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Australia's most recent
immigrants



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AUSTRALIAN CENSUS ANALYTIC PROGRAM





Australian Census Analytic Program

Australia's Most Recent Immigrants

2001

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Social Applications of Geographic Information Systems**

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Graeme Hugo
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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout this publication.

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACAP	Australian Census Analytic Program
ARIA	Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia
ASGC	Australian Standard Geographical Classification
BIR	Bureau of Immigration Research
CBCS	Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics
CBD	Central Business District
CD	Collection District
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DIMIA	Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DPs	Displaced Persons
DSS	Department of Social Security
ENS	Employer Nominated Scheme
ERP	Estimated Resident Population
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GISCA	The National Key Centre for Social Applications of Geographic Information Systems
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
LOTE	Languages Other Than English
LSIA	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia
MDB	Movements Database
MES	Mainly English Speaking
NES	Non-English Speaking
na	not available
nec	not elsewhere classified
nfd	not further defined

NZ	New Zealand
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
p.a.	per annum
PRC	People's Republic of China
REBA	Regional Established Business in Australia
RSMS	Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme
SAL	Skilled-Australian Linked
SAR	Special Administration Region
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SLA	Statistical Local Area
SSBS	State/Territory Sponsored Business Skills
SSMM	State Specific Migration Mechanism
STNI	State/Territory Nominated Independent
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

At no time in Australia's history have international migration issues loomed as large in debates about the nation's economic, social, political and demographic future. However, Australia's international migration has undergone profound change in scale, type, composition, diversity and spatial patterning in the last decade. Australia is among the small group of nations categorised as 'Traditional Immigration' Nations¹ — countries which have a long tradition of experiencing immigration gains and with longstanding policies to encourage the inmovement of people of other nations, albeit in a highly selective way. International migration and international migration policies and programs date back well before the recent era of globalisation which has seen an explosion of population movement between nations. However even in Australia, the last decade has seen a shift in the paradigm of international migration in response to the realities of a globalising world. The present volume seeks to use the results of the 2001 Australian Census of Population and Housing to shed light on some of the recent shifts in Australian international migration and their impacts.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Immigration in Australia has the potential to divide the nation and it is crucial that the debate surrounding it is informed. Unfortunately, the demise of the national Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR) in 1996 (Fincher, 2001), coincided with a fundamental shift in both the nature of Australian international migration and national immigration policy. Hence the massive body of excellent research promoted, funded and undertaken by the BIR is limited in its applicability to the contemporary situation. Where there is a gap in knowledge of the nature, causes and effects of international migration, too often bigotry, prejudice, misinformation and self interest have been allowed to dominate discussion. The aim of this study is to produce a comprehensive analysis of who Australia's recent immigrants are, how they have adjusted to Australia and

¹ Along with Canada, the United States of America and New Zealand.

where they live, and thereby contribute in a positive way to this important national debate and to the development of policy in the immigration and settlement areas. The Australian Census of Population and Housing provides an opportunity to improve our understanding in this area. As will be pointed out later in this chapter, there are constraints on the extent to which census data does shed light on current international migration trends in Australia, but it can assist considerably.

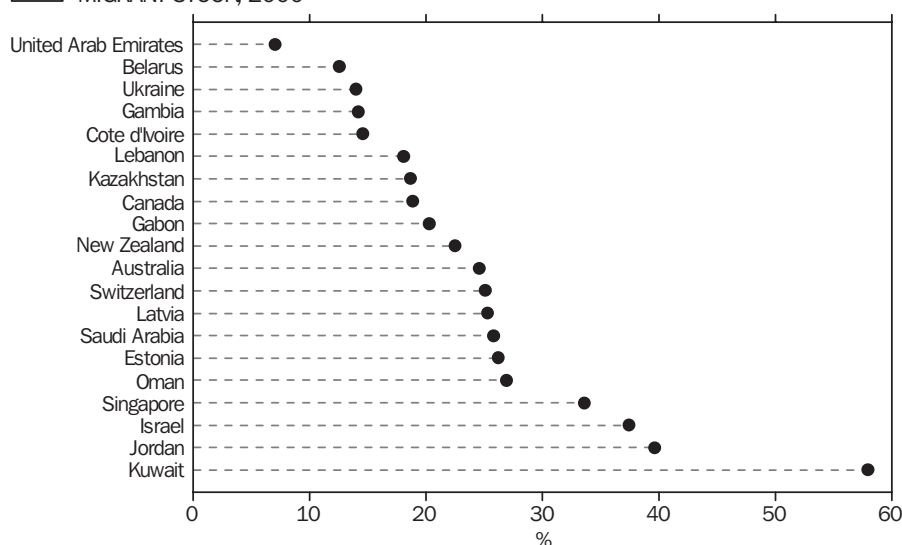
The present study seeks to focus on overseas-born people in the 2001 census who had not been resident in Australia at the 1996 census enumeration five years earlier. By focusing on this group it is hoped that the study will be able to examine some of the effects of the shifts which have occurred in immigration policy. The more detailed aims are as follows:

- to clarify and document the changes which have occurred in Australian immigration policy since 1996 and specify their effects on Australia's population numbers, composition and distribution
- to assess the adjustment to, and impact on, the labour market of recent immigrants to Australia
- to assess the adjustment of, and impact on, the housing market of recent immigrants to Australia
- to establish where recent immigrants have settled and their effects on population distribution within and between communities in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas
- to provide a comprehensive demographic profile of recent immigrants to Australia and make careful comparisons with the immigrant community of longer standing and the Australian-born populations
- to assess the regional and community impacts of recent international migration
- to elucidate the implications of the findings of the study for policy in a number of areas, including:
 - regional development
 - urban development
 - social cohesion and structure
 - economic growth and structure
 - national, state, regional and local population growth
 - human resource development
 - international relations.

A NATION PROFOUNDLY INFLUENCED BY MIGRATION

The latest United Nations (2002) survey on global international migration, indicates that Australia features as having the ninth largest overseas-born population and the eleventh largest proportion of its national population born overseas. It will be noted that it has a higher proportion of its people overseas-born than any of the other 'traditional' immigration nations.

1.1 COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF INTERNATIONAL
MIGRANT STOCK, 2000



Note: Countries with population of one million or more inhabitants.

Source: United Nations 2002.

At the 2001 census, some 4,105,643 persons or 21.9% of the population indicated that they were born overseas and the proportion of the population who were Australian-born but had at least one parent born overseas was 17.1%. In addition, the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA, 2002a) has estimated that in mid-2001 there were 554,200 persons temporarily present in Australia, of whom 289,300 had the right to work. Hence, close to one-half of the people in Australia at any point in time are very close to their migrant origins.

An issue which we are not able to touch upon in this volume relates to another, albeit neglected, dimension of Australia's international migration — that of movement of Australians to other countries (Hugo, 1994a; Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2001, 2003). The 2001 Australian census did include a question which allows householders to enumerate usual members who were temporarily absent on the night of the census. Table 1.2 shows that 330,200 or 1.7% of the

national population were temporarily overseas on the night of the census and that both the number and proportion of temporary absentees has increased substantially in recent years.

1.2 AUSTRALIAN RESIDENTS REPORTED TO BE TEMPORARILY OVERSEAS ON THE NIGHT OF THE CENSUS

<i>Census year</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>% of National Population</i>
		<i>%</i>
1986	189 207	1.18
1991	223 900	1.29
1996	296 900	1.62
2001	330 200	1.7

Source: ABS, *Australian Demographic Statistics quarterlies*, various issues.

However, the census does not capture the Australians who have moved on a permanent or long-term basis to foreign countries. In an era of internationalisation of labour markets and globalisation the exchange of workers, especially skilled workers, between nations has increased. While we do not have accurate numbers of Australians living and working in foreign countries, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) estimate that on 31 December 2001 the number of Australians residing in foreign countries was 858,886.² Table 1.3 shows that Australia's diaspora is equivalent to over 4% of the population within the national boundaries. It will be noted that while this relative size was greater than the United States of America diaspora, more than one-fifth of New Zealanders live outside of the country.

1.3 NATIONAL DIASPORAS IN RELATION TO RESIDENT NATIONAL POPULATIONS

	<i>no.</i>	<i>% of National Population</i>
		<i>%</i>
United States of America	7 000 000	2.5
Australia	900 000	4.3
New Zealand	850 000	21.9

Source: US Census Bureau, 2002a and b; Southern Cross, 2002; Bedford, 2001.

It is apparent in a globalising world that national diasporas are becoming larger in size and greater in their effects (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2003). Sociologists are now arguing that for many countries taking account of diasporas is essential to an understanding of national culture and society. Demographers are being required to reassess the meaning of a 'national' population. Virtually all

² Published on the Southern Cross web site: <<http://www.southern-cross-group.org>>.

censuses are taken of populations who are present within national boundaries on the night of the census, although provision is made for persons who are temporarily absent on that night. The important interplay between citizenship, resident status and whether or not a person is present in a country adds considerable complexity to the issue. Figure 1.4 depicts this complexity. Some countries already attempt to include their diasporas in national population counts and the United States is undertaking a pilot enumeration of citizens overseas in 2004 in preparation for their inclusion in the 2010 full census.

1.4 DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF A NATIONAL POPULATION

Present in Country			Others
Absent			
	Citizens	Others with Resident Status	

A NEW PARADIGM OF AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

It has been argued elsewhere (Hugo, 1999) that there has been such a profound change in population movement to and from Australia in recent years that it amounts to a paradigm shift. There are a number of elements in this new paradigm (Hugo, 1999) with the most important being that whereas in the first five postwar decades Australia emphatically eschewed acceptance of temporary workers in favor of an overwhelming emphasis on settlement migration, there has been a reversal with a number of new visa categories designed to attract temporary residents to work in Australia (Committee of Inquiry Into the Temporary Entry of Business People and Highly Skilled Specialists, 1995; Birrell, 1998). As a result there has been an exponential increase in non-permanent migration to Australia so that while in 2001–02 there were 88,900 incoming permanent settlers to Australia there were a total of 340,200 foreigners granted temporary residence in Australia in that year (Rizvi, 2002). On June 30, 2001

there were 554,200 people in Australia on a temporary basis of whom 289,300 had the right to work. Although there has been a long history of significant non-permanent flows to Australia (Price, Pyne and Derrick, 1981) the contemporary flow is quite different in scale, in the involvement of large numbers of temporary residents with the right to work and in a plethora of new kinds of temporary migration to Australia.

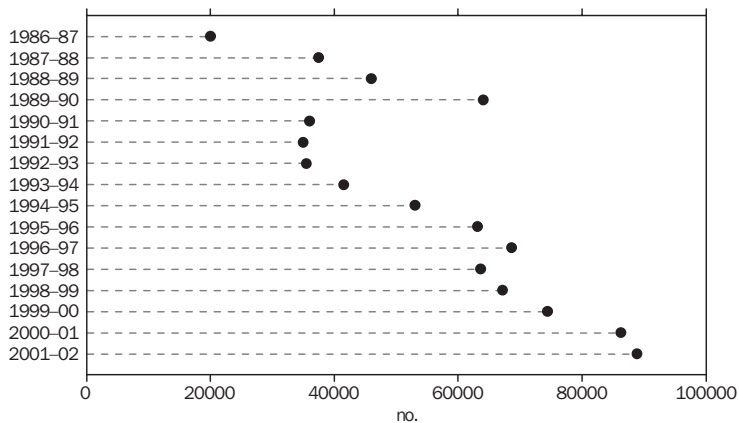
It is important to point out here that the 2001 Australian census does not differentiate these new temporary migrants from permanent residents so that it is not possible to use census data to examine the stock of temporary residents or their effects on the Australian economy and society. The 2001 census makes a distinction between visitors and residents as outlined below:

- Visitors — Persons who usually live in another country and who are visiting Australia for less than one year.
- Residents — Other persons who live or intend to live at the address shown on the front of the census form for a total of six months or more in 2001.

Clearly, the visitors include the bulk of tourists and very short-term business entrants to the nation. The key point is the extent to which it includes the more than 300,000 foreigners granted temporary residence in Australia. These include the large number of visa categories but the most important are Students, Working Holiday Makers and Temporary Business Entrants (especially the visa category — 457 Long Stay Business Visitors). Graph 1.5 shows how these groups greatly increased during the 1996–2001 intercensal period. Indeed, the Temporary business categories did not exist previously.

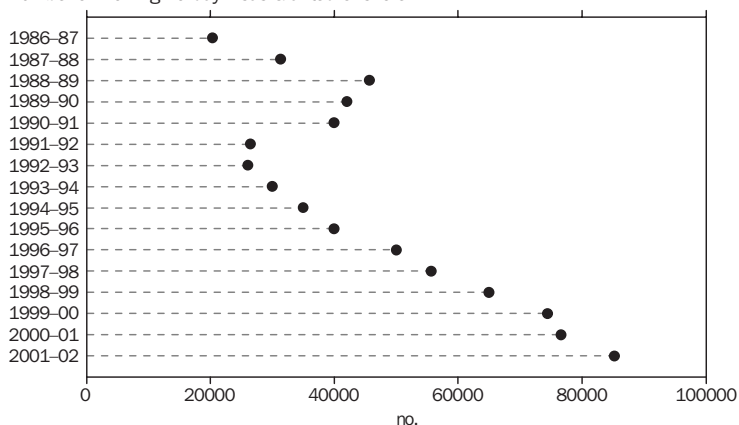
1.5 TEMPORARY MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA BY CATEGORY, 1986–1987 TO 2001–2002

OVERSEAS STUDENTS,
Number of Student Visas Granted Offshore



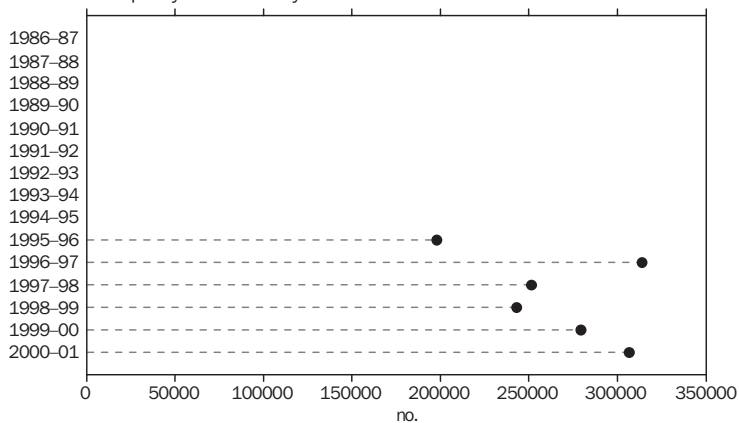
Note: Data up to and including 1988-89 comprises total working holiday maker arrivals.

WORKING HOLIDAY MAKERS,
Number of Working Holiday Visas Granted Offshore



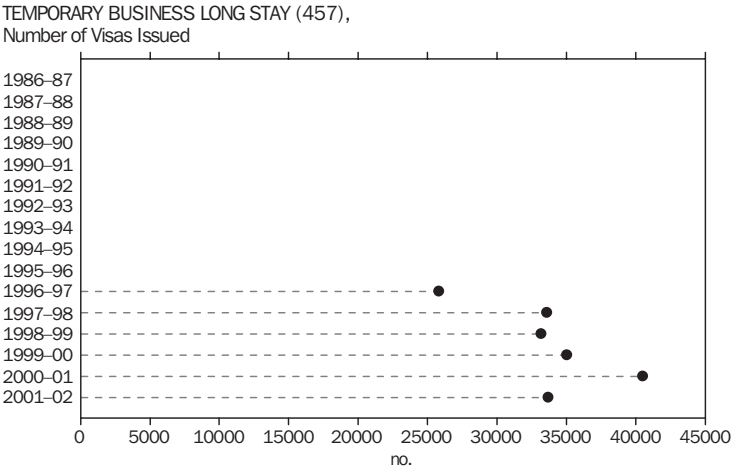
Note: Data up to and including 1988-89 comprises total working holiday maker arrivals.

TEMPORARY BUSINESS ENTRANTS,
Number of Temporary Business Entry Visas Issued

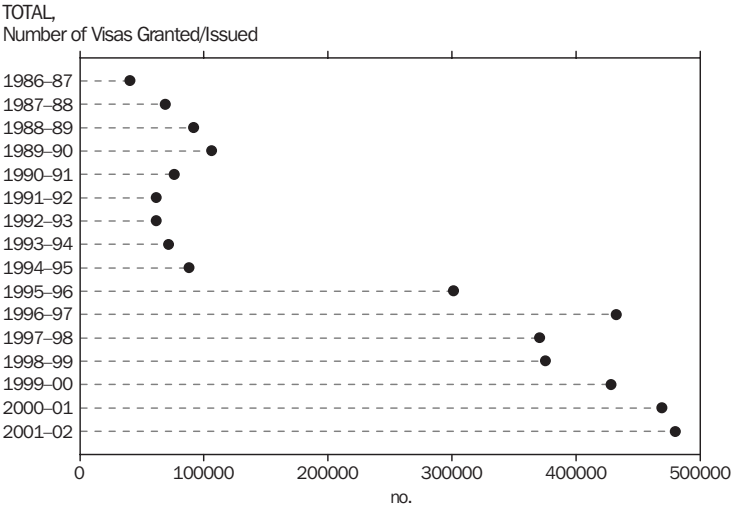


Note: Data not available prior to 1995.

1.5 TEMPORARY MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA BY CATEGORY, 1986–1987 TO 2001–2002 *continued*



Note: Data not available prior to 1995.



Source: DIMIA Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, various issues; Ruddock 2002.

It is a major shortcoming here that the census is not able to differentiate between temporary and permanent residents. A modification of the census questions would not only recognise the immense change which has occurred in Australian immigration, but also enable clear assessment to be made of the economic, social and demographic impacts of the new temporary migration.

While the visitor category does not include many of the new long term ‘sojourners’ in Australia, it is interesting to note in table 1.6 that there has been a substantial increase in the number of foreign visitors counted in Australia on the night of the census in recent times. It must be remembered, however, that the census was taken on the night of 7 August 2001 — before September 11, the Bali bombing, and SARS outbreaks reduced international tourist and business mobility.

1.6 OVERSEAS VISITORS, 1981–2001

	Visitors enumerated in census	As a percentage of enumerated population
	no.	%
1981	59 434	0.41
1986	59 589	0.38
1991	78 634	0.47
1996	139 594	0.78
2001	203 101	1.07

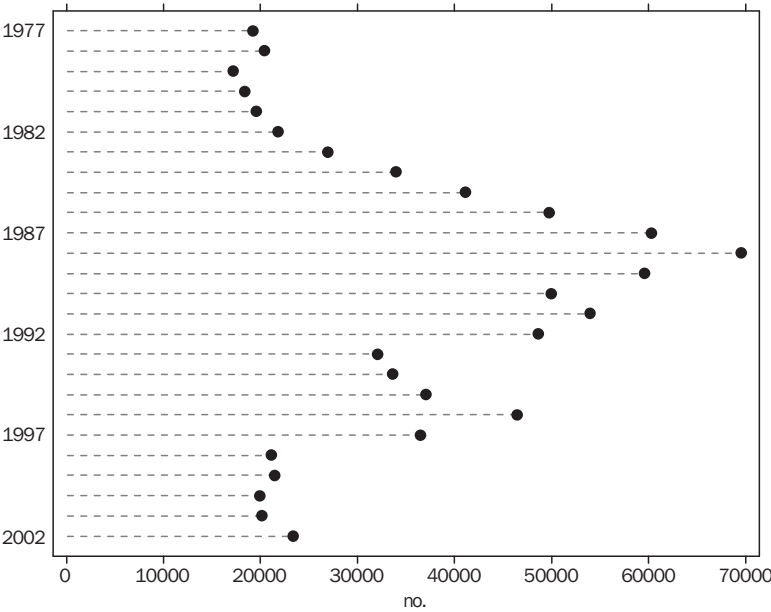
Note: In the 1996 census, overseas visitors were those people who indicated they would be usually resident in Australia for less than six months. For the 2001 census, this was increased to less than one year.

Source: 1981–2001 Census of Population and Housing.

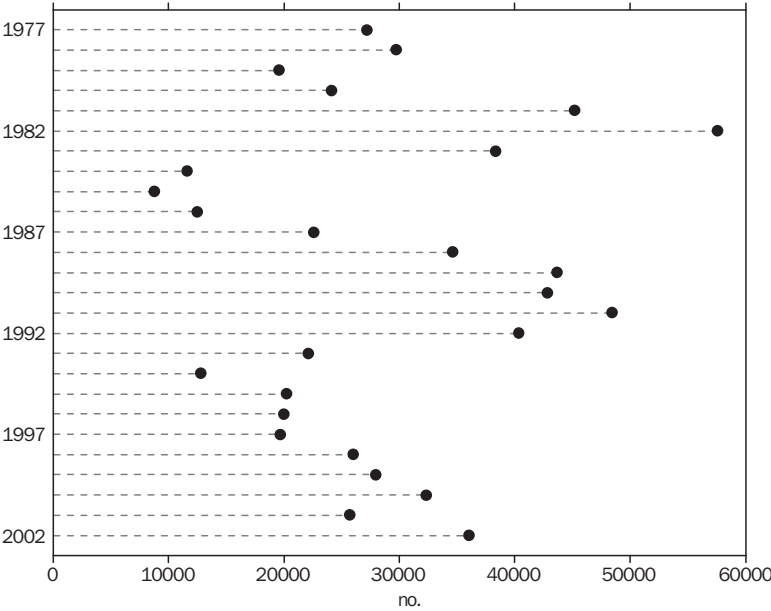
A second dimension of change in Australian immigration has been an increasing of the economic focus of the settler intake. This is evident in graph 1.7, which shows that the economic categories of settlers have assumed greater significance in comparison with refugee and family migration. Graph 1.8 shows that worker migration makes up a larger proportion of the immigrant intake than is the case in other traditional immigration countries. Moreover, as Richardson, Robertson and Ilsley (2001, p. 7) point out “...there was a considerable change in migration policy that was directed to improving the prospects for economic independence of new migrants, and reducing their demands on taxpayer-supported services and payments”. They analysed data from two waves (1993–95 and 1999–2000) of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA) to demonstrate a huge improvement in the labour market performance of newly arrived immigrants after the policy changes. The census data analysed here can shed additional light on this issue.

1.7 TRENDS IN INTAKE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF SETTLERS,
1977–2002

Family Migration

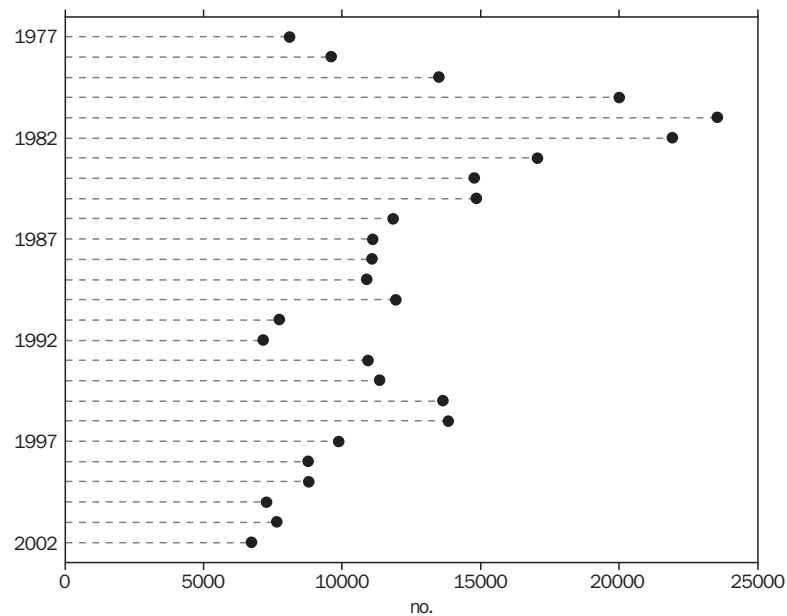


Skilled Migration

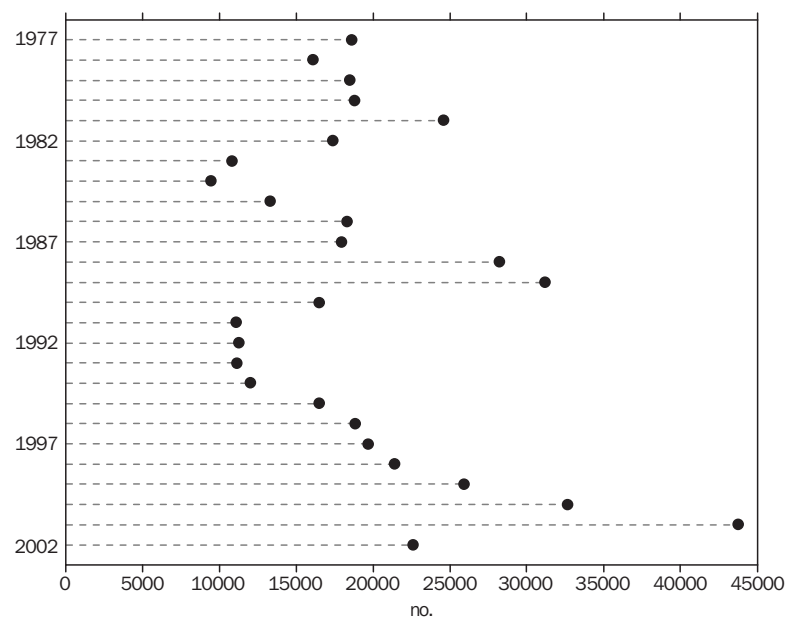


1.7 TRENDS IN INTAKE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF SETTLERS, 1977–2002 *continued*

Humanitarian Migration

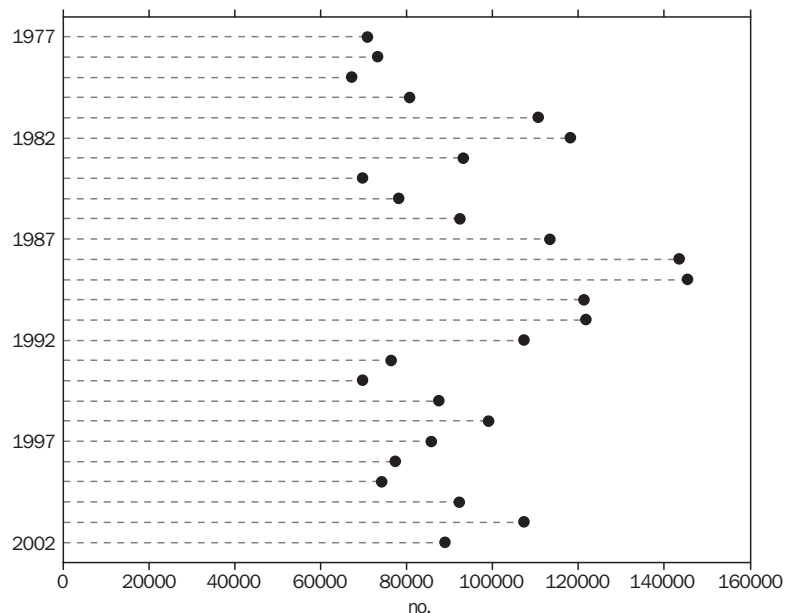


Other/New Zealand Citizens



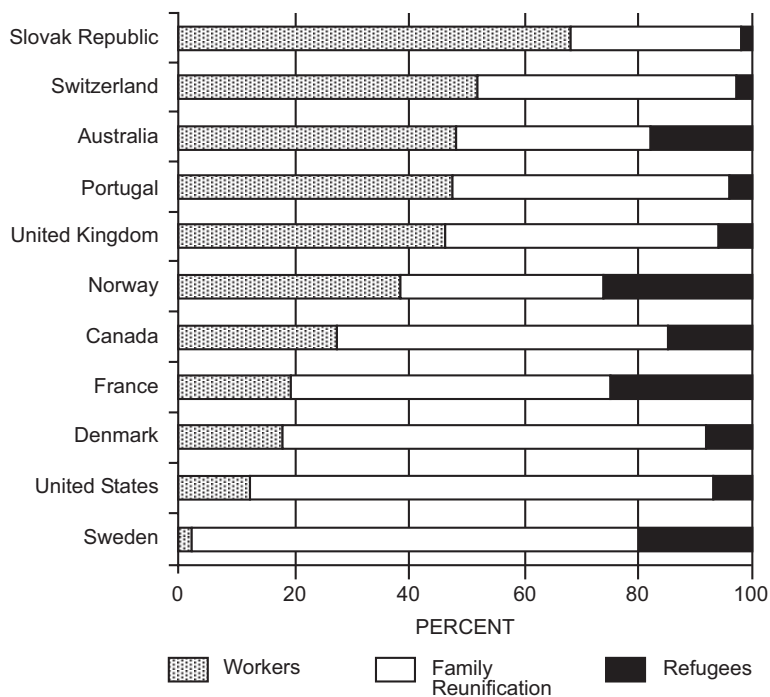
1.7 TRENDS IN INTAKE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF SETTLERS, 1977–2002 *continued*

Total Settlement Migration



Source: DIMA Immigration Update and Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, various issues.

1.8 SELECTED OECD NATIONS BALANCE OF IMMIGRATION CATEGORIES, 2001



Source: OECD Sopemi 2001.

Immediately after World War II the imperatives of immigration policy were both demographic and economic. On the one hand, there were massive labour shortages in the postwar boom period and labour — skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled — was needed for the massive growth in manufacturing. Also, there was a ‘populate or perish’ argument in the aftermath of the nation being almost invaded by Japan during the war. With the end of the ‘long boom’ in the 1970s, the reduction in manufacturing employment and increases in unemployment, immigration policy was redefined to involve a planned numerical intake made up of a number of policy components:

- Refugee and Humanitarian Movement — designed to resettle refugees.
- Family Migration — enabling family members to join earlier generations of immigrants.
- Economic Migration — involving recruitment of people with skills in short supply in the economy.
- Special Categories — involving mainly New Zealanders, people with special talents etc.

Over the years there has been a fluctuation in the significance of the various components of immigration, as graph 1.10 indicates. In the most recent period there has been a deliberate policy to increase the proportion of skilled workers in the immigration intake.

The current Australian Migration Program operates within set planning levels and is made up of humanitarian and non-humanitarian components. The Skilled Migration Program is contained within the latter and the various elements are summarised in table 1.9. Within the program some components, i.e. Business Skills, Employer Nominated Scheme (ENS), Distinguished Talents, Spouses and Dependent Children are demand driven and not subject to capping.

1.9 PROGRAM MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE (2001–2002) MIGRATION (NON-HUMANITARIAN) PROGRAM

<i>Skill</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Special Eligibility</i>
<i>Skilled Independent & Skilled Australian Sponsored(a)</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points tested Planning level adjusted subject to demand in Business Skills and Employer Nominated Scheme 	<i>Parents and Preferential Family</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can be capped subject to demand in all other Family categories 	Can be capped
<i>Business Skills, Employer Nominated Scheme & Distinguished Talent</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demand driven 	<i>Fiancés & Interdependents</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can be capped subject to demand for spouse and dependent child places <i>Spouses & Dependent Children</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demand driven Exempt from capping 	
<i>Contingency Reserve</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To be utilised if states and territories, business employers and regional authorities generate additional demand, and for ICT professionals with Australian qualifications 	<i>Contingency Reserve</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legislation defeated in Senate October 2000 	

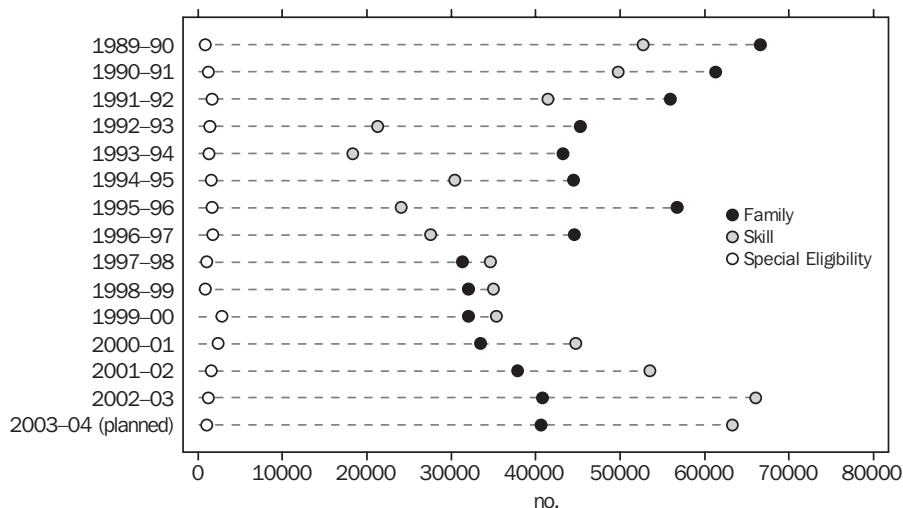
(a) Formerly Independent and Skilled-Australian Linked (until July 1999).

Source: DIMIA 2002b.

There are three main eligibility migration categories in the Migration Program — Family, Skill and Special Eligibility. Family migration consists of a number of categories under which the potential migrant can be sponsored by a relative who is an Australian citizen or permanent resident of Australia.

1.10

MIGRATION PROGRAM OUTCOMES BY STREAM



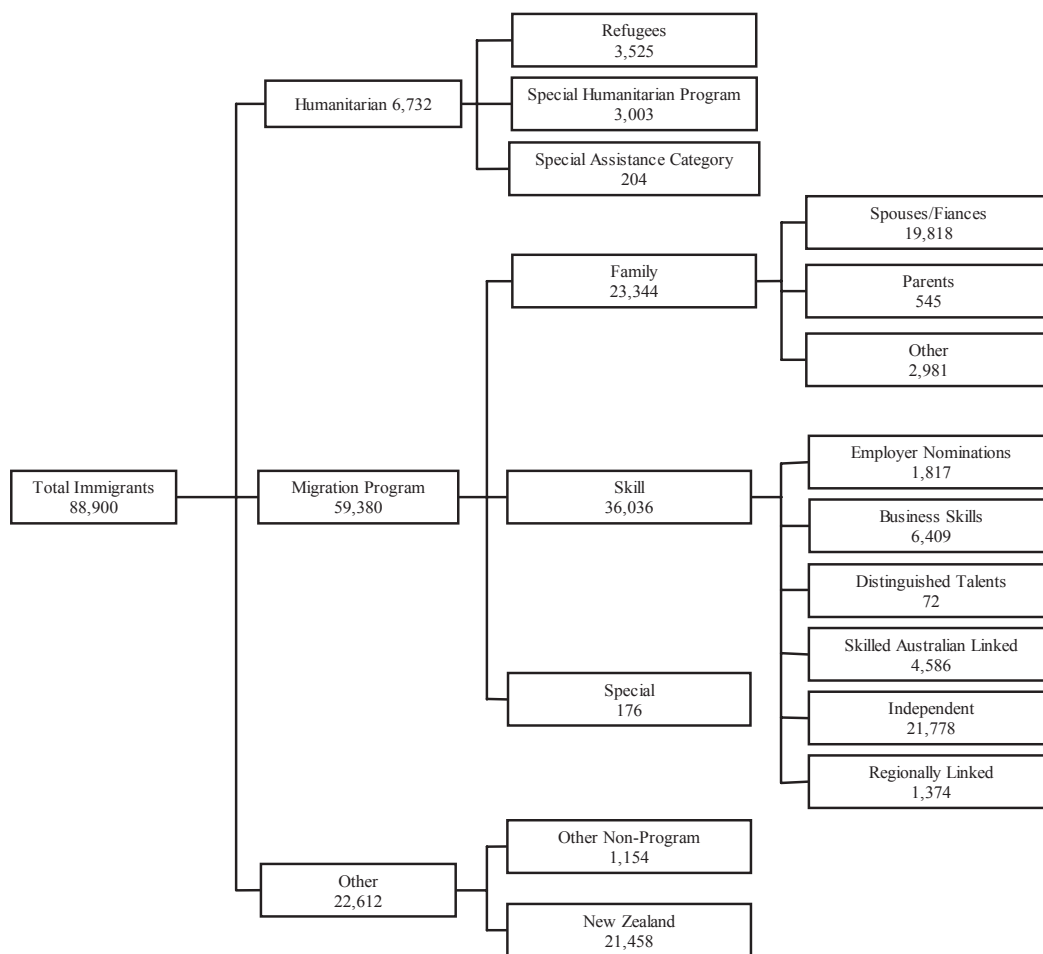
Source: DIMIA Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, various issues and DIMIA 2003a.

There has been a significant shift in recent years away from the Family Migration category, toward the Skilled Migration categories as is evident in graph 1.7 and graph 1.10. In the five years to 1999–2000, Skilled Migration increased from 20,000 to 32,400 while Family Migration decreased from 46,500 to 19,900 (ABS, 2001a, p. 16). The Skilled Migration Program consists of a number of categories of prospective migrants where there is a demand for particular occupational skills, outstanding talents or business skills. These categories are:

- Independent migrants — not sponsored by an employer or relative in Australia. They must pass a points test, which includes skills, age and English language ability (21,778 visas in 2001–02).
- Skilled-Australian Linked — commenced on 1 July 1997 (replacing the Concessional Family Category). Applicants must pass a points test on skills, age and English ability and receive additional points for sponsorship by relatives in Australia (4,586 visas in 2001–02). Also includes Regional Linked for those sponsored by relatives in regional areas (not points tested).
- Employer sponsored — Employers may nominate (or ‘sponsor’) personnel from overseas through the Employer Nomination Scheme (ENS), Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS) and Labour Agreements. These visas enable Australian employers to fill skilled permanent vacancies with overseas personnel if they cannot find suitably qualified workers in Australia. A total of 1,817 visas were granted in 2001–02.
- Business skills migration — encourages successful business people to settle permanently in Australia and develop new business opportunities (6,409 visas in 2001–02).
- Distinguished talent — for distinguished individuals with special or unique talents of benefit to Australia (72 visas in 2001–02).

Figure 1.11 presents the breakdown of the numbers in each category for the year 2001–02.

1.11 CATEGORIES OF IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA, 2001–2002



Source: DIMIA 2002b.

Over recent times in Australia there has been greater government intervention to shape the content of the intake of immigrants so that it can better contribute to national development goals. This has seen greater emphasis on skills in migrant selection and in the development of business migration programs involved to attract entrepreneurs with substantial sums to invest in the destination country. Australia and Canada have micro-managed the qualifications of their migrant intake since the 1970s with the introduction of points assessment schemes.

The Skill Stream of the Australian Migration Program is aimed at attracting people with qualifications and relevant work experience and can help to address skill shortages in Australia and enhance the size, skill level and productivity of the Australian labour force. In 2001–02, there were 36,036 people granted Skill visas. Of total Skill Stream visas, 22.6% (10,290) were granted to onshore applicants. The United Kingdom accounted for 15% of all

2001–02 Skill Stream visa grants. Other major source countries included South Africa (14%), India (10%), Indonesia (9%) and the People’s Republic of China (8%).

A third dimension of the new paradigm is the increasing emigration of the Australian-born population. As indicated earlier, this is also an area which 2001 census data can tell us little about. Another of the elements in the new paradigm is the fact that Australia experienced a greater inflow of asylum seekers than at any other time in the postwar period. This was part of another feature — the fact that an unprecedented proportion of settlers to Australia are ‘onshore’ applicants in that they enter the country with a temporary or no visa and eventually apply for permanent residence. The increasing diversity of the origins of settlers is another element of change with a continuation in the increase of the importance of Asia but also with Africa becoming significant.

THE AUSTRALIAN CENSUS AS A SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION INFORMATION

Australia has some of the most comprehensive and accurate data on both the stocks³ and flows⁴ of international migration. Firstly, with respect to flows of population, the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) maintain a Movements Database (MDB). Each person entering or leaving Australia is required to complete on arrival or departure, cards containing questions on citizenship, birthplace, birth date, gender, occupation, marital status, type of movement, origin/destination, reason (for short term movers only) and address in Australia. This information forms the basis of the MDB, which is one of the few in the world to contain comprehensive information on both immigrants and emigrants. People leaving or coming into Australia are classified into three types of categories according to the intended length of their stay in Australia or overseas:

- Permanent Movements
 - Immigrants are persons arriving with the intention of settling permanently in Australia.
 - Emigrants are Australian residents (including former settlers) departing with the stated intention of staying abroad permanently.

³ The number of migrants in a nation at any one time.

⁴ The number of migrants flowing between two places over a given period.

- Long Term Movements
 - Overseas arrivals of visitors with the intended or actual length of stay in Australia of 12 months or more.
 - Departures of Australian residents with intended or actual length of stay abroad of 12 months or more.
- Short Term Movements
 - Travellers whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than 12 months.

Clearly there are some problems associated with the use of 'intentions' as a key element in the definitions of type of movement for the MDB. There are no guarantees that intentions will become reality and as a result there is a significant amount of category jumping which occurs (Hugo, 1994a). Zlotnik (1987, pp. 933–934) has been critical of the concept of residence used in these definitions as a 'fertile breeding ground for confusion'. Nevertheless the MDB provides useful and comprehensive information on flows of people into and out of Australia.

Turning to sources of information about the stocks of migrants, table 1.12 shows that a comprehensive range of immigration/ethnicity related questions have been asked at Australian censuses. Censuses have been conducted in Australia every five years since 1961 and have a low rate of under-enumeration (less than 2%). The census allows us to identify first generation migrants and their Australian-born children and a number of their characteristics with a high degree of accuracy. Of particular interest was the introduction in 1971 of a birthplace of parents question, which has been in each subsequent census and the ancestry question in 1986 and 2001. The census does not provide information on former residents who have emigrated out of Australia. With respect to persons travelling out of Australia on a temporary basis, some information is obtainable if those persons left households behind who could report their absence in a question on the census form relating to usual residents who are absent on the night of the census. Visitors to Australia who happen to be in the nation on the night of the census are counted in the de facto enumeration but excluded from most data on birthplace.

1.12 IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY RELATED TOPICS INCLUDED IN AUSTRALIAN POPULATION CENSUSES, 1911–2001

Topics—Persons	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
Birthplace	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Birthplace of parents		*						*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Year of arrival (Period of residence in Australia)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Citizenship	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*(1)	*	*(2)	*	*	*
Ethnic origin/ancestry											*			*
Number of overseas residents or visitors								*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Language use		*(3)	*(4)						*(5)	*(6)	*(7)	*	*	*
Religion	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Notes: (1) Prior to 1976, 'nationality' rather than 'citizenship' was asked.

(2) Since 1986 the person has been asked whether or not they were an Australian citizen.

(3) Question asked whether the person could read and write.

(4) Question asked whether the person could read and write a foreign language if unable to read and write English.

(5) The 1976 census asked for 'all languages regularly used'.

(6) In 1981 ability to speak English was asked.

(7) Since 1986 two separate questions have been asked — Language used and ability to speak English.

Source: Paice, 1990; ABS, 2000a.

In the present study the focus is on analysing data from the 2001 census. In particular, we will examine the characteristics of the overseas-born population who were not present in Australia at the previous census (1996). Of course, people who settled in Australia after 1996 but emigrated before the 2001 census are not captured in the census, so it is not the same as the DIMIA data on flows into Australia over the 1996–2001 period.

Much of the analysis is focused on persons enumerated who reported that they arrived in Australia between the 1996 and 2001 censuses. The characteristics of these people will be compared to those of the overseas-born population who arrived prior to the 1996 census. In some cases too, these 'recent arrivals' will be compared to counterpart 'recent arrivals' enumerated at the 1996 census — i.e. those who arrived between 1991 and 1996.

Since this study focuses on recent migrants it is necessary to examine the relevant question asked in the 2001 census. This is depicted in figure 1.13 and shows that persons were asked when they first arrived in Australia with the intention to live in Australia for a year or more. Hence, persons enumerated at the 2001 census with a temporary residence permit who have stayed or intend to stay in Australia for a year or more are included. It could be too that people on temporary residence permits who were undecided about the length of time they intend to stay in Australia will have inflated the numbers of not stated responses.

1.13 QUESTION ON YEAR OF ARRIVAL ASKED OF THE OVERSEAS-BORN IN THE AUSTRALIAN CENSUS OF 2001

12 In what year did the person first arrive in Australia for one year or more?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Year	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Year
example <input type="text" value="1"/> <input type="text" value="9"/> <input type="text" value="7"/> <input type="text" value="0"/> Year	<input type="checkbox"/> Will be in Australia less than one year	<input type="checkbox"/> Will be in Australia less than one year

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing, Household Form.

At the 2001 census the numbers of recent migrants were larger than in 1996 (626,266 compared to 575,031), the difference may have been larger since the numbers of overseas-born persons who did not state how long they had been in Australia was more than twice as large (195,856) in 2001 than was the case in 1996 (98,253). It is important to stress that a major difference between 1996 and 2001 is that Australia introduced a major temporary migration program to attract skilled workers as was pointed out earlier in this chapter. Undoubtedly a number of the recent migrants (and the not stated) in 2001 were people with temporary residence in Australia. Moreover whereas in 1996 there were 139,594 persons on census night that reported being overseas visitors there were 203,101 in 2001.

An important question relates to how the large increase in persons granted temporary residence permits during the intercensal periods, was treated in the 2001 census. It has been estimated that in mid-2001 there were 554,200 people in Australia on temporary early visas excluding New Zealand citizens (DIMIA 2002a, p. 53) — an increase of 8% compared to a year earlier. They were comprised of the categories depicted in table 1.14. At the 2001 census only 203,101 visitors were detected. It is clear that some visitors were missed but undoubtedly several groups among those staying in Australia for extended periods were actually included in the census as residents and hence would be included among the ‘recent migrations’ category, (i.e. those who arrived during the 1996–2001 intercensal period). DIMIA estimates that of the 554,200 persons on temporary early visas, 37% had been in Australia less than three months, 35% three to 12 months and 28% for more than a year. The important point to stress here is that the substantial increase which occurred in longer term temporary residents in Australia during the 1996–2001 intercensal period has meant that the recent migrants category in 2001 will encompass many more temporary residents than was the case in earlier censuses.

1.14 STOCK OF TEMPORARY MIGRANTS, 30TH JUNE 2001

<i>Visa category</i>	<i>Number of temporary residents</i>
Visitors	201 700
Students	138 200
Bridging Visa Holders	62 300
Working Holiday Makers	46 600
Long Stay Business Entrants	56 000
Business Visitors	12 600
Social, Cultural, International Relation Visitors	25 700
Other	11 200

Source: DIMIA, 2002a, p. 53.

The presence of a much larger number of temporary residents in Australia in 2001 compared to 1996 was also one of the factors producing a greater non-response rate to the Year of Arrival in Australia question in the later census. Hence, table 1.15 shows that the number of overseas-born persons who did not state their period of residence in Australia almost doubled between 1996 and 2001 and the proportion not stating their year of arrival in Australia increased from 2.5% to 4.8%. The temporary residents were probably disproportionately represented among the not stated.

1.15 NON-RESPONSE ON YEAR OF ARRIVAL BY BIRTHPLACE REGION, 1996 AND 2001

<i>Birthplace region</i>	<i>Year of Arrival Not Stated</i>				<i>1996–2001 % change</i>
	<i>1996</i>		<i>2001</i>		
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Oceania and Antarctica	9 690	2.6	26 337	5.8	171.8
Europe and the Former USSR	61 716	2.8	97 522	4.6	58.0
Middle East – North Africa	5 384	2.8	11 461	5.4	112.9
South-East Asia	9 515	2.1	22 421	4.5	135.6
North-East Asia	4 374	1.8	16 210	5.4	270.6
South and Central Asia	2 449	1.7	7 368	3.9	200.9
America	2 637	1.8	6 756	4.2	174.0
Africa (less North Africa)	1 685	1.6	5 366	3.8	218.5
Inadequately Described	803	13.0	2 415	13.7	200.7
Total	98 253	2.5	195 856	4.8	99.3

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the main objectives of the present study. It has shown how Australia’s immigration policies have undergone a profound change in the 1990s. Hence it is especially relevant to study the immigrants who settled in Australia in the late 1990s, and the 2001 Census of Population and Housing provides an excellent basis for making such an analysis. Australian census data is among the most comprehensive and accurate in the world and the detail it provides on immigrants is second to none. Accordingly, this study focuses on respondents to the census who reported that they settled in Australia between the 1996 and 2001 censuses.

CHAPTER 2

AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION
1996 – 2001.....

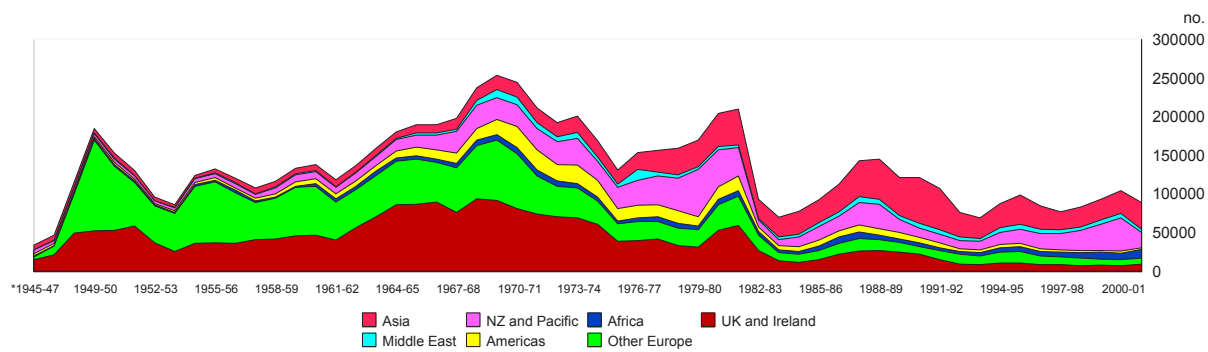
INTRODUCTION

At the 2001 census 623,000 persons reported that they had arrived in Australia since 1996. They made up 3.3% of the total population of the nation and 16% of the overseas-born. The recent migrants differ substantially from earlier waves of immigrants not only because they have been in Australia for a shorter period of time but also because of changes in Australian immigration policy and shifts in the global context. In the present chapter some of the key differences between the stock of recent immigrants in Australia and settlers of longer standing are examined and related to changes in immigration flows.

ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS

One of the distinctive aspects of Australian immigration over the postwar period has been the fact that it has been drawn from a large range of countries and not dominated by one or two birthplace groups. Australia is one of the most multicultural of nations with 57 countries of birth having more than 10,000 persons and 110 countries with more than 1,000.¹ Moreover, there have been fluctuations in the mix of birthplace groups entering Australia.

2.1 SETTLER ARRIVALS BY REGION OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1947–2002

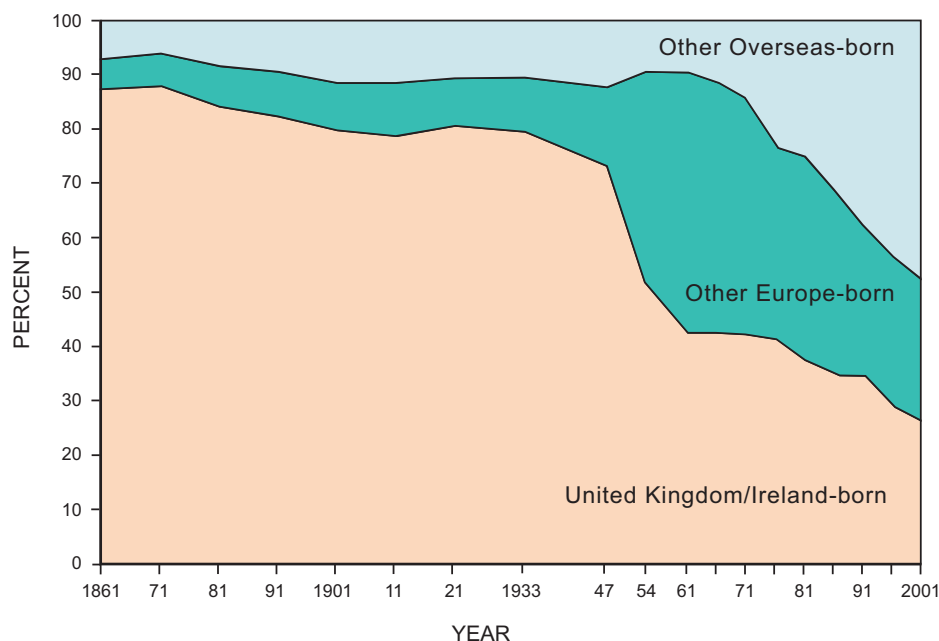


Source: DIMIA Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update various issues; ABS Migration Australia, various issues.

¹ The Appendix lists the numbers in each Birthplace Group.

Graph 2.1 shows that in the early postwar decades United Kingdom-Ireland and Other Europe were the dominant origins of immigrants. However, in the second half of the postwar period these origins represent only a small proportion of settlers, while Asia and the Pacific provided the bulk of immigration, with the Middle East and Africa also being significant. This is demonstrated in the stock figures as graph 2.2 indicates, which reflects how the United Kingdom–Ireland-born have represented a smaller proportion of the overseas-born with each successive census. The other Europe group increased their share of the overseas born until 1971, thereafter too their share decreased. Turning to recent migrants table 2.3 compares the profile of their origins to those of the settlers of longer standing in both 1996 and 2001. There was an increase of 8.5% in the number of recent immigrants between the censuses — more than three times the rate of increase in the numbers of overseas-born persons who had lived in Australia for more than five years (2.3%). However it is evident from the table that the balance between recent and longstanding immigrants has changed considerably over the intercensal period reflecting shifts in the immigration intake.

2.2 BIRTHPLACE OF THE OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION, 1861–2001



Source: Price et al., 1984; Australian censuses.

The increasing significance of the Oceania region is the first trend apparent in table 2.3 with the numbers of recent migrants increasing by 50.6% between 1996 and 2001. This movement has been dominated by New Zealand, which replaced the United Kingdom as the single largest origin of immigrant settlers to Australia in 1995–96. Moreover, Hugo (2003a) has shown that the New Zealand-born made up only three-quarters of the intake from New Zealand over the period while the remainder were previous immigrants to New Zealand who have immigrated to Australia after gaining New Zealand citizenship. The dominance of New Zealand in the Oceania migration is apparent in map 2.4, which shows that New Zealand was the largest single country of birth of recent migrants at the 2001 census with smaller numbers from Fiji and Samoa. Between 1996 and 2001 Oceania increased its share of recent migrants threefold from 13.7% to 19.0%. The high level of return migration among New Zealanders moving to Australia (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2001) is reflected in the fact that Oceania's increased its share of longstanding migrants only from 8.9% to 9.5% between the censuses. Nevertheless map 2.5 shows that New Zealand is the second largest overseas-born birthplace group among immigrants who have been in Australia more than five years in 2001.

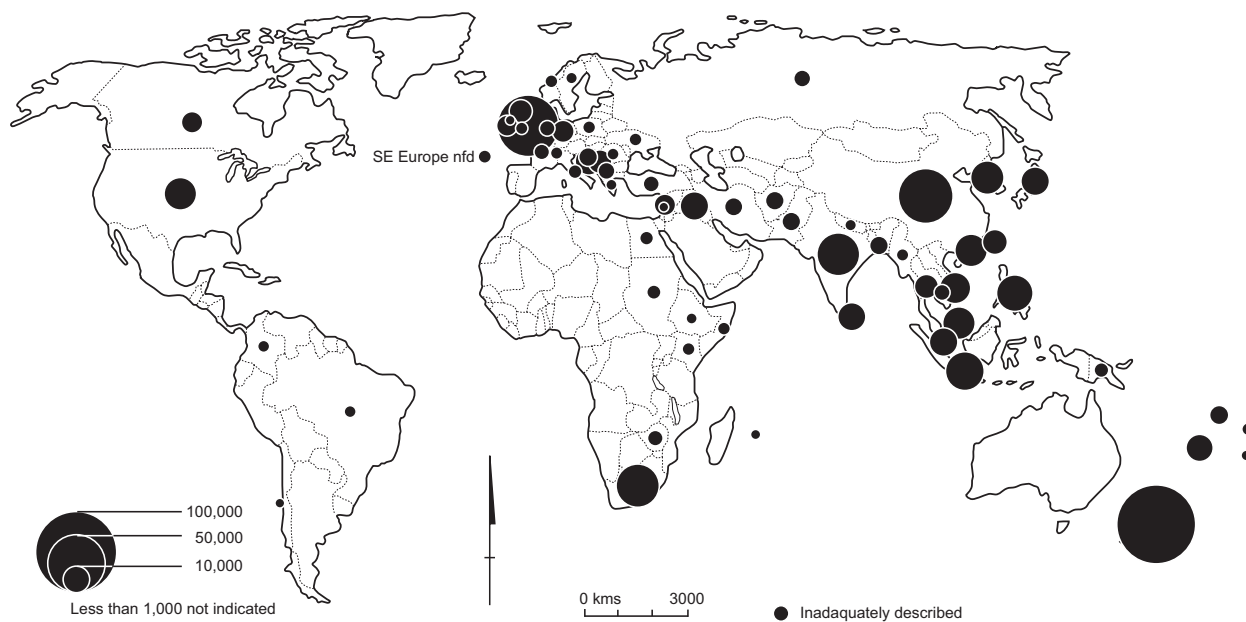
2.3 ORIGINS OF OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA, 1996 AND 2001

Region of birth	1996 census				2001 census				Percentage change	
	Pre 1991		1991 onwards		Pre 1996		1996 onwards		1996–2001	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	Longstanding migrants	Recent migrants
Oceania and Antarctica	285 792	8.9	78 678	13.7	310 477	9.5	118 514	19.0	8.6	50.6
Europe Former USSR	2 004 648	62.7	142 801	24.9	1 892 833	57.9	143 318	23.0	–5.6	0.4
Middle East – North Africa	150 604	4.7	35 491	6.2	165 288	5.0	37 193	6.0	9.8	4.8
South-East Asia	320 863	10.0	121 151	21.1	376 741	11.5	97 914	15.7	17.4	–19.2
North-East Asia	142 265	4.4	98 821	17.2	185 096	5.6	97 526	15.6	30.1	–1.3
Southern Asia	95 568	3.0	46 100	8.0	124 081	3.8	55 163	8.9	29.8	19.7
America	114 412	3.6	31 024	5.4	123 208	3.8	30 839	5.0	7.7	–0.6
Africa (less North Africa)	84 800	2.7	20 031	3.5	93 796	2.9	42 533	6.8	10.6	112.3
Total	3 198 952	100.0	574 097	100.0	3 271 520	100.0	623 000	100.0	2.3	8.5

Note: Excludes not stated and inadequately described.

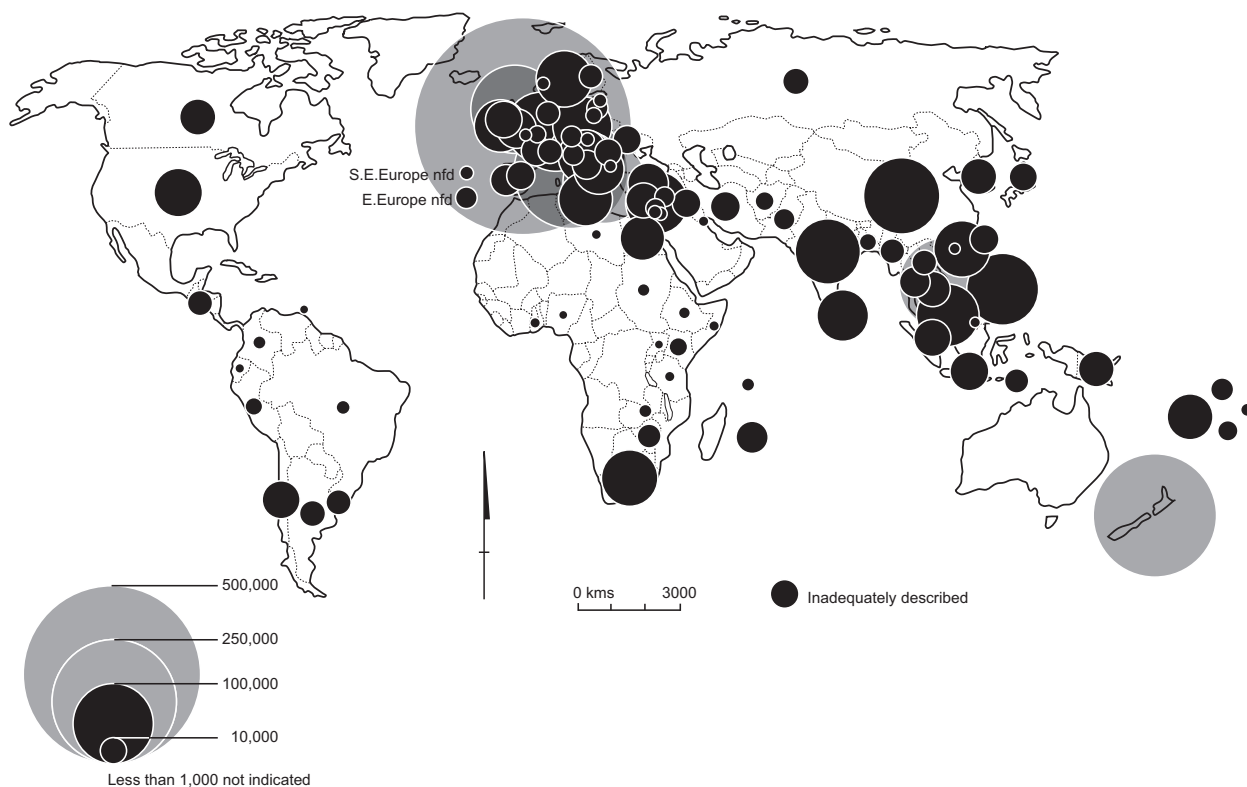
Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

2.4 COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS² TO AUSTRALIA, 2001



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

2.5 COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF LONGSTANDING IMMIGRANTS³ TO AUSTRALIA, 2001



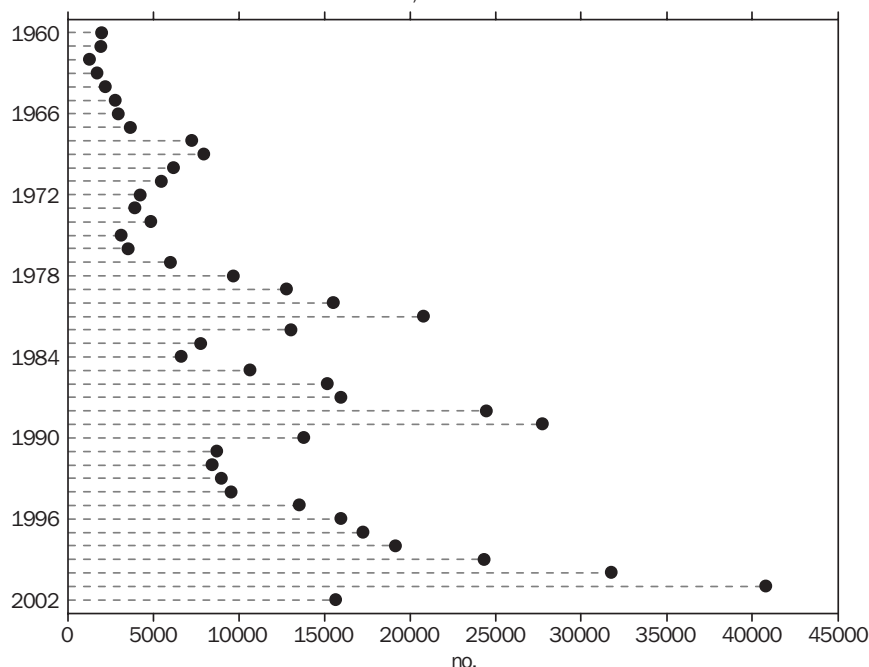
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

² Country of birth of recent immigrants, overseas-born at 2001 census who arrived in Australia 1996 onwards.

³ Country of birth of longstanding immigrants, overseas-born at 2001 census that arrived in Australia before 2001.

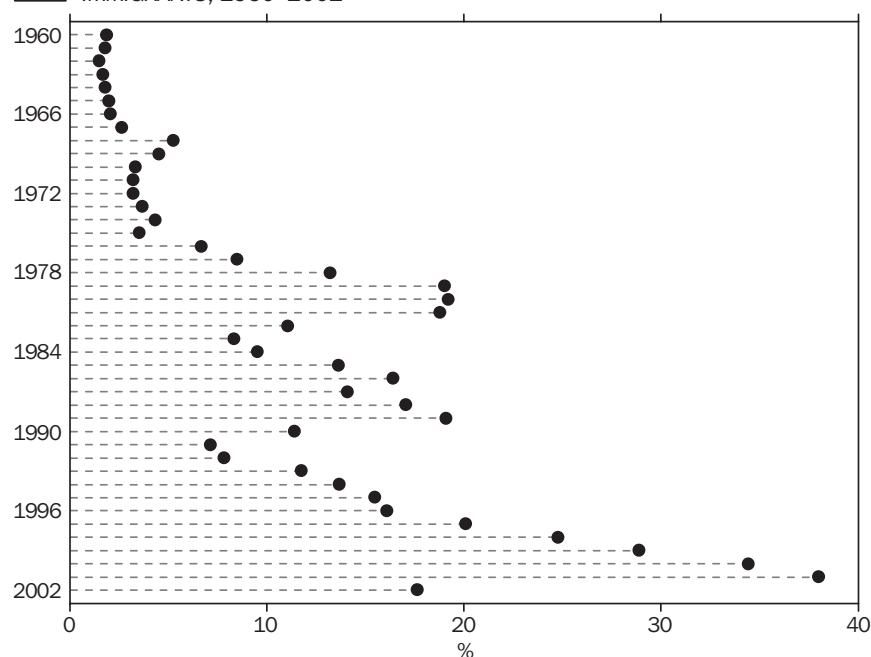
The changing significance of immigration from New Zealand to Australia is evident in graph 2.6 and graph 2.7, which indicates that New Zealand immigration both in numeral and percentage terms reached a postwar peak in the 1996–2001 period. It is interesting to note that there were peaks in immigration at the end of each of the last three decades. As indicated earlier, however, they made up only part of the trans-Tasman flow in the intercensal period. In mid-2001, of the 460,142 New Zealand citizens in Australia, 119,787 (26%) were born outside of New Zealand (DIMIA, 2002a). Map 2.8 shows that these involved substantial numbers born in the United Kingdom, the Pacific, Asia and Australia.

2.6 IMMIGRANTS FROM NEW ZEALAND, 1960–2002



Note: Data for 2001–02 comprise immigrants by country of birth. Data prior to this date comprise immigrants by country of last residence.

Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues.

2.7 IMMIGRANTS FROM NEW ZEALAND AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRANTS, 1960–2002

Note: Data for 2001–02 comprise immigrants by country of birth. Data prior to this date comprise immigrants by country of last residence.

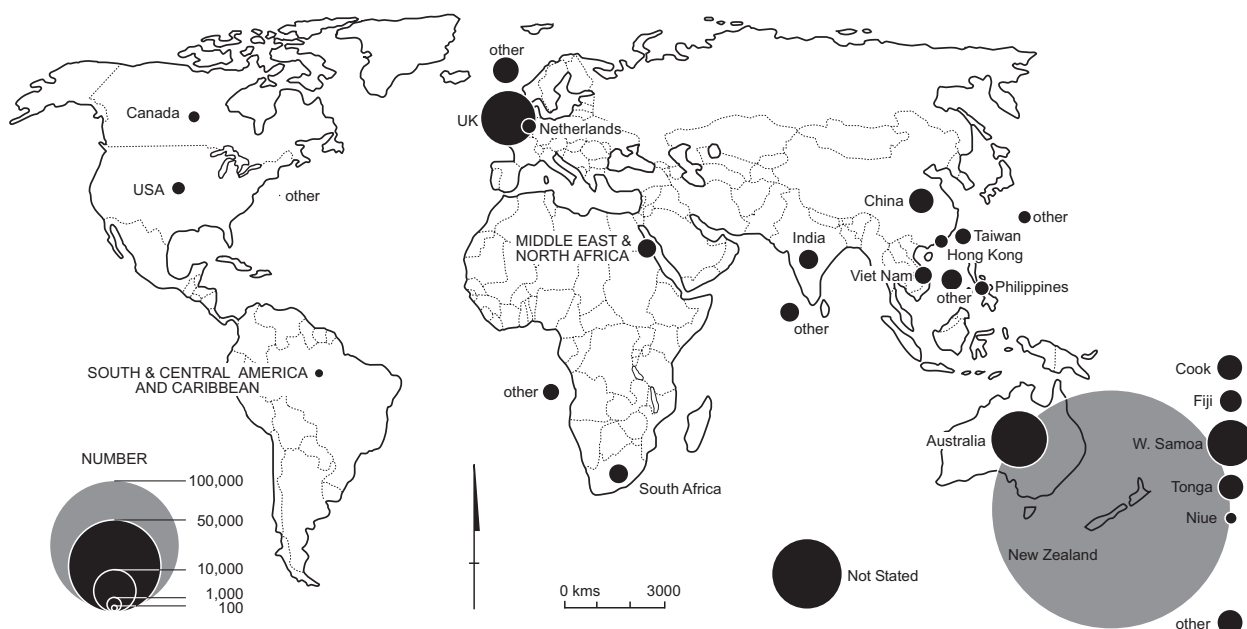
Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues.

The other very fast growing region of birth of recent immigrants between the 1996 and 2001 censuses was Sub-Saharan Africa whose numbers doubled, although as a proportion of all recent migrants increased from only 3.5% to 6.8%. It will be noted in map 2.4 that South Africa was the dominant origin among the African recent migrants. There has been a longstanding movement from South Africa to Australia as is evident in the map of longstanding foreign-born residents (map 2.5). Nevertheless, a recent feature of Australian immigration has been the substantial movement of refugee/humanitarian immigrants into Australia from other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa especially Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Somalia. In fact recent migrants made up over half of Australian residents in these groups. The increase in the Sub-Saharan non-South Africa, African-born population has added another dimension to Australian multiculturalism in the last decade.

The largest regional grouping among both recent migrants and immigrants of longer standing are those from Europe and the former USSR. Their representation among recent migrants remained similar to 1996. However the mix of birthplace groups has changed and this is apparent in a comparison of map 2.4 and map 2.5. Eastern European sources have been most important in

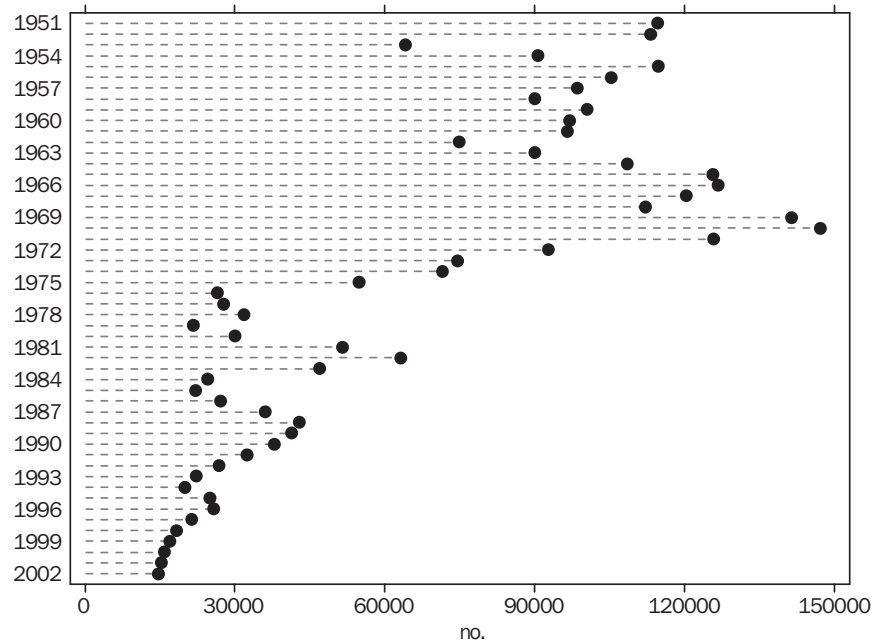
recent years with the influx of refugee-humanitarian groups from the former Yugoslavia, but also other Eastern European countries. The shift in Australia's migration relationship with Europe generally (Hugo, 2003b), and the United Kingdom in particular (Hugo, 2003c), has been one of the most striking trends in Australian international migration in recent times. As graph 2.9 shows, Europe dominated immigration both numerically and proportionately in the early postwar decades, but the last two decades have seen a decline in both. Europe and the United Kingdom particularly, are now one of the world's major immigration destination countries and in recent years has received more settlers than Australia. In fact, in 2001–02 the numbers of United Kingdom-born emigrants to Australia (8,749) was not much larger than the numbers of Australians moving permanently to the United Kingdom (8,273). The decreasing significance of Europe in permanent settlement in Australia is evident in graph 2.10, which indicates that while there was only a marginal increase in the number of recent migrants from Europe between 1996 and 2001, there was a significant decline in the numbers of longer standing settlers from Europe. This reflects the fact that the 2001 census indicated that for several European birthplace groups there was a decline since the 1996 census.

2.8 NEW ZEALAND CITIZENS PRESENT IN AUSTRALIA BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 2002



Source: DIMIA, 2002b.

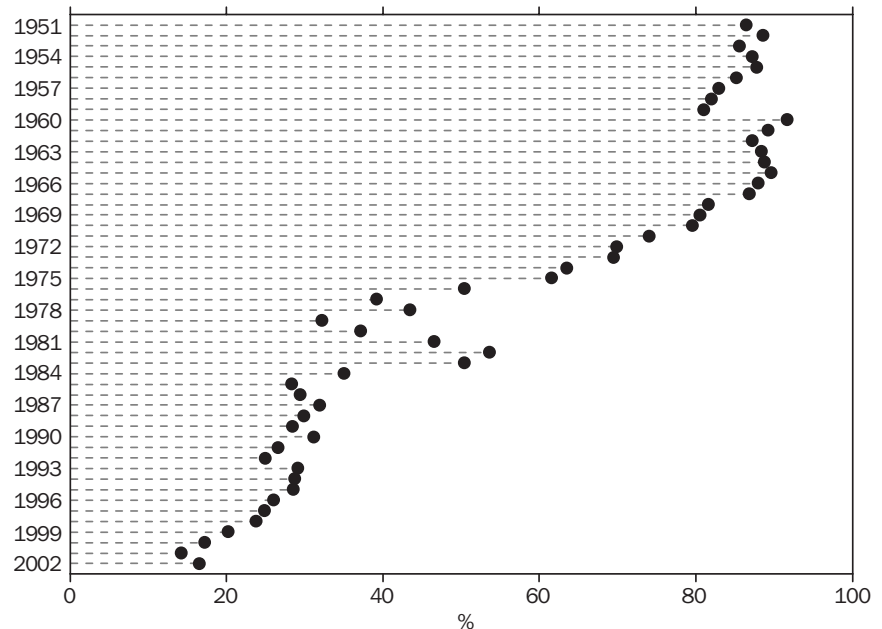
2.9 IMMIGRANTS FROM EUROPE, 1951–2002



Note: Data for 2001–02 comprise immigrants by country of birth. Data prior to this comprise immigrants by country of last residence. From 1960, data are for financial years, prior to this, data are for calendar years.

Source: CBCS, *Demography Bulletins*, DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues.

2.10 IMMIGRANTS FROM EUROPE AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRANTS 1951–2002



Note: Data for 2001–02 comprise immigrants by country of birth. Data prior to this comprise immigrants by country of last residence. From 1960, data are for financial years, prior to this date, data are for calendar years.

Source: CBCS, *Demography Bulletins*, DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues.

There was relative stability in the migration from the Middle East and North Africa with the proportions that they made up of both recent and longer term settlers being similar at both the 1996 and 2001 censuses. While the mix of countries of origin within the region have changed somewhat over time, the inflow has been steady and rates of emigration have been generally low (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001). A similar pattern applies to the Americas, although a comparison of map 2.4 and map 2.5 shows that recent immigration from Latin America has been very low, but Chileans, people from El Salvador, Argentina, Uruguay, Peru and Brazil have a significant presence among the longstanding migrants. Recent migrants are dominated by persons born in the United States of America and Canada.

Some of the most interesting trends are evident among the Asian-born who made up 5.5% of the total Australian population in 2001 compared to 1.78% in 1981 (Hugo, 2003d). It will be noticed in table 2.3, that both South-East and North-East Asia's share of recent immigrants declined, while that for South Asia increased only slightly. Hence, the Asian-born made up 46.3% of recent migrants in 1996 and 40.3% in 2001. On the other hand, their presence among longstanding settlers increased from 17.4% to 21%. In fact there were declines in the number of recent migrants from both North-East, and especially South-East Asia. The number from South Asia increased by one-fifth. This reflects a significant shift in the origin of immigrants especially since a not insignificant proportion of recent Asian migrants entered as New Zealand citizens.

It is apparent that the mix of countries of origin of recently arrived migrants is quite different to that of settlers who had been in Australia for more than five years at the 2001 census. The details for individual birthplace groups are provided in the Appendix. Table 2.11 lists the 25 largest groups among recent migrants and the ranking of the birthplace groups among immigrants who have been in Australia for more than five years and some substantial differences are in evidence.

2.11 COUNTRY OF ORIGIN RANKING AT 2001 CENSUS FOR OVERSEAS-BORN PERSONS ARRIVING BEFORE AND AFTER 1996

<i>Country of birth</i>	<i>Ranking</i>		<i>Per cent of group arrived since 1996</i>
	<i>Arrived before 1996</i>	<i>Arrived post-1996</i>	
<i>Country of birth</i>			<i>%</i>
New Zealand	2	1	26.7
United Kingdom	1	2	6.5
China (excl. Hong Kong & SARs)	7	3	31.7
South Africa	15	4	34.7
India	10	5	28.1
Indonesia	26	6	47.1
Philippines	8	7	19.0
Korea	29	8	42.0
United States of America	22	9	28.7
Malaysia	12	10	19.4
Hong Kong	14	11	22.6
Viet Nam	4	12	9.2
Japan	34	13	45.2
Iraq	33	14	46.0
Singapore	27	15	34.1
Sri Lanka	20	16	21.2
Bosnia and Herzegovina	32	17	45.4
Fiji	23	18	23.8
Taiwan	31	19	39.1
Thailand	30	20	33.8
Yugoslavia	16	21	14.0
Germany	6	22	6.3
Canada	28	23	23.3
Lebanon	11	24	8.7
Ireland	19	25	12.1

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The New Zealand-born is the largest group among recent migrants (95,165 persons) and the United Kingdom second (67,594 persons) with the positions reversed among the longer standing migrants (240,078 compared to 919,737). It is notable that nine of the 25 largest groups among the longstanding settlers are not in the 25 largest recently arrived groups. These include Italy (203,449 longstanding and 2,379 recent migrants), Greece (107,506 longstanding and 1,526 recent migrants), Netherlands (77,320 longstanding and 3,211 recent migrants), Poland (54,074 longstanding and 2,058 recent migrants), Croatia (45,344 longstanding and 4,789 recent migrants), Malta (44,622 longstanding and 284 recent migrants), Macedonia (38,884 longstanding and 2,737 recent migrants), Egypt (29,907 longstanding and 2,346 recent migrants) and Turkey (24,902 longstanding and 3,430 recent migrants). These are European and Middle Eastern nations that dominated immigration in the early postwar decades. Some 13 of the 25 largest recently arrived groups are Asian while

seven of the largest 25 longstanding groups are Asian. The balance between recent migrants versus those who had been settled in Australia for an extended period differs quite a bit between birthplace groups.

POLICY CATEGORIES OF IMMIGRANTS

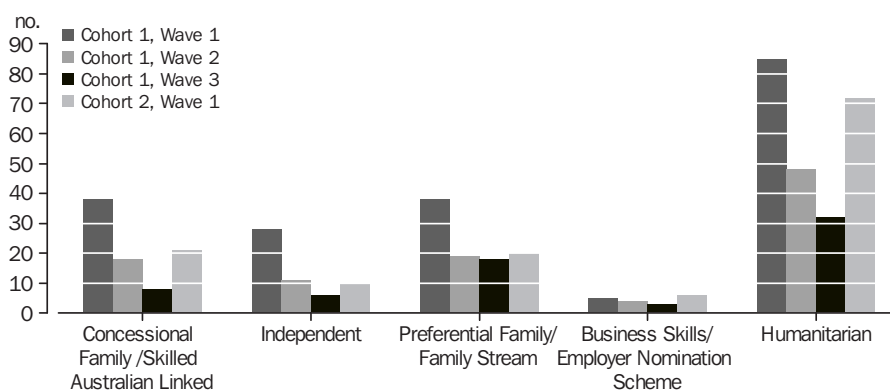
While the Australian census does not collect information on the immigration policy category under which settlers have entered Australia, it is relevant to observe that the mix of birthplace groups is different for each of the main policy categories. This is relevant for several reasons. Firstly, there has been a shift in the balance between family, humanitarian, economic and other category migration since 1996. Secondly, there are systematic differences between policy category groups in their economic and social adjustment to Australia.

Refugee/humanitarian settlers for example, by definition arrive with few resources and little preparation for life in a new country. They also have lower levels of English ability and lower levels of qualifications than settlers entering Australia under the economic categories. Hence the results of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA) are not surprising. Graph 2.12 depicts unemployment levels in the various policy categories of recent migrants interviewed in the first cohort of LSIA arriving in 1994 and interviewed soon after arrival (wave 1), two years later (wave 2) and two years later again (wave 3) as well as the first wave of the second cohort arriving in 2000. Since unemployment is so strongly associated with wellbeing and reflective of adjustment to life in Australia, one can make a number of observations:

- Unemployment levels vary considerably between policy categories of arrivals with levels highest among incoming refugee/humanitarian arrivals, moderately high among family migrants and lowest among economic/skill migrants.
- Unemployment levels decline over time as migrants adjust to the labour market and Australian society generally.
- The increasing focus on selection of immigrant arrivals on the basis of skill, English language ability and ability to enter the Australian labour market is evident in the lower levels of unemployment (10%) in the initial interview of the 2000 wave compared to the 1994 wave (21%).

The differences are strongly evident in table 2.11. Clearly the crucial point here is that there are considerable differences between policy categories of immigrants in their demographic, economic and social characteristics and their adjustment to the Australian labour markets.

2.12 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR MIGRANTS IN THE LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA (LSIA)



Note: Cohort 1, Waves 1–3 and Cohort 2, by Visa Category.

Source: Richardson et al., 2001, p. 51.

2.13 LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA: WORKFORCE CHARACTERISTICS BY VISA CATEGORY, 1993–1995 (WAVE 1) AND 1998–1999 (WAVE 3)

	Spouse	Concessional Family	Family Marriage	Refugee/ Humanitarian	Skill	Independent	Business	Total
<i>Per cent in Workforce</i>								
First Wave (1993–1995)	53.1	22.1	79.2	57.8	47.5	88.4	65.4	57.9
Third Wave (1998–1999)	58.6	28.7	88.2	64.0	61.2	91.4	94.0	64.0
<i>Per cent in Workforce Unemployed</i>								
First Wave (1993–1995)	38.6	57.0	35.6	33.6	85.6	2.2	26.4	39.1
Third Wave (1998–1999)	17.4	33.9	10.7	12.3	37.3	2.5	3.8	15.6

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA).

The mix of birthplace groups in each immigration policy category varies and although this cannot be shown with census stock data, DIMIA data on flows of settlers to Australia over the 1996–2001 period by their region of origin are depicted in table 2.14 and there are considerable differences in evidence. The differences for individual countries are even greater. For example, humanitarian arrivals are overwhelmingly from Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Africa. While New Zealand-born dominate among people entering under the special trans-Tasman Agreement, they only make up 81.3% of all settlers to Australia arriving under that category. Skilled migrants are strongly represented among settlers from North-East and South-East Asia and Africa.

2.14 ORIGINS OF SETTLER ARRIVALS TO AUSTRALIA BY POLICY CATEGORY, 1996–2001

Birthplace region	Family		Skill		Special		Humanitarian		Non-Permanent New Zealand Citizens(a)		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Oceania	4 105	3.9	4 510	4.2	44	—	38	—	97 766	91.8	106 521	100
Europe/USSR	27 945	29	38 226	39.7	797	0.8	20 426	21.2	8 857	9.2	96 201	100
Middle East/North Africa	11 877	40.4	4 102	13.9	50	0.2	11 993	40.8	1 363	4.6	29 417	100
South-East Asia	25 651	45.7	25 621	45.6	36	0.1	2 571	4.6	2 309	4.1	56 188	100
North-East Asia	22 372	39.3	29 998	52.7	16	—	70	0.1	5 665	10	56 917	100
Southern Asia	8 458	25.7	18 857	57.4	10	—	1 191	3.6	2 111	6.4	32 880	100
America	7 186	53.9	4 418	33.2	80	0.6	211	1.6	1 295	9.7	13 320	100
Africa (excl. North Africa)	6 069	17.9	23 977	70.9	43	0.1	3 655	10.8	1 280	3.8	33 824	100
Not Stated	29	10.5	129	46.7	14	5.1	146	0.4	15	5.4	276	100
Total	113 107	26.6	149 834	35.2	1 049	0.2	42 347	10	120 322	28.3	425 549	100

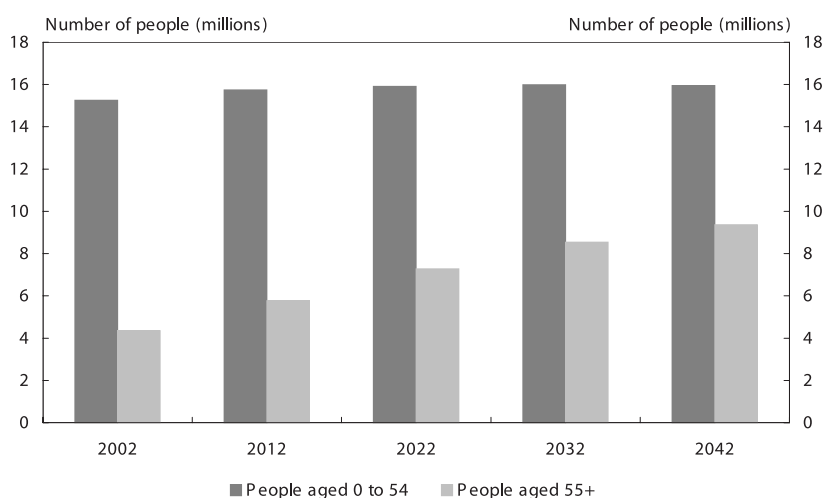
Note: At the time of writing the 2000–01 New Zealand Citizen numbers were not available so the 2001–02 figures were used.

Source: DIMIA Immigration Update, various issues.

THE AGE PROFILE OF IMMIGRANTS

The ageing of the Australian population is an issue of considerable policy significance. There has been considerable attention in the last year in Australia to the findings of a federal government Treasury Budget paper entitled *Intergenerational Report 2002–03* (Costello, 2002). This report showed a narrowing of the gap between the older population (55 years and over) and those aged under 55 years over the next forty years as is depicted in graph 2.15. The impact on federal government spending as analysed by the Intergenerational Report is depicted in table 2.16.

2.15 AUSTRALIAN PROJECTED POPULATION SIZE FOR SELECTED AGE RANGES



Source: Costello, 2002, p. 5.

2.16 PROJECTIONS OF COMMONWEALTH DEMOGRAPHIC SPENDING (PER CENT OF GDP)

	2001–02	2006–07	2011–12	2021–22	2031–32	2041–42
Health and Aged Care	4.7	4.8	5.1	6.2	7.9	9.9
Age and Service Pension	2.9	2.8	2.9	3.6	4.3	4.6
Disability Support Pension	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9
Parenting Payment (Single)	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
Unemployment Allowances	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.4
Family Tax Benefit (Parts A and B)	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.9
<i>Total Payments to Individuals</i>	6.8	6.3	6.2	6.8	7.2	7.4
Education	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6
Unfunded Government Superannuation	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3
Total	13.9	13.3	13.6	15.1	17.1	19.2

Source: Costello, 2002, p. 59.

This shows that health, aged care and aged pension spending will double from 7.6% of GDP to 14.5%. These changes are anticipated to result in spending beginning to exceed revenue in 15 years time and by 2042 the gap between spending and revenue is projected to grow to be around 5% of GDP. They thus conclude that a continuation of current trends will require a significant increase in the taxation burden on the working generation to meet the costs on government created by the increase in numbers of aged Australians. The inevitable conclusions from this are that either:

- the taxation burden on the working population will have to increase
- that the level of provision of government funded services for older Australians is reduced in some way.

The Intergenerational Report, while it points to some significant directions in ageing, is flawed in that it assumes a continuation of the present situation with respect to:

- the growth of the working age population
- present patterns of workforce participation.

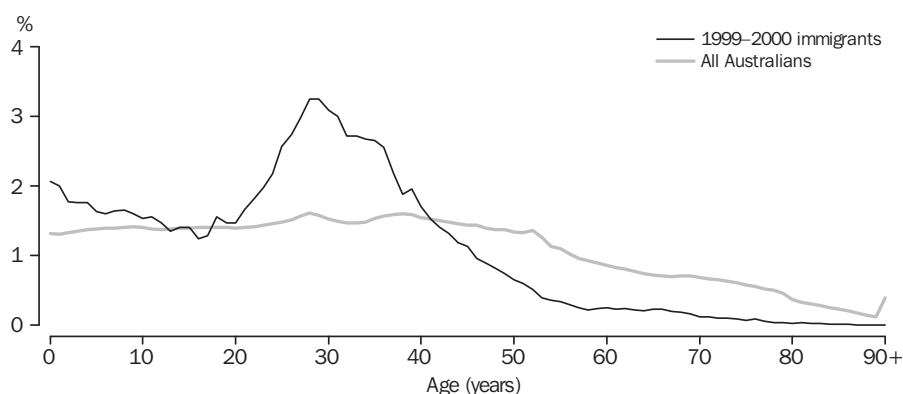
In fact, those elements can be influenced by policy so that the intergenerational relationship can be changed. Immigration can influence the first of these factors. However as McDonald and Kippen (1999) demonstrate, its effects are not as great as fluctuations in fertility. Nevertheless it is necessary to examine the age structure of immigration.

All migration is selective by age, and permanent migration to Australia is no exception. Graph 2.17 indicates that the flow of immigrants is considerably younger than the total Australian population with an over-representation

among young adults aged in their 20s and 30s and in children aged under 10 years. This is a universal feature of migration but is exacerbated by the Australian Points Assessment, which favors young adults.

This causes a slight reduction in the median age of the population. However as immigrants age over time they contribute to the ageing of the population as a whole. This is evident in comparing the age structure of the Australian and overseas-born population in graph 2.18, the overseas-born are clearly older. Of course this is partly a function of the fact that children born to the overseas-born population after arrival in Australia are included in the Australian-born population. Children born to the foreign-born population are making up an important and increasing proportion of all births in Australia as graph 2.19 indicates. What this means is that the overseas-born are a considerably ‘older’ population than the Australian-born. It is apparent from table 2.20 that the overseas-born older population has been growing faster than their Australian-born counterparts over the last three decades.

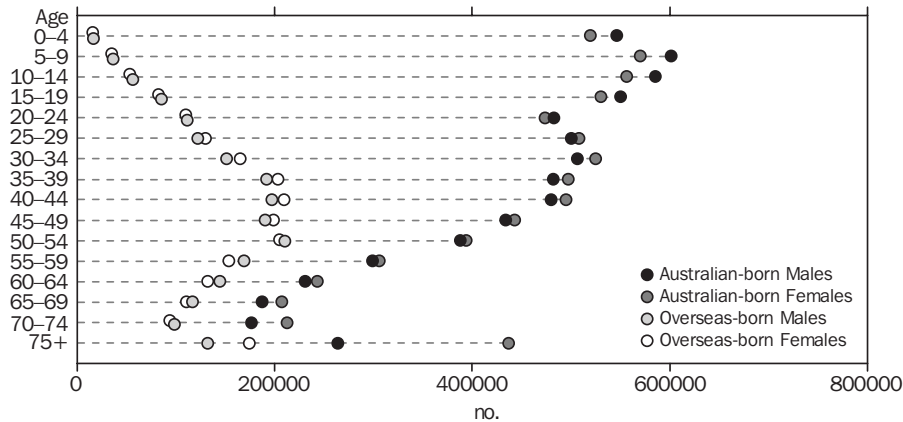
2.17 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL AUSTRALIANS AND OF 1999–2000 IMMIGRANTS



Note: Preliminary estimate of population, December 1999.

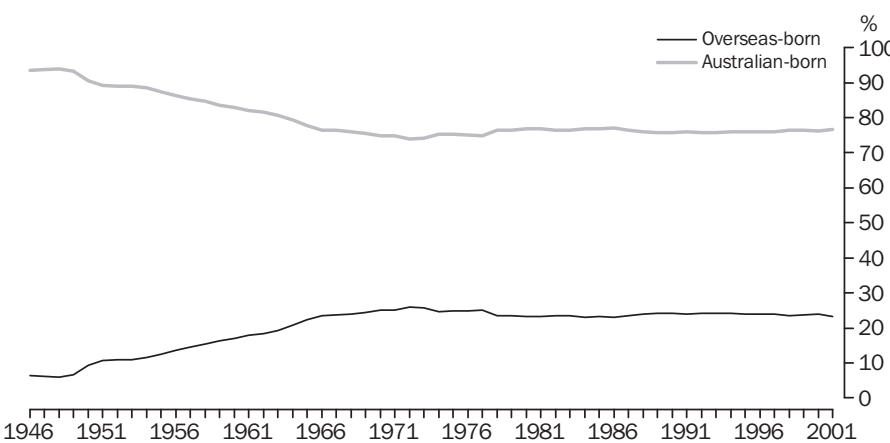
Source: ABS 2000 Overseas Arrivals and Departures; ABS 2000 Estimated Resident Population.

2.18 DISTRIBUTION OF THE AUSTRALIAN-BORN AND OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

2.19 CONFINEMENTS TO OVERSEAS-BORN AND AUSTRALIAN-BORN MOTHERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CONFINEMENTS OF MOTHERS, 1946–2001



Source: CBCS Demography Bulletins and ABS Births Australia, various issues.

2.20 POPULATION AGED 65 YEARS AND OVER BY BIRTHPLACE, 1971–2001

Census year	Australian-born			Overseas-born			NES Origin-born			MES Origin-born		
	no.	%	% Growth p.a.	no.	%	% Growth p.a.	no.	%	% Growth p.a.	no.	%	% Growth p.a.
1971	816 247	8.0	—	248 568	9.6	—	71 782	5.3	—	176 786	14.4	—
1976	913 080	8.4	2.4	295 900	10.9	3.8	100 635	6.9	*8.3	195 264	15.4	*2.1
1981	1 053 591	9.2	3.1	350 868	11.7	3.7	141 550	8.8	8.1	209 318	15.1	1.4
1986	1 188 744	9.8	2.6	413 334	12.7	3.6	186 683	10.3	6.4	226 651	15.7	1.7
1991	1 323 523	10.4	2.3	528 392	14.1	5.6	270 592	12.4	9.0	257 800	16.4	2.7
1996	1 418 879	10.7	1.4	620 898	15.9	3.5	352 932	14.9	6.1	267 966	17.3	0.8
2001	1 485 433	10.9	0.9	726 587	17.7	3.4	433 617	17.3	4.6	292 970	18.3	1.9

* % Growth 1971–81.

Source: 1971–2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Moreover, the differential between the growth rate of the Australian-born and overseas-born aged was at its height in the 1996–2001 intercensal period. As a result, the share that the overseas-born make up of the total aged population has increased from 23.3% in 1971 to 33% in 2001. While the overseas-born are 23.1% of the total population, they are one-third of the aged population. Moreover, the group that has been referred to as the ‘ethnic aged’ — those born in mainly non-English speaking countries (NES) have grown substantially faster than those from mainly English speaking countries (MES). Indeed, between 1971 and 2001, their numbers increased about six times while the Australian-born aged increased by only 82%. Moreover, one important observation from table 2.20 is that whereas there was a net increase in the Australian-born population 65 years and over, of 66,554 persons, over the last five years that for the overseas-born was 105,689. Indeed, the growth of the NES origin-born aged (80,685) alone was greater than that of the Australian-born. Indeed, whereas the net increases of older Australian-born persons was less than 1991–96 (95,356), that of the overseas-born was greater than in that period (92,506).

Between 1996 and 2001 the Australian-born elderly grew by only 0.9% per annum, less than half as fast as over the previous 25 years. This reflects the fact that the Australian-born turning 65 years and over in the 1990s were born in the low fertility years of the 1930s so that they represent a cavity in the Australian age pyramid. On the other hand, people who were born in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s were important in the early postwar migration so that the growth of the overseas-born elderly has been two times faster than the Australian-born.

International migration has had a profound affect upon the ageing of Australia's population. One of the most consistent elements in Australia's immigration program over the postwar period has been that settlers in Australia have been selectively drawn from among young adults. Immigration to Australia has taken place in a series of phases, each being characterised by a particular combination of birthplace groups. Hence one can recognise successive waves of migration of birthplace groups to Australia — Eastern Europeans in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Italians and Greeks in the 1950s and early 1960s, Yugoslavs in the 1960s, Middle Eastern groups in the early 1970s, Vietnamese in the late 1970s and early 1980s and more recent waves of New Zealanders, Chinese etc. The specific phasing of immigration into Australia and the selection procedures of the immigration program which place heavy emphasis on young, economically and demographically active people, has meant that the bulk of Australia's Europe-born people arrived here as young adults in their 20s, 30s or 40s in the 1950s and 1960s. Hence there are now relatively few young Europe-born people and, as table 2.21 shows, most major European birthplace groups have a median age significantly higher than the Australian-born population. Only groups which have recorded significant immigration gains in the last few years like the Vietnamese, Malaysians, Filipinos, New Zealanders and Lebanese have median ages approaching those of the Australian-born.

2.21 MEDIAN AGE AND PERCENTAGE AGED 65 YEARS AND OVER BY MAJOR BIRTHPLACE GROUPS, 1981, 1991, 1996 AND 2001

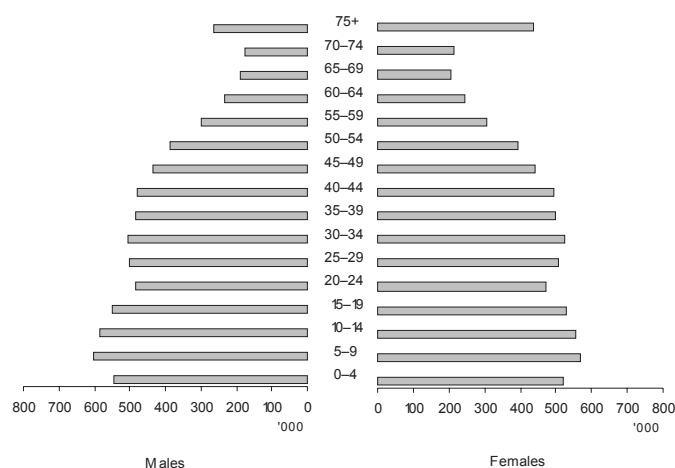
<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Median age (years)</i>				<i>Percentage aged 65 years and over</i>			
	1981	1991	1996	2001	1981	1991	1996	2001
Australia	26	28	30	36	9.2	10.4	10.7	10.9
New Zealand	28	32	35	34	7.2	6.4	6.0	6.3
Lebanon	29	34	38	35	3.0	5.2	7.2	9.3
Malta	37	46	50	42	6.3	11.9	17.1	24.6
Former Yugoslavia	38	45	47	39	5.5	9.9	12.8	17.8
Former USSR	58	65	63	59	28.8	53.4	47.7	45.7
Germany	40	46	51	44	7.8	15.2	22.7	27.1
UK and Ireland	41	45	48	42	16.9	19.7	21.4	23.8
Greece	41	50	54	47	6.7	11.5	18.9	31.4
Netherlands	42	49	53	47	9.9	20.0	26.4	31.9
Italy	45	54	58	55	11.2	21.3	31.2	42.0
Poland	57	55	53	52	21.5	37.2	38.8	38.4
Viet Nam	22	29	33	34	0.5	3.3	4.9	6.5
Malaysia	24	30	34	34	2.0	2.6	3.7	5.4
Philippines	30	32	35	34	0.7	4.1	4.4	4.6

Source: 1981, 1991, 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing; ABS 1989.

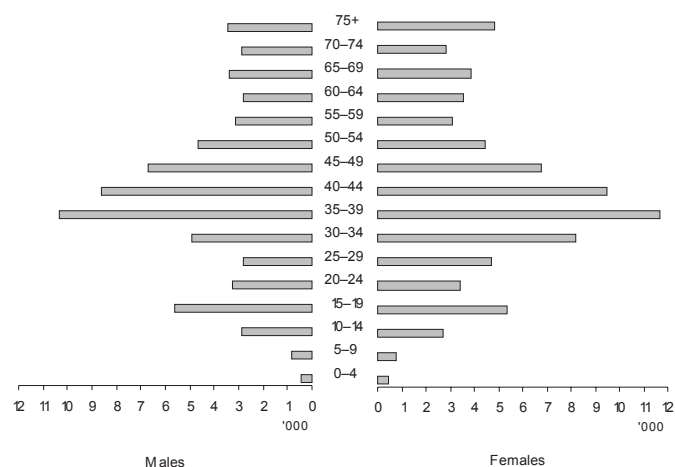
These differences in age structure are graphically illustrated in the age pyramids for individual birthplace groups depicted in graph 2.22. Groups such as the Italian, Greek, Netherlands and German-born are strongly concentrated in the older ages. The significance of full fee paying students is apparent in birthplaces like Singapore, Hong Kong, Korea and Indonesia. Several Asian and Pacific groups are dominated by young adults. It can be anticipated that there will be continued substantial growth of the overseas-born aged. Indeed, it is projected that the number of overseas-born Australians will reach 1 million by 2011 and approach 1.5 million by 2026. However, the increase in the Australian-born aged share of the total aged population will remain at about one-third due to the baby boomers turning 65 years (ABS, 2000b, 17; Gibson et al., 2001).

2.22 AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE OVERSEAS-BORN, 2001

Australia

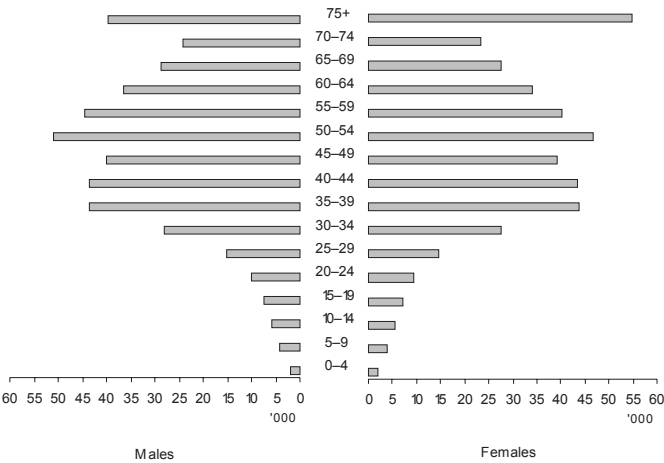


China

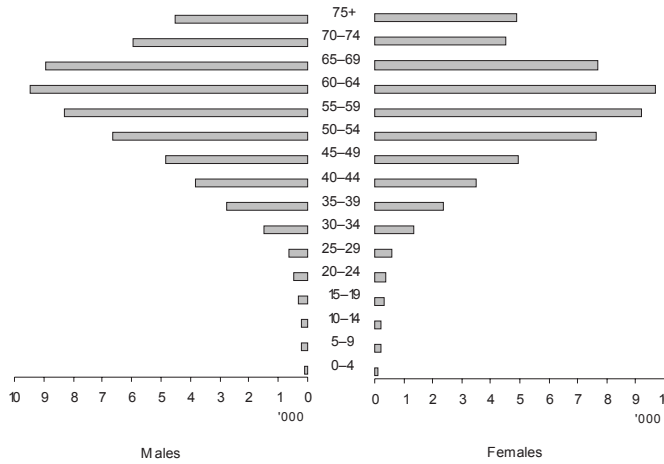


2.22 AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE OVERSEAS-BORN, 2001 *continued*

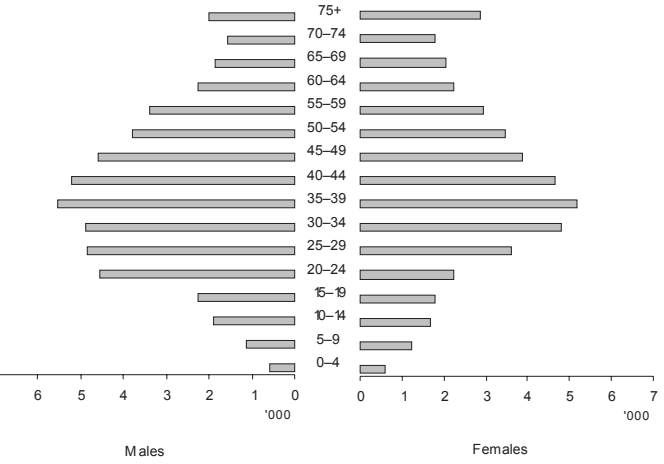
England



Greece

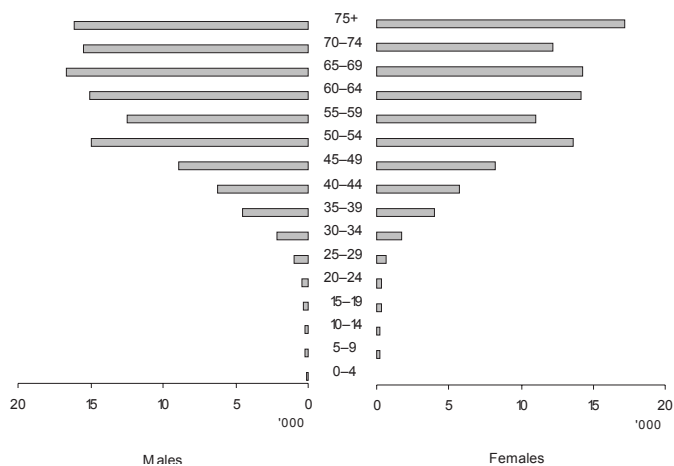


India

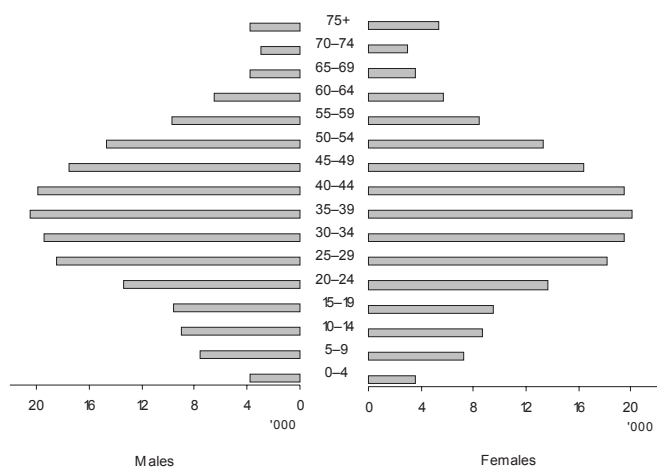


2.22 AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE OVERSEAS-BORN, 2001 *continued*

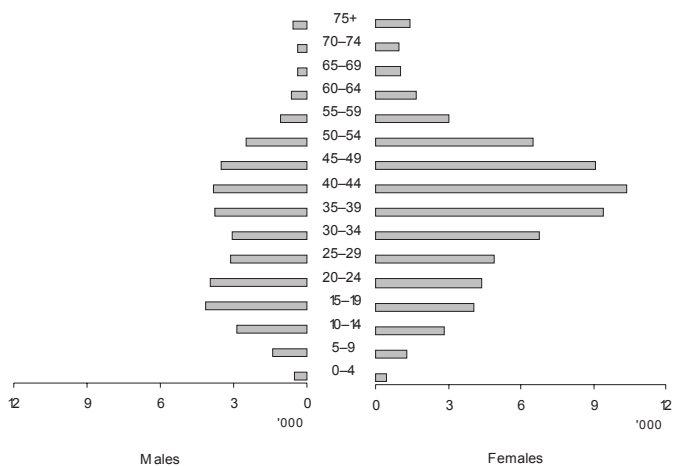
Italy



New Zealand



Phillipines



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Particular attention needs to be paid to the NES origin component of the elderly in the nation. As indicated earlier, they have been growing faster than the MES groups so that in 1971, whereas only 5.3% of the NES origin population in Australia was aged 65 years and over, this applied to 17.3% in 2001. It is interesting, however, in table 2.23 to examine the largest overseas-born birthplace groups and the size and recent growth of their older populations. The patterns can be summarised as follows:

- The Australian-born aged population (i.e. those aged 65 years or more) increased by 4.7% between 1996 and 2001 from 1.419 to 1.485 million persons. This represents a slowdown in growth from 7.2% between 1991 and 1996. This decrease is a function of the passage of the cohorts born in the low fertility years of the Second World War and Depression into the older age groups. However, it will be noted that the number of Australian-born aged 55–64 years in 2001 were almost as large as all aged 65 years and over. This represents the ageing of those born in the initial year of the baby boom (those born in 1945 and 1946).
- It is clear from table 2.23 that there is wide variation between foreign birthplace groups in the growth of their aged populations over the 1996 period. However, it will be noted that in almost all birthplaces listed in table 2.23 the growth of their elderly population was greater than was that for the Australian-born over the period.
- It is apparent from table 2.23 that elderly people born in the United Kingdom dominate the overseas-born elderly population with 247,245 persons aged 65 years or over in 2001, making up 34.0% of the total elderly overseas-born. It is interesting that the United Kingdom-born make up 10.4% of the total aged population but only 5.5% of the total population overall. Their percentage increase over the 1996–2001 period was higher than that for the Australian-born elderly population — 7.5% compared with 4.7%.
- Among the other MES-born elderly groups, the New Zealand-born are next largest (22,348) and their numbers increased very rapidly between 1996 and 2001 (27.4%). This may reflect the ageing of the first postwar spike in New Zealand migration to Australia in the 1970s (Hugo, 2003a). The elderly born in Ireland, Canada, United States of America and South Africa are smaller groups. All have increased faster than the Australian-born but

especially the South Africa-born elderly who increased by 32% reflecting the increase in South African migration to Australia in the 1970s and 1980s and the ageing in place of those groups.

- Most of the elderly in the major NES-born birthplace groups are growing as fast or faster than the MES-born group. By far the largest group is the Italy-born who in 2001 numbered 91,886, a very substantial increase over the 74,417 in 1996. They now make up 3.9% of Australians aged 65 years and over. The Italian elderly population increased by 36.8% between 1991 and 1996 and 23.5% between 1996 and 2001. Moreover, the numbers aged 55–64 years in 2001 are large, indicating that the Italian aged will continue to grow rapidly.
- Among the largest NES-born elderly groups are those who came to Australia as young adults in the late 1940s and early 1950s as ‘Displaced Persons’. These included those born in Poland (22,300) and the former USSR and Baltic States (20,903). As the greatest growth phase among this group of NES-born elderly has passed, both declined during the 1996–2001 period.
- Also among the largest groups are the elderly populations of German and Dutch origin comprising 29,344 and 26,608 respectively. They are experiencing substantial and rapid growth increasing by 17% and 14.8% respectively. However, the bulk of those people came to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s so their growth rates are declining (44.2% and 20.8% in 1991–96).
- Other Southern European origin groups are expanding faster. The Greek elderly now number 36,572 and grew by 52.9% between 1996 and 2001, twice the rate in the previous intercensal period. The Maltese elderly grew by 33.1% between 1996 and 2001 to number 11,573 in 2001. Trends in the groups which made up the Former Yugoslavia (including also Croatia and Macedonia) are difficult to detect because of the division into several nations but they are important groups in the NES-born aged.
- Turning to some of the larger non-European NES-born elderly populations, most are relatively small because of the frequency of large scale migration from these sources. The Lebanese elderly numbered only 6,626 in 2001 but they increased their numbers by 31.4% between 1996 and 2001.

2.23 BIRTHPLACES OF OLDER AGE GROUPS, 2001

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>55–64 years</i>		<i>65 years and over</i>		<i>Total Population</i>		<i>Per cent increase in aged population 1996–2001</i>
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Australia	1 078 621	61.3	1 485 462	62.7	13 629 685	72.6	4.7
Canada	2 222	0.1	2 318	0.1	27 289	0.1	5.2
Ireland	8 283	0.5	10 889	0.5	50 235	0.3	9.4
New Zealand	30 355	1.7	22 348	0.9	355 765	1.9	27.4
South Africa	7 108	0.4	6 321	0.3	79 425	0.4	32.0
United Kingdom	193 052	11.0	247 245	10.4	1 036 245	5.5	7.5
United States of America	4 928	0.3	3 820	0.2	53 694	0.3	2.6
China*	12 546	0.7	21 295	0.9	142 780	0.8	30.9
Croatia	13 626	0.8	10 982	0.5	51 909	0.3	81.0
Egypt	6 706	0.4	8 535	0.4	33 432	0.2	15.2
Fiji	3 424	0.2	2 372	0.1	44 261	0.2	54.0
France	2 168	0.1	2 473	0.1	17 268	0.1	23.2
Germany	25 608	1.4	29 344	1.2	108 220	0.6	17.0
Greece	36 654	2.1	36 572	1.5	116 431	0.6	52.9
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	3 322	0.2	2 775	0.1	67 122	0.3	46.4
India	10 844	0.6	12 139	0.5	95 452	0.5	23.5
Indonesia	2 883	0.2	3 501	0.1	47 158	0.2	1.4
Italy	52 646	3.0	91 886	3.9	218 718	1.2	23.5
Korea, Republic of (South)	2 418	0.1	1 591	0.1	38 900	0.2	36.3
Lebanon	8 607	0.5	6 626	0.3	71 349	0.4	31.4
Macedonia, FYROM	7 364	0.4	5 852	0.2	43 527	0.2	44.0
Malaysia	7 516	0.4	4 281	0.2	78 858	0.4	51.6
Malta	12 994	0.7	11 573	0.5	46 998	0.3	33.1
Netherlands	20 706	1.2	26 608	1.1	83 324	0.4	14.8
Philippines	6 414	0.4	4 823	0.2	103 942	0.6	17.2
Poland	6 394	0.4	22 300	0.9	58 110	0.3	–11.8
Singapore	2 296	0.1	1 633	0.1	33 485	0.2	33.4
Sri Lanka	5 424	0.3	5 907	0.2	53 461	0.3	26.1
Turkey	3 591	0.2	2 150	0.1	29 821	0.2	27.0
Viet Nam	9 581	0.5	10 101	0.4	154 831	0.8	36.7
Yugoslavia, Fed. Rep. of	10 569	0.6	11 053	0.5	55 365	0.3	10.9
Born elsewhere overseas	78 760	4.5	97 245	4.1	708 069	3.8	19.0
Not stated	82 112	4.7	158 858	6.7	1 034 120	5.5	43.0
Total	1 759 742	100.0	2 370 878	100.0	18 769 249	100.0	
Overseas born	599 009		726 558		4 105 444		
Total MES	245 948		292 941		1 602 653		
Total NES	353 061		433 617		2 502 791		

* excludes SARs and Taiwan Province

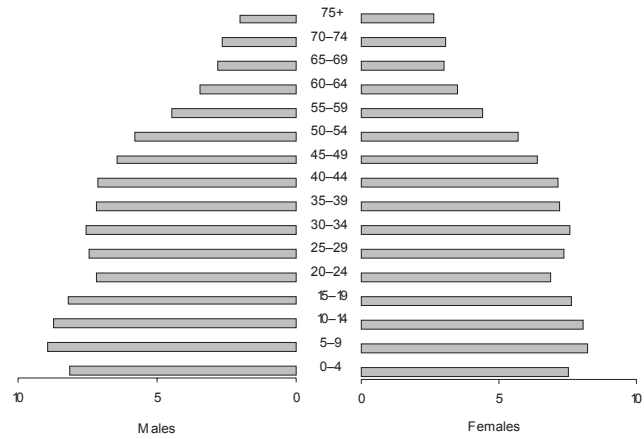
Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

With the expansion of Asian migration to Australia over the last two decades, the elderly Asian population has grown rapidly but most Asian birthplace group populations still remain quite young. The largest single Asian elderly group was the China-born numbering 21,295 in 2001 having grown by 30.9% since 1996. Next largest are the India-born with 12,139 who grew by 23.5% between the last two censuses. These are in the ten largest overseas-born older groups in Australia. The largest Asia-born group in Australia — the Vietnamese — are still quite a young population with only 10,101 aged 65 years or over in 2001. However, they are a rapidly increasing group. The Malaysians increased by 51.6% to number 4,281 in 2001 and the Filipinos increased by 17.2% to number 4,823.

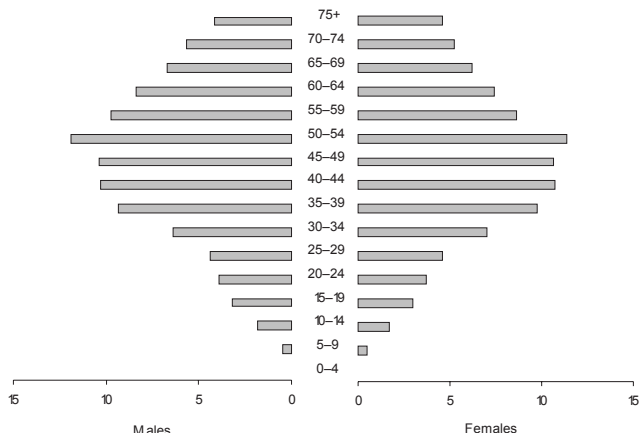
The 2001 census data on the 1996–2001 settlers age-sex structure is compared to that of those who arrived in Australia prior to 1996 in graph 2.24. There is a clear contrast with the young adult dominance and a greater significance of dependent age children among recent migrants apparent. This reflects the increased focus on economic, educated skilled labour force related migration in Australian immigrant selection policy.

2.24 AGE BY SEX OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN AND OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION

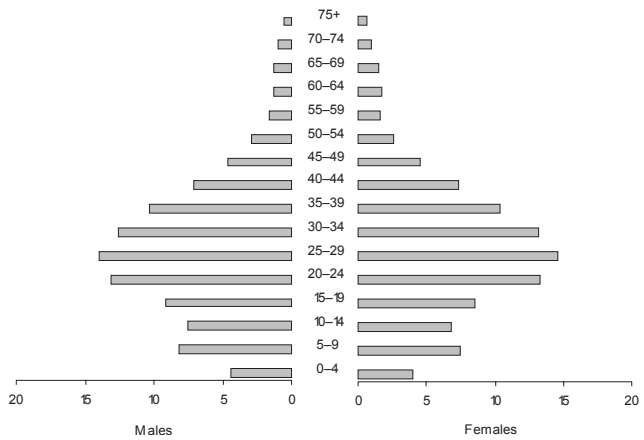
Australian-born Population, Age by Sex, 2001



Overseas-born Population (arrived prior to 1996), Age by Sex, 2001



Overseas-born Population (arrived after 1996), Age by Sex, 2001



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

GENDER BALANCE

One of the most striking trends in global migration between nations over recent decades has been the increasing involvement of women in that movement. This has also been reflected in movement to Australia. In the early postwar years males outnumbered females among settlers to Australia but in the second half of the postwar period females have outnumbered males. Indeed one of the major shifts in Australia's demography occurred in the early 1980s when for the first time since European settlement, males were outnumbered by females in Australia. Although females have had significantly greater life expectancy than males in Australia since mortality data were first collated in Australia (Hugo, 2001a), males outnumbered females up to the early 1980s because males outnumbered females among immigrants.

Among recent migrants to Australia in 1996 there were more females than males than is the case among the immigrants of longer standing, reflecting the fact that it is in recent years that females have begun to outnumber males among settlers coming to Australia. Table 2.25 shows that the sex ratio for recent settlers (96.17) was significantly lower than for immigrants of longer standing (98.05). It will be noted from the table that there are variations between the major regions of origin in the male/female balance. The greatest predominance of females is in South-East and North-East Asia and, to a much lesser extent, Southern and Eastern Europe and the Americas. In the South-East and North-East Asian groups there are significant numbers of family migrants, especially marriage migration. Spouse migrants made up 19.7% of all settlers to Australia in the 1996–2001 period with a substantial proportion from Asia particularly from the Philippines and to a lesser extent Thailand. There has been a degree of controversy surrounding the increasing volume of global marriage migration and Australia has been one of the major focuses of that movement. It has overwhelmingly (but not exclusively) involved women and is a function not only of well known introduction schemes but also because more Australians than ever are travelling overseas and meeting their future partners in the course of such travel. It is interesting that migration from South Asia is male dominant and reflects significant cultural differences but also a different profile of migration whereby the South Asian movement is dominated by skilled, economic based migration. A feature of the New Zealand migration to Australia also has been that males have outnumbered females (Hugo, 2003a), although it is interesting that in the migrants of longer standing, females outnumber males. This suggests that the high levels of return migration to New Zealand are

strongly male dominant. It is apparent that males are dominant in the settlers coming to Australia under economic-skill entry categories while females are predominant in family migration and this is reflected in the sex ratios of region of origin groups.

2.25 YEAR OF ARRIVAL BY BIRTHPLACE REGION BY SEX, 2001

<i>Birthplace region</i>	<i>Arrived before 1996</i>		<i>Arrived 1996 onwards</i>	
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Sex ratio</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Sex ratio</i>
Oceania and Antarctica	310 477	97.55	118 514	101.66
North West Europe	1 203 089	100.45	95 437	108.35
Southern and Eastern Europe	689 744	104.61	47 881	91.33
North Africa and the Middle East	165 288	109.03	37 193	119.96
South-East Asia	376 741	80.38	97 914	73.69
North-East Asia	185 096	89.52	97 526	77.44
Southern and Central Asia	124 081	103.94	55 163	138.77
Americas	123 208	94.54	30 839	98.45
Sub-Saharan Africa	93 796	97.55	42 533	101.8
Inadequately described, at sea, nec	12 004	93.52	3 266	94.06
Total	3 283 524	98.05	626 266	96.17

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

There are some variations within the broad birthplace categories shown in table 2.26. This is evident when we examine the sex ratios of the largest most recent birthplace groups shown in table 2.26. It is striking that several of the South-East and North-East Asian groups have very low sex ratios reflecting the substantial involvement of female marriage migrants in those groups (Philippines 54.9, Thailand 60.9, Indonesia 85.3, Malaysia 85.1, Japan 61.6, China 71.8, Viet Nam 62.6, Singapore 90.7, Taiwan 82.4). This is despite the fact that several of these groups have large numbers of student migrants in which there is more or less a balance of males and females.

2.26 SEX RATIOS OF 24 LARGEST BIRTHPLACE GROUPS BY REGENCY OF ARRIVAL, 2001

<i>Country</i>	<i>Sex ratio</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Sex ratio</i>
New Zealand	104.80	Sri Lanka	108.40
United Kingdom	112.37	Singapore	90.67
China (excl. SAR and Taiwan)	71.84	Japan	61.60
South Africa	100.28	Iraq	120.83
India	144.60	Bosnia/ Herzegovina	97.18
Indonesia	85.30	Fiji	88.99
Philippines	54.87	Taiwan	82.39
Korea (South)	85.49	Yugoslavia	99.28
Malaysia	85.11	Thailand	60.94
United States of America	107.66	Germany	89.83
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	98.54	Lebanon	123.83
Viet Nam	62.60	Canada	93.69

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It is striking too that in the South Asian groups represented (India 144.6, Sri Lanka 108.4), males substantially outnumber females reflecting the different types of flows. Similarly the bulk of movement from OECD nations is male dominated, as is the case with the Middle Eastern inflows.

It is interesting to note that the sex ratio of recent migrants at the 1996 census was 93.47, with 293,138 males and 313,615 females who had arrived in Australia since the 1991 census. Hence there was a significant increase in the sex ratio of recent migrants by the 2001 census. This is clearly a function of the greater focus in the immigration program since 1996 in the economic/skill elements in immigration. There is a consistent pattern of males being predominant in the economic/skill migration categories while females outnumber males in the family categories.

Another factor in the reduction of female dominance among recent migrants is the increasing numbers of temporary residents among the 2001 recent arrival population compared to that of 1996 due to the expansion of temporary work migration in recent years. The sex ratio for temporary business entrants in 1999–2000 was 117.9. This was even more male dominated than the skilled visa categories⁴ where the sex ratio was 109.6.

⁴ Including Independent, Employer Nomination Scheme, Business Skills and Australian Skilled.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the patterns and characteristics of recent settlers moving to Australia. It is argued that the substantial change in the nature of international migration that occurred in the mid-1990s, which is influencing Australia, has had a significant impact on the nature of settlement in Australia. Of all the nations experiencing a high level of immigration, Australia's intake is the most diverse and this diversity has increased in recent years in terms of the countries of origin of settlers, with the increasing significance of Africa among countries of origin. The changed position of the United Kingdom in relation to Australian immigration is striking, in that it has been replaced by New Zealand as the main single origin, and indeed in recent years the inflow has only slightly outnumbered the outflow from Australia to the United Kingdom. The inflow of new settlers is highly selective of young adults, and to a lesser extent, dependent age children, and while overall women outnumber men among newcomers, there are wide variations between policy categories and birthplace groups.

CHAPTER 3

THE INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION ON AUSTRALIAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION.....

INTRODUCTION

The spatial distribution of Australia's population is an issue of considerable national importance. Examinations of the nation's changing population distribution however, almost always focus on the role of internal migration, population movement within Australia, as the demographic process, which shapes those patterns. In fact however it is also influenced by spatial differentials in fertility and mortality but especially by where immigrants settle. Almost one in four Australians were born overseas and the extent to which immigrants settle in a different spatial pattern to that exhibited by the resident national population, is an important factor in changing population distributions. There is considerable literature from earlier censuses, which indicates that immigrant groups in Australia are almost all distributed differently to the Australian-born population.¹ Accordingly in this chapter we will examine where recent immigrants to Australia are settling and the extent to which it is influencing changing patterns of population distribution within Australia.

It is to be expected that each cohort of immigrants will settle differently to both the resident Australian-born population and earlier generations of immigrants, since the composition of the inflows and the context into which they arrive change. The distribution of job opportunities within Australia is changing over time, as are the skills and work experience of immigrants. In each of the countries with significant immigration there is a strong pattern of spatial concentration of immigrants, especially recent immigrants. This is especially true of the United States of America where a majority of the immigrant population live in few states (Texas, Florida, New York and California).

Over the postwar period, Australia has sought to influence where immigrants settle in Australia and it is one of the characteristics of the 1996–2001 intercensal period that there were a raft of new initiatives by the Australian government to influence where newly arrived immigrants settle. It is important

¹ Important here are the Atlas of Australian People series based around the 1986 and 1991 censuses published by the Australian Government Publishing Service and based on the 1996 census published by DIMIA.

to point out however that channelling international immigrants into particular areas is difficult because many immigrants tend to settle close to earlier generations of immigrants. Migrant networks which offer support in terms of assistance in getting a job, obtaining housing and generally adapting to Australian society are crucial in shaping the pattern of settlement of newly arrived immigrants.

INFLUENCING WHERE IMMIGRANTS SETTLE

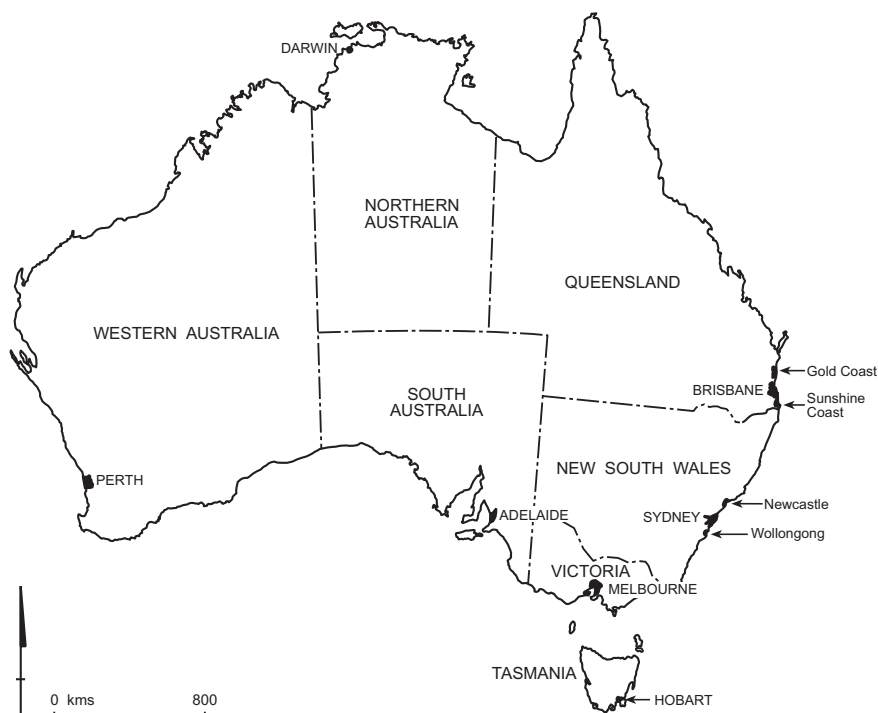
There have been several attempts to influence where immigrants settle in Australia. In the early postwar years, Displaced Persons (DPs) and some other groups from Europe who were accepted for settlement in Australia were sent to areas suffering from labour shortages where they were obliged to stay and work for two years (Kunz, 1988). Thereafter they could move where they wished (Hugo 1999b, 30). Also in the 1950s and 1960s states such as South Australia were active in offering packages (assisted passage from the federal government, housing and jobs promoted by the state government) to attract immigrants to settle in particular areas (Hugo 1999b, 30). However it should be noted in both these cases the areas seeking to attract migrants had significant labour shortages. In recent years the suggestion has been that migrants be attracted to areas which are lagging and experiencing significant unemployment.

The last few years have seen a more concerted effort by DIMIA to influence where immigrants settle than at any time since the intake of DPs in the immediate post World War II period. In May 1996 the annual meeting involving Commonwealth, State and Territory Ministers for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, established a working party on regional migration which could herald a new era in patterns of migrant settlement. The working party examined ways in which a higher proportion of migrants might settle in regional Australia. Accordingly, in order to attract immigrants to areas, which are currently receiving small intakes, a number of initiatives under the State Specific Migration Mechanisms (SSMMs) were taken.

The idea of these initiatives was to attract newly arrived migrants to settle in areas outside three designated areas shown in map 3.1 which were areas already attracting a disproportionate number of immigrants.

- The Sydney – Newcastle – Wollongong conurbation
- South Eastern Queensland
- Perth

3.1 DESIGNATED AREAS CURRENTLY ATTRACTING A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF INCOMING MIGRANTS



Later Melbourne was added to this list. In New South Wales the then newly elected Premier in 1995 called for a reduction in the numbers of new immigrants settling in Sydney to reduce economic, environmental and infrastructure pressures (The Australian, 24 May 1995, p. 10). He has continued to press this position.

As a result of these developments in 1996 and 1997 a range of special initiatives to attract migrants to regional areas was progressively introduced (Hugo, 1999b, pp. 34–35; Withers and Powell, 2003). In the main, these gave special consideration to people applying to settle in Australia through the standard mechanisms if they agreed to settle outside the designated areas. The commitment of the federal government to this system is seen in a number of new initiatives under consideration by DIMIA to enhance regional migration which potentially will increase the flow to South Australia (Rizvi 2002, pp. 24–27). Another new initiative (Advertiser, 28th February 2003, p. 2) is designed to deter migrants who gain entry under the Regional Scheme and move initially to smaller states like South Australia but as soon as they receive permanent residency move to Sydney or Melbourne. This initiative means migrants initially would receive a four year temporary visa but would have to

run a business successfully for at least two years before qualifying for permanent residence. By delaying permanent residency it is hoped that it will force people to set down roots in a regional area.

South Australia readily embraced the new regional immigration categories and in 1998–99, 1,034 of all 2,804 migrants entering Australia under this category came to the state. However, by 1999–2000 this was reduced to 702 out of 3,309. Table 3.2 shows that over the last two years while there has been an increase in the number of Regional Sponsored migrants in Australia, South Australia's share has remained around 700. Meanwhile Victoria's share has increased substantially.

While regional schemes still account for only a small proportion of immigration to Australia the numbers are increasing and there is a clear commitment from the government to the schemes. Moreover it is apparent that in Canada there is an increasing involvement in regional migration schemes (Hugo 1999b, pp. 39–43). Hence it is interesting to examine where immigrants arriving in Australia since 1996 have settled.

3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS GRANTED VISAS UNDER STATE SPECIFIC MIGRATION MECHANISMS, 1998–1999 TO 2000–2001

Category	South Australia	Victoria	Other states	Total
1998–99				
Regional Skilled Migrants Scheme	436	43	286	765
State/Territory Nominated Independent	169	—	—	169
Regional-Linked	29	9	29	67
Skilled-Australian Linked(a)	396	801	547	1 744
State/Territory Sponsored Business Skills(b)	4	23	32	59
Regional Established Business in Australia	—	—	—	—
Total	1 034	876	894	2 804
1999–2000				
Regional Skilled Migrants Scheme	373	30	261	664
State/Territory Nominated Independent	9	—	—	9
Regional-Linked	16	131	48	195
Skilled-Australian Linked(a)	297	1 485	602	2 384
State/Territory Sponsored Business Skills(b)	4	13	27	44
Regional Established Business in Australia	3	—	10	13
Total	702	1 659	948	3 309
2000–01				
Regional Skilled Migrants Scheme	437	75	509	1 021
State/Territory Nominated Independent	36	47	2	85
Regional-Linked	67	712	223	1 002
Skilled-Australian Linked(a)	184	968	423	1 575
State/Territory Sponsored Business Skills(b)	16	25	81	122
Regional Established Business in Australia	10	—	31	41
Total	750	1 827	1 269	3 846
2001–02				
Regional Skilled Migrants Scheme	384	96	612	1 092
State/Territory Nominated Independent	51	200	6	257
Regional-Linked	137	1 122	338	1 597
Skilled-Australian Linked(a)	94	689	191	974
State/Territory Sponsored Business Skills(b)	25	19	132	176
Regional Established Business in Australia	12	10	18	40
Total	703	2 126	1 307	4 136

Notes: (a) Refers to applicants under this category who obtained bonus points because their sponsor lived in a designated area.

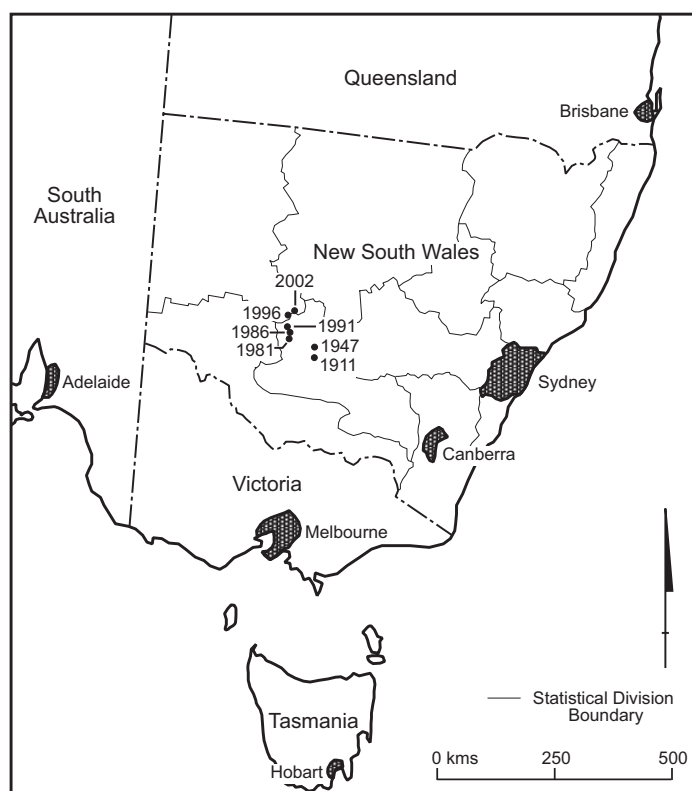
(b) Includes applicants processed under offshore subclass 129 (state/territory sponsored business owner), offshore subclass 130 (state/territory sponsored senior executive), onshore subclass 842 (state/territory sponsored business owner) and onshore subclass 843 (state/territory sponsored senior executive).

Source: DIMIA Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, various issues; Ruddock 2002a to h.

AUSTRALIA'S POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Australia has a distinctive pattern of population distribution. It is analysed in detail elsewhere (Hugo, 2002a) and only the key elements will be mentioned here. Map 3.3 shows that over the last century there has been only a slight movement west and northward in the centre of gravity² of the population. This reflects the fact that population growth rates in Western Australia and, especially, Queensland have exceeded those in the southeast of the country over the last two decades. This demonstrates a pattern of stability in the population distribution, although it is very much a 'dynamic stability' in that substantial, often counteracting, flows of population underpin it. Indeed around 42% of Australians move house in each five-year period, and around 17% move each year (Bell and Hugo 2000). However, the bulk of this movement is compensating, so that net redistribution is limited. What has been the role of international migration influencing this distribution?

3.3 SHIFTS IN THE AUSTRALIAN POPULATION CENTROID, 1911–2002



Source: Australian censuses; ABS 2003a.

² Plane and Rogerson (1994, p. 31) explain this as follows: 'the population centroid, also called the mean centre, the mean point, the centre of gravity, or sometimes simply the centre of population. Conceptually, if the mythological Atlas were to hold up the entire area for which a centre is being computed — let's say the United States of America — and assuming that people were the only objects contributing to the weight (and also assuming everyone weighs the same!), the point where he would have to stand to balance the country would be the centroid.'

MIGRATION AND INTERSTATE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Table 3.4 shows that a spatial shift has occurred in Australia's postwar population away from the southeastern states to the northern and western parts of the country. In 1947 the states of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania accounted for 78.4% of the national population, but by 2001 they had 68.7% of the total. On the other hand, Queensland increased its share from 14.6% to 18.7% and Western Australia from 6.6% to 9.8%. This has been a function of structural change in the Australian economy in the last 30 years with the southeastern states being heavily reliant on manufacturing and suffering due to the loss of jobs in this sector. However, it is apparent from table 3.4 that this long-term trend appears to have slowed in the 1996–2001 period. Indeed, whereas the share of the national population in the southeastern states fell by 1.1 percentage points between 1991 and 1996 and 1986 and 1991,³ the fall was only 0.7 percentage points in 1996–2001.

3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1881–2001

	1881	1901	1921	1947	1961	1976	1996	2001
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
New South Wales	33.3	35.9	38.6	39.4	37.3	35.3	33.9	33.8
Victoria	38.3	31.8	28.2	27.1	27.9	26.9	24.9	24.7
Queensland	9.5	13.2	13.9	14.6	14.4	15.2	18.2	18.7
South Australia	12.3	9.5	9.1	8.5	9.2	9.1	8.1	7.8
Western Australia	1.3	4.9	6.1	6.6	7.0	8.4	9.6	9.8
Tasmania	5.1	4.6	3.9	3.4	3.3	2.9	2.6	2.4
Northern Territory	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.7	1.0	1.0
Australian Capital Territory	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	1.5	1.7	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number (million)	2.2	3.8	5.4	7.6	10.5	13.9	18.3	19.4

Source: Rowland 1982, 25; ABS 2000c, 2003a.

While much of the shift in interstate distribution has been due to interstate population movements, it is also due to a propensity for immigrants to settle in particular states. Table 3.5 indicates that immigrants have settled disproportionately in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia and this has been an influential factor in shaping the distribution of the national population. It will be noted however that there has been a striking increase in the proportion of newcomers settling in Queensland. This may indicate that

³ It fell by 1.3 percentage points between 1976–81 and 1981–86.

after an extended period of getting less than a proportionate share of immigrants, Queensland is becoming a significant attraction to immigrants. Table 3.6 derived from ABS intercensal estimates shows that international migration has been a major factor in the growth of those three states, while interstate movement has been most influential in the growth of Queensland and, to a much lesser extent, Western Australia. It is interesting that the largest state of New South Wales was the main focus of immigration but suffered a net interstate migration loss. South Australia, Tasmania, Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory all experienced net interstate migration losses.

3.5 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE AND OVERSEAS-BORN ARRIVING IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, 1996 AND 2001

State/territory	Australian-born		Overseas-born		Persons arriving in last five years	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
	%	%	%	%	%	%
New South Wales	33.22	32.65	35.54	35.93	41.09	40.67
Victoria	23.96	24.04	26.61	26.31	24.24	23.56
Queensland	19.96	20.44	14.25	15.01	15.31	17.50
South Australia	8.15	8.07	7.74	7.22	4.51	4.09
Western Australia	8.91	9.11	12.18	12.06	11.62	11.26
Tasmania	2.98	2.83	1.19	1.11	0.80	0.69
Northern Territory	1.13	1.16	0.75	0.72	0.76	0.73
Australian Capital Territory	1.67	1.69	1.71	1.62	1.65	1.49
Other Territories	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The relative contributions of net international migration as well as net interstate migration and natural increase to population change in the states and territories are shown in table 3.6. It will be noted that in New South Wales, the largest state, there was a net international migration gain of almost one-quarter of a million which accounted for 60.8% of the state's population growth between 1996 and 2001. Moreover the state experienced a significant net loss due to interstate migration — a longstanding pattern (Hugo 2003e). In the past this has been the pattern in Victoria as well but a turnaround in the state's economy saw it experience a small net interstate migration gain between 1996 and 2001. Conversely Queensland's net international migration gain was not as large as the net gain by interstate migration. However table 3.6 shows that over the 1996 and 2001 intercensal period the contribution of net international migration has increased and that of net interstate migration has declined. This indicates an

important trend whereby Queensland is increasing its proportion of the national immigrant intake. Accordingly Queensland increased its share of recent migrants to Australia from 15.3% to 17.5% between 1996 and 2001. On the other hand the shares in the traditional immigration states declined slightly (table 3.5). In South Australia and Tasmania net international migration gains were not large enough to counterbalance the net outflow from interstate migration. Western Australia has remained an important destination of migrants.

3.6 NATURAL INCREASE, NET INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, NET INTERSTATE MIGRATION AND TOTAL POPULATION GROWTH, FINANCIAL YEARS, 1996–2001

State	Natural increase		Net international migration		Net interstate migration		Total population growth
	no.	% of growth	no.	% of growth	no.	% of growth	
New South Wales	244 414	60.9	243 869	60.8	–86925	–21.7	401 358
Victoria	166 298	53.6	141 572	45.6	2332	0.8	310 202
Queensland	149 510	41.0	88 129	24.2	126659	34.8	364 298
South Australia	39 745	118.9	19 621	58.7	–25950	–77.7	33 416
Western Australia	84 107	47.6	79 144	44.8	13361	7.6	176 612
Tasmania	14 184	385.1	1 550	42.1	–19417	–527.2	–3 683
Northern Territory	16 662	87.4	4 172	21.9	–1773	–9.3	19 061
Australian Capital Territory	17 510	199.7	–453	–5.2	–8287	–94.5	8 770
Australia(a)	732 649	56.0	576 221	44.0	—	—	1 308 870

(a) Includes other territories.

Source: ABS 2002a.

3.7 CONTRIBUTION OF NATURAL INCREASE, NET INTERSTATE MIGRATION AND NET INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TO POPULATION CHANGE IN QUEENSLAND, 1947–2001

Year	Natural increase		Net interstate migration		Net international migration		Total change	Intercensal adjustment(a)
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	no.
1947–54	130 473	65.7	52 477	26.4	15 552	7.8	198 502	13 342
1954–61	154 067	94.8	5 347	3.3	3 067	1.9	162 481	38 088
1961–66(b)	105 995	77.5	30 687	22.5	—	—	136 682	5 730
1966–71(c)	101 276	66.6	15 388	10.1	36 077	23.6	152 741	—
1971–76(d)	104 654	53.4	65 437	33.4	26 029	13.3	196 120	44 680
1976–81	94 252	41.5	88 054	38.7	45 006	19.8	227 312	25 588
1981–86	114 188	44.2	95 663	37.0	48 602	18.8	258 453	20 947
1986–91	113 226	32.0	162 311	45.9	78 274	22.1	353 811	–12 316
1991–96	129 423	34.3	201 035	53.2	40 891	10.8	377 739	6 440
1996–2001	149 510	41.0	126 659	34.8	88 129	24.2	364 298	—

(a) The intercensal adjustment is unrecorded movement of population disclosed by the census. Gary Ward describes two possible sources of error which contribute to intercensal discrepancy. First, errors in the census-based estimates of the population at the current or previous census date. Second, errors in the estimates of any of the components of population change since the previous census.

(b) Figures of interstate and international migration are combined.

(c) Figures adjusted as available for full calendar year.

(d) From 1971 onward, data are based on estimated resident population.

Source: Hugo 1990; Jackson 1996; Bell and Hugo 2000, 78; ABS 2002a.

One of the characteristics of international migration to Australia has been variations in the spatial patterns of settlement of different birthplace groups. This is illustrated in table 3.8 which indicates that in both 1996 and 2001 the Language other than English (LOTE) origin immigrants are disproportionately represented in New South Wales and Victoria which in 1996 had 71.6% and in 2001 had 71.7% of the group compared to 57.2% and 56.7% of the nation's Australian-born in those years. On the other hand Mainly English Speaking (MES) origin settlers are under-represented with 47.7% and 47.4% respectively. It is also perhaps indicative that New South Wales has increased its share of the nation's LOTE population between 1996 and 2001. This presents a stark contrast to Queensland where the MES share increased from 20.3% to 21.8%. However the share of LOTE is only half as large — increasing from 10.2% to 10.7%. In Western Australia the contrast is also marked. The LOTE share (8.6% in both years) is similar to that of the Australian-born (8.9% increasing to 9.1%) but the share of the MES group is more than double (17.7% decreasing to 17.5%). In South Australia too the MES is over-represented while LOTE is under-represented.

3.8 DISTRIBUTION OF LOTE AND MES OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION BETWEEN STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1996–2001

	LOTE		MES	
	1996	2001	1996	2001
<i>State/territory</i>	%	%	%	%
New South Wales	40.1	40.7	28.5	28.4
Victoria	31.5	31.0	19.2	19.0
Queensland	10.2	10.7	20.3	21.8
South Australia	6.4	6.0	9.8	9.1
Western Australia	8.6	8.6	17.7	17.5
Tasmania	0.8	0.7	1.9	1.7
Northern Territory	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.9
Australian Capital Territory	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number (million)	2.4	2.5	1.5	1.6

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

METROPOLITAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

An issue of growing political importance in Australia relates to the condition of people living outside the nation's major metropolitan areas. There are a number of population dimensions of relevance to this issue. One aspect relates to the definition of urban and rural areas in the Australian context. The definitions of urban areas (and rural areas as residuals) have changed little since the mid-1960s, but the nature of Australian settlement patterns has changed enormously. There has been a substantial blurring of the distinction between urban and rural areas (Hugo et al. 1997). The definitions employed here however can be clearly stated. The term 'non-metropolitan' is used to refer to all parts of the country outside of centres with more than 100,000 inhabitants ('metropolitan' areas). Overlaying this distinction, two types of differentiation are made. First, in accordance with the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC), 'Sections of State' are recognised as follows:

- Major Urban — urban areas with populations of 100,000 and over.
- Other Urban — urban areas with populations of 1,000 to 99,999.
- Bounded Rural Locality — rural areas with populations of 200 to 999.
- Rural Balance — the remainder of the state or territory.
- Migratory — offshore areas, ships and migratory collection districts.

Over the period that the present definition of urban centres has been applied, the number of non-metropolitan urban places (i.e. 'Other Urban' places) has proliferated from 459 in 1966 to 706 in 2001 (table 3.9). However, it is interesting that there was a decline in the number of urban places with less than 2,000 people between 1996 and 2001. It is clear that there has been a significant loss of small towns at the lowest level of the urban hierarchy. Nevertheless, country towns (1,000–99,999) have increased their share of the national population from 21.4% in 1966 to 23.6% in 1996, but it fell to 21.3% in 2001. If one includes the large provincial centres with between 100,000 and 499,999 inhabitants, the increase in Other Urban areas is from 26.8% to 32.1%. It may come as a surprise to some that almost one-third of Australians live in country towns and regional centres, although some of the former do not lie far beyond city boundaries.

3.9 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY SETTLEMENT SIZE, 1966, 1986, 1996 AND 2001

Settlement size	Urban Centres				Population			
	1966	1986	1996	2001	1966	1986	1996	2001
	no.	no.	no.	no.	%	%	%	%
500,000 and over	5	5	5	5	56.0	54.5	53.1	54.0
100,000 – 499,999	4	7	8	9	5.4	8.2	9.2	10.8
75,000 – 99,999	1	1	2	2	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.9
50,000 – 74,999	5	7	6	9	2.4	2.8	2.1	3.0
25,000 – 49,999	5	11	25	21	1.5	2.3	4.6	3.6
20,000 – 24,999	11	22	17	11	2.1	3.1	2.1	1.3
15,000 – 19,000	17	17	14	16	2.5	1.9	1.3	1.4
10,000 – 14,999	19	29	37	35	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.2
5,000 – 9,999	61	83	86	83	3.8	3.8	3.5	3.1
2,500 – 4,999	103	127	165	167	3.1	2.7	3.2	3.0
2,000 – 2,499	50	71	64	63	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.7
1,000 – 1,999	178	252	312	285	2.2	2.2	2.5	2.1
Total urban	459	632	741	706	82.8	85.3	86.0	86.3
Total rural					17.2	14.7	14.0	13.7
Total population(a)					100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number ('000)					11 599	15 602	17 892	18 972

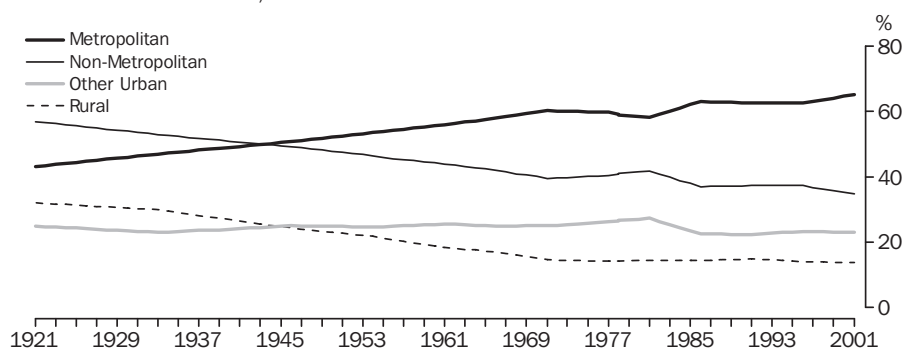
(a) Includes migratory population.

Source: Rowland 1982; 1986, 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Another perspective is provided if we examine the Section of State statistics referred to above. Graph 3.10 shows the changes which occurred in the proportions living in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas over the twentieth century. The long-term tendency toward increasing concentration of the Australian population is evident. There is a consistent pattern of urban areas increasing their share of the total population up to 1976. At the 1933 census, 37.4% of Australians lived in rural areas but by 1961 this proportion had halved and in 1976 only 13.9% of the population was classified as rural. The pattern was, however, not just one of concentration in urban centres but of a growing dominance of the largest metropolitan centres. Indeed, the non-metropolitan share of the total national population progressively declined in the half century following 1921 from 57% to 36% so that by 1971 nearly two-thirds of all Australians lived in the large metropolitan capital cities. Between 1971 and 1976, however, the proportion living in rural areas continued to decline (albeit marginally) but there was also a decline in the metropolitan area's share of the

total national population. Hence in the early 1970s the only sector to gain ground was that of the non-metropolitan urban centres. It is apparent from graph 3.10 and table 3.11 that over the subsequent period there has been relative stability in the proportions of Australians living in major urban areas.

3.10 CHANGING DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SECTORS, 1921–2001



Source: 1921–2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.11 POPULATION GROWTH BY SECTION OF STATE, 1966–2001

	Major Urban	Other Urban	Rural	Migratory	Total
	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.
1966	7 127 863	2 501 211	1 970 552	19 693	11 619 318
1976	8 748 501	2 801 973	1 882 362	15 612	13 548 448
1986	9 817 933	3 499 012	2 266 863	18 348	15 602 156
1996	11 221 393	4 161 498	2 498 323	11 209	17 892 423
2001	12 345 561	4 182 460	2 434 190	10 139	18 972 350
Percentage Growth	%	%	%	%	%
1966–76	2.07	1.14	−0.46	−2.30	1.55
1976–86	1.16	2.25	1.88	1.63	1.42
1986–96	1.35	1.75	0.98	−4.81	1.38
1996–2001	1.93	−0.64	0.70	−1.99	1.18

Source: 1966–2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Turning attention to the non-metropolitan sector, it is important to point out that while the sector as a whole has grown faster than the metropolitan sector over the last three decades, growth is by no means uniform across the sector. First, while the population living in country towns increased from 2,501,211 in 1966 to 4,182,460 in 2001, a rise of 67.2%, that living in rural areas ('bounded rural localities' and 'rural balance') increased by only 23.5%, from 1,970,552 to 2,434,190.

In two of the last five intercensal periods the non-metropolitan population has grown more slowly than that in metropolitan areas and the 1996–2001 period was one of these. Nevertheless, in 2001, 39.9% of Australians lived outside the five largest cities and 34.9% lived outside cities of 100,000 or more residents. The latter amounted to 6.63 million people in 2001 compared with 6.67 million in 1996, 5.78 million in 1986 and 4.8 million in 1976. Hence, stereotyping of regional populations as declining or static is incorrect.

What has been the role of international migration in these changes? One of the most distinctive features of postwar immigration to Australia has been the tendency for migrants to settle in the nation's largest urban areas. Table 3.12 shows that over the 1947–2001 period the number of Australian-born persons living in cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants more than doubled so that in 2001, 59.9% lived in such centres. On the other hand, the overseas-born population in the largest urban areas increased more than six times so that by 2001, 82% of Australia's overseas-born lived in those cities. Hence the impact of immigration has been felt more in Australia's major cities than in the provincial cities or rural areas. Over the 1947–2001 period the proportion of the population in cities with more than 100,000 residents made up by the overseas-born increased from 11.6% to 29.2%. Moreover, their impact upon the growth of those cities is under-estimated by these figures since the children born to overseas-born people after arrival in Australia are included with the Australian-born.

3.12 DISTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN AND OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION BETWEEN MAJOR URBAN, OTHER URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1947–2001

	Australian-born								% change 1947–2001
	1947		1991		1996		2001		
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no	%	
Major urban	3 390 591	49.7	7 333 645	57.7	7 627 197	57.7	8 163 244	59.9	140.8
Other urban	1 263 724	18.5	3 237 187	25.4	3 485 125	26.4	3 443 950	25.3	172.5
Rural	2 173 068	31.8	2 149 951	16.9	2 108 242	15.9	2 016 586	14.8	–7.2
Total	6 827 383	100.0	12 720 783	100.0	13 220 564	100.0	13 623 780	100.0	99.5
	Overseas-born								% change 1947–2001
	1947		1991		1996		2001		
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no	%	
Major urban	453 368	61.8	2 982 117	79.5	3 126 260	80.0	3 363 450	82.0	641.9
Other urban	98 824	13.5	465 448	12.4	489 550	12.5	468 779	11.4	374.4
Rural	181 180	24.7	304 947	8.1	290 269	7.5	271 826	6.6	50.0
Total(a)	733 372	100.0	3 752 512	100.0	3 906 079	100.0	4 104 055	100.0	459.6

(a) Excludes persons for whom birthplace was not stated and overseas visitors.

Source: 1947, 1991, 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The proportion of the total national overseas-born population living in provincial cities declined from 13.5% to 11.4% over the 1947–2001 period. In 2001 only 7.8% of immigrants who had been in Australia less than five years lived in these centres. However, the overseas-born in such cities increased almost fivefold so that the proportion of residents who were overseas-born increased from 7.3% to 12.0%. In rural areas there was a substantial change. In 1947 one-quarter of all overseas-born persons lived in rural areas but this was drastically reduced to 6.6% by 2001. In 2001 only 3.1% of all immigrants who had been in Australia less than five years lived in rural areas. Nevertheless the proportion of rural residents who were overseas-born increased from 7.7% to 11.9%.

Hence although the presence of overseas-born has increased in all three urban-rural sectors, the impact has been greatest in major urban areas. Moreover, it is clear from table 3.12 that there has been an increasing tendency for recent migrants to settle in Australia's major urban areas, especially those from NES countries. At the 2001 census 90.1% of immigrants who had been in Australia less than five years lived in centres with more than 100,000 inhabitants compared with 82% of the total overseas-born and 60.0% of the Australian-born. On the other hand, among those who are longer established in Australia there has been stability in the tendency to settle in major cities. This is consistent with a pattern of 'counterurbanisation' or decentralisation among the Australian-born that has been recognised for the last two decades (Hugo, 1994b) and suggests that over time there may be some convergence in the internal migration patterns of the overseas-born toward those of the Australian-born. Bell (1992) identified increased out-migration of longstanding overseas-born older people from major urban areas during the 1981–86 period. It is noticeable in table 3.13 that among the MES-born, deconcentration away from the major cities is occurring. This supports the idea of longstanding migrants, especially those from similar backgrounds to the Australian-born, converging toward the national population in its internal migration trends.

3.13 NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF OVERSEAS-BORN PERSONS RESIDENT IN CAPITAL CITIES BY ORIGIN AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE, 1986, 1996 AND 2001

	<i>Total resident in capitals</i>											
	1986				1996				2001			
	0–4 Years		5+ Years		0–4 Years		5+ Years		0–4 Years		5+ Years	
<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>
MES Origin	142 722	76.9	890 809	73.2	99 849	75.4	966 563	70.9	145 936	77.0	936 796	70.2
NES Origin	240 864	88.6	1 245 254	83.8	304 654	90.2	1 662 235	85.5	307 781	90.1	1 762 488	86.2
Total Overseas-born	383 586	83.9	2 136 063	79.0	404 503	86.0	2 628 798	79.5	453 717	85.4	2 699 284	79.9

Source: 1986, 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Not only have postwar migrants tended to settle in Australia's larger urban areas but also they have concentrated especially upon two cities — Sydney (2001 population 3.997 million) and Melbourne (2001 population 3.367 million). This is reflected in the fact that while their proportions have more than doubled, Sydney and Melbourne's share of the nation's overseas-born population has increased from 42.5% in 1947 to 52.3% in 1991 and 53.2% in 2001. On the other hand, their share of the Australian-born has fallen from 38.7% to 34.8% and 34.1%. Moreover if we consider only immigrants who have been in Australia less than five years, 60.3% live in major urban areas in New South Wales and Victoria.

International migration has been of critical importance in the postwar growth of Sydney and Melbourne. Table 3.14 shows the growth of the overseas-born population in the two cities between 1947 and 2001. While Sydney gained huge numbers of immigrants during the long boom period and saw its overseas-born population more than double between 1947 and 1961, the impact was less than had occurred in Melbourne. The table shows the significance of this immigration with Melbourne's overseas-born population trebling between 1947 and 1966, and its share of the nation's total overseas-born increasing by 10 percentage points to 26.7%. It will be noted that by 1961, Melbourne had surpassed Sydney as having the largest overseas-born community in the nation but in the last two decades Sydney has reasserted itself as the major focus of immigrant settlement in Australia, so that at the 2001 census it had 30.0% of the nation's overseas-born compared with 23.2% in Melbourne. These fluctuations have been in concert with shifts in the changing economic roles of the two cities. Sydney has become the most global of Australian centres with the most international links, national headquarters of companies, etc.

3.14 SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE STATISTICAL DIVISIONS: PROPORTION OF POPULATION OVERSEAS-BORN, 1947–2001

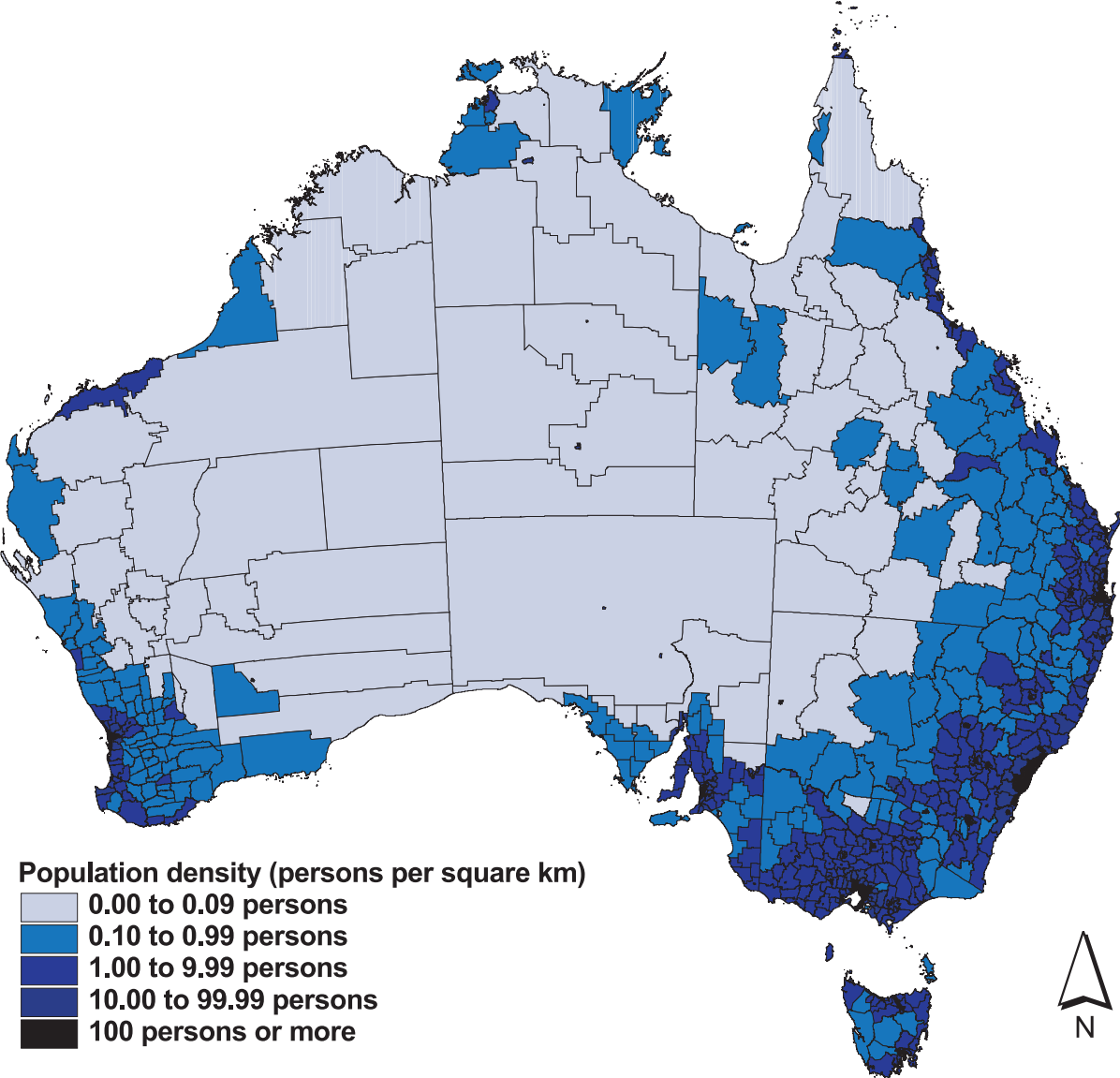
	<i>Sydney Statistical Division</i>		<i>Melbourne Statistical Division</i>		<i>All Australia</i>
	<i>no. of Overseas-born</i>	<i>% of all Overseas-born</i>	<i>no. of Overseas-born</i>	<i>% of all Overseas-born</i>	<i>no. of Overseas-born</i>
1947	191 107	25.7	125 258	16.8	744 187
1954	308 778	24.0	261 470	20.3	1 286 466
1961	434 663	24.4	444 479	25.0	1 778 780
1966	558 236	26.2	568 365	26.7	2 130 920
1971	698 440	27.1	687 266	26.6	2 579 317
1976	736 629	27.1	706 190	26.0	2 717 841
1981	834 237	27.8	754 071	25.1	3 002 395
1986	912 509	28.1	788 190	24.3	3 245 656
1991	1 071 558	28.5	893 194	23.8	3 754 868
1996	1 148 868	29.4	915 449	23.4	3 908 204
2001	1 233 537	30.0	954 048	23.2	4 105 643

Source: 1947, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001
Census of Population and Housing.

MIGRATION AND POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION IN NON-METROPOLITAN AUSTRALIA

Australia is one of the least densely populated countries (2.3 persons per km²) in the world but it also has one of the most spatially concentrated populations as map 3.15 indicates. In 2001 some 84% of the population lived within 50 kilometres of the coast. This uneven distribution has long been a point of debate in Australia (Rowland 1982, pp. 23–24) and raises a number of important policy issues in both the closely and sparsely settled areas. In the former, issues such as negative environmental impacts, overcrowding, and diseconomies in service provision abound while in the latter, questions of economic and social viability and lack of access to services loom large. Table 3.16 shows that more than three-quarters of the population live on 0.33% of the land at a density of more than 100 persons per km². However, less than 1% of the population lives on 70% of the continent at less than 0.1 persons per km².

3.15 POPULATION DENSITY, 2001



Source: Calculated from ABS 2001 census data.

3.16 AUSTRALIA'S POPULATION DENSITY, 2001

	Population	People	Land
Density category persons per km ²	%	no.	%
Less than 0.1	0.81	153 778	70.54
0.1 – 1	3.02	574 752	20.18
1 – 10	9.12	1 728 610	7.97
10 – 100	11.01	2 087 031	0.98
100	76.04	14 418 042	0.33

Source: Calculated using data from the 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Although it was shown in the previous section that the non-metropolitan population of Australia has been growing, population growth has certainly not been universal throughout non-metropolitan areas. The population in other urban areas grew faster than major urban populations during much of the 1966–2001 period, although not in the 1996–2001 period. Rural populations, however, have grown more slowly.

More importantly there have been substantial regional variations between non-metropolitan areas in the patterns of population change. Map 3.17 shows that between 1996 and 2001 there were wide variations between regional areas with respect to population growth and decline and distinct spatial patterns of growth and decline. The areas of population growth in regional Australia are strongly concentrated in certain areas, namely:

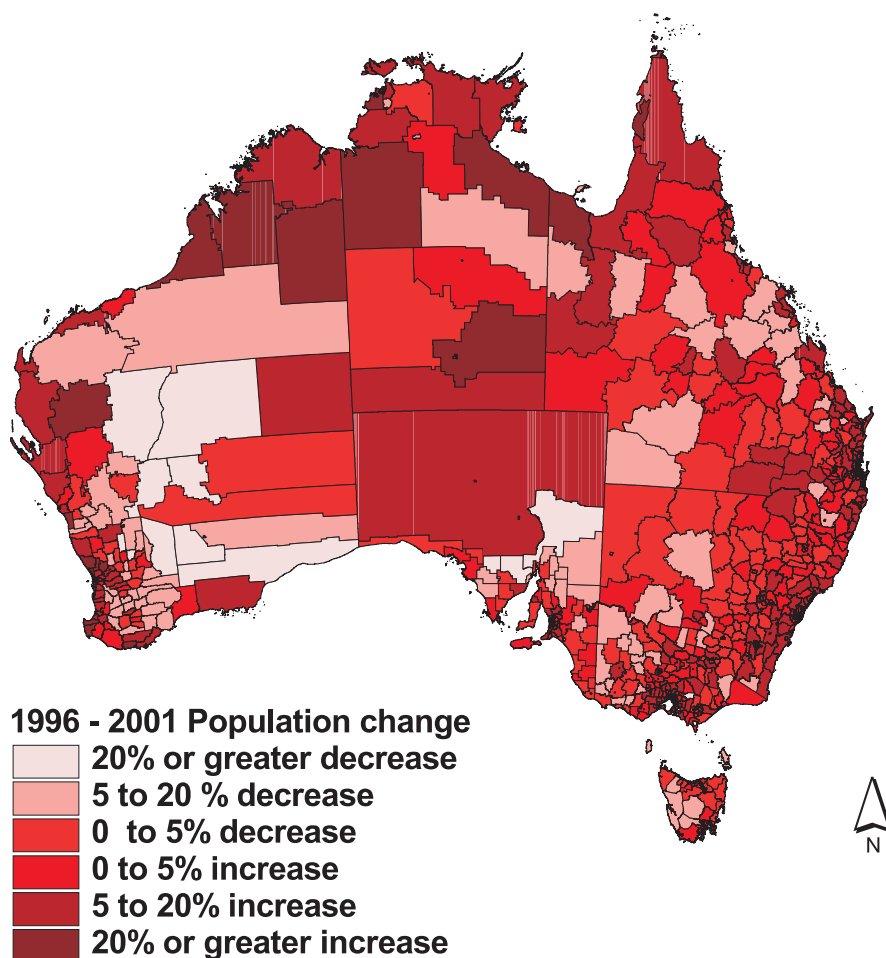
- the areas surrounding metropolitan areas
- along the well watered east coast and southwest coast
- some resort and retirement areas
- some regional centres
- along the Hume Highway linking Sydney and Melbourne
- some relatively remote areas, especially those with growing mining activities, tourism, and significant Indigenous populations.

On the other hand, there is also a spatial concentration of the areas experiencing population decline:

- above all the dry farming areas of the wheat-sheep belt such as in western Victoria extending through central-western New South Wales and Queensland, the southeast Eyre Peninsula and mid north of South Australia and the wheat-sheep belt of Western Australia
- many pastoral areas in Central Australia
- certain mining areas such as Broken Hill
- declining industrial cities such as Whyalla in South Australia.

These stark patterns point to a substantial degree of population variation within regional Australia. The patterns are more apparent if we divide Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) between growing and declining populations in map 3.18 which shows clearly that population growth in regional Australia was strongly concentrated in the types of non-metropolitan areas outlined earlier.

3.17 POPULATION CHANGE, 1996–2001



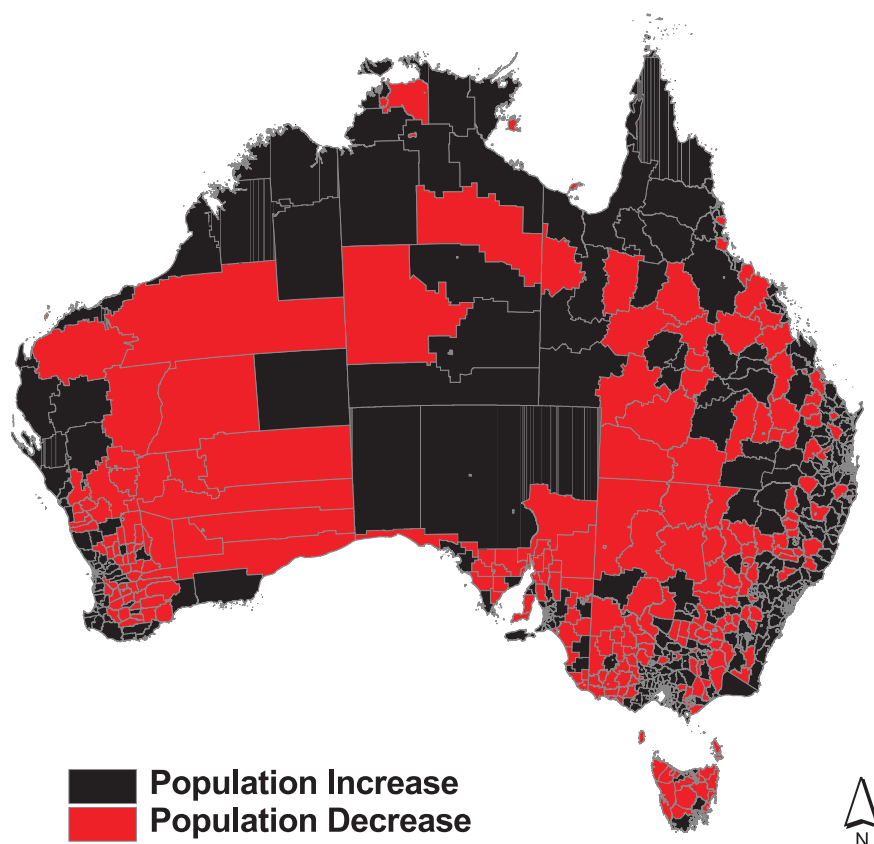
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

It has been argued (Hugo, 2002) that there is a growing and widening dichotomisation occurring in non-metropolitan Australia. The rangelands are generally experiencing the rural depopulation, dominated by school leavers which characterised the early postwar years. However there are substantial areas in the better-watered and more accessible parts of non-metropolitan Australia which are continuing to experience significant and sustained net immigration and population growth. The problems faced in the two different types of areas are quite different. Population change in non-metropolitan Australia is becoming, and is likely to become even more, diverse and perhaps much less predictable than in the past.

As was indicated earlier, international migration plays a much more limited role in the growth of non-metropolitan population in Australia than is the case with metropolitan populations. This is evident in table 3.19 which shows for the state of New South Wales the in, out and net migration for 1996–2001 in Sydney and

three non-metropolitan zones, parallel to the coast together with the number of immigrants who arrived between 1996 and 2001. In the growing coastal areas there were 18,848 recent immigrants but 189,227 immigrants had moved in from elsewhere in Australia and there was a net internal migration gain of 31,053. The pattern of net internal migration loss increases with distance from the coast and the number of recent immigrants decreases. This mix of interstate and international migration contribution to growth is indicative of patterns across Australia.

3.18 AREAS OF POPULATION INCREASE AND DECREASE, 1996–2001



Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.19 NEW SOUTH WALES: INTERNAL MIGRATION AND IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS BETWEEN 1996 AND 2001 BY REGION

	Internal migration 1996–2001			Immigrants arrived 1996–2001
	In	Out	Net	
Sydney	175 732	233 685	–57 953	233 685
Coastal NSW	189 277	158 174	+31 053	18 848
Central NSW	91 899	95 028	–3 129	6 315
Western NSW	40 489	66 292	–25 803	2 498

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 3.20 shows how migrants and the Australian-born are distributed between the Sections of State. It will be noted that immigrants are under-represented in all but the major cities category. Moreover among recent migrants 89.1% have settled in major cities compared to 59.9% of the Australian-born and 80.7% of longer standing immigrants. The under-representation in all non-metropolitan categories is much greater among recent migrants than among immigrants of longer standing especially in rural areas. There appears to be a pattern whereby after a period of longer residence in Australia the overseas-born move more to non-metropolitan areas like the Australian-born population, (Bell and Hugo, 2000).

3.20 BIRTHPLACE BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL BY SECTION OF STATE, 2001

	Arrived before 1996		Arrived after 1996		Year of arrival not stated		Australian-born		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Major Urban	2 650 393	80.7	557 889	89.1	155 170	79.2	8 163 244	59.9	11 526 694	65.0
Other Urban	395 348	12.1	48 839	7.8	24 592	12.6	3 443 950	25.3	3 912 729	22.1
Bounded Locality	41 399	1.3	2 993	0.5	2 237	1.1	410 248	3.0	456 877	2.6
Rural Balance	195 089	5.9	16 362	2.6	13 747	7.0	1 606 338	11.8	1 831 535	10.3
Migratory	1 295	—	183	—	110	0.1	5 706	—	7 294	—
Total	3 283 524	100.0	626 266	100.0	195 856	100.0	13 629 486	100.0	17 735 129	100.0

Note: Excludes persons for whom birthplace was not stated and overseas visitors.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It is interesting, too, to examine the patterns of population change in non-metropolitan Australia according to the degree of accessibility/remoteness of particular areas. Table 3.21 shows the rates of population change in the five accessibility sectors of non-metropolitan Australia depicted in map 3.24. This indicates that only in the highly accessible areas close to major cities are population growth levels above the national average in both 1991–96 and 1996–2001.

3.21 NON-METROPOLITAN AREAS: POPULATION GROWTH BY LEVEL OF ACCESSIBILITY, 1991–1996 AND 1996–2001

	Rate of Population Growth		Population Density	
	1991–1996	1996–2001	1996	2001
<i>Level of Accessibility</i>	%	%	<i>Persons per km²</i>	<i>Persons per km²</i>
Highly accessible	6.2	6.6	77.2	80.0
Accessible	5.1	3.7	4.1	4.1
Moderately accessible	3.6	1.5	1.0	1.0
Remote	1.2	–1.0	0.2	0.2
Very remote	2.9	4.5	0.0	0.1
Total	5.8	6.0	2.3	2.5

Notes: 1. All calculations are made on the basis of SLA values aggregated to the accessibility categories.

2. The accessibility classification is based on the updated ARIA+ classification for the 2001 ASGC. Because the breakpoints between categories for the 2001 version have changed since the original ARIA, the breakpoints for the table above were adjusted to be concordant with the 1996–2001 table.

3. The population density data is based on table B01 of the Basic Community Profile for 2001. The population change data is based on time series population estimates adjusted to the 2001 boundaries.

Source: Glover et al. 1999; 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

ARIA indices of remoteness have been calculated for 11,338 localities outside of Australia's major cities and the entire area of non-metropolitan Australia has been classified into five categories of remoteness:

- Highly Accessible — locations with relatively unrestricted accessibility to a wide range of goods and services and opportunities for social interaction.
- Accessible — locations with some restrictions to accessibility of some goods, services, and opportunities for social interaction.
- Moderately Accessible — locations with significantly restricted accessibility of goods, services, and opportunities for social interaction.
- Remote — locations with very restricted accessibility of goods, services, and opportunities for social interaction.
- Very Remote — locationally disadvantaged — very little accessibility of goods, services, and opportunities for social interaction.

Census data uses a Remoteness Area classification, which is based on the ARIA index values:

- Major Cities of Australia — Collection Districts (CDs) with an average ARIA index value of 0 to 0.2.
- Inner Regional Australia — CDs with an average ARIA index value greater than 0.2 and less than or equal to 2.4.

- Outer Regional Australia — CDs with an average ARIA index value greater than 2.4 and less than or equal to 5.92.
- Remote Australia — CDs with an average ARIA index value greater than 5.92 and less than or equal to 10.53.
- Very Remote Australia — CDs with an average ARIA index value greater than 10.53.
- Migratory — composed of offshore, shipping and migratory CDs.

Table 3.22 shows the distribution of recent migrants, longstanding immigrants and the Australian-born between the various Remoteness Area categories. This shows that the overseas-born, especially the recent migrants, are over-represented in major city areas while they are under-represented in all of the more remote categories. Another dimension is shown in table 3.23 which indicates that the degree of concentration in the most accessible areas is especially strong among immigrants from countries where languages other than English are dominant.

3.22 REMOTENESS AREA CATEGORIES: BREAKDOWN ACCORDING TO BIRTHPLACE, 2001

	Australian-born		Overseas-born		Recent migrants		Longstanding migrants		Year of arrival not stated		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Major Cities	8 277 640	60.8	3 409 005	83.1	557 082	89.0	2 694 742	82.1	157 183	80.3	11 686 645	65.9
Inner Regional	3 243 452	23.8	431 683	10.5	39 666	6.3	369 445	11.2	22 573	11.5	3 675 135	20.7
Outer Regional	1 657 550	12.2	208 911	5.1	22 222	3.5	175 787	5.4	10 902	5.6	1 866 461	10.5
Remote	276 797	2.0	34 998	0.8	4 777	0.8	27 920	0.9	2 301	1.2	311 795	1.8
Very Remote	168 341	1.2	19 458	0.5	2 297	0.4	13 682	0.4	2 729	1.4	187 799	1.1
Total	13 623 780	100.0	4 104 055	100.0	626 044	100.0	3 281 576	100.0	195 688	100.0	17 727 835	100.0

Note: Excludes persons for whom birthplace was not stated and overseas visitors.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.23 REMOTENESS AREA CATEGORIES: PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BORN OVERSEAS, 2001

															Total
	Recent Migrants						Longstanding Migrants				Year of Arrival Not Stated				
	Australian-born		LOTE		MES		LOTE		MES		LOTE		MES		
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
Major Cities	8 277 640	70.8	378 648	3.2	178 434	1.5	1 747 619	15.0	947 121	8.1	100 279	0.9	56 904	0.5	11 686 645
Inner Regional	3 243 452	88.3	16 482	0.4	23 184	0.6	138 226	3.8	231 218	6.3	8 766	0.2	13 807	0.4	3 675 135
Outer Regional	1 657 550	88.8	10 494	0.6	11 728	0.6	75 394	4.0	100 393	5.4	4 780	0.3	6 122	0.3	1 866 461
Remote	276 797	88.8	1 675	0.5	3 102	1.0	10 275	3.3	17 645	5.6	1 208	0.4	1 093	0.4	311 795
Very Remote	168 341	89.6	708	0.4	1 628	0.9	5 456	2.9	8 879	4.7	2 242	1.2	545	0.3	187 799
Total	13 623 780	76.8	408 007	2.3	218 076	1.2	1 976 970	11.2	1 305 256	7.4	117 275	0.7	78 471	0.4	17 727 835

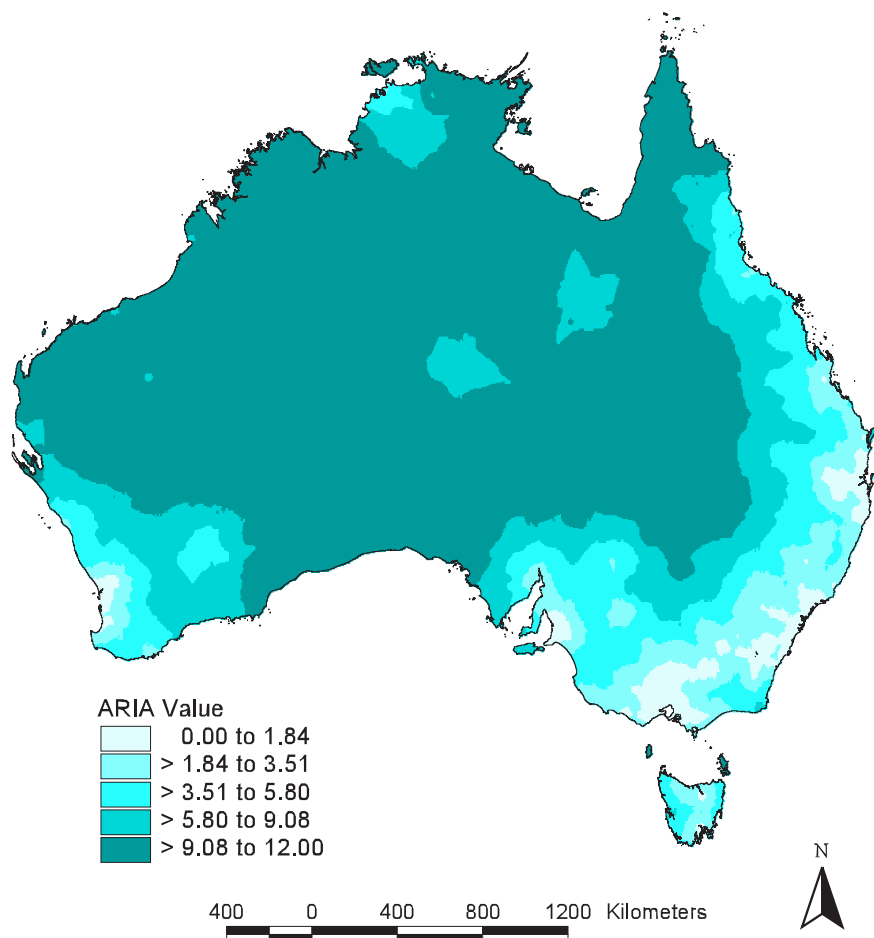
Note: Excludes persons for whom birthplace was not stated and overseas visitors.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The overseas-born population are under-represented in non-metropolitan areas but also are unevenly distributed throughout that sector. Table 3.23 depicts the distribution of longstanding immigrants in Australia. It is possible to identify the following areas of concentration which are predominantly associated with their concentration in particular occupations:

- Around capital cities — these are often areas of market gardening and other intensive agriculture that many earlier groups of immigrants have tended to work in. In addition, some recent groups like the Vietnamese have worked in market gardening. In addition, the development of varied economies in peri-urban areas, has made them attractive to immigrants.
- In immigration areas, especially along the Murray-Murrumbidgee-Darling system.
- In coastal areas especially those with fishing and intensive agriculture.
- In remote areas where mining and tourism are dominant activities.

3.24 ACCESSIBILITY/REMOTENESS INDEX OF AUSTRALIA

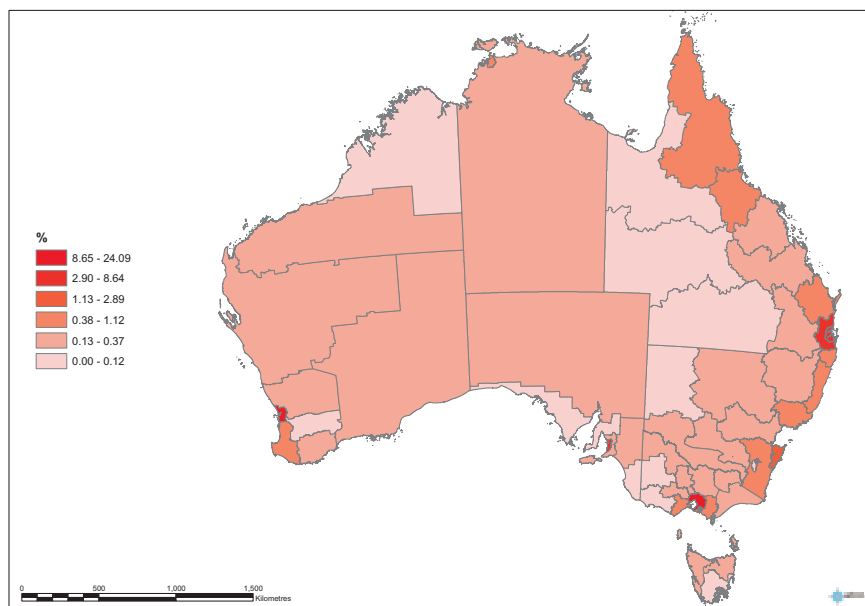


Source: Glover, Harris and Tennant 1999, p. 9.

There is an under-representation of immigrants in dry farming and pastoral areas, especially those born in LOTE countries.

Map 3.25 shows the pattern for recently arrived immigrants and it is similar to that of the longstanding settlers but the concentration in and around the capitals is much greater. It reflects the fact that most of the recent immigrants have skills and occupational experience which necessitates them being located in large cities.

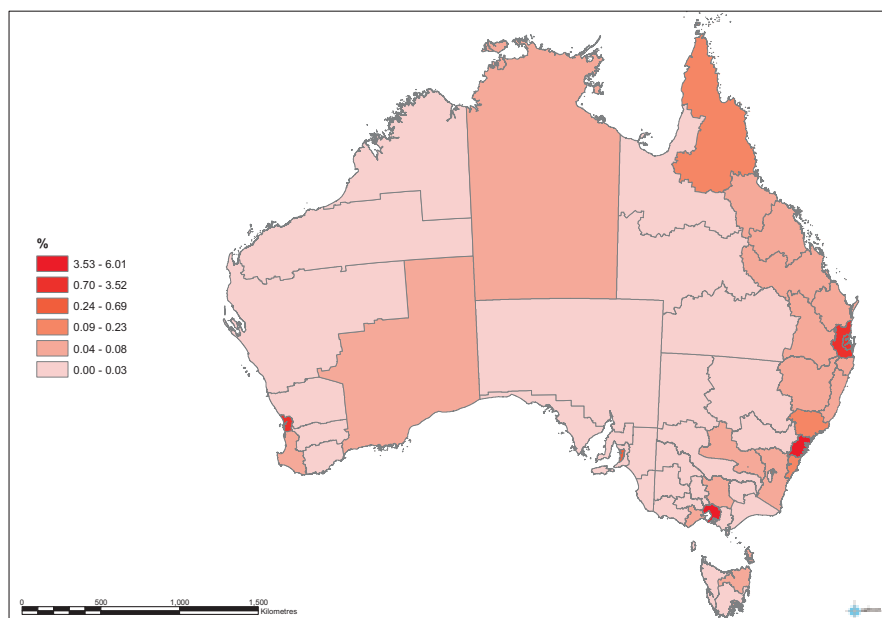
3.25 AUSTRALIAN STATISTICAL DIVISIONS: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS WHO ARRIVED BEFORE 1996



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

Source: Derived from 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.26 AUSTRALIAN STATISTICAL DIVISIONS: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS WHO ARRIVED 1996 ONWARDS



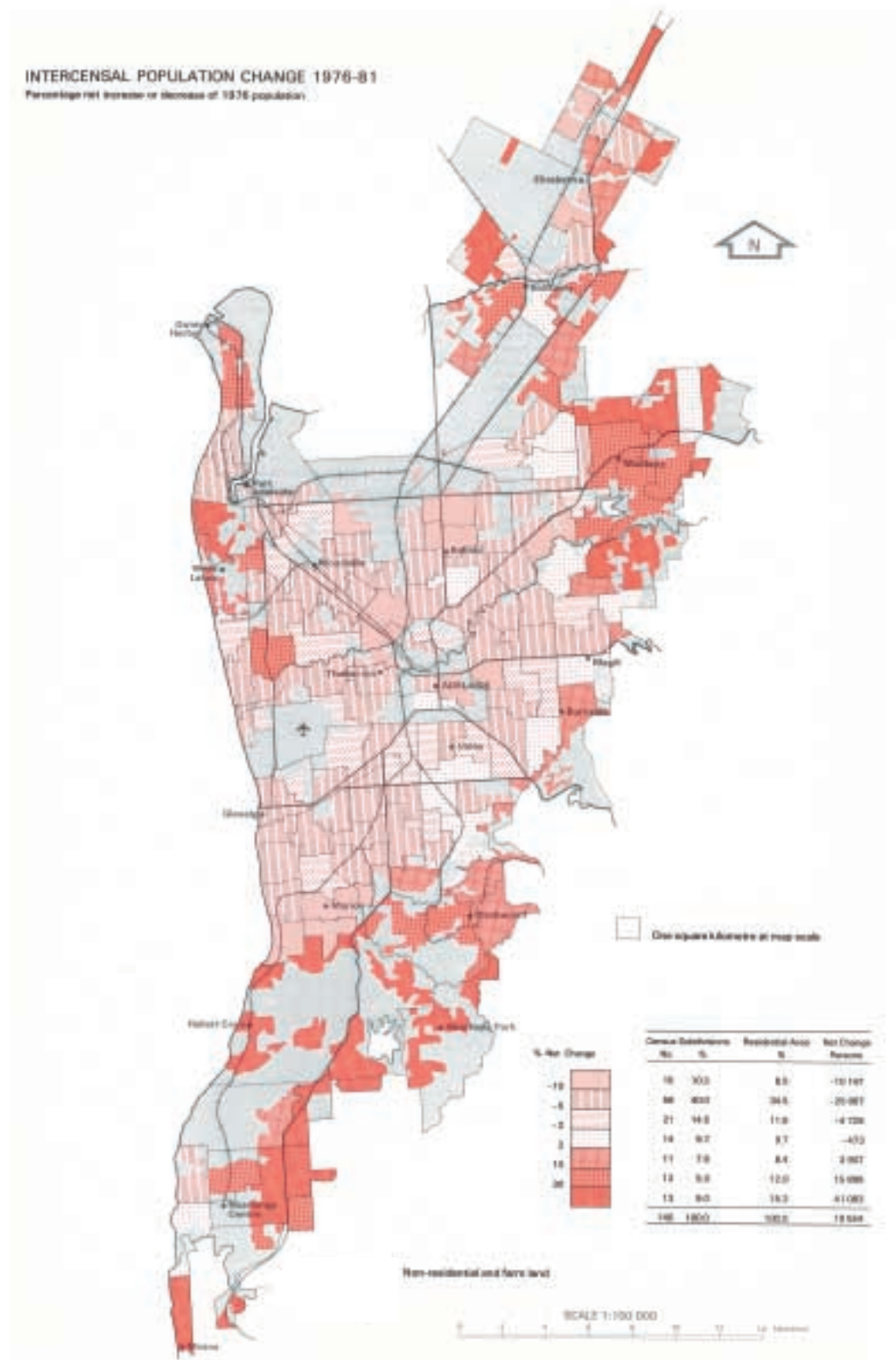
Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

Source: Derived from 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION IN AUSTRALIA'S METROPOLITAN AREAS

Australia's major metropolitan areas (cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants) were home to 64.8% of Australians in 2001. They remain the main areas of population growth in the nation and demographics play an important part in projecting shifts in demand for goods and services within those areas. While it is an overgeneralisation, the main pattern of population change in the early postwar years, at least until the 1980s, was the classical 'doughnut' pattern with population decline in inner and middle suburbs grading to moderate population growth in the middle suburbs and rapid growth on the urban fringe. This is evident, for example, in the Adelaide metropolitan area in the 1976–81 period depicted in map 3.27. While elements of this are still evident, the 2001 series of Social Atlases show a different pattern of population change in Australia's major cities between 1996 and 2001 (map 3.28). Certainly areas of population growth are found on the expanding urban fringe but there is also growth in several inner suburbs and in a scattering of older inner and middle suburbs especially along main transport routes and coastal areas. The new trends are especially evident if we examine population growth at the census Collection District (CD) level within Australian cities. The map of population change at this level in Adelaide during 1996–2001 for example, shows that although areas of growth are still evident on the city's periphery, there were also many areas of growth within the older built-up area (ABS 2002b).

3.27 ADELAIDE: PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION BETWEEN THE 1976 AND 1981 CENSUSES

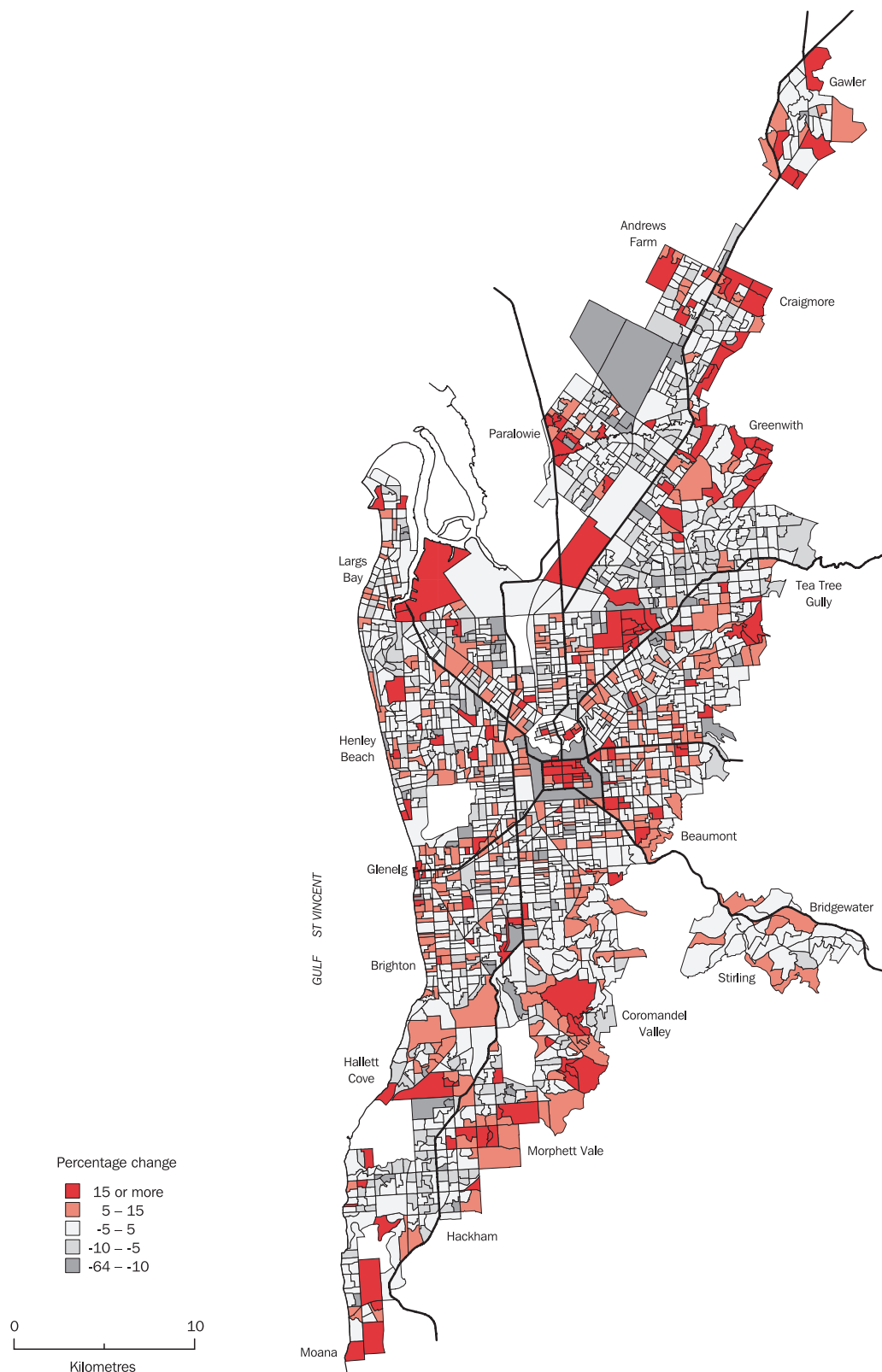


Source: Division of National Mapping and Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1984.

These patterns reflect a significant and growing movement of people into the inner and middle areas of Australian cities. There are several elements to this trend. First, gentrification, which has seen well-to-do, often two income couples move into attractive older housing areas in these inner and middle suburbs. This has been associated with changed lifestyle preferences for living near the city centre.

Second, urban consolidation activities of state, local and city governments which have seen development of land in established suburbs formerly occupied by factories, schools and other extensive uses developed for medium density housing. Third, the ageing of the massive cohort that moved into new housing in the 1950s and 1960s. Many have died or moved into specialised elderly accommodation, causing unprecedented numbers of houses in the middle suburbs to come onto the housing market. This has enabled younger people to move in as individual or groups of house blocks are redeveloped. Finally, it may be that the large baby boom cohort is behaving differently to earlier generations of empty nesters in their late 40s and early 50s. Whereas these earlier generations tended to stay in the suburban family home after 'launching' their children, there are signs that many baby boomers may be trading down to smaller, more centrally located houses.

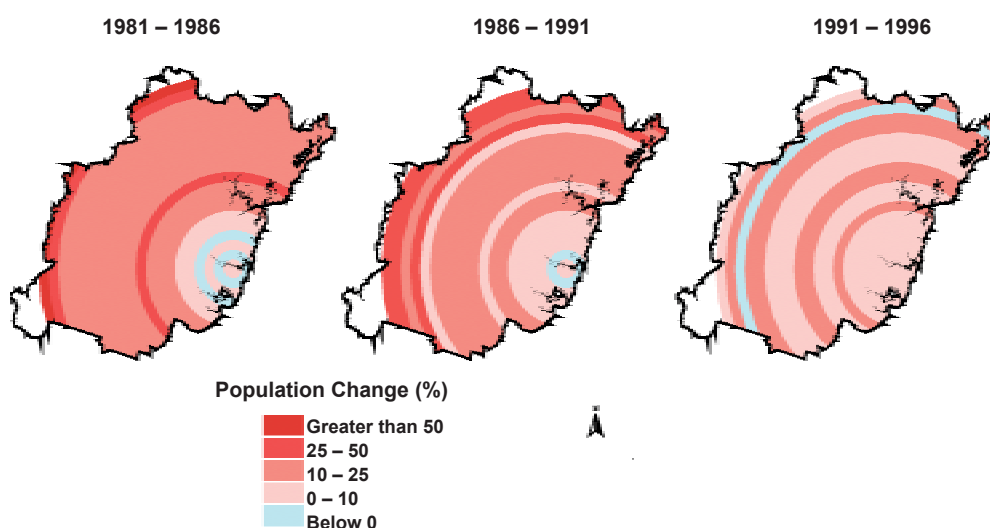
3.28 ADELAIDE: PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION BETWEEN THE 1996 AND 2001 CENSUSES



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Adelaide Social Atlas* (cat. no. 2030.4).

A more detailed analysis of trends can be made by comparing population change in concentric rings and the central business districts of the cities. Figure 3.29 shows the pattern for Sydney. It is one of almost universal population growth, indicating that both reurbanisation and suburbanisation trends have been occurring on a significant scale in Australia's largest city. Central rings of population decline during 1981–86 had disappeared by 1991–96, indicating that urban consolidation activities have been successful in increasing population numbers in inner and middle suburbs.

3.29 SYDNEY URBAN AND PERI-URBAN AREA, POPULATION DENSITY CHANGE BY CONCENTRIC DISTANCE FROM THE CBD (5 KM RINGS)



Source: 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Census of Population and Housing.

THE ROLE OF TEMPORARY RESIDENCE

As indicated in earlier chapters, one of the ways in which recent settlers at the 2001 census differ from those at earlier censuses is the presence of a much larger group of temporary residents in Australia. This has had an influence on population distribution. At any one time there are more than half a million non-permanent residents and visitors in Australia. Since this is equivalent to 2.5% of the national population they do influence the distribution of the population. Moreover although the evidence is limited it is clear that they are more spatially concentrated than the permanently resident population. While the concentration of visitors is important in terms of creating local pressures

and demands of particular types from the perspective of the census it is the temporary residents who are of interest. Little data are available here; table 3.30 shows information on which state/territory, temporary business entrants indicated they would be going to, on arrival cards completed in 1999–2000. This is compared to similar information for skilled settlers. For both groups there is a very high concentration in New South Wales, especially in the case of temporary business entrants. Indeed almost 8 out of 10 such entrants live in New South Wales and Victoria which almost certainly means Sydney and Melbourne. What is apparent then is that Sydney's role as a focus of immigration is understated by considering only permanent settlers, although it is also by far the premier destination for immigrants, to the extent that pressures on Sydney's housing and labour markets are being created by international migration and temporary migration and could be having more of an impact than permanent settlement. This is an issue which needs more examination.

3.30 TEMPORARY BUSINESS ENTRANTS AND SETTLER ARRIVALS IN THE SKILL VISA CATEGORIES COMPARED

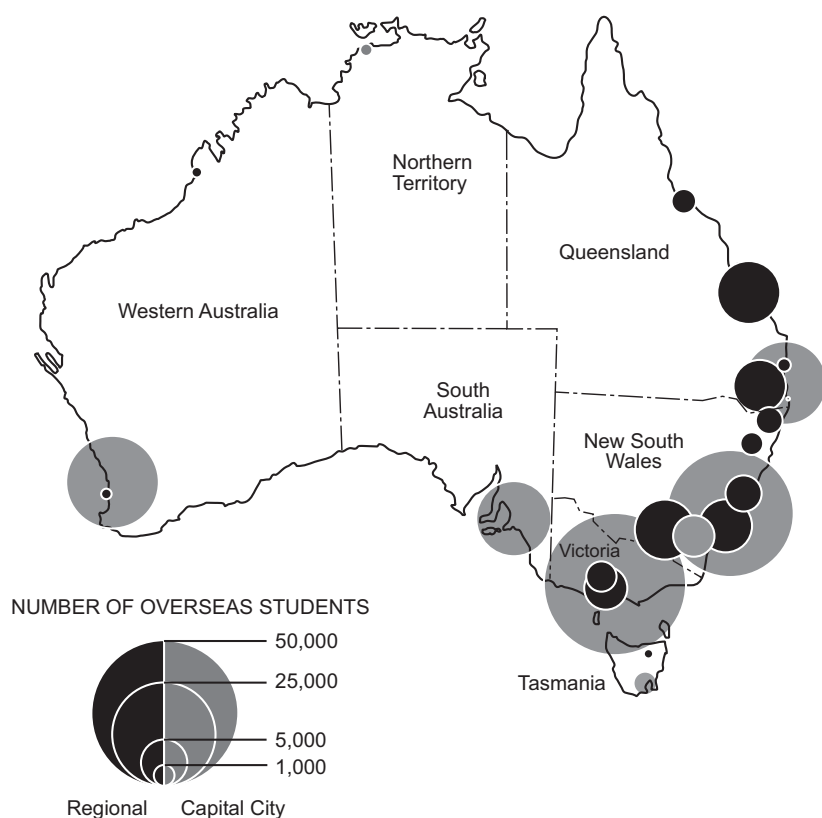
	1999–2000	
	Temporary	Permanent
Total number	10 823	32 350
	%	%
Primary Applicants	50.8	39.8
Secondary Applicants	49.2	60.2
<i>Intended residence</i>		
New South Wales	52.3	42.7
Victoria	25.5	19.6
Queensland	9.0	12.1
South Australia	2.5	3.8
Western Australia	7.4	20.1
Tasmania	0.5	0.3
Northern Territory	1.1	0.5
Australian Capital Territory	1.7	0.9

Note: Includes primary migrants and dependents. Skill visa categories include Independent Scheme, Business skills and (from 1997–98) Skilled Australian-linked.

Source: Khoo *et al.* 2003.

In this context it is also useful to examine where foreign students are moving to study. This is partly because most such students spend several years in those locations but also because an increasing proportion of foreign graduates are seeking permanent residence in Australia on completion of their studies. Hence, map 3.31 shows where foreign university students were studying in 2002. Table 3.32 shows that students tend to be over-represented compared to the total population in Victoria, Western Australia, Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory and are under-represented in New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia and the Northern Territory.

3.31 LOCATION OF OVERSEAS FEE PAYING STUDENTS, 2002



Source: Department of Education, Science and Training.

Another important group among temporary residents are working holiday makers who spend periods of up to one year in Australia. It is usual for this group not to spend their entire sojourn in Australia in a single place, indeed they are restricted in the length of time they can take a job in one place in Australia. They tend to concentrate in capital cities as well as resort areas and areas where harvest work can be obtained (Hugo, 2001a).

3.32 INTERSTATE DISTRIBUTION OF OVERSEAS UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 2002

	<i>Students</i>		<i>Total population</i>
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
New South Wales	58 211	31.5	33.8
Victoria	53 242	28.8	24.7
Queensland	33 417	18.1	18.7
South Australia	13 008	7.0	7.8
Western Australia	20 414	11.0	9.8
Tasmania	1 465	0.8	2.4
Northern Territory	345	0.2	1.0
Australian Capital Territory	3 995	2.2	1.6
Multistate	961	0.5	
Total	185 058	100.0	100.0

Source: Department of Education, Science and Training.

Although there are differences between the various temporary residence groups the overall tendency undoubtedly is to concentrate in major urban centres, especially Sydney and Melbourne. This is not only in relation to the total Australian population but also compared to more permanent immigrants settling in Australia. This factor undoubtedly has influenced the spatial patterning of the distribution of persons enumerated in the census who had arrived in Australia in the five years prior to the 2001 census.

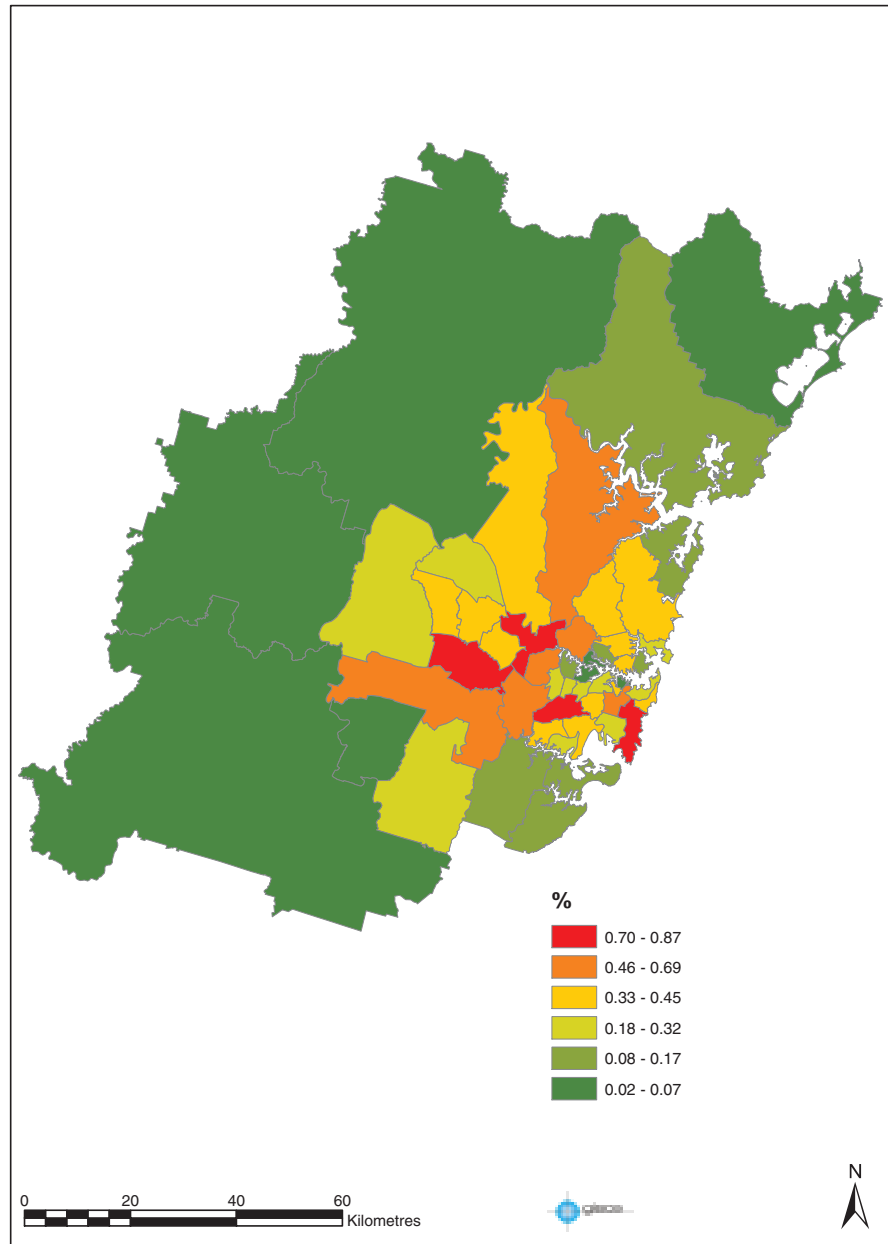
DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS WITHIN AUSTRALIA'S CITIES

Considerable attention has been devoted in the postwar period to the extent to which particular birthplace groups concentrate in particular suburbs of Australian cities. One school of thought sees the concentration of immigrants in particular suburbs as negative, breeding separation, being a barrier to adjustment, etc. Others argue that concentration is a natural adjustment with the economic, social and emotional support provided by earlier migrants assisting the adjustment process. While Australian suburbs, especially in Sydney and Melbourne, have high proportions of their populations being overseas-born in most cases they are not dominated by a single birthplace group. There is also evidence of most groups who have had concentrated settlement patterns in their early years in Australia subsequently dispersing.

Maps 3.33 and 3.34 show the distribution of recent migrants and longstanding migrants in Sydney. Certainly there is evidence that the longstanding migrant population is more dispersed than the recently arrived group. Recently arrived migrants are more strongly concentrated in selected inner southern and inner and middle western suburbs. This pattern is even more apparent in Melbourne. Maps 3.35 and 3.36 shows that recent immigrants are strongly concentrated in two areas — inner suburbs and the Springvale area in the southeast. On the other hand the distribution of more longstanding immigrants shows a larger concentration in the middle and middle-outer suburbs in the north and the west as well as the cluster in the Springvale area.

The pattern for Adelaide, a city receiving only a small number of immigrants in the 1996–2001 period is quite interesting. Map 3.37 shows the distribution of the longstanding settlers and there is a clear pattern of concentration in the northwestern and some southern suburbs. These are predominantly immigrants who arrived in Australia more than 20 years ago and they were mainly drawn to Australia to work in Adelaide's formerly expanding manufacturing industry. Accordingly, most settled in lower cost housing areas and a clear Northern/Southeast divide was evident in the Adelaide social geography of the early postwar decades. Map 3.39 on the other hand shows the distribution of immigrants who arrived in Australia after 1996 and a quite different pattern is in evidence. There certainly is evidence of concentration in the low status suburbs of the northwest where refugee and humanitarian immigrants have settled. On the other hand there are concentrations in the inner suburbs and in the Mitcham Hills area to the Southeast. This reflects groups like students but also recent migrants who entered Australia under the skilled migration categories who can afford to obtain rental or purchase housing in higher income suburbs. This dichotomous pattern among recent migrants is evident to some extent in all the capital cities.

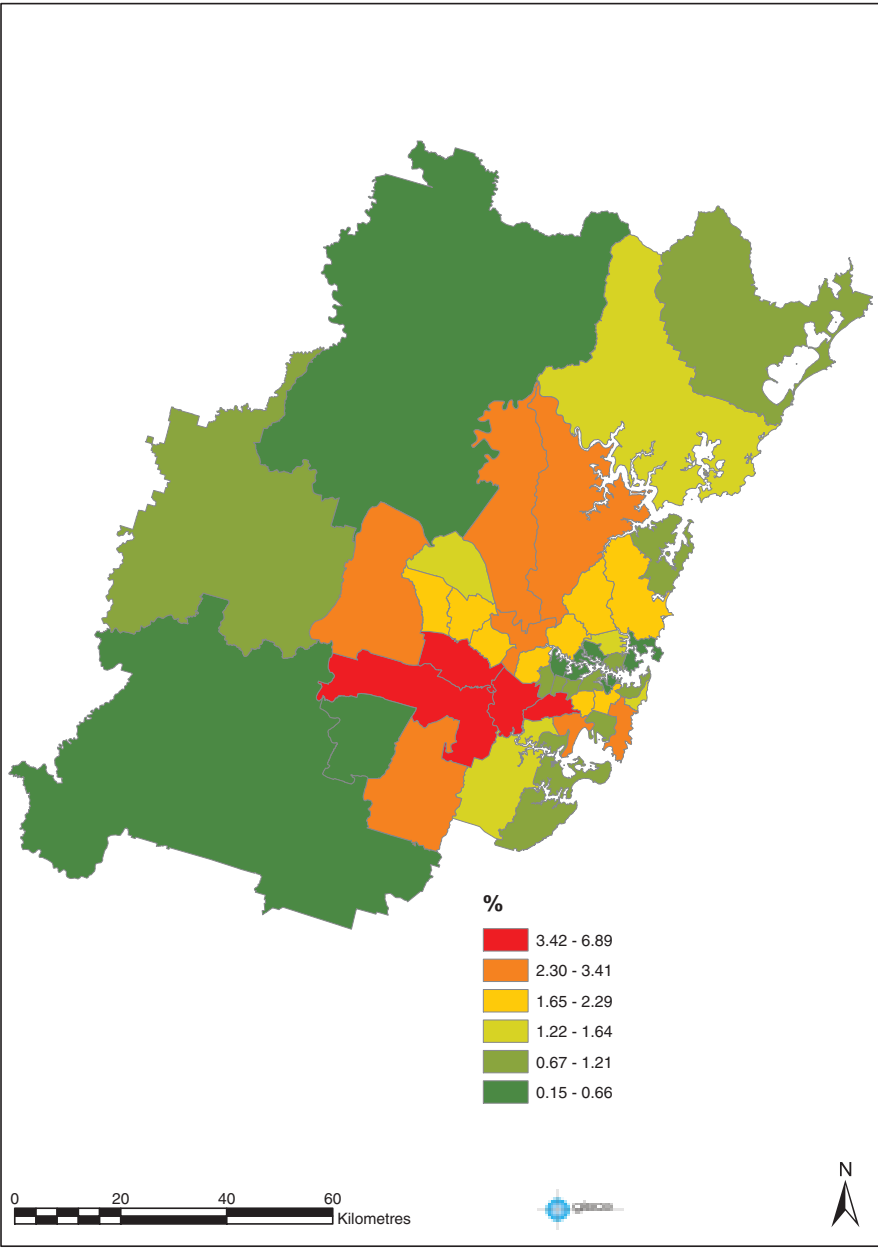
3.33 SYDNEY SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

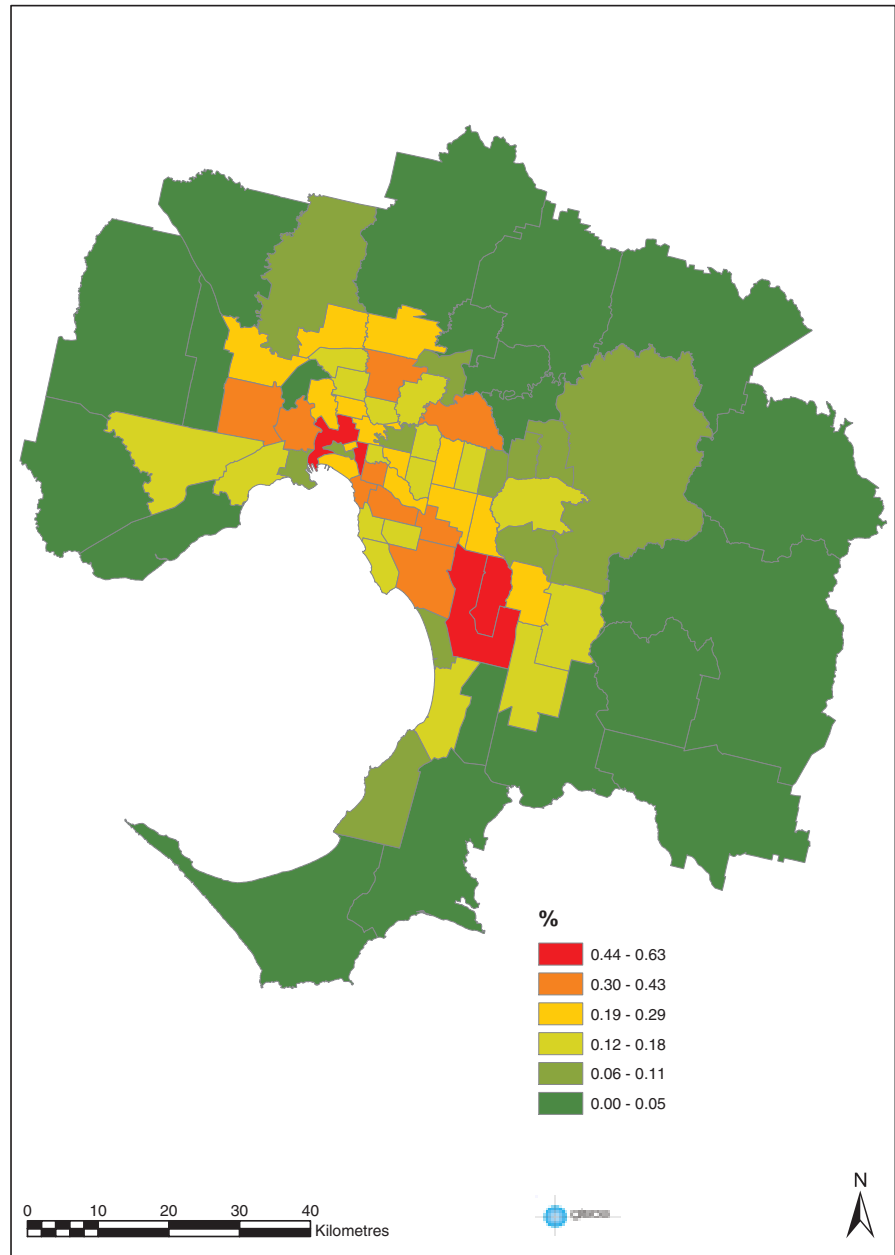
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.34 SYDNEY SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT MORE THAN FIVE YEARS



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

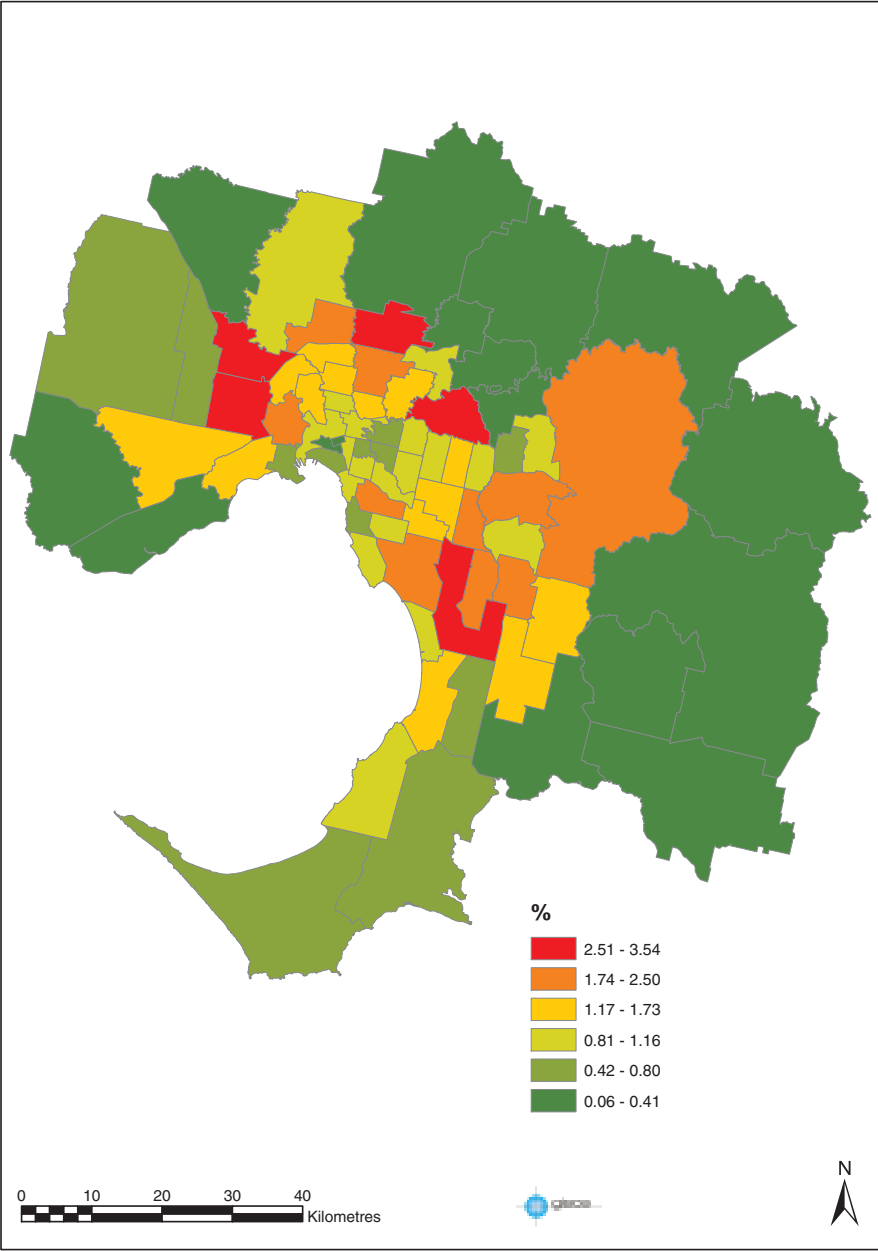
3.35 MELBOURNE SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

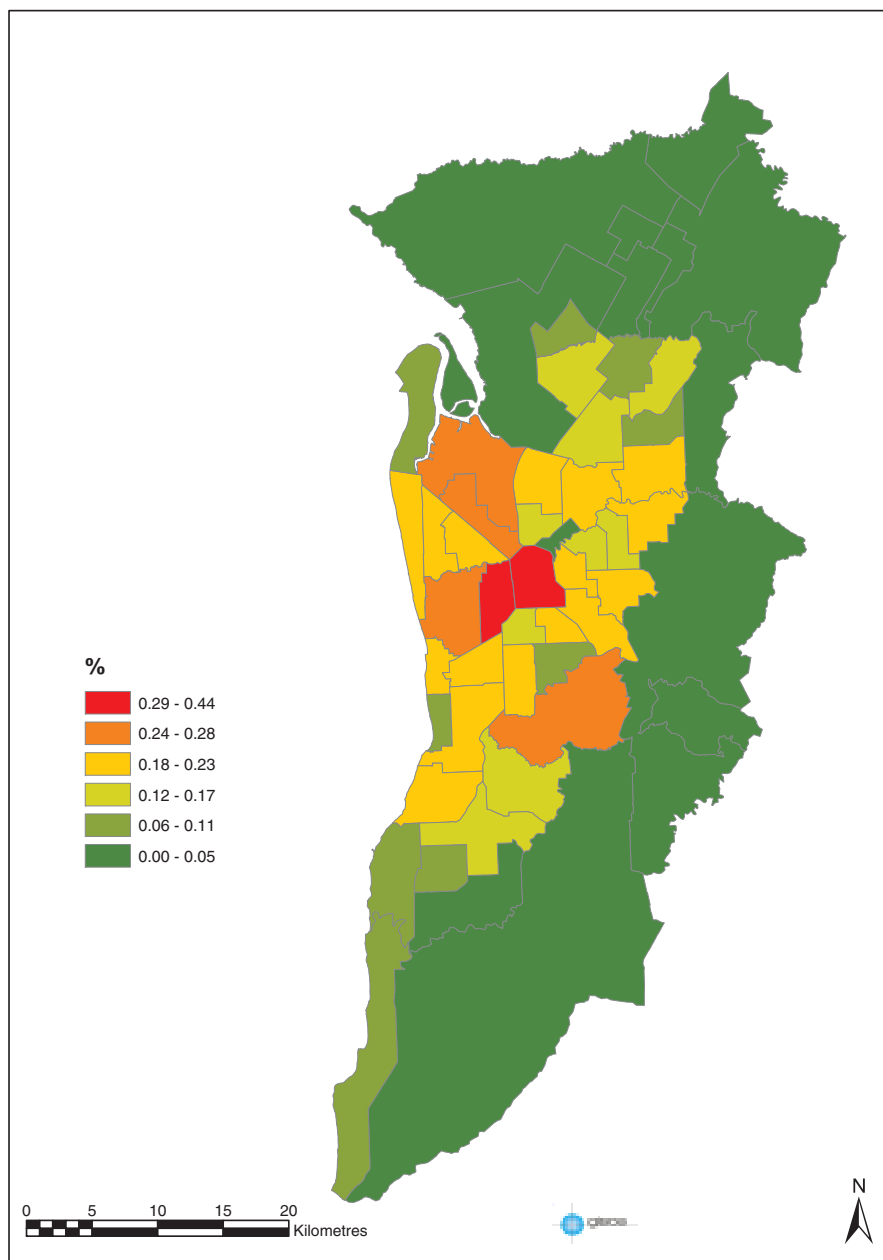
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.36 MELBOURNE SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT MORE THAN FIVE YEARS



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

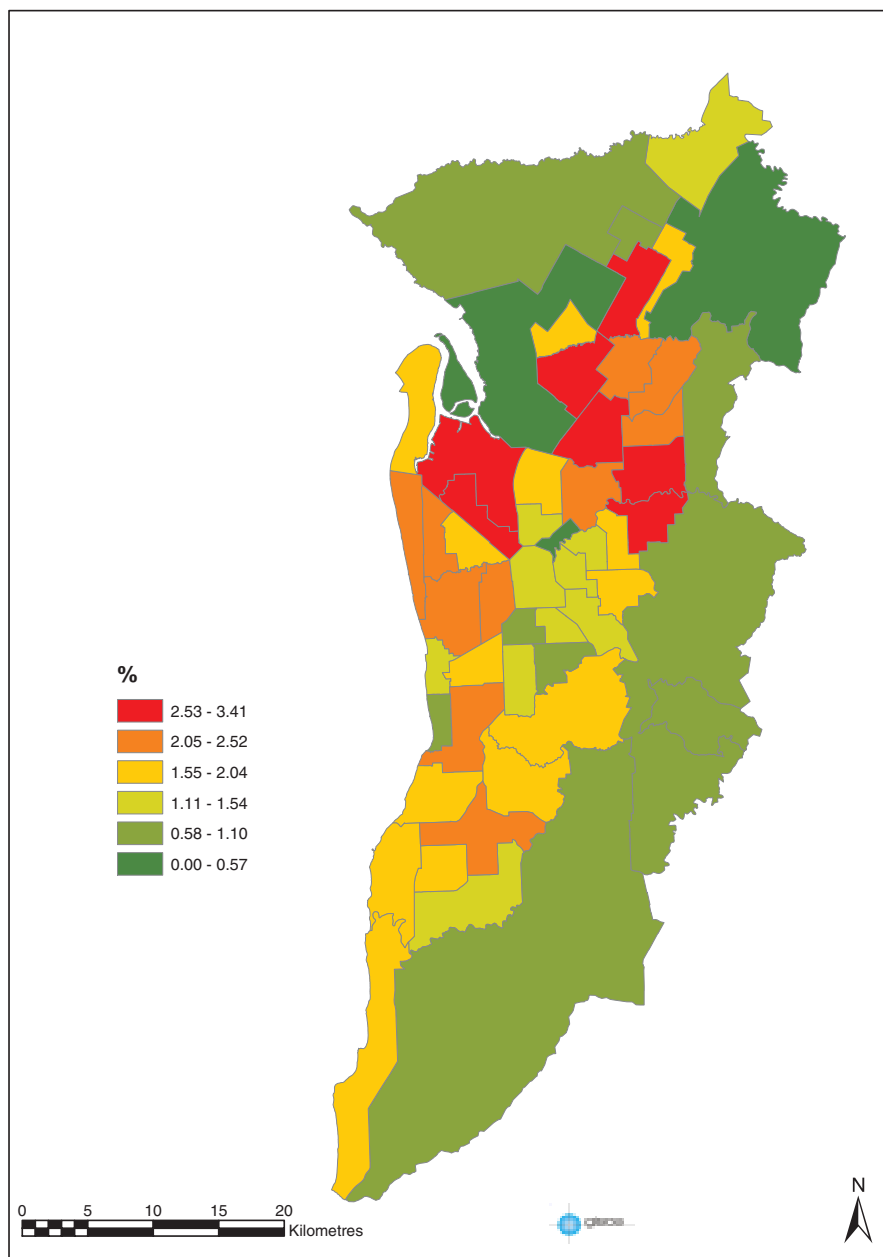
3.37 ADELAIDE SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.38 ADELAIDE SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT MORE THAN FIVE YEARS



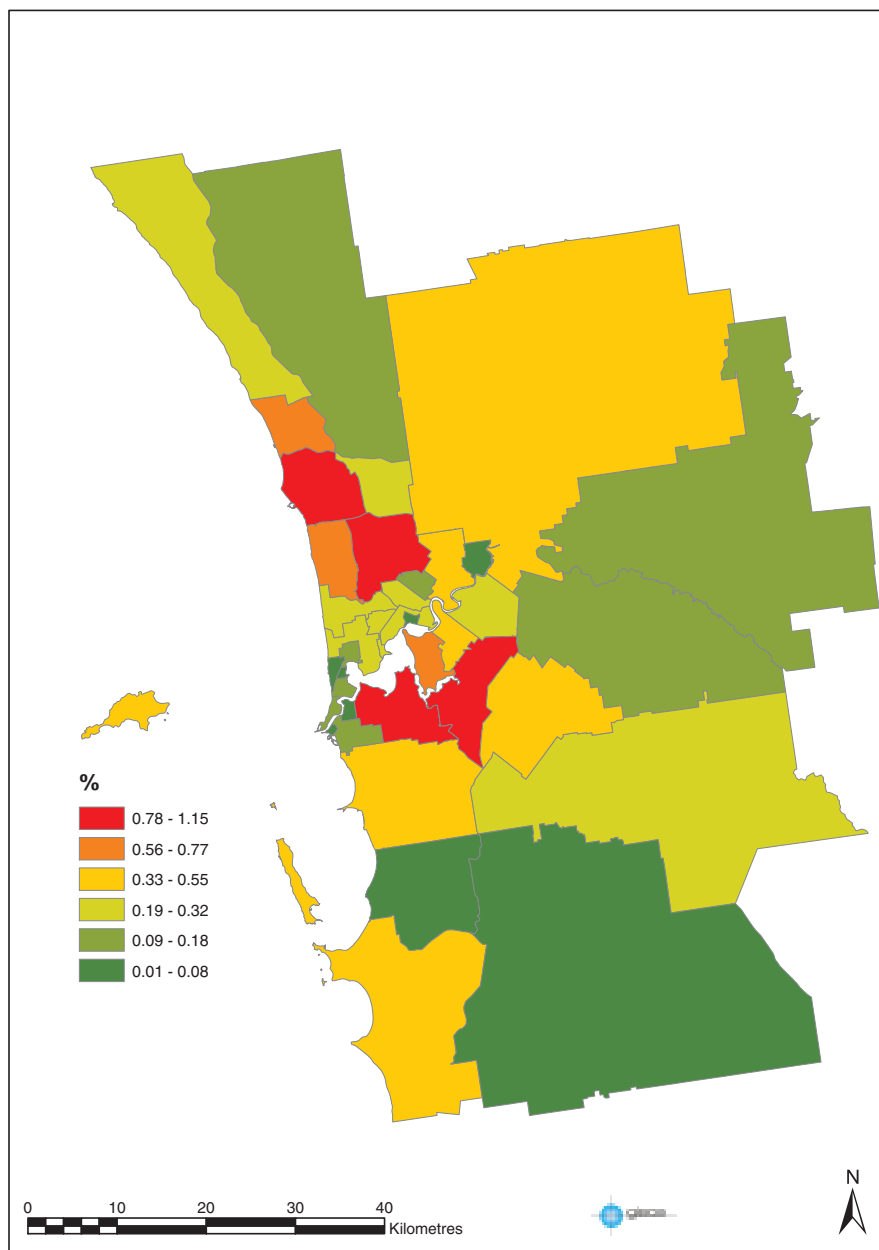
Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

In Perth, map 3.39 shows the distribution of recent migrants, one area of concentration is in the inner suburbs. An important group among them are undoubtedly students but there are also higher income skilled migrant settlers who are able to buy into the high cost housing markets of these upper status areas. There is a second concentration in the lower cost housing areas of the northern suburbs. The distribution of immigrant settlers of longer standing in Perth shown in map 3.40 has a quite different pattern. There clearly has been a

greater degree of dispersal with a significant presence of immigrants in the outer suburbs as well as the concentrations in the inner south and northern suburbs.

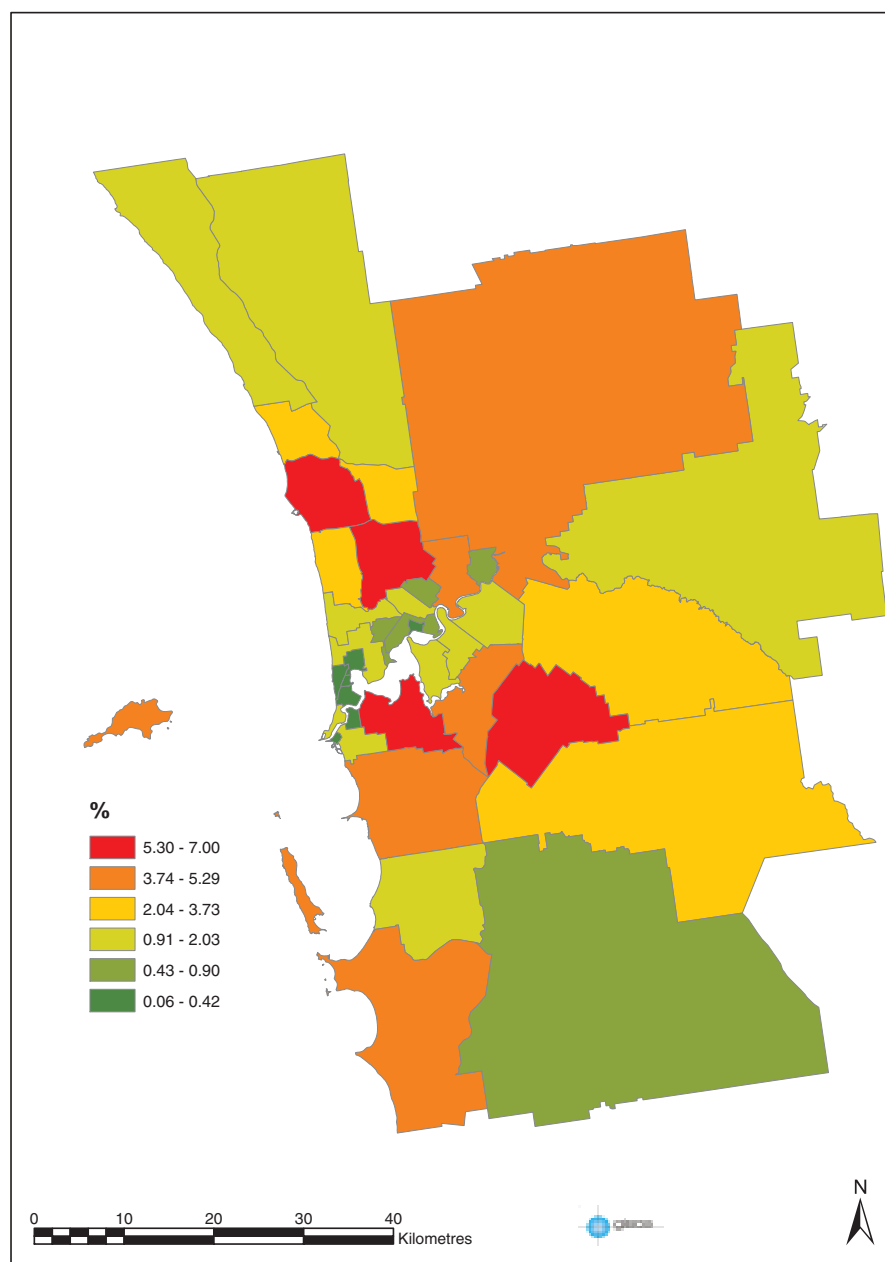
3.39 PERTH SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

3.40 PERTH SLAs: PERSONS BORN OVERSEAS RESIDENT MORE THAN FIVE YEARS



Note: As a percentage of total overseas-born.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The Australian city most influenced by recent migrants is Sydney, one-third of the population of which was born overseas. There is considerable debate among Australian Social Scientists about the degree, and implications, of the spatial concentration of migrants in Australian cities, especially Sydney. Commentators such as Blainey (1993, 1994) and Birrell and Healy (2003), argue that the development of immigrant concentrations in particular suburbs

jeopardise social harmony and cohesiveness in Australian society. Others (e.g. Viviani, Coughlan and Rowland, 1993; Jupp, 1993), stress the positive roles played by these concentrations. Burnley (2003) has made a thorough analysis of 2001 census data to examine changing patterns of diversity in Sydney. His analysis shows complex relationships between status, class, ethnic diversity and spatial concentration in Sydney. He found that ethno-cultural population diversity was most elevated in low cost housing areas of the inner south and outer west. He identifies, as have others in the past (e.g. Jupp, 1993), that it is most striking that, even at the CD level, the abiding characteristic of areas of large LOTE ancestry populations is that no single group dominates and several groups are represented.

THE INTERNAL MIGRATION OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS

We have examined the role of recent immigration in shaping contemporary population distribution. This will be influenced not only by where recently arrived migrants initially settle but also if they subsequently move elsewhere. Hence it is necessary to examine the internal migration of recent migrants. This is difficult using Australian census data since the Australian internal migration question asks for a person's place of residence five years before the census. Accordingly, we will examine here data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) which has been carried out by DIMIA. The first wave of this survey involved 5,192 immigrants who were Principal Applicants for permanent residence visas and who arrived in Australia during the period September 1993 to August 1995. They were interviewed between three and six months after their arrival, again a year later and a third time, two years after the second interview. At the second interview it was found that 67.6% of the survey had moved since the first interview. Of course, this excludes people who moved in the initial months of settling down. For example, many live with relatives in the first few weeks after arrival. Hence, the two-thirds who moved had already been through the initial stages of adjustment before they were interviewed in the second wave.

These data give some insight into the movement of recently arrived immigrants. Table 3.41 shows that the largest number of migrants interviewed were in the capital cities, especially Sydney. Of those who initially settled in Sydney, the vast bulk of those who remained in Australia at the time of the third wave were still there, although more than half of them had moved within Sydney in the

meantime. It will be noticed that in metropolitan New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia, the proportion remaining in their initial region of settlement was substantially higher than was the case in their equivalent non-metropolitan areas. This was especially the case in Victoria, where only 18.3% were still living in the non-metropolitan parts of that state. There has clearly been a concentration whereby many of those settling in non-metropolitan parts of the country at Wave One had moved to metropolitan areas by the time Wave Three was taken. Although this type of movement also occurred in Queensland, it is clear that the non-metropolitan parts of that state have been more successful in retaining the recently arrived overseas-born. This is especially the case in non-metropolitan south-east Queensland. Hence, we have a pattern whereby the long established overseas-born are undoubtedly part of the net counter-urban gain of internal migrants in non-metropolitan areas and the opposite is the case among recent migrants. Not only are they settling disproportionately in the capital cities, but there is also evidence that among those who settle initially in non-metropolitan areas, there is a net flow toward the capitals in the early years after arrival in Australia.

3.41 LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA COHORT ONE: LOCATION OF IMMIGRANTS INTERVIEWED IN FIRST WAVE (1993–1995) AND THIRD WAVE (1998)

<i>Location</i>	<i>First wave detected in third wave</i>	<i>Still in region</i>	<i>Moved in</i>	<i>Moved out</i>
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>
Sydney	22 059	95.9	1 093	178
Melbourne	13 646	94.8	882	714
Brisbane	4 522	89.1	368	494
Adelaide	2 586	85.1	170	385
Perth	6 146	95.2	191	296
Other New South Wales	367	60.8	508	144
Other Queensland	2 005	88.3	253	234
Other Victoria	569	18.3	189	465
Other	1 872	84.4	286	292

Note: Includes only migrants from the first wave who were detected in the third wave.

Source: *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia, DIMIA.*

CONCLUSION

Recent immigration is significantly influencing regional and local population growth patterns across Australia because immigrants are selectively settling on a permanent long term basis in particular parts of the country. This is often neglected in considerations of population growth which focus almost exclusively on internal population migration. There is a need to integrate studies of internal and international migration and their effect on population distribution (Hugo, 2003e). Moreover, there is a need to consider the spatial implications of the upturn in non-permanent migration since their investment socially and economically, in communities may be different to that of permanent migrants.

CHAPTER 4

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RECENT ARRIVALS

INTRODUCTION

One of the major shifts in Australian immigration policy in the last decade has been the increasing economic focus on immigrant settler selection. In addition, the introduction of the temporary business and student temporary migration categories have seen an increase in the influx of more skilled workers into the country. The main changes which occurred in the immigration program in the late 1990s compared to the early 1990s which are likely to have impinged upon labour market performances are as follows:

- The balance between skilled migration categories on the one hand (Independent and Business Skills, Employers Nomination Scheme, etc.) and humanitarian/family immigrants on the other has shifted substantially in favour of the former.
- Changes in the eligibility criteria have resulted in more migrants being able to speak English.
- Changes in eligibility criteria have resulted in a higher level of qualifications among immigrants.
- The introduction of new temporary work migration categories and the expansion of other temporary work migration classes has meant that at the 2001 census significant numbers of temporary residents are among recent migrants enumerated. By definition those people are highly skilled, likely to be employed, have high levels of education, etc.
- Preference was given to immigrants with Australian qualifications.
- Immigrants with the exception of humanitarian immigrants were excluded from most social welfare payments for their first two years in Australia.

This chapter examines a range of economic indicators among immigrants who had arrived in Australia after 1996 and were enumerated at the 2001 census. It focuses particularly upon their labour market involvement since this is of crucial importance in their adjustment to life in Australia. The level of participation in

the workforce, unemployment, occupation and industry of recent immigrants is compared to that of longer standing immigrants and the Australian-born. In addition, the income levels of recent migrants are analysed.

THE LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS

To examine the labour force outcomes of immigrants, two main measures are employed — labour force participation rates¹ and unemployment rates.² Table 4.1 summarises the measures and indicates that labour force participation rates are highest among the Australian-born (74.6%), slightly lower among longstanding immigrants (70.5%) and significantly lower among recent migrants (60.1%). Despite the limitations of this measure it undoubtedly indicates significant differences between the three groups. Clearly, the participation rate does not tell the degree of engagement which immigrants had with the workforce — hours worked, full-time/part-time, fractional, etc. Nevertheless, it is indicative of differences between immigrants and between immigrants who recently arrived and those of longstanding. Clearly, among recent immigrants there is less involvement in the workforce despite their younger age structure. This is partly due to a low rate of involvement in the workforce of spouses among recent immigrants and there is a wide literature indicating the problems experienced by new immigrants to Australia. Problems with language, recognition of qualifications, lack of knowledge of the labour market, lack of local contacts, etc., have hampered the engagement of immigrants in the labour market (Wooden, et al., 1994; VandenHeuvel and Wooden, 1999). This is reflected in both a lower participation rate and a higher unemployment rate among recent immigrants. The fact that immigrant labour market participation is greater and unemployment is less among longer standing immigrants reflects their improvement in English language skills, upgrading work skills and increasing local knowledge and experience. It also may reflect some emigration of immigrants who are less successful in Australian labour markets (Hugo, 1994a). Analysis of LSIA and ABS labour force survey data have indicated the changes made to Australia's immigration selection system and the increase of non-permanent migration has had a significant impact on the extent of immigration engagement in the labour force (Cobb-Clark, 1999; Cobb-Clark and Chapman, 1999; Richardson, Robertson and Ilsley, 2001; Birrell, Dobson,

¹ Number in the workforce as a proportion of the population aged 15–64 years.

² Number unemployed as a proportion of number in the workforce.

Rapson and Smith, 2001). Table 4.2 presents a comparison of the 1996 and 2001 census data and this would indicate that there has been an improvement in the labour market performance of both recent migrants and longstanding immigrants. It should be noted however, that there was a significant improvement in the Australian labour market between 1996 and 2001 with the level of unemployment falling from around 8.7% to 7.1%. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the level of workforce participation increased among immigrants but fell among the Australian-born due to early retirement, redundancy and increased involvement in study. There was a substantial fall in unemployment experienced by all three groups and there has been a convergence between the Australian-born and longstanding migrants rates. However the rates for recent migrants, while lower than in 1996, are still a cause of concern. Undoubtedly though, the changes in policy and improved employment situation have improved the labour market situation of immigrants, especially recent migrants, over the last intercensal period.

4.1 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL: LABOUR MARKET VARIABLES, 2001

	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	<i>Year of arrival not stated</i>
Employed (no.)	6 044 026	247 964	1 645 777	74 160
Unemployed (no.)	459 959	40 524	131 946	8 219
Not in Labour Force (no.)	2 210 327	191 616	745 481	52 681
Participation Rate (%)	74.6	60.1	70.5	61.0
Unemployment Rate (%)	7.1	14.0	7.4	10.0

Note: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

4.2 CHANGES IN LABOUR FORCE INDICATORS BY BIRTHPLACE, 1996–2001

	Unemployment rate	Participation rate
	%	%
<i>Australian-born</i>		
1996	8.7	74.1
2001	7.1	74.6
% change	–13.7	0.5
<i>Recent migrants</i>		
1996	20.6	56.8
2001	14.0	60.1
% change	–19.4	3.3
<i>Longstanding migrants</i>		
1996	9.4	70.7
2001	7.4	70.5
% change	–20.6	–0.2

Note: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

There are of course significant variations in labour force experience between different birthplace groups. Table 4.3 shows that among recent migrants, participation rates are very low among those from China and Viet Nam. It is also low in the large ‘other’ category which includes most of those arriving in Australia under the refugee and humanitarian visa category. It will also be noted that the participation rates are highest among groups from countries which have English as a main language and which are most similar to Australia — New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Among most groups the participation rates are highest among the longstanding migrants than among recent migrants. One interesting exception is the United Kingdom where there is a higher level of participation among recent migrants compared to longstanding migrants. This is probably due to the fact that the United Kingdom is the main origin of temporary residents in the Temporary Business and Working Holiday Maker categories. This undoubtedly has inflated the participation rate of recent migrants. Among the European groups the Southern Europeans have the lowest participation rates especially those born in Greece.

4.3 OVERSEAS-BORN LABOUR FORCE INDICATORS FOR RECENT AND LONGSTANDING IMMIGRANTS, 2001

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Unemployment rate overseas-born</i>		<i>Participation rate overseas-born</i>	
	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>
	%	%	%	%
China	7.6	17.4	70.0	47.4
Germany	7.0	10.1	69.5	66.9
Greece	6.8	14.9	52.0	63.3
Italy	4.5	11.4	60.1	67.7
Lebanon	13.3	28.9	49.2	49.5
New Zealand	7.2	9.1	79.6	82.2
Philippines	6.1	11.5	73.4	62.1
United Kingdom	5.9	6.6	74.6	81.5
Viet Nam	16.6	30.9	66.5	48.1
Other	7.8	17.1	69.6	52.7
Total	7.4	14.0	70.5	60.1

Note: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Excludes not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Turning to unemployment rates, table 4.3, the Vietnamese have the highest levels in both the longstanding migrants and recent migrants. Nevertheless, unemployment levels have come down among the Vietnamese since 1996 when 25.2% of the workforce was unemployed compared to 17.7% overall in 2001. The Vietnamese and Lebanese have been the two birthplace groups with the most longstanding and seemingly intractable unemployment problems. The China-born are one of the largest among the recently arrived groups and they have a high unemployment rate, especially when compared to the longstanding migrants from China. However among the Chinese too, there has been a decline in the unemployment rate from 13.4% in 1996 to 10.1% in 2001.

Filipinos had a higher than average unemployment rate among the recent migrants (11.5%) but lower among the longstanding residents (6.1%). Like other groups, unemployment fell among the Philippines-born falling from 9% to 7%.

Among the European origin groups there were very low unemployment rates among the largest group — those born in the United Kingdom. As indicated earlier, this is a function of the high involvement of temporary residents but also language factors and ready acceptance of qualifications. The United Kingdom-born unemployment rate fell from 7.8% in 1996 to 5.9% in 2001. The other major European groups have lower than average unemployment rates

among the longstanding migrants but higher than average among recent migrants, although the latter are relatively small in number. The German, Greek and Italian-born unemployment rates fell from 9%, 10% and 7.1% in 1996 to 7%, 6.7% and 4.5% in 2001.

OCCUPATION

Among the immigrants in the labour force there are some differences in the occupations that recent migrants are engaged in, compared to migrants who have been in Australia a considerable period. Table 4.4 indicates that there is only a small difference between the two migrant groups and Australian-born who are managers and administrators. However the make-up of the category differs between the Australian and overseas-born with farmers being a much larger proportion of the managers among Australian-born. There are a significant number of the recent migrants in management who are in Australia as temporary residents rather than permanent settlers. It is interesting therefore to note that among the recent immigrants, 48.3% of those working as managers or administrators do so in New South Wales. This compares to 32.6% of the Australian-born and 37.3% of the longstanding immigrants in this occupation category.

4.4 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY OCCUPATION, 2001

	Australian-born		Immigrants resident less than five years		Immigrants resident more than five years		Year of arrival not stated	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Managers & Administrators	550 244	9.3	19 429	8.0	140 982	8.7	5 862	8.3
Professionals	1 075 377	18.1	57 538	23.8	329 027	20.4	12 133	17.2
Associate Professionals	712 805	12.0	24 734	10.2	201 529	12.5	8 542	12.1
Tradespersons & Related Workers	756 239	12.7	23 816	9.8	198 684	12.3	9 443	13.4
Advanced Clerical & Service Workers	234 200	3.9	6 019	2.5	57 952	3.6	2 240	3.2
Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers	1 031 584	17.4	38 773	16.0	251 433	15.6	11 235	15.9
Intermediate Production & Transport	474 321	8.0	18 126	7.5	149 963	9.3	6 791	9.6
Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service Workers	607 507	10.2	23 586	9.7	128 877	8.0	6 180	8.8
Labourers & Related Workers	496 905	8.4	30 382	12.5	154 431	9.6	8 150	11.5
Total	5 939 182	100.0	242 403	100.0	1 612 878	100.0	70 576	100.0

Note: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Turning to professional occupations the changes in the immigration selection criteria are most evident with almost one-quarter of recent immigrants being in this category (23.7%) compared to 20.4% of longstanding immigrants and 18.1% of the Australian-born. This also effects the significance of temporary residents in the recent migrants as well. The increased skilling of the immigrant intake is

evident in the fact that in 1996 some 27.5% of overseas-born workers were in the managerial and professional categories compared to 29.7% in 2001. On the other hand, the proportion among the Australian-born was steadily increasing from 27.2% to 27.8%.

The overseas-born are more strongly represented in the labourers and related workers category than are the Australian-born, especially among recent migrants. This reflects a bimodal occupational structure among immigrants, especially recent immigrants. On the one hand are the highly skilled, higher income groups selected in the skilled immigration and temporary residence visa categories. On the other hand, many arriving under humanitarian and family programs are in unskilled occupations.

There are also some significant variations between various birthplace regions as table 4.5 indicates. Firstly, it will be noted that immigrants from MES origin countries have above average concentrations in managerial and professional occupations than those from countries which mainly speak languages other than English. In both cases the proportions are greatest among recent migrants reflecting the shift in immigration policy. On the other hand, the positions are reversed when the proportions in unskilled and labouring occupations are examined. Table 4.5 indicates that the proportion of recent migrants in these low paid occupations are twice as large for NES as MES origin immigrants. The differences are also there for more longstanding migrants although not as large. This differential partly reflects the differing mix of immigration visa categories with a large proportion of NES groups being humanitarian or family migrants while for MES the proportion of skill category and temporary resident entrants are greater.

It is interesting to examine the patterns of table 4.5 for North-West Europe, the Americas and Sub-Saharan Africa. It will be noticed that all three groups have very high proportions in the managerial and professional occupations. Moreover, the figures are particularly high for recent migrants. These are the three main origins of temporary business visa (456 and 457) migrants coming to Australia as non-permanent residents to work for a period. The bulk of immigrants coming from Sub-Saharan Africa are in fact from South Africa and come to Australia under the temporary and permanent migration skill categories. The Oceania (mainly New Zealanders) group, although part of the MES group, have slightly below average proportions in the professional and managerial occupation categories. This reflects the fact that there is a free flow

of New Zealand citizens across the Tasman and so New Zealanders wishing to settle in Australia do not have to satisfy the skill, family or humanitarian criteria required of other immigrants.³ Hence there is less selectivity in the flow and Hugo (2003a) notes that occupational breakdown of New Zealand immigrants is very similar to that of the Australian population.

4.5 OCCUPATION AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY BIRTHPLACE REGION, 2001

<i>Birthplace region</i>	<i>Managers and Administrators</i>			<i>Professionals</i>			<i>Labourers and Elementary Workers</i>		
	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	<i>Not stated</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	<i>Not stated</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	<i>Not stated</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Oceania	6.6	8.1	6.4	15.3	17.0	14.8	22.8	17.8	20.3
North-West Europe	12.4	10.3	9.4	34.5	20.7	19.0	9.1	13.6	14.6
Southern and Eastern Europe	3.2	7.8	7.8	16.6	12.3	9.0	31.4	23.0	24.0
North Africa and Middle East	4.2	7.8	7.4	16.4	17.3	11.2	29.3	18.8	22.1
South-East Asia	4.0	5.2	5.2	15.4	21.4	15.3	34.7	22.9	25.6
North-East Asia	8.3	7.7	8.3	20.2	25.0	19.4	22.9	15.6	19.8
Southern and Central Asia	3.9	8.2	6.9	25.4	27.8	21.4	29.8	13.7	20.9
Americas	12.7	8.4	7.8	33.0	26.2	23.4	16.0	17.0	18.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	11.9	10.5	9.1	31.9	28.1	26.0	13.8	12.7	15.4
MES	10.6	10.2	9.0	27.0	21.4	19.2	14.7	14.3	16.4
NES	5.7	7.6	7.6	20.9	19.6	15.3	28.9	20.1	23.8
Total Overseas	7.8	8.6	7.9	23.2	20.0	16.4	21.8	17.2	19.3

Note: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Among regions which were major origins of humanitarian and family immigration to Australia in the late 1990s, there were high proportions employed as labourers or as elementary sales, service and clerical workers. These involved Southern and Eastern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, South-East and South Central Asia. All of these areas have provided substantial numbers of immigrants from countries such as Afghanistan, the Former Yugoslavia, Iraq etc. Indeed it will be noted that for Asia the population in the professional and managerial categories among recent immigrants was in fact smaller than among the longstanding group. This reflects the greater significance of humanitarian and family migration for those areas in the late 1990s compared to the previous decade.

It is interesting to examine the differences in the occupational composition of immigrants in 1996 and 2001. Table 4.6 presents the comparison and a number of interesting patterns are in evidence. First, it will be noted that the increased

³ In recent years there has been a tightening of New Zealander eligibility for social security but New Zealanders can settle in Australia outside of the settlement program for all other immigrants (Hugo 2003a, Bedford et al. 2003).

focus on labour market considerations is evident, in that between the 1996 and 2001 censuses the number of recent migrants (those who arrived between the censuses) who were in the workforce increased by 28.9%. This compares to an increase of 8.6% in the Australian-born workforce and an increase of 3.2% in the workforce made up of immigrants resident in Australia for more than five years. Moreover it is clear that the increase in number of recent migrants was especially substantial in the most skilled occupations, again reflecting the change in policy. The fact that there were very rapid increases in the numbers of managers and administrators (46.8%), professionals (36.8%) and associate professionals (41.9%) among recent migrants between the 1996 and 2001 censuses is especially indicative. It is apparent that an important group here is temporary business migrants who are in Australia as temporary residents. At the other end of the occupational spectrum it will be noted that there was only a moderate increase in the number of recent migrants employed as labourers and related workers (14.4%). It is also interesting that despite the increased demand for tradespersons in the Australian economy, the numbers among the Australian-born increased by only 2.9% and the number of longstanding immigrants actually declined by 8% perhaps reflecting the ageing of migrants arriving in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s. There was also an increase of 7.9% of the number of recent immigrants in this category which is lower than for most occupation categories.

4.6 CHANGES IN OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION BY BIRTHPLACE, 1996–2001

	<i>Australian-born</i>			<i>Recent migrants</i>			<i>Longstanding migrants</i>		
	1996	2001	% change	1996	2001	% change	1996	2001	% change
Managers & Administrators	518 306	550 244	6.2	13 233	19 429	46.8	135 550	140 982	4.0
Professionals	945 871	1 075 377	13.7	42 042	57 538	36.8	288 378	329 027	14.1
Associate Professionals	630 624	712 805	13.0	17 432	24 734	41.9	190 216	201 529	5.9
Tradespersons & Related Workers	734 670	756 239	2.9	22 078	23 816	7.9	215 916	198 684	-8.0
Advanced Clerical & Service Workers	250 375	234 200	-6.5	5 459	6 019	10.3	64 472	57 952	-10.1
Intermediate Clerical, Sales & Service Workers	932 619	1 031 584	10.6	28 605	38 773	35.5	234 363	251 433	7.3
Intermediate Production & Transport Workers	464 900	474 321	2.0	18 204	18 126	-0.4	161 327	149 963	-7.0
Elementary Clerical, Sales & Service Workers	528 374	607 507	15.0	14 397	23 586	63.8	115 738	128 877	11.4
Labourers & Related Workers	462 035	496 905	7.5	26 551	30 382	14.4	156 555	154 431	-1.4
Total	5 467 774	5 939 182	8.6	188 001	242 403	28.9	1 562 515	1 612 878	3.2

Notes: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Excludes not stated.

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

INDUSTRY

The industries in which immigrants work, reflect the changes in Australia's economy as well as within the immigration system. Table 4.7 shows that there are substantial variations in the industries in which the two migrant groups and Australians work. The most striking difference relates to the fast growing area in the economy of property and business services. This was the largest group among working recent immigrants accounting for 17.2% of workers but for only 12.5% of the longstanding immigrants and 10.8% of the Australian-born workforce. This is because of the large number of temporary resident workers who were captured in the census recent migrant category, but also because of the increased selectivity of the skill migration program. It is interesting to note that New South Wales accounted for 48.8% of recent migrants working in the property and business sector. This is in spite of the fact that New South Wales had only 33.1% of all Australian workers and is due to the influence of Sydney. In the globalising world, one of the characteristics of cities which are most linked into global financial and trade networks is their concentration of productive services (Sassen 1991, 1995). Moreover it is characteristic of such world cities (Friedman 1986), that they have an elite of global business people that move between them frequently (Castles and Miller 1998, Sassen 1991, 1995). This also accounts for the over-representation of recent migrants in the finance and insurance area (5% compared to 4.1% of longstanding migrants and 3.8% of the Australian-born), in wholesale trade and communication services.

Although there is a considerable demand for health professionals in Australia with shortages of nurses generally and of doctors in non-metropolitan areas, the health industry accounts for only 8.7% of recent immigrants compared to 9.7% of the Australian-born population. However it is noticeable that health workers make up 11% of the longstanding migrant workforce.

4.7 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY INDUSTRY, 2001

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>		<i>Recent migrants</i>		<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	261 098	4.4	4 264	1.8	27 120	1.7
Mining	58 274	1.0	1 970	0.8	13 048	0.8
Manufacturing	663 377	11.2	35 635	14.9	269 011	16.8
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	48 095	0.8	1 095	0.5	10 205	0.6
Construction	412 358	6.9	12 308	5.1	111 523	6.9
Wholesale Trade	314 563	5.3	14 922	6.2	89 449	5.6
Retail Trade	937 048	15.8	29 325	12.2	198 261	12.3
Accommodation, Cafes and Restaurants	286 238	4.8	23 154	9.6	83 012	5.2
Transport and Storage	258 071	4.4	9 285	3.9	73 623	4.6
Communication Services	104 782	1.8	5 276	2.2	34 150	2.1
Finance and Insurance	224 730	3.8	12 027	5.0	65 994	4.1
Property and Business Services	639 636	10.8	41 305	17.2	201 563	12.5
Government, Administration and Defence	290 168	4.9	4 627	1.9	65 005	4.1
Education	460 855	7.8	12 919	5.4	104 918	6.5
Health and Community Services	577 429	9.7	20 811	8.7	177 332	11.0
Cultural and Recreational Services	157 164	2.7	4 920	2.0	32 140	2.0
Personal and Other Services	231 251	3.9	6 255	2.6	51 206	3.2
Total	5 925 137	100.0	240 098	100.0	1 607 560	100.0

Notes: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Excludes 69,623 persons whose year of arrival was not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

In all other industry sectors both recent and longstanding migrants have smaller proportions of their workers than is the case for the Australian-born. This is most noticeable in the agricultural sector where traditionally immigrants have been under-represented. This reflects the strong urban bias in the location of immigrants. They are also strongly under-represented in the Government, Administrative and Defence sectors, especially among recent migrants.

There are some variations between countries of origin in which sectors of industry immigrants enter. Hence, table 4.8 shows that migrants entering the property and business and finance and insurance sectors are disproportionately drawn from MES nations. This is especially the case among recent migrants where one-quarter of MES migrants are in these two sections compared to less than one-fifth of NES group. The MES group are also over-represented in the health service sector, construction and mining and agriculture.

4.8 MAINLY ENGLISH SPEAKING ORIGIN AND MAINLY NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING ORIGIN COUNTRY MIGRANTS BY INDUSTRY, 2001

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>		<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	
	<i>MES</i>	<i>NES</i>	<i>MES</i>	<i>NES</i>
	%	%	%	%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	2.0	1.6	1.7	1.6
Mining	1.3	0.4	1.3	0.5
Manufacturing	12.6	16.8	13.5	19.3
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.6
Construction	6.4	4.0	7.6	6.4
Wholesale Trade	6.0	6.4	5.5	5.6
Retail Trade	10.6	13.6	11.7	12.8
Accommodation, Cafes and Restaurants	6.5	12.4	4.0	6.1
Transport and Storage	3.7	4.0	4.3	4.8
Communication Services	2.3	2.1	1.9	2.3
Finance and Insurance	6.1	4.1	3.8	4.3
Property and Business Services	18.7	15.8	13.1	12.1
Government Administration and Defence	2.4	1.5	4.6	3.6
Education	5.4	5.3	8.0	5.4
Health and Community Services	9.7	7.7	12.1	10.2
Cultural and Recreational Services	2.7	1.5	2.6	1.5
Personal and Other Services	2.9	2.3	3.8	2.7

Notes: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Excludes 69,623 persons whose year of arrival was not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

On the other hand, NES groups are strongly over-represented in the Accommodation, Cafes and Restaurants sector. This is especially the case among recent migrants, 12.4% are in this sector compared to 6.5% among their MES counterparts. It is also noticeable that the NES group are over-represented in the manufacturing sector compared to the MES immigrants, but in this case the greatest difference is among longstanding migrants although it is also evident among recent migrants.

The changes which have occurred in Australia's economy and immigration systems are relevant when we compare the industry distribution of immigration in 1996 and 2001. Hence, table 4.9 shows the differences in the industry distribution for the three groups between the censuses. The property and business services and finance and insurance sectors are prominent in the 'most recent' migrant comparison. Whereas recent migrants make up 3.1% of the total Australian workforce, they contribute 4.5% of all workers in the finance, insurance, property and business service sectors. This indicates the importance

of temporary business migrants and skilled permanent migrants in this rapidly growing sector of the economy. Communication services is another area where there has been rapid growth of recent migrants reflecting the information technology boom of the late 1990s. However, the depression in this sector in the early years of the new century is seen in the decline in numbers in this sector among the Australian-born and longstanding migrant population. Manufacturing has traditionally been an important sector for initial employment of immigrants in Australia. In 2001 migrants made up 32% of national employment in manufacturing compared to 24% of the total workforce. However the restructuring that has been occurring in the Australian economy over the last three decades has seen the relative significance of manufacturing in the economy decline. Hence, it grew the slowest of all sectors of the economy in terms of the number of recent migrants employed in it between 1996 and 2001. The number of longstanding migrants in the sector declined over the period.

4.9 CHANGES IN INDUSTRY DISTRIBUTION BY BIRTHPLACE, 1996–2001

Industry	Australian-born			Recent migrants			Longstanding migrants		
	1996	2001	% change	1996	2001	% change	1996	2001	% change
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	259 547	261 098	0.6	3 067	4 264	39.0	29 027	27 120	-6.6
Mining	67 165	58 274	-13.2	2 058	1 970	-4.3	15 414	13 048	-15.3
Manufacturing	626 973	663 377	5.8	36 612	35 635	-12.7	276 260	269 011	-2.6
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	47 298	48 095	1.7	573	1 095	91.1	10 057	10 205	1.5
Construction	353 234	412 358	16.7	8 307	12 308	48.2	110 367	111 523	1.0
Wholesale Trade	325 991	314 563	-3.2	12 137	14 922	22.9	96 258	89 449	-7.1
Retail Trade	802 917	937 048	16.7	19 848	29 325	47.7	186 329	198 261	6.4
Accommodation, Cafes and Restaurants	252 778	286 238	13.2	16 244	23 154	42.5	75 655	83 012	9.7
Transport and Storage	243 280	258 071	6.1	7 328	9 285	26.7	72 308	73 623	1.8
Communication Services	110 217	104 782	-4.9	3 146	5 276	67.7	34 257	34 150	-0.3
Finance and Insurance	222 872	224 730	0.8	7 715	12 027	55.9	59 207	65 994	11.5
Property and Business Services	530 045	639 636	20.7	25 580	41 305	61.5	171 242	201 563	17.7
Government Administration and Defence	292 892	290 168	-0.9	4 465	4 627	3.6	69 458	65 005	-6.4
Education	419 101	460 855	10.0	11 203	12 919	15.3	99 180	104 918	5.8
Health and Community Services	526 098	577 429	9.8	16 876	20 811	23.3	162 431	177 332	9.2
Cultural and Recreational Services	138 490	157 164	13.5	4 213	4 920	16.8	30 979	32 140	3.7
Personal and Other Services	213 125	231 251	8.5	5 730	6 255	16.5	51 614	51 206	-0.8
Total	5 432 023	5 925 137	9.1	184 742	240 098	30.0	1 550 043	1 607 560	3.7

Notes: Data applies to employed persons aged 15–64 years.

Excludes 69,623 persons whose year of arrival was not stated.

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

QUALIFICATIONS

One of the major changes in Australian immigration selection is a sharpening of the skills/education/training criteria adopted. Accordingly, it is useful to examine the educational background of recent migrants and compare them to other groups. Table 4.10 presents a comparison of 1996 and 2001 census data on qualifications for recent migrants, longstanding migrants and the Australian-born. The first point to be made is that at both censuses, recent migrants have a substantially more skilled profile than both the Australian-born and migrants of longer standing. It will be noticed that in all areas of qualification, except that of vocational qualifications, there are a greater proportion of migrants than the Australian-born. This reflects the nature of the selectivity of immigrants in recent years which has been less oriented to manual skills than in the early postwar decades.

4.10 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF POST-SCHOOL QUALIFICATION

<i>Highest level of post-school qualification attained</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>		<i>Recent migrants</i>		<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	
	<i>1996</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2001</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Higher degree	1.0	1.4	5.4	5.9	2.0	2.8
Postgraduate diploma	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.3
Bachelor degree	7.5	9.5	15.3	18.6	8.3	11.0
Undergraduate diploma	3.5	—	4.9	—	3.8	—
Associate diploma	2.7	5.9	3.0	9.7	2.5	6.7
Skilled vocational qualification	11.1	—	6.9	—	11.2	—
Basic vocational qualification	3.1	16.9	2.2	10.2	2.6	15.6
Level of attainment inadequately described	0.8	1.2	1.9	2.0	1.2	1.5
Level of attainment not stated	8.5	6.9	10.3	7.4	9.9	7.9
No qualifications	60.4	56.7	49.1	45.0	57.3	53.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Applicable to persons aged 15 years and over.

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It is apparent in table 4.10 that there was a decrease in the proportion of each of the three populations with no qualifications between the 1996 and 2001 censuses. More than one-half of recent migrants now have qualifications with one-quarter having Bachelor or higher qualifications. Hence, there is no question that the changes in settler selection and the expansion of temporary resident visa programmes has contributed toward the broader skilling of Australian society.

Unfortunately, different coding schemes were used for the years of schooling question at the 1996 and 2001 censuses. At the 1996 census, the question asked 'How old was the person when he or she left primary or secondary school?' The results are presented in table 4.11 and it shows that 37.6% of recent migrants left school at age 18 years or older compared to 13.4% of the Australian-born and 21.9% of longstanding migrants. This points to a much higher average level of formal education among recent migrants. It is difficult to compare with the situation in 2001, where the census question asked 'What is the highest level of primary or secondary school the person has completed?' Table 4.12 shows the results. It indicates that two-thirds of recent migrants completed Year 12 or the equivalent compared to 36.3% of the Australian-born and 43.9% of other migrants. Quite clearly, the strong educational selectivity of immigration has continued.

4.11 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY AGE LEFT SCHOOL FOR PERSONS AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER, 1996

	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>
<i>Age left school</i>	%	%	%
Still at school	5.4	6.5	2.8
Never attended school	0.3	1.9	2.0
14 years and under	12.8	8.3	18.1
15 years	21.8	8.4	17.3
16 years	20.6	14.8	16.5
17 years	21.4	16.8	15.9
18 years	11.2	24.0	14.5
19 years and over	2.2	13.6	7.4
Age left school not stated	4.3	5.7	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Excludes not stated.

Source: 1996 Census of Population and Housing.

4.12 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING FOR PERSONS AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER, 2001

<i>Highest level of schooling completed</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>
	%	%	%
Still at school	4.0	5.6	1.4
Did not go to school	0.3	2.0	2.8
Year 8 or below	8.9	3.5	12.6
Year 9 or equivalent	8.6	2.3	5.8
Year 10 or equivalent	27.1	8.8	19.3
Year 11 or equivalent	10.6	7.4	8.2
Year 12 or equivalent	36.3	65.0	43.9
Not stated	4.2	5.4	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Excludes not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

COMPUTER USE

An innovation in the 2001 Australian census was to include a question on whether or not people had used a computer in the week preceding the enumeration. This question has obvious significance to an examination of groups' ability to compete in the labour market since ability to use a computer is an increasingly important requirement in many jobs. It also reflects educational and socioeconomic background to some extent. Table 4.13 presents data on the proportion of recent migrants and longstanding immigrants who used a computer in the week before the 2001 census and as would be expected, recent migrants were more frequent users. This would be predominately because of the substantially younger age structure of the recent migrants. Table 4.14 presents data on computer use by five-year age group for the three birthplace categories. There are first of all clear overall differences between the three groups. Recent migrants have a much greater overall use of computers with the Australian-born having a longer use than the longstanding migrants. To what extent is this a function of different age structure between the three groups? It would appear that it is not only a function of age structure since for age 25–29 years onward, the rate of computer use is higher for recent migrants than the other two groups for each five-year age group. This would clearly indicate that recent migrants use the computer more than other groups and other things being equal, suggest that they are more able to enter the labour market than the other groups. It reflects the increasing economic orientation in immigration selection.

4.13 OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION BY COMPUTER USE, 2001

		<i>Did not use a computer</i>		<i>Did use a computer</i>	
		<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>
MES Origin	Recent migrants	93 594	43.2	123 115	56.8
	Longstanding migrants	689 477	53.0	610 304	47.0
NES Origin	Recent migrants	181 778	44.9	222 823	55.1
	Longstanding migrants	1 278 035	65.0	687 505	35.0

Note: Excludes not stated.

Computer use indicates use in the last week.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

4.14 COMPUTER USE BY BIRTHPLACE BY AGE, 2001

<i>Age group (years)</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
0-4	15.3	*22.4	—
5-9	*52.4	52.0	60.1
10-14	71.1	68.5	*76.6
15-19	68.0	72.6	*78.3
20-24	48.8	62.1	*63.9
25-29	45.0	*54.2	52.6
30-34	49.2	*57.8	51.0
35-39	52.9	*59.0	52.8
40-44	53.4	*56.5	51.2
45-49	49.4	*52.7	46.9
50-54	42.0	*47.2	40.6
55-59	34.2	*37.8	32.9
60-64	25.0	*25.2	23.2
65-69	17.1	*18.8	16.9
70-74	11.4	*16.1	12.2
75-79	6.9	*16.5	8.3
80-84	3.9	*15.7	5.8
85+	2.2	*13.9	3.3
Total	44.2	55.2	39.5

* Highest use for age group.

Notes: Table excludes those persons who did not indicate if they were born in Australia or overseas.

Computer use indicates use in the last week.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It is apparent from table 4.15 that there are also differences by area of origin in computer use. In both the longstanding and recent arrival groups there were higher rates of computer use among immigrants from MES country origins than among NES origin groups. However it will be noted that the difference was much greater among the longstanding migrants than among recent migrants. Indeed it would seem that there is very little difference between NES and MES

groups among recent migrants. This would be another indication of the changes in migration eligibility criteria over the last intercensal period as has been discussed in several places in this chapter. Table 4.15 indicates that there are wide variables between regions in the use of the computer. It is interesting that in all cases except Oceania (mainly New Zealand), longstanding migrants have a lower use of computers than recent migrants. The New Zealand case perhaps reflects the fact that they are not subject to immigration selection criteria and young people from all types of background move across the Tasman. Hugo (2003a) has shown that once controlled for age differences, there is virtually no difference between the New Zealand and Australian-born populations in qualifications, socioeconomic characteristics, etc. There is also a high rate of return migration among the New Zealanders (Hugo 1994a), and those remaining are disproportionately drawn from skilled immigrants.

4.15 OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION BY COMPUTER USE BY REGENCY OF ARRIVAL AND BIRTHPLACE REGION, 2001

<i>Birthplace region</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>
	%	%
Oceania	41.9	46.2
North-West Europe	61.8	43.5
Southern & Eastern Europe	45.1	19.4
North Africa & Middle East	33.8	31.7
South-East Asia	58.9	41.3
North-East Asia	63.2	52.9
Southern & Central Asia	61.3	55.4
Americas	69.9	57.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	69.8	58.4

Note: Computer use indicates use in the previous week.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The highest rates of computer use were among recent migrants from the Americas and Sub-Saharan Africa (mainly South Africa), which were major origins of both skilled settlers and temporary business migrants. They also have the highest rates among the longstanding migrants. There were also very high rates of usage among recent migrants from North-West Europe, Northern Asia and South-Central Asia — all areas from which there has been strong recruitment of both skilled migrants and temporary business migrants. It will be noticed however, that among the longstanding migrants, the use is much lower among those from Northern Europe reflecting the fact that they are generally much older than their Asian counterparts with many more having come to Australia in the early postwar decades. South-East Asians have the lowest level

of use among the Asian groups reflecting the proportion being made up of family and humanitarian migrants than migrants from South, Central, North and East Asia.

The lowest rates of computer use were among immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. These are areas which have been major origins of humanitarian migrants who have lower levels of education. There are very low rates of use among the longstanding migrants from these origins. These are quite an old population, having predominately come to Australia in the early postwar decades and having low average skill and education levels.

INCOME

Measuring income in the census is problematical as it is in other surveys. It is not perfectly correlated with socioeconomic status and it does not necessarily indicate people's level of economic wellbeing since it does not take into account accumulated assets and wealth. Nevertheless, it is useful to examine differences between recent migrants and others with respect to income.

Table 4.16 shows the distribution of the various birthplace/arrival categories in six weekly income categories for individuals and some substantial variations are in evidence. Clearly, the best off group are the recently arrived immigrants from MES origin countries with nearly two-thirds earning more than \$400 per week compared to 48.9% of the Australian-born, 51.7% of the longstanding MES migrants and 31.2% and 42.8% respectively of the NES recent and longstanding immigrants. This is obviously a function of the dominance of skilled settlers and temporary business migrants in this group, together with its age structure being dominated by young adults. Nevertheless, table 4.16 indicates a higher proportion of this group, that are either the Australian-born or all longstanding migrants, were receiving nil or negative income (12.6%). This is due to several factors. Firstly, since the data are of individual income, a substantial number of recent migrants will have spouses/partners who have not yet entered the workforce. Secondly, the last decade has seen the Australian government increase the waiting period for receipt of benefits for all but humanitarian migrants to two years and greatly reduce the access to benefits of parents migrating to Australia to join their children. To bring parents to join them in Australia, immigrants need to indicate that their parents will be able to be supported outside of the Australian social security system. A third factor is the increasing number of foreign students coming to Australia to study, although

for the MES group this is likely to be small since most come for 'study abroad' courses rather than entire degree programmes. Hence, they stay in Australia less than one year and most will not be counted in the census.

4.16 BIRTHPLACE OF INDIVIDUALS AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY INDIVIDUAL INCOME, 2001

	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>		<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	
		<i>MES</i>	<i>NES</i>	<i>MES</i>	<i>NES</i>
<i>Individual weekly income</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Negative/nil	6.3	12.6	25.9	4.5	6.7
\$1–\$159	12.6	7.9	15.6	9.6	13.5
\$160–\$399	32.2	15.9	27.3	34.2	37.0
\$400–\$699	24.2	25.3	18.7	22.8	22.1
\$700–\$1,499	20.6	26.7	9.9	22.9	17.3
\$1,500	4.1	11.5	2.6	6.0	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of individuals (no.)	9 767 053	158 037	318 136	1 230 838	1 840 855

Note: Applicable to persons aged 15 years and over.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

In respect of the population earning nil or negative income, by far the highest value is for recent migrants from NES countries. Each of the groups considered above are important in this but undoubtedly foreign students are an important component. It was demonstrated earlier that more than three-quarters of overseas students in Australian universities come from Asia and the bulk are in Australia for periods longer than one year. Although the population working is substantial,⁴ many are supported by funds sent to them by their families. The relatively high level of unemployment and low level of workforce participation among this group examined earlier in this chapter would indicate that a significant number of nil/negative income earners are recent migrants who have not been able to get a job. Hence, while students are a significant group here, there is a need for some concern. This is underlined by the fact that the recently arrived NES group have a higher proportion in the lowest weekly income category (\$1–\$159). The proportion of this group in the bottom two income categories (41.5%) is more than double that of any other group. On the other hand the proportion in the two highest income categories (12.5%) is only half that of the other categories. In sum, while shifts to immigration regulations and the improved economy have undoubtedly improved things for NES origin recent migrants, there are still some concerns.

⁴ Under Immigration regulations overseas students are allowed to work up to 20 hours per week in term time and 40 hours a week outside of term.

Turning to the longer standing migrants, the MES:NES differences remain, although they are less marked than they are for recent migrants. In both groups there are high proportions in the lower income areas, partly reflecting their older age structure and the large number of pension recipients. However, whereas the proportion in the two highest income categories for the MES group (28.9%) is higher than that for the Australian-born (24.7%), that for the NES longstanding immigrants was lower (20.7%).

Table 4.17 indicates that there are some substantial differences in income distribution between birthplace regions. It will be noted that the highest proportions with nil or negative income among recent immigrants were recorded by areas sending the most substantial numbers of students to study in Australia — South-East and North-East Asia (Hugo 2003d). Nevertheless, it will be noted that there were significant numbers in this income category among all recent migrants reflecting the fact that many newcomers still are experiencing difficulties in entering the labour market. Of course in many cases this group includes partners of the principal migrant who have no wish to enter the labour market as well as a small number of elderly new migrants who are unable to access the local aged pension scheme. The proportions of longstanding migrants in this income category is low except for those from North-East Asia. It may be that there are many students from this origin who have been in Australia for a long period but also may point to many in this group having difficulty entering the labour market.

4.17 BIRTHPLACE REGION OF OVERSEAS-BORN BY REGENCY OF ARRIVAL: PROPORTIONS IN LOWEST AND HIGHEST INCOME GROUPS, 2001

Birthplace region	Lowest weekly income				Highest weekly income			
	Negative/nil		\$1–\$159		\$700–\$1,499		More than \$1,500	
	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Oceania	11.8	5.5	8.9	9.9	20.9	24.3	5.1	5.4
North-West Europe	13.6	4.3	7.2	9.7	29.0	21.2	14.1	5.2
Southern & Eastern Europe	14.0	5.0	20.2	13.6	10.6	13.5	1.5	2.3
North Africa & Middle East	17.4	6.2	20.8	16.2	6.3	14.1	1.5	3.2
South-East Asia	28.1	7.6	16.6	15.3	7.1	18.9	1.6	3.5
North-East Asia	38.9	13.7	14.5	15.3	8.0	18.3	2.1	3.8
Southern & Central Asia	20.8	6.9	13.1	11	14.5	26.8	3.4	6.9
Americas	22.7	6.7	9.4	11.7	19.3	23.9	14.2	6.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	17.7	6.4	12.5	10.4	22.1	26.3	10.9	9.3

Note: Applicable to persons aged 15 years and over.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

With respect to high income earners, one of the most interesting areas of origin is Southern and Central Asia. It will be noted from table 4.17 that this region had a quite high proportion in the two highest income earning categories among its longstanding migrants (33.7% compared to 24.7% among the Australian-born). The proportion is somewhat lower among recent migrants (17.9%) although still higher than for the other Asian categories, South and Eastern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. This can be explained by the fact that migration from this region in the early 1990s was dominated by skilled migrants. While this group were significant in the late 1990s; they were joined by humanitarian migrants (from Afghanistan and Central Asia especially) and family migrants to a much greater extent. The highest representation in the high income categories however, are from regions who supply a large proportion of the high skill and temporary business migrants (Hugo 2003f) to Australia — the Americas, North-West Europe (mainly the United Kingdom) and Sub-Saharan Africa (mainly South Africa). This is evident in both longstanding and recent migrants. In the case of North-West Europe (the predominant origin of this type of migrants), it is especially marked for recent immigrants.

In Southern and North-East Asia there is a major difference between the representation of longstanding and recent migrants in the highest income categories, due partly to the larger number of students in the latter. The low representation of Southern and Eastern Europe and North Africa and the Middle East in the highest income group reflects the large number of humanitarian and family migrants across both recent and longstanding migrants.

In recent years there has been little discussion on the issue of poverty among immigrants, however this has not always been the case. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (1975, p. 269) identified recently arrived migrant income units from NES countries as being one of the Australian sub-groups with an above-average incidence of poverty. It found that in 1973, among NES origin immigrants who had arrived in Australia after 1966, some 12.3% were below the poverty line whereas this applied to 6.7% of all income units in Australia. Subsequently, Johnson (1991) estimated the extent of poverty among immigrants based on ABS household income surveys in 1982 and 1986 and found that the overall gap between Australian-born and immigrant income units below the poverty line was relatively small in 1982 but increased by 1986. There has not been as much research interest in poverty among migrants over

the last decade but a study based on 2001 data carried out by Harding et al. (2003) found that among non-migrant households (the Australian-born) the percentage of households in poverty is lower than the percentage not in poverty. However among non-European migrants the percentage of households in poverty is higher than those not in poverty as table 4.18 indicates.

4.18 INCIDENCE OF POVERTY IN HOUSEHOLDS, 2001

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Households in poverty</i>	<i>Households not in poverty</i>
	%	%
Australia	67.3	69.5
Europe	14.7	16.3
Asia	9.3	7.0
Other	8.7	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Harding, et al., 2003.

In Australia there is a strong correlation between unemployment and poverty so it is instructive to examine unemployment levels among migrants. Table 4.19 presents national labour force data on unemployment and labour force participation. This national survey interviews less than 1% of workers so its accuracy becomes limited when dealing with small subgroups in the population. Nevertheless, the survey data are useful for examining unemployment among the overseas-born. Table 4.19 shows that the levels of unemployment of both Australian and overseas-born declined between 1987 and 2000 but the gap between the two also got smaller. It is very noticeable that in both 1987 and 2000 there was a substantial variation between birthplace groups in the level of unemployment. The Vietnamese and Lebanese have the highest levels in both years but especially after 1987. This points to the fact that the immigrant groups which have found it most difficult to enter the labour market in Australia have been those unable to speak English and with low skill levels. This has meant that traditionally it has been people entering Australia under refugee and humanitarian categories who have experienced greatest difficulties in the labour market. This is evident in graph 4.20 which shows the immigration category of immigrants who were unemployed in 1999 but who had entered Australia since 1980.

4.19 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY BIRTHPLACE, 1987 AND 2000

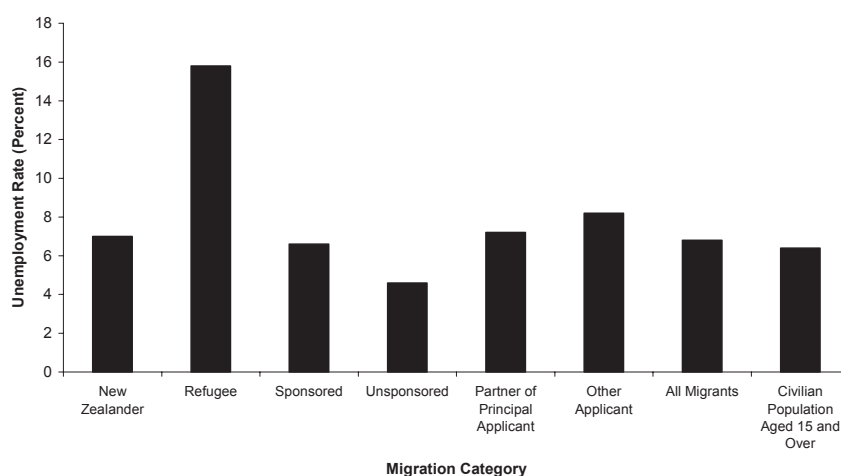
Birthplace	Unemployment rate		Labour force participation rate	
	1987	2000	1987	2000
	%	%	%	%
Born in Australia	7.3	6.5	63.3	66.9
Born outside Australia	*8.4	*7.0	61.3	57.4
Mainly English-Speaking Countries	na	5.8	na	64.0
Other Countries	na	*7.7	na	53.5
Oceania	*9.5	*8.0	75.6	74.7
New Zealand	*8.9	*7.2	77.9	76.8
Europe and the Former USSR	6.5	5.8	59.2	52.0
Germany	*8.0	*8.4	64.1	57.0
UK and Ireland	6.7	5.4	61.2	59.1
Former Yugoslav Republics	*8.7	*8.6	62.8	48.7
The Middle East and North Africa	na	*12.9	na	49.5
Lebanon	31.7	*14.2	50	44.1
South-East Asia	*14.8	*8.9	62.2	61.4
Philippines	na	*7.4	na	67.7
Viet Nam	26.3	*11.0	70.8	58.8
North-East Asia	na	*6.9	na	53.6
China	na	*8.5	na	53.8
The Americas	*11.3	5.7	66.8	68.2
Other	na	6.2	na	69.9

* Unemployment rate above the level for the Australian-born.

Note: na=not available.

Source: ABS 2001b, p. 28, 1987, p. 26.

4.20 MIGRATION CATEGORY AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, NOVEMBER 1999



Note: Applicable to migrants who arrived in Australia after 1980, aged 15 years and over.

Source: ABS, 2001b, p. 8, ABS 1999, p. 27.

It is useful to look at the extent to which immigrants are receiving unemployment benefits. In 1987, the overseas-born made up 25% of unemployment benefit recipients, slightly over their representation in the total population, whereas by 2000 they made up 22.2% of beneficiaries, marginally below their representation in the total population. Of course an important factor in this has been the Australian government's decision in 1996⁵ to limit recently arrived migrant's access to social welfare benefits (Birrell and Evans 1996) by introducing a two year 'waiting period'. Although some groups were exempted (humanitarian migrants and some family groups), this undoubtedly has had an impact, since prior to this, recent migrants made substantial use of benefits (Murphy and Williams, 1996; Birrell and Evans, 1996).

On the surface, the reduction of the proportion that the overseas-born make up of unemployment benefit recipients would indicate that the situation of immigrants has improved with respect to unemployment. The evidence from the LSIA considered earlier, would also support the argument that the shift in immigrant intake toward a greater emphasis on economically selected settlers, has reduced levels of immigrant unemployment. Nevertheless, table 4.21 shows that there is considerable variation in recipient rates between birthplace groups and in their experience over the 1987–2000 period. Hence, it will be noted that in both years the highest rates of receipt of benefits are among recently arrived refugee groups. In 1987 there were the Indo-China, Chile and Turkey groups, in 2000 they included those from Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan and Somalia. An important point here is that there is considerable variation in the experience of particular immigrant groups and that it is not possible to generalise about all immigrants or even most when considering the extent of poverty among the group.

There is also some evidence of spatial concentration of poverty among recently arrived immigrant groups. Birrell and Seoul (1998) have identified the concentration of low income, recently arrived immigrants in parts of Sydney using census data and referred to them as an emerging 'ethnic under class'. More recently, Birrell and Healy (2003) have argued that ethnicity is a major element in creating the socioeconomic divide in Sydney. They show associations between unemployment, low incomes and recent immigrant settlement in outer western Sydney and link it to Australian-born outmigration.

⁵ In 1993 a six month waiting period was introduced for most immigrants.

In sum, while we are lacking recent specific data on the proportions of recent immigrants living in poverty, we can make the following observations on immigrants and poverty in Australia:

- There is evidence that throughout much of the postwar period in Australia recent immigrants have had a greater incidence of poverty than the Australian-born and immigrants of longer standing.
- The incidence of poverty is greater among some immigrant policy categories (refugees, family migrants) than others (economic, skill migrants).
- The incidence of poverty among immigrant groups declines with length of settlement in Australia.
- The incidence of poverty in Australia among both immigrant and non-immigrant populations is closely related to their ability to enter the labour market.
- With an increasing emphasis on skill in the immigration program overall the incidence of poverty among recently arrived migrants is probably decreasing.

However there are still significant numbers of recently arrived migrants who are in poverty.

In Australia there is a need for research into the relationship between international migration and poverty in the new context in which international migration is occurring in the country (Hugo, 1999a). Some of the crucial questions would seem to be as follows:

- In the new immigration regime, who are the groups most vulnerable to poverty? What are the interventions needed to reduce this vulnerability?
- With the influx of asylum seekers, what has been the experience of those who have been granted Temporary Protection Visas with respect to poverty? How has this experience differed from that of those with full refugee status selected offshore?
- To what extent in Australia's large cities like Sydney, are there a group of immigrants dominating particular labour market segments as is the case in other global cities?
- To what extent is movement out of poverty influenced by social networks?

4.21 UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT RECIPIENTS, MAY 1987 AND NOVEMBER 2001, AS A PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>November 2001</i>	<i>2000 ERP Birthplace population</i>	<i>May 1987</i>	<i>1986 Birthplace population</i>	<i>% change, 1987–2000</i>
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Total</i>	704 618	3.7	544 726	3.4	82.1
Australia	541 980	3.7	408 719	3.2	88.8
Overseas-born	162 638	3.6	136 007	4.2	62.2
United Kingdom & Ireland	30 714	2.5	36 807	3.1	4.4
Indo-China	19 787	**9.6	27 178	15.2	–13.6
New Zealand	17 011	4.5	11 937	5.8	67.5
Former Yugoslavia	8 922	4.2	5 825	3.8	124.2
Lebanon	6 425	8.0	8 339	1.4	–9.2
China	4 072	2.4	na	na	na
Iraq	4 137	*29.5	na	na	na
Philippines	3 057	2.5	844	2.7	444.5
Germany	3 383	2.8	4 104	3.4	3.8
Italy	3 303	1.4	5 184	1.9	–19.4
Greece	2 863	2.0	4 510	2.6	–17.7
Turkey	2 768	8.8	2 656	9.3	16.1
Malaysia	1 554	1.6	1 109	2.2	166.1
Poland	2 060	3.0	2 254	3.2	21.3
Iran	1 714	*10.4	na	na	na
Netherlands	1 903	2.1	2 466	2.4	–1.7
India	1 776	1.6	1 230	2.4	96.1
Former USSR and Baltic States	1 084	2.0	na	na	na
South Africa	1 524	1.9	871	2.2	155
Sri Lanka	1 397	2.5	578	2.4	257.6
Fiji	1 516	3.8	na	na	na
The United States of America	1 379	2.1	1 066	2.6	80.8
Afghanistan	1 219	*20.9	na	na	na
Chile	1 329	5.2	1 451	7.4	16.7
Malta	1 336	2.4	1 573	2.6	–0.2
Egypt	1 176	3.1	947	2.9	65
Papua New Guinea	1 278	*5.3	1 323	6.3	15.9
Samoa	1 235	*12.6	na	na	na

*Calculated as a percentage of 1996 census birthplace population.

**Calculated as a percentage of Viet Nam 2000 Estimated Resident Population (ERP), Cambodia and Laos 1996 census birthplace populations.

Note: Only those groups with recipients numbering above 1,000 persons in 2001 are listed.

na=not available.

Source: DSS, 1987, Centrelink unpublished data; ABS 2001c and 1986 Census of Population and Housing.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has addressed the important issue of the economic situation of recent immigrants to Australia, as it is reflected in 2001 census data. Particular attention has been paid to immigrant participation in the labour market. The data confirm the findings of studies based on the LSIA and, to a lesser extent, the National Labour Force Survey, that immigrant labour market performance has improved over recent years. The census data used here differ from the LSIA data in many respects but especially because it includes a wider range of movers to Australia. In particular, New Zealanders and temporary residents who were not included in the LSIA sampling frame, and they are important elements among recent migrants. Moreover, it is a total count of the population rather than a sample.

There can be no doubt that changes to settler immigrant selection criteria and the introduction and expansion of temporary working migration categories have impacted significantly on the intake of immigrants over the 1996–2001 period. In 2001, recent immigrants are more likely to be in the workforce, more likely to be employed, have high skill and education levels, to work in the quaternary sector of the economy and to work in higher skilled, higher income areas of the labour market, compared to those in 1996. As a result, they are well represented in the nation's higher income earners.

However, contemporary global migration has been characterised as having a bipolar nature. On the one hand are the highly skilled and highly educated who are in considerable demand and who move readily between countries with little hindrance. Undoubtedly, this group is significantly represented among Australian immigrants. This group is drawn from all countries but disproportionately from Euro-American, OECD nations. On the other hand are larger numbers of less skilled, poorer groups who wish to migrate because conditions in their home countries prevented them from realising their potential. People forced from their homelands because of conflict are an important group among the latter. While these groups find it increasingly difficult to move between countries, there is demand for their labour in the expanding service sector of OECD nations. The bulk of this group come from less developed areas and many seek to move to OECD nations like Australia. While Australia has reduced the significance of its intake of immigrants in this group compared to skilled migrants, they are still an important part of the immigrant intake and the need still remains for policies and programmes to



assist their adjustment to life in Australia and especially to facilitate their successful incorporation in the labour market. There is a danger that the undoubted improvements in labour market performance of recently arrived immigrants will divert attention from the fact that there remains a substantial group for whom it has remained very difficult.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS.....

INTRODUCTION

In the transformation of Australian society during the postwar period there has been no more important factor than migration. As indicated earlier Australia has changed from being an overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic society to one of the most diverse of national populations. The influx of immigrants has brought to Australia new and different ways of doing things that have affected almost every aspect of Australian society. In the present chapter the focus is on the social impacts of the latest generation of immigrants — those arriving in Australia between 1996 and 2001. Firstly, the ethnic diversity of the recent migrants is compared to that of earlier immigrants. Then the recent migrant population is compared to other migrants and the Australian-born in a range of social characteristics — household and family type, marital status and housing.

ETHNICITY OF RECENT MIGRANTS

At the 2001 census enumeration, the ABS included a question on ancestry (ABS 2003b). The ancestry profile for the Australian-born, recent immigrants and longstanding immigrants is presented in table 5.1 and some marked differences are evident. As would be expected, there are differences in the Oceania group however, the much greater representation of New Zealand and other Pacific groups among recent rather than longstanding migrants, reflects both the recency of an upswing in movement from this source and also a strong pattern of circularity in New Zealand migration to Australia (Hugo, 1994a). Northwest European ancestry accounts for almost half of the respondents of the Australian-born and among these English, Scottish and Irish are dominant. This group is also strongly represented in the longstanding population. Although Northwest Europeans are significantly less represented among recent immigrants, they have the largest percentage of all the regional categories, and the English who account for one-fifth of all recent migrants, are the largest

single ancestry among the recent group. This reflects the significance of the United Kingdom as the most important origin of long term temporary business migrants to Australia (Hugo, 2003b).

5.1 PERSONS BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY ANCESTRY, 2001

	Australian-born	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants
Ancestry	%	%	%
<i>Oceanian</i>			
Australian	40.25	1.34	1.43
Other Australian Peoples	0.70	0.07	0.03
New Zealand Peoples	0.16	4.71	1.86
Polynesian	0.09	2.46	0.83
Other Oceanian	0.12	0.53	0.16
<i>Total</i>	<i>41.32</i>	<i>9.11</i>	<i>4.31</i>
<i>North-West European</i>			
English	38.77	19.8	29.89
Scottish	1.16	1.36	3.06
Irish	5.69	2.56	3.26
Dutch	0.60	0.81	2.68
German	2.05	1.55	3.14
Other North-West European	0.55	2.32	2.79
<i>Total</i>	<i>48.81</i>	<i>28.4</i>	<i>44.82</i>
<i>Southern and Eastern European</i>			
Italian	3.22	0.79	6.66
Maltese	0.41	0.04	1.33
Croatian	0.28	0.56	1.42
Greek	1.46	0.39	3.74
Macedonian	0.23	0.42	1.21
Serbian	0.18	2.24	1.25
Polish	0.32	0.41	1.85
Russian	0.10	0.87	0.67
Other Southern and Eastern European	0.61	3.15	4.55
<i>Total</i>	<i>6.83</i>	<i>8.87</i>	<i>22.68</i>
<i>North African and Middle Eastern</i>			
Lebanese	0.59	0.98	1.74
Turkish	0.15	0.51	0.77
Other North African and Middle Eastern	0.24	4.34	2.03
<i>Total</i>	<i>0.98</i>	<i>5.83</i>	<i>4.54</i>
<i>South-East Asian</i>			
Vietnamese	0.28	1.9	2.84
Filipino	0.12	2.9	2.18
Indonesian	0.02	1.43	0.26
Other South-East Asian	0.10	2.44	1.28
<i>Total</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>8.67</i>	<i>6.55</i>
<i>North-East Asian</i>			
Chinese	0.87	17.54	8.74
Other North-East Asian	0.06	4.71	1.04
<i>Total</i>	<i>0.93</i>	<i>22.25</i>	<i>9.78</i>
<i>Southern and Central Asian</i>			
Indian	0.18	6.05	2.24
Other Southern and Central Asian	0.18	4.71	2.15
<i>Total</i>	<i>0.36</i>	<i>10.76</i>	<i>4.39</i>
People of the Americas	0.14	2.16	1.69
Sub-Saharan African	0.10	3.95	1.24
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Nevertheless, the changing composition of Australian immigration is reflected in the fact that 36% of longstanding migrants were of English, Scottish or Irish ancestry compared to 23.5% of recent migrants and 44.4% of longstanding migrants were of North-West European ancestry compared to 28.2% of recent migrants.

The contrast between recent and longstanding migrants is even more marked when Southern European ancestry groups are examined, with them representing 22.3% of longstanding migrants but only 8.2% of their more recent counterparts. The contrast is even greater if individual ancestries are examined. Italians and Greeks made up 10.16% of longstanding migrants and 4.7% of the Australian-born but only 1.2% of recent migrants. On the other hand, Russians and Serbians make up a higher proportion of recent migrants than longstanding migrants reflecting the fact that the bulk of recent migration from this region is refugee and family movement from Eastern Europe.

The Middle East and North African ancestors account for a slightly greater share of recent migrants (5.6%) compared to longstanding migrants (4.5%) but the mix is quite different. Lebanese and Turkish ancestries are more strongly represented among longstanding migrants whereas other groups are more important among recent migrants.

In each of the Asian regional groups of ancestries, the proportion among recent migrants is greater than that among longstanding migrants reflecting the well known shift from Europe to Asia in the source countries for immigration to Australia (Hugo, 2003d). South-East Asian ancestries made up 8.2% of recent migrants and 6.6% of their more longstanding counterparts. However, while Vietnamese are the largest group among the longstanding South-East Asian migrants making up 2.84% of the whole group, it is Filipinos who are the largest among recent migrant South-East Asians (2.79%). The downturn in Vietnamese migration is evident. There has been an increased migration from Indonesia reflecting partly the increased presence of Indonesian students, but also the larger outflow following the crisis of 1997, the changed political situation and anti-Chinese violence during the intercensal period. The flow from South-East Asia has become more diversified during the 1996–2001 intercensal period.

The upturn in migration from North and East Asia is evident in table 5.1. The proportion which Chinese make up of recent immigrants (16.83%) is twice that of their longstanding migrant counterpart (8.74%). Of course this includes groups of Chinese ancestry coming from elsewhere, especially South-East Asia

but it does reflect the increased migration from mainland China, both of temporary residents (mainly students) and settlers. They are the second largest ancestry group among recent migrants (after the English) as well as among the longstanding migrant group. The increased number of Koreans and Japanese is evident in the fact that 4.71% of recent migrants have 'other North-East Asian' ancestry. South and Central Asians made up more than one-tenth of recent migrants but only 4.39% of longstanding migrants. The increased migration of Indians, both skilled and family settlers and temporary residents is evident with people of Indian ancestry making up 6.1% of all recent migrants. However there was also a substantial number with other South and Central Asian ancestries.

The remaining two ancestry groups of the Americas and Sub-Saharan Africa make up 2.2% and 4% of recent migrants respectively. This partly is associated with the increased inmovement of temporary residents from the Americas but also of temporary residents and skilled settlers from South Africa and of refugees and family migrants from elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa. The two groups account for a significantly smaller proportion of longstanding migrants reflecting the vacancy of much of the movement from these areas together with the high circularity of movement to the Americas.

RELIGION OF RECENT MIGRANTS

One of the most dramatic changes in Australian postwar society has been in religion. Not only has society generally become more secular, but there has been a massive increase in the diversity of religions practiced in Australia (Bouma, 1997, 2002). Each of the last five postwar censuses has seen an increase in the amount of diversity of Australian religions (Bouma, 1997, 2002; Atlas of Australian People Series), and the 2001 census is no exception. Table 5.2 shows that immigrants arriving in Australia during the 1996–2001 period were more diverse with respect to religious adherence than either the Australian-born population or migrants of longer standing in Australia. While 71.9% of the Australian-born are professed Christians, this also applies to 67.1% of immigrants of longer standing but only 48.6% of recent immigrants.

The fact that for more than half of the postwar period, the bulk of immigrants were drawn from countries in which Christianity was the dominant religion, is reflected in the fact that the proportion of longstanding immigrants professing Christianity is only slightly less than for the Australian-born.

Although the census question does not give any indication of the degree of religiosity of respondents, it is the only question in the census form that is voluntary. It is interesting that a smaller proportion of longstanding immigrants, either indicated they had no religion or chose not to state a religion (19%), than was the case for the Australian-born (23.9%) and that for recent immigrants was slightly higher (24.4%).

5.2 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY RELIGION, 2001

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>			<i>Longstanding migrants</i>		<i>All migrants</i>	
	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>MES</i>	<i>NES</i>	<i>MES</i>	<i>NES</i>	<i>Recent</i>	<i>Longstanding</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buddhist	0.7	0.7	13.3	0.6	9.1	8.9	5.7
Christian	71.9	61.5	41.7	69.1	65.8	48.6	67.1
Hindu	0.1	0.8	6.8	0.2	2.1	4.7	1.4
Islam	0.8	0.8	13.0	0.2	5.1	8.8	3.2
Judaism	0.3	2.1	0.5	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.1
Other Religion	0.4	0.6	1.9	0.6	1.0	1.5	0.8
Not Adequately Described	2.0	2.6	1.9	2.0	1.5	2.1	1.7
No Religion	16.3	23.1	16.8	18.8	10.2	18.9	13.6
Not Stated	7.5	7.8	4.1	7.6	4.0	5.4	5.4

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

While adherents of Judaism make up 1.1% of both the longstanding and recent immigrants, other non-Christian groups are more represented among the latter than the former. The increased migration from China and South-East Asia is reflected in Buddhist making up almost one in ten recent migrants compared to 5.7% of longstanding migrants. However, the difference is even greater among the other two substantial non-Christian religions. Muslims made up 8.8% of recent immigrants but only 3.2% of their longstanding counterparts.

There was a reflection of the substantial refugee movements from the Middle East, Eastern Europe and South Central Asia among whom Muslims were a prominent group. In fact more than one-fifth of Australia's 281,578 Muslims in 2001 had arrived in Australia in the 1996–2001 period or were children born in Australia to those immigrants. This was compared to around 16% of the 357,813 Buddhists. The substantially higher level of fertility among the Muslim population than the Buddhists (Bouma 1993, 1997, 2002) is evident in the fact that although Buddhists outnumber Muslims in Australia and are on average longer established, there are more Australian-born Muslims (102,566) than Buddhists (93,135).

The sharp increase in immigration from India, and to a lesser extent, Fiji, has seen a rapid increase in Australia's Hindu population. In 2001 there were 95,473 Hindus of whom around one-third arrived in the 1996–2001 period or were the Australian-born children of that group. The diversity of culture in the recent migrants needs to be stressed. Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims made up 22.4% of all recent migrants. The number of adherents of these three faiths in 2001 was 734,864 compared to 332,086 a decade earlier in 1991. The Muslim population grew by 90% in the 1990s while the Buddhists grew by 155% and the Hindu population by 119%.

LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH

One of the major elements in Australian multiculturalism is the diversity of languages. Maintenance of native languages is an important priority for many ethnic groups, who see it as being an essential part of the preservation of the various groups' national, cultural or ethnic identity. Some commentators such as Jayasuriya (1989, p. 43) however, have argued that "the sense of ethnicity, or belonging to an ethnic group, and one's cultural identity may not be associated with language". In a globalising world however, a diversity of language skills within the nation may be seen as a significant national asset (Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels, 1995), since it may facilitate tourism, trade and communication with a wide range of nations. We do not have an inventory of the language skills in the Australian population but the census of 2001, like most postwar censuses, included a question "Does the person speak a language other than English at home?", and the data derived from this is analysed here for recent and longstanding migrants.

There have been substantial variations between language groups in the extent to which they have maintained their community languages. The extent of language shift between different communities has been analysed by Clyne and Kipp (1999) and Kipp and Clyne (2003). They have demonstrated that high rates of shift from community languages to speaking English at home has been observed among long established groups from northern and western Europe. On the other hand, they note slow rates of language shift for recently arrived groups such as those from Ethiopia, Somalia and Iraq and those from the Mediterranean Region. They also note that language shifts have been slowest or

even reversed where there is significant and ongoing revitalisation from some nations. They also point to increased rates of language shift outside of capital cities and significant differences in maintenance between particular areas.

At the 2001 census almost two and a half million Australians (2,698,253)¹ or 15.6% of the national population indicated that they spoke a language other than English at home. While some 45.6% of longstanding migrants spoke another language at home, this was the case for 60.9% of the recent migrants who had arrived in Australia between 1996 and 2001. In addition, 6.2% of the Australian-born population (832,488 persons) indicated that they spoke a language other than English at home. These are predominantly Indigenous Australians² and the Australian-born children of immigrants. Table 5.3 indicates the main languages other than English spoken by the overseas-born and Australian-born populations. The first most striking impression is the dominance of European languages among the longstanding immigrants and of Asian languages among the recent migrants. The proportion of recent migrants who speak one of the main Asian languages at home was 31% compared to 14.9% of longstanding migrants. The Chinese languages are dominant as would be expected given not only the increasing tempo of immigration from China, but also that from Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and several other South-East Asian countries has involved large numbers of Chinese speakers. However, a significant change has come among the Chinese speakers. Among Chinese speakers who are longstanding immigrants 60.9% are Cantonese speakers and 28.9% Mandarin speakers. This reflects the significance of Hong Kong, Southern China and some parts of South-East Asia as being the dominant origin of Chinese speakers up to the 1990s. However, among recent immigrants 55.4% are Mandarin speakers and only 37.7% Cantonese speakers. This shows the growing dominance of mainland China as a source of immigrants to Australia. The proportion speaking other Chinese languages was 10.2% among longstanding immigrants and 6.9% among recent immigrants. This reflects that Chinese migration from South-East Asia in which people speaking Hokkien and Hakka are important, reduced in relative significance in the late 1990s.

¹ Excluding not stated.

² 50,425 Australian-born persons reported speaking an Indigenous language at home.

5.3 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME, 2001

<i>Language</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>		<i>Recent migrants</i>		<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>
Speaks English only	12 570 990	93.8	243 336	39.1	1 777 378	54.4
<i>European</i>						
Croatian	23 122	0.2	3 358	0.6	40 183	1.2
French	9 423	0.1	5 578	0.9	22 761	0.7
German	14 509	0.1	6 485	1.1	51 877	1.6
Greek	130 336	1.0	2 053	0.3	116 664	3.6
Hungarian	4 430	—	746	0.1	18 066	0.5
Italian	146 803	1.1	3 003	0.5	183 300	5.6
Macedonian	27 051	0.2	2 539	0.4	38 732	1.2
Maltese	11 534	0.1	189	—	27 380	0.8
Netherlandic	5 771	0.1	2 688	0.4	29 983	0.9
Polish	11 467	0.1	1 894	0.3	42 647	1.3
Portuguese	5 174	—	2 124	0.4	15 116	0.5
Russian	5 365	0.1	6 490	1.0	21 364	0.6
Serbian	10 607	0.1	12 600	2.0	23 829	0.7
South Slavic	2 889	—	2 241	0.4	8 624	0.3
Spanish	20 682	0.2	6 711	1.1	61 705	1.9
<i>Middle East</i>						
Arabic (incl. Lebanese)	87 276	0.7	22 019	3.5	87 330	2.7
Persian	3 203	—	7 791	1.3	12 989	0.4
Turkish	19 374	0.2	3 394	0.5	24 851	0.8
<i>Asian</i>						
Chinese (total)	66 665	0.5	89 657	14.4	223 022	6.8
Hindi	6 334	0.1	14 577	2.3	24 533	0.8
Indonesian	5 455	0.1	18 795	3.0	12 549	0.4
Japanese	6 165	0.1	10 361	1.7	9 359	0.3
Khmer	4 231	—	3 037	0.5	13 533	0.4
Korean	4 469	—	15 201	2.4	16 424	0.5
Sinhalese	2 439	—	5 621	0.9	11 824	0.4
Tagalog	6 717	0.1	14 624	2.4	52 884	1.6
Tamil	2 424	—	7 232	1.2	13 417	0.4
Vietnamese	43 203	0.3	13 130	2.1	107 182	3.3
<i>Pacific</i>						
Samoan	3 345	—	7 873	1.3	9 748	0.3
Other	142 025	0.7	86 477	13.9	165 401	5.1
Total	13 403 478	100.0	621 824	100.0	3 264 655	100.0

Note: Excludes not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The smaller representation of Vietnamese among recent immigrants than among their longstanding counterparts is indicative of the reduction in Vietnamese migration in the 1990s compared to the previous decade. This could be partly due to a 'maturing' of the Vietnamese community in Australia, but also could be influenced by the tightening of family migration regulations in the post-1996 period. On the other hand there were Asian language groups whose numbers were more than doubled during the 1996–2001 intercensal period. For example, the number of Indonesian speakers among recent migrants (18,795) was larger than among longstanding migrants (12,549). This clearly is a function of the upheavals in Indonesia following the 1997 Economic Crisis, the 1998 Anti Chinese Riots and the 1998 removal of President Suharto which saw a significant movement to Australia (Hugo, 2001c). The only other Asian language group in which the numbers among recent migrants were greater than for longstanding residents were the Japanese speakers. This is however a function of the fact that the bulk of Japanese who move to Australia, do so only for a short period and have the intention of returning to Japan. Many come to Australia for work or study for a few years and then return. They have a higher degree of circularity than any other Asian group (Hugo, 1994a). Migrants from Korea to Australia increased in the late 1990s perhaps due to the economic difficulties experienced in Korea following the Asian Economic Crisis of 1997. Accordingly, the number of Korean speakers among the recent migrants (15,201) is similar to that among longstanding migrants (16,424). The upswing in migration to Australia from India and Sri Lanka is evident in the Hindi, Tamil and Sinhalese speakers who accounted for 4.4% of recent migrants but only 1.5% of established migrants. The steady continuing stream of migration from the Philippines to Australia is reflected in the fact that 14,624 Tagalog speakers were among recent migrants compared to 52,884 in the longstanding migrant population.

The increasing migration of Pacific Islanders to Australia is reflected in the fact that 1.3% of recent migrants spoke Samoan compared to 0.3% of longstanding migrants. The Middle Eastern main language groups accounted for 5.3% of recent migrants and 3.9% of longstanding migrants reflecting a continuation of movement. This is dominated by the Arabic (including Lebanese) speakers, who numbered 196,625 in Australia with around 15% attributable to 1996–2001 migrants and their children. The substantial migration from Iran accounts for 1.3% of recent migrants being Persian speakers compared to 0.4% of longstanding migrants.

Turning to European languages, there is a substantial contrast between recent migrants and immigrants of longer standing. They make up more than one-fifth of the former (21.6%), but only 9.2% of recent migrants. This marks the substantial shift that has occurred in the origin of Australian immigrants in the last two decades. For most European language groups, the speakers are overwhelmingly longstanding migrants and their Australian-born children. Hence, of the 249,053 Australians who speak Greek at home, only 0.8% (2,053 persons) are recent migrants. Similarly, of the 333,106 people who speak Italian at home only 0.9% arrived in Australia between 1996 and 2001. It will be noted in table 5.3 that several of the large overseas-born groups who mainly arrived from North-West Europe in the 1950s and 1960s have relatively small numbers of people who speak their community language at home (e.g. German, Dutch). They have lower levels of language maintenance than groups like the Italians and Greeks. The largest growth in people speaking a European language at home between 1996 and 2001 was among those speaking Serbian. This reflects the significant amount of humanitarian and family migration following the break up of the former Yugoslavia and the subsequent conflict in that area.

Table 5.4 compares the languages spoken by the three birthplace categories in 1996 and 2001. It is noticeable that a greater proportion of recent migrants in 2001 spoke only English at home, than was the case in 1996. This reflects the greater emphasis on English language ability in immigration selection as well as the introduction of the temporary migration categories, which have been discussed at several points in this report. It is interesting that there was a significant decline in the proportion of Asian language speakers from 27.8% in 1996 to 21.9% of recent migrants in 2001. The most substantial decrease was in Chinese language speakers who are still by far the largest non-English speaking group among recent migrants with 14.4% of the group. There was also a substantial decline in the proportion that were Vietnamese speakers reflecting the decline in Vietnamese movement to Australia in recent years. There also was a decline in the proportion of Croatian and Russian speakers among recent migrants reflecting the decline of humanitarian and family movement from Eastern Europe in the late 1990s. It is interesting that the proportion speaking European languages fell in almost all language categories between the 1996 and 2001 period among the longstanding migrants. Clearly, with an increasing average period of residence in Australia among the NES European groups, the proportion speaking European community languages has decreased except for the Serbian and Russian groups.

5.4 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME, 1996 AND 2001

<i>Language</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>		<i>Recent migrants</i>		<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
	%	%	%	%	%	%
English only	94.0	93.8	32.7	39.1	56.2	54.5
Indigenous	0.4	0.4	—	—	—	—
<i>European</i>						
Croatian	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.5	1.2	1.2
French	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7
German	0.2	0.1	1.1	1.0	2.2	1.6
Greek	1.0	1.0	0.4	0.3	4.0	3.6
Hungarian	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.6
Italian	1.2	1.1	0.5	0.5	6.3	5.6
Macedonian	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	1.2	1.2
Maltese	0.1	0.1	—	—	0.9	0.8
Netherlandic	—	0.1	0.3	0.4	1.0	0.9
Polish	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.3	1.4	1.3
Portuguese	—	—	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5
Russian	—	0.1	1.9	1.0	0.5	0.7
Serbian	0.1	0.1	1.7	2.0	0.6	0.7
Spanish	0.1	0.2	1.3	1.1	1.9	1.9
<i>Asian</i>						
Chinese	0.4	0.5	17.1	14.4	5.7	6.8
Indonesian	0.1	0.1	2.2	3.0	0.3	0.4
Tagalog	—	0.1	3.1	2.4	1.3	1.6
Vietnamese	0.2	0.3	5.4	2.1	2.8	3.3
<i>Middle East</i>						
Arabic	0.6	0.7	3.4	3.5	2.5	2.7
Turkish	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.8
Other	0.9	0.5	24.4	26.2	7.3	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH

One of the most consistent findings in immigration research is that proficiency in the host country's language has important consequences for the immigrants success or otherwise in the labour market (Fitzgerald, 1988; Wooden, et al., 1994), self-identity and social networks (Esser, 1986), socioeconomic attainments (Evans, 1986; McManus, et al., 1983), children's school performance (Fernandez and Nielsen, 1983) and political participation (Schmitter, 1983). Proficiency in English has become an important issue in Australia in discussions regarding the settlement of immigrants, the provision of language services to recent migrants and the criteria to be set for selection of

immigrants. Few countries are more fundamentally monolingual than Australia, so proficiency in English is of major significance in immigrants' day-to-day activities, in their communications with the bureaucracy, and in accessing services. Prior to the Second World War the bulk of immigrants to Australia were from MES countries but, the postwar period has seen NES countries accounting for a much greater proportion of settlers and this trend has increased over the last decade. However, a major change occurring in the 1990s was the introduction of ability to speak English as an element in the points assessment test for entry to Australia under the skilled migration settlement category (Hawthorne, 1994, 1995). This policy has clearly had some impact. In 1991, 19.5% of the NES origin country birthplace group reported that they could not speak English well or they could not speak it at all. At the 2001 census this had been reduced despite the fact that the NES origin population had grown much faster than the MES population over the 1991–2001 decade.

At the 2001 census the following question was asked of all people who speak a language other than English at home:

How well does this person speak English?

- ⇒ *Very well*
- ⇒ *Well*
- ⇒ *Not well*
- ⇒ *Not at all*

A similar question was included in the 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 enumerations. There is some skepticism among lay commentators about the accuracy of self-rating of competence in speaking English, and the ABS (1986, p. 55) cautions about the subjectivity of this question and warns that it should be interpreted only as a broad indication of level of proficiency. Nevertheless, the results are considered to give a good indication of trends in ability to speak English (Evans, 1986, p. 229).

Table 5.5 presents details of the difference between recent migrants and longstanding migrants with respect to English proficiency. It shows that in 2001 the proportion of recent migrants aged five years and over who could not speak English well or could not speak it at all was 9.5% of longstanding migrants and 14.8% of all recent migrants. As would be expected among NES origin country migrants, the figures are somewhat higher — 15.7% of longstanding migrants and 22.4% of recent migrants. Nevertheless it is interesting that 11.8% of recent NES migrants and 25.9% of longstanding NES migrants use only English at home and do not use one of the community languages. This reflects both the

fact that many recent migrants are recruited from countries whose national language(s) are not English but who have strong traditions of widespread English due to colonial influences — India, Philippines, Sri Lanka, etc. It also reflects an increasing pattern of intermarriage between ethno-linguistic groups in Australia (Birrell and Healy, 2000).

5.5 OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION: RECENTY OF ARRIVAL BY ENGLISH PROFICIENCY, 2001

	Total Overseas-born		NES Born	
	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants
Level of proficiency	%	%	%	%
Speaks English only	39.4	54.6	11.8	25.9
Speaks other language & speaks English well	45.8	35.9	65.8	58.4
Does not speak English well or at all	14.8	9.5	22.4	15.7

Note: Excludes not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 5.6 shows the pattern of English proficiency between recent migrants and longstanding migrants for major regions of origin and some interesting trends are apparent. The Oceania group is dominated by New Zealanders so it is not surprising that the number not speaking English well or not at all is small. Nevertheless, Pacific Island Migration is increasing and a small but significant proportion of the New Zealand-born coming to Australia in the 1996–2001 period, were the New Zealand-born children of immigrants to New Zealand, who had subsequently migrated to Australia after achieving New Zealand citizenship (Hugo, 2003a). This is reflected in the fact that one-quarter of the Oceania-born recent immigrants speak a language other than English at home. Clearly, most also speak English well. The North-West Europe group has even smaller proportions who don't speak English well or not at all. What is perhaps surprising is the very large proportion of longstanding migrants (90.4%) who speak only English. This reflects the decline in numbers speaking community languages like Dutch, German, etc. with the increasing time immigrants are in Australia. This contrasts with Southern and Eastern Europeans among whom there has been a higher degree of language maintenance. Indeed one in five of the longstanding migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe cannot speak English well or can't speak it at all. Elsewhere it is shown that this is especially true of women and older people (Hugo, 2000). The significant number of refugees in recent migrants in this group accounts for 30.8% not having good English skills. The levels are similar among immigrants from North Africa and

the Middle East. More than one-third of recent migrants do not have English language skills nor do 16.6% of longstanding migrants. Only very small proportions in the last two categories speak only English. There is clearly a pattern of origins in which humanitarian and family migrants dominate having lower levels of English ability than those whose dominant migrants are skilled workers and temporary residents.

5.6 OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION: RECENCY OF ARRIVAL AND ENGLISH PROFICIENCY BY BIRTHPLACE REGION, 2001

<i>Birthplace region</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>			<i>Longstanding migrants</i>		
	<i>Speaks English only</i>	<i>Speaks English well</i>	<i>Speaks English not well or not at all</i>	<i>Speaks English only</i>	<i>Speaks English well</i>	<i>Speaks English not well or not at all</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Oceania	75.4	22.9	2.3	84.2	15.3	0.9
North-West Europe	80.0	18.7	1.3	90.4	9.3	0.3
Southern and Eastern Europe	5.4	63.8	30.8	17.9	62.3	19.8
North Africa and Middle East	5.2	60.7	34.1	12.7	70.7	16.6
South-East Asia	14.1	68.2	17.7	21.1	58.7	20.2
North-East Asia	5.1	59.6	35.4	8.9	64.6	26.5
South Central Asia	14.4	75.4	10.2	49.4	47.7	2.9
Americas	68.4	24.8	6.7	52.8	39.9	7.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	64.5	32.4	3.1	73.2	25.5	1.4

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Turning to the Asian groups, it is interesting that among those from South-East Asia, there are a higher proportion of longstanding immigrants who have no English or cannot speak it well, than is the case for recent immigrants. This partly reflects the changing complexion of migration from South-East Asia. In the 1980s, and to a lesser extent the early 1990s, Indo-Chinese origin family and humanitarian migrants were substantial. Post-1996 the dominant group are skilled migrants from across the region. This is a group where perhaps the change in immigration selection policy has had a significant impact. There clearly are important differences between individual national groups with Filipinos, for example, having better English skills than Indonesians on average. A different pattern is observed for North-East Asia, which has the highest proportion of recent migrants who do not have English proficiency of any of the birthplace groups (35.4%). Moreover, this group also has the largest proportion of its longstanding migrants who lack English proficiency (26.5%). On the other hand, the strong tradition of speaking English in the former British colonies of South Asia is reflected in the high levels of English proficiency. However, it will be noted that one-tenth of recent migrants can't

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speak English well or can't speak it at all. This is due to the significance of refugees from Afghanistan and Central Asia in recent years. The Americas origin migrants have high levels of language proficiency. It will be noted, however, that the levels are higher among recent immigrants than any longstanding migrants. This reflects partly the greater significance of Latin American migration to Australia in the past than recently. However, another element is the fact that the recent migrant category undoubtedly includes a substantial number of temporary residents from the United States of America and Canada who are English only speakers. The fact that South Africa has been a mainstay of immigration from Sub-Saharan Africa is reflected in the large proportions of both longstanding and recent migrants who speak only English. However the growing numbers from other parts of Africa are reflected in the higher proportions.

The importance of immigrants being able to communicate effectively in English in making an adjustment to life in Australia has long been known (Wooden, et al. 1994). Changes in immigration selection policy and also other factors such as changes in education systems in source countries have seen a reduction in the proportion of recent migrants who have little or no proficiency in English. Nevertheless, the fact remains that an important proportion of new migrants still lack these skills — almost 100,000 people. Moreover, there are more than three times as many longstanding migrants who lack English proficiency. In addition, there is evidence that in self-reporting questions like the one on language proficiency in the Australian census, proficiency is exaggerated suggesting the incidence of limited proficiency is more than what is reflected in the census data. There is still therefore an important imperative to ensure that English language training is provided and made available in an equitable and effective way to both recent and longstanding immigrants.

With the increasing focus on English language ability in the selection of immigrants, it is useful to examine the extent to which there has been a change in the ability to communicate in English between recent migrants at the 2001 census and recent migrants at the 1996 census. It will be noted from table 5.7 that in fact the recent migrants of 2001 are more proficient in English than their counterparts in 1996 with the proportion with poor English communication skills falling from 21.1% to 14.1% and the share speaking English only, going from 32.9% to 39.2%. There was little change in the longstanding immigrant population.

5.7 OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION: ENGLISH PROFICIENCY BY REGENCY OF ARRIVAL, 1996 AND 2001

	Recent migrants		Longstanding migrants	
	1996	2001	1996	2001
<i>Level of proficiency</i>	%	%	%	%
Speaks English only	32.8	39.4	56.4	54.6
Speaks other language & speaks English well	46.1	45.8	34.3	35.9
Speaks English not well or not at all	21.1	14.8	9.3	9.5

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

MARITAL STATUS

One of the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants that needs to be considered relates to marital status. It needs to be remembered that respondents are asked to indicate their marital status, so marriage may be formal or informal. Table 5.8 indicates the proportion of recent migrants and longstanding migrants aged 15 years and over who are in various marital status categories. Both categories of migrants have higher proportions of their adult population who are married than the Australian-born. This is partly a function of age structure with the Australian-born population being substantially younger than either group. However, the proportions who never married are much greater among recent migrants than among migrants coming to Australia before 1996.

5.8 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY MARITAL STATUS, 2001

	Australian-born	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants
<i>Marital status</i>	%	%	%
Never Married	35.6	41.9	17.0
Widowed	5.7	2.1	7.4
Divorced	7.3	3.4	8.6
Separated	3.3	2.4	4.0
Married	48.1	50.2	63.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Applicable to persons aged 15 years and over.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It is apparent that marital status patterns are influenced very much by the age-sex distribution in a population. Accordingly, in table 5.9 comparisons are made of the three groups which control for age and gender. We focus here only on the 20–34 year age groups which are especially important because they are the ages at which most marry for the first time. There are some apparent significant differences. Firstly, it will be noted that a higher proportion of

migrants are married in each of the three age groups for both males and females than is the case for the Australian-born. Conversely there are smaller proportions remaining unmarried. Hence there is on average a younger age at first marriage among immigrant groups than among the Australian-born. It is particularly noticeable however that the average age at marriage is substantially lower among recent migrants than among the immigrants of longer standing. Again there is a significantly higher proportion married in all three ages for both males and females, especially the latter. The proportion divorced and separated among recent migrants are lower than those for both the Australian-born and for immigrants of longer standing. Indeed it is interesting that the proportions divorced and separated are higher among the immigrants of longer standing than is the case for the Australian-born. However the proportions never married are much higher for the Australian-born than for either migrant group.

5.9 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL FOR PERSONS AGED 20–34 YEARS BY MARITAL STATUS, 2001

	<i>Australian-born</i>			<i>Recent migrants</i>			<i>Longstanding migrants</i>		
	<i>20–24 years</i>	<i>25–29 years</i>	<i>30–34 years</i>	<i>20–24 years</i>	<i>25–29 years</i>	<i>30–34 years</i>	<i>20–24 years</i>	<i>25–29 years</i>	<i>30–34 years</i>
<i>Marital status</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Never Married									
Males	94.4	68.9	42.6	91.7	64.7	34.3	93.9	66.7	35.7
Females	87.8	55.0	31.2	77.2	43.9	22.6	86.7	49.7	23.6
Widowed									
Males	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Females	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.5
Divorced									
Males	0.1	1.3	4.3	0.2	1.0	2.7	0.2	1.9	5.1
Females	0.3	2.6	6.5	0.4	1.8	3.9	0.5	3.4	7.3
Separated									
Males	0.3	1.7	3.3	0.4	1.4	2.6	0.4	2.0	3.8
Females	0.9	3.2	5.0	0.9	2.4	3.4	1.2	4.0	5.7
Married									
Males	5.1	28.0	49.6	7.6	32.9	60.3	5.4	29.4	55.2
Females	10.9	39.0	56.9	21.4	51.7	69.5	11.5	42.6	62.9

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

There are some substantial variations between birthplace groups in marital status as is shown in table 5.10. Those immigrants born in South and East Europe, North Africa and the Middle East have very high proportions of marriage compared to the other groups. This partly reflects cultural and religious factors as well as the importance of family and humanitarian migration among that group. There are high rates of divorce and separation in the categories where skilled permanent migrants and temporary business migrants

are dominant — Oceania, North-West Europe, Americas and Sub-Saharan Africa. Among the Asian group it will be noticed that there are much higher rates of marriage among those from Central and South Asia. This partly reflects cultural and religious factors and also the significance of refugee and family migration among that group, especially among recent migrants. On the other hand in South-East and North-East Asia there are very high proportions unmarried, reflecting the substantial number of student migrants in that group.

5.10 BIRTHPLACE REGION AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY MARITAL STATUS, 2001

<i>Birthplace region</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>			<i>Longstanding migrants</i>		
	<i>Never Married</i>	<i>Divorced/ Separated</i>	<i>Now Married</i>	<i>Never Married</i>	<i>Divorced/ Separated</i>	<i>Now Married</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Oceania	47.9	9.9	40.3	30.3	15.2	51.2
North-West Europe	40.0	6.5	51.3	13.1	15.0	63.0
South and East Europe	26.9	6.6	61.8	8.5	10.4	70.3
North Africa and Middle East	28.2	5.5	63.6	14.5	11.4	68.6
South-East Asia	53.3	4.3	40.9	27.9	9.9	58.2
North-East Asia	45.9	3.9	48.6	24.3	7.7	63.4
South Central Asia	35.9	2.0	59.7	17.1	7.9	69.3
Americas	36.8	7.3	54.8	25.4	14.9	56.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	33.0	5.1	59.9	25.2	11.7	59.1

Note: Applicable to persons aged 15 years and over.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

HOUSEHOLD TYPE

One of the areas of particular significance in assessing the adjustment of migrants in Australia and the impact on families is the way in which they group themselves into households and families. Table 5.11 indicates that there is only a small overall difference between recent migrants, longstanding migrants and the Australian-born in terms of the household type they were in at the 2001 census. There are only small proportions living in non-private dwellings but the highest proportion is among recent migrants (3.1%). This could reflect the high number of students in this group and the fact that many live in colleges and other institutional accommodation. This is clearly the case since the bulk of recent migrants in non-private living situations (66%) are aged between 15 years and 29 years.

5.11 HOUSEHOLD TYPE BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL, 2001

	<i>Type of household</i>		
	<i>Family</i>	<i>Non-Family</i>	<i>Non-Private</i>
	%	%	%
Australian-born	84.8	12.5	2.7
Recent migrants	81.8	15.1	3.1
Longstanding migrants	83.8	14.1	2.1

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It is interesting that the proportion living in non-private dwellings among older people is much less among migrants than among the Australian-born.

Table 5.12 shows that there are much higher percentages of Australian-born who are in non-private dwellings than among migrants of longer standing in the older age groups. This is largely a formation of the fact that some immigrant groups have a tendency to have older people with their children and other family members rather than move into aged care institutions (Beham, et al. 2000).

5.12 POPULATION AGED 60 YEARS AND OVER IN NON-PRIVATE ACCOMMODATION, 2001

<i>Age group (years)</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>		<i>Longstanding migrants</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
	%	%	%	%
60–64	2.9	2.0	1.7	1.0
65–69	3.1	2.5	1.6	1.2
70–74	3.9	3.5	2.1	1.9
75–79	5.7	6.3	3.1	3.6
80–84	9.7	13.9	5.2	8.3
85+	21.5	34.6	13.3	23.0

Note: Excludes overseas-born persons who have been resident for less than five years.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It is also interesting that the proportions of migrants living in non-family households is greater than for the Australian-born — both in the case of recent and longstanding immigrants. Non-family households are mainly people living in lone-person households but also indicate group households where individuals who are unrelated to each other live together. Among recent migrants, it is clear that students are an important element in this group since many live in group households and alone. In addition, it is probable that among

recent migrants a large number of the temporary business migrants included in this group live alone. Among longstanding migrants it is important to note that many who are living alone are in older age groups.

FAMILY TYPE

It is apparent from the previous section that the bulk of recent migrants in Australia live in family households. In this section we examine the types of families which recent migrants at the 2001 census who were in family situations lived in. Table 5.13 indicates that recent migrants are more likely than longstanding migrants to live in couple families with dependent children and are similar to the Australian-born in that respect with almost two-thirds of them living in that situation. However, both the recent and the longstanding migrant populations are significantly less likely to live in a one-parent family than is the case for the Australian-born. In the case of recent migrants, this may be a function of the fact that couple families are more likely to have a greater propensity to migrate than single parent families and are also more likely to fit the immigration selection criteria. There may well be however, a lower propensity for migrant couples to divorce as was indicated in the section on marital status.

5.13 BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL BY FAMILY STRUCTURE, 2001

<i>Family type</i>	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>
	%	%	%
Couple with children	63.0	63.5	55.6
Couple only	21.4	23.6	33.4
One-parent family	14.4	9.8	9.9
Other family	1.2	3.1	1.1

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

It will be noticed in table 5.13 that there is a lower proportion of the Australian-born who live in families who are in the Couple only category. This is a function of the younger age structure of this group compared to the longstanding migrant population who have a large number of people in the 'empty nest' stage of the life cycle. The relatively high proportion of recent migrants in the Couple only category is however, more dominated by young couples who have not yet begun family formation or who do not intend to have children. This includes both recently arrived settlers and also temporary resident migrants who are especially concentrated in this stage of the life cycle.

In table 5.13, it will also be noted that recent migrants are more represented in the Other family category than either the Australian-born or the more longstanding immigrants. This is due to the fact that many recent migrants spend time with family members who had arrived in Australia prior to them coming to Australia, for their initial period in the country. This is a well known pattern, especially associated with family migration (Hassell and Hugo, 1996).

RECENT IMMIGRANTS AND HOUSING

One of the primary impacts of immigration on Australia is on the housing market. The level and composition of immigration is one of the major determinants of the demand for housing in Australia (Hugo, 2003g). Moreover, obtaining satisfactory housing can be one of the most important factors influencing the successful adjustment of immigrants to Australian society. Accordingly, it is important to examine some of the aspects of the housing situation of recent immigrants and to compare them with migrants of longer standing and those of the Australian-born population.

Looking firstly at the dwelling structure occupied by migrants, table 5.14 shows that there is a marked trend toward them being less likely to live in separate detached dwellings. The trend is less marked for longstanding migrants, which indicates that over time migrants move toward the Australian-born pattern of housing. It is especially interesting to note that around one-third of recent migrants live in flats, units or apartments. This is partly a function of the importance of students and temporary business migrants among the group but also the fact that they are especially concentrated in major cities — indeed the inner and central areas of those cities. There is a slightly greater tendency among female recent migrants to live in detached dwellings, perhaps an indication of married migrants, whereby the spouse joining a partner in Australia are likely to move to the house occupied by the partner — often an Australian-born person with a detached house.

5.14 HOUSING STRUCTURE BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL, 2001

	Separate house	Semi-detached, row/terrace, town house	Flat, unit or apartment	Other dwellings	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Australian-born</i>					
Males	86.3	5.8	6.4	1.5	100.0
Females	85.1	6.9	6.9	1.1	100.0
<i>Total</i>	85.7	6.3	6.7	1.3	100.0
<i>Overseas-born</i>					
<i>Arrived before 1996</i>					
Males	79.7	7.9	11.0	1.4	100.0
Females	79.2	8.9	10.9	1.0	100.0
<i>Total</i>	79.4	8.4	11.0	1.2	100.0
<i>Arrived 1996 onwards</i>					
Males	53.2	12.9	32.8	1.1	100.0
Females	55.0	13.1	31.0	0.9	100.0
<i>Total</i>	54.1	13.0	31.9	1.0	100.0

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

If we focus on the major migration age groups between ages 20 years and 44 years, table 5.15 indicates that there are some substantial differences between migrants and the Australian-born. In all age groups it will be noticed that there are a smaller proportion of migrants who live in separate houses than is the case for the Australian-born. To some extent, especially among recent migrants, this is a preference rather than a socioeconomically driven necessity. The recent migrants category includes many students and other temporary residents who may prefer to live in higher density areas closer to the city centre where most of them work or study. Also, to some extent, it undoubtedly reflects the fact that some recent migrants are restricted in the housing markets they can enter, by the lack of sufficient finance to rent or purchase detached housing. To some extent too, there may be more preference for higher density housing among some birthplace groups than among the Australian-born.

5.15 PER CENT LIVING IN SEPARATE HOUSE BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL FOR PERSONS AGED 15–44 YEARS, 2001

Age group (years)	Australian-born		Recent migrants		Longstanding migrants	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	%	%	%	%	%	%
15–19	91.0	88.7	58.7	57.4	83.6	81.8
20–24	79.6	75.6	36.3	38.7	73.2	70.6
25–29	76.8	76.8	36.2	41.3	67.7	68.3
30–34	81.6	83.4	43.4	49.4	71.5	75.1
35–39	86.3	88.4	54.2	60.1	76.6	80.6
40–44	88.2	89.7	62.2	63.2	80.5	83.2

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 5.15 shows that for the Australian-born there is a decline in the percentage living in detached dwellings from the late teens to the twenties as children leave home and establish new households, usually in rented higher density dwellings. Thereafter, the proportion increases with people entering into the family formation age groups and seeking out separate houses. The same patterns are evident in the two migrant categories, but the proportions in detached dwellings are substantially lower especially for recent migrants. The lowest levels among recent migrants are undoubtedly influenced by the significant number of student migrants among the group.

Turning to the tenure of housing, table 5.16 indicates that, as was the case with housing structure, there are sharp contrasts between the three groups with the longstanding migrant group occupying a position between the Australian-born and recent migrants suggesting that over time, there is a convergence in housing patterns of migrants toward the majority Australian-born. However, in the case of tenure, there are some interesting variations between the Australian-born and the longstanding migrant populations. It will be noted that the proportion renting is lower among the migrants and the proportion that own their housing outright is higher, while the proportion still purchasing their house is greater among the Australian-born. This is obviously partly related to age with the Australian-born population being substantially younger than the longstanding immigrant population.

5.16 HOUSING TENURE BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL, 2001

	Fully owned	Being purchased	Rented	Other tenure type	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Australian-born</i>					
Males	36.7	36.1	24.6	2.6	100.0
Females	37.5	34.9	25.0	2.6	100.0
Total	37.1	35.5	24.8	2.6	100.0
<i>Overseas-born</i>					
<i>Arrived before 1996</i>					
Males	47.5	28.9	21.4	2.2	100.0
Females	48.7	27.9	21.2	2.2	100.0
Total	48.1	28.4	21.3	2.2	100.0
<i>Arrived 1996 onwards</i>					
Males	15.3	19.0	63.1	2.6	100.0
Females	17.8	20.8	58.8	2.6	100.0
Total	16.6	19.9	60.9	2.6	100.0

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Turning to recent migrants, it will be noted that 60.9% were renting their housing at the 2001 census. This is a function of several factors. There tends to be a belief in Australia that renting is a tenure which includes either people who do not have sufficient means to purchase a house or people who are in the early stage of the life cycle preliminary to entering the market to purchase housing. This is not an accurate depiction of contemporary Australia for two reasons. One is that there is evidence of an increasing group who see renting as the most preferable housing tenure for them. Second, is the presence of large numbers of temporary residents who do not wish to make a long term commitment to the housing purchase market. Clearly the high proportion of recent migrant renters is made up of a mix of these groups. Undoubtedly there is a financial constraint on many recent migrants which compels them to enter the rental housing market. On the other hand, many of the temporary business migrants are provided with support for rental housing as part of their employment arrangements. The substantial difference between males and females among recent migrants who are renting, contrasts to both the Australian-born and longstanding migrants for whom there is little gender difference in the percentage renting. The explanation appears to lie in the high

level of spouse migration to Australia which is dominantly female. As indicated above, many of these women marry Australian males, most of whom own or are purchasing their dwelling.

It is clear that migration is having a major impact on Australia's rental housing market. The bulk of investigation into the effects of immigration on the Australian housing market has focused on the effects of settlement migration on housing. The most recent study by Beer and Morphett (2002) uses LSIA data and only includes examination of the housing careers of permanent settlers. However, temporary residents are having a substantial impact on the housing market, especially temporary business migrants and overseas students. Nothing is known about those impacts although the housing boom of 2002–03 undoubtedly was partly fuelled by non-resident buyers purchasing 'investment properties' for rental. Undoubtedly, the upswing in demand for rental properties brought about by non-permanent migration is a basic factor here and needs investigation.

Despite the dominance of rental housing among recent migrants, it is important to point out that despite their limited time in Australia, almost one-fifth own their own home and another one-fifth are purchasing their own home. This points to a significant impact of immigration on the housing market and reflects the increasing focus of the immigration programme on selecting high skill (and thereby people with relatively high income earning capacity).

As is the case with housing structure, it is apparent that housing tenure patterns are influenced by age structure so it is important to control for age in comparing the three groups. Table 5.17 compares the percentage renting for five year age/sex categories between ages 15 years and 54 years for the three groups. There is quite an interesting difference between the Australian-born and longstanding migrant group on the one hand and recent migrants on the other. With the former two groups, the proportion renting increases from the 15–19 year age group to the 20–24 year group and then declines with each older age group. The proportions are generally slightly higher for the longstanding migrant group but by age 50–54 years the levels are similar. The pattern for recent migrants is quite different. The levels in the 20s are very high reflecting the large number of overseas student and other temporary migrants in those groups. While the proportions decline for subsequent ages, they remain very high. This would indicate that there are a substantial number of

recent migrants who opt for renting rather than simply enter this tenure because their financial situation is such that they cannot afford to own or buy their own home. The dynamics underlying these patterns need to be investigated.

5.17 PROPORTION RENTING HOUSING BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL FOR PERSONS AGED 15–54 YEARS, 2001

Age/Sex group (years)	Australian-born	Recent migrants	Longstanding migrants
	%	%	%
15–19			
Males	23.6	58.2	27.1
Females	26.8	56.5	28.7
20–24			
Males	39.2	76.4	36.8
Females	45.2	70.5	40.3
25–29			
Males	40.6	75.8	41.2
Females	41.5	67.9	40.1
30–34			
Males	31.9	68.3	35.0
Females	31.8	61.5	32.1
35–39			
Males	24.9	62.8	28.1
Females	24.9	56.1	25.9
40–44			
Males	20.5	57.1	23.5
Females	20.5	52.9	22.0
45–49			
Males	17.9	53.9	19.7
Females	17.3	49.9	18.2
50–54			
Males	15.9	50.9	16.4
Females	15.1	49.4	15.1

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

One of the major recent issues of concern in Australia's housing market has been a decline in housing affordability. There is considerable debate about the role of migration in that increase (Birrell and Healy, 2003). It is important then to examine the costs of housing among recent migrants. Table 5.18 shows the weekly rent paid by longstanding and recent migrants and the Australian-born. Again there are strong similarities between the Australian-born and longstanding migrant group. The main differences are with the Australian-born being represented more among the lower middle rents of \$100–\$199 per week (50% compared to 45%) and the longstanding migrants among the higher, \$200 or more per week group (25.1% compared to 32.3%). However there is a very

big difference to the patterns among recent migrants. It must be recalled too that more than one-half of recent migrants pay rent compared to much smaller proportions of the other two groups.

5.18 WEEKLY RENT PAID FOR PERSONS BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL, 2001

	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>
<i>Weekly rent</i>	%	%	%
\$0–\$49	10.2	3.2	9.0
\$50–\$99	14.7	4.5	13.7
\$100–\$149	24.2	13.8	20.3
\$150–\$199	25.8	26.1	24.7
\$200–\$299	16.8	29.0	20.7
\$300–\$399	4.7	11.8	6.7
\$400+	3.6	11.6	4.9

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Recent migrants are highly under-represented in the rents of below \$150 per week, especially in the lowest category (\$0–\$49). This is despite the significance of high unemployment and low income among this group, as was shown in Chapter 4. In fact, this is partly associated with the low levels of access of most newly arrived immigrant groups to public housing (Hassell and Hugo, 1996). Most groups, excluding some refugee-humanitarian groups, do not have access at all to public rental housing and are forced to compete in the private rental housing market.

The most striking pattern however, is the concentration of the recent migrant group in the high rent categories. In fact, 11.6% of them pay more than \$400 per week compared to 3.6% of the Australian-born and 4.9% of the longstanding migrants. Almost one-quarter pay \$300 per week or more (23.4%) compared to 8.3% of the Australian-born and 11.6% of the longstanding migrants. This would suggest that there are significant numbers of recent migrants who are renting accommodation, who in the current housing market, have the financial capacity to own or buy a house. The reasons for this preference for renting are not known, but clearly in many cases, it is because of the temporary nature of their residence in Australia and perhaps subsidisation of rental payment by employers. Nevertheless, the average weekly rent of recent migrants (\$209.41) is 33% larger than that for the Australian-born (\$156.96) and 24.4% larger than that for longstanding migrants (\$168.29).

Another dimension of housing affordability relates to mortgage repayments. Table 5.19 shows the difference in monthly housing loan repayments between the three groups. Of course there will be differences associated with age structure and length of time in Australia leading to differences between the three groups in the time at which mortgages were taken out, the housing costs at that time, the interest rate regime, etc. Nevertheless even allowing for those factors, some interesting patterns are in evidence. Despite the fact that the age composition of the longstanding migrants is somewhat older than the Australian-born, the average loan repayment is greater. This could reflect the immigrants buying more expensive properties but it also could be due to the average length of time the mortgage has been in operation being greater for the Australian-born.

5.19 MONTHLY HOUSING LOAN REPAYMENT FOR PERSONS BY BIRTHPLACE AND REGENCY OF ARRIVAL, 2001

	<i>Australian-born</i>	<i>Recent migrants</i>	<i>Longstanding migrants</i>
<i>Monthly repayment</i>	%	%	%
\$1–\$399	8.6	3.6	7.8
\$400–\$599	14.7	7.9	11.8
\$600–\$799	18.7	13.9	16.1
\$800–\$999	17.9	17.2	16.4
\$1,000–\$1,399	22.0	26.9	23.8
\$1,400–\$1,999	10.5	16.5	13.4
\$2,000+	7.6	14.0	10.7

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The pattern for recent immigrants is clearly one of very high mortgage payments. The average monthly housing loan repayment for the Australian-born in 2001 was \$890.50, for longstanding migrants was \$974.40 and for recent migrants was \$1,095.40. This is obviously partly a function of the fact that most of these recent migrant home purchasers have taken out their mortgage in the last five years or so — a time of considerable increase in housing prices, especially in the large cities where most are located. However, it would also seem that a significant proportion are entering the higher end of the price range of the housing market.

CONCLUSION

Australian society has been massively changed by postwar immigration and the analysis in this chapter has confirmed that international migration has continued to be one of the major sources of social change in the 1996–2001 intercensal period. The major changes in both global drivers of international migration and in Australian immigration policy and practice have led to changes in the nature of the social impact of migration, but they in no way have lessened the scale of that impact. Compared to earlier cohorts of postwar immigrants to Australia, those of the 1996–2001 period are:

- more likely to be in Australia temporarily
- more highly educated and have more formal training
- more likely to have a high income
- more likely to be able to communicate efficiently in English
- more diverse in terms of cultural background
- younger on average.

It must be remembered however, that they are a considerably diverse group and they have a highly differentiated impact and pattern of needs. In this chapter we have been able to demonstrate some of the differences between recent migrants and previous generations of migrants and the Australian-born. The comprehensive assessment of the full social impact of the changes in immigration will await more detailed field based research and analysis of such datasets as those associated with LSIA. Australia has enjoyed an enviable degree of success in the adjustment of highly diverse groups into the society and the wider society adjusting to those new groups. This has not just happened but has been influenced by the development of effective legal instruments to protect the rights of immigrants, provision of post arrival services to newly arrived immigrants, the adoption of principles of social justice, multiculturalism and equity in immigration and adjustment policy and in encouraging community involvement in changes in those policies. Changes in both the context of immigration and in the immigration itself poses new challenges, which will need to be met if the record of successful adjustment of immigrants is to continue.

Australia is not only one of the nations most influenced by international migration in the world but it also has some of the most comprehensive data relating to both the stocks and flows of immigrants. This study has focused on examining the stocks of recent immigrants to Australia, predominantly as reflected in data collected at the 2001 Australian Census of Population and Housing. Much of the study compares the characteristics of immigrants who arrived in Australia after the 1996 census and were still in Australia at the 2001 census with those of immigrants who had been in Australia for a longer period. The reasoning for focusing on post 1996 arrivals is as follows ...

- Experience throughout the postwar period in Australia has indicated that the greatest problems in adjustments experienced by immigrants occur in the earliest years of settlement. This is also the period where there is the greatest amount of settler loss (Hugo, 1994a). This is the period in which there is the greatest need for the development of policies and programs to assist migrants in their economic and social adjustment to life in Australia.
- The mid-1990s was a period of unprecedented change in Australia's immigration system and the intercensal period provides an opportunity to examine some of the initial impacts of these changes. These changes were both internal and external to Australia. Externally there has been a transformation in international migration drivers due to the all pervasive influence of globalisation (United Nations, 2002). Within Australia there has been a transformation which has involved an expansion of temporary migration programs which has greatly increased the nations temporary resident population (Hugo, 1999). In addition, there has been a battery of substantial changes to the traditional permanent settlement elements of Australia's migration programme.

Accordingly, it is timely to examine the characteristics of people enumerated at the 2001 census who had arrived in Australia during this period of change.

The Australia population census is highly suitable for undertaking a comprehensive and policy relevant analysis of the nature and effects of international migration for the following reasons:

- It has a full coverage in that it seeks to cover the entire population in Australia on the night of the population census and to collect information from all of them rather than a sample. This means that it collects reliable data for small sub groups in the population and small areas which cannot be accurately covered in samples.
- The census has a high degree of accuracy with under-enumeration being around 2% in recent censuses. Having said this, at the 2001 enumeration, there were problems in covering some groups and areas especially in some new types of living situations such as gated communities, high-rise buildings and some inner city contexts. This led to a greater degree of imputation being employed than had been the case in previous censuses.
- The census provides detailed information for a high level of geographic detail going down to census collection districts of around 200 households. Australia for several censuses, has provided some of the best small area information for populations in the world.
- As indicated earlier, the census includes a battery of questions relating to immigrants which allows important groups in the immigrant population to be identified and their characteristics analysed.
- The Australian census is held every five years rather than every ten years as is the case in many comparable nations. This is of particular advantage for studies of immigrants. This is because the Australian and global immigration systems are extremely dynamic. They are both changing dramatically and rapidly. As a result, the intake of immigrants is also undergoing substantial change in terms of the origin countries but more importantly in their economic, social, cultural and demographic characteristics. This has crucial implications both for their adjustment to life in Australia and for the nature of the impact on Australia.

In short, the Australian population census of 2001 was one of the best in the world to analyse the impacts of immigration. Indeed it has been so for several decades.

The advantages of the Australian population census for undertaking a comprehensive, accurate and relevant assessment of the stock of recent and

longstanding immigrants in Australia are substantial. However, the present study has brought to light an important area of limitation not just of the Australian census but those in other countries influenced by immigration. This is related to what has been referred to here as the paradigm shift which has occurred not only in Australian international immigration but also in global migration over the last decade. The Australian census and censuses in other comparable nations, have developed a great deal of sophistication and ability to collect relevant information about traditional settlement immigration. That is the type of immigration which has dominated Australian immigration policy and thinking for most of the first half century following World War II. This has involved a highly managed immigration program which focuses exclusively on the selection of people with particular characteristics which will facilitate the successful permanent adjustment to, and settlement in, Australia and thereby contribute to Australia's economic, social, cultural and demographic development. While other countries in the postwar period developed so called 'guestworker' temporary worker migration programmes, these were eschewed by Australia almost totally. Although non-permanent movement to Australia had been growing in significance throughout the postwar period (Price, et al. 1981), the bulk of such movement was relatively short term, did not involve people being employed by an Australian based employer and could be effectively dealt with in censuses in the 'visitor' category of people who were in Australia for less than a year. Visitors are not included in the detailed tables of population characteristics derived from the census since they are not seen as residents of Australia.

The situation with respect to non-permanent migration (referred in much of the literature as transnational migration) has changed dramatically both globally and in Australia. This has been in response to many factors. Undoubtedly globalisation is central. There has been an internationalisation of capital and labour. In particular, many labour markets are now global whereas in the past, a small elite moved frequently between countries in relation to their careers and work, the circulation of labour was well established across a whole range of business, professional, technical, para professional and administrative occupations. Countries have realised that to be competitive they must have access to this highly skilled international labour force so they have developed international migration systems which facilitate the easy entry on a temporary basis of skilled workers. Australia has been a leader in the pioneering of such systems since the introduction of the Temporary Business Migrant Visa

categories in 1996 (Khoo, et al. 2003). In addition, there has been globalisation of international education movements and Australia has experienced a larger influx of international students in relation to its native student body than any nation in the world (Tremblay, 2002). This 'brain circulation' has been greatly facilitated by the massive cheapening and speeding up of international travel and the revolution in communication and information technology. These allow both close interaction with, and ready travel to, other countries. Hence, to take advantage of work and study opportunities in another country, it is no longer necessary to migrate on a more or less permanent basis as it was in the early postwar decades. Transnationalism is now possible and it is evidenced by the increasing number of nations (including Australia in 2001) who now allow citizens to have dual nationality.

Due to these processes the international migration flow data collected from the arrival and departure cards completed by all persons entering or leaving Australia have shown a spectacular increase in the amount of short and long term movement in and out of Australia while permanent moves have remained relatively static in number (Hugo, 2003f). Although our main focus here is on how this transnationalism has impacted on circulation *to Australia*, it also has of course led to greatly increased circulation *out of Australia* by skilled Australians (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2003). *The point is that while our flow data system is relatively well able to detect this new circulation, especially since the changes introduced in recent years which readily allow the matching of individual arrival and departure cards, our stock data system (the census) does not.* Accordingly, in the analysis conducted in this study the census does not allow us to effectively differentiate between recent migrants who are settled permanently in Australia and those who are in Australia temporarily.

Of course the question needs to be asked as to whether making such a distinction is necessary or desirable and whether it will return a benefit to the Australian community. In the past 'visitors' have been counted in the census but have been excluded from the estimates of the resident population. However in the past there has been a much clearer cut distinction between visitors and permanent residents. Visitors have been people who are in Australia for a short period, they have not been a significant proportion of our workforce, they have not been a significant factor in the housing market, they have not been a crucial factor influencing the distribution of the population and

the demand for services, they have not paid taxes, etc. All of these things have changed. We now have substantial numbers of people who come to Australia for significant periods of time with no intention of settling on a long term or permanent basis, they are employed by Australian-based employers or attend Australian educational institutions, they enter into long term housing arrangements, they are a significant part of the population in particular areas of Australia where they create substantial demands for goods and services. It is the argument here that:

- they are of sufficient numbers and significance so that they need to be included in the census
- there needs to be a differentiation made between people detected on the night of the census which is more sophisticated than the current 'visitor' and 'resident' dichotomy.

At present what happens is that temporary residents to Australia are either categorised as:

- visitors because they indicate they will be in Australia less than a year. This results in them being excluded from most census data
- residents because they indicate they will be in Australia for more than one year. This results in them being collapsed in with permanent settlement immigrants who arrived in recent years. It is not possible to differentiate between these two quite different groups.

It is a significant limitation of the present study that the analysis comparing recent migrants with longstanding migrants is not able to differentiate the former between permanent and temporary residents.

There can be no doubt that postwar settlement immigration has had a massive impact upon Australia's economy, society, demography, culture and almost every aspect of our lives. The Australian census in the past has been a crucial element in enabling us to chart and assess the nature of this impact and provide a basis for developing world best practice policies in selection of immigrants, programmes to assist immigrant adjustment, etc. Australian research on these issues, much of it based on population census data has led the world in this area. However, this body of research knowledge is almost totally focused on permanent settlement type migration and its effects. The point is that our migration policies have changed and the type of migration to the country has

changed and we need to be able to provide the same level of information and research findings regarding the 'new' types of migration as we have previously done for 'settlement' migration. We need to be able to examine what the nature of the impact of the temporary transnational migration is for labour markets, housing markets, population distribution, changing demand for goods and services, etc. We need to be able to assess the impact of the new temporary migration policies for the Australian economy, society and demography. Moreover, if we are going to be able to effectively assess the success or otherwise of the new temporary immigration policy, we need to be able to identify temporary residents in the census. Having census data which allows us to identify the new types of migrants and differentiate them from traditional settlement migrants is therefore an important priority.

It also needs to be pointed out that the development of a more sophisticated classification of the basis of residence in Australia than the present visitor/resident dichotomy has the potential to greatly assist the Australian Bureau of Statistics in the important area of intercensal population estimation. There has recently been controversy due to the ABS' recognition that the previous methods utilised to estimate category jumping between permanent and long term categories by persons coming into, or leaving, Australia were deficient (McDonald, Khoo and Kippen, 2003). This led to the ABS abandoning estimating category jumping at all for a period while new methods are developed. The development of new methods is to be facilitated by the new DIMIA data system for collection and processing of arrivals and departure information. However, the availability of census stock information undoubtedly would be of considerable assistance to the ABS in deriving better systems of intercensal estimation of population which is better able to include due consideration of the impacts of international population circulation.

How can these considerations be incorporated into a population census? It would seem most appropriate and cost effective to expand the current question on citizenship in the census schedule. This should incorporate a more detailed set of optional answers which allows us to group people detected in Australia on the night of the census into a range of citizenship/residency categories. One example would be the following:

- Australian citizen
- Australian dual citizen
- foreign citizen permanent resident
- foreign citizen temporary resident
- foreign citizen visitor.

Perhaps people who are temporary residents could be asked:

- length of time already in Australia
- length of time anticipated that they will stay in Australia
- type of visa they have in Australia.

In the present study the recent migrant category contains persons who have permanent residency and are intending to stay in Australia on a permanent or very long term basis together with many who are in Australia under a temporary residence visa and have definite intentions of leaving Australia sooner or later. It is also likely that many people in Australia as temporary residents are classified as visitors and are not included in the detailed census results. The latter group would include people whose stay in Australia is to be less than 12 months but also some people who are to be in Australia for a longer period but who return to their home country periodically so that they do not have continuous residence in Australia for more than a year. There is clearly a need for greater conceptual clarity and sophistication in defining the census population so that it can take into account the new realities of a highly internationally mobile population. This is not just important from a demographic accounting perspective, although that is of significance. We need greater knowledge of the characteristics and impacts of a range of temporary migration in important areas like the labour market, the housing market and providing goods and services. Moreover such information is required to allow a thorough assessment to be made of the social, economic and demographic impacts of various types of temporary versus permanent migration policies. This is necessary if Australia is to maintain its leading position globally as a successful immigration nation which has been highly successful in developing and instituting immigration and settlement policies which have been beneficial to the nation.

It is clear from many of the findings presented in this study that many temporary residents are included in the 'recent migrant' category as well as recently arrived permanent settlers. This needs to be borne in mind in the interpretation made of the findings presented. Undoubtedly the shifts in government immigration policy which have facilitated an increase in the

numbers of foreign students studying in Australia, an increase in the number of working-holiday makers and especially in the numbers of temporary business migrants entering Australia to work on a temporary basis have changed the composition of 'recent migrants' identified in the population census of 2001 compared to earlier censuses where they have been overwhelmingly recently arrived permanent settlers in Australia. This is reflected in the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of this group but also in such areas as their labour market participation and the parts of Australia where they are located. The results also reflect the changes which the Australian government has made in terms of the selection of permanent settlers. These have included elements like the changed balance between skill migrants versus family/humanitarian migrants, the increasing focus on labour market success criteria in the selection of migrants, the increased emphasis on English language ability, etc. All of these factors have led to a greater level of differentiation between more recent migrants and migrants of longer standing being evident in the 2001 census than in previous census enumerations.

Some of the major findings of the present study can be summarised as follows:

- There is enormous diversity within recent immigrants which makes generalisation about the group difficult and perhaps dangerous since it can conceal important variations within the group. Certainly the results of the research indicate that there is a continuation of the long established pattern in Australia in that the characteristics and experience of immigrants differs substantially between groups entering Australia under the various migration policy categories. While it is not possible to identify immigrants according to their migration entry policy category from the census, the fact is that there are huge differences between birthplace groups with respect to their mix of policy categories. This allows some inferences to be made about the relevance of migration policy category. Undoubtedly, despite policy changes, family and humanitarian migrants still are experiencing much greater difficulty in the labour market and in other areas of life in Australia than is the case for skilled migrants. There remains a pressing need for post arrival support programs in areas of English language training, assistance in entry to the labour market, etc. While the 'average' level of labour market performance undoubtedly has risen significantly, this should not divert attention away from the fact that a sub group of recent

immigrants remain among the most disadvantaged in the Australian community.

There is some evidence of bifurcation in Australia's recent immigrant's analogous to the polarisation which is occurring globally between:

- highly skilled immigrants from both developed and less developed nations who move readily between countries often on a temporary residence basis, but who are also sought after by OECD nations as permanent settlers. They find work easily, have higher incomes than the resident population at the destination and generally do not experience adjustment problems
- unskilled migrants predominantly from less developed nations who have difficulty in entering destination countries either permanently or temporarily unless they can qualify under humanitarian or family migration criteria. They do experience some difficulty in entering the labour market and work in less regulated jobs in the service sector of large cities which have little security, no unionisation on a part time or fractional basis and low wages.

This polarisation is becoming evident in the recent migrant populations of Australia.

- Australia has never had a larger population on temporary resident visas than it has at the moment. This is a highly varied group ranging from onshore refugees on Temporary Protection Visas through students, working holiday makers to short term and long term temporary business migrants. Moreover, recent expansion of Regional Migration Schemes in Australia envisages that temporary resident visas will play an increasing role by being issued to intending permanent settlers who do not meet or exceed the points assessment test entry level (but are close to it) and undertake to live for a period of two or three years in an area designated as rural. It is imperative therefore, that we have a mechanism for identifying temporary residents in the census. The analysis undertaken here gives some indications of the characteristics of this group but does not enable us to be definitive about them.
- The Australian recent migrant population is the most diverse cohort in terms of national origins that Australia has yet received in terms of the national origins of immigrants. This was largely through a substantial

increase in migration from Sub-Saharan Africa and South and Central Asia. Changes to migration policy have resulted in recent migrants being more concentrated in young adult ages and females being less predominant than was the case among recent migrants at the 1996 census.

- Where migrants settle in Australia is of great significance, not only because of issues such as the effects they have on local and regional labour and housing markets and on the level of demand for services, but also because it is a key process in shaping the spatial distribution of Australia's national population. Regional Migration Programs assumed increasing importance in Australia during the 1996–2001 intercensal period but they have gained even greater prominence since the 2001 census. This study has shown that recent migrants are more concentrated in particular parts of Australia, especially the capital cities and especially Sydney than is the case with other migrants and the Australian-born.
- The census data analysed here support other evidence that the labour market performance of recent migrants in Australia in recent years has been substantially higher than their counterparts of the early 1990s. This has been partly due to changes in immigration policy and practice but also to an improvement in the Australian economy. Recent migrants are more concentrated in higher skill occupations and growth areas of the economy like producer services than in previous years. Nevertheless, recent migrants are more represented in the labourers and related workers category than the Australian-born, reflecting again a polarisation element in the recent migrant workforce. The skill level of recent migrants is higher on average than in previous censuses.
- The incidence of poverty in Australia is higher on average in non-European migrant households than among Australian-born households. There can be no doubt that the average situation of recent migrant households is better in 2001 than in 1996. Nevertheless some sub groups of recent immigrants, particularly those who come to Australia under family and refugee-humanitarian criteria and especially among that group, those from LOTE country backgrounds are concentrated in low income groups.
- Recent migrants have a more diverse religious background than any previous cohort of migrants to Australia. However, despite the overall increase in cultural diversity, the proportion of recent migrants who only speak English and the population who speak another language but speak

English well have increased. Hence, while the introduction of more stringent English language selection criteria in immigration has had an impact, it has not reduced the diversity of cultural groups among recent migrants.

- Like the situation for the Australian-born, there is increasing diversity in the pattern of living arrangements among recent migrants. While there are variations between groups on average, they have higher fertility, are less likely to be divorced, marry earlier and live in non-family households than the Australian-born and longer standing migrants.
- The impact of recent immigration on Australian housing markets has been substantial. They are more likely, than either the Australian-born or migrants of longer standing in Australia, to live in higher density dwellings, and to rent their housing. They pay on average, significantly higher rents or monthly loan repayments than both groups. The impact of the massive increase in non-permanent migration on the rental housing market in Australia's largest cities has been substantial, although little is known currently about it.

Australia's recent immigrants are a very diverse group and one that is significantly different to earlier cohorts of immigrants to Australia. These changes are partly due to a series of major shifts in Australian immigration policy, but also to a changing global and regional migration context. However, the present report has demonstrated that immigration continues to be one of the most significant elements in Australia's changing economy, society, demography and culture. Australia's recent immigrants have been part of, influenced by and contributed to the substantial social and economic change experienced by the nation over the 1996 to 2001 period.

APPENDIX

COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1986, 1991, 1996 AND 2001 FOR LARGEST 150 GROUPS IN 2001

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>% Overseas-born</i> <i>2001</i>	<i>Rank</i> <i>2001</i>
<i>Oceania and Antarctica</i>						
New Zealand	211 670	276 073	291 388	355 765	8.67	2
New Caledonia	1 180	1 253	1 084	1 072	0.03	111
Papua New Guinea	21 352	23 716	24 373	23 616	0.58	35
Solomon Islands	935	1 094	1 152	1 326	0.03	104
Vanuatu	867	866	872	898	0.02	115
Kiribati	–	436	402	407	0.01	135
Nauru	536	549	473	465	0.01	127
Cook Islands	1 456	2 309	2 964	4 742	0.12	77
Fiji	14 756	30 558	37 102	44 261	1.08	24
French Polynesia	–	264	266	349	0.01	141
Niue	–	244	349	494	0.01	123
Samoa	2 983	5 742	9 850	13 254	0.32	50
Tokelau	–	54	178	262	0.01	148
Tonga	4 474	6 168	7 112	7 693	0.19	66
<i>North-West Europe</i>						
Channel Islands	–	2 074	1 972	1 929	0.05	96
England	880 890	909 043	872 062	847 365	20.64	1
Isle of Man	–	747	693	670	0.02	119
Northern Island	25 856	25 034	23 028	21 746	0.53	41
Scotland	149 135	156 638	146 274	137 252	3.34	6
Wales	27 209	27 956	27 488	26 051	0.63	31
Ireland	44 136	52 448	51 469	50 235	1.22	21
<i>Western Europe</i>						
Austria	22 623	22 118	20 575	19 313	0.47	43
Belgium	4 546	4 759	4 712	4 900	0.12	75
France	14 871	15 890	16 067	17 268	0.42	45
Germany	114 810	114 915	110 331	108 220	2.64	8
Netherlands	95 095	95 818	87 898	83 324	2.03	11
Switzerland	8 702	9 888	9 952	10 753	0.26	58
Denmark	8 625	9 368	8 986	9 029	0.22	64
Finland	9 086	9 110	8 616	8 258	0.20	65
Iceland	–	357	339	463	0.01	128
Norway	2 812	2 713	2 612	4 324	0.11	80
Sweden	5 141	6 009	6 078	6 818	0.17	69
<i>Southern and Eastern Europe</i>						
<i>Southern Europe</i>						
Gibraltar	–	411	412	416	0.01	132
Italy	261 878	254 780	238 246	218 718	5.33	3
Malta	56 232	53 838	50 879	46 998	1.14	23
Portugal	14 912	18 001	17 123	15 441	0.38	47
Spain	16 269	14 708	13 589	12 662	0.31	52
<i>South Eastern Europe</i>						
Albania	1 130	989	1 114	1 451	0.04	102
Bosnia and Herzegovina	–	–	13 610	23 848	0.58	34
Bulgaria	1 741	1 764	2 279	2 571	0.06	89
Croatia	–	–	46 981	51 909	1.26	20
Cyprus	23 643	22 212	20 652	19 482	0.47	42
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	–	–	42 199	43 527	1.06	25
Greece	137 637	136 327	126 520	116 431	2.84	7
Moldova	–	15	317	477	0.01	126
Romania	8 117	11 328	12 329	12 821	0.31	51
Slovenia	–	–	6 639	6 685	0.16	72
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic of	–	–	56 977	55 365	1.35	17

COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1986, 1991, 1996 AND 2001 FOR LARGEST 150 GROUPS IN 2001 *continued*

					% Overseas-born	Rank
Birthplace	1986	1991	1996	2001	2001	2001
Eastern Europe						
Armenia	–	386	757	900	0.02	114
Belarus	–		875	1 039	0.03	112
Czech Republic	–		5 946	6 973	0.17	67
Estonia	3 896	3 381	2 828	2 389	0.06	92
Georgia	–	19	158	309	0.01	143
Hungary	27 204	27 176	25 263	22 752	0.55	39
Kazakhstan	–	0	168	437	0.01	130
Latvia	10 780	9 322	8 024	6 688	0.16	71
Lithuania	5 346	4 590	4 225	3 687	0.09	82
Poland	67 676	68 931	65 113	58 110	1.42	16
Russian Federation	–	8 365	14 078	15 021	0.37	48
Slovakia	–		2 186	2 984	0.07	86
Ukraine	10 468	9 053	13 479	14 062	0.34	49
Uzbekistan	–	3	261	416	0.01	133
North Africa and the Middle East						
North Africa						
Algeria	–	680	753	980	0.02	113
Egypt	30 633	33 214	34 159	33 432	0.81	28
Libya	–	1 265	1 278	1 442	0.04	103
Morocco	–	991	1 101	1 170	0.03	107
Sudan	–	1 259	2 417	4 900	0.12	76
Tunisia	–	418	450	423	0.01	131
Middle East						
Bahrain	–	496	581	667	0.02	120
Gaza Strip and West Bank	–	33	2 531	2 684	0.07	87
Iran	7 498	12 914	16 271	18 789	0.46	44
Iraq	4 517	5 194	14 004	24 832	0.60	33
Israel	7 003	6 517	6 263	6 574	0.16	73
Jordan	–	2 175	2 779	3 332	0.08	84
Kuwait	–	923	1 586	2 436	0.06	91
Lebanon	56 341	69 014	70 224	71 349	1.74	14
Oman	–	50	141	366	0.01	137
Qatar	–	97	163	261	0.01	149
Saudi Arabia	–	617	1 105	1 631	0.04	99
Syria	3 864	5 350	5 937	6 710	0.16	70
Turkey	24 529	27 879	28 869	29 821	0.73	29
United Arab Emirates	–	580	886	1 459	0.04	101
Yemen	–	222	269	376	0.01	136
South-East Asia						
Mainland South-East Asia						
Burma (Myanmar)	7 611	8 266	10 139	10 973	0.27	56
Cambodia	13 240	17 643	21 549	22 979	0.56	38
Laos	7 424	9 646	9 883	9 565	0.23	60
Thailand	6 994	14 023	18 936	23 600	0.57	36
Viet Nam	83 044	122 325	151 053	154 831	3.77	4
Maritime South-East Asia						
Brunei	–	1 643	1 829	2 069	0.05	93
Indonesia	17 723	33 254	44 175	47 158	1.15	22
Malaysia	47 805	72 566	76 255	78 858	1.92	13
Philippines	33 727	73 673	92 949	103 942	2.53	9
Singapore	16 433	24 557	29 490	33 485	0.82	27
East Timor	6 559	*	*	9 389	0.23	62
North-East Asia						
China	37 468	78 835	111 009	142 780	3.48	5
Hong Kong	28 294	58 955	68 430	67 122	1.63	15
Macau	**	1 725	1 919	1 948	0.05	95
Taiwan	2 056	13 025	19 547	22 418	0.55	40
Japan	11 191	25 979	23 015	25 471	0.62	32
Korea, Republic of	9 284	20 901	30 091	38 900	0.95	26

* Included with Indonesia

** Included with Hong Kong

COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1986, 1991, 1996 AND 2001 FOR LARGEST 150 GROUPS IN 2001 *continued*

	% Overseas-born					Rank
Birthplace	1986	1991	1996	2001	2001	2001
Southern Asia						
Afghanistan	–	2 727	5 826	11 296	0.28	55
Bangladesh	1 211	2 339	5 077	9 078	0.22	63
India	47 820	61 602	77 551	95 452	2.32	10
Nepal	–	416	1 466	2 626	0.06	88
Pakistan	3 605	5 974	8 358	11 917	0.29	53
Sri Lanka	22 513	37 318	46 984	53 461	1.30	19
Americas						
Northern America						
Bermuda	–	361	343	365	0.01	138
Canada	20 436	24 109	25 132	27 289	0.66	30
United States of America	42 383	50 565	49 528	53 694	1.31	18
South America						
Argentina	9 195	10 660	10 755	10 763	0.26	57
Bolivia	–	511	573	657	0.02	121
Brazil	2 006	2 977	3 359	4 713	0.11	78
Chile	18 740	24 186	23 820	23 420	0.57	37
Colombia	1 687	2 114	2 670	4 329	0.11	79
Ecuador	1 006	1 084	1 243	1 325	0.03	105
Guyana	–	429	468	490	0.01	124
Paraguay	–	279	288	312	0.01	142
Peru	2 323	3 795	4 875	5 510	0.13	74
Uruguay	9 586	9 679	9 715	9 475	0.23	61
Venezuela	–	609	791	1 109	0.03	110
Central America						
Costa Rica	–	237	307	298	0.01	145
El Salvador	2 103	8 741	9 864	9 696	0.24	59
Guatemala	–	218	252	283	0.01	146
Mexico	678	816	881	1 154	0.03	109
Nicaragua	–	723	741	701	0.02	118
Caribbean						
Barbados	–	306	331	308	0.01	144
Cuba	–	373	403	410	0.01	134
Jamaica	–	673	706	747	0.02	116
Trinidad and Tobago	–	937	1 113	1 159	0.03	108
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Congo, Democratic Republic of	–	14	21	267	0.01	147
Ghana	–	998	1 495	2 040	0.05	94
Nigeria	–	966	1 260	1 738	0.04	97
Sierra Leone	–	122	166	363	0.01	139
Southern and Eastern Africa						
Angola	–	333	346	353	0.01	140
Botswana	–	158	224	708	0.02	117
Eritrea	–	–	1 163	1 599	0.04	100
Ethiopia	–	1 342	2 353	3 544	0.09	83
Kenya	4 169	4 724	5 331	6 869	0.17	68
Malawi	–	366	423	486	0.01	125
Mauritius	13 087	16 882	17 083	16 962	0.41	46
Mozambique	–	389	428	552	0.01	122
Namibia	–	265	303	437	0.01	129
Seychelles	–	2 612	2 561	2 448	0.06	90
Somalia	–	359	2 057	3 713	0.09	81
South Africa	37 061	49 383	55 755	79 425	1.93	12
Swaziland	–	124	145	205	0.00	150
Tanzania	–	1 432	1 561	1 714	0.04	98
Uganda	–	930	1 178	1 217	0.03	106
Zambia	–	2 333	2 563	3 070	0.07	85
Zimbabwe	6 483	8 352	8 956	11 734	0.29	54
Australia	12 112 181	12 726 761	13 227 785	13 629 481		
Inadequately described	–	2 863	6 166	17 546		
At sea	–	204	157	138		
Not stated	244 319	368 705	616 840	1 034 120		
Total	15 602 156	16 850 333	17 752 827	18 769 249		

Source: 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

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