasperation, anger, sadness and stress as well as fear and uncertainty about the situation in South Africa were evident in SSAM migrants' explanations as to why they immigrated to Australia. Yet, several SSAM migrants expressed hope that the situation in South Africa would change, allowing them to be able to return someday. In this way, migrants may be displaying their own unique take on the 'myth of return' (Guarnizo 1997 p. 1997). Most often, SSAM migrants' hopes that they might one day be able to return were expressed in their reasons for retaining South African citizenship. For example, they said:

Hopefully things would go better and then we would be able to return
**Respondent # 394, temporary skilled, now permanent, migrated
2007 age 39, female**

*I hope and pray that a sensible government will arrive soon, when we
can all go back*
**Respondent #109, skilled permanent, now Australian citizen,
migrated 2004 age 65, male**

It is part of who I am - I still hope things will change in South Africa
**Respondent #384, temporary skilled, now permanent, migrated
2008 age 35, male**

Of course, South Africans citizens are able to hold dual citizenship and a substantial proportion of SSAM migrants did so (41.9 %). By retaining South African citizenship migrants can readily return to their origin country and all RMS migrants kept their South African citizenship. Indeed, citizenship has been seen to positively select return migrants (Lowell 2002). Equally, migrants that are also citizens of the destination country can remigrate. Almost half the RMS migrants had Australian citizenship although, surprisingly, none of these migrants were among those who expressed a desire to remigrate.

9.11 Return migration theory in the South African context

Some South African return migrants arrive in Australia with the intention of settling permanently. However, they ultimately return to South Africa citing a combination of personal, social, familial and occupational reasons. Other South African return migrants arrive in Australia on temporary visas. A number of them go on to become permanent residents while others return when their visas expire. They, too, return for a range of

reasons but in both cases - temporary and permanent - pull factors in South Africa are dominant as migrants struggle to settle socially, culturally and financially. This behaviour is consistent with neoclassical economic approaches to migration which sees return occur,

“...if a migrant’s expectations for higher net earnings are not met – because of under- or unemployment, because wages are lower than expected or because the psychic costs of moving are higher than anticipated (i.e., they find they unexpectedly miss their homeland, its culture and its people)” (Constant and Massey 2002 p. 10).

This theoretical perspective thus views South African migrants as ‘failures’.

There was no evidence in this study that return migrants plan their return for an extended time beforehand. Rather, participants appear to return spontaneously when challenges in Australia become too great and/or the pull from home great enough. They return in spite of having left South Africa to achieve better opportunities for their children and because of civil, political and economic issues in South Africa including crime. Structural theoretical approaches that consider social and institutional factors in the country of origin thus appear largely redundant in this context where migrants ignore these conditions and return anyway. South Africans, therefore, do not fit the return migration typology Chappell and Glennie (2010) apply to skilled migrants, whereby return to the origin was a response to substantial improvements in economic or political conditions or the factors that motivated their initial migration have declined.

Largely absent from RMS migrants’ reasons for returning are patriotic motives. Although returnees in this study identify as South African, a minority explicitly refer to ‘home’ or their sense of belonging in South Africa in their reasons for returning, and only a few are driven to return by a desire to contribute to South Africa. As a result, the Chappell and Glennie (2010) typology of ‘belonging’ is also not applicable to this group. This is significant because both of these have been put forward to explain the return migration of skilled migrants whereas other literature on return migration has focussed on unskilled labour migration, commonly from the global South to North. Of course, South African migration tends to fit the former classification and is more suitably grouped alongside other skilled migration systems where skilled migrants move freely between countries regardless of their stage of development. For these migrants return migration might be inspired by a sense of belonging and a desire to contribute to the development of the origin or by economic and political changes in the origin country (Chappell and Glennie 2010). It

can also be motivated by homesickness or familial ties seen among British and Western European skilled migrants to Australia (Khoo et al. 2011).

South African migration to Australia has been found to be motivated more by push factors at the origin than pull factors at the destination. It is, therefore, more akin to the movement of skilled migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe (Khoo et al. 2008) or Hong Kong Chinese in the 1990s (Mak 1997; Skeldon 1994), in which they were compelled to migrate by push factors in their origin countries. These migrants are looking for new homes and return migration is therefore not commonplace. Those who return don't conform to readily espoused typologies of return. Instead, they might better be categorised as '*impulsive migrants*', pushed and pulled as they are by a variety of factors in the origin and destination. While there are a number of common influences on these migrants, even common reasons for return, they are mostly responding to their own unique set of circumstances, a unique combination of influences, when they decide to return. Taking its cue from King's (1978) description of voluntary return migrants as 'spontaneous', this term intimates the lack of long-term preparation undertaken by these migrants and hints at the emotional nature of migration to and from South Africa. Finally, the extemporaneous nature of return migration in this classification leaves room for the remigration that appears to be common among return migrants to South Africa.

9.12 Conclusion

Although the RMS sample is small and not representative it provides a valuable insight into return migration to South Africa from Australia, a topic about which little is known. The RMS highlights that returnees to South Africa are both migrants who arrive in Australia on a temporary basis and migrants with intentions to remain permanently. By and large returnees are people who arrive on Skilled not Family visas, and their reasons for migrating to Australia echo the reasons of SSAM migrants, although more RMS migrants move to Australia for economic or occupational reasons. Similarly, economic and occupational reasons are cited by a number of respondents as having influenced their decision to return. However, few returnees earn more in South Africa suggesting higher incomes are not a motivation for return. Rather, people who return for economic and occupational reasons return when they are unable to find adequate employment in Australia or their contract ends, they have better employment opportunities in South Africa, or face financial difficulties in Australia.

These reasons sit alongside family and social reasons for returning. However, it is not clear whether economic/occupation or family/social reasons are more dominant in the South African return stream. Arguably the most significant finding here is that return migration does not signal the end of the migratory process for half of the South African migrants in this study. Several anticipated returning to Australia and others were planning remigration to other destinations. One reason may be, as seen here, that returnees can be changed by their experiences of migration to Australia which leaves them in a type of limbo and makes it difficult to happily repatriate to their origin. Of course, it also reflects the new paradigm of temporary migration that facilitates temporary movement, enabling and encouraging the movement of labour around the world.

10.1 Introduction

This study has established that a complex and dynamic migration system exists between Australia and South Africa and that the dominant flow for the last half century has been from South Africa to Australia. Analyses of secondary administrative data and primary data from online surveys and semi-structured interviews have provided a valuable insight into migrants' motivations and experiences. This final chapter reviews the key findings of this research, and avenues for future research are proposed. Consideration is also given to the theoretical and policy implications of this research.

10.2 Summary of main findings

The overall aim of this study was to provide greater understanding of the movement between Australia and South Africa and to demonstrate the complexity of migration. This broad remit was separated into a series of objectives which provided a specific focus when planning the research methodology. This was achieved by adopting a mixed methods research approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative data from primary and secondary sources.

10.2.1 The Australia-South Africa migration system

This study used data from the most recent Australian Census in August 2011, and provided an up-to-date overview of the stock of South African migrants in Australia, that indicated a long-standing migration from South Africa to Australia. The number of South Africa-born in Australia has increased at every census since 1901, and by 2011 there were 145,683 South Africa-born in Australia. In numerical terms the greatest growth in this group occurred between the last two censuses, 2006 and 2011, during which time 40,000 additional South African migrants made Australia their home. Overall, 50 percent of the South Africa-born had arrived in the decade 2001 to 2011. This was a substantially greater proportion than the 31 percent of total Overseas-born arrivals during the same period. Although South Africans make up just 2.8 percent of the total Overseas-born population in Australia, they have numbered among the top ten source countries of birth for migrants in the two most recent censuses.

Flow data based on arrivals and departure cards revealed a significant and complex migration system between Australia and South Africa. Flows from South Africa consistently dominate and the largest of these is the migration of skilled people who bring their families and settle permanently in Australia. However, most of these migrants no longer arrive through the Family visa stream. Today, around 85 percent of South African arrivals in the permanent Migration Programme are Skilled visa entrants. This is in line with a broader shift in the focus of the Australian Migration Programme to skilled persons since the mid-1990s. South African settler arrivals to Australia increased year by year from then until the mid-2000s, and have declined in step with the broader trend in Australia, although this has been tempered by an increase in temporary arrivals of skilled workers and onshore transitions to permanent residency.

Permanent additions are a combination of settler arrivals with onshore transitions to permanent status, which have grown significantly since the early 2000s. Indeed, nearly half the permanent additions from South Africa are now onshore migrants, as a consequence of the increasing temporary migration from South Africa which has been driven by Business (long stay) 457 visa grants. These employer-sponsored visas permit a four-year stay in Australia but can be renewed or visa holders can apply for permanent resident status after a period of two years. During the late 2000s, South Africans comprised almost 10 percent of total 457 visa grants although recently there has been a dramatic decline in the numbers gaining entry to Australia on this visa. In part this can be explained by an overall decrease in 457 grants after the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, although the decline in South Africa-born applicants appears more severe and warrants monitoring. This study has established onshore migration is now a significant feature of South African migration to Australia (44 percent in 2013-14), however questions remain about this phenomenon. For example, having arrived on a provisional visa, to what extent is the decision to remain permanently planned or spontaneous? Certainly, for some, they intend to migrate permanently but use temporary visas to enter Australia because the process is quicker and cheaper than the permanent Migration Programme.

A large amount of movement in the Australia-South Africa migration system is short-term and includes visits in both directions for holidays and business. Visitor arrivals to Australia from South Africa have increased significantly in the last decade but comprise only around 2 percent of the total visitor arrivals. South African arrivals are often undertaking strategic

'*Look, See, Decide*' trips, colloquially known as 'LSD trips'. The latter are essentially reconnaissance undertaken by potential emigrants who are considering settling in Australia. SSAM data showed more than half the survey respondents had visited Australia before migrating, with 13 percent explicitly stating they came to *Look, See, Decide*. This practice points to the significant personal resources many South African migrants have that they can afford these trips before committing to migration. It also shows how seriously South African migrants take the decision to migrate. The gravitas given to this decision is emblematic of the permanent nature of this migration and ensures return migration rates are low among this group.

Indirect migration from South Africa to Australia through New Zealand is another important flow; a significant finding from this study. These were first revealed through secondary data that showed South Africa-born persons are the top country of birth of New Zealand citizens in Australia (excluding people born in New Zealand, the UK, Australia and other countries in the Oceanic zone). Having obtained New Zealand citizenship, these migrants can move to Australia where they automatically have the right to live and work. Again, there are questions around whether indirect migration is a deliberate strategy for migrants who find it easier to gain entry to New Zealand. From the SSAM survey, only one respondent explicitly stated their move to New Zealand was the first step to coming to Australia. However, a further six of the 19 indirect migrants said Australia was their preferred migration destination, showing the move to New Zealand was part of a broader strategy to end up in Australia for around one third of indirect migrants.

Movements from Australia to South Africa are considerably smaller in scale, but just as complex, as they incorporate a range of different mobilities. The largest of these are short-term resident departures and visitor departures (departing for less than 12 months). These have both grown sharply since the early 1990s as stocks of the South Africa-born have built up in Australia, connections between the two countries have strengthened and become more affordable as the cost of air travel and technology have reduced. Short-term resident departures grew from 8,101 in 1991-92 to 92,000 in 2014-15, with the main reason for travel for holidays and to visit family and friends. Permanent departures from Australia to South Africa are a much smaller flow, with 6,214 people emigrating between 1991-92 and 2013-14. More of them were Australia-born than South Africa-born or people from other birthplaces. Of particular interest, the majority of South Africa-born permanent departures

from Australia do not travel back to their country of birth but move on to a third country, chiefly New Zealand, UK and USA.

Although there is no substitute for birthplace data when it comes to identifying migrant groups at a given destination, there is a strong argument to be made for including persons with a 'migration history' in studies such as this. This is especially pertinent in the case of countries like South Africa and other former colonial African countries that previously received large numbers of migrants from Europe. Often these people have spent most, if not all, their lives in Africa and identify themselves accordingly. Using birthplace data alone can therefore under enumerate migrants from South Africa. The participants in the survey were allowed subjective interpretations of the term 'South African', and did not have to be born in South Africa. In this way, if people identified as South African they were entitled to participate, providing they met other criteria. The result was that 84 percent of respondents were born in South Africa but 6 percent were born in Zimbabwe, 4 percent in the UK and a further 4 percent in other Southern African countries. In other words, around 15 percent of respondents considered themselves South African migrants despite not being born there. These data highlight the unique connections and reciprocity between and within Britain and now former British colonies. It also strengthens the case for considering migrant histories in studies like this one.

10.2.2 Key characteristics of South African migrants in Australia

At the 2011 Census, more than a third of South Africa-born in Australia were aged between 35 and 54 years, with a median age of 39 years, only slightly more than the median age of the total Australian population (37 years) and less than the Overseas-born population (45 years). Indeed, South Africans in Australia are relatively young, not even one in ten were aged over 65 and there was only a gradual ageing of this cohort compared to the Overseas-born and the total Australian population. Two thirds of the SSAM respondents moved between the ages of 30 and 45, bringing with them considerable labour market experience. This is a significant benefit for Australia, particularly given their high labour force participation and that they are highly educated and skilled. It is especially beneficial, as the SSAM survey showed, that more than three quarters of respondents obtained their highest qualification in South Africa before migrating.

South Africans are overwhelmingly represented in New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia; each home to around a quarter of the South Africa-born population. Factors that affect where migrants live are the location of family members or people with the same ethnic background, the point of entry into the country, the economic attractiveness of the destination in terms of employment opportunities, and certain visa conditions (ABS 2012a). Around half the visas issued to South Africans since 2000 went to entrants sponsored either by an employer or state government. In these cases, employment, labour market and visa conditions, for both permanent and temporary visas, are likely to dictate migrants' initial settlement location. On the other hand, independent migrants can settle where they choose. Migration literature recognizes migrant networks can have a channelling effect whereby later migrants are channelled into geographical areas where migrants have settled before them (Massey 2006; Massey et al. 1994; Meyer 2001). There seems little doubt that this is occurring among South Africans in Australia given their distribution around Australia. Certainly, more than half the SSAM respondents had family or friends in Australia prior to migrating, and half of these migrants said their decision to migrate was influenced by these people.

Previous studies (Abdurahman 1974; Hugo 2009a; Jakubowicz 2010; Kennedy 2001; Kler 2006; Lucas et al. 2006; Visser 2004), have found that migrants from South Africa are predominantly White. This population group is divided along cultural lines, namely British descendants who speak English and Afrikaans-speaking peoples, descended from Dutch, German, French and Portuguese colonials. It has been widely recorded over the years that most migrants from South Africa to Australia are English-speakers (Abdurahman 1974; Hugo 2009a; Jakubowicz 2010; Kennedy 2001; Kler 2006; Lucas et al. 2006; Visser 2004), and this is evident in secondary data presented here. However, this study has identified a noteworthy shift away from a homogenous group of White, English-speakers towards a more ethnically diverse population. Most notably, there has been a doubling in the number of Afrikaans-speakers in Australia between the two most recent censuses, from 15,092 to 31,834 persons. Indeed, Afrikaans-speakers made up 21.6 percent of the South Africa-born population at the 2011 Census, compared to 14.5 percent in 2006 with the corresponding decrease seen in English-speakers.

Language and ancestry data also show growth, albeit slow, in the stocks of other population groups from South Africa. Although there are still very few Zulu-speakers in Australia, this group grew by 46 percent between 2006 and 2011. Speakers of other official

South African languages – Xhosa, Tswana, Ndebele - which are indigenous languages and signify Black migration, are also very small in number but showing signs of growth. Gujarati-speakers - Indian South Africans - are also on the rise. Ancestry data showed the long-observed history of Jewish migration from South Africa to Australia (Arnold 2011; Tatz et al. 2007). The proportion of South Africa-born citing Jewish ancestry trebled between the last two censuses, while Hebrew-speakers grew by 2.6 percent. Of course, South African migrants in Australia are not representative of the population in their origin and are unlikely to be any time soon. Nevertheless, the increasing ethnic diversity among this group is a major finding here.

10.2.3 Drivers of migration from South Africa to Australia

The broader literature on South African migration was useful for identifying specific waves of migration with several authors linking them to domestic, mostly political, events in South Africa's history (Arnold 2011; Davidson 2006; Kaplan 1997; Louw and Mersham 2001). This study showed the impact of such events on settler arrivals, with a significant rise in the number of settler arrivals in Australia after each political event. These events were classified as 'triggering factors' for migration which occur alongside broader social, political and economic drivers of migration. In the South African context, the security situation is an overwhelming driver of migration but SSAM migrants' responses revealed a broad range of motivations for migration which could be summarised as five main issues:

- Crime and violence
- Better opportunities for children
- Employment related motivations
- Political instability
- Discrimination

Each of these issues is complex and they reflect contemporary South Africa; the product of a troubled and turbulent past. Besides a desire to secure better opportunities for children – arguably a motivation for many migrants coming to Australia – the internal situation in South Africa is clearly a critical push factor behind emigration, which confirms the conclusions of previous studies (Khawaja and Mason 2008; Louw and Mersham 2001; Rule 1994; Van Rooyen 2000). In fact, the top six responses to the reasons for migration revealed socio-political factors. However, economic factors such as better employment opportunities and career advancement do play a role. Rather, economic factors are a necessary but are not a sufficient condition or prime reason for migration.

An interesting finding is the role discrimination plays as an influence on migration from South Africa to Australia. The SSAM survey identified three types of discrimination indicated by migrants. In the first instance they talked about discrimination under the apartheid regime. The second type of discrimination came at the end of apartheid when the ANC implemented affirmative action. These policies have been cited before as reasons for migration to Australia (Brink 2012; Van Rooyen 2000; Visser 2004) and other destinations (Crush et al. 2013; Trlin 2010). However migrants also referred to general discrimination against White South Africans. Whether real or perceived, these three forms of discrimination are clearly an important motivator for migration. It is not for this study to judge if discrimination is occurring or not, only to record that respondents *feel* discriminated against which influences their decision to move. South African emigration is inherently racialised, even if one only considers that it is dominated by one population group. Unfortunate as it is, it must be mindfully and sensitively acknowledged that race plays a role in driving this migration.

The motivation for migration from South Africa does not appear to have varied dramatically over time. From the SSAM survey it was found crime, safety and security were still major drivers among earlier migrants, although not as highly ranked as for later migrants. However, political instability and opposition to government were more highly ranked influences for pre-1991 migrants than later migrants, and these are likely to relate directly to apartheid. In examining the responses of non-White SSAM respondents their reasons were similar to those given by White respondents, although the small number from other population groups means that results should be viewed with caution. The top reasons indicated for non-White migrants were to move for better opportunities for children and education, which ranked higher than for White migrants. This suggests that non-White South Africans do have a different set of priorities when undertaking migration to Australia. However, only subtle differences were detected between the reasons for migration of English and Afrikaans-speakers, which had much larger samples.

It must be noted that the top three reasons for migrating are the same for both permanent and temporary migrants. In fact, reasons that might automatically be associated with temporary migration - work, career, employment, education – did not feature as highly as security related reasons. This may imply that these migrants had a permanent move in mind when they left South Africa, and the propensity to transition from permanent to temporary status has been shown in both primary and secondary data. Among SSAM

respondents, more than three quarters of them (nearly half the study population), had become permanent residents by the time they completed the survey.

The SSAM survey also indicated that on the whole South Africans choose to move to Australia for environmental rather than economic factors. Most are attracted to Australia's lifestyle and because they perceive it to be similar to South Africa, while others come for peace or the climate. In any case, there is little reason to think they choose Australia for reasons that are unique over other English-speaking countries. The obvious exception is where people have pre-existing connections with Australia through family and friends already living there. The survey confirmed the presence of substantial social networks between migrants and non-migrants in the Australia-South Africa migration system and there is evidence that these influence and facilitate migration from South Africa, as predicted by network theory (Boyd 1989; Massey et al. 1998; Massey et al. 1994). Half of the respondents had friends or family already in Australia, mostly relatives outside their immediate family. They were also found to be influenced to migrate by these networks, and more than half were actively supported by the information they supplied, their advice and emotional support.

10.2.4 The settlement experiences of South African migrants in Australia

The survey found that South African migrants are divided on how they view their overall migration experience, with around one third finding it easy, while almost half found it difficult. This is surprising in light of the perception that South Africans settle easily and integrate quickly in Australia, especially if the extensive preparation many migrants undertake and the pre-existing connections they have with Australia. Despite these factors, almost half of the respondents found migration harder than they expected, while around one third found it matched their expectations. In fact, it was found that first-hand experience does not necessarily prepare migrants for the challenges of migration, given that half the respondents who had previously visited Australia still described their experience as harder than they expected. On the other hand, there appears to be a relationship between migrants' pre-existing networks in Australia and ease of migration, as around 40 percent of migrants with networks already in Australia said migration was easy. Conversely, more than half the migrants with no connections in Australia found migration difficult.

The survey data (SSAM) and semi-structured interviews highlighted a number of difficulties South Africans face when they come to Australia. These included finding jobs, marriage breakdowns, social isolation and loss of social standing. Overall, a key finding is that the things they found most difficult are not easily prepared for. For example, three quarters of respondents found the wrench from family and friends the most difficult aspect of their migration, and being able to make new friends at the destination was also seen as difficult, as was adjusting to a different culture. Coping with a different language was not deemed a problem by South Africans, though it is a major difficulty faced by other migrant groups coming to Australia (Burnett 1998; Ip et al. 1998 p. 83).

Employment is seen to be crucial for the successful settlement of migrants (Richardson et al. 2002b), and other studies have linked higher levels of human capital among migrants to superior employment outcomes (Ho and Alcorso 2004). The SSAM survey established that South African migrants in Australia are highly educated, have a strong command of English and employed largely in professional and management jobs. Based on these human capital attributes they generally perform well in the labour market and, indeed, are a substantial and productive part of the Australian labour force. However, this study showed entry to the labour market is also not without its challenges, as a quarter of respondents claimed finding a job was difficult, while the interviews highlighted other employment-related challenges, including issues of skills recognition and downward job mobility.

Migration is never an easy process and South African migrants are no exception to its inherent challenges. To counter the hardships, around one quarter of SSAM respondents turned to religious organisations for support, with some also relying on expatriate groups. These organisations bring migrants together to support one another in practical and emotional ways, particularly new arrivals. Indeed, major benefits of associating with people who share your background and experiences are the opportunity to feel understood and a sense of belonging. However, the overwhelming majority of SSAM respondents were satisfied with their lives in Australia, especially those who had been there longer. Nearly 90 percent were happy with their decision to migrate, men more so than women despite suggestions by some interview participants that men struggle to settle more than women. Interestingly, slightly higher proportions of Afrikaans migrants were satisfied with life in Australia compared to English-speakers and happier with their decision to migrate. This runs counter to what might be expected from a group with its own language and unique cultural heritage.

An explanation for the overall high levels of satisfaction is evident in the things migrants find most enjoyable about Australia. Nearly all surveyed migrants listed safety as the thing they enjoyed most in Australia. Safety relates directly back to the main driver of migration from South Africa. Other reasons for migrating - uncertainty about the future and crime – also appear to have been dealt with through migration with a high proportion of migrants enjoying the lifestyle, peace and better opportunities in Australia. By these measures, South African migration can be considered successful.

It was found that two thirds of SSAM respondents felt integrated in Australian society but this is not reflected in secondary data which shows that the proportion of South Africa-born who were Australian citizens was smaller than many other Overseas-born groups. One explanation may be that migrants from English-speaking countries are socially integrated in Australian society and so forgo citizenship (Khoo et al. 1994). By contrast, citizens most likely to take up citizenship are those unable or unlikely to return to their origin because of political, social or economic conditions, such as refugee groups (Khoo et al. 1994). Given the push factors that drive migration from South Africa and the low propensity for return, their comparatively low rate of citizenship seems an anomaly. However, SSAM data showed it is simply that many South Africans had recently arrived and did not qualify for citizenship. Of the permanent SSAM migrants surveyed, more than half were Australian citizens but of the respondents who were not yet citizens a high proportion intended to do so (86.4 %). Thus, for the newly arrived there is dissonance between their desire or intention to take-up Australian citizenship and their ability to do so.

The survey also illuminated reasons why the South Africa-born become Australian citizens, while census data can only count those who have done so. Overall their motives varied but were primarily intangible, emotional reasons based on their sense of home and a desire to be part of Australia, to integrate and belong. Some respondents wanted to ‘give back’ to Australia, others felt Australian citizenship provided security and stability as well as a better future. The SSAM respondents had mixed attitudes towards dual citizenship. Most had South African citizenship at some point (84.5 %), and three quarters of them retained it post-settlement in Australia. Almost half of them also acquired Australian citizenship, so becoming dual citizens. Significantly, the most common reason for keeping South African citizenship was because they were not yet eligible for Australian citizenship, and they were divided on whether they would keep South African citizenship once they were. Some wanted to cut formal ties with South Africa because they did not intend to

return, others identified as Australian or viewed Australia as their new home. Those who retained South African citizenship consciously kept it because of connections they maintain with South Africa: family and friends still in South Africa, South African identity, travel back to and financial links with South Africa.

The SSAM survey found that four out of ten migrants have a hybrid identity that is both South African and Australian, with fewer migrants identifying solely as South African and or just as Australian. Most importantly, migrants identified less with South Africa the longer they had resided in Australia, while only half the temporary migrants surveyed identified as South African, showing an early commitment to Australia despite being in Australia on a provisional basis. In fact, one third of temporary migrants identified as both South African and Australian. While a handful of SSAM respondents felt they were *South African Australians* or *citizens of the world* they do not typically subscribe to “cosmopolitan” identities observed in other highly skilled migrants around the world (Parker 2012).

10.2.5 Linkages with South Africa

It was found that linkages migrants maintain with South Africa are primarily social and based on connections with family and friends. Indeed, nearly all SSAM respondents communicate regularly with family and friends still in South Africa and they rely heavily on newer online forms of communication such as email, Facebook and Skype. Starting with the research design of this study, the Internet has repeatedly been shown here to be an important tool in the lives of contemporary South African migrants. Although most migrants stay in touch with South Africa for personal reasons, around 12 percent connect for both personal and business reasons.

Regular trips ‘home’ are recognised in the literature as an important way migrants retain linkages with their origin country (Hugo et al. 2003; Voigt-Graf 2005). Almost three quarters of SSAM respondents had travelled back to South Africa since migrating, more than half of them doing so more than twice. A significant finding has been the way a number of South Africans continue to be involved in the lives of family members left behind. A number of SSAM respondents travelled back to attend important family milestones, others returned to undertake family obligations such as caring for elderly or ill parents or for unspecified family emergencies. As well as strong interpersonal connections,

the survey showed that despite being a largely permanent migration, a number of South African migrants maintain financial linkages with South Africa. In fact, around one third of them reported they maintain financial investments, mostly retirement annuities, property, superannuation and insurance funds or stocks and bonds.

More than one third of SSAM respondents sent remittances to South Africa, although a considerably smaller proportion of remitters than among other migrant groups in Australia, it is nevertheless significant because South African migrants comprise a highly educated and skilled group. Such migrants are not usually thought to be behind substantial remittance flows because the families they leave behind are better off and require less financial support (Hugo 2011a). The SSAM survey showed remitters were mainly recent arrivals. Although longer-term migrants did not seem to be strong remitters these data should be treated with caution due to the small sample of long-term arrivals. For the same reasons, data on migrant ethnicity and remittances should be treated as preliminary. Still, it is interesting to note that half the non-White respondents remit compared to a third of White respondents, and more Afrikaans-speakers than English-speakers remit, which suggests there may be different remitting practices among different ethnic groups.

The political links South Africans in Australia maintain with their origin were not canvassed in the SSAM survey. Suffice to say other sources provide evidence that a minority among the South African diaspora remain politically engaged with their origin through elections and, occasionally, other activities such as protest and lobbying.

10.2.6 Return migration

Through secondary data analysis it was found that permanent departures to South Africa are small compared with arrivals from South Africa, and also the extent of South Africa-born permanent departures to other destinations. Moreover, most permanent departures to South Africa are either Australia-born or born in countries other than South Africa. Return migrants have for the most part comprised less than 30 percent of South Africa-born permanent departures. The remainder are leaving for other destinations and some of them are likely a function of the global contemporary movement of highly skilled labour, as South Africa-born departures are mostly professionals and managers. Departures are also aged in the middle to later working years, with few at retirement age.

The Return Migrant Survey, specifically aimed at South Africans who had returned to their origin country from Australia, had a low response rate as it struggled to locate returnees in the field. Nevertheless, it provides insightful preliminary data into this phenomenon. In total there were only 11 respondents to the RMS, of these three arrived in Australia on visas that allowed them to settle permanently. The remaining temporary respondents mainly arrived on Skilled or Business visas. The single Family entrant is consistent with findings that migrants sponsored by relatives in Australia are more likely to settle on a permanent basis (Khoo and Mak 2000). Interestingly, four of the temporary arrivals had transitioned to permanent resident status; three were Australian citizens while a fourth had lived in Australia for 18 years. In fact, five of the 11 returnees had obtained Australian citizenship, which shows citizenship does not automatically mean migrants will stay permanently in their new country.

The majority of RMS respondents had lived in Australia for more than 5 years (5 respondents), which is consistent with secondary data that showed 71.3 percent of departures had lived in Australia more than 5 years (DIAC 2011b). Although there is a view (Constant and Massey 2002; Dustmann 1996; Hugo 2006a) that the longer a migrant stays in the destination country the less chance they will undertake return migration, this is not necessarily the case for RMS returnees. RMS respondents' age at return ranged from late 30s to mid-50s, providing little evidence of strong retirement migration among this group, also supported by secondary data and by the family structure of RMS returnees; mostly families with children.

The majority of RMS respondents moved to Australia to achieve better opportunities for their children. While this might outwardly seem to preclude migrants from returning (Khoo and Mak 2000 p. 6), it didn't in the case of these migrants, although it may explain the overall low rate of return. Besides this reason, RMS migrants do not migrate to Australia for reasons that differ vastly from SSAM migrants, with crime, safety and security also influencing most of them. More RMS migrants, however, were influenced by economic and occupational factors including career advancement. This means career influenced many RMS respondents' initial move to Australia as well as their return, and could indicate return is selective of intensely career-focussed individuals. Still, the problems in South Africa were commonly raised in their open-end responses about why they migrated.

Most migrants indicated they simply did not enjoy living in Australia, while lifestyle was the next most common reason for return. Work or business-related factors were also a common influence on the decision to return, and were corroborated by interview participants who cited both family and economic drivers for return. These data raise more questions about this return migration in light of the widespread view that non-economic factors generally play a bigger role than economic factors in return migration (Glaser and Habers 1974; Gmelch 1980; Waldorf 1995). Again push and pull factors are also evident among RMS migrants' reasons for return, with the pull of family and friend networks and the pull of work or business opportunities playing a role for some, while others were, arguably, pushed by a lack of opportunities, financial difficulties in Australia or a dislike of the Australian culture. Most South African migrants return voluntarily except in cases where they lose their jobs and visa conditions force their return. However, low rates of return would suggest that while 'home' is a strong emotional pull for South Africans, it does not outweigh their initial reasons for migration.

RMS results indicate return migration is not the end of the migration process for some South Africans, with just four RMS respondents happy with their decision to return to South Africa, while the remainder indicated remigration was a likely option for them. Indeed, it seems the reality of return clearly does not meet all returnees' expectations. Incredibly, three respondents indicated they would migrate to Australia again; two more were looking to move elsewhere.

10.3 Theoretical implications

10.3.1 Compatible approaches?

Migration between Australia and South Africa as a system comprising multiple movements has been adopted here. The mobilities in this system are defined not just by the direction of movement but also by the length of stay at destination and even by movements that may precede them. Conceptualising migration holistically in this way rejects traditional, dichotomous understandings of migration that view it as unidirectional or as polarised as either permanent or temporary, internal or international, legal or illegal and so on (King 2002). Rather the approach taken here recognises the complex and dynamic reality of contemporary migration.

It must be noted that few of the mobilities identified in the system stand as streams separate from those around it, rather they interact as migrants' transition between them. For example, temporary migrants transfer to permanent status, permanent migrants visit their origin country as well as receive overseas visitors in Australia, while others return permanently or move to a third destination. The ongoing interactions, networks and links that migrants maintain across borders form the underpinnings of transnational migration theory (Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Vertovec 1999), thus the early identification of a migration system between Australia and South Africa provided strong justification for the adoption of a transnational framework in this study.

The term *system* was consciously used because it simultaneously implies structure and regularity and at the same time denotes complexity. It clearly also reflects the work of Hugo (2008) on which the model of this system was based. However, there are also echoes here of *Systems Approaches* to migration (Arango 2004; Fawcett 1989; Kritz and Zlotnik 1992). These approaches conceptualise a migration system,

“as a network of countries linked by migration interactions whose dynamics are largely shaped by the functioning of a variety of networks linking migration actors at different levels of aggregation” (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992 p.15).

The approach has typically considered groups of countries (Arango 2004; Kritz and Zlotnik 1992), whereas the system here involves just two. However, other elements of the approach resonate strongly with the Australia-South Africa system. Firstly, and most critical, is how a systems approach considers the “spectrum” of movements, thereby highlighting different types of flows and the interactions between them (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992 p.15). Secondly, systems approaches value the ways institutional and migrant networks channel and sustain migration within a system (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992). At their core, both transnational and systems theories focus on ties between sending and receiving countries and their value for explaining elements of the South Africa-Australia migration has been observed before (Arnold 2011; Visser 2004). Once again this study highlights parallels between systems approaches and transnational perspectives on migration and would suggest there is a complementarity that should be pursued in studies in the future.

10.3.2 Transnational conceptualisations of migration

This study considered what constitutes transnational behaviour or linkages within a given migration system and concluded that while links have been around in one form or another for as long as people have moved homes, transnationalism occurs where there is a heightened intensity of linkages between the origin and destination countries resulting in regular and sustained practices (Portes et al. 1999; Vertovec 2004b). By this definition, the social and cultural activities of South African migrants in Australia certainly qualify as transnational. These links are widespread and frequently undertaken to include regular personal and some business contact with people in South Africa and frequent return trips. By contrast economic and political ties are not as strong and, as a result, may not qualify them as transnational migrants (Castles and Miller 2009). Therefore, this study makes a strong argument for the transnational activities of migrants not to be viewed in silos. After all, when all the links identified in this study are considered together, it is difficult to ignore the transnational spaces many (though not all) South African migrants clearly occupy.

It appears much of the social interaction between South African migrants and their origin is conducted on an interpersonal level and therefore not institutional, as described elsewhere (Bauböck 2003; Itzigsohn 2000; Itzigsohn et al. 1999). Remittance-sending, too, occurs at a household level and tends to be performed out of familial obligation and altruism. Arguably the only institutionalised connections occur through charitable organisations and churches or, on a national level, when migrants vote in South African elections, both of which are rare. On one level, it is easy to understand the value placed in more institutionalised behaviours as they are easier to identify and quantify. They are also more likely to have a perceptible impact on the sending and receiving countries, either at a national or community level. This study has questioned whether this is fair to migrants for whom social ties are arguably more beneficial than they are at a community or national level. Although South African transnational practice is largely family-centric, these social and emotional linkages with the origin should not be discounted in conceptualisations of transnationalism. In fact, these linkages are just as valuable as those that have wider economic or political consequences in the origin or destination countries, particularly for migrants themselves.

The South African case is also evidence that greater consideration must be given to the transnational activities migrants undertake *within* the destination country, as Phillip and Ho (2010) found in New Zealand. Not all transnational activities cross borders or involve direct contact with South Africa, as cultural practices undertaken within Australia allow migrants to bond with their origin and with fellow migrants with whom they may share cultural, religious or ethnic backgrounds. This study identified a number of these types of links including shopping, reading news and magazines, watching TV and film, attending South African performances and socialising with expatriate South Africans. These activities don't span borders but nevertheless allow migrants to connect with their origin through social and cultural practices. For South Africans, such activities allow them to hold on to their heritage which further enhances their transnational status. Transnational theories need to make room for these types of activities in their conceptualisations of transnational behaviour.

There is considerable debate in the literature on transnationalism surrounding the role of technology. Much of the discussion centres on the degree to which technology either drives or produces contemporary transnational practice (Dunn 2005; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Portes et al. 1999). The survey highlights the relationship between technology and transnationalism but does not conclusively elucidate the nature of it. South African migrants do not just use technology to connect with South Africa, they rely on it for very frequent personal communication. Even though emotional attachments or family obligations drive this communication it could *not* occur at the *rate* it does without the technology advances. Therefore it is not clear if technology just supports transnationalism or actually generates linkages. There is undoubtedly greater diversity in the communication tools available today which leads one to think technology is, indeed, producing new linkages. Financial linkages are less driven by technology and probably more so by love, obligation and nostalgia.

An interesting conclusion in this study relates to categorisations of South African migrants as skilled migrants. Broadly defined as migrants "in the possession of a degree or extensive specialised work experience" (Vertovec 2002 p.2), there is no doubt that many South African migrants are indeed skilled migrants. But their reasons for migration and desire for a new home set them quite apart from the hyper-mobile skilled migrants that have increasingly been the focus of migration studies. The latter are more likely to undertake movement that is "intermittent and short-term" (Vertovec 2002 p.2). Of course, skilled

migration includes a “great diversity of empirical cases” (Freitas et al. 2012), and this study shows that while South African migration to Australia is largely undertaken by skilled persons it is not necessarily driven by economic motives. This study shows an altogether different set of reasons for the migration of individuals who happen to be highly skilled.

10.3.3 Reflections on migration theory in the South Africa-Australia context

This study found there is little explanatory value in migration theories that view migration in economic terms, at least for understanding migration from South Africa to Australia. This migration does not fit the standard neo-classical economic model which assumes a difference in wages and employment conditions between sending and receiving countries and results in people moving from low-wage to high-wage countries in order for individuals to maximise income. Neo-classical economics theory has also been critiqued in the context of South African migration due to its inability to account for migration between two developed countries and because its ‘rational actor’ perspective fails to account for situations when migrants are forced to move (Visser 2004). It has been argued here that while they may feel pushed, South Africans ultimately choose to move and have the means to do so; they are certainly not forced. Indeed, any cost-benefit analysis undertaken by these migrants is more likely to weigh up security-related, rather than monetary, risks versus gain.

Segmented labour market theory also does little to explain migration from South Africa to Australia, though it does at least draw attention to labour markets. In South Africa, since the end of apartheid, there have been major changes in the labour market structure with the introduction of labour policies aimed at increasing the participation of Black South Africans in the workforce. For some South African migrants these changes have been a trigger for migration, for others they have contributed to their general feeling of uncertainty, a common reason for migrating. These policies have also been linked here to feelings of being discriminated against, a factor in some migrants’ decision to migrate. Elements of the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory can be more usefully applied to understanding South African migration to Australia (Arnold 2011; Visser 2004), because it shifts the unit of analysis from the individual to the family/household (Stark and Bloom 1985). Survey and interview data highlight that it is the family unit, in particular a desire to protect it and expose it to the best possible environment that is at the core of why

South Africans emigrate. In this sense these migrants strategize as a family unit and elements of NELM may offer some explanatory insight into the migration process.

However, migration theories based on economic factors, overall, have little resonance in the case of South African migration to Australia. Although employment opportunities in Australia do attract some South Africans these are by no means a major driver of this migration. In fact, South Africans are primarily driven to migrate by socio-political factors in South Africa. Theories that focus less on economic factors and more on social and historical factors are therefore more pertinent to understanding this movement. Network theories, for example, posit that networks both influence and facilitate migration (Boyd 1989; Massey et al. 1998; Massey et al. 1994). Massey et al. (1998) found the probability of international migration was likely to be greater for people related to someone with migration experience or already living overseas. The likelihood of movement was also thought to increase with the closeness of the relationship (Massey et al. 1998 p.56).

This study outlines the extensive networks that exist among South African migrants in Australia and the ways in which these networks serve to influence and support migration. Previous studies have also acknowledged that network theories are useful in understanding migration from South Africa to Australia (Arnold 2011). The extensive practice of *Look, See, Decide* travel is further evidence of the considerable interaction South Africans have with Australia before they migrate. Indeed, there is a keen sense that prospective or potential migrants in South Africa are embedded in Australia through their connections with people and travel even before they arrive as migrants. It has thus been argued that transnational theories are also eminently suitable for understanding South African migration to Australia.

10.4 Policy implications

International migration has a significant effect on the political, social, and economic environment in Australia (Sanderson 2009). With its migration programme firmly focussed on bringing skilled migrants to the country, Australia, like other developed nations with ageing populations, is seeking to fill skill shortages. In today's globalised world, Australia competes for these skills with other countries and is clearly a major beneficiary of migration from South Africa. In addition to being highly skilled, the majority of South African arrivals are young to middle aged and therefore of prime working age, typically

with some years work experience in their field prior to emigration. Moreover, they have received their education and training in South Africa at South Africa's expense. Besides the administrative costs of processing their visas, Australia, contributes few resources to the settlement of this and other skilled migrant groups. Indeed, skilled migrants are thought to be less costly to the government than migrants from other streams because they bring more resources with them and are less likely to access welfare (Khoo 2002). To more fully realise the productive potential of South African migrants in Australia and ensure greater levels of well-being, the government should consider greater engagement with them when they arrive.

Although there are undoubtedly migrants in Australia more in need than the South Africa-born, migration is seldom an easy process. It is undoubtedly a concern that one third of SSAM respondents did not use any support services at all upon arrival in Australia, while those that did sought assistance through religious and expatriate organisations. Given that the aspects of migration South Africans found most difficult to deal with were things that are difficult to plan and prepare for, chiefly the wrench from family and friends, and establishing new networks in Australia, programmes based on social engagement could prove useful to counter these difficulties. For example, reception and orientation programmes that include socialisation with members of the host population could be one way of providing support to migrants who suffer profound emotional loss when they leave behind old support networks. At the same time, some South African migrants had problems finding employment, particularly employment commensurate with their level of skill and experience. Employment services focussing on these sorts of issues may go some way to alleviate the difficulties and emotional strain around them. These sorts of settlement policies are likely to pay dividends in the form of more thoroughly settled and adjusted migrants.

At the same time as Australia recruits and settles these skilled migrants they must manage, at times, conflicting needs and obligations. Visser (2004) notes that research needs to focus on the role that the Australian immigration policy plays in the increased number of South Africans coming to Australia. Britain has received criticism for "poaching" teachers from South Africa (Lowell 2002 p. 10). Canada has also been accused of doing the same with doctors (Grant 2006). Indeed, there are serious ethical considerations for all countries who receive migrants from countries with limited resources experiencing a brain drain. The loss of professional and technical skills from South Africa has been well documented (Ellis

2008; Marks 2006; McDonald and Crush 2002a; Meyer et al. 2000; Polonsky et al. 1989; Rule 1994), and there is a degree of consensus in the literature that this has had a negative impact on South Africa (Crush et al. 2013). Hawthorne (2012) has previously considered the ethical questions raised by Australia accepting doctors from countries experiencing brain drain and notes that they can take steps to slow the rate of emigration through skills recognition barriers (Hawthorne 2012b). Australia has indeed done this and it is imperative Australia continues in this vein, closely monitoring the impact of policies on sending countries and taking steps where necessary to mitigate any negative effects. Hugo (2008) has noted before that the global competition for skills necessitates moral as well as economic judgements in the pursuit of policies that are beneficial to sending and receiving countries, as well as migrants.

10.5 Recommendations for future research

A major priority for future research on South African migration to Australia and elsewhere is the inclusion of groups other than White. The SSAM survey showed that non-White South African migrants have a different set of priorities when undertaking migration to Australia, but the small sample make it difficult to compare. More work needs to be done to locate Black, Coloured, Indian and Asian South Africans so the motivations for moving, settlement and other migration experiences can be understood between different ethnicities. Although it has been firmly established that migration from South Africa is predominantly made up of White South Africans, it is crucial that the views and experiences of others form the basis of future research, particularly as secondary data shows growth in Black African migration to Australia. This growth is likely to continue in the future making ongoing research more pertinent.

Over the last two decades, temporary migration has been an integral part of Australia's immigration landscape and an element of a more hyper-mobile global migration context. For these reasons alone the processes of temporary migration and the experiences of temporary migrants on various temporary visas need to be better understood. This study has shown there is a high propensity for temporary South African migrants in Australia to transition to permanent status but little is understood about the mechanisms behind this transition (Hugo 2006b). In the South African migration context questions remain around the extent of this practice, as well as who and why. More robust empirical data must be brought to bear on the pre-migration intentions of these migrants, among other topics. In

particular there is a need to hear from these migrants about their experiences, an outcome the survey instrumentation used here did not fully realise.

Data presented here on linkages migrants maintain with South Africa have really only started the discussion. There is much more to know about the social, political and economic links these migrants keep. To single out a particularly interesting avenue for future research, SSAM data revealed around a third of migrants send remittances to South Africa. This is, arguably, a surprising result for a skilled migrant group. More work is needed to understand the extent of and motivations for remittance-sending. In particular, it would be useful to know more about who receives monies so that this practice and its impacts can be better understood. Return migration should also form the basis of future research, as the survey data presented here was an excellent starting point but there is a need for a more wholesale and systematic surveying of the return migrant population in South Africa, indeed a study focussed entirely on this migration stream. This was simply not possible in this PhD context, where time and resource constraints were prohibitive. Future studies need to confirm whether economic/occupation or family/social reasons are more dominant in the South African return stream. Similarly, this study showed return migration does not signal the end of the migratory process for some returnees, several of whom anticipated returning to Australia or remigrating to other destinations.

Finally, comparative studies are crucial to understand the Australian experience within the context of global movements of South Africans. More work should be done to compare and contrast the experiences of South Africans in various nodes of the diaspora. Indeed, the notion that this migrant group even forms a diaspora is open to debate and should be taken up at a future time.

10.6 Conclusion

This study provides a timely and comprehensive overview of migration between Australia and South Africa and fills several key gaps in the literature. In the first instance it adds to the considerable literature on different migrant groups in Australia among whom South African migrants have previously received only limited attention. At the same time, it updates the existing literature on migration between South Africa to Australia to include changes in the type and scale of this migration at a time of technological improvements, as well as changes in the characteristics of migrants. South African immigration to Australia

is no longer the reserve of White, English-speakers who travel to Australia just once when they settle there. South Africans today interact with Australia long before they migrate and maintain links with South Africa long after they have left. Technological advances that facilitate this are important to recognise in this study, as there have been rapid changes between it and earlier studies. Suffice to say this study captures the new realities of migration between Australia and South Africa.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Survey of South African Migrants



South African migrants in Australia



Please complete the following **survey questionnaire** only if:

- You migrated to Australia after *1960*, and
- You were the **Primary Applicant** on your visa or the **spouse/partner** of the primary applicant

Mark boxes with a tick

MIGRATION DETAILS

This section asks about your stream of entry and connections with Australia before migrating

A.1 What year did you migrate to Australia? _____

A.2 How old were you when you migrated? _____

A.3 What is your current visa status?

Temporary

Permanent

A.4 On which visa did you gain entry to Australia?

Skilled

Family

Business

Humanitarian

Student

Other, please specify _____

A.5 Did you migrate on your own or with others?

On own

Family

Others, please specify _____

B.1.a Did you have any family or friends already living in Australia before you migrated here?

- YES
NO *go to C.1.a*

B.1.b Please state your relationship with the people you knew in Australia
(*you may tick more than one*)

- Spouse/partner
Children
Parent
Sibling
Other relative/s
Colleague
Friend
Other, please specify _____

B.2.a Did any of these people influence your decision to migrate here?

- YES
NO *go to B.3.a*

B.2.b Who influenced your decision?

B.2.c Please explain how they influenced your decision

B.3.a Did any of these people actively support your settlement in Australia?

- YES
NO *go to C.1.a*

B.3.b Please indicate the ways in which you were supported (*you may tick more than one*)

- Finding accommodation/housing
Acquiring furniture
Acquiring food and clothes
Finding employment
Information and advice
Transport
Social introductions
Financial support
Emotional support
Other, please specify _____

C.1.a Had you been to Australia before you migrated? YES
NO go to D.1.a

C.1.b How many times? _____

C.1.c What was the reason for your most recent visit?

- Holiday
- Business
- Work
- Study
- Visit family or friends
- Other, please specify _____

C.1.d How long was your most recent visit? ___ Weeks ___ Months ___ Years

MOTIVATIONS FOR MIGRATION

This section examines your decision to leave South Africa

D.1.a Please explain your reasons for emigrating

D.1.b Did any of the following influence your decision?

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| Better employment opportunities | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Career advancement | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Higher income | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Crime | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| High cost of living | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Political instability | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Family reunion | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Personal safety and security | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Declining standard of public services | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Better opportunities for children | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Lifestyle | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marriage/ partnership | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Education | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D.2 Were you reluctant to leave South Africa? YES
NO
NOT SURE

E.1 Why did you choose to migrate to Australia? (you may tick more than one)

- Family already in Australia
- Similar to South Africa
- Employment opportunities
- Pre-arranged employment
- Democracy
- Freedom of Speech
- Peace
- Lifestyle
- Climate
- Culture
- Affordability
- Other, please specify _____

E.2.a Was Australia your preferred destination once you had decided to leave South Africa?

- YES go to E.3
NO

E.2.b What was your preferred destination? _____

E.2.c Why didn't you move there? _____

E.3 Are you happy with your decision to migrate to Australia? YES
NO
NOT SURE

SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES

This section examines your settlement in Australia, citizenship, and your feelings about identity

F.1 Please indicate how your overall migration experience has been (circle number)

Very Negative Negative Neutral Positive Very Positive
1-----2-----3-----4-----5

F.2 How easy has the migration experience been for you?

- Very Easy
- Easy
- Neither
- Difficult
- Very difficult

F.3 How did this experience match your expectations of migration?

- It was easier than I expected
- It was the same as I expected
- It was harder than I expected
- I don't know

F.4 What were the most difficult aspects of migration for you? (you may tick more than one)

- Adjusting to a different culture
- Leaving family and friends
- Settling children into new schools
- Making friends
- Finding employment
- Different language
- Financial hardship
- Other, please specify _____

F.5 What support services did you use when you arrived in Australia? (you may tick more than one)

- None
- South African group/club/organisation
- Voluntary welfare agency
- Religious organisation
- Community group
- Migrant resource centre
- Employment agency
- Counselling services
- South African Embassy
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship
- Centrelink
- Medicare
- Australian Taxation Office
- Other government agency, please specify _____

G.1 Please indicate below the most enjoyable things about living in Australia

- Environment
- People
- Climate
- Lifestyle
- Peace
- Safety
- Better opportunities
- Access to services and facilities
- Lower cost of living
- Employment conditions
- Education system
- Healthcare system
- Close to family
- Other, please specify _____

H.1 Please indicate your satisfaction with life in Australia (circle number)

Very Satisfied Dissatisfied Unsure Satisfied Very dissatisfied
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

H.2 Please indicate how you feel about the following statements (place a tick in appropriate box)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I felt welcome when I arrived in Australia					
I feel accepted by the Australian community					
I have experienced discrimination in South Africa					
I have experienced discrimination in Australia					
I feel I have integrated into Australian society					
I feel like a foreigner in Australia					

I.1.a Are you an Australian citizen? YES go to I.2.a
 NO

I.1.b Do you intend to become an Australian citizen? YES
 NO
 NOT SURE

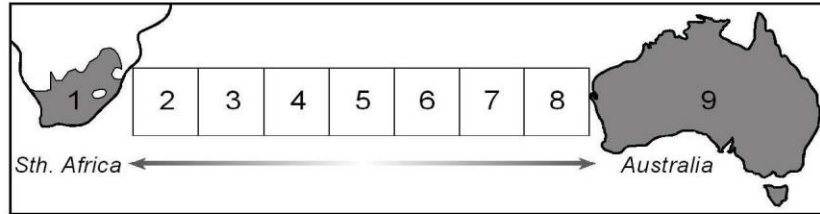
I.1.c Please give reasons

I.2 How do you identify yourself?
 Australian
 South African
 Both
 Other, please specify _____ go to I.3

I.2.b Please indicate the number that best represents your identity on the scale below
(circle appropriate number)

Note:

The closer the number is to either country, the more you identify with this country.
Consider 1 represents a wholly South African identity and 9 a wholly Australian identity.



I.3 Please provide further comments on your settlement in Australia, particularly your thoughts about *identity* and *citizenship*

LINKAGES WITH SOUTH AFRICA

This section examines any connections you may still have with your country of origin

J.1.a Did you have South African Citizenship? YES
NO go to J.2.a

J.1.b Have you kept your South African Citizenship? YES
NO

J.1.c Why?

J.2.a Have you been back to South Africa since migrating to Australia? YES
NO go to J.3

J.2.b How many times have you been back? _____

J.2.c What was the reason for your most recent trip back?

- Holiday
- Business
- Work
- Study
- Visit family or friends
- Other, please specify _____

J.3 Which forms of contact do you maintain with South Africa? (you may tick more than one)

- Read South African news or magazines
- Watch South African films or television
- Access South African forums on-line
- Skills networks
- Alumni connections
- Purchase imported South African food
- Listen to music from South Africa
- Follow South African personalities and sports teams
- None
- Other, please specify _____

J.4.a Do you communicate with people still in South Africa? YES
NO go to K.1

J.4.b Please indicate how often you communicate by the following?

	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Yearly	Never
Telephone						
Mail						
Email						
Skype or Similar						
Facebook or similar						

J.4.c What is the main purpose of this contact?

- Personal
- Business
- Both
- Other, Please specify _____

K.1.a Do you send money back to South Africa (remittances)? YES
NO *go to L.1.a*

K.1.b Who do you send money to?

- Spouse/partner
- Children
- Parent
- Sibling
- Other relatives
- Friends
- Other, please specify _____

K.1.c Please estimate how much you send per month? \$ _____

K.1.d What is the money used for?

- Food and clothes
- Rent
- Education
- Healthcare
- Investment
- Other, please specify _____

L.1.a Do you have any financial investments in South Africa? (e.g business, stocks and bonds, etc)

YES
NO *go to L.2.a*

L.1.b Please specify the type of investment _____

L.2.a Do you own any property in South Africa?

YES
NO *go to L.3.a*

L.2.b What types of property?

- Private
- Commercial
- Other, please specify _____

L.3.a Have you supported any charity organisations or projects in South Africa since moving to Australia?

- YES
 NO *go to M.1.a*

L.3.b Please indicate how frequently you have contributed the following

	One-off donation	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Never
Monetary donation					
Skills or technical assistance					
Donations of goods or materials					

Other, please provide details _____

M.1.a Are you a member of any South African groups/clubs/organisations in Australia?

- YES
 NO *go to M.2.a*

M.1.b Which South African groups/clubs/organisations in Australia do you belong to?

M.2.a Are you a member of any other groups/clubs/organisations in Australia?
 (e.g. social, charity, religious, sports, etc).

- YES
 NO *go to M.3*

M.2.b Please provide details of the type of group(s)

M.3 Who do you most often socialise with?

- South Africans
 Australians
 Roughly equal of both
 Neither
 Other, please specify _____

RETURN MIGRATION

This section discusses the likelihood of you returning to South Africa and whether you know of others who have already returned

N.1 Do you have any desire to return permanently to South Africa? YES
NO
NOT SURE

N.2.a Do you think you will return permanently to South Africa in the future? YES
NO

Please give reasons

N.2.b If YES to N.2.a, please indicate what you plan to do upon your return to South Africa

N.2.c If NO to N.2.a, what would have to happen for you to return?

N.3 If you have children, do you think they are likely to want to return to South Africa? YES
NO
UNDECIDED

O.1.a Do you know any South Africans who have left Australia and returned permanently to South Africa? YES
NO go to P.1.a

O.1.b As far as you know, what were their reasons for returning?

Please provide email addresses for these return migrants if you think they would like to contribute to this research

Email 1). _____

Email 2). _____

Email 3). _____

P.1.a Do you have any desire to move permanently to a third destination? YES
NO go to P.2.b

P.1.b If YES, please state your desired third destination country _____

P.2.a Do you know of any South Africans who have left Australia to live in a different country?
YES
NO go to Q.1

P.2.b Please specify which country they re-located to _____

TEMPORARY MIGRANTS ONLY ANSWER THIS SECTION – PERMANENT MIGRANTS GO TO R.1

Q.2.a Before you left South Africa, did you intend to apply for permanent residency upon arrival in Australia?
YES
NO
NOT SURE

Q.2.b Since arriving in Australia have you applied or will you apply for permanent residency?

I have already applied
I intend to apply
I will not be applying
I am not sure

Q.2.c If you have not yet applied or do not intend to apply for permanent residency in Australia, what is your next intended move?

I intend to apply
Move to another country
Please state which country _____
Not sure

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

This section asks for important information about you and your household

R.1 Age _____

R.1 Sex MALE / FEMALE

S.1 Place of Birth _____

S.2 Ancestry _____

S.3 Which of the following categories from the South African Census best describes your ancestry?

- Black African
- Coloured
- Indian
- Asian
- White

S.4.a Which of South Africa's eleven official languages do you speak at home?

- English
- Setswana
- Afrikaans
- Ndebele
- Zulu
- Swati
- Xhosa
- Sepedi
- Sesotho
- Xitsonga
- Tshivenda
- Other _____

S.4.b Which of these is your first language? _____

S.5 Religion

T.1 State or Territory of residence in Australia _____

T.2 Province where you lived in South Africa before emigrating _____

U.1 What is your current family/ household situation?

- Single person household
- Couple only household
- Couple with children under 5 years
- Couple with children all ages
- One parent with children under 5 years
- One parent with children all ages
- Some other group of related individuals
- Two or more unrelated individuals
- Other, please specify _____

U.2 What is your current housing tenure?

- Home owner
- Purchasing home
- Renting
- Government/ Public housing
- Other, please specify _____

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

This section focuses on any education and training you have had and your current employment status

V.1 What is your highest completed educational qualification?

- High school/secondary school
- Technical College
- Traineeship/cadetship
- Undergraduate diploma
- Undergraduate degree
- Honours degree
- Postgraduate degree
- Masters
- PhD

V.2 In which country did you complete your highest level of education?

V.3 In what field did your train or study?

W.1 What is your current employment status?

- Employed full-time
- Employed part-time
- Self-employed
- Unemployed
- Retired
- Student

W.2 Is your job

- Permanent
- Contract

W.3 What is your main occupation? _____

W.4.a What industry are you employed in? _____

W.4.b Did you work in a similar job/industry in South Africa? YES
NO

Please provide details

W.5 What is your current annual income?

- Less than \$25,000
- \$25,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$74,999
- \$75,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$124,999
- \$125,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 - \$174,999
- \$175,000 - \$199,999
- \$200,000 or more

W.6 Is this more or less than you were earning in South Africa

- More
- Less
- Same

X.1 Do you still consider South Africa your home? YES
NO
UNDECIDED

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH

If you know of any other South Africans who may be willing to complete a questionnaire please provide their email address here

1). _____

2). _____

3). _____

Please provide any further comments or suggestions you feel may be useful for this study

Appendix 2: Eligibility criteria on survey introduction page

<p>SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRANTS TO AUSTRALIA</p> <p>PARTICIPANT INFORMATION PAGE</p> <p>My name is Romy Wasserman and I am a PhD student in the department of Geography, Environment and Population at the University of Adelaide.</p> <p>I am currently undertaking research into the motivations and experiences of South African migrants in Australia.</p> <p>In particular, I would like to know:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Who has migrated and when?- What has motivated people to leave South Africa and migrate to Australia?- What have been the settlement experiences of South African migrants?- What links, if any, do people maintain with South Africa?- How do migrants identify themselves after their migration experience?- Do migrants anticipate returning to South Africa?- Would they consider moving to a third country? <p>Please help me learn more about these issues by completing this on-line survey. You are eligible to participate if you were the primary applicant on your visa application or their spouse/partner.</p> <p>Participation in this research is voluntary and completion of this survey will be considered your consent to be part of the study.</p> <p>You will not be identifiable by your responses to the questions asked here. If you do provide information by which you may be identified (for example, an email address) this information will be considered confidential and will remain with the researcher.</p> <p>The survey takes approximately 20 minutes to complete. Please take this time to consider the questions and answer them as best you can. You do not have to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable with.</p> <p>Your input will contribute greatly to our understanding of migration.</p> <p>As a migrant, I long to understand more about this process and I am grateful to you for taking the time to participate in my study.</p> <p>Should you require more information or have any questions about this study, please contact me at romy.wasserman@adelaide.edu.au</p> <p>Interviews are also being conducted as part of this study. Please indicate your interest in participating further by sending me an email. Similarly, if you would like a summary of the results of</p>	<p>this research at its completion please send an email.</p> <p>Any concerns you wish to raise about this research should be directed to Professor Graeme Hugo at graeme.hugo@adelaide.edu.au or phone (08) 8303 5646</p> <p>***In order to progress through this survey, please use the following navigation buttons***</p> <p>Click the Next button to continue to the next page Click the Previous button to return to the previous page Click the Exit the Survey Early button if you need to exit the survey Click the Submit button to submit your survey.</p>
--	---

Appendix 3: Email to prospective survey participants

Dear South African migrant in Australia,

Please tell me your story!

My name is Romy and I'm doing a PhD at the University of Adelaide. My research focus is on migration between South Africa and Australia. In particular, my project looks at migrants' motivations, settlement experiences, linkages with South Africa and feelings about citizenship and identity.

Part of the data collection for this study is by way of an online survey. The survey can be accessed at this link <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/SATOAUSSURVEY>

If you are a South African migrant living in Australia please help me learn more about this topic by completing a survey. Both permanent and temporary migrants are eligible to participate. Participation is anonymous; you will not be identifiable by your responses.

Thank you in advance for taking the time to fill out a survey. Your input will go a long way to helping us understand migration and the experiences of South African migrants in particular.

Any questions about this research are welcome and should be emailed to romy.wasserman@adelaide.edu.au

Many thanks,

Romy

PS. Don't forget to forward this link to other South Africans who might like to contribute to this study.

Appendix 4: Articles with survey link

Article published in SAbona Magazine, South Africans in Perth website, Africa Club newsletter

A call to South African migrants living in Australia – tell your story

Migration is a complex and dynamic part of life. It presents some of the greatest challenges and the most fulfilling rewards a person can face.

In Australia, international migration has played an important role in the history of the nation as well as its social, cultural and economic make-up. This is highlighted by statistics that show half the Australian population at any one time are migrants or the child of migrants. Unsurprisingly given this context there is a notable amount of research on immigration to Australia looking in depth at the phenomena and a range of related issues. What is perhaps surprising is that in all this research the South African migrants' story has largely been left untold.

Yet this migration is important. The number of South Africans moving to Australia has shown consistent growth over the last few decades. This growing population of South Africans in Australia is significant for both the sending and receiving countries and it stands to reason that this migrant group should be better understood.

This is one reason why I have chosen to do a PhD on migration between South Africa and Australia. Another reason is that as a migrant myself I am fascinated by the process.

My name is Romy Wasserman and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Adelaide. I am currently undertaking research into migration between South Africa and Australia. In particular my project looks at migrants' motivations, settlement experiences and feelings about citizenship and identity. Part of the data collection for this study is by way of an online survey I have designed.

If you are a South African migrant living in Australia please help me to learn more about these issues by filling out a survey [here](#) or at the link below. Both permanent and temporary migrants are eligible to participate. Your participation is anonymous; you will not be identifiable by your responses.

My aim is to collect 400+ surveys and capture as diverse a range of views and experiences as I can. Please do not underestimate the importance of your contribution. Your input will go a long way to helping us understand migration and the experiences of South African migrants to Australia in particular.

[CLICK HERE TO COMPLETE THE SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRANT SURVEY](#)

Thank you for taking the time to fill out a survey and don't forget to forward this link to other South Africans who might like to contribute to the study!

Any questions about this research are welcome and should be emailed to romy.wasserman@adelaide.edu.au

Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) and Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC)

Have you returned home from Australia? Tell your story.

Migration is a complex and dynamic part of life. It presents some of the greatest challenges and the most fulfilling rewards a person can face. In the process we learn about ourselves and the people around us.

While there is a great deal of anecdotal information, little is known about migration between South Africa and Australia. It is an area that is under-researched and yet it is an important migration system for both countries.

An important element of this migration is South Africans who return home from Australia. If this is you or you know of someone who has “gone home” please consider participating in my research by completing a survey or forwarding the survey link to a returnee.

My name is Romy Wasserman and I am a PhD student at the University of Adelaide. I am undertaking research into migration between South Africa and Australia. I am particularly interested in migrants’ motivations, settlement experiences, linkages with South Africa and thoughts on citizenship and identity.

Part of the data collection for this study involves an online survey aimed at South Africans who migrated to Australia but have since returned home to South Africa permanently.

People who migrated to Australia on either a permanent or temporary basis can participate. More details can be found on the first page of the survey. It is important to note your responses in this survey are anonymous.

You can fill out a survey by clicking [here](#). Alternatively, the address below can be copied or typed into an email or browser address bar.

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/RETURNCONNECT>

The more surveys collected, the more diverse the views and experiences and the richer the data. Your input will go a long way to helping us understand migration and the experiences of South African migrants to Australia in particular. Do not underestimate the importance of your contribution.

Thank you for taking the time to fill out a survey and don’t forget to forward this link to other South Africans who have “gone home” and may like to contribute to the study!

Any questions about this research are welcome; please email romy.wasserman@adelaide.edu.au

Appendix 5: Return Migrant Survey



Return migrants to South Africa



Please complete the following **survey questionnaire** only if:

- You migrated to Australia after *1960*, and
- You were the **Primary Applicant** on your visa **or** the **spouse/partner** of the primary applicant, and
- You have since returned to live in South Africa permanently

Mark boxes with a tick

MIGRATION DETAILS

This section asks about your stream of entry and connections with Australia before migrating

A.1 What year did you migrate to Australia? _____

A.2 How many years did you live in Australia? _____

A.3 On what visa class did you gain entry to Australia?

Skilled

Family

Business

Humanitarian

Student

Other, please specify _____

A.4 Did you migrate on your own or with others?

On own?

Family?

Others, please specify _____

B.1.a Did you have any family or friends already living in Australia before you migrated there?

- YES
NO *go to C.1.a*

B.1.b Please state your relationship with the people you knew in Australia
(*you may tick more than one*)

- Spouse/partner
Children
Parent
Sibling
Other relative/s
Colleague
Friend
Other, please specify _____

B.2.a Did any of these people influence your decision to migrate to Australia?

- YES
NO *go to B.3.a*

B.2.b Who influenced your decision?

B.2.c Please explain how they influenced your decision

B.3.a Did any of these people actively support your settlement in Australia?

- YES
NO *go to C.1.a*

B.3.b Please indicate the ways in which you were supported (*you may tick more than one*)

- Finding accommodation/housing
Acquiring furniture
Acquiring food and clothes
Finding employment
Information and advice
Transport
Social introductions
Financial support
Emotional support
Other, please specify _____

C.1.a Had you been to Australia before you migrated there? YES
NO go to D.1.a

C.1.b How many times? _____

C.1.c What was the reason for your most recent visit before migrating there?

- Holiday
- Business
- Work
- Study
- Visit family or friends
- Other, please specify _____

C.1.d How long was this visit? ___ Weeks ___ Months ___ Years

MOTIVATIONS FOR MIGRATION

This section examines your decision to leave South Africa

D.1.a Please explain your reasons for emigrating

D.1.b Did any of the following influence your decision?

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| Better employment opportunities | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Career advancement | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Higher income | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Crime | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| High cost of living | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Political instability | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Family reunion | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Personal safety and security | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Declining standard of public services | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Better opportunities for children | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Lifestyle | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marriage/ partnership | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Education | YES | <input type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D.2 Were you reluctant to leave South Africa? YES
NO
NOT SURE

E.1 Why did you choose to migrate to Australia? (*you may tick more than one*)

- Family already in Australia
- Similar to South Africa
- Employment opportunities
- Pre-arranged employment
- Democracy
- Freedom of Speech
- Peace
- Lifestyle
- Climate
- Culture
- Affordability
- Other, please specify _____

E.2.a Was Australia your preferred destination once you had decided to leave South Africa?

- YES *go to E.3*
NO

E.2.b What was your preferred destination? _____

E.2.c Why didn't you move there? _____

E.3 Were you happy with your decision to migrate to Australia? YES
NO
NOT SURE

SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES

This section examines your settlement in Australia, citizenship, and your feelings about identity

F.1 Please indicate how you found your overall migration experience to Australia (*circle number*)

Very Negative Negative Neutral Positive Very Positive
1-----2-----3-----4-----5

F.2 How easy was the migration experience for you?

- Very Easy
- Easy
- Neither
- Difficult
- Very difficult

F.3 How did this experience match your expectations of migration?

- It was easier than I expected
- It was the same as I expected
- It was harder than I expected
- I don't know

F.4 What were the most difficult aspects of migration for you? (you may tick more than one)

- Adjusting to a different culture
- Leaving family and friends
- Settling children into new schools
- Making friends
- Finding employment
- Different language
- Financial hardship
- Other, please specify _____

F.5 What support services did you use when you arrived in Australia? (you may tick more than one)

- None
- South African group/club/organisation
- Voluntary welfare agency
- Religious organisation
- Community group
- Migrant resource centre
- Employment agency
- Counselling services
- South African Embassy
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship
- Centrelink
- Medicare
- Australian Taxation Office
- Other government agency, please specify _____

G.1 What did you enjoy the most about living in Australia?

- Environment
- People
- Climate
- Lifestyle
- Peace
- Safety
- Better opportunities
- Access to services and facilities
- Lower cost of living
- Employment conditions
- Education system
- Healthcare system
- Close to family
- Other, please specify _____

H.1 Please indicate your satisfaction with the life you had in Australia (*circle number*)

Very Satisfied *Dissatisfied* *Unsure* *Satisfied* *Very dissatisfied*
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

H.2 Please indicate how you feel about the following statements (*place a tick in appropriate box*)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I felt welcome when I arrived in Australia					
I felt accepted by the Australian community					
I have experienced discrimination in South Africa					
I have experienced discrimination in Australia					
I felt I integrated into Australian society					
I felt like a foreigner in Australia					

I.1 Are you a South African Citizen?

YES
NO

I.2.a Did you become an Australian citizen?

YES go to I.2.a
NO

I.2.b Please give reasons

I.3 If you are also the citizen of another country, please state which one _____

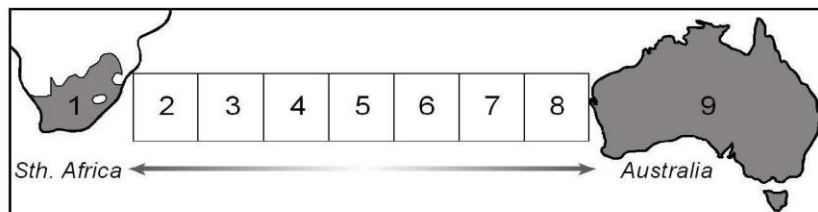
J.1 How do you identify yourself?

Australian
 South African
 Both
 Other, please specify _____ go to J.3

J.2 Please indicate the number that best represents your identity on the scale below
(circle appropriate number)

Note:

The closer the number is to either country, the more you identify with this country.
Consider 1 represents a wholly South African identity and 9 a wholly Australian identity.



J.3 Please provide further comments on your experiences of migration and return migration

LINKAGES MAINTAINED WITH AUSTRALIA

This section examines any connections you may have kept with Australia

K.1.a Have you been back to Australia since you left? YES
NO go to K.2

K.1.b How many times have you been back? _____

K.1.c What was the reason for your most recent trip back?

- Holiday
- Business
- Work
- Study
- Visit family or friends
- Other, please specify _____

K.2 Which forms of contact do you maintain with Australia? *(you may tick more than one)*

- Read Australian news or magazines
- Watch Australian films or television
- Access Australian forums on-line
- Skills networks
- Alumni connections
- Purchase imported Australian food
- Listen to music from South Africa
- Follow Australian personalities and sports teams
- None
- Other, please specify _____

K.3 Do you still communicate with people in Australia? YES
 NO *go to L.1.a*

K.3.b Please indicate how often you communicate by the following? *(tick the appropriate box)*

	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Yearly	Never
Telephone						
Mail						
Email						
Skype or Similar						
Facebook or similar						

K.3.c What is the main purpose of this contact?

- Personal
- Business
- Both
- Other, Please specify _____

L.1.a Do you have any financial investments in Australia? (e.g business, stocks and bonds, etc)

YES
NO *go to L.2.a*

L.1.b Please specify the type of investment _____

L.2.a Do you own any property in Australia?

YES
NO *go to L.3.a*

L.2.b What types of property?

Private
Commercial
Other, please specify _____

RETURN MIGRATION

This section discusses your return to South Africa and whether you know others who have also returned

N.1 What year did you return to South Africa? _____

N.2 Did you move directly back to South Africa or did you move elsewhere first?

Directly to South Africa *go to N.4*
Elsewhere before South Africa

N.3 Please indicate where you moved before going back to South Africa and reasons for this move

N.4 Why did you return to South Africa?

To be with family
Pursue business opportunities
Better employment opportunities
To contribute to South Africa
Did not like living in Australia
Other, please specify _____

N.5 Will you stay in South Africa or move again in the future?

Stay
Move
Not sure

O.1.a Do you know any other South Africans who have left Australia and returned permanently to South Africa?

YES
NO *go to Q.1*

O.1.b As far as you know, what were their reasons for returning?

Please provide email addresses for these return migrants if you think they would like to contribute to this research.

Email 1). _____

Email 2). _____

Email 3). _____

P.1 Are you happy with your decision to return to South Africa? YES
NO
NOT SURE

P.2 Please indicate your satisfaction with life in South Africa (*circle number*)

Very Satisfied Dissatisfied Unsure Satisfied Very dissatisfied
1-----2-----3-----4-----5

P.3 What is the most enjoyable thing about living back in South Africa?
(*you may tick more than one*)

- Environment
- People
- Climate
- Lifestyle
- Peace
- Safety
- Better opportunities
- Access to services and facilities
- Lower cost of living
- Employment conditions
- Education system
- Healthcare system
- Close to family
- Other, please specify _____

Q.1.a Do you have any desire to move again to another country? YES
NO go to R.1

Q.1.b Which country? _____

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

This section asks for important information about you and your household

R.1 Age _____

R.2 Sex MALE / FEMALE

S.1 Place of Birth _____

S.2 Ancestry _____

S.3 Which of the following categories from the South African Census best describes your ancestry?

- Black African
- Coloured
- Indian
- Asian
- White

S.4.a Which of South Africa's eleven official languages do you speak at home?

- English
- Setswana
- Afrikaans
- Ndebele
- Zulu
- Swati
- Xhosa
- Sepedi
- Sesotho
- Xitsonga
- Tshivenda
- Other _____

S.4.b Which of these is your first language? _____

S.5 Religion

W.1 What is your current employment status?

- Employed full-time
- Employed part-time
- Self-employed
- Unemployed
- Retired
- Student

W.2 Is your job

- Permanent
- Contract

W.3 What is your main occupation? _____

W.4.a What industry are you employed in? _____

W.4.b Did you work in a similar job/industry in Australia? YES
NO

Please provide details

W.5 What is your current annual income?
(Please equate to Australian dollars)

- Less than \$25,000
- \$25,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$74,999
- \$75,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$124,999
- \$125,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 - \$174,999
- \$175,000 - \$199,999
- \$200,000 or more

W.6 Is this more or less than you were earning in Australia

- More
- Less
- Same

Appendix 6: Email (example) to prospective interview participant

On 12/10/2011, at 17:16, "Romy Wasserman" <romy.wasserman@adelaide.edu.au> wrote:

> Dear [REDACTED]

My name is Romy Wasserman and I am currently undertaking a PhD at the University of Adelaide under the supervision of Professor Graeme Hugo. My topic is on migration between South Africa and Australia.

Part of this research involves a series of semi-structured interviews with South African migrants and key stakeholders in the community.

I would be very pleased if you would agree to being interviewed to discuss this migration, South Africans in business, and relations between the two. Your insights as a respected business leader would be most valuable to this research.

Your participation can be anonymous, in which case you will not be identifiable in the writing up of this research. The interview would last approximately one hour.

I will be travelling to Perth to conduct interviews between November 29 and December 1. If you agree, perhaps we can meet on November 30 at a time that suits you?

I am happy to travel to your place of business to conduct the interview.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Romy

Romy Wasserman
PhD Candidate
Geography, Environment and Population
The University of Adelaide, AUSTRALIA 5005
e-mail: romy.wasserman@adelaide.edu.au

> CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

Appendix 7: Interview schedules

Stakeholder schedule



Key informants – South African migration



Stakeholder interview schedule

Key themes

- STAKEHOLDER INTEREST OR CONNECTION WITH TOPIC
- REASONS FOR MIGRATION
- SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANTS
- RETURN MIGRATION
- COSTS AND BENEFITS OF MIGRATION

STAKEHOLDER INTEREST OR CONNECTION WITH TOPIC

- 1) First, can you confirm if you are a migrant and tell me a little bit about your migration experience?
 - What year did you migrate to Australia?
 - What is your current visa status?
 - On what visa class did you gain entry to Australia?
 - Did you migrate on your own or with family?
 - Had you been to Australia before you moved here permanently?
 - Were you reluctant to leave South Africa?
 - Have you kept South African citizenship?
 - How do you identify yourself? Australian? South African? Other?
 - Do you socialise with South Africans, Australians, both?
 - What links do you maintain with South Africa?
 - Do you have any desire to return to South Africa?
- 2) Can you please tell me about your company and the work you do?
- 3) Through your business, what have you come to know about migration between Australia and South Africa? Trends? Migrant characteristics? etc
- 4) Are any particular skills or qualification sought in South African migrants? Could you comment on the dominant skills or attributes these migrants have?
- 5) Are South Africans sought out specifically by Employers? What feedback have you had from employers?
- 6) Do you know what role the South African government may play in encouraging or discouraging South Africans to migrate?
- 7) Can you comment on how emigrants are viewed in South Africa?

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

- 8) What do you perceive to be the main reason/s South Africans emigrate? What are the factors that contribute to this migration?
- 9) Do you think South Africans are reluctant or willing migrants?
- 10) Why do you feel Australia is an attractive destination for South Africans? What benefits does Australia have over other locations?
- 11) To what extent do you feel South African migration to Australia is influenced by Australia's migration policies and programs?

SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANTS

- 12) How well do you think South African migrants settle in Australia?
- 13) How well do you feel South African immigrants integrate into Australian society?
- 14) How do you think South Africans are viewed by Australia
- 15) There is a high rate of Australian citizenship take-up by South African migrants, why do you think this is?

RETURN MIGRATION

- 16) There is a degree of return migration for permanent residents. Why do you think some South Africans return to their origin country?

COSTS AND BENEFITS OF MIGRATION

- 17) In what ways do you think South African migrants contribute to South Australia/Australia?
- 18) What does emigration mean for South Africa?
- 19) There has been an increase in the number of temporary migrants from South Africa to Australia in recent years. What do you see as being the major implications of this change?

GENERAL

- 20) What do you see as the key characteristics of these migrants? Is there a distinctive cultural identity you have come to know in your role dealing with this migration?
- 21) Is there anyone else you feel I should talk to for this research?



South African migrants residing in South Australia



SURVEY – Interview schedule

MIGRATION DETAILS

- 1) What year did you migrate to Australia?
- 2) What is your current visa Status?
- 3) On what visa class did you gain entry to Australia?
- 4) Did you migrate on your own or with family?
- 5) Have any of your children been born in Australia?
- 6) Did you have any friends or family in Australia before you migrated?
- 7) Had you been to Australia before you moved here permanently?

MOTIVATIONS

- 8) What were your reasons for emigrating from South Africa?
- 9) Why did you choose to migrate to Australia?
- 10) Were you reluctant to leave South Africa?

SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES

- 11) How was the migration experience for you?
- 12) How has your settling experience in Australia been?
- 13) What have been the costs and benefits of migrating for you and your family?
- 14) Did you feel welcome in Australia upon arrival?
- 15) Do you feel accepted by the Australian community?
- 16) How would you rate the services made available to newly arrived migrants by the Australian government?
- 17) What more could be done by the government for newly arrived migrants?
- 18) Have you become an Australian citizen?
- 19) Do you intend to become an Australian citizen?

20) Do you identify yourself as South African or Australian or both?

LINKAGES WITH SOUTH AFRICA

21) Have you also kept your South African Citizenship? Why?

22) Have you been back to South Africa since you moved to Australia? What were the reasons for this travel?

23) Are you a member of any South African groups or clubs?

24) Do you maintain other contact with South Africa?
(ie, read news or magazines, on-line forums, skills networks, purchase imported South African foods?)

25) Do you socialise with other South Africans?

26) Do you socialise more with South Africans or Australians?

RETURN MIGRATION

27) Do you have any desire to return to South Africa?

28) Do you think you will return to South Africa to live again? Why and when?

29) Do you think your children are likely to want to return to South Africa?

30) Do you know of any South Africans who have returned permanently to South Africa?

27) Do you know of any South Africans who have left Australia to live in a different country?

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

28) Age:

29) Ancestry:

30) Languages spoken:

31) Religion:

32) Occupation:

33) Place of Birth:

If you know of any other South Africans who may be willing to participate please provide me with their contact details.

Would you like to be informed of the research findings?

YES/NO

If YES, please provide your email address _____

Appendix 8: Participant information sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



Survey of South African migrants to Australia

My name is Romy Wasserman and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Adelaide. I am currently undertaking research into the motivations and experiences of South African immigrants in Australia.

The aim of this research is to provide a holistic picture of migration between South Africa and Australia since the 1960s. This includes migration of South Africans to Australia but also emigration of Australians to South Africa and the return migration of South Africans to their homeland.

In particular, I would like to know:

- Who has migrated and when did they migrate?
- What have been the motivations to leave South Africa and migrate to Australia?
- What has been the settling experience of migrants from South Africa to Australia?
- What links, if any, do people maintain with South Africa?
- How do migrants identify themselves after their migration experience?
- Do migrants anticipate returning to South Africa permanently?
- Would they consider moving to a third country?

Please help me learn more about these issues by completing the attached questionnaire.

It is important to understand you will not be identifiable by your responses to the questions asked here. If you choose to provide information by which you may be identified (for example, an email address) this information will be considered confidential and will remain with the researcher.

Your participation in this survey is voluntary and completion of this survey will be considered your consent to be part of this research.

I anticipate this survey will take 15 – 20 minutes to complete. Please take this time to consider the questions and answer them as best you can. You do not have to answer any questions you are not comfortable with. However, your input will contribute greatly to our understanding of migration and the experiences of South African migrants to Australia.

As a migrant myself, I long to understand more about this process and I am grateful to you for taking the time to participate in my study.

Thankyou - Dankie - Ngiyabonga - Enkosi - Inkomu - Siyabonga

Ke a leboha - Ndo livhuwa - Ngiyathakoza

If you would like a summary of the research findings at the completion of this project please provide your email address in the space provided on the last page of the attached questionnaire.

Should you have any questions regarding this research, please contact me at romy.wasserman@adelaide.edu.au

Any concerns you wish to raise about this research should be directed to Professor Graeme Hugo at graeme.hugo@adelaide.edu.au or phone (08) 8303 5646

Appendix 9: Consent form

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

STANDARD CONSENT FORM

For people who are participants in a research project

1.	I,	<i>(please print name)</i>
	consent to take part in the research project entitled:	
	Migration between South Africa and Australia	
2.	I acknowledge that I have read the attached Information Sheet entitled:	
	Interview – Key stakeholder	
3.	I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is given freely.	
4.	I have been informed that audio recording of the interview is for accurate data transcription purposes and will only take place with my permission.	
5.	I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal data will not be divulged.	
6.	I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and can decline to answer any questions asked in the interview.	
8.	I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet and Complaints Procedure Form.	

	<i>(signature)</i>	<i>(date)</i>

WITNESS

I have described to *(name of subject)*
the nature of the research to be carried out. In my opinion she/he understood the explanation.
Status in Project:
Name:
.....
(signature) *(date)*

Appendix 10: Complaints procedure form

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Document for people who are participants in a research project

CONTACTS FOR INFORMATION ON PROJECT AND INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS
PROCEDURE

The Human Research Ethics Committee is obliged to monitor approved research projects. In conjunction with other forms of monitoring it is necessary to provide an independent and confidential reporting mechanism to assure quality assurance of the institutional ethics committee system. This is done by providing research participants with an additional avenue for raising concerns regarding the conduct of any research in which they are involved.

The following study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee:

Project title: **Migration between South Africa and Australia**

1. If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the project co-ordinator:

Name: Professor Graeme Hugo

Telephone: (08) 8303 5646

2. If you wish to discuss with an independent person matters related to
 - making a complaint, or
 - raising concerns on the conduct of the project, or
 - the University policy on research involving human participants, or
 - your rights as a participant

contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary on phone (08) 8303 6028

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