AUSSIES ABROAD:
AN EXPLORATION OF AUSTRALIAN EXPATRIATES' CITIZENSHIP PRACTICES AND PERCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

A thesis submitted to fulfil the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Globalisation has seen more and more people relocate across state borders than ever before. The way these individuals engage, identify and operate challenges existing nationalised concepts of citizenship, leading to development of citizenship theories that account for these changes. One such theory is that of transnational citizenship, which suggests that individuals can balance multiple identities and allegiances and be equally active and loyal citizens in more than one state. This study uses transnational citizenship theory as a framework to explore the lived experiences of a migrant group and analyse how individuals are balancing their citizenship practices and identity across state borders. Specifically, this thesis explores the citizenship practices and identity of Australian expatriates living in the UK and Singapore. By comparing the lived experiences of one highly mobile migrant group across two different locations, this study unpacks the ways that host countries can influence migrant feelings and behaviour across both the home and host country. This study is important because it explores the experiences of a migrant group that has not yet been researched in this field, filling an empirical gap and offering new perspectives with which to develop existing concepts and theories. The main research question is whether long term overseas residence impacts Australian expatriates' citizenship practices and perceptions of national identity. This was explored by looking at two citizenship practices in both home and host country: social integration and political participation; as well as perceptions of national identity. The study takes a comparative case study approach. Data was collected using mixed methods consisting of a pre-interview questionnaire followed by semi-structured interviews with Australians living in the UK (n=24) and Singapore (n=25). This data was analysed using SPSS and NVivo, and key themes were used to answer the research questions across three findings chapters. The findings showed stark differences in both social integration and political participation of migrants depending on their host country. Differences in social integration are due to cultural and linguistic factors, but also institutional differences (e.g. regulation of housing or schooling) affecting everyday practices; while political participation was based on key institutional factors affecting migrant enfranchisement in their host country, which in turn influenced political participation in their home country. On the other hand, identity, its formation

and any consequent changes, appears to be an overwhelmingly personal experience with little overlap within the group. In contrast, there is a significant amount of overlap between what different respondents associate with an Australian identity, almost all of which are forms of social interactions, habits, routines and practical knowledge. By presenting findings from an unexplored and highly mobile migrant group, this study fills an empirical gap and contributes new perspectives on how transnational migrants experience citizenship and identity. This study makes a significant empirical contribution which can help further the development of normative theory and inform policy to enhance Australia's relationship with their large emigrant population.

Thesis 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 and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

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I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

29 November 2023

Signature Date

Ethics declaration

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted within the guidelines for research ethics outlined in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 (Updated 2018)*. The proposed research methodology was reviewed by the Low-Risk Human Research Ethics Review Group (Faculty of Arts and Faculty of the Professions) at the University of Adelaide and received clearance on 11th September 2019 with Ethics Approval No. H-2019-170. See approval letter attached as Appendix 3.

29 November 2023

Signature Date

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Introduction

Globalisation has led to an increase in both short- and long-term migration, and more and more people are making new homes for themselves outside of their country of origin (Triandafyllidou, 2018). There are a range of factors that can influence people to leave their home. Some move to escape conflict or persecution, others are displaced due to natural disasters or environmental factors. However, the overwhelming majority of international migrants relocate for work, family and study (IOM, 2019). According to the International Organisation of Migration (IOM), as of June 2019 there were an estimated 272 million international migrants, accounting for 3.5% of the global population, compared to 2.3% in 1980 (IOM, 2019). Although this is a small percentage of the world's population, international migration is growing at faster rates than previously expected. Each individual migrant has a personal story. They have agency and aspirations, pushing them out into the world and away from their country of origin. Yet they are often met with the challenges that come from leaving one's home and finding a new one, whatever the driver of their move may have been. This growing number of international migrants from different parts of the globe, with different world views, life experiences, and aspirations, makes migration a rich yet complex phenomenon to study. A growing area of study within migration research has been a drive to rethink some of our more territorially based conceptions of the world in order to better understand and respond to current and future changes.

One conception that is becoming increasingly re-examined is our territorially based understanding of citizenship. The term 'citizenship' can be defined as membership of a political community, involving a set of rights and duties. The most common understanding of citizenship is that of national citizenship, whereby the term 'citizen' is associated with membership of a territorially defined nation state. National citizenship can be defined as the legal, social and political membership to a nation state, characterised by national borders, and a shared national identity of the citizens within those borders (Marshall, 1950; Bauböck, 2006; Bosniak, 2006). However, as globalisation sees people move across these state borders, the way we conceptualise citizenship is shifting as well. Many scholars have been constructing new conceptions of citizenship that account for the impact of increased international migration on the way that citizens and states engage, identify, and operate. However, much of this

discussion has been theoretical, with comparatively little empirical exploration of the way that migrants experience and practice citizenship in this shifting landscape.

One way to re-examine these territorially bounded conceptions of national citizenship is by learning from the experiences of the individuals challenging them. If we further our understanding of the lived experience of international migrants, then we can better conceptualise how citizenship is changing in practice. This can then be used to inform theoretical conceptions going forward. However, developing an empirical understanding of the behaviour of 272 million international migrants with different motivations and experiences is a colossal task. Instead, empirical explorations can begin by looking to the experiences of specific migrant groups and using these findings to add to our understanding of citizenship and international migration.

This study contributes to filling this empirical gap in our understanding of citizenship and migration by exploring the lived experiences of one specific migrant group: Australians. There has been very little research into Australians living overseas, and no empirical study into how Australians experience and engage with their citizenship upon emigration. This study aims to fill this gap. Australia has traditionally been a migrant receiving country (Jupp, 2002; Hugo, 2006a; Mughan and Paxton, 2006), yet it is also increasingly becoming a migrant sending country. Studies indicate that there are at least one million Australians permanently residing overseas at any given time, which is 3.8% of the total population of 26 million – in line with international migration rates globally (3.5%) (ABS, 2022; Hugo, et al. 2003; Hugo, 2006b, 2006c; IOM, 2019). Much of the migration literature looks at the experiences of migrants from the global South who have moved to the global North. This is an undeniably important area of research, which warrants continued exploration and discussion. However, the literature on privileged migrants moving between affluent countries has been comparably limited. Despite this, Australia offers an interesting example with which to explore the evolving concept of citizenship for a number of reasons. Modern-day Australia is relatively young, with colonial history beginning in 1788 and formation of a federation in 1901 (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). Australia's reliance on immigration for population growth and security (Hugo, 2006a) has brought in a world of intermingling cultures, languages and identities from over 200 countries (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). The Australian 2021 Census showed that 27.6% of Australians were born overseas, and almost half of the Australian population (48.2%) had at least one parent born overseas

(ABS, 2022). This history of immigration, coupled with the First Nation Australians who encompass over 250 different Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups, results in an increasingly heterogeneous population (AIATSIS, 2020; Commonwealth of Australia, 2020; Deadly Story, n.d.). These factors make Australia a compelling example with which to explore globalising conceptions of citizenship because they describe a country which exists in its current state as a direct result of international migration. There is a tapestry of different ancestries, identities, and citizenships in Australia, which have come together to create the nation as it is now. If we are curious of how citizenship and identity are experienced in practice when national boundaries, culture and identity are increasingly blurred, then Australia's multicultural and globalised population offers a perspective with which to explore this.

A full overview of the target population is provided with the methodological overview of the thesis; however, it is important to offer some explanatory notes on the language used throughout this work. Australians living overseas will be referred to as: migrants, emigrants, and expatriates or expats. The United Nations defines a *migrant* as: "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is." (UN, n.d.: par. 4). As such, Australians who move away from their home country are international migrants. The term *emigrant* is also used throughout this study as it refers to "one who leaves one's place of residence or country to live elsewhere", specifically stressing the country one is coming from, in this case an Australian emigrant (Merriam-Webster, 2023). Finally, the term *expatriate* or 'expat' will be used to describe the Australians discussed in this study. An expatriate can be simply defined as "someone who does not live in their own country" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). However, some definitions add the aspect of permanence, suggesting that an expatriate is defined by their lack of permanence or their intention to return to their home country, while others use it to describe highly paid or highly educated professionals (Serhan, 2018). The term 'expat' can, however, have classist or racial connotations, used to describe educated, rich professionals working abroad, and often only applied to those from wealthy countries, with embedded assumptions about race (Nash, 2017). The way that migrants are referred to is important, as the language used to refer to different groups of people can be politicised

and carry weight. In this study, the term expatriate will be used in reference to Australians living overseas most simply because it is one of the key self-describing terms used by the target population themselves. There are no intended connotations in the use of the term 'expat' in this study.

The remainder of this introduction provides a summary of the aims of the thesis, followed by an overview of the thesis and roadmap of the content.

Aims of the thesis

This thesis aims to provide an empirical exploration of the lived experience of an international migrant group in order to add to the academic study of citizenship in an increasingly globalised world. The broad aim of the study is to determine how Australian expatriates, a largely unresearched migrant group, fit into our evolving understanding of citizenship as occurring outside territorially defined national borders. In doing so, this thesis will add to the growing body of literature about how citizenship can be understood and experienced beyond the territorially bounded national model and will contribute to fill an important empirical gap in this regard.

Within this broad aim are several objectives, which will frame the research questions and empirical study. The preliminary objective is to explore whether long term overseas residence has an impact on Australian expatriates' citizenship practices and perceptions of national identity. Specifically, this study aims to explore whether the emigration destination plays a role in these changes, and how different elements of citizenship are experienced across state borders. The study aims to further our understanding of cross-border citizenship by providing an empirical exploration that engages with existing theoretical considerations.

Overview of the thesis structure and key findings

This section provides an overview of the thesis as a roadmap of the work. The thesis contains five main body chapters, followed by a conclusion chapter offering an overview of the key contributions. There is also a list of references and four appendices at the end of the work.

First, the theoretical considerations that frame this thesis are presented in Chapter 1. The

chapter begins with an overview of the development of the concept of citizenship, from its Greek and Roman origins to the establishment of modern nation states. The more recent theories of globalised citizenship are presented next, as well as their conceptualisation on an individual level. The chapter then introduces transnational citizenship theory as the theoretical framework of this study, offering an overview and explanation of the theory and its selection as the framework. Chapter 2 concludes with a list of specific research questions that need to be explored in order to meet the aims of this thesis, as well as the proposed theoretical and methodological contributions.

The methodological approaches to the primary data collection are then discussed in Chapter 2. Firstly, the comparative case study approach is introduced, explaining the selection of the United Kingdom (UK) and Singapore as case study locations. This is then followed by the conceptualisation and design of the empirical tools and pilot study. Finally, the recruitment process and respondents' characteristics are presented at the end of Chapter 2.

The findings of this study are then presented in three separate chapters. Chapter 3 presents the first set of findings which explore the role that expatriates' social interactions play in their experiences of integration into their host country and maintained connection with their home country. The second core set of findings are presented in Chapter 4, which looks at Australian expatriates' political participation in both their home and host country. Chapter 4 investigates the reasons respondents *do* or *do not* vote in Australian elections, as well as other types of political participation in both Australia and their host countries. The final set of findings are presented in Chapter 5, and they explore Australian expatriates' national identity, such as their perceived connections between citizenship and identity, any changes in feelings about their identity, the concepts of home and belonging, and their perceptions of Australian identity more broadly. Each findings chapter begins with a review of the relevant literature, before thematically presenting interview responses across both locations. The results are then discussed in the context of the literature, with conclusions and comparisons across the case studies.

This thesis concludes with an overarching discussion of the key findings and contributions of the study, as well as areas of interest for further research. Although each chapter offers distinct findings in response to a research question, they are all interconnected toward the aim of unpacking the experiences of Australian expatriates as

a global migrant group, and exploring their place in the cross-border expansion of citizenship in theory and in practice.

Firstly, the study identifies how starkly different the social lives of Australians in Singapore and the UK really are, and the myriad of factors that help to explain these differences. As host countries, they provide wholly different levels of cultural and linguistic similarity to Australia, as well as very different geographic proximity. Perhaps less expected is the role that Singapore and the UK's institutional differences play in creating contrasting social networks and experiences for resident Australians. As is discussed in later chapters, this finding challenges normative conceptions of what transnational citizenship can look like.

Secondly, the findings reveal that overall voter sentiments of Australians overseas are not too dissimilar to those of Australians at home, which has implications for how we discuss compulsory voting in Australia. This study also identifies the important role that host country enfranchisement can have on home country political participation among migrants, by sharing contrasting findings from Singapore and the UK. This is significant as it shows that a migrant's level of transnational participation may not be entirely their choice and can depend on their host country.

Lastly, the study shows that identity, its formation and any consequent changes, appear to be an overwhelmingly personal experience with little overlap across the sample. Australian citizenship is identified as a symbol of connection and identification with the home country and culture, while also providing strategic value.

Transnational citizenship theory suggests that migrants can live transnational lives and engage in citizenship practices across both host and home country; however, findings from this study show that many areas of potential overlap may be excluded due to institutional and other barriers.

This thesis fills an important empirical gap and provides insight into the lived experiences of a scarcely researched migrant group. In doing so, the study also identifies some key gaps in existing citizenship theory and highlights how many interconnected variables there are to consider when discussing the experiences of migrants.

Chapter 1 Theoretical framework

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework used to inform the study. First, Section 1.1 introduces the concept of citizenship and provides a brief history of its evolution from antiquity to modernity. Section 1.2 then takes us beyond the modern national model of citizenship to present three contemporary theories of citizenship: postnational, cosmopolitan, and transnational. The way that transnational citizenship theory is understood as the framework for this study and how it can be explored in practice, is then discussed in Section 1.3. Finally, Section 1.4 identifies a set of research questions for investigation in this thesis, and an overview of the proposed contributions of this study.

Before continuing, however, it is important to clarify the term which will be used throughout this work: citizenship.

The term "citizenship" is typically defined as membership to a political community, involving a set of rights and duties. This membership most often refers to membership of a nation state, although the term citizenship can be used to describe belonging, identity and affiliation to other political communities (Cao, 2015). For the remainder of this work, the term citizenship will refer to membership of a nation state.

1.1 From citizenship to national identity

1.1.1 Origins

Modern conceptions of citizenship date back to ancient Greece and Rome, and can be categorised into two main traditions (or theories): the duties-based civic republican tradition and the rights-based liberal tradition. The republican tradition of citizenship was the first to emerge, theorised by Greek philosopher Aristotle who asserted that 'man is by nature an animal intended to live in a polis [city-state]' (Aristotle, 1962). Aristotle defined citizens as 'all who share in the civic life of ruling and being ruled in turn'. However, in practice, this definition of 'the citizen' was rather niche: men who were wholly committed to the common good and participated fully in public affairs. This limited the pool of 'proper' or 'ideal' citizens to elite men of leisure who, instead of working, had the time to devote to the full and active participation in public life

(Honohan, 2001; Pocock, 1998). Despite the elitism of his ideas of the 'proper' citizen, Aristotle determined that the most crucial requirement of a citizen was to display *arete*, goodness or virtue. It was that civic virtue, by way of behaving socially and politically and hence fitting into the *polis*, as well as committing to the common good, that formed the basis of citizenship (Honohan, 2001; O'Ferrall, 2001). This republican model of citizenship presents citizenship as action, whereby an individual is expected to perform certain duties in return for their membership to the state. The role of these duties in return for membership has remained a core part of citizenship into the present-day. Many of the duties themselves have evolved over time and seem inherent to every-day life, such as paying taxes or obeying the law, though duties in some states include more tangible acts of solidarity such as military service (Heater, 2004). The relevance of duties as a key part of membership and citizenship has fluctuated over time, coexisting alongside the rights-based model of liberal citizenship, common in liberal democracies.

The classical liberal model of citizenship can be traced to ancient Rome, where it emerged from the struggle of the lower classes in obtaining rights against the upper classes who had control of the institutions and political power (Bellamy, 2008; Cao 2015). The result was a model where citizenship was more closely associated with legal protection, or citizenship as status, than political participation, or citizenship as action. The key pillar of the Roman model of citizenship was the provision of legal status and broad rights and freedoms in exchange for obedience of the law, payment of taxes and political allegiance to Rome (Cao, 2015). In fact, different "levels" of Roman citizenship were structured to differentiate between citizens within the expansive empire, such as those from the city or those from colonised provinces. Some argue that this ancient administrative subdivision helped lay the foundations for future conceptions of citizenship and states, and international relations concepts more broadly (see Abbondanza, 2020). Though modern liberal citizenship retains roots in the Roman model of citizenship, there was much development in the period of the Enlightenment, most notably in John Locke's *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (1690). In this text, Locke illustrated a theory of natural rights, suggesting that every 'man' (it was reserved for men at the time) should have the equal right "to preserve…his life, liberty and estate" (Locke, 1962: cited in Heater, 1999). In the United States (US), Locke's theory of natural right was adapted into the claim that every man should have the right to "the pursuit of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", while the French adaptation

recognises the right to "liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression" (Heater, 1999). The liberal citizen is first and foremost a bearer of rights, but this rights-based approach is not devoid of all responsibility. Other than some intrinsic responsibilities such as obeying the law, the responsibilities of a liberal citizen are sometimes framed in terms of voluntarism, as opposed to the civic obligation associated with republican citizenship (Cao, 2015).

One revelation of the contemporary liberal model and its various adaptations was the close connection between liberalism and capitalism, which limited the full manifestation of rights-based citizenship to men who owned property. Over time, citizenship was slowly extended to other non-estate owner groups, such as women and the working class. However, persistent political and socio-economic inequality highlighted gaps in the rights associated with citizenship, inspiring liberal theorist T.H. Marshall to write his seminal work *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) (Cao, 2015).

Two of the assertions that made the text so widely-regarded were his analysis of citizenship into three distinct yet interdependent elements – civil, political and social – and that social citizenship lay an important foundation for the other two more prominent dimensions of citizenship. Despite some criticism, the description of citizenship as divided into distinct yet interdependent components has been widely adopted since Marshall put this three part model forward in his essay:

> "The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom - liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice...By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body... By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall, 1963: 94)

This short history of the civic republican and the liberal traditions of citizenship, and the differences between the rights- and duties-based approaches and citizenship as status vs. action, will help to inform the coming discussion on contemporary citizenship in theory and in practice. Citizenship has remained a contested concept throughout the twentieth

and early twenty-first century, and there are various interpretations and adaptations. Marshall's three part approach has continued to inspire theoretical understanding of citizenship, and its influence can be seen in emerging definitions of citizenship from contemporary scholars.

1.1.2 Citizenship and the nation state

The most prevalent understanding of citizenship is that of national citizenship. The term 'citizen' became associated with membership of the nation state, with the emergence of the modern nation state in the seventeenth century (Cao, 2015). Most national borders, which have hardened over time to create the distinct sovereign nations of which we are citizens today, have emerged from historic, religious or ethno-cultural divides. As national sovereignty strengthened and state bureaucracies and their members became more clearly defined, the prevalent national model of citizenship emerged, delineated by, for the most part, clearly drawn borders and emphasized through documentation such as national passports. This territorially defined understanding of national citizenship has grown to be most prevalent conception of the word, with 'citizenship' seemingly synonymous with 'belonging to a specific country'. The national belonging that laid the foundation for the national citizenship model is not simply bureaucratic status, but encompasses linguistic, ethnic, and cultural characteristics, as well as shared identities and memories (Tambini, 2001). However, it is important to acknowledge that although historically and factually correct for many, a number of geographical borders and the populations within them, both now and throughout history, do not fit neatly in this explanation due to colonialism and oppression. The formation of citizenship as explained in this chapter, and the nexus between citizenship and nationality, do not reflect the experiences of all states and their people. This chapter aims to offer an overview of the dominant, albeit undoubtedly Euro-Centric, scholarly discussion around the formation of citizenship and national identity, and that on which the research questions and framework for this research are based.

National citizenship can be defined as the legal, social and political membership to a nation state, characterised by national borders (Bauböck, 2006, 2019; Marshall, 1950). There are several different ways to obtain national citizenship, dictated by naturalisation laws in each state. Regardless of how national citizenship is obtained, it entails membership to the state and the associated rights and obligations. Within a modern

democratic welfare state such as Australia, citizenship rights include freedoms and protections provided by the state, such as the freedom of speech or religion, or freedom from discrimination. Citizens have the right to tax-payer funded government assistance where applicable, in order to ensure fair access to basic needs such as food and shelter. They also have the right to political participation, both in the form of voting and running for election, as well as the right to freely move around within state borders. However, citizen rights are not limited to the confines of the nation state – when outside of their home country, a citizen has the right to diplomatic assistance, and the right to freely re-enter the state to which they hold citizenship (Bellamy, 2008; Heater, 2004; Stoker, 2011).

In return, citizens have obligations to the state, such as adhering to the law and respecting the welfare state system, including paying taxes for the benefit of others (Isin and Turner, 2002; Kondo and Westin, 2003). The rights and obligations of citizens in each nation state differ. For example, due to Australia's distinctive compulsory voting system, electoral participation is both a right and an obligation for resident Australian citizens (see Chapter 4.1 for full overview). Despite this, Australian citizenship, like that of many other democratic welfare states, is predominantly rights-based and stems from the liberal model (Pillai, 2014).

1.1.3 National identity

As seen in the previous sections, descriptions of citizenship include a variation of status, rights and responsibilities, and a combination of legal, political and social aspects. However, many contemporary definitions of citizenship have also started to include the element of identity, often referring to collective identity and solidarity, or 'national identity' as one of the key elements of citizenship (Bauböck, 2003; Bosniak, 2006; Kymlicka and Norman, 2000; Miller, 1995, 2000; Waldron, 2000; Warr and Williams, 2015).

For example, Kymlicka and Norman (1994) suggest that "citizenship is not just a certain status, defined by a set of rights and responsibilities. It is also an identity, an expression of one's membership in a political community" (369). Their interpretation of citizenship is also categorised within three dimensions: legal, political and identity. Though this strays slightly from Marshall's original analysis, it can be understood as a contemporary extrapolation of his definition of citizenship through distinct yet

interdependent factors. In Kymlicka and Norman's (1994) definition, the legal dimension emphasises a citizen's obligation to act within the law, and the responsibility of the state to ensure citizens have legal protections. The political dimension has an emphasis on political participation in the democratic process, as both a right and responsibility. Lastly, identity and the sense of belonging to the national community is also introduced as an important element of citizenship (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000). Similarly, Bosniak (2006) defines citizenship through four contributory components: (1) a legal status; (2) political, social and cultural rights; (3) participation and engagement in both civil society and the political community, and (4) identification or solidarity with others. The first two dimensions, status and rights, are 'passive' and 'formal' aspects of citizenship, which accompany the acquisition of legal citizenship to a state. The latter two involve an 'active' or 'moral' sense of citizenship, where the individual has control over their level of involvement (Bosniak, 2006; van Bachove, Rusinovic, and Engbersen, 2010). Similarly, Bauböck (2008) describes citizenship as: (1) formal legal status; (2) rights and duties including civil liberties, education and health care; (3) responsibilities, virtues and practices, and (4) collective identity that transcends all other categorical distinctions.

The relationship between citizenship and identity is complicated, but increasingly important in the context of the modern democratic state (Hart et al. 2011; Schildkraut, 2014). Identity is powerful and can be the main force driving the collective solidarity that bonds citizens to create something more than just political agency (Bellamy, 2013; Schildkraut, 2014). Identity guides people's decisions, allows them to draw from their social and collective affiliations, and serves to explain many behaviours between members of different ethnic, cultural or national groups (Hogg, 2016; Schildkraut, 2014; Vignoles et al. 2011).

Identity is multilayered, can change over time and can be influenced by external experiences. Contemporary understanding of national identity as exclusive and collective allegiance to the state, is attributed to the mid-nineteenth century and the international system of state sovereignty (Sassen, 2002). However, despite its novelty, national identity has become an integral part of some scholarly interpretations of citizenship (Bosniak, 2001, 2006; Kymlicka and Norman, 2000; Warr and Williams, 2015), and the role of national identity in citizenship becomes increasingly relevant when shared identity is used to define membership to a citizenry. Increased migration

trends of the twenty-first century have created new challenges for the role that identity has in our understanding of citizenship: If national identity and collective solidarity play an important role in the determination of citizenship, then how do increased mobility and an associated globalised identity influence this determination? Some variations in citizenship theory that have emerged as a result of globalisation will be discussed in the following section.

1.2 Beyond the national model of citizenship

The traditional national model of citizenship assumes that individuals are tied to a single territorially defined state, and some states consider a citizen's obligation to include varying degrees of commitment to their national virtues and interests. However, the way that both states and individuals operate has been evolving through the process of globalisation, which has seen economic, cultural and institutional extension across national borders (Bellamy, 2011; Stoker, 2011). Several scholars argue that the dominant national citizenship model and related theories are outdated, and that new interpretations of citizenship are needed (Castles, 2001; Fleras, 2017; Pajnik, 2014; Tambini, 2001; Soysal, 2012a). The existing state-centric notions of citizenship are unable to keep up with the "messy and interconnected lives of people" (Fleras, 2017: 17) in a world of mobility and fail to "grasp the multiple belongings of migrating and displaced people" (Pajnik, 2014: 103). Our 'stubborn' theories reliant on the nation-state as the unit of analysis are too narrow to adequately understand the dynamics of rights, membership and belonging as behavioural trends change and spread beyond the territorial national boundaries (Soysal, 2012a). As a result, the territorialised national model of citizenship is increasingly challenged by new and emerging citizenship theories resulting from increased research into globalisation and migration. Many contemporary theories have emerged that challenge the territorially based concept of national citizenship, with the following three most prominent: postnational citizenship, cosmopolitan citizenship, and transnational citizenship. Although there is overlap in the globalised changes these theories address, there are some key differences between them which will be analysed in this section.

1.2.1 Postnational citizenship

One theory that tackles the effects of globalisation on the national citizenship model is postnational citizenship. Postnational citizenship theorists discuss the ways that the rights, participation and belonging attributed to national citizenship are in fact being expanded outside of the nation state, with the European Union (EU) often cited as a prominent example of the way multi-level polities are changing the way we mobilise and advance rights and belonging (Soysal, 1994a, 2000, 2012a). A key part of the liberal national citizenship model is the rights of the citizen, and the state's role in protecting these rights. However, scholars of postnational citizenship argue that, although the state is still by and large the agent tasked with protecting and carrying out rights claims, the "source and legitimacy of rights increasingly shift to the transnational level" as supranational institutions and international organisations become cross-border advocates (Soysal, 2012a: 386). An example of this is the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (est. 1948), which transcends state borders and protects the rights of the global individual. Another example of the rights protections that transcends state borders and the national model is the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which protects refugees and stateless people – individuals to whom national citizenship offers no protection.

Soysal (1994b: 137) succinctly describes this trend:

> "The postwar era is characterised by a reconfiguration of citizenship from a more particularistic one based on nationhood to a more universalistic one based on personhood"

The EU is an example of an international institution which not only protects citizens' rights, but provides other citizenship benefits such as political participation and freedom of movement at a broader level, transcending state borders (EU, 2019a). This example of legitimate legal citizenship of an international institution beyond the nation state empirically challenges the national model and is often used by postnational scholars as an example of citizenship's evolution.

Simply put, the postnational view is that the national model of citizenship, at least in practice, is limited in an era of supranational institutions and international human rights, (Tambini, 2001; Soysal, 1997, 2000, 2012b) as the "old categories that attach individuals to national welfare systems and distributory mechanisms become blurred"

(Soysal, 2012a: 386). There is increasing disconnection between the location that fostered and nourished a sense of citizenship, the place of residence, and sometimes the formal citizenship held by a person (Tijsterman, 2014). Post-national theorists suggest that none of these have to be connected, and that the rights and duties traditionally attributed to citizenship of a single nation are increasingly blurred as international organisations and institutions advocate for personhood beyond the state. Additionally, postnational scholars generally regard the upholding of human rights as more fundamentally relevant to social cohesion than shared political identity and the consequent solidarity that national citizenship relies on (Soysal, 2012a; Tijsterman, 2014).

1.2.2 Cosmopolitan citizenship

The idea of cosmopolitan citizenship has been around since the original conceptions of citizenship in ancient Greece. Diogenes the Cynic is attributed as being one of the first people to identify as a cosmopolitan citizen in the fourth century BCE, when he responded to a question of where he is from with "I am a citizen of the world" (Kleingeld et al. 2019). As Diogenes once implied, cosmopolitan citizenship often refers to the membership to a global, human collective, void of territorial boundaries and identities (Parekh, 2003). Despite its ancient beginnings, the idea of cosmopolitan citizenship has been overshadowed by the now normalised idea of territorially defined national citizenship. Nonetheless, this concept has persisted due to the idea of humankind as one species, with a mutual consciousness, sharing one planet, with universal human rights and responsibilities (Heater, 1999). An empirical legal-political understanding of cosmopolitan citizenship suggests political membership to a global community, with a global level of equality and citizenship based on shared personhood (Heater, 2002). A normative conception of cosmopolitan citizenship suggests that people exist as members of a single community of humanity, where rights and obligations of the individual are equal, based simply on their humanity, and citizenship acts as a moral framework (Tan, 2017; Tijsterman, 2014). Archibugi (2008) goes further to proposes a concept of cosmopolitan democracy, which has been particularly promoted in regard to tackling global issues. However, there is as yet no global democratic order, and the required structures to foster a cosmopolitan or global level of citizenship do not exist in this proposed capacity (Heater, 2002; Tan 2017). Despite this, the internationalisation of rights and, to a degree, duties, through transnational

organisations has brought cosmopolitan conceptions of citizenship back into scholarly debate.

1.2.3 Transnational citizenship

Both postnational and cosmopolitan citizenship theories call for a global structure of governance that is not quite actualised. The postnational model relies on governance through supranational structures such as the European Union, while cosmopolitan ideals often conceive a world under a global structure of governance. Although both models describe a world where both the national borders and the people living within them are less defined, they fall short in their applicability within the current governance structures.

Nestled among these globalised theories of citizenship is the theory of transnational citizenship. Similar to postnational and cosmopolitan theories, transnational citizenship looks beyond the individual nation state in the understanding of belonging and participation. However, the role of the nation state, and the complexity of individual identity and belonging at a globalised level, is recognised as key. One of the most influential scholars in the field is Rainer Bauböck. While other scholars often interpret globalisation as a process that undermines national sovereignty and citizenship, requiring a new de-territorialized or postnational alternative (see for example Glick Schiller et al. 1994; Soysal, 1994b), Bauböck highlights the idea that transnational politics in fact depends on national politics. The very definition of transnational refers to activities and institutions extending across national borders and is therefore intrinsically connected to the existence these national boundaries (Bauböck, 2003).

There are various types of and terms for cross-border activities which are sometimes used synonymously despite not being analogous (e.g., international, multinational, supranational, transnational). In his explanation of the theory of transnational citizenship, Bauböck offers a definitive distinction between the differing terms and their uses. He begins with the duality of the term ‘national’, which can be used in reference to both the territorially bounded state, and to communities that self-identify and exercise, or aspire for, self-government. This distinction shapes his interpretation of the terms international, multinational, supranational and transnational. Bauböck uses the term *international* to refer to any external relations between independent states, which includes institutions in which states are represented such as the United Nations. The

term *multinational* refers to internal relations where several national communities are nestled within a larger state, such as the historic and relatively autonomous communities found in Canada, Spain, Belgium or the UK. *Supranational* relations are those between sovereign states that have joined to form a larger federal polity, the best example of which is the EU. Finally, the term *transnational* is used to define institutions and practices that cross beyond national borders if they involve "simultaneous overlapping affiliations of persons to geographically separate polities", such as a migrant from state X living in state Y, and holding citizenship and/or a connection to both (Bauböck, 2003: 705). Within this typology of cross-border activities, summarised Table 1 (next page), Bauböck resolves that the term *transnational* is therefore the most applicable to individual migrants and their activities and experiences.

Table 1. Table depicting the differences between terms of cross-border relations, using examples of relations and phenomena

Source: Baubock, 2003: 705

Term	Relation between polities	Political phenomena
International	External relations between independent states	International law and international organizations
Multinational	Several polities within an independent state	Autonomy for national minorities
Supranational	Several independent states within a larger polity	Political integration in the European Union
Transnational	Overlapping polities between independent states	External and dual citizenship for migrants

The transnational citizen lives in an overlap between independent states. They are a product of globalisation who practice citizenship and belonging across borders and break the mould of the territorialised national model of citizenship (Castles, 2005a). But, importantly, they do this within the bounds of existing global structures of governance where the nation-state remains the central node (Castles, 2005a, 2005b).

In its most simplified form, transnational citizenship can be summarised as the practice of citizenship across state borders. Despite taking place across borders, the citizenship that is being practiced is, both legally and conceptually, citizenship to an individual nation state. In using transnational citizenship as a framework, this study refers to

citizenship practices as employed by migrants who are connected across state borders, engaging in both a home and host country.

Therefore, to engage in a discussion of transnational citizenship theory in practice, we must first define what the term 'transnational citizenship' will refer to for the remainder of this work. Bauböck (2008) describes citizenship as: (1) formal legal status; (2) rights and duties including civil liberties, education and health care; (3) responsibilities, virtues and practices, and (4) collective identity that transcends all other categorical distinctions. The first point, formal legal status, is understood as holding legal citizenship to a state. There will be cases in which a migrant loses formal legal status to their home country, or in which they do not get formal legal status of their host country. However, citizenship is more than simply holding a passport of that state. Bauböck's (2008) second descriptor of citizenship is the associated rights and duties. The rights and duties of citizenship are broad and vary by state, and they can be challenging to measure for those living within the state borders, let alone outside of them. The third point is about responsibilities, virtues and practices. This descriptor is similar to that of rights and duties in that practices within this category are varied. Bauböck's (2008) fourth descriptor of citizenship is a collective identity, tying a citizen to their fellow countryfolk through a shared identification or solidarity with the nation. As Bauböck defines citizenship, and therefore transnational citizenship, in these loose terms, this study will borrow from other definitions of citizenship in order to clarify and allow for more targeted empirical exploration. Bosniak's (2006) definition of citizenship uses similar categorisations, applying a descriptive approach. Bosniak refers to citizenship as encompassing: (1) a legal status; (2) political, social and cultural rights; (3) participation and engagement in both civil society and the political community, and (4) identification or solidarity with others. Again, the legal status is the most simplified understanding of citizenship, on which the others can be built. However, Bosniak's reference to rights is specifically about political, social and cultural rights, and the reference to responsibilities, virtues and practices is specifically about participation and engagement with both civil society and the political community. Finally, Bosniak also refers to the identification and solidarity with others as a component of citizenship.

Using these two overlapping definitions of citizenship as a guide, this study will use the following definition of citizenship: (1) legal status; (2) the right to participate in politics, society and culture; (3) the responsibility to participate in politics, society and culture,

and (4) a collective identity and solidarity, referred to as simply national identity.

As such, transnational citizenship theory can be understood as the above definitions of citizenship taking place across state borders. Status and rights are 'passive' and 'formal' aspects of citizenship, which accompany the acquisition of legal citizenship to a state, while the responsibility to participate and national identity are 'active' or 'moral' senses of citizenship, where the individual has control over their level of involvement (Bosniak, 2001, 2006; van Bachove, Rusinovic, and Engbersen, 2010). In this study, these 'active' components of citizenship, namely the participation in politics, society and culture, will be referred to as 'actions' or 'practices' while the aspect of national identity will be referred to as 'feelings'.

1.3 Transnational citizenship theory in practice

There is a view in traditional citizenship literature that a migrant's ties to their homeland impairs their ability to form strong ties to their new host country, and that dual nationality and strong transnational activity with more than one country may act as limitations in immigrant integration and formation of local identifications (Ronkainen, 2016; van Bochove et al. 2010). Since a state can only exert sovereignty over its citizens within territorial boundaries, the traditional view generally suggests that people will lose attachment to their home country upon emigration, which then slowly manifests through naturalization elsewhere (Bloemraad et al. 2008). There is a strong "either/or" perspective, in which true loyalty and full integration can only be maintained in one state and with one identity. As such, transnational activity and participation have been criticised as a trigger for weakening the social cohesion that traditional national citizenship provides (Bloemraad et al. 2008). Spiro (2007) expresses a common fear that transnational participation, and related factors such as dual citizenship, might "lower the intensity of the citizen-state affiliation and, in turn, the intensity of bonds among citizens" (189) and that this "weakens the solidarity and trust among citizens in the state, which in turn will deplete the power of the state itself" (201). In a similar vein, Joppke (2010) suggests that tolerating transnational activity such as dual citizenship may demean the value of citizenship to a new "citizenship light: easy to access, with rights (and few obligations) that do not sharply distinguish citizens from certain aliens, and capped by thin identities" (147).

On the other hand, Bauböck's transnational citizenship theory suggests that individuals can in fact balance multiple identities and allegiances, and that transnational ties to home and host country do not hinder one's capacity to be equally active and loyal citizens in both states (Bauböck, 1994, 2003; Schlenker et al. 2017). It is suggested that migrants live transnational lives and can successfully participate in multiple polities and simultaneously manage a range of belongings and identities. Several studies have explored the citizenship practices of migrants, and it is suggested that political activity, identity, and relationships can all successfully transcend national boundaries. Many countries are making concerted efforts to maintain ties with their emigrants, and the increasing tolerance of dual citizenship has allowed emigrants to naturalise in their receiving country while maintaining an often mutually beneficial relationship with their home country (Escobar 2004; Jones-Correa 2001; Larner 2007; Lafleur 2011; also see Schlenker 2017 and Tanasoca, 2018 for reviews of various state responses).

Before outlining the different ways in which transnational citizenship is practiced, the transdisciplinary and overarching term 'transnationalism', and its use across the social sciences, will be addressed. Transnationalism is a component of globalisation, though the two words are not interchangeable. Transnationalism is generally used to explain the cross-border movements and connection of individuals and civil society and is often referred to as 'people-led' or as occurring 'from below', offering a narrower scope than 'globalisation' (see Peck, 2020; Tedeshi et al. 2022). Tedeshi and colleagues (2022) use 'transnationalism' to explain how "a broad range of economic, sociocultural, and political cross-border activities and practices, and their various combinations, modify people's sense of belonging to places; affect their citizenship and nationality; change their aspirations, imagination and decisions in everyday life; and influence their identity" (603). These cross-border practices can include political transnationalism (van Haute and Kernalegenn, 2021), transnational families and communities (Baldassar and Merla, 2014), and dual nationality, identity and belonging (Vertovec, 2009; Klingenberg et al. 2021). As such, transnational citizenship, both in theory and in practice, sits within the broader umbrella of transnationalism.

Transnational citizenship theory essentially takes the main elements of national citizenship and extends them across national borders. Using Marshall's (1950) definition of citizenship as three distinct yet interdependent elements, transnational citizenship can encompass the legal, political and social elements of citizenship as

experienced and maintained by the individual across national borders.

The legal aspect of citizenship manifests at a transnational level in a number of ways. The most evident of these is dual or multiple citizenship, where individuals maintain legal citizenship and therefore responsibility across two or more states (Bloemraad et al. 2008). However, transnational legal participation is not limited to dual citizenship. Even if a migrant does not naturalise in their country of residence, they still have the responsibility to adhere to local legislation, including paying taxes, and their ability to continue residing there is often conditional in some capacity until they have naturalized (Huddleston and Vink, 2015).

The political element of citizenship is most evidently practiced transnationally by means of electoral participation. Several states have systems in place to enfranchise emigrants, and some consider expatriates' electoral participation as a key factor in maintaining ties with this otherwise disconnected populace (Lafleur, 2011). Common forms of transnational political participation include voting in both the home and host countries but, as not all states allow external voting, it can include other forms of political participation such as activism. The relevance that political participation has to transnational citizenship has various interpretations, and there is much debate regarding the ethics of voting across state borders.

Some arguments for and against in this debate include: (1) the traditional republican position strongly emphasizes territorial boundaries and is built on the idea that democratic participation ensures a form of self-governance for the people. Hence, voting is exclusive to citizens residing within the state, as they are the ones affected by political outcomes; (2) Ethnic nationalism rejects the idea that the polity refers solely to the territorial boundaries of the state and its inhabitants and considers the community as a whole regardless of their geographic dispersal. The nation is considered a community with a collective culture, identity and destiny that cannot be broken by geographical influences, and therefore the political participation of emigrants is encouraged; (3) The liberal democratic principle of territorial inclusion is a conception of democratic representation in which all individuals have equal rights to representation in regard to any political and legal authority to which they are subject. This perspective generally rejects the need for expatriate voting, and even suggests that it undermines the integrity of the process for those who reside in the state and are directly affected by its laws and governance; (4) Another liberal democratic principle is the principle of affected interest

– "quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur" (what affects all shall be approved by all). This perspective suggests that those whose interests are affected by a political decision should have a say in its development (see: Bauböck, 2005; Lopez-Guerra, 2005; Shapiro, 2003); (5) Bauböck (2005) suggests a fifth principle, stakeholder citizenship, which combines elements from both the republican and the liberal perspectives and which he considers most fitting to transnational citizenship. It takes from the republican model that citizenship is a status of full membership in a self-governing polity, and adopts from the liberal models the idea that stakeholders should have claims to membership and electoral rights. However, the adaptation of these existing models into the concept of stakeholder citizenship accounts for membership across multiple states, and applicability to 'a world in which political boundaries are increasingly overlapping or nested within each other' (Baubock, 2005: 686). Hence, a stakeholder is considered someone who is affected by political happenings. However, this is not dictated by place of residence, instead, there is an understanding that political influences can extend out of the territorial boundaries. The term political transnationalism is often used to recognize the various cross-border political practices of both short- and long-term migrants.

The social element of citizenship is one of the more flexible methods of transnational participation. In Marshall's (1950) definition of citizenship, the 'social' dimension referred to the collective responsibility for and right to social welfare, such as education, health, income. However, more recent literature around transnationalism and transnational citizenship often expands the social component to include social connections, relationships and kinship with the home and host state, as practiced by transnational migrants (Faist, 2010, 2011). The study into transnational social fields is directly connected to the more 'traditional' citizenship practices such as political participation. The ongoing involvement of emigrants in home country networks, particularly through enabling factors such as cheap travel and digital technologies, facilitates emigrants' involvement in political transnationalism (Bauböck, 2003). As such, expanding our exploration of the social elements of citizenship past Marshall's (1950) more limited conception of 'social', and instead understanding 'social' to include social relationships and connections in both home and host country, enables the use of this social (relationships and networks) element of transnational citizenship to supplement the political and legal already described. Emigrants often continue to hold

strong ties to their family and friends in their home country, particularly since the advancements in digital communication technology that has enabled instantaneous contact to be made across the world. The sense of identity and belonging one retains with their family and friends is crucial at a personal level, but by maintaining steady contact at home, the emigrant also holds onto their identity and belonging at a community level. Maintaining a sense of identity to the home country can also spark an emigrant's desire to form a national or ethnic community group in their country of residence in order to interact with others from their home country. There are various examples of diaspora groups forming both official and unofficial communities in their country of residence (see for example Hugo, 2005; MacGregor, 2005; Morales and Jorba, 2010; Olsson, 2017).

1.4 Emerging research questions

In its most simplified form, transnational citizenship theory can be understood as a globalised extension of citizenship that challenges the traditional, national model. The notions of national citizenship are tied to territorial boundaries of sovereign states. Transnational citizenship theory emerged as a way to address the increased cross-border flow of people and the applicability of territorialised conceptions of citizenship, without disregarding the relevance of the nation state (Bauböck, 1994; Padilla and Scaglione, 2014). The transnational approach uses the foundation of existing institutional structures, and its applicability is not dependent on a bureaucratic overhaul of current systems and forms of governance. As such, the transnational approach has been identified as the most suitable framework with which to capture the lived experiences of migrants within the existing global system and structures. This thesis aims to unpack the experiences of Australian expatriates as a global migrant group in an increasingly globalised world, and will do so using transnational citizenship as a theoretical framework.

Within the current systems of governance, transnational citizenship offers a practical alternative to the increasingly challenged deterritorialised model of citizenship; however, empirical studies into this changing understanding of citizenship have not explored the valuable experiences of Australian emigrants. Australians have been chosen as the study group with which to engage with this theory, for several reasons. As a wealthy and privileged migrant group carrying a powerful passport (Hugo et al. 2003;

Parker, 2012), Australian expatriates are well placed to actualise transnational citizenship practices to their full potential, particularly compared to other groups who might face more legal and institutional barriers in their migration journey (e.g., refugees). Australian expatriates living overseas for longer periods of time can be considered to display "simultaneous overlapping affiliations of persons to geographically separate polities*"*, (Bauböck, 2003: 705). It has been reported that Australian-born emigrants live highly mobile lives, often with high paying jobs, which suggests the ability to travel between host and home country (Butcher, 2006; Hugo et al. 2003; Hugo, 2006c). As many others, they also have access to rapidly growing global telecommunication networks and platforms which enable contact despite geography. As such, the hypothesis used in this study is that Australian expatriates are transnational citizens. In using this framework, the study aims to explore whether the lived experiences of this population reflect the existing normative conceptions of a mobile migrant group as defined by the theory of transnational citizenship. It does so by comparing several elements of Australians' migration experiences in institutionally and culturally different host countries, and analysing these experiences within the theoretical framework. Two host countries were selected as case study locations, the United Kingdom (UK) and Singapore. Under the umbrella of transnational citizenship theory, this thesis sets out to explore the practical realities of Australian expatriates in those two institutionally and culturally different host countries (Figure 1). Guarnizo and colleagues (2003) suggest that highly skilled migrants have at their disposal the financial, social and cultural capital needed to be transnationally active, so Australian expatriates give us a good perspective from which to explore this (more on the selection criteria in Chapter 2).

The theory suggests that transnational migrants experience connection to and identification with both their host and home country, and that this can be explained through their citizenship practices and engagement with both locations. Engagement markers that can be used to measure transnational citizenship in practice include legal, political and social elements of citizenship as experienced and maintained by the individual across national borders. This study aims to explore these key elements to understand how Australian expatriates experience and maintain their citizenship practices as 'actions' while residing overseas using the following two markers of activity: *social interactions* and *political participation* (Figure 1). These two markers

were chosen using the definition of citizenship described in Section 1.2.3 by taking points (2) “the right to participate in politics, society and culture”, and (3) “the responsibility to participate in politics, society and culture” and applying them in an empirical form. Social interactions aim to encompass the right and responsibility to participate in society and culture, while political participation looks specifically into the right and responsibility to participate in politics.

Understanding the degrees of social interaction that a migrant has with both their home and host communities is one way to conceptualise their citizenship practices, as explained in Section 1.3. By exploring the way Australians both integrate into their host country and maintain ties to their home country, we can begin to conceptualise where they fit in the existing citizenship theory and literature. Transnational citizenship theory suggests that migrants balance social networks in both their host and home countries, incorporating both cultures and societies (Bauböck, 2003). However, the findings in this study show that there are various factors which can influence the balance of these transnational social interactions and experiences in practice, as will be presented.

The political element of citizenship is commonly expressed as electoral participation and, as one of the longest serving indicators of citizenship, this study looks to expatriates’ political participation in both home and host country as a citizenship practice. However, electoral participation is not the only form of political participation a citizen can engage in, and this study explores other forms of political participation as well, as will be described in Chapter 4. Transnational citizenship theory suggests that migrants can be politically active in both their host and home countries, transcending these activities across state borders (Bauböck, 2003). However, as with social interactions, the findings from this study found that there are various factors which can influence the lived reality of political participation across borders, which will be unpacked in this thesis.

Transnational citizenship theory suggests that individuals can balance multiple identities and allegiances, and can be active and loyal citizens in both home and host country (Bauböck, 1994, 2003; Schlenker et al. 2017). This aims to challenge the view in traditional citizenship literature that migrants’ ties to their homeland impairs their ability to form strong ties to their new host country, and that transnational activity may act as a limitation in migrant integration and formation of local identifications (Ronkainen, 2016; van Bochove, 2010). Within these theoretical discussions, the

suggestion is that transnational migration flows generate transnational identities and practices. This thesis also proposes to test these assumptions by exploring the lived experiences of a transnational migrant group, in terms of the final element of citizenship presented in Chapter 5: (4) national identity. Although they may be able to balance multiple identities and be active in both home and host country, this study aims to find out whether they actually do so in practice. Figure 1 provides a conceptualisation of the research approach that frames this study:

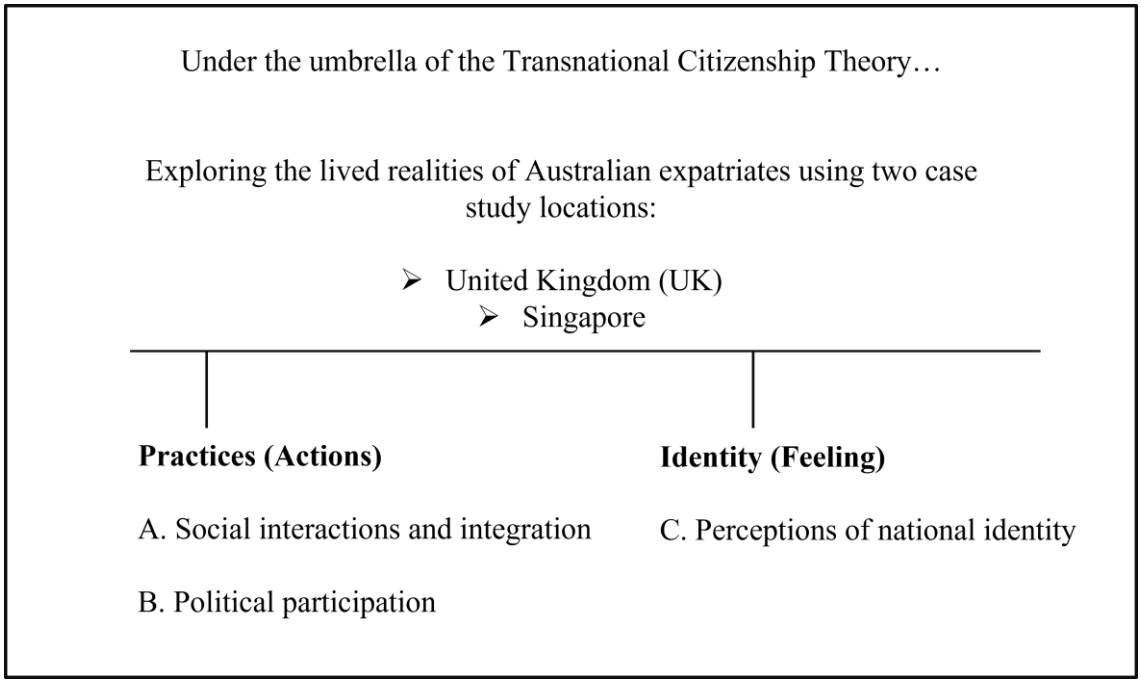

Figure 1. Conceptualisation of the research approach

This thesis thus aims to explore the potential changes in citizenship practices and national identity that might occur as a result of long-term overseas residence. The main research question to be explored therefore is:

Does long term overseas residence impact Australian expatriates' citizenship practices and perceptions of national identity?

Specifically,

1. *Do changes in citizenship practices and national identity occur as a result of long-term overseas residence?*
2. *Does the emigration destination play a role in national identity and conceptions*

of citizenship?

3. *Is transnational citizenship theory a suitable theoretical framework for the exploration of these changes?*

These overarching research questions, in terms of findings and implications, are answered in the conclusion.

In order to answer the overarching research questions, the empirical study explored three different aspects related to citizenship practices and identity namely, social interactions and political participation, and national identity. To most effectively do this, each of these aspects was explored using their own defined research question. The empirical research therefore explored the following research sub-questions:

A. *'What are Australian expatriates' social interactions in their home and host country?'*

B. *'What is the current political participation of Australians living overseas?*

C. *'Does living overseas for an extended period of time affect Australian expatriates' national identity?'*

This thesis is structured around these three questions. Each question is explored in a separate chapter, structured as follows:

A. 'What are Australian expatriates' social interactions in their home and host country?'

This is the core question explored in Chapter 3. Very little research exists exploring the experiences of Australian expatriates, including their social integration and cultural adjustment to their host country. Understanding the social networks and degrees of interaction a migrant has with both their home and host communities is one way to conceptualise their citizenship practices. By exploring the way Australians both integrate into their host country and maintain ties to their home country, we can begin to conceptualise where they fit in the existing transnational citizenship literature. Transnational citizenship theory suggests that migrants balance social networks in both their host and home countries, incorporating both cultures and societies into their identity and practices (Bauböck, 1994). The propositions of transnational citizenship theory are supplemented by Berry and colleagues' (1987) acculturation model, which identifies four main cultural orientations of migrants: traditional or separation;

assimilation; integration, and marginalisation (see also Berry, 1992). Tying the findings into this seminal model allows for deeper explanation and characterisation of social experiences, based on levels of acculturation and social exclusion. Chapter 3 offers specific explorations of the literature on social networks and inclusion first, before presenting findings from the interviews in both Singapore and the UK. The chapter closes with discussion of the role that social interactions and integration in both home and host country play in expatriates' personal perceptions of transnationality, and the influence that different host countries can have on these experiences.

B. 'What is the current political participation of Australians living overseas?

This research question is addressed in Chapter 4. Political participation is one of the oldest elements of citizenship, defining the concept in its earliest manifestations. In Australia, political participation is one of the most integral components of citizenship, so much that it is compulsory for all Australian citizens to vote in federal elections. Additionally, only Australian citizens are allowed to participate in federal and state elections, with non-citizens ineligible to vote regardless of their length of residency. By understanding the way Australians politically participate in their home and host country, we can explore the transnational expression of this citizenship practice and see whether Australian expatriates are politically transnational citizens. Chapter 4 opens with an overview of the literature on political participation across state borders, as well as an overview of the institutional differences between the two case study countries. Findings from the empirical interviews are then presented, followed by a discussion of the role that an expatriate's host country can play in their transnational political participation.

C. Does living overseas for an extended period of time affect Australian expatriates' national identity?'

This research question is addressed in Chapter 5. National identity is increasingly considered an important aspect of citizenship, and this study looks to national identity as a measure of 'feeling' to supplement the analysis of the 'actions' analysed in the preceding chapters. By looking into the national identity of Australian expatriates, we can explore the way that one's personal sense of connection to their home country changes while living overseas, despite how they behave in practice. Transnational citizenship theory suggests that a migrant can balance identity and allegiance with both their home and host country, and this question is designed to explore how this complex

emotional experience plays out in practice. Chapter 5 begins with an overview of the literature looking at migrants' national identity, and looks to existing studies which measure similar experiences. The findings on Australian expatriates' feelings of national identity and changes resulting from overseas residence are then presented. These findings are discussed in relation to the literature, providing analysis of the key themes across both case study locations.

By identifying how Australian expatriates experience these key elements of citizenship while living outside of their home country, this study explores the application of transnational citizenship theory in practice. This study therefore offers both empirical and normative contributions. There has been very little research into the experiences of Australian emigrants more broadly, and none exploring their citizenship practices and identity in this way, thus the findings from this study make an original empirical contribution to the field. Furthermore, Ackerly and colleagues (2021: 5) argue that the collection of original empirical data can strengthen the comprehensiveness of normative political theorizing to "diversify, broaden, and deepen the range of insights, claims, interests, and actors" considered in the development of normative arguments. The findings in this study therefore also contribute to the work of normative theorists by offering original empirical data with which to develop theories in this field.

The following chapter details the methodological approach used in this study. First, the two case study locations are introduced, followed by a description of the target population and study participants. The design of the survey instruments and data collection and analysis processes are also described.

Chapter 2 Methodology

This inquiry into Australian expatriates' national identity, experiences and citizenship practices was founded on a combination of established normative and empirical theory reviewed in the previous chapter, as well as existing literature regarding the specific target population, which will be presented in this chapter. An inductive methodological approach was applied, using transnational citizenship as the theoretical framework to develop a hypothesis and inform methodological decisions. This study was designed using the working hypothesis that Australian expatriates would employ transnational citizenship practices and form transnational identities resulting from their overseas migration. The hypothesis was explored using primary data, and this chapter presents an overview of the data collection and analysis methods used.

Several factors were taken into consideration in the research design process and choice of data collection methods. Transnational citizenship theory suggests that transnational migrants experience connection to and identification with both their host and home country, which can be explored and explained through ongoing engagement across both locations. Due to the complex and often interconnected nature of these experiences, the hypothesis that Australian expatriates are transnational citizens was explored using an in-depth qualitative study with a comparative case study approach. A justification for the selection of a comparative case study approach is presented in Section 2.1. The study participants are introduced in Section 2.2, while Section 2.3 describes the design of the data collection tools. The primary data collection process and data analysis methods are then described in Sections 2.4 and 2.5, respectively. This chapter closes with an overview of the final study sample, presented in section 2.6.

2.1 Comparative case study approach

One aim of this study was to use the case of Australian expatriates to explore the applicability of transnational citizenship theory to this little-researched population. However, researching the Australian expatriate community is challenging due to their size and geographic dispersal. Estimates have indicated that there are at least one million Australian expatriates living overseas at any given time, spread over dozens of countries (Hugo et al. 2003; Parker, 2012). Given the size and geographic spread of the population, the study would require a large number of responses from various locations

in order to conduct a generalizable or representative analysis of an overall Australian expatriate experience. Such a design was unachievable for this study due to various limitations, including financial and time constraints, as well as difficulty recruiting the number and range of participants needed for a fully generalizable study.

The solution to this was to narrow down the research scope to smaller branches within the Australian expatriate community, defined by their geographic location and employing a comparative case study research design. The use of a case study design was appropriate given the desired research outcomes: the purpose of the research findings is not to generalise to the wider expatriate experience, but instead to conduct an in-depth investigation of a specific community and engage in theoretical analysis. Additionally, existing research indicates that the expatriate destination country, or country of residence plays a role in their experiences and decision-making (de Cieri et al. 2009). As a result, taking a comparative case study approach allowed for explorations of the Australian expatriate community using two different geographic locations as individual case studies. This comparative case study approach not only provided the opportunity to make distinct comparisons between two potentially different expatriate experiences, but it was also more achievable given the time and resources available.

The two case study locations were selected in order to determine whether the destination country plays a role in the respondents' identity, perceptions of citizenship and citizenship practices, as has been suggested in the literature (de Cieri et al. 2009; Kempainnen et al. 2022; Wang and Nayir 2006). For example, de Cieri and colleagues (2009) suggest that identity and connection to Australia, which they found to be related to both host country and life stages, were predictors of ongoing connection and intention to repatriate; Wang and Nayir (2006) found that geographic proximity facilitated ongoing social connections and identity with the home country; and Kemppainen et al. (2020) found that those who were able to travel to their home country more frequently, which was related to geographic proximity, had more active social, political and identity ties with their home country. Additionally, Kempainnen and colleagues (2022) found that ability to integrate into the host country influenced a migrant's connection to and practices in both their host and home country. The comparative approach in this study looked at Australian expatriates' experiences in two different countries – the UK and Singapore. Those locations were chosen for their

specific, and possibly influential, differences: physical distance from Australia, cultural differences, strength of the Australian community in the country, legal and institutional differences, and differences in language.

Very limited research has been undertaken exploring Australians living overseas, particularly in a way that identifies demographic trends such as countries of residence. Although becoming outdated, a seminal study by Hugo, Rudd and Harris in 2003 provides the blueprint on which much of our understanding of the Australian emigrant population is based. Hugo and colleagues (2003) found that the UK is the most common destination for Australian emigrants, followed by the United States and New Zealand. At the time, there was a rapid boom in Australian-born departures to Asia, with Hong Kong hosting the largest number of Australian expatriates, followed by Singapore.

The UK, with the largest population of Australians living overseas (Hugo et al. 2003), was selected due to the close historical, political and cultural ties between Australia and the UK, and the possible influence these ties might have on expatriates' sense of identity and integration. Singapore was selected as the comparison against the UK as it is a major Asian hub with a rich international expatriate community, and it offers stark linguistic, political and cultural differences to the UK (Hugo et al. 2003). Additionally, Singapore has one of the largest Australian expatriate communities in Asia, therefore making it a suitable choice in the region as a comparison for responses from the UK. Although Hong Kong had a larger Australian population than Singapore based on the data from Hugo and colleagues' 2003 study, it was not chosen as a case study due to ongoing political unrest at the time. It was thought that the 2019-2020 protests in Hong Kong likely influenced expatriates' experiences and therefore may have impacted their responses to the questions in this study (see Doran and Birtles, 2019). The purpose of the comparative case study approach was to identify whether there were any key differences in expatriates' experiences based on their host country due to factors such as geographic proximity to Australia, cultural differences, strength of the Australian community, legal and institutional differences, and differences in language. As such, Singapore was identified as a robust alternative to compare to the UK.

2.1.1 UK case study

The UK census suggests that there were 165,000 Australians living in the UK in the 2020/2021 census period (ONS, 2021). However, there are technicalities that can

preclude expatriates from being counted in census collection, and Hugo (2006c) suggests these numbers should be assumed as significantly higher than the census indicates. For example, the 2001 UK census counted the number of Australians as 107,817, but other estimates suggested the number of Australians in the UK at the time could have been as high 300,000 (MacGregor, 2003; Hugo, 2006c). Although there are no comparable estimates of the number of Australians in the UK for the 2020/2021 period other than the UK's Office of National Statistics (ONS) census, these census numbers have increased in the past two decades, and it can be assumed that total number of Australian emigrants has increased alongside them.

The UK has traditionally been a popular destination for different Australian emigrants, ranging from working holiday makers to professional career-driven expats. There are several reasons that the UK has long been a popular destination for Australian emigrants. Firstly, Australia's British colonial heritage and long-term UK-Australia migration patterns have created a historic connection between the two countries. All Australians were British subjects until Australia's Citizenship and Nationality Act came into force in 1949, which allowed for an independent Australian citizenship (Irving, 2001). However, Australian citizens also retained British subject status, which they held simultaneously to Australian citizenship, until 1984. Australia has retained ancestral, legal and political ties to the UK, one result of which are the range of visa arrangements available for Australians arriving in the UK, such as:

- The Youth Mobility Scheme visa, often referred to as a working holiday visa. The visa holder is entitled to live and work in the UK for two years, and the visa is available to 18–30-year-old citizens from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Monaco, San Marino and Iceland (UK Gov, 2022a). This visa has the potential to be extended.
- Ancestry visa, available for all Commonwealth citizens who can prove they have at least one grandparent who was born in the UK, Channel Islands or the Isle of Man. The visa holder is permitted to live, work and study in the UK for five years, and are entitled to bring their partner and/or child with them (UK Gov, 2022b). This visa has the potential to be extended.
- Dual British-Australian citizenship, usually obtained through a British parent. Dual UK-Australian citizens have the right to live, work and study in the UK under general UK citizenship legislation (UK Gov, 2022c).

The similarity in language, culture and political and legal systems are as a direct result of Australia's colonial ties to the UK. Like Australia, the UK is a constitutional monarchy where the same monarch is the head of state, while the democratically elected Prime Minister is the head of government. The UK government is organised under the Westminster parliamentary system, many features of which remain in the Australian system of government, such that it is sometimes referred to as a 'Washminster' system as it is based primarily on the UK system but has some United States (US) influence (Thompson, 1980). Much of Australian cultural heritage is connected to the UK, although the desire to shake this cultural tie and develop a new Australian multicultural identity has been discussed by scholars for some time (Castles, 1992; Stratton and Ang, 1994). Nonetheless, one needs only to look at something as transparent as Australia's public holidays (e.g., Easter, Christmas, Queen's Birthday) to see that ties to Christianity and British colonial heritage are still pervasive in the country's cultural fabric (see also Stratton, 2016). As such, the UK as an expatriate host country can be considered geographically distant, but close to Australia in terms of language, political system, heritage and culture.

2.1.2 Singapore case study

The number of Australian expatriates living in Singapore is difficult to determine, as the available data about work permit and visa holders in Singapore is not categorised by nationality. However, Butcher (2006) and Hugo (2006c) both suggested that the Australian population in Singapore in 2006 was around 12,000, making it one of the largest Australian expat hubs in Asia, second to Hong Kong. Of these expats, almost all are well educated and highly skilled, white-collar professionals, and their families (Anderson, 2013; Butcher, 2006; Hugo et al. 2003). Possibly due to the high cost of living and stricter employment laws, Singapore does not invite younger, less educated Australian migrants such as those attracted by the Youth Mobility Scheme in the UK.

The most common visa categories for Australian expatriates in Singapore are:

- The Employment Pass (EP). The company seeking to employ a foreign national must seek out the employee's EP. It is valid for two years as long as the EP holder remains employed in the same company that sponsored them, otherwise the new company has to reapply for the EP for that individual. EP eligibility is contingent on several factors such as education and professional experience,

salary and age, and valid for 2 years with up to 3 years renewal (MOM, 2022a; 2022b).

- The Personal Employment Pass (PEP) is a more flexible and exclusive version of the EP, where the PEP holder can change jobs and bring spouse, children and family with them. To be eligible for PEP, the applicant must be a professional earning more than $18,000/month. The PEP is valid for 3 years and cannot be renewed (MOM, 2022c).
- The Dependent's Pass (DP). If an individual who is sponsored on an EP or PEP wishes to bring their family, the dependents may be eligible for the DP. The company sponsoring the person with whom the dependents are arriving is responsible for applying for the DP. The sponsoring individual must earn $4,000/month, spouses must be legally married, and children must be under the age of 21. The DP is valid for 2 years and is subject to the validity of the EP or PEP to which it is tied (MOM, 2022d).
- Permanent Residency (PR). EP and PEP holders may be eligible for PR under the Professional, Technical Personnel and Skilled Workers scheme (PTS Scheme). Age, employment and education history and salary are some of many factors that get taken into consideration. Applications are reviewed on a case-by-case basis assessing the candidate's qualities, their ability to contribute to Singapore and integrate into society, as well as their "commitment to sinking roots in Singapore" (ICA, 2023: para. 2)
- Unlike the UK, Singapore does not offer dual citizenship. A person who may have obtained two citizenships in childhood will be made to choose whether to remain a Singaporean citizen at the age of 21, and if they do, they will have to renounce their other citizenship (Low, 2017). As such, the likelihood of an Australian living in Singapore with Singaporean citizenship is very slim, and it would mean that they have renounced their Australian citizenship.

Although Singapore has a British colonial history, it does not share the similar heritage ties with Australia that the UK does, and is quite different culturally, linguistically and politically. The island of Singapore was governed by the British Empire and used as a trading post, however its use was largely strategic and it was not settled by British people in the way Australia was. Singapore has a rich and complex history (see Barr, 2019; Tan, 2020) one key legacy of which is the island's multiethnic population. The

population of Singapore was historically self-segregated into ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, with the Chinese, Indians and Malays living in different parts of the island. Today, 80-90% of Singaporeans live in Housing Development Board (HDB) apartments, many of which are self-owned. HDB government housing is organised into ethnically integrated buildings and neighbourhoods, to facilitate social cohesion by preventing to formation of ethnic enclaves. It has strong multicultural policies with an emphasis on respecting different religions and beliefs, as well as national celebrations such as Racial Harmony Day. Despite its multiethnic history and policies, the largest ethnic group in Singapore is Chinese (75.9%), followed by Malays (recognised as the Indigenous ethnic group, 15%), and Indians (7.5%) (Kim, 2021). English is the first language of teaching at school, however most Singaporeans are bilingual as they speak English as well as a mother tongue (often either Mandarin or other Chinese dialects, Malay or Tamil) (Kim, 2021).

Politically, Singapore is a representative democratic republic with the President as the head of state and the Prime Minister as the head of government. Singapore has had full internal self-governance since 1959, and the same political party, the People's Action Party, has been in power since then (Tan, 2011). Accusations of political manipulation have been made among scholars and critics, questioning Singapore's democratic process and freedoms, with Freedom House scoring Singapore 48% free (see: Aglionby, 2001; Andrews, 2015). Outside of the democratic process, Singapore has a strict legal system, with the maintenance of order being a major priority. Some scholars argue that the governance of Singapore, despite being democratic in theory, is in fact authoritarian and paternalistic as it is run by a handful of powerful people with clear long-term goals for the state (Wong, 2013). However, investigation into the variations in this argument is beyond the scope of this study, and the perspectives provided are only intended to give an overview of the possible similarities and differences to the emigrants' home country.

In summary, Singapore as a host country can be considered geographically close, with English as the main language; but different to Australia in terms of its political system, heritage and culture.

2.2 Study participants

Given the goals of this study and the research design, a purposive sampling method was selected as the most appropriate way to achieve research outcomes. The study was not designed with the intention of facilitating wide generalizations, and due to the use of a predominantly qualitative method of data collection, a purposive sampling method (Bryman, 2016; O'Leary, 2005) was considered appropriate. Purposive sampling is a method of non-probability (not random) sampling in which the sample is strategically selected and not intended to be random. The objective of purposive sampling is that the sample is directly relevant to the research question, but still has sufficient variety in terms of sample characteristics (Bryman, 2016). Several principles of purposive sampling were used to identify the sample for this study. Firstly, the principle of sampling by context was used in determining the locations in which to focus the research efforts. As discussed in the previous section, the two locations chosen are both exemplifying cases, specifically selected due to their perceived differences in order to answer certain aspects of the research questions.

The second principle of purposive sampling that was utilised is the selection of participants. Interview participants were selected in order to reflect the target population, based on existing data on Australian expatriates (see Hugo, 2003, 2006b, 2006c). Another important consideration was to try and facilitate enough demographic differences within the sample to allow for comparisons to be made across certain variables.

2.2.1 Characteristics of Australian expatriates

Although there is limited research on Australian expatriates, a review of the existing literature provided some general characterisations. Fullilove and Flutter (2004) identified five types of Australian expatriates and categorised them into the following groups:

1. The who's who — people at the pinnacle of their careers in significant international positions, less likely to return to Australia for work
2. Gold collar workers — an emerging class of highly-skilled and well-paid Australians who are developing their careers on the international stage with intentions to return to work in Australia

3. Other professionals — Australians with professional skills, often working in nursing or teaching
4. Return migrants — first- or second-generation Australians who return to their family's country of origin, either for professional or family reasons.
5. Rite of passage travellers — young Australians who are living or working overseas, often on short-term working holiday visas.

Of these categories, only the first three were considered most relevant in the scope of this research. Return migrants (4) were eliminated from the sample because, although some may move back to their country of origin for professional motivations, the primary characteristic of this cohort is that they are migrants returning to their home country, and as such are not the relevant cohort for this study. Although rite of passage travellers (5) is a notable cohort, they are defined by being very young people, generally high school graduates, on working holidays, who return to Australia within one or two years. Therefore, they are not considered in the "permanent departure" expatriate category and are not the relevant cohort for this study (Hugo, 2006b).

The most popular country which Australians of all ages emigrate to is the UK, which in 2001 accounted for one-third of all Australian long-term and permanent departures (Hugo, 2006b). Following the UK, the US and NZ were identified as popular destinations for Australian emigration. Asia was the next most popular region, with the largest Australian expatriate population residing in Hong Kong, followed closely by Singapore. Malaysia and Indonesia were also identified as having significant populations of Australian expatriates. The study also found that age varied dependent on destination. The expatriate population in the UK were generally in the 20-34 age-group, whereas those living in Asia were a bit older (Hugo et al. 2003). As a result, those moving to Asia, particularly Singapore, are more likely to have children with them, and generally hold higher-paid professional jobs reflecting their experience in the workforce (Parker, 2012). Using this existing background of Australians across both the UK and Asia, Australian expatriates can be described as: young (mostly aged 25-40); highly educated (tertiary education or above); migrating for international employment and career development; and often have young families in tow (children aged 0-5, particularly in Singapore) (Hugo, 2006b, 2006c).

This study fundamentally aims to explore the changes in national identity and

citizenship practices that occur as a result of long-term overseas residence. Given this scope, a minimum length of overseas residence was considered an important factor in sample selection. The working-holiday maker and "rite of passage" traveller group was excluded from the sample, as their overseas residence is mostly temporary and shorter-term, although of course some do eventually settle overseas long-term (Hugo, 2006b, 2006c). This was achieved by implementing a minimum age of respondents, thereby avoiding high-school leavers and gap year travellers. Another method was to target respondents who have lived overseas for a certain length of time. Many working holiday visas allow an individual to reside in the country in question for a maximum of two years, as is the case in the UK (UK Gov, 2022a). In order to remain in the country after the initial working-holiday visa, the individual must then seek out secondary visa options, which can be both difficult and expensive. Alternatively, if they do not wish to return to their home country, they can apply for visas in a third country and relocate there. The effort involved in extending overseas residence past an initial two-year visa, instead of simply moving back to Australia, could be interpreted as an expression of transnationalism. In this context, it was considered that those living overseas for more than three years had made an active choice to live overseas, as opposed to simply travelling or having a temporary overseas experience.

Thus, the target population for this study, in line with the characteristics of Australian expatriates and contextual factors described above, was defined as: *Australian-born expatriates over the age of 21 who have been living outside of Australia for a minimum three consecutive years and are professionally employed.* Additionally, as the case study destinations for the study are the UK and Singapore, it was required that all respondents were residing in one of these locations at the time of interview. Through the use of purposive sampling, it could be ensured that all interviewees matched the criteria, and could also help to satisfy demographic variety within the sample (Bryman, 2016). Some key characteristics that may differ between respondents are: age; gender; reason for relocating; total length of time residing overseas; ethno-cultural background (e.g. second or third generation migrant in Australia).

The Australians interviewed in this study will be referred to as "highly skilled" migrants at times in the thesis, due to their demographic descriptors of education and employment, as identified by Hugo (2006a) and selected through the purposive sampling for this study. However, it is important to address some of the implications of

this term before using it. Much of the literature delineates between "high-skilled" and "low-skilled" migrants, though often these classifications refer to the employment outcomes of the migrant, which is not necessarily reflective of their education, training or skills. Importantly, low-skilled migrants are often in low-skilled jobs due to institutional barriers they face in their host country, not necessarily due to their own skills, experience or education (Subedi and Rosenber, 2016). The term "highly skilled" migrants will be used in this study to refer to professionals moving for employment, as outlined in categories one to three above. However, the privilege of gaining these highly skilled professional jobs, based certainly on their skills, education and experience, but also due in part to the strength of their passport, is not lost.

2.2.2 Sample size and saturation

One of the challenges of qualitative research methods is determining an appropriate sample size. Unlike quantitative methods, there is no clearly defined formula with which to determine the ideal number of participants to recruit for a qualitative study (Bryman, 2016). Warren (2002: 99) suggests that, in order for qualitative research to be publishable, it needs to employ a minimum of 20 to 30 interviews. On the other hand, Gerson and Horowitz (2002: 223) declare that 'fewer than 60 interviews cannot support convincing conclusions and more than 150 produce too much material to analyse effectively and expeditiously'. In stark contrast to this view, Adler and Adler (2012) suggest that the range of interviews should be between 12 and 60, with an ideal mean of 30. As evidenced by the differences in these sample size suggestions, it is difficult to specify a minimum requirement of respondents for qualitative research, and sample size is generally highly dependent on case-specific factors. There is a balancing act involved in sampling for qualitative research, and researchers must recognize and make decisions depending on their individual studies. As Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007: 189) state:

> In general, sample sizes in qualitative research should not be so small as to make it difficult to achieve data saturation, theoretical saturation, or informational redundancy. At the same time, the sample should not be so large that it is difficult to undertake a deep, case-oriented analysis.

A common suggestion is that qualitative data collection must be undertaken until it leads to theoretical or data saturation. Although it is difficult to know the exact number of interviews after which saturation might be reached, researchers can use estimates in

planning their research design and methods.

Theoretical and data saturation are terms used to describe the phenomenon in qualitative data collection and analysis where no new information emerges. There are key distinctions that determine whether a researcher is striving for *data* saturation or *theoretical* saturation. In the case of data saturation, sampling continues until no new findings are generated, whereas theoretical saturation refers to sampling until concepts are fully developed and is generally associated with the use of grounded theory. Thus, data saturation refers to the number of interviews required to reach a "reliable sense of thematic exhaustion and variability" (Guest et al. 2006: 65). Simply put, it refers to the number of interviews after which no new themes or variables within themes emerge in the interview transcripts. Experimenting across a range of interviews in an analysis of the process of data saturation, Guest et al. (2006) found that data saturation was generally reached by about twelve interviews. However, their samples across these experiments were relatively homogenous, and their research focus was quite narrow, which are both factors likely to influence the sample size required to reach saturation point. Given both the research scope of this study and the homogeneity of the target populations, all of whom are Australian-born expatriates living in one of two locations, it was suggested that the saturation point might be similar to that of Guest and colleagues (2006).

The original aims for the study were to recruit 15 interview respondents in each location (UK and Singapore), resulting in a total of 30 transcripts for analysis across the two case studies. However, interest in the interviews was higher than expected, and the final sample size was n=49, (24 in UK and 25 in Singapore). Importantly, analysis conducted throughout the data collection period indicated that data saturation was reached earlier than this point, and it was concluded that further interviews were not required. The final sample will be further detailed later in this chapter, following an overview of the methodological conceptualisation and the data collection process.

2.3 Design of primary data collection tools

2.3.1 Mixed methods approach

National identity is a complex topic of research, composed of both social and psychological elements. In order to encompass this complexity, this study used a mixed

methods approach, which facilitated a variety of question styles. The study took a primarily qualitative approach, allowing for the collection of in-depth information to paint a clearer picture of the respondents' experiences. However, there is evidence suggesting that certain quantitative tools can be useful when researching more abstract topics such as identity, particularly when asking respondents questions such as "how much" they identify as something (Snel et al. 2006; van Bochove et al. 2010). In order to gain a clearer understanding, this study thus combined primarily qualitative data collection and analysis, with a smaller element of supporting quantitative data. The qualitative data collection took place using semi-structured interviews, during which rapport could be built with the respondents and the personal topics of national identity and citizenship could be explored. Participants were also asked to complete a short pre-interview questionnaire, in which they provided basic demographic information and were prompted to categorise their identity and experience using relevant quantitative tools. In addition to providing quantitative answers, the use of a pre-interview questionnaire allowed the respondent to answer a number of relevant questions without adding time to the already lengthy interview.

A number of methods and questions used in conducting this research were adapted from a similar study by van Bochove and colleagues (2010). The team conducted research into the transnational practices and identifications of migrants in The Netherlands, using a mixed methods approach that combined both closed and open-ended questions in an interview context. The focus on transnational practices and identification of migrants resulting from their international relocation has a number of overlaps with this study into Australian expatriates. Namely, the hypothesis on which this study is based is that Australian expatriates will display transnational citizenship practices and trends, much like the migrants interviewed for van Bochove and colleagues' 2010 study in The Netherlands. In their study, van Bochove and colleagues (2010) used closed-question quantitative methods to get an insight into patterns of citizenship within the respondent group, and then harnessed the qualitative interviews to gain further insight into these findings. For example, by asking respondents a multiple-choice or yes/no question in a pre-interview questionnaire, van Bochove and colleagues (2010) could then use the whole interview time to tackle the reasoning behind this response, potentially gaining more information than if they had simply asked the question in the interview.

Another reason why this specific mixed methods approach was adopted was due to

ethical considerations. One of the key aspects to be mindful of when conducting human research is the cost or effort it will take people who participate (Bryman, 2016). The types of questions being asked in this study were quite personal, so it was considered especially important to also be aware of the power dynamic between interviewer and interviewee (see Anyan, 2013; Brinkmann and Kvale, 2005). As a result, some important considerations when developing this study were: how much time respondents could be reasonably expected to give up in order to participate in the interviews, and which questions did not need to be asked during the interview time. Considering this, it was decided that interviews would be limited to maximum one hour in order to prevent participants from burning out, becoming agitated or losing interest (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2005). Many of the important lines of inquiry which were needed to answer the research questions were suitable to be asked in a closed-ended format. These questions were therefore presented in multiple choice or yes/no style questions in the pre-interview questionnaire, freeing up the limited interview time for more open-ended questions that may have required more elaboration.

The use of a mixed methods approach in this study allowed also for triangulation of responses between the quantitative and qualitative data. The concept of triangulation was originally developed as a way to increase confidence in research findings by utilising more than one method in the development of measures. When simplified, triangulation can be understood as the use of 'more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena' (Bryman, 2016: 386). It can refer to the use of various sources, including the cross-reference across primary and secondary data sources, or the use of more than one method of data collection, as with a mixed methods approach. By utilising more than one method, different types of data can be collected and used to explore a broader range of variables and strengthen findings. These findings could then be further triangulated with other sources, such as secondary sources, which can add both depth and credibility (Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2016; Marshall and Rossman, 2011).

An example of the use of triangulation in this study is identifying interesting findings from the quantitative data, and then consulting the open-ended qualitative responses for further elaboration or explanation about the findings. The questionnaire alone was not an effective source of data due to the small number of responses, nor was it expected to be used to generate representative or generalisable findings. However, the quantitative findings were used in conjunction with transcripts from the in depth semi-structured

interviews in order to gain a clearer understanding of the respondents' experiences and sentiments.

Details of each step of the data collection process, as well as the reasons for use and suitability to this study, are explored in the following sections.

2.3.2 Quantitative pre-interview survey

The first part of the mixed methods approach was the use of a pre-interview questionnaire (copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix 1). The use of a short questionnaire to be completed prior to commencing interviews was selected for a number of reasons. Firstly, it allowed the respondent to provide their basic demographic information quickly and easily and prevented the interview commencing in an interrogatory style. There is the concern that starting an interview with questions like "How old are you?", "Where do you live" and "What gender do you identify with" might place unnecessary distance between the interviewer and interviewee and could resemble a police interrogation instead of a friendly interview environment (see Bryman, 2016 for more information of interview flow). Given the personal nature of the interview questions, it was decided that the interview time be best used by easing into casual conversation and building rapport with the participants. However, the use of a short questionnaire ensured that the basic demographic questions were covered, as they are ultimately important in the analysis process and for understanding the overall sample.

Secondly, there were certain questions that were useful in addressing the research questions and topic overall, but that did not necessarily require extensive elaboration in an interview format.

Examples of this are multiple choice questions such as:

> Do you vote in any of the following (please circle all applicable):
> i. Local elections in country of residence (UK/Singapore)
> ii. National elections in country of residence (UK/Singapore)
> iii. State elections in Australia
> iv. Federal elections in Australia
> v. Other
> vi. I do not vote anywhere

Because the questionnaires were completed before the interview, the interviewer was able to read through the responses and identify any relevant follow-up questions in order to get a more detailed perspective. Using the example above, a response such as "v. Federal elections in Australia" or "vi. I do not vote anywhere" could facilitate follow-up questions during the interview. For example: "Why is it that you continue voting in Australian elections despite living overseas?" or "I see you chose 'other' as the option in the question here about your voting habits… Could you please explain what you mean by that?". In addition to political participation, some other topics that were addressed through the questionnaire include: property ownership in both host and home country; social networks; membership to Australian clubs and groups; remittances; and how often the respondents visit Australia. Understanding these factors can shed light on how the expatriates that were interviewed engage with their Australian citizenship, and whether they demonstrate transnational citizenship practices.

In addition to citizenship practices, this study set out to explore respondents' national identity and any changes to their identity that they may have experienced since relocating. These are questions that are quite rooted in psychology, and some questioning styles have hence been borrowed from the field of psychological research. Ronkainen (2010), Schildkraut (2011), and van Bachove and colleagues (2010) have adapted these psychological research methods for sociological and political studies, and their work helped to guide the question development for this study. For example, the use of circle scores (Figure 2) allows respondents to visualise their feelings and chose the response that most represents their identity, a task that can otherwise prove challenging (Snel et al. 2006; van Bochove et al. 2010).

Because identity can be a complex and difficult feeling to express, it has been suggested that visual tools can help an individual make sense of this feeling, ultimately providing a quantifiable response. Simply put, the idea behind circle scores is that sometimes it

can be easier to look at a diagram and say "this picture represents me", rather than find the words to explain that feeling oneself.

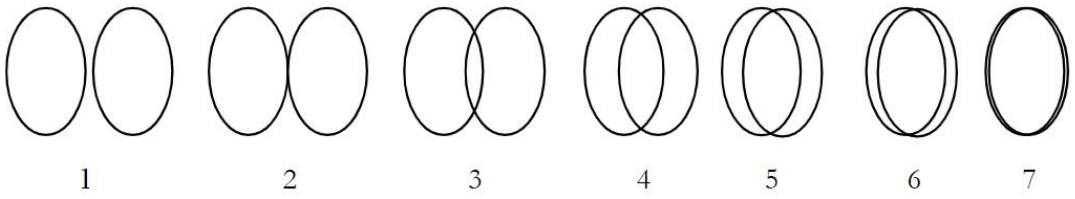

Figure 2. Example of 'circle scores' type of question

Respondents were asked the closed question 'which of the following drawings best represents how you identify in relation to the following groups': (1) other Australian expats in your country of residence (UK/Singapore); (2) locals in your country of residence (Brits/Singaporeans); (3) other Australian expats around the world; (4) those Australians still living in Australia. The numerical response to this question was only used as a starting point to help the respondent think about their identity in relation to these particular groups. Participants were asked to elaborate on their responses to these circle scores in more detail in the interviews, contributing to the qualitative data.

In addition to the circle scores, the questionnaire also included two Likert-scale questions. The first asked respondents: 'On a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being "not at all" and 10 being "very much so", how strongly did you identify as "Australian" *before leaving Australia*?'. Comparatively, the second Likert-scale question asked respondents: 'On a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being "not at all" and 10 being "very much so", how strongly do you identify as "Australian" *now, having lived outside of Australia for a period of time*?'. The use of two separate scales with 'before and after' questions provided the opportunity to explore any differences in identity as a result of moving overseas. It is acknowledged that the 'before' question requires respondents to use hindsight to remember how they felt, and hence might not be accurately reflective of their sentiments at the time. Despite this, the comparative approach provided some insight into potential changes in identity, and also allowed the respondents to reflect on these changes before discussing their identity further during the interview.

By providing a visual representation of a feeling that is otherwise difficult to describe, both the Likert scale and circle score questions allowed respondents to consider their identity in a more tangible and unambiguous way. This serves several purposes. Firstly,

accessing these more visual questions in the pre-interview stage prompted respondents to think about their identity before the interview itself, perhaps helping them to prepare for the interview questions. Secondly, it allowed for a degree of quantitative analysis to assess differences in responses based on other variables, as well as some triangulation.

These quantitative responses were used as a reference during the qualitative interviews, and built on in more depth through open-ended questions. The use of a mixed methods approach consisting of both quantitative and qualitative elements provides opportunity for triangulation of data in the analysis process, which has the potential to provide a deeper insight into variations and trends, and can add credibility (Bryman, 2016; Marshall and Rossman, 2011).

2.3.3 Qualitative data collection

Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were the primary form of data collection used to gather the findings for this study. National identity and an individual's personal experiences with their own identity and any transitions they may have undertaken since relocating are quite personal topics, and need to be approached accordingly. Although the questions presented in the quantitative pre-interview questionnaire do touch on certain topics of identity and citizenship, interviews were selected as the main source of data, allowing respondents to elaborate on points that they feel most relevant.

When selecting the appropriate method of interviewing, several factors were taken into consideration. Firstly, the nature of the research questions meant that respondents' personal views and anecdotal stories were of upmost relevance. Although it may be possible for personal views to be obtained through closed questions such as those commonly found in a questionnaire or highly structured interview, the potential for extrapolation can be lost (Bryman, 2016). However, it was also important that the selected method of data collection was consistent enough across all the respondents in order to facilitate appropriate analysis, including case-study comparisons and triangulation. The intention was for interviews to allow respondents to share their experiences and stories openly, while still keeping the conversation sufficiently on-topic to ensure all the information required to address the research questions would be obtained (Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2016; Marshall and Rossman, 2011)

The semi-structured interview design was selected as the main form of data collection in order to address the aforementioned factors. The semi-structured interview is defined by

the use of an interview guide, referring to a list of questions or specific topics to be covered during the course of the interview. The respondent has a lot of leeway in how they can reply, but the researcher aims to ask all of their listed questions in the course of the interview, and use fairly similar wording between interviewees (Bryman, 2016). It was expected that certain questions could lead to unrelated deviations and, given the time and resource constraints, balancing both interview depth and effectiveness was a priority. By adopting a semi-structured approach, the interviewer was able to provide respondents the flexibility to talk about their experiences without pigeon-holing their responses, while ensuring that the same, most relevant questions were asked across all interviews. Consistency between the interviews was especially important because this study used a comparative case-study approach, which was adopted in order to analyse differences and similarities in responses and experiences between the two locations (the UK and Singapore).

Although it is beneficial to give interviewees the opportunity to discuss their perceptions freely, the interviewer should have a list of questions and an interview guide to ensure they obtain all the necessary information in order to address their research questions (Bryman, 2016; Knight, 2002). There are set research questions that this study set out to explore and answer, making the use of a detailed interview guide an essential tool for reaching the desired research outcomes. A full copy of the interview guide is available in Appendix 2.

In order to facilitate a degree of consistency, all interviews were undertaken with the help of an interview guide consisting of a list of questions to be asked to each participant. The development of interview questions was undertaken over a series of steps. Firstly, the researcher studied existing literature to get an insight into the types of inquiries made in similar studies. It is important to get an understanding of the tried and tested methods that other researchers have used, their findings, and any recommendations they have for future studies. During this process, a number of studies were found to be similar in scope and contained valuable methodological information and advice (see de Cieri et al. 2009; Parker, 2012; Ronkainen, 2016; van Bochove et al. 2010). Secondly, an understanding of the theoretical developments in citizenship studies exposed the potential for this study to add to the field, and shaped the types of questions asked in relation to transnational citizenship. The third element taken into consideration in the interview guide development were the research questions.

The overarching research questions that this study aims to answer are:

Does long term overseas residence impact Australian expatriates' citizenship practices and perceptions of national identity? Specifically,

1. *Do changes in citizenship practices and national identity occur as a result of long-term overseas residence?*
2. *Does the emigration destination play a role in national identity and conceptions of citizenship?*
3. *Is transnational citizenship theory a suitable theoretical framework for the exploration of these changes?*

These questions were explored using the following empirical questions:

A. *'What are Australian expatriates' social interactions in their home and host country?'*
B. *'What is the current political participation of Australians living overseas?'*
C. *'Does living overseas for an extended period of time affect Australian expatriates' national identity?'*

Hence, the interview guide thematically addressed each element of the research questions, with reference to transnational citizenship theory.

As the interviews were qualitative and semi-structured, verbatim recitation of questions across interviews wasn't necessary. However, it was important that the key themes were consistently addressed, so that the information collected across the sample was sufficient to answer the research questions with integrity (Babbie, 2016; Knight, 2002). The interview guide was compiled thematically. The interviews began casually, with *initial open-ended questions* that avoided too much probing but allowed both the interviewer and interviewee to settle into the conversation and flow of the interview. Next, there were the *intermediate questions*, which made up the bulk of the interview and included more probing, direct and specific questions. After this, there were *ending questions* that helped the interviewer slowly close the conversation while continuing to obtain depth and clarity from the interviewee (Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2016; Charmaz, 2002).

Some examples of types of questions asked, and the different categories in which they would fall:

- *Initial open-ended questions:* 'What originally made you decide to move overseas?'; 'Have you lived overseas before?'
- *Intermediate questions:* 'What does being Australian mean to you?'; 'Has your sense of national identity changed since living overseas?'; 'You said in your survey response that you no longer vote in Australia, could you please elaborate on why that is?'
- *Ending questions:* 'Do you see yourself moving back to Australia or are you settled living overseas?'; 'Did you have anything else that came to mind during the interview that you would like to share?'

It was expected that the different types of questions would likely overlap somewhat during the interview, and there was no strict structure as long as the interview continued to flow well and the fundamental questions were addressed.

2.3.4 Pilot testing and confirming questions

It was important to undertake pilot interviews before commencing data collection in order to assess a number of factors: a) whether the interview questions were appropriate and not too invasive; b) if enough essential information could be gathered in the proposed interview time; c) flow and relevance of the questions; d) whether the mixed methods approach was effective; e) interpretability of questions in the questionnaire; and, most importantly, f) what the experience was like for the respondents. Pilot testing was conducted using four participants with similarities to the target population, all of whom were known to the researcher. Two of the pilot test participants had recently returned to live in Australia after an extended period of overseas residence. Two of the participants were residing overseas at the time of the interview, which were conducted via a video-conferencing application. The participants were selected as they had experience living overseas and therefore could answer the questions more genuinely, providing the researcher with a more realistic interview scenario. Additionally, they were in a position to be able to provide feedback about the types of questions asked and how the questions made them feel, given their lived experience and any related

emotional responses. By conducting these pilot interviews, the researcher was able to narrow down on the questions they felt were most beneficial, and also had the opportunity to practice asking more difficult or personal questions. The responses from the pilot interviews were not used for analysis with the final sample and served purely for testing purposes.

The pilot interviews conducted online via a video-conferencing application turned out to be particularly beneficial for the actual data collection process. Initially, online pilot interviews were conducted for two main reasons: 1) to speak to people currently living overseas for the most representative testing, and 2) to practice adapting the existing methods to be used online should the need arise. At the time of pilot testing, the plan was to travel to the case study destinations in order to conduct interviews face to face. The idea was that, due to time and resource limitations, the researcher would only physically be in each destination for a limited amount of time, so there was the chance that additional interviews might need to take place online if data saturation was not met while the researcher was in the destination country. As will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.4, the experience of conducting pilot studies online proved to be extremely beneficial in preparing the researcher for disruptions to data collection that were caused by the Covid-19 pandemic.

2.3.5 Ethics application and considerations

As with all human research, there are ethical considerations of this research and institutional ethical guidelines to which researchers must adhere. In order to ensure that the recruitment and research methods carried as low a risk as possible for participants, a number of recommendations were made: a) that the research be advertised in a way that allows potential participants to make contact with the researcher by their own choice and without pressure; b) that there be full transparency about participant confidentiality and the use of any data collected; c) that ongoing consent be sought and that participants know that they can withdraw from the research at any point prior to thesis submission. Following an initial review by the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Adelaide (HREC), the study was approved for initial recruitment and face to face interview methods. There were a number of changes required to both the recruitment and data collection methods as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic and the subsequent shift to online research (see next section), which required a new application to the

HREC. Revisions were made as suggested, and the study received final approval from the University of Adelaide HREC (approval number H-2019-170, with the approval letter presented in Appendix 3).

2.4 Data collection

2.4.1 Methods in practice

The preliminary development of this study included plans to travel to the UK and Singapore over the course of 2020, in order to conduct face-to-face interviews with respondents in the case study locations. Face-to-face interviews were chosen as the main form of data collection for a number of reasons, mainly the ability to build confidence and rapport with interviewees in order facilitate comfortable discussion about a personal topic. In this face-to-face scenario, the intention was to meet with interviewees in a public place such as a café or park, give them a hard copy of the questionnaire sheet to fill out on the spot, and then conduct the interview immediately afterward using a hand-held voice recorder.

However, when Covid-19 was declared a pandemic in March 2020, and international travel was halted almost immediately, it quickly became apparent that the intended methods would need to be revised to accommodate this disruption, and would require a shift to online research methods. Full details of this change in approach are described in a paper published in SAGE Research Methods (Larson 2022a), with an overview presented here.

No changes were required to the research questions, the original sample or data collection instruments (questionnaire and interview guide), but the recruitment and data collection methods had to be completely revised. Instead of being conducted face-to-face, the interviews were done online via the video-conferencing application Zoom. Once contact with participants was made and an interview time was established, the participants were then sent a copy of the questionnaire via email and asked to return it before the interview. They filled it out either electronically or by printing and scanning or photographing, and returned it to researcher via email. The researcher then had access to the document before and during the interview and was able to refer to the responses while speaking with the participant on Zoom. All of the participants chose to use video cameras, as did the interviewer, and the combination of visual and audio

communication allowed for a pleasant degree of personability and intimacy otherwise not available through methods such as telephone interviews. With the participants' consent, the interviews were audio recorded using the Zoom recording feature, as well as a hand-held voice recorder as a back-up in case of unexpected glitches in the software. No video recordings were saved, and only audio recordings of the interviews exist.

Although the last-minute transition to online methods was daunting and posed a risk of some arguably negative effects on the research, there were in fact several unexpected benefits that emerged from the changes.

Some of the advantages and disadvantages of shifting the research methods online due to the pandemic were foreseeable, and others were more unexpected. The first concern was the reliability of conducting the planned mixed methods approach online. The data collection was originally designed to take place in a face-to-face format in order to help the interviewer foster a connection with the respondents and, through that, enable deeper discussion about the personal topics covered. This design was specifically selected in order to acquire the most accurate data, and the need to shift to online methods raised questions regarding the depth of interviews that might be achievable. Additionally, the pre-interview questionnaire was to be administered in person immediately before the interview, which was not possible with the new design. Instead, the questionnaire was emailed to respondents to do in their own time and return before the interview.

Despite the researcher's initial doubts, the mixed methods approach was arguably more effective online than it might have been face-to-face. In hindsight, filling the questionnaire out in front of the researcher might have actually skewed the responses for a number of reasons: a) the participants may have felt pressured to rush through the questionnaire if the researcher was watching them complete it; b) they may have felt awkward or pressured into selecting certain responses that were perhaps not as accurate; c) they could have asked questions about the questionnaire while completing it, potentially affecting their response. By doing the pre-interview questionnaire independently in their own time, the respondents were able to complete it more organically and interpret the questions themselves. Additionally, completing the questionnaire days in advance of the interview, instead of five minutes before, gave participants the opportunity to think about the questions and reflect on their identity and

feelings. This change also gave the researcher more time to read the responses and consider any follow up questions during the interview. A controlled study would need to be undertaken to see how differently respondents would react in either scenario, but the findings form this study indicate that this time for reflection strengthened the conversations in the interview themselves. This methodological finding is a significant contribution to enhancing the effectiveness of mixed methods research.

Conducting the interviews themselves over video-call during the pandemic also proved to have a surprising number of advantages. According to Bryman (2016) one of the main considerations when planning and conducting human research should be the cost or effort it will take for those who participate. In the original face-to-face design, the biggest cost for participants would have been the time, effort and any transport fees associated with travelling to and participating in the interview. In the face-to-face interview context, the respondent would have had to take time out of their day, travel to an agreed location and answer somewhat personal questions about their identity by a stranger in a public place. The interview itself was intended to take about one hour, but the entire process could have cost the participants far more in these related physical and emotional costs. It is important to be mindful of the range of factors that can influence the power dynamic between the interviewer and interviewee when conducting human research (see: Anyan, 2013; Brinkmann and Kvale, 2005; Karnieli-Miller et al. 2009). Interestingly, conducting interviews via video call had the surprising advantage of alleviating many of these costs. Participants were able to log into the video call from their home, in a space that they feel comfortable and can be themselves. Not only could this have made them more relaxed and open for the interview, it is also less of a disruption to their day as it alleviates any travel time or the mental load of planning to reach a set destination by a certain time. Additionally, since the participants had already sent their questionnaire to the interviewer before the video call, the one-hour interview slot could be used to focus entirely on the interview itself, maximising the conversation.

Another unexpected advantage that resulted from conducting the interviews online was the opportunity to use the in-app audio recording feature on Zoom. Conducting an interview on video call with little background noise and an in-app recording feature resulted in crisp, clear and easily interpreted audio recordings, in turn simplifying transcription process. One other very specific and not necessarily replicable advantage that came from conducting research during the Covid-19 pandemic was that people in

the case study locations were in lockdown at the time of research. Pandemic restrictions drastically increased many people's discretionary time, which made it easier than expected to facilitate interviews. It is also possible that the interviews provided them with an opportunity for social connection they may have felt was lacking during the pandemic. See Larson, 2022a for an in depth overview of the benefits of shifting from face to face to online methods for this study.

Despite the number of advantages described above, the biggest empirical obstacle for this study was the recruitment process, outlined in more detail in the following section.

2.4.2 Recruitment

As mentioned in Section 2.3.5, ethics requirements changed once the research shifted to online methods. One such requirement was the recruitment process, which underwent significant changes. The initial recruitment process to be used for face-to-face research relied quite heavily on advertising through the Australian High Commission in the case-study locations, as well as subsequent snowballing. The Australian High Commission in both London and Singapore had agreed to assist with advertising the project, and contact had also been made with a number of Australian social and professional groups and clubs for assistance. In addition to this form of advertising, the researcher had been invited to some social events held by embassies and social clubs in the host countries in order to network with potential participants and make them aware of the project.

However, once the pandemic was declared, these pre-arranged recruitment methods were no longer available. Embassies around the world were understandably preoccupied with assisting their citizens with a range of pandemic-related challenges, and were hence unable to help in the recruitment of participants as planned. The recruitment not only had to move entirely online, but now without the input of Australian embassies as planned. The researcher contacted a number of Australian expatriate organizations and social clubs to see if they could advertise the study through their mailing lists or social media pages, but no responses were received. Hence, the main channel for online recruitment without assistance from Australian groups and organisations was to turn to social media. Initially, the researcher was hesitant about using social media because it can be perceived as less professional and there was concern that it would detract from the academic nature of the study, however, recruitment options were limited. Once the HREC approved the use of social media recruitment, the research project was advertised

through posts in relevant Facebook groups, which contained a short summary of the project and an email address for potential participants to establish contact. Very little contact was established from the initial social media posts, and there was concern that this recruitment approach was not gaining enough attention. One concern was that the social media posts were either coming across as unprofessional, or simply not standing out enough to get the desired traffic. The solution to this was to create a website for the project, which allowed all of the information about the study to be found in one place in a concise, visually appealing and interesting way. Having a website potentially allowed the project to come across as more "legitimate" than it would in a short Facebook post. The website also had a "contact me" box at the bottom which was connected to the researcher's email account. This allowed those who were interested to quickly and directly establish contact, further simplifying the process for the participants. The website was quickly approved by the HREC, and the recruitment process continued via social media posts in expatriate groups, however this time with a link to the website provided. The website not only provided an efficient and interesting way for participants to get information about the project, but it also drew attention to the social media posts themselves by adding a colourful thumbnail image. The research project was eventually advertised in ten different expat-specific Facebook groups, and several potential participants across both locations established contact and interest in the project.

In addition to the initial social media recruitment, snowball sampling was consequently used to find further participants. As described by Bryman (2016: 415), snowball sampling is "a technique in which the researcher initially samples a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research. These participants then suggest others and so on". Additionally, Bryman (2016) considers snowball sampling as a non-invasive and effective means of recruitment, and hence an ethical means to find new participants. In the case of this project, interviewees were asked to share the website link with any Australians they knew who might be interested in participating, and those individuals were then able to contact the researcher directly. This method supplemented the online recruitment nicely, and a number of interviews were arranged through snowballing by people who enjoyed their own interview process.

2.5 Data analysis

In total, 49 questionnaires and interviews were collected for the purpose of this study. Demographic data from the pre-interview questionnaires were entered into Excel and respondent characteristics were summarised into a table. Using Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney nonparametric tests, this data was explored using the SPSS software (Version 27, IBM) for potential differences between the UK and Singapore samples. Null hypothesis which states that 'k' number of samples has been drawn from the same population or the identical population with the same or identical median, was tested in terms of age, education, gender and length of time overseas. Quantitative responses linked to identity (as per Figure 2) and Likert-scale responses were summarised and are presented as figures and tables. Primarily, they were used for further explorations during the interviews.

All interviews were consensually audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. Transcripts were analysed for emerging themes using content analysis (Weber, 1990). The qualitative data analysis computer software package NVivo 12 (QSR International) was used to analyse for the most frequently occurring words or themes in transcripts across each activity. The analysis was run to include stemmed or similar words (for example, 'cultur-e' was stemmed to also include 'cultur-al'). Following this preliminary word frequency analysis, responses to different questions were coded into nodes across the whole sample. These nodes were then analysed for any emerging whole-of-sample themes. Then, the responses from the UK and Singapore were separated into two lists, with the same analysis process undertaken for each case study location. Finally, the responses to the interview questions were coded into themed nodes separated by the empirical research question and the corresponding survey questions, the analysis of which was undertaken for each location separately. This process allowed for an initial analysis of any themes that emerged across the whole sample, as well as case study specific responses to the questions.

Below is a list of the empirical research questions that guided this analysis and examples of the corresponding interview questions that were coded for each.

A. 'What are Australian expatriates' social interactions in their home and host country?'

   e.g., Who do you most socialise with in (host country)? → Y/N node.

Why? → sub-node.

Are you part of any Australian-specific social organisations? → Y/N node.

Why? → sub-node.

B. 'What is the current political participation of Australians living overseas?'

e.g., Your questionnaire says you no longer vote in Australian federal elections? → Y/N node.

Why? → sub-node.

C. 'Does living overseas for an extended period of time affect Australian expatriates' national identity?'

e.g., Questionnaire says Australian identity was a 10 before leaving and it is now a 6? → More/Less node.

Can you expand on this? → sub-node.

An overview of the final sample of participants is presented in the next section. Results of the primary data collection are presented over the next three chapters. Chapter 3 addresses the role of social interactions and integration, while political participation is presented in Chapter 4. Findings related to participant perceptions of their identity, are then presented in Chapter 5.

2.6 Overview of the final sample

In total, 49 expatriates were interviewed, 24 living in the UK and 25 living in Singapore (Table 2, next page). UK participants were slightly younger than those in Singapore (average age of 40 versus 41.5); but have on average been overseas longer than those in Singapore (11 and 8 years, respectively). In both locations, respondents were predominantly female (67% in the UK and 60% in Singapore). In both cases, participants were highly educated, with 38% of UK and 60% of Singapore respondents holding a post-graduate degree; and only 29% of the UK sample and 12% of the Singapore sample holding qualifications below a bachelor's degree.

Key characteristics of the study sample indicate that the sample is indeed in line with the objectives of this study to capture long-term expatriates living overseas. As per Fullilove and Flutter (2004), they typically fall under categories of people at the pinnacle of their careers in significant international positions; highly-skilled and well-paid Australians who are developing their careers on the international stage; and Australians with professional skills.

Table 2. Key characteristics of respondents in the UK and Singapore (n=49)

Characteristic	Singapore (n=25)	UK (n=24)
Age		
Under 30	1 (4%)	5 (21%)
31-40	8 (32%)	5 (21%)
41-50	12 (48%)	11 (46%)
Over 50	4 (16%)	3 (12%)
Gender		
Female	15 (60%)	16 (67%)
Male	10 (40%)	8 (33%)
Years overseas		
Under 5	13 (52%)	8 (33%)
5-10	5 (20%)	6 (25%)
11-20	6 (24%)	7 (29%)
Over 20	1 (4%)	3 (13%)
Education		
High school	1 (4%)	2 (8%)
Diploma/ TAFE	2 (8%)	5 (21%)
Bachelor's degree	7 (28%)	8 (33%)
Post-graduate	15 (60%)	9 (38%)

Chapter 3 Social interactions and integration

The theoretical framework presented in Chapter 1 concluded with the 'emerging research questions', as conceptualised in Figure 1 in Section 1.4. Preparations for and details of the primary data collection were then described in Chapter 2. This Chapter now addresses the research questions and presents findings relevant to the first empirical question:

> A. 'What are Australian expatriates' social interactions in their home and host country?'

Through qualitative interviews with Australians living in the UK and Singapore, this study questioned Australian expatriates' social interactions as a way to explore their integration and acculturation into their host country and, in turn, to understand the transnationality of their social fields. The study aims to understand the social networks and cultural orientation of Australian expatriates in their host country, as well as any continuing ties to their home country. In order to gain an understanding of Australian expats' social networks and determine any differences in experience based on country of residence, respondents were asked about the following:

i. Social networks - who they most socialise with and why.

ii. Membership to Australian groups or clubs in their host country, as well as the decision behind whether to join clubs or not.

iii. Interactions with their home country and community in Australia.

This chapter starts with an overview of the literature related to the social networks and interactions of migrants and expatriates (Section 3.1), before moving to the findings (Section 3.2). The chapter closes with a discussion of the results in Section 3.3.

3.1 Overview of the literature

Very little research exists exploring the social integration and cultural adjustment of Australian expatriates in their host country. Yet, understanding the social networks and degrees of interaction a migrant has with both their home and host communities is reported in the literature as one way to conceptualise their citizenship practices. By exploring the way Australians both integrate into their host country and maintain ties to

their home country, we not only begin to conceptualise where they fit in the existing citizenship theory and literature but can use their experience to push existing theoretical boundaries. This thesis hypothesises that transnational citizenship theory can be used to explain the citizenship perceptions and practices of Australian expatriates. Transnational citizenship theory suggests that migrants balance social networks in both their host and home countries, incorporating both cultures and societies into their identity and practices (Bauböck, 1994). This process can be seen in migration literature, as scholars use the idea of transnational social fields to connect migrants' experiences, and social network analysis is integral in understanding these spaces (Glick Schiller and Fouron, 1999; Lubbers et al. 2020). Transnational social fields are defined as:

> An unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the borders of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to-day activities of social reproduction in these various locations. (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2001: 544)

By egocentric networks, Fouron and Glick Schiller (2001) refer to the specific analysis of the individual, and the way they describe local and/or transnational relationships. When undertaking social network analysis within transnational social fields, the individual is the central node because understanding transnationalism involves studying individuals' daily lives and experiences (Glick Schiller and Fouron, 1999). In order to understand how a migrant experiences social membership across transnational fields, it is important to explore who they interact with and how, which involves both the degrees of integration into their host society and degrees of connection maintained with their home society (Molina et al. 2015).

An overview of relevant migration literature and the factors affecting migrants' integration in a host country, including social, cultural and bureaucratic inclusion and exclusion, is presented first. After this, the focus of the literature will narrow to the social networks of highly skilled migrants specifically, in order to help inform and contextualise the experiences of the highly skilled Australian professionals in question. The empirical findings on the social networks and integration of respondents in both the UK and Singapore will then be presented, and their experiences will be discussed and analysed in relation to the literature.

3.1.1 Inclusion and exclusion of migrants

Many states rely on migration for population management, particularly tackling issues such as low birth rates, aging populations and worker shortages (Tuckett, 2018). However, despite this need for an increase in international migration, the bureaucracy and institutions managing migration flows are often exclusionary and challenging to navigate. According to Xiang and Lindquist (2014), migration flows are becoming increasingly bureaucratised in order to regulate the number and type of migrants allowed to enter a state. There are a number of reasons for this, such as the perceived threat to wages of native workers or cultural tension, though these issues often create political divides between economic protectionists and cultural conservatives of the right and supporters of economic market liberalism and humanitarian streams of the left (see more: de Haas et al. 2019; Massey 1999; Schain 2008). The reasons aside, the increasing regulation of migration flows has led to the implementation of migration infrastructures, the purpose of which is to manage migration flows across state borders. Migration infrastructures can make the legal and bureaucratic process difficult for foreign migrants to navigate, with many continuously navigating the "webs of administration" within a host country (Reeves, 2013: 511). Tuckett (2018) argues that a migrant's legal or visa status can have a significant influence not only on their everyday rights and activities, but their integration into a society. Those with stronger legal standing have a more secure experience and greater integration into their host country, but in many states legal status can be "highly precarious and contingent" (Tuckett, 2018: 18). International migrants move away from networks and safety nets they have in their home communities and systems, and the social and bureaucratic changes involved in moving between countries can make it difficult for them to manage risk. Formal social services in the host country are often limited for migrants, with restrictions based on length of residence or legal status. This can create a dependence on employers to meet social security needs where the migrant is not eligible in the state system, and often their basic legal status in the host country (e.g. visas) is directly dependent on their employment status (Avato et al. 2010; Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2011).

In addition to these factors, the way a migrant is socially constructed in the host community can influence the availability of both formal and informal social support (Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2011). Ngan and Chan (2013) consider the division of differences and similarities as crucial to the 'othering' of migrants in their host country.

They suggest that social status in a host country is often attached to factors such as length of residence, ethnicity, place of birth and shared history and culture. The insider/outsider dichotomy is reinforced by the social policies of the host country, and the state's categorization of migrants, and consequently their acceptance by the host community is often based on 'historically situated social constructions of ethnicity, race, class and gender, which are influenced by hegemonic ideas of belongingness' (Ngan and Chan, 2013: 319).

There is much literature exploring the impact that cultural disparities have on the way different migrant groups integrate into their host country. There are four cultural orientations of migrants as recognised in Berry and colleagues' (1987) seminal acculturation model, which will be used to explain the social experiences of respondents in this study: (1) *traditional*, or 'separation', where the migrant retains loyalty to their home culture and does not accept the host culture; (2) *assimilation*, or 'cultural shift', the migrant rejects their home culture and embraces the host culture; (3) *integration*, the migrant retains their home culture and identity while simultaneously accepting that of the host culture; and (4) *marginalisation*, the migrant rejects their home culture and also fails to connect with the host culture due to exclusion (Berry, 1992; Berry et al. 1987; Renzaho, 2009). Importantly, levels of acculturation and social exclusion are found to be directly interwoven at the structural, group and individual levels within the host country (Renzaho, 2009). The more differences a migrant has from their host culture, the more difficulty they generally have integrating and being included in the community (Breton, 1964; Ngan and Chan, 2013; Toh and DeNisi, 2007).

3.1.2 Social networks of highly skilled migrants

Three main settings of social interactions of highly skilled migrants have been identified in the literature: the work environment; existing migrant communities in their host country; and web-based social networks or home country engagement (Guo et al. 2021; Plöger and Becker, 2015). Those working in international environments with other foreign colleagues are more likely to create social networks in the workplace than those who predominantly worked alongside host country locals, with whom it is often harder to build relationships. Much like other migrant groups, highly skilled migrants tend to find social networks in communities from their home country or those with a shared language, culture, or lived experience. These communities might be interest based such

as sporting groups, or simply social clubs specific to members of a particular nationality or culture (Guo et al. 2021; Plöger and Becker, 2015). Social media allows for these migrant communities to exist virtually, connecting migrants to members from their home country through groups such as "Australians in Singapore" on Facebook. Various types of social networks have been shown to influence processes of adaptation in the host country. In one of the only existing analyses of Australian expatriates' experiences living in Singapore and Asia more broadly, Butcher (2009) found that expatriates' interactions with local colleagues, the expatriate community, and with 'home' all impacted on the process of adaptation and sense of self.

The process of acculturation and social networking is facilitated by both the host country nationals and the migrants themselves. Lauring and Selmer (2009) found that expatriates' choice to socialise within the comfort zone of their national groups creates acculturation and integration challenges in their host countries. However, some studies have found that perceived differences between expatriates and host country nationals can create an outgroup categorisation, where the locals avoid interaction with the expatriates and therefore hinder their potential to integrate into the host country (Ngan and Chan, 2013; Toh and DeNisi, 2007). Langinier and Froehlicher (2018) found that smaller financial hubs with strong international workforces, such as Luxembourg and Singapore, attracted expats who had an interest in forming international social networks and who showed very little interest in the local community. These hubs showed a clear border between the expat community and the locals, who had very little interaction with one another. On the other hand, they found that there was less distinct divide between the international community and the locals in London because expats and locals spoke the same language, worked in the same companies, and interacted in similar social scenes (e.g. city bars), facilitating more intergroup networking and socialisation (Langinier and Froehlicher, 2018). Butcher (2009) found that Australians' social networks in Asia were made up predominantly of other expatriates, and difficulties forming relationships with locals were largely due to differences in workplace and social practices.

In an early influential study, Breton (1964) found that the main factors affecting social networks of highly skilled migrants were their social, cultural and linguistic similarities to the host population. The study found that expatriates who have relatively similar social and cultural norms to the host country population were less likely to participate in

expatriate social networks than those with differences from the host population. This finding has since been reaffirmed in several different host country and expatriate groups. For example, Meyer (2001) found that the degree of differences in social norms were a good indicator of how likely expatriates were to participate in either local or expatriate social networks. If expatriates shared social norms with the host country population, then they were more likely to socialise with locals and therefore less likely to form expatriate social networks. Similarly, in a study looking at skilled migrants, Kennedy (2004) found language to be a significant factor affecting social networks. The findings suggested that the inability to speak the host country language increased the chances that skilled migrants would form expatriate social networks rather than engaging in local social networks. In their study into expats at multinational corporations in several countries, Langinier and Froehlicher (2018) found that English speaking host countries facilitated easier social integration due to the shared language proficiency.

While studying the social networks of British financial elites in Singapore, Beaverstock (2002) found that they either socialised with other British expatriates, or those from other Western countries. They argued that the expatriates lived in very exclusive expatriate enclaves in which they were separated from and could avoid socialising with the local Singaporeans. The study also suggested that stark differences in social and cultural practices, particularly around "alcohol and watching sporting events", created a further social divide between British expatriates and the host country population (Beaverstock 2002: 534). This is similar to the findings from Butcher's (2009) study which showed that differences in communication styles, workplace practices and interpersonal interactions acted as barriers to interaction between Australian professional and host country colleagues in Asia. Although they were considered, the influence that racial and colonial relations may have on the perceptions or integration of Australians in Singapore have not been explicitly addressed in the literature. As such, this thesis will refrain from making any conclusions on these lines.

Wang and Nayir (2006) conducted a comparative case study between European expatriates in Turkey and in China during which they found that the differences in local culture, environment, social norms and geographic proximity to home country all played a role in expatriate social networks and integration. They found that those living further from home felt more isolated from their existing home networks, for example

due to less frequent visitation or more drastic time differences, and therefore had more incentive to create closer social networks and support systems in their host country (Wang and Nayir, 2006). In contrast, they found that European expatriates living in Turkey were geographically much closer to their homeland and therefore made more frequent visits home and easier telecommunication, allowing them to stay more closely connected to home social networks and therefore being less incentivised to build relationships in their host country. Similarly, Plöger and Becker (2015) found that high-skilled migrants used telecommunication technologies to maintain frequent contact with friends and family in their home country. However, the findings suggested that more frequent and ongoing contact with their home communities prevented migrants from investing as much time and energy as they would otherwise put into creating networks in the host country, and also took away the 'need' to establish local connections.

Cultural differences, particularly factors such as gender egalitarianism, language and religious norms, were also found to strongly influence expatriate social network formation in the host country. A number of countries have informal social systems and ways of networking that newcomers must get accustomed to before they can socialise or do business effectively. Arguably the most well-known of these is the Chinese *guanxi*, the networks or connections that underpin all social and business relationships, one's place in society being deeply connected to their g*uanxi* being deeply embedded in their place in society (Ledeneva, 2008; Li et al. 2012). However, these types of networks exist in communities all over the world, such as the *jinmyaku* in Japan; *yongo* in South Korea; *wasta* in the Middle East; and *jeitinho* in Brazil (Georgiadou and Horak, 2016; Horak and Yang, 2016; Horak et al. 2020; Ledeneva, 2008; Rodrigues et al. 2011). Expatriates must adjust to existing social, cultural and behavioural systems, both in and out of the workplace, and a failure to do so can affect sociocultural adjustment and integration into the host country (Guo et al. 2021; Toh and DeNisi, 2007). Toh and DeNisi (2007) consider host country nationals as essential "socializing agents" who can directly enhance expatriates' adjustment. The information and support provided by host country nationals can help expatriates decipher the social and cultural codes and behaviours in the host country, enhancing their integration potential and reducing the stress of adjustment (Toh and DeNisi, 2007). They found the support of host country national colleagues was a key part of expatriates' sociocultural adjustment. However, the host country nationals' desire to support and socialise with expatriates is linked to

the salience of their national identity. Greater perceived differences result in a higher likelihood of outgroup categorisation by host country nationals and, subsequently, poorer sociocultural adjustment of expatriates.

There are a range of factors that influence expatriates' social networks, which in turn affects their experiences and integration in the host country. The key factors identified in the literature can be summarised as: shared history, language and culture; similarities or differences with host nationals; length of residence; legal or visa status; geographic proximity to home country; and the type of expat (e.g., expat choices). Understanding expatriates' networks is a valuable way to measure the transnationality of their social fields, which can influence their length of overseas residence, their social identity and their ties to their home country. The following section presents empirical findings on Australian expatriates' social networks in the host and home country.

3.2 Findings

3.2.1 Social networks in host country

Significant differences emerged in responses from expatriates in Singapore compared to those in the UK.

Respondents in Singapore were overwhelmingly friends with other expatriates, both from Australia and elsewhere, albeit predominantly Anglo countries (the UK and the US). Only 5% of respondents indicated having any local Singaporean friends (Figure 3). Comparatively, 40% of respondents indicated almost all of their friends were other Australians; while 35% identified their social network to be a balanced mix of expats from both Australia and elsewhere, and 25% suggested most of their friends were expats from other countries (Figure 3). These findings are in line with Beaverstock's (2002) study on British expatriates in Singapore, which found that British expats either socialised with other Brits or expats from other Western countries.

In comparison to Singapore, respondents in the UK were extremely well integrated into the local community (Figure 3). None reported socially interacting predominantly with other Australians, while 19% of respondents indicated their social networks in the UK were made up of a mix of Australians and other expatriates/migrants. Meanwhile, 24% of respondents reported having quite international social networks made up of a range

of nationalities living in the UK, while 57% of respondents in the UK identified their social networks as predominantly made up of local British people (Figure 3).

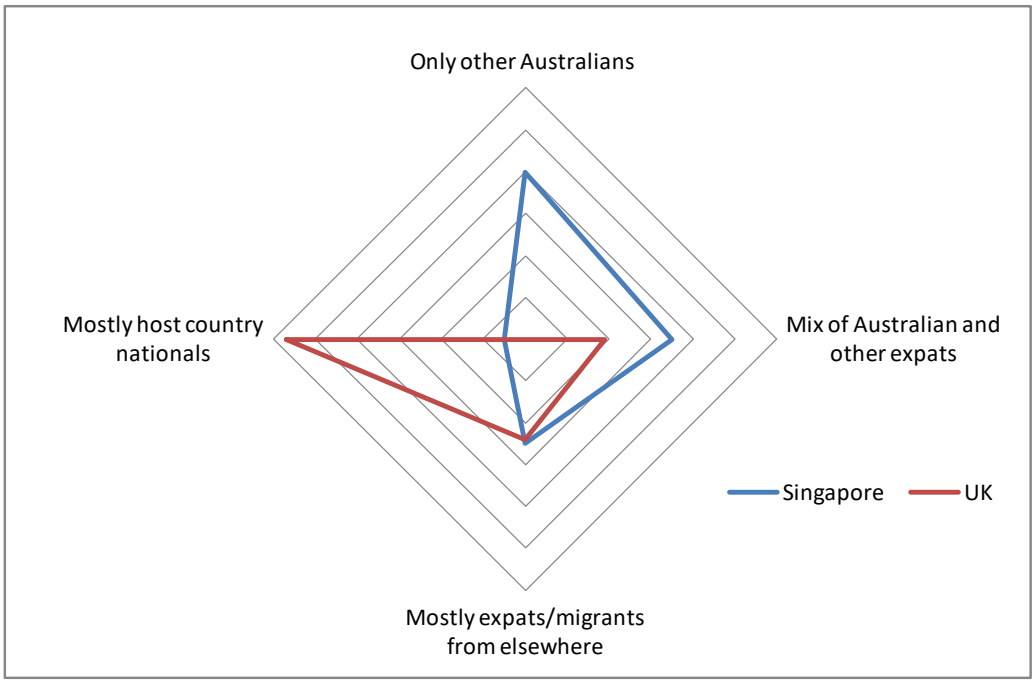

Figure 3. Social networks of Australians living in Singapore n=25) and the UK (n=24), as a percentage of respondents reporting

Due to this marked difference in responses, qualitative data of Singapore respondents will be presented first, followed by explanations from UK respondents.

In Singapore, the state-sanctioned separation of citizens and non-citizens in both residential neighbourhoods and school systems and its impacts on formation of social networks was discussed by several respondents. Over eighty per cent of Singaporeans live in Housing Development Board (HDB) apartments, which are not available to foreigners, and their children almost always attend local government schools (HDB, 2023; Lian, 2019). The condominiums and international schools are predominantly occupied by foreign nationals and have hence resulted in a progression towards "expat-centric" social groups. The people that Australians in Singapore interact with on a daily basis in their neighbourhood, supermarkets, schools and recreational facilities are exclusively foreign nationals, the majority of which are highly skilled expats like themselves.

> *"Because locals don't live in condos, either, they live in subsidised [housing] or HDBs. Also, because local kids are not allowed to go to international schools*

here and foreign kids aren't allowed at local schools. So yeah, I don't see a lot of locals … We all live in harmony, but we all know our places." Respondent 20, Singapore.

"Predominantly, they [friends] are a lot of expats. And in part, that's because where I live, I live in a condominium and there are a lot of expats living in my condominium. Then I live in a neighbourhood which is a bit of an expat enclave. And then I come to work, and my workplace is very international, so there are lots of people, you know, research fellows, my peers who are also from other countries. So you know, I do have a lot of Australian friends but I also have friends from India, Europe, the UK, all over the place." Respondent 1, Singapore.

The presence of an Australian international school in Singapore was attributed as a key factor bringing those with children into contact with other Australian families.

"So the [Australian international] school is definitely a socialising area. And like, when we didn't have the virus, like the cafe, there would be mums there literally all day, like just having coffee and talking all day, and the school doesn't mind, they encourage it, so it's not a problem which is great. It's such a good way to socialise. ...And because their kids go to the Australian school as well. So we've probably become the closest with them." Respondent 17, Singapore.

"I'm always making new friends, but because my main connection is the Australian school, that's where most of them are coming from. I don't like randomly go out and try to make friends with people." Respondent 4, Singapore.

Most of the expatriates interviewed in Singapore mentioned their partners or spouses, and almost all of them had moved to Singapore with their partner or as a family with children. All but one respondent who mentioned a partner was in a relationship with or married to another Australian. It seems particularly easy for those who move as a family and send their children to the Australian school to then interact predominantly with other Australian couples and families, and therefore maintain the Australian network in which they live. One respondent had a Singaporean wife with whom he lived in HDB housing and shared a child, and he was by far the respondent with most contact with the local Singaporean community. However, despite being married to a local and

interacting with her networks, he still indicated that his personal social networks were mostly with other expats.

Of the expats who have friendship groups outside of Australian networks, almost all are still involved with other expat groups. There is a wide mix of cultures and nationalities living and working in Singapore, so it is not uncommon for Australian expats to have friends from other nationalities.

> *"It's about 70% Australian, then the next group is New Zealand and South African. And then there's people from everywhere. Like France, South America, Spain, Italy. Yeah, so it's a bit of a mix, but mainly Australia." Respondent 4, Singapore.*

> *"I don't know, it wouldn't be weighted in favour of Australians, I would say. I mean I've got a couple of Australian friends, but I also have, you know, a lot of UK, I guess, and Americans." Respondent 2, Singapore.*

> *"I suppose we don't gravitate towards a particular group, it's very mixed, there are a lot of different cultures here. We had a friend here last night who is German, and he's married to a South African wife. We have another friend who is Irish and has a Chinese Australian wife, we see them a lot." Respondent 3, Singapore.*

Respondents also commented on the transience of friendships in international hubs such as Singapore. Most people move to these hubs for two to three years, and then move on, meaning that friendships and social networks can change quite frequently. Despite this transience, the general composition of friendship groups often remains the same, consisting of Western expats.

> *"The thing is that because you mostly hang out with expats and it's quite transient, you have so many people coming and going. So if you'd asked me that question, two years ago, I would have said most people are American. At the moment, most people are Australian, just as a fluke. So it just it depends, but yeah, it's always expats." Respondent 10, Singapore.*

> *"One of the things that is a downside of being an expat is that people often swing through on two to three year timeframes. So you'll, you know, go to a baby group and you'll make a great group of 10 friends. And then within four*

years, there might be two left, so you have to start again." Respondent 16, Singapore.

Some respondents felt that the transience of the expat community was another barrier preventing their ability to form local social networks. They believe that the short-term residence of most international professionals makes it less appealing to locals to invest in forming friendships with them.

"I'm happy to be friends with locals but they're not as happy to be friends with me because they see me as transient, like, you're not gonna be here for long so why would I bother." Respondent 18, Singapore.

Despite these mixed friendship groups, there was still not much interaction reported between the expat community and the local community. A few respondents commented on the "superficial" nature of any relationships they develop with locals. The stark differences in culture and lifestyle can be a barrier to expats forming close friendships with local Singaporeans, with whom they have less in common than with other Western expats.

"With locals it's just difficult, it's usually quite superficial like, you know, you meet a lot of different people here, but in terms of then being friends or just going beyond that sort of acquaintance stage, like, it's definitely not the locals. It's gonna be the expats. And then I think for me, it's more that anyone who's got anything to do with Australia, that's probably more of a friend then." Respondent 7, Singapore.

"So, generally speaking, I would say, most of the people that we connect with most closely are Australians, and then outside of that, you know, Americans, one of my best friends is American … I have connections and work colleagues and people that I'll go for a work lunch with and socialise within that respect amongst the local community, but not people that I would necessarily see outside of work or consider more than an acquaintance." Respondent 11, Singapore.

In addition to these reported differences in cultural interests that make it challenging to connect with locals, a few respondents in Singapore commented on a growing "anti-foreigner" sentiment in Singapore. This sentiment can act as a barrier between the two groups, reducing social networks and integration, and even creating distrust and social

divide.

> *"Um, locals, it's difficult. Especially at the moment, because there's a very anti-foreigner sentiment happening as unemployment grows, and the perception that white people are taking jobs, so, it's very difficult to build those bridges." Respondent 13, Singapore.*

> *"There is a Facebook group where locals upload photos of expats who are breaking rules, like wearing a mask wrong or something. And then the police find these people and they can get deported, it's happened a few times. And all of the comments by the locals are like 'good riddance' and stuff like that. And so this group has become very big, they just post photos of you, and you wouldn't even know. And a lot of the people [expats] are saying that they feel targeted, because, you know, technically we are foreigners here right, so I think that's where that comes from, I think that's why the expat community sticks together, because we are foreigners here and there is a bit of resentment between the locals and the foreigners, and you know, the locals do sometimes target the expats." Respondent 17, Singapore.*

Although Singapore is a popular international hub, anti-foreigner sentiment is not uncommon in immigrant receiving countries (Igarashi and Laurence, 2021), and Singapore is not exempt from this (Lian, 2019). There has been growing anxiety among Singaporeans about both their personal livelihoods and the changing ethnographic landscape of their country due to the influx of highly educated professional migrants. There are various discussions about why this is the case (see: Brugola and Flood, 2022; Gomes, 2013; Yeoh et al. 2016), but it is not surprising that this sentiment is felt by the foreign migrants towards which it is directed, including the respondents in this study.

The findings indicate that there is a very clear divide between locals and foreigners in Singapore. Expatriates live in enclaves of expat filled condominiums, and their children attend international schools. Local Singaporeans, on the other hand, live in government assigned citizen-only neighbourhoods and their children almost always attend local government schools. The only exemption to the government housing and schooling systems for Singaporean locals is if they are married to a foreigner. In that case, exemptions are sometimes made allowing Singaporeans to live in the international condos and send their children to the international schools (Lian, 2019). Thus, findings

from the interviews suggest that both cultural differences as well as geographical and institutional divisions separate Australian expatriates from the local Singapore population. This is an important empirical contribution, and this finding and its theoretical implications will be analysed in the discussion section of this chapter.

Overall, the strong Australian community in Singapore has allowed expatriates to live very Australian lives, despite being in Singapore. As one respondent describes it:

> *"It's very much like, we are the Australian people, we're going to hang together, we're going to do football together, we'll go to the Australian pub, and we've all worked out how to import our favourite Australian beers." Respondent 9, Singapore.*

In comparison, the social networks and reported interactions of Australian expatriates living in the UK were markedly different.

Unlike Singapore, the residential composition of neighbourhoods is not regulated in the UK, and individuals are more likely to be surrounded by people from different demographics and backgrounds. There are some suburbs in London which are notably popular with Australians, particularly young working-holiday makers, however the selection criteria for this study did not include people in that demographic. Further research would be needed in order to compare the social networks of short-term working-holiday residents to those of longer-term migrants.

The successful integration of Australians living in the UK can be attributed to a number of factors, all reported as related to the shared history and culture between the two countries. The UK and Australia are connected through their colonial history, shared language, and cultural norms; and are now both multicultural societies.

The cultural similarity between Australia and the UK facilitates a smooth transition into UK society for those moving from Australia.

> *"The tolerance level, that ebb and flow, perhaps, is quite strong, so you're not coming up against any hard boundaries with each other." Respondent 12, UK.*

Not only are Australians accepted in the UK, but they are also often revered for their "easy-going" attitude while simultaneously being hard workers with much to contribute. Many respondents refer to themselves as the "token Aussie" in their friendship group, and some suggest that they "play up" this part of their personality. It seems that this

point of difference is perceived as a positive in their UK networks and can be used as a social leverage.

> *"I met a whole bunch of his [colleague] mates as well who sort of took me under their wing, so I became the token Aussie in the group and stuff." Respondent 21, UK.*

A number of respondents commented on the clear difference between the way they are perceived and accepted despite being 'outsiders' in the UK compared to people of other cultures. Some expressed the sentiment for Australians specifically, and others also captured New Zealand and Canada in this category:

> *"Because we're from Australia, Canada, New Zealand. We're let into the club initially, already, we don't have to prove ourselves in any way, and we share a lot of the same cultural understanding, same humour." Respondent 12, UK.*

These responses raise questions regarding the role of race in the reception and integration of Australians into the UK. This study did not intend to engage with discussion or analysis of race relations and the role that Whiteness plays in integration, and as such the questioning was not targeted enough to engage in sufficient analysis of this topic. However, these findings suggest that the role of 'culture' versus 'race' when it comes to migrant integration may be a distinction worthy of further study.

Interestingly, despite most respondents having a majority of British friends in terms of quantity or frequency of socialising, it was suggested that often they connected the most deeply with other Australians, even if they don't know many of them. The majority of the respondents in the UK had at least a couple of close Australian friends, despite socialising predominantly with locals and not considering the Australians as a key part of their social network. This was attributed to the shared experience of sharing a home country and having similar experience of acculturation in their host country, which only other Australians in the UK could relate to.

> *"There is just something nice about having at least a couple of friends of the same culture, which is Australian, there's just, it gives a certain connection. So the cultural reference points are common. Whereas even with the English, and English speakers, there's not the fluency of communication as far as jokes or something like that, sometimes." Respondent 15, UK.*

"So I've got a handful of Australian friends who I can share experiences with and stuff that other people might not know about … If there's an art thing by a particular Australian artist or something [we go together] … In most of my circles I'm definitely the Australian one, but I do have my Australian friends too, for that kind of stuff." Respondent 11, UK.

The respondents who had been in the UK longer term often reminisced on having previously had a stronger Australian network, but that it became more localised over time. A number of respondents initially came on working holiday or shorter-term trips with Australian friends, and then either got good jobs or met a British partner and stayed in the UK longer term. As is common with younger working-holiday or 'rite of passage' Australian travellers in the UK, these respondents were deeply entrenched in Australian networks, mostly in London. However, they integrated into the local community as they stayed for longer, and their networks consequently shifted to reflect this.

"So in 2007, when I came to the UK, I had 17 Australian friends who were here, who I knew from Australia. So I was 27. And we were all doing the two-year visa thing, but I knew 17 people, which is quite remarkable. And now I only know two [Australians], and they're the same ones as I came over with." Respondent 16, UK.

"I came on a working holiday in 1985 with a couple of girlfriends, and actually two of us stayed and married English guys … So, we were here together and she was my really close girlfriend, but she's moved back now [to Australia]. But, um, I have no Australian friends here now, no." Respondent 18, UK.

There appears to be a degree of confidence that seems to come with living in the host country for longer, where respondents report no longer seeking the familiarity of fellow Australians as they become more comfortable integrating into wider networks.

"I mean, probably in the beginning, I would have sought those relationships out and friendships out [with Australians], just because you just have that sense of familiarity with those, you know, just even hearing the voice. But I mean, now, I wouldn't, even if I was to be introduced to someone that was from Australia, I probably wouldn't look to seek more, like, friendships out of that purely because they're Australian, I don't see any value in that." Respondent 10, UK.

However, a handful of respondents did suggest they prefer socialising with Australians and actively seek them out despite living in the UK. This was attributed to an "instant connection" and "ease" that comes from having similar experiences and being from the same country.

> *"Um, so it's just, it's just kind of easier, really. And, you can kind of let your guard down a little bit, maybe. Because you know, that there's an instant sort of familiarity, I suppose." Respondent 22, UK.*

Overall, Australians living in the UK proved to be very well integrated into the local community. Most respondents had British work colleagues and neighbours with whom they socialised, if not simply friends they met through mutual social networks and common interests. At least half of the respondents interviewed in the UK had British partners, which influenced not only their social networks but also the degree to which they have integrated into and connect with the UK as a host country, for example:

> *"I didn't really have that many friends over here until I met [partner's name] and his group of friends. And I became adopted, kind of, by that group." Respondent 11, UK.*

> *"My partner is English, so I met him not even two years into being here. So, you know, he's been a big part of my life here and obviously, all of his friends are from the UK as well, so we have all of his friend network and family network and they're all here." Respondent 20, UK.*

Having a partner in the host country can influence not only the sense of inclusion in the community, but also consequently the duration for which the individual stays (Meier, 2015; Vance and McNulty, 2014). Three of the respondents were living in the UK because they had children with former partners who are British, and they chose to remain to be close to their children. This is indicative of the degree that social networks and interactions with locals can influence the immigrant experience. This distinction between quantity and quality of friends is interesting, and it is important to distinguish between these two factors when attempting to quantify social networks. There is much debate about the different approaches to conducting a social network analysis, including whether to measure depth of friendships or numbers of friends (see Lubbers et al. 2020 for a detailed overview). However, the aim of this study was not to undertake a thorough and quantifiable social network analysis, but to identify the social trends of the

Australians interviewed and use this to determine the transnationality of their social fields. One finding to note is that the analysis showed the respondents' ethnic heritage (including race) did not emerge as a significant variable in their social networks or integration into their host country. The sample size prohibits a definitive conclusion about this variable, but this is something worthy of further exploration in future studies.

The findings in this section highlight how diverse Australian expatriates' social networks in their host country can be, and that these social networks are not necessarily self-selected, but can be related to cultural and institutional factors. As such, normative conceptions of transnational migration and citizenship should consider the role that independent barriers or enablers of social integration in the host country can play in migrant experiences and behaviour. Much of the literature regarding barriers to integration tends to focus on the migration experiences of vulnerable migrants, with far less empirical and normative focus on privileged migrant groups. Though the experiences of vulnerable migrants are critical and worthy of continued study, the findings in this study fill a gap and expand the range of experiences researched, offering new insights with which normative arguments can be developed going forward.

3.2.2 Australian clubs and groups

The second factor explored in order to understand the social interactions and citizenship practices of Australian expatriates was their involvement in Australian-specific clubs or groups. Literature suggests that migrants with strong ties to their home country are involved in home country groups within the host country. Responses between Australians living in Singapore and the UK were not very different in this respect. Just over half were not involved in any Australian clubs or groups in their host country (58% of respondents in Singapore and 53% in the UK).

Of the Australians interviewed in Singapore, 42% indicated they were members of Australian-specific social clubs and sporting groups, as well as Facebook groups. Some respondents are part of netball and football clubs, which they say make them feel like they are not very far from home. One respondent said:

> *"I mean, you can largely live an Australian life here. I play a game of footy on a Saturday and go out for beer with the team afterwards." Respondent 5, Singapore.*

The Australian High Commission in Singapore hosts regular events attended by a number of expatriates interviewed in this study. Association with the High Commission is not only a way for Australians in Singapore to stay up to date with affairs that might affect them, the events are also a way for members to socialise and connect with other Australians living in Singapore. The events are generally Australian orientated, for example the Australian Film Festival held for ten days during March 2022 (AHC SG, n.d.), and members can attend as a way to stay connected with their home country.

The group that Australian expatriates in Singapore most commonly reported being part of is the Australian and New Zealand Association (ANZA). ANZA was established in 1949 and today boasts a 7000+ strong membership base. ANZA welcomes all nationalities, with around 40% of membership coming from a broad range of nations outside Australasia (ANZA, 2022a). They run sport events, ranging from netball to nippers, and host over fifty events per year, such as an Australia Day barbecue and Melbourne Cup Day parties, as well as smaller events like social drinks and book clubs (ANZA, 2022a). Almost every expatriate interviewed in Singapore made mention of ANZA, whether positively or negatively. ANZA is an easy first point of contact for new arrivals to Singapore from Australia and New Zealand, and expatriates interviewed reported being a member of ANZA at some stage of their residence in Singapore. A number of respondents reported leaving ANZA once they became more settled in Singapore, as they felt the $185 annual membership fee (ANZA, 2022b) lost value unless regularly attending events or using ANZA services. Of the respondents who were not part of any Australian clubs or groups, 42% had once been part of ANZA and had not renewed their membership as they felt it did not match their interests and they were not "getting enough" out of the events.

Almost all of the 58% of respondents in Singapore who were not part of Australian clubs or groups were in fact part of some kind of expatriate or international club, just not Australian specific ones. They wanted to make friends with likeminded people, but felt that being an expat was enough of an identity and lifestyle overlap and that it did not have to be Australian specific. One respondent said

> *"Yeah, it's not important to me if you're Australian or not. It's your worldview and your sense of humour and your interests." Respondent 19, Singapore.*

Some explained that it feels ignorant to socialise only with other Aussies, and that

joining Australian specific clubs felt like a step too far.

> *"Staying in my little Australian bubble and being in the Australian club with Australian friends. I feel it's disrespectful to the country that I'm in. So I feel I need to adapt to that." Respondent 10, Singapore.*

> *"I wouldn't deliberately seek out groups of other Australians. If I meet them, fine, but joining Australian clubs is a bit much. Because to me that sort of defeats the purpose of not being there [Australia]." Respondent 14, Singapore.*

Overall, membership in Australian specific clubs and groups was mixed, with more recent arrivals benefitting more from joining groups like ANZA due to the ease of integration or sense of comfort of being in an Australian community. The large international expat community in Singapore provides numerous clubs and social groups for Australians to join, and they do not need to be nationality specific. Almost all expat clubs in Singapore are open to different nationalities, so Australian expatriates can join based on interests and hobbies rather than nationality.

Similarly, in the UK, 47% of respondents indicating some sort of Australian specific membership. Of those who were part of Australian clubs or groups, 40% were only involved in Facebook groups and did not participate more tangibly than that. The remaining 60% of those who were members of Australian clubs suggested that they were quite active in their membership, and engagements varied from volunteer groups, political organisations, sporting and social clubs. The most commonly cited membership was the Facebook group 'Aussies in London', which had 55,000 members as of July 2022. It has been active for several years and is an easy starting point for new arrivals in the UK, particularly to London. The group administrators post links to useful resources such as accommodation options and job recruitment, or how to do international bank transfers to Australia from the UK. The majority of respondents in the UK reported being part of this Facebook group at some stage while living there, although many have since left the group because:

> *"a lot of the time, it's, you know, it's 20 year olds coming to London to go stupid for two years and, you know, go on Contiki tour things. Like it's not, it's not the same sort of thing that I am doing anymore, I guess, so I don't get much out of it." Respondent 23, UK.*

Outside of Facebook groups, the most commonly cited group was the international

support group for the Australian Labor Party (ALP), known as ALP Abroad. ALP Abroad is not part of the ALP's official structure, but is a network of Australians who meet up for both social and political events to form a community of supporters of the ALP who want to contribute to "an Australia to be proud of while we are overseas; and [one] that will continue to provide opportunity and fairness when we return". Although they are not officially a faction of the ALP, the group often organises talks with ALP politicians when they are in London, including a range of other activities from helping with polling booths at elections to social drinks and quiz nights (ALPA, 2021). According to their website, they regard themselves as "a great way to meet likeminded Australians while overseas" (ALPA, 2022), which is a sentiment matched by a number of interviewees.

Outside of the ALP, several respondents are also part of other types of social groups, with sporting clubs being a popular way to engage with the Australian community.

> *"I try to keep in touch with those sorts of Aussie things [AFL club], I think, just so I don't completely lose touch with it." Respondent 21, UK.*

A handful of older respondents who have been in the UK for over ten years said they are part of Facebook groups and provide support and guidance to newly arrived, younger Aussies who are homesick or need help.

> *"I've reached out to a few, like, some people have had some really sad posts [in Facebook groups], and I reached out and I said, you know, like, 'you can come for a roast dinner here' or 'I've got kids at your age and I'm sure they'd be happy to meet up with you for a drink' and they've had chats with me for the next couple of weeks and stuff." Respondent 18, UK.*

> *"I try and support them [young/homesick Aussies], you know. I have a strong sense of my own community, and I do a lot of support for it. And that's important to me, and it gives me something. Every time you participate in something, you don't do it for nothing, you do it for something for yourself, it connects me to my home country." Respondent 17, UK.*

However, 53% of respondents in the UK are not part of any Australian groups or clubs. A handful of the respondents in this category did have the intention to join an Australian club or group, but had never acted on it which indicated it was not a high priority. The majority of these respondents who were not part of Australian clubs or groups said they

did not feel the need to seek out Australians specifically, and instead wanted to meet people through shared interests and hobbies, rather than nationality. Some respondents felt quite strongly about this, and a common theme among this group was that they chose to move overseas to meet new, different people, and not Australians:

> *"I didn't come here to hang out with Aussies, I could've stayed at home if I wanted to do that." Respondent 9, UK.*

3.2.3 Social interactions with community in Australia

The last factor explored in order to understand the social networks and citizenship practices of Australian expatriates was their social interactions with Australia, ranging from telecommunications to home visits. When comparing expatriates in Singapore and the UK, geographic proximity/distance to Australia played a role; as well as similarity/difference in time zones.

Singapore's geographic proximity to Australia allows for frequent home visits – Sydney is an eight-hour flight away from Singapore, and there are direct flights from Singapore to every major Australian city (SA, 2022). As one respondent said, "Mate, it's only eight hours away". On average, the expatriates interviewed for this study reported travelling to Australia three to four times per year before the Covid-19 pandemic. The most cited reason for frequent home visits were to maintain a close relationship with both elderly parents and young kids in the family, such as nieces and nephews.

> *"My dad's 80 and my mum's 73, and I've got a brother with three kids. Like, it's really important to go home." Respondent 2, Singapore.*

> *"Yeah, my mum's old, so I to try and get back to see her. Christmas, October, Easter, we're always at the beach house, we go back all the time." Respondent 6, Singapore.*

Frequent visits to and contact with the home country through personal relationships helps to build transnational social spaces, maintaining an ongoing connection to the sending country. How these relationships add to our understanding of expatriates' transnational citizenship practices will be analysed in more detail in Section 3.3 below.

Some of the respondents work for Australian companies, or multinational corporations

with Australian branches or offices. The combination of similar time zones and close geographic proximity allows some expatriates to work between the two countries efficiently, and some interviewees reported frequently travelling to Australia for work. Additionally, the short time difference allowed those living in Singapore to maintain more frequent contact via telecommunications. For example, Perth is on the same time zone as Singapore, and Sydney is only three hours ahead, and this short time difference allows expats to call or message their family and friends with similar frequency and fluidity as if they were in the same city.

The experience for those living in the UK was different. The UK is geographically distanced from Australia, with London sitting approximately 17,000km from Sydney. Although flights are available between London and a number of Australian capital cities, factors such as flight prices, travel time and jet lag can act as barriers to regular home visits. The average frequency of home visits for Australians interviewed in the UK was one trip every three years. Some respondents haven't been back to Australia at all in the time they have lived in the UK. For example, one respondent who has been in London for five years and has not gone back to Australia in that time said:

> *"I'd rather go somewhere else, or do something else, do something new, than go to Melbourne and do the sort of things that I've already done before. The things that I would kind of probably miss the most, or the reason I'd go to Australia, is to see my family. And they've come here, so I haven't had to [go there]." Respondent 13, UK.*

The longer respondents lived in the UK, the less frequently they travelled to Australia, as the travel time and work arrangements required to make a trip to Australia "worth it" became more significant.

> *"It [Australia] just does feel like a really long way away now. And that sounds a bit stupid from an Aussie perspective, because you just get used to the fact you have to go eight or nine hours to just even reach the nearest country. But yeah, being here it just does feel a while away now … I didn't feel an overbearing need to go, and my focus was very much on European travel for the past few years." Respondent 10, UK.*

> *"Maybe it's about being more disconnected from things, the longer I am here. Rather than it being, you know, pining for things, I've just been not caring as*

much. Before, I really wanted to sort of go back for a couple of weeks if that's all I could get off work, where now like, I don't care so much, it's too much effort." Respondent 3, UK.

Similarly, there is a significant time difference between the UK and Australia. For example, London is between 9 and 11 hours behind Sydney depending on daylight savings (AHC UK, n.d.). This difference means that the window of opportunity to call or message family and friends is narrow, and it can be challenging to maintain regular ongoing contact, particularly for those who work and have less flexibility in the hours they are available.

Table 3. High level summary of findings about social interactions and integration

Finding	Singapore	UK	Differences
Social network in host country	Mostly Australian 40% Mix of Australian and other expats 35% Mostly other expats 25% Locals 5%	Mostly Australian 0% Mix of Australian and other expats 19% Mostly other expats 24% Locals 57%	Very big difference
Australian clubs and groups	Part of Australian specific club/group 42%	Part of Australian specific club/group 47% (60% of this Facebook only)	Some difference
Social interactions with community in Australia	Visit home 3-4 times per year Negligible time zone difference means easy/frequent telecommunication	Visit home once every 3 years Large time zone difference means more challenging telecommunication	Very big difference

3.3 Discussion

The research question explored in this chapter investigated what Australian expatriates' social interactions are like in their home and host country, as one way to conceptualise their citizenship practices. By exploring the way Australians both integrate into their host country and maintain ties to their home country, we can begin to conceptualise where they fit in the existing transnational citizenship theory and literature (Bauböck, 1994). In this discussion, propositions of the transnational citizenship theory are supplemented by Berry and colleagues (1987) acculturation model, which allows for

deeper explanation ad characterisation of social experiences.

Given some notable differences, the findings from Singapore and the UK are first discussed individually in Sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, respectively, while a discussion of the similarities and differences between the two locations are explored in Section 3.3.3.

3.3.1 Summary of Singapore findings

Singapore is a multicultural society, with various institutional protections of the cultural rights of ethnic minorities intended to maintain the long-term coexistence between the three main ethnic groups, Chinese, Malay and Indian (MOM, 2022a). However, these celebrated multicultural policies do not extend to non-citizen workers whose residence is generally considered temporary, and who live outside of the state sanctioned mixed housing and schooling systems in place for locals (Lian, 2019). The influx of foreign workers, both skilled and unskilled, has created some resentment in the local Singaporean community in recent years, where increases in temporary immigration are perceived as a threat to both the 'Singaporean way of life' and the employment opportunities for citizens (Lian, 2019). In order to maintain the distinction between Singaporeans and Others, the state adopts an approach of 'differential exclusion', where "foreign immigrants are incorporated in certain areas (such as the labour market) but have no access to welfare support and are not granted the full rights of citizens such as political participation" (Lian, 2019: 171). Foreign citizens, particularly highly skilled migrants, often live in expat enclaves made up of large condominiums filled only with expatriate residents who have little interaction with the local public. Members of these communities shop in supermarkets within their neighbourhoods, and send their children to the handful of international schools in their neighbourhoods, as non-citizen children are unable to attend local schools in Singapore. On the other hand, Singaporeans live in designated public housing within multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and their children attend local public schools, and very few families are given exemptions to send their children to the international schools. As a result of these restrictions, there are very few opportunities for foreign workers to mingle with local Singaporean citizens outside of the workplace, creating a divide between the local and foreigner communities (Beaverstock, 2002).

Interview respondents discussed the role that the state-sanctioned divide of housing and schooling had on their ability to interact with locals. This was attributed as one of the

key reasons behind the lack of interaction and social networks between expatriates and locals in Singapore, which is in line with the existing literature (Beaverstock, 2002; Lian, 2019). Beaverstock (2002) specifically identified the exclusive expatriate enclaves as causal in the separation of expats from locals in Singapore, highlighting the role that schools and children have in building social networks, as well as the importance that every day social interactions, such as supermarkets, have in fostering a sense of shared community.

Ngan and Chan (2013) suggest that the insider/outsider dichotomy is reinforced by the social policies of the host country, with power relations and institutional arrangements having a direct impact on the inclusion and exclusion of migrants. Guo and colleagues (2021) found that expatriates in China faced various barriers integrating into their host community, one of which was the distinct ingroup-outgroup divide where host country employees saw their expatriate colleagues as foreigners with unsurmountable differences in cultural background and communication style, thereby preventing any true social connection. The findings in this study are also in line with those of Butcher (2009), who found that differences in communication styles, workplace practices and interpersonal interactions act as social barriers between Australians and their host country colleagues in Asia.

Several respondents discussed the anti-foreigner sentiment they felt in Singapore as a reason behind the expat-local social divide, which supports Lian's (2019) findings. Interviewees attributed this sentiment to a mix of state propaganda and threats to the Singaporean 'way of life', as well as the perceived threat to local employees due to the high rates of import of skilled professionals, particularly Westerners in managerial roles. This is in line with the work of Ngan and Chan (2013) who suggest that the social acceptance or exclusion of outsiders is particularly related to how much of a 'threat' they pose to the insider community.

The size of the Australian community and ease with which one can live in an Australian 'bubble' in Singapore also contributes to the strong Australian-centric social networks and lack of connection with other communities, particularly locals. Plöger and Becker (2015) suggest that highly skilled migrants are likely to find and live within communities from their home country or those with a shared language, culture, or lived experience. The strength of the Australian community in Singapore means that an expat can send their child to an Australian school, play netball and AFL, and drink Australian

imported beers with their Australian friends and the Australian club on weekends. Several respondents talked about the ease with which this familiarity allowed them to settle into the community and life on arrival in Singapore. This familiarity and community are particularly useful for host countries such as Singapore, where expatriates generally spend shorter period of time, often arriving on two-to-three-year secondments. Literature about company assigned expatriates supports the finding that shorter-term expatriates find existing, home-country communities and the familiarity they provide simplifies the process of arrival in their host country (Guo et al. 2021; Mäkelä and Suutari, 2013a).

Similarly, the transience of the expatriate community affects the degree with which they integrate. A number of interviewees suggested that expatriates' tendency to move frequently, only spending a couple of years in a location, has a role to play in the integration and social networks of the community. Firstly, they suggest that the local community is less inclined to befriend expatriates knowing they are likely to leave in a short number of years. This is in line with existing migration literature, which suggests that an emigrant's intended length of time in the host country plays an important role in their formation of social networks with locals. It is suggested that both the host country locals and the emigrants themselves prefer not to invest in these shorter-term friendships as they have an expiry date and require more effort and resources to maintain in the long run (Décieux and Mörchen, 2021; de Vroome and van Tubergen, 2014; Martinovic et al. 2015). Secondly, interviewees suggested that those within the expat community understand the experiences of other expats and empathise with the frequent movement and difficulty in forming friendships, therefore making them more likely to band together. This sentiment is in line with Gomes' (2015, 2018) research on temporary migration, which found that the shared experience of transience and temporary migration was a strong predictor of friendship, particularly among co-nationals.

3.3.2 Summary of findings from the UK

The UK has traditionally been a popular destination for a range of Australian emigrants for a number of reasons. Australia has retained cultural, legal and political ties to the UK, one result of which are the various visa arrangements available for Australians arriving in the UK. It is relatively easy for an Australian, particularly those aged 35 or

below, to get a working holiday visa to the UK, many of whom then extend this and stay longer term. Alternatively, there is a rich ancestry visa scheme which allows anyone with one grandparent born in the UK to live and work there for five years. Australia's British colonial heritage has created a strong historic connection between the two countries, which share language, cultural and institutional systems. Bridge and colleagues (2009) suggest Australians have an inherent familiarity with the UK, from the culture and language to the geography and spaces. They consider that a lifetime of interaction with schooling systems, newspapers, books, cinema, radio, and political narrative based on entrenched British roots have prepared Australians who grew up engaging with this media to feel at home in the UK. Some areas of London have become recognised as predominantly Australian suburbs, dubbed with nicknames such as 'Kangaroo Valley', and these rich concentrations of Australians in the UK can be traced back to 1901 (Bridge et al. 2009). Australians in London were historically seen as young, working-holiday makers nannying or pouring beers in pubs as a way to live cheaply and travel Europe. However, in the 1990s this demographic changed significantly to comprise mostly of professionals staying longer term and integrating deeply into the British community, and the local attitude towards Australians has since changed to reflect this (Crawford, 2009).

Delaney (2007) differentiates between two types of Australians in London and their differing social networks and experiences. 'Upper-class' or 'gold collar' expats tend to 'blend in with Londoners' and spend their time and money in trendy bars and restaurants, or weekends away with their British friends. On the other hand, 'working-class expats' mostly includes the working holiday-maker category who come and work low-income jobs (e.g., pubs) and are there for a short-term experience. This category of temporary migrants is not included in this study. Much of the literature about Australians in the UK is centred on London as this is the most common landing point (see e.g., Bridge, 2009; Crawford, 2009; Delaney, 2007). However, the expatriates interviewed in this study were not all located in London, with 9 of the 24 respondents living in other cities and towns in the UK, at varying distances from the capital.

The social networks of interviewees in the UK were predominantly made up of locals. Those living in London were more likely to have diverse friendship groups, reporting friendships with other Australians and other foreigners living in London, while those in other towns reported predominantly interacting with locals. Unfortunately, the UK

sample in this study (n=24) was not sufficiently large to allow a representative conclusion on differences between the responses of those living in London and those who were elsewhere. Additionally, respondents living outside of London were located in different parts of the country, adding another variable for consideration in comparisons and analysis, which was out of the scope of this study. However, this emerging finding contrasts with existing research which suggests that migrants tend to have more diverse friendships in smaller town and more homogenous co-national friendships in major cities (Bahns, 2019; Cheng and Xie, 2013). Further research should therefore explore the differences in the social integration of Australians living in London and those outside of the capital, as this could help to explore the role that being in a large capital city might play on the integration patterns of this migrant group. These findings cannot be tested against those from expatriates living in Singapore, due to the latter being a city-state and thus not providing the small-town comparison offered in the UK.

Respondents in the UK reported a high level of awareness of the ways in which their shared culture and values help them integrate into their host country. A number of interviewees specifically compared their experiences to those of other migrants to the UK, highlighting inherent similarities of language and culture as a key reason for their successful social integration in their host country. Some of the key determinants of close friendship formation by emigrants identified by Décieux and Mörchen (2021) were identification with the host country, shared language and culture, as well as family ties, all of which are relevant to the emigration experience in the UK for most Australians interviewed in this study. Décieux and Mörchen, (2021) found that language, in particular, was a key determinant of friendship formation, and that non-native speakers were much less likely to have strong local social networks than native speakers. Not only do similarities in culture, history, humour and native English language help Australians form friendships in the UK, some respondents even suggested that that an underlying positive attitude towards Australians among the locals acted as social leverage for them in the UK. However, the overwhelming majority of the respondents in the UK were of either Anglo or European background, and two were of Asian heritage (n=24). This has the potential to influence findings regarding likeness and integration, and supplementary study with a larger and more diverse sample is recommended in order to further identify the determinants of integration.

Décieux and Mörchen (2021) also identified length of residence as a determinant of friendship formation, suggesting that those with long term or open plans regarding lengths of stay in their host country were more likely to form close friendships within the local community. In line with this finding, the longer-term expats interviewed for this study discussed changes to their social networks over time, indicating that their social circles became increasingly local and homogenous the longer they lived in the UK.

3.3.3 Comparative discussion between Singapore and the UK

The previous sections offer a discussion of the findings specific to Australians living in Singapore and the UK, respectively. However, there were significant differences between the respondents' experiences with social interactions and integration in the two locations which are worthy of discussion. These differences demonstrate the profound impact that the destination country can have on an expatriate's social network and consequently, as will be discussed in later chapters, their identity and ties to their home country. The following section will provide an overview of the key differences emerging from the interviews and an analysis of the reasons behind them. These differences can be summarised as: (a) country-specific (geographic proximity and shared social norms); (b) person-specific (expatriation decision and family composition); and (c) institutional (residency status and legal parameters in host country). The key themes identified in this study are in line with the influential factors identified in the literature in Section 3.1, which were: shared history, language and culture; similarities or differences with host nationals; length of residence; legal or visa status; geographic proximity to home country; and the type of expat (e.g., expat choices). This similarity to the existing literature supports the validity of the findings, and their valuable addition to our empirical understanding of migration experiences.

One variable which these findings have shown to impact the social networks of Australian expatriates is the proximity of the host country to the home country. Those living in Singapore were much closer to Australia in distance and therefore travel time, as well as similarity of time zones. As a result, they visited home very frequently, maintaining close face to face contact with family and friends, and attending special occasions such as birthdays or weddings with more regularity and ease than those in the UK. Additionally, the much smaller time difference allowed them to maintain easier

contact via telecommunications, and frequent telecommunications with the home country have been shown to disincentivise host country network formation (Plöger and Becker, 2015). The geographic proximity therefore allows the expat to remain deeply connected to their home networks, creating less pressure to form these relationships in their host country. In comparison, those in the UK visited home much less frequently, if at all, and were up against a roughly eleven-hour time difference to call or video home, reducing the frequency of these forms of telecommunications. Wang and Nayir (2006) have already identified geographic proximity as a major influence on a migrant's social networks in the host country, for these same reasons. The closer a migrant is to their home country, and the more often they can visit and phone home, the less incentive they have to make social connections in their host country. As such, the geographic location of the host country in relation to the home country should not be overlooked when creating assumptions about migrants' social networks. Not all migrants have the same opportunities to maintain ties to their home country, and therefore there are real differences in migrants' experiences in their host country based on these factors alone (among others). When considering this, we are reminded that the factors facilitating transnational citizenship practices can be both within and outside of the migrants' control. This empirical contribution cautions normative migration theories to consider the diversity of migrants' circumstances and opportunities, and the myriad of ways this can affect their lived experiences.

Shared social norms play an important role in determining social networks (Beaverstock, 2002; Butcher, 2009). Respondents in Singapore are almost exclusively friends with other expats, predominantly other Australians, while those in the UK are embedded in local networks and have few Australian friends. Our social networks are inherently built on like-mindedness and shared connections, and they can be inhibited by both a distinct difference in culture and a perceived inability to integrate. Meyer (2001) found that the degree of differences in social norms were a good indicator of how likely expatriates were to participate in either local or expatriate social networks. If expatriates shared social norms with the host country population, then they were more likely to socialise with locals and therefore less likely to form expatriate social networks. However, the process of acculturation and social networking is facilitated by both the host country nationals and the migrants themselves (Lauring and Selmer, 2009). Host country nationals are essential "socializing agents" who can directly

enhance expatriates' adjustment, or might hinder it (Toh and DeNisi, 2007). Perceived differences between expatriates and host country nationals can create an outgroup categorisation, where the locals avoid interaction with the expatriates and therefore hinder their potential to integrate into the host country (Toh and DeNisi, 2007; Ngan and Chan, 2013).

Bridge and colleagues (2009) suggest Australians have an inherent familiarity with the UK, from the culture and language to the geography and spaces. They consider that a lifetime of interaction with schooling systems, newspapers, books, cinema, radio, and political narrative from British roots have prepared Australians to feel at home in the UK, which would then also influence their social networks and integration. However, Crawford (2009) suggests that Australians in the UK are overwhelmingly white and middle class, which helps to explain the identification with Anglo British culture and ease of integration into the local community, or at least the white and middle-class parts of it. This study does not aim to unpack the potential race relations involved in the integration of White Australians into the UK compared to other people and other places, nor does it have space to do such an analysis sufficient justice. However, the 'cultural similarity' point is repeatedly made by respondents, and it is impossible to ignore these potential connections. Respondents in the UK were overwhelmingly more integrated into the host country than those in Singapore, regardless of their ancestry. This leads to another explanation for this stark difference in experience based on host country, which is: who is going to these destinations in the first place?

It is perhaps not surprising that different destinations attract different people, and this is also true for emigrants choosing their destination country. There is a significant body of research identifying the distinction between self-initiated expatriates and those assigned by their companies (Mäkelä and Suutari, 2013b; Plöger and Becker, 2015; Wang and Nayir, 2006). The expatriates interviewed in Singapore were largely assigned expatriates, while those in the UK were almost all self-initiated. Studies suggest that self-initiated expatriates are more likely to try to integrate with their host country community, due to an intrinsically international outlook and desire to be in their host country, given their self-initiation to arrive there. On the other hand, assigned expatriates are more likely to limit their interactions to their home country nationals and expat community (Guo et al. 2021; Mäkelä and Suutari, 2013b). This distinction in

expat categories between the two locations adds to explanation of differences in social network of Australians living in the UK and Singapore. In addition, Langinier and Froehlicher (2018) found that smaller financial hubs with strong international workforces, such as Singapore, attract expats who are interested in forming international social networks and who show little interest in the local community. These hubs generally have a clear border between the expat community and the locals, with the two groups having very little interaction with one another. On the other hand, their study found that there was less distinct divide between the international community and the locals in London because expats and locals spoke the same language, worked in the same companies, and interacted in similar social scenes (e.g., city bars), facilitating more intergroup networking and socialisation (Langinier and Froehlicher, 2018).

Another related factor is that self-initiated expatriates are more likely to be single and moving internationally on their own, while assigned expatriates most often have spouses or families who make the move with them (Guo et al. 2021; Mäkelä and Suutari, 2013). This distinction was also evident in the respondents from Singapore and the UK, with those in Singapore having mostly moved over with their partners or young families, while those in the UK mostly moved over alone. This is important to note because the findings from this study suggest that intimate relationships play an important role in broader social networks of expatriates. Those in Singapore, particularly those with families, reported social networks made up of other Australian parents from their children's schools or neighbours from their condominiums. On the other hand, almost all respondents in the UK who reported having local partners suggested that their social networks were closely linked to those of their British partners. By moving to the UK alone and then starting a romantic relationship with a local, that person gets the opportunity to become enmeshed in their partner's existing home country network.

The findings in this chapter highlight that one significant variable that influences social networks in the host country is the migrant themselves. General like-mindedness and similarity to the host country nationals may be one explanation, but the initial reason for relocating and consequent choice of destination, as well as the relationship and family status of the individual, all play an important role in shaping their emigration experience. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that everything we do as individuals is contingent on a plethora of complex and independent variables. However, these findings

empirically demonstrate the complexity and individuality of the migrant experience, and highlights that personal experiences across a migrant group should not be painted with a broad brush explanation. One conclusion to emphasise from these findings is they show that normative migration theory should centre on migrants' agency, taking into consideration their individual plans and decision-making, and not just work in idealised versions of experiences (see also Ottonelli and Torresi, 2023 for discussions on migrant agency).

This discussion has so far focussed on the individual migrant and circumstantial factors such as social norms or geographic proximity of the home and host countries. However, there are a number of centralised institutional considerations that influence the experience a migrant can have in the host country, thereby directly impacting their social networks and integration. These institutional differences are starkly evident in the comparative cases of the UK and Singapore as host countries for Australian emigrants. As has been discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, the length of time a migrant spends in their host country has an impact on the composition and strength of their social networks. However, migrants in Singapore and the UK have starkly different visa and citizenship options available to them, which directly impacts how long they are able to spend in the host country.

Due to their ancestry, a number of the respondents interviewed in the UK either had British citizenship before arriving or arrived on the five-year ancestry visa, which then provided options for permanent residence or naturalisation. As a result, they had secure long term residence options and settled in the UK longer term. Even those who initially arrived on shorter term visas, such as the working holiday visa open to all Australian citizens, reported flexibility with their options to stay on longer term. In contrast, those in Singapore all expressed a more precarious and insecure residency status. Very few had permanent residency, and the majority were on short term employment passes or arrived as dependents on their spouses' employment passes. None of the respondents in Singapore had citizenship or planned on naturalising, either due to the legal inability to do so or the decision not to due to Singapore's strict citizenship requirements (e.g., compulsory military service). As such, those living in Singapore generally experienced shorter-term residence followed by emigration elsewhere or repatriation to Australia. This distinction in length of residence is important to highlight because an emigrants' length of residence in their host country has been shown to directly correlate with their

social networks (see Décieux and Mörchen, 2021; Ngan and Chan, 2013). Although length of residence can of course be an individual choice, this distinct difference in the migrant's opportunity to reside in each host country is important to highlight. These institutional differences play a role in migrants' capacity to build relationships and networks in their host country, therefore showing that the migrant experience of connection and transnational social networks varies depending on location and factors outside of their own control. This is an important finding and highlights the different factors that can influence the migration experience. These variations should be taken into consideration when developing normative theories of migration and integration.

Highly skilled migrants in Singapore almost always live in condominiums with either a mix of other expats from other countries, or those only from their own country, while those in the UK live in more mixed neighbourhoods. Housing is therefore an institutional difference in experience which can be dependent on country of residence. Meier (2015) considers housing type, location and the social diversity of neighbourhoods as key determinants of an expat's social networks, which is line with the findings in this chapter. Another institutional factor which can directly impact social network formation is where children go to school and, as a result, the demographics of parents who interact through the school system. In Singapore, all expat children must go to the private international schools which, in the case of respondents in this study, was primarily the Australian international school. In the UK, children are allowed to attend both public and private schools regardless of nationality as long as they are on an appropriate visa (UK Gov, 2022d). As a result, Australian parents of children at international schools are inadvertently socialising with other international expats when it comes to school related interactions. On the other hand, expats with children in the UK have the opportunity to meet other parents of a range of demographics, whether it be locals or other migrant families. These findings further demonstrate the role that state specific institutions and policies can have on a migrant's social networks.

As the findings of this chapter have demonstrated, there are a multitude of variables that can influence an individual's social networks in their host country and continued connection to networks in their home country. Using Berry and colleagues' (1987) categories introduced in Section 3.1.1, these findings indicate that Australians living in Singapore and the UK have different cultural orientations and forms of acculturation. Almost all respondents in Singapore could be positioned within the *traditional*

orientation, where they maintain strong ties to their home country and culture, while not accepting, or being accepted into, their host culture. In contrast, the experience of those in the UK appears to be one of *integration*, with some even bordering on *assimilation*. The findings suggest that some respondents had very little connection with other Australians in the UK and did not maintain strong connections with Australia outside of communicating with immediate family. Additionally, some respondents had not visited home often, if at all, and expressed little desire to ever repatriate to Australia. These respondents were often deeply engrained in their host country community, embracing the host country culture and building their life there, indicating an orientation of *assimilation*. On the other hand, several respondents in the UK expressed experiences in line with Berry and colleagues' (1987) cultural orientation of *integration.* These people were comfortably embedded in the host country and community, but also retained clear ties to their home country through articulations such as strong national identity and Australian networks, frequent visitation, or future repatriation intentions. This chapter has also shown that there are a range of variables influencing acculturation and social network formation. These can be related to the differences in culture and social norms or geographic proximity of the home and host countries; personal, such as the type of individual who relocates to a specific host country; or differences in institutional arrangements.

These empirical findings have demonstrated that the migrant experience is never black and white, and there is a lot at play in the intergroup relations between foreign migrants and host country nationals. By exploring the way Australians both integrate into their host country and maintain ties to their home country, we can begin to conceptualise where they fit in the existing transnational citizenship theory and literature. Transnational citizenship theory suggests that migrants balance social networks in both their host and home countries, incorporating both cultures and societies into their identity and practices (Bauböck, 1994). Transnational citizenship theory is a normative conception of migrants' citizenship practices, built on notions of possible social and political behaviour, and used to further discussion and analysis of how migrants can fit into existing social and political structures. The findings in this chapter add to these discussions and analyses by contributing empirical evidence of Australian expatriates' lived experiences and behaviour. As the findings have shown, there are a number of factors that can influence how a migrant engages with their home and host country,

many of which are not in the individual's control. These findings offer evidence that the complexity of social, political and legal structures influencing migrants' behaviour, as well as their individual agency and self-determination, must be taken into account in order to further normative theory in this field. The different experiences of Australian expatriates will continue to be unpacked throughout the following chapters, and their overlap and contribution to both empirical and normative discussion will be discussed in the final chapter.

The comparative case study of Australians living in Singapore and the UK will continue in the next Chapter. Chapter 4 will explore Australian expatriates' political participation both in their home and host country, highlighting the empirical contributions to our understanding of migrant behaviour, and offering evidence to develop transnational citizenship theory in relation to arguably the most obvious form of citizenship – the political.

Chapter 4 Political participation

The social interactions of Australian expatriates, both in their host and home country, were described in the previous chapter. This chapter explores the next empirical research question, that is:

B. What is the current political participation of Australians living overseas?

This question was explored by first asking respondents if they still vote in federal elections in Australia:

i. If yes, why do they continue to vote in Australia?

ii. If no, why do they no longer vote in Australia? and,

iii. What is their engagement in other forms of political participation?

This chapter first presents an overview of the relevant literature in order to contextualise the empirical findings. Section 4.1 starts with the literature on characteristics of Australian overseas voters, which is explored in the work of both political and migration scholars. The Australians interviewed in this study sit between these two bodies of literature as they are expatriates and overseas voters, but they remain Australian citizens, with varying degrees of connection to their home country. The requirements and logistics of participating in Australian elections as an expatriate will then be discussed in order to understand the process in question throughout the chapter. Following this, some of the normative debates around external voting will be explored. The existing literature and data about Australian voter sentiments and electoral trends will also be presented to provide broader context.

Section 4.2 summarises findings of the study. The findings are presented in line with the research sub-questions: the reasons respondents *do* or *do not* vote in Australian elections; and explorations of other types of political participation. By exploring different forms of political participation, this study provides empirical evidence beyond the traditional national expressions of participation, on ways that emigrants can engage in politics both in their home and host country. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of findings and their contributions to the literature (Section 4.3), as well as discussion on differences between responses from participants in the UK and Singapore.

The relevance of this political participation to the broader study of transnational

citizenship will be linked with the other citizenship practices, such as social interactions, and perceptions of identity, in the conclusion chapter.

4.1 Overview of the literature

There are several ways in which citizens can engage in politics, either in their home country or abroad. The most common method of political participation in a full democracy is through voting in elections. As such, the background for this chapter is largely built on an overview of both the process and debate around voting as an expatriate. Finn (2020: 731) delineates migrant voting into four categories: "1) immigrant voting, meaning individuals participate only in the destination country; 2) emigrant voting, indicating individuals participate only from abroad for the origin country; 3) dual transnational voting, corresponding to participating in both countries; and 4) abstention, or choosing not to vote in either country despite having suffrage rights."

There are many terms to describe the process of citizens voting in their country of citizenship from outside the national territory. The terms that will be used in this chapter are 'external voting' and, in reference to Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) guidelines, 'overseas voter/voting'. External voting is defined here as per Lafleur (2015: 843) as "the active and passive voting rights of qualified individuals, independently of their professional status, to take part from outside the national territory in referenda or in supra-national, national, or subnational elections held in a country of which they hold citizenship but where they permanently or temporarily do not reside".

Australia has allowed external voting since federation in 1901, however the right was originally restricted to citizens serving the country abroad, such as those serving in the military or diplomatic staff (Lafleur, 2013). One rationale behind this restriction was that emigrants choosing to leave their home country outside of these service roles were not good citizens and therefore did not get the benefit of voting. However, the main reason external voting was restricted has been attributed to national security and sovereignty issues of the early twentieth century (Lafleur, 2015). Citizens residing overseas may have fostered ties with or allegiances to other states, making their participation in Australian politics a potential security risk. Military and diplomatic personnel were not considered at risk of such affairs and could therefore continue to vote. However, in the past few decades, external voting has become a right for citizens

of most liberal democracies and is a means for citizens to recognise their membership to a state regardless of their geographic location (Collyer and Vathi, 2007; Lafleur, 2013, 2015).

Collyer and Vathi (2007) conducted a study exploring the external voting legislation across various states. Their findings from a study into 144 sovereign states indicated that 80% of states allow non-resident citizens to participate in elections while residing overseas. They found that the majority of the world's liberal democracies extend the voting rights originally introduced for government officials on overseas postings to all citizens residing overseas. Australia was at the forefront of this development, extending the right to vote overseas to all citizens, regardless of profession but still in adherence to numerous restrictions, since 1918 (Commonwealth Electoral Act, 1918). The most common system implemented to facilitate external voting is where non-resident citizens vote in their original home district (i.e., electorate), usually with some restrictions, a system used by 62% of countries including Australia (Collyer and Vathi, 2007). Perhaps one of the most impressive examples of external voting is that of Italian parliamentary elections. Since 2003, all Italian nationals living abroad who are over the age of 18, whether dual citizens, ancestry citizens or citizens through marriage, are eligible to vote by post in Italian general elections. Not only are all Italian citizens eligible to vote, but they are also eligible to run for Italian parliament, with 18 expatriate Italians elected to the country's parliament in 2006 (Mascitelli and Battiston, 2010). This flexible external voting policy is often a discussion point for both immigrant sending and receiving countries, as well as diaspora groups (see e.g., Battiston et al. 2023; Mascitelli and Battiston, 2010; Mascitelli and Battiston, 2011). Though less forgiving than the Italian model, Australia does allow external voting for citizens residing overseas, albeit with some caveats.

4.1.1 Voting in Australia while residing overseas

There are three levels of government in Australia: federal government, state and territory government, and local government. Participation in local and state and territory elections is determined by residential address, and the election processes for each level of government differ slightly. Voting in Australian federal elections is compulsory for all Australian citizens aged 18 and above, regardless of state of residence. In some Australian states (South Australia, Western Australia) voting in local elections (e.g.,

council) is not compulsory, while in other states and territories (Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Northern Territory, Australian Capital Territory) voting is compulsory in all levels of government. This study focuses on federal elections as a measure of political participation. This decision was made for several reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to make comparisons when the base line differs between states and territories. Someone who had lived in South Australia before emigrating likely associates differently with local elections than someone from Victoria, due to the differing policies in each state. Secondly, the focus is on national identity and citizenship as experienced in an international context. By focusing on federal elections, connections can be made to identity and citizenship at a national level, which assists in the contextualisation of transnational participation.

Participation in Australian elections at all levels is no longer compulsory once citizens emigrate overseas, and continuing to vote can even be challenging depending on factors such as length of overseas residence. Should they wish to, Australian citizens residing overseas are eligible to vote in federal elections in their registered home electorate, although some rules apply. According to the AEC website, an individual can apply to be registered as an overseas voter if they are already on the electoral roll, and if they intend to return to Australia within six years of departure (AEC, 2021). Citizens who are already enrolled to vote and are moving overseas can apply as an overseas voter up to three months before leaving, or within three years of departure. If the individual is not already enrolled to vote in Australian federal elections and has lived overseas for less than three years, they can still enrol to vote if they are aged 18 years or older, and intend to return to Australia within 6 years (AEC, 2021). However, those wanting to vote cannot enrol using an overseas address, instead enrolment must be done using an Australian address in the electorate one was entitled to vote before departure. For those who were enrolled to vote before leaving Australia, it is simply a case of continuing to be enrolled on the same address. For those not already on the electoral roll, and wanting to enrol from overseas, they will require an Australian address to use in their application (AEC, 2020, 2021).

As discussed above, application as an overseas voter must be done within three years of moving overseas, and enrolment is valid for six years from departure (AEC, 2020). After the initial six years, those who choose to remain overseas but wish to retain their overseas voter status need to apply to the AEC and notify of their intention to continue

voting. Then, overseas voter status is only valid for one year at a time, and citizens must re-apply every year in the three months before their registration is due to expire. If a citizen fails to apply to extend their overseas voter status within the three months before expiry, they are automatically removed from the electoral roll and are unable to vote in elections held while they remain overseas (AEC, 2021). Once removed from the electoral roll, a citizen who has lived outside of Australia for more than three years cannot re-enrol without returning to Australia as a resident and enrolling from an Australian address (AEC, 2021).

There are three options available for overseas voters to cast ballots during elections. The first option is that a citizen can register as a general postal voter, in which case ballot papers are automatically sent to their residential address after declaration of nominations (AEC, 2020). However, postal voting requires adherence to strict timelines, so delays with getting the ballot sent back in time can result in a citizen's vote not being counted (Medhora, 2019). The second option for voting overseas is to vote in person on (or in the lead up to) polling day at an overseas polling station. There are more than eighty overseas polling stations at Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and Austrade missions around the world, and Australians overseas can find their closest polling station via the AEC website once a federal election is announced (Medhora, 2019). There is an Australian High Commission in both London and Singapore, representing the majority of the respondents interviewed for this study. The High Commission in London, Australia House, is in fact the largest polling station in the Australian federal election, receiving more than 17,000 ballot papers across all 151 electorates in 2019 (van Leeuwen, 2019). However, for those outside of major cities, voting in person can be more difficult, and some Australian expatriates may not have a polling station in their country of residence. The third option, if an overseas voter is not registered as a general postal voter or cannot vote in person, is that they can apply for a postal vote during a federal election. This is a similar process to general postal voting, however it is a once off occurrence that must be organised by the voter within a given timeframe before the election, as opposed to the scheduled mailing of ballot papers to pre-registered postal voters (AEC, 2021). This is a good option for those who are unable to vote in person and may only be overseas for a shorter period, hence not warranting signing up as a general postal voter. The only potential downside of this is that the individual is responsible for ensuring they register in time to receive their postal vote,

and also returning the ballot in the specified timeframe to ensure their vote gets counted.

Given the variety of options available for citizens to vote from overseas, engaging in Australian elections is an achievable prospect for expatriates interested in doing so. However, unlike the process for those residing in Australia, maintaining one's status on the electoral roll and arranging to cast a ballot does require more effort when living overseas. Citizens living overseas for over six years have to be particularly engaged, as they have the responsibility of remembering to register every year regardless of whether there is an election or not. Overall, Australia has an open approach to overseas or external voting, which mirrors most other OECD countries.

4.1.2 Debate around external voting

There is much normative debate regarding the practice of external voting, with arguments both for and against citizens engaging in elections while not residing in their home state. There are three main arguments that will be explored. The first argument against external voting is the perspective provided by López-Guerra (2005), who maintains that non-resident citizens are not affected by the outcomes of political decisions and should hence have no input in the process. The crux of López-Guerra's argument is the idea that long-term residency in a state should be the decisive factor in an individual's ability to vote. Hence, in contrast to this, non-resident citizens should not be afforded that political right. He differentiates between inclusion based on "having an interest at stake" and "being subject" to, or governed by, decisions of the state. He argues that the latter is the relevant factor, and is only applicable to residents of the state. López-Guerra extrapolates on Robert A. Dahl's notion that "laws cannot rightfully be imposed on others by persons who are not themselves obliged to obey those laws" (Dahl, 1998: 108). This principle is used as the basis of his argument, justifying the disenfranchisement of expatriates due to their exclusion from legislative consequences of political decisions.

However, various scholars reject this claim, and argue that residing overseas does not free citizens of obligations to their home country, so they should continue to receive their rights in return (see Bauböck, 2007, 2009; Owen, 2010). Examples of this in practice include the taxing of non-resident citizens, military conscription where applicable, or limiting access to health care or pensions for those who have lived overseas (Lafleur, 2013). Additionally, many migrants engage in transnational practices

between their home and host states, including economic, political and social activities, which further supports the argument that non-resident citizens have interests affected by political decisions in their home country (Martiniello and Lafleur 2008). Many migrants retain political ties to their home country in order to protect the interests of family who remain there, or due to a desire to return in the future (Bauböck, 2007; Lafleur, 2013).

Bauböck (2007: 2447) suggests the concept of stakeholder citizenship, in which he considers that "citizenship status and rights should be allocated to individuals who are stakeholders in the future of the political community". López-Guerra (2005) counters these points by arguing that "an elementary difference exists between being affected by the decisions of a state and being governed by the laws of that state" (224). The understanding of being "affected by" and "governed by" have different interpretations, as seen in the debate between these scholars. While Bauböck (2005, 2007) suggests that expatriates' transnational engagement and duties such as taxpaying justify external voting, scholars such as López-Guerra (2005) contend that these issues are incomparable to the plethora of laws applicable to those residing in the state.

The second reason that some scholars oppose the idea of external voting is the assumption that external voters are less informed than those within state borders, and are therefore unable to provide the same degree of political input (Rubio-Marin, 2006). This stems from the position that both physical distance and time abroad impact a citizen's exposure to and understanding of on-going political debate in their home country (Lafleur, 2013; Spiro, 2006). This argument also assumes that domestic voters are inherently well-informed and engaged in politics. This argument is particularly interesting in the context of Australian elections, as some research has suggested that the compulsory voting system leads to high voter turnout, but not necessarily informed decision-making (Brennan and Hill, 2014). Additionally, several scholars argue that developments in digital technology such as satellite television and the internet allow non-resident citizens to follow home-country news on a daily basis, and to therefore remain equally engaged as those citizens residing at home (Hovik and Giannoumis, 2022; Lafleur, 2013; Spiro, 2006).

The third main normative argument against external voting stems from the demographic bias that is often present in emigrant populations, and the impact this may have on the representativeness of electoral results. This concern arises when the non-resident citizen population is large, making up a considerable portion of voters and therefore potentially

altering electoral results, and also when the population abroad has certain distinctive characteristics, such as socio-economic status (Grace, 2007; Lafleur, 2013). This particular argument does not appear relevant to Australia, given the expatriate population and overseas voter turnout is not large enough to significantly influence electoral results. Of the 15 million votes in the 2019 federal election, only 60,710 were cast at Australian overseas voting centres (AEC, 2019). It is more difficult to determine numbers of overseas postal voters, however a total of 1.2 million postal votes were cast in the entire 2019 federal election accounting for only 8% of total votes, and a portion of these were domestic voters choosing to cast their ballot by post (mainly due to living in remote electorates or being disabled or elderly, see Townsley et al. 2023). Using this data, we can assume that the number of Australians voting from overseas is not large enough to alter electoral results.

Despite this ongoing debate around the ethics of external voting, Collyer and Vathi (2007) found that the majority of the world's liberal democracies extended the voting rights to all citizens residing overseas. Some scholars consider the uptake of external voting among liberal democracies as an indicator of its legitimacy, and a symptom of broadening of the territorial boundaries associated with democratic citizenship (Bauböck, 2005; Lafleur, 2013). Prominent transnational scholar Rainer Bauböck considers the debate around external voting to be a product of a changing conception of citizenship as a whole. He suggests that we must "adapt the republican concept of citizenship as equal membership in a self-governing polity to a world in which political boundaries are increasingly overlapping or nested within each other" (Bauböck, 2005: 686).

The following section presents existing data on Australian voting patterns and sentiments in general. Due to the nature of compulsory voting in Australia and the fact that Australian expatriates are exempt from compulsory voting, their sentiments may differ to those of Australians at home. However, there appear to be no studies of Australian expatriates' voting patterns reported in the literature. Hence, in order to explore and compare findings about expatriate voting behaviour without existing data as a reference, it is important to first take into consideration the existing data about Australian voter habits and sentiments more broadly.

4.1.3 Australian voter sentiments

Researchers from the Australian National University (ANU) conduct the Australian Electoral Study (AES) after each federal election. Following the 2019 federal election, a sample of 2,179 Australian voters were surveyed to gauge voter sentiment and get a better understanding of Australians' perception of federal politics. The study only explored the sentiments of voters residing in Australia and therefore did not take into account the expatriate population. Nonetheless, these findings provide a good foundation from which to build on when understanding citizens' perceptions toward Australian politics and consequent political participation. Note: the most recent AES report was released at the end of 2022 following the federal election that year (see Cameron et al. 2022). However, the data collection for this study into Australian expatriates was conducted in 2020, and there have been several changes at both the national and global level since then (e.g. Covid-19 pandemic, change in federal government, rising cost-of-living) that can influence the sentiment of both resident and non-resident Australian voters. Hence, the 2019 AES results will be reported here to allow for the most representative comparison to the sentiments of the respondents at the time of this study into Australian expatriates, though 2022 comparisons will be provided where available as they are the most recent findings.

The 2019 AES report indicates that the Australian population's trust in politics was at its lowest since 2007. Trust in the democratic process was at a particularly low point in 2019, with only 59% of Australians indicating they were satisfied with "the way democracy is working" (70% in 2022) (Cameron and McAllister, 2019; Cameron et al. 2022). According to the 2019 report, Australia's satisfaction with democracy was declining more drastically than voter satisfaction in the UK after the 2016 Brexit referendum, as well as satisfaction in the US after Trump's 2016 election. In addition to general dissatisfaction with the democratic process, Australian voters' trust in the government was at an all-time low. In 2019, only 25% of Australians surveyed believed that people in government can be trusted to do the right thing (30% in 2022), while 75% believed that those in government are motivated by self-interest (70% in 2022). In a similar sentiment, only 12% of Australians believed that the government is run for the benefit of the whole population (12% in 2022), while 56% of those surveyed believed that the government is run to protect the interests of a select few (54% in 2022) (Cameron and McAllister, 2019; Cameron et al. 2022). Frequent leadership changes

within parties means that Australia had six prime ministers over an eight-year period since 2010. When questioned about this, 75% of those surveyed for the AES disapproved of the way the Morrison-Turnbull replacement was handled, which was similar to the level of disapproval of the way the Gillard-Rudd replacement was received at the time (74% disapproval) (Cameron and McAllister, 2019).

In a similar study, a team of researchers from the University of Sydney, in conjunction with the Harvard-based Electoral Integrity Project (EIP), conducted a survey to understand the perceptions of Australian voters in relation to the 2016 federal election. Surveys were conducted in three stages both before and after the election, with a representative sample of 1,543 respondents consistently returning surveys at every stage (Karp et al. 2017). This study explored both electoral trends and voter sentiment, the latter of which is relevant to our findings about expatriate sentiments. As with the AES, the EIP only targeted voters residing in Australia, however provides a useful framework to understanding political participation and voter sentiment.

Due to the nature of Australia's compulsory voting system, the EIP study indicated a 95% rate of electoral participation. However, when asked about political participation, only 59% of survey respondents indicated they would vote in the federal elections if it were not compulsory (Karp et al. 2017). The decision to continue to vote if it were voluntary has some defining variables, notably age and education. Those 34 years or younger were the least likely to continue voting, while those 55 years and over were the most likely. Additionally, the more highly educated the respondents were, the more likely they were to continue voting if it were made voluntary. Respondents were asked whether they felt that voting was a duty or a choice, and 58% indicated they felt voting was a duty, compared to 31% who felt it was a choice (the remainder were indifferent) (Karp et al. 2017).

It can be seen that Australian voters are somewhat dissatisfied with the state of their government, both in terms of party competency and the consistency of leadership. Interestingly, when asked about political participation in a non-compulsory context, certain demographic variables are shown to influence decision-making. These factors were taken into consideration when exploring responses of the Australian expatriates in this study. As the overseas voter eligibility criteria has shown, voting in Australian elections is not compulsory when a citizen is residing overseas, and the process can become more taxing the longer one spends outside of Australia. Expatriates interviewed

for this study were asked about whether they still vote in Australia, as well as their reasons for or against doing so, with findings summarised in the following sections.

4.1.4 Other forms of political participation

In this study, respondents were also asked about how they engage with politics in their country of residence, including voting and other forms of political participation.

Singapore and the UK have significantly different approaches towards allowing non-citizen residents to engage in domestic politics. In the UK, all Commonwealth citizens with the right to remain are allowed vote in elections and referenda regardless of length of residence. In order for an Australian citizen to register to vote in UK elections, all they need to show is proof of residence in the UK, which includes relevant visas or documentation outlining right to remain (Bourke, 2019). This Commonwealth-inclusive legislation gained some controversy during the Brexit referendum, as Australian citizens were eligible to vote, whereas EU citizens living in the UK could not have a say even though they were directly affected by the results (Bourke, 2019). Singapore, on the other hand, has a much stricter approach towards participation in domestic politics, where only citizens of Singapore are eligible to vote in elections (Government of Singapore, 2021). In order to become a citizen of Singapore, one must have lived in the state continuously for 10 out of 12 years, and already have permanent residency (PR) status, and prove allegiance to Singapore in a number of ways. Singapore does not allow dual citizenship, and has several obligations of its citizens, including mandatory military service for all men (Low, 2017). These factors may make it a less appealing and feasible option for expatriates residing there. As a result, participating in politics through democratic elections is not an option for most expatriates living in Singapore.

Although voting in organised elections is the most direct form of political participation, political participation can be understood as any action by which citizens are voicing their grievances and holding their governments accountable (Teorell et al. 2006). This can be by voting on election day, but it can also be acts such as writing letters to public representatives or campaigning for a particular political party. Participation can also be through less party-targeted actions, for example signing a petition or walking in a protest march. Some political participation can be even less overt, such as donating to certain non-profits or boycotting certain products or companies (Teorell et al. 2006). Some of these acts, such as charity donations or signing online petitions, can easily

cross national borders, and serve as examples of transnational political participation in which many of us participate regardless of emigration status. Online petitions in particular are regarded as a "form of expressive political behaviour with less obvious connections to democratic institutions" (Berg, 2017: 1).

The UK is a liberal democracy that encourages political engagement and has numerous laws protecting freedom of speech and political rights, including the right to protest (Borg, 2020). Article 11 of the UK Human Rights Act 1998 states that 'everyone has the right to peaceful assembly and to freedom of association', with no distinctions between citizens or non-citizens (UK Gov, 1998). In contrast, Singapore is often referred to as having a form of soft authoritarianism, where only one party has held government for over sixty years since independence, and freedoms are limited (Mathew and Soon, 2016). Freedom House ranks Singapore as only 'partly free' (50/100) due in part to its limit on freedom of expression, assembly and association (Freedom House, 2020). In particular, foreigners in Singapore are lawfully forbidden from partaking in politics in any way, and risk deportation if they do so (Human Rights Watch, 2017). These institutional differences across all forms of political participation make this comparative case study a compelling approach to explore the political participation of Australian expatriates.

The list of modes of political participation is long and expanding as new trends and technologies emerge (van Deth, 2014). In order to remain within achievable boundaries, the interviews in this study focussed predominantly on voting in elections as the main expression political participation. Other forms of political participation, such as signing petitions, marching in protests and contacting political representatives to air grievances are consistently considered to be overt or tangible forms of participation, and as such they were chosen for analysis in this study. The mixed methods approach to data collection meant that a degree of consistency was required, so it was important to be able to ask each respondent about similar types of participation.

4.2 Findings

The pre-interview questionnaire asked respondents about whether or not they vote in Australian federal elections, and whether they had participated in other forms of participation, namely: petitions, protests, or contacting politicians and/or the media to air their grievances. Across the whole sample, a total of 53% of respondents continue to vote in Australian federal elections (Figure 4). Respondents living in Singapore have a slightly higher rate of participation, with 61% of respondents living in Singapore voting in Australian federal elections, compared to 46% of those who live in the UK (Figure 4).

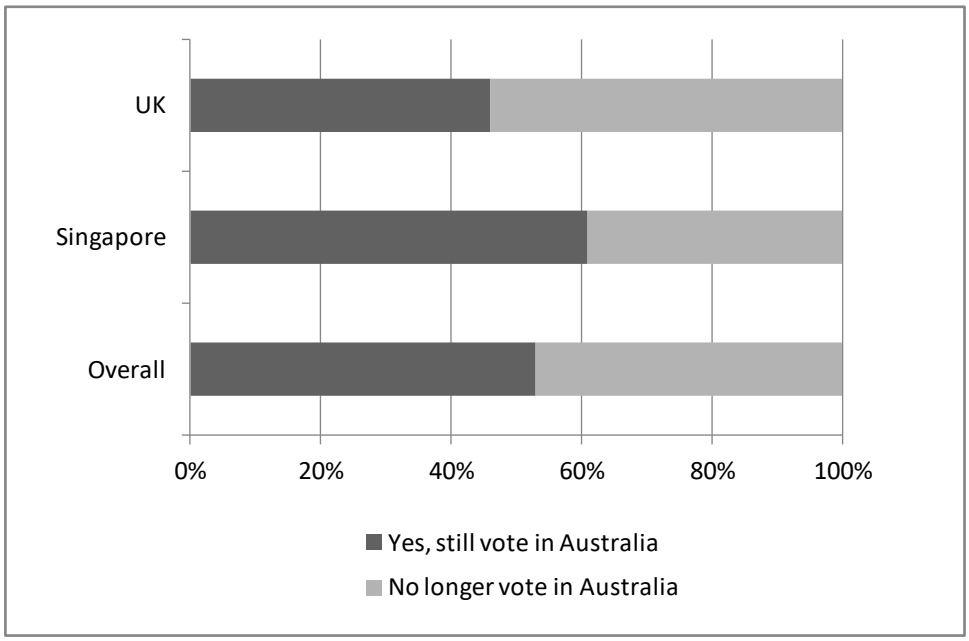

Figure 4. Reported voting patterns of Australian expatriates in Singapore (n=25) and the UK (n=24), and overall (n=49)

Table 4 (next page) provides an overview of voting patterns based on personal characteristics of the respondents, namely, age, gender, education and years spent overseas. Reported voting patterns were also analysed using Mann-Whitney non-parametric tests in SPSS (Version 27, IBM). Age of the respondent, location and gender were not significant determinants of voting patterns. Years spent overseas however did emerge as a significant determinant ($p=0.023$), with those who have spent overseas less than 5 years being most likely to vote. Given the small sample size, conclusions should be made using further studies with a larger number of participants.

In terms of other political participation, 71% of participants living in the UK reported voting in UK elections. This option was not available in Singapore as only citizens of Singapore can vote. Further, the majority of UK respondents reported engagement in other forms of political activities, such as signing petitions (67%), attending protests (39%) or contacting media to express grievances (25%). On the other hand, none of the respondents living in Singapore reported participating in protests, and only 3 signed petitions.

Table 4. Patterns of voting in Australian federal elections for Australian residing overseas, based on personal characteristics (n=49)

Characteristic	Not voting (n=23)	Voting (n=26)
Age		
Under 30	3	3
31-40	3	10
41-50	13	10
Over 50	4	3
Gender		
Female	16	15
Male	7	11
Years overseas		
Under 5	6	15*
5-10	6	5
11-20	8	5
Over 20	3	1
Education		
High school	0	3
Diploma/ TAFE	5	2
Bachelor's degree	8	7
Post-graduate	10	14

* Significant at p=0.023

4.2.1 Reasons respondents continue to vote in Australia

Individual responses to pre-interview questionnaire were explored during the semi-structured interview. Several themes emerged around reasons for continued participation in Australian elections or lack thereof. The following section will present the key themes identified as to why respondents continue to vote in Australian elections, measured across the whole sample. After this, the key themes from the reasons respondents do not participate in elections will be presented. In addition to the key themes regarding participation in Australian elections, findings regarding other forms of political participation will be explored.

Several reasons were given for why respondents continue to vote in Australia, despite no longer residing there. The reasons vary from largely emotionally driven through to logistical reasons. The emerging themes in relation to why Australian expatriates continue to vote in Australia can be summarised as:

- to have a say in the future of the country
- to connect with the homeland
- to contribute to society
- perceiving Australia as a back-up or safety net
- exercising a right as citizens
- feeling obligation or duty
- feeling directly affected by outcomes

Details of the qualitative interviews and supporting quotes are presented in the remainder of this section.

The most common reason given for why respondents continue to vote in Australia elections was that they plan eventually to go back to live in Australia, and therefore want to have a say in the future of the country they will return to.

For example, one respondent in Singapore said:

> *"It's [Australia] still my home and I'm going home one day, and it's important to make sure that I've got the, you know, the right government structure in place." Respondent 3, Singapore.*

Another respondent in Singapore indicated a similar sentiment:

> *"It's not just deciding what's happening next week, those policies will go into action for years to come. And, you know, I don't know how long I'm going to be outside of Australia. But I always want to make sure that at least my vote is counted towards something." Respondent 4, Singapore.*

As did this respondent in the UK:

> *"I want to make an Australia that I would like to come back to." Respondent 4, UK.*

Not only is it important to have a say in the country they will return to, but this respondent indicated they want to stay up to date with Australian politics to make their reintegration easier if they do move back to Australia:

> *"I think it is important to stay in touch with wherever you're from. And particularly because I want to move back home as well. So, if I go and I come back after like, seven years, for example it would be like, "oh, I have to catch up what's going on" sort of thing." Respondent 21, UK.*

Of the 26 respondents who still vote in Australian federal elections, 14 reported sentiments within this theme of using Australian politics to have a say in their future. This desire to have a say in the political future of a country they plan on returning to is quite pragmatic and aligns with Bauböck's (2007) concept of stakeholder citizenship: the individual's future is impacted by the decision-making in the Australian political community, despite their current overseas residence.

These comments also demonstrate an underlying sentiment of attachment and emotional connection through the expressed intention to repatriate and remain connected until they return. This aligns with the next key theme that emerged explaining why respondents still participate in Australian elections, which is tied to a feeling of connection. Responses indicate that participating in the electoral process, which inadvertently includes staying up to date with Australian politics, is a way to connect with their homeland. These new empirical findings contribute to the way we conceptualise transnational political participation, and their contribution to the theoretical framework will be discussed in Section 4.3

This respondent in Singapore indicated that the process of going to the High Commission in order to cast their vote was an experience that connected them with Australia:

> *"I think also when you're a long way away, it's a way of connecting as well. I know that when we voted here last year, we had to go to the High Commission . . . I liked the process of feeling connected to my country by doing it. It's, because it's very hard to stay sometimes connected. To me as much as exercising my rights, it's just another way I can stay connected to Australia and still feel Australian." Respondent 6, Singapore.*

This same sentiment can be seen from a respondent in the UK, who says that the actual act of voting in federal elections at Australia House with all the other Aussies in London gives a sense of community and pride:

> *"Like that's kind of a weird, nice kind of feeling. Like, you're literally queuing in the freezing cold outside Australia House with every other Aussie and you're all there for the same, good reason, having a chat and a laugh. So it's a weird kind of communal kind of thing. Um, and, you know, I feel weirdly kind of proud of that. Like, I would, you know, take a photo of Australia House and post it on my social medias, like, 'look at me, I'm going to vote', you know, like, there's kind of something, kind of nice about that." Respondent 23, UK.*

This respondent suggested that civic participation helps them feel in touch with Australia:

> *"So yeah, I mean, essentially it just comes down to still feeling, even though I'm outside of Australia, still feeling essentially, in touch, and Australian in that way. And I think that civil [sic.] participation is key." Respondent 7, UK.*

The feeling of connection stems from an emotional tie to Australia and participating in Australian politics is a way for expatriates to continue to use their citizenship and stay in touch with their homeland. Some participants have family and friends in Australia who they wish to support through political participation. For example, one respondent in Singapore commented that she has adult sons in Australia, and one of the ways she could remain connected to them and have an impact on their lives is through participating in the political decisions that may affect their future:

> *"So staying on the electoral roll is really important to me, because it makes a difference for me for when I go back, you know, any decisions that I make politically. But also I have family back there, I have two sons that are young adults now. My youngest is about to turn 21, and my oldest is 23, so what happens in Australia deeply impacts them. And as their mum, being distant from them, you have this sense where there's not much you can control, but I feel like if I can contribute to the decisions to how Australia works, through the electoral process, that is my little bit to contribute, you know, to their lives." Respondent 12, Singapore.*

Expatriates can often feel disconnected from their homeland and family and friends who remained there, and continuing to vote can help them feel like they are contributing to society in a place they care about.

> *"I care about what happens there. You know, I do really care about it. You know, my family live there, my friends live there, it's part of who I am." Respondent 13, UK.*

> *"I think that it's very important for people who are living in a place or who identify that place as somewhere that is their or home, to have a say in what they want for the future of that place." Respondent 15, UK.*

This respondent in the UK also indicated a sentiment of connection and rootedness in Australia based not only on having grown up there, but his adult children continuing to live there. They used this connection as an explanation of their continued political interest in Australia:

> *"I still feel very connected to Australia. You know, I love the idea, you know, my kids have grown up in Australia, my son is 27, my daughter's 32. And so, you know, they're off having their own lives and I'm therefore free to explore this beautiful planet we have. But I'm still, I feel, you know, a part of me is rooted in Australia, they [kids] are still there. And so I still want to participate. I still want to, you know, have one politician running the country rather than the other, I still take an interest in it." Respondent 9, UK.*

An interesting perspective that arose from a handful of expatriates was the need to maintain a connection to Australia as a back-up or safety net, not necessarily out of interest or connection. For example, one respondent in Singapore said:

> *"I mean, we've been reminded here [*Singapore*] quite a few times that, you know, we are guests in this country, and at any point in time, we can be told to leave. We can be told to leave, and at any point in time, my company can turn around and say, 'Sorry, we don't need you anymore'. So, you know, we need to still have those links back to Australia as our safety net, because no one else will take us. I do think it's important to maintain, you know, some connection and interest in Australia just because it is our safety net." Respondent 2, Singapore.*

Another common theme that has emerged describing why people continue to vote in Australia is a feeling that it is their right as citizens to do so, and not to waste that right.

> *"I just think to not use that or to not exercise your democratic right to vote is kind of like, not reckless, but just sort of apathetic, you know, like, how do you not care?" Respondent 13, UK.*

> *"The right to vote is important anyway, and especially as a woman. So I don't want to give that up just because I don't live there. And also, because voting is a long term impact. It's not just deciding what's happening next week, those policies will go into action for years to come. And, you know, I don't know how long I'm going to be outside of Australia. But I always want to make sure that at least my vote is counted towards something." Respondent 4, Singapore.*

This respondent who lives in Singapore and has spent decades living in Asia explains that while living overseas they have gotten to know many Australian citizens who naturalised as adults, and that their perspective of political participation is much stronger. Being around people who are from less democratic states and had to "earn" their right to vote has altered the respondent's perspective of the importance of their democratic rights:

> *"I think people growing up in Australia have maybe never had to really understand the importance of it [right to vote]. But people who have actually, I don't want to say earn it, but had to become an Australian and maybe didn't have much political right beforehand, they really take their right to vote quite seriously. And I think that kind of rubs off on you when you've been overseas." Respondent 6, Singapore.*

In a similar vein, this respondent compared their rights to those of others:

> *"Because it's very important to have your voice, not all countries allow their citizens to vote." Respondent 20, Singapore.*

This respondent living in the UK continues to vote as they consider having this democratic right is something that "makes Australia, Australia" and considers that right a "very lucky thing":

> *"Being a part of a country that prides itself in, you know, democracy I guess, like, everyone having a say in what they want is actually a very lucky thing . . . We get to have a say in who we want in power. And that, in turn, dictates what makes Australia, Australia." Respondent 15, UK.*

One respondent living in the UK indicated that they were always taught the value of democratic participation, and therefore continue to do so:

> *"I guess that was stressed to me that was really important that you need to vote, because you have a right to, and that is one of the easiest ways that you can change the world. And that one vote does make a difference." Respondent 19, UK.*

Some respondents noted changes in their political participation out of a general growing interest in Australian politics:

> *"When I lived back home [Australia], I would just sort of go 'oh it doesn't really matter, everything stays the same, cross cross tick tick [filling ballot forms]' and I didn't look at anything but, as I got older, I got more, sort of, vested and interested and you know, this stuff does affect it and, [I started] having that sort of mentality. As time has gone on, I've become more and more interested, and I found it more important to yeah, not only exercise your right, but like, take it seriously as well and put your vote in." Respondent 21, UK.*

Accompanying the sense of right or privilege associated with continuing to vote in Australia, some respondents indicated a sense of obligation or duty.

> *"I mean, as an Australian, I feel like it is a bit of a duty." Respondent 7, UK.*

> *"I still think it's an important requirement or responsibility of being an Australian citizen, to still participate in the process." Respondent 12, UK.*

> *"The least I can do is get a postal vote and make sure that I do my duty." Respondent 21, Singapore.*

Many Australian expatriates felt that they should continue to vote in Australia as they are directly affected by Australian politics despite residing overseas. For example, one respondent in Singapore discussed taxation and superannuation as additional reasons to continue voting in Australia:

> *"We've still got property in Australia that we pay taxes on, we've got children in Australia and we've got family in Australia. All of our superannuation is in Australia, so, it's a lot … if we're paying tax in that country, we might as well, you know, have the right to have a say over what happens with the money that we pay." Respondent 11, Singapore.*

Another respondent in the UK expressed similar sentiments:

> *"I mean, the reality is that even as an expat I'm impacted by, you know, decisions in the Australian political arena." Respondent 23, UK*

In particular, the recent changes to the capital gains tax paid by Australian foreign residents on the sale of their main residence were brought up by several respondents. In 2019, a new legislation went through that resulted in significant tax bills for Australian property owners who were living overseas at the time their property was sold in Australia (Khadem, 2020). This respondent suggested ever-changing legislation is a reason to continue voting in Australian elections despite residing overseas:

> *"Like there's, there's one thing that particularly winds me up about Australia, which is the, there's been a change in tax law around properties and we [expats] had no say in that. So stuff, you know, decisions made in Australia about politics can still have a massive impact on me." Respondent 23, UK.*

Another example of a political decision that affects expatriates is the changes to Higher Education Loan Program (HELP) repayment regulations. Previously, student loans did not have to be repaid if the individual was residing outside of Australia, and repayments only began upon return to Australia as a resident. A new law came into effect in 2017 and now dictates that all Australians with outstanding student loans are to make repayments when they reach over the income threshold, regardless of where they live (Griffiths, 2015). This respondent saw this as an example of overseas Australians being

affected by domestic politics despite no longer residing there:

> *"I still think it's important to vote for things back home, even though you're not there. Because it still has an impact on you. Like the current government there, what was it, they decided to chase people, even though they're living internationally for uni loans? And just things like that. So, it does, it still does have an effect even if you're not living there." Respondent 21, UK.*

This quote from a respondent living in Singapore encompasses many of the key themes highlighted so far, and is a good example of the range of reasons expatriates may still participate in Australian elections.

> *"I just think it's an important way to demonstrate that you come from a democratic country. And even though I'm not in Australia right now, who knows, I might be back within four or five weeks of the next election being held, and it does affect me. And even being outside of Australia, some of the laws still affect me. So there's tax laws, there's owning houses, I mean, there's a lot that does affect me, directly and indirectly. And my mom still lives there and my sister still lives there, and my children may live there. So I would like schooling and public health to be around for them if they go back. I think it's important to have your voice. And then also, you can't complain. If you don't vote, then you can't complain." Respondent 20, Singapore.*

As seen in the above quotes explaining why respondents still vote in Australian elections, it can be understood that continued political participation is predominantly tied to a sense of connection to the homeland, and an investment in the future of Australia, as well as a sense of obligation or a practice of democratic rights. The reasons that respondents continue to vote in Australia range from largely emotionally driven, to more logistical reasons. They cover a range of elements of citizenship, such as identity and emotional ties to the state and fellow citizens, as well as the associated rights and duties that come with holding citizenship. Voting in elections in their homeland is a citizenship practice that provides these Australian expatriates with a sense of purpose and contribution to their state. In contrast, the following section will explore the reasons respondents gave for *not* engaging in Australian elections while living overseas.

4.2.2 Reasons respondents no longer vote in Australia

The emerging themes in relation to why Australian expatriates no longer vote in Australia can be summarised as:

- Disenfranchisement and discontent with Australian politics
- Voter apathy
- Feeling uninformed and disconnected
- Feeling it is unethical to continue to vote when not a resident
- Establishing non-residence by removing oneself from voting lists

These themes are further explored in the remainder of this section.

One of the most common themes identified in relation to lack of political participation was a feeling of disenfranchisement and discontent with Australian politics. Australian politics has faced scrutiny for its inconsistency and volatility, particularly due to the frequent changeover in party leaders resulting in the appointment of six different prime ministers in an eight-year period. As seen in the electoral studies data, disenfranchisement and frustration with the Australian political system is not unique to expatriates (Cameron and McAllister, 2019; Karp et al. 2017). However, unlike Australian residents, expatriates are not obligated to participate in elections, so discontent may impact voter turnout among the expat population.

Expat respondents who were of the opinion that Australian politics is problematic, wanted to use their overseas residence and lack of compulsory voting as an opportunity to distance themselves from it:

> *"I kind of was like, I take no responsibility for that disaster zone. Because it's gone to a point where it's embarrassing. And after Tony Abbott got elected, I was like, I'm out." Respondent 10, Singapore.*

> *"I think I was probably a bit disillusioned with the outcome of the last election as well, and I just thought, you know, why bother?" Respondent 14, Singapore.*

> *"I'm really not proud of Australian political landscape right now. So it's kind of easy for me to just go, yeah, look, sorry, I'm not living there, I just, I wash my hands of it." Respondent 16, Singapore.*

Some respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the electoral system itself, where they felt their votes would not have an impact on the outcome of strongly held seats in their electorates:

> *"To be perfectly honest, even if I did get my ability to vote back on track, the location of where I live in Sydney, it's not really going to make any difference, because the way I would vote would be the same way that that seat is held anyway. And so my sense of, what can I do about it from a distance is, well, I'm disenfranchised actually." Respondent 17, Singapore.*

> *"My electorate in Sydney is a strong Liberal seat, so it doesn't matter who I vote for, it will always be Liberal. So to me it's a cost benefit analysis, like what's the point, you know. I'm a pragmatist at the end of the day, I'm very busy with work and I kind of can't be [bothered going to] Temple to Australia House to line up for God knows how long and then sign something when there's no point. Like, it's always going to be Liberal." Respondent 8, UK.*

Another respondent expressed discontent with the ability of parties to change leadership, and the frequency with which they do so:

> *"There's no point having a voice if you actually contribute to the popular vote and elect the person to then have someone in the party go 'no we don't like him anymore', and then stab them in the back. So the stuff that you're actually voting for doesn't actually get seen through anyway." Respondent 13, Singapore.*

These sentiments align with those of the Australian voters as shown in the 2019 AES report. The AES report indicated that 75% of Australian voters disapproved of the handling of leadership changeovers, and 41% of Australian voters were dissatisfied with the way democracy was working (Cameron and McAllister, 2019).

The lack of faith in the two-party system was also of concern to some respondents, who felt like there were not enough viable options when it came to the choice of party and leadership:

> *"But just with the state of Australian politics, which I've described in a questionnaire, in 2018 I had so little respect left for the process for the parties, both of them as bad as one another. No viable third alternative, I just, there's no point. It was a pretty easy decision to walk away from the Australian political*

system. I will re-enrol when the political parties earn my respect again." Respondent 13, Singapore.

*"They [*elections*] were always a basket case when I was living in Australia and they still are a basket case. Doesn't matter who you vote for, I find both Labor and Liberal are just as bad as each other. I think generally the Australian public being so disillusioned, nobody wants to vote for anybody because they're just both crap." Respondent 8, UK.*

Another closely linked sentiment and prominent theme identified in the data is the case of voter apathy. A number of respondents expressed a general disinterest in and disengagement from Australian politics. Some of these responses can be directly linked to overseas residence and the consequent detachment from Australian current affairs, for example:

"The unfortunate thing is, is that as you leave the country, you get less and less involved in day-to-day politics. So you don't care as much anymore, you know. And you see it on the news, Gladys Berejiklian and people like that, and they just, they come across as being complete idiots anyway." Respondent 9, Singapore.

"I felt less like the outcome affected me as well. I kind of feel more removed from politics, I guess, in Australia. I don't pay tax in Australia, I don't buy anything from Australia, either. I got to the point where I probably just don't really care anymore ... It's not convenient to vote from overseas and the outcome doesn't affect me really." Respondent 14, Singapore.

Other respondents seem to have a general disinterest in Australian politics, which is not necessarily related to their overseas residence:

"Like, I'm Gen Y, so I'm in like the disillusion group, I kind of see voting as largely kind of pointless, because both of them, I think, don't really align to my views, politically. Like, I want them to kind of get out of my life more, not be in it more." Respondent 18, Singapore.

"I just have no idea what's going on in Australia. And from what I hear, it's the same as everywhere and the wrong people are in so, you know, what can you do?" Respondent 24, UK.

One of the main reasons expatriates can become disengaged from Australian politics is that they are so far removed from it in their day to day lives and feel uninformed and consequently disconnected. This sentiment supports the arguments made by scholars who oppose the enfranchisement of expatriates based on the idea that physical distance leads to less involvement and hence less motivation to stay informed (See: Lafleur, 2013; Rubio-Marin, 2006; Spiro, 2006).

> *"[I don't vote] because I'm not informed, and I don't want to be voting for something that I'm not informed about." Respondent 16, UK.*

> *"So yeah, at the beginning, it was really just a practical thing that I didn't want to vote. Whereas now I have no idea what's going on. And I just wouldn't, I wouldn't want to get involved." Respondent 24, UK.*

Respondents who live in the UK and vote in elections there were particularly affected by the problem of being under informed for Australian elections, as they struggled to stay on top of political news in both the UK and Australia:

> *"I'm invested and my life is in the UK, and that's where I should put my energy towards voting and being active on politics. And because there's been so much going on, with Brexit and every, all the other [stuff], I just don't have the mental time to be up to date with Australia as well." Respondent 11, UK.*

> *"It became difficult to sort of find out what the political landscape was in two countries." Respondent 10, UK.*

> *"When I left Australia, I didn't want to have the hassle of keeping up to date with everything and then being fined if I didn't vote. But then when I moved over here, the news is all British focussed, so it was a lot easier to participate in it. So, I was like, okay, now I have a say, I'm gonna vote [*in the UK*]. Whereas following all the Australian politics is a lot harder when I'm here." Respondent 6, UK.*

Several respondents indicated that they felt it would be unethical to continue to vote in Australia while not living there. Much of the normative debate around external voting tackles the applicability of election results to non-resident voters compared to those within the state (Lafleur, 2013; López-Guerra, 2005), and some respondent sentiments support these particular arguments against external voting:

"And it does get to the point where you only see headline coverage, you don't get to see the in-depth programs, so you feel perhaps you're not making the best decision. And you're not living in that electorate, either, but yet you're having a say. Yeah, so I had a few arguments with the family about that, saying like 'why are you voting when you don't even live here?', and I guess it's true." Respondent 14, UK.

*"I just took myself off the roll. Because I thought, and also, I really believe I don't have the right, certainly locally [*in Australia*], to make decisions where I'm not being impacted on a daily life .... I feel, I'm just not living in it. So I shouldn't have the right to decide on that." Respondent 18, UK.*

"So, I would probably feel a bit uncomfortable actually, in terms of deciding who governs the country in Australia if I'm not living there, because I'm not being faced with the issues that some of the parties are kind of lobbying for, so yeah, probably not really. You know, certainly if I was living there. Yes, absolutely. But yeah, I think I'd probably feel like I was a bit of a… not fraud, it's not the right word, but I was not doing justice to my votes." Respondent 20, UK.

An interesting and recurring theme regarding lack of political participation was that several expatriates actively removed themselves from the electoral roll in order to prove to the government that they were no longer Australian residents for tax purposes. This is a contrast to those who continue to vote as they consider election outcomes to affect them economically. Some respondents suggested that, by removing themselves from the electoral roll, they felt more detached from Australia and therefore less economically tied and likely to be "chased" by the Australian Tax Office (ATO):

"You have to demonstrate that you've actually left Australia, and one of the ways that you can is to show that you no longer vote in Australia. Otherwise people can find themselves paying taxation on their foreign earnings in Australia as well as paying tax in a foreign country. So this is purely for taxation reasons." Respondent 1, Singapore.

"The advice that we got from our tax accountant was to actually remove ourselves from the electoral roll because, unfortunately, the ATO is crazy

sometimes, and they'll look at all these, like, connections back to Australia as a reason to pay tax." Respondent 7, Singapore.

"I removed myself from the electoral roll because I really wanted to reiterate that I should not be taxed in Australia." Respondent 10, Singapore.

"But that's also a tax benefit, as well. So there's the tax difference between the two countries. The ATO loves to claim anything they can get their paws on, like, they don't even question, they just will take everything they can possibly get. And so there's that benefit, and it's, you know, like 50-60 grand worth of benefit to actually say, right, I'm not associated with Australia from an administrative purpose anymore and I'm now residing entirely in Singapore." Respondent 15, Singapore.

Interestingly, all but one of the respondents who mentioned taxes as a reason to remove themselves from the electoral roll were residing in Singapore. This may be due to the low tax rate in Singapore coupled with ample opportunity for high incomes, suggesting that perhaps expatriates in Singapore are more financially motivated in their overseas residence than those in the UK. For example, the average expat salary in Singapore, not including benefits, is AU$120,000 (most expat packages including school, accommodation, utilities, etc. are valued at over $300,000 per year) and the tax rate for foreign residents is set at 15% (TST, 2019; IRAS, 2021). In comparison, an individual earning AU$120,000 per year in the UK would be paying 40% tax (UK Gov, 2021). However, one respondent in the UK told a story of receiving a very high withholding tax bill from Australia while they were still on the electoral roll and unaware of their tax responsibilities. They consequently removed their name from the electoral roll to avoid future confusion:

"When I was 23, I got a withholding tax bill for $42,000. So the solution to that was my parents paid it, and I took myself off the electoral roll, and then it got refunded the next year. So if the government wants to keep overseas people voting, then they need to line up their tax policy to it as well." Respondent 2, UK.

The ATO has access to information provided to the AEC, including the identification and location of taxpayers, for the purpose of preventing tax fraud (ATO, 2016). It is not uncommon for Australian citizens to continue paying taxes to the ATO on their foreign

income. If an outgoing citizen remains an Australian resident for tax purposes, they have to declare all foreign income, even if tax was withheld in the country where it was earned (ATO, 2022). Many expatriates choose to declare themselves as non-residents for tax purposes, to avoid the tasks associated with declaring earnings to the ATO. However, because the ATO can access information from the AEC, some expatriates have chosen to remove themselves from the electoral roll as an extra measure to remove all obligations to the ATO.

As can be seen, there are various reasons that expatriates may choose whether or not to continue voting in Australian elections. These range from emotionally driven decisions such as the desire for connection, to more calculated judgments such as tax minimisation strategies. Many of the sentiments expressed by the respondents in this study are reflective of the existing external voting debate in the literature. Some respondents felt they were no longer well enough informed to continue voting in Australian elections, or that they were not affected enough by the outcomes in order to participate. On the other hand, some respondents felt it was their citizenly right to continue having a say in the future of their home country, and others consider their engagement in transnational economic and social practices to warrant their involvement in Australian politics. These similarities to the existing normative debate offer an interesting empirical contribution which suggests that normative theorists are successfully capturing the lived experiences and sentiments of migrants when considering the political and social implications of external voting. The overlap between the findings in this chapter and the existing normative debate will be discussed further in Section 4.3.

Before discussing these findings in Section 4.3, the following section will explore forms of political participation outside of voting in Australian elections. These include expatriates voting in elections in their country of residence, and participation in non-electoral political activities such as protests and petitions.

4.2.3 Other political participation

In order to better understand expatriates' political participation as a whole, respondents were asked about any political activities they engaged in outside of Australian elections. Understanding how engaged expatriates are with politics in their home country can help us determine how transnational their citizenship experiences are. However, it is also

important to explore how they engage with their host country, and anywhere else they may be involved. This information can help us gauge the transnationality of expatriates' political participation.

4.2.3.1 Voting in country of residence

During the study, respondents were asked about how they engage with politics in their country of residence, including voting and other forms of political participation. Singapore and the UK have significantly different approaches towards allowing non-citizen residents to engage in domestic politics, which understandably influenced the response to these questions.

As a result of these different regulations regarding foreign participation in domestic politics, Australian expatriates living in the UK had a much higher rate of political participation in their country of residence than those in Singapore. Unsurprisingly, none of the respondents interviewed in Singapore reported voting in Singaporean elections. As noted in Section 4.2, 71% of the respondents living in the UK reported voting in UK federal elections. This means that respondents living in the UK were more inclined to vote in elections in their country of residence than in Australian federal elections (71% respondents voting in the UK elections compared to only 46% who vote in Australian elections, Figure 4). There are a number of contributing factors that could explain this finding. Some of the respondents indicated that they were more interested in voting where they live as it affects their lives more directly, while some felt more informed and in tune with politics in their country of residence than Australia.

4.2.3.2 Other forms of political participation

Although elections may be considered the most direct form of democratic participation, there are ways to be politically engaged that do not involve voting in elections. In order to explore other political participation, interviewees were asked about their participation in protests, petitions, and contacting the media with political grievances, both in Australia and their country of residence. It is important to acknowledge that the list of political activities one could engage with is exhaustive, and could range from working for an electoral party to discussing voting preferences with friends. There was concern that either providing too many options, or asking an open-ended question, could disrupt analysis and influence of the findings. Though there are other examples of political engagement worthy of exploration, the decision to ask about protests, petitions and

media engagement was made as these actions were considered objectively "political" in nature and, methodologically, provided a sufficiently narrow scope for the purpose of this study.

Similar to the findings about voting in their country of residence, expatriates living in the UK were much more politically active in their country of residence than those living in Singapore: 17 (71%) of respondents residing in the UK reported participating in at least one form of non-voting political participation, most commonly, signing petitions (67%). In contrast, none of the respondents living in Singapore reported participating in protests, and only three respondents indicated they signed petitions. Although it is acknowledged that petitions are political by default, when pressed for details they were found to be for causes which were relatively apolitical in nature, so the expats could remain neutral in the Singaporean context.

Several respondents commented on the strict laws on foreigners' political involvement in Singapore, suggesting that it is 'not worth' engaging as an expat:

> *"People don't question things a lot in Singapore, particularly expats, because it's not worth being deported. Like we just go, you know what, that's fine, we just nod and smile." Respondent 15, Singapore.*

> *"I'm very careful about what I sign [*petitions*]. Because Singapore has a file on all of us. And given the kind of work that I do and given PR [permanent resident] status, it's certainly more secure than being an expat on a work permit. But I am, I do censor myself at times, and I'm careful about what kind of comments I make on social media." Respondent 16, Singapore.*

> *"But then you get arrested and kicked out of the country [*for protesting*]. So you're not allowed to protest. You can as a local but not as an expat, for example." Respondent 18, Singapore.*

When it comes to political rights and involvement, living as an expatriate in the UK and Singapore are very different experiences. Legal factors such as voter eligibility and rights of foreign workers have a significant impact on one's ability to engage with the politics of their country of residence. As a result, interviewees living in the UK had a much higher rate of political participation in their country of residence than those living in Singapore, across all levels of engagement.

When asked about political engagement with Australia, 45% of respondents reported signing petitions in Australia, while 14% had contacted the media to express grievances. All of the petitions were online such as those through change.org, mostly shared through their Australian social network and social media and largely tackling social issues rather than actively political topics. Overall, petitions do not seem to be the preferred method of politically engaging with Australia, however, may be a way for expats to connect with social issues in their home country.

Table 5. High level summary of findings about political participation

Finding	Singapore	UK	Differences
Voting in Australia	Vote in Australia 61%	Vote in Australia 46%	Some difference
Voting in country of residence	Vote in Singapore 0%	Vote in the UK 71%	Very big difference
Reasons respondents continue to vote in Australia	Connection; things at stake; democratic right	Connection; things at stake; democratic right	Little difference
Reasons respondents no longer vote in Australia	Disenfranchisement and discontent; disconnected; feels "wrong"; enhance non-resident status (tax)	Disenfranchisement and discontent; disconnected; feels "wrong"; can't keep up with both Aus and UK politics	Some difference
Other forms of political participation	In Singapore 12%	In the UK 71%	Very big difference

4.3 Discussion

This chapter explored the second research question, the current political participation of Australians living overseas. Specifically, the following sub-questions were explored with the participants: their reasons for continuing to vote in Australian federal elections; reasons for no longer voting in Australia; and their engagement in other forms of political participations.

As the findings have shown, there are a wide range of reasons affecting whether Australians living in the UK and Singapore participate in the political communities of their home and host countries. This section will first summarise some of the more general findings regarding voter sentiment and trends, before providing a discussion of

the contribution that key findings from this study have made to the literature.

4.3.1 Voting sentiments

Many of the explanations of why respondents voted in Australian elections or not are not unique to emigrants and are in line with general Australian voter sentiment as identified in the AES and EIP (see Cameron and McAllister, 2019; Karp et al. 2017). Due to the nature of Australia's compulsory voting system, the EIP study indicated a 95% rate of electoral participation. However, when asked about political participation, only 59% of survey respondents indicated they would vote in the federal elections if it were not compulsory (Karp et al. 2017). Notably, Australians living overseas who were interviewed in this study were found to have similar voter sentiments to those noted in AES and EIP studies of the general Australian public. Of the individuals interviewed, 53% indicated that they continue to vote in Australian elections from overseas. Voting is optional for Australians living overseas, so this finding is in line with the 59% of Australian resident EIP survey respondents who suggested they would continue voting if it were optional.

According to the EIP study, age was an important determinant as to whether survey respondents would continue voting in Australian elections if it were to become non-compulsory. Karp and colleagues (2017) found that Australians aged 34 and under were the most likely to stop voting if given the choice, whereas those aged 55 and over were the most likely to continue voting. The findings from this study of Australian expatriates differ, with the majority of respondents in their thirties continuing to vote in Australian elections, compared to those aged above 50. However, there is a stark difference in the length of time that each age group has lived overseas. The respondents in their thirties have most commonly only lived overseas for 3-5 years. In comparison, almost all of the respondents aged 50+ have lived overseas for ten or more years. This is important to consider because length of time spent overseas was found to be a significant determinant of political participation in Australia. Those who had only lived overseas for 3-5 years at the time of the interview were the most likely to continue voting in Australian elections, with 70% of respondents who had been overseas for less than five years still voting in Australia. Voter turnout gradually decreased from there based on length of time the respondent has lived overseas. Those living overseas for 16-20 years only had a 20% voter turnout, while only one of the respondents who has lived

overseas for 20+ years continues to vote in Australian elections. It is important to reiterate here that initial registration as an external voter when leaving Australia is for a period of six years (AEC, 2020). After this, the individual is responsible for re-enrolling themself on the annual basis. The role that this institutional arrangement plays in creating a drop in electoral participation in those overseas for more than 5 years is worthy of further exploration. These findings suggest a potential link, however the scope of the study is not sufficient to make definitive conclusions.

This study indicates that length of time overseas is the strongest determinant regarding continued political participation of Australians overseas. This aligns with findings from Peltoniemi (2018) who suggests that the longer a migrant lives in their host country, the less likely they are to vote in home country elections. Migrant forfeits political ties with their home country to 'make room for' connections in the host country (Guarnizo et al., 2017). In addition to age and number of years living overseas, data was explored for potential differences in voting patterns based on gender and educational level of the participant. No significant differences were found. However, it is important to note that, due to the small sample size in this study, it is impossible to make definitive claims regarding these findings. These findings are a general description of the trend identified, which would require more robust research in order to make definitive conclusions.

The AES survey (Cameron and McAllister, 2019) on Australian resident voters identified a general dissatisfaction and distrust in the government and political process in Australia. In a similar sentiment, only 12% of Australians believe that the government is run for the benefit of the whole population (Cameron and McAllister, 2019). Discontent around both the electoral system and the politicians themselves was reported. Frequent leadership changes within parties means that Australia had six prime ministers over an eight-year period since 2010, which has been highly criticised (see e.g., Bryant, 2018) and resulted in voters' disapproval (Cameron and McAllister, 2019). This discontent is evident in that, for the first time since compulsory voting was introduced for the 1925 federal election, voter turnout fell below 90% in the May 2022 elections (Shields, 2022). The interviews for this study into Australian expatriates support this general sentiment, as one of the most common themes identified from those who no longer vote in Australia was a feeling of disenfranchisement and discontent with Australian politics.

On the contrary, some respondents reported a sense of citizenly right or duty to vote in Australian elections, indicating a conscious association between their citizenship and political participation. These individuals associate voting as a part of their Australian citizenship, indicating the sense that democratic participation is part of what it means to be Australian. A number of respondents explained that their right to vote was valuable, particularly as they became aware that some citizens elsewhere are not provided this right to the same degree of transparency and freedom as in Australia. This sentiment was particularly dominant among respondents living in Singapore, which is not considered as democratically liberal as Australia or the UK (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

On the whole, these findings indicate that Australian expatriates' voting trends are similar to Australian resident voters in both their perceived and actual voting patterns. The questions posed in the EIP study (Karp et al. 2017) provide an indication of voting patterns under hypothetical conditions of non-compulsory voting in Australia. However, as a unique sub-section of the population for whom voting is no longer compulsory, the findings from this study into Australian expatriates offers an empirical insight into actual voting patterns and behaviour. There are of course certain variables which are inapplicable to the Australian resident context, such as the effect that the host country might have on voter sentiment and behaviour (see Section 4.3.3), however the results contribute substantive evidence of Australian voting patterns and sentiments.

The findings in this chapter have also demonstrated the range of factors that can influence migrants' political participation in both their home and host countries. The level and types of participation an individual maintains with their home country is affected by their relationship with their home country government, political groups or organisations, as well as family and friends still residing there. Emigrants may join home political campaigns (e.g., ALP Abroad), remain active in hometown civic associations, or donate money or time to projects in their home country (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003). Some factors have long been associated with voting, such as age, education level and an interest in politics, however scholars have highlighted specific determinants for migrant participation in home and host country, such as ease of involvement, intention to stay and geographic distance between the home and host country (Finn, 2020; Peltoniemi, 2018). The interviews with Australians living in the UK and in Singapore have identified a number of ways that Australian emigrants

remain politically engaged with their home country, which align with existing research into migrants' political participation. The study found that levels of engagement varied based on host country, and engagement was not only through external voting, but include campaign membership (e.g. ALP Abroad), petitions, donations, use the of social media to share information and stay involved.

4.3.2 Contribution to normative debate on external voting

There is extensive normative debate around external voting, where some scholars believe residency should be the determinant of electoral participation (see Dahl, 1998; López-Guerra, 2005), while others propose a stakeholder model of citizenship, where those who are affected by political decisions should have the right to vote (Bauböck, 2007; Owen, 2010). The findings from this study have shown that the sentiments of the expatriates themselves align with arguments and debates articulated by scholars on both sides This is an important finding because it shows that normative theorists are successfully capturing the lived experiences and sentiments of migrants when considering the political and social implications of external voting. As such, this study contributes empirical groundings which can be used to further strengthen a range of normative arguments on this topic. This can then in turn further the comprehensiveness of such theorising by taking into consideration different insights and lived experiences.

Across the whole sample, a total of 53% of respondents continue to vote in Australian federal elections. The emerging themes in relation to why Australian expatriates continue to vote in Australia include having a say in the future of the country; connecting with the homeland; contributing to the society; perceiving Australia as a back-up or safety net; exercising their right as citizens; feeling obligation or duty; and feeling directly affected by outcomes.

Several of these themes are in line with arguments made by scholars in support of external voting. For example, one of the key reasons that expatriates who continued to vote indicated doing so was that they wanted to have a say in the future of the country they would eventually be returning to. They felt it was important to have a say in the political decisions that would shape their home country due to their intention to repatriate one day. This desire to participate in the politics of a country they would be returning to is in line with Bauböck's (2007) notion of stakeholder citizenship, where those affected by the outcomes of decisions should be entitled to have a say in them. In

a similar vein, respondents who continued to vote in Australian elections because they feel directly affected by Australian politics while residing overseas are also exercising a form of stakeholder citizenship. A number of cases were provided in the interviews highlighting the way expatriates' felt directly affected by legislation and policy changes in Australia, despite not living there at the time. For example, until 2017 Australian citizens with a Higher Education Loan Program (HELP) debt to the Australian government were not required to repay their loans if they were residing overseas. From July 2017, anyone with a HELP or TSL loan who is a non-resident for tax purposes is required to make repayments (Study Assist, 2015). Similarly, the exemptions around Capital Gains Tax (CGT) paid on property sales in Australia were changed in 2019 to rule that only Australian residents for tax purposes would be eligible for exemptions on the tax, with foreign residents forfeiting up to 12.5% of the property sale price to the Australian Taxation Office (ATO, 2022).

Regardless of one's opinions on these changes themselves, these examples show situations in which citizens residing overseas are directly affected by legislative decisions in their home country. A clear recent example of policy decisions that affected citizens overseas was the Australian government's response to the Covid-19 pandemic, during which they effectively closed the border to Australians residing overseas, impacting their ability to return home and see their loved ones, or relocate back to Australia during the pandemic (see Larson, 2022b for a more detailed analysis). These findings therefore support the normative arguments for external voting, where various scholars argue that residing overseas does not free citizens of obligations to their home country, so they should continue to receive their rights in return (see Bauböck, 2007; Owen, 2010).

However, 47% of the Australians interviewed in this study claimed that they no longer voted in Australian elections. This was mainly due to disenfranchisement and discontent with Australian politics; voter apathy; feeling uninformed and disconnected; feeling it is unethical to continue to vote when not resident; or for establishing non-residence by removing oneself from voting lists. Many of the reasons given for why they chose to stop voting were in line with scholarly arguments against external voting. Several respondents who no longer vote in Australia indicated they stopped because they felt it was unethical to influence the political outcomes of a country in which they do not reside, which is in line with López-Guerra's (2005) overall argument against external

voting. If applying the stakeholder model, these respondents no longer felt they were stakeholders in the Australian political community, even if they were still citizens with potential repatriation intentions and loved ones in their home country. Despite most of these respondents still identifying with and feeling connected to Australia (as discussed in the next chapter), they considered that this was not enough to justify political participation without residence. Another finding about why respondents no longer vote in Australian elections was in line with Rubio-Marin's (2006) view, which is the idea that external voters are less informed than those within state borders and are therefore unable to provide the same degree of political input. A number of respondents reported feeling too disconnected or uninformed to have a say in Australian political outcomes, and that their time abroad impacted their exposure to and understanding of on-going political debate in their home country. These sentiments are also in line with those of Lafleur (2013) and Spiro (2006) and demonstrate that the normative arguments against external voting are in fact mirrored in the empirical sentiments of some migrants who cease to vote in their home country.

Much of the literature on external voting concentrates on the rich normative debate around the expansion of transnational voting rights, or the motivations of states to allow external enfranchisement (see Section 4.1). However, there is little research empirically exploring the motivations of *emigrants* to vote in *home country* elections. The reasons why emigrants continue to participate in home country politics is important to capture. It helps us to understand whether ongoing political participation is vested in identity and a rooted connection to the home country, or rather simply a case of instrumental stakeholder citizenship where individuals vote because they feel directly affected by the outcomes. By providing a firsthand understanding about why individuals feel compelled to participate in home country politics or not, these findings can inform ongoing policy and debate around external voting, filling an empirical gap in the literature. Findings from this study support both sides of the existing normative debates on external voting, showing that those studying and making normative recommendations for and against external voting are successfully capturing the lived experiences and sentiments of migrants themselves. This finding emphasises that views on external voting rights are polarising even for those they affect, making it a challenging policy to enact, and one deserving of further research.

4.3.3 Host country differences influence voting patterns in Australia

In addition to filling an empirical gap in the debate around external voting, these findings also identify differences in emigrant political behaviour based on location of residence. As presented in the literature review (Section 4.1.4) institutional factors influence enfranchisement in the host country. However, the findings from this study also provide and additional insight: that *host country enfranchisement* is a variable affecting trends in *home country participation*. This new finding will be further discussed in this section.

There are some key differences between the two host country destinations explored in this study. In the UK, Australians are able to vote in elections from the moment they enter the country on a residency or work permit (Bourke, 2019). In contrast, non-citizens living in Singapore are not only ineligible to vote regardless of their length of residency, but are also not allowed to partake in any form of political participation (Freedom House, 2020; Human Rights Watch, 2017). Importantly, there is no indication that expatriates' potential to continue voting in Australia is any different in either of these host countries, as both have prominent and active Australian consular offices.

Of the Australians interviewed in the UK, 71% of respondents reported voting in elections in the UK. However, only 46% of respondents in the UK reported voting in Australian federal elections, indicating a higher turnout in host country elections than those in the home country. Comparatively, none of the respondents interviewed in Singapore were eligible to vote in the host country, and 61% of interviewees living in Singapore reported voting in Australian federal elections. Although those living in Singapore only had a 15% higher self-reported rate of participation in Australian federal elections, and the variable 'location' did not emerge as significant in quantitative analysis, some emergent themes from the interviews provide an interesting perspective to potential reasons behind these differences. Due to limited sample sizes, these findings are not reported as definite, but rather intend to inform further research into the diverse range of factors that can influence transnational enfranchisement.

Of the respondents who only voted in the UK and not in Australia, almost all suggested this was due to the difficulty and time consumption of staying sufficiently informed on news, political debate and campaigning in two places. They felt their lives were more directly affected by political outcomes in the UK at the time, and therefore chose to

forfeit Australian political participation in order to reduce the burden of information on themselves. This aligns with Guarnizo, Chaudhary, and Sørensen's (2017) suggestion that a migrant forfeits political ties with their home country to 'make room for' connections in the host country.

Interestingly, both the difficulty to stay informed in two places and the prioritisation of the country of residence due to its more direct effect are in line with López-Guerra's (2005) arguments against external voting. In contrast, due to their ineligibility to participate in Singaporean politics, Australian living in Singapore do not need to be politically informed about two states, which makes it easier for them to stay on top of Australian politics than for expats living in the UK.

Another effect that could stem from this difference in host country political systems is that Australians living in the UK are able to feel enfranchised and practice their democratic right to political participation, whereas those in Singapore do not get this opportunity unless they vote in Australia. It is important to note that only six of the Australians interviewed in Singapore had dual citizenship with another state, and only one of them reported voting in elections in the state of their other citizenship. This indicates that almost all of the respondents in Singapore only voted in Australia, if anywhere. The importance of voting is strongly emphasised in Australia, and it is one of few states where voting is compulsory for everyone over the age of 18. It would be interesting to explore more explicitly how the emphasis on political participation and democratic rights and process in Australia affect those who grow up voting in Australia and then emigrate. Does the long-instilled requirement to vote become entrenched and carry on into emigration, as demonstrated by those who continue voting even though they are no longer obligated? Or does the withdrawal of obligation come as a welcome relief of political pressure? This study did not set out to answer these questions, but the findings presented in this chapter suggest that there are different responses, with both of these sentiments emerging in the interviews. White (2017) suggests that political socialisation in the home country before departure is an indicator of socialisation in the host country on arrival, and that established voting practices tend to follow people as they move, which supports the hypothesis that Australian expatriates may continue vote out of habit. A more tailored study analysing the way that emigration can affect Australians' voting practices would be useful to address these questions.

Expatriates' political participation may be influenced by myriad of factors, including simply personal preference and level of interest in politics. Exploring the way that Australians participate in home country elections after relocating overseas aids our understanding of transnational citizenship by adding a valuable insight into one of the most widely understood citizenship practices. The following chapter presents findings on Australian expatriates' self-reported identity with both Australia and their host country. Understanding the degree of identification respondents have with their home country will add another layer of nuance into the insight this chapter has provided about their political participation. After the various elements of citizenship are explored throughout the findings, they will be discussed in relation to one another in the final chapter.

Chapter 5 Perceptions of national identity

The broad aim of this thesis is to understand the citizenship practices and experiences of Australian expatriates. Following from the findings in the previous two chapters, this chapter departs from the exploration of how Australian expatriates *behave* (their citizenship practices) and instead looks into how they *feel* (their identity), (see also Figure 1). In this chapter, the following empirical research question is explored:

> C. **'**Does living overseas for an extended period of time affect Australian expatriates' national identity?'

This question was explored by asking respondents about the following:

i. Connections between citizenship and national identity

ii. Changes in feelings about their national identity

iii. Concepts of home and belonging

iv. What they think of as an Australian national identity

This chapter begins with an overview of the existing literature linking citizenship with national identity, including discussion around multiple identities, and then presents an outline of theories of identity formation, borrowed from social psychology. Next, the chapter offers an overview of the scholarly construction and attempted definitions of the Australian identity. Findings from the interviews with Australian expatriates undertaken during this study are then presented thematically in several sub-sections in Section 5.2. The final part of this chapter offers a discussion of the key findings in relation to the literature.

5.1 Overview of the literature

In order to discuss national identity, we must first define the nation. The nation is, in the words of Benedict Anderson, an "imagined community" where "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006: 6). It is not defined in physical or legal terms, and it has no sovereignty, authority or territory. It is created and sustained at a psychological and subjective level, and there are no distinct definitions of who belongs in the nation. National belonging occurs

through both individual self-perception and relational conceptions of identity and community (Anderson, 2006). Tate (2009) offers the example of both the Australian and Aboriginal nations occupying the same geographical space but holding different conceptions of their nationality and identity. He does not attempt to define or explain what is meant by a single "Australian nation" when offering this comparison, perhaps due to the ambiguity and difficulty in defining one. However, Tate (2009) does highlight that the definition or existence of a nation rests on the collective self-perception of membership to a national community.

Although the nation is not defined by state borders, there is often a degree of overlap between national communities and sovereign territories. Even where this overlap did not exist at the initial division of today's sovereign states, attempts have been made to leverage the concepts of nationality and national identity to build solidarity within the communities that fell within territorial borders. In some cases, nations and national identities based on historical and cultural ties were already defined and the division of modern sovereign territories created a mosaic of different national identities, such as the Basque or Catalonian nations within modern day Spain (Moreno-Luzón, 2020). The Australian nation and national identity present a different challenge. Post-colonial Australia as a sovereign territory is young, and the current population shares a very short and multicultural history (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). However, identity, much like citizenship itself, is a notoriously challenging idea to define and conceptualise. Identity itself is a personal experience, and its formation and retention are highly contextual and open to change, as will be discussed in this chapter.

This section will provide an overview of the overlap between national identity and citizenship, theories about identity formation, as well as an exploration into what is meant by an 'Australian identity' and the difficulty in defining one.

5.1.1 Identity and citizenship

It is increasingly acknowledged that citizenship is not only a formal legal status which denotes rights and obligations, but that it is also a marker of identity and belonging (Bellamy et al. 2004; Isin 1999; Isin and Turner 2007; Joppke 2007; Karolewski 2009; Pogonyi, 2017; Stoker et al. 2011; Turner, 1997). National identity has become more commonly associated with citizenship in the last few decades, and scholars from political, sociological and psychological disciplines have been trying to unpack the

existing but complex relationship between the two (Bauböck, 2003; Bosniak, 2006; Condor, 2011; Kymlicka and Norman, 1994).

Although the modern territorial border does not necessarily imply a community of belonging (Bloemraad and Sheares, 2017), modern citizenship is often used to imply a national identity. For example, someone might refer to themselves simply as "Australian" instead of "a citizen of Australia". This "imagined community" can be constructed by processes such as education curricula, national media, and other shared experiences (Edensor, 2002; Bloemraad and Sheares, 2017). National identity has been used to motivate an otherwise disconnected population of a state to strive for a shared goal and foster political cohesion (Walters and Zeller, 2018). While scholars debate how strong a national identity needs to be to create the collective solidarity behind taxation, redistributive policies and trust in common institutions (Miller, 1995), they tend to acknowledge the difficulty in measuring this identity and its formation.

Levey (2022) proposes that national identity is made up of three key domains: governmental, public and cultural. The idea is that each is distinct and captures one element of what we are actually referring to when discussing a national identity. The governmental domain refers to the articulated "program, priorities and vision" that a national government has for a nation, and is expressed by what a government does or does not do. However, Levey (2022) suggests that this governmental domain of national identity is the least durable, and rarely makes its way into the community to affect the national culture and identity of the population. Levey's second key domain is that inscribed in public institutions, which tend to outlive governments (2022). Here, Levey refers to symbolic public expressions of identity such as the flag, the national anthem or public holidays, but also forms of public institutionalisation such as the way the nation's history is expressed in school curricula, or the questions included in the citizenship test. Finally, Levey (2022) broadly defines the third key domain of national identity as cultural. Cultural identity informs the governmental and public domains, but is rooted in a shared *character* based on people's habits, outlook, emotional responses and lifestyles, rather than legislation or symbols. Here, Levey suggests omitting the word "national" and referring to the cultural identity instead as an "Australian identity" or simply "Australianness", in order to better capture the shared being and belonging. This, Levey argues, is the slowest and hardest dimension to change, and the most difficult to define or characterise by those who are immersed in it.

Similarly, Edensor (2002) proposes the exploration of national identity as it is presented and experienced through popular culture, with popular culture defined as the culture of the people or "mass culture". Here, popular culture is ever evolving depending on the interests and desires of the public. Much like Billig's concept of "banal nationalism" (2010), Edensor maintains that national identity is "grounded in the everyday", and that it is in fact social interactions, habits, routines and practical knowledge that embody the details of national identity (2002:7). Edensor (2002) considers the importance of "unreflexive identifications", whereby the national identity is reaffirmed and reproduced in everyday life through a broad range of sources and processes. Edensor offers the practical dimension of national identity shaped by legislative frameworks, such as employment rights, national education curriculum and broadcast regulations, but also suggest the importance of different structures such as: familiar places and iconic landscapes; shared conventions and habits; habitual material commodities and shared spaces; as well as shared narratives and representations such as those seen in the media. Edensor (2002) goes so far as to suggest sensations such as sound and smell are part of the everyday "unreflexive enactions" of national identity. This perspective quite eloquently summarises the extensiveness of identity as a concept, and how much of it can be associated with what we know as national identity.

The citizen is often described as someone of "singular loyalty, identity and belonging" to their state (Isin, 2009: 368). These conceptions of identity and belonging as tied to a single territorial state can perhaps be understood when one is within the home country, but they are thrown into question when one moves outside of their country of origin. Empirical explorations of how the individual emigrant experiences this intersection between identity and citizenship are limited, although the field is growing, and this study aims to help fill this empirical gap. In a related study, Pogonyi (2017) found that the diaspora they studied viewed their citizenship as both a strategic asset and a marker of identity, showing that it can serve multiple purposes. Boller and Halbert (2015) found that US Americans living abroad held deep linkages to their home country regardless of time spent away, with national identity continuing to play an important part in the experience of emigrant US Americans. dahler (2009) discovered similar sentiments in their study on US Americans living in Mexico, finding they remained tied to their US identities despite living overseas. Schlenker et al. (2017) found that Swiss emigrants continued to identify with and be involved in Switzerland despite settling into their host

country. There have been some important and insightful studies into the experiences of second-generation migrant Australians repatriating to their ancestral homeland after spending large portions of their life in Australia (see Baldassar, 2008 and Marino, 2020 for accounts of Italian-Australians in Italy). Although such studies tackle the confusing sentiments of identity and belonging for this second-generation cohort, they fit within a defined scope which omits a myriad of other Australian emigrants.

Outside of these examples of second-generation migrants, almost no work has been undertaken to explore the relationship between citizenship and identity in Australian expatriates, and this study stands as a valuable contribution to in this field. However, there is one notable case from which we can interpret the connection that Australians maintain with their home country when residing overseas. In 2002 there was an inquiry to amend Section 17 of the *Australian Citizenship Act (1948)* to allow Australians overseas to keep their Australian citizenship when naturalising elsewhere. During this process, hundreds of Australian expats contacted their parliamentary representatives to support the amendment. Almost all of these submissions invoked the deep sentimental value of citizenship and explained that losing their Australian citizenship would cut off part of their identity (Hugo, 2005; LCRC, 2005). They suggested that continuing to hold Australian citizenship despite living overseas granted them the comfort of knowing they could return home and allowed them to maintain a connection with their homeland and their identity (LCRC, 2005, MacGregor 2005). What could have been interpreted as a simple legal amendment went on to demonstrate the emotional connection of emigrants' identity and sense of belonging to their home country, supporting the notion that citizenship is multifaceted and, for many, it is more than just a legal status.

5.1.2 Identity formation in social psychology theories

The previous chapters have presented findings relating to objective and measurable information such as where an expat votes, or who makes up their social networks, which can be used to measure citizenship practices or active membership to a community (Ronkainen, 2011; Kemppainen et al. 2020). Identity, on the other hand, is a complex, subjective and personal experience taking place in one's mind, making it difficult to measure and even more difficult to report. All forms of identity, including national identity, are psychological experiences, and research into identity could therefore benefit to borrow from the field of social psychology.

In psychology, group identity, as experienced both at an individual and collective level, is explained by the social identity approach. The social identity approach is a methodology from social psychology, made up of *social identity theory* and the closely related *self-categorisation theory*. Social identity processes are essential for exploring identity constructs such as nationalism (Licata et al. 2011), ethnic identity development (Umaña-Taylor et al. 2014), and identity within organizations (Haslam et al. 2011). Consequently, the social identity approach has been widely used outside the field of social psychology, becoming increasingly popular in political science due to its ability to explain group formation and behaviour from both the individual and the collective level (see Schildkraut, 2011; Sindic and Condor, 2014).

Henri Tajfel (1972) defined social identity as an "individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (292). Social identity theory not only describes the social process of forming groups and categorising between them, but also describes the consequent comparison between groups made by identifying members themselves. The theory suggests that by forming groups, we give value to the groups with which we identify, and hence perceive them positively in comparison to others. This collectivisation therefore results in a group-driven motivation at both an individual and collective level, and creates an emotional relationship to the group and its members, and a distinction from other groups (Spears, 2011).

Self-categorisation theory (Sindic and Condor, 2014) refers to the process of categorising oneself into a group based on individual characteristics, after which identification with the group can be formed. A prominent aspect of self-categorisation theory is group salience, which research has indicated may help to shape identity. Group salience refers to the process by which an individual identifies most with the element of their identity that is most salient, or "stands out" the most in a given environment, and hence groups themselves into that category and identifies with others within the category.

An example of this are studies by McGuire and colleagues (1976, 1978) which found that children of an ethnic minority in their classroom are more likely to mention their ethnicity when describing themselves. In a similar study, McGuire and colleagues found that children from families with proportionally more members from the opposite gender are more likely to describe themselves based on their gender, as it is their salient

characteristic (McGuire et al. 1976, 1978). Consistent to these findings, Hogg and Turner (1985) found that increased salience by way of participants' gender increased the likelihood of self-categorization and identity in gendered terms. A meta-analysis compiled by Mullen, Brown and Smith (1992) also confirm these findings: the development of in-group bias was attributed to group salience across a number of studies. These are all examples of contextually salient characteristics, which have shown to strengthen the individual's identification with and self-categorization into a particular group.

In the modern, nationalised world system, nationality has become a major component of identity. There are various ethnic and cultural factors that influence said identity, however many are inadvertently tied to the territorialised nation state (Schildkraut, 2014). By asking the question "Where are you from?" one can place a stranger into a category in their mind, and piece together a story about them, whether positive or exclusionary. Similarly, an individual generally identifies with one or more nation states, which forms a part of their overall perception of self (Hart et al. 2011).

National identity is one of many manifestations of social identity. It stimulates positive sentiments such as pride and love for the nation, and works to collectivise individuals and instil a sense of obligation towards fellow citizens (Tajfel, 1978). Because a central part of the relationship between citizens and the state is emotional, the shared identity and associated loyalties that result from this emotional relationship can be examined using this social identity approach. National identity creates an in-group, and this socialisation unites individuals who might otherwise have no commonalities. National identity, and the social in-group that it creates, does not intrinsically derogate the out-group (Hopkins, 2001). It can therefore be understood to serve more as a social collective of individuals with a common connection, than anything else.

In applying the social identity approach to this study, national identity is interpreted as a group membership and consequent collectivisation that comes from knowing that you belong to said group, and the development of an emotional relationship to the group and its members. The second part of the approach is the self-categorisation or salience of belonging to the group, particularly when membership to that group makes one a minority, which in this study can be interpreted as the experience of living amongst a different national group.

5.1.3 An Australian identity?

Australia offers an interesting combination of features in the exploration of national identity and citizenship. It is young, with a post-colonial history beginning in 1788 and formation of a federation in 1901, arguably the earliest point at which the united 'national identity' would begin to form (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). Australia is ethnically heterogeneous, being home to over 250 different Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups, as well as migrants from around the world who have arrived since the 1800s (AIATSIS, 2020; Commonwealth of Australia, 2020; Deadly Story, n.d.). However, it cannot be ignored that this history of 'heterogeneity' is plagued by attempted homogeneity through arrangements such as the White Australia Policy and other immigration restrictions, as well as the Stolen Generation and genocide of the Indigenous Australian people and their culture (see Tavan, 2005; Commonwealth of Australia, 1997). Australia has a colonial Anglo-Saxon history, on which much of its political and institutional processes were built (Moran, 2017), yet its reliance on immigration for population growth and security (Hugo, 2006a) has brought in a world of intermingling cultures, languages and identities from over 200 countries (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). These factors have all contributed to the challenge of defining Australian culture and national identity, triggering what Brookes (2017) refers to as Australia's "identity anxiety".

This anxiety is linked to Australia's multicultural identity. Australia is often referred to as multicultural (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020), but this 'multicultural nation' and associated identity in Australia have been dependent on the social and political climate and the objectives of the federal leader at the time. For example, in 1981 PM Malcom Fraser began the conversation around multiculturalism by promoting diversity and highlighting the role that a "core area of common values" had in facilitating the "minimal conditions on which the wellbeing of all is seated" (National Multicultural Advisory Council, 1999: 25). The role of these "common values" was to promote inherent solidarity shared through common obligations as citizens, setting the foundation upon which cultural and ethnic diversity could coexist (Moran, 2017). Perhaps one of the more outspoken leaders in regard to multiculturalism and "Australian culture" was John Howard who by 2006, after a career wrought with multiculturalism controversy (see Tate 2009; Moran, 2017), suggested that the "core culture of this nation" is "clearly" Anglo-Saxon due it being "an outshoot of Western

civilization" resulting in a "core set of values in this country" (Howard, 2006). It was under the Howard government that the Australian citizenship test was introduced which, among other things, tests citizenship applicants on their understanding of Australian values, culture and way of life (Moran, 2017).

The Australian Citizenship handbook defines Australian values as "based on freedom, respect, fairness and equality of opportunity" and advises that "Australian citizenship is about living out these values in your everyday life" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020: 34). Values include political and legal factors such as commitment to the rule of law, the importance of democracy and freedom of speech, as well as social values such as equality of opportunity and a 'fair go', or compassion and 'mateship'. In addition to these values, some more colloquial definitions of Australian culture and way of life have included an 'easy going' and 'laid back' lifestyle, which extends into the workplace, the importance of 'mateship' and loyalty, and 'having a good sense of humour' (SA Gov, 2020).

Many of Australia's national practices (such as loyalty to the Monarchy, ceremonial days, and citizenship ceremonies) and national symbols (such as the Union Jack on the national flag) remain inextricably linked to Britain. However, conceptions of the nation and national identity are more fluid and subjective than symbols and institutional practices, and each member of the imagined national community will have their own expressions and interpretations of national identity. The 2021 census showed that 27.6% of residents were born outside Australia, while 48.2% of Australians have at least one parent born overseas (Bahr, 2022). Although the census counts all residents of Australia regardless of citizenship status, it offers a useful insight into the diversity of Australia's population. Given these figures, an Anglo-centric conception of Australian identity is unrealistic and unrepresentative of actual members of the community, real or imagined, and perhaps looking to shared experiences, lifestyles, habits and social interactions can offer more insight (see Edensor, 2002; Levey, 2022). It should be noted that, other than English language proficiency, none of the official Australian values are based on ethno-religious roots, despite the importance placed on the British Monarchy and associated ceremonies, and the inherent Judeo-Christian lineage associated with this (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). These conceptions of the Australian public and consequent formation of shared values may seem conflicting and add to the difficulty in defining an Australian culture or identity. However, Sindic (2011) suggests that the

prevailing use of geography as a measure of nationhood and community, despite the differences prevalent in the populations of many geographic territories, is an example that community formation, particularly in reference to the nation and national identity, need not rely on an inherent similarity of the people. Sindic argues that a common 'psychological citizenship' is rooted in a shared sense of national identity, but that this identity does "not necessarily equate with perceived similarity or homogeneity" of the public (Sindic, 2011: 210).

National identity, as one of a multitude of identities we form and carry, is perhaps something few people think about or bother themselves with on a daily basis. It is often only when one leaves their home country that they begin to ponder or connect with their national identity, as spurred from the salience of being outside the home country and experiencing "otherness" (Hopkins et al. 2006; Sindic, 2011). In fact, in his exploration of Australian identity, Tate (2009) suggests that a sense of Australian nationhood exists most strongly outside of the state borders, brought on by a nostalgic affinity and belonging. He offers the example of "English pubs, particularly if a Wallabies rugby test is being televised" as a place where the sense of belonging to an Australian nation is more prevalent than within the state itself. Butcher's (2009) broader study into the transnational mobility of Australian professionals in Asia begins to shed some light into Australian expatriates' experiences of identity. Butcher suggests that living overseas and building localised networks does not diminish Australian identity, and suggests that this identity retains its strength precisely because of this 'foreigner' status in their host country, and the associated desire to remain connected to familiarity and comfort, including the national imagination (2009). Based on findings from the same study, Butcher (2010) explored the concepts of place and home for Australians living in Singapore and found that insecurity or uncertainty in their host country leads to strengthened imaginations of Australia as home, because "turning away from fear involves a turning towards home, in this case, the Australian cultural space recreated in Singapore" (34).

Australian national identity and culture may be difficult to define, but this does not mean it is not embodied by the individual. Although some scholars have attempted to research and understand Australian national identity, and perhaps because it is such a complex and ambiguous topic, there is no research explicitly exploring the national identity of Australians once they leave the country, particularly in relation to

citizenship. The remainder of this chapter aims to begin to fill this gap by offering the experiences of Australians in the UK and Singapore, as identified in the interviews.

5.2 Findings

This chapter has so far presented an overview of a range of literature related to national identity and citizenship, including conceptions of Australian identity. The broad aim of this study is to understand the citizenship practices and experiences of Australian expatriates, and to see if and how living overseas for an extended period of time affects their national identity. In attempt to address the latter point, this section will present an overview of key empirical findings relating to Australian expatriates' national identity, as identified in interviews with Australians living in Singapore and the UK. Findings are organised thematically, and cover: how expatriates value their citizenship and its relationship with their identity; any self-reported changes in their national identity as a result of living overseas; their sense of home and belonging; and, lastly, what the Australian identity means to them. This broad range of findings aims to begin filling a substantial empirical gap, specifically, perceptions of citizenship and national identity from the lens of Australian expatriates.

5.2.1 Connection between citizenship and identity

Firstly, expats were asked about both their Australian citizenship and any other citizenship they might have, and what value they held. When asked about what their Australian citizenship meant to them, 13 respondents in Singapore (52%) and 17 respondents in the UK (70%) indicated their Australian citizenship meant a connection to the identity and the culture. Having that piece of paper, whether it be passport or birth certificate, was important because it allowed them to prove their ties to the country that they felt most connected to and offered them the opportunity to go back if they ever want to. This emotional attachment to the legal citizenship supports the idea that there is a deep intersection between the two. In regard to their Australian citizenship, some said:

> *"It's everything. It's my identity. Australia is me. It's my identity. It's me, it's what I know... My passport, it's not a fall-back option, it's who I am." Respondent 3, Singapore.*

"It's who I am. It's, it is part of me. So I, I value my citizenship. Because it's, it's just part of who I am." Respondent 12, Singapore.

"To be honest, it's my identity, actually. It's who I am." Respondent 8, UK.

"Because there's still a big part of us that sees Australia as home. I mean, it is home, it's where we were born and grew up … we probably will [move back] eventually. And so from that perspective, it's [citizenship] extremely important." Respondent 9, UK.

However, other comments suggest that some individuals may not develop an emotional connection to or identification with their citizenship and may always view it as simply a legal document. For example, of those living in Singapore, four respondents indicated that the only thing Australian citizenship meant to them was the ability to travel, and their citizenship or passport was not related to their emotional or cultural connection to the country.

*"It's [*Australian passport*] a convenient travel document that pretty much has a, you know, a stamp on my head that says 'this person is pretty inoffensive and you don't need to worry about them coming to your country'" … "but I don't have strong bonds or ties to Australia for any other reason, and I consider myself to be a global citizen, I guess." Respondent 13, Singapore.*

"I mean, I believe it's a great passport to have. It's not something I want to give up, because I don't have another one. So no, you know, it's a great passport to have, from a purely administrative point of view." Respondent 2, Singapore.

Overall, the findings have shown that over half of the respondents in each country of residence felt there was an association between their legal citizenship and their national identity or connection to Australia. This self-reported value and attachment to the legal status of Australian citizen, most often symbolised by a passport, supports arguments regarding the intersection between citizenship as a legal status and national identity (Isin and Turner 2007; Joppke 2007; Karolewski 2009; Pogonyi, 2017; Turner, 1997).

However, some respondents felt their citizenship, as a legal status or in the form of a document (e.g., passport), is simply a bureaucratic tool or a means to an end. This sentiment was mostly reflected in relation to their second citizenship or that of their host country, however a small group of respondents extended this sentiment to their

Australian citizenship as well.

The examples presented in this section show that simply having legal citizenship and holding associated documentation does not automatically foster a sense of identity or belonging, and that the emotional attachment to a place often rests on lived experience. Citizenship and identity could be considered inherently intertwined, however perhaps more credence should be given to the role of lived experiences in shaping connection to legal citizenship and national identity. If legal status and lived experience are uniform, such as with a person growing up in the country in which they are a citizen, then this perspective may be applicable. However, this perspective of citizenship and national identity being intrinsically connected does not account for individuals whose citizenship and lived experience are not uniform, such as those who spends most of their developmental years living in a country in which they are not a legal citizen. As migration increases and more children are born into multiple citizenships or adults are naturalising in countries they may not identify with, then the inherent expectation that citizenship and identity will overlap should continue to be questioned. Additionally, these findings have shown that some individuals simply do not feel attached to their citizenship and view the legal status as a strategic tool to use to their advantage. These findings call in to question how generalizable normative conceptions of the intersection between citizenship and identity actually are. They present an insight into the individual experience in a time of increased cross-border mobility and dual citizenship, and point to space for further research.

5.2.2 Changes to own identity

In order to try to capture any changes to Australian expatriates' sense of national identity as a result of overseas residence, two Likert scale questions were used: the first asked how strongly they identified as Australian before leaving, and the second asked how strongly they identified as Australian now since living overseas. These before and after responses were compared in Excel and separated into those who felt *more* Australian since living overseas than before, those who felt *less* Australian now than before, and those who experienced *no change* to their identity and feeling of Australianness (Table 6, next page).

Table 6. Sentiments of respondents regarding "how Australian they feel", separated by country of residence and shown as percentage of respondents in each (Singapore n=25; UK n=24)

Feeling,	Singapore (%)	UK (%)
More Australian	21	32
Less Australian	58	42
No change	21	26

As can be seen in the table, responses were relatively similar across both locations, with Australians living in the UK feeling slightly more Australian than those in Singapore. In addition, Mann-Whitmann and Kruskall-Wallis non-parametric tests were run (SPSS Version 27, IBM) to explore potential statistically significant determinants of change in feeling Australian. Determinants explored included location, gender, years spent overseas, education level and age. None of these determinants were found to be significant to changes in identity.

In order to explore this experience in more depth, respondents were prompted to expand on their questionnaire responses during the interviews. These qualitative responses were organised in NVivo 12 to identify key themes, and strong similarities emerged between the two host countries.

5.2.2.1 More Australian

Respondents who indicated they felt more Australian since living overseas pointed to the more acute and frequent awareness of their nationality as an important driver behind this change. For example, they might get reminded of it more often by those around them, by strangers picking up on their accent, or perhaps they are the only Australian person in their direct social network and therefore become the "token Aussie". These experiences make them more aware of their Australianness than they would have otherwise been, and it therefore becomes a more prominent part of who they are.

> *"And over here it's, my identity as an Australian has increased in my head because, you know, I stand out as the Australian guy, like in my group. When you leave [Australia], it becomes this special thing about you [being Australian]." Respondent 21, UK.*

Similarly, some respondents suggested that everyone else's categorisation of them as Australian has led to their own self-categorisation as Australian as well. They feel that, because they are put into that group by others, they start to embrace it themselves. This is an interesting example of the social identity approach, suggesting that our own identity can be shaped by others' perception of us and our group salience.

Another recurring theme was that they simply never reflected on or thought about their national identity before leaving Australia, whereas they are inclined to do so more often since living overseas. Being away from their home country, being an "other" in a group of different nationalities and having a longing or nostalgic memory of home have heightened their sense of identification with or connection to Australia that may not have been there before (Hogg and Turner, 1985; Tate, 2009). One respondent in Singapore succinctly summarised the range of reasons they felt more Australian since moving overseas:

> *"I think you probably appreciate your own country a lot more when you're not in it. You tend to take it for granted when you're actually there. Like you take for granted the wide open spaces and the seasons and the friendly people and those sorts of things that you probably just assume that everywhere is like that. And then I think you go through this phase where everything's beautiful in your new country. And then you go through the phase where everything's terrible in your new country, and then you kind of settle down and realise that it's pretty much like everywhere else. But I think I do appreciate Australia and Australians, probably more than I did. And the other thing is just as every time you step in a taxi and someone goes, 'Oh, you're Australian'. So you're constantly reminded of it as well." Respondent 21, Singapore.*

5.2.2.2 Less Australian

When reviewing the responses to this question, comparatively more respondents indicated they felt *less* Australian now than before leaving Australia, in both the UK and in Singapore. As seen in Table 6, 58% of respondents in Singapore and 42% of respondents in the UK felt less Australian since moving overseas. The most common reason for this was that they became more aware of Australia's flaws when looking in from the outside. They saw a different perspective of their home country and, if they had not travelled much before moving, they were also provided with the opportunity to

compare Australia to other countries.

> *"Particularly in the last seven or eight years, I have actually realised that there are some parts of the Australian psyche that I'm not as proud of, and I'm very glad to be slightly removed from. I don't think Australia is the utopia that I used to think it was … I'm still looking to go back to Australia, but the rose-coloured glasses are off." Respondent 16, Singapore.*

> *"I guess you start to realise that it's not the great place that everyone makes it out to be … I probably am less likely to identify as Australian, although it's the place of my birth, and I still think there's a lot of good there, but sometimes I'm just really disappointed, I guess." Respondent 19, Singapore.*

For those who have been overseas for a while, there was a degree of disconnect. Some suggested that Australia has changed since they left and that they no longer identify with the country.

> *"Now I feel less Australian in the sense that I've lived overseas and I see a real difference when I talk with my Australian friends about, just viewpoints and life … I don't relate really to the last 20 years of Australia in terms of living there and the politics." Respondent 14, UK.*

Finally, some respondents felt that their identity has evolved or shifted from just Australian to something more complex. Some respondents in Singapore felt they had developed a more "global" or "cosmopolitan" identity which has replaced what might have otherwise been their Australian identity.

> *"My Australianness status is no longer relevant here. It's, you're either Singaporean, or you're an expat … So it doesn't matter, I don't see myself as an Australian, I just see myself as an international person." Respondent 12, Singapore.*

> *"I guess what I've realised is that my nationality is actually less of an important part of my identity than it used to be. I'm an expat. I'm a more of a global minded person now than I used to be. So it's [Australian identity] not as powerful for me." Respondent 16, Singapore.*

Whereas some respondents in the UK were becoming increasingly integrated into their home country and culture, and felt they were becoming more distanced from Australia

out of a lack of exposure and an evolving sense of belonging. Of those who felt less Australian, it was generally respondents who had been living in the UK for a longer period of time.

> *"And so just over time, I guess it's just kind of an attrition in that I've just felt a bit of a distance not by any, you know, active disengagement or anything like that, it just sort of started to creep in." Respondent 7, UK.*

> *"It's [Australian identity] definitely reduced, because like I said, I feel more at home here and more comfortable." Respondent 24, UK.*

5.2.2.3 No change

Lastly, there were the respondents who did not feel any more or less Australian since moving overseas. These were generally respondents whose responses to 'before leaving' were on the higher end of the scale, indicating they felt quite Australian before moving overseas. These respondents still felt as Australian as they did before they left. Some suggested that their identity will always be evolving, but that they will always be Australian even if they add other elements to themselves.

> *"I'm an Australian. Like, I don't ever see any other way to really identify myself. I'd rather say I'm Australian but I just live in Singapore, you know. And because of that, I'm probably more open minded, and I've got a different lifestyle and all that kind of stuff. But at the end of the day, I'm still Australian." Respondent 15, Singapore.*

> *"I don't think living abroad or here in the UK lessens identity, just more that Britain will now add to my identity. I'm not sure it's one pie and that you can only have, like that it lessens your identity by taking out a bit more pie. It adds to your story, it adds to who you are rather than takes away from who you are. All the pieces of the pie add up, you know?" Respondent 12, UK.*

For some, it was a matter of their Australianness being a deeply connected part of who they are, and who they always will be. They did not feel that this was something that would ever go away.

> *"I will never change, because that's me." Respondent 5, Singapore*

"I totally identify myself as Australian, I just accept the reality that, you know, society in Australia has changed and I personally have changed … But has it made me feel different of being an Australian citizen? No. It will always be who I am." Respondent 8, UK.

"But just because I happen to be sitting here now [London], instead of in Rundle Mall [Adelaide], doesn't make me any less of an Aussie." Respondent 22, UK.

There was no correlation between either country of residence or length of time overseas and changes to identity, indicating that each individual had their own journey regardless of dependent variables. These findings on Australian expatriates' sense of "feeling Australian" show that identity is a deeply personal experience, and even community-based identities are experienced uniquely by each individual member. This was only one small part of a much larger study, so further research would be needed to explore changes to identity and dependence on various variables in more depth in order to make more conclusive claims.

5.2.3 Home and belonging

In order to try to explore the depth and complexity of identity, respondents were asked about their home and belonging. Two different questions were posed during the interviews: "Where are you from?" and "Where is home?" These two questions were chosen as they convey different meanings. "Where is home" is arguably more open to change, perhaps based on external factors such as place of residence, while "where are you from" implies a single origin, and a more definitive response. Questions were asked without prompts so that respondents could offer whatever response came to mind, facilitating a more organic identification of key themes across the sample.

In response to the question "where are you from?" (Table 7, next page) three main responses emerged from Australians interviewed in Singapore. Most respondents explained that the question comes up very often because their appearance and accent make it obvious that they are not from Singapore. The majority (76%) say they are from Australia, with some indicating that they would always add a disclaimer that they live in Singapore and are not a tourist. Unexpectedly, 12% suggest they would always specifically mention the city they are from, instead of just Australia as a whole, because they have noticed it offers different responses, for example:

"I say I'm from Perth … because a lot of Singaporeans, you know, their dream is to move to Perth, they love it." Respondent 9, Singapore.

Table 7. Most common themes emerging in relation to feelings of 'where are you from?' and 'where is home?', separated by country of residence and shown as percentage of respondents in each (Singapore n=25; UK n=24)

Feeling,	Singapore (%)	UK (%)
Where are you from?		
From Australia	76%	75%
From [City] in Australia	12%	20%
Host country/city		5%
I am an Expat	12%	
Where is home?		
Australia	44%	40%
Both countries	11%	26%
Portable/within	17%	22%
Host country	17%	12%
Where spouse/family is	11%	

Worth noting is that the respondents of non-Anglo ethnic heritage all commented on the fact that if they are asked "where are you from" in Australia, it makes them feel grouped as "other" or "non-Australian". Whereas, when they get asked the same question in Singapore, this racial connotation is removed and the "other" simply implies "non-Singaporean", so they can say they are Australian without the potential burden of having to explain their heritage (e.g., the dreaded follow up question: "ok but where are you *really* from?").

Another 12% of respondents in Singapore said that when saying where they are from, they highlight the fact that they are expats, specifically divorcing their national identity from where they are "from", for example:

"I identify as an expat Singaporean. Which means that the actual passport I hold is less important than the fact that I am having an expat experience in Singapore." Respondent 15, Singapore.

"If someone asked me now I would just say Singapore, because that's where I live. If someone asked me what my identity was, I'd say I'm Australian still. 'What's your national identity', would be Australian. If someone just generically said 'where are you from', I would just say Singapore." Respondent 18, Singapore.

These respondents demonstrate a more globalised and less definitive sense of where they are from, removing it from the dichotomy of where they came from and where they live.

Very similar themes emerged from responses in the UK, albeit at different rates. Of the participants interviewed in the UK, 75% would simply say they were Australian, although a number of them made a point to specify that they are Australian, but they are living in the UK, highlighting a distinction between Australians who live in the UK and those who live in Australia. As with in Singapore, a number of participants in the UK (20%) responded by specifying the city they are from, instead of just Australia. This localised self-categorisation appears to stem from the size of the country and the variation between cities. For example, one respondent from central Sydney referred to Perth as "*another planet*" (Respondent 16, UK) while another says, "*they're from Melbourne, you know, I'm from Sydney, so like, different country*" (Respondent 5, UK). One respondent who has lived in London for twenty years reflected on the differences between where they are from and who they are:

"I'm from London, I've lived there for 20 odd years now, but I am Australian." Respondent 14, UK.

The second question, "where is home?" yielded similar responses, with the addition of "both" as a more common response. In Singapore, 44% of respondents said Australia was home, while 11% said both Singapore and Australia were home:

"I mean, this is home, because it's where I am, and that's home, because it's where I came from." Respondent 13, Singapore.

Of those in Singapore, 11% suggested that their home was wherever their spouse was;

17% suggested their home was "portable" or "wherever I am right now"; while 17% said that their home was in Singapore.

Respondents in the UK had similar results, with 40% associating Australia as home, often due to their childhood

> *"Home is where I grew up. It always will be. Home is where my parents' house is." Respondent 8, UK.*

While 26% felt that both Australia and the UK are home, showing they can have an equally deep emotional connection with two places at once:

> *"I would say yeah, my home would be here and Australia. And when I'm in each place, I miss the other place." Respondent 19, UK.*

22% of respondents in the UK felt that home was something within themselves, and did not associate it with a geographical or physical place:

> *"Home is where my family is, it's not tied to a physical place." Respondent 11, UK.*

Despite their close social networks and shared identity with host country nationals described in previous sections, only three respondents in the UK said that the UK was their home, all of whom added a disclaimer about home being distinct from identity.

> *"I generically refer to Australia as home but in a shorthand type way, but you know, my home is in England, but I don't consider myself to be English." Respondent 22, UK.*

These responses highlight the complexity of belonging, and the different ways that an emotional attachment to place can be experienced. All of the respondents immediately understood "where are you from" and "where is home" as two distinct questions, although responses to both were relatively similar overall. These findings contribute to the empirical gap by offering insight into Australian expatriates' identity and belonging across borders, highlighting the fluidity and ambiguity of transnational identification.

5.2.4 An Australian identity?

We have explored the various ways that Australian expatriates identify with their home country and whether they feel more or less Australian since living overseas. So now we must turn to the question, what do we mean by feeling Australian? After exploring their

identity and expanding on their connection to Australia, participants were asked to explain what being Australian meant to them and, as such, what exactly it was that they were identifying with. This is an ambivalent question which has been the topic of much deliberation (see for example Tate 2009 and Moran, 2017), and finding a definitive answer to the age-old question of "what is the Australian identity" is not the primary focus of this study. However, understanding what the respondents consider to be *their* understanding or perception of Australian identity is an important step in the broader analysis of citizenship and national identity, or citizenship as *behaviour* versus citizenship as *feeling*.

Respondents were previously asked what their Australian citizenship means to them, exploring the value they place on the legal status itself. Due to the semi-structured interview methodology, not all questions were uniform, but all respondents were asked to describe the interpretation of "being Australian" in some capacity, such as "when you refer to an Australian identity, what does that mean?". The most common themes emerging in response to this question include: an attitude and culture of 'being relaxed'; lifestyle factors such as being outdoors; and notions such as 'a fair go' and 'mateship'.

The most common theme that was identified as 'Australian' by over half of the respondents was a generally "relaxed", "open minded" and "chilled out" attitude and culture. These respondents discussed how much the "easy going" Australian culture stood out to them since moving overseas, distinctly separating Australians from other national groups, while "mateship" and related values were also brought up several times.

> *"I find that Australians are more friendly, more chilled out. We have, we're a lot more sociable and welcoming, whereas other countries are not so much. Particularly living in London, the locals there, you know, they sort of keep to themselves." Respondent 15, UK.*
>
> *"I think being an Australian also means like, just accepting people. I think, like, everyone knows that we're the most easy-going people, nothing really bothers anyone, everyone's just very chill." Respondent 16, Singapore.*
>
> *"There's just a way of being, I'll walk down the street and I'll say hello to people, you know, there's just the beat that you get with being Australian, I miss*

all of that sort of stuff, people just aren't like that here [London]." Respondent 17, UK.

"To me an Australian is someone that always has a smile on their face, someone that laughs, but yet someone that has the ability to listen, be empathetic, and open and welcoming of another person's, you know, thoughts and belief systems." Respondent 12, Singapore.

This includes comments about how Australians don't take themselves too seriously and value more 'easy going' approaches to balancing life and work, as well as the importance of 'humour' and 'having a laugh':

"It's almost like the best word for Australia would be 'casual'. Even when things are serious, we're not serious." Respondent 18, Singapore.

"And again, lifestyle, you know that work is important, but actually life is important as well. So there's other things outside of work that you need to be doing." Respondent 20, UK.

"In terms of what being an Aussie means, I think it's that sort of, that laid back; cool as a cucumber; never flustered; dry wit, sort of, sarcastic larrikin … Just, having a laugh and not taking yourself too seriously." Respondent 21, UK.

The culture of being 'easy-going' and 'having a laugh' appears to be so ingrained in Australia that both of these characteristics are described in a pamphlet issued by the South Australian government to help newly arrived immigrants settle into the Australian workforce and 'way of life' (SA Gov, 2020).

Several respondents associated the 'relaxed' Australian attitude and lifestyle with the open spaces and sheer opportunity Australians have to spend time outdoors, and the inherent value they give to this, when compared to their host country nationals.

"We're more relaxed; we're easier going; we're more active; we're conscious about our health and our fitness. You know, I'm from a city where you live outdoors for 10 months of the year and indoors for two." Respondent 1, UK.

"Even though the culture in England and Australia is very similar, the lifestyle in Australia is just so different, it's so relaxed, there's so much more room and

backyards and sunshine and time outdoors. That sort of stuff changes who you are and how you live." Respondent 6, UK.

Similarly, the second key theme that emerged was a deep connection to the Australian natural environment. Over one third of respondents commented that being outside, being active and having lots of open space and natural environment were things they considered distinctly Australian and identified strongly with.

> *"Being Australian for me is very much about the environment, it's about the earth, and it's about the sea, and it's about the colour of the sky. And it's about openness. It's a physical environment thing. It's something quite unique to us [Australians]." Respondent 17, UK.*

> *"You feel like you're being so stereotypical, saying, you know, 'I'm proud of the land'. But yeah, it is so true. Maybe that's because we spend so much time outdoors, you know, because of our climate and things like that, we have the ability no matter where you are in Australia to spend a lot of times outdoors that you know, that connection to land is something that, when you're out and about, you are just seriously at one with it [the land]." Respondent 12, Singapore.*

This outdoor and active lifestyle and connection to the natural environment are shared habits and association to familiar landscapes that Edensor (2002) highlights as important 'unreflexive identifications', or what Levey (2022) refers to as 'shared character', contributing to a shared culture and national identity.

Respondents who have children commented on the differences between their children's upbringing and experiences in their country of residence compared to their experience of growing up in Australia. These differences were directly related to the climate and lifestyles in the UK and Singapore compared to Australia. The UK has a colder and wetter climate than Australia, while Singapore is extremely hot and humid, and respondents in both countries suggested that activities generally take place indoors.

> *"I think there's an appreciation for exercise and fitness and being outdoors that just doesn't arise from the climate I'm currently living in, but it's an attitude that's come with me from Australia. And I see a distinct absence of that in my children [who are growing up here]." Respondent 17, Singapore.*

"You know, if the kids are bored [in Australia], get on the bike, go to the park, run around outside. Whereas here [UK] if the kids are bored it's probably pissing down with rain outside, so you can only go to a soft play area [indoor playground] or something, and there is a big difference." Respondent 1, UK.

The third main theme that emerged was around the value of giving everyone a "fair go" and equal opportunity, and the value of democracy and egalitarianism.

"It's [being Australian] the sense of believing in meritocracy and the sense of getting a fair go, which I know is a bit cliché, but it's very much a part of my attitude and what I think makes us Australian." Respondent 16, Singapore.

"And I think what I'm proud about as an Australian, and what I really associate with is our, the nature of the country where it doesn't matter who you are, where you come from, really if you have the determination and the resilience and spirit you can, largely, achieve what you want to achieve." Respondent 6, Singapore.

"I feel like it's the values of what you grew up with and just being in the environment where, you know, you vote for what you believe in, you have a right to have a say in what you want. You have a country that looks after you health wise, education wise, and even down to, like, aged care facilities." Respondent 15, UK.

"I think that's a very Australian thing ... accepting that everyone's different and you have to embrace your differences, and recognise them for the strengths that they have." Respondent 20, UK.

Somewhat surprisingly, only two respondents across the sample mentioned tokenistic measures of Australianness, such as stereotypical food and drinks, and there was no mention of identifying with national symbols such as the Australian flag. Only one person across the sample made reference to national practices when describing 'being Australian', by discussing 'Australia Day' activities

"Like what being Australian is… it's barbecues on Australia Day, camping on the Murray River. Things that I think are unique to Australia, which are lived experiences." Respondent 3, Singapore.

Only one mention of national symbols and national practices was made across the sample, and it was in reference to what they did *not* identify with:

*"What I really struggle with is the basically the flag, the Australia Day celebrations. I don't get ANZAC Day, I never have … So basically, all the sort of national symbols that are meant to make give you the feels, they don't give me the feels and that's not what should matter [*about being Australian*]." Respondent 4, UK.*

Overall, these self-described interpretations of 'being Australian' are extremely reflective of the Australian identity, culture or values defined by the Australian government, which will be discussed in more detail in the closing section of this chapter.

Table 8. High level summary of findings about citizenship and identity

Finding	Singapore	UK	Differences
Value of citizenship	Both strategic and symbolic	Both strategic and symbolic	No difference
Citizenship vs. identity?	Identity is personal, developmental, from within. Legal citizenship does not necessarily mean identity.	Identity is personal, developmental, from within. Legal citizenship does not necessarily mean identity.	No difference
Changes to own identity	More Australian 21% Less Australian 58% No change 21%	More Australian 32% Less Australian 42% No change 26%	Very little difference
Home and belonging	"Belonging" largely remains Australia, "home" is more fluid	"Belonging" largely remains Australia, "home" is more fluid	Very little difference
An Australian identity?	Values based, not tokenistic or national symbols	Values based, not tokenistic or national symbols	No difference

5.3 Discussion

It is increasingly acknowledged that citizenship can be a marker of identity and belonging, and some consider identity a key facet of citizenship (Bellamy et al. 2004; Isin 1999; Isin and Turner 2007; Joppke 2007; Karolewski 2009; Pogonyi, 2017; Stoker et al. 2011; Turner, 1997). This study aims to provide insight into and share the lived experiences of Australians overseas, to begin to fill a large empirical gap. It does not attempt to provide a generalizable definition or theory regarding how expats experience identity, nor does it aim to build a normative narrative on how identity should be

understood or studied. That this is not an aim is perhaps fortunate, as the findings from this study indicate that, for this sample at least, identity is a very individual experience, as is the role citizenship plays in this experience.

The findings suggest that Australian expatriates perceive their citizenship, as related to their identity, as both strategic and symbolic. Most respondents in both Singapore and the UK indicated that their Australian citizenship was a symbol of their connection and identification with their home country and culture, which is in line with findings from Vasiljevic (2014) and Pogonyi (2017, 2019). These findings are also supported by the submissions made by Australian expatriates during the 2002 legislation process to amend the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*, detailing the emotional attachment and continued connection and identity expats had with their Australian citizenship (Hugo, 2005; MacGregor, 2005). Some interview respondents highlighted the strategic value of the Australian passport as a travel document, both its strength in international travel and its role in facilitating their return to their home country. Others stressed that the legal acknowledgement of citizenship and the rights afforded from holding the passport can also be symbolic, adding emotional and identity value as well as highlighting the individuals' social status. In this study, the difference between symbolic and strategic values of citizenship was distinct, and in line with existing literature (Heintz 2008; Vasiljevic, 2014; Pogonyi, 2017, 2019). This finding is important because it implies that both the strategic and symbolic values of citizenship are related to more than simply having legal status or rights. Instead, the correlation between identity and citizenship may be attached to what could be referred to as lived experience or developmental life stages. Growing up with an immersive, lived experience of a country's culture, lifestyle and values is perhaps a more salient facilitator of identity development, which just so happens to often correlate with the citizenship one holds. Although the findings in this study may not facilitate a conclusive understanding of this matter, they highlight an important avenue of future research into the intersection between identity and citizenship, namely: the role that lived experience and developmental life stages, rather than legal status, play in the formation of national identity. In terms of personal understanding of national identity, the findings from this study highlight a lack of homogeneity in how different individuals experience identity formation and changes, and how many identities one can simultaneously have. The experience appears to be entirely individual and unique, which helps to explain why it remains so difficult to

define or understand.

The concepts of ‘home’, ‘belonging’ and ‘identity’ were also explored. These concepts are themselves subjective, and one might have a different emotional attachment to where they are a citizen, where they were born and where they are currently residing, while simultaneously feeling ‘at home’ in more than one place (Parker, 2012; Zhang, 2007). Throughout the similar yet separate explorations of where they felt was ‘home’ and where they were ‘from’ (also referred to as ‘belonging’) the respondents in this study gave rather varied responses about where ‘home’ was, while a continued attachment to Australia in regard to ‘belonging’ was most common across the sample. Some expats interviewed struggled to define a single geographic location as ‘home’, instead concluding that they have a home in both Australia and their place of residence. Others offered non-geographical definitions of home, suggesting it was something they carried within themselves or found in their loved ones. However, in regard to where they are ‘from’, the majority indicated a continuing to connection and sense of being from Australia. This is in line with Croucher’s (2009) and Boller and Halbert’s (2015) findings from studies on US Americans who remain tied to their American identities and home country belonging regardless of time spent overseas. While Butcher (2010) suggested that Australians living in Singapore had strengthened imaginations of Australia as home resulting from an insecurity or uncertainty in their host country, the responses in this study did not indicate a conception of Australia as home out of fear, but more so due to a deep personal connection with their childhood and existing sense of self.

Tate’s (2009) suggestion that the Australian identity is strongest outside of Australia supports the notion that group salience is greater when one becomes a minority, as suggested by the social identity approach. The Australian expats studied who indicated they felt ‘more Australian’ than before leaving all suggested this was due to the more acute and frequent awareness of their Australianness, and its role as a point of difference from those around them. This awareness of difference, or salience, is one of the key facets of the social identity approach used to understand identity in the field of psychology (see Hogg and Turner, 1985; McGuire et al. 1978; Tajfel, 1972). However, approximately half of the respondents across the sample suggested they felt ‘less Australian’ than before they left. There is little research exploring why this might be the case, although some earlier scholars in the field hypothesised that advancements in

communication technologies would lead individuals living overseas to experience a decreasing sense of national identity (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002; Vertovec, 2002). Expats in this sample suggested their feeling 'less Australian' was due to an extended period of overseas residence and a general disconnect from their home country and culture. The findings in Chapters 3 and 4 showed a clear trend of Australians living in Singapore being less integrated in their host country and more tied to Australia. As such, it is perhaps surprising that a higher percentage of respondents in Singapore (58%) reported feeling 'less Australian' than in the UK (42%) (see Table 6). Similarly, when asked 'where is home', more respondents in Singapore (17%) reported that their host country was home to them than those in the UK (12%). These findings, coupled with qualitative responses, suggest that perhaps Australians living in Singapore held a more cosmopolitan or global identity, while those in the UK were more likely to stick to a dichotomous "here or there". It is important to note that these responses were not explored in depth due to the limited scope of the study which, coupled with the small sample, does not warrant any definitive conclusions on this matter. However, it is a notable comparison to the findings from previous chapters, and further research is recommended to extrapolate on this suggestion that Australians living in Singapore may have a more cosmopolitan identity than those in the UK.

In addition to capturing any changes to national identity resulting from overseas residence, respondents' perceptions of what being an Australian means were also explored. Remarkably, the largest point of overlap and concurrence among the respondents on any topic in this study was about what it means to be Australian. For a country with a notoriously weak and undefinable national identity and culture, this sample, although small, offered a good number of similarities both among themselves and compared to the Australian civic education narrative. When referring to their Australian identity, respondents often referred to things that could be considered 'habits, emotional responses and lifestyles' (see Levey, 2022) or 'social interactions, habits, routines and practical knowledge' that embody the details of national identity (see Edensor, 2002). Examples of this from the findings include references to being 'outdoorsy' or the 'relaxed' attitude which values 'having a laugh'. Edensor (2002) also suggests that structures such as: familiar places and iconic landscapes; shared conventions and habits; habitual material commodities and shares spaces; as well as shared narratives and representations such as those seen in the media, are all important

contributors to national identity. These are largely the types of characteristics or experiences indicated by respondents when exploring their own identity and sense of Australianness.

The key themes that emerged are also remarkably aligned with governmental and institutional conceptions of Australian citizenship, culture and identity. For example, the main points identified in the findings about what Australian identity means to respondents were, by key word: 'mateship', a 'fair go', being 'open minded', 'relaxed' and 'easy-going', and the 'value of democracy'. Mateship, a fair go, and the value of democracy are official 'Australian values' which can be found in the citizenship handbook and the Australian citizenship test (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). The prominence of these values in expatriates' responses about their own sense of Australianness therefore suggests that the Australian civic narrative and education is perhaps more streamlined and pervasive than the literature suggests. Edensor (2002) considers shared narratives and representations such as those in national media or institutions to be important contributors to national identity. An analysis of these shared narratives and conceptions of Australian identity and values, including how they emerged, is out of the scope of this study; however, these findings are worthy of further exploration in more targeted future research.

The other important theme that emerged from the findings was the connection to the natural environment, with several comments about the unique sounds, smells and colours of Australian nature. In his argument of national identity as 'grounded in the everyday', Edensor (2002) suggests that sensations such as sound and smell are part of this everyday 'unreflexive enaction' of national identity and that they are in fact some of the most unique and distinguishable characteristics with which one can identify and categorise their nation. The number of comments across the sample about the natural environment and climate, and the lifestyle that these permits, suggests that these 'unreflexive enactions' (Edensor, 2002) or 'habits, routines and lifestyles' (Levey, 2022) are perhaps a bigger part of national identity and the shared experience of Australianness than the literature suggests.

It seems that the things that Australians overseas identify with being Australian are transferable – they are things that do not require a shared ethnicity, language or religion. It is the land, the trees, the bright blue skies; it is a relaxed lifestyle and sense of humour; it is kindness, sharing and looking out for each other. They are values passed

down through schools and workplaces and social expectations, but values that are not contingent on being white, Anglo-Saxon or Christian. Although this study did not set out to unpack the complex question of an Australian identity, this finding about the seeming transferability of "Australianness" contributes to future multicultural research in Australia.

So where do these findings sit in the transnational framework of this study? One suggestion in transnational citizenship theory is that migrants can identify with both their home and host country. This corresponds with contemporary definitions of citizenship in which national identity or collective solidarity is a central tenet. Yet, as the findings in this chapter have revealed national identity as self-described by the respondents seems to be a largely personal connection built during one's developmental years. The line between a national community or collective solidarity on the one hand, and a deeply personal relationship with home on the other, is blurred. The study tried to approach the topic of national identity in different ways (e.g., home, belonging and identity) to allow for the challenges of describing and analysing such a complex concept. The findings in this chapter have shown that, in theory, a migrant can identify with both their home and host country, as suggested by transnational citizenship theory. However, the findings have also revealed that these individuals often face difficulty translating those feelings of identity, and identification with Australia was more forthcoming than with their host country. This does not detract from their transnationality, but instead highlights that national identity, though increasingly considered in definitions of citizenship, is markedly more difficult to determine and measure than other elements of citizenship. That is not to say that national identity should not be considered when conceptualising citizenship, just that legal citizenship may not be related to identity or belonging, rather that the emotional attachment to a place often rests on lived individual experience.

This chapter, the last of three chapters presenting findings from the empirical study, has explored the complex relationship between identity and citizenship and has offered an insight into the lived experience of Australian expatriates, helping to fill an empirical gap in the literature. The following chapter will discuss the emerging cross-cutting implications that the empirical findings of this thesis have on conceptualisations of transnational citizenship.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to unpack the experiences of Australian expatriates as a global migrant group, and to explore their place in the cross-border expansion of citizenship in theory and in practice. Transnational citizenship theory was used as a framework, with the hypothesis that the experience of Australian expatriates can be best explained as transnational. Using Bauböck's definition of transnational citizenship as "simultaneous overlapping affiliations of persons to geographically separate polities" (2003: 705), this thesis explored citizenship practices as 'actions' that transcend state borders and are manifested in both home and host country, as well as emotional connections and citizenship as 'feeling'.

The broad aim of the study was to determine how Australian expatriates, a largely unresearched migrant group, fit into our evolving understanding of citizenship as occurring outside territorially defined national borders. Within this broad aim were several objectives, which later framed the research questions. The preliminary objective was to explore whether long term overseas residence has an influence on Australian expatriates' national identity and ongoing relationship with Australia. However, identity can be quite an internal experience which is often difficult to articulate and therefore challenging to study empirically (van Bochove et al. 2010). As such, the other key objectives of this study emerged as a means to reinforce findings around national identity by exploring the lived experiences and practices of Australian expatriates. Specifically, the second objective of this study was to identify Australian expatriates' social interactions and political participation during their overseas residence. Understanding these lived experiences and actions in addition to their self-described national identity and feelings would allow for more robust analysis. Next, studies consulted in the literature review suggested that the country of overseas residence, or host country, could influence an emigrant's experience and practices. The third objective then became to determine if the country of residence played a role in the national identity and citizenship practices of Australian expatriates. The study, with these objectives, was then undertaken using the hypothesis that the experiences of Australian expatriates would best align with the notions of transnational citizenship, which was used as the overarching theoretical framework. A visual representation of the study's aims and objectives is presented in Figure 1 in Section 1.4.

These aims and objectives were addressed using the collection and analysis of primary empirical data. Empirical data was collected from a total of 49 Australian expatriates. Of those, 24 were living in the UK and 25 in Singapore. Characteristics of the participants are summarised in 0 in Section 2.6. Participants in the UK were slightly younger than those in Singapore; but have on average been overseas longer than those in Singapore. In both locations, respondents were predominantly female and highly educated. Key characteristics of the study sample indicate that the sample is indeed in line with the objectives of this study to capture long-term expatriates living overseas. As per Fullilove and Flutter (2004), they typically fall under the categories of people at the pinnacle of their careers in significant international positions; highly-skilled and well-paid Australians who are developing their careers on the international stage; and Australians with professional skills.

Overview of the key findings

The first set of findings offered in Chapter 3 provide an overview of Australian expatriates' social interactions, in response to the question: 'What are Australian expatriates' social interactions in their home and host country?'. This question was answered by looking into who they most socialise with in both their home and host country, their membership to social clubs and groups, and the frequency with which they travel back to Australia. These factors were explored as they provide different examples of social interactions that can happen across state borders.

The most significant finding that emerged from the analysis in Chapter 3 is how starkly different the social lives of Australians in Singapore and the UK really are, and the various explanations for these differences. The first is the cultural and linguistic similarities and differences. The Commonwealth history connecting Australia to the UK has resulted in a shared language, and very similar education and political systems, all of which can offer a degree of familiarity upon relocation. Australians who moved to Singapore, on the other hand, have had less exposure to the languages and lifestyle in their host country prior to relocating.

Another variable which has shown to influence rates of engagement with host and home country are the geographic proximity to Australia. Respondents living in Singapore reported visiting home far more frequently than those in the UK, and maintaining every-

day telecommunications proved to be easier for those in Singapore than the UK as they were in a much closer time zone.

Perhaps the most salient finding was the degree to which the institutional differences between the UK and Singapore influences migrants' social networks and experiences. Regulation of essentials services such as housing and schooling proved to have a trickle-down effect into the everyday social lives of Australians living in Singapore. While Australians in Singapore proved to have very little interaction with locals, sharing everything from condominiums to schools to sporting clubs with other Australians and other expats, their UK counterparts were successfully entrenched into everyday local life. Those in the UK worked, lived and played with host country nationals, and showed far more varied social experiences outside of other Australians. According to Berry's acculturation model, Australians living in the UK aligned most closely with 'integration', while those in Singapore showed very 'traditional' orientations of acculturation.

The second core set of findings was regarding Australian expatriates' political participation in both their home and host country. Chapter 4 set out to answer the research question 'What is the current political participation of Australians living overseas?'. In doing so, Chapter 4 investigated the reasons respondents *do* or *do not* vote in Australian elections, as well as other types of political participation in both Australia and their host countries.

The first key finding was that overall voter sentiments of Australians overseas were not too dissimilar to those of Australians at home. This is relevant for the ongoing scholarly discussion around potential participation trends if voting were to become voluntary in Australia (Cameron and McAllister, 2019). As voting in Australian elections is not compulsory for Australians living overseas, their participation patterns and perspectives offer a glimpse of how domestic trends could differ should current compulsory voting be removed. The findings suggest that voter turnout may be related to external factors such as ease of voting, political satisfaction, or trust in the government, and less so to individual characteristics such as age or education levels, as is often suggested in the literature.

The findings in Chapter 4 also highlighted some key differences in migrant enfranchisement based on location of residence. There are key institutional differences

between the UK and Singapore in regard to political rights and responsibilities, which consequently influenced the participation trends of Australians in each country. Most notably, Australians living in the UK can vote in their host country elections, while those living in Singapore cannot, which had flow on effects into Australians' enfranchisement in their home country. This study identified that host country enfranchisement can affect trends on home country participation.

Another key finding related to Australian expatriates' political participation was the degree to which their perspectives related to the existing normative debate on external voting. Just over half of the respondents interviewed in this study continued to vote in Australian elections, while the other half did not. The reasons that respondents gave both for and against voting in Australia while residing overseas align with both sides of the existing normative debates on external voting. This indicates that those studying and making normative recommendations for and against external voting are successfully capturing the lived experiences and sentiments of migrants themselves. This finding is discussed further in the following section.

The final set of findings looked into national identity and the manifestation of citizenship as a *feeling*. The research question that Chapter 5 set out to answer was 'Does living overseas for an extended period of time affect Australian expatriates' national identity?'. In order to answer this, participants were asked about their perceived connections between citizenship and identity, any changes in feelings about their identity, the concepts of home and belonging, and their perceptions of Australian identity more broadly.

The first key finding was that the Australians interviewed perceived their citizenship, as related to their identity, as both strategic and symbolic. Most respondents in both Singapore and the UK indicated that their Australian citizenship was a symbol of their connection and identification with their home country and culture, while some highlighted the strategic value of the Australian passport as a travel document, both its strength in international travel and its role in facilitating their return to their home country.

Upon analysis of changes to national identity resulting from overseas residence, the findings were fairly divided. Approximately half the respondents felt less Australian than before leaving, while the other half felt more Australian. The key finding in

response to the question of changes to identity is that identity, its formation and any consequent changes, appears to be an overwhelmingly personal experience with little overlap within the group. As such, it is difficult to apply any broad-brush theories to this experience.

As part of understanding expatriates' changes to their national identity, the study also looked into what respondents associated with an Australian national identity in the first place. Chapter 5 showed that there was significant amount of overlap between what different respondents associated with Australian identity, almost all of which were forms of social interactions, habits, routines and practical knowledge. The study showed that the things that Australians overseas identify with being Australian are transferable – they are things that do not require a shared ethnicity, language or religion, as nationalist literature would suggest. However, they are all connections that respondents made through their developmental years of growing up in Australia, and this deep rootedness is perhaps why the connection remains despite extended overseas residence.

Although presented separately, these findings are all interconnected in their account of Australian expatriates' experiences of citizenship and connection to their home country while living overseas.

Contribution of this empirical study to theoretical considerations

The lived experiences of Australian expatriates were explored through the lens of both behaviours and feelings, and the following section will delve into the relationship between the two in response to the overarching research questions:

> Does long term overseas residence impact Australian expatriates' citizenship practices and perceptions of national identity? Specifically,
>
> 1. Do changes in citizenship practices and national identity occur as a result of long-term overseas residence?
> 2. Does the emigration destination play a role in national identity and conceptions of citizenship?
> 3. Is transnational citizenship theory a suitable theoretical framework for exploration of these changes?

As the findings in each chapter have shown, the answer to these questions is complicated. This study began with certain assumptions regarding the link between citizenship practices and identity, or 'behaviours' and 'feelings' as also described throughout this work. For one, it was assumed that identity and practices were inherently interconnected, and that one's behaviour could be used as a measure of one's feelings, and vice versa. The interviews were designed to capture citizenship practices such as social connection and political participation with the assumption that these practices would mirror the respondent's self-described national identity, all of which would align with transnational citizenship. In reality, the citizenship practices proved adaptable to external factors in the host country, while national identity was a more stable constant, formed over time and modified slower. As such, the first key takeaway from the findings in this study is that how an emigrant feels about their home country does not necessarily influence how they behave, and vice versa.

National identity is increasingly prevalent in conceptions of citizenship in the literature. The concept of national identity emerged from the respondents as a deeply personal expression, based on their own experiences of growing up in Australia, and was not related to an Australian nation or shared identity. There were certain behaviours or traits that were associated with being 'an Aussie', and an acknowledgment of empathy for other Australians. While these findings do not discredit the relevance of a shared national identity to various aspects of citizenship such as group dynamics and shared connection, what this study has shown is that identity is a challenging metric with which to measure citizenship, and that it needs to be explored in tandem with others. When asked about their identity alongside citizenship practices such as civic engagement or political participation, the stories of connection began to unfurl, and identity emerged as a deeply personal connection with their homeland rather than something tying them to other Australians. What did tie the emigrants in this study to Australia as a collective nation were more tangible factors, such as political rights and responsibility or shared lifestyles and interests.

Transnational citizenship theory suggests that one element of migrant transnationalism is identifying with both their home and host country. Yet, as the narrative around national identity emerged from this study it proved to be one of personal connection and memory. In contrast none of the respondents interviewed reported experiencing an identification with their host country, regardless of their length of residence. Many felt

at home or well-integrated in their host country, particularly in the UK, but identity itself, and the associated feeling of connection, was reserved for Australia. These finding are, in themselves, an indicator of the challenge with using something so complex and personal as a measure of a collective experience. One takeaway from this study is that perhaps something as personal as identity is not a good measure to take into account when theorising and conceptualising citizenship for large swathes of otherwise disconnected people, such as entire nation states. National identity in this study did not evident itself as a collective phenomenon and was rather a deeply individual one, often tied to memory and personal experiences. Therefore, in future studies, the narrative around national identity would be better employed in the study of a personalised connection or relationship between self and the 'nation', emphasising that this collective or 'nation' may have a different interpretation for each individual.

The role that tangible behavioural measures play in Australian expatriates' citizenship practices were explored through social interactions and political participation. Research question 1 asked 'Do changes in citizenship practices and national identity occur as a result of long-term overseas residence?' The findings from this study indicate that yes, there were some changes to citizenship practices and national identity as a result of living overseas. As discussed, the identity changes are harder to measure due their intricate personality, but changes to citizenship practices were evident. However, in order to answer 1, we need to also look to 2 'Does the emigration destination play a role in national identity and conceptions of citizenship?', as the two responses turned out to be inextricably linked. While there were changes to social interactions and political participation across the sample, the reasoning and implications behind the changes differed across the host countries. Based on the findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4 and summarised above, the answer is that yes, there are changes to citizenship practices, but the degree of change is dependent on the host country.

The key findings presented in response to research questions 1 and 2 bring us to the answer for question 3: 'Is transnational citizenship theory a suitable theoretical framework for exploration of these changes?' Transnational citizenship theory suggests that migrants can live transnational lives and engage in citizenship practices across both host and home country. Although the Australian expatriates interviewed in this study did display some elements of transnationalism in their behaviour and experiences as "simultaneous overlapping affiliations of persons to geographically separate polities",

(Bauböck, 2003: 705), many areas of potential overlap were excluded due to institutional and other barriers. The two case study locations presented in this work show that Australian migrants in the UK were legitimately able to practice transnational citizenship while those in Singapore were not, regardless of how well intentioned they were. As such, although it is true that some migrants act in the way the theory stipulates it is clear that others do not. This brings awareness to the fact that migration is a complex system and individual migrants can and will act in a variety of ways, either through their own agency or due to institutional barriers. It could be summarised that there are a myriad of institutional and cultural factors that impact migrants' abilities to partake in social, political and legal practices that transcend state borders and are manifested, transnationally, in home and host country. This is an important nuance for consideration in citizenship studies: although citizenship practices are an effective way to measure and theorise conceptions of citizenship, we need to be aware of assumptions and mindful of diversity. We should not assume that lived experiences in different host countries will be alike, even for the same migrant national group, as there are significant variables affecting lived realities of individual migrants. This finding is important as it highlights the need for normative conceptions of migration to take into consideration the diversity and complexity of the migrant experience in order to capture more effectively the changing landscape of citizenship.

Empirical data can strengthen the comprehensiveness of normative political theorizing to diversify and deepen the range of insights considered in the development of normative arguments (Ackerly et al. 2021). The findings in this study therefore contribute to the work of normative theorists by offering original empirical data with which existing theories can be developed. This data fills an empirical gap by providing insights into the experiences of a scarcely researched population and one which has never been studied in the context of citizenship and identity, making the data and insights a valuable addition to the development of normative debate in the field of citizenship studies.

As set out at the beginning of this thesis, the national citizenship model and related theories are increasingly challenged, and new interpretations of citizenship are needed. The findings of this study support the need to acknowledge the effects of globalisation and increased mobility and to move away from a territorialised national model of citizenship. However, the findings also suggest that there are a myriad of legal,

institutional and personal factors that need to be taken into consideration when theorising extra-territorialised citizenship.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

This study has answered the key research questions and filled empirical gaps in the literature. However, in doing so, it has also brought to light several new questions worth further study. By asking respondents about their social interactions, political participation and identity in the course of a single interview, the study was able to tie these different experiences together under the umbrella of transnational citizenship, as it set out to do. However, this broad approach means that some of the finer details had to be left behind. The three themes explored in this study, social, political, and identity, each have the depth and scope to be a project in themselves. However, it is only by combining them into one study that we were able to identify some of the intersections between those themes.

The focussed scope of the case study approach in this study required a smaller sample size to reach saturation, although some may consider the n=49 sample size a limitation. Although the sample size was adequate for the qualitative analysis of the two case studies within the scope of this study, any extrapolation of these findings to the entire population of Australian expatriates would require a larger sample and more quantitative analysis.

Similarly, the qualitative interview approach and smaller sample size naturally limited analytical capacity to that with a focus on deeper understanding and explanation of the various dynamics addressed. On the other hand, a larger-n quantitative study may have allowed for more variables to be quantified and compared, something that was limited with the existing methodology. Qualitative interview studies such as this one also have the inherent limitation of the potential for human error, such as through biased or inaccurate interview responses, or incorrect response interpretations during analysis. All care was taken during the recruitment, interview and analysis stages to prevent these limitations from posing a risk. Despite these natural limitations of qualitative research, this study has opened the door to the lives of Australian expatriates as individuals with stories and can hopefully inspire further research into their experiences and dynamics.

This study identified some assumptions that limited the applicability of transnational

citizenship theory to the experiences of Australian expatriates. In order to do this, the theory was discussed in regard to the social interactions, political participation and national identity of the sample. However, further research could look at transnational citizenship theory using different elements of citizenship than those used in this study, such as the legal dimension, to see if these findings would be corroborated across other variables.

The exploration of Australian expatriates' political participation identified some valuable new findings, filling an empirical gap in the literature. One such finding is that that *host country enfranchisement* affects *home country participation*. In short, those allowed political enfranchisement in their host country are more likely to stop participating in the politics of their home country, while those who are unable to vote in their host country are more likely to stay politically engaged in their home country. This finding is significant for our understanding of migration and migrant experiences more broadly. The influence of host country enfranchisement on home country participation is worthy of further study, comparing the experiences of people coming from and living in different countries to determine whether the trend is transferable across various migrant groups.

Although some of the respondents in this study were dual citizens, dual citizenship was not a primary focus of the research. Dual citizenship is becoming increasingly accepted and blurs several lines of the traditional national citizenship model, making it worthy of its own research projects unpacking all the nuance that can become involved. This study did not look into dual citizenship specifically as it was out of the scope and there was not enough time nor resources to do so. Based on the findings in this study, some recommendations for future research include a study dedicated to the experience of dual citizen Australians specifically. Notably it would be interesting to undertake a comparison in the experiences and sentiments of Australian dual citizens who naturalised in Australia and retained their prior citizenship, compared to those who were born Australian citizens and later naturalised in the country of the other citizenship. The findings of this study suggested that national identity and an intrinsic connection to the home country emerges from spending one's developmental years in that culture and landscape. However, these findings are not conclusive, and a dedicated study would help further knowledge on this topic.

Significance and implications

Despite natural limitations, this study fills an important empirical gap and provides insight into the lived experiences of a scarcely-researched migrant group. In doing so, the study has identified some key gaps in existing citizenship theory and highlighted how many interconnected variables there are to consider when discussing the experiences of emigrants.

Not only has this study identified several new findings and made substantial empirical contributions, but it has also made a methodological contribution by identifying a number of advantages of conducting mixed methods social research online instead of face-to-face. Firstly, conducting a pre-interview questionnaire online in their own time allows respondents to complete it more organically and interpret the questions in their own time. Sending them the questionnaire a few days before the interview gives them enough time to think, whether consciously or subconsciously, about their feelings on the subject matter, further preparing them for the interview. The shift to conducting interviews over video-call instead of face-to-face, necessitated by the Covid-19 pandemic, proved to have numerous benefits, mostly around the reduced risk or burden to the respondent. Respondents were able to connect with the researcher from the comfort of their home, while maintaining personable connection beyond that achievable during a telephone interview. This shift to online methods served to identify and develop an innovative way to conduct interviews with appropriate target populations (i.e. those with access to internet). Since many parts of society have now become accustomed to learning, working and socialising using video-calling methods, lessons from this study can inform future methodological approaches.

In addition to empirical and methodological contributions, the study has also identified some policy implications and recommendations about Australian emigrants specifically. The first recommendation is that the Australian government should determine the number of Australians living overseas. There are no accurate data on Australians who move overseas, including how many there are and where they are located. Although a large proportion of Australians who move overseas are return migrants who have naturalised in Australia and have since returned to their home country, there are no data capturing that migration pattern nor that of any other Australian emigrants.

Following on this, the findings in this study have shown that Australians living overseas

continue to feel connected to and engaged in their home country. Australia does not currently have an emigrant or diaspora strategy, nor is there any significant engagement with this population of nationals who live outside the national borders. It is clear that, for this particular target population, physically leaving Australian does not mean forgetting or neglecting Australia. The recommendation is that once the Australian government identify the number of Australians living overseas, they can then use these data to inform a more robust diaspora policy. The world is increasingly globalised, and many countries are already tapping into their diaspora as tools for knowledge sharing and insight into different cultures and ways of thinking, engaging and working. By not following suit with such diaspora engagement, Australia is missing out on this valuable resource which other countries have chosen to embrace.

The remaining recommendations arise from the valuable findings around Australian expatriates' political participation, particularly voting. The findings have shown that the only significant determinant of voting overseas was length of residence. Australians living overseas for less than five years were the most likely to keep voting, with a significant drop in participation after five years of living overseas (see Table 4 in Section 4.2). We know that Australians who move overseas remain on the electoral roll for six years, after which they need to make a concerted effort to continue re-enrolling to maintain their electoral status (AEC, 2020, 2021). Therefore, if Australia wanted those living overseas to continue voting, the recommendation is that these enrolment rules be revisited and changed to reflect the desired enfranchisement potential.

Lastly, the findings on Australian expatriates' political participation are important as they serve as a proxy for what Australians' voting patterns are like when they are no longer legally required to vote. This finding could be used to inform debate and policy around compulsory voting in Australia, a topic which is currently addressed in post-federal election AES reports (Cameron and McAllister, 2019; Cameron et al. 2022). The recommendation is that these findings be used as an example of possible voting trends should the rules be reassessed, therefore serving as an important resource to inform voting policy in Australia.

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Appendix 1 Pre-interview Questionnaire

Age:	**Gender:**	**Place of birth:**

1. What citizenship(s) do you have? Please list if multiple

2. What valid passport(s) do you currently have?

3. What is your residency status?

4. What languages do you speak? Please indicate language fluency

5. What is your occupation?

6. What is the highest level of study you have completed?

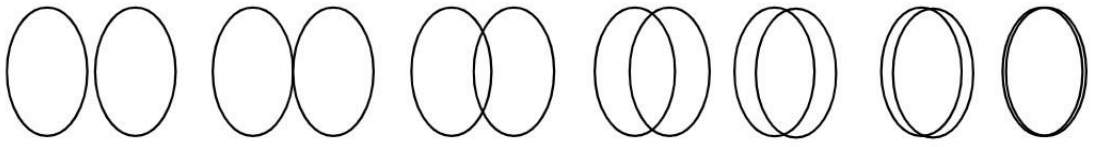
7. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being "not at all" and 10 being "very much so", how strongly did you identify as "Australian" before leaving Australia?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

8. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being "not at all" and 10 being "very much so", how strongly do you identify as "Australian" now, having lived outside of Australia for a period of time?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

9. By writing the corresponding number next to each of the following, please indicate which of the circle drawings below best represents how you identify in relation to the following groups:
   i. Other Australian expats in your country of residence (UK/Singapore)
   ii. Locals in your country of residence (Brits/Singaporeans)
   iii. Other Australian expats around the world
   iv. Those Australians still living in Australia



10. Do you vote in any of the following (please circle all applicable):
    i. Local elections in country of residence (UK/Singapore)
    ii. National elections in country of residence (UK/Singapore)
    iii. State elections in Australia
    iv. Federal elections in Australia
    v. Other (please specify)
    vi. I do not vote anywhere (please specify why)

11. Do you participate in any social or political volunteer work? Please circle all applicable answers

i. Local organisations based in the UK/Singapore
ii. Australian organisations based in the UK/Singapore
iii. Australian organisations in Australia
iv. International NGO (e.g. WWF, Oxfam, Amnesty International, etc.)
v. I do not participate in any social or political volunteer work

12. Have you partaken in any of the following social or political activities within the UK/Singapore? Please circle all applicable answers

i. Contacting the media or politicians to express concern regarding issues
ii. Demonstrations or protests
iii. Signing petitions
iv. Other (please specify)
v. None

13. Have you partaken in any of the following social or political activities in or towards Australia since relocating? Please circle all applicable answers

i. Contacting the media or politicians to express concern regarding issues
ii. Demonstrations or protests
iii. Signing petitions
iv. Other (please specify)
v. None

14. With a YES or NO beside the following, please indicate whether you:

i. Own property in the UK/Singapore
ii. Own property in Australia
iii. Send money to family/friends in Australia
iv. Watch or stream Australian television broadcast, including sports
v. Seek out and read Australian newspapers
vi. Visit Australia (please indicate how often)

Appendix 2 Interview Guide

Background

Length of time living outside of Australia, total over life

More detailed lengths of time: each place, how long, etc.

Ethnic/national/religious background, any specific identification – i.e. second generation migrant, Aboriginal Australian, ethnic or religious minority, long Anglo-Celtic ancestry, etc.

Citizenship (legal)

Australian citizenship: Do you still have it? If no, why not? Would you give it up?

What does being an Australian citizen mean to you? Do you think this has changed since living overseas? How?

What does your other citizenship mean to you? (If applicable)

How long have you been a dual/multiple citizen? Has gaining other citizenship impacted your identification with either country?

Political participation: are they enrolled to vote? Where? Do they vote? Why/why not? Membership to political parties? Protesting/petitions?

Identity

When people ask "where are you from", what do you say? Is this easy to answer or do you struggle to answer?

Has this changed over time of being away?

Is your personal sense of national identity in any influenced by the citizenship or passports that you hold?

Do you identify more with any one nationality?

How Australian do you feel? What does this mean to you, and has your Australian national identity changed since living overseas?

Social networks

Who do you most socialise with? Other Australians, other nationalities/expats, locals? Why?

Are you part of any Australian-specific social organisations? Facebook groups? Etc. Why/why not?

Appendix 3 Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) Approval Letter

Our reference 33936

THE UNIVERSITY of ADELAIDE

RESEARCH SERVICES
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11 September 2019

Dr Tiziana Torresi
School of Social Sciences

Dear Dr Torresi

ETHICS APPROVAL No: H-2019-170
PROJECT TITLE: Citizenship in a globalised world: National identity and citizenship practices of Australian expatriates

The ethics application for the above project has been reviewed by the Low Risk Human Research Ethics Review Group (Faculty of Arts and Faculty of the Professions) and is deemed to meet the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 (Updated 2018)* involving no more than low risk for research participants.

You are authorised to commence your research on: 11/09/2019
The ethics expiry date for this project is: 30/09/2022

NAMED INVESTIGATORS:

Chief Investigator:	Dr Tiziana Torresi
Student - Postgraduate Doctorate by Research (PhD):	Miss Anna Larson
Associate Investigator:	Dr Benito Cao

CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL: Thank you for addressing the feedback. The revised ethics application provided on the 8th of September 2019 has been approved.

Ethics approval is granted for three years and is subject to satisfactory annual reporting. The form titled Annual Report on Project Status is to be used when reporting annual progress and project completion and can be downloaded at http://www.adelaide.edu.au/research-services/oreci/human/reporting/. Prior to expiry, ethics approval may be extended for a further period.

Participants in the study are to be given a copy of the information sheet and the signed consent form to retain. It is also a condition of approval that you immediately report anything which might warrant review of ethical approval including:

- serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants,
- previously unforeseen events which might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project,
- proposed changes to the protocol or project investigators; and
- the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Anna Olijnyk
Convenor

Dr Douglas Bardsley
Convenor

The University of Adelaide

Appendix 4 Resulting Research Outputs

Larson, A. (2022). Overcoming the Challenges of Shifting From Face-to-Face to Online Research Methods: A Case Exploring Australian Expatriates and National Identity. In *Sage Research Methods: Doing Research Online*. SAGE Publications, Ltd., DOI: 10.4135/9781529799729

Larson, A. (2022). 'You should have come back earlier': the divisive effect of Australia's COVID-19 response on diaspora relations. *Australian Geographer*, 53 (2), 131-148, DOI: 10.1080/00049182.2022.2082038

Larson, A. (2023). Studying the social integration of Australians abroad: A comparison between life in the UK and Singapore. *Manuscript under review for publication.*

Larson, A. (2023). Expatriate voting in Australian federal elections. *Manuscript submitted for publicaiton.*