Taiwanese in Australia: Two Decades of Settlement Experiences

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Most Taiwanese immigrants to Australia experience downward social mobility due to factors such as unaccredited overseas qualifications, lack of English proficiency and local knowledge, and other institutional discriminatory factors. However, a high home ownership rate among Taiwanese migrants has been found. Their locational choice depends on income and housing budget, proximity to good schools and shopping centers, and information from friends or earlier migrants. This paper also addresses the experiences and types of problems faced by middle-class Taiwanese immigrant women in "astronaut" households. Being excluded from the labor market, the women tried to balance the needs of the husbands and the children, and suffer a number of disadvantages in their new environment, while on the other hand frequently enjoyed an autonomy and freedom from their familial responsibilities in Taiwan. A new pattern of circular Chinese diaspora was found among the young first generation Taiwanese immigrants to Australia as they returned after finishing their tertiary education in Australia. Reunions with their families in Taiwan, search for potential spouse, and their affection towards Taiwan had all been important factors to affect their decisions. They had developed a dual identity that encompassed Taiwanese and Australian cultures, due to their constant need to adapt to both societies.

Keywords: *Employment, residential mobility, lone mothers, young first generation, circular Taiwanese diaspora, dual identity, Australia.*

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Taiwan's population shift in the last two decades results from a rapid decline in its natural growth rate, an increase of in-migration due to marriage of Southeast Asian and Chinese women to Taiwanese men, and out-migration of Taiwanese, mainly middle class, to various developed countries. These phenomena challenge what used to be called a "closed population system" before the 1980's as Taiwan was still in

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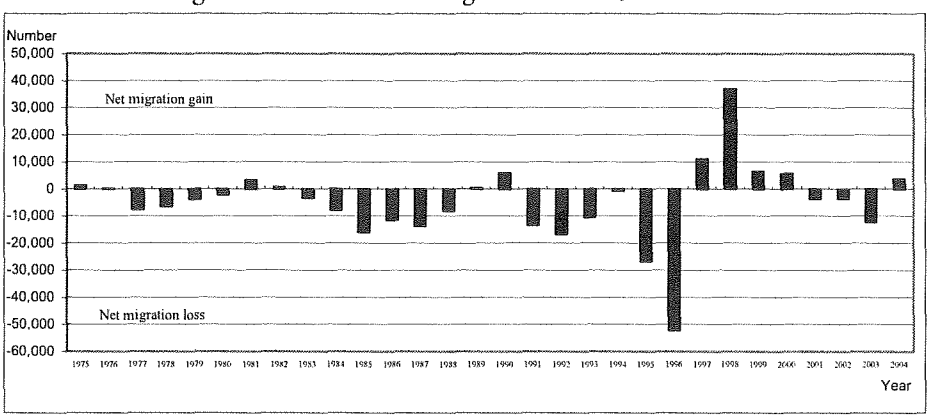
the state of martial law, with Kuomintang as the ruling party, since 1949. At the macro-level, it can be seen (Figure 1) that net out-migration is far more significant than net in-migration due to Taiwan's national policy to restrict in-migration, and a much more relaxed policy for Taiwan citizens to go abroad for leisure activities was introduced since 1989. It is also noted that females exceed males in both in- and out-migration due to various reasons (Figure 2). Thus, international migration is not only increasing in magnitude, but also in diversity and complexity, as Taiwan enters the age of globalization. This opens up new research frontiers and has significant implications for population policy, which is trying to keep pace with global population trends.

This paper presents recent research findings on Taiwanese immigrants in Australia by the author(s) in the seven years, 1998-2005, by employing Australian Census and statistics, an occasional survey, ethnographic fieldwork, and related published work. By using this multi-method approach to studying Taiwanese overseas, it is hoped that the methodology and research outcomes would be useful references for future research of Taiwanese in various countries, theorizing studies of New Asian immigration, and formulating constructive suggestions on policies at both countries of origin and destination. Whenever statistics or research findings permit, comparisons to other Chinese population who migrated from China and Hong Kong to Australia would be made.[1]

Figure 1: International migration trends, 1975-2004.

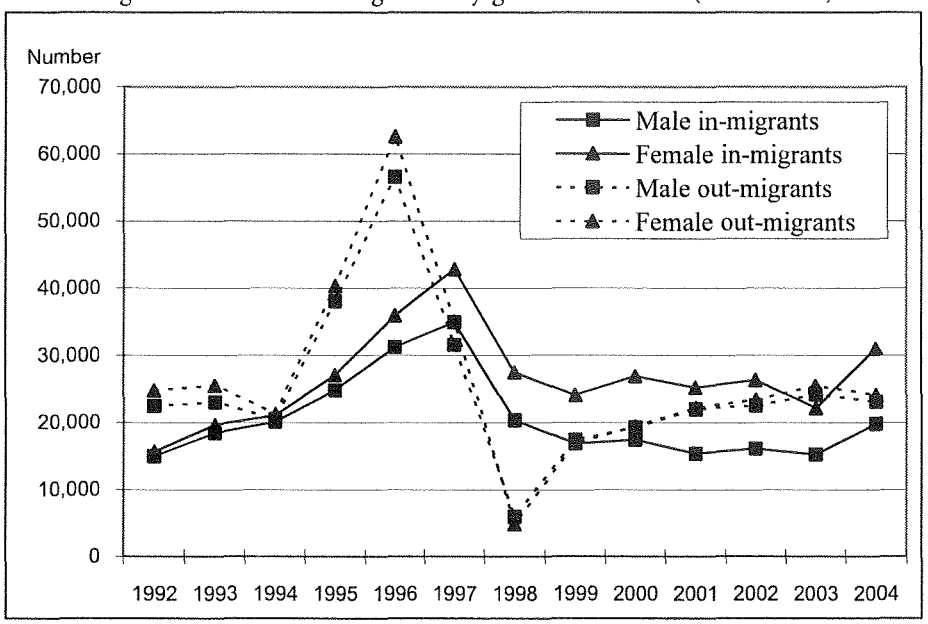


Data Source: Ministry of Interior (2005).
Note: The Taiwan-Fukien Area includes Kinmen and Matsu Islands.

Taiwanese emigration has reached a considerable level in the last two and a half decades, with major destinations including the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Among the various reasons accounting for the increase in out-migration, rapid economic growth, political instability, an increase in personal income

and the relaxation of travel restrictions in 1989 are foremost (Beal and Sos, 1999; Chiang and Hsu, 2000; Yang, et al., 2005). Other important factors are the introduction of economic business migration programs by various countries targeting skilled and entrepreneurial groups. Contemporary Chinese migrants, originating from the rapidly industrializing countries of Asia, therefore differ from the migrants in the early part of the century in their adaptations and impacts at the destinations. They enter the host countries mainly for children's education, life-style and political security. Their mobility patterns have created transnational families in which conventional gender relations can be transformed, with increased independence for some transmigrant women whose partners are working back home (Chiang 2004b; Ley and Waters, 2004). Thus, the circularity of the Chinese diaspora challenges existing theories based on the traditional linear migration patterns of international migration, notions of state and citizenship, and identities.

Figure 2: In and out-migration by gender in Taiwan (1992-2004).



Source: Ministry of Interior (2005).

According to the 2001 Census, Chinese constitute the largest group (2.1 percent) of non-English speaking population in Australia, followed by Italians (1.9 percent). In order of magnitude, the Chinese immigrated from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, and Macau, and they all ranked high as trading partners of Australia (Hon and Coughlan, 1997). Although the Taiwan-born were treated as a separate "birthplace" category since 1981 (Table 1), and a section on

the Taiwan-born appeared for the first time in the Australian National Overview (Walmsley, Roley and Hugo, 1999), the number of Taiwanese in Australia was underestimated because Taiwanese who were born in Mainland China and came to Taiwan around 1949 due to the civil war with the communists are not included in the "Taiwan-born" category.

Table 1: Population of Taiwan-born, Hong Kong-born and China-born in Australia, 1861-2001.

Census year	Taiwan-born	Hong Kong-born	China-born
1861	-	-	38,258
1871	-	-	28,351
1881	-	-	38,533
1891	-	-	36,031
1901	-	167	29,907
1911	-	413	20,775
1921	-	337	15,224
1933	-	236	8,579
1947	-	762	6,404
1954	-	1,554	10,277
1961	-	3,544	14,488
1966	-	4,206	17,390
1971	-	5,583	17,601
1976	-	8,818	19,542
1981	877	15,717	25,883
1986	2,056	28,293	37,469
1991	12,958	57,510	77,799
1996	19,547	68,350	111,124
2001	22,418	67,122	142,780

Source: Zhao, 2000a, 2000b; Walmsley, Roley and Hugo (1998); Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001) Unpublished data.

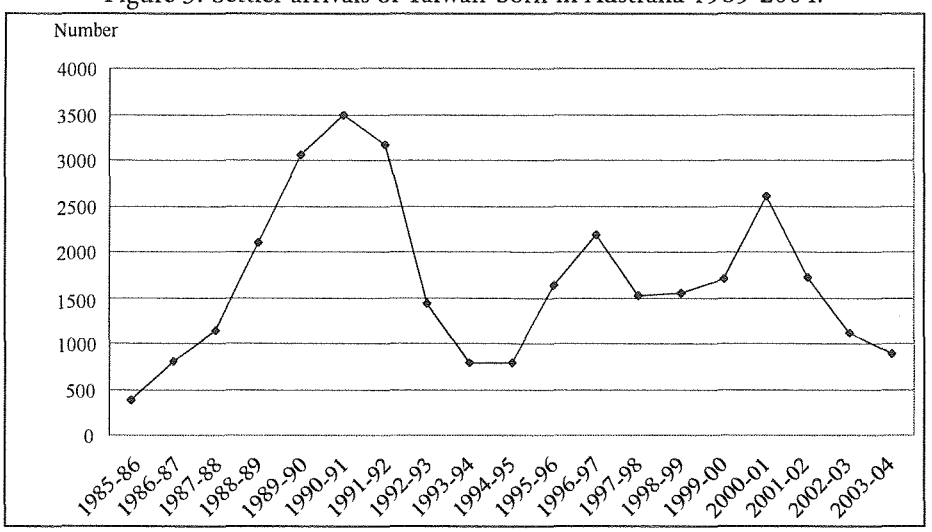
The number of Taiwan-born has increased approximately 10-fold between 1986 and 1996, while it nearly doubled between 1991 and 2001. While the nature of immigration of Chinese from Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Mainland differs in reasons and magnitude, Taiwanese immigration is likened to the "second wave" of ethnic Chinese immigrants that began in 1985 and peaked in 1991 (Ip, 2001)[2]. Figure 3 shows that the number of Taiwanese settler arrivals was highest in 1990-91 (at 3,491 persons), and 2000-2001 (2,599 persons). By the late 1990s, Taiwan became the ninth largest source country for immigrants to Australia, accounting for 2.5 percent of all arrivals in 1996-1997 (2,180 persons)[3].

Immigration to Australia is largely an outcome of her policies, which is highly selective of immigrants based on skills and business potential. The year 1972 marked the end of the White Australian Policy, when the labour government was in power. As part of her multicultural policy, and the need to restructure the basis of its economy from manufacturing to service or knowledge-based industries, the

implementation of the Business Migration Program began in 1981, in order to attract immigrants who brought in capital and skills (Inglis, 1999). At the same time, economic developments in Europe meant there were few Europeans seeking to migrate to Australia, thus attracting highly educated and skilled professionals from economically affluent NICs in Asia (Castles and Miller, 1993).

The impact of the economic and business migration program (BMP) is suggested by the large numbers of Taiwanese immigrants who arrived in Australia under these categories. Between July 1982 and June 1990 a total of 36,555 BMP settler arrivals took place. During this time, 15.3 percent of all business migrants came from Taiwan (Ip, 2001). In fact, between 1991/2 and 1995/6 about 61 per cent of the skilled settler arrivals from Taiwan were business migrants, and close to 90 per cent of the skilled migrants from Taiwan who settled in Queensland entered under the business migration category. As indicated by data on settler arrivals (DIMIA, various issues), most Taiwanese migrants came to Australia under "skilled" or "family" categories[4].

Figure 3: Settler arrivals of Taiwan-born in Australia 1985-2004.



Source: DIMIA, 2002a, 2002b, 2004.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Since the Census gives the general patterns and trends, it is possible to make comparisons between Chinese from Taiwan, Mainland China and Hong Kong. However, the cost of getting unpublished data through "customized service" would be quite high if one tries to acquire same levels of data for all three nations/economies. The following analysis focus on the Taiwan-born in their socio-demographic

profile, labour status, residential mobility, gender relations in households and to some extent, the young first generation. Apart from using the census, ethnographic research, a survey, and published literature are employed. It is believed by the authors that the ethnographic research method in the Taiwanese community is necessary to supplement macro-level studies.

The age-sex structure of the Taiwan-born population of Australia reflects their recent arrival (Table 2, Figure 4). There are very few older people, with only 6 percent being aged 55 years or over in 2001. The largest age groups are 15-24 (43.1 percent for males, 33.4 percent for females) and 35-54 (22.7 percent for males, 35.7 percent for females), the former reflecting the significant number of students among the Taiwan-born. As a result, the median age of 25 is much lower than that of Australia's population. The sex ratio recorded at the 2001 census was 82.8 men to 100 women, indicating strong overall female dominance, especially in the age groups of 35-44 and 45-54. Compared to the sex-ratio of the China-born (87.4) and Hong Kong-born (94.0) in 2001, the overall proportion of males is much lower. The higher proportion of males in the age group of 15-24 and the overall low sex ratio suggest better chances for education for young males than females, and a higher prevalence of women-headed "astronaut" families among the Taiwan-born. This will be discussed later in the paper.

Table 2: Age-sex profiles for Taiwan-born, 1981-2001 (percent).

	1981		1986		1991		1996		2001	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	16.7	23.4	30.6	25.0	29.7	21.3	15.9	11.6	10.5	8.2
15-24	20.3	20.3	15.0	12.9	24.9	26.5	42.6	37.7	43.1	33.4
25-34	31.8	36.9	23.7	32.0	12.9	16.0	12.7	14.5	12.2	17.4
35-44	14.0	10.6	18.2	21.3	18.7	25.6	11.9	19.8	8.8	16.1
45-54	11.9	5.1	7.7	5.2	10.2	6.5	11.8	12.2	13.9	19.6
55-64	4.3	2.5	2.8	2.9	2.1	2.4	3.2	2.4	4.7	3.3
65+	1.3	1.2	2.2	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0
	394	483	861	1,195	5,811	8,751	10,796	7,147	10,152	12,266
Total	877		2,056		12,958		19,547		22,418	

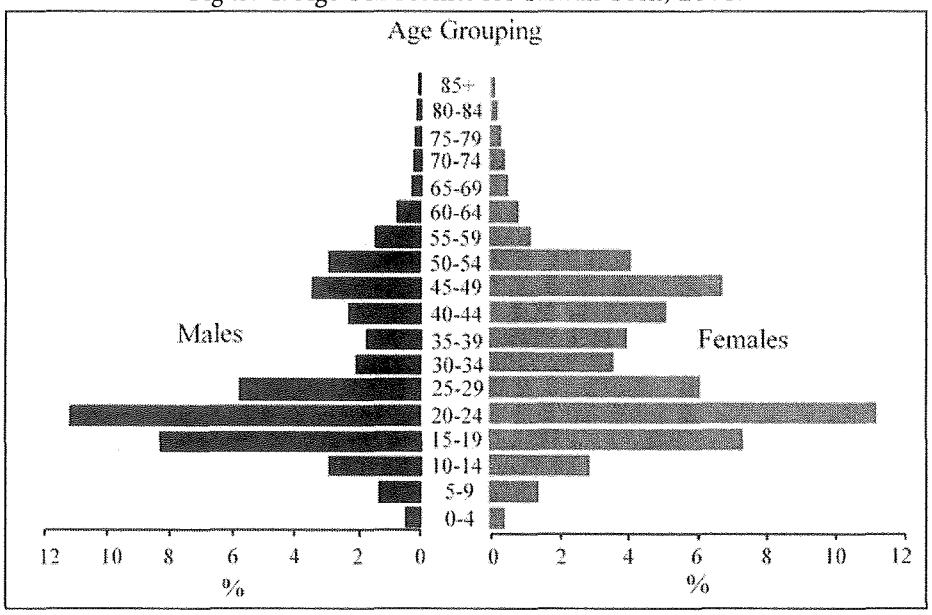
M - Male; F - Female

Source: ABS, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001, Unpublished data.

Among the highly educated Asian migrants, Taiwanese constitute significant numbers (26.8 percent of the Taiwan-born owns bachelor degrees or above) compared to 12.9% of the Australian population. The Hong Kong-born and China-born are almost equally as well educated (Table 3). A total of 70.9 percent of the Taiwan-born report that they speak English very well or well, while close to one

quarter report that they cannot speak English at all or cannot speak it well. This shows a big improvement in their English ability compared to the previous Census. While the majority (87.3 percent) used Mandarin, a few speaks Hakka, Minnan and other languages at home. While about one third of them claim to follow no religion, the dominant belief is Buddhism (43.7 percent), followed by other religions (13.2 percent). The significant change in religious composition from 1996 to 2001, especially increase in Buddhism, deserves further study.

Figure 4: Age-Sex Profiles for Taiwan-born, 2001.



Source: DIMIA, 2004.

Despite high levels of education, and the increasing proportion of population who answer the question "How well does the person speak English?" by claiming that they "speak English very well/well" (53.7 percent in 1991, 65.4 percent in 1996, and 70.9 percent in 2001), the Taiwan-born are not very proficient in English. In our survey of Taiwanese immigrants (Chiang and Hsu, 2004), we found that language barrier was the most serious adaptation problem among Taiwanese immigrants in Australia, followed by separation of family members, and employment (Table 4).[5]

Research indicates that proficiency in English is a key for immigrants to finding suitable employment (Schak, 1999; Inglis, 1999; Ip, 2001). The authors confirm that weak English language ability is indeed a major barrier for recent Taiwanese migrants and impedes not only their ability to communicate with Australians, but

also their ability to obtain work (Chiang and Kuo, 2000, Chiang and Hsu, 2000, Chiang and Song, 2001; Chiang, 2004a; Chiang and Hsu, 2003).

Table 3: Education level of Taiwan-born, Hong Kong-born and China-born, aged 15 years and over, 2001. Unit: persons.

	Taiwan-born		Hong Kong-born		China-born	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Postgraduate degree	1,134	5.6	3,593	5.9	8,108	6.0
Graduate diploma & graduate certificate	209	1.0	1,032	1.7	1,709	1.3
Bachelor degree	4,109	20.2	11,955	19.6	22,860	17.0
Advanced diploma and diploma	1,569	7.7	5,083	8.3	12,755	9.5
Certificate	803	3.9	4,015	6.6	7,115	5.3
Not stated (b)	1,533	7.5	3,503	5.7	11,034	8.2
Not applicable (c)	10,991	54.0	31,765	52.1	71,143	52.8
Total	20,348		60,946		134,724	

Source: ABS (2001) Unpublished data.

(a) Excludes schooling up to Year 12.

(b) Includes 'Inadequately described'.

(c) Includes persons who do not have a qualification and persons who have a qualification out of scope of the Australian Standard Classification of Education.

Table 4: The most serious adaptation problems of Taiwanese immigrants in Australia.

Problems	Number	Percentage
Language barrier	212	26.9
Family members living separately	115	14.6
Employment	105	13.4
Schooling for children	90	11.4
Bringing up children	52	6.6
Economics	42	5.3
Finding marriage partners	34	4.3
Certification of education	27	3.4
Life adjustment	11	1.4
Obtaining citizenship	11	1.3
Others	89	11.3
Total	789	100.0

Source: Chiang and Hsu, 2004.

Kee and Skeldon (1994) found that among the Hong Kong-born, the adjustment problem was aggravated considerably if the parents spoke little English. In these cases, young children had, on occasion, to handle external matters for the parents, and there were role reversals between men and women and between children and parents. This is true of Taiwanese immigrants in Australia (Lee, 1992) and New Zealand (Boyer, 1999; Ip, 2003). Wu (2003) noted that immigrants from Taiwan reported the highest levels of encounter with racial discrimination, and the situation

may be related to language problems.

DISTRIBUTION AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Distribution pattern

The Taiwanese tend to be concentrated, like most other Asian migrants, in Australia's major metropolitan areas, especially Sydney and Brisbane. The China-born and the Hong Kong-born, on the other hand, are concentrated in Sydney and Melbourne. Of Taiwanese migrants, 88 percent lived in four cities as of 2001—33.5 percent (7,502 persons) in Sydney, 32.1 percent (7,205 persons) in Brisbane, 18.9 percent (4,248 persons) in Melbourne, 4.0 percent (892), and 11.5 percent (2,571) in other cities. Brisbane succeeded Melbourne in 1991 to become the second most popular city after Sydney to live in (Table 5). The distribution of Taiwan-born population in Australia's major cities from 1986 to 2001 is shown in Figure 5.

Table 5: Distribution of Taiwan-born in three major cities in Australia, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001.

	1986		1991		1996		2001	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Sydney	806	39.2	4,921	38.0	6,729	34.4	7,502	33.5
Melbourne	577	28.1	2,413	18.6	3,432	17.6	4,248	18.9
Brisbane	219	10.7	3,600	27.8	6,038	30.9	7,205	32.1
Perth*							892	4.0
Total	1,602	77.9	10,934	84.4	16,199	82.9	19,847	88.5
Others	454	22.1	2,024	15.6	3,348	17.1	2,571	11.5
Total population	2,056	100.0	12,958	100.0	19,547	100.0	22,418	100.0

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Unpublished Census Data, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001.

* Data not avaliable for 1986, 1991 and 1996.

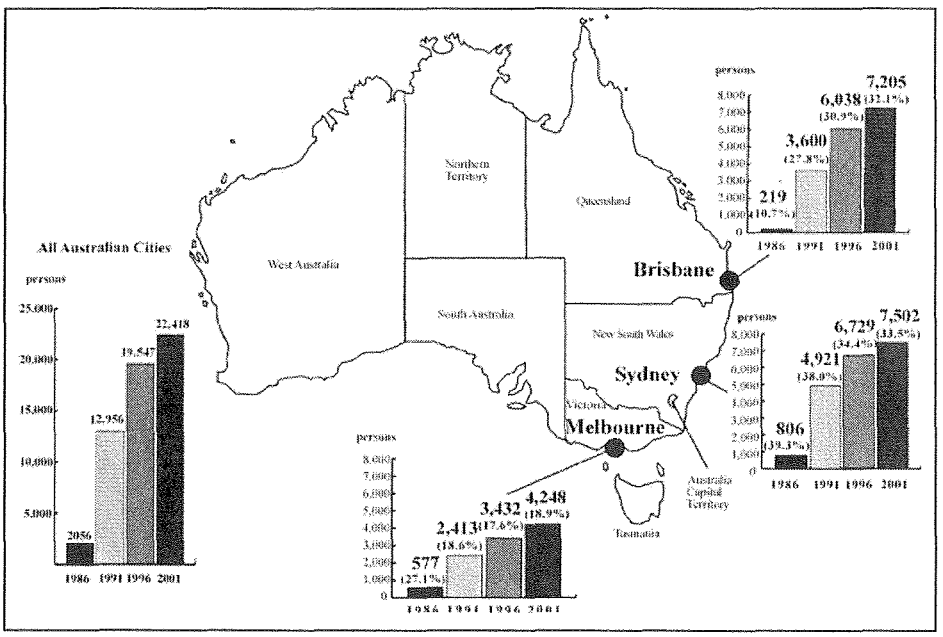
Between the census years 1991 and 1996, Queensland rose from second to the foremost state hosting the largest concentration of Taiwan-born population. As of 2001 Census, the top three states populated by the Taiwan-born were Queensland (37.6 percent), followed by New South Wales (35.3 percent) and Victoria (19.4 percent) (Table 6, Figure 6). In spite of the leading position of New South Wales in attracting the largest number of immigrants from overseas, it is superseded by Queensland as the most popular state for the Taiwanese.

Table 6: Distribution of Taiwan-born population by Australian states, 1991, 1996, 2001.

State of Australia	1991	1996	2001
New South Wales	39.9	36.5	35.3
Victoria	19.3	18.3	19.4
Oueensland	32.2	37.0	37.6
South Australia	2.1	2.4	2.3
West Australia	4.7	4.5	3.9
Tasmania	0.1	0.2	0.2
North Territory	0.4	0.2	0.3
Australia Capital Territory	1.3	1.1	0.9

Sources: Hugo and Maher, 1995; Walmsley et al., 1998; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001.

Figure 5: Distribution of Taiwan-born in Major Cities in Australia, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001.



Data sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001.

Locational decisions

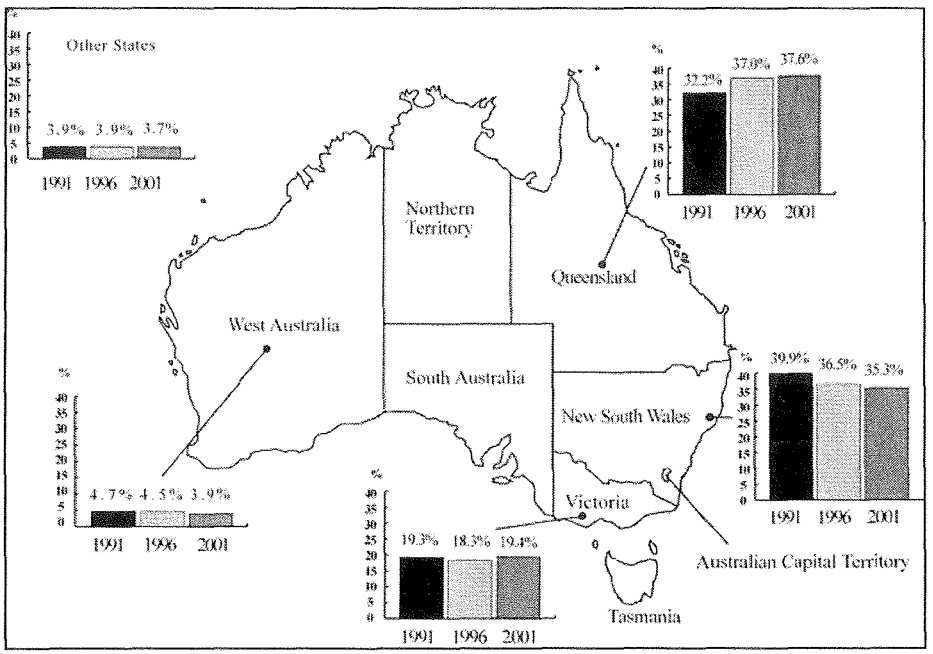
As Taiwanese migrants moved for their children's education and "lifestyle" considerations, these reasons would enter their decisions in choosing a particular city and where to live in that city. Moreover, the creation of "astronaut" families[6] after settling down, stages in the family life-cycle, and adaptation process may also affect location decisions. Apart from these social considerations, other cultural factors also

operate, differentiating the Taiwanese migrants from other Australians (Hsu and Chiang, 2001, 2004). The following discussions focus on selecting the city and initial location factors.

Selecting the city

In general, the main reasons for choosing Sydney were favorable business opportunities, and the northern part of Sydney was preferred. Those who chose Brisbane were attracted by the good climate there, and the residents preferred the Sunnybank area. Melbourne was chosen for the good education it offers, and areas near good schools were selected.

Figure 6: Distribution of Taiwan-born population by Australian states, 1991, 1996, 2001.



Data sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, unpublished census data, 1991, 1996, 2001.

The Taiwanese population is dispersed in newly developed and affluent communities in Sydney in its northern parts such as Ku-ring-gai, Hornsby, Baulkham Hills and Willoughby, collectively called *"hao chu"* (good area) by the Taiwanese. The relatively flat, less expensive and conveniently located areas of Ashfield, Burwood, Strathfield, Parramatta and Fairfield in the Central part of the city are also well occupied. In addition, Randwick and Maroubra were selected by early migrants for their location near the city and universities, apart from good ocean views. Finally, Woollahra, overlooking the Sydney harbor, is selected by affluent Taiwanese who

speculate in properties. It is a prestigious and expensive area to have the *"hsueh li san bao"* (three 'treasures' of Sydney) in view, namely, the Opera House, Sydney Harbor Bridge and Sydney Tower.

Brisbane and the Gold Coast that are located in the south-east of the "Sunshine State" of Queensland are selected, particularly by Taiwanese from Kaohsiung. The earlier Taiwanese migrants selected towns in rolling country near the Brisbane River such as Indooroopilly and St Lucia where the University of Queensland and many good schools are located. The later Taiwanese settlers came for the newly developed and flat areas of Sunnybank and its surrounding towns of Sunnybank Hills, MacGregor, Eight Mile Plains, Robertson, Runcorn and Stretton.

Preceded by the Hong Kong migrants who were the first wave of Chinese immigrants to invest in property, the Taiwanese also tended to select areas with good transportation, shopping malls and Asian food markets. Almost like a second Chinatown, Sunnybank in Brisbane earned its name "Little Taipei". A third popular area is Cleveland, east of Brisbane and at the end of the railway line, with its canal residence and jetties for individual homes. Away from the crowded Asian prototype cities in their homeland, most Taiwanese now live in big affordable houses, gardens and swimming pools, just like other wealthy Australians.

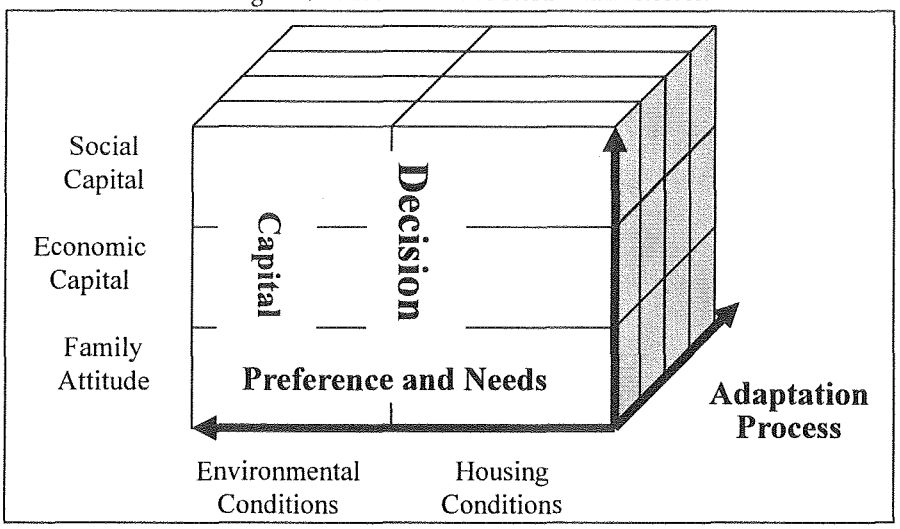
In spite of its bad weather described as "four seasons in one day"[7], Melbourne is considered the "cultural city" (*wen hua zhi tu*) in the eyes of the Taiwanese who brought their children to Australia to get a better education than available in Taiwan. Some came because of relatives and friends among the earlier migrants. Kew, Balwyn and Doncaster on the tramline and other public transportation routes are desirable areas to live, for those who started to drive on a different side of the road for the first time. Good schools also attract the Taiwanese to Balwyn, Balwyn North, Glen Waverley, and Camberwell. Six miles from the city centre and on the tramline, Kew, where old and expensive houses are located, attracts Chinese from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Friends and relatives who came earlier and migration agents speed up the decision to settle in these prestigious areas. Doncaster, Doncaster East and Templestowe which are further away from the city are newly developed areas near the highway. Box Hill on the intersection of the rail and bus lines attracts a lot of Chinese for its Asian food, markets, and retail shops.

Hsu (2002) conducted ethnographic interviews of 79 Taiwanese immigrants to inquire after their residential choice and decision-making process. In general, the migrants always choose to locate in close proximity to their family, friends and Taiwanese communities. They preferred new houses that are dominated by three- and four-bedroom units and that tend to give them a high level of satisfaction. The factors considered in their locational choice included income and housing budget, children's education, proximity to work and shops and friend's opinions. Over time, the reasons for residential choice changed, reflecting individual preferences and experiences, apart from such main reasons of change as life-cycles and fluctuating housing prices. Gradually, there appeared a lower preference for houses with swim-

ming pools and gardens, as migrants relocate to different houses.

Hsu summarized the above discussion as "decision mechanism" in Figure 7. Both "rational" and "irrational" factors enter the migrant's decision which are summarized as "needs", "capital" and "adaptation", which are interacting in the household as a decision-making unit.

Figure 7: Mechanism of residential choices.



Source: Hsu, 2002

Changes in residential location

After more than twenty years of settlement, the number and distribution of the Taiwan-born exhibited changes over time at the macro-level. Figures 8, 9, 10 show the changes in standard statistical areas in the three large cities. A trend towards concentration around the Sunnybank area takes place in Brisbane, while the Taiwanese settlers are more spread out in Sydney and Melbourne. Over time, it is likely that the Taiwanese community will become more dispersed as they further mix with the host society.

Like the Hong-Kong-born, the settlement pattern of recent Taiwanese migrants are different from earlier Chinese settlers who concentrated in Chinatowns, where immigrants had businesses, family and kinship networks, and access to daily necessities like food and various types of merchandise. Interestingly, concentrations of the Hong Kong migrants in Chatswood, Sydney form a second Chinatown, (Burnley 1996), and Sunnybank is coined "little Taipei" by the Taiwanese in Brisbane. Chain migration has rapidly developed after their initial location, despite their wide distribution in the large cities.

Figure 8: Changing distribution of Taiwan-born in Sydney by Statistical Local Areas (SLA), 1991, 1996, 2001.

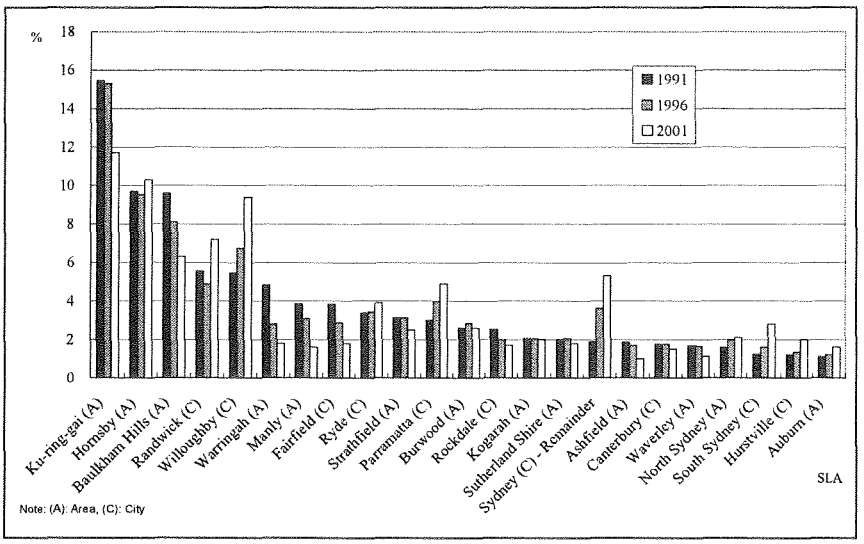


Figure 9: Changing distribution of Taiwan-born in Brisbane by Statistical Local Areas (SLA), 1991, 1996, 2001.

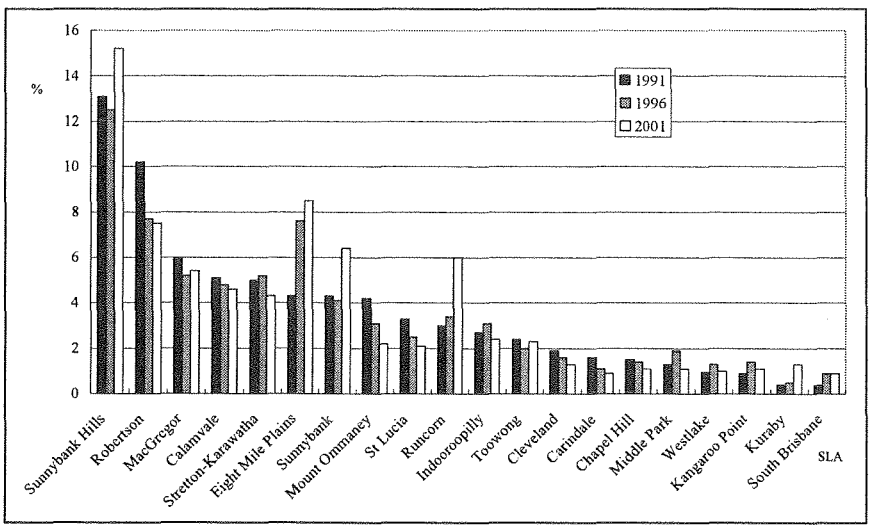
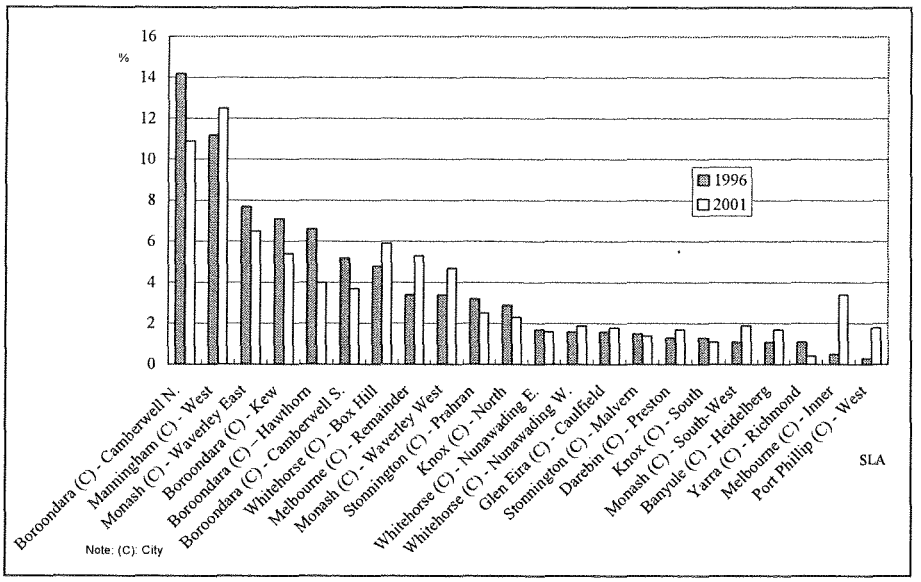


Figure 10: Changing distribution of Taiwan-born in Melbourne by Statistical Local Areas (SLA), 1991, 1996, 2001.



LABOR FORCE STATUS

Australian immigration policy makers commonly assume that well-off business immigrants with a track record of business success in their home countries can reproduce their success in Australia. Economic and business migrants are expected to compare favourably with the host population in terms of education, entrepreneurial skills, employment rates, and homeownership. As indicated in the previous section, more immigrants from Taiwan (26.8 percent) have college degrees or high school diplomas than the Australia-born (12.9 percent). They are also quite skilled. The number of low-skilled individuals is much lower among the Taiwan-born than among the Australian-born and very few Taiwanese immigrants are manual labourers. A conspicuously large proportion of the Taiwan-born is employed in managerial occupations. Despite their recent arrival, immigrants from Taiwan have high home ownership (75.3 percent in 1996, 61.8 percent in 2001) compared with the Australia-born (71.2 percent in 1996, 59.4 percent in 2001). At the same time, the Taiwan-born have an unexpectedly high unemployment rate. In contrast to the Australia-born, many more Taiwanese occupy the lowest-income categories (Walmsley, Roley and Hugo, 1998).

Availability of unpublished Census data through customized service from the Australian Bureau of Statistics enable us to get data on labor force status for the census years of 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, and 2001 (Table 7). Unemployment has

risen dramatically in 1991 and declined in the last ten years. Compared to the China-born and Hong Kong-born immigrants, one can see that even though the employment of the Taiwan-born has increased between 1991 and 2001 Census, the unemployment rate is higher than the Hong Kong-born (7.8 percent), and the China-born (10.1) in 2001 (Table 8).

Table 7: Labor force status of Taiwan-born immigrants in Autralia 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001, Unit: persons.

	1981		1986		1991		1996		2001	
	M	F	M	F	F	M	M	F	M	F
Employed	150	153	343	382	978	1,015	1,784	2,021	3,147	3,547
Unemployed	9	18	44	73	365	369	446	484	645	620
Not in the labor force	169	199	196	442	2,669	4,155	5,046	6,948	5,234	7,015
Persons aged under 15	66	113	263	286	1,744	1,515	1,393	1,247	1,063	1,007
Not stated	0	0	15	12	86	129	82	96	146	160
Total persons	394	483	861	1,195	5,842	7,183	8,751	10,796	9,026	11,182
Unemployment Rate UR	5.7	105	11.4	16.0	27.2	26.7	20.0	19.3	17.0	14.9
Total (UR)		8.2		13.9		26.9		19.6		15.9

M - Male; F - Female

Data source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 unpublished data.

Table 8: Labor force status of Taiwan-born, Hong Kong-born and China-born immigrants in Australia, 2001(a), Unit: persons.

	Taiwan-born		Hong Kong-born		China-born	
Labor Force Status	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total Employed (A)	3,147	3,547	16,740	14,984	34,907	28,505
Full-time (b)	1,881	1,731	12,634	8,684	25,919	17,838
Part-time (c)	1,120	1,656	3,634	5,888	7,527	9,501
Not stated	146	160	472	412	1,461	1,166
Unemployed (B)	645	620	1,469	1,198	3,413	3,735
Total labor force (C)=(A)+(B	3,792	4,167	18,209	16,182	38,320	32,240
Not in the labor force (D)	5,234	7,015	11,038	15,294	23,464	39,118
Total persons (C)+(D)	9,026	11,182	29,247	31,476	61,784	71,358
Unemployment rate (F)=(B)/(C)	17	14.9	8.1	7.4	8.9	11.6
Total (UR)		15.9		7.8		10.1

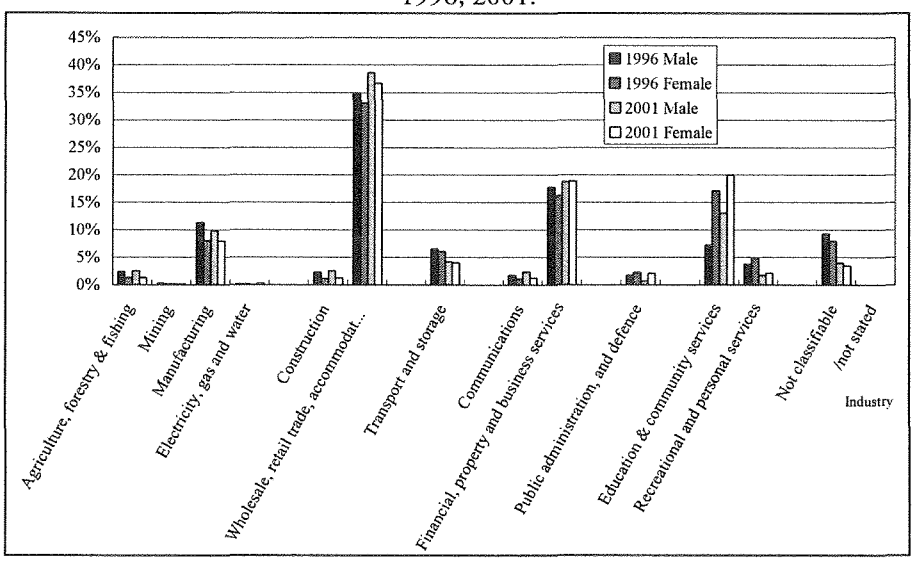
M - Male; F - Female

Source: ABS, 2001, unpublished data.

Note: a. Applicable to persons aged 15 years and over.
b. Full-time is defined as having worked 35 hours or more in all jobs in the week prior to Census night.
c. Includes persons who did not state their hours worked.

An earlier paper (Chiang and Kuo, 2000) used the unpublished 1986, 1991, and 1996 censuses to examine the labour force participation, employment rates, occupational status, levels of income, and gender differences in the economic integration of Taiwanese immigrants to Australia. Their findings indicated that in 1996, most (34.8 percent) Taiwan-born male immigrants were engaged in the wholesale, retail, hotel, and restaurant business, followed by finance, property, and business services (17.8 percent). Most (33.1 percent) females tended to work in the wholesale, retail, hotel, and restaurant business, followed by education and community services (17.2 percent). Moreover, most (43.4 percent) males tended to occupy managerial, executive, and professional positions, while most females held clerical, sales, and service positions (40.9 percent). Taiwan-born immigrants worked predominantly in private sectors (83.7 percent), with some 10 per cent working for federal or local governments. As seen in Figure 11, a higher concentration in the three leading industries takes place between the two census years, while an overall decrease is found in all the other industries (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Employment of Taiwan-born immigrants in Australia by industry, 1996, 2001.



Early findings (Chiang and Kuo, 2000) suggest that the employment rate among Taiwanese immigrants in 1996 is among the lowest noted for any immigrant group. Taiwanese men tend to be more successful economically than Taiwanese women in terms of their income levels, occupational status, and labour-force participation. Most Taiwanese immigrants to Australia experience downward social mobility due

to factors such as unaccredited overseas qualifications, a lack of English proficiency and local knowledge, and other institutional discriminatory factors. Through ethnographic interviews in the last few years, the authors found that in spite of their high educational levels, Taiwanese migrants face various difficulties with finding employment commensurate with their former business skills. As underemployment and downward mobility are common within this recent group of migrants, there is a need to depend on other sources of income, such as savings and work in Taiwan (Chiang and Hsu 2000). As the Taiwanese immigrant community is relatively new, it is difficult for them to start profitable businesses or adapt well right away. Apart from the English language, the major difficulties of the Taiwanese are: unfamiliarity with Australian business culture and labour relations, complex rules and regulations, the small size of the market and high taxes. Not only is it difficult for them to establish themselves in a relatively short time after settlement, but it is also clear that their employment status is much lower than it was originally in Taiwan. Originating from Taiwan as business migrants with capital and expertise in manufacturing, export and international marketing, they find it hard to take up work that is not commensurate with their education and economic background. It is therefore unlikely that they engage themselves as wage/salary earners. Many go for technical and further education (TAFE) or university degrees, or engage in various types of self-employment, apart from the small number who have succeeded in trade investments and created employment. The ethnic businesses that they are engaged in go beyond the conventional definitions of employment and occupations in Australia. On the other hand, they are active in various Taiwanese social organizations, and have carried out admirable voluntary work, thus being in contact with Australian society in spite of their lack of fluency in English and familiarity with Australian way of life (Chiang and Song, 2001).

Meanwhile, many Taiwanese migrants are eager to establish their own careers in Australia, in spite of the many difficulties they have encountered. For many, unemployment is only a transitory situation, as they resort to self-employment as a way out of their predicament (Chiang, 2004a). Furthermore, many others are also pursuing further education and qualifications in preparation for seeking work in Australia. In our recent observations, fewer Taiwanese immigrants are engaged in leisure activities like golfing, fishing and gardening when they first arrived at Australia in the late 1980's, and they seem to be busily engaged in various businesses to establish themselves, as well as political and social activities. Some have benefited from their real-estate businesses due to the booming housing market between 2003 and 2004.

THE ROLE OF MOTHERS IN "ASTRONAUT" FAMILIES

While the original intention of our fieldwork was to study household decisions on where to move, and how they adapt socially and economically in Australia, the first

author also carried out a pilot study of women in astronaut households (Chiang, 2004b). As noted earlier in the age-structure and the sex ratio, more females than males have migrated from Taiwan to Australia, especially in the age groups between 35 and 54. This is the result of the return of the husband who commutes regularly across the Pacific and leaves the wife and children in Australia as an economic strategy, since the business environment and the employment market are much better back in East Asia. Although transnational or split household syndrome is commonly found in Australia, statistics are not available.

Out of the 103 households studied, the first author interviewed twenty women who live with their children while their husbands are "astronauts". By using case samples based on fieldwork in Australia, this section presents the results of a preliminary research on the women's life experiences in transnational households. Hoping to reconstruct and illuminate the realities of women's life experiences that have been hidden as dependents of male migrants, Chiang (2004b) explored the ways that transnational migration affects middle class women due to their gender, given the domestic, national and global contexts. She has adopted a "women-centered" approach which placed the women as subjects of the study, hoping to look back into her ethnographic interviews and tease out women's experiences as being different from those of other family members.

Chiang coined the term "*dan qi ma ma*" in Mandarin Chinese since the word "*dan qi*" means "living alone", and the word "*qi*" has the same sound as "wife" in Mandarin. Given the small numbers in the sample, she divided them into four types of migrants. First, the new arrivals that moved in with the whole family, finding the Australia environment very spacious, natural and clean compared to Taiwan's. Settling down with a new home in the suburbs was easily done with the help of Taiwanese agents, friends or neighbours. While children soon begin school in the regular semester, or started English classes, parents are busily acquainting themselves with other Taiwanese, public transportation, and finding access to Asian supermarkets and shopping centres. After the husband left Australia, the wife found adaptation much easier if they learn to drive soonest in a different system than Taiwan's. The second type includes women who have spent a number of years in Australia, with a good support system from friends and relatives who migrated about the same time. They are full-time mothers taking care of their children, while also devoting themselves to community work such as teaching Mandarin on the weekend, carrying out philanthropic work, and participation in women's organizations. They make good contacts with other Taiwanese through their local social activities, multitasked lifestyle brought over from Taiwan, and their acquaintance with other female heads of households. Furthermore, women who carried out businesses successfully while their children are acquiring a good education belong to the third type in the sample.

The third type consists of many female members of *Tzu-chi* (the Buddhist Compassion Relief *Tzu-chi* Foundation) which has headquarters in each of the large

cities. Typically, their husbands cannot find suitable employment in Australia and after one or two years went back to Taiwan. Religious faith, friendship, solidarity, similar ethnic origin, and constructive help provided by the Foundation for immigrants in settling down attract even the non-Buddhists upon their first arrival. The impressive volunteer work in the Australian community is often carried out by *Tzu-chi* members who meet in the well organized offices in Sydney and Melbourne built with funds from Taiwan.

The fourth type of "*dan qi ma ma*" is the real single (divorced) mother who found Australia a place without the kind of social bondage experienced in Taiwan. Common to all these "*dan qi ma ma*" that the first author studied are the vitality of women's day to day undertakings, and the strength of their social network in the Taiwanese community. In spite of their struggles to balance the needs of the husbands and the children, and suffering a number of disadvantages in their new environment, they frequently enjoyed their new autonomy and freedom from their responsibilities to their extended families in Taiwan, and the control of their (mother) in-laws. Women's role in the patriarchal traditional family therefore becomes more flexible when the middle-class family has moved abroad. Interestingly, Ley and Waters (2004) have also concluded that "patriarchy....is eroded by frequent absences and spatial separation" (p.120) in the case of Chinese astronaut households from Taiwan and Hong Kong in Canada. To conclude, middle-class Taiwanese immigrant women have diversified experiences of empowerment in Australia, not through securing new employment that corresponds with their qualifications, but their wider social participation in the host country than in Taiwan. Australia and Canada are two countries where Taiwanese migrants constitute a good part of their economic migrants, and it appears that similar household strategies have been used.

YOUNG FIRST GENERATION

One of the main reasons for emigration of Taiwanese middle-class is to be in a better educational environment for their children and often avoid the military service required of young men in Taiwan. This accounts for the growing proportion of young migrants in the age group of 15-24, especially for males. In the latter part of our research project, we try to capture differences among Taiwanese by generations by studying the young first generation (1.5 generation) who have finished their education and started work in Australia, or have returned to Taiwan to pursue careers. Close to 100 ethnographic interviews were carried out with the young first generation in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Perth; and young return migrants in Taipei by the authors and their graduate students. The issues addressed are: Social adaptation to Australian society, gender roles, and adaptation and economic incorporation of return migrants.

Young returning migrants

Liao's study (2005) discusses the motivations of the young returning migrants who emigrated at young ages with their parents, but who have returned as grown-ups, as well as their levels of adaptation and their self-identities as they move between the two societies (Figure 12). It is found that young migrants who return to Taiwan simply look for better career opportunities. Before their return, most of them evaluated both the advantages and disadvantages of the job markets in Taiwan and Australia. However, the chance of reunions with their families in Taiwan, the search for potential spouses and their affection towards Taiwan are also important factors affecting their decisions to return. The young migrants' different experiences in the two cultures/societies of Taiwan and Australia mean that they have had to adapt to various aspects of the two environments. Although our sample had not included young return migrants who do so because of poor adjustment in Australia, they do face many problems, including language and school, social relationships, changes in the family, and generation gap. However, back in Taiwan, they also need to adapt to the place of work, to their homeland society and culture, and face challenges of identity and life goals. Frequently, due to their constant need to adapt to both Taiwanese and Australian environments, they have developed a dual identity that encompasses Taiwanese and Australian cultures through which they strive to make the best use of their backgrounds in the global community. Ip (2003) found that young Taiwanese who have completed their education in New Zealand may migrate to a third country instead of returning to Taiwan.

Gender role in Taiwanese 1.5 generation immigrants

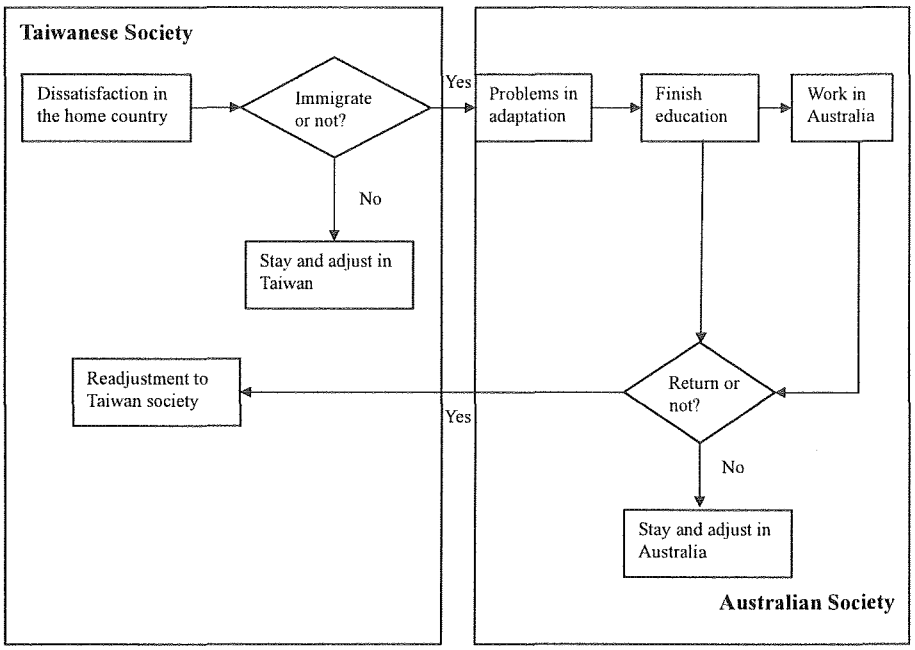
An early research by Lee (1992) shows that the young first generation are highly influenced by their parents, which they have not found necessary to resist. They tend to follow their parents' values in perceiving Australians, and therefore showed low level of assimilation. It is not surprising to hear even in our study ten years later the following remark: "I think I am less likely to marry a non-Chinese, because the culture and languages are different. I need to learn more Chinese. Chinese is my mother tongue, and I believe it would be useful in the future."

More recently, a study on gender roles was carried out by Hsu and Ip (2005), trying to explore four particular facets of their lifestyles—education, occupation, social interaction and marriage. A key issue is to observe and understand the transnational values, ideologies and perceptions these youth immigrants display, and in which facets of their lives where these distinct cultural identities will become apparent.

The secondary data sources of their research are derived from the 2001 Australian Census and 20 in-depth interviews of Taiwanese youths in Brisbane. From the results of their ethnographic interviews, many significant issues became apparent. It was found that in tertiary fields of study, males were much more inclined towards science and engineering related fields, while females generally chose fields in human-

ities and services. These distinctly different fields can be attributed to the traditional gender roles imposed by the cultural values of Taiwan and their parent (especially the father) who advocate them, as well as their social environment in Australia. It was also apparent that the field of study selected by these young sojourners determined their future occupations. For both genders, perceived identity and social position were a significant factor in the selection of occupations. It could be concluded that the males feel that their family duties and personal expectations are greater than females, causing them to have a more limited occupational choice.

Figure 12: A conceptual framework for studying young return migrants.



Source: Adapted from Liao, 2005: 59.

In general, the differences between male and female attitudes toward social relationships were minute. However, when the topic of marriage arose, notable differences between the two genders arose. When asked about prospective spouses, the male interviewees generally shared a preference for Taiwanese women or Asian women who have similar cultural experiences as themselves. This preference was found to be affected by the issue of how a prospective spouse's language and culture which differ from their parents would impact their families. Conversely, female interviewees exhibited more flexibility and acceptance to the notion of a foreign or Australian spouse.

CONCLUSION

After years of research in Australia, the authors find that the Census, occasional surveys and ethnographic interviews together provide a fuller understanding of the Taiwanese community in Australia. It is hoped that our endeavour continues for a while to cover Taiwanese in different continents, and diversity among Chinese in different regional and global contexts.

The findings of our research call for a re-examination of international migration theory which traditionally implies a one-way process of migration. In an age of globalization, transnational households are inevitably new social phenomena commonly found in major destinations of New Asian immigration. Different aspects of circular diaspora Chinese in the research agenda necessitate support from national and international interests.

The policy implications of this research are based on the outcome of our research over the years. The success of the migration program of the host country should be evaluated by adaptation of the immigrants through their economic and social incorporation. Based on our studies, we find that pre-departure information for Taiwanese immigrants and services provided by the host society for new settlers are needed, to ensure that the migrants are better prepared in employment and career planning before they go to live in a new country. This can be helped by the innumerable social organizations in the cities of Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth.

The frequency of self-employment experiences of Taiwanese migrants in Australia has raised important questions about the effectiveness of the Business Migration Programs not only in Australia, but also in other countries with similar arrangements. A comprehensive post-settlement program is necessary to ensure that migrants maximize their opportunities to be actively incorporated into the host society's economy. Migration agencies in Taiwan need to be regulated so that the prospective immigrants do not have inaccurate information of the host countries and are not charged exorbitantly for their applications.[8] The Taiwan government needs to be updated with the large number of return migrants and devise means of re-incorporating them in the work force, particularly the young first generation migrants. Since Mandarin Chinese constitute an important aspect of cultural capital for the second generation when they return for work in Taiwan or China, it is recommended that Chinese text books, teachers and schools teaching Mandarin Chinese, services to recruit returnees to the job market in Taiwan, trade and investment information are provided by the home country for the young transnational migrants.

Better immigration policy should be built on gender-sensitive research, and the study of second generation needs to be done, as migrants are part of the transnational community where "participants are often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both" (Portes, 1997, 812). As defined by Basch and her collaborators, "Transnationalism is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political

relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement...many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders" (Basch, Glick- Schiller and Szanton-Blanc, 1994, 6)

To conclude, since the overseas-born in Australia account for 23 percent of its total population, compared to 16 percent in Canada and 7.9 percent in the United States, it is a small wonder that the new Asian immigrants have been producing an impact in the host country and home country in the last two decades. While Chinese immigrants tend to live in large cities and in suburban neighbourhoods such as "Little Taipei", "Little Shanghai", or "Little Hong Kong", they become a significant part of the social and cultural geography that is worth looking into in Australia. In recent years, many Taiwanese migrants have returned to Taiwan for various reasons, and the young first generation of Taiwanese whose cultural capital is different from their parents need to be utilized in Taiwan.

Even though return migration has been noted in the first decade of Taiwanese migration (Ip, 2001), they have not been studied in Taiwan, except a handful of young first generation migrants. This is by no means unique to East Asian immigrants, as returnees from North America to European countries found reverse cultural shock common, and post-return impact and readjustment of migrants is affected by degree of acculturation (Cerase, 1974) and length of stay in the former host countries (Gmelch, 1986). Fieldwork in Taiwan, the scene of return migration, remains to be a challenge for the researchers, as it may be harder to catch the interviewees in Taiwan.

NOTES

1. Support for acquiring Census data and research on a range of topics based on ethnographic fieldwork in Australia between 1998-2005 comes from the National Science Council. A survey research of contemporary Taiwanese households in Australia was supported by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. The idea of this overview comes from the first author's participation in the workshop on "Transnationalism in the Pacific Rim: The China-Hong Kong-Canada Connections", held in the Department of Geography, University of Hong Kong on 19 May 2001. The writers hope to thank David Ley and George Lin for earlier comments, Shii Okuno and Jack Williams for their encouragement in preparing this manuscript. This paper was presented at the 8th Asian Urbanization Conference, August 23-25, Kobe, Japan.
2. There is an undercount of Taiwanese, since the national groups are placed on place of birth. Moreover, the sub-ethnic groups of Taiwanese can not be differentiated in the Census. "Language used at home" includes Mandarin Chinese (87.3 percent), Cantonese (2.6 percent) and others (6.4 percent), meaning Minnan and Hakka dialects. Kee (1999) pointed out the difficulty of measuring the size

and characteristics of diverse groups from a multi-ethnic nation, and groups without an internationally recognized country of their own. The Australian Census was therefore called "an imperfect tool" for understanding the Chinese diaspora community.

3. Settler arrival data are published by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs of Australia (DIMA) which later became the Department of Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA).
4. This Program commenced in 1981 but was suspended in 1991. In 1992 it was reintroduced as a Business Skills Program which shifted the selection requirements from the business proposal and the amount of capital to managerial skills and experiences. Taiwan is the most important source of such immigrants, followed by Hong Kong and Korea (Inglis, 1999).
5. Support from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Taiwan government has enabled the researchers to carry out a survey apart from using the Australian Census and in-depth interviews. A survey of 319 households which includes 1,028 persons living in Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth was carried out in 2002. Apart from understanding the population characteristics, reasons for migration, living conditions, adaptations, and intentions to return to Taiwan, the survey focuses on the knowledge and needs of services provided by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.
6. The term astronaut (*tai kung jen*) was first used to refer to immigrants from Hong Kong who kept their jobs and businesses in Hong Kong while sending their families off to stay in Australia and Canada. (Pe-pua et al., 1996). In the case of Taiwan, "astronauts" tended to be male breadwinners who frequently fly between Taiwan and the new country.
7. The weather changes so much in a day, and is likened to "four seasons". The Australians in Melbourne say: "If you do not like the weather, wait a minute."
8. In our fieldwork, we have heard many stories of immigrants who received information from the private immigration firms that does not match the reality in Australia. Also, they are charged high prices ranging from N.T. 200,000 to N.T. 600,000 (AUD. 1 = approx. N.T. 25) for their applications. Although registration of immigrant firms with the Taiwan government is required, it is not possible to probe into individual cases of fraudulent acts.

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