

The Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia: Current and Potential Links with the Homeland

Report of an Australian Research Council
Linkage Project

By

Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe, Deakin University
Dr Joanne Pyke, Victoria University

Research Team

Mr Ordan Andreevski, *United Macedonian Diaspora*
Professor Loretta Baldassar, *University of Western Australia*
Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe, *Deakin University*
Dr Steve Francis, *Deakin University*
Professor Graeme Hugo, *The University of Adelaide*
Professor Therese Joiner, *Monash University*
Dr Joanne Pyke, *Victoria University*

AUGUST 2012



Brick cham towers in Nha Trang, Vietnam



This project was undertaken with support from:
The Australian Research Council Linkage Project funding
The Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship, State Government of Victoria
The Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Centre for Multicultural Youth
The Australian Vietnamese Women's Association
The Footscray Asian Business Association
The Indochinese Elderly Refugee Association
The Quang Minh Temple
Co.As.It. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne
The Italo-Australian Welfare and Cultural Centre, Perth
Council for International Trade and Commerce SA Inc.

For further information contact:

Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe
Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation
Deakin University
T +61 3 9244 6917
E Danny.bm@deakin.edu.au

Dr Joanne Pyke
School of International Business
Victoria University
T +61 3 9919 2615
E joanne.pyke@vu.edu.au

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	6
Section 1: Background, Approach and Overview	12
1.1 Introduction	12
1.2 Approach and the Literature	12
1.3 Diasporas and Public Policy	14
Economic	14
Political	16
Kinship	16
Inter-Disciplinary Perspective	17
1.4 Vietnam and the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia	17
About Vietnam	17
Migration	18
The Vietnamese Diaspora	19
Vietnamese People in Australia	19
Religion	20
Media	21
Identity and family	21
1.5 Method and results	21
The Survey	22
The Focus Groups	23
1.6 Survey Respondent Characteristics	24
Key Respondent Characteristics	24
Section 2: Citizenship, Identity and Language	27
2.1 Migration and Citizenship	27
2.3 Identity and feelings towards Vietnam	28
2.4 Language Skills and Use	31
2.5 Summary of Citizenship, Identity and Language	33
Section 3: Personal Ties With the Homeland: Visits, Communications and Media Use	34
3.1 Visits to Vietnam	34
Motivations for Visits	36
Desire to Live in Vietnam	38
Visitors from Vietnam	39
3.2 Communications with Vietnam	40
3.3 Vietnamese media	43
3.4 Summary of Visits and Communications with Vietnam	47
Section 4: Political and Communal Involvement	48
4.1 Links to Vietnam through political or community involvement	48
Political activities in relation to Vietnam	48
Organisational Involvement	49
Australian government policy in relation to Vietnam	52
4.2 Summary of Political and Community Connections with Vietnam	52

Section 5: Caregiving, Remittances and Philanthropy	54
5.1 Caring for Friends, Family and Community Members in Vietnam	54
Who is Cared For?	54
Frequency of Providing Care	55
Visiting Vietnam to Care for Family, Friends or Community Members	55
Future Obligations to Care for People in Vietnam	56
5.2 Philanthropy and Remittances	56
Receiving gifts, money or goods from Vietnamese connections	58
5.3 Summary of Findings in Relation to Care, Remittances and Philanthropy	60
Section 6: Business and Professional Ties	61
6.1 Business and professional contacts	61
6.2 Summary of Business and Professional Connections	63
Section 7: Discussion and Conclusions	63
REFERENCES	67
Appendix 1: Research team members	69
Appendix 2: Vietnamese Diaspora Questionnaire and Results	70
Australian Diasporas: A Survey About Homeland Connections	70

Executive Summary

- This report describes and discusses the results and findings of a survey and focus group discussion of the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia. These were undertaken as part of a broader study funded by the Australian Research Council: *Australian Diasporas and Brain Gain: Current And Future Potential Transnational Relationships*. The investigation of the Vietnamese diaspora took place alongside research on the Macedonian, Italian and Tongan Diasporas. Each Diaspora was selected due to interest generated by particular communities. Further, each is distinctive according to Cohen's (1997) typology that classifies diasporas as 'victim', 'labour', 'trade', 'imperial' and 'cultural' diasporas. One intention of the project was to generate potentially fruitful insights through comparisons between the four very different diasporas. The Vietnamese Diaspora can be identified clearly as a 'victim' diaspora given the circumstances of forced migration following the occupation of North Vietnam of the South in 1975 marking the end of the Vietnam War. As such, the diaspora provides a clear comparison with other diasporas that were shaped by very different circumstances and conditions. However, we note that there is an emergent wave of migration from Vietnam that is primarily made up of international students as well as a proportion of migration through the skilled migration category.

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 per cent compared to 5.2 per cent) and Vietnam born Australians are over-represented in the lower paying 'Laboring 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 per cent of the prison population – a figure three times the proportion of people in the general population with Vietnamese ancestry (Baldassarri, 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.

This report is based on the findings of an online survey and focus group of the Vietnamese Diaspora. Using a snowball technique, the 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 'Laborers 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.

On almost all measures of ties between a diaspora and its homeland, such as visits, media use, political involvement, and remittances, the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia has a low level of engagement with homeland. This is explained by the refugee history of the Vietnamese diaspora in Australia and the consequent animosity towards the homeland government. However, this negativity doesn't translate into a denial of ethnic identity, however, and the findings of this research show that Vietnamese identity remains strong. Vietnamese language use remains very high, an extended family culture is the norm and traditional religious affiliation is strong. The diaspora is therefore paradoxical in the sense that it has a strong sense of ethnic identity based on homeland culture, but they have this identity and culture *despite* the homeland government and maintain it *independent of* the homeland.

The Vietnamese diaspora has a low level of connection to the homeland primarily due to the circumstances of their escape from Vietnam in 1975 as refugees, but there are signs this is changing due to three main factors. First, an increasing proportion of the diaspora is made up of those who were born in Australia or who arrived when they were very young (the 1.5 generation). These groups are now middle aged and do not have the direct refugee experience of their parents and the concomitant animosity to the homeland government. A further influence is that the current wave of migrants from Vietnam includes those who arrive as international students and whose lives and families are based in Vietnam. Finally, there is increasing recognition that there is progressive liberalization in Vietnam through the implementation of *doi moi*, the economic reform agenda introduced by the Vietnamese government in the 1980s.

Key Findings

- 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 or 305 out of 314) being Australian citizens. At the same time, being Vietnamese strongly defines identity with 88 per cent of respondents identifying as Vietnamese rather than Australian.

The extent to which this is the case, however, varies according to place of birth, with 77 per cent of those born in Vietnam identifying 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'.

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).

Visits to Vietnam are not frequent. The large majority of respondents (84.5 per cent) say that they have visited Vietnam, however, that travel is not frequent. 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. Visitation rates 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 totaling 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 and traditional media such as phone and letters is still heavily relied upon as the medium for communication, although social media including Facebook are the favored 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).

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 mobilization, 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 organization that needs help.

Involvement in locally oriented Vietnamese organisations was a factor for a majority of respondents. Of these, involvement through their religious practices was the largest single group (18 per cent), 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. Very few indicated being involved in any activities of a political nature, although there is a proportion that is involved in fund raising or religious activities. These findings continue in relation to being involved in Vietnamese organisations with the main type of organisational involvement being 'religious', 'community', or 'charitable'. Only a small proportion identified as being involved in a political organisation. 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 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'.

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'.

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 the homeland. 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.

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 political attitudes towards the Homeland Government. 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 attack. 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. This is an issue that governments need to urgently consider together with the Vietnamese community how international students can be supported if Australia wants to continue to be a preferred destination for Vietnamese 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. If the Vietnamese Government wants to maximise the potential for tourism and development of the Vietnamese Diaspora, it needs to develop a Diaspora strategy.

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 of a new wave of Vietnamese international students arriving in Australia. 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.

Section 1: Background, Approach and Overview

1.1 Introduction

This report describes and discusses the results and findings of a survey and focus group discussion of the Vietnamese diaspora in Australia. These were undertaken as part of a broader study funded by the Australian Research Council: *Australian Diasporas and Brain Gain: Current and Future Potential Transnational Relationships*. The investigation of the Vietnamese diaspora took place alongside research on the Macedonian, Italian and Tongan Diasporas. Each diaspora was selected due to interest generated by particular communities. Further, each is distinctive according to Cohen's (1997) typology that classifies diasporas as 'victim', 'labour', 'trade', 'imperial' and 'cultural' diasporas. One intention of the project was to generate potentially fruitful insights through comparisons between the four very different diasporas. The Vietnamese Diaspora can be identified clearly as a 'victim' diaspora given the circumstances of forced migration primarily following the occupation of North Vietnam of the South in 1975 marking the end of the Vietnam War. As such, the diaspora provides a clear comparison with other diasporas that were shaped by very different circumstances and conditions. We do note, however that recent migration from Vietnam includes the temporary migration of international students as well as a proportion of migration through the skilled migration category.

The project was implemented in collaboration with a number of community partners as well as researchers from four Universities including the University of Adelaide, the University of West Australia, La Trobe University and Victoria University as the administering University. Details of both the community partners and the collaborating researchers are listed in Appendix 1, however, a key feature of the project is its interdisciplinary approach that brings together researchers with diverse disciplinary backgrounds including anthropology, political science, economics and geography. As such, the design of the project methods sought to capture multiple dimensions of what diasporas mean in the Australian context through the varied perspectives.

This report gives an overview of literature relating to diaspora, describes the methods adopted in the study and presents the results in relation to what they reveal about the extent to which the Vietnamese diaspora identifies and connects with the homeland today, how this is manifest and why. Further, the report also explores the potential for promoting transnational connections in relation to policy priorities of both the Australian and Vietnamese government.

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 (Brazier 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 p. 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 describes, an embodiment of transnationalism (Waters 1995).

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 p. 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' (Braziel 2008). It is also deployed within a political context, and as put forward by Lee (2006), the concept is 'flexible' in that it is commonly constructed strategically depending on the interests of a given diaspora. For example, in a major report comparing diaspora strategies internationally to inform Irish diaspora policy development, Aikins, Sands et al. (2009 p. 6) define the Irish diaspora as, '...a global tribe united by history, culture and shared experiences and networked through technology'. Besides the use of the term 'tribe', this report also refers to the 'Global Irish' and the 'Irish diaspora' interchangeably building a narrative that conveys a strong sense of connection between the diaspora and the homeland as part of a policy objective to harness attention, money and knowledge towards Ireland.

Combined, these factors mean that the term diaspora is one that is often used loosely within the literature and is applied not only to those that maintain connections with a national homeland, but to a range of collectivities and phenomenon that have formed through global and transnational movement including such groupings as student (Asmar 2005), intellectual (Teferra 2005; Welch 2008) and management diasporas (Tung 2008; Kitching, Smallbone et al. 2009). Despite these vagaries and problems, there have been progressive attempts to usefully define the term for the purpose of analysis.

In an attempt to deal with the definitional problems arising from the increasingly 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 p. 192). These include:

- 1) Dispersal from an original homeland to a minimum of two or more destinations;
- 2) The sustained relationship to an actual or imagined homeland;
- 3) 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
- 4) The diaspora's existence over at least two generations.

A further discussion within the literature is around making distinctions between 'classical' diasporas most commonly exemplified by the Jewish diaspora and contemporary diasporas (Saxenian 2005; Hugo 2006). For the purposes of this project, Cohen's typology of diasporas 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 characterization for the 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.

According to Cohen's (1997) typology, victim diasporas are characterised by the catastrophic origins of dispersal from homelands and where people left homelands as refugees. The Jewish, Sudanese and Vietnamese diasporas exemplify this type. Labour diasporas refer to those that left homelands due to a lack of economic opportunities and in search of work and Indian and Pacific diasporas are current representations of this type.

Within this category, Cohen (1997 p. xii) also refers to powerful nation states that establish overseas as part of an imperial quest. The British are identified as being particularly characteristic of establishing overseas settlements. Trade diasporas describe ‘...networks of proactive merchants who transport, buy and sell their goods over long distances...’ (Cohen 1997 p. xii). Examples include Chinese, Lebanese and Indian diasporas whose dispersal is largely an outcome of selling goods overseas. In addition, there is a category of ‘cultural diasporas’ which is identified as important due to the fragmented and postcolonial nature of diasporas that are tied more by life-style, literature, political ideas and music than by permanent migration. Caribbean diasporas is the example used by Cohen (1997), but in the Australian context, Pacific Island diasporas might also be typified by culture as much as being a labour diaspora. Overall, the intent of the typology is to provide a 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 organization 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 provision of transnational care and welfare (Konwiser, Kavanagh et al. 2001; 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 approach to the research was guided by the need for attention to the mix of implications. The most obvious of which is the economic dimensions of diasporas, their formation and impacts.

Economic

The importance of understanding diasporas in terms of their economic impact through remittances, trade, investment, employment and entrepreneurship is the most clear 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. As Brown and Lauder (2006 p. 50) describe,

The dominant view today is that we have entered a global knowledge economy, driven by the application of new technologies and collapsing barriers to international trade and investment, accelerating the evolutionary path from a low to a high skills economy. Becker (2002) has depicted an

'age of human capital', where the prosperity of individuals and nations rests on the skills, knowledge and enterprise of all rather than the elite few that drove industrial capitalism in the twentieth century.

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; Hugo 2006). 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. Brown and Lauder (2006) refer to 'magnet economies' such as the USA, Canada, Australia, the UK, France, Germany and New Zealand that are able to offer better conditions and opportunities for work and study.

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, 2002, 2005). '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 'high 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: firstly, diasporas create trusting trading partners which is particularly important in a weak international legal environment and secondly, diaspora possess valuable market information in both home and host countries. This builds on Cohen's (1969) idea arguing 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. 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 world-wide 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. Such strategies have varied according to context, and for poorer countries, the dominant approach has been to develop incentives and inducements for skilled emigrants to return home. As Lerner (2007) documents, such strategies have not met with great success and the approach generally has shifted to trying to stay connected with the diaspora through physical and technologically enhanced networks and incentives to return for short periods. Nonetheless, Johnson and Sedaca (2004) provide a useful compendium of diaspora-development linkages and associated programmatic activities, challenges and possible policy implications. 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, not only 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). Most notable in recent years, was the deciding influence of the diaspora vote on the 2008 Italian elections (Griffin 2006). There is also exploration in the literature of how diasporas seek to bring about favourable 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). At a political science level, the politics of diaspora represent a challenge to theories of political organisation and development. As Sandleer (2003) explores, the Jewish diaspora exemplifies the difficulties in defining the scope and influence of the Jewish diaspora. Since 1948 one could speak of a Jewish state, a Jewish nation, a Jewish diaspora, a Jewish people, Jewish communities, and both Jewish national and international or transnational organizations, all existing concurrently. Sandler (2003) conceptualises the Jewish diaspora as encompassing unique interests and power, a distinct structure of interdependence, and a normative value system. While the political and economic literature explores the significance and meanings of diasporas in its tangible, measureable and public impacts, there is a growing body of literature that approaches the topic as a private phenomenon emanating through cultural and kinship structures and relationships.

Kinship

The theme of kinship is explored through the fields of anthropology, history and political science that identifies family, blood line, religious or ethnic connections as the central driver of diaspora formation, processes and maintenance. This is an emerging field of research that critiques the preoccupation with the 'macro' and utilitarian dimensions of diasporas that are concerned primarily with the 'rational choice' elements of diasporas and their motivations for connection with a diaspora and homeland. Such a preoccupation disguises the very powerful non-economic factors that are highly influential in decision making about transnational movement and migration. Baldassar (2008) for example, focuses on the migrancy of ageing and examines the competing attachments that people have to diverse people and places within families. Through this lens,

...it becomes clear that many non-economic factors are highly influential in decisions to migrate...it can be hard to disentangle political, socio-cultural and economic reasons to move, and that migrants are involved in a wide range of 'transnational' activities as migratory movements are not discrete, unilateral or linear. (Baldassar 2007 p. 280)

Shain (2007) similarly 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 organized 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. In a similar vein, Lee (2003) explores the

tensions and strength of the formation of a Vietnamese identity in Australia and the maintenance of diasporic links with a broader Vietnamese and Polynesian diaspora that is tenuously connected to the actual homeland. Such tensions are reproduced through strong kinship, communal, religious and political affiliations that are enmeshed with economic imperatives.

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'. The intention is to build a holistic and often 'bottom up' perspective of the character of diasporas and the mechanisms that drive their formation.

Inter-Disciplinary Perspective

The approach to this study has been informed broadly by each of these disciplinary insights. 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. 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, diasporas play an important role in shaping identity, economic transactions, international relations and transnational care networks. A key objective of this project is to explore the nature and extent of transnational ties of four selected diasporas in Australia. This report is specifically focused on the Vietnamese diaspora and the findings of a survey of this group.

1.4 Vietnam and the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia

About Vietnam

Vietnam is located at the east of the Indochinese peninsula and is bordered by China, Laos and Cambodia in the north and the west. It has a land mass of approximately 330,000 square kilometers and has a coast line on the east and south east bordering the Gulf of Tonkin, the South China Sea and the Gulf of Thailand. In 2011, Vietnam had a population of 90 million people with the large majority of the population made up of ethnic Vietnamese or Kinh who comprise approximately 85 per cent of the population. Vietnamese is the official language, and while in recent decades, Russian was an important second language, English is increasingly being spoken.

Vietnamese history is characterised by long running conflicts, both internally and with foreign forces. Its early history (111 BC to 939 AD) was shaped by Chinese rule until a native dynasty achieved independence. This period shaped Vietnamese culture with Confucian ideas, language and political culture.

More recent history has been characterized by French colonization from the mid 1800s, followed by a period of Japanese military occupation during WWII. While the French attempted to reassert colonial rule, this was resisted by communist forces, a conflict that was played out through the first Indochina war that lasted from 1946-1954. The French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu and the war was concluded by an international agreement known as the Geneva Accords of 1954 which divided the country into two politically antagonistic regions of a communist-led north and a republican south.

The second Indochina war between North and South Vietnam ran from 1954-75. With support from China and the Soviet Union, the Viet Cong and the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) ultimately defeated the Army of the

Republic of Vietnam which sought to maintain South Vietnamese independence with the support of the US military and US allies including Australia. Vietnam was unified under communist rule in 1975 after the fall of Saigon leading to the surrender of the South Vietnamese army. In 1976, Saigon was renamed as Ho Chi Minh City.

The post 1975 period was further marked by conflict and a state of economic collapse. The ruling Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) faced intense resistance from the South with more than one million Southerners fleeing Vietnam including about 560,000 people who fled by boat in fear of persecution and the seizure of their land and businesses. At the same time, the VCP adopted a socialist centrally planned economic system with emphasis on heavy industry and collectivised agriculture. The program also launched a 're-education program' where about one million Vietnamese were relocated to previously uncultivated land.

The new government also faced external military threats during the 1970s from Cambodia and China. As an outcome of border disputes, Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978 and took over Phnom Penh prompting retaliation from China and a fairly short-lived invasion of Vietnam. Conflict with China also continued with disputes about land at the shared border and in the East Vietnam Sea. On-going conflict with the US and with China meant that Vietnam was isolated internationally with its primary support being from the USSR and other COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) countries that pumped considerable aid money into Vietnam to assist in post-war recovery.

In an attempt to improve economic and social conditions, the VCP adopted a new policy in 1986. Commonly known as *doi moi* the 'politics of renovation', the aim was administrative decentralisation and the opening up of Vietnam to the global market. Through *doi moi*, Vietnam has experienced considerable economic growth since the 1990s, although development has been less than its potential. According to many observers, the potential for growth is due to the inherent contradiction between one-party rule and economic liberalisation. Issues of corruption and an inefficient bureaucracy remain serious impediments to social and economic development.

Migration

The earliest Vietnamese migrants to Australia arrived in the 1950s with sponsorship through the Colombo Plan, a regional plan aimed at post-war reconstruction and the development of positive international relations between Australia and Asia. Most who arrived as students, however, returned to Vietnam after a period of study. Other Vietnamese migrants arrived post 1965, after the Australian government committed troops to the Vietnam War and there were a number of troops who married Vietnamese nationals who then settled in Australia. In addition, Australian families adopted 537 Vietnamese babies and infants who had become orphans due to the war. There were still only small numbers, however and in 1975, it was estimated that there were only 1,000 Vietnam born people living in Australia – 335 were Colombo Plan students, 130 were private students and the remainder were orphans who had been adopted by Australian families.

Vietnamese migration in any real numbers occurred following 1975 with the arrival of refugees who arrived in three distinct waves: orphans pre-1975; refugee resettlement during 1975-1985; and family reunion, in the late 1980s and 1990s. Within the refugee population, there were also three distinct waves. The first group arrived in 1975 and included mostly elite Vietnamese, Chinese business people and Catholics who feared severe Vietnamese Government reprisal. The second came from 1976-78 and included those who had escaped to refugee camps in countries neighboring Vietnam. The third group, arriving in 1978 was made up largely of owners of private businesses that were closed by the Vietnamese government. The fourth wave was called 'economic refugees', mostly small traders and workers who had been living in refugee camps in Indonesia and Hong Kong and sought a permanent home.

In line with these migration movements, the Vietnamese born population in Australia grew from 2,427 at the 1976 Census to 151,085 at the 1996 Census. Population growth has slowed in recent times to reach a total population of 159,849 in 2006. Given that many of the early arrivals now have children and grandchildren, the actual size of the Vietnamese community is considerably larger than Census data would suggest. One indicator is that in the 2006 Census there were 194,854 people who identified as speaking Vietnamese at home.

The Vietnamese Diaspora

The Vietnamese are diasporic in the sense that there are substantial Vietnamese population groups living in a number of countries outside of Vietnam. These populations can be generally divided into four distinct categories. The first is those that left Vietnam before 1975 and now live in neighboring countries such as Cambodia, Laos and China. There were also numbers of people that left Vietnam during the period of French colonization and migrated to France and French-speaking areas such as Quebec. The second and large majority of migrants are refugees that left following 1975 and escaped to North America, Western Europe (particularly Germany) and Australia. The third category includes those that migrated to work and study in the Soviet bloc and stayed on following the Soviet collapse. The most recent group are economic migrants that include those who have undertaken study in either the US, Canada, Australia and the UK and have stayed on in those countries to work and live as permanent residents. Another category of more recent migration is women who have married men from Taiwan and South Korea through marriage agencies and have consequently moved to those countries.

As a result of these migration movements, the US is home to the largest population group of more than 1.6 million people. Other countries with significant Vietnamese 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.

This also excludes the most recent wave of Vietnamese migration which occurs through international education. In January 2012, Vietnamese students were the fifth largest cohort of international student enrolments in Australian higher education institutions with 11,457 international students coming from Vietnam (AEI 2012). While this migration is largely temporary, approximately 20 per cent of all international students stay on in Australia either as permanent residents or through other visa arrangements (OECD 2010). On this basis, it can be assumed that recent migrants have been adding substantially to the numbers of Vietnamese born residents in Australia who have arrived since the 2006 Census.

Vietnamese People in Australia

While the reception of Vietnamese refugees in Australia was accepted as a responsibility by the Australian government of the day, the settlement of the Vietnamese population represented a major challenge to Australian public policy, broader community attitudes about race and the acceptance of Asian migrants in Australia. As Jacobowicz (2004) comments, the arrival of the Vietnamese post 1975 prompted the real end of the White Australia policy in the late 1970s, and settlement occurred in the context of what was, both literally and ideologically, a white Australian population extremely unaware of, and unfamiliar with people of Asian background and appearance. As Jacobowicz (2004) elaborates, Vietnamese settlement in Australia was traumatic for the Vietnamese who had arrived under such desperate circumstances, and challenging for the general community that had lived in a context of politically generated and long held fear of Asia as 'the yellow peril'. The 'White Australia Policy', or restrictions on 'non-white' immigration to Australia was only formally abolished in 1975 with the passing of the *Racial Discrimination Act* by the Whitlam Government (Collins 1991). As such, Vietnamese refugees were the first non-white population to be allowed to settle in Australia since Federation in 1901.

From this beginning, an issue facing Vietnamese communities in Australia is continued stereotyping, in ways that disguise the diversity within the community as well as the extent to which the community is dynamic and changing (Thomas, Ember et al. 2005). At the same time the population is visible and distinctive, maintaining a sense of being Vietnamese that is strong for many within the community. One point of distinction is that the Vietnamese population is highly urbanized and concentrated within particular localities, with only 2.7 per cent of the Vietnamese born population living outside of a major urban centre (ABS 2007). The very large majority of the population lives in Sydney (39.9 per cent) and Victoria (36.8 per cent) with the remainder of the population almost evenly spread between Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth. Within the major cities, Vietnamese businesses and communities are concentrated within particular localities. In Melbourne, this includes Footscray, Richmond and Springvale.

The community also faces a number of particular issues that impact on social and economic wellbeing. As one indicator, 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 \$488 for all Australian born. This difference is explained by higher unemployment rates than the general population (11.4 per cent compared to 5.2 per cent) and Vietnam born Australians are over-represented in the lower paying 'Laboring 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 per cent of the prison population – a figure three times the proportion of people in the general population with Vietnamese ancestry (Baldassarri, Capretta et al. 2007). This rate is particularly high within the female prison population with 14% of the female prison population made up of women of Vietnamese background. This issue is often linked to a very high incidence of problem gambling within the community (Duong and Ohtsuka 2000). A related issue is relatively low English language and literacy skill levels that is in turn related to higher rates of unemployment and low income.

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. As Thomas (2005) describes, home ownership is a high priority in the initial years of settlement in Australia and the purchase of a home is often supported by the extended family through the pooling of family resources.

The Vietnamese population has established a number of organisations that are concerned both with Vietnamese homeland politics as well as the welfare of the Vietnamese community generally (Härtel 2010). These include umbrella bodies such as the Vietnamese Community Association in Victoria while other organisations operate independently such as the Australian Vietnamese Women's Association (AVWA) which is a key partner for this project. In the early establishment of Vietnamese associations, as Thomas (1999) comments, the focus across the community was on working towards democracy in Vietnam and the overthrow of the communist government. While this remains a key concern, the interests of the community have broadened and have shifted to issues relating to community welfare and development in Australia.

Religion

The major religions among Vietnamese born people are Buddhism (58.6 per cent), Catholicism (22.1 per cent) and the Baptist religion (approximately 10 per cent) (Härtel 2010). Religious organisation and activity is a central focus for many in the community and the major religion is Buddhism followed by Catholicism and Baptist. There is great diversity of religious expression within each of the faiths and there are numerous Vietnamese temples

and religious organisations across Australia which are the focal point for community activities, ceremonies and holidays.

Media

As a refugee population, there is little media that comes out of Vietnam that is consumed by the Vietnamese population in Australia or in other countries of Vietnamese settlement as it is understood to be tainted and controlled by 'the regime'. Rather, media is produced from dispersed communities as well as within a very strong community media network in Australia. There are several daily and weekly Vietnamese newspapers published in Melbourne and in Sydney, as well as others produced in Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia. As Cunningham (2002) comments, many of the newspapers appeal to an early arrivals and hold a particularly political line, however there have been progressive shifts to focus in line with changes in Vietnam implemented since *Doi Moi* or the implementation of economic reforms in Vietnam, but also with a focus on local community welfare and on local political conditions. There is also print media focused on appealing to a Vietnamese identity through shopping, social scandal and entertainment (Cunningham and Nguyen 1998 p. 77).

There is very little Vietnamese television available in Australia for multiple reasons, with a few rare exceptions of films and television series shown on Australian public broadcaster SBS. Most film, music and other screen entertainment is produced in Hong Kong, or as Cunningham (1998) calls it, 'The New York of the East'. Given the lack of availability of content produced in Vietnam, Hong Kong productions are 'close enough' to Vietnam given that Vietnamese performers are often included in the performance and subtitles in English and Vietnamese. Content also comes from Vietnamese production companies based in California which mostly distribute live variety shows or music productions.

Identity and family

As Thomas (2002 p. 1145) emphasises, a strong family life is central to Vietnamese priorities and a desire to maintain Vietnamese identity in Australia is often centered on getting the family together in one location. Most Vietnamese older people live with younger family members, and households are commonly made up of an extended family (Jie 2009). Like many other migrant communities, however, tensions arising between Vietnamese born parents and Australian born children have been a focus for community development. Much of the attention has been on how Vietnamese young people develop their own ethno-cultural identity within the Australian multicultural context (Irwin 2006).

Overall, the Vietnamese community in Australia remains distinctive 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. The community is highly visible and, while diverse and changing, continues as distinctively Vietnamese through language use, media production, religious practice and political activity. While attitudes towards the Vietnamese government are changing, another point of distinction is the strained relationship with the homeland government, which remains a focus for Vietnamese community organisation in Australia.

1.5 Method and results

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 Survey

The survey of the Vietnamese diaspora was designed by the research team as one of four surveys for each of the diasporas included in the study. 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 customised in order to ensure relevance to the specific community. In the case of the Vietnamese diaspora, there was a particular effort to ensure that the very harsh circumstances of migration and settlement were acknowledged, as well as the very complex political relationship between the Vietnamese diaspora and the homeland government.

The survey was designed as an online survey with the questionnaire including 55 questions that were a mix of open and closed questions. The questionnaire was organised into five sections:

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

Using a snowball method (Bickman and Rog 2008), the survey was distributed in July 2010 as widely as possible through partner organizations 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. Email distribution was posted through University 'globals' to students and staff, through the newsletter of the Victorian Multicultural Commission (VMC), through community, youth services networks and other personal contacts of the research team. The survey was promoted through local newspapers, through Migrant Resource Centers and through SBS radio. Furthermore, the distribution of the survey was guided by the research team partner, Mrs Cam Nguyen, who is of Vietnamese background, and as CEO of Australian Vietnamese Women's Association (AVWA) is widely recognized as a community leader and has community networks within the Vietnamese community in Melbourne, across Australia and in Vietnam. In addition, research assistants from Vietnamese backgrounds were employed to encourage the completion of the survey by members of the Vietnamese community through their own family and community networks. On completion, the survey received 466 responses with 405 completing all questions.

There were numerous limitations in the implementation of the survey. First, being an online survey was a deterrent to sections of the community with lesser access to, and literacy in the use of the internet (SAGE 2008). This is particularly the case for older sections of the community. As indicated by some of the survey responses, it was also quite long (taking approximately 20 minutes to complete) and there was a high rate of non-completions. A further problem with the snowballing technique was that its reach was limited to particular networks. For example, it is possible that there is an over-representation of those with higher education due to reliance on sending the survey through university networks. While all efforts were made to counter balance this with

distribution through other community networks, it was difficult to avoid a bias towards those involved with the AVWA and those employed or studying at a university.

Due to these limitations, and the lack of a representative sample, there is no claim that the survey findings can be generalized across all people of Vietnamese background living in Australia or Melbourne. At the same time, it is arguably impossible to conduct a representative survey of a diaspora as Hugo (2006) explores. As discussed earlier, the existence of a diaspora depends on many factors, and whether or not any one individual is part of a diaspora depends on whether or not connections are maintained with an ethnic homeland or homeland identity. Ancestry alone does not define the existence of a diaspora. These problems mean that there are no objective measures of this and it is therefore impossible to implement a sampling technique that could be reliably representative. Furthermore, the results do contain findings from 405 people who identify at least partly as being Vietnamese or of Vietnamese background. At a minimum, these views capture a range of experiences, characteristics and opinions as well as assist in shaping questions for further exploration. As such, and in line with critical realist methodology (Porpora 2001), the findings of the survey are treated not so much as 'facts' but, alongside the relevant literature and qualitative methods, as indications of trends and clues about the character of the Vietnamese diaspora in Australia. It is in this light that the results of the survey are discussed within this report.

The Focus Groups

Two focus groups were held in order to further explore the survey findings. The first was convened by the project's community partner, AVWA, and a facilitated focus group was held with six participants, including:

- a man in his thirties who was born in Vietnam who came to Australia in his late teens under family reunification and is now university educated and working in the community sector;
- a man in his forties who was born in Vietnam but left for France where he lived for many several years before settling in Australia through family reunification and who works in IT;
- a man in his thirties who initially came to Australia as an international student before settling here permanently who works in the community sector;
- a woman in her forties who came to Australia under family reunification and who works in retail;
- a woman in her twenties who recently arrived in Australia after marrying a Melbourne resident; and
- a professional university educated man in his sixties who arrived in Australia as a refugee.

The focus group was held for 90 minutes and was conducted at the offices of AVWA in Footscray.

The second focus group was held comprising six leaders of Vietnamese community organisations. These included representatives from:

- the Footscray Asian Business Association;
- the Vietnamese Buddhist Youth Group – Quang Minh Temple;
- the Vovinam Martial Arts Association;
- the Indochinese Elderly Refugee Association;
- the Quang Minh Temple; and
- the Australian Vietnamese Women's Association.

The focus group was held for 90 minutes and was conducted at Victoria University, Footscray Park Campus.

1.6 Survey Respondent Characteristics

The purpose of this section is to describe the key characteristics of the survey respondents in summary form before drawing on the results in detail in the following sections. In light of the relatively low number of responses, of particular concern is the extent to which the characteristics of respondents reflected the characteristics of the Australian population that are either Vietnamese born or of Vietnamese ancestry. The following section reports on the major demographic characteristics of the respondents and where possible, compares this with ABS data from the 2006 Census. Before discussing these characteristics, the following table shows ABS details in summary form.

Table 1.1 Birthplace Profile of Vietnamese in Australia

Profile of Vietnamese in Australia by birthplace	ABS, 2006 Census	
Total population	159,849	
Gender	Male: 75,288 (47%) Female: 84,561 (53%)	
Occupation		%
	Managers	9.3
	Professionals	17.7
	Technicians and Trades Workers	15.3
	Community & Personal Service Wkrs.	5.9
	Clerical and Administrative Workers	10.5
	Sales Workers	7.1
	Machinery Operators And Drivers	14.9
	Labourers	19.2
Education	Postgraduate Degree Level	6.3
	Graduate Diploma and Certificate Level	1.8
	Bachelor Degree Level	49.1
	Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	19.0
	Certificate Level	23.8
Weekly household income	Less than \$250	7.7
	\$250 - \$499	11.3
	\$500 - \$999	26.3
	\$1000 - \$1999	35.9
	\$2000 - \$3000	12.9
	\$3000 and more	5.9
Citizenship	Australian Citizenship 89%	
Ancestry (top 3 answers)	Vietnamese (69.1%), Chinese (27.1%), English (2%)	
Arrival in Australia	Last 5 years (8%), More than 5 years (92%)	
Ability to speak English	Very well/Well (56.5%) Not well/Not at all (43.5%)	
Language spoken at home	Vietnamese (78.8%), Cantonese (15.9%), English (3%)	
Religion	Buddhism (60.7%), Christianity (26.8%), No religion (11.7%)	
Employment status	Unemployed (11.4%), Participation rate (61.9%)	

Key Respondent Characteristics

The survey asked for respondents to identify key characteristics including age, gender, education, occupation and income. The average age of respondents was 37.4 years old with a very similar proportion being over 40

years old (45.5 per cent) and those younger than 40 years (54.5 per cent). This profile is comparable with ABS data which shows that that largest group of the Australian Vietnamese born population is between 30-50 years of age (ABS 2006). The survey respondents also included a small over-representation of women, with 58 per cent of respondents being female compared to ABS data that shows that the Vietnamese born population includes 53 per cent of women.

Compared to the ABS birthplace data of Vietnamese born Australians, the highest level of education of survey respondents is roughly similar although there were more survey respondents with post-graduate qualifications (13.5 per cent survey/6.3 per cent ABS), and a lesser number whose highest qualification is a Bachelor degree (38 per cent survey/49.1 per cent ABS). Survey respondents also reported a lower unemployment rate (8.9 per cent survey/11.4 per cent ABS).

There were also strong similarities between the general Vietnamese born population and the survey in relation to occupation with some exceptions in a few categories. Employment as 'Professionals' (17.6 per cent survey/17.7 per cent ABS), 'Community and Personal Service Workers' (7.9 per cent survey/5.9 per cent ABS), 'Clerical and Administrative Workers' (6.9 per cent survey/10.5 per cent ABS) and Sales Workers (6.2 per cent survey/7.1 per cent ABS) were all very similar. There were, however, differences in relation to those employed as 'Managers' (4.1 per cent survey/9.3 per cent ABS), 'Machinery Operators and Drivers' (.3 per cent Survey/14.9 per cent ABS) and to a lesser extent, 'Labourers' (13.4 per cent Survey and 19.2 per cent ABS). So overall, survey respondents were generally representative of the Vietnamese born population in relation to occupation.

While the survey data is not directly comparable to ABS data, respondents appeared to also have a marginally lower household income to the general Vietnam born population. For example the ABS data shows that 5.9 per cent of the general population is in the highest household income bracket with income greater than \$3,000 per week. The survey respondents showed 3.5 per cent in the highest bracket. Similarly, 19.2 per cent of the Vietnam born population reports income to be in the lowest household income categories (less than \$500 per week), while 23.2 per cent of survey respondents have a similar household income (less than \$570 per week).

Almost 60 per cent (59.5 per cent) live in households with four or more people. The majority describe their household as being either a nuclear or blended family (39.3 per cent) or as an extended family household (17.3 per cent). The remainder live as a couple with no children (10.4 per cent), a shared household of independent adults (10.4 per cent), a single person household (7.2 per cent) and 'other' (2.5 per cent).

The majority also said that within the household, there was at least one member who had migrated from Vietnam (61.3 per cent). A majority of respondents are migrants themselves with 75.5 per cent having been born in Vietnam and 2.7 per cent born in another country. Only 21.7 per cent of respondents are Australian born.

The majority of those who were born in Vietnam arrived in the 1980s (30.2 per cent) and in the 1990s (33.4 per cent). Only two respondents arrived before 1975, and seven per cent in the period from 1975-1979. There is also a sizable minority (27.7 per cent) who arrived since 2000. Given this profile of arrivals, it appears that the respondents are a reasonable representation of the migration of history of Vietnamese people to Australia, with the majority arriving as '3rd wave' refugees or through family reunion visas. Also in line with Vietnamese migration, is that the large majority (78 per cent) come from South Vietnam, 11.4 per cent come from Central Vietnam, and 10.2 per cent come from North Vietnam.

Overall, the survey respondents were broadly representative of the Australian/Vietnamese population in relation to age, education level, migration history, rates of employment and household type. There was a small over-

representation of women in the survey and an under-representation of laborers 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 common with patterns of Vietnamese migration to Australia. Similarly, their representation from across Vietnamese regions is similarly matched with the distribution of the Vietnamese homeland population. A further strength of the survey is that the majority of respondents (67 per cent) indicate that Vietnamese is the main language spoken at home. As discussed above, we are mindful that the survey findings are not representative. At the same time, respondents are broadly reflective of the Vietnamese population in Australia and so the findings are useful indicators of trends within the Australian Vietnamese diaspora.

The following section draws on the survey and focus group data to respond to the initial purpose of the survey. That is, to identify the extent of diaspora connections with the homeland and how these are maintained. This is discussed with reference to key variables identified as important in shaping differences in relation to the sense of connection with Vietnam as the homeland. In particular, we focus on the differences between Vietnamese who were born in Vietnam or overseas and those who were born in Australia. We are also interested in the differences between generations and compare responses between those who are younger and older than 40 years old. While these are central, we also consider the influence of gender, as well as other demographics including education, employment and citizenship. The next section starts by looking at responses to questions about identity and language use.

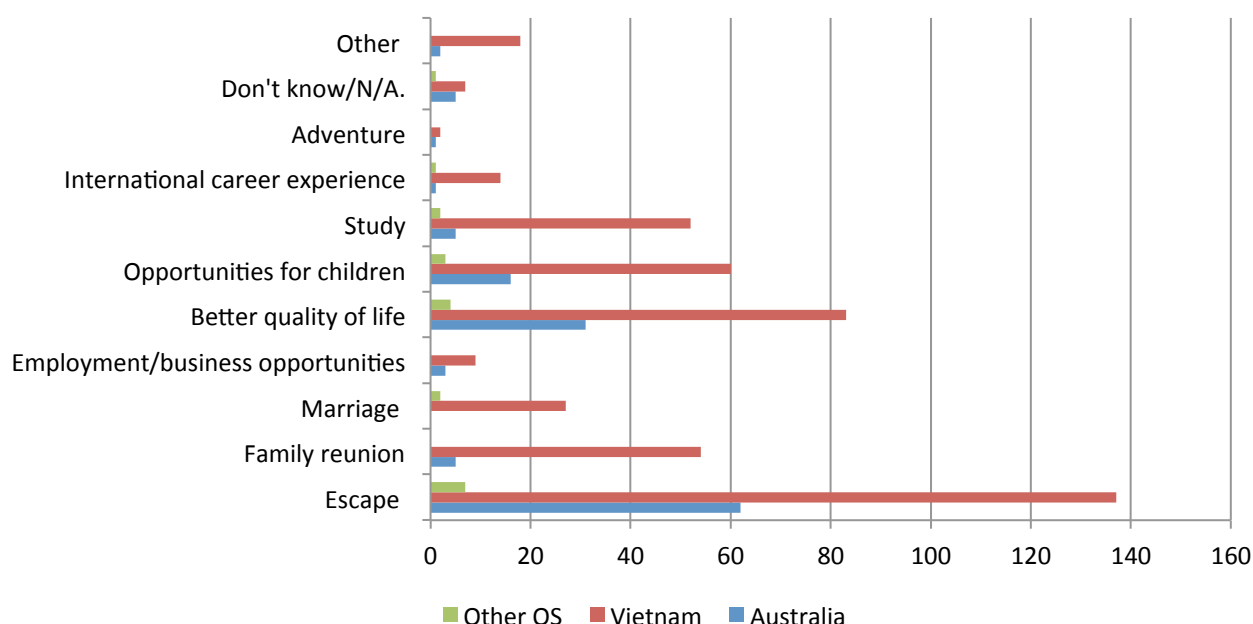
Section 2: Citizenship, Identity and Language

Drawing from relevant survey questions and the focus group discussion, this section of the report explores how the identity of the Vietnamese diaspora is manifest in terms of citizenship, identity and language use.

2.1 Migration and Citizenship

One of the questions asked within the survey was about the respondent's or respondent's family's main reasons for initial migration to Australia (see Q 3.16). A range of options were provided, but in keeping with the refugee history of Vietnamese migration, the main reasons for initially coming to Australia was 'escape', the option identified by the biggest group of respondents (206 or 58.2 per cent). The next major reason, and one that is probably closely related to 'escape', is 'opportunity for a better quality of life' (79 or 22 per cent) followed by 'opportunities for children' (79 or 22.3 per cent). Again, in keeping with history, 'family reunion' was an important reason (59 or 15.2 per cent) and 'study' (59 or 15.2 per cent). For a few respondents (29 or 8 per cent), 'marriage to an Australian citizen' was the main reason and only a small number identified 'employment or business opportunities' (12 or 3 per cent) or 'adventure' (3 or .8 per cent) as the main reason for leaving Vietnam. The full list of responses is provided in the following chart.

Chart 2.1 Main reasons for initially leaving Vietnam by country of birth (frequencies)



The survey also asked respondents to identify their citizenship status (Q 4.1) as an indicator of the degree of settlement in Australia. Almost all respondents (97 per cent or 305 out of 314) indicated that they were an Australian citizen. The remaining 9 respondents were citizens of another country (3), a permanent resident (4) or on a temporary visa (2). This profile shows that respondents are firmly settled in Australia.

As the above data from Chart 2.1 provides, several respondents came to Australia to study, and as noted in Section 1 of this report, there has been a steady growth of international students from Vietnam which is likely to deepen ties between the Diaspora and the Homeland. As the community changes, and with the students being from both North and South Vietnam, it remains to be seen how harmonious that growth and diversification of the community will be. In a demonstration of the potential divisions in the community a scenario was described in the focus group where a second year student at Melbourne University reluctantly stood for the executive of the Vietnamese student association to prevent an international student getting the position. One factor explaining this, for which there was unanimity in the focus group, is that some international students from North Vietnam would be coming to Australia not on merit but because of family ties to the regime which gives them scholarships and opportunities that more worthy candidates in the South would not be able to access.

2.3 Identity and feelings towards Vietnam

Asked how they described their identity (Q 4.3), of 354 respondents, an overwhelming majority of 88 per cent included Vietnamese as part of their identity, as is shown in the following table.

Table 2.1 Birthplace of respondents

How do you describe your identity?	Response (%)	Response (no.)
Australian	8.2%	29
Vietnamese	18.6%	66
Vietnamese/Australian	44.9%	159
Australian/Vietnamese	24.9%	88
Other (please specify)	3.4%	12
<i>Answered question</i>		354
<i>Skipped question</i>		112

One of the most direct questions in relation to identity was about how respondents describe themselves in terms of nationality identity (Q 4.3). A clear finding is that, whether born in Australia or Vietnam, respondents describe themselves very much as being Vietnamese. Only 29 respondents (8.19 per cent) said that they describe themselves as 'Australian' compared to 18.64 per cent who describe themselves as 'Vietnamese'. The majority, however, describe themselves as being either 'Australian/Vietnamese' or 'Vietnamese/Australian'. More emphasise the Vietnamese element of their identity ahead of the Australian, but the majority of these are Vietnamese born.

Unsurprisingly, there is a difference in emphasis of identity according to place of birth as shown in the following table. The 272 respondents born in Vietnam (77 per cent) emphasise their Vietnamese identity, while of the 71 Australian born only 14 per cent do so. Similarly, few Vietnamese born respondents describe themselves as 'Australian'. Evidence from the focus group suggested that while the older generations have living memory of Vietnam, the Australian born have grown up in a community that has effectively cut off ties with the homeland. Thus, those who grow up in Australia have little basis to develop a positive sense of identification with Vietnam. They do not visit Vietnam, they receive few Vietnamese visitors and they are commonly exposed to negative stories about Vietnam. These conditions shape the sense that going back to Vietnam is not a possibility because of the communist regime that governs the country and that Australia is the only homeland option.

Table 2.2 Identity by country of birth (%)

Identity/country of birth	Australia	Vietnam	Other OS	Total
Australian	26.76%	3.31%	10.00%	8.19%

Vietnamese	1.41%	23.90%	0.00%	18.64%
Vietnamese/Australian	12.68%	52.94%	50.00%	44.92%
Australian/Vietnamese	50.70%	18.01%	30.00%	24.86%
Other (please specify)	8.45%	1.84%	10.00%	3.39%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The dual nature of the Vietnamese diaspora's identity was expressed in the focus group, where one man, a refugee in his sixties, reflected,

It's very very hard to identify myself. I look like a banana. Outside I'm yellow but inside maybe I'm white. In my behaviour I'm Aussie but not really. But when I compare with my relative and friends in Vietnam maybe I'm Aussie Vietnamese, maybe I'm Vietnamese-Australian. I don't know.

It emerged in the focus groups that in some aspects of their lives, such as family values, individuals emphasise their identity, yet on other issues their Australian identity came to the fore. This was explained by one focus group participant, who came to Australia as part of the family reunion program after completing school in Vietnam,

I think I'm 60 per cent Australian and 40 per cent Vietnamese. There is still a strong Vietnamese perception and family values, but an Aussie way of thinking and behaviour and communication with more Aussie education and knowledge.

Consistent with the above comment, other focus group participants indicated that they were Vietnamese at home but Australian in public. As one man put it,

My family, we keep the Vietnamese tradition, but in education and work and anything outside of the home I'm Aussie.

Differences in self-definition reflect generational trends, and a clear theme to emerge from the focus groups was the different perspectives between different generations within the Vietnamese community and how these reflect the different elements of identity. As one man in his forties explained,

In terms of respecting parents I am Vietnamese, but at other times I debate issues with my parents which Vietnamese would not normally do.

A woman in her forties described herself as half Vietnamese and half Australian, explaining:

In our culture we have a big family with a lot of cousins that we have to think about this big group, but we have to have our own ideas as well. At first my father was not happy that I changed my way but he has to accept it. I can see every culture has its good things about it. Vietnamese culture tries to please everyone but Aussie culture you have to please yourself first as if I am not happy I can't make others happy. If we can combine both cultures that will be the perfect way.

The way people define and emphasise their identity appears to reflect their cultural orientation which differs across generational lines. Yet members of the community are discerning about when and with whom they emphasise their respective Vietnamese and Australian identities.

The question of identity was further explored in a survey question (Q4.4) about the extent to which respondents feel 'close' to Vietnam. Of 357 respondents, just over half, 51.5 per cent feel close very close to Vietnam, with only 12 per cent feeling distant or very distant. However, a large minority of 34 per cent feel ambivalent towards Vietnam in saying that they feel 'neither close nor distant'. When analysed according to place of birth, Australian born respondents report a lack of closeness with Vietnam with the majority of respondents saying that they feel either 'not close or distant' (46.5 per cent), 'distant' (22.5 per cent) or 'very distant' (9.8 per cent). This is in contrast to the 276 Vietnamese born respondents, where only 7 per cent say that they feel 'distant or very distant' and a majority (60.5 per cent) feel 'close' or 'very close' to Vietnam, shown as follows.

Table 2.3 Closeness to Vietnam by country of birth (%)

	Australia	Vietnam	Other OS	Total
Very close	1.41%	27.17%	10.00%	21.57%
Close	18.31%	33.33%	20.00%	29.97%
Not close or distant	46.48%	30.07%	50.00%	33.89%
Distant	22.54%	4.35%	20.00%	8.40%
Very distant	9.86%	2.54%	0.00%	3.92%
Other (please specify)	1.41%	2.54%	0.00%	2.24%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Age also has some bearing on feelings of closeness to Vietnam. Older respondents more frequently reported feeling 'close' or 'very close' and younger respondents were more likely to feel either 'not close or distant', 'distant' or 'very distant' as Table 2.4 shows.

Table 2.4 Closeness towards Vietnam by Age group

	39 or younger	40 or older	Grand total
Closeness towards Vietnam?			
Very close	17.80%	25.77%	21.57%
Close	26.18%	34.36%	29.97%
Not close or distant	38.22%	29.45%	33.89%
Distant	11.52%	4.91%	8.40%
Very distant	5.24%	2.45%	3.92%
Other (please specify)	1.05%	3.07%	2.24%
Grand total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

One factor to emerge from the focus groups as having a significant impact on feelings of closeness towards Vietnam was the absence of having family in the homeland. As one of the men in his forties who came to Australia under family reunification said,

As my family are here I have no influences from Vietnam and I have no need to go back. My children are here and I belong here rather than there.

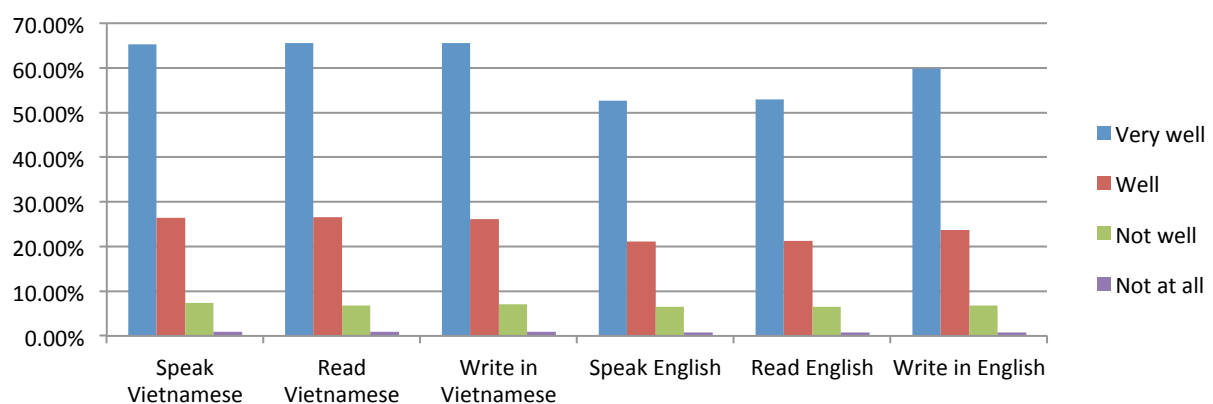
While a number of those who fled Vietnam in 1975 still had a connection through their parents who remained, as that generation in Vietnam passes on, generations are growing up in Australia without relatives such as grandparents in Vietnam that enhance a feeling of closeness.

2.4 Language Skills and Use

Another important indicator of identity was the extent to which Vietnamese is spoken by the respondents. Three questions were asked about Vietnamese language and literacy (Q3.8, 3.9 & 3.10). These questions were concerned with: languages spoken in the household; proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in both Vietnamese and English; and languages spoken to different family members.

As the chart below shows, more than 90 per cent of respondents speak, read and write Vietnamese either 'Very Well' or 'Well'. Similarly, very few respondents said that they had no Vietnamese language or literacy skills. While it was a small minority who could not speak, read or write in Vietnamese, these were more likely to be younger than 40 years old.

Chart 2.2 Capacity to speak read and write in Vietnamese compared to English



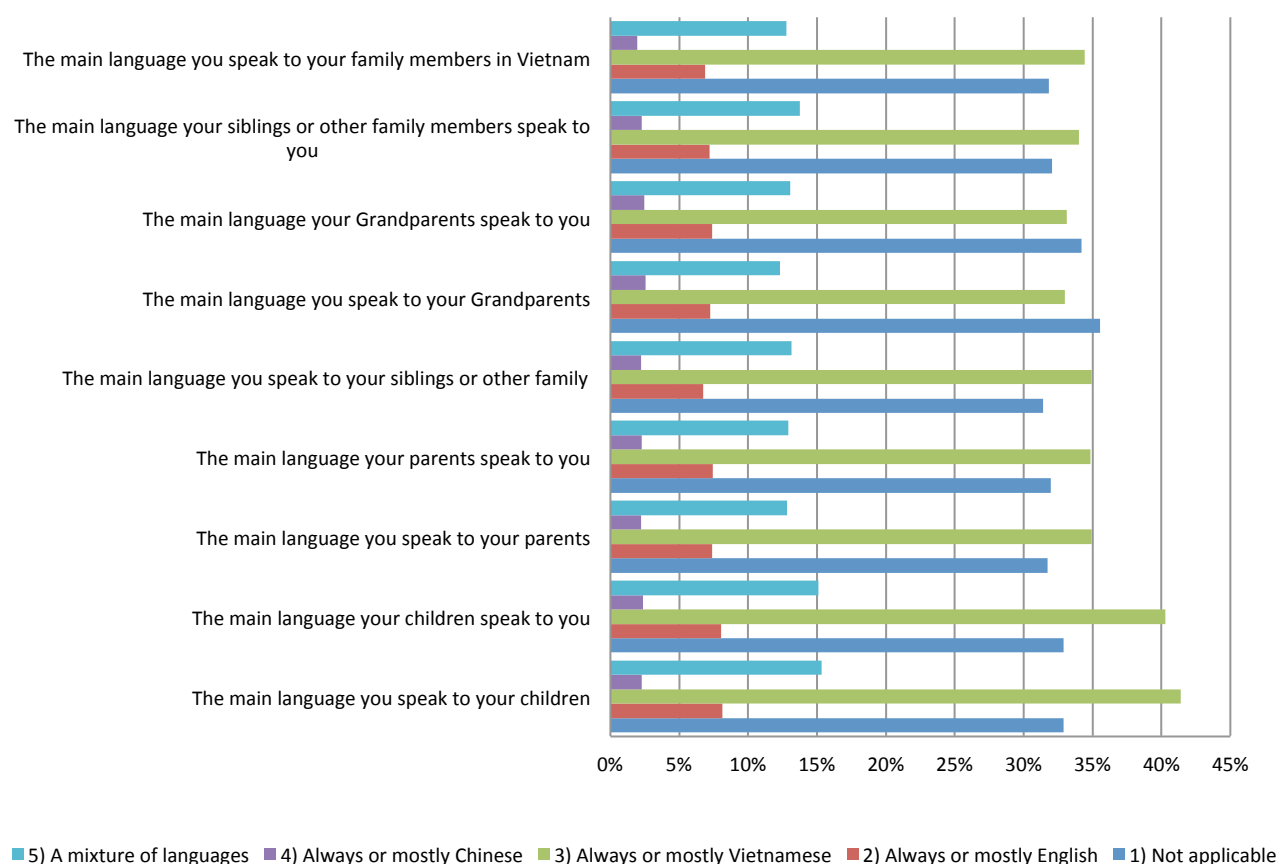
Distinct differences in Vietnamese language and literacy emerge when analysed by place of birth and age, as is shown in the following table. This also shows the differences between older and younger respondents where there is a higher percentage of those under 40 less likely to have a high level of literacy.

Table 2.5 Vietnamese language proficiency by birthplace

Language proficiency	Australian born	Vietnamese born	<39 years	>40 years
Speak well or very well	87%	94%	90.5%	93%
Speak not well or not at all	13%	6%	9%	7%
Read well or very well	68%	84%	72%	90%
Read not well or at all	32%	16%	28%	10%
Write well or very well	56.5%	77%	59%	87%
Write not well or at all	43%	23%	41%	12%

The survey also asked about language use between different family members as shown in Chart 2.3. What is striking about these findings is the low level of English language use and the dominance of Vietnamese for communication between all family members. For example, it might be expected that Australian born children, given their education within the Australian system, might speak English as the main language. The findings show, however, that 'the main language that your children speak to you' is Vietnamese (40.3 per cent) or a 'mixture of languages' (15.1 per cent). This holds for all of the results to this question with Vietnamese being the language most commonly spoken between all family members.

Chart 2.3 Languages spoken within the family



The data was further analysed to consider languages spoken between immediate family members and the differences between those born in Australia or Vietnam and by age group (younger or older than 40 years old). This is shown in Table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6 Languages spoken between children and parents by birthplace and age

	Born in Australia	Born in Vietnam	Aged 39 and under	Aged 40 and over
Speak to their children always or mostly English	10% (of 62 respondents)	7% (of 201 respondents)	6.3% (of 14 respondents)	3.5% (of 6 respondents)
Speak to their children always or mostly in Vietnamese	23% (of 62 respondents)	45% (of 201 respondents)	18.4% (of 41 respondents)	39% (of 68 respondents)
Their children speak to respondent always or mostly in English	16% (of 61 respondents)	18% (of 193 respondents)	12.1% (of 14 respondents)	9.8% (of 5 respondents)
Their children speak to respondent always or mostly in Vietnamese	13% (of 61 respondents)	35% (of 193 respondents)	13% (of 39 respondents)	29.3% (of 64 respondents)

In reading Table 2.6, it is important to bear in mind that 'N/A' was the answer for 21.6 per cent of all respondents, obviously given that the relevance of the question depended on whether or not the respondent has children. Even so, the findings shown indicate that Vietnamese language use is greater than English across all respondents. There is a difference, however, between those born in Australia and those born in Vietnam, as well as a difference between those older and younger than 40. As might be expected, younger respondents and those born in Australia are more likely to speak English between parents and children.

2.5 Summary of Citizenship, Identity and Language

While much of the survey and focus group included questions that have relevance to questions relating to identity, those that are discussed above are those that are most specifically aimed to gaining a sense of the extent to which respondents identify as Vietnamese. On three indicators, feelings of closeness to Vietnam, personal identity and Vietnamese language use, the findings suggest that the sense of Vietnamese identity is very clear and strong across age groups. Identity is affected by lack of contact with the homeland and the political differences that exists between the diaspora and the homeland, but changes can be expected as the number of international students coming to Australia from the homeland grows. The following section explores the findings to identify the extent to which ties are maintained with the homeland. This is discussed primarily through looking at patterns of visitation to Vietnam, property ownership in Vietnam, modes and frequency of communication with Vietnam and engagement with Vietnamese media.

Section 3: Personal Ties With the Homeland: Visits, Communications and Media Use

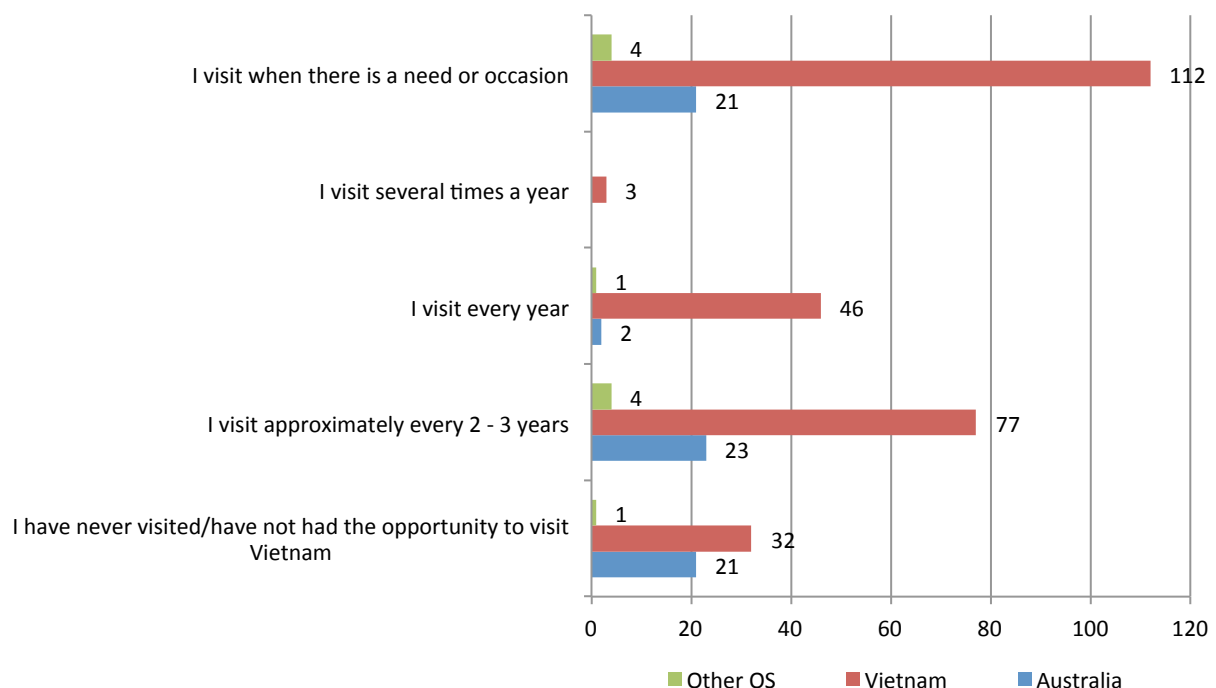
This section explores the survey findings in relation to personal ties with Vietnam as indicated by questions relating to:

- Visits to Vietnam – both actual and intended;
- Desires to live in Vietnam;
- Motivations for visiting Vietnam;
- Communication with Vietnamese connections – frequency and mode;
- Visitors received from Vietnam;
- Where people stay when visiting Vietnam; and
- Property ownership in Vietnam.

3.1 Visits to Vietnam

Visitation rates are not high with only 14 per cent visiting every year. Less than 1 per cent visit several times a year. The largest group of 39 per cent only visit 'when there is a need or occasion' and 16 per cent have never visited. The next largest group of 30 per cent visits every 2-3 years. When visits are considered by place of birth, they are relatively low for the Australian born, as the following chart shows.

Chart 3.1 Visits to Vietnam by birthplace



Findings show that age also has a bearing on patterns of visiting Vietnam with those younger than 40 being more likely to travel to Vietnam regularly, while those over 40 are more likely to say that they visit 'when there is a need or occasion' as Table 3.1 shows.

Table 3.1 Visits to Vietnam by age group

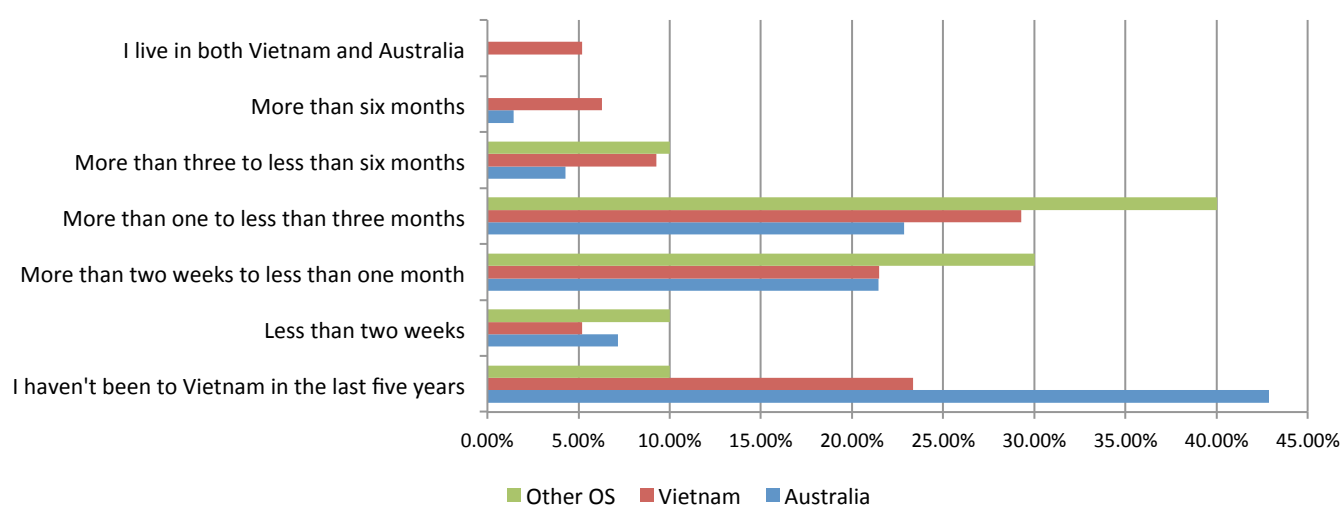
Frequency of visits to Vietnam	39 or younger	40 or older	Total
I have never visited/have not had the opportunity to visit Vietnam	15.59%	15.72%	15.56%
I visit approximately every 2-3 years	34.95%	24.53%	29.97%
I visit every year	18.28%	8.18%	14.12%
I visit several times a year	0.54%	1.26%	0.86%
I visit when there is a need or occasion	30.65%	50.31%	39.48%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

The lack of visits may be explained by the lack of family there to visit, coupled with the sense of opposition to the Communist regime and all the negative connotations associated with it. As one focus group participant explained:

After 1975 my family fled and spread across the world so I have no relatives in Vietnam just bad memories, so when I think of Vietnam I think of a bad past.

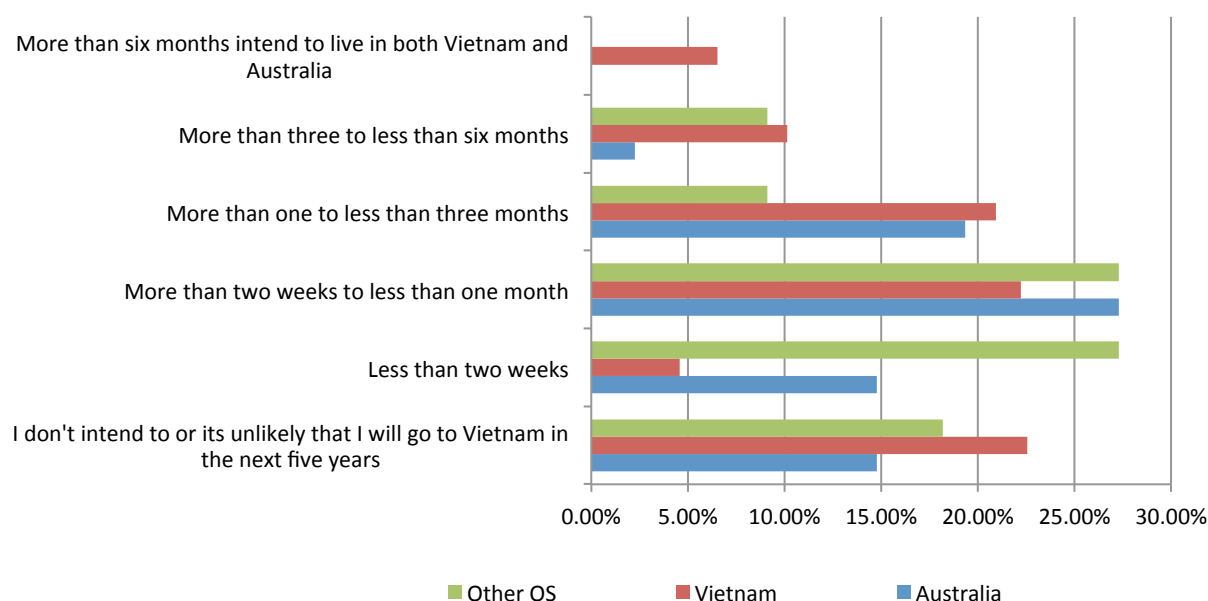
The survey also asked about the length of time spent in the last five years, as well as about future intentions for visiting. Chart 3.2 shows the length of time spent in Vietnam by respondents by country of birth. As illustrated, the majority of respondents have spent time in Vietnam (73 per cent). Australian born respondents were the least likely to have visited Vietnam in the last five years, and of those who did go, the most common time period spent in Vietnam was 1-3 months. There is also a small group of respondents (31) that indicate that they either 'live in both Vietnam and Australia' or have spent more than 6 months in Vietnam in the last five years.

Chart 3.2 Visits to Vietnam in the last five years by place of birth



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. Long term stays totaling more than three months are limited to 16 per cent of respondents. As Chart 3.3 shows, 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. Those born in Vietnam were more likely to say that they intend to visit for longer periods of time, greater than three months.

Chart 3.3 Intentions to visit Vietnam by place of birth



Motivations for Visits

The survey also asked about motivations for visiting Vietnam (Q5.7). The results for this question further supports the idea that the major reasons for visiting Vietnam, in order, is for 'a holiday', 'a special occasion', 'to strengthen family connections' or 'to help family members'. The table below shows that other motivations, such as caregiving or business, do not rate highly.

Table 3.2 What have been the major motivations for your visits to Vietnam?

	Response (no.)	Response (%)
I rarely/do not visit Vietnam	80	13.94%
A special occasion such as a funeral, wedding, anniversary, birthday or baptism	106	18.47%
To help family members or friends who are unwell and need care and/or assistance	55	9.58%
To strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Vietnam	144	25.09%
Business or professional reasons	18	3.14%
To have a holiday	150	26.13%
To make a personal contribution to a political or community cause, event or project	21	3.66%
<i>Answered question</i>	574	100.00%

There are no notable differences when analysed by age and place of birth with two slight exceptions. Firstly, of those aged under forty, 31 per cent (105 respondents), listed having a holiday as the major motivation for visiting Vietnam, while only 18 per cent (42 respondents) over 40 answered in this way. Secondly, 17 per cent (22

respondents) born in Australia went to Vietnam motivated by strengthening family and friendship ties, while 28 per cent (120 respondents) of those born in Vietnam were motivated by such ties.

The survey also included an open ended question about their motivations to visit Vietnam. Eighty-six respondents gave a reason for their travel intentions. The major reason given was about visiting family and/or friends (36 respondents). Commonly, the motivation was to combine a visit to family and/or friends with a holiday. Several people also had a specific family obligation to fulfill. For example, one person said that they wanted ‘...to take my parent’s ashes back to Vietnam as per their wishes’. Another spoke about attending a wedding while another wanted to ‘meet my old grandparents for the first time’.

Several respondents wanted to take their children to see their Vietnamese heritage, or to show their Australian born partner their Vietnamese heritage or to meet their family. Another example was that they wanted to celebrate Tet (Vietnamese New Year Festival) in Vietnam. There were also several people who said that they wanted to revisit the culture and enjoy the food and environment. Another group of six people said that they wanted to do business in Vietnam or contribute to Vietnam’s development through volunteer work.

A group of ten people gave reasons why they did not plan to go back to Vietnam. Five of these responses were because of opposition to the communist government. A further five expressed ambivalence towards Vietnam suggesting that they had no plans or that, if they were going overseas, they would visit another country.

This view was elaborated on in the focus group of community leaders who confirmed that politics and memory remain a firm obstacle to visits to the Homeland. The AVWA representative shared in the leaders’ focus group:

My husband - even when a very close uncle was dying and I begged him to go - he said no.

For those who do visit the Homeland they report being offended by communism, with the same AVWA representative reporting discomfort at the “red flags everywhere”.

Pictures of Ho Chi Minh are definitely not tourist attractions, red flags everywhere all the time is terrible... anything that recalls civil war makes Diaspora visitors feel uncomfortable. Every village in Vietnam has a very big and immaculately kept cemetery for fallen soldiers and when I see those cemeteries. I think of our own dead soldiers who cannot be buried there and I get very upset. If the Government wants visitors from overseas to feel comfortable, they should allow all fallen combatants from both sides to be buried together.

The political barrier that prevents and affects visits is not just limited to the first generation refugees themselves. As the Vietnamese Buddhist Youth Group leader told the leader’s focus group,

Young people born in Australia want to explore and sightsee but they need encouragement to go to Vietnam because of what they have heard from their parents. So I’d rather go to Thailand. If they have family or a distant relative in Vietnam they feel a connection they enjoy, but others say they will never go back again.

Clearly the Vietnamese Government are not going to dismantle their political symbols because Diaspora tourists find them offensive, but the Government do need to take these into account if they want to develop a Diaspora strategy that includes tourism.

Overall, the major motivation identified in these responses was to connect with family, family history or culture combined with having a holiday. This response is further supported by a survey question about where people stay when they visit Vietnam. As Table 3.3 shows, the majority of respondents stay with family (57.3 per cent) or friends (5 per cent). At that same time, a sizable minority (23.5 per cent) stay in temporary accommodation.

Table 3.3 Where respondents stay when visiting Vietnam

If you visit Vietnam, where do you usually stay?	Response (%)	Response (no.)
I don't visit Vietnam	8.53%	37
With family	57.37%	249
With friends	5.07%	22
In my own/family house or apartment	5.53%	24
In a hotel or other temporary accommodation	23.50%	102
Total	100.00%	434

As Table 3.3 shows, the majority of respondents stay with friends or family when visiting Vietnam with those who are Vietnam born being marginally more likely to do this rather than stay in temporary accommodation. Fifty-five per cent (134 respondents) of those aged under 40 said they stay with family, as did 61 per cent, or 113 respondents, aged 40 or over. Forty-three per cent or 38 Australian born respondents, stayed with family, as did 61 per cent, or 203 Vietnamese born respondents.

While there is a reticence about visiting Vietnam, evidence from the focus group indicates that visits increase the sense of identification and connection with the homeland. As one female focus group participant put it,

I didn't feel close to Vietnam till I went there, but when I visited for first time and I saw how poor people were if I can do something to help them I'd like to do so. On my last trip I went to an area in the middle of Vietnam that is really poor and I thought I will try and help them, through the Red Cross or supporting some kids.

Moreover, given the dispersion of the Vietnamese diaspora across the globe, Vietnam seemed to be a meeting point, a common ground, for families to be reunited. As one focus group participant said,

I have family around the world and when I speak to my siblings and when we want to meet we agree to do so in Vietnam.

These factors suggest that diaspora tourism to the homeland could increase.

Desire to Live in Vietnam

Asked if they wanted to live in Vietnam (Q4.8), 19 per cent, or 66 respondents, answered that they wanted to do so temporarily and 5 per cent, or 17 respondents, answered that they wanted to do so permanently. The majority, 56 per cent, did not want to live in Vietnam either temporarily or permanently, while 20 per cent were unsure.

Differences did emerge in the desire to live in Vietnam subject to respondent's age and place of birth. Seven per cent or 70 Australian born respondents were interested in living in Vietnam permanently or temporarily, while 27 per cent or 273 Vietnamese born respondents expressed such an interest. When considered by age, a large

minority of 189 respondents under 40 and the 162 over 40 expressed a desire to live in Vietnam, as is shown in the following table.

Table 3.4 Intentions to live in Vietnam

	39 or younger	40 or older	Grand total
Want to live in Vietnam			
Yes, permanently	7.41%	1.85%	4.82%
Yes, temporarily	19.58%	17.28%	18.70%
No	57.14%	55.56%	56.37%
Unsure	15.87%	25.31%	20.11%
Grand total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Visitors from Vietnam

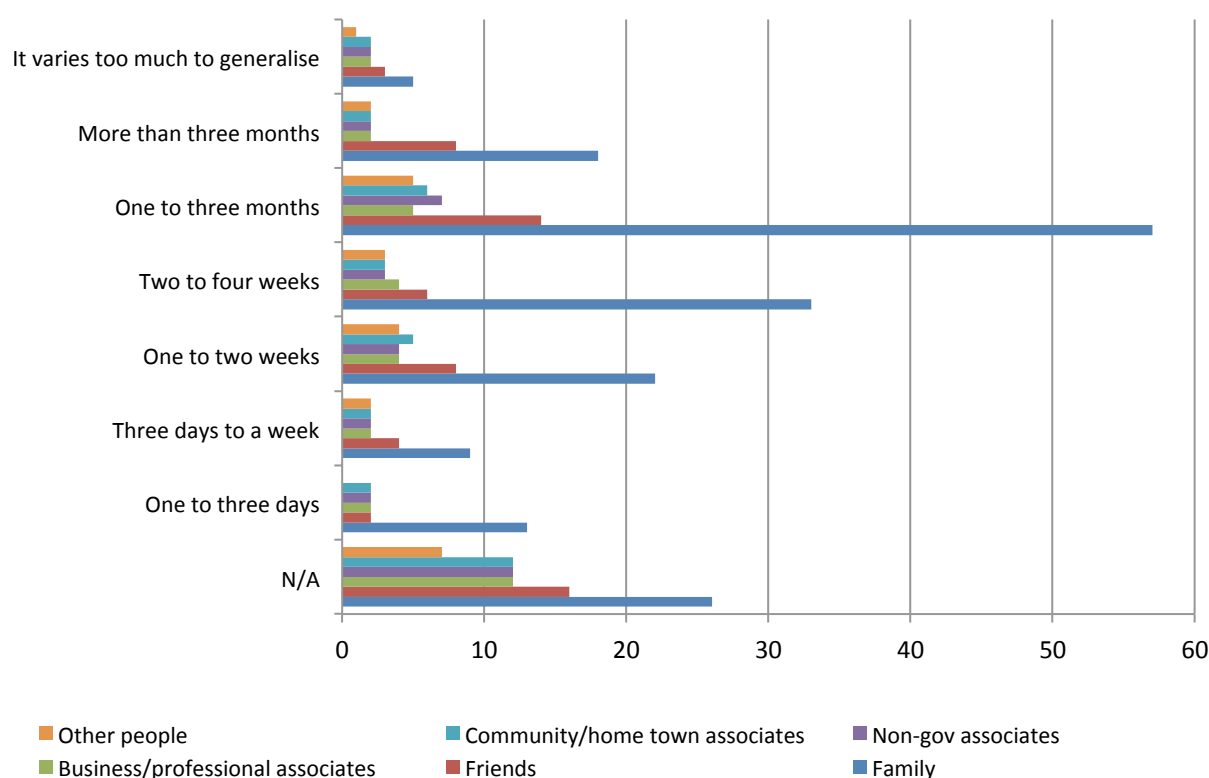
In examining personal ties consideration is also given to visits from Vietnam (Q5.9). As the following table shows, from a 155 multiple responses, visitors are few in both numbers and frequency. Of those who do visit, family and friends are the main type of visitors.

Table 3.5 Types of visitors from Vietnam and length of stay (frequency)

How often do you receive visits	I don't receive any visits	Once every few years	Once a year	Several times a year	More than several times a year	Grand total answered questions
Family	100	40	5	8	2	155
Friends	100	47	6	8	3	164
Business/professional associates	92	17	3	5	2	119
Government or associates from non-government organisations	92	16	3	5	2	118
Community associates or people from a home town	92	17	3	5	2	119
Other people	76	8	2	4	2	92
Grand total	552	145	22	35	13	767

How long visitors stay depends on the relationship of the visitors to the respondent. Not surprisingly, family and friends stay the longest as Chart 3.4 shows.

Chart 3.4 Type of visitors from Vietnam and length of stay (frequency)



The survey findings in relation to visiting Vietnam and receiving visits from Vietnamese friends and relatives show that there is limited travel to and from Vietnam. Overwhelmingly, this travel is about visiting and connecting with family and friends, but when people go to Vietnam, or when family members visit from Australia, they do not stay for extended periods.

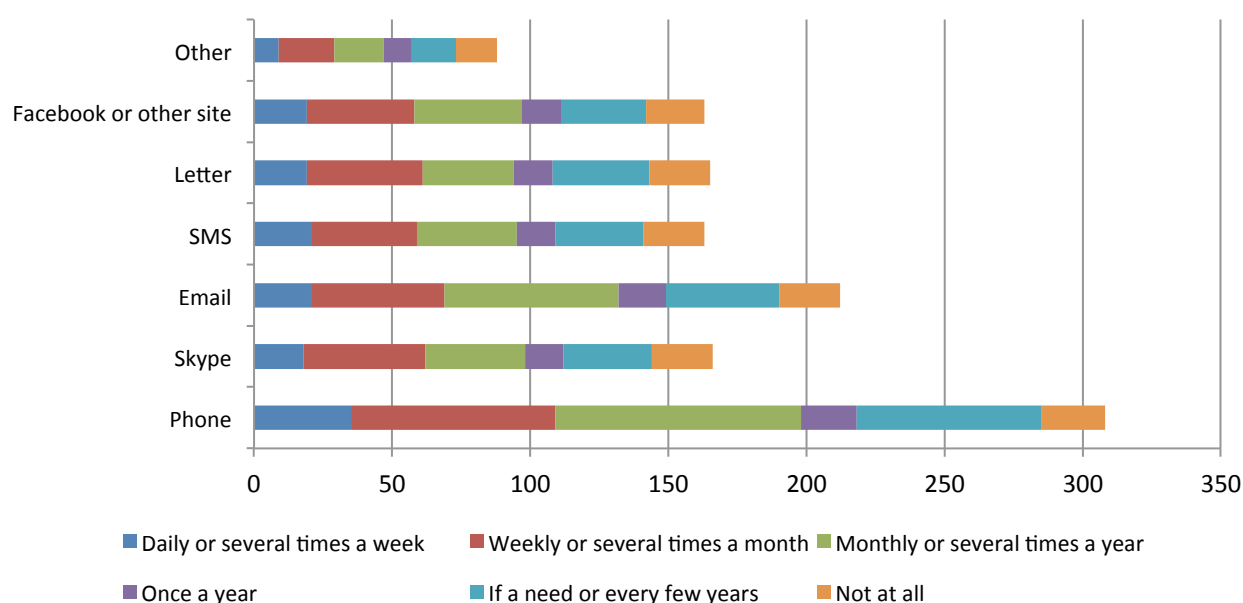
3.2 Communications with Vietnam

A series of questions were asked in Section 5 of the survey about communications with Vietnam. An objective was to identify both motivation for staying in touch as well as the mode and frequency. This included asking questions about communications with family and friends, business and professional contacts and with contacts formed through other interests (e.g. recreational, political, charitable, etc.). The survey also included questions about keeping up with Vietnamese media. Asking about communications and media was also one of the key topics of the focus group and the following section discusses these findings.

Communications With Family And Friends

Respondents were first asked how and how frequently they stay in touch with first, family and friends (Q5.2). The following table shows the detailed results to this question showing that the telephone remains by far the most frequent medium of communication. The use of Skype, emails, SMS, letters and Facebook then follow to similar degrees.

Chart 3.5 Mode and frequency of staying in touch with family and friends (frequency)



As the chart above shows, phone communication was the major means of staying in touch, with social media featuring less. Distinct differences did emerge in communication use according to place of birth and age.

The Vietnamese born use the phone most frequently, with 40 per cent using the phone daily week or several times a month, compared to 17 per cent of the Australian born. Skype was used by less than 50 per cent of the Vietnamese born and even less (approximately 20 per cent) by the Australian born. Of particular interest to this study was the extent to which social media is facilitating connections between Vietnam and the diaspora. Facebook and other social media networking sites were also used more by the Vietnamese born, with 39 per cent using it daily, weekly or several times a month to communicate with Vietnam, compared to 19 per cent of the Australian born. Overall, social media is used to stay in touch with Vietnam by 54 per cent of the Vietnamese born and 30 per cent of the Australian born.

In terms of age, 40 per cent of those under 40 use the phone on a daily, weekly or several times a month, compared to 30 per cent of those over 40. Those aged over 40 use Skype on a daily, weekly or several times a month basis at a rate of 23 per cent, compared to 16 per cent for those under 40. Facebook was, however, used more by those under 40 on a daily weekly or several times a month basis, at 39 per cent, compared to 20 per cent of those aged 40 and over. Overall, Facebook and social networking sites were used by 35 per cent of those aged 40 and over, compared to 53 per cent of those aged 40 and under.

The communications data suggests that traditional media is still heavily relied upon. Facebook and social media are far from being the dominant medium of communication, but it is clearly a favored medium for those aged under 40.

Focus group discussions explored how the internet has clearly enhanced communication. A number of comments suggested that connections with Vietnam are strengthening due to online communications. For example,

With the internet it is very easy to access media from Vietnam, so I feel very close to Vietnam and Vietnamese people. (male, mid-20s, former international student)

Every day I get updates of information from Vietnam from my family every day and also friends from high school and university through Yahoo groups, so I keep up with politics and other news. (female, early 20s, family reunion migrant)

Family is clearly a factor for ongoing communication and the lack of family in Vietnam may explain the lack of regular contact. However, the increase in international students appears to be changing the dynamics of communications with Vietnam through the arrival of young people who are born and raised in Vietnam. For example, the leader of the Vietnamese Buddhist Youth Group explained,

Recently we have new members from Vietnam, international students, so now I know more people from Vietnam and have friends from Vietnam

It is not just through international students that the demographic of the Vietnamese community is changing, but also through family reunification and marriage. As the AVWA participant in the leaders focus group identified,

In our play groups we have quite a few young women and brides who recently arrived in Australia after marrying Vietnamese or Australian men. People in the group have children the same age and they get on fine.

This is likely to change with the growth in international students who obviously come to Australia with their established family and friend networks in Vietnam.

Communications with business and professional and 'other' contacts

The survey also asked about communications with business and/or professional contacts who live in Vietnam as well as with contacts formed through 'other interests'. The results from both of these questions were so low that there is very little to usefully comment on. Only 25 (9.8 per cent) respondents said that they have business or professional contacts and 31 respondents (12.2 per cent) said that they have contacts formed through other interests. As a result, the numbers reporting on use of particular types of communications are very low. For example, as the following table shows, it seems that multiple modes of communication are used between respondents and their 'other' contacts, but that the phone is the most frequently used. With only 13 respondents saying that they use the phone 'more than monthly', it is not a result that says a great deal about communications generally, except that respondents have few people that they communicate with in Vietnam beyond family and friends.

Table 3.6 Mode of communication with business and professional contacts (frequency)

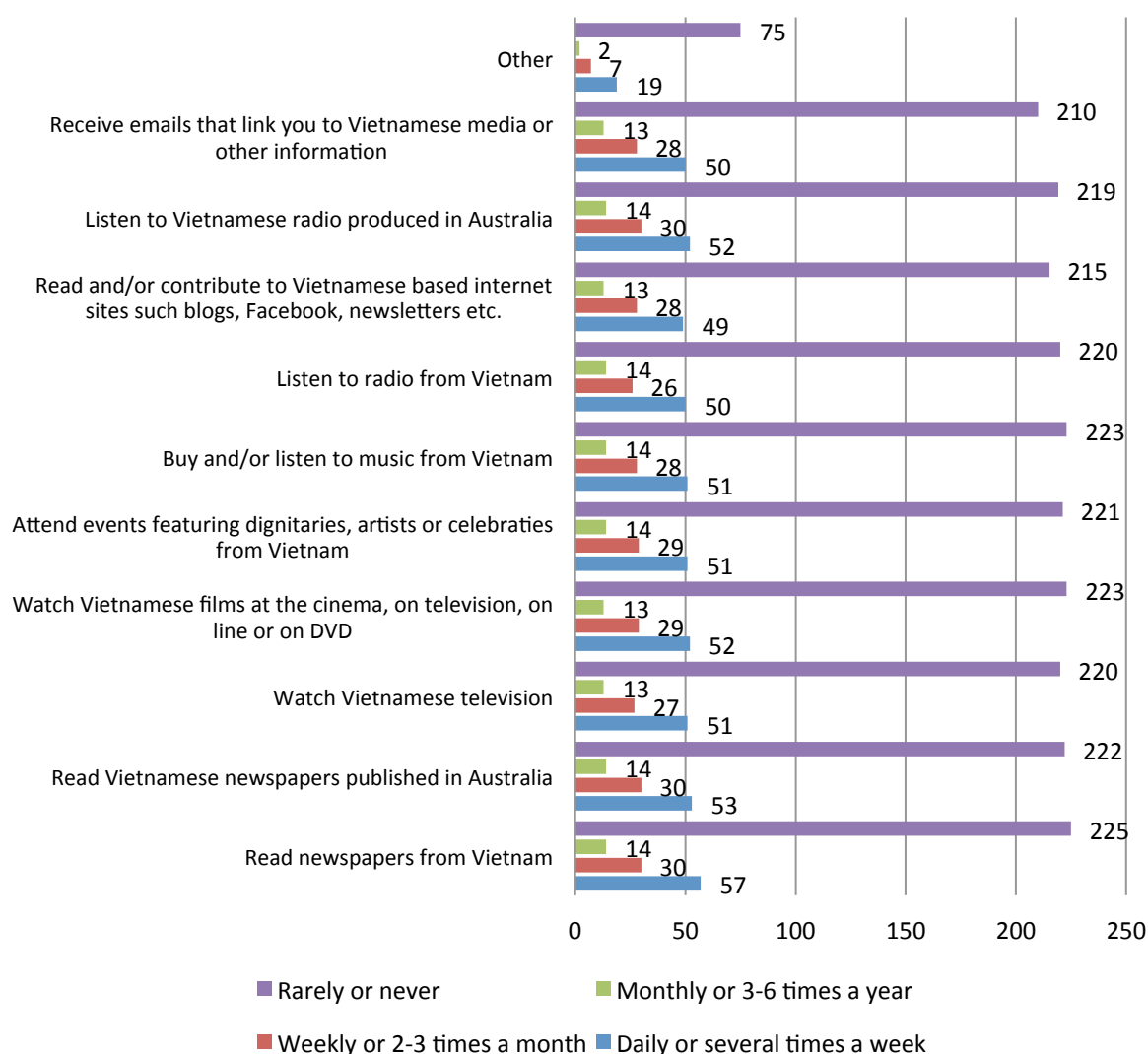
	Daily or several times a week	Weekly or several times a month	Monthly or several times a year	Once a year	If there is a need or every few years	Not at all	Grand total
Phone	9	4	5	1	5	4	28
Skype	7	3	4	1	4	4	23
Email	8	4	4	1	4	4	25
SMS	6	3	5	1	4	4	23
Letter	6	3	4	1	4	4	22
Facebook or other social networking site	5	2	4	1	4	4	20
Other	4	1	4	1	3	4	18

3.3 Vietnamese media

Within the theme of identifying the extent to which respondents maintain communications with Vietnam, the survey also included questions about the frequency and motivation for following different types of media (Q5.10/11).

The following chart shows the responses to questions about following media types showing that there is not a strong following of any forms of Vietnamese media, with the number of people accessing any form of Vietnamese media on a weekly basis limited to 40-60 people. The overwhelming majority never or rarely access any Vietnamese media.

Chart 3.6 Media consumption (frequency)



That respondents didn't closely follow media from Vietnam is not surprising given that the Australian community are in diaspora are mostly refugees who resent Vietnamese government controls on media production. Low use, however, also extends to music and other cultural communication and Australian produced Vietnamese language media.

Whether or not Vietnamese media is followed, however, does vary considerably by country of birth and those born in Vietnam are far more likely than Australian born respondents to say they follow all media types. The differences are less dramatic, but there is also a clear difference by age with younger respondents being more likely to follow all types of Vietnamese media as Table 3.7 shows. Overall, younger people who are born in Vietnam are those most likely to follow Vietnamese media.

Table 3.7 Vietnamese media consumption by country of birth and age group (% response)

	Australian born	Vietnamese or OS born	<39 years	40+ years
Newspapers – published in Vietnam	20.8%	80%	55.5%	43.5%
Newspapers – published in Australia	20.8%	79%	54.2%	44.8%

Vietnamese TV	21.6%	78.3%	56.4%	42.7%
Vietnamese cinema/film, etc.	20.7%	79.3%	54.9%	44.5%
Vietnamese events	21.2%	79%	55.9%	43.1%
Vietnamese music	21.3%	78%	55.1%	43.9%
Radio from Vietnam	22%	78.6%	57%	42%
Vietnamese radio in Australia	20.9%	78.4%	53.9%	45.1%
Vietnamese internet sites	21.6%	77%	56.2%	42.8%
Emails about Vietnamese media or information	31.7%	64.4%	55.6%	43.4%

Two main reasons were provided by focus group participants that help explain the lack of Vietnamese media use.

First, Vietnam does not have a particularly well developed film industry and the participants felt until recently films coming out of Vietnamese were, from a critical perspective, not worth watching. Second, it is only in the last few years that Vietnamese films and music have evolved from propagating communist themes to serving an entertainment role. The community in the diaspora had no desire whatsoever to voluntarily expose themselves to communist ideological messages. In the words of one focus group participant, ‘...it’s a waste of time to watch a film like that’.

More recently, however, there are signs that this is changing. The former international student put it this way:

Films used to be about war and the Party and were boring but this has changed and films are now about many more interesting subjects.

As the focus group participants expounded on the romances, comedies and ‘normal’ films coming out of Vietnam, a woman in her forties surmised:

Now we are watching a lot more Vietnamese movies than we used to.

The extent to which this occurs will be influenced by the Australian born generations. As one focus group participant explained,

I have young children born here so I have to choose films that I can also watch with my kids, so I have little time to watch Vietnamese movies as they are Aussie kids that want to watch English language films.

Some of the Vietnamese language media accessed in Australia comes from other parts of the Vietnamese diaspora. Focus group data suggested this resonated more, because while it was Vietnamese it had a more Western orientation. As one focus group participant put it,

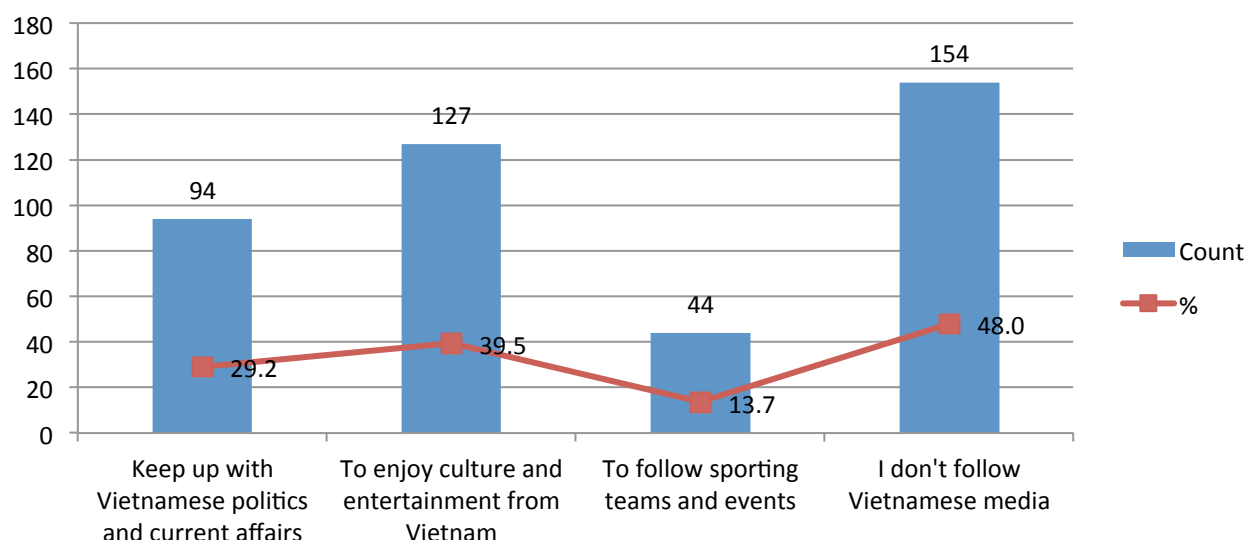
I watch more western movies than Vietnamese films. It is very rare for me to watch a movie made in Vietnam. I think this is because I feel more Western so I feel more connected to Vietnamese diaspora culture rather than Vietnamese homeland culture, so I listen to Vietnamese music and watch Vietnamese movies that come from Canada and America.

Focus group discussions explored how internet use is increasing access to and use of Vietnamese media. For example, the former international student referred to how Vietnamese songs and films are uploaded to internet

sites, while another recently arrived Vietnamese woman talked about how she accesses Vietnamese films and music.

In terms of motivation for using Vietnamese media, respondents were given four options for which they could provide multiple answers (Q5.11). The responses are provided in the following chart.

Chart 3.7 Reasons for using Vietnamese media



Findings in relation to why people follow Vietnamese media show that while a majority follow Vietnamese media, a sizeable minority of 37 per cent do not, with focus group findings indicating this is because Vietnamese media is of a low quality and is politically framed. While Vietnamese politics and current affairs are important for over 20 per cent of respondents, this is a distinct minority. When culture, entertainment and sports are combined, it shows that over 40 per cent of respondents remain engaged with Vietnam in this way.

The consumption of Vietnamese media was a theme explored within the focus groups, with participants suggesting a greater consumption of Vietnamese produced media than the survey findings would suggest. Across the participants, there were different patterns of media use, which in large part seemed determined by age and family circumstances. For one middle aged man with Australian born children, his predominantly English speaking children preferred not to watch or listen to Vietnamese media and so he was prevented from doing so despite his interest. For another person in the same age group, it was important to watch Vietnamese film, television and other media in order to have conversations with his extended family. Watching Vietnamese films together was an activity in itself. A further motivation for keeping up with media was to keep up with changes in Vietnamese language and ideas in order that they can. *'...understand what they are talking about'* and continue to communicate well with Vietnamese based family and friends.

The younger people in the group, who had arrived in Australia as international students, keep up with Vietnamese current affairs, music and film on a daily basis online. While they say that they consume both Australian and Vietnamese media, it is easy and 'normal' to stay abreast of Vietnamese media through ICT.

The focus group discussion, however, did resonate with the survey results in the extent to which media was consumed primarily for entertainment and 'cultural' reasons. There was little motivation to keep up with media for political reasons or to follow sport.

3.4 Summary of Visits and Communications with Vietnam

This section has discussed survey findings in relation to personal ties with Vietnam, through reviewing the findings in relation to visits to Vietnam, receiving visitors from Vietnam, communication with Vietnamese and intentions about visiting or living in Vietnam in future. Ties to Vietnam are apparently not strong, with only a small number of respondents visiting Vietnam and even less receiving visitors from Vietnam. For those who do visit Vietnam, the reasons for this are primarily about connecting with family and/or culture alongside having a holiday. There is very little connection with Vietnam for political or business purposes. A small majority follow Vietnamese media but overall, engagement with Vietnamese media is low. Overall, it appears that visits and communications with Vietnam by the diaspora is relatively weak and this is more pronounced amongst the Australian born members of the diaspora. However, the internet, the changing media in Vietnam and the changing demographics of the Vietnamese diaspora mean that patterns of communications with Vietnam are dynamic.

Section 4: Political and Communal Involvement

The following section draws together survey findings that relate to the general theme of 'political and communal involvement'. In particular, we draw from findings that stem from questions relating to the respondent's involvement in political or community activities, their interest in political events in Vietnam, their contact with people through their political or community interests and the importance placed on government policy in relation to Vietnam.

4.1 Links to Vietnam through political or community involvement

Political activities in relation to Vietnam

One of the key questions that was asked in relation to political or community involvement was about involvement in activities in Australia that are concerned with the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam (Q5.12). Almost half the respondents (46 per cent) said that they are 'not involved in any activities'. There seemed to be little political mobilization, with only very small numbers of respondents said they had undertaken the direct action options listed such as 'participated in a public rally or cause'. The two largest categories were 11 per cent who said that they participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign and 20 per cent who said that they sent money to a charity, welfare or other organization that needs help. Thus, fundraising/philanthropy appears to be the main form of active involvement. The full list of responses is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Activities relating to the economic or political affairs of Vietnam

Are you involved in any activities in Australia that are concerned with the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam? Please indicate all that apply.	Frequency	Percentage
I am not involved in any activities	219	46.30%
Wrote to a Member of Parliament in Australia	20	4.23%
Participated in a public rally or cause	25	5.29%
Wrote a letter or commented on an issue or media report by letter, email or talkback radio	18	3.81%
Wrote to a government member in Vietnam	4	0.85%
Participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign	53	11.21%
Been active in an Vietnamese organisation that aims to influence Vietnamese affairs	28	5.92%
I have sponsored others to come to Australia	13	2.75%
I sent money to support a charity or welfare organisation (e.g. a temple, orphanage, individuals who need help)	93	19.66%
Total questions answered	473	100.00%

There is distinct difference in involvement based on place of birth, with only 20 per cent of the Australian born not being involved, compared to 78 per cent (205 respondents) of the Vietnamese born not being involved.

Age also has an influence on levels of involvement with 57 per cent of those aged under 40 and 42 per cent of those over 40 were not involved in any activities. For many of the older groups, the focus of their activity is the legacy of conflict with the homeland, and as a result there are no organisations focused on younger generations who did not personally flee in 1975.

The main area of involvement was in fundraising. In terms of sending money to a charity or welfare organization, this was undertaken by 75 per cent of the Vietnamese born respondents compared to 19 per cent of the Australian born. Slightly more of the respondents aged over 40 participated in this activity, 54 per cent, compared to 45 per cent of those aged under 40.

One insight from the focus group discussion was that there is widespread cynicism about whether or not there is any practical purpose in being engaged in diaspora politics. As one community leader described,

People born in Australia don't care about politics and want to help Vietnam but, when they go to Vietnam and they see how the Government governs the people, their attitudes change. They want to help but they see what the Government does and they come back.

Organisational Involvement

As Table 4.2 below shows, a majority of respondents are actively involved in a local Vietnamese organisation (Q5.13) with only three quarters saying that the question was 'not applicable'. Of the remaining 75 per cent, involvement with a Vietnamese organisation through their religious practices is the largest single group at 18 per cent. This is closely followed by 'community' (16 per cent) and then, consistent with the response to the question above about political and economic activities, charitable at 11 per cent. All other categories of organisations have involvement at 6 per cent or less, with the lowest involvement in 'business' (0.73 per cent). This finding further shows the importance of religion for Vietnamese people as a part of community life.

Table 4.2 Involvement in Vietnamese organizations in Australia

Are you involved with a Vietnamese organisation in Australia?	Frequency	Percentage
Not applicable	137	24.95%
Community (e.g. AVWA)	90	16.39%
Charitable	63	11.48%
Cultural	34	6.19%
Educational (e.g. ex-alumni of a high school)	34	6.19%
Religious (e.g. Quang Minh Temple)	100	18.21%
Business	4	0.73%
Professional (e.g. Vietnamese Teacher's Association)	12	2.19%
Sporting	10	1.82%
Social	30	5.46%
Political	12	2.19%
Environmental	9	1.64%
Other	14	2.55%
Total questions answered	549	100.00%

When considered by age, more respondents aged over 40 participated in charitable activity (60 per cent), than those aged under 40 (40 per cent). About 50 per cent of both those aged over and under 40 were involved in religious activity. However, place of birth has a strong influence on organisational involvement:

- While 93 per cent of Vietnamese born respondents were involved in a community organization such as AVWA, only 5.5 per cent of the Australian born were involved in such a community organization.
- While 90 per cent of Vietnamese respondents were involved in charitable activity, only 9.5 per cent of the Australian born were involved in this way.
- While 77 per cent of Vietnamese respondents were involved in religious activity, such as a Temple, only 20 per cent of the Australian born was involved in this way.

Two factors emerged in the focus group as mitigating against community involvement. First, the political orientation of older members of the community is a motivation for involvement in organised community life. In

contrast, those Vietnamese born in Australia or who grew up in Vietnam after 1975 appeared to be alienated by this focus on political conflict. In the words of one focus group participant,

Former prisoners or fighter are still fighting but the young generation don't want to be involved in this. They are turning to more charitable causes.

Traditional organisations with a focus on the political conflict need to change or they will ultimately dissipate as the generation of founding refugee members grow older and are not replaced.

The focus group indicated there is a serious lack of vehicles for community involvement, such as social and sports clubs. Yet these are the sorts of bodies that are important for the maintenance of organised community life. They will also be important to help in the settlement of international students and new arrivals. As the new arrival said in the focus group:

I would like an organisation to go to because I want to meet a lot of people in the community and mix with them.

Another focus group participant concurred,

When I arrived in Australia I did not know what to do and friends and relatives guided me and gave me ideas, but it would have been better if there had been organisations as that would have expanded my network.

Four reasons were offered in the first focus group for the lack of organised community life. First, there is a relative lack of support and assistance from the Government of Vietnam in ways that other communities had received. Second, a theme of the focus group was that, culturally, Vietnamese are 'shy' and are reticent in asserting their desire for support for establishing with the assistance of the wider community. Third, there are divisions within the community – refugee, family reunification, international student – which mean that available community resources are dissipated. Finally, informal family networks operate as the main vehicles for connection to Vietnamese community life, rather than being formalised through organisations.

However, it became clear through the second focus group of Vietnamese community leaders that the growth of the community through overseas arrivals was adding to the numbers of people seeking to participate in community organisations and events. For example, the representative of the Quang Minh Temple reported a growing attendance at a wide range of temple events from Sunday lunches, services and Temple retreats. Further, the AVWA reported a sizeable increase in the number of young people seeking work experience and student placements. Leaders of sports and recreation associations also reported that there was a substantial increase, in the vicinity of hundreds of people that were seeking to participate in Vietnamese community sporting groups.

The need for support for Vietnamese new arrivals in general and international students in particular, is of urgent concern to Vietnamese community leaders who are currently confronted with an emergent set of welfare issues. The representative of the Quang Minh Temple reported personally officiating at funerals as the result of suicides amongst international students. These tragedies are in part attributed to the fact that the students have no family in Australia. However, a clear problem emerged that the local Vietnamese community does not have the capacity, due to lack of resources, to support the international students. As the AVWA participant in the leaders focus group explained,

International students have no support services. There is a consulate in Sydney but not in Melbourne, and there is a student association but this is run by students with no resources.

The lack of services was identified by community leaders as being in part generated through political tensions between the refugee community and the new arrivals who are seen to be aligned with the existing Vietnamese government.

The leader of a Vietnamese martial arts group who participated in the focus group explained that while international students join his martial arts group, they are “scared” because the local community is politically different. While this fear is soon addressed as local people extend hospitality, he stressed the need for an association to support the international students.

Finances were also highlighted as an issue for international students. As the martial arts group leader noted,

Some students are from very rich and politically powerful families in Vietnam but here they have to struggle to get on. They miss their family, and get sick.

However, it was stressed in the leaders’ focus group that while some international students come from wealthy families, many do not. But whatever the background of the international students, financial pressures place them in a vulnerable position. As the AVWA participant explained,

I knew a student who couldn’t get a job so he agreed to have (experiments of illegal drugs done on them) new drugs experimented on him as a human guinea pig so that he be paid.

The representative of the Footscray Asian Business Association added that,

A lot of students come from not wealthy families in Vietnam and when they come here they can’t get work so they get involved in illegal activities like growing cannabis and end up in jail, so employment is big issue. These students are becoming victims.

In terms of support services, the international students fall ‘between the cracks’ as the local community will not, for political reasons, accept funding from the Vietnamese Government while the Australian Government will not provide funding to local organisations to support international students. Frustration was expressed at the lack of Australian Government assistance with one of the leaders pointing out in the focus group,

The Australian Government does not fund services for foreign students but once they commit crimes because they have had no assistance it costs the Australian Government \$70,000 a year to keep one person in prison.

Overall, while there are many socio-economic issues that need to be addressed in relation to international students while they are in Australia, they appear to have a direct effect on both the Diaspora-Homeland relationship and indeed life in the homeland. The leaders of the business association explained,

The development of more Vietnamese People from different regions is a good thing for the community and better for business as there is more activity and politically, people are learning more things about democracy and freedom that they take back to Vietnam. Here, they get used to our values and take them back to Vietnam.

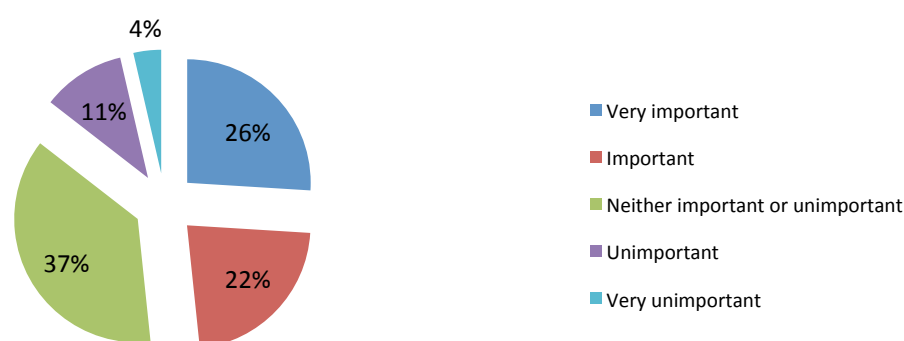
Thus, the impression is that international students are influenced by the diaspora, and the democracy, freedom and human rights that they enjoy while living in Australia. This experience is understood to have a potential role in the democratization of Vietnam.

Overall, survey findings identify low organizational involvement across the diaspora and focus group discussions identify that the community organizational infrastructure is inadequate to deal with the needs of new arrivals. Existing community organisations are facing an increased and possibly unsustainable burden. These gaps in services are caused in part due to political tensions between the existing refugee community and the new arrivals that are seen as connected to the current Vietnamese government.

Australian government policy in relation to Vietnam

Despite the low involvement in Vietnamese political organisations, almost half of all respondents (48 per cent) say that the policies of Australian political parties in determining how they vote in Australian elections are either 'very important' (26 per cent) or 'important' (22 per cent). At the same time, for the remaining majority of respondents, the position of Australian political parties is not an important consideration for them.

Chart 4.1 Importance of the Policies of Australian Political Parties in Relation to Vietnam in Terms of Voting in Australian Elections.



4.2 Summary of Political and Community Connections with Vietnam

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. Very few indicated being involved in any activities of a political nature, although there is a proportion that is involved in fund raising or religious activities. These findings continue in relation to being involved in Vietnamese organisations with the main type of organisational involvement being 'religious', 'community', or 'charitable'. Only a small proportion identified as being involved in a political organisation. 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. Almost half of respondents said that Australian government policy in relation to Vietnam is 'very important' or 'important'. Combined, these findings suggest low involvement in political organisations and actions, but at the same time, this does not suggest low interest. The political legacy of the Vietnamese conflict has shaped the nature of organised community life, but this fails to resonate with younger generations. Such findings suggest a priority for community development strategies targeted at more recent and younger arrivals from Vietnam.

The following section discusses the third theme of the survey questions which is around caregiving, remittances and philanthropy.

Section 5: Caregiving, Remittances and Philanthropy

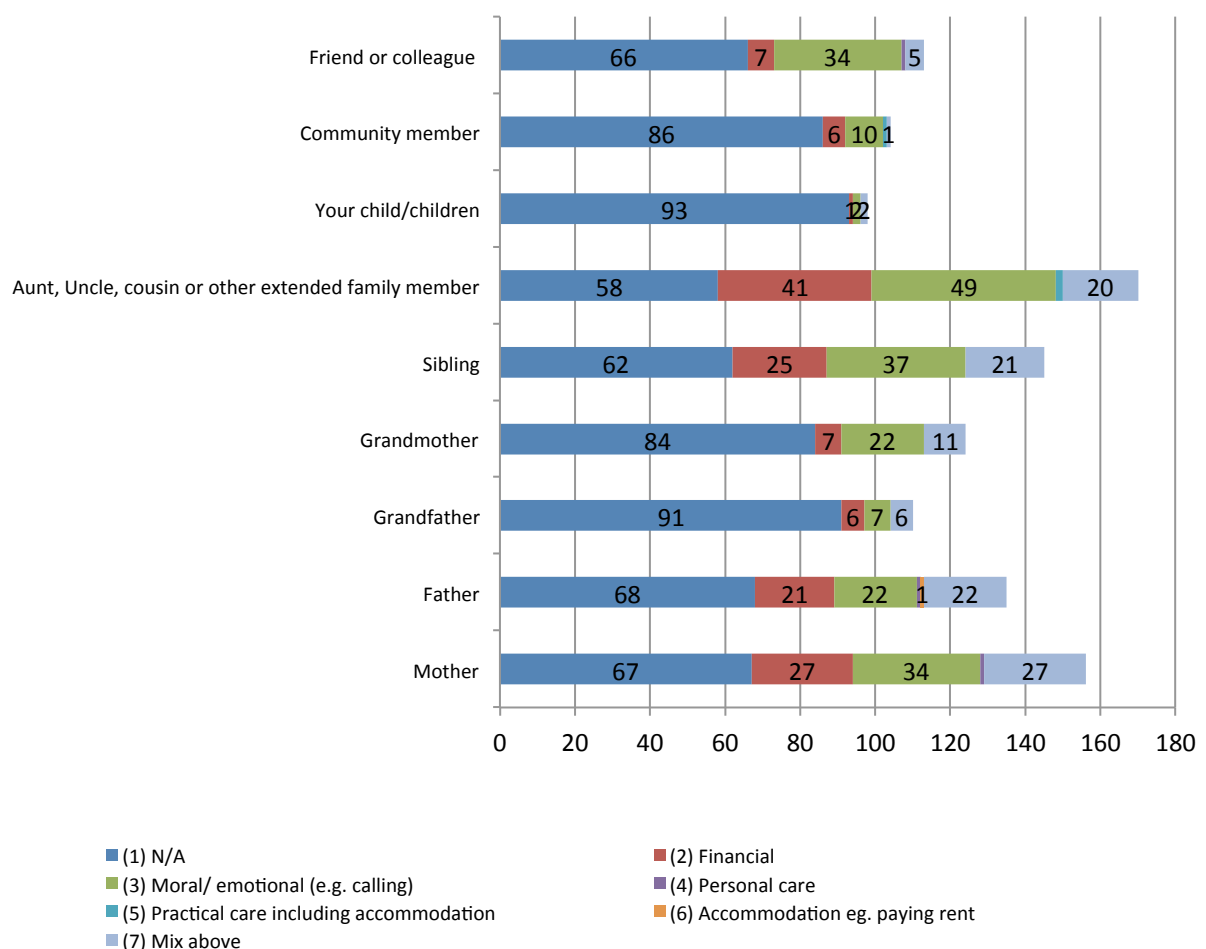
This section reports on the questions that relate to caregiving, remittances and philanthropy. In particular, we draw from survey questions that relate to transnational care responsibilities, remittances sent to Vietnam and the motivations for this. We also draw on information gathered about visiting Vietnam and the motivations for returning to and spending time in Vietnam as it relates to caregiving as a driver for staying connected with Vietnam.

5.1 Caring for Friends, Family and Community Members in Vietnam

Who is Cared For?

The survey asked respondents to identify whether there is a person or people that they care for in Vietnam. They were also asked to indicate the frequency that they do this and what form this care takes. As the following chart shows, the main category of person care is extended to is an ‘uncle, aunt or other extended family member’ followed by a ‘sibling’. For all categories, the primary means of care is ‘moral/emotional’ followed by ‘financial’.

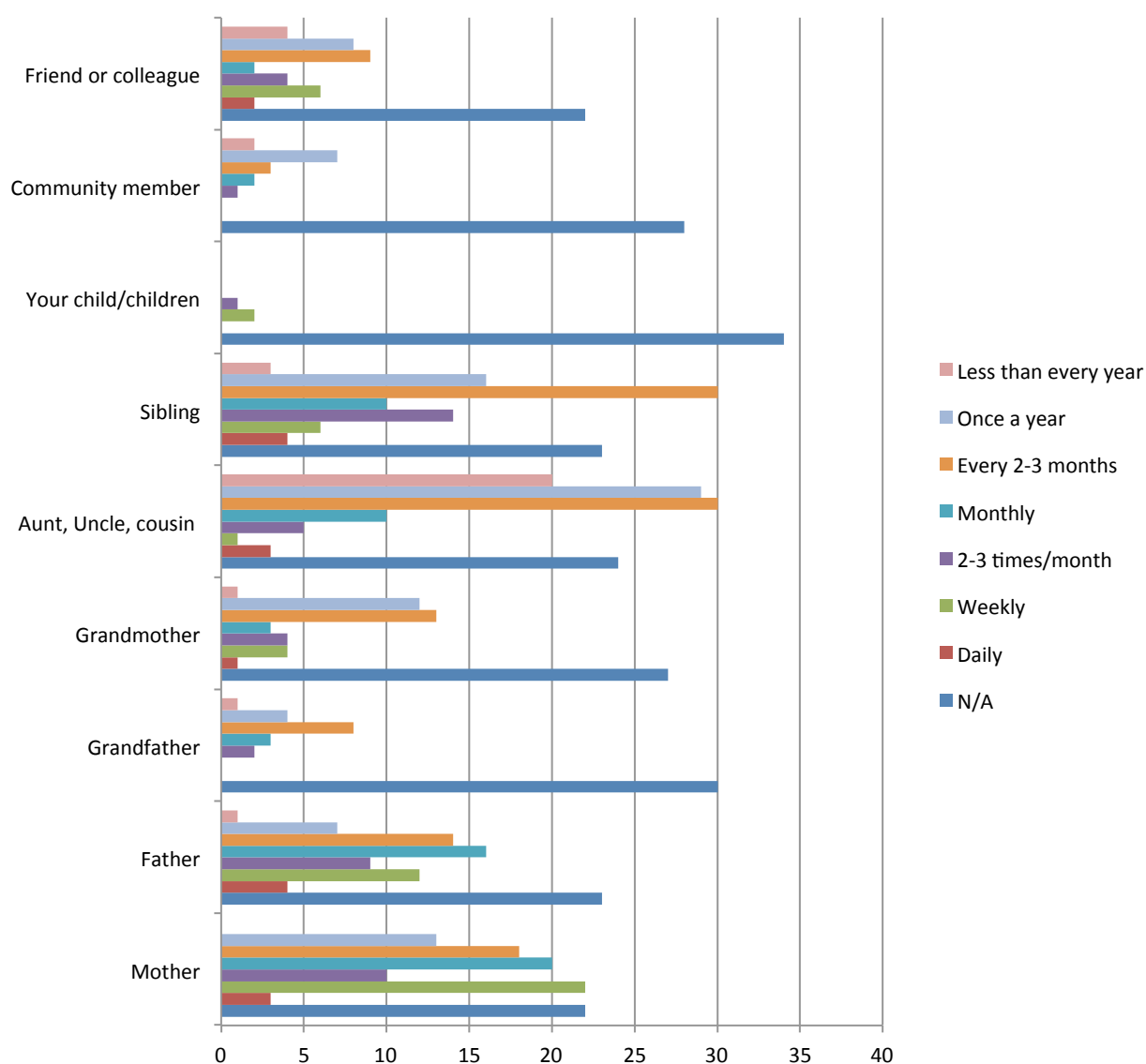
Chart 5.1: Who is cared for and how (frequency)



Frequency of Providing Care

The following chart shows the frequency of care provided by respondents. As the chart shows, the majority of care provided (and in most cases this would be moral/emotional as indicated above), occurs primarily either once a year or every two-three months. Consistent with the question above, extended family members are the primary recipients of the care. For those respondents with a father or mother in Vietnam, care was offered more frequently and most commonly on a weekly basis.

Chart 5.2 Frequency of care



Visiting Vietnam to Care for Family, Friends or Community Members

A further question that was revealing in terms of respondents' care responsibilities was about motivations for visiting Vietnam as discussed in Section 3. While the major reasons for visiting Vietnam is 'to have a holiday' (45 per cent), a minority (16.5 per cent) say that they visit to 'help family members who need care and/or assistance'. Women were marginally more likely to have visited in order to care for someone (52 per cent compared to 47 per

cent for men). Those who were born in Vietnam, however, were more likely to visit in order to care (74.5 per cent compared to 23.6 per cent for Australian born respondents).

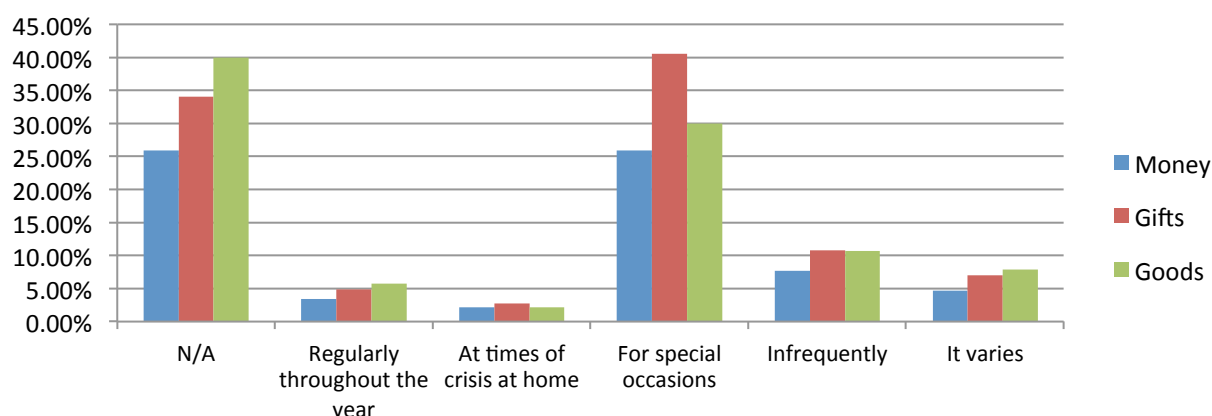
Future Obligations to Care for People in Vietnam

The survey also asked whether or not respondents anticipated having obligations to care for people in Vietnam in future. Almost exactly one third of respondents (109 out of 318 respondents) said that 'yes' they anticipate having obligations to care in future. This obligation was a little more likely for people who had been born in Vietnam with 36.5 per cent of those born in Vietnam saying they would need to care in future, compared to 29.6 per cent of Australian born respondents. Younger respondents were also more likely to anticipate future obligations (52 per cent 39 years or younger, 38 per cent over 40s).

5.2 Philanthropy and Remittances

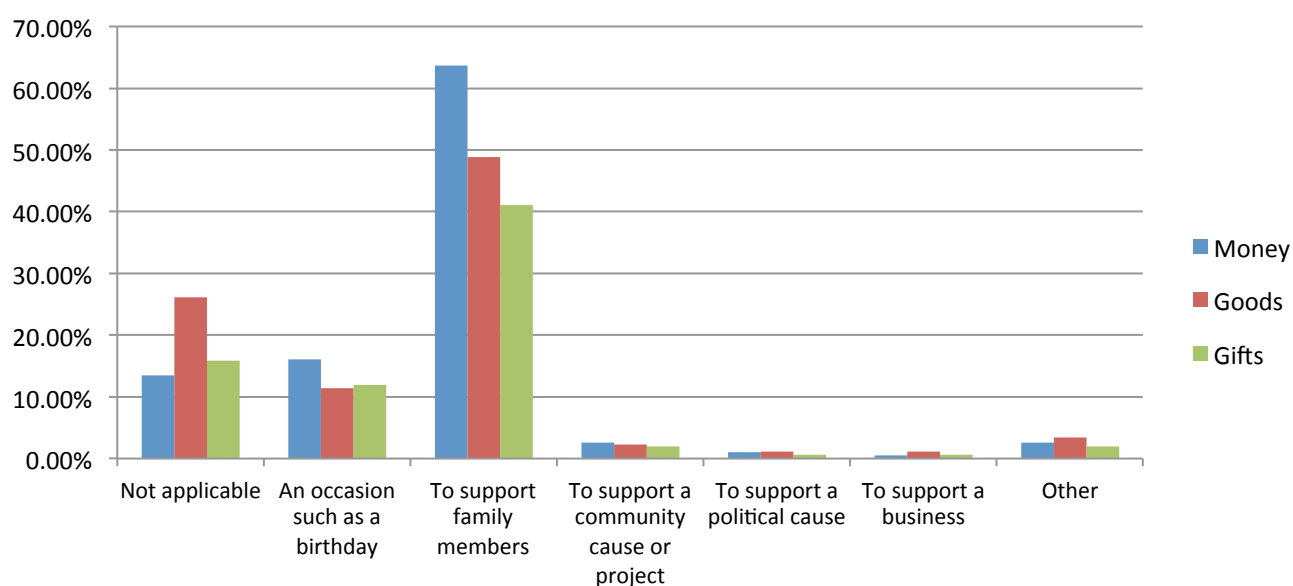
Another important objective of the survey and the focus group was to identify the extent to which money is sent to the homeland and for what purposes. The survey included a number of questions relating to this objective. The first of these was about the frequency of sending gifts, money or goods to Vietnam and the following chart shows that the majority of respondents do send either goods, money and gifts to Vietnam, but primarily they do this infrequently or 'for special occasions'.

Chart 5.3 Frequency of Sending Gifts, Money or Goods



The next chart shows that the major reason for sending gifts, money or goods is to support family members or to mark an occasion such as a birthday or wedding. Only two respondents indicated sending goods, gifts or money for any other reason.

Chart 5.4 Reasons for sending money, gifts or goods to Vietnam



Respondents born in Vietnam were much more likely to send money. For example, 89.2 per cent of those who send money 'regularly throughout the year' were born in Vietnam. Similarly, women were more likely to send money than men. Out of those who send money throughout the year, more than 62 per cent were female. Younger respondents were more like to send goods (63 per cent) and gifts (59 per cent), but slightly less likely to send money (47.5 per cent under 40/52 per cent over 40).

Respondents were also asked to explain their answer in relation to the sending of goods, gifts or money that they send to Vietnam. Seventeen respondents made a comment about this and the main theme was about needing to give to relatives or charities because Vietnam is poor and people need help. *'Family in Vietnam are very poor so sometimes they ask for help...'* was a typical comment on this theme.

The second group of responses were about taking gifts when visiting Vietnam or sending gifts on special events such as the Lunar New Year or for weddings. There was also a group that said that they either can't afford to send money or gifts, or that they don't have relatives in Vietnam any more. One comment highlighted differences between generations within the responses by saying that *'I don't send anything personally but my parents do...'*

Feedback from the focus group was that most of their families in Vietnam were financially secure so they did not need to send them financial assistance, but whenever a family member did need such support it was always provided. There were, however, other ways the diaspora could assist their friends and family in the Homeland. As one focus group participant said,

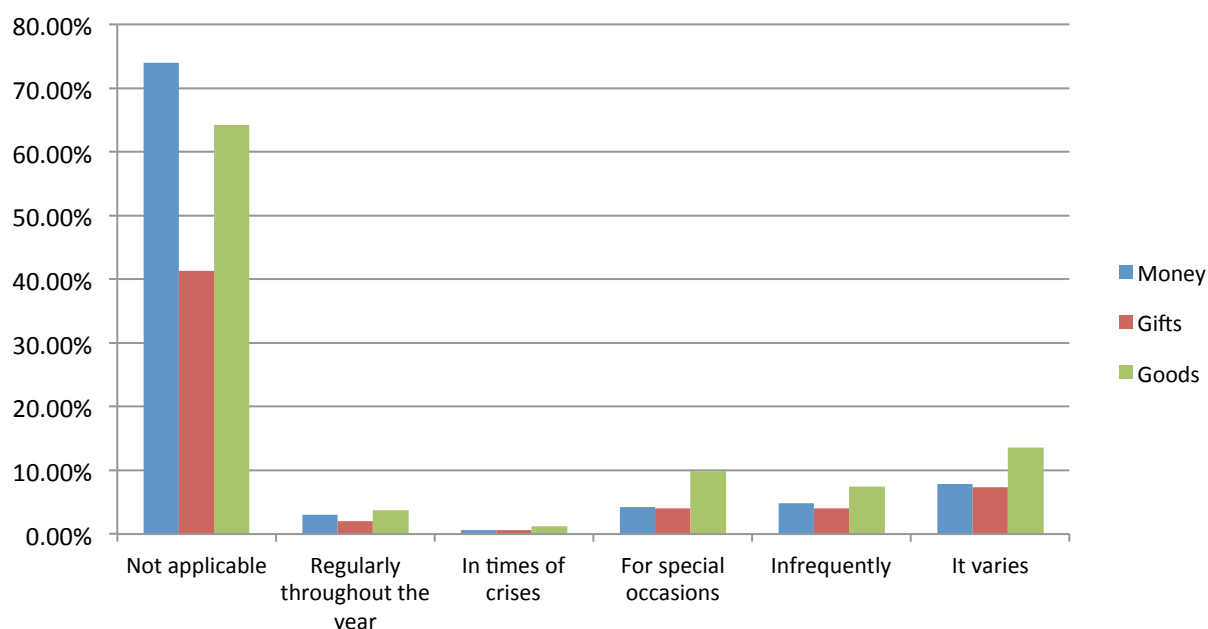
My family have their own business in Vietnam so there is no pressure to support them, but if my parents need any medicines that hard to find in Vietnam I can look for them in Australia and send them to them.

Therefore data on remittances must take the relative lack of need in Vietnam into account and may not just reflect attitudes towards the Homeland.

Receiving gifts, money or goods from Vietnamese connections

As the chart below shows, respondents receive less from Vietnam than they send as might be expected given the difference in wealth between the two countries. A small proportion of respondents said that they receive gifts and goods for special occasions or 'infrequently'.

Chart 5.5 Frequency of receiving gifts, money or goods from Vietnam

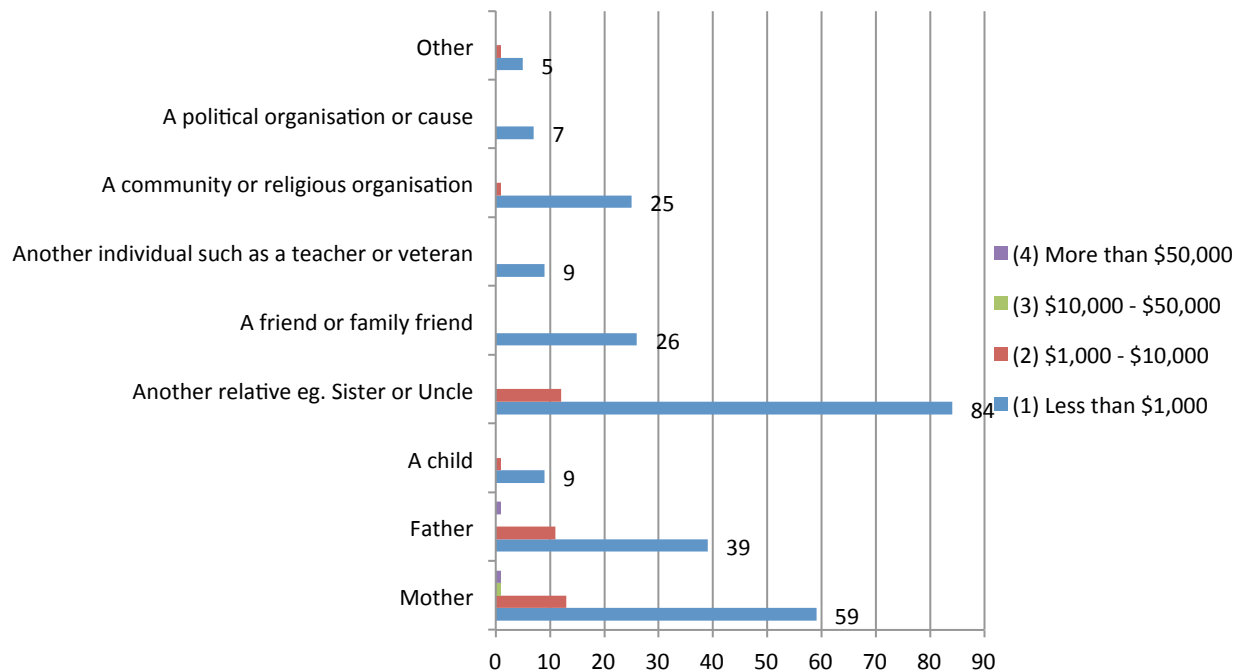


Thirty-three respondents described these gifts. The largest group answers described receiving food, clothing, jewelry and other small gifts such as ceramic statues or calendars. The food most commonly mentioned was seafood that is not available in Australia and clothing was sent for grandchildren or for students. A group of five people described receiving money for a number of reasons including money to pay university fees, living costs and for use as a deposit to buy property.

The survey also included a question about the amounts of money that is sent to Vietnam and the following Chart 5.6 shows that, in keeping with the responses to Q 5.2 and Q 5.6, money is sent to either parents or extended family relatives of amounts primarily less than \$1,000. To a lesser degree, money is also sent to friends, as well as community or religious organizations. Nine respondents also send money to 'another individual' and a further seven send money to a 'political organization or cause'.

Six respondents identified sending money to 'other'. These responses were varied, but included sending money to people such as *'to support a poor student to have an opportunity to complete her studies'*, as well as other general responses such as *'to an organisation.'*

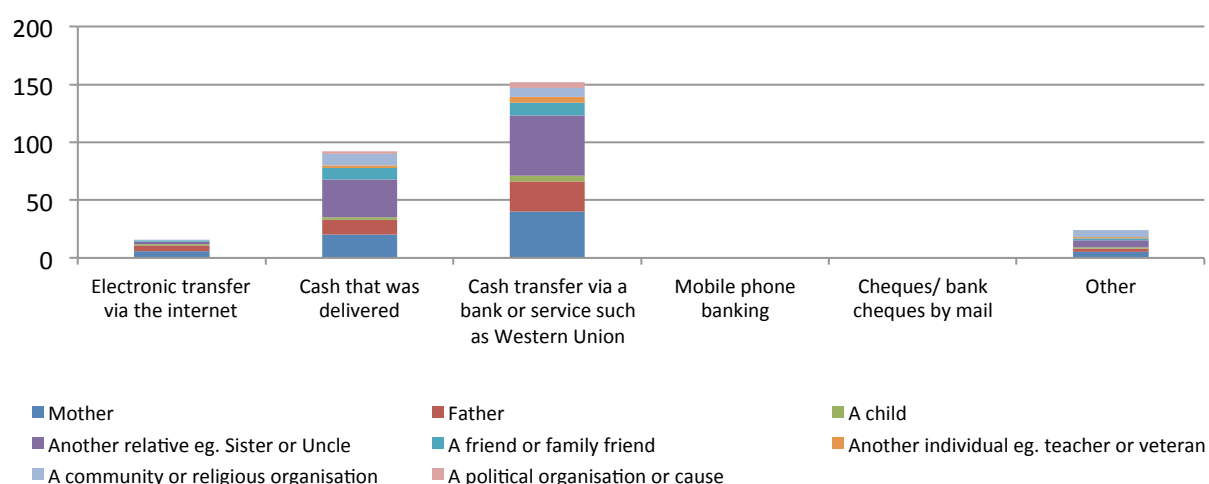
Chart 5.6 Remittances sent to Vietnam (frequency)



Money was sent primarily by cash transfer as the chart below shows with 158 respondents saying that they sent money through this means. A substantial proportion of respondents (93) also delivered cash to Vietnam and a small group of respondents (16) used electronic transfer through the internet. No respondents said that they used mobile phone banking or sent cheques by mail.

An explanation for the low level of remittances came from the focus group discussion. Participants in the leaders' focus group confirmed the survey and general focus group data about charitable donations and that these were common but informal. As one of the leaders of Footscray Asian Business Association business organisation put it, *'We did not flee in a wooden boat so that we would give money to the government there'*. The representative of the AVWA said that while some people donate to charities in Vietnam, others refuse to do so, *'...because it is helping that terrible regime'*.

Chart 5.7 Means of sending remittances to Vietnam (frequency)



These findings show that sending money to Vietnam is not something that the majority of respondents do but the main reason for doing so is to support family members. For a minority of respondents, money and gifts are sent primarily for special occasions in amounts of less than \$1,000. A small number of survey respondents also send money to community causes.

5.3 Summary of Findings in Relation to Care, Remittances and Philanthropy

The discussion above presents the main findings in relation to how ties to Vietnam are shaped by obligations for care and how this is expressed through sending money. Only a small group of respondents have specific care responsibilities and these obligations are fulfilled through occasional visits, and the sending of money in small amounts relatively infrequently. The main recipients of care are extended to family members although a small number of respondents (10-20) have parents in Vietnam to whom they provide 'moral and emotional' care as well as money. More commonly, respondents (almost 50 per cent) actively maintain relationships and connections in Vietnam through visiting and sending gifts and money. A smaller proportion of respondents receive gifts from Vietnam, primarily for special occasions. Connections and care responsibilities are greater for those who are Vietnam born, and almost one third of respondents anticipate that they will have care responsibilities in future.

These findings suggest that connections maintained with Vietnam due to care responsibilities apply to a relatively small proportion of respondents, although the maintenance of family connections is relevant to around half of all respondents. At the same time, supporting family members and to a lesser extent community causes is the main reason for sending money over and above any other reason, such as supporting a political cause or engaging in business or professional activities.

Section 6: Business and Professional Ties

This section draws on survey findings related to how the diaspora is linked to Vietnam through business and professional connections. These questions relate to trade and import and export activities, interest in business connections with Vietnam and the motivations for being involved in business and professional activities.

6.1 Business and professional contacts

Compared to family ties, very few respondents identified business and/or professional contacts living in Vietnam with only 6.8 per cent (22 people) identifying such business or professional contacts. The main form of communication used by all people with business contacts is by phone and by email. The majority of this group is also younger than 40 years old (14 out of 22) and almost all (20 out of 22) were Vietnam born. This group also come from across the main Vietnamese regions with seven coming from the North, five from Central Vietnam and 14 from the South.

Similarly very few respondents said that they have any business or professional interaction with Vietnam, with only 12 out of 317 respondents indicating 'yes' to a question about whether or not their job and/or business involves interacting with Vietnam (Q7.1). In keeping with this low response, one person said they export goods or services to Vietnam, three said they import goods or services and four have 'other business/professional' interactions.

Eight respondents gave a brief explanation about the nature of their business and professional involvement. Each of these responses was very different, but included educational links with Vietnam, a tourism business that buys Vietnamese tours for sale in Australia, importing seafood and being part of a business that has a branch in Vietnam.

While none of the focus group participants were engaged in professional ties with Vietnam, there was an interest in having such ties, but this interest is somewhat discouraged. First, this interest is discouraged by the established refugee community who are strongly resistant to engagement with Vietnam and anything to do with the Vietnamese government. The Vietnamese government further generates barriers by imposing bureaucratic procedures that are difficult to negotiate. The lack of business ties was explained in the community leaders' focus group by the representative of the Footscray Asian Business Association who said they have no business ties with Vietnam as they have no connection, or desire to establish connections with the government.

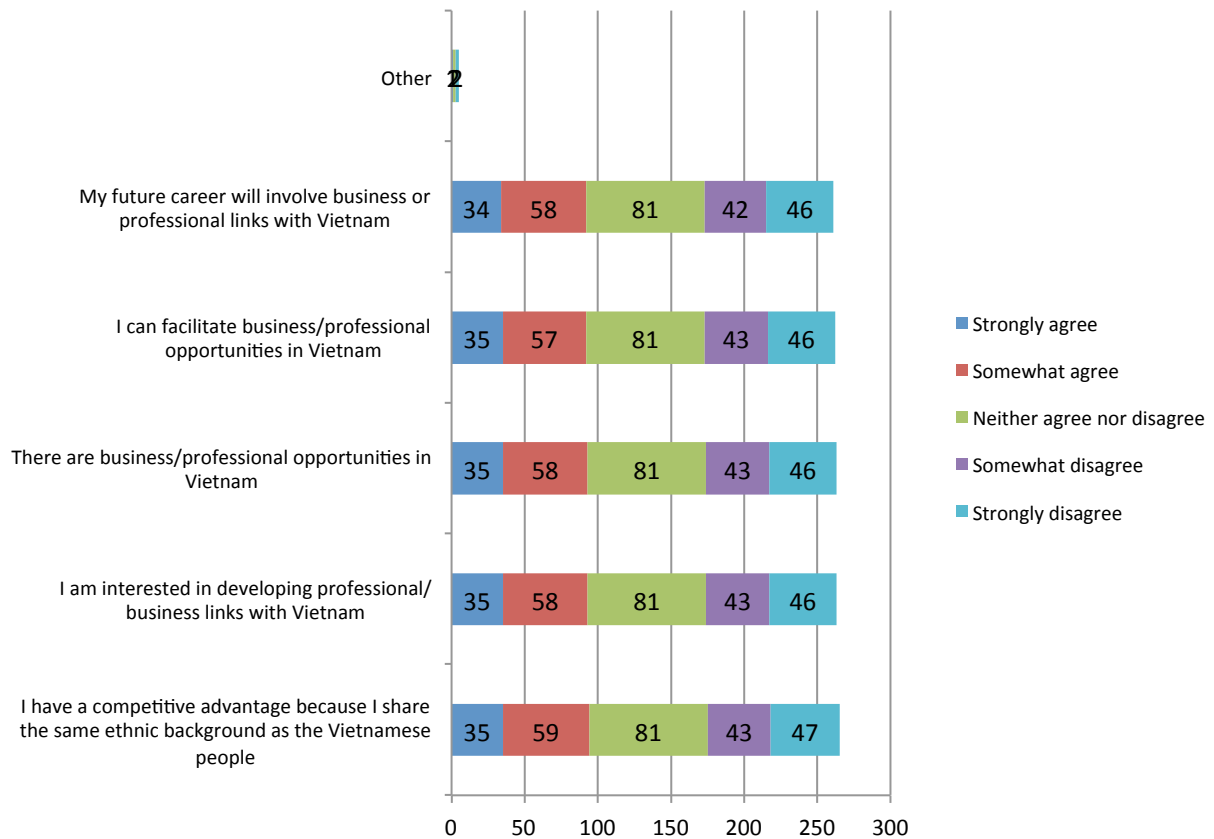
There are signs, however, that the growth of the Vietnamese community through permanent arrivals from Vietnam is generating new in two way trade. As the representative of the Footscray Asian Business Association commented in the leaders' focus group,

The number of business being opened up by people from the North (of Vietnam) is increasing. We have no problem with new comers from the North (of Vietnam) who open shops and they participate in our association and we do help them. It is good as we have more variety of products, such as food from the North.

A further question asked whether or not respondents were involved in trade or services with countries other than Vietnam. Only seven people out of 312 respondents indicated that they did so, but only two people explained what this trade involved. One traded on Ebay and another imports cheap electrical goods.

While respondents indicated that there was very little actual engagement with Vietnam for business or professional reasons, there was a greater level of interest expressed in response to a number of statements about the potential of having business or professional engagement in future. The responses are shown in Chart 6.1 below.

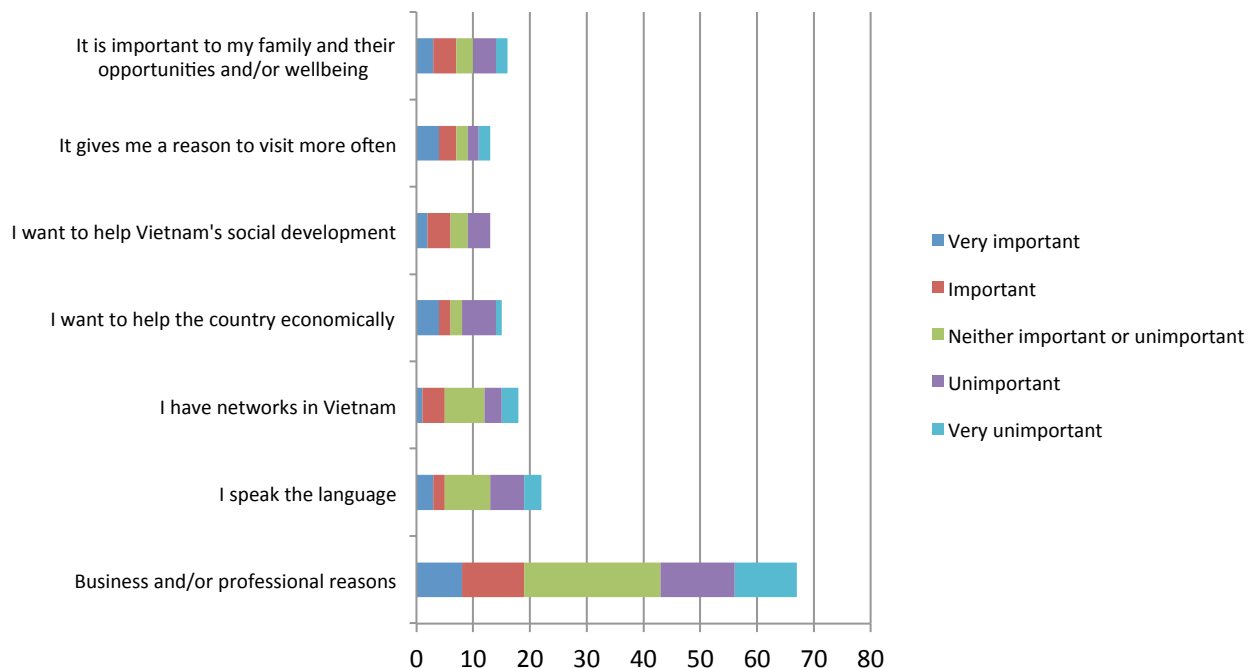
Chart 6.1 Potential for the development of trade and business links with Vietnam



As shown, the majority of responses are either ambivalent (neither agree nor disagree) or in disagreement. There is, however, a sizable minority of around one-third of respondents that say that they are either interested in or have a competitive advantage in developing business or professional engagement in Vietnam.

Given the low rates of business and professional contact indicated above, there was similarly a low level of priority given in response to a question about motivations for why respondents engage in business and professional contact with Vietnam (Q7.2). There were very few responses to the questions overall, with the largest number of responses given in response to 'business and/or professional reasons' as being the reason for potential engagement. Even for this question, the largest group of responses indicated that it is 'neither important nor unimportant'.

Chart 6.2 Motivations for engaging in business or professional contact (frequency).



While none of the focus group participants had professional connections with Vietnam there was an interest in having such ties, but two main obstacles were identified. Firstly, receiving a backlash by members of the local community opposed to ties with Vietnam and the fact the Government procedures in Vietnam are a barrier.

6.2 Summary of Business and Professional Connections

There is little to comment on in relation to what the survey reveals about connections between the diaspora and Vietnam through business and professional links given the very small number of respondents who indicated any links of this nature at all. Despite this, there was interest expressed by a number of respondents in future business and professional engagement, possibly suggesting potential for future trade development. These somewhat contradictory results are explained by the diaspora's refugee history as well as the current dynamics of Vietnamese migration to Australia. While there might be growing interest in business and professional engagement with the homeland, there are considerable barriers to this stemming from antagonisms of the existing community as well as bureaucratic barriers posed by the Vietnamese government itself.

The following and final section summarises and discusses the overall findings of the survey and highlights areas for investigation.

Section 7: Discussion and Conclusions

The Vietnamese community in Australia remains distinctive 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 organised community that maintains a strong sense of Vietnamese identity as Australian citizens. The community is highly

visible and, while diverse and changing, continues as distinctively Vietnamese through language use, media production, religious practice and political activity. While attitudes towards the Vietnamese government are changing, another point of distinction is the strained relationship with the homeland government which remains a focus for Vietnamese community organisation in Australia.

On almost all measures of ties between a diaspora and its homeland, such as visits, media use, political involvement, and remittances, the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia has a low level engagement with the homeland. This is explained largely by the refugee history of the Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia and the negative perception of the Vietnamese Government by the diaspora. The lack of homeland identification might ordinarily lead to the conclusion that Vietnamese diaspora has a low sense of ethnic identity, but by other measures it is clear that this is not the case. Vietnamese language use remains very high, an extended family culture is the norm and traditional religious affiliation is strong. There thus appears to be a paradox in the identity of the Vietnamese diaspora in Australia which has a strong sense of ethnic identity based on homeland culture. They have this identity and culture *despite* the homeland and maintain it independent of the homeland.

Responses to questions about citizenship and identity indicate that the community is at ease with an identity which is both Australian and Vietnamese. The citizenship status of the community also suggests that the community is firmly settled in Australia. At the same time, however, there are apparent differences between those born in Australia and those born in Vietnam. For example, while there is pronounced ambivalence towards Vietnam across the diaspora community, this is even more pronounced among younger Australian born respondents. While the older generations have living memory of Vietnam, the Australian born has grown up in a community that has effectively cut off ties with the homeland. They have grown up in Australia without visits to Vietnam or receiving visitors from Vietnam, have low consumption of media and have invariably been exposed to negative stories about Vietnam. Consequently, there is little basis for the Australian born to develop a positive sense of identification with Vietnam. Furthermore, 'going back' to Vietnam is not an option for many because of opposition to the communist regime that governs the country, and for the Australian born, being Australian is in many respects the only place they can call home. The importance of family also remains a central value for the Vietnamese and this explains cultural maintenance in the diaspora. Conversely the lack of family members living in Vietnam explains the lack of visits and regular contact with Vietnam.

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. Very few indicated being involved in any activities of a political nature, although there is a proportion that is involved in fund raising or religious activities. The political legacy of the Vietnamese conflict has shaped the nature of organised community life, but this fails to resonate with younger generations. This finding suggests the need for community organisations to focus on the needs of younger generations and international students who are forming the latest wave of Vietnamese migration to Australia. Traditional organisations with a focus on the political conflict need to change or they will ultimately dissipate as the generation of founding refugee members grows older.

A further indication of the low level of diaspora-homeland ties is that business and professional links are extremely weak. However, the fact that approximately one-third of respondents expressed an interest and desire in developing such ties, suggests that there is potential for the social and linguistic networks that exists between the Vietnamese diaspora and its homeland in being a source for the development of two-way trade and other ties.

There are a number of factors, however, that suggests there are changes emerging within the diaspora due to three main factors. The first is that an increasing proportion of the community is Australian born or is part of a '1.5 generation'. This group is now in their middle age and do not have the direct refugee experience as their parents with concomitant animosity to the homeland government. Further, through the implementation of *doi moi*, Vietnam itself is increasingly recognized as offering greater freedom and opportunity. As such, the political antagonisms felt by the refugee community are beginning to weaken.

Another important influence is that the latest wave of Vietnamese migrants is made up predominantly of international students with deep existing ties in the homeland. This is an emerging group that is generating considerable pressures on the existing community. A unique set of circumstances affect Vietnamese international students because of the political history and refusal of the local community to have contact with the Homeland Government and their diplomatic representatives and vice-versa. 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 attack. 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. This is an issue that the Commonwealth and State Governments need to urgently consider together with the Vietnamese community if Australia is to continue to be a preferred destination for Vietnamese 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 in the refugee population who remain traumatised by their refugee experience and have strong feelings of antagonism towards the homeland government. This has implications for the Vietnamese government in terms of maximizing the potential for tourism and development by the Vietnamese Diaspora. The findings of this project suggest the need for a Diaspora strategy.

Another related force for change in diaspora-homeland relations is related to media use. As the survey indicated, there is low consumption of Vietnamese media due to the perception that Vietnamese media, such as films, are of poor quality and are commonly vehicles for government political ideology. However, there were also indications that with the development of a more professional film industry, there is a growing perception that Vietnamese films and music have evolved from propagating communist themes, to having greater entertainment value. Similarly, while there is a reticence about visiting Vietnam, evidence from the focus group indicates that visits increase the sense of identification and connection with the homeland. Use of the internet has also enhanced communication with the Homeland, allowing daily contact with family and friends. Given the proclivity of younger members of the community to use social media, social networking tools such as Facebook, offer an important vehicle for diaspora engagement strategies.

The Vietnamese Diaspora in Australia remains primarily a refugee community, but is changing with time, Vietnam's economic development and the presence of international students. This convergence of factors could lead to a warming of diaspora-homeland relations opening new opportunities for diaspora-homeland engagement.

REFERENCES

- ABS (2006). Census of Population and Housing: Cat No 2914.0.55.002. Canberra, Australian Bureau of Statistics. Retrieved from <http://abs.gov.au/>
- ABS (2007). 2006 Census of Population and Housing, Australian Bureau of Statistics. Retrieved from <http://abs.gov.au/>
- AEI (2011). Monthly Summary of International Student Enrolment Data - Australia - YTD July 2011. Australian Education International, Retrieved from <https://www.aei.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Pages/default.aspx/>
- AEI (2012). Monthly Summary of International Student Enrolment Data - Australia - YTD January 2012, Australian Education International, Retrieved from http://www.aei.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Documents/Monthly%20summaries%20of%20international%20student%20enrolment%20data%202012/01_January_2012_MonthlySummary.pdf.
- Aikins, K., A. Sands, et al. (2009). The global Irish making a difference together: A comparative review of international diaspora strategies. Dublin.
- Anthias, F. (1998). "Evaluating 'Diaspora': Beyond ethnicity? ." *Sociology* **32**(3): 557-580.
- Asmar, C. (2005). "Internationalising students: reassessing diasporic and local student difference." *Studies in Higher Education* **30**(3): 291-309.
- Baldassar, L., C. Baldock, et al. (2007). *Families caring across borders: migration, ageing and transnational caregiving*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baldassarri, M., P. Capretta, et al. (2007). *The World Economy Towards Global Disequilibrium: American-Asian Indifference and European Fears*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Beine, M., F. Docquier, et al. (2001). "Brain drain and economic growth: theory and evidence." *Journal of Development Economics* **64**: 275-289.
- Bickman, L. and D. Rog (2008). *The Sage handbook of applied social research methods*. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Brazier, J. (2008). *Diaspora : an introduction*. Malden, Mass., Blackwell Pub.
- Brown, P. and H. Lauder (2006). "Globalisation, knowledge and the myth of the magnet economy." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* **4**(1): 25-57.
- Collins, J. (1991). *Migrant Hands in a Distant Land: Australia's Post War Immigration*. Leichhardt, Pluto Press.
- Cunningham, S. (2002). *The Media and Communications in Australia*. Sydney, Allen and Unwin.
- Cunningham, S. and T. Nguyen (1998). *Floating Lives: The media of the Vietnamese Diaspora. Australia in between cultures*. In B. Bennett (Ed.) Canberra, Australian Academy of the Humanities 3-22.
- Cutler, T. (2001). "A clever country connection." *BRW* **23**(33): 26.
- Duong, T. and K. Ohtsuka (2000). Vietnamese Australian gamblers' views on luck and winning: A preliminary report. *Developing strategic alliances: Proceedings of the 9th National Association for Gambling Studies Conference*. J. MacMillen and L. L. Laker. (Eds.) Gold Coast, Queensland 151-160.
- Griffin, L. (2006). "International Graduate Learns the Value of Education. " *Texas Magazine*: 4-4.
- Härtel, C. E. J. (2010). "From the Editors: International Students, Representation of Global Management Issues, and Educating From a Paradigm of Human Well-Being." *Academy of Management Learning & Education* **9**(4): 585-590.
- Hugo, G. (2006). "An Australian Diaspora?" *International Migration* **44**(1): 105-133.
- Hugo, G. (2006). "Population geography." *Progress in Human Geography* **30**(4): 513-523.
- Irwin, D. A. (2006). "Global Wage Differences and International Student Flows." *Brookings Trade Forum*: 87-96.
- Jackling, B. and M. Keneley (2009). "Influences on the supply of accounting graduates in Australia: a focus on international students." *Accounting & Finance* **49**(1): 141-159.
- Jacobowicz, A. (2004). *A Quintessential Collision. Cultures in Collision Colloquium, Transforming Cultures*. Sydney, University of Technology Sydney.
- Jie, L. (2009). "From learner passive to learner active? The case of Chinese postgraduate students studying marketing in the UK." *International Journal of Management Education* **7**(2): 33-40.
- Johnson, B. and S. Sedaca (2004). *Diasporas, Emigrés and Development, Economic Linkages and Programmatic Responses*, A Special Study of the US Agency for International Development, Carana Corporation.
- Kitching, J., D. Smallbone, et al. (2009). "Ethnic Diasporas and Business Competitiveness: Minority-Owned Enterprises in London." *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* **35**(4): 689-705.

- Konwiser, K., D. Kavanagh, et al. (2001). *Miss Evers' boys*. New York, N.Y., HBO Home Video.
- Larner, W. (2007). "Expatriate experts and globalising governmentalities: the New Zealand diaspora strategy." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **32**(3): 331-345.
- Lee, H. (2003). *Tongans overseas: between two shores*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.
- Lee, R. (2006). "'Flexible Citizenship': Strategic Chinese Identities in Asian Australian Literature." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* **27**(1/2): 213-227.
- Llewellyn-Smith, C. and V. S. McCabe (2008). "What is the attraction for exchange students: the host destination or host university? Empirical evidence from a study of an Australian university." *International Journal of Tourism Research* **10**(6): 593-607.
- OECD (2010). 'International Migration outlook', Organisation for economic co-operation and development, Paris.
- Porpora, D. (2001). *Do realists run regressions? After postmodernism: an introduction to critical realism*. J. Lopez and G. Potter. London and New York, The Athlone Press.
- SAGE (2008). *Internet Survey Design*. The SAGE Handbook of Online Research Methods. SAGE Publications, Ltd. London, UK, SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Sandler, S. (2003). "Towards a Conceptual Framework of World Jewish Politics: State, Nation and Diaspora in a Jewish Foreign Policy." *Israel Affairs* **10**(1/2): 301-312.
- Saxenian, A. (2005). "From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation: Transnational Communities and Regional Upgrading in India and China." *Studies in Comparative International Development* **40**(2): 35-61.
- Schiff, M. (2005). *Brain Gain: claims about its size and impact on welfare and growth are greatly exaggerated*. Policy Research Working Paper Series No. 3708. Washington DC, World Bank
- Shain, Y. (2007). *Kinship & diasporas in international affairs*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Sheffer, G. (2003). *Diaspora politics: at home abroad*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Teferra, D. (2005). "Brain Circulation: Unparalleled Opportunities, Underlying Challenges, and Outmoded Presumptions." *Journal of Studies in International Education* **9**(3): 229-250.
- The Economist (2003). "A world of exiles." *Economist* **366**(8305): 41-43.
- Thomas, M. (1999). "Dislocations of desire: The transnational movement of gifts within the Vietnamese diaspora." *Anthropological Forum* **9**(2): 145.
- Thomas, M., M. Ember, et al. (2005). *Vietnamese in Australia*. *Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, Springer US: 1141-1149.
- Tung, R. L. (2008). "Brain circulation, diaspora, and international competitiveness." *European Management Journal* **26**: 298-304.
- Vinokur, A. (2006). "Brain migration revisited." *Globalisation, Societies & Education* **4**(1): 7-24.
- Waters, M. (1995). *Globalization*. London, Routledge.
- Welch, A. (2008). "Higher Education and Global Talen Flows: Brain Drain, Overseas Chinese Intellectuals, and Diasporic Knowledge Networks." *Higher Education Policy* **21**(4): 519-537.
- Xiang, B. and W. Shen (2009). "International student migration and social stratification in China." *International Journal of Educational Development* **29**(5): 513-522.

Appendix 1: Research team members and project partners

Research Team

Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe

Professor Graham Hugo

Professor Loretta Baldassar

Professor Therese Joiner

Dr Joanne Pyke

Dr Steve Bakalis

Dr Steve Francis

Mr Ordan Andreevski

Victoria University

University of Adelaide

University of Western Australia

Monash University

Victoria University

Victoria University

Australian Red Cross

United Macedonian Diaspora

Project Partners

The Australian Research Council Linkage Project funding

The Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship, State Government of Victoria

The Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Centre for Multicultural Youth

The Australian Vietnamese Women's Association

The Footscray Asian Business Association

The Indochinese Elderly Refugee Association

The Quang Minh Temple

Co.As.It. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne

The Italo-Australian Welfare and Cultural Centre, Perth

Council for International Trade and Commerce SA Inc.

Appendix 2: Vietnamese Diaspora Questionnaire and Results

Australian Diasporas: A Survey About Homeland Connections

In partnership with the Australian Vietnamese Women's Association, you are invited to participate in the following survey about people of Vietnamese background living in Australia. The survey is about the ways in which connections with Vietnam are maintained by migrants, children of migrants and those who have a close connection with Vietnam. 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 LaTrobe 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 Vietnam. 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.

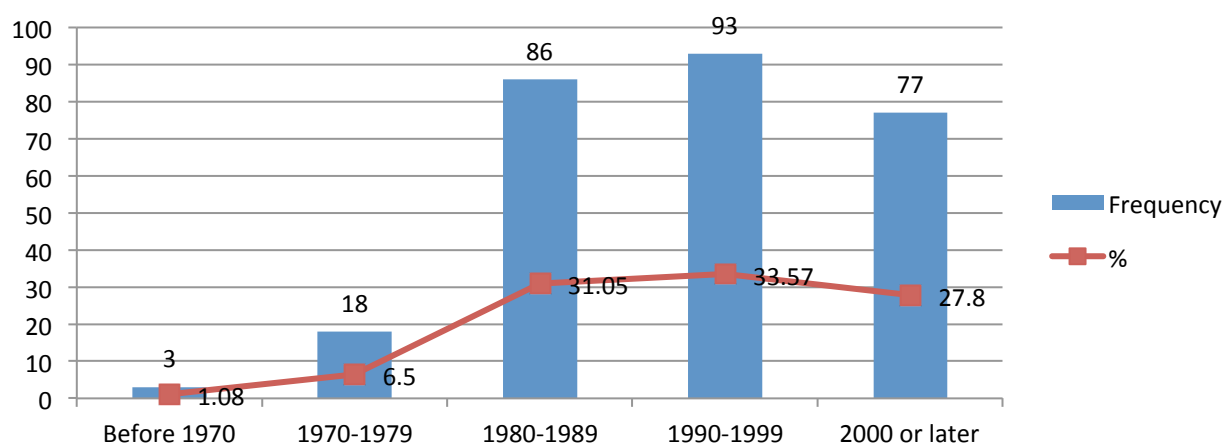
We do not expect any risks linked with taking part in the survey. If there are any questions that you would prefer not to answer, please only answer the questions you feel comfortable with. If you feel you need any support after completing the survey you can contact: Dr Harriet Speed, Registered Psychologist, 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.

Section 2: Your Background Information

Country of birth?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Australia	21.7%	88
Vietnam	75.6%	306
Other (please specify)	2.7%	11
answered question		405
skipped question		61

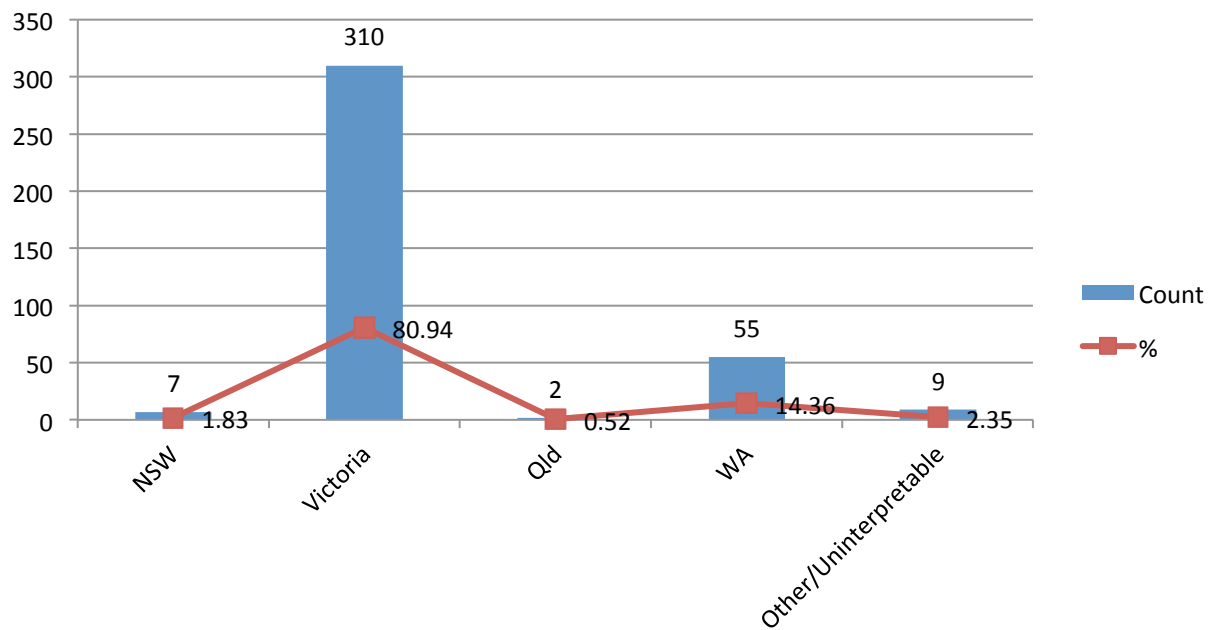
Q. 2.2 If you were not born in Australia, what year did you arrive?



Q. 2.3 Which island group do you and/or your family come from? Please tick all that apply.

What is the main Vietnamese region that you and/or your family come from?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
North Vietnam	10.6%	42
Central Vietnam	11.8%	47
South Vietnam	80.9%	321
Other comments	3.8%	15
answered question		397
skipped question		69

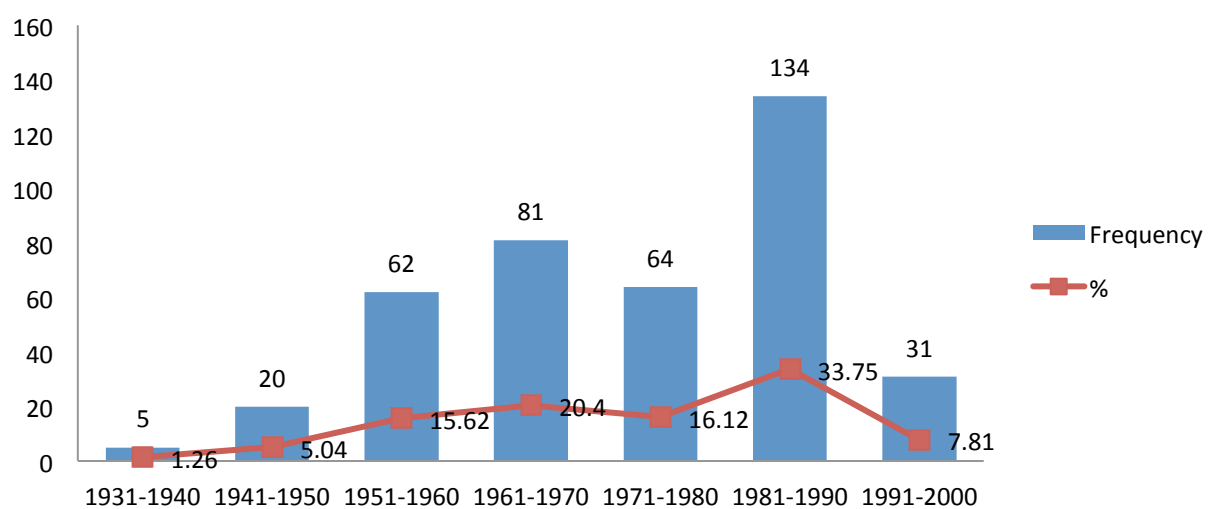
Q 2.4 What is your current postcode?



Q 2.5 Gender?

Gender?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Male	39.9%	156
Female	60.1%	235
answered question		391
skipped question		75

Q 2.6 Year of birth?



Q 2.7 Your highest level of education?

Your highest level of education?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Post-graduate degree	14.5%	58
University degree	30.3%	121
Non university trade, technical or professional qualification	8.0%	32
Secondary school	17.8%	71
Primary school	4.3%	17
Other (please specify)	8.3%	33
answered question		399
skipped question		67

Q 2.8 What is your current workforce status?

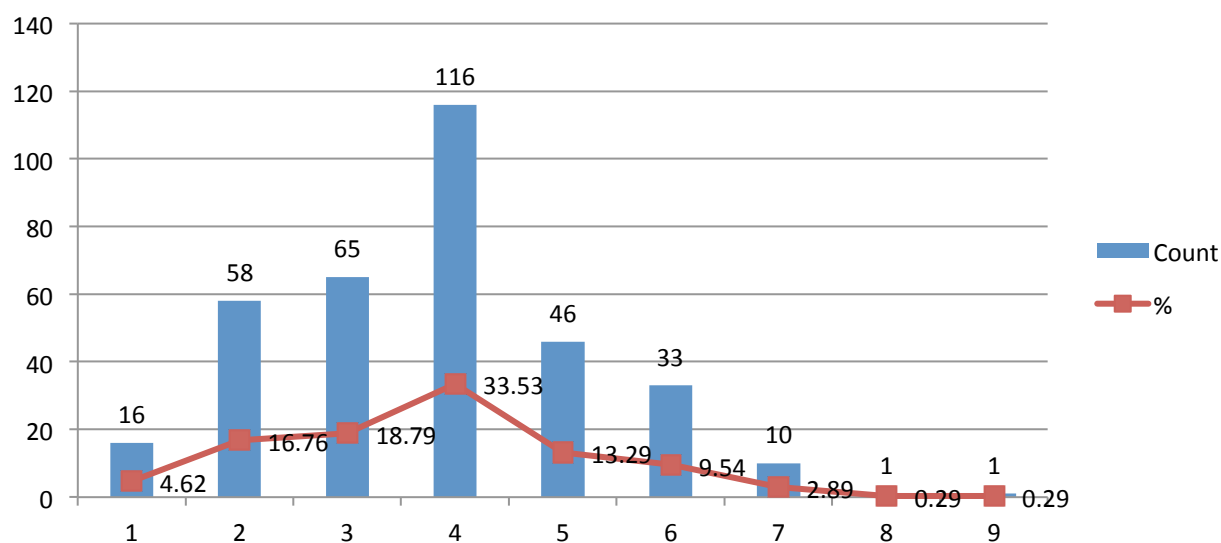
What is your current workforce status?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Employed full-time	31.5%	125
Employed part-time	21.7%	86
Self employed	5.0%	20
Unemployed	10.3%	41
Studying full time	31.2%	124
Studying part time	4.8%	19
Retired	5.5%	22
Other (please specify)	5.8%	23
answered question		397
skipped question		69

Q 2.9 What is your occupation?

What is your occupation? (If retired, please tick your former occupation)		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Manager	5.2%	19
Professional	19.6%	71
Technical or Trade	6.9%	25
Community and Personal Service	8.8%	32
Clerical or Administrative	7.7%	28
Sales Work	6.9%	25
Machinery Operation or Driver	0.3%	1
Labourer	14.9%	54
Other (please specify)	29.8%	108
answered question		363
skipped question		103

Section 3: Household Information

Q 3.1 Including yourself, how many people live in your household?



Q 3.2 What description best matches your household?

What description best matches your household?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Single person household	8.0%	29
Couple with no children or children who have left home	11.6%	42
Nuclear or blended family (parents and children only)	43.8%	159
Extended family (parents, children and/or a mix of other family members and family friends)	19.3%	70
Shared household of two or more independent adults	11.6%	42
Other (please specify)	5.8%	21
answered question		363
skipped question		103

Q 3.3 Are any members of your household migrants to Australia?

Are any members of your household migrants or refugees to Australia?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
No	31.3%	112
Yes	68.7%	246
If yes, please say the approximate year that the first household member arrived in Australia.		214
answered question		358
skipped question		108

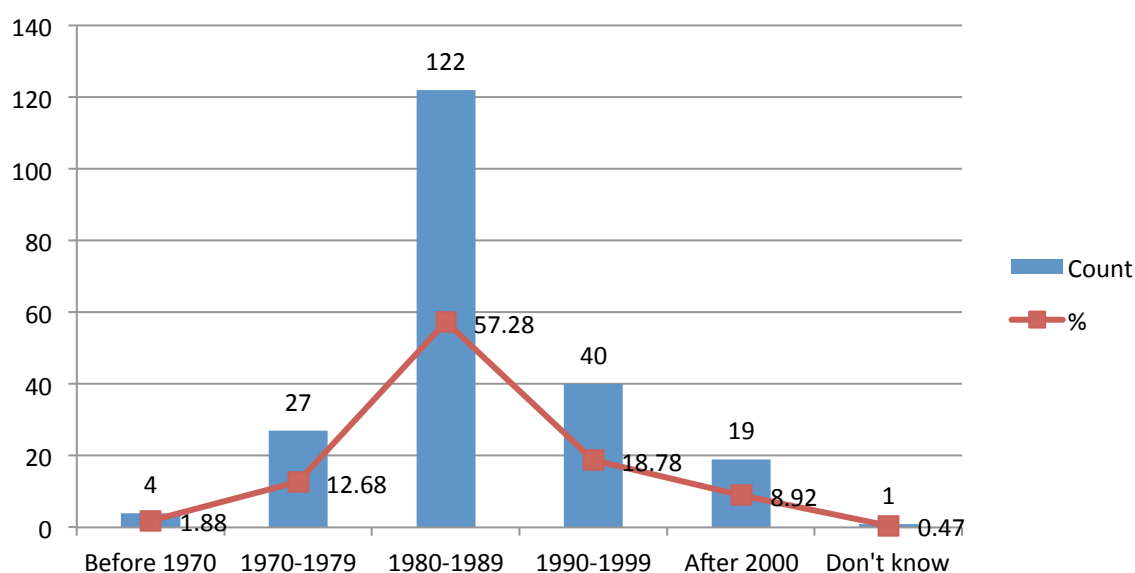
Q 3.4 Are you the first member of your extended family to arrive in Australia from Vietnam?

Are you the first member of your extended family to arrive in Australia from Vietnam? (If no other family members arrived before you, and you arrived with your immediate family eg. husband, children, parents etc. please tick yes)

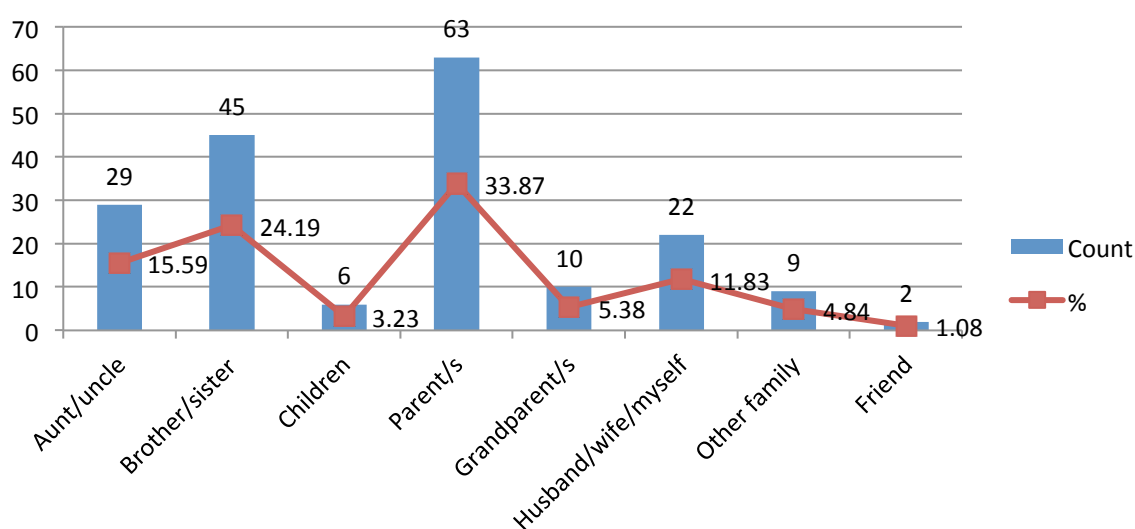
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
No	53.1%	191
Yes	46.9%	169
<i>answered question</i>		360
<i>skipped question</i>		106

Q 3.5 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)

3.5a) Year of arrival



3.5b) Who arrived first?



Q 3.6 What were the main reasons your family (either members of your household or earlier family members) initially left Vietnam? Please tick all that apply.

What were the main reasons your family (either members of your household or earlier family members) initially left Vietnam? Please tick all that apply.		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Escape from dangerous or threatening circumstances in Vietnam	57.2%	206
Family reunion	16.4%	59
Marriage to an Australian citizen	8.1%	29
Employment and/or business opportunities	3.3%	12
Opportunity for a better quality of life	32.8%	118
Opportunities for children	21.9%	79
Study	16.4%	59
To gain international experience for career enhancement	4.4%	16
Adventure	0.8%	3
Don't know/not applicable	3.6%	13
Other (please specify)	5.6%	20
answered question		360
skipped question		106

Q 3.7 Please identify the country of birth of each of the other household members and your relationship to that person.

Please identify the country of birth of each of the other household members and your relationship to that person.				
Country of birth of other household members				
Answer Options	Australia	Vietnam	Other	Response Count
Person 1	50	273	17	340
Person 2	91	187	19	297
Person 3	125	93	11	229
Person 4	71	55	8	134
Person 5	37	26	2	65
Person 6	13	11	4	28
Others	4	5	0	9

Your relationship with that person										
Answer Options	Wife/husband or life partner	Parent	Grandparent	Brother or sister	Child	Grandchild	Other relative	Friend	Other	Response Count
Person 1	134	93	4	29	31	2	6	18	8	325
Person 2	36	87	1	39	94	1	6	11	10	285
Person 3	7	20	5	71	81	8	14	6	8	220
Person 4	4	10	1	44	38	3	13	5	7	125
Person 5	2	5	1	21	16	4	5	2	6	62
Person 6	0	3	1	10	4	2	3	1	2	26
Others	0	0	0	3	2	0	3	0	2	10

	Question Totals
Other (please specify)	12
<i>answered question</i>	341
<i>skipped question</i>	125

Q 3.8 What languages are spoken in the household?

Language					
Answer Options	English	Vietnamese	Chinese	Other	Response Count
Language 1	108	240	9	1	358
Language 2	152	99	9	1	261
Language 3	9	5	8	2	24
Language 4	0	1	1	0	2

approximate % of time spoken								
Answer Options	Not at all	Less than 20%	20 - 40%	40 - 60%	60 - 80%	80 - 100%	Always	Response Count
Language 1	1	12	17	45	74	102	89	340
Language 2	0	77	79	44	26	18	7	251
Language 3	1	9	2	2	0	5	2	21
Language 4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
								Question Totals
If you speak another language in your household, please specify								6
<i>answered question</i>								358
<i>skipped question</i>								108

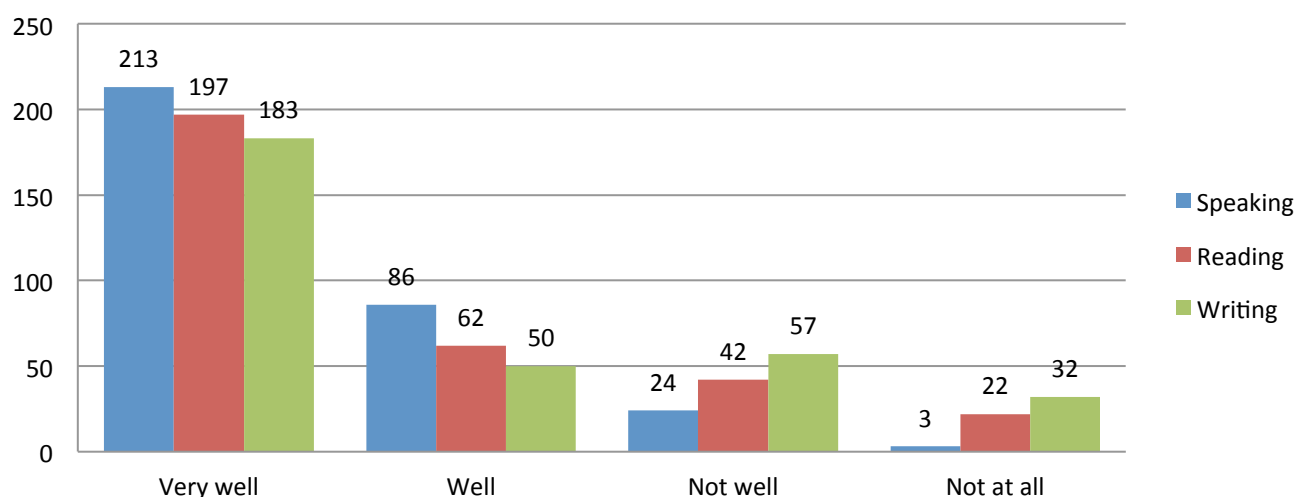
Q 3.9 How well do you speak, read and write in Vietnam?

How well do you speak, read and write in:					
Speaking					
Answer Options	Very well	Well	Not well	Not at all	Response Count
English?	165	137	50	3	355
Vietnamese?	213	86	24	3	326
Chinese?	8	6	23	95	132
Reading					
Answer Options	Very well	Well	Not well	Not at all	Response Count
English?	174	131	45	3	353
Vietnamese?	197	62	42	22	323

Chinese?	3	5	13	108	129
----------	---	---	----	-----	-----

Writing					
Answer Options	Very well	Well	Not well	Not at all	Response Count
English?	157	127	66	4	354
Vietnamese?	183	50	57	32	322
Chinese?	2	4	12	111	129

					Question Totals
<i>answered question</i>					358
<i>skipped question</i>					108

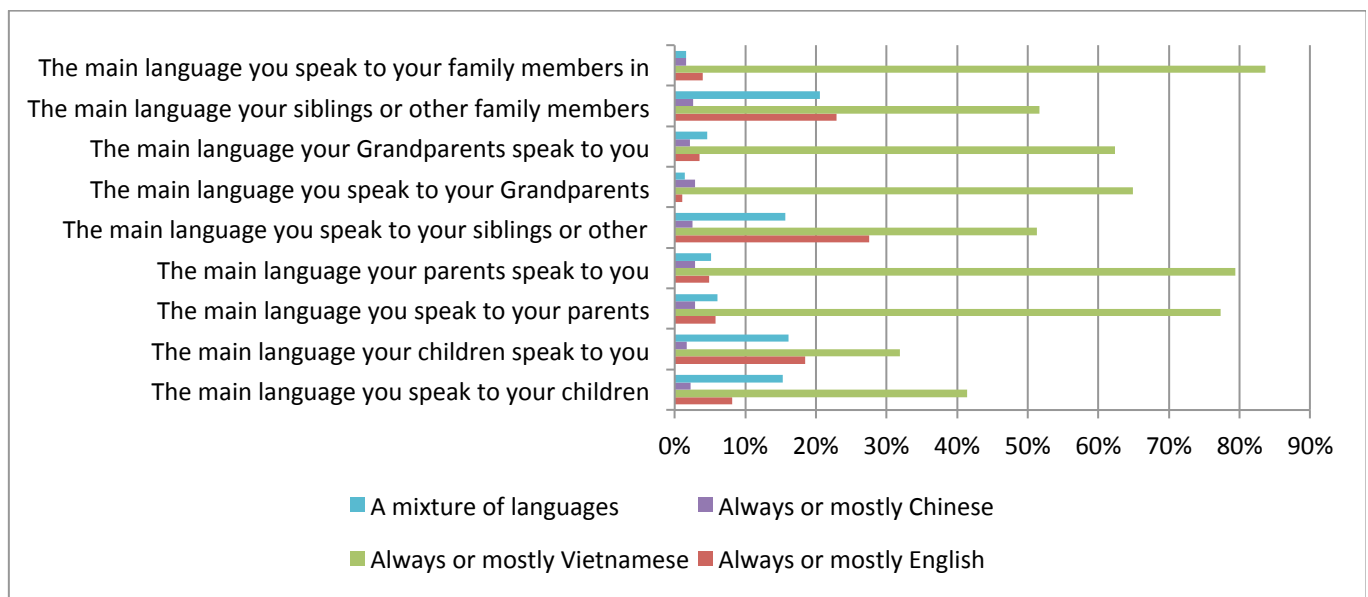


Q 2.10 Please indicate the main languages that you speak with different family members?

Please indicate the main languages that you speak with different family members.							
Language							
Answer Options	Not applicable	Always or mostly English	Always or mostly Vietnamese	Always or mostly Chinese	A mixture of languages	Other	Response Count
The main language you speak to your children	101	25	127	7	47	0	307
The main language your children speak to you	95	55	95	5	48	0	298
The main language you speak to your parents	25	18	241	9	19	0	312
The main language your parents speak to you	24	15	246	9	16	0	310
The main language you speak to your siblings or other family	9	86	160	8	49	0	312
The main language you speak to your Grandparents	82	3	179	8	4	0	276

The main language your Grandparents speak to you	77	10	177	6	13	1	284
The main language your siblings or other family members speak to you	7	70	158	8	63	0	306
The main language you speak to your family members in Vietnam	28	12	255	5	5	0	305

	Question Totals
Other (please specify)	4
answered question	350
skipped question	116



Q 3.12 Approximately, what is your household income?

Approximately, what is your total household annual income?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Less than \$30,000	23.2%	80
\$30,001 - \$60,000	31.6%	109
\$60,001 - \$90,000	17.4%	60
\$90,001 - \$125,000	13.6%	47
\$125,001 - \$200,000	10.7%	37
More than \$200,000	3.5%	12
answered question		345
skipped question		121

Section 4: Citizenship and relationships with Vietnam

Q 4.1 What is your citizenship status?

What is your citizenship status?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Australian citizen	85.9%	305
Citizen of another country	5.9%	21
Temporary resident	5.1%	18
Permanent resident	5.9%	21
Visitor	0.3%	1
If you are a citizen of another country, please specify the country. If you are have a temporary Australian visa, please specify the type of visa you hold.		18
answered question		355
skipped question		111

Q 4.2 If you are not an Australian citizen, would you like to become an Australian citizen?

If you are not an Australian citizen, would you like to become a citizen?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	91.6%	109
No	6.7%	8
Other, please explain.	1.7%	2
answered question		119
skipped question		347

Q 4.3 How do you describe your identity?

How do you describe your identity?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Australian	8.2%	29
Vietnamese	18.6%	66
Vietnamese/Australian	44.9%	159
Australian/Vietnamese	24.9%	88
Other (please specify)	3.4%	12
answered question		354
skipped question		112

Q 4.4 How close do you feel towards Vietnam?

How close do you feel towards Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Very close	21.6%	77
Close	30.0%	107
Not close or distant	33.9%	121
Distant	8.4%	30
Very distant	3.9%	14
Other (please specify)	2.2%	8
answered question		357
skipped question		109

Q 4.5 How often do you visit Vietnam?

How often do you visit Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I have never visited/have not had the opportunity to visit Vietnam	15.6%	54
I visit approximately every 2 - 3 years	30.0%	104
I visit every year	14.1%	49
I visit several times a year	0.9%	3
I visit when there is a need or occasion	39.5%	137
Please explain why you visit Vietnam as frequently or infrequently as you do		124
	answered question	347
	skipped question	119

Q 4.6 In the last five years, how long did you spend in Vietnam in total?

In the last five years, how long did you spend in Vietnam in total?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I haven't been to Vietnam in the last five years	26.8%	94
Less than two weeks	6.0%	21
More than two weeks to less than one month	21.7%	76
More than one to less than three months	28.2%	99
More than three to less than six months	8.3%	29
More than six months	5.1%	18
I live in both Vietnam and Australia	4.0%	14
Please describe the nature of your time in Vietnam		72
	answered question	351
	skipped question	115

Q 4.7 In the next five years, how long do you intend to spend in Vietnam in total?

In the next five years, how long do you intend to spend in Vietnam in total?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I don't intend to or its unlikely that I will go to Vietnam in the next five years	36.5%	84
Less than two weeks	13.0%	30
More than two weeks to less than one month	41.3%	95
More than one to less than three months	35.7%	82
More than three to less than six months	14.8%	34
More than six months intend to live in both Vietnam and Australia	6.5%	15
Please describe why you plan to go to Vietnam		62
	answered question	230
	skipped question	215

Q 4.8 Do you want to live in Vietnam?

Do you want to live in Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, permanently	4.8%	17
Yes, temporarily	18.7%	66
No	56.4%	199
Unsure	20.1%	71
Please explain the reasons for your answer to this question.		127
answered question		353
skipped question		113

Section 5: Links with Vietnam

Q 5.1 Do you have family members or friends who live in Vietnam?

Do you have family members or family friends who live in Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	93.5%	319
No	6.5%	22
answered question		341
skipped question		125

Q 5.2 How do you stay in touch with family members or friends who live in Vietnam?

If yes, how do you stay in touch with family members or friends?							
On average, how often do you make contact?							
Answer Options	Daily or several times a week	Weekly or several times a month	Monthly or several times a year	Once a year	If there is a need or every few years	Not at all	Response Count
Phone	35	74	89	20	67	23	308
Skype	11	20	16	3	16	101	167
Email	19	39	69	10	33	51	221
SMS	15	21	21	5	21	80	163
Letter	1	2	19	15	33	98	168
Facebook or other social networking site	38	18	11	1	11	86	165
Other	3	4	5	2	5	75	94
							Question Totals
If other, please describe							17
answered question							327
skipped question							139

Q 5.3 Do you have business and/or professional contacts who live in Vietnam?

Do you have business and/or professional contacts who live in Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	6.8%	23
No	93.2%	315
answered question		338
skipped question		128

Q 5.4 How do you stay in touch with your business and/or professional contacts who live in Vietnam?

If yes, how do you stay in touch with your business and/or professional contacts?							
On average, how often do you make contact?							
Answer Options	Daily or several times a week	Weekly or several times a month	Monthly or several times a year	Once a year	If there is a need or every few years	Not at all	Response Count
Phone	9	4	5	1	5	4	28
Skype	4	5	1	1	1	7	19
Email	7	6	3	1	3	4	24
SMS	3	2	3	1	2	7	18
Letter	0	1	1	1	2	10	15
Facebook or other social networking site	3	1	0	1	0	9	14
Other	0	0	0	1	1	6	8
							Question Totals
If other, please describe							4
answered question							29
skipped question							437

Q 5.5 Do you have contacts that were formed through your other interests (eg recreational, political, charitable etc) who live in Vietnam?

Do you have contacts connected with your other interests (eg recreational, political, charitable, religious) who live in Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	15.1%	51
No	84.9%	287
answered question		338
skipped question		128

Q 5.6 How do you stay in touch with your other contacts who live in Vietnam?

If yes to the question above, how do you stay in touch with your contacts?

On average, how often do you make contact?

Answer Options	Daily or several times a week	Weekly or several times a month	Monthly or several times a year	Once a year	If there is a need or every few years	Not at all	Response Count
Phone	4	10	6	4	7	4	35
Skype	2	2	2	2	4	10	22
Email	6	5	9	3	6	3	32
SMS	2	3	5	0	4	8	22
Letter	1	2	2	1	4	14	24
Facebook or other social networking site	12	2	1	0	4	8	27
Other	1	0	1	0	0	8	10

	Question Totals
If other, please describe	4
answered question	47
skipped question	419

Q 5.7 What have been the major motivations for your visits to Vietnam?

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

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I rarely/do not visit Vietnam	24.0%	80
A special occasion such as a funeral, wedding, anniversary, birthday or baptism	31.8%	106
To help family members or friends who are unwell and need care and/or assistance	16.5%	55
To strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Vietnam	43.2%	144
Business or professional reasons	5.4%	18
To have a holiday	45.0%	150
To make a personal contribution to a political or community cause, event or project	6.3%	21
Other (please describe your motivation)		17
answered question		333
skipped question		133

Q 5.8 If you visit Vietnam, where do you usually stay? Please tick all that apply.

If you visit Vietnam, where do you usually stay?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I don't visit Vietnam	10.9%	37
With family	73.2%	249
With friends	6.5%	22
In my own/family house or apartment	7.1%	24
In a hotel or other temporary accommodation	30.0%	102
Other (please specify)	0.3%	1
	answered question	340
	skipped question	126

Q 5.9 If you have visitors from Vietnam, please indicate how often you have visitors and how long they usually stay.

5.9a)

How often do you receive visits						
Answer Options	I don't receive any visits	Once every few years	Once a year	Several times a year	More than several times a year	Response Count
Family	85	140	22	8	0	255
Friends	100	47	6	8	3	164
Business/professional associates	114	2	1	1	1	119
Government or associates from non-Government organisations	117	2	0	0	0	119
Community associates or people from a home town	114	6	0	1	0	121
Other people	88	4	0	0	0	92

5.9b)

How long do they stay on average?									
Answer Options	Not applicable	One to three days	Three days to a week	One - two weeks	Two to four weeks	One - three months	More than three months	It varies too much to generalise	Response Count
Family	26	13	9	22	33	57	18	5	183
Friends	34	21	9	11	7	4	0	4	90
Business/professional associates	41	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	45
Government or associates from non-Government organisations	41	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	43
Community associates or people from a home town	40	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	45
Other people	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33

Q 5.10 How frequently do you?

How frequently do you?									
Answer Options	Daily	Several Times a Week	Weekly	2-3 Times a Month	Monthly	3-6 Times a Year	Rarely	Never	Response Count
Read newspapers from Vietnam	33	24	17	13	3	11	63	162	326
Read Vietnamese newspapers published in Australia	19	27	66	31	13	27	67	82	332
Watch Vietnamese television	8	3	8	4	5	17	106	163	314
Watch Vietnamese films at the cinema, on television, online or on DVD	19	21	22	16	12	53	98	87	328
Attend events featuring dignitaries, artists or celebrities from Vietnam	0	4	4	2	3	28	84	195	320
Buy and/or listen to music from Vietnam	18	6	22	13	17	40	93	114	323
Listen to radio from Vietnam	7	7	6	4	3	8	62	217	314
Listen to Vietnamese radio produced in Australia	90	28	30	14	12	18	61	77	330
Read and/or contribute to Vietnamese based internet sites such as blogs, Facebook, newsletters etc.	27	12	13	9	7	13	58	176	315
Receive emails that link you to Vietnamese media or other information	25	19	11	3	4	9	54	186	311
Other	0	3	2	1	0	2	5	91	104
Other (please specify)									3
answered question									343
skipped question									123

Q 5.11 For which of the following purposes do you use media (television, radio, newspapers, internet) from Vietnam?

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

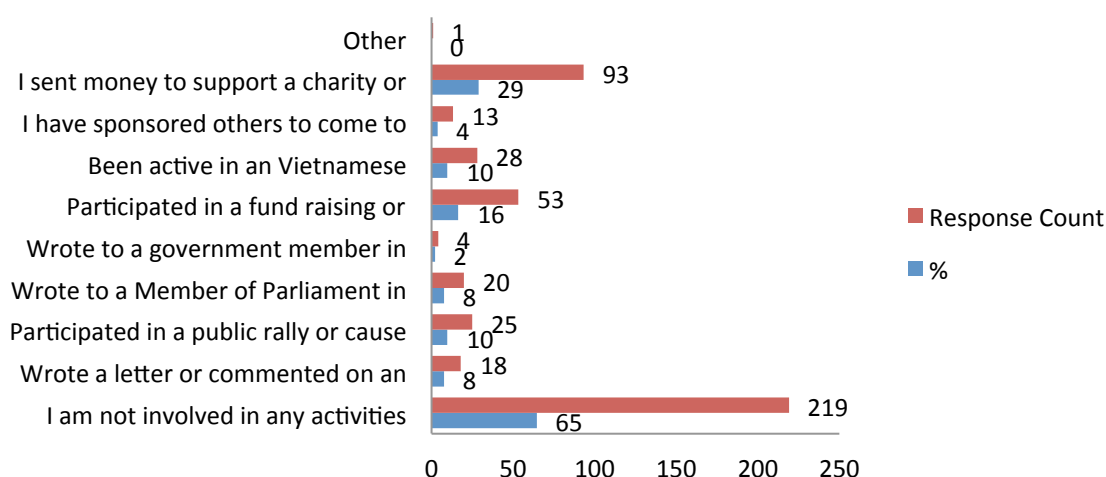
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
To keep up with Vietnamese politics and current affairs	28.9%	94
To enjoy culture and entertainment from Vietnam	39.1%	127
To follow sporting teams and events	13.5%	44
I don't follow Vietnamese media	47.4%	154
Other (please specify)	2.5%	8
answered question		325
skipped question		141

5.12 Are you involved in any activities that are related to the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam.

Please indicate all that apply.

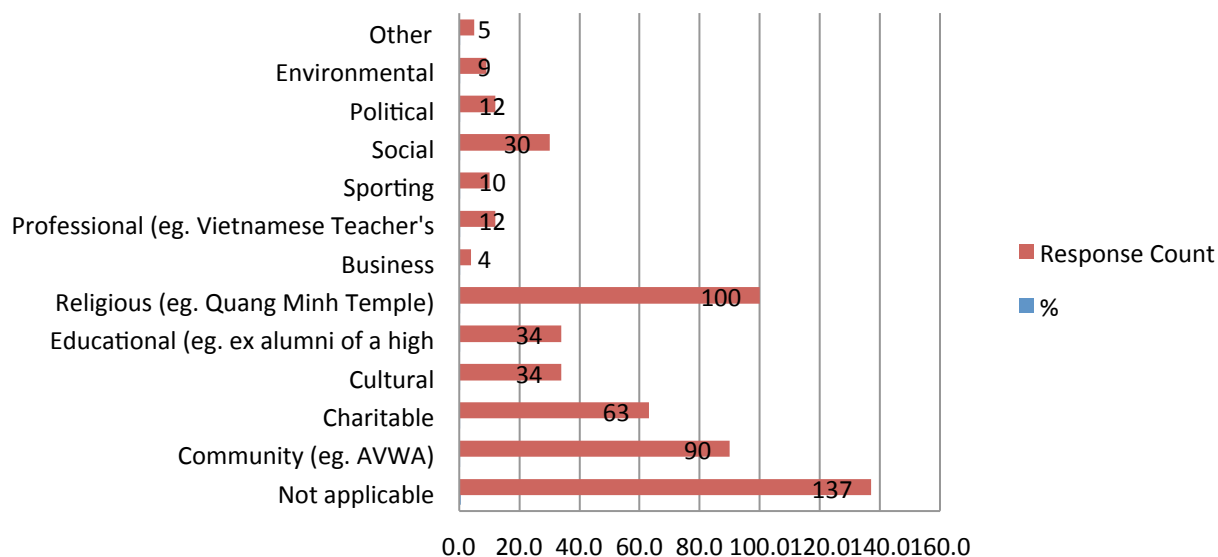
Are you involved in any activities in Australia that are concerned with the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam. Please indicate all that apply.

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I am not involved in any activities	64.6%	219
Wrote a letter or commented on an issue or media report by letter, email or talkback radio	7.7%	18
Participated in a public rally or cause	9.7%	25
Wrote to a Member of Parliament in Australia	7.7%	20
Wrote to a government member in Vietnam	2.1%	4
Participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign	16.4%	53
Been active in an Vietnamese organisation that aims to influence Vietnamese affairs	9.7%	28
I have sponsored others to come to Australia	3.6%	13
I sent money to support a charity or welfare organisation (eg a temple, orphanage, individuals who need help)	28.7%	93
Other	0.0%	1
Why did you take this action?		46
answered question		326
skipped question		140



Q 5.12 Are you involved in any activities that are related to the social, economic and/or political affairs of Vietnam.
Please indicate all that apply.

Are you involved with a Vietnamese organisation in Australia? Please indicate what type of organisation and tick as many as is relevant.		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Not applicable	41.9%	137
Community (eg. AVWA)	27.5%	90
Charitable	19.3%	63
Cultural	10.4%	34
Educational (eg. ex alumni of a high school)	10.4%	34
Religious (eg. Quang Minh Temple)	30.6%	100
Business	1.2%	4
Professional (eg. Vietnamese Teacher's Association)	3.7%	12
Sporting	3.1%	10
Social	9.2%	30
Political	3.7%	12
Environmental	2.8%	9
Other	1.5%	5
Other, please describe		13
answered question		327
skipped question		139



Q 5.13 Are you involved with a Vietnamn organization in Australia? Please tick all that apply.

How important are the policies of Australian political parties in relation to Vietnam in terms of how you vote in Australian elections?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Very important	26.1%	86
Important	22.7%	75
Neither important or unimportant	37.3%	123
Unimportant	10.9%	36
Very unimportant	3.6%	12
answered question		330
skipped question		136

Q 5.14 How important are the policies of Australian political parties in relation to Vietnam in terms of how you vote in Australian elections?

How important are the policies of Australian political parties in terms of how you vote in Australian elections?	Per cent	Frequency
Very important	26%	86
Important	22%	74
Neither important or unimportant	37%	123
Unimportant	11%	36
Very unimportant	4%	12
Total		330

Section 6: Family and financial support to Vietnam

Q 6.1 If you have a person or people you care for in Vietnam, please identify who you support, the main type of support you provide and how often you do this.

6.1 a)

Type of support	Not applicable	Financial	Moral or emotional eg. phone calls	Personal care (hands on care during visits such as preparing meals)	Practical care such as organising health support and Accommodation eg. paying rent	A mix of the above	Response Count
Mother	67	27	34	1	0	27	156
Father	68	21	22	1	1	22	135
Grandfather	91	6	7	0	0	6	110
Grandmother	84	7	22	0	0	11	124
Aunt, Uncle, cousin or other extended family member.	61	42	42	0	0	24	169
Sibling	59	25	45	0	2	17	148

Your child/children	94	1	2	0	0	2	99
Community member	86	6	10	0	1	1	104
Friend or colleague	66	8	35	1	0	5	115

6.1b)

How often									
Answer Options	Not applicable	Daily	Weekly	2-3 times a month	Monthly	Every 2-3 months	Once a year	Less than every year	Response Count
Mother	22	3	22	10	20	18	13	0	108
Father	23	4	12	9	16	14	7	1	86
Grandfather	30	0	0	2	3	8	4	1	48
Grandmother	27	1	4	4	3	13	12	1	65
Aunt, Uncle, cousin or other extended family member.	24	3	1	5	11	31	30	20	125
Sibling	23	4	6	14	10	30	16	3	106
Your child/children	34	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	37
Community member	29	0	0	1	2	3	7	2	44
Friend or colleague	22	2	6	4	2	9	8	4	57

									Question Totals
Other comments									13
<i>answered question</i>									238
<i>skipped question</i>									228

Q 6.2 Do you anticipate that in future you will have any obligations to provide care to a family member or friend living in Vietnam?

Do you anticipate that in future you will have any obligations to provide care to a family member or friend living in Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	34.3%	109
No	65.7%	209
If you answered 'yes', please explain why you might have to provide this care.		68
answered question		318
skipped question		148

Q 6.3 Do you send gifts, money or goods to Vietnam?

If you send gifts, money or other goods to Vietnam, please indicate approximately how often you send it and what the main reasons were for sending it.

How often?							
Answer Options	Not applicable	Regularly throughout the year	At times of crisis at home	For special occasions	Infrequently	It varies	Response Count
Gifts	63	9	5	75	20	13	185
Money	54	37	39	57	18	30	235
Goods	94	7	4	12	9	14	140

What is the main reason?								Response Count
Answer Options	Not applicable	To make a gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday	To support family members	To support a community cause or project	To support a political cause	To support a business	Other	
Gifts	31	92	25	0	0	0	3	151
Money	26	31	123	5	2	1	5	193
Goods	51	12	20	0	1	1	3	88
								Question Totals
Other or please explain your answer to this question.								12
								answered question
								143
								skipped question
								129

Q 6.4 Do you receive gifts, money or goods from Vietnam?

Do you receive gifts, money or goods from Vietnam? How often?								Response Count
Answer Options	Not applicable	In times of crises	Regularly throughout the year	For special occasions	Infrequently	It varies		
Gifts	110	3	6	63	30	12		224
Money	135	5	10	6	6	3		165
Goods	122	2	4	10	10	13		161
What was the main reason?								Response Count
Answer Options	Not applicable	A gesture of good will or to mark an occasion such as a birthday	To support you and/or your family members	To support a community cause or project	To support a political cause	To support a business	Other	
Gifts	53	85	7	0	0	1	4	150
Money	58	5	12	0	0	1	4	80
Goods	55	19	4	0	0	1	2	81
								Question Totals
Please describe the type of goods and/or gifts that you received (eg clothing, jewellery, food items, airline tickets)								33
								answered question
								234
								skipped question
								232

Q 6.5 If you send money to Vietnam, please indicate who you sent money to, approximately how much you sent and how you sent it.

If you send money to Vietnam, please choose from the following drop down menus to indicate who you sent money to, approximately how much you sent and how you sent it.

Approximately how much money was sent.

Answer Options	Less than \$1,000	\$1,000 - \$10,000	\$10,000 - \$50,000	More than \$50,000	Response Count
Mother	59	13	1	1	74
Father	39	11	0	1	51
A child	9	1	0	0	10
Another relative eg. Sister or Uncle	84	12	0	0	96
A friend or family friend	26	0	0	0	26
Another individual such as a teacher or veteran	9	0	0	0	9
A community or religious organisation	25	1	0	0	26
A political organisation or cause	7	0	0	0	7
Other	5	1	0	0	6

How did you send it?

Answer Options	Electronic transfer via the internet	Cash that was delivered	Cash transfer via a bank or service such as Western Union	Mobile phone banking	Cheque or bank cheque by mail	Other	Response Count
Mother	6	20	40	0	0	5	71
Father	5	13	26	0	0	3	47
A child	1	1	7	0	0	1	10
Another relative eg. Sister or Uncle	2	33	52	0	0	6	93
A friend or family friend	1	10	11	0	0	2	24
Another individual such as a teacher or veteran	0	2	5	0	0	1	8
A community or religious organisation	1	10	8	0	0	6	25
A political organisation or cause	0	2	5	0	0	0	7
Other	0	1	6	0	0	0	7

						Question Totals
Other (please describe)						22
answered question						179
skipped question						287

Section 7: Business and professional links with Vietnam

Q 7.1 Does your job and/or business involve interacting with Vietnam?

Does your job and/or business involve interacting with Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	3.8%	12
No	96.2%	305
answered question		317
skipped question		149

Q 7.2 If yes, what does this interaction involve?

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

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Exporting goods and/or services to Vietnam?	8.3%	1
Importing goods and/or services from Vietnam?	25.0%	3
Other business/professional interactions with Vietnam?	75.0%	9
Please briefly describe the interaction that you have with Vietnam.		8
answered question		12
skipped question		454

Q 7.3 Do you import or export goods and/or services from countries other than Vietnam?

Do you import or export goods and/or services from countries other than Vietnam?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	2.2%	7
No	97.8%	305
If yes, please identify the countries and the main reasons for trading.		3
answered question		312
skipped question		154

Q 7.4 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?							
Answer Options	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
I believe I have a competitive advantage in doing business or professional work in Vietnam because I share the same ethnic background as the Vietnamese people	35	59	81	43	47	6.14	265
I am interested in developing business and/or professional links between Australia and Vietnam	36	56	82	30	52	6.10	256
I perceive that there are business and/or professional opportunities for my	30	43	88	34	58	6.50	253

company/institution in Vietnam or surrounding markets							
I believe that I can facilitate business/professional opportunities in Vietnam	34	41	80	35	65	6.57	255
I believe my future career will involve business or professional links with Vietnam	29	37	85	35	68	6.72	254
Other (please specify)							9
answered question							269
skipped question							197

Q 7.5 If you have business or professional contact with Vietnam, what are the main reasons you engage in this?

Please identify the importance of the following reasons.

If you have business or professional contact with Vietnam, what are the main reasons you engage in this? Please identify the relative importance of each of the following reasons.

Answer Options	Very important	Important	Neither important or unimportant	unimportant	Very unimportant	Rating Average	Response Count
Business and/or professional reasons	8	11	24	13	11	6.23	67
I speak the language	23	19	7	4	2	3.93	55
I have networks in Vietnam	10	11	13	8	4	5.36	46
I want to help the country economically	4	11	15	5	3	5.55	38
I want to help Vietnam's social development	8	14	9	4	3	4.94	38
It gives me a reason to visit more often	3	8	13	9	7	6.58	40
It is important to my family and their opportunities and/or wellbeing	14	18	12	8	9	5.68	61
answered question							150
skipped question							316