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Diasporas in Australia: Current and Potential Links with the Homeland

Summary Report of an Australian Research Council Linkage Project into the Italian, Macedonian, Tongan and Vietnamese Diasporas

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Summary Report of an Australian Research Council Linkage Project into the Italian, Macedonian, Tongan and Vietnamese Diasporas
# Contents

## Executive Summary
- The Vietnamese Diaspora 5
- The Tongan Diaspora 6
- The Italian Diaspora 7
- The Macedonian Diaspora 7
- Comparisons Between the Four Diasporas 8
- Implications for Future Research and Policy Development 9

## 1. Diasporas in Australia: Research Background, Approach and Methodology
  - 1.1 Introduction and Background 11
  - 1.2 Approach and the Literature 11
  - 1.3 Diasporas and Public Policy 12
  - 1.4 Method and Results 14
  - 1.5 Conclusion 15

## 2. The Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia
  - 2.1 Characteristics and Overview 16
  - 2.2 Key Findings 17
  - 2.3 Conclusions 19

## 3. The Tongan Diaspora in Australia
  - 3.1 Characteristics and Overview 20
  - 3.2 Key Findings 20
  - 3.3 Conclusions 22

## 4. The Italian Diaspora in Australia:
  - 4.1 Characteristics and Overview 23
  - 4.2 Key Findings 24
  - 4.3 Conclusions 26

## 5. The Macedonian Diaspora in Australia
  - 5.1 Characteristics and Overview 27
  - 5.2 Key Findings 28
  - 5.3 Conclusions 32

## 6. Comparative Observations and Conclusions

## References

## Appendix 1: Research team members

## Appendix 2: Diaspora Questionnaire
  - 1. Introduction – Australian Diasporas: A Survey About Homeland Connections 39
  - 2. Your background information 40
  - 3. Household information 41
  - 4. Citizenship and relationships with Tonga 47
  - 5. Links with Tonga 49
Executive Summary

*Diasporas in Australia: Current and Potential Links with the Homeland* was a three year Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage project conducted from 2009-2012. The project was undertaken by an interdisciplinary team with researchers from five universities and a number of collaborating researchers and partner organisations from government and ethnic community sectors who are detailed and acknowledged in Appendix 1.

Diasporas are understood as people who are dispersed across the globe yet are linked by a connection to a common homeland which may or may not continue to exist. Diasporas are increasingly recognised in public policy as an important mechanism for:

- enhancing international economic development and ‘brain circulation’ within and between knowledge economies, as well as being a source of remittances and investment in the homeland through tourism (Saxenian 2005);
- a site of political organisation for or against the interests of homeland governments or as advocates for the interests of the diaspora in Australia and/or in other receiving countries (Sheffer 2003);
- a vehicle for the maintenance and development of transnational (and multi-local) families through the provision and exchange of transnational care and welfare (Baldassar, Baldock et al. 2007); and
- the maintenance of culture, language and religious practices generating both freedoms and restraints for its members and host communities (Lee 2003).

The broad purpose of the project was to investigate the homeland connections of four diasporas in Australia: the Vietnamese, the Tongan, the Italian and the Macedonian diasporas. The research was undertaken from an interdisciplinary perspective guided by the five broad themes of: citizenship, identity and langue; personal ties through visits, communication and media use; political and communal involvement; family/kinship, caregiving and remittances and philanthropy; and business and professional ties.

This report includes:

- an executive summary highlighting the key findings of the research in relation to each of the diasporas investigated, and a comparative analysis of the four diasporas;
- a literature review and methodology for the full study;
- detailed reports on each of the four diasporas studied;
- general findings from across the whole study and key research and policy implications arising from the findings;
- appendices with the full survey and bibliography.

**The Vietnamese Diaspora**

- The Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia includes approximately 200,000 people and given the circumstances of forced migration as refugees following the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, this community can be described as a ‘victim’ diaspora.
- The Vietnamese Diaspora has very high rates of Australian citizenship and a strong Vietnamese identity, but this does not include a feeling of closeness to the Homeland as a result of political relations between the diaspora and the Homeland. Vietnamese language skills are maintained with more than 90 per cent of all respondents speaking, reading and writing as ‘very well’ or ‘well’.
- There are low rates of visitation to Vietnam largely because few people continue to have family connections in Vietnam and there is antagonism towards the Communist Government who continue to be perceived as the enemy that forced the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia into exile. At the same time, the majority intends to visit in future and the major reason is for a holiday and to reconnect with family and cultural history. There are signs that there is an increasing rate of communication with Vietnam through social media.
- Involvement in activities in Australia that are concerned with the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam was identified by just over half of respondents, and a small proportion (20 per cent) send money to charity, welfare or other causes in Vietnam. There is a similarly low rate of involvement in locally oriented Vietnamese organisations with ‘religious activities’ being the primary form of communal involvement.
- Few respondents have care responsibilities for people living in Vietnam and the extent to which money or gifts are sent to Vietnam is infrequent.
• Only a few respondents (6.8 per cent) have business or professional ties with Vietnam, however there are many more who are interested in developing such ties suggesting potential for the development of business and professional engagement with Vietnam through diaspora links.

• A distinctive characteristic of the Vietnamese Diaspora is the very strong and continuing identification as Vietnamese and to Vietnamese language and culture, while simultaneously having very low formal engagement with the Homeland. At the same time, the constituency of the Diaspora is currently changing with the most recent wave of temporary migrants and international students. It is possible that these new members of the community may lead to enhanced ties between the Homeland and Diaspora as the mix of migration circumstances changes within the Diaspora. This is further enhanced as the post-refugee second generation Vietnamese in Australia rise to the fore in the community with a greater interest and desire to engage with Vietnam.

• Use social media is also increasing communications with Vietnam particularly amongst younger Australian born Vietnamese and recent arrivals.

The Tongan Diaspora

• Consistent with Tonga's small population, the Tongan Diaspora in Australia is small, comprising approximately 18,000 people.

• There is a strong sense of ‘being Tongan’ within the Diaspora and there are strong feelings of closeness with Tonga as the Homeland. Tongan language is spoken within families and there is a commitment within families to maintain ties between generations and with Tonga.

• There are high rates of visitation to Tonga in order to fulfill social obligations and to maintain ties. At the same time, there are few who anticipate returning to live in the Homeland. Tongan friends and relatives also frequently visit Australia and stay for considerable periods of time. Visiting and the maintenance of family and community connections is the primary form of maintaining ties, but there is little consumption of Tongan media. Increasingly, however, the use of Facebook is increasing communication between Australia and Tonga.

• One of the issues raised was that there was a sense that Tongan based relatives were not understanding of the pressures involved in making a living in Australia and that they are ‘taken for granted’ in being able to send money at the request of Tongan relatives. It was also the area where generational issues appear to come into play with younger Australian-born Tongans feeling resentful and questioning why such practices should continue.

• Overall, engagement in political or communal activities relating to Tongan affairs is very low, with the main form of organisational involvement for participants being Tongan churches and religious activities in Australia.

• Findings in relation to care-giving and philanthropy were clear with the main form of giving to Tonga being remittances to family members. This includes extended family members and to a lesser extent, siblings and community members. Roughly half (48 per cent) of all survey respondents say that they send money regularly throughout the year in amounts of less than $1,000. The main reason for doing so is to provide support to family and to fulfill kinship obligation in the observation of lifecycle events and other special occasions. As an integral component of the Tongan kinship system, it is anticipated that these forms of obligation will continue into the future, something confirmed through the research, with almost half (48.7 per cent) saying that they anticipate that they will have obligations to care for family members into the future.

• Business and professional connections to Tonga are almost non-existent, and that there are considerable barriers to the development of such links. At the same time, there was greater interest in developing such links in order to support Tonga’s economic development.

• Kinship ties of the Tongan Diaspora in Australia extend not only to the Homeland but also across the Tongan Diaspora in America, New Zealand and other Pacific island countries. In this respect, the Tongan community maintain transnational ties and have transnational Tongan cultural influences alongside direct Homeland ties and influences.

• Overall, the research showed that the Tonga Diaspora remains deeply Tongan in terms of identity, family connections, religious practices and community involvement. The connections are strong and the Tongan Diaspora population in Australia ‘carry Tonga with them’, despite having left the Homeland where they are unlikely to return to live, or for many second generation Tongans, never having visited.
The Italian Diaspora

• The Italian Diaspora is substantial with around one million people who were either born in Italy or who claim Italian ancestry. The Diaspora is highly heterogeneous and is built from various waves of migration dating back to the early 1900s. The Italian Diaspora is widely regarded as an exemplar of the success of Australian multicultural policies and has, over time, shifted from what could be regarded as primarily a labour diaspora to one that is more cultural in character.

• The majority of the diaspora define themselves at least in part as Italian despite having very high rates of Australian citizenship. There are high rates of Italian language fluency and respondents claim a strong sense of connection with Italy despite the majority having been Australian born. There are frequent visits to Italy and there are strong desires to spend more time in Italy in future. Connections with family members in Italy are the major reason for frequent communications.

• There are high rates of travel to Italy with 18.5 per cent who say that they have not visited Italy. Respondents also have strong intentions of visiting Italy in future with only 14.6 per cent saying that they do not intend to visit Italy in the next five years. The purpose of visits is overwhelmingly to ‘strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Italy’ (30.7 per cent) or to ‘have a holiday’ (37.09 per cent). These findings suggest that family connections are a major driver for visits to Italy, indicating that kinship and family connections are a mainstay of diaspora relations for Italians.

• Engagement in political activities is relatively low, although involvement in communal associations is higher, particularly for the post-war cohort. The main form of organisational involvement for more than half (52.3 per cent) of the respondents is being involved in Italian organisations in Australia.

• The findings in relation to care-giving, remittances and philanthropy suggest that there is relatively little exchange between Italy and Australia concerning remittances or welfare. However, the strong ties to family indicate the continuing exchange of care in the form of emotional and moral support, practical care and the provision of accommodation. The high proportion of second generation respondents to the survey is likely to have influenced the findings for this section to suggest a lower level of transnational activity than is actually occurring. While the second generations support the first generation in their transnational care-giving connections, primarily by assisting with the use of new technologies, most in this cohort would not have primary responsibility for kin living in Italy.

• Recent waves of temporary migrants are currently having an impact on the character of the Italian Diaspora. Arriving as international students, on working holidays or short term business visas, the new arrivals are young and often single, highly mobile and extremely technologically literate. Their migration is also strongly driven by the current economic crisis in Europe and disillusionment with Italian domestic politics. These attributes arguably make the term ‘migrant’ less pertinent to describe them as they appear to be very much transnational actors, strongly connected to both their home and host societies.

• The survey results show that only a small proportion of respondents have business and professional ties with Italy, with most of this group being involved in education or research about Italy. Despite this low level of connection, there were considerably more people who expressed both an interest in, and capacity for, greater business and professional ties with Italy.

The Macedonian Diaspora

• The Macedonian Diaspora in Australia comprises approximately 93,500 people comprising waves of migrants from the Republic of Macedonia since the 1920s and those who claim Macedonian ancestry.

• The Diaspora maintain strong connections with Macedonia indicated by feelings of ‘closeness’ to Macedonia, high levels of use of Macedonian language and very high rates (more than 90 per cent) of visitation to Macedonia. There are considerable differences within the Diaspora by age and by place of birth, however, there are indications that the connections of younger and second generation migrants are waning.

• Connections to Macedonia are driven by family networks and a desire to maintain connections with cultural identity and history.

• Property ownership in Macedonia is high with almost half of respondents owning land and/or houses in Macedonia.

• Communications with family and cultural and political organisations in Macedonia is strong with this communication increasing through the use of social media. Consumption of general media is also strong particularly in relation to Macedonian sport, politics and current affairs.
• The majority of respondents are involved in some form of Macedonian organisation in Australia although this involvement is stronger amongst older Macedonians and participation by younger people is not as strong.

• The Diaspora is strongly motivated by political issues in relation to the recognition of the name of the Republic of Macedonia and the need for improved governmental connections between Australia and Macedonia.

• Care giving responsibilities in Macedonia is reportedly a minor concern, with very low numbers of respondents indicating that they provide care for people in Macedonia despite almost all respondents having ties to friends and family in Macedonia. Philanthropy and remittances to Macedonia is mostly directed to family, with very modest support for community or political causes.

• Despite there being a strong desire to be engaged with Macedonia on a business or professional level, the extent to which this occurs is limited. There are a number of barriers to such engagement, and there is a lack of mechanisms by which to become engaged in business and trade in Macedonia. There is frustration with bureaucratic barriers to trade in the Homeland.

Comparisons Between the Four Diasporas

One of the objectives of the study was to gather insights about the four diasporas through making comparisons about how and why each maintains connections with the homeland. The research has shown that while different diasporas share features in common, they also have distinct characteristics. These are determined by history, culture and contemporary politics and diasporas can feel intimately tied to their homelands, as is the case of the Macedonian, to existing independent of the homeland, as is the case with the Vietnamese. For some the connection is ongoing with practical dimensions, such as the Tongan Diaspora and remittances, while for others it is cultural with no regular imperatives, such as the Italian. At the same time, a number of both common characteristics can be identified.

• The formation of, and identification with the diaspora is built upon the maintenance of family connections and ties. These are the foundation and catalysts for the development of other ties such as business and professional connections, the consumption of media and engagement in homeland political causes and organisations.

• The culture and way of life in the homeland is a pull factor for all the diasporas who seek to remain connected to the homeland culture and way of life.

• Engagement in homeland religious organisations and activities is a major influence on the diaspora with high levels of engagement in religious organisations across the four. This is particularly the case for the Tongan and the Vietnamese diaspora.

• While the diaspora communities feel strongly on political and communal issues in relation to the homeland, formal engagement is limited. It seems beliefs and values are not being translated into communal action and affiliation.

• Primary influences on the diaspora-homeland relationship include circumstances in the homeland, such as the sense of the Homeland being political embattled as in Macedonian or opposition to the government as in Vietnam. The perception of a developed secure homeland for the Italian Diaspora leads to a very different diasporic orientation.

• There are differences in ties to the homeland for those born and raised in the Australian Diaspora compared to those who migrated to Australia as adults who have personal ties and memories of the homeland. While these low rates of second generation participation in migrant clubs and associations are a key concern of community leaders, it does not appear to be a reflection of lack of interest in, or connection with the homeland but that diaspora identity remains but is expressed in a different form. This reflects intergenerational changes and challenges for the ethnic communities.

• Each of the diasporas is highly dynamic and there are a number of conditions that are stimulating renewal within diasporas. One influence is the effect of new arrivals in Australia that include international students, young people on working holiday visas and skilled migrants. These new arrivals are contributing to cultural renewal as well as presenting challenges to community infrastructure and organisation. Another is the increasing use of social media that facilitates transnational communication between dispersed diasporic communities as well as with the homeland itself.

• There are differences in homeland connections between older and young members of the diaspora. One of the issues for each diaspora was about the relevance of community organisations and activities to younger people and the need to consider ways in which to approach community development in ways that would contribute to community strength.

• Philanthropic giving is limited in a collective sense, and is primarily directed privately to families and villages through informal networks rather than public organisations.
• There is limited business and professional engagement between the diaspora and homelands despite an expressed interest by the diaspora to be involved. The findings across each diaspora showed that this gap between actual activity and desired activity and there are barriers to this engagement for each of the diasporas.

• While the diasporas are under performing in terms of their engagement with the homelands and serving as a bridge in bilateral relations between Australia and these countries, the desire and potential for the diasporas to be much more actively engaged with their homelands and advancing bilateral relations is very strong.

• Overall, membership of a diaspora was an important and strong feature of family, identity, social connections and travel patterns and behavior for all four of the diasporas investigated.

Implications for Future Research and Policy Development

In the conduct of this research, a key understanding is that diasporas are an important dimension of the multicultural character of the Australian population and are potentially important vehicles for international trade, cultural exchange, public diplomacy and, more broadly, brain circulation. The research findings show that many of the potential benefits of diaspora connections are under-utilised and under developed. This suggests the need for future research and policy development initiatives in the following areas.

• Investigate the impact of new migration on multicultural community organisational infrastructure and its relevance and capacity to support new arrivals and emerging generations within the diaspora. This also applies to the need to support the engagement of second generation migrants who wish to maintain connections with the homeland but in a different form.

• Explore the role of social media, and how this can be developed in order to facilitate connections between the diaspora and the homelands. This is particularly the case for those homelands, such as in Tonga, where communications infrastructure is under developed or where there are strong political barriers to homeland engagement as is the case in Vietnam.

• Language maintenance is thus an important element in the maintenance of ties to the homeland, but language skills decline across second and third generation. Teaching homeland language for the second and third generation in Australia needs to be considered as part of a broader diaspora policy.

• There was a feeling among some respondents that the diaspora was treated by both kinship networks, communities and homeland organisations purely as a source of funding rather than a meaningful partner, which is the type of relationship and collaboration the diaspora ideally seeks. In order for diaspora relations to be enhanced, there is also a need for engagement with homeland governments and agencies in order to cultivate diaspora relationships as one based on trust and common objectives in order to maximise the mutual benefits of the relationship.

• The scale of philanthropic giving is modest relative to the means of the diaspora communities and creating a culture of philanthropy has yet to be developed. The research highlights barriers to philanthropy from Australian diasporas and the homelands that need to be addressed if the Australian diaspora is to make financial contributions to homeland development goals. This includes the development of a culture of philanthropy within Australian diasporas as well as the development of reliable and trusted mechanisms in the Homeland by which diasporas can make contributions.

• Although there is clearly limited business and professional ties with homelands, this apparent gap between actual engagement and an interest in connecting with homeland is one that requires further investigation and suggests there is much scope for increased involvement. This is something that should be of interest to both the Australian and the homeland Governments in the development of trade relations.

• The culture and way of life in the homeland is a pull factor for the diaspora which suggests that there is scope to develop a formal strategy to encourage and facilitate temporary and permanent relocation of the diaspora to the homeland with all the brain circulation benefits that could potentially follow. While the skills and networks of the diaspora can assist the homelands economic development, little is being done to tap this interest.

• Across the study, there are strong patterns of travel and tourism between Australia and the homeland. This suggests the need for greater attention to the role and potential of diaspora tourism as growing phenomenon with potential for development.

• Diasporas want greater engagement with their homelands, but processes and structures need to be better developed for this to occur. The challenge is to harness the potential social, economic and political benefits of diaspora engagement.
• Diaspora communities can have an impact on the bilateral relations by working independently of the homeland and hostland governments and/or by working with just the homeland or hostland governments. However, for the full impact and benefits of the diasporas to be manifest in bilateral relations, diaspora policy and strategic planning needs to be developed as a three way strategic partnership between the homeland government, the Australian Government and the specific diaspora community.

Overall, the research reveals that contemporary diasporas in Australia are strongly connected to homelands and are increasingly transnational in their orientation. This is a departure from earlier generations of migrants where migration was largely a one-way process of emigration and settlement and being part of a diaspora inferred a sense of permanent departure and severance from the homeland, with a real and figurative distance between the two. Increasingly, ‘transnational’ is a better term to describe these communities given the ongoing and multiple dimensions of contact including through travel, new media and greater professional mobility and retirement options. Even though diaspora formation is largely informal, the flow of people, information and ideas is extensive and ongoing and as such diasporas are potentially important vehicles for international trade, cultural exchange, public diplomacy and, more broadly, brain circulation. The challenge is for the communities themselves, homeland governments and Australian authorities, to maximise the potential social, economic and political benefits that can be harnessed through strategic diaspora policy development and organisation.
1. Diasporas in Australia: Research Background, Approach and Methodology

1.1 Introduction and Background

*Diasporas in Australia: Current and Potential Links with the Homeland* was a three year Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage project conducted from 2009-2012. The project was undertaken by an interdisciplinary team with researchers from five universities and a number of collaborating researchers and partner organisations from government and ethnic community sectors who are detailed and acknowledged in Appendix 1. The broad purpose of the project was to investigate the character and role of diasporas in Australia from an interdisciplinary perspective into five broad areas: citizenship, identity and language; personal ties through visits, communication and media use; political and communal involvement and philanthropy; family/kinship, caregiving and remittances; and business and professional ties. These findings are provided in detailed online reports on each of the respective diasporas: the Tongan, Italian, Macedonian and Vietnamese (http://www.deakin.edu.au/arts-ed/ccg/publication/res-report.php). This section of the report brings provides more detailed findings and analysis from the reports about the four Australian diasporas and their connections with their homelands.

The selection of the four diasporas that are the focus of the study were in part, selected due to practical considerations and through interest generated by each of the communities in being involved in the study. Furthermore, each is distinctive according to Cohen’s (1997) typology that classifies diasporas as ‘victim’, ‘labour’, ‘trade’, ‘imperial’ and ‘cultural’ diasporas. Each has formed through varied histories of migration to Australia, at different time periods under varied conditions. The Vietnamese Diaspora, for example, is distinctively a ‘victim’ diaspora given that, until very recently, Vietnamese people arrived either as refugees or to reunite with families who had been dislocated following the end of Vietnam War in 1975. The Italian Diaspora have been a labour diaspora, and later a cultural diaspora. The Diaspora of Tonga, as a small Pacific Island country, is an important example of a diaspora from the Pacific and within the Asia Pacific region. As a European Diaspora, the Macedonians have much in common with the Italians but have a much different migration history and have a strong political orientation in relation to homeland relations. One of the intentions was to generate potentially fruitful insights through comparisons between the four diasporas.

A key objective of this project is to explore the nature and extent of transnational ties of each which was undertaken through the conduct of an on-line survey and focus groups. Age and place of birth were two levels of analysis adopted in this research, with the aim of identifying differences that may exist in terms of engagement and identification with the homeland. The objective was to investigate how and why homeland connections are maintained across the five broad themes and to explore how these connections are changing, taking into account stages in migration, different generations, and contemporary conditions ranging from ICT to political developments. These questions were informed by a growing body of literature and research that highlights diasporas as an increasingly significant phenomenon in the context of unprecedented global mobility and communications. The following section discusses how the project was informed and the approach adopted in implementing the study.

1.2 Approach and the Literature

In the context of globalisation, the role of diasporas has been increasingly brought into focus as a potentially powerful and important social, economic and cultural phenomenon. What diasporas actually mean, however, is contested within the literature and there is varied usage of the term depending on the purpose for which it is used. At its simplest, the term refers to the scattering of people from their homelands into new communities across the globe (Braziel 2008 p. 24). Traditionally, diaspora was used specifically to describe the exile of the Jews from their Holy Land and their dispersal throughout the world. Over recent decades, however, the term has been applied more widely and generally refers to, ‘…connection between groups across different nation states whose commonality derives from an original but maybe removed homeland’ (Anthias 1998: 560). This connection may be restricted to those who have been forced from a homeland, in line with the term’s earlier meaning. More broadly, diaspora refers to a social condition, a form of consciousness or, as Waters (1995) describes, an embodiment of transnationalism.

Almost by definition, the term is an obscure concept. Diasporas are informal in character and the effects of diasporas are intangible. They are also dynamic and changing and as Braziel (2008: 158) describes, they are ‘…fractured sites of belonging, participation, disenfranchisement, identification or disidentifications’. Neither is the relationship between diasporas and globalisation necessarily clear in that they are not simply the product of globalisation processes, but have productive powers in themselves. Given the fluidity of the term, it is often used interchangeably with other terms such as ‘transnationalism’ or ‘global capitalism’
In an attempt to deal with the definitional problems arising from the wide and loose use of the term diaspora, Butler (2001) brings together key areas of agreement amongst diaspora scholars to propose a definition that is both useful in making clear distinctions between diasporas and other groups as well as to be able to compare one diaspora from another so that the processes that form diasporas can be discerned. This definition identifies four key features (Saxenian 2005: 192):

- Dispersal from an original homeland to a minimum of two or more destinations;
- the sustained relationship to an actual or imagined homeland;
- a self-awareness of the group’s identity that binds the dispersed people not only to the homeland but to each other as well; and
- the diaspora’s existence over at least two generations.

For the purposes of this project, Cohen's typology of diasporas also provides a useful framework for distinguishing not only between more recent diasporas than those that have longer history, but also those that have formed as an outcome of varied political, economic and social conditions and circumstances (Cohen 1997 p. x). Cohen’s ‘types’ includes the five categories of victim, labour, trade, imperial and cultural diasporas. While this typology is not intended as a rigid or tidy summation of all diasporas, it is a useful characterisation for this diaspora project which has selected diasporas partly for their differences and on the assumption that much will be revealed by comparing the characteristics of different types. The typology is also a useful taxonomy for theorising the nature, influence and impacts of diasporas within a given context. The following section discusses how diasporas are discussed within diverse bodies of literature and why they have come into focus across a number of public policy realms.

1.3 Diasporas and Public Policy

Due to their character as a phenomenon with multiple dimensions, capacities and formations, diasporas have been explored through diverse bodies of literature in response to emerging public policy imperatives. While there are relationships between each of the dimensions identified below, diasporas are not limited to, but are increasingly seen as, an important mechanism for:

- enhancing international economic development and ‘brain circulation’ within and between knowledge economies, as well as being a source of remittances and investment in the homeland through tourism (Saxenian 2005);
- a site of political organisation for or against the interests of homeland governments or as advocates for the interests of the diaspora in Australia and/or in other receiving countries (Sheffer 2003);
- a vehicle for the maintenance and development of transnational (and multi-local) families through the provision and exchange of transnational care and welfare (Baldassar, Baldock et al. 2007); and
- the maintenance of culture, language and religious practices generating both freedoms and restraints for its members and host communities (Lee 2003).

Each of these policy dimensions are of interest to this study and the methodological approach to the research was therefore guided by a desire to capture data on each of these important dimensions of diaspora populations and the transnational practices they undertake.

**Economic**

The importance of understanding diasporas in terms of their economic impact through remittances, trade, investment, employment and entrepreneurship is the clearest reason for investigating diasporas from the point of view of government and industry. As Braziel (2008 p. 37) points out, ‘The Global Commission on International Migration reports that economic migrants add $240 billion annually to the economies of their home countries, while spending more than $2 trillion in their host nations.’ This interest is intensified by the emergence of the ‘knowledge economy’ and the importance of human capital in the development of any one nation.

In line with this economic transition, ‘brain drain’ has been a long held preoccupation and perceived threat by many governments (Beine, Docquier et al. 2001; Schiff 2005). The threat, and one which remains a major issue particularly in poorer countries, is the net loss of the most skilled ‘brains’ necessary for the functioning and development of services and industry. This loss is also a major loss of investment in education. ‘Brain gain’ describes the benefits that accrue to receiving countries that are able to encourage and attract skilled migrants in ways that can match labour market demands and support economic growth.
The idea of ‘brain circulation’ has emerged in critique of ‘brain drain/gain’ and the central assumption that emigration is necessarily one way and permanent, or a net gain or loss to any one nation (Saxenian 2005; Hugo 2009). ‘Brain circulation’ encompasses the ways in which there are potential ‘win/win’ outcomes of emigration through remittances, and knowledge transfer in terms of enhanced skills, personal connections and ideas for innovation and trade associated with return migration (Vinokur 2006). Further, it brings into focus new and increasingly common forms of migration that are often temporary, pendular or circulatory in movement. These movements can be an outcome of employment of multinational contracting arrangements, international student migration or a host of other forms of mobility that are increasingly common in a globalised economy.

The ‘diaspora effect’ is seen as one example of how brain circulation can have a positive effect through further enhancing the transfer of knowledge. Dispersed nationals abroad can act as a conduit for flows of knowledge and information back to the home country, and social and other links increase the probability that knowledge will continue to flow back even after individuals move back or move away. In studies of the “highly skilled”, the effect is that diaspora networks can play a critical role in developing science, technology and innovation in the sending countries (Jackling and Keneley 2009).

Rauch (2003) notes that diasporas promote trade, investment and knowledge transfer by two mechanisms. First, diasporas create trusting trading partners which is particularly important in weak international legal environment and secondly, diasporas possess valuable market information in both home and host countries. This builds on Cohen’s (1996) idea who argues that diasporas build trust by establishing ‘moral communities’ with commercial bonds similar to those bonds that exist within extended families. Thus, diaspora networks can promote trade and knowledge exchange because economic agents are familiar with the market needs in their host and origin countries. Second, they can provide important information to foreign investors, which may otherwise be difficult or costly to obtain. In addition, they reduce communication barriers. Migrants know the language, culture, laws and the business practices of their home country. In sum, diaspora networks reduce transaction costs of international economic activities.

Governments worldwide have implemented diverse strategies in order to harness the potential for knowledge transfer, trade opportunities and international collaboration of expatriates overseas with varying degrees of success, and the role of diasporas in global affairs has been recognised by bodies such as the World Bank who have published policy papers on the subject. Overall, the diaspora emanating from any one nation or homeland is seen as a rich site of human capital essential for the economic development within the knowledge economy.

**Political**

A key related theme, both of the broader project and within the literature, surrounds the political dimensions of diasporas and the potential influence that diasporas can wield both in the country of settlement but also on homeland governments (Sheffer 2003). Accordingly, one theme in the literature is concerned with the election of homeland governments and the influence of the diasporic vote on who is elected to power (Cutler 2001). A notable recent example was the deciding influence of the diaspora vote on the 2008 Italian elections. The literature also explores how diasporas seek to bring about favorable policies for their homelands in the receiving countries (The Economist 2003). This is explored as both an opportunity, through building positive international relations through diaspora networks, or a threat to national integration (Xiang and Shen 2009). The extent of influence of the diaspora is of particular and growing importance given the potential of communication technologies to strengthen diasporas, whereas previously their influence declined in correlation with distance from the homeland and the degree of global dispersion of its members (The Economist 2003). At a broader political economic level, the literature is concerned with the movements of diasporas, its influence on broader homeland political conflict and power relations, as well of those of receiving countries (Cutler 2001).

**Family and Kinship**

The theme of kinship is explored through the fields of anthropology, history and political science that identify family, blood line, religious and ethnic connections as the central drivers of diaspora formation, processes and maintenance. For example, Shain (2007) highlights how both subjective and objective factors shape transnational identity and the communal politics of the Jewish diaspora and works from the idea that “…kinship affinities and loyalties remain the hallmark of organised politics and conflict” (2007 p. 2). Shain (2007) argues that kinship elements have been largely neglected in traditional international relations scholarship, which bases its understanding of state behaviour on limited assumptions about a state’s identity and interests. Similar trajectories of kinship connection are evident in the development of the Italian diaspora, which began through ‘village-out’ migration chains to produce a labour diaspora that has since developed into a cultural diaspora as the
economic imperatives of the homeland became less influential when Italy strengthened economically (Gabaccia, Baldassar & Pesman 2005). It is interesting to examine the impact of the recent economic crisis in Europe and the resulting ‘new Italian emigration’, which has sparked an increase in arrivals bringing new and unexpected challenges for the Italian diaspora in Australia as older labour migrant communities accommodate young professionals. Peisker (1999) describes a similar scenario for the Croatian Diaspora when the post war community were confronted by compatriots fleeing the 1990s war.

Similar processes are evident in the literature on labour and poorer classes of migrants. For example, in the Tongan case, making observations at the family level within the Tongan village, Evans (1996: 119) refers to the ‘dispersed household’. In their studies of Tongans living away from Tonga, Small and Dixon (2004) writes about ‘transnational families’ while Lee (2003) refers to ‘diasporic families’ and in her examination of Tongans both in Tonga and Australia, Cowling (1990) discusses ‘family networks’ in which key f. mili members facilitate movement of kin and remittance as ‘custodians’ and ‘brokers’. Indeed, the classic labour migration process can be viewed as a family economic strategy in which certain members of the family migrate in order to improve the livelihoods of those left behind. In the past, this movement was almost exclusively male led, while today it is increasingly characterised by female domestic labour with the resultant creation of so-called care-chains (Hochschild, 2002, 2005). Women from developing countries like the Philippines seek employment in the wealthy countries of the ‘global north’ in order to support their children who they often leave behind in the care of their female kin. Because these migrants are predominantly employed in private homes to provide care for the elderly, they become part of care-chains that stretch across geographical borders.

Baldassar & Merla (2012) argue that transnational family members, whatever their social class or migration type, maintain a sense of family-hood despite absences and distance through the reciprocal exchange of caregiving. Overall, the theme of this literature is to emphasise the various layers of transnational movement that is only partially driven by ‘rational economic decision-making’ and that is sustained by kinship and family ties. The intention is to build a holistic and often ‘bottom up’ (also known as transnationalism from below or domestic transnationalism) perspective of the character of diasporas and the mechanisms that drive their formation.

1.4 Method and Results

The approach to this study has been informed broadly by all of the above dimensions and respective interdisciplinary insights. Both a survey and a focus group were conducted as methods to gather data that could inform responses to the core research questions about the extent and character of diaspora ties to the homeland. This section describes the methodological design, implementation and limitations.

The Surveys

The survey of each of the diasporas was designed by the research team. As much as possible, each of the surveys included common questions in order that the results for each diaspora could be compared, although each was customized in order to ensure relevance to the specific community.

Created in an online format using Survey Monkey, the questionnaire incorporated a mix of open and closed questions. The number of questions varied for each diaspora but ranged from 50 – 60 questions that were organized into six sections:

- Background information about the respondent such as age, gender, income, education and migration history;
- household information such as household size, migration characteristics, reasons for migration and languages spoken;
- citizenship and relationships with the Homeland including questions relating to identity, citizenship status and frequency and motivation for visits;
- links with the Homeland including questions about family connections, methods of staying in touch, visitors from the Homeland, ways of staying in touch with Homeland politics, media and culture and involvement with Homeland organisations and political engagement with the Homeland;
- family and financial support including questions on care responsibilities for people in the Homeland and remittances to and from the Homeland; and
- business and professional links with the Homeland and questions about professional or trade relationships.

Using a snowball method (Bickman and Rog 2009) the survey was distributed in July 2010 as widely as possible through partner organisations email listings, electronic newsletters and through personal networks with the request to complete the survey as well as to forward it on to broader networks and family members.
In addition, the distribution of the survey was guided by the specific research team members, with specific connections to, and interest in a particular diaspora. Each survey yielded varied response rates that were in part reflective of the size of the populations of the diaspora in Australia.

Focus Groups
Focus group discussions were also held with groups of six to twelve people from each of the relevant diasporas. Care was taken that participants were from a cross section of the relevant communities. Considerations for selection included the need to include a mix of men and women, people born in Australia and the homeland, and of a range of ages from 18 years to 60 years and older. Participants were identified and invited through relevant community networks known to the researchers.

The focus group discussions were conducted over 90 minutes and were guided by a series of broad and open-ended questions that were guided by the core themes of the research and were intended to generate discussion that would assist in both explaining and verifying the survey results. These questions varied across groups but in summary, core questions included:

- What does it mean to be (Tongan/Macedonian/Italian/Vietnamese) and live in Australia?
- How important is it to you to maintain your connection to (Tonga/Macedonia/Italy/Vietnam) and why?
- Do you keep up contact with (Tonga/Macedonia/Italy/Vietnam) and how do you do this?
- What sort of news do you try and keep up with from (Tonga/Macedonia/Italy/Vietnam) through your connections? What sort of news do your (Tongan/Macedonian/Italian/Vietnamese) contacts want to know about you?
- How are these connections changing over generations?
- How do changes in the homeland affect the way that you stay connected with (Tonga/Macedonia/Italy/Vietnam)?

Six focus groups were conducted in total across the four diaspora communities. The focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed and analysed according to the themes guiding this study. Throughout each of the project reports, focus group discussions were drawn upon to generate a deeper understanding of the survey results.

1.5 Conclusion
This section describes the background, approach and methods employed in the implementation of the broader project, Australian Diasporas: current and potential links with the Homeland. Specific details of the study findings are contained with detailed project reports, available online at www.deakin.edu.au/ccg. The purpose of this report is to provide a summary overview of the project findings and results. The following section compiles the executive summaries of each of the detailed project reports as an indication of the findings and conclusions.
2. The Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia

2.1 Characteristics and Overview

The Vietnamese Diaspora can be identified clearly as a ‘victim’ diaspora, as guided by Cohen’s (1997) typology, given the circumstances of forced migration following the occupation of South Vietnam by the North in 1975 marking the end of the Vietnam War. As such, the Diaspora provides a clear comparison with others that were shaped by very different circumstances and conditions.

The Vietnamese are diasporic in the sense that there are substantial Vietnamese population groups living in a number of countries outside of Vietnam. The US is home to the largest population group of more than 1.6 million people. Other countries with significant populations include Cambodia (600,000), Taiwan (200,000), France (250,000), Canada (151,000), Laos (150,000) and Germany (125,000). The Vietnamese population in Australia ranks as the fourth largest in the world with a population of 159,848 according to the 2006 Census.

The arrival of Vietnamese people in any real numbers to Australia started in 1975 after the fall of Saigon. The Vietnamese born population in Australia grew from 2,427 at the 1976 Census to reach a total population of 159,849 in 2006. There is also a new and current wave of migration that is made up of international students and people arriving through the skilled migration program. In 2011, approximately 31,000 new Vietnamese migrants arrived in Australia. The large majority of this group, close to 24,000, entered on a student visa (AEI 2011). New migrants are generating a considerable change in the makeup of the existing Vietnamese-born community however the Vietnamese population in Australia can still be characterized as Australia’s largest refugee community and one that has struggled with settlement in Australia in many respects. At the same time, it is a highly organized community that maintains a strong sense of Vietnamese identity as Australian citizens, but with limited identification and engagement with the Homeland. The community is highly visible and, while diverse and changing, continues as distinctively Vietnamese through language use, media production, religious practice and political activity.

The community generally faces a number of particular issues that impact on its social and economic wellbeing. One indicator is that the population earns lower median incomes than the general Australian population, and at the 2006 Census, the median individual weekly income for Vietnam born Australians was $349 compared to an average of $488. This difference is explained by higher unemployment rates than the general population (11.4% compared to 5.2%) and Vietnam born Australians are over-represented in the lower paying ‘Labouring and Machine operator and driver’ occupations. A key and related issue for the Vietnamese community is also an over-representation in prisons and in 2010, Vietnam born prisoners made up 3% of the prison population – a figure three times the proportion of people in the general population with Vietnamese ancestry (Baldassari, Capretta et al. 2007). This profile is counter balanced, however, with strong participation in higher education and the rate of participation in degree and higher education that is slightly higher than the Australian average (Jie 2009). Home ownership rates of second generation Vietnamese are also relatively high given their relatively short period of settlement.

Using a snowball technique, the diaspora survey was disseminated online in both a Vietnamese and English language version through networks and organisations known to the researchers and project partners. On completion, the survey received 466 responses with 405 completing all questions. Overall, the survey respondents were broadly similar to the Australian/Vietnamese population in relation to age, education level, migration history, rates of employment and household type as provided by ABS Census. There was a small over-representation of women in the survey and an under-representation of ‘Labourers and machinery operators and drivers’. These differences are likely to reflect the use of an online survey method which would lead to a bias towards those with internet access and who are comfortable with the use of online mediums of communication. The respondents are, however, all connected to Vietnam and their migration history is in common with patterns Vietnamese migration to Australia. Similarly, their representation from across the different regions of Vietnam is similar to the representation of these regions in the broader Vietnamese population in Australia. Two focus groups were also held. The first included a diverse cross section of the Vietnamese community, including six people of varied ages and migration circumstances. The second focus group included six people representing a mix of Vietnamese community organisations including religious, business, welfare and sporting organisations.
2.2 Key Findings

Citizenship, Identity and Language

The characteristics of the survey respondents are broadly reflective of the migration history of the Vietnamese to Australia, with the main reasons for initial migration to Australia was to ‘escape’ (58.2 per cent), followed by ‘opportunity for a better quality of life’ (79 or 22 per cent) followed by ‘opportunities for children’ (79 or 22.3 per cent) which themselves may be a form of ‘escape’. ‘Family reunion’ and ‘study’ were the migration motives for a minority of respondents (59 or 15.2 per cent).

Uptake of Australian citizenship is high, with almost all respondents (97 per cent) being Australian citizens. The majority (77 per cent) of those born in Vietnam identify as being either ‘Vietnamese’, ‘Vietnamese/Australian’ or ‘Australian/Vietnamese’. Only 3.3 per cent of Vietnam born respondents identified as being ‘Australian’ compared to 26.7 per cent of Australian born respondents.

There is a clear difference between identifying as Vietnamese and feelings of closeness to Vietnam. While Vietnamese identity is strong with an overwhelming majority of 88 per cent of respondents identifying as Vietnamese, only a small majority (51.5 per cent) feel ‘close’ or ‘very close’ to Vietnam, and 12 per cent feel ‘distant’ or ‘very distant’. However, a large minority (34 per cent) expressed ambivalence towards Vietnam saying that they felt ‘neither close nor distant to Vietnam’. That ambivalence is particularly pronounced amongst the Australian born, with 79 per cent of the Australian born respondents saying that they feel ‘distant’, ‘very distant’ or ‘neither close nor distant’ towards Vietnam.

Vietnamese language skills are very high, with more than 90 per cent of respondents speaking, reading and writing Vietnamese either ‘very well’ or ‘well’. Similarly, very few respondents said that they had no Vietnamese language or literacy skills. Vietnamese language is also used widely within families with the largest group of respondents reporting that they speak to family members ‘always or mostly in Vietnamese’. For example, more than 40 per cent of respondents say that they speak to their children in Vietnamese compared to around 8 per cent who speak to their children in English (the remainder don’t have children or speak another language).

Personal Ties to the Homeland: Visits, Communication and Media Use

Visits to Vietnam are not frequent. The large majority of respondents (84.5 per cent) say that they have visited Vietnam, however, these trips are only occasional. Only 14 per cent of respondents said that they visit every year and less than 1 per cent visit several times a year. The largest group or 39 per cent of respondents visit when ‘there is a need or occasion’ and 30 per cent visit every 2-3 years and 16 per cent have never visited. The rates of visiting Vietnam are particularly low for the Australian born. Out of those who do visit Vietnam, it was those born in Vietnam who most frequently visit.

In terms of future visits, a majority of respondents (76 per cent) intend to spend time in Vietnam in the next five years. A sizeable minority of 24 per cent say that it is unlikely that they will go. Prospective long term stays totalling more than three months are limited to 16 per cent of respondents. Place of birth appears to have a bearing on intentions to travel to Vietnam with those born in Australia more likely to visit for shorter visits for up to four weeks.

The major reasons for visiting Vietnam is for ‘a holiday’ (26.1 per cent), ‘a special occasion’ (18.5 per cent) and ‘to strengthen family connections’ (25 per cent). Visits motivated by caregiving for family (9.6 per cent) or business (3.1 per cent) are limited to a small minority. The major motivation identified in these responses was to connect with family, family history or culture combined with having a holiday.

The importance of family connections is strongly valued and this explains cultural maintenance in the Diaspora. Conversely, the lack of family in Vietnam explains the low rate of visits and regular contact with Vietnam. This is likely to change with the growth in international students who obviously come to Australia with their established family and friendship networks in Vietnam meaning that in aggregate terms, direct engagement with Vietnam by the Diaspora is likely to increase.

Communication with the Homeland was explored in a series of questions in relation to the frequency, mode and purpose of communication with Vietnamese contacts. Overall, there was not extensive communication between respondents and Vietnam. Traditional media such as phone and letters is still heavily relied upon as the medium for communication, although social media including Facebook are the favoured medium of communication for those aged younger than 40 years. Communication with business and professional networks was particularly low which is indicative of the extremely low level of business and professional links. The internet is, however, beginning to transform the nature and frequency of connection with the homeland both in terms of direct personal contacts and public information and resources such as media.
Vietnamese media use in Australia is not strong with almost half of all respondents (48 per cent) saying ‘I don’t follow Vietnamese media’. There were only 50 people who access Vietnamese media on a weekly basis. The overwhelming majority of respondents never or rarely access any Vietnamese media. For example, 225 out of 322 respondents said that they ‘rarely or never’ read Vietnamese newspapers published in Australia. When respondents do follow Vietnamese media, the main motivation is to ‘enjoy culture and entertainment from Vietnam’ (39.5 per cent), followed by ‘keep up with Vietnamese politics and current affairs’ (29.2 per cent).

**Political and Communal Involvement**

Involvement in activities in Australia that are concerned with the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam was identified by just over half (54 per cent) of respondents. There seemed to be little political mobilisation, such as participating in a public rally or cause. Fundraising/philanthropy was the main form of activity respondents engaged in that were related to the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam, with 11 per cent of respondents who say they participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign and 20 per cent that they sent money to a charity, welfare or other organisation that needs help.

Involvement in locally oriented Vietnamese organisations was identified by a majority of respondents. Of these, involvement through their religious practices was the largest single group (18%), closely followed by ‘community’ (16 per cent) and then, charitable (11 per cent). All other categories of organisations had involvement at 6 per cent or less, with the lowest involvement in ‘business’ (0.73 per cent). One quarter of the respondents were not involved in any activity, with Vietnam born respondents being significantly more involved in Vietnamese organisations than the Australian born.

The survey findings relating to the ties between the Diaspora and Vietnam that stem from political and community engagement are seemingly quite weak, at least in a formal and organised sense. Similarly, very few said they had Vietnamese contacts that were formed through political or community interests and there was a relatively low level of interest in keeping up with Vietnamese media in order to keep up with Vietnamese politics. Combined, these findings suggest low involvement in political organisations and actions but at the same time, this does not necessarily suggest low interest. For example, the policies of Australian political parties in relation to Vietnam was a consideration for how they vote in Australian elections, with almost half of all respondents (48 per cent) saying that this was ‘very important’ (26 per cent) or ‘important’ (22 per cent).

**Care Giving, Remittances and Philanthropy**

Care responsibilities for people living in Vietnam were also assessed in the survey. Of those respondents who indicated having responsibilities for care for people in Vietnam, the frequency of care provided occurred primarily either once a year or every two – three months. For those respondents with a father or mother in Vietnam, care was offered more frequently and most commonly on a weekly basis. The main category of person who care is extended to is an ‘uncle, aunt or other extended family member’ followed by a ‘sibling’. For all categories, the primary type of care is ‘moral/emotional’ followed by ‘financial’. Fifty-five (16.5 per cent) respondents said that they had made a visit in order to care for someone. In terms of future obligations to care for people in Vietnam, close to one third of respondents (109 out of 318 respondents) said that they anticipate having obligations to care for someone in future. Those who were born in Vietnam were more likely to visit in order to care for someone than the Australian born, (74.5 per cent compared to 23.6 per cent).

The majority of respondents sent goods, money or gifts to Vietnam, but they primarily did this infrequently or ‘for special occasions’. The major reason for sending gifts, money or goods was to support family members or to mark an occasion such as a birthday or wedding. Sending money to Vietnam was not something that the majority of respondents did, but for those who do, the main reason was to support family members. For a minority of respondents, money and gifts were sent primarily for special occasions in amounts of less than $1,000. For example, 84 respondents said they had sent money to a relative such as a sister or uncle. A small number of survey respondents (25) have also sent money to community or religious causes. The Vietnamese born were more likely than the Australian born to send remittances. Respondents also received few gifts from Vietnam, as might be expected given the difference in wealth between the two countries. A small proportion of respondents said that they have received gifts and goods for special occasions or ‘infrequently’.

**Business and Professional Ties**

Contact with business and/or professional contacts in Vietnam was low, with very few respondents (6.8 per cent or 23 respondents) identifying such contacts. Of those who did have contacts, the large majority (20 out of 23) were born in Vietnam. Of these, only eight respondents indicated having regular contact. Despite this low activity, a much larger group indicated interest in developing business contacts in future. Ninety-three respondents said that they ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’ with the statement, ‘I am interested in developing professional/business links with Vietnam’.
2.3 Conclusions

The influence of place of birth on connections with Vietnam remains strong across the findings. While older generations have a living memory of Vietnam, the Australian born have grown up in a community that has effectively cut off ties with the Homeland, and while they are immersed in the Vietnamese community in Australia, they have had very little contact with Vietnam itself. There is very low visitation, they received few visitors and consumption of Vietnamese media was low. As children of refugees, Australian-born Vietnamese have also invariably been exposed to negative stories about Vietnam, giving little basis for the Australian born to develop a positive sense of identification with Vietnam. Furthermore, there is the sense that ‘going back’ to Vietnam is not an option and being Australian is in many respects their only Homeland option. When younger Australian born members of the community do express an interest in visiting Vietnam they are usually dissuaded, often with umbrage, by the older refugee generation. The younger generation have no role models about wanting to engage with the Homeland.

While this is the case, the growth of international students and other temporary arrivals in Australia is clearly having a transformative impact on the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia. This trend means that the existing community is evolving from being a primarily Southern Vietnamese refugee community to one with members who come from across Vietnam who hold different attitudes towards the Homeland Government. They also have current, direct and meaningful personal family, friendship and professional ties in Vietnam. As such, a unique set of circumstances affects the new Vietnamese migrants because of the political history and refusal of the local community to have contact with the Homeland Government, their diplomatic representatives and vice-versa.

For the most part, this transition is relatively smooth, with international students, skilled migrants and family reunification migrants focusing on their lives in Australia rather than past or present politics in the Homeland. However, the social, economic and welfare needs of the international students are considerable and Vietnamese community leaders report an alarming trend of international students who are not coping after arrival and are highly vulnerable to poverty, involvement in crime, isolation and depression. There have also been incidents of suicide and becoming victims of violence. Besides the very clear welfare issues this presents, such incidents, should they reach the media, have the potential to have a very negative effect on the perception of Australia as a destination for study. So while the existing community organisations are attempting to be inclusive, they are not in a financial position to provide the level of support required. How international students can be supported is an issue that governments, together with the Vietnamese community, need to urgently consider if Australia wants to continue to be a preferred destination for Vietnamese international students.

The research also shows that while the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia remains primarily a refugee community, it is changing as time passes and with the arrival in Australia of a new wave of Vietnamese migrants and international students. Clearly, as the post-refugee second generation Vietnamese in Australia rise to the fore in the community there is a greater interest and desire to engage with Vietnam. This is a trend that sits uncomfortably with many refugees who remain traumatised by their refugee experience and have strong feelings of antagonism towards the homeland government. However, it is possible that these new members of the community may lead to an enhancement of ties between the Homeland and Diaspora as the mix of migration circumstances changes within the Diaspora. If the Vietnamese Government wants to maximise the potential for tourism and development of the Vietnamese Diaspora, it needs to develop a Diaspora strategy.
3. The Tongan Diaspora in Australia

3.1 Characteristics and Overview
Consistent with Tonga’s small population, the Tongan Diaspora in Australia is small comprising approximately 18,000 people. The history of Tongan migration to Australia is also relatively recent commencing in the 1950s and 1960s prompted by the desire to seek employment and education unavailable in Tonga. Migration burgeoned in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and there are estimates that of all Tongan expatriates, 40 per cent moved to the USA, 40 per cent moved to New Zealand, and 20 per cent moved to Australia (Levitt, DeWind et al. 2003). Tongans are ‘diasporic’ in the sense of being a dispersed population living in multiple locations that maintains transnational ties to the homeland and across the diaspora. Further, while Tongans are not in exile as such, there are many social, economic and environmental barriers to returning back to Tonga. Few do, and for those who return, the transition is often difficult or ‘bumpy’ as Liava’a (2003) describes. Despite this, Lee (2003 p. 6) believes that ‘…few Tongan migrants ever completely lose their connections - emotional, familial, economic, religious, and otherwise…they remain between two shores.’

The survey of the Tongan Diaspora was distributed in July 2010 through university, community and government networks. On completion, the survey received 254 responses with 142 completing all questions. A focus group discussion was also held with a group of twelve people who identified as being from a Tongan background.

3.2 Key Findings

Citizenship, Identity and Language
The research explored the extent to which ‘being Tongan’ shapes the identity of the Diaspora. On this dimension, the findings were very clear that Tongan identity is extremely strong judging by a number of indicators. A large majority of participants (80.1 per cent) identified themselves as Tongan, Tongan-Australian or Australian-Tongan and only 8.5 per cent called themselves ‘Australian’. Furthermore, a large majority of participants (72.6 per cent) identified as feeling ‘very close’ or ‘close’ to Tonga. At the same time, a large majority of participants in the study are Australian citizens demonstrating that although this is a settled community, affiliation with the Homeland remains very strong indeed. This finding includes second generation Tongans, some of whom have yet to travel to the Homeland themselves. Perhaps the greatest indicator of the maintenance of a Tongan identity was the extent to which Tongan language is spoken within families, and there was a strong indication that parents are making an effort to ensure that children born in Australia learn to speak Tongan as a means to maintain ties with Tonga and between generations. The motivation to leave Tonga is not to abandon Tonga or for second generation Tongans, abandon Tongan identity. Rather, Australia offers the space to be Tongan in another place.

Personal ties with the Homeland: Visits, Communications and Media Use
The research also explored how ties are maintained through visiting Tonga, communications and media use. Again, the findings show that strong ties are maintained through regular and long visits. Almost half said that they visit either ‘several times a year’ (5.5 per cent), ‘every year’ (14 per cent) or ‘approximately every 2-3 years’ (26.2 per cent). Participants also intend to spend considerable time in Tonga in the future with almost one quarter (23.5 per cent) saying that they intend to spend more than three months in Tonga. Participants visit Tonga for multiple reasons - to relax, visit family, attend important life stage events (weddings, funerals, birthdays) and enjoy the lifestyle. One of the themes in relation to visiting Tonga was about the need to return to reconnect with culture and their own identity, or as one focus group participant put it ‘…like a child goes back to his Mother…a call’. For younger people born in Australia, it was also important to visit in order to explore their own sense of ‘being Tongan’.

Reasons for visiting Tonga are also enmeshed with meeting social and family obligations and there are high expectations that the Diaspora be a source of gifts and financial support which is a source of tension, particularly for younger Tongans born in Australia. Further, there were only a small number that expressed a desire to return to live in Tonga, although there were a few who were considering retiring to Tonga and others who thought it would be good to go and stay for an extended period of time to ‘give it a go’. Overall, however, there is little indication of return migration despite the strength of the connections.

Participants also receive visitors, mostly family members, from Tonga who stay for up to three months. Survey participants also stay in touch through phone, email and Facebook. Inexpensive and timeless communications technologies appear to be strengthening communications with considerable potential for growth as the Tongan infrastructure for online communications improves. Not only is it increasing communications between Tonga and Australia but across the Diaspora in America, New Zealand and other Pacific island countries. In this respect, the Tongan community maintains transnational ties and has transnational Tongan cultural influences alongside direct Homeland ties and influences. Consumption of Tongan
media did not appear to be great with the exception of listening to Tongan music, radio and following Tongan websites. This is perhaps unsurprising given that there is little Tongan media available to follow outside of Tonga, and a few publications in New Zealand.

**Political and Communal Involvement**
Overall, engagement in political or communal activities is very low. The majority of participants (68.1 per cent) say that they are ‘not involved in any activities’ that are related to the political or economic affairs of Tonga. A small minority, however, are involved in welfare campaigns or charities (18 per cent), and there are also people who send money to a welfare organizations (19.4 per cent). A smaller group (13.8 per cent) said they had been a member of an organisation that is active in Tongan affairs. Only very small numbers of respondents said they had undertaken the direct action options listed such as ‘participated in a public rally or cause’. Despite these findings, the majority of participants care about Australian government policy in relation to Tonga and the majority (55.9 per cent) see this as either ‘very important’ or ‘important’.

The main form of organisational involvement for participants is being involved in Tongan organisations in Australia. The majority (54 per cent) are involved with a religious organisation and there are indications of involvement in community (40.4 per cent), cultural (23.6 per cent) and social (18 per cent) organisations. Beyond these organisational types, involvement in Tongan organisations is low and almost one-third (30.1 per cent) said that they are not involved in Tongan organisations at all. Despite this relatively low involvement in formal activities, there is deep appreciation for the welfare of Tonga and this interest is expressed primarily through church organisations rather than through political avenues.

**Care Giving, Remittances and Philanthropy**
Findings in relation to care-giving and philanthropy were similarly clear with the main form of giving to Tonga being remittances to family members. The main recipients of remittances are also extended family members and to a lesser extent, siblings and community members. Roughly half (48 per cent) of all survey respondents say that they send money regularly throughout the year in amounts of less than $1,000. The main reason for doing so is to provide support to family and to fulfill kinship obligation in the observation of life stage events and other special occasions. As an integral component of the Tongan kinship system, it is anticipated that these forms of obligation will continue into the future, something confirmed through the research, with almost half (48.7 per cent) saying that they anticipate that they will have obligations to care for family members into the future.

This expectation of financial giving was the source of considerable tension for the Diaspora. While there is a strong sense of obligation and duty in the sending of money, this practice was not was not without its tensions. One of the issues raised was that there was a sense that Tongan relatives were not understanding of the pressures in making a living in Australia and that they are ‘taken for granted’ in being able to send money at the request of Tongan relatives. It was also the area where generational issues appear to come into play with younger Australian-born Tongans feeling resentful and questioning why such practices should continue. At the same time, the obligation per se is not questioned and the custom of looking after family is one that is accepted. There is also great appreciation that Tonga is a poor country and that relatives have difficulty in supporting themselves. These tensions are complex but appear not to threaten to the maintenance of connections between the Diaspora and the Homeland.

**Business and Professional Ties**
The findings were very clear in showing that business and professional connections to Tonga are almost non-existent, and that there are considerable barriers to the development of such links. Primarily, Tongan communal cultural values mean that entrepreneurial activity or business development is difficult given the expectation to share whatever one has with the extended family and community. This is married with a ‘tall poppy syndrome’ (as expressed by one participant) that means that individual financial achievement is discouraged within the culture.

Despite this finding, there was a group who indicated some interest in developing links for reasons such as it was either ‘very important’ or ‘important’ to ‘help the country economically’ (48.4 per cent), to ‘help Tonga’s social development’ (51.6 per cent) and that ‘it is important to my family and their opportunities and/or wellbeing’ (52.4%). Furthermore, interest was expressed in the focus group about establishing businesses in Tonga, both for their own satisfaction as well as to support Tonga’s development. Given this absence of business and professional exchange, as well as the interest of the Diaspora, consideration could be given as to how to tap this interest.
3.3 Conclusions

The findings raise a number of questions, particularly in relation to the role of the Diaspora in supporting the social and economic development goals of Tonga. The role of remittances is one that is debated within the relevant literature, and how Diaspora remittances can be harnessed for longer term development objectives is one that could be considered. As it is, as this research shows, the exchange of money happens directly between family members and to a lesser extent, the church. Whether or not this has a beneficial impact is the source of the debate and whether other vehicles for remittances could be realistically devised. There is also the clear question about the development of trade and economic relationships between Tonga and Australia. It appears that there is willingness and potential for the Diaspora to be more actively involved in development, yet there are considerable obstacles to this.

Overall, the research showed that the Tonga Diaspora remains deeply Tongan in terms of identity, family connections, religious practices and community involvement. The connections are strong and the Tongan Diaspora population in Australia ‘carry Tonga with them’, despite having left the homeland where they are unlikely to return to live, or for many second generation Tongans, never having visited Tonga. Tongan traditions and customs are maintained in Australia to the extent that some participants now believe that there are many in the diaspora that are ‘more Tongan than they are’. There is a strong desire to maintain these connections which enable and support movement between Tonga and Australia through strong and reciprocal bonds between family and community members that provide a strong sense of security. Beyond engagement in religious organisations, however, there is little that is formal or public in the ways in which these connections are maintained. Connections are strongly maintained through kinship networks and manifested in the private realm.
4. The Italian Diaspora in Australia:

4.1 Characteristics and Overview

In describing the Italian Diaspora in Australia, it is first recognised that the Diaspora is not a homogenous or necessarily a close-knit group. Those who identify as being of Italian background are differentiated by links that are shaped by village, provincial, regional and national ties, as well as according to gender, class, age, generation and place of settlement. Most importantly, the Diaspora is differentiated by time of migration (or migration wave) and cohort of arrival. This heterogeneity has arguably led to the formation, over time, of many Italian Diasporas (Gabaccia 2000).

The history of Italian migration to Australia reaches back to the early 1800s and can be described in five time periods: early (1800s); pre-(Second World) war (1900-1945); postwar (1950s-1960s); recent (post 1970s); and the so-called ‘new’ migration comprising primarily working holiday and 457 visa holders (post 2000). As such, Italians played an important role in the key developments of Australia’s colonised history including early European settlement, the gold rush period, postwar development, and more recently, as part of the ‘knowledge economy’ with high skilled migration from Italy.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, there were approximately 8,000 Italians in Australia, most of who lived in rural districts. Between 1922 and 1930, some 25,000 people left Italy for Australia. The Italian born population of Australia rose from 33,632 in 1947 to 120,000 in 1954 and had expanded to 228,000 by 1961, reaching a peak of 289,476 in 1971. By the census of 1996, the figure had declined to 238,263 and in 2001 it had fallen to 218,718 (1.2 per cent of the total Australian population) due to a combination of deaths occurring in the ageing population, repatriations and limited migration from Italy to Australia.

If we take into account the social reality that identity is not defined by birthplace alone and add to these figures the second and subsequent Australian-born generations, a picture emerges of a substantial Italian Diaspora in Australia with great potential for growth and development. In 1996, the second generation (at least one parent born in Italy) numbered 334,036, almost 100,000 more than the first generation. In 2001, the figure had risen to 355,200, representing 44.4 per cent of the total Italo-Australian population and over 136,000 more than the first generation, which comprised 30.9 per cent. An estimated 197,600 Australian-born of Australian-born parents claimed Italian ancestry (ABS, 2003). In 2006, the Italian born Australian population was close to 200,000 (ABS 2006), with 852,421 people who claim Italian ancestry. This means that around 4.3 per cent of Australians claim Italian ancestry, and while the Italian born population has declined in the last ten years, those who claim Italian ancestry continue to rise. Thus, the future of the Italian diaspora in Australia is in large part in the hands of the descendants of Italian migrants.

The most significant wave of Italian immigration was without a doubt the postwar influx, a substantial part of the massive campaign to meet Australian needs for labour and defense. The period from 1970 to 2000 saw a reduced flow of Italian migrants to Australia who arrived under considerably changed conditions than their earlier counterparts. Those that arrived in this period were migrating for career, lifestyle and/or love. In contrast to earlier migration waves, they were mainly professionals from the middle classes who tend not to define themselves as migrants but as cosmopolitans or global citizens.

More recently, there has been a new and current wave of Italian migration to Australia which is of a considerably different nature than has occurred in previous waves. Fuelled by the economic downturn in Europe, young people arriving in Australia on working holiday and 457 (Business – long stay visas) in search of employment opportunities unavailable in Italy. The size of this group has risen dramatically in recent years from 1,106 entrants in 2006 to 3,178 in 2011 (Markus 2012). These migrants, being young and often single, are highly mobile and extremely technologically literate. These attributes arguably make the term ‘migrant’ less pertinent to describe them as they appear to be very much transnational actors, strongly connected to both their home and host societies. Interestingly, given their limited wealth, they often try to find support from the older established post-war migrant communities in Australia by asking for cheap accommodation and help to find employment.

The now well-settled and largely economically successful post-war migrants and their upwardly mobile second generation children along with the post 1970s and the ‘new’ transnational migrant arrivals contribute to a vibrant Italian cultural Diaspora characterised by multiple identities and ties to Italy, Australia and Italian settlements in other countries.

The survey of the Italian diaspora received 613 responses with 423 completing all questions. A focus group discussion was also held with a group of people who were carefully selected in order to represent the diversity of the Italian community.
4.2 Key Findings

Citizenship, Identity and Language

The research explored the extent to which being ‘Italian’ shapes the identity of the Diaspora on three indicators – national identity, feelings of closeness to Italy and language use. Findings suggest that having a sense of identity as Italian is strong.

Reflecting the high rates of Australian citizenship in the broader Italian-Australian population, the majority (68.7 per cent) of survey respondents are Australian citizens with almost all of the remainder (28.6 per cent) having dual Italian/Australian citizenship. At the same time, only a minority of respondents (82) describe themselves only as ‘Australian’ with the majority (306) describing themselves as either ‘Australian/Italian’, ‘Italian/Australian’ or ‘Italian’. One of the interesting findings was that those born in Australia more frequently identified their Italian identity than those born in Italy. Further, the majority of respondents say that they feel either ‘close’ (37.7 per cent) or ‘very close’ (26.7 per cent) to Italy.

The majority of respondents speak, read and write in Italian either ‘very well’ or ‘well’. Less than 5 per cent said that they were not able to speak, read or write at all in Italian. Following from this, one of the questions of interest to this study was about how Italian is used within families and with whom Italian is spoken. The survey findings show what might be expected – that Italian is the main language spoken with Italian born and Italy based family members while Australian born children are most likely to speak English as the main language.

While feelings of Italian identity were not straightforward, the findings suggest a strong sense of connection by most respondents with Italy despite the fact that the majority (72.2%) are Australian born. This shows clearly that the Italian Diaspora in Australia extends into and incorporates the second generation.

Personal ties with the Homeland: Visits, Communications and Media Use

The research also explored how ties are maintained through visiting Italy, communications and media use. Again, findings from both the survey and the focus group show strong links with Italy that are manifested through actively visiting, communicating with Italian contacts and keeping up to date with Italian current affairs and media.

The majority of respondents visit Italy, either ‘when there is a need or occasion’ (18.5 per cent), ‘every 2–3 years’ (28.9 per cent), or ‘every year’ (7.3 per cent). There is an additional group (29.3 per cent) that has random patterns of visiting Italy which might mean frequent visits for a period of time followed by a period of not visiting. Only 18.5 per cent say that they have not visited Italy. Respondents also have strong intentions of visiting Italy in future with only 14.6 per cent saying that they do not intend to visit Italy in the next five years. For this group, the major barrier was age and expense. Those who do intend to visit, intend to stay for a considerable length of time, with more than half (56 per cent) of all respondents intending to stay for more than one month. The purpose of visits is overwhelmingly to ‘strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Italy’ (30.7 per cent) or to ‘have a holiday’ (37.09 per cent). These findings suggest that family connections are a major driver for visits to Italy, indicating that kinship and family connections are a mainstay of diaspora relations for Italians.

A further indication of the strength of ties with Italy was that less than half of all respondents (47.2 per cent) were definite in having no intentions of returning to live in Italy. More than one-third (33.8 per cent) said they would like to return to live temporarily, 3.6 per cent said ‘yes’ they would like to live there permanently and 15.5 per cent were unsure. While these intentions may not translate into actual returns to Italy, it shows a desire by the majority of respondents to spend substantial time in Italy in the future. This finding is particularly important when we consider that over half of the survey respondents are second generation, suggesting a strong and successful transmission of ties to homeland by the migrant generation.

Communications with Italy are also with family and friends with a few indicating communication of a business/professional nature or with contacts that are of a political or community nature. Respondents communicate frequently with family and friends and most commonly, ‘monthly or several times a year’. The primary mode of communication is by phone, email or Facebook, with older respondents preferring the phone and younger ones utilizing the more virtual methods.

Consumption of Italian media is relatively low with few respondents reading Italian newspapers, either those produced in Italy or Australia. For the minority of respondents who do consume Italian media, the major form of media is Italian film, followed by listening to Italian music and watching Italian television. This is reinforced by the finding that the major motivation for following Italian media is ‘to enjoy culture and entertainment from Italy’. The second generation and more recent migrants are likely to use mainstream news, online newspaper and internet as sources of information about Italy. As such, this community of newer arrivals will maintain more ongoing direct contact with the Homeland, thanks to the new technology, than earlier generations of migrants and this will affect the ongoing nature of their engagement with the Homeland.
Overall, connections with Italy are maintained by the majority of respondents and these connections are primarily driven by connections through family. Contact for business/professional reasons, as well as for other political or community interest is relatively weak. However, the focus group discussion indicated that the post 1970s and newer migrants are likely to combine family and business connections to Italy (as evident in the quotation at the end of this Executive Summary).

**Political and Communal Involvement**

Overall, engagement in political activities is relatively low, although involvement in communal associations is higher, particularly for the post-war cohort. The majority (80 per cent) of respondents say that they are ‘not involved in any activities’ that are related to the political or economic affairs of Italy. A small number are, however, ‘…a member of an Italian organisation that is active in relation to Italian affairs’ (13.1 per cent), and a few (6.1 per cent) have ‘sent money to a charity or welfare organisation.’ In a similar vein, very few respondents care about Australian government policy in relation to Italy and only a minority (14.9 per cent) see this as either ‘important’ or ‘very important’.

The main form of organisational involvement for respondents is being involved in Italian organisations in Australia. Almost half (47.7 per cent) said that they are not involved in Italian community organisations at all, reflecting the general decline in community association involvement of the second generation. Interestingly, while these low rates of second generation participation in migrant clubs and associations are a key concern of Italian community leaders, it does not appear to be a reflection of lack of interest in, or connection with, Italy. We might conclude that the migrant associations hold little relevance for the second generation, but that Italy and ‘being Italian’ remain pertinent.

It is clear that the Italian Diaspora is not shaped by an interest in politics based on the findings from the relevant survey questions. Very few people are involved in a political organization or have been involved in activities that are political in nature. Further, despite being entitled to vote in Italian elections, less than half took up this option showing general disinterest in Italian politics. While there is no doubt from the findings that the Diaspora is linked to Italy by family connections, identity and social and cultural interests, political engagement with Italy is not the way in which the diaspora is currently shaped or formed.

**Care-giving, Remittances and Philanthropy**

The findings in relation to care-giving, remittances and philanthropy suggest that there is relatively little exchange between Italy and Australia around care or welfare. Very few respondents provide caregiving for or anticipate having to care for anyone in Italy. Similarly, few people send money to Italian connections. More commonly, respondents send gifts for special occasions such as birthdays. This gift giving is reciprocal and similar proportions of respondents receive gifts as much as they send gifts.

A major consideration, in interpreting the findings is the migration stage and family life cycle stage of migrant cohorts. We know from the focus group and from the literature that the most recent migrants are young and so their parents are probably quite independent still. Hence, while the findings of this survey would seem to indicate that the Italian connections of the Diaspora in Australia may not be shaped by obligations to provide care, this may reflect circumstances that mean that the need to provide transnational care is not great at this particular moment in time. In addition, the predominance of second generation respondents presumably skews the results towards lower levels of care that would be common among the first generation.

**Business and Professional Ties**

The survey results show that only a small proportion of respondents have business and professional ties with Italy, with most of this group being involved in education or research about Italy. Despite this low level of connection, there were considerably more people who expressed both an interest in, and capacity for, greater business and professional ties with Italy. A sizable minority (40 per cent) of respondents, for example, indicated that they were ‘…interested in developing business and/or professional links between Australia and Italy’. An even larger group (46 per cent) said that they ‘…have a competitive advantage in doing business or professional work in Italy’.

While there is clearly limited business and professional ties with Italy, this apparent gap between actual engagement and an interest in connecting with Italy is one that requires further investigation and suggests there is much scope for increased involvement. This is something that should be of interest to both the Australian and the Italian Governments in the development of trade relations.
4.3 Conclusions

The findings from the survey and focus group of the Italian sample show that the Italian Diaspora in Australia remain strongly defined through their connections with Italy and their Italian identity. These connections are expressed through feelings of closeness to Italy, use of Italian language, engagement with Italian cultural organisations, media and cultural products and through actual visits to Italy that are undertaken primarily for enjoyment or holidays and to strengthen family and friendship connections. The reasons for connections to Italy, however, are driven almost exclusively by family and friendship connections as well as cultural appreciation, although there is some evidence of connecting with Italy for business and professional reasons and further evidence of an interest and desire in developing these types of connections. There is little connection with Italy that is related to political and community involvement that is concerned with the development interests of Italy. However, there is considerable involvement in Italian community associations in Australia among the post-War migrant cohort. At the same time, there is evidence that one of the ‘push’ factors for initial migration to Australia has been unfavourable political and economic conditions in Italy. This is again currently the case given the dire economic conditions facing Italy in the current context.

Given the relative status of Italians in Australia and the generally positive regard in which Italian culture and identity is held by the broader community, it is worth noting that the vibrancy and ‘health’ of the Italian Diaspora in Australia may be in large part self-sustaining, fuelled by the activities and networks of Italian migrants themselves and supported by the more or less global appeal of Italian fashion, food and the arts.

It is important to note that, in terms of connections with the homeland, the period of migration and stage in life cycle are major influences on the type of ties that are maintained with Italy and the reasons for which they are maintained. The most recent wave of young Italian migrants for example, maintains relationships with Italy in a vastly different context than do their postwar predecessors. Thus, the character of the Diaspora is one that is highly dynamic and heterogeneous, and one that is likely to bring changes to Australia/Italy connections and relations in the foreseeable future.
5. The Macedonian Diaspora in Australia

5.1 Characteristics and Overview

While Macedonia has a history dating back to the 8th century B.C., the Republic of Macedonia as it exists today is based on the Republic established as part of the Yugoslav Federation in 1944, which after World War II was a State of the Yugoslav Federation with Skopje as its capital. At the break up of that federation, the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence on 8 September 1991. The Republic has a population of about 2.25 million. Many Macedonians live outside of their homeland. Some have settled in neighbouring European states such as Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark. In the USA there are about 500,000 people who have Macedonian heritage. According to the 2006 Canadian census, 37,050 people claimed Macedonian heritage.

The first of a series of waves of Macedonian immigrants to Australia arrived during the first half of the twentieth century from northern Greece. Sizeable Macedonian immigration to Australia began in the 1920s when quotas imposed by the USA limited migration. During the Greek Civil War (1946-49) many Macedonians and Greeks fought with the communist-led partisans against the Greek dictatorial regime. Children under the age of 15 were often sent to other Eastern European countries and, when the partisans withdrew to Albania, relatives in Australia arranged for their migration to Australia. This was the context of the significant spike in migration in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The year 1960 also marked a wave of significant migration from the then Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. In the decades that followed, Australia attracted skilled migrants with their families. These migrants quickly proceeded to engage in a wide range of business and white collar professions.

State Councils, such as the Macedonian Community Council of Melbourne and Victoria, oversee and coordinate Macedonian activity in the different Australian states and the Macedonian language is taught at primary and secondary levels in some key suburbs with high-density Macedonian populations across Australia. The Macedonian community is also well served by locally produced media.

According to the ABS (2006), there were 83,963 Macedonians in Australia. The 2011 ABS Census showed that the size of the Macedonian community has increased by 11% since 2006 from 83,963 to 93,570. The largest concentration of Macedonian communities can be found in Victoria (Melbourne, Geelong, Shepparton), in New South Wales (Sydney, Wollongong, Newcastle, Queanbeyan), Western Australia (Perth, Geraldton), South Australia (Adelaide) and Queensland (Brisbane and the Gold Coast). For a range of reasons, this number is widely understood as an under-estimation of the actual size of the Macedonian Diaspora. This is in part due to the reluctance of some Macedonians born in Greece, to identify as Macedonian-speaking due to Greek/Macedonian tensions. Primarily, however, Australian census data does not accurately capture the ethnic background of the community in Australia as it only identifies one second language of census respondents. As a result, if a person is multi-lingual, and in the case of Macedonians this might include English, Greek, Albanian as well as Macedonian, only one language other than English will be identified. According to Jupp (2001), these factors combined mean that we can assume that the Macedonian population in Australia is around twice as great as official statistics would suggest.

According to the 2006 ABS Census, the majority of Macedonians (87%) are associated with the Macedonian Orthodox Church (MOC). It was only with the recognition of Macedonia as a republic within the Yugoslav Federation, that the process of forming an independent national Macedonian Orthodox Church (MOC) was established. The MOC received formal status in 1967. Prior to the establishment of the MOC, some Macedonians attended Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian and Russian Orthodox churches. There are now close to 30 MOCs and monasteries throughout Australia.

With the collapse of Yugoslavia and the emergence of an independent Macedonia, the Macedonian community in Australia, like elsewhere in the Diaspora, became more involved in the politics of the Homeland, often at the behest of competing Homeland politicians. In June 2011, Australian Macedonians with Macedonian passports voted in the Macedonian elections. An Australian Macedonian, Mr. Miki Dodevski, was elected as the inaugural diaspora representative in the Macedonian Parliament.

As a sizeable Diaspora, the community in Australia has an important role in the homeland-diaspora politics of Macedonia and in promoting closer bilateral relations between Australia and Macedonia. This has been reflected with the formation in Australia and in North America of advocacy groups such as the United Macedonian Diaspora, the Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee and the Macedonian Human Rights Movement International. This is an example of a greater diaspora consciousness on the part of the Macedonian community and a greater degree of political conviction and direction.
An on-line survey of the Macedonian Diaspora was conducted in 2011 and a total of 1,083 responses were received, of which 864 were in English and 219 in Macedonian. Two focus groups were conducted for the Macedonian study. The first was a general group comprised of a mix of age groups, men and women and a mix of those born in Australia and in Macedonia. A second focus group was conducted specifically with blue collar workers, in part due to the over-representation of professionals within the survey findings.

5.2 Key Findings

Citizenship, Identity and Language

The major reason for migration to Australia was ‘to seek a better quality of life’ (37.5 per cent). This result was surprising given the conflicts in the Balkans were during the 1990s and only 12.5 per cent of survey respondents identified ‘escaping from conflict’ as a primary driver for migration. This result suggests that both ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors were in operation, however the ‘pull’ to Australia had a greater influence than the ‘push’ from Macedonia in explaining migration.

Uptake of Australian citizenship is high within the Macedonia community. While just under half of the survey respondents were born in Australia, 93 per cent of respondents were Australian citizens or dual citizens, with the 64 per cent of the non-citizens aiming to take out Australian citizenship. These figures are consistent with the 2006 Census data which indicate a 93.5 per cent rate of Australian citizenship for those born in Macedonia.

Macedonian identity and feeling close to Macedonia is strong. In terms of personal identity, 90 per cent described being Macedonian as part of their identity, and 86.5 per cent described themselves as being either “very close” or “close” in their feelings towards Macedonia.

A difference in how people define their identity and their feeling of closeness to Macedonia emerges when age and place of birth is considered:

- For the 28 per cent (200 respondents) who describe themselves as Macedonian-Australian, more were born overseas (56 per cent) compared to Australian born (42.50 per cent);
- For the 29 per cent (203 respondents) who described themselves as Australian-Macedonian, the majority (72.5 per cent) were born in Australia; and
- Those who report feeling “very close” to Macedonia are more likely to be born overseas (56 per cent) than in Australia (43 per cent), and those who report feeling “close” are more likely to be Australian born (56 per cent) than overseas born (43 per cent).

Personal familiarity as a result of visits to Macedonia and the inter-related factor of having family in Macedonia are the two main reasons that explain the high degree of affinity with the Homeland. Appreciation for the physical beauty of Macedonia and its lifestyle also explain the degree of affinity towards the homeland. Overall, the reported close feeling towards the Homeland is strongly influenced by their personal ties and experiences.

Macedonian language skills and use is very high amongst the Macedonian community in Australia. The majority of respondents speak, read and write Macedonian either ‘very well’ or ‘well’. Very few respondents indicate that they had no Macedonian language or literacy skills. Macedonian is the first language of use for the majority of respondents (55 per cent) and the second language used for a sizeable minority (44 per cent). A majority of respondents (93 per cent) indicate they speak English ‘well’ or ‘very well’.

Macedonian language skills are strong for both those born in Australia and those born overseas. However, a difference does emerge in reading and writing skills between the Australia and overseas born Macedonians. Of those born in Australia, 61 per cent can read and 53 per cent can write Macedonian ‘well’ or ‘very well’, but these figures rise to over 80 per cent for the overseas born.

Given the relatively recent migration to Australia, the widespread knowledge and use of Macedonian language is not surprising. The question is whether this will diminish as native Macedonian speakers pass away and subsequent generations of ethnic Macedonians are born in Australia.
Personal Ties to the Homeland: Visits, Communication and Media Use

Visitation rates to Macedonia are high, with over 90 per cent of the respondents having visited their Homeland with 71 per cent having done so in the last five years. In addition to the frequency of visits, 50 per cent of those who visited in the last five years have done so for a period of one to six months duration. Those born overseas were more likely to visit more often. Of the 10 per cent of respondents who indicate they have not visited, a majority of these are Australian born (71 per cent).

There is a clear link between family, identity and holidaying in Macedonia, because for many visitors all three factors, the ability to visit friends, family and have a holiday, are the reasons they visit Macedonia. Visiting family and friends is the main motive expressed (81 per cent) for visiting Macedonia, but holidays are also a significant factor (64 per cent). The pattern of this visitation to the homeland seems set to continue, with 89 per cent of respondents expecting to visit in the next five years and 64 per cent expecting to do so for a period of one to six months durations. Future visitation patterns were similar for both the Australian and overseas born, and both those aged over and under 40 years.

The desire to visit Macedonia and the practice of doing so remains very high across all age groups. This is important as visits appear to reinforce Macedonian identity. These findings highlight the potential of Diaspora tourism as a vehicle for economic development opportunities for Macedonia.

Property ownership in Macedonia is high with 47 per cent of respondents owning land or property in Macedonia and 22 per cent indicating that they stayed in their own or their family’s property when they visited Macedonia. Of the majority of the 47 per cent of respondents who owned land or property in Macedonia, 65 per cent were born overseas.

The high degree of property ownership is explained by several factors. For some it reflects an emotional tie to the Homeland and identity with it, with people wanting to own a ‘bit of the land’ and have a place to call their own. However, other practical considerations come into play, such as the fact that property purchases in Macedonia are seen as a good investment and also offer retirement opportunities. Whatever the reason, the effect is to enhance ties through greater investment in, and visits to Macedonia. Property ownership provides a vehicle for a transnational life and provides a means of having homes in two places.

Living in Macedonia either permanently or temporarily is an aspiration of 40.5 per cent of respondents. This interest is considerably higher for the overseas born, but interest in living in Macedonia is similar for those aged over and under 40.

The major reasons for wanting to live either permanently or temporarily in Macedonia included factors such as a love of the lifestyle, the country and the desire to reconnect with family and/or to ensure that children are exposed to the culture and community. In contrast, the dominant reasons for not considering living in Macedonia included a perceived lack of employment and/or business opportunities, low salaries, perceived corruption or political unrest, poor services, and/or that the respondent was happily settled in Australia, where they had strong employment and family ties.

The culture and way of life in the homeland is a pull factor for the Diaspora which suggests that there is scope to develop a formal strategy to encourage and facilitate temporary and permanent relocation of the Diaspora to the homeland with all the brain circulation benefits that could potentially follow. While the skills and networks of the diaspora can assist the homelands economic development, little is being done to tap this interest.

Communication with friends and family in the homeland is maintained by multiple mediums of communication. Social media is clearly the main vehicle for most regular contact as it readily allows for daily communication and the sharing of broader personal information such as photos and videos. People are also connecting beyond family and friends to link into broader cultural and social/political causes via Facebook and Facebook groups. Letters are used only for infrequent contact, but phone use remains high for all age groups. However, generational factors appear to affect the medium of communication chosen, with 70 per cent of those who use Facebook on a monthly basis or more frequently, are under 40.

Skype is highly favoured because, apart from being free, it has the benefit of allowing for visual communication which brings people closer together. For example, children in Australia are able to see aunts, uncles and cousins in Macedonia with whom they would not otherwise have direct contact. This in turn, is likely to add to the desire to visit, as well as the quality of those visits.

There appears to be a link between place of birth and frequency of communication with friends and family, where those born overseas report higher rates of contact.

Communication with business and professional contacts are numerically much lower than those with friends and family, but here too multiple means of communication are used, with Facebook providing the most frequent form of contact.
Macedonian media in Australia is both locally and Macedonian produced, with a high frequency of use of multiple media sources with a particular interest in Macedonian politics and current affairs, and for younger age groups, also sport. Media use is high across the Macedonian community, although those born overseas are less likely to follow Macedonian media than the Australian born.

There is extensive Macedonian media available in Australia, but most of that media adopts the Macedonian language. Younger Australian born Macedonians are thus less likely to make use of this media. Greater use of mediums such as Facebook are more likely to inform younger members of the community about what is taking place and to keep them involved, but there was little evidence of this being strategically developed by the community in Australia. There is a need for information in English and Macedonian in order to meet the needs of the younger generation of Macedonians born in Australia.

**Political and Communal Ties**

Involvement in Macedonian organisations in Australia is identified by 56 per cent of respondents but the extent of involvement remains unclear. While Macedonian community involvement is spread across a range of organisational types, a sizeable minority in the sample indicated that they are not formally involved in any organisational activity and no one particular type of communal life attracts a significant degree of personal involvement. Those under 40 are more likely to be involved in sporting and social organisations, at 62 per cent and 65 per cent respectively, compared with involvement rates of 37 per cent and 34 per cent respectively for those over 40. Those over 40 are more likely to be involved in charitable activity at a rate of 60 per cent, compared with 38 per cent of those under 40.

The rates of non-involvement were higher for those under 40 (47 per cent), than those over 40 (39 per cent). Frustration was expressed in the focus group about community organisations in Australia, which were considered by some to be the ‘fiefdoms’ of older members of the community which, together with the rumours about and between organisations, act as a deterrent to communal involvement. Another reason for lack of community participation was simply a lack of awareness about what options were available. As stated above, Macedonian media tends to present programs in Macedonian which would not only deter young people due to their less well developed language skills, but would also not serve the purpose of providing information about community affairs. Connecting youth to youth, and empowering youth may be more likely to harness involvement in the Macedonian community, rather than expecting the youth to be involved in organisations run by older members of the community.

Many of the community organisations operating in Australia are failing to tap into and advance the heightened sense of Macedonian identification in the community. As a result, such organisations are failing the community in Australia. If these issues are addressed, community organisations are more likely to have an active and productive role in facilitating public Diaspora engagement in the Homeland and in Australia.

Involvement with activities related to Macedonia’s social, economic or political wellbeing was important for 57 per cent of respondents. Those under 40 are less likely to be involved in community organisations related to Macedonia’s social, economic or political wellbeing than those over 40.

Association and involvement with organised public life in Macedonia, including economic, social and political, was of a limited nature. The community does participate extensively in events featuring visiting dignitaries, artists or celebrities from Macedonia which would be considered by the local community as an important tool for engaging the community and an area for potential expansion. Such events are a “win-win” as they involve the Diaspora and enhance their identity and at the same time raise the potential for the homeland to involve the Diaspora in their public life.

Links beyond family, friends and business contacts in Macedonia were, according to 29 per cent of respondents, formed through other interests such as religious, communal, recreational and political affairs. While a minority concern, this suggests that organisational contacts facilitate networks that extend beyond family and friends. However, concern was expressed about the nature of such ties. There was also a feeling among some respondents that the Diaspora were treated by Homeland organisations purely as a source of funding rather than a meaningful partner, which is the type of relationship and collaboration the Diaspora ideally sought.

Australian political policies in relation to Macedonia are an important consideration for the Macedonian Diaspora. More than three quarters of respondents stated that the policies of Australian political parties in relation to Macedonia were either very important or important in terms of how they vote in Australian elections. Concern about Australian policy was similar for the overseas and Australian born and those aged over and under 40.
Interest in the political circumstances of the homeland is one distinct expression of Macedonian identity in Australia, but there is a disjuncture between conviction on these issues and the absence of action in relation to them.

The ‘Roadmap for Advancing Australia-Macedonia Relations’ is a community initiative that maps out key issues to be addressed by all relevant stakeholders in order to advance the bilateral relations between Australia and Macedonia and to improve the status of Macedonians in Australia. There was overwhelming support across all respondent age groups and the Australian and overseas born, for all measures proposed in the Roadmap to see the Australian Government do more to advance bilateral relations, with near unanimity on the need for Australia to recognise Macedonia’s constitutional name without delay and to open an embassy in Macedonia.

The very high degree of conviction on political issues between Australia and Macedonia suggests that the community can increase its lobbying efforts on issues of its concern, primarily relating to name recognition and Australian diplomatic representation in Skopje. As long as these remain unaddressed, the Macedonian community in Australia will feel disadvantaged and discriminated against by the Australian Government. That the members of the Macedonian community consider these policies when they cast their votes in Australian elections is a factor the community could utilise to enhance their lobbying efforts.

Care Giving, Remittances and Philanthropy

Care giving responsibilities in Macedonia is reportedly a minor concern, with very low numbers of respondents indicating that they provide care for people in Macedonia despite almost all respondents having ties to friends and family in Macedonia. The major recipients of care were people’s mothers, but this was a responsibility of only 27 respondents.

In terms of type of support given, there is virtually no personal and practical care, with most support being of a financial and emotional/moral nature. Here too, it is parents who are the main beneficiaries, although similar, but slightly lesser numbers also support extended family members (uncles, aunts, cousins) primarily by offering moral and emotional support. The frequency of financial and emotional support varies significantly according to the relationship between donor and recipient. While 28 per cent of respondents anticipate having obligations caring for friends or family in Macedonia in the future, the closer the relative the more likely the support is to be given on a regular basis.

Philanthropy and remittances to Macedonia is mostly directed to family, with very modest support for community or political causes. Both gifts and money are most frequently sent on special occasions. There is also a sizable group who commented that they send gifts (21 per cent) and money (18 per cent) ‘Regularly throughout the year’. In terms of the extent of financial support, the majority of donations are less than $1000 with few above $10,000.

Despite relatively high total annual household income and strong identification with the homeland amongst the survey respondents, philanthropic activity is relatively low compared to income. It is to the family unit, rather than broader community organisations and homeland development causes, where such support is extended. Given the mistrust by respondents of official systems and organisations in Macedonia, philanthropy often occurs in a more informal way, often tied to the local town where born. These ties to a local community remain an important element of identification with the Homeland and developing philanthropic and other ties based on locality of birth may be an option for a Macedonian Diaspora strategy.

Given the economic resources of the community in Australia, the level and range of philanthropy to causes in the Homeland, is clearly an area for potential development. This may be a matter for both developing a culture of giving among the Diaspora and presenting more philanthropic receiving options in the Homeland.

Business and Professional Ties

Business and professional ties with Macedonia was limited to 21 per cent of respondents or 133 individuals. A clear majority of these are overseas born (61 per cent) compared to Australian born (37 per cent), and respondents were similarly divided between those aged over and under 40. Only 4 per cent of respondents were involved in a Macedonian business organisation in Australia, and only 9.5 per cent said that their work involves interacting with Macedonia. Of those who did have business or professional contact with Macedonia, kin, identity and nationalistic factors, rather than pure business and professional reasons, are the primary driver for such ties. The fact that people have social capital in Macedonia, including language skills and networks, is an important factor explaining the Diaspora’s business and professional ties in the homeland.
There are several reasons that explain the lack of trade and business contacts with the homeland. One is the type of jobs in which the Macedonian community members are employed in Australia with only 6.5 per cent of respondents engaged in import/export businesses. There are also perceptions of corruption when dealing with Macedonian agencies. The Macedonian diaspora expects the Macedonian government to rapidly implement world best practices in customer service, transparency, good governance, communication and effective new enterprise development schemes that make it easier for the diaspora to invest in Macedonia.

Despite the low level of business/professional interaction with the homeland and concerns about trading with homeland, there is a strong desire to engage in business and professional opportunities as indicated by the following findings:

- 40.5 per cent agree or strongly agree their future career will involve business or professional links with Macedonia;
- 53 per cent agree or strongly agree that they can facilitate business/professional opportunities in Macedonia;
- 48 per cent agree or strongly agree that there are business/professional opportunities for their company/institution in Macedonia or surrounding markets;
- 63 per cent agree or strongly agree they want to develop business/professional links between Macedonia and Australia; and
- 62 per cent agree or strongly agree they have a competitive edge in doing business/professional work in Macedonia because of their Macedonian background.

It follows that there is a desire by members of the Diaspora to help the Homeland by using their professional skills. There is clearly a strong belief in the potential for enhanced business/professional ties, but mechanisms to facilitate this are necessary to overcome negative perceptions and experiences.

There is clearly an enormous degree of social capital within the Macedonian Diaspora in terms of language skills and networks that can enhance trade with the homeland. However, there is little evidence of this being utilised by either the Australian or Macedonian Governments. The data suggest that if vehicles were created for such engagement, the community would respond.

5.3 Conclusions

Members of the Macedonian Diaspora are comfortable in, and have a sense of belonging in both Macedonia and Australia, with both countries featuring strongly in their personal identity. It is clear that transnationalism is a prominent feature of Macedonian life.

The duality of Macedonian identity is also manifest in their language use and skills, with high rates of fluency and literacy in both Macedonian and English. Use of Macedonian clearly reinforces Macedonian identity. This in turn facilitates access to Macedonian media, which itself further reinforces the Macedonian element in the person’s identity.

These findings show that there are a number of means by which the Macedonian Diaspora is reproduced. These include a high number of visits to the homeland, family ties and regular communication between the two countries. Engagement in this contact reinforces knowledge, care and identification with Macedonia. What is also evident is that the main driver of the Diaspora’s relationship with the Homeland is strong family ties. This primarily explains visitation, communication and the emotional concerns and empathy. It is often the extended rather than nuclear family that ties the Diaspora to the Homeland, and as such the nature of the family unit and its status within Macedonian culture is arguably the most important driver in maintaining a Diaspora-Homeland relationship.

Along with visiting Macedonia, engagement with Macedonia media and personal communication provides the channels for sustaining Diaspora-Homeland ties. Social media also plays an important role in shaping the nature of both private and public diaspora-homeland ties which is already being used widely for private communication, but is being increasingly used although this medium enjoys to access information about the public sphere.

Given the strength of family ties as well as competence in Macedonian language, there is clearly scope for greater involvement of the Diaspora in and with the Homeland. However, a major obstacle to meaningful public ties in the Homeland are perceptions of corruption and a business and political culture that lacks the principles of transparent governance that the diaspora experience in Australia and now expect in their undertakings with the Homeland. This is a major consideration in terms of developing effective strategic approaches to strengthening Diaspora ties and encouraging investment and
engagement with the Homeland. Government, business and NGOs in Macedonia should be encouraged and supported to address governance issues in order to widen the scope of meaningful Diaspora engagement in the Homeland on multiple levels. This is particularly important in the development of trade and diaspora engagement in public life.

Findings also indicate that ties with Macedonia may be weakening for younger Australian-Macedonians born in Australia. This is evidenced by lower levels of engagement and identification than those born overseas, and a diminution in the depth and nature of ties is likely. This means that other models for engagement between this younger Australian born Diaspora and the Homeland are necessary if these ties are to be maintained. Social media is one obvious tool that can be effectively utilised for this purpose.

There was also a class dimension to the findings where younger non-professional members of the community reported comparatively lower levels of identification with the homeland. In part, this is due to an inability to travel to Macedonia due to cost. Engagement of the non-professional segments of the diaspora is a further strategic consideration if diaspora engagement is to be maximised.

Overall, it is clear that it is the private considerations of family ties, and personal identity that drives Diaspora relations, rather than more public concerns of business and professional exchange. At the same time, the Diaspora is also driven by political concerns relating to the recognition of the Macedonian community within Australia and the desire to strengthen diplomatic relations between the two countries.

This provides a very strong foundation for public bodies to maximise this personal interest in terms of economic, social, cultural and political engagement and benefits. However, evidence suggests the extent to which this occurs is less than its potential, and as such this represents a wasted opportunity for both Australia and Macedonia. The strong ties that exist between the Macedonian Diaspora in Australia and their ethnic homeland provide a sound foundation for facilitating extensive social, economic, cultural and political ties. In order to leverage from these important close connections, greater strategic and practical efforts are required of the both the Macedonian community in Australia and the two respective Governments, as well as other relevant sectors in Australia and Macedonia.
6. Comparative Observations and Conclusions

The study *Diasporas in Australia: Current and Potential Links with the Homeland* reveals that for the Italian, Macedonian, Tongan and Vietnamese Diasporas in Australia engagement with their Homelands through five broad areas of this study, citizenship, identity and langue; personal ties through visits, communication and media use; political and communal involvement; caregiving, remittances and philanthropy; and business and professional ties; is a distinct feature of their lives.

Diasporas are understood as people who are dispersed across the globe yet are linked by a connection to a common homeland which may or may not continue to exist. These links are generated through entangled combinations of common histories, kinship ties and obligations, political interests, economic imperatives, cultural and ethnic identity and language. As this study has shown, in both a global and local context, diasporas play a role in shaping the political, economic and social landscape and have powers that are both intangible and often benign, yet often significant and pervasive in their impact on Australia’s connections with other world regions, flows of global finance, domestic and international politics and the cultural character of local and regional communities. In a period of unprecedented mobility, role in shaping identity, economic transactions, international relations and transnational care networks, diasporas play an important role.

The research has shown that while different diasporas share features in common, they also have distinct characteristics. These are determined by history, culture and contemporary politics and diasporas can feel intimately tied to their homelands, as is the case of the Macedonian, to existing independent of the homeland, as is the case with the Vietnamese. For some the connection is ongoing with practical dimensions, such as the Tongan Diaspora and remittances, while for others it is cultural with no regular imperatives, such as the Italian.

Primary influences on the diaspora-homeland relationship include circumstance in the homeland. The perceived embattled political and economic nature of the Republic of Macedonia is a major identifying and motivating factor for the Macedonian Diaspora. The Macedonian diaspora is working strategically to end the de-legitimisation of Macedonia since its independence and to speed up its integration with global and regional institutions and markets. In contrast, the perception of a developed secure homeland for the Italian Diaspora leads to a very different diasporic orientation. The political hostility that exists between the refugee Vietnamese community in Australia towards the Communist Government who are identified as the reason for their exile, leads to very limited ties to the Homeland, while the economic needs and ties to family localities in Macedonia help shape ongoing commitments.

The stage of migration also affects the relationship with the homeland. Those in the Diaspora who personally migrated have closer ties to the homeland where their experience is lived and real. These migrants also have the language of the homeland, and while second and third generation maintain the language skills, these diminish across the generations relative to time of migration. Language maintenance is thus an important element in the maintenance of ties to the homeland.

One clear trend that emerges from the study is that there appears to be a link between place of birth and scale of engagement with the homeland. The more there is a personal connection to friends and family, the greater the ties appear to be. This is not surprising, as the migrants have direct personal ties and experiences they are maintaining. However, this does mean that community organisations need to be cognisant of the need to foster, facilitate and support the relationship with the homeland of the second generation and beyond.

With the exception of the Vietnamese community for reasons already noted, visits from the diaspora to the homeland are frequent. As the research establishes, these are driven by personal, usually family ties. Indeed, it is the family ties, rather than public ties, that form the basis for most contact between diasporas and their homelands. These findings highlight the potential of diaspora tourism as a vehicle for economic development opportunities in homelands, but also return tourism to Australia.

In maintaining and expressing ties, multiple mediums of communication are used and social media is transforming the frequency and nature of content both for personal and public purposes. Visual mediums such as Skype mean that people can literally see into the homelands in a way that was not previously possible from afar. New media has facilitated the development of virtual diasporas who through daily access of news and entertainment and personal real time contact with friends and families are virtually living in homeland time and sharing homeland experiences.

The culture and way of life in the homeland is a pull factor for all the diasporas, including the Vietnamese, which suggests that there is scope to develop a formal strategy to encourage and facilitate temporary and permanent relocation of diasporas to the homeland. Indeed, many respondents expressed a desire to spend extended periods of time in their homelands for professional purposes, and felt they have the language skills and kin networks that give them a competitive edge. Clearly there would be multiple the brain circulation benefits that would flow from such relocation. While the skills and networks of the diaspora can assist the homelands economic development, and the export and other cultural and political ties for Australia, little is being done to tap this interest by relevant government agencies in either Australia or the homelands.
Overall while the diaspora communities feel strongly on political and communal issues in relation to the homeland, formal engagement is limited. It seems beliefs and values are not being translated into communal action and affiliation. For a number of respondents this appeared to be because they felt there were limited avenues for engagement, while communal bodies were overstretched and/or under resourced in providing means for engagement that were relevant, particularly for younger members of the community. Again, engagement is happening privately through friend and family networks rather than through public bodies. As a result, however, the potential for diasporic activism, and bilateral relations, is not being fully realised. Interestingly, while these low rates of second generation participation in migrant clubs and associations are a key concern of community leaders, it does not appear to be a reflection of lack of interest in, or connection with the homeland. We might conclude that the migrant associations hold little relevance for the second generation, but that diaspora identity remains but is expressed in a different form. This reflects intergenerational changes and challenges for the ethnic communities.

The need for strengthening the organisational structures of public diasporic activity became apparent. Younger members of the community are less involved than older generations, and in the absence of the personal ties that come with having grown up in the homeland and having immediate family there, structures need to be better developed to nurture and maintain the relationship of younger Australian born generations to their homelands. Indeed, the younger members of each of the communities express the desire to remain connected to the homeland, however, there is a lack of vehicles by which to continue to engage to the same extent that the migrating generation did. At the same time, younger members do continue to connect with homelands, largely through social media, as opposed to connecting through physical structures such as community centres. People are also connecting beyond family and friends to link into broader cultural and social/political causes via Facebook and Facebook groups.

There was also a feeling among some respondents that the diaspora was treated by homeland organisations purely as a source of funding rather than a meaningful partner, which is the type of relationship and collaboration the diaspora ideally seeks. Homelands need to rethink how they engage with their diasporas if the diaspora relationship is to be one based on trust and common objectives in order to maximise the mutual interest, in advantages and potential of the relationship.

In developing diaspora strategies and explaining diasporic identity with the homeland, religion emerged as a feature for all the communities surveyed. Religion is an important element in the cultural life of these communities in Australia and these religions are closely connected to the homeland.

Concomitant to suspicion of corruption in the homeland, philanthropic giving is limited in a collective sense, and is primarily directed privately to families and villages through informal networks rather than public organisations. The general perception among study participants, particularly in the case of the Macedonian and Vietnamese Diasporas, was that this is the only way to ensure that money is not misdirected. However, the implication is that funding is incremental and relatively small scale and less strategic than it could be. Developing mechanisms that facilitate financial contributions to the homeland appears to be an area for potential development, particularly given the relatively substantial economic resources of diasporic communities in Australia. Such development needs to consider options for philanthropy that will better guarantee that the donor’s money reaches its intended destination. In the interim, however, the scale of philanthropic giving is modest relative to the means of the diaspora communities and creating a culture of philanthropy has yet to be developed.

Although there is clearly limited business and professional ties with homelands, this apparent gap between actual engagement and an interest in connecting with homeland is one that requires further investigation and suggests there is much scope for increased involvement. This is something that should be of interest to both the Australian and the homeland Governments in the development of trade relations. If the barriers to such engagement were addressed the brain flow benefits could be considerable.

In addition to the direct ties that exist between the diasporas and their homelands, the research also shows that the diasporas maintain transnational ties with other diaspora communities, from the Vietnamese accessing media from the Vietnamese Diaspora in Hong Kong to the Tongan Diaspora identifying and connecting to fellow Tongans in New Zealand.

Diaspora ties are extensive but are maintained primarily through personal connections and family and kinship ties. These ties are also the foundation and catalyst for the development of professional and political relationships with the homeland. Overall, public diasporic ties are underdeveloped as a mechanism for homeland development and for brain circulation. Diasporas want to be further engaged with their homelands, but processes and structures need to be better developed for this to occur. The challenge is to harness the potential social, economic and political benefits of diaspora engagement.
Diaspora communities can have an impact on the bilateral relations by working independently of the homeland and hostland governments &/or by working with just the homeland or hostland governments. However, for the full impact and benefits of the diasporas to be manifest in bilateral relations, diaspora policy and strategic planning needs to be developed as a three way strategic partnership between the homeland government, the Australian Government and the specific diaspora community.

Overall, the research reveals that contemporary diasporas in Australia are strongly connected to homelands and are increasingly transnational in their orientation. This is a departure from earlier generations of migrants where migration was largely a one-way process of emigration and settlement and being part of a diaspora inferred a sense of permanent departure and severance from the homeland, with a real and figurative distance between the two. Increasingly, ‘transnational’ is a better term to describe these communities given the ongoing and multiple dimensions of contact including through travel, new media and greater professional mobility and retirement options. Even though diaspora formation is largely informal, the flow of people, information and ideas is extensive and ongoing and as such diasporas are potentially important vehicles for international trade, cultural exchange, public diplomacy and, more broadly, brain circulation. The challenge is for the communities themselves, homeland governments and Australian authorities, to maximise the potential social, economic and political benefits that can be harnessed through strategic diaspora policy development and organisation.
References


### Appendix 1: Research team members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe</td>
<td>Deakin University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor Graeme Hugo</td>
<td>University of Adelaide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor Loretta Baldassar</td>
<td>University of Western Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor Therese Joiner</td>
<td>Monash University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Joanne Pyke</td>
<td>Victoria University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Steve Bakalis</td>
<td>Victoria University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Steve Francis</td>
<td>Deakin University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Ordan Andreevski</td>
<td>United Macedonian Diaspora</td>
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### Project Partners

- Australian Research Council
- Australian Vietnamese Women’s Association (AWWA)
- The Victorian Multicultural Commission (VMC)
- The Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- The Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY)
- COASIT Italian Society
- Italian/Australian Welfare and Cultural Centre
- Council for International Trade and Commerce SA Inc
Appendix 2: Diaspora Questionnaire

The following questionnaire is provided as an example of the surveys disseminated to each of the four diasporas. As discussed, the four questionnaires were customised to be relevant to each of the national backgrounds and circumstances of the four diasporas. The following questionnaire is the one which was disseminated to the Tongan diaspora and is provided to show the core questions and data gathered for the broader study.


In partnership with the Centre for Multicultural Youth and the Victorian Multicultural Commission, you are invited to participate in the following survey about people of Tongan background living in Australia. The survey is about the ways in which connections with Tonga are maintained by migrants, children of migrants and those who have a close connection with Tonga. It should take from 10 to 20 minutes to complete depending on how much you want to say.

This is part of a research project being coordinated by Victoria University, the University of Adelaide, the University of Western Australia and La Trobe University. The purpose of the study is to gain a greater understanding of how people maintain links with a homeland which represents an important part of their family background, identity or cultural heritage. The information is being collected to understand the connections between homelands and Australia so that government can be advised about how to maximise potential benefits that can flow from these ties.

The following survey asks for a range of details about your background, circumstances and the many ways, and reasons for, staying connected to Tonga. All of this information, including financial information, will be treated as COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL and it is not possible for the researchers to identify any individual who has responded. We do ask at the end of the survey for contact details, if you are willing to receive further information about the project or to be involved in other ways.

We do not expect any risks linked with taking part in the survey. If there are any questions that you would prefer not to answer, please only answer the questions you feel comfortable with. If you feel you need any support after completing the survey you can contact: Dr Harriet Speed, Registered Psychologist, Ph (03) 9919 5412, Email: harriet.speed@vu.edu.au

If you have any further enquiries, or wish to make comments, please contact Joanne Pyke at Victoria University on (03 9919 1364). If you have any concerns about the survey, you may contact the Ethics and Biosafety Coordinator, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001 phone (03) 9919 4148.
2. Your background information
This section asks general information about your background and characteristics. Please supply the following information.

1. Country of birth?
   - Australia
   - Tonga
   - New Zealand
   - Other (Please specify)___________________________________________________

2. If you were not born in Australia, what year did you arrive? ____________________________________________

3. Which island group do you and/or your family come from? Please tick all that apply.
   - Tongatapu
   - ‘Eua
   - Ha’apai
   - Vava’u
   - The Niuas
   Other comments          ____________________________________________

4. What is your current postcode? Please state your postcode __________

5. Gender?  
   - Male
   - Female

6. Year of birth? Please enter your year of birth here __________

7. Your highest level of education?
   - Postgraduate degree
   - University degree
   - Non university trade, technical or professional qualification
   - Secondary School
   - Primary School
   - Other (please specify)______________________________

8. What is your current workforce status?
   - Employed full-time
   - Employed part-time
   - Self employed
   - Unemployed
   - Studying full time
   - Studying part time
   - Retired
   - Other (please specify)________________________________________________
9. What is your occupation? (If retired, please tick your former occupation)
   ○ Manager ○ Professional
   ○ Technical or trade ○ Community and personal service
   ○ Clerical or administrative ○ Sales work
   ○ Machinery operation or driver ○ Labourer
   ○ Other (please specify) ______________________________

3. Household information
1. Including yourself, how many people live in your household?
   Please enter in numbers here ________
2. What description best matches your household?
   ○ Single person household
   ○ Couple with no children or children who have left home
   ○ Nuclear or blended family (parents and children only)
   ○ Extended family (parents, children and/or a mix of other family members/friends)
   ○ Shared household of two or more independent adults
   ○ Other (please specify) ________________________________________________

3. Are any members of your household migrants or refugees to Australia?
   ○ No ○ Yes
   If yes, please say the approximate year that the first household member arrived
   in Australia _______________________

4. Are you the first member of your extended family to arrive in Australia from Tonga?
   ○ No ○ Yes

5. If ‘no’ to question 4, who was the first member of your family to arrive and approximately what year did they arrive?
   (This person may or may not be living in your household).
   Family member (e.g. Grandfather, Aunt etc) ________________
   Approximate year of arrival ________________
6. What were the main reasons why your family (either members of your household or earlier family members) initially left Tonga? Please tick all that apply.

- ☐ Escape from dangerous or threatening circumstances in Tonga
- ☐ Family reunion
- ☐ Marriage to an Australian or New Zealand citizen
- ☐ Employment and/or business opportunities
- ☐ Opportunity for a better quality of life
- ☐ Opportunities for children
- ☐ Study
- ☐ To gain international experience for career enhancement
- ☐ Adventure
- ☐ Don’t know/not applicable
- ☐ Other (please specify ________________________________)

7. Please identify the country of birth of each of the other household members and your relationship to that person.
   (NB – the online survey gave the option to identify more than 6 other household members)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Your relationship to the person</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>Wife/husband or life partner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Parent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Grandparent</td>
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<td>Brother or sister</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Child</td>
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<td>Grandchild</td>
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<td>Other relative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Friend</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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Other (Please specify)
8. What languages are spoken in your household?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Approximate % of time spoken</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
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<td>Less than 20%</td>
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<td>20 - 40%</td>
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<td>40 - 60%</td>
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<td>60 - 80%</td>
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<td>Always</td>
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<td>Tongan</td>
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<td>Less than 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 - 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40 - 60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 - 80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80 - 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Always</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you speak another language in your household, what is that language?

________________________________________________________________
9. How well do you speak, read and write in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Speaking</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Writing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Very well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not well</td>
<td>Not well</td>
<td>Not well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongan</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Very well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not well</td>
<td>Not well</td>
<td>Not well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Language</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Very well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not well</td>
<td>Not well</td>
<td>Not well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Please indicate the main languages that you speak with different family members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The main language you speak to your children</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
<th>Always or mostly English</th>
<th>Always or mostly Tongan</th>
<th>A mixture of languages</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The main language your children speak to you</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Always or mostly English</td>
<td>Always or mostly Tongan</td>
<td>A mixture of languages</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main language you speak to your parents</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Always or mostly English</td>
<td>Always or mostly Tongan</td>
<td>A mixture of languages</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main language your parents speak to you</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Always or mostly English</td>
<td>Always or mostly Tongan</td>
<td>A mixture of languages</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main language you speak to your siblings or other family</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Always or mostly English</td>
<td>Always or mostly Tongan</td>
<td>A mixture of languages</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main language you speak to your Grandparents</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Always or mostly English</td>
<td>Always or mostly Tongan</td>
<td>A mixture of languages</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main language your Grandparents speak to you</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Always or mostly English</td>
<td>Always or mostly Tongan</td>
<td>A mixture of languages</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The main language your siblings or other family members speak to you</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Always or mostly English</td>
<td>Always or mostly Tongan</td>
<td>A mixture of languages</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The main language you speak to your family members in Tonga

- Not applicable
- Always or mostly English
- Always or mostly Tongan
- A mixture of languages
- Other

Other (please specify) ______________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

11. Do you have a property such as a house or land in Tonga?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please describe ______________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

12. Approximately, what is your total household annual income?

- Less than $30,000
- $31,000 - $60,000
- $61,000 - $90,000
- $91,000 - $125,000
- $126,000 - $199,000
- More than $200,000
4. Citizenship and relationships with Tonga

1. What is your citizenship status?
   - Australian citizen
   - Citizen of another country
   - Temporary resident
   - Permanent resident
   - Visitor

   If you are a citizen of another country, please specify the country. If you have a temporary Australian visa, please specify the type of visa you hold.

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

2. If you are not an Australian citizen, would you like to become a citizen?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Other, please explain

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3. How do you describe your identity?
   - Australian
   - Tongan
   - New Zealander
   - Australian/Tongan
   - Tongan/Australian
   - Other (please specify)

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

4. How close do you feel towards Tonga?
   - Very close
   - Close
   - Not close or distant
   - Distant
   - Very distant
   - Other (please specify)

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

5. How often do you visit Tonga?
   - I have never visited/have not had the opportunity to visit Tonga
   - I visit approximately every 2 - 3 years
   - I visit every year
   - I visit several times a year
   - I visit when there is a need or occasion

   Please explain why you visit Tonga as frequently or infrequently as you do

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________
6. In the last five years, how long did you spend in Tonga in total?

- I haven’t been to Tonga in the last five years
- Less than two weeks
- Two weeks to less than one month
- One to less than three months
- Three months to less than six months
- I live in both Tonga and Australia

Please describe why you went to Tonga

________________________________________________________________________

7. In the next five years, how long do you intend to spend in Tonga in total?

- I don’t intend to or it’s unlikely that I will go to Tonga in the next five years
- Less than two weeks
- Two weeks to one month
- One to three months
- Three to six months
- More than six months
- I intend to live in both Tonga and Australia

Please describe why you plan to go to Tonga

________________________________________________________________________

8. Do you want to live in Tonga?

- Yes, permanently
- Yes, temporarily
- No
- Unsure

Please explain the reasons for your answer to this question

________________________________________________________________________
5. Links with Tonga
(NB – the following two questions were also asked in relation to business and professional contacts as well as contacts formed through other interests)

1. Do you have family members or family friends who live in Tonga?  ○ Yes  ○ No

2. If yes, how do you stay in touch with family members or friends who live in Tonga?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Daily or several times a week</th>
<th>Weekly or several times a month</th>
<th>Monthly or several times a year</th>
<th>Once a year</th>
<th>If there is a need or every few years</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skype</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Daily or several times a week</td>
<td>Weekly or several times a month</td>
<td>Monthly or several times a year</td>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>If there is a need or every few years</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook or other social networking site</td>
<td>Daily or several times a week</td>
<td>Weekly or several times a month</td>
<td>Monthly or several times a year</td>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>If there is a need or every few years</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Daily or several times a week</td>
<td>Weekly or several times a month</td>
<td>Monthly or several times a year</td>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>If there is a need or every few years</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If other, please describe

7. What have been the major motivations for your visits to Tonga? Tick all that apply.

- ☐ I rarely/do not visit Tonga
- ☐ A special occasion such as a funeral, wedding, anniversary, birthday or baptism
- ☐ To help family members or friends who are unwell and need care and/or assistance
- ☐ To strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Tonga
- ☐ Business or professional reasons
- ☐ To have a holiday
- ☐ To make a personal contribution to a political or community cause, event or project.

Other (please describe your motivation)
8. If you visit Tonga, where do you usually stay?
- I don’t visit Tonga
- With family
- With friends
- In my own/family house or apartment
- In a hotel or other temporary accommodation
- Other (please specify)

9. If you have visitors from Tonga, please indicate how often you have visitors and estimate how long they usually stay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How often do you receive visits?</th>
<th>How long do they stay on average?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t receive any visits</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once every few years</td>
<td>One to three days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>Three days to a week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times a year</td>
<td>One - two weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than several times a year</td>
<td>Two to four weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One - three months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than three months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies too much to generalise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Friends</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t receive any visits</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once every few years</td>
<td>One to three days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>Three days to a week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times a year</td>
<td>One - two weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than several times a year</td>
<td>Two to four weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One - three months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than three months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies too much to generalise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Business/professional associates</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I don’t receive any visits</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once every few years</td>
<td>One to three days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>Three days to a week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times a year</td>
<td>One - two weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than several times a year</td>
<td>Two to four weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One - three months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than three months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies too much to generalise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Government or associates from no-government associations</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I don’t receive any visits</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once every few years</td>
<td>One to three days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>Three days to a week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times a year</td>
<td>One - two weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than several times a year</td>
<td>Two to four weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One - three months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than three months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies too much to generalise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Community associates or people from a home town</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I don’t receive any visits</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once every few years</td>
<td>One to three days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>Three days to a week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times a year</td>
<td>One - two weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than several times a year</td>
<td>Two to four weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One - three months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than three months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies too much to generalise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Other people</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I don’t receive any visits</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once every few years</td>
<td>One to three days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>Three days to a week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times a year</td>
<td>One - two weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than several times a year</td>
<td>Two to four weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One - three months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than three months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies too much to generalise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other (please specify)
10. How frequently do you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Several times a week</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>2-3 times a month</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>3-6 times a year</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Read newspapers from Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read Tongan newspapers published in Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch Tongan television</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch Tongan films at the cinema, on television, on line or on DVD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend events featuring dignitaries, artists or celebrities from Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy and/or listen to music from Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to radio from Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to Tongan radio produced in Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read and/or contribute to Tongan based internet sites such blogs, Facebook, newsletters etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive emails that link you to Tongan media or other information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other (please specify)

11. For which of the following purposes do you use media (television, radio, newspapers, internet) from Tonga:

- To keep up with Tongan politics and current affairs
- To enjoy culture and entertainment from Tonga
- To follow sporting events and events
- I don’t follow Tongan media
- Other (please specify)
12. Are you involved in any activities in Australia that are concerned with the social, economic and/or political affairs of Tonga. Please indicate all that apply.

- I am not involved in any activities
- Wrote a letter or commented on an issue or media report by letter, email or talkback radio
- Participated in a public rally or cause
- Wrote to a Member of Parliament in Australia
- Wrote to a government member in Tonga
- Participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign
- Been active in a Tongan organisation that aims to influence Tongan affairs
- I have sponsored others to come to Australia
- I sent money to support a charity or welfare organisation (eg a church, orphanage, individuals who need help)
- Other

Why did you take this action?

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

13. Are you involved with a Tongan organisation in Australia? Please indicate what type of organisation and tick as many as is relevant.

- Not applicable
- Community
- Charitable
- Cultural
- Educational
- Religious
- Business
- Professional
- Sporting
- Social
- Political
- Environmental
- Other, please describe

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

14. How important are the policies of Australian political parties in relation to Tonga in terms of how you vote in Australian elections?

- Very important
- Important
- Neither important or unimportant
- Unimportant
- Very unimportant
### 6. Family and financial support to Tonga.

1. If you have a person or people you care for in Tonga, please identify who you support, the main type of support you provide and how often you do this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of support</th>
<th>How often?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral or emotional eg. phone calls</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal care (hands on care during visits such as preparing meals)</td>
<td>2-3 times a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical care such as organising health support, accommodation eg. paying rent</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mix of the above</td>
<td>Every 2-3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Once a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than every year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Father</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral or emotional eg. phone calls</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal care (hands on care during visits such as preparing meals)</td>
<td>2-3 times a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical care such as organising health support, accommodation eg. paying rent</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mix of the above</td>
<td>Every 2-3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Once a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than every year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grandfather</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral or emotional eg. phone calls</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal care (hands on care during visits such as preparing meals)</td>
<td>2-3 times a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical care such as organising health support, accommodation eg. paying rent</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mix of the above</td>
<td>Every 2-3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Once a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than every year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Types of Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moral or emotional eg. phone calls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal care (hands on care during visits such as preparing meals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practical care such as organising health support, accommodation eg. paying rent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A mix of the above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt, uncle, cousin or other extended family member</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moral or emotional eg. phone calls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal care (hands on care during visits such as preparing meals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practical care such as organising health support, accommodation eg. paying rent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A mix of the above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother or sister</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moral or emotional eg. phone calls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal care (hands on care during visits such as preparing meals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practical care such as organising health support, accommodation eg. paying rent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A mix of the above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your child/children</td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community member</td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend or colleague</td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other comments
2. Do you anticipate that in future you will have any obligations to provide care to a family member or friend living in Tonga?

- [ ] Yes  - [ ] No

If you answered ‘yes’, please explain why you might have to provide this care.

___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3. Do you send gifts, money or goods to Tonga?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>How often?</th>
<th>What is the main reason?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gifts</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regularly throughout the year</td>
<td>To make a gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At times of crisis at home</td>
<td>To support family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For special occasions</td>
<td>To support a community cause or project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>To support a political cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies</td>
<td>To support a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Money</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regularly throughout the year</td>
<td>To make a gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At times of crisis at home</td>
<td>To support family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For special occasions</td>
<td>To support a community cause or project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>To support a political cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies</td>
<td>To support a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goods</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regularly throughout the year</td>
<td>To make a gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At times of crisis at home</td>
<td>To support family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For special occasions</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>To support a political cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies</td>
<td>To support a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other or please explain your answer to this question
4. Do you receive gifts, money or other goods from Tonga?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>How often?</th>
<th>What is the main reason?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gifts</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regularly throughout the year</td>
<td>To make a gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At times of crisis at home</td>
<td>To support family members</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>For special occasions</td>
<td>To support a community cause or project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>To support a political cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies</td>
<td>To support a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regularly throughout the year</td>
<td>To make a gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At times of crisis at home</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For special occasions</td>
<td>To support a community cause or project</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>To support a political cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies</td>
<td>To support a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regularly throughout the year</td>
<td>To make a gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday</td>
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<td></td>
<td>At times of crisis at home</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>To support a political cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It varies</td>
<td>To support a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please describe the type of goods and/or gifts that you received (eg jewellery, clothing, food items, airline tickets)
5. If you send money to Tonga, please indicate who you sent money to, approximately how much you sent and how you sent it

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>How much?</th>
<th>How?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother</strong></td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>☐ Electronic transfer via the internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash that was delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$10,000 - $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash transfer via a bank or service such as Western Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Mobile phone banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Cheque or bank cheque by mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Father</strong></td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>☐ Electronic transfer via the internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash that was delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$10,000 - $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash transfer via a bank or service such as Western Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Mobile phone banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Cheque or bank cheque by mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A child</strong></td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>☐ Electronic transfer via the internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash that was delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$10,000 - $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash transfer via a bank or service such as Western Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Mobile phone banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Cheque or bank cheque by mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Another relative</strong></td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>☐ Electronic transfer via the internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eg. Sister or Uncle</em></td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash that was delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$10,000 - $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Cash transfer via a bank or service such as Western Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than $50,000</td>
<td>☐ Mobile phone banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Cheque or bank cheque by mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A friend or family friend</td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another individual such as a teacher or veteran</td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A community or religious organisation</td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A political organisation or cause</td>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>$1,000 - $10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other – please describe
7. Business and professional links with Tonga

1. Does your job and/or business involve interacting with Tonga?  Yes  No

2. If you answered yes to the question above, what does this interaction involve? If you said ‘no’, please go to the next question.

- Exporting goods and/or services to Tonga?
- Importing goods and/or services from Tonga?
- Other business/professional interactions with Tonga?

Please briefly describe the interaction that you have with Tonga.
___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3. Do you import or export goods and/or services from countries other than Tonga?

- Yes  No

If yes, please identify the countries and the main reasons for trading.
___________________________________________________________________________________________________________

4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I believe I have a competitive advantage in doing business or professional work in Tonga because I share the same ethnic background as the Tongan people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am interested in developing business and/or professional links between Australia and Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I perceive that there are business and/or professional opportunities for my company/institution in Tonga or surrounding markets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that I can facilitate business and/or professional opportunities in Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe my future career will involve business or professional links with Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. If you have business or professional contact with Tonga, what are the main reasons you engage in this? Please identify the relative importance of each of the following reasons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business and/or professional reasons</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Neither important or unimportant</th>
<th>Unimportant</th>
<th>Very unimportant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I speak the language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have networks in Tonga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to help the country economically</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to help Tonga's social development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It gives me a reason to visit more often</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to my family and their opportunities and/or wellbeing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Thank you for your time

Thank you for your co-operation and your help with this survey, it is greatly appreciated. All information in this questionnaire is confidential and individuals will not be identified.

This survey is the first stage of a larger study of Australian diasporas and their links with homelands. We would appreciate it if we could keep you informed of the results of this study and contact you about participating in other discussions or interviews.

If you are willing to be contacted at a later date about this study, please provide your email or postal address below.