ETHNIC DIVERSIFICATION

IN

AUSTRALIA

by

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This thesis is based on original research I conducted in the Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences. It builds on my chapter 'Ethnic Composition of the Population', prepared for inclusion in United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (1983 forthcoming), Population of Australia, ESCAP Country Monograph Series, United Nations, Bangkok. All sources used in the thesis have been acknowledged.

Jennifer J. Rowland
This thesis investigates the changing composition of Australia's population, according to ethnic categories on which population censuses provide information, particularly since World War II. It examines government policies towards immigrants and Aboriginals, official approaches to providing for them, and the demographic processes which led to a re-allocation over time of the population to different ethnic categories. It also considers the characteristics of significant individual ethnic categories. Finally, it assesses various indicators of diversity, explores different types of diversification and comments on changes to Australian society arising from them.
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.S. - Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACPEA - Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs
A.G.P.S. - Australian Government Publishing Service
AIMA - Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs
A.L.P. - Australian Labor Party
ANZAAS - Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science
A.N.Z.J.S. - Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology
A.N.U. - Australian National University
C.B.C.S. - Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics
CHOMI - Clearing House on Migration Issues
C.P.D. H. of R. - Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates House of Representatives
D.I.E.A. - Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs
ESCAP - Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
GAPS - General Assisted Passage Scheme
ICEM - Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration
I.R.O. - International Refugee Organisation
NUMAS - Numerical Multifactor Assessment System
ROSP - Regularisation of Status Program
RAS - Returning Australians Scheme
SAANZ - Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand
SAS - Second Assistance Scheme
SPAP - Special Passage Assistance Program
USPAP - United States Passage Assistance Program
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Migration gives rise to ethnical mixtures, and to complicated questions of the reciprocal influence of men of different races and cultures upon each other. Such questions involve not merely the number of the population, but the whole social and economic development of the community.¹

Immigration to Australia since the Second World War has caused dramatic changes to Australia's population and society. It helped double the country's population between the end of the War and the beginning of the 1980s² and perhaps led to greater social changes in those few decades than had taken place in the entire previous history of Australia. This is with the exception of one event—the coming of European settlers towards the end of the eighteenth century. The existing inhabitants, Australia's Aboriginals, derived their culture largely from the land and had not evolved institutions and processes of government which led to the formation of nation states in other parts of the world.³ The newcomers, on the other hand, represented a major European power and easily established colonial rule.

Until the end of World War II there were relatively few changes to the modified British way of life which subsequently developed in all parts of Australia. It is therefore necessary to study the mechanisms which caused this inertia, as background to this thesis on the means by which Australia's population underwent ethnic diversification in the post-war period. This involves some appreciation of European attitudes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the types of people considered suitable to become members of the Australian community. These are described in Chapter 2 and emphasise physical identification⁴ or race, as biological points of view were then dominating social thought.⁵

Race was the idea first examined in studies which would now be known as ethnic. Over time other concepts also came to be classified in this way. These form the subject of this thesis as it traces changes in the ethnic composition of Australia's population according to available official statistics.

Although the English language adopted ethnic as an equivalent of the Greek ethnikos, the adjectival form of ethnos, meaning a nation, race or folk, as distinct from kratos, the state, it never adopted a noun. Confusion accordingly resulted, especially as the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of ethnic included 'Gentile, heathen, pagan' as well as 'pertaining to race; peculiar to a race or nation'.

Early but unsuccessful attempts in the 1930s to popularise the term ethnic sought only to eliminate the concept of race. For example, the 1933 Census of the Commonwealth of Australia analysed 'ethnic origin' rather than 'race'. Ethnic therefore came to replace race on occasions, although at other times it included it. By the early post-war years the term referred to various characteristics held in common by persons who were seen to constitute ethnic groups. It was also considered that there was:

some legitimacy to finding that forms of identification based on social realities as different as religion, language, and national origin all have something in common, such that a new term (was) coined to refer to all of them - 'ethnicity'.

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8. Ibid., p. 34.
The next major wave of interest in ethnic studies is thought by some to have begun in the 1960s, because of a 'revitalization of ethnicity and a renewed appreciation of diversity' then taking place in the U.S.A. Working-class and occupational identities had lost status and respect and international events had declined as sources of ethnic pride. Ethnic groups were recognised by themselves and others as being distinct in different ways. For example, the uniqueness might be due to skin colour and features as noted above, or language, history, politics, religion and/or nationality, or even to regions of the nation state of emigration.

By the mid-1970s, ethnic groups were identified in terms of ethnic origin, that is the ethnic identity acquired at birth, or one's 'primordial attachment'. This contrasted markedly with another concept that was being re-examined - ethnicity. At this time ethnicity was defined as the identity a person chose to adopt. It comprised a:

sense of peoplehood that had some time depth. This sense of peoplehood, a 'consciousness of kind' (arose) because of certain characteristics - physical, geographical, religious, linguistic - that served to define social boundaries between one group of people and another.

It was also described as an:

evolving or emergent phenomenon, and groups and their relations
with one another and with the larger society change(d) in the
course of ethnic evolution.24

Its variation over time was seen as reflecting developments in the
broader society.25 In fact, it was even seen as a process, rather than the
characteristic of a particular migrant, minority or ethnic group.26

Amongst the concern about how ethnic groups should be defined, one
conclusion reached in the late 1970s was that simply possessing similar
socio-demographic characteristics did not automatically confer 'ethnic group'
status on parts of the population, but merely produced ethnic categories27 or
conferred nominal ethnic status.28 In fact:

it has never been shown convincingly that a particular language,
a sectarian religion, certain biosomatic traits, or any specific
legal and moral ideas make all those of whom they are
characteristic ipso facto a distinctive social group.29

Instead, to form an ethnic group, there had to be a self-conscious distinction
by its members between themselves and outsiders as noted above, based on a
system of social interaction.30 Members of true ethnic groups might distinguish
themselves from others in one of two ways. Their ethnicity might consist
of an 'elementary feeling of solidarity' - ethnic awareness, or a strong
manifestation of sentiments about uniqueness - ethnic consciousness32 which
might cause them to mobilise themselves along ethnic lines to pursue a particular

25. Kobrin, Frances E. and Goldscheider, Calvin (1978), The Ethnic Factor in
Family Structure and Mobility, Ballinger, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p. 1.
26. Lewins, Frank (1975), 'Ethnicity as Process: Some Considerations of
27. McKay, James and Lewins, Frank (1978), 'Ethnicity and the ethnic group:
a conceptual analysis and reformulation', Ethnic and Racial Status 1(4),
p. 414.
Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Association for
the Advancement of Science, San Francisco, p. 24.
Theory, Elsevier, Amsterdam, p. 370.
30. Hraba (1979), op. cit., p. 27.
32. Ibid., p. 416.
interest or purpose. In the latter case, one's ethnicity, i.e. chosen ethnic identity, would assume considerable importance in one's dealings both with one's own group members and with outsiders.

In summary, the term ethnic as used in this thesis pertains to nation, race or folk; ethnic origin is determined at birth; ethnicity is the sense of belonging to a certain nation, race or folk; ethnic category refers to persons who may be classed together because they all possess one or more ethnic traits and an ethnic group is a socially interacting group defined in terms of ethnicity. Unlike some studies, this thesis considers that all persons in Australia belong to ethnic categories and that those whose views shape Australian society are themselves an ethnic group, conscious of those they see fit to join them. In the early post-war days such persons were Australian-born, usually of British descent but certainly of European race, spoke only English and followed traditional Western religions, most commonly Protestant ones. As the population diversified, the ethnic characteristics of those who formed this core element of Australian society broadened, but their generally British-based outlook remained.

It is also necessary to define and explore other terms: diversification of Australia's population is taken here to mean those demographic changes which have caused the total population to become less homogeneous. It may thus be considered in terms of movement from homogeneity to heterogeneity.

In the words of one scholar, population diversification:

alludes to the increasing heterogeneity of populations not only sharing the same geographic area but also, increasingly, the same life space - economic, social and political activity.... Population heterogeneity involves diversity in culture, language, religion, values, behaviour, ethnicity and race.... Population diversification connotes not only the physical presence of a


heterogeneous human aggregation but also social interaction among the diverse elements.\textsuperscript{38}

As a British dominion and early member of the Commonwealth,\textsuperscript{39} Australia maintained a culture and way of life which, although modified, were distinctly British. Yet persons born in Australia outnumbered those from Britain and elsewhere from the late nineteenth century\textsuperscript{40} and assumed the nation's political and social leadership in the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{41} From the 1930s there was a growing feeling of 'Australia for the Australians' which even resulted in some antipathy towards British migrants.\textsuperscript{42} In addition, only 10 per cent of the population had been born outside Australia at the beginning of the post-war period and many of these had been resident over lengthy periods.\textsuperscript{43} In terms of birthplace, it is therefore most appropriate to consider the Australian-born alone as the homogeneous end of the theoretical continuum. Persons born in the U.K. and Eire, including those who were resident at the first post-war census in 1947, are thus considered to add to diversity, rather than simply maintain the status quo. They were, however, regarded in the early post-war years as the settlers who were the most desirable and most likely to fit into Australian society. Aboriginals, on the other hand, although Australian-born, were believed unlikely ever to find a proper place in the Australian community. This view led to their exclusion from official estimates of the population, i.e. they were not even numbered amongst the Australian-born at that time.

How those in the core ethnic category accommodate other persons is also a major theme in this thesis. The use made here of the term accommodation was suggested by the work of Park and Burgess in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{44} They considered that it:

applies to any acquired alteration of function resulting in better adjustment to environment and to functional changes which are thus effected.45

Accommodation is therefore taken to be a generalised concept covering possible ways in which both the receiving society and immigrant newcomers make adjustments for each other and the majority society makes provision for immigrants and Aboriginals.

A final useful definition is that of culture. In this study it means:

(t)hat complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.46

The ethnic diversification investigated here is the redistribution of Australia's total population, according to various ethnic categories on which population censuses provide information. It is concerned with changes from the beginning of European settlement, but most particularly over the post-war period. Only some results were available from the 1981 Census at the time of writing, so that this study is concerned mostly with the period from the 1947 to 1976 Censuses. Although many high-quality ethnic studies have already been done in Australia,47 the major part of them relates to individual ethnic groups or categories rather than to Australia's population as a whole. With some exceptions,48 they do not exploit census data fully. In the current investigation it is proposed to examine demographic trends arising from changing perceptions of the categories of persons considered capable of becoming members of the Australian community. The importance of these attitudinal changes lies in the fact that they form the background to the development of government policies to accommodate immigrants and Aboriginals.


This thesis begins (Chapter 2) with an examination of policies and practices resulting from views of different peoples – both immigrants and Aboriginals – not only in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but further to the early 1980s. Chapter 3 considers Commonwealth government approaches to accommodating those immigrants permitted to come at different stages of the post-war period and the means by which censuses sought to measure the population changes resulting from their presence and that of the Aboriginals. The next chapter investigates processes of diversification, both those over which governments have direct control and those which flow spontaneously from the others. Chapters 5 and 6 describe and then quantify the ways in which individual ethnic categories have grown or diminished and hence assumed larger or smaller shares, respectively, of the total population. Chapter 7 examines a number of specific ethnic categories which have contributed significant forms of variation to the whole population. The final chapter summarises earlier findings and assesses the various forms of diversity and the nature of changes to Australian society arising from them.
CHAPTER 2
POLICIES AND PRACTICES INFLUENCING DIVERSIFICATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Australia was first inhabited by Aboriginals who began arriving in the country over 40,000 years ago. In time they spread throughout the continent and developed a variety of religious and ceremonial activities related to the land which were a vital part of their lifestyle. They belonged to different races, especially in Tasmania, and formed tribes with complex social systems and distinct languages. However, because they had no written language, the extent and nature of early diversity within the Aboriginal population is nowadays only partly known. Ethnic diversification of Australia's population is therefore most easily reckoned from the beginning of European settlement.

Various European powers discovered and explored parts of the Australian coast from the sixteenth century. In 1770 the English explorer Captain James Cook took possession in the name of the British sovereign of what are now the eastern parts of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. The British Crown extended its claim in 1788 to include Tasmania and part of South Australia and the Northern Territory. That year it also founded the colony of New South Wales at Sydney Cove to house transported convicts. Other penal settlements followed: Tasmania in 1803 and Queensland in 1825, the year in which Tasmania was constituted a separate colony.

In 1829 the British claimed the remainder of the continent and established a colony of free settlers in Western Australia, although they later found it necessary to import convict labour. There were other fully free settlements: Victoria from 1834 and South Australia from 1836. By the 1850s all settlements had been declared separate colonies and granted responsible government, except for Western Australia to which it was awarded in 1890. In addition, the Northern Territory, initially part of New South Wales, was brought under South Australian jurisdiction in 1863.

After the colonies federated in 1901 to become the Commonwealth of Australia, that Territory was transferred to the Commonwealth's administration in 1911. In that year too, part of the State of New South Wales became the Australian Capital Territory. The Northern Territory finally achieved self-government in 1978.

During the early nineteenth century each colony existed largely independently and survival was uppermost in the minds of its administrators. Agriculture was the earliest mainstay. However, after exploration beyond the initial coastal settlements, pastoral and mining interests also developed.

2.2 IMMIGRATION POLICIES TO WORLD WAR II

2.2.1 Early Nineteenth Century Practices Towards Non-European Immigrants

After fifty years of transporting convicts from Britain to New South Wales, moves were made to end the practice. Individual graziers became concerned about the future of the wool industry and in the late 1830s began importing Indian coolie labour on a small scale, prior to transportation's abolition in 1840. The colonial rulers did not encourage this immigration through reimbursement of expenses, as they did for free settlers brought from Britain. Instead, they considered that such arrivals would undermine the wages of other settlers and upset racial purity. Likewise, those pastoralists who imported Chinese in the 1840s under contract labour agreements did so without government assistance.

Larger numbers of Chinese paid their own way to come to Australia, particularly to Victoria, after the gold discoveries of 1851. Their numbers grew from 2,000 in that year to an estimated 42,000 on the Victorian goldfields by 1859. However, after threatened or actual

4. Ibid., pp. 4-6.
5. A.B.S. (1982a), Year Book Australia No. 66, 1982 (1301.0), A.B.S., Canberra, p. 710.
outbreaks of violence against them on the goldfields, the governments of Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales in succession passed legislation between 1855 and 1861 to restrict the entry of Chinese to their colonies. Collectively, this legislation so reduced the numbers arriving that fears about their presence abated. The various laws were therefore repealed progressively between 1861 and 1867.

Although the entry of Chinese was restricted in the above colonies in the 1850s and 1860s, there was still a need for contract labour for the development of the Queensland sugar industry. Paradoxically, other non-Europeans - Kanakas from the Pacific islands - were introduced on an indentured basis to Queensland from 1863 and to a less extent to New South Wales. Over the period to 1904, 61,000 were recruited, mostly from New Guinea and Melanesia, although their maximum number at any census was 9,200 in 1891. Malays, Filipinos and Japanese were also recruited for the sugarfields and for pearling, while Afghans came to tend the camels which proved so useful in inland exploration and transportation.

For some years the Australian colonies had no legislation restricting the immigration of non-European peoples. However, at the end of the 1870s, when only small streams of immigrants were arriving from Europe, another sizeable influx of Chinese began. This was partly because of the newly discovered goldfields in Queensland and partly in anticipation of restrictions to their entry to the United States of America. Laws of various strengths to restrict Chinese immigration were therefore enacted in some parts of Australia after an Intercolonial Conference in 1880-81. As further mineral deposits were found in the other colonies, their administrators also enacted restrictive legislation, until the whole of Australia except the Northern Territory was covered by 1887. These Acts

11. Ibid., p. 135.
16. Willard (1923), op. cit., p. 60.
17. Ibid., p. 37.
18. Ibid., p. 60.
19. Willard (1923), op. cit., p. 60.
were seen as sufficient until 1888 when another Intercolonial Conference was held for reasons including arrivals in the unprotected Northern Territory, illegal use of entry papers in other parts of Australia, health scares and unfavourable comments by visiting Chinese officials. This Conference caused the introduction of further anti-Chinese legislation throughout Australia. As a result of these laws many Chinese left Australia, so that the number of persons born in China fell to 36,000 by 1891.

2.2.2 Attitudes And Practices Towards Immigration As Federation Approached

From the 1880s, and more particularly in the 1890s, Australians were beginning to shake off their isolation, to take a greater interest in matters beyond their shores and to articulate ideas of what their future nation should be. As often happens, notions relating to ethnicity were proving to be a significant factor, and indeed a problem, in the final years leading to nationhood through Federation in 1901. Australia's problem was that it wished to retain racial purity, a concept which until then had usually been equated with preservation of the community's generally British character. This racial purity was seen as necessary because the presence of persons with standards of living lower than that of Australians, was considered to be 'injurious to the general welfare'. However, this viewpoint was usually interpreted by outsiders not as an economic consideration, but as indicative of prejudice against non-Europeans.

Yet, Australians of British Isles extraction can hardly have failed to notice that their population had never been racially pure, i.e. exclusively British, due to the presence of the Aboriginals and of non-British and even non-Europeans amongst the convicts. Moreover, there

23. Willard (1923), op. cit., p. 70.
was considerable diversity among persons from the British Isles. The British-born were, in fact, largely English - these being 470,000 in 1891 including some 15,000 Welsh - although the Irish arrived in Australia in considerable numbers even from the convict days and reached a peak of 227,000 in 1891. Their effects on Australian attitudes and institutions extended far beyond the fact that most adhered to the Roman Catholic faith. Indeed, relations between the Irish and the English comprised much of what would now be termed 'ethnic affairs'. The influence of the Scottish-born was less, as their numbers reached only 124,000 at the 1891 colonial censuses (Table 2.1).

**TABLE 2.1 : POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE: AUSTRALIA: 1891 COLONIAL CENSUSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>NUMBER ('000)</th>
<th>PROPORTION (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2,159.0</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>470.4</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>123.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>226.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total British Isles</td>
<td>821.2</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden &amp; Norway</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Europe</td>
<td>901.6</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asia</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Asia</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Africa</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total America</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Polynesia</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At sea &amp; unspecified</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3,174.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Commonwealth Statistician, 1911 Census: Volume II Detailed Tables, pp. 127-128.


During the nineteenth century, assistance or encouragement to emigrate to Australia was generally given only to persons from the British Isles, or to a less extent north-west Europeans such as Germans and Scandinavians, who were considered sufficiently similar to those from Britain to enable the growth of a homogeneous British-like people. The first sizeable number of settlers from Germany arrived in South Australia in 1838, only two years after that colony was established. Others located in the eastern colonies, so that by 1861 there were 27,000 German-born persons in Australia - the largest 'white' non-British minority. Continuing immigration took their numbers to 45,000 by 1891 (Table 2.1) when they outnumbered the Chinese for the first time. During the 1870s and 1880s, settlers began arriving in some numbers from Scandinavia and Italy after previous slower growth in their populations. The Scandinavians in Australia increased from 8,000 in 1881 to 16,500 in 1891 but then declined, while the Italians grew from 1,900 to 3,900 over that period. The French numbered 4,300 in 1891, but they too did not increase to become a significant minority.

In relation to Asian immigration, the colonials were troubled only by the question of Chinese settlers until the late 1880s, as the inflow of other peoples had been small. However, over the 1890s Indians, Syrians, Afghans and Japanese arrived in slightly larger numbers. A third Intercolonial Conference was therefore held in 1896 and resolved to widen restrictions to 'all the coloured races'. Some of the colonies extended their own laws, while others waited for legislation to be enacted by the new Federal parliament. However, throughout Australia the emerging nationalism which led to Federation was unanimous in its attitude towards what came to be known from the 1890s as 'White Australia'.

32. Lyng (1935), op. cit., p. 28.
34. Ibid., p. 35.
36. Ibid., pp. 117-118.
37. Ibid., p. 189 and p. 201.
2.2.3 Immigration And Naturalization Restrictions At Federation

The first session of the new Federal parliament passed the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 (later known as the Immigration Act 1901) which prohibited the entry into Australia of (inter alia):

(a)ny person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an (sic) European language directed by the officer.38

Only the method and not the policy of restriction was at issue,39 with the form adopted being a direct concession to Britain's objection to the exclusion of her own subjects and those of other countries on what appeared to be grounds of colour and race.40 In other words, the Act contained no overt prohibition of the immigration of particular races,41 nor did it seek to deport the Chinese and other Asians already in Australia. Its wording permitted the temporary entry only of specific categories of non-Europeans and granted them a certificate of exemption from the dictation test for a specified period of time.42

Two loopholes in the Act were closed in 1905. These had permitted the entry of non-European wives and children of Australian residents under certain conditions and of non-European persons who had formerly been resident in the Commonwealth of Australia or one of the colonies.43 Indeed, until 1947 the families of certain residents were admitted only for temporary periods, such was the concern of Australian governments that there be no increase in the number of Asians in the country.44

Outside pressure to amend the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 came mostly from the Japanese rather than from the longer settled, more numerous Chinese. In 1905 Australia acceded to Japan's request to place the Japanese on an equal footing with Europeans by changing the dictation test to fifty words in any 'prescribed' language.45 Chinese immigrants, on the other

38. Immigration Restriction Act 1901, No. 17, Section 3.
40. Willard (1923), op. cit., p. 114.
42. Immigration Restriction Act 1901, Sections 3 and 4.
43. Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1905, No. 17, Section 4.
44. Yarwood (1967), op. cit., p. 69.
45. Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1905, Section 4.
hand, had very little diplomatic support from their 'home' government at that time. 46 Within Australia, governments were conscious that any concessions covering the larger Chinese community would have meant changing a policy which attracted the widest public support. 47

The Commonwealth's determination to pursue the so-called 'White Australia' policy also led to legislation to exclude the Kanakas. The Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901 prohibited the introduction of further Kanakas after March 1904 and empowered the Federal authorities to deport any found in Australia after December 1906. 48 Four thousand three hundred islanders were repatriated under the Act, mostly in 1907, but further legislation exempted certain ones from deportation, 49 so that up to 1,800 remained in Australia after 1906. 50 Their subsequent population growth was slow due to very few international movements and low natural increase because few female Pacific islanders were brought to Australia. There were still around 1,800 Pacific islanders in Australia in 1933 and perhaps around 2,000 in 1947. 51 Intermarriage with Europeans caused their descendants to increase to 3,000 by 1966. 52

Other legislation enacted shortly after Federation affected the composition of Australia's population. The Naturalization Act 1903 provided for the naturalization (granting of the status of British subject) of persons under Commonwealth legislation after their previous naturalization under colonial law. 53 It also stated explicitly that persons eligible to apply for naturalization in the future were to be resident in the Commonwealth of Australia, who were not aboriginal natives of Asia, Africa or the islands of the Pacific, except New Zealand. 54 When this Act was

47. Ibid., p. 115.
48. Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901, No. 16, Sections 3 and 8.
49. Pacific Island Labourers Act 1906, No. 22, Section 2.
51. The Census of the Commonwealth of Australia held on 30 June 1947 combined Torres Strait Islanders and Pacific Islanders in its results.
53. Naturalization Act 1903, No. 11, Section 4.
54. Ibid., Section 5.
repealed in 1920\textsuperscript{55} and the \textbf{Nationality Act} enforced, the exclusionary clauses were omitted, although Australia's Governor-General retained absolute discretion to grant naturalization.\textsuperscript{56} In practice there was an almost total ban on the naturalization of non-Europeans until 1956.\textsuperscript{57}

2.2.4 Immigration Restrictions And Preferences To World War II

After the First World War the Australian government imposed further immigration restrictions. Firstly, it prohibited temporarily the entry of enemy nationals in 1920.\textsuperscript{58} Secondly, it realised that southern and eastern Europeans who came to Australia, after the U.S.A. denied them entry by legislation passed there between 1921 and 1924, were providing employment competition to soldiers returning home.\textsuperscript{59} The Australian government therefore effected various arrangements with the governments of a number of European countries to set quotas on the entry of their nationals.\textsuperscript{60} It also wrote further severe restrictions into its own legislation, so as to prohibit the entry of specified categories as well as arbitrarily selected individuals:

\begin{quote}
The Governor-General may by proclamation prohibit ... the immigration ... of aliens of any specified nationality, race, class or occupation
... because the persons specified in the Proclamation are in his opinion unsuitable for admission in to the Commonwealth;
... because they are deemed unlikely to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Australian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry.\textsuperscript{61}
\end{quote}

By the 1920s the main principles of restrictive entry had been settled.\textsuperscript{62} Australian governments assumed that there would continue to be

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{55} Nationality Act 1920, No. 48, Section 3.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., Section 7.
\textsuperscript{57} Palfreeman, A.C. (1967), The Administration of the White Australia Policy, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{58} Immigration Act 1920, No. 51, Section 3.
\textsuperscript{60} Price, Charles A. (1963), Southern Europeans in Australia, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{61} Immigration Act 1925, No. 7, Section 3.
\textsuperscript{62} Price (1974a), op. cit., p. 20.
\end{flushleft}
an adequate supply of immigrants from the traditional British source, especially after the passing of the Empire Settlement Act in 1922. This British legislation aimed to redistribute the Empire's white population to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Such immigrants remained Australia's first preference and so received considerable passage assistance. After them were ranked north-west Europeans who could enter without numerical restriction, but generally without government help. Then came other Europeans who could enter only in limited numbers. The lowest preference was for non-Europeans who could usually enter only on a temporary basis.

The number of persons of British or British Isles origin who arrived between 1919 and 1929 - after the end of the First World War and the passing of the Empire Settlement Act - was 320,000. Most of these arrivals were English and Scottish, although there were also some New Zealanders. A record 487,000 persons born in England were enumerated in Australia in 1933. With the downturn in immigration during the Great Depression, a virtual cessation of it during the Second World War and some emigration, these English-born persons numbered only 382,000 in 1947. The Scots in Australia also reached a peak in their numbers in 1933 - 133,000 - before falling to 103,000 in 1947. Those born in Ireland were still a major category at the time of World War II, as they numbered 47,000 in 1947, although their size had declined after the depression of the 1890s.

Despite the general preference for British immigrants, the halt to German immigration after the outbreak of war in 1914 and subsequent

legislative restrictions, in 1938 Australia agreed to accept 15,000 Jewish refugees who were fleeing from Austria, Germany and Sudetenland because of Hitler's anti-Semitic policies. Nearly half this number had arrived by mid-1939 when the outbreak of World War II caused the program to be suspended. There was also a shift to southern Europe as the main source of non-British immigrants, as restrictions against them were eased. For example, the 4,000 Italians of 1891 increased to 34,000 by 1947 through chain migration. The Greek-born population underwent slow but regular growth to 12,000 in 1947. However, the legislation against non-Europeans caused many Asians to leave Australia. In particular, the number of Chinese-born fell from 36,000 to 15,000 between 1891 and 1921. These declines continued in the period to World War II with full-blood Chinese numbering only 9,000 in 1947. These changes to Australia's ethnic composition to the end of World War II are summarised in Table 2.2.

2.3 IMMIGRATION POLICIES IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

2.3.1 The Effects Of World War II On Policies And Practices Towards European Immigrants

The Second World War caused Australians to realise the defence implications of their small population in an isolated landmass. They were also acutely aware that, because of the low levels of births during the Great Depression, the native-born labour force was insufficient to undertake the various construction and resource development projects considered necessary at that time. Population-building was therefore set as a national priority and was closely linked to economic development. The first Minister for Immigration, Mr Calwell, in the Labor Government of the day, indicated that population growth was to come from both natural increase and overseas migration, each of which was expected to contribute approximately half to a total annual population growth rate of two per cent.

No change was anticipated to the traditional ethnic priorities as the

74. Ibid., pp. 4911-4912.
### TABLE 2.2: POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE: AUSTRALIA: 1891 TO 1947 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>1891 ('000)</th>
<th>1901 ('000)</th>
<th>1911 ('000)</th>
<th>1921 ('000)</th>
<th>1933 ('000)</th>
<th>1947 ('000)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2159.0</td>
<td>2908.3</td>
<td>3667.7</td>
<td>4581.7</td>
<td>5726.6</td>
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<td>31.9</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>43.6</td>
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<td>Other*</td>
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<td>10.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL OCEANIA</strong></td>
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<td><strong>2944.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>3702.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>4623.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>5776.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>6883.5</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>England*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>470.4</td>
<td>393.3</td>
<td>359.2</td>
<td>446.1</td>
<td>486.8</td>
<td>381.6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<td>13.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
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<td>93.1</td>
<td>108.8</td>
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<td>103.0</td>
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<td>44.8</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
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<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.3</td>
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<td>8.8</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL EUROPE</strong></td>
<td><strong>901.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>753.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>664.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>744.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>807.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>651.6</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
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<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL ASIA</strong></td>
<td><strong>46.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>47.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>36.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>30.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL AFRICA</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.8</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL AMERICA</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At sea and not stated</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td><strong>3773.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>4455.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>5435.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>6629.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>7579.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| n.a. = not available.

1. Includes Australian External Territories, Pacific Islands and Polynesia.

United Kingdom was expected to remain the major source:

It is my hope that for every foreign migrant there will be ten people from the United Kingdom, said Calwell. However, he had already indicated which continental Europeans would also make acceptable citizens: for example, Poles, Czechs, the Dutch, Yugoslavs, those from the Baltic States and also Sweden and Norway.

To promote this preferred immigration, the Australian government made various agreements with the British government. The first of these were the Government Free Passage Scheme for Ex-Service Men and Women and the Australian Assisted Passage Agreement, both concluded in 1946. However, as the immigration program developed, it soon became clear to the Australian immigration authorities that Britain would not be able to supply the desired number of immigrants, because of shipping shortages. The stage was therefore set for the first immigration policy positively encouraging diversification of Australia's ethnic composition. This was to happen through actively seeking non-British immigrants. They were to be not only north-west Europeans, but also eastern Europeans who had a reputation for high fertility. Importantly too, the Australian government was prepared to abandon its pre-war policy of generally not extending assistance to non-British migrants.

Ethnic diversification was fostered in the first instance through selecting persons under the Empire and Allied Ex-Servicemen's scheme - mostly Dutch from Indonesia - and through resettling certain Polish ex-servicemen remaining in Britain at the end of the War. More important in number and range of origins were the European settlers who arrived under

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the Displaced Persons Scheme which operated from 1947 to 1951 in collaboration with the International Refugee Organisation (I.R.O.). The annual quota of refugees and Displaced Persons was originally set at 12,000 by the Labor Government, but was progressively increased by the Liberal and (then) Country Parties which formed a Coalition Government from 1949 to 1972.

Between 1949 and 1951 refugees therefore exceeded the numbers coming from the U.K. and Eire. Displaced Persons who came to Australia numbered 182,200. This figure includes 170,700 who received assistance from the Australian government and about 11,500 others. Of those who received government assistance, around 63,400 came from Poland, 23,500 from Yugoslavia and 34,700 from the Baltic States. Furthermore, members of a group of Europeans outside Europe, namely White Russians in China, were accepted into Australia under a special program from 1947.

When the supply of Displaced Persons dwindled at the end of 1951, Australia sought other sources of immigrants. It drew up formal Migration Agreements with various European governments and with ICEM, the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration which succeeded the I.R.O. By 1952, Australia had concluded formal agreements with the governments of Malta, the Netherlands, Italy and West Germany to grant financial assistance to settlers migrating from these countries. In addition, in 1952 Australia agreed to proposals by ICEM and concurred in by the Austrian and Greek governments, under which Austrian nationals and refugees, and Greek nationals resident in Greece, respectively, could be selected under assisted passage arrangements.

2.3.2 New Nationality Legislation

Another source of population diversity was the creation of Australian citizenship. This occurred with the passing of the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948 as part of a move by various members of the Commonwealth of Nations, led by Canada, to establish local citizenship within the wider status of British nationality. The new Act repealed all previous nationality legislation and drew a distinction for the first time between British subjects who were Australian citizens and those who were citizens of other Commonwealth countries, although all remained British subjects.

The Act stated that Australian citizenship was automatically granted to all British subjects born or naturalized in Australia or New Guinea, or who had been resident there during the five years immediately before 26 January 1949, and to their wives and children if they had previously entered Australia without restriction. Provision was made for its future acquisition by birth or descent, registration or naturalization. One could become a citizen by reason of birth in Australia - unless one's father was the diplomatic representative of another country, by birth abroad - if the father (or, from 1969, the mother) was an Australian citizen and registered the birth at an Australian consulate, by registration after one year's residence for people who were already British subjects, and by naturalization after five years' residence in the case of aliens. Like the Nationality Act 1936 and the Nationality Act 1920-1946, it also restored British nationality to women who had lost it through marriage.

93. Ibid., Section 7.
94. Ibid., Sections 7 and 12.
95. Ibid., Section 10.
98. Ibid., Section 12.
99. Ibid., Sections 14-16.
101. Nationality Act 1920-1946, No. 9 of 1946, Section 18B.
to aliens and ensured that, in the future, marriage should not automatically affect a woman's nationality. 102

2.3.3 Post-War Policies Towards Europeans

The success of the early bilateral assisted passage schemes and arrangements with ICEM encouraged the Australian government to develop a General Assisted Passage Scheme (GAPS) for desirable migrants. This was introduced in 1954 to provide assistance to nationals of the U.S.A., Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. GAPS absorbed the Empire and Allied Ex-Servicemen's Scheme which had operated from 1947. Later, it was extended to cover British subjects living in a number of countries other than the U.K., to nationals of Eire (absorbing from 1959 the Eire Assisted Passage Scheme which had operated from 1948), Belgium (until the introduction of the Belgian Assisted Passage Scheme in 1961) and France. Eligibility was also at times widened to citizens of other specific countries, outside or resident in their own countries. 103 Furthermore, certain Australian citizens outside Australia for five years or more became eligible for assisted passages under GAPS. 104 In 1958, following negotiations with ICEM and the Spanish government, arrangements were made for specially selected workers to come to Australia as assisted migrants. 105 From 1963 to 1967 this Arrangement was suspended by the Spanish government 106 because of unemployment problems in Australia, 107 although there were some further arrivals.

Australia also continued to accept European migrants from a range of hardship situations. From 1956 Operation Re-Union enabled unassisted settlers from the U.S.S.R. and other eastern European countries to rejoin their families already in Australia. 108 Australia also agreed to provide

102. Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948, Section 27.


104. Department of Immigration (1960/61), Facts and Figures about Australian Immigration, restricted document, Canberra, p. 1F.

105. Ibid., p. 25E.


sanctuary for Hungarian refugees after the 1956 Russian invasion of their country and fourteen thousand subsequently arrived. From 1958 to 1965 Yugoslavia was included in Operation Re-Union. After the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, some few thousands of refugees were assisted to come to Australia. In fact, trickles of persons from almost all eastern European countries passed the Iron Curtain, claimed and gained refugee status and embarked for Australia from countries such as Austria, Italy and Germany, often with the assistance of ICEM.

Despite the increasing diversity amongst the settler intake, British immigrants continued to be given first preference. More arrived from the U.K. and Eire than from any other country. The Australian government did not place any limit on the number of unassisted settlers from that source, although it controlled the annual intake of unassisted migrants from other countries. It also continued to provide greater assistance towards the passage costs of British assisted migrants than of non-British ones. In addition, it launched special schemes such as the 'Bring out a Britain' Campaign in 1957 and the 'nest-egg' scheme in 1959. The formal Assisted Passage Agreement which operated from shortly after the Second World War was renewed periodically, as the U.K. government wished to maintain a strong British presence in the traditional Commonwealth countries. However, in 1972 it was allowed to lapse, in part because of disagreements over the discriminatory nature of Australia's immigration policy still applying at that time. Assistance to British migrants then continued on an informal basis.

2.3.4 Extension Of Immigration Programs Amongst Europeans At Home And Abroad

In 1965 the Australian government became aware of the vast migrations taking place within Europe because of its economic buoyancy, high living standards and increasing labour mobility after the establishment of the

112. Department of Immigration (1960/61), op. cit., p. 1B.
European Economic Community in 1957. In an attempt to obtain more of Europe's guest workers as permanent settlers, it extended GAPS to cover such persons. The next year it introduced a new scheme, the Special Passage Assistance Program (SPAP), to provide unilateral assistance to citizens of countries with which there were no formal agreements and to persons not covered by agreements because they were non-nationals of the countries in which they were resident. It assisted selected applicants resident in Britain, Eire and a number of north-west European countries. In the late 1960s it was extended to South American countries and to British subjects in Central America who were ineligible to apply under other schemes. SPAP immediately became the largest single program apart from the British/Australian Agreement.

In 1969 a similar scheme for persons resident in the U.S.A. was introduced - the United States Passage Assistance Program (USPAP) and in 1970 SPAP replaced GAPS. In fact, so keen was the Australian government to attract desirable settlers that from 1968 it also offered assistance to Australians overseas previously covered by GAPS and former settlers who had left Australia and wished to return.

Over the 1960s Australia also reviewed its interstate migration arrangements. In 1967 it bowed to pressures from the Italian government to grant the same level of assistance to all European settlers, so causing Italy to resume the Migration Agreement it had suspended in 1963. The arrangements with Spain were also resumed that year. At the same time Australia also sought individual Agreements with other potential source countries, so as to increase the number of immigrants to the desired levels as settler arrivals from established European sources were falling.

118. Department of Immigration (1971), op. cit., pp. 6.01-6.02.
Australia concluded Agreements at this time with Yugoslavia and Turkey. The Yugoslav Agreement was signed in 1970, after progressive lessening of emigration restrictions from that country from the mid-1960s. The granting of assistance to Turkish settlers is of particular note, as Turkey had not previously been rated a European country by Australia's immigration authorities. Announcing the Agreement between Australia and Turkey on the Residence and Employment of Turkish Citizens in Australia, the then Liberal Minister for Immigration, Mr (later Sir Billie) Snedden, also justified them as desirable workers:

Turkey offers excellent prospects for attracting workers of the type needed in Australia. It represents a valuable addition to the various countries in Europe to which we look for desirable settlers.... Many thousands (of Turks) have been eagerly sought by employers in Europe who have nothing but praise for them as workers.127

Eligibility for unassisted immigration also changed periodically. Initially this took account of the nationality and place of usual residence of potential migrants, as it did for assisted ones. For example, in 1956 a comment was made that:

... at present restrictions are applied more stringently to prospective immigrants of Southern European origin than to prospective immigrants from other areas - not because of discrimination in terms of race or nationality, but because of our determination to maintain a balanced intake of immigrants.128

In 1963, however, a significant step was taken in that eligibility was extended equally to all Europeans and unassisted entry was determined on individual merit.129

2.3.5 The Effects Of World War II On Policies And Practices Towards Non-European Immigrants

Although the so-called 'White Australia' policy remained firmly entrenched in the early post-war period, the increased contact by Australians with non-Europeans during the War led to greater respect for them.130 Nevertheless, public controversy took place before various Asians - mainly

Chinese from New Guinea and the Pacific Islands - who had been admitted temporarily as refugees during the War were granted special 'War Time Refugee' status in 1949 and permitted to remain in Australia. They were not, however, allowed to bring in their families.\(^{131}\) Likewise, there was public debate before a 1952 decision to admit the Japanese wives of Australian servicemen, under permits valid initially for five years.\(^{132}\)

Other more general changes occurred at that time. From 1947, non-Europeans admitted to Australia temporarily for business reasons and who had remained continuously for fifteen years could effectively be granted permanent residence status, through no longer having to apply for periodic extensions to their permits.\(^{133}\) The temporary entry conditions of wives and minor unmarried children of non-European businessmen were also relaxed so that, in practice, they were allowed to remain in Australia as long as their husbands and fathers did.\(^{134}\) In addition, Australia increased the number of Asian students permitted temporary residence after it entered into the Colombo Plan agreement in 1950.\(^{135}\)

2.3.6 Post-War Policies Towards Non-Europeans

Another special situation was clarified in 1956, through granting 'Liberal Attitude Status', (later 'Free Employment Status'), to certain Chinese temporarily in Australia. These persons had preferred not to return to China after the communist victory in 1949 and were not able to settle in such places as Hong Kong or Taiwan. From 1952 most were allowed to remain in Australia and were expected to find approved employment, but were not permitted to bring in their families.\(^{136}\)

In 1956 there was also a general review of policies towards non-Europeans. This took place because Asians were no longer considered as socially different from Europeans as their predecessors of the late nineteenth century had been, nor did they any longer regard themselves as inferior. Furthermore, it was clear that many non-Europeans in Australia on temporary permits or with special status were really permanent members of the Australian community.\(^{137}\)

137. Ibid., p. 196.
The review caused changes to the conditions of entry and stay of both non-Europeans and persons of mixed descent, viz.: non-European persons already entitled to remain without periodic extensions to their permits became eligible to apply for citizenship; distinguished and highly qualified non-Europeans could be admitted for indefinite stay, but on temporary permits only; although admitted for temporary stay only, the non-European spouses of Australian citizens became eligible to apply for citizenship on the same basis as European spouses, irrespective of their period of residence in Australia; and easier conditions applied to the admission of persons of mixed descent and such persons as the Lebanese from the Middle East\textsuperscript{138} whose racial classification could not be stated with certainty.

Further policy changes took place in the next few years. In 1957 other non-Europeans became eligible for naturalization after fifteen years' stay on temporary permits. In 1959 Australian citizens normally living in Australia, and in 1960 British subjects with residence status or about to acquire it, could bring in their non-European spouses and unmarried minor children. They were to be permanent residents from the outset and eligible to apply for citizenship.\textsuperscript{139} Conditions of entry for part-Europeans were relaxed further in 1964, finally ending, at least officially, the notion of 'hybrid' inferiority.\textsuperscript{140}

2.3.7 A New Migration Act

While the above changes to immigration policies were taking place, legislation was also starting to become less discriminatory.\textsuperscript{141} The most significant step was taken in 1958 when the restrictive Immigration Act 1901 was repealed\textsuperscript{142} and the new Migration Act 1958 enacted. This legislation, although with subsequent amendments, remains to the present day. Like its predecessor, the new Act made no reference to race or nationality. It admitted anyone with an entry permit,\textsuperscript{143} but said nothing about the grounds on which permits were issued or denied. Instead, which persons might enter


\textsuperscript{139} Department of Labor and Immigration (1975), op. cit., p. 11.

\textsuperscript{140} Price (1974b), loc. cit., p. 198.

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p. 197.

\textsuperscript{142} Migration Act 1958, No. 62, Section 4.

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., Section 6.
Australia were determined by policy unconnected with the Act. 144 Importantly too, the new legislation substituted temporary entry permits for dictation test exemption certificates. 145 The controversial dictation test, which had been fundamental to the operation of 'White Australia', was thereby abolished.

2.3.8 Further Policy Changes Towards Non-Europeans

Other important moves away from 'White Australia' occurred in the late 1960s. In 1966 the government reduced the residential and citizenship qualifying periods for non-Europeans from fifteen to five years, the same as for Europeans. This permitted the earlier reunion of families. 146 Non-European residents who were British subjects could already (from 1960) bring close relatives to Australia. When it was decided in 1969 that alien residents could do the same, there was a virtual end to family separation among non-Europeans. 147

Compared with the 'distinguished and highly qualified' non-Europeans permitted entry in 1956, from 1966:

(a)pplications for entry by well qualified people wishing to settle in Australia (were to) be considered on the basis of their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily, and their possession of qualifications which (were) in fact positively useful to Australia. They (were to) be able after five years' stay on temporary permits to apply for (permanent) resident status and citizenship. They (were to) be able to bring their immediate families with them on first arrival. 148

Such persons were considered capable of becoming Australians and of sharing in Australia's national development. 149 In announcing these initiatives, the government ended speculation by interest-groups pressing for annual quotas of non-Europeans 150 or for further relaxation of the entry criteria.

149. Ibid., pp. 68-69.
by declaring:

No annual quota is contemplated. The number of people entering ... will be controlled by the careful assessment of the individual's qualifications, and the basic aim of preserving a homogeneous population will be maintained (emphasis added). The changes are of course not intended to meet general labour shortages or to permit the large-scale admission of workers from Asia; but the widening of eligibility will help fill some of Australia's special needs.151

The government was therefore making concessions to immigrant selection on the basis of qualifications rather than origin.

2.3.9 Significant Changes To Policies And Practices Towards Immigrants

Except for the few changes occurring in the late 1940s, all post-war immigration and citizenship policy and legislative amendments until the early 1970s were made by the Coalition Government in the twenty-three years it held office from 1949 to 1972. However, this government would not grant assisted passages to non-Europeans, nor automatically allow successful private non-European students from overseas to remain in Australia, nor permit trans-Tasman travel without visas by non-Europeans (except Maori citizens of New Zealand) as it did Europeans at that time. Furthermore, it only reluctantly accepted and settled some few non-European refugees - Indians from Uganda after the expulsion of Asians in 1972.152

The Australian Labor Party's attitudes were traditionally more restrictive still, as instanced above by its opposition to non-European wartime refugees remaining and Japanese wives entering after World War II. However, in 1965 its views changed dramatically with the deletion from its platform of a clause restricting immigration153 and the adoption of an immigration policy based on (inter alia):

the avoidance of the difficult social and economic problems which may follow from an influx of peoples having different standards of living, traditions and cultures.154

It extended this policy in 1971 by adding:

(t)he avoidance of discrimination on any grounds of race or colour of skin or nationality.\(^{155}\)

In 1973, the year after this Party regained office, it amended the Migration Act as part of its aim to remove all remaining racial discrimination from Commonwealth legislation.\(^{156}\) It announced its willingness to grant assisted passages to non-Europeans,\(^{157}\) permitted free trans-Tasman entry not only to Maoris but to all non-Europeans who were citizens or permanent residents of New Zealand\(^{158}\) and granted concessions to successful non-European students if the use of their services was sought by an Australian employer.\(^{159}\) A further initiative was to remove racial discrimination from temporary entry procedures. It introduced an 'easy visa system' which placed non-European tourists and other short-term visitors on the same footing as Europeans. Unfortunately, certain nationals saw it as an easy way to gain permanent entry by overstaying their temporary permits, so that the system was abolished in 1975.\(^{160}\) Despite these measures, there was no increase in the number of non-European permanent arrivals over the next two financial years because of drastic reductions in migrant intakes. This decrease was imposed, in part, because of rising unemployment and hence occupational restrictions, but also because of limitations to family reunion provisions.\(^{161}\)

The Labor Government also removed inequalities from citizenship legislation, by ending distinctions between British subjects and aliens in regard to residence requirements. No longer was it possible for British subjects only to register as Australian citizens after one year's residence. In 1973 all persons became uniformly eligible to be granted Australian citizenship after three years' residence, provided that they satisfied certain criteria including an adequate knowledge of English. Various

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exceptions applied, however. The spouse, widow or widower of an Australian citizen could apply at any time after settling in Australia and children under sixteen years living in Australia normally became citizens when their parents did. 162

In the early 1970s changes to the Coalition Parties' attitudes to immigration came more slowly than to the A.L.P.'s. On the eve of the 1972 Federal elections the subsequently defeated Liberal Prime Minister, Mr - later Sir William - McMahon, expressed the fear that Labor's immigration policy would create a multi-racial society which would 'steadily alter' the ethnic composition of Australia's population and 'erode its predominantly European character'. 163 However, public opinion was definitely becoming more sympathetic towards the immigration of non-Europeans. For example, when asked to give its views for publication in 1975, the Returned Services League of Australia - formerly a staunch advocate of the immigration of 'good types of white people' 164 - responded with:

It is apparent from recent experience that the number of migrants of non-European ancestry who can be admitted and take their places as full and equal members of the (Australian) community can be progressively increased. 165

Shortly before their re-election in 1975, the Coalition Parties included in their platform, with some certainty of acceptance, their commitment:

to the preservation and development of a culturally diversified but socially cohesive Australian society free of racial tensions and offering security, well-being and equality of opportunity to all those living here. 166

2.3.10 Diversifying Refugee Intakes

Although beginning with little enthusiasm as noted above, one way in which Australian governments put their non-discriminatory policies into practice was by accepting refugees from a wider range of countries than previously - further non-Europeans as well as Europeans. After the change

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163. Cited in Rivett (1975), op. cit., p. 35.
of government in 1972, the Labor Government recognised the new regime in Chile in 1973. Complications arose later, however, when it wished to assist supporters of the previous government, but it did manage to accept several thousand as refugees. It had fewer problems with Jews permitted to leave the U.S.S.R. from 1974 and with Cypriots displaced after the Turkish occupation in 1974, as did the re-elected Coalition from 1976 in bringing in 15,000 persons following civil strife in Lebanon. Unfortunately, the Labor Government's laissez-faire attitude after Indonesia annexed East Timor caused it to admit 'boat people' from there only temporarily and it was left to the Coalition Government to grant them permanent status. Worse still was the Labor Government's initial refusal to assist certain refugees from Vietnam after the end of American involvement there in 1975. This objection was later overcome, so that from the late 1970s Vietnam and the other countries of Indo-China became the major source of refugees to Australia. These were both boat people and the far more numerous ones selected in camps in other south-east Asian countries like Malaysia and Thailand who arrived under SPAP.

In 1977 the Australian government made a formal statement of its refugee policy. This was considered by some to be belated as Australia had not previously entered into any formal agreements to permit the entry of persons claiming political asylum, despite becoming a party to the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1954 and its subsequent Protocol in 1973. One of the principles on which the new policy was based was that:

Australia fully recognises its humanitarian commitment and responsibility to admit refugees for settlement.  

Acting on that commitment, Australia was playing an increasingly major role in international refugee resettlement at the beginning of the 1980s and was a member of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. She was accepting a growing number of refugees and persons in hardship situations from around forty countries. As noted above, the largest part of the program was Indo-Chinese, 15,000 in 1980-81. The next most sizeable component was eastern Europeans, 4,700 that financial year, many of them Poles seeking initial asylum in Austria. White Russians from China continued to come, but this program was being wound down from mid-1982. Soviet Jews and Timorese were coming at this time under Special Humanitarian Programs, a new approach begun in mid-1981 to grant assistance to various oppressed minorities.

2.3.11 Other Influences On Ethnic Composition

Among the most important of these is the nature and extent of passage assistance. From over 100,000 assisted arrivals per annum at the turn of the 1970s, these fell to 15,000 when total intakes declined in the mid-1970s, but were approaching 30,000 per annum at the beginning of the 1980s. The vast majority were from Britain and Europe early in the decade, but towards the end of it most came from Asia, because of the refugee intakes. Although the formal Agreement with the British government ended in 1972 as mentioned above, persons from the U.K. and Eire continued to receive assistance under other schemes. Following a Review of

182. Ibid., p. 57.
183. Ibid., p. 58.
Commonwealth Functions in 1981, these schemes were terminated\textsuperscript{187} because the government considered that such assistance was no longer needed to attract the desired size and type of intake. Special provisions for assistance continued only for refugees from that date,\textsuperscript{188} so ensuring the arrival of further Indo-Chinese and eastern Europeans. Since 1981 the Australian government has had negotiations with the governments of the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Malta and Turkey about phasing out the remaining bilateral migration Agreements.\textsuperscript{189} Very few persons have come under these arrangements from that time and, in the case of Turkey, there have been no assisted arrivals since the mid-1970s.\textsuperscript{190}

As well as refugees, children for adoption from Indo-China and other parts of Asia have come to Australia since the mid-1970s. At the end of the conflict there, both private and government-sponsored students, visitors and temporary entrants from South Vietnam, Cambodia (now Kampuchea) and Laos were allowed to remain.\textsuperscript{191} A more recent initiative, in connection with the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, the successor to ICEM, is a program of family reunion from Vietnam, beginning in 1982-83.\textsuperscript{192}

As noted above, the Labor Government of 1972 to 1975 permitted private non-European students to remain permanently in certain circumstances. Until 1978 other temporary entrants to Australia were also eligible to convert to permanent residence status, if they came within the categories admitted as migrants. That year a new immigration policy of the Coalition Government restricted such changes to spouses, dependent children and aged parents of Australian residents who would have qualified had they applied overseas, refugees with valid entry permits and private overseas students able to satisfy normal selection criteria.\textsuperscript{193} However, in 1979 the government conducted a thorough review of the private overseas student

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{187} Fraser, Malcolm (Prime Minister) (1981), Ministerial Statement. Review of Commonwealth Functions, A.G.P.S., Canberra, p. 25.
\item\textsuperscript{188} Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (1983), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 5.
\item\textsuperscript{189} D.I.E.A., pers. comm., J. Butt, 11 April 1983.
\item\textsuperscript{190} D.I.E.A. (1982b), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 23.
\item\textsuperscript{192} D.I.E.A. (1982c), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 56-57.
\item\textsuperscript{193} MacKeller, M.J.R. (Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs) (1978a), Immigration Categories and Procedures, Papers tabled in the House of Representatives in association with the speech Immigration Policies and Australia's Population, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, p. 3.
\end{itemize}
program and instituted various changes. Since then students have generally
had to return to their home countries for two years before applying to
migrate under the normal eligibility criteria.\textsuperscript{194} On the other hand, since
1980 there has been an increase in the number of students permitted
temporary entry.\textsuperscript{195}

Two programs implemented by the Coalition Government to enable certain
prohibited immigrants to remain as legal residents also contributed to ethnic
diversity. These programs comprised firstly an 'amnesty' for visitors who
were overstayed in December 1975 and who applied by April 1976.\textsuperscript{196} This
scheme was largely aimed at those who had abused the easy visa system of
the previous government. The second program was the Regularisation of
Status Program (ROSP) held between June and December 1980 to permit persons
without permanent residence status who had arrived in Australia before
January 1980 to regularise their status.\textsuperscript{197} The purpose of ROSP was to
provide a final opportunity for certain prohibited immigrants to apply for
permanent resident status before changes to Australia's immigration
legislation prevented their doing so.\textsuperscript{198} The \textit{Migration Amendment Act (No. 2)
1980} restricted permanent entry permits after arrival to those who had been
granted territorial asylum in Australia; were the spouse, child or aged
parent of an Australian citizen or holder of an entry permit; were
determined to have refugee status; were in Australia temporarily, but
authorised to work and not required to depart at the end of studies or
training; or who held valid temporary entry permits and had strong
compassionate or humanitarian grounds for remaining in Australia.\textsuperscript{199}

Another influence on population composition, through encouraging
movement of older persons between Australia and other countries, was a
series of arrangements for the portability of government pensions. In 1972
the mutual portability of Australian and overseas pensions was arranged
with Greece, Italy, Malta and Turkey. The following year the portability

\textsuperscript{195} D.I.E.A. (1982c), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{196} D.I.E.A. (1976a), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{197} D.I.E.A. (1981b), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{198} Ibid., p. 56.
\textsuperscript{199} \textit{Migration Amendment Act (No. 2) 1980}, No. 175, Section 6A.
of Australian pensions was introduced unilaterally to all countries, although reciprocity did not exist with many countries even in the early 1980s.

2.3.12 Recent Immigration And Citizenship Initiatives

Although having an immigration policy which has been non-discriminatory on the grounds of origin since 1973 and firmly stated as such in 1978, Australian governments continue to develop overall entry policy, following a generally bipartisan approach. Changes on economic and humanitarian grounds, for example, have indirect but definite effects on the sources of Australia's immigrants. In addition, the means of assessing applicants for suitability as settlers influences, in one way in particular, the origins of persons likely to be selected.

From the early 1970s, immigrants have come to Australia in several main classes. These cover, in broad terms, refugees, family members, entrepreneurs and others with economic skills, and those with special entitlements to enter Australia such as New Zealanders coming across the Tasman. During the term of the Labor Government in the early 1970s, family reunion and occupational demand were particularly limited as noted above, leading to a low total intake compared with previous years. The eligibility categories were then extended by the Coalition Government in 1979 and 1982 to increase the intake and in 1982 shift the emphasis to favour skilled applicants and those with close family in Australia.


203. Ibid., p. 1.


Over the late 1970s and beginning of the 1980s the most sizeable component of the increasing immigration program was the (then) General Eligibility category, i.e. independent applicants and employment nominees, up to two-fifths and 45,000 in the financial year 1980-81.\textsuperscript{206} Settlers coming in this category acted to preserve the existing ethnic composition of Australia's population, as many were drawn from places with similar trade skill levels, such as the British Isles.\textsuperscript{207} Similarly, those coming as part of the Family Reunion category by definition boosted arrivals from existing sources. The effect on population composition of the Special Eligibility category (trans-Tasman migrants, patrials from Britain, entrepreneurs\textsuperscript{208} and self-supporting retirees) was not as straightforward, however. Although there were already close to 90,000 New Zealand-born persons in Australia at the 1976 Census, the exodus from New Zealand at the end of the 1970s caused by its economic downturn meant a virtual doubling of this number by 1981,\textsuperscript{209} despite the requirement from that year of passports for security purposes for all trans-Tasman travellers.\textsuperscript{210} That is, the influence of this category was both preserved and extended. The Refugee category acted more positively to diversify Australia's population, as such a large part of it came from the almost entirely new source of Indo-China.

Like the eligibility categories, the assessment system more readily selected immigrants of certain origins, i.e. those who were native English-speakers or came from countries where English was widely used. The selection system introduced in 1979, NUMAS (Numerical Multifactor Assessment System) attracted criticism because of its stress on competence in English as a pre-requisite for both economic and personal settlement suitability.\textsuperscript{211} Nevertheless, because English was recognised as being of considerable importance for settlement success,\textsuperscript{212} a revised means of assessing it was

\textsuperscript{206} Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (1983), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{207} D.I.E.A. (1982c), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{208} From 1982 entrepreneurs were included in the new Business Migration category.
\textsuperscript{210} Durack, P.D. (1981), \textit{Passports needed to enter Australia}, News Release from the Acting Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 45/81, Canberra.
included in the so-called 'new migrant selection system' applying from 1982.\(^{213}\)

There were also important initiatives affecting citizenship in the early 1980s. One of these was an amendment to the *Australian Citizenship Act* proposed by the Coalition Government to remove discrimination in favour of those with certain origins. A review of this legislation suggested that in future the granting of Australian citizenship by birth be limited, in general, to children born in Australia to Australian citizens or legal permanent residents.\(^{214}\) Similarly, the passing on of citizenship by descent was to be generally confined to one generation of overseas-born children.\(^{215}\)

Significantly, the government also wished to end the imperial concept of 'British subject' status, i.e. British nationality, following its removal from the *British Nationality Act* of 1981. It proposed to adopt instead the exclusive use of 'Australian citizen'.\(^{216}\) In relation to this, it included in amendments to the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918* the provision that the rights to enrol as a Commonwealth elector and to nominate for election to the Commonwealth parliament be restricted to Australian citizens. As well, persons who were British subjects other than Australian citizens were no longer to be entitled to enrol and vote after six months' residence.\(^{217}\) In general, the allegiance to Australia alone meant that, in future, those with continuing British nationality were to be legally as alien\(^ {218}\) in Australia as those having citizenship outside the Commonwealth of Nations.

### 2.3.13 Future Immigration And Citizenship Directions

At the time of writing in early 1983, the Labor Government had recently returned to office and intended to resume the general thrust of immigration


\(^{214}\) Ibid., p. 3.

\(^{215}\) Ibid., p. 3.

\(^{216}\) Ibid., p. 4.


\(^{218}\) Any person who was not a British subject, nor from 1948 an Irish citizen nor protected person according to the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, Section 5.
and citizenship initiatives established by its predecessor of 1972 to 1975.\textsuperscript{219} This it proposed to do by considering Australia's needs and economic capacity to absorb immigrants, as well as continuing family reunion migration and meeting Australia's humanitarian obligations.\textsuperscript{220} It therefore planned to re-examine the economically-determined migrant entry categories and the unrestricted flow across the Tasman,\textsuperscript{221} accept refugees from a wider range of regions and adopt a greater role in attempting to bring about international solutions to refugee problems.\textsuperscript{222} It also intended to examine anomalies and remove discrimination from citizenship legislation, but unlike the Coalition Government, it did not consider that an English language requirement was appropriate.\textsuperscript{223} The Labor Government also planned to remove any remaining discrimination from the \textit{Migration Act} in regard to deportation.\textsuperscript{224}

\section*{2.4 Aboriginal Policies}

\subsection*{2.4.1 Early Policies Towards Aboriginals}

Although non-European immigrants were regarded particularly harshly after their presence in Australia became noticeable from the mid-nineteenth century, European attitudes towards Aboriginals were even more uncompromising. Both then evolved, but those towards Aboriginals have not been modified sufficiently to permit removal of all forms of overt discrimination at the beginning of the 1980s.\textsuperscript{225}

When Europeans first settled in Australia, there were an estimated 300,000 Aboriginals on the mainland and in the island of Tasmania.\textsuperscript{226} The British never made any treaties with them,\textsuperscript{227} but the imperial authorities

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{220} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 2-3.
\bibitem{221} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 2 and p. 15.
\bibitem{222} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 5.
\bibitem{223} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 6.
\bibitem{224} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 6.
\bibitem{225} Franklin, Margaret Ann (1979), 'Racism Australian Style', \textit{The Australian Quarterly 51}(3), pp. 98-107.
\bibitem{226} Smith (1980), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 70.
\end{thebibliography}
intended that there be peaceful interaction between the newcomers and the indigenous population. This did not happen and as the colonies expanded over the continent, the Aboriginals were dispossessed of their land and either died out through starvation, murder, disease or induced tribal wars, retreated to more remote areas or formed population pockets.

From about 1860 the various colonies began to enact legislation to protect and segregate the Aboriginal population. Yet at the same time, and especially from the 1890s, Christian missions were established in isolated regions to help the threatened Aboriginal people assimilate into European society. The efforts of these missions were in part responsible for arresting the destruction of most Aboriginal communities which probably took place most rapidly to 1890.

Despite the missionaries' efforts, there nevertheless remained a firmly established view during the nineteenth century that Aboriginals were a dying race and even of no significance. The European colonists therefore regarded with some concern the growing number of part-Aboriginal children being born and then raised as Aboriginals. Accordingly they resorted to such practices as removing light-coloured part-Aboriginal infants from their full-blood mothers in reserves and placing them in government or church homes. For Europeans of the day the part-Aboriginal

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236. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
was a phenomenon of transition, rather than an end in himself. Only the Chinese were seen as presenting any threat to ethnic homogeneity.

2.4.2 Policies Towards Aboriginals To World War II.

The coming of Federation in 1901 did not unify attitudes towards Aboriginals as it did towards immigrants. Rather, diverse policies and approaches continued from the colonial days, as the new Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia gave legislative responsibility for Aboriginal matters to the State governments and only residual powers to the Commonwealth. This meant that citizenship, being a Commonwealth matter, was generally denied them and that they continued to be subject to various forms of protection, according to the State in which they lived.

The common belief nevertheless continued that the Aboriginal population would disappear, so that virtually all measures of its size showed declines in the early twentieth century. Estimates compiled by successive Commonwealth Statisticians under the Census and Statistics Act 1905 excluded full-blood persons, as their colonial predecessors had done, especially before 1881. This followed the Statisticians' interpretation of Section 127 of the Constitution:

in reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted.

However, the intention of this Section was rather to ensure that Aboriginals were excluded in calculating the number of seats, proportional to its population, to which each State was entitled in the Federal Parliament's House of Representatives. This, in turn, was a reference to the low esteem in which Aboriginals were held, so that their enfranchisement in the nineteenth century was considered 'out of the question'. This view did

239. The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 63 & 64 Vict. Chapter 12, Section 51.
243. Ibid., p. 21.
244. Ibid., p. 16.
not, however, remain universal. By the end of World War II Aboriginals in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia were entitled to vote in State elections and therefore in Federal elections as well.\(^\text{245}\)\(^\text{246}\)

Despite the expectation that Aboriginals would cease to exist, various campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s tried to halt their declining numbers, through the provision of health and welfare schemes in northern and central Australia.\(^\text{247}\) However, by 1937 there was some official consensus, as the Commonwealth and State governments agreed to a policy of Aboriginal assimilation, whereby all Australians were to be white.\(^\text{248}\) Yet it was also noticed at the same time, as it was earlier, that the number of Aboriginals of over half-descent was increasing and that half-caste persons were marrying each other.\(^\text{249}\) Assimilation was therefore seen as a very long process.\(^\text{250}\) By the 1940s, the attitude towards Aboriginal assimilation was changing, with some holding that it should even include full participation in Australia's economic and social life.\(^\text{251}\)

### 2.4.3 Significant Changes In Policies And Practices Towards Aboriginals In The Post-War Period

Coinciding with the earliest moves away from discriminatory practices towards non-European immigrants were a number of important attempts to clarify the status of Aboriginals. Much restrictive State legislation was repealed and social and welfare programs were upgraded.\(^\text{152}\) In 1961 the formal meaning of Aboriginal assimilation was clarified at a Native Welfare Conference:

\(^{245}\) Broom and Jones (1973), op. cit., p. 8.
\(^{247}\) Australian Information Service, Department of Administrative Services (1980), op. cit., p. 8.
\(^{249}\) Rowley (1971), op. cit., p. 16.
\(^{250}\) Ibid., p. 9.
\(^{251}\) Rowley (1968), loc. cit., p. 116.
\(^{252}\) Australian Information Service, Department of Administrative Services (1980), op. cit., p. 8.
The policy of assimilation means that all Aborigines and part-Aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs as other Australians.\(^{253}\)

The following year, legislation was passed to give all Aboriginals, not just the few who had been granted citizenship, the right to enrol and vote in Commonwealth elections.\(^{254}\)

In 1965 the term assimilation was replaced by integration. Although there was little difference in the policies bearing the new label, this term was far more acceptable to Aboriginals. As the Aboriginal poetess, Kath Walker, expressed it in 1966, in the second of two poems which were entitled, respectively, Assimilation - No! and Integration - Yes!:

Why change our sacred myths for your sacred myths?  
No, not assimilation, but integration;  
Not submergence but our uplifting.\(^{255}\)

The long-awaited recognition of the Aboriginal's right to separate identification within the Australian population was gained formally in 1967. In that year the greatest majority ever recorded in a referendum caused the repeal of Section 127 of the Constitution.\(^{256}\) As well as ensuring that Aboriginals would be fully enumerated in population counts, this action meant that they were accorded the status of Australian citizens.\(^{257}\) The referendum's results also permitted the Commonwealth government to enact legislation relating to Aboriginals through amending Section 51.\(^{258}\)

Other major steps took place after the Labor Government was elected in 1972. This government adopted a policy of self-determination for Aboriginals\(^ {259}\)

which was later defined as:

Aboriginal communities deciding the pace and nature of their future development as significant components within a diverse Australia.  

In 1972 it upgraded the Commonwealth administrative unit concerned with the Aboriginal people to a Department of Aboriginal Affairs. As mentioned above, it also sought to remove all forms of racial discrimination from Commonwealth legislation. For example, the Migration Act 1973 included a Section to end the previous restrictions on the movement of Aboriginals out of Australia. In 1975 that government also ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, passed the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 to make discrimination on grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin illegal and established the office of the Commissioner for Community Relations, to investigate complaints of discrimination.  

Further rights to diversity, even within the Aboriginal population itself, were recognised by the Coalition Parties' policy on Aboriginal affairs announced in 1975. This included the principle of:

(t)he fundamental right of Aboriginals to retain their racial identity and traditional life-style, or where desired to adopt partially or wholly a European life-style.  

The policy of assimilation with the European population was therefore formally abandoned. However, after it was re-elected, the Coalition Government preferred the concept of self-management in implementing its policies to the Labor Government's less cautious self-determination.  

Yet advances continued on other fronts. In 1980 the government ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the first  

264. Ibid., Section 9.  
265. Ibid., Section 19.  
268. Ibid., p. 7.  
article of which states that:

All peoples have the right of self-determination....

Other articles guarantee protection against discrimination on any grounds:

such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or
other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth
or other status

and prohibit denial of the rights of minorities to their culture, religion
and language.\textsuperscript{270} In 1981 a Human Rights Commission was established which
incorporated the functions of the Commissioner for Community Relations\textsuperscript{271}
and in 1982 the High Court upheld the constitutional validity of the Racial
 Discrimination Act 1975, after the power of the Commonwealth to investigate
claims of racial discrimination and the right of individuals to use the
legislation had been challenged by two States.\textsuperscript{272}

In 1983 the incoming Labor Government stated that its Aboriginal
affairs policy would be based on equality through the linked principles of
self-determination and consultation\textsuperscript{273}. It saw the possibility of real
self-determination as requiring government programs to enable Aboriginals
to have sufficient economic independence that they could enjoy the civil
and political rights of other Australians.\textsuperscript{274} Programs in which Aboriginals
determined their own needs and priorities were regarded as the most successful
and cost-effective, as well as equitable.\textsuperscript{275} Consultations would therefore
be widespread and, in relation to the responsibilities vested in it since
the 1967 referendum, the Federal Government would call on the States to
assist in achieving overall objectives.\textsuperscript{276}

Legislation considered necessary to pursue the above aims included
civil rights to traditional lands\textsuperscript{277} and protection of Aboriginal cultural

\textsuperscript{270} Human Rights Commission Act 1981, No. 24, Schedule 1, International
Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Articles 26 and 27.
\textsuperscript{271} Racial Discrimination Amendment Act 1980, No. 18, Section 4.
\textsuperscript{272} Department of Aboriginal Affairs (1982), Annual Report 1981-1982,
A.G.P.S., Canberra, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{273} Australian Labor Party (1983), Labor's Programme for Self Determination,
Aboriginal Affairs Policy Statement, mimeo, Canberra, p. 1 and p. 5.
\textsuperscript{274} Ibid., p. 2.
\textsuperscript{275} Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{276} Ibid., p. 5 and p. 25.
\textsuperscript{277} Ibid., p. 6.
heritage and particularly sacred sites.\textsuperscript{278} There was to be further protection against discrimination, through strengthening both the Racial Discrimination Act and the powers and resources of the Human Rights Commission.\textsuperscript{279} Importantly too, there was to be an investigation of the desirability of a Treaty of commitment between Aboriginals and other Australians,\textsuperscript{280} because, as noted above, none was signed in the early days of European settlement.

\textsuperscript{278} Ibid., p. 9.
\textsuperscript{279} Ibid., p. 6 and p. 10.
\textsuperscript{280} Ibid., p. 6.
CHAPTER 3
APPROACHES TO ACCOMMODATING DIVERSITY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2 described various policies and practices which permitted or even encouraged increasing ethnic diversity within Australia's population. The policies developed towards the immigrant and Aboriginal components differed significantly: while immigration policies consisted of measures to recruit greater numbers and increasingly varied types of people considered able to fit in with and benefit the existing population of Australia, policies towards Aboriginals largely comprised means of tolerating an indigenous minority. This chapter begins by examining theories of immigrant accommodation relevant to Australian conditions and the application of these theories in Australian society. It then describes the changes in collecting data on ethnic variables at Australian censuses, as these reflect the evolution of policies to accommodate both immigrants and Aboriginals.

3.2 GENERAL THEORIES OF IMMIGRANT ACCOMMODATION

Because the U.S.A.'s major immigrant-receiving period extended from around the mid-1880s to the mid-1920s, ahead of other countries of immigration like Australia, many of the theories developed about immigrant accommodation have been derived from or influenced by American experience. The three major American approaches are generally termed Anglo-conformity, the melting pot and cultural pluralism. Under a system of Anglo-conformity, the major part of the population is of Anglo-Saxon background, descended from or supplementing the nation's earliest European settlers. Other immigrants are expected to renounce their ancestral culture completely in favour of the Anglo-Saxon core culture. Expressed in terms of majority/minority relationships, \( A + B + C = A \), where \( A \), \( B \) and \( C \) represent different ethnic groups and \( A \) is the dominant one.

The alternative **melting pot** theory envisages a:

biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a newer indigenous (here) American type.\(^4\)

The term arose from Israel Zangwill's play produced in 1908, *The Melting Pot*, in which the hero claims:

America is God's crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming.\(^5\)

In this case \(A + B + C = D\), where \(A\), \(B\) and \(C\) represent different ethnic groups synthesised into a distinct group, \(D.\)\(^6\) This theory proved to be an unsatisfactory interpretation of immigrant accommodation. It was subsequently modified to a 'triple melting pot', as the crucible appeared not to produce 'blended' Americans, but ones polarised along religious lines - Protestant, Catholic or Jewish.\(^7\) Yet, even this modification did not suffice and it became necessary to postulate a more pluralist 'multiple melting pot'.\(^8\)

Cultural pluralism, as conceived in America, was the:

preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.\(^9\)

In particular, it sought tolerance by the dominant group of cultural distinctiveness in the subordinate groups.\(^10\) It could therefore be expressed as \(A + B + C = A + B + C\), indicating that, over time, different ethnic groups \(A\), \(B\) and \(C\) would maintain their separate identities,\(^11\) i.e. that there would be 'ethnic holding power'.\(^12\)

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5. Cited in Gordon (1964), *op. cit.*, p. 120.


9. Ibid., p. 85.


3.3 POLICIES OF IMMIGRANT ACCOMMODATION IN AUSTRALIA

There have been three main approaches to immigrant accommodation in Australia in the post-war period: assimilation, integration and multiculturalism. These followed each other in succession as Australia, like other advanced societies, realised the need to adopt more realistic approaches to absorbing immigrants. The latter policies emerged because of practical problems associated with migrant settlement and the increasingly tolerant attitudes to immigrants of diverse origins among the Australian population of British descent.

3.3.1 Assimilation

Prior to the Second World War, attitudes to immigrant accommodation expressed themselves very harshly through Australian governments' determining which persons would, by definition, not assimilate. Such persons were excluded through the Immigration Act 1901 and the Amending Immigration Act 1925. The concept of assimilability - or otherwise - implied in these laws, reflected the core population's faith in the homogeneity of the Australian population.

Assimilation of migrants to the British norm remained the attitude and expectation in the Australian community at the end of World War II. This concept may be defined for Australia as:

(1) final stage when the immigrant stock not only becomes indistinguishable from the native stock in terms of culture and physique but feels itself, and is felt by others, to be quite indistinguishable.

Alternatively,

(2) an immigrant is assimilated only when he speaks the language of his new country by preference, has adopted its customs, and when his general conduct and way of life become those of

his new compatriots and his original outlook gives way to that of his new surroundings.19

Assimilation in the Australian context may therefore be equated with Anglo-conformity.

The Australian Citizenship Convention resolved in 1950 that:

The people of Australia should strive, through their governments, their associations and as individuals to remove all obstacles - physical, social, national and racial - that prevent the prompt and complete assimilation of all immigrants.20

Those passing the resolution were in general descended from the British lower middle class or of labouring backgrounds with little experience of other peoples.21 However, they attempted to overcome their suspicions and help the newcomers - many of whom were refugees - to feel part of the Australian community.22 This they did through such organisations as the Good Neighbour Council,23 whose role from 1950 to the late 1970s included helping:

each new settler become a dignified and equal member of the Australian community and at the same time (making) the Australian community conscious of its responsibility to the new settler.24

Considerable efforts were made at this time to educate the existing Australian population into believing that non-British immigrants could be assimilated as easily as those of British origin and that they would not change


the social structure of the Australian population. This was seen as important, as the view was held that:

only when ethnic groups (were) entirely indistinguishable from the host society, and no longer (had) a meaningful basis for organisation - whether cultural, social or economic - (would) the host society be free from conflict.

In fact, the assimilationist approach ensured that questions about how Australian institutions responded to the post-war influx of persons of non-British origins never arose, nor did questions about special consideration for migrants.

In the very early post-war period, Australians believed that their assimilation policies were working, as Displaced Persons and southern Europeans were found to be:

law-abiding, industrious people who contribute(d) a goodly share to Australian progress

and also 'conform(ed) to Australian ways'. Yet, in due course, the experience of absorbing a million migrants - over half of whom were non-British - shortly after the War, broadened the national outlook from cultural homogeneity. Australians came to realise that there was:

no stable core society but a complex, dynamic entity. Implied assumptions of host group superiority and perceived national stereotypes (were) related to prejudice which frequently (underlay) discriminatory behaviour often rationalised in economic or political terms

and certainly did not promote assimilation. Australians came to learn that assimilation 'is gradual and cannot be forced' and that cultural traits

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32. Ibid., p. 23.
would remain at least in the first generation. No longer was the end-product of the assimilation process seen as complete Anglo-conformity and a new approach was actively called for from the mid-1960s.

3.3.2 Integration

This new concept was integration, a definition appropriate to Australia being:

conformity within a framework of cultural pluralism,

i.e. it was quite different from the melting pot approach. Integration took account of three important factors:

first, the predisposition of the immigrant to change; secondly, the predisposition of the receiving society to recognize differences; thirdly, the degree of stability or otherwise of the social-cultural structure of the receiving area.

In Australia, the receiving society exhibited considerable stability, as its institutions remained unmovingly British, but it also realised that migrants could:

help ... make an Australian way of life and an Australian personality, Australian beliefs and traditions.

Although the term integration was adopted at an official level at a UNESCO conference on assimilation in 1956, according to one writer policies which were assimilationist rather than integrationist remained in force in Australia until 1969, when the need was seen to make immigrant conformity less severe. A marked difference between the former and latter policies in Australia was the shift in emphasis from the host society (assimilation), as in the above 1950 Citizenship Convention resolution, to the new arrivals (integration). For example, the 1965 Citizenship Convention noted the need

36. Harris (1979), loc. cit., p. 27.
38. Ibid., pp. 94-95.
39. Department of Immigration (1961), Australian Citizenship Convention Digest, Government Printer, Canberra, p. 44.
to assist the integration of new settlers into the Australian community. Important reasons for this shift were that the predictions about migrant assimilability were not being borne out and that immigration was found to cause problems. One of these was communication difficulties with non-English-speakers which prevented many Australian organisations from interacting properly with their clients.

Other reasons for the change included the fact that immigrants from the late 1950s and early 1960s subsequently left Australia in far higher numbers than the early post-war refugees had been able to do. There was also a reduced incentive to emigrate to Australia as labour shortages in some European countries caused the ready absorption there of both local workers and guestworkers from abroad. In addition, there were often higher levels of social and employment conditions in the migrants' home countries and Australia's immigrant-seeking competitors. Again the Australian government realised that it had to pay more attentions to immigrants. Furthermore, by the mid-1960s Australians had worked with migrants over a twenty year period of full employment and had learned a greater appreciation of the differences between themselves and the newcomers, as they were not at that time competing for jobs. This new tolerance may have been more important than the actual number of non-British arrivals in effecting the change from assimilationist to integrationist policies.

3.3.3 Multiculturalism

The most recent broad approach to immigrant accommodation in Australia is a form of cultural pluralism, as defined above for the U.S.A. This approach stemmed, in part, from the greater visibility of the even higher numbers of settlers arriving in Australia in the late 1960s than previously. In addition, over the 1970s the number of immigrants from the U.K. and Eire

42. Department of Immigration (1965), Australian Citizenship Convention Digest, Government Printer, Canberra, p. 11.
43. Martin (1978), op. cit., p. 33.
declined absolutely and as a proportion of the total settler intake.\textsuperscript{49}

Pluralism evolved too from a recognition by Australian governments that the earlier policy of integration meant interaction by the newcomers with other members of the Australian community and support by them.\textsuperscript{50}

Pluralism has been advocated in Australia since the Labor Government of the early 1970s, under the name of multiculturalism.\textsuperscript{51} This form of pluralism endorses the co-existence of different cultures, rather than structures or organisations representing ethnic groups' own interests.\textsuperscript{52}

Multiculturalism's official aim is the policy adopted by the Coalition Parties in 1975 (see Chapter 2), i.e.:

the preservation and development of a culturally diversified but socially cohesive Australian society free of racial tensions and offering security, well-being and equality of opportunity to all those living here.\textsuperscript{53}

Social cohesion implied:

accepted institutional arrangements for allocating social resources and for dealing with conflict over what are social resources and over what the basis for such allocation should be \textsuperscript{54}

and equality meant:

equal access to social resources.\textsuperscript{55}

These were regarded as two of the (then) three principles underlying the notion of multiculturalism. The third of these was cultural identity:

the sense of belonging and attachment to a particular way of living.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{49} D.I.E.A. (1981e), Information Kit, mimeo, Canberra, pp. 36-37.

\textsuperscript{50} MacKellar, M.J.R. (Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs) (1976), 'The people make the nation', Address to the seminar on ethnic integration, Ringwood, Victoria, p. 7.


\textsuperscript{52} Australian Population and Immigration Council and Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1979), op. cit., p. 5.

\textsuperscript{53} The Liberal and National Country Parties (1975), Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Policy, Liberal and National Country Parties, Canberra, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{54} Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1977), Australia as a Multicultural Society, A.G.P.S., Canberra, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p. 4.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 4.
That is, multiculturalism's emphasis is on preserving and developing aspects of individual cultures - languages, traditions and arts - as part of the diverse culture of the total, but unified, Australian society. Such concerns have even been prescribed by legislation, for example in the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Act 1979.

Multiculturalism in Australia is one aspect of a more general policy on ethnic affairs undergoing development from the mid-1970s. At the time that the first Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs was established, immediately after the Liberal and National Country Parties' Coalition regained office in 1975, ethnic affairs at the Commonwealth level was seen as having two areas of concern: the special needs of migrants to be re-established as quickly as possible after arriving in Australia and the need to develop preparedness within the Australian community to accept numbers of migrants of various backgrounds, especially those whose mother tongue was not English. In 1977, the government established the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council to advise the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs on the promotion of harmonious relationships within the Australian community and the fostering of understanding of migrant cultures. From 1981 until the end of the Coalition Government's term of office, this advice was provided by the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs.

The real thrust forward, however, came with the government's endorsement of the (Galbally) Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants and the acceptance of all its recommendations. The Review's Report considered three themes:

- emphasis on initial settlement programs that are preventative, rather than curative, in dealing with the problems migrants experience in adjusting to a new environment;

57. Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1977), op. cit., p. 16.
back-up services that recognise that cultural differences, different ways of thinking, not language alone, can be a barrier to adjusting to a new life in Australia; and

- the two-way process by which Australia is emerging as a multicultural society, in which newcomers and more established Australians realise they can learn from each other.64

The Review was considered to be a 'total concept', changing the direction and former fragmented pattern of services and programs, to ease the process by which migrants became 'equal partners in the diverse society'.65

In relation to multiculturalism, the Report's recommendations included the enhancement of multicultural education programs in schools, preservation of ethnic cultures and the establishment of an Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs.66 The Institute, which began operating in 1979, has a major research and community education role and advises the Commonwealth Government on multicultural affairs and related issues.67

The Galbally Report's conclusions have had a far-reaching impact on the development of both post-arrival policies and programs. By 1980, the objects of ethnic affairs policy had become:

- to ensure that migrants admitted for permanent residence have access to services and programs which will assist them to settle in Australia and integrate into the Australian community;

- the preservation and development of a culturally diversified cohesive Australian society free of racial tensions and offering security, well-being and equality of opportunity and treatment to all living here (as above);

- to enhance general community understanding and acceptance of the multicultural nature of Australian society, particularly through encouragement of all Australians to

  - be aware of the need of migrant groups to retain and develop their cultural past;

  - develop an understanding of the cultures, language and history of migrant source countries;


encouragement of migrants to retain and share their own cultural heritage;

promotion of the objective of freedom within citizenship, the goal of which is to ensure the cultural and personal freedom of the individual consistent with the obligations of Australian society and its institutions.\(^{68}\)

As part of this policy, the multicultural approach to ethnic accommodation seemed firmly established in the early 1980s. A 1982 Evaluation of the Galbally Review by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs found its principles to have continuing relevance. These included:

(a) all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;

(b) every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures.\(^{69}\)

In fact, the Evaluation concluded that:

(i) increasingly, there is a recognition that Australia's diversity is not a threat to be contended with but a national resource offering all Australians new ideas and perspectives and fostering understanding and communication between groups from which all can benefit.\(^{70}\)

In accepting almost all of the Evaluation's recommendations, the government endorsed them:

as a further commitment to a multicultural society in which all Australians have equality of opportunity to realise their potential and contribute to Australia's development.\(^{71}\)

It also stressed the need to ensure that Australia's institutions continued to be responsive to the country's ethnic and cultural diversity.\(^{72}\)

Quite apart from the Evaluation, possible future directions of multiculturalism were being explored from 1980 in response to a request by the then Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Macphee. In conducting this investigation, the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs gave its support in 1982 for:


\(^{70}\) Ibid., p. 10.


\(^{72}\) Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1982), op. cit., p. 1.
multiculturalism as the most suitable model for relations between all ethnic groups in Australia and as the preferred basis for government ethnic affairs policies. 73

It also proposed a fourth principle for a successful multicultural society of:

 equal responsibility for, and commitment to and participation in society, 74

in addition to the previous ones of social cohesion, cultural identity and equality. This inquiry was still in progress at the change of government.

Two other important points were also made at this time. One was that although considerable governmental efforts had been made to encourage other Commonwealth nationals and aliens to become Australian citizens, it was recognised officially that acquiring this citizenship did not necessarily alter individual ethnic loyalties nor did it require suppression of one's cultural heritage or identity. 75 Australian citizenship was regarded as an important indicator of common national identity, 76 rather than of ethnic origin. That is, the government was distinguishing between ethnos the people and kratos the state.

The other point was that ethnic matters relate to all Australians. Such persons include the Australian-born - even those of several or more generations - persons born in the various countries of the British Isles who were previously not regarded as requiring encouragement to maintain their culture and Aboriginals. 77 The official realisation that all those outside the core population born in Australia of Australian-born parents and of European race, i.e. immigrants, their children and Aboriginals, should be considered together was a significant step towards a better understanding of the diversity within Australia's population.

With the re-election of the Labor Government in 1983, there promised to be even greater involvement of all Australians in ethnic affairs. This Government's policies included proposals to remove obstacles to equality for some persons, such as communication problems, and plans to educate others about such difficulties and the contributions to Australian society made by

74. Ibid., p. 12.
76. Ibid., p. 2.
the ethnic communities within it. The new Government also gave its commitment to a national language policy through its intention to upgrade and extend a number of programs for immigrants and to provide opportunities for existing members of the community to learn other languages. It also intended to develop strategies to 'overcome the human problems of a multicultural workforce' and planned to review the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs' operation and administration.

3.4 SOURCES OF DATA ON ETHNIC DIVERSITY

As the practices influencing ethnic diversification and the approaches to accommodating ethnic diversity evolved, so did the data needed to understand the resulting changes to Australia's population. These consist of four main official sources: the population census, immigration and emigration statistics, vital statistics and citizenship and aliens records. Information from a range of surveys, both official and private supplement the above data. Changes in the approaches to determining the impact of past immigration and emigration on Australian society are probably most easily seen from an examination of the ethnic variables included in successive population censuses, as are changing approaches to accommodating the Aboriginal population. The history of these variables, as they have been included in Commonwealth censuses, sheds further light on the development of immigration and ethnic accommodation policies, while information from some other sources is described in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.4.1 Race Or Racial Origin

From the mid-nineteenth century Australian colonial censuses saw the need for information on racial divisions within the population, for example,

79. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
80. Ibid., p. 11.
81. Ibid., p. 15.
82. Ibid., p. 18.
to enumerate the Chinese on the goldfields. The first census of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1911 noted one broad object of censuses as 'ethnographic', in keeping with the contemporary views on society mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2. It held that:

(t)he ethnological is the most general division of mankind, and ... there are important influences both upon social organisation and the economic life of the community associated with the term 'race'.

Despite the emphasis placed on it, race was not specified as a standard topic to be included in Commonwealth censuses, according to the Census and Statistics Act of 1905. Rather, it was covered by Regulations pertaining to individual censuses. In the 1911 Census:

(t)he inquiry as to race was not required to be answered by persons of European race; in all other cases the proper information, such as Aboriginal, Chinese ... or Aboriginal half-caste, Chinese half-caste, etc., as the case may be, was to be inserted. In view of the requirements of the Commonwealth Representation Act, of the expressed determination of the people of the Commonwealth to preserve their country as a 'white Australia' ... it was considered of importance that this information should be carefully collected.

Because of his interpretation of Section 127 of the Constitution (Chapter 2), the Commonwealth Statistician described the special tabulating procedures in relation to Aboriginals as follows:

for all general tabulations, including those relating to non-European races, the (census) cards relating to full-blooded Australian Aboriginals were eliminated, owing to the provision of Section 127 of the Commonwealth Constitution.... In this matter an opinion has been given by the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department that persons of the half-blood are not 'aboriginal natives' for the purposes of the Constitution, and a fortiori that persons of less than half aboriginal blood are not aboriginal natives.

85. See for example, Registrar General, 1857 Census of Victoria: Population Tables, pp. 30-31.
87. Ibid., p. 9.
88. See for example, ibid., p. 58. From the 1986 Census all topics will be prescribed by Regulations and none by legislation, according to the Census and Statistics Amendment Act (No. 2) 1981, No. 177, Section 9.
90. Ibid., p. 222.
There were similar provisions applying to other half-caste Europeans which were important as distinctions between full- and half-blood conferred different legal rights and social statuses on individuals.91

The 1911 Census also noted that 'country of birth', 'race' and 'nationality', were frequently confused.93 This was no doubt caused, at least in part, by having the race question on the census schedule as part of that on birthplace or nationality.94 In the 1921 Census there was a separate question to reduce some of the confusion.95 The instructions for completing the census schedule were:

The word 'European' is to be inserted for every person of European race, wherever born. A person of other than European race ... must have the name of the race inserted in full. In the case of a half-caste, the letters 'H.C.' are to be added....96

This census inquired specifically into the race of persons of 'Asiatic birth' resident in Australia and found that an 'appreciable number' 'were of European parentage.97

A similar question on race was asked in the 1933 Census.98 However, the Commonwealth Statistician of the day noted that such information collected at a census possesses 'little significance from the viewpoint of ethnological science'.99 According to him, 'race' was too inexact a term for scientific purposes and the justification for using it rested solely on its 'permitting a partial classification of ethnic groups in the population.100 In fact, he divided the population into 'ethnic categories' of Europeans, Non-Europeans and Half-castes101 and the latter two categories into 'ethnic groups', or races along geographical rather than ethnological lines.102

96. Ibid., p. 15.
97. Ibid., p. 58.
99. Ibid., p. 117.
100. Ibid., p. 117.
101. Ibid., p. 118.
102. Ibid., p. 117.
For his purposes, an ethnic group was defined as:

an aggregation of human beings with a genetic inheritance
of physical and perhaps temperamental and other psychological
characteristics common to them all, and whose general
average combination of such characteristics is distinguishable
from that of other ethnic groups.\(^3\)

i.e. it was defined solely in racial terms, as was noted in Chapter 1.

This definition was maintained at the 1947, 1954 and 1961 Censuses when
the same information on race was collected as in the 1921 and 1933 Censuses.\(^4\)
Similar reservations about the term were expressed as at the 1933 Census,
but from 1947 'racial group' was substituted for 'ethnic category' in
tabulations and 'race' for 'ethnic group'.\(^5\) At censuses until and including
1961, full-blood Aboriginals were excluded from all estimates of the
population by race. However, as noted above, census collectors were asked
to count the total number of full-blood Aboriginals. Persons with a
preponderance of Aboriginal blood were regarded as full-blood, persons with
half-Aboriginal and half-European as half-caste and those with over half-
European blood as Europeans.\(^6\) Only half-caste Aboriginals and those classed
as Europeans were included in tabulations.

At the 1966 Census, the question on race was redesigned, both to avoid
use of the term 'half-caste' and in an attempt to obtain more precise data
on racial mixture:

State each person's race. For persons of European race,
wherever born, write 'European'. Otherwise state whether
Aboriginal, Chinese, Indian, Japanese, etc., as the case
may be. If of more than one race give particulars for
example, 1/2 European-1/2 Aboriginal, 3/4 Aboriginal-1/4
Chinese, 1/2 European-1/2 Chinese.\(^7\)

At this census, persons of more than half-Aboriginal blood, or half-Aboriginal
and half-European, were classified as Aboriginal. Full-blood Aboriginals were

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 117.
\(^4\) C.B.C.S., 1947 Census: Volume III Statistician's Report, pp. 10-14 and
\(^7\) C.B.C.S., 1966 Census: Volume 1 Population: Single Characteristics,
Part II, Race, p. 7.
again excluded from official tabulations although their numbers were included in estimates of the total population. The claim was made by the C.B.C.S. that, for the first time, census coverage of Aboriginals and hence of the Australian population, was 'virtually complete'.

The collection of data on race took an even more significant turn at the 1971 Census. The notions of 'half-caste' and racial mix were dispensed with completely after the repeal of Section 127 of the Constitution and respondents were asked to self-describe their racial origin:

What is this person's racial origin?
(If of mixed origin indicate the one to which he considers himself to belong)

(Tick one box only or give one origin only)
1. European origin
2. Aboriginal origin
3. Torres Strait Islander origin
4. Other origin (give one only).

A virtually identical question was asked at the 1976 Census.

The emphasis of the 1971 and 1976 questions on racial origin was on identifying Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders who were defined as anyone:

(a) of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Island descent, (b) who identifies himself or herself as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and (c) who is accepted as such by the community with which he or she is associated.

However, the A.B.S. provided warnings on the use of racial origin data from the 1971 and later censuses. Because of the 'self-perceived' nature of the data from these censuses, they are not strictly comparable with earlier information. There are also indications that it was much more acceptable to identify as an Aboriginal in 1976 than only five years earlier, so that

108. Ibid., p. 7.
110. Smith (1980), op. cit., p. 44.
113. Ibid., p. 1.
114. Ibid., pp. 1-2.
the Aboriginal component of Australia's population may have been inflated in 1976. Early results from the 1981 Census and other sources very much support this contention.  

The 1971 Census was also the first to include full-blood Aboriginals in all tabulations as well as population totals, following the repeal of Section 127. Indeed, at that time the lack of adequate statistics on Aboriginals was seen as discriminatory and their improvement implied an official rejection of assimilation ideology. Despite this view, a race question was included in 1976 only after strong protests by Aboriginal leaders that its omission was yet another ploy by non-Aboriginals to prevent Aboriginals from demonstrating their increasing numbers. 

On the other hand, with migrant entry policies being non-discriminatory on various grounds including race from 1973 (Chapter 2), the identification of persons of overseas racial origins was seen by some as less important than previously or even an invasion of personal privacy. Yet, descendants of the Kanakas allowed to remain in Australia would have preferred to identify themselves, especially as they formed the subject of a government investigation in 1977. Such a question would also have greatly assisted in identifying the growing population of Indo-Chinese refugees arriving in Australia from 1975 (Chapter 2).

A full race question was not asked in 1981, as for the first time, the Census Regulations sought only to identify persons of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent. The question asked was:

Is the person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Origin?  
For persons of mixed origin, indicate the one to which they consider themselves to belong.  

| No .................... | 1 |
| Yes, Aboriginal .... | 2 |
| Yes, Torres Strait Islander ... | 3 |


120. Interdepartmental Committee on South Seas Islanders in Australia (1977), South Seas Islanders in Australia, A.G.P.S., Canberra.


Data from such a question have very practical applications, such as measuring the socio-economic characteristics of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders and in developing ways of meeting their special needs. However, without information on persons of other racial origins, no comparative studies can be carried out from the 1981 Census. In fact, the A.B.S. has offered its own succinct summary of the trends between 1911 and 1981 in asking census questions on race and racial origin and of the social realities they seek to measure:

The racial origin topic has reflected some significant changes in attitudes since 1911. From the identification of a 'European' race, with the total exclusion of Aboriginals, the question has changed radically to identify only Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders. In the most recent censuses the question has revealed an increasing identification with the Aboriginal population, reflecting an increasing acceptance of that population within our community.

3.4.2 Nationality, Citizenship And Allegiance

The term 'nationality' has a number of uses: on some occasions it may represent distinct ethnic groups, as defined in Chapter 1, such as within current-day Yugoslavia; on others it may be ascribed to the legal nation state itself, so that ethnic diversity inside the political boundary is lost. Although the term 'citizenship' is often used interchangeably with 'legal nationality', there may be a distinction between them. For example, with the creation of the status of Australian citizenship in 1949, such citizens retained their British nationality, i.e. were British subjects, until probable legislative changes in the early 1980s (Chapter 2).

Like race, nationality was regarded early as a fundamental characteristic of Australia's population, more basic, for example, than country of birth.

126. Ibid., p. 270.
Information on it in Australian censuses seeks to identify the countries to which the population owed legal or political allegiance and is required by the Census and Statistics Act 1905. In censuses to 1911, the only particulars required were whether respondents were British subjects on the one hand, or subjects of foreign countries on the other. Persons could be British subjects by place of birth, parentage or naturalization. As noted above, the 1911 Commonwealth Statistician connected 'race' with 'nationality', apparently seeking to equate the so-called 'Anglo-Saxon race' with the possession of British nationality.

In the 1921 Census, for the first time, details of individual countries of nationality were collected, for persons not responding as British subjects. The means by which the nationality was granted - birthplace, parentage, naturalization or a combination, was also asked. For persons who were British subjects, distinctions were made between those who were 'Australian born' or 'ex-Australian born'.

The 1933 Census question on nationality was a 'pruned' version of that asked in 1921. In the latter census, it was no longer possible to determine how British subjects acquired their nationality. In 1947 respondents were again asked to state their nationality in relation to the country to which they owed legal allegiance and, where applicable, to indicate if they were naturalized British subjects. Details of persons legally of ex-enemy nationality were also requested.

Despite the creation of Australian citizenship in 1949 (Chapter 2), there was no immediate change in the general thrust of the census question on nationality. Indeed, tabulations continued to relate to British subjects only, although by the 1961 Census some persons were responding with their Australian citizenship rather than their British nationality.

131. Ibid., p. 62.
133. Ibid., p. 100.
136. Ibid., pp. 11-14.
At the 1966 Census, the question asked respondents for the first time to:

State nationality or citizenship (emphasis added) of the person in relation to the country to which he or she owes legal allegiance, for example: 'Australian', 'British', 'French', 'Stateless', etc. If Australian or British by naturalization, write 'Australian' or 'British'.\textsuperscript{139}

The information obtained was, however, still tabulated as nationality only.\textsuperscript{140} Again in 1971, persons were asked to 'Give nationality or citizenship',\textsuperscript{141} but in the ensuing tabulations on nationality, a small number of persons of British nationality were inadvertently shown as having 'nationality same as birthplace', rather than 'British'.\textsuperscript{142}

The change to 'citizenship' alone came in 1976,\textsuperscript{143} permitting for the first time the tabulation of individual countries of Commonwealth citizenship.\textsuperscript{144} Only a slight change to this question occurred at the 1981 Census\textsuperscript{145} but the reference to British nationality seems likely to be omitted at the 1986 and later Censuses, because of the legislative changes referred to above (Chapter 2).

3.4.3 Birthplace

When there is no direct recording of ethnic origin, birthplace is currently considered internationally to be the most useful single indicator of origin, as it changes only with revisions to national boundaries.\textsuperscript{146} This demonstrates the marked swing away from interest in race that dominated early thinking on ethnic origins in such countries as Australia. It also draws an explicit distinction between the terms nationality and birthplace.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{141} C.B.C.S., 1971 Census: \textit{op. cit.}, p. xii.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., p. xiii.
\textsuperscript{143} A.B.S., 1976 Census: Householder's Schedule, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{144} A.B.S., 1976 Census: Classification of Characteristics, Information Paper No. 9(i) (2112.0), p. 6.
Birthplace is even more valuable when cross-classified with other census data, such as those on birthplace of parents, in providing information on ethnic origin.

The collection of data on birthplace in Australia was prescribed by the Census and Statistics Act in 1905. Until and including the 1976 Census, respondents were asked to state the name of the country, or State or Territory of Australia, in which they had been born. In both 1971 and 1976 there were slight modifications to the format of the question, but in 1981 the question sought less information, in that it required only the name of the country, whether Australia or overseas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where was each person born?</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Overseas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ ] 1</td>
<td>[ ] 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Write country of birth ............. 147

For most purposes the information collected would be adequate, but if regions within Australia were seen as contributing to ethnic origins, then clearly such data would be insufficient.

3.4.4 Period of Residence

Questions on length of residence were included occasionally in colonial censuses and formed part of all the simultaneous State censuses of 1901. They related to the residential qualifying periods in individual States and, from 1908 the Commonwealth, before old-age pensions would be paid. 148

Questions in early Commonwealth censuses on length of residence of persons born outside Australia were included to provide information on the permanency of migration from overseas. 149 In 1921 the data were also used to investigate the settlement of migrants arriving in particular periods in urban or rural parts of Australia. 150 By 1933, it was realised that the census could show 'the degree of stability' of the overseas-born population and that this could be compared with census survival rates for the Australian-born. 151

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Two forms of the question - length of residence and date of arrival - were included in census schedules in 1911 and 1921 as a check, although the Census and Statistics Act required particulars of length of residence in Australia only. If the information provided by the two answers differed, the period computed from the date of arrival was generally accepted. In 1933, the economic contingencies of the day appear to have caused the inclusion of a question only on the:

number of complete years of residence in Australia, ignoring temporary absences

for persons not born in Australia. At that census for the first time, the general form of the inquiry no longer consisted of 'length of residence', but rather 'period of residence', as the first term caused some confusion with linear measurement.

From 1947 to 1961, the period of residence in Australia, i.e. 'number of years', ignoring temporary absences, of the overseas-born population was called for, but no longer the number of 'complete' years. In 1966 the format of the question was changed slightly to re-incorporate this. More major changes occurred in 1971 when, for the first time in Australian censuses, overseas-born persons were asked whether they were a resident of, or a visitor to, Australia. The number of years of residence was defined as commencing on the date of first arrival as a resident and the question was couched in these terms, as part of one also covering birthplace and nationality or citizenship:

... State whether a resident of Australia or a visitor to Australia

Resident □ ——> Give date of first arrival in Australia as a resident. Month ....... Year ....

Visitor □ ——> Give date of arrival in Australia on this visit. Month ....... Year .......

152. Census and Statistics Act 1905, Section 12.
155. Ibid., p. 9.
159. Ibid., p. xii.
In 1976 the same information was sought from a reformatted question in which, unfortunately, many respondents missed the part asking for the date of their first arrival in Australia, so causing a high non-response rate.\textsuperscript{160} In 1981 these details were, therefore, requested in two separate questions. Whether the person was a resident of, or visitor to, Australia, was obtained from the 'place of usual residence' question which had previously been used only in measuring internal migration in Australia.\textsuperscript{161}

The above questions show that over the eighty-year period to date when census information has been sought throughout Australia on this topic, the reasons for enquiring into it have changed in both small and large ways. Period of residence no longer concerns itself only with persons of long-standing, although the provision of pensions to the overseas-born is still of interest to governments.\textsuperscript{162} Instead, the number and characteristics of newcomers are also matters for major study, as are immigrant settlement processes\textsuperscript{163} and patterns such as their labour force participation.\textsuperscript{164} The survival and growth of the population - both Australian- and overseas-born - are also investigated, as is the retention in Australia of persons from particular birthplaces.\textsuperscript{165}

3.4.5 Birthplace of Parents

Questions on birthplace of parents are not required by the Census and Statistics Act and have been included in Australian censuses only in 1921 and from 1971. In 1921 there was a generalised birthplace question, \textit{viz.}:

\begin{quote}
Give birthplace of - Self: ................
- Father: ....................
- Mother: ....................
\end{quote}

For each person, the birthplace was required to be the State or Territory of Australia, or in other cases the country. In 1971 there was a separate question on birthplace of parents:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., pp. 14-15 and p. 23.
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., p. 24.
\textsuperscript{163} Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (1978), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{166} C.B.C.S., 1921 Census: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 141.
\end{quote}
Give the country of birth of -
(a) this person's father .................. 167
(b) this person's mother ..................

In each of the 1976 and 1981 Censuses there were slight modifications to this format168 and experiments with re-positioning it on the schedule as this seemed likely to reduce the level of non-response.169

Identifying ethnic origin has been the reason for enquiring about birthplace of parents. In 1921 it was included only as a convenient proxy for the racial origins of one's forebears:

To ascertain ... the stock from which the present population ... has sprung, persons were asked to state the birthplace of their father and of their mother. The birthplace, of course, (did) not necessarily indicate the racial origin of the person concerned, but ... would furnish the best available indication of what (was) desired....170

Despite the considerable interest in racial origin as the obvious form of ethnic origin in 1933, no similar question was asked at that census, perhaps because of the economic stringencies or because it sought the same details as the question on race.

By the time the question was included again, ethnic origin in Australia had changed from being mainly a function of race to being most usually related to birthplace. However, by 1971 it was apparent that questions on birthplace alone missed the origins of the Australian-born children of post-war immigrants. Birthplace of parents was therefore added in an attempt to obtain fuller information on the composition of the population.

3.4.6 Religion

Statistics on religious denomination assist in identifying members of certain ethnic categories which even the most generally useful data do not distinguish. For example, Australian-born persons of Irish descent may often be identified from their Catholic religion. This shows the importance of considering a range of indicators when studying ethnic composition.

Colonial censuses included a question on religion to which an answer was optional. The Census and Statistics Act 1905 specified this topic and provided that:

no person shall be liable to any penalty for omitting or refusing to state the religious denomination or sect to which he belongs or adheres,\textsuperscript{171}

to avoid fears of persecution among respondents.\textsuperscript{172} In the 1911 and 1921 Censuses, the provision was not referred to explicitly, but persons who conscientiously objected to stating their religious denomination could insert the word 'object'.\textsuperscript{173} In these first two Commonwealth censuses, respondents were asked to avoid terms considered vague or indefinite, such as 'Protestant' or 'Catholic', which might mean one of several different religious bodies.\textsuperscript{174}

From the 1933 to the 1966 Censuses the question on this topic included explicit statements that an answer was not obligatory.\textsuperscript{175} This is believed to have accounted for a sizeable jump between 1921 and 1933 in the number of non-respondents to this question\textsuperscript{176} and cast doubts on the adequacy of the data from the later censuses.\textsuperscript{177} At the 1971 Census, the statement was omitted and the instruction included only on the front cover of the census schedule.\textsuperscript{178} These changes, including the instruction:

\begin{quote}
If no religion write 'none',\textsuperscript{179}
\end{quote}

improved the quality of the data on religion. There was a significant rise in the number of respondents having no religion, compared with previous censuses - from 1 per cent to 7 per cent between 1966 and 1971 - and a fall in the 'not stated' category from 10 per cent in 1966 to 6 per cent in 1971.\textsuperscript{180}

\textsuperscript{171} Census and Statistics Act 1905, Section 21.
\textsuperscript{172} Price (1980d), \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 1040.
\textsuperscript{174} C.B.C.S., 1911 Census: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 63 and C.B.C.S., 1921 Census: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{175} C.B.C.S., 1933 Census: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{178} C.B.C.S., 1971 Census: \textit{op. cit.}, p. ix.
\textsuperscript{179} \textit{Ibid.}, p. xii.
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Ibid.}, p. xiv and p. 3.
There was little change in the format of the question at the 1976 Census, but an increase to 12 per cent in the non-response rate.\textsuperscript{181} Around the time of the census date there occurred expressions of public disquiet in relation to the official collection of data on individuals.\textsuperscript{182} The A.B.S. therefore decided to emphasise to respondents in the 1981 Census the optional nature of the question on religion and relocated the statement next to the question, so as to give best notice to respondents of their rights under the Act.\textsuperscript{183}

3.4.7 Language

Data on language usage or proficiency have been collected from only some Australian censuses and for a range of purposes. In 1881, for example, the colonial censuses asked questions on 'degree of education' to distinguish between persons who 'Cannot Read', 'Read only', or 'Read and Write'.\textsuperscript{184} The anti-Chinese sentiments of the day caused an instruction to be given that:

\begin{quote}
Chinese to be set down as 'unable to read and write' unless they can read and write English.\textsuperscript{185}
\end{quote}

There is no requirement for a question on language in the Census and Statistics Act, but early Commonwealth censuses continued the colonial practice of seeking information on languages used, as part of an inquiry into education.\textsuperscript{186} However, by 1933, it was realised that few adults educated in Australia were unable to read or write in any language. The question was therefore rephrased and separated from the one on schooling, viz.:

\begin{quote}
Foreign Language. - If not able to read and write English but able to read and write a foreign language state the name of the foreign language, as 'French', 'German', 'Japanese', etc.\textsuperscript{187}
\end{quote}

Interest in enquiring into language usage then waned until the 1976 Census when attention was focussed on the variety of languages used by the immigrant population and hence the English-training facilities and non-English information required. The question asked of persons five years of age or older was:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{182} The Law Reform Commission (1979), op. cit., p. x.
\textsuperscript{184} Compiler, 1881 Census of New South Wales: op. cit., p. lxxvi.
\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., p. 1xxvi.
\textsuperscript{186} C.B.C.S., 1933 Census: op. cit., p. 138.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., p. 9.
\end{quote}
For each person tick boxes to show ALL languages regularly used.

. Include all languages regularly used whether at home, English ..... 1
   at work, at school, when shopping, etc. Italian ..... 2
. Remember: many people may use more than one Greek ....... 3
   language - tick each language used regularly. German ..... 4
. If an Aboriginal tribal language is used, tick box Other ...... 5
   5 and write name of language.

Please list ....

Unfortunately there were various problems associated with this question.

These included a high non-response rate, confusion about the meaning of 'regular' - some respondents included languages being studied at school - and under-reporting of the use of the English language by overseas-born persons.\(^\text{189}\) It was therefore decided not to repeat this question at the 1981 Census. Instead, the emphasis changed to the concept of 'proficiency in English' as an indicator of those persons requiring English-language training.\(^\text{190}\)

Although pre-tests before the 1981 Census did not prove entirely satisfactory, the question which was adopted was expected to provide a better measure, than did the 1976 Census question, of persons requiring English instruction.\(^\text{191}\)
CHAPTER 4
PROCESSES OF DIVERSIFICATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2 described various policies and practices which have influenced ethnic diversification in Australia since the beginning of European settlement. Each of these may be translated into processes which cause changes to the composition of Australia's population. In addition, other forms of diversity are generated spontaneously within the population. This chapter examines processes of ethnic diversification of both kinds. Their effects on Australia's population composition are examined in the following chapter.

4.2 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

4.2.1 Trends In Movement Categories

One of the greatest influences on the ethnic composition of Australia's population since the Second World War, and indeed throughout the whole period of European settlement, has been overseas migration. Persons enter or leave Australia according to a number of movement categories which are described in Table 4.1. These categories show that increasing numbers of short-term movements generally comprised the vast majority of post-war arrivals and departures. However, the total net gain consisted largely of permanent movements from the financial year 1959-60 and permanent and long-term movements before that.

4.2.2 Permanent Arrivals

Permanent arrivals (and previously permanent and long-term ones) are among the movement categories with which the government is most concerned. During the late 1940s there was a rapid rise in the number of persons coming as permanent and long-term arrivals, before a downturn caused by a minor recession in the early 1950s.1 These arrivals then grew slowly from the mid-1950s, but fell at the beginning of the 1960s, when there was another short-lived recession, and regained their previous high only in the mid-1960s. Annual levels of both permanent and long-term arrivals continued to rise as the government pursued

### TABLE 4.1: OVERSEAS ARRIVALS, DEPARTURES AND NET GAINS: DETAILED MOVEMENT CATEGORIES: AUSTRALIA: 1946 TO 1981

#### ARRIVALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Years</th>
<th>Permanent Movement</th>
<th>Australian Residents Returning from Overseas</th>
<th>Long-term Movement</th>
<th>Total Permanent and Long-term</th>
<th>Australian Residents Arriving from Overseas</th>
<th>Total Short-term Movement</th>
<th>Total Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-51</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>522.6</td>
<td>122.2</td>
<td>156.2</td>
<td>276.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-56</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>569.6</td>
<td>228.9</td>
<td>246.9</td>
<td>475.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-61</td>
<td>136.2</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>214.2</td>
<td>617.4</td>
<td>321.5</td>
<td>350.5</td>
<td>680.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-66</td>
<td>348.1</td>
<td>246.1</td>
<td>594.2</td>
<td>785.8</td>
<td>631.3</td>
<td>679.1</td>
<td>1328.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-71</td>
<td>543.5</td>
<td>263.4</td>
<td>807.0</td>
<td>1123.7</td>
<td>1403.0</td>
<td>1606.2</td>
<td>3009.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-76</td>
<td>244.7</td>
<td>250.0</td>
<td>494.7</td>
<td>916.1</td>
<td>3466.2</td>
<td>2420.1</td>
<td>5866.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-81</td>
<td>105.2</td>
<td>297.5</td>
<td>402.7</td>
<td>852.0</td>
<td>5431.2</td>
<td>3610.0</td>
<td>9941.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### DEPARTURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Years</th>
<th>Permanent Movement</th>
<th>Australian Residents Departing</th>
<th>Long-term Movement</th>
<th>Total Permanent and Long-term</th>
<th>Australian Residents Departing</th>
<th>Total Short-term Movement</th>
<th>Total Departures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-51</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>101.8</td>
<td>119.1</td>
<td>159.5</td>
<td>278.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-56</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>165.6</td>
<td>224.4</td>
<td>251.1</td>
<td>475.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-61</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>217.0</td>
<td>321.2</td>
<td>364.9</td>
<td>686.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-66</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>353.6</td>
<td>641.5</td>
<td>723.6</td>
<td>1365.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-71</td>
<td>121.8</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>167.8</td>
<td>533.0</td>
<td>1399.5</td>
<td>1679.3</td>
<td>3078.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-76</td>
<td>128.3</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>188.0</td>
<td>635.0</td>
<td>3513.7</td>
<td>2431.8</td>
<td>5945.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-81</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>114.6</td>
<td>498.9</td>
<td>5501.9</td>
<td>3474.8</td>
<td>9475.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### NET GAINS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Years</th>
<th>Permanent Movement</th>
<th>Australian Residents</th>
<th>Long-term Movement</th>
<th>Total Permanent and Long-term</th>
<th>Australian Residents</th>
<th>Total Short-term Movement</th>
<th>Total Net Gains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-51</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>420.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>-5.3</td>
<td>-2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-56</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>404.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>-4.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-61</td>
<td>201.9</td>
<td>-12.0</td>
<td>190.0</td>
<td>400.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-6.4</td>
<td>-6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-66</td>
<td>541.0</td>
<td>-34.7</td>
<td>506.3</td>
<td>432.2</td>
<td>-10.2</td>
<td>-26.5</td>
<td>-36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-71</td>
<td>605.1</td>
<td>-45.9</td>
<td>639.2</td>
<td>590.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>-73.1</td>
<td>-69.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-76</td>
<td>366.4</td>
<td>-59.7</td>
<td>306.7</td>
<td>281.1</td>
<td>-67.5</td>
<td>-11.7</td>
<td>-79.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-81</td>
<td>336.6</td>
<td>-48.5</td>
<td>288.0</td>
<td>351.2</td>
<td>-70.6</td>
<td>136.2</td>
<td>418.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cont.)...
TABLE 4.1 : (Cont.)

Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.
n.a. = not available.

Minus sign (-) denotes excess of departures over arrivals.

1. These categories are based on the purpose of travel, as stated by the traveller on his passenger card on arrival in or departure from Australia. Until December 1958, arrivals and departures were classified as 'temporary' movements of less than twelve months' duration and 'permanent' ones of twelve months or more duration. (Price, Charles A. (1965), 'Some Problems of International Migration Statistics. An Australian Case-Study', Population Studies 19(1), p. 18.) From 1959, the following classifications have applied:
   - permanent movement consists of persons arriving with the stated intention of settling permanently in Australia and of Australian residents departing with the stated intention of residing abroad permanently;
   - settlers are persons who on arrival in Australia indicate that they have come intending to settle;
   - former settlers are persons who, on departure from Australia, state that they had come to Australia intending to settle, had stayed for a period of twelve months or more, and are now departing permanently. From January 1974 the period of stay qualification was removed;
   - long-term movement consists of the arrival of visitors and the departure of residents with the stated intention to stay (in Australia or abroad, respectively) for twelve months or more and the departure of visitors and the return of Australian residents who have stayed (in Australia or abroad, respectively) for twelve months or more;
   - short-term movement consists of all other movements, including the movement of Australian troops from 1947-48, regardless of period of stay.

The new permanent and long-term classifications are together equivalent to the old 'permanent' one and the new short-term classification is equivalent to the old 'temporary' one.

2. Consists of movements only for the financial years 1959-60 and 1960-61.


Sources: C.B.C.S. (1947 to 1960), Australian Demographic Review - Summary of Overseas Migration Statistics (various issues to 119), C.B.C.S., Canberra, Tables 1 and 3.
an increasing annual immigration program until the turn of the 1970s. They then fell, especially during the Labor Government's term of office during the early 1970s, but climbed again with rising triennial rolling programs in the late 1970s.

4.2.2.1 Assisted Migration Programs

The Australian government has encouraged both financially assisted and other immigrants to settle in Australia. As noted in Chapter 2, it drafted various Migration Agreements with certain governments and made less formal arrangements with others, often with the assistance of ICEM, for passage assistance to be provided to desirable migrants.

Table 4.2 summarises the arrivals under government-run assisted passage programs over the post-war period. The Australian government's preference for settlers from the U.K. and Eire caused that scheme to be the largest overall, especially during the 1960s, although there were periods when other schemes brought more migrants to Australia. Higher numbers of Displaced Persons from eastern Europe arrived in 1948-49 and especially in 1949-50. From 1977-78 SPAP, which includes Indo-Chinese refugees, has been the largest scheme, causing it to bring more settlers to Australia in total than all other programs except those for the United Kingdom and Displaced Persons.

Some assisted passage schemes were short-lived and served special purposes. These included Polish ex-servicemen from the United Kingdom immediately after the War ended, Empire and Allied ex-servicemen until 1955-56, Displaced Persons until 1954 and Hungarians between 1956 and 1961. Others, such as those applying to Danish and Irish nationals, were replaced by broader ones covering the nationals of a number of countries - GAPS and SPAP.

Each of these programs, together with others to assist the nationals and/or residents of specific countries, had peak periods of arrivals. Although the relatively large German and Dutch programs maintained high numbers until the turn of the 1970s, they showed definite highs from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s. Those coming under the Greek scheme peaked in the financial year 1954-55, but their numbers otherwise remained steady until the late 1960s when they reached a lower but more sustained plateau. High numbers of persons


## TABLE 4.2: SETTLER ARRIVALS UNDER AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ASSISTED PROGRAMS: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASSISTED MIGRATION PROGRAM</th>
<th>PERIOD/FINANCIAL YEARS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 1947 - June 1951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Date of first arrivals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displaced Persons (Nov. 47))</td>
<td>165.1</td>
<td>186.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Hungarians(^1) (Dec. 56) )</td>
<td>7.2(^2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Via Italy (Jan. 54) )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Greece(^3) (May 60))</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Via Austria(^3) (Dec. 55)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL REFUGEE</td>
<td>165.1</td>
<td>268.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom (Apr. 47)</td>
<td>118.0</td>
<td>1150.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire and Allied ex- )servicemen(^4) (Sep. 47)</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles from U.K. (Sep. 47)</td>
<td>1.5(^6)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch (Aug. 48 &amp; Jun. 51)</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>83.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltese (Sep. 48)</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish (May 49)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian (Oct. 51)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian (Aug. 52)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (Aug. 52)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek (Feb. 53)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAPS(^9) (Dec. 54)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish (Dec. 57)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish (Sep. 58)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian (Mar. 61)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPAP(^10) (Jul. 66)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>186.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USPAP(^11) (Jul. 66)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAS(^12) (Sep. 68)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAS(^13) (Sep. 68)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish (Oct. 68)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav (Jul. 70)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL OTHER</td>
<td>144.4</td>
<td>1864.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>309.5</td>
<td>2132.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cont.)...
TABLE 4.2 : (Cont.)

Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.

0.0 = less than 50.
- = zero.

1. Hungarians from all countries of first asylum: Austria, Italy, Switzerland, etc.
2. Displaced Persons Scheme was discontinued in January 1954 and Hungarians in June 1961.
3. Mostly Stateless and Yugoslavs.
4. Mostly Dutch from Indonesia.
5. This scheme was replaced by GAPS and later by SPAP.
6. The last party of Polish ex-servicemen from U.K. arrived in November 1948.
7. Netherlands Foundation Scheme.
8. Netherlands Assisted Passage Scheme.
9. General Assisted Passage Scheme. This included a large number of Scandinavian, American and British nationals from outside the United Kingdom and Europe.
10. Special Passage Assistance Program. This included mostly residents of Britain, Ireland, north-west Europe and South American countries who were not eligible to apply for assistance under other international arrangements and, more recently, Indo-Chinese refugees.
11. United States Passage Assistance Program.
12. Returning Australians Scheme.
13. Second Assistance Scheme.

arrived under the Italian scheme until the early 1960s, when the formal Migration Agreement was suspended, and again around the turn of the 1970s after it was resumed. Sizeable numbers arrived under the Maltese program until the mid-1950s and again in the mid-1960s, while peak arrivals under GAPS also took place at this time. The greatest number of Austrians arrived in the mid-1950s, but their peak numbers were lower than those settling under the above schemes. Arrivals under the Spanish scheme fluctuated, because - like the Italian Agreement - that with Spain was also temporarily suspended. The Turkish and Yugoslav programs demonstrated relatively high early demands which then tapered. The lower arrivals from Turkey were, at least in part, due to confusion over the permanent, rather than guest worker nature of their immigration to Australia. The establishment of the Yugoslav scheme also reduced the numbers coming as refugees via Austria, before they increased again at the beginning of the 1980s with growing unrest in Poland.

4.2.2.2 Birthplace of Settler Arrivals

The above passage assistance schemes ensured that different regions predominated as sources of assisted settlers at particular times. From 1959, when birthplace statistics first became available, Europe yielded well over 90 per cent of all settler arrivals until the turn of the 1970s. The U.K. and Eire produced as many as three-quarters of all assisted settlers during the mid-1960s and remained the primary source within Europe even at the beginning of the 1980s, when increasing numbers of assisted passages were being granted to persons born in Poland. As the number of assisted passages declined over the 1970s (Table 4.1), the Americas and then Asia also supplied sizeable proportions. Indo-Chinese refugees caused Asia to supply around two-thirds of assisted settlers at the end of the 1970s and still above half in 1980-81. Settlers arriving without government assistance also came largely from Europe. Until the beginning of the 1970s, most came from outside the U.K. and Eire, indicating that those from that source needed financial incentives. However, after that time the British Isles were a greater supplier, because they did not share the economic buoyancy of the rest of Europe. As the proportion of unassisted settlers from Europe fell, Asia and Oceania became more

6. Australian Population and Immigration Council (1977), op. cit., p. 27.
significant sources, because of relaxed entry criteria for non-Europeans and the increasing free-flow from New Zealand.

Apart from the U.K. and Eire (which provided 1,047,700 settlers from January 1959 to June 1981), there were a number of other major individual source countries. The southern European countries of Italy (186,000 settlers), Yugoslavia (160,200) and Greece (158,600) provided significant numbers of both assisted and unassisted settlers. For each country there were definite peaks in the number of assisted arrivals around the turn of the 1970s. Yet even without these highs total settler arrivals would have remained substantial, especially for Italy and Greece, as earlier peaks coincided with lower numbers of assisted arrivals (Figure 4.1). Settlers from these countries often followed a chain migration of relatives and friends from individual localities in the home country.

The next largest source was New Zealand (106,500 settlers) for whose residents passage assistance was not generally available. As indicated in Chapter 2, most of these persons arrived in the late 1970s, although there had been an earlier economic downturn in the late 1960s which also generated a trans-Tasman flow.

For Germany and the Netherlands, which contributed the next greatest numbers of persons by birthplace, the substantial arrivals under the intergovernmental Migration Agreements declined rapidly at the beginning of the 1960s, when economic conditions were very favourable in these countries. However, assisted settlers continued to form the greater part of permanent arrivals from these sources and increased gradually until the end of the 1960s when the Australian government's immigration program was at its highest. From the mid-1970s, unassisted settlers exceeded assisted ones, so that there was an upturn in total settler arrivals (Figure 4.1).

8. Major individual countries of birth are defined here as providing at least 20,000 settler arrivals over the period January 1959 to June 1981.
Other major individual source countries were widely dispersed. The U.S.A. peaked as a supplier when the largest numbers came under USPAP at the turn of the 1970s, while those from Canada came mostly in the early 1970s. The high number of arrivals from Lebanon in the late 1960s and early 1970s were dwarfed in 1976-77 when easier entry to unassisted settlers was granted following the civil unrest. This contributed to Asia's high proportion of total settler arrivals at that time. Although few persons born in Vietnam had settled in Australia prior to the end of hostilities in that country in 1975, assisted settler arrivals increased rapidly to the turn of the 1980s. India showed a significant upswing in unassisted arrivals from the late 1960s after entry criteria for non-Europeans were relaxed, although at least some Indian-born settlers were Europeans (see Chapter 3).

Within Europe, persons born in Malta arrived from the early post-war years, mostly with assistance until the late 1970s, and peaked particularly in the mid-1960s. Arrivals from Turkey and Spain depended largely on the introduction or, as in the case of Spain, the re-introduction of inter-governmental arrangements. Those from Poland were fewer by the end of the 1950s than earlier, although there were some small numbers of unassisted settlers in the early 1960s and an upturn in assisted settlers, i.e. refugees, at the turn of the 1980s.

Although Africa was the smallest regional source of permanent arrivals, two countries each supplied over 20,000 mostly unassisted settlers from the end of the 1950s. These were South Africa and Egypt. Arrivals from South Africa showed a small peak in the early 1960s, when that country chose independence outside the Commonwealth of Nations in 1961 and then increased slightly during the late 1970s as racial violence increased from 1976. Egyptians came mainly from the early 1960s to the early 1970s.

4.2.3 Permanent Departures

Persons arriving as settlers do not always remain permanently in Australia. Some former settlers depart after long or short sojourns, as indicated in Table 4.1. Many of those leaving realise the uncertain nature of their

FIGURE 4.1: SETTLER ARRIVALS BY MAJOR COUNTRIES OF BIRTH\textsuperscript{1}: AUSTRALIA: 1959 TO 1981

For footnotes see p. 91.

(Cont.)...
FIGURE 4.1: (Cont.)

(Yugoslavia)

Year of Arrival (000) : 160.2

Total Settlers

Year of Arrival (000) : 186.0

Total Settlers

(Cont.)...
FIGURE 4.1: (Cont.)

[Diagram showing the numbers of settlers to New Zealand and Greece by year of arrival from 1950-61 and 1970-71. The x-axis represents the years 1960-61, 1965-66, 1970-71, 1975-76, and 1980-81, and the y-axis represents the number of settlers in thousands.]
FIGURE 4.1: (Cont.)

- Netherlands
  - Year of Arrival
  - Total Settlers ('000) : 52.5
  - Assisted Settlers
  - Unassisted Settlers

- Lebanon
  - Year of Arrival
  - Total Settlers ('000) : 48.2
  - Assisted Settlers
  - Unassisted Settlers

- Germany
  - Year of Arrival
  - Total Settlers ('000) : 72.4
  - Assisted Settlers
  - Unassisted Settlers

- U.S.A.
  - Year of Arrival
  - Total Settlers ('000) : 50.2
  - Assisted Settlers
  - Unassisted Settlers

(Cont.)...
Malta

Total Settlers (000) : 41.4

Year of Arrival

Total Settlers (000) : 27.9

South Africa

Year of Arrival

Total Settlers (000) : 27.3

Turkey

Year of Arrival

Total Settlers (000) : 34.7

Vietnam

Total Settlers (000) : 43.7

Year of Arrival
1. Major individual countries of birth are defined here as providing at least 20,000 settler arrivals over the period January 1959 to June 1981 for which data on the birthplace of settlers are available.


5. July 1974 to June 1981 as 1974-75 was the first complete year in which settlers born in Vietnam were identified separately.

A.B.S. (various years), Overseas arrivals and departures tables, microfiche.
movements and may later return to Australia. Reasons for departing do not all relate to dissatisfaction with Australia, for example its permissiveness compared with some other countries. They also include relative economic opportunities in Australia and elsewhere as noted above for Europe, the wish to retire to one's country of origin while still receiving one's Australian pension and the need to attend to family and business commitments in one's homeland. In addition, a few persons who have been unable to settle successfully are repatriated to their countries of origin and some are deported. Other Australian residents also leave Australia permanently: persons who arrived in Australia before the term 'settler' was used, those who entered as temporary residents and then converted to permanent status and persons mis-stating their categories on their outgoing passenger cards. Numbers of Australian-born residents also depart permanently: some are the Australian-born children of former settlers, while others are residents with indefinite or long-term commitments such as employment or marriage.

The departure of former settlers is related to the size of the intake some few years before, although migrants of longer periods of residence are also involved. Some settlers remain in Australia for two years, after which they no longer have to refund the cost of their assisted passages if they leave. The trend in former settlers departing is thus moderately highly correlated with the migrant intake two years previously for departures in 1961-62 to 1980-81 (r = 0.846). Estimates have also shown that 22 per cent of a cohort of settlers leave by the end of their sixth year of stay and 28 per cent by the end of the tenth.

20. D.I.E.A. official form Request for Assisted Passage by persons applying for permanent entry. This includes an obligation to repay the government contribution if leaving Australia within two years.
Although some information is available from statistics of permanent departures (as given in Table 4.1) about the true nature and extent of former settlers departing and settler loss from Australia, Price has established that reliance on such statistics may be grossly misleading. In particular, he points out problems associated with:

1. The number of former settlers who ... appear in the statistics as Residents or Visitors departing;
2. the number of former settlers who ... later come back to Australia;
3. the proportion of these 'second-time settlers' who on second entry call themselves Settlers or Residents ...;
4. the number of persons who arrive as Visitors and then stay permanently ...;
5. the effects of 'statistical lag'. If ... each year sees more and more overseas-born residents ... making temporary trips abroad, and more and more visitors making temporary trips to Australia, the statistics will show a repeated deficit in the Resident categories and a repeated gain in the Visitor categories ...; 
6. the number of 'category-jumpers', as instance visitors who on arrival are put in the long-term visitor category, because they say they will stay over a year, but who leave in less than a year because of illness or trouble at home so then appear in the short-term visitor category.

He therefore considers that, in general, for most birthplaces for most years over the period for which settler statistics have been recorded, better estimates of settler loss - as distinct from settler departures - may be obtained from calculating a so-called 'deficit', i.e. the difference between total net gains and settler arrivals in a given period. This is because temporary movements should cancel themselves out in the long-run and because some former settlers leave permanently without indicating that they are doing so, while others leave saying that they never really planned to settle at all.

and others again are Australian residents intending to make only a short visit overseas but who, in fact, never return. 

According to their deficits, almost all major countries of settler arrivals, as defined in Figure 4.1, sustained settler losses from 1961 to 1981 (Table 4.3). The main exceptions were New Zealand over the entire period and India from 1966 to 1976. The largest deficits were recorded for the U.K. and Eire, especially during 1971-1976 following the high settler arrivals over the 1960s. Southern and north-west European countries from which settlers came in large numbers in the 1950s and/or 1960s also recorded relatively large deficits. The U.S.A.'s deficit was also noteworthy during the early 1970s, after its peak settler arrivals at the turn of that decade, although Germany's and the Netherlands' losses had declined by then, as their permanent arrivals were by then far lower (Figure 4.1).

By 1976-81 the deficits for each country which had sustained earlier losses were much smaller, because of the lower settler arrivals in the early 1970s. New Zealand's 'deficit', in fact a gain rather than a loss over the four intercensal periods, rose significantly with the upturn in settler and other arrivals at that time. India's small gains between 1966 and 1976 turned to a small loss in the late 1970s, Egypt had effectively no settler loss, while Vietnam experienced a small one, despite the inability of settlers from that source to return to their homeland.

Because the deficit relates settler losses to settler arrivals in the same period, it does not provide information on the experience of a cohort of settler arrivals over time. Rather, it measures Australia's ability to hold the settlers it attracts in one period. 'Attract-hold' ratios can therefore be calculated to compare the settler losses of particular ethnic categories at different times.

During 1961-66, the propensity to leave Australia was greatest for those from north-west Europe, as particularly strong economic conditions in their countries of birth drew them. Persons from Italy and even former


28. Deficit in a given period expressed as a proportion of settlers arriving (as stated on passenger cards) in the same period, as defined by Price (1973), loc. cit., pp. 30-31.

29. Ibid., p. 31.

30. See attract-hold ratios in Table 4.3.

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<th>1966-71</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SA deficit^3</td>
<td>Attract-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1000)</td>
<td>hold ratio^4 (%)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>India</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
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<td>('000)</td>
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(Cont.)...
TABLE 4.3 : (Cont.)

n.a. = not available.
0.0 = less than 50.
-  = zero.

1. As defined in Figure 4.1.
2. Settlers arriving as stated on passenger cards.
4. Deficit in a given period expressed as a proportion of settlers arriving (as stated on passenger cards) in the same period.
5. Despite Turkey's classification as in Europe for immigration purposes from the late 1960s, it continues to be counted as part of Asia for official statistical purposes.
6. Not available for full period.

Sources: As for Figure 4.1 and

refugees and other settlers from Poland also had high propensities to leave, compared with the numerically superior losses amongst those born in the U.K. and Eire. However, Poland's losses were inflated because of relatively few settler arrivals after the 1950s. In 1966-71 high proportions from a number of other European countries were also leaving Australia for such reasons as Europe's economic prosperity or because their earnings in Australia would re-establish them very well in their southern European country of origin. At that time, settler loss among the Maltese completely removed any numerical benefits to Australia from settler arrivals.

At the beginning of the 1970s the attract-hold ratios for most birthplaces were particularly low as few settler arrivals coincided with large numbers of potential departures from the peak arrivals at the end of the 1960s. Australia was again least able to hold those from Italy, Greece, the Netherlands and Germany. However, even lower settler arrivals from most of the major source countries in 1976-81 compared with 1971-76 meant that the propensity to leave generally remained high at the end of the 1970s. By contrast, the upturn in settlers arriving from New Zealand caused an increase in its attract-hold ratio, above the level recorded for 1966-71, after previous settler increases.

4.2.4 Total Net Gains

As noted above, data on permanent and other movement categories in use from the late 1950s are not able to handle all statistical eventualities. One way of overcoming deficiencies such as (4) in the previous section is to use data on total migration to gauge the effect of post-war migration on Australia's population structure.

Useful overviews of the net size and composition of total post-war migration streams have been provided in Price's series of bibliographies and digests on Australian immigration. Table 4.4 is based on the data appearing in the Supplement to Number 4 updated to mid-1981. Because data on the
birthplace of migrants were not collected in Australia before 1959, nationality statistics were the primary source of this table until 1961. How Pyne and Price allocated to an ethnic category the 44,000 'stateless' persons arriving between 1947 and 1961 and all those described as having British nationality (despite the creation of Australian and other individual citizenships among British subjects in the late 1940s), is detailed in Bibliography and Digest, Number 2 (1970) of 1971. Although the birthplace statistics used from 1961 contain fewer problems, there were still some categories which the authors chose to give special consideration. Examples are ethnic Polish children born in refugee camps in Germany, ethnic Greeks born in Egypt and Englishmen born in India, each of whose births was attributed, as far as possible, to their real countries of origin. In the present study it seems preferable to accept the complex estimation procedures undertaken by Pyne and Price to prepare their data, rather than re-invent the series over the whole post-war period.

Table 4.4 shows that net migration gains from the U.K. and Eire, and especially England, have at all times comprised substantial proportions of the gains from overseas during the post-war period - as much as half during 1961-66. However, gains from eastern Europe, particularly of Polish refugees, exceeded their numbers in the period to 1951, while those from southern Europe were greater between 1951 and 1961. The net intake from north-west Europe was also sizeable during the 1950s. By the second half of the 1960s, there was some slight revival in numbers from eastern Europe, but both the eastern and southern European totals fell far short of that of the U.K. and Eire at that time. Between 1971 and 1976 the net gains from the U.K. and Eire still consisted of two-fifths of the total overseas. Another one-fifth came from south Asia - students entering temporarily as well as others benefiting from the non-discriminatory policy. By the late 1970s the picture was vastly different. Total net gains from the U.K. and Eire had fallen to one-fifth of those from overseas, while south Asian - including Indo-Chinese - and New Zealand gains had risen to one-quarter each. This trans-Tasman movement can only be accounted for properly under total net gains, as its 'free-flow' nature is most conducive to persons who arrived as visitors remaining as settlers.

TABLE 4.4: TOTAL NET MIGRATION GAINS BY SELECTED BIRTHPLACES: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1981

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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td>England^5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>191.1</td>
<td>212.9</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>69.8</td>
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<td>Scotland</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>24.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ireland^6</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<td>TOTAL U.K. &amp; EIRE</td>
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<td>240.3</td>
<td>225.8</td>
<td>259.7</td>
<td>114.6</td>
<td>93.5</td>
<td>1101.4</td>
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<td>Austria</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
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<td>6.7</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>97.8</td>
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<td>30.7^10</td>
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<td>19.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>64.1^10</td>
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<td>196.2</td>
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<td>29.8</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>272.8</td>
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<td>70.8</td>
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<td>-3.1</td>
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<td>2.2</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
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TABLE 4.4 : (Cont.)

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Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.

n.a. = not available.
e = estimate.
0.0 = less than 50.

1. Because data are not available separately for all countries of birth over each period in the Table, it is not possible to select a level to define major countries of total net migration gains over the post-war period to 1981, as was done for settler arrivals. Instead, those countries of birth considered in Table 5.3 of Chapter 5 to be 'ethnically significant' at at least one post-war census are listed individually for comparability with that Table.

2. Based on nationality statistics 1947-61, as described in the text, and birthplace statistics 1961-81.

(Cont.)...
TABLE 4.4 : (Cont.)

3. Financial years covering these periods, although data for some birthplaces were divided into the earliest two periods other than at mid-1951.

4. Detailed statistics not available until after changes in information collected from overseas passenger cards in 1959.

5. Adjustments made to include Channel Islands and Isle of Man with England and to distribute 'U.K. undefined' and 'British' throughout U.K. and Eire.

6. Consists of Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland and 'Ireland undefined'.

7. Includes adjustments made by Price and Pyne to published figures because of errors in coding some movements in 1979-80 and 1980-81 made by persons born in Austria and Australia.

8. Includes German Democratic Republic and German Federal Republic.


10. Includes Austria.


12. Includes Spain.

13. Total net gains from the Baltic States together (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) were 36,800 in 1947-51 and 600 in 1951-61.

14. 1976-80 only. Included with Other North-West Europe in 1980-81.


16. Includes Czechoslovakia and Latvia.

17. Includes Macau and Taiwan.

18. Includes Singapore.

19. Includes Maldives.


23. Despite Turkey's classification as in Europe for immigration purposes from the late 1960s, it continues to be counted as part of Asia for official statistical purposes.

24. Consists only of Canada and the U.S.A. here.

25. Includes Chile.

26. Consists of Total America less Canada and the U.S.A.


Unpublished estimates by Price, Charles A. and Pyne, Patricia.

A.B.S. (various years), Overseas arrivals and departures tables (microfiche).
The statement by the first Minister for Immigration, Mr Calwell, that one per cent of annual population growth was to come from net migration gains (Chapter 2), also related to total movement. Total net migration yielded close to this rate or even as much as double it to 1970-71, except for the periods of economic downturn in the early 1950s and 1960s. The slump in the early 1970s also caused the rate to fall. Under the Labor Government immediately afterwards, this target was abandoned and the growth rate fell to 0.15 per cent in the financial year 1975-76.

4.2.5 Migration Patterns By Race

Attention has been given above to overseas movements according to birthplace as a major indicator of ethnic diversity in the post-war period. However, until the introduction of the non-discriminatory policy in 1973, the racial origins of immigrants were also regarded with considerable interest. Unfortunately, information on this topic has not been collected from the passenger cards in use from 1958 and the limited data available for the period to 1957 underwent several changes. However, other data on the permanent immigration of non-Europeans and persons of mixed descent were compiled by the Department of Immigration from 1961 to 1972.

The data on overseas movements available to 1957 reflect the severe restrictions on non-European immigration applying in the early post-war years. Non-Europeans consisted of less than 3 per cent of all permanent and long-term arrivals, regardless of the size of the intake in any time span, and less than 4 per cent of total arrivals (Table 4.5). Furthermore, they suffered net losses on temporary movement, causing their total net migration gains to be lower than their permanent and long-term arrivals and generally less than 2 per cent of the total net gain.

Of those non-Europeans permitted entry to Australia, the majority came as temporary entrants - around 60 per cent - although many more were, in fact, permitted to remain indefinitely and even become citizens after satisfying residential requirements. The first half of 1948 and the whole of 1951 recorded exceptions to this pattern, as at this time there were higher proportions of non-Europeans coming as permanent and long-term arrivals - approximately the level for Europeans - around 50 to 60 per cent (Table 4.5). This resulted from early post-war efforts to re-unite families containing non-European

34. Probably also in the intervening periods for which no data were published.
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n.a. = not available.

members (Chapter 2). By far the largest part of non-European movements was by Asians, over 85 per cent of their total arrivals in any year from 1949 to 1957. Many of these were Chinese, as they had been from the nineteenth century (Chapter 2).

The data collected by the Department of Immigration show that few 'distinguished and highly qualified' non-Europeans arrived after the 1956 policy relaxation. However, the 1966 decisions on the entry of 'well qualified' persons caused arrivals to rise consistently to 1971. The fall in 1972 may have indicated that pent-up demand was lessening. Similarly, there was a sharp, short-lived rise in 1967 and 1968 of persons admitted on the basis of family sponsorship, following the 1966 announcement of relaxed family reunion criteria for non-Europeans. When the policy governing the entry of persons of mixed descent was made less severe in 1964, there was again a marked rise in their arrivals until the end of the decade (Table 4.6).

Over the eleven year period to which these data refer, non-Europeans and especially persons of mixed descent added 44,000 to the settler intake. Their annual rate of increase generally exceeded that for total settler arrivals, so that they comprised a mostly increasing share of settler arrivals.

4.3 PROCESSES OF DIVERSIFICATION WITHIN AUSTRALIA

4.3.1 Change To Permanent Resident Status

Although Australian governments have generally planned to increase Australia's population only through the promotion of permanent immigration, they have also permitted various temporary entrants to convert their resident status to permanent after their arrival in Australia. The stages in the relaxation, for example for non-Europeans, and subsequent tightening of the categories eligible to change their status were described in Chapter 2.

Data on change of status applicants and approvals have been maintained by the Department of Immigration and its successors from the late 1960s. Until 1972-73 there was some basic information on the number of non-European applicants approved for change and from 1970-71 the data were recorded according to nationality or citizenship. No system was devised to identify cases applying under the 1976 amnesty, although in aggregate 4,900 were approved in 1975-76, 2,400 in 1976-77 and 100 in 1977-78. Separate details including information on nationality are available for the 13,000 ROSP approvals, although not for individual years. Summaries of accepted cases by race, where available, are therefore provided to 1972-73 and from 1973-74 by regional nationality or
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>July to Dec. 1961</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>1579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>1464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>1627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>2431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>2696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. to June 1972</td>
<td>1179</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6314</td>
<td>7286</td>
<td>13600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: No statistics are available for periods before July 1961.

n.a. = not available.
e = estimate.

Source: Department of Immigration (1972), Achievements in Immigration 1949-1972, unpublished document, Canberra, p. 44.
citizenship in Table 4.7. Nationality/citizenship data were briefer for the earlier period and have been omitted.

After the 1966 reduction in the residence qualifying period from fifteen to five years for non-Europeans, there was an early peak in the number of such persons approved for permanent residence and more non-European than European approvals until 1971-72. From 1973-74 until 1980-81, the largest numbers of approved cases were Asian citizens, especially in the first two years of amnesty processing, when total approvals increased markedly. Former students, temporary residents and visitors from Malaysia, China, Hong Kong and Indonesia, and Vietnamese subsequently granted refugee status in Australia were the most sizeable Asian categories. Approved change of status cases from the U.K. and Eire - mainly temporary residents and visitors - showed a general increase over the period, as did those from north-west and eastern Europe. There were also relatively high numbers from southern Europe, again especially in the first two years of amnesty approvals, although 1976-77 also coincided with high numbers of changes for Portuguese nationals - East Timorese granted refugee status after arriving in Australia. Other large categories converting their status included U.S.A. citizens, Lebanese, Turks and Fijians. Those approved under ROSP were very similar to persons approved according to the general principles of the day, with the addition of visitors from Iran following the civil unrest and war in that country from the late 1970s.

4.3.2 Intermarriage

Intermarriage between different ethnic categories is another particularly important process of population diversification as it provides a direct measure of the degree to which individual categories are intermixing in demographic terms. It may also be used as an indicator of the changes likely to occur within a population due to the fertility of those who intermarry. Furthermore, some information on the nature of accommodation, as defined in Chapter 1, between the core population and other ethnic categories, may be obtained from this process. 35 This is explored further in Chapter 8.

There are a number of problems in measuring the extent and nature of intermarriage in both its demographic and sociological contexts. These include

### Table 4.7: Applications Approved for Permanent Resident Status Following Entry for Temporary Residence: Australia: 1967 to 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Year</th>
<th>Non-European</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>1097</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>2189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Nationality or Citizenship by Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>U.K. &amp; North-west Eire</th>
<th>Southern Europe</th>
<th>Middle East</th>
<th>U.S.A. &amp; Canada</th>
<th>Other America</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Oceania</th>
<th>Stateless &amp; not stated</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-741</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1498</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-762</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>2541</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>4364</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-772</td>
<td>1583</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>2637</td>
<td>1246</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>3792</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-782</td>
<td>1358</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2579</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>1285</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>2116</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>1735</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>2280</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-813</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1153</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROSP cases4</td>
<td>3103</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>4882</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.a. = not available.

1. Approximately.
3. Excludes ROSP cases.
4. Regularisation of Status Program cases. Mostly July 1980 to June 1982, with 5 cases afterwards.

inconsistencies within and between ethnic categories, the difficulties of identifying the population at risk of intermarriage\textsuperscript{36} and the effect on 'ethnic marriage markets' of the high sex ratios in many immigrant categories, causing generally higher intermarriage amongst males than females in both the first and second generations. Social factors also contribute to intermarriage patterns,\textsuperscript{37} with religion being a major barrier or encouragement. Because marriage is largely a function of opportunity, intermarriage should not be regarded as the end state in the ethnic accommodation process, as its significance can vary greatly for different ethnic categories.\textsuperscript{38}

Despite these considerable limitations to gaining a complete picture of intermarriage in Australia, it is still vital to the study of ethnic diversification over the post-war period to examine relevant data. The broadest ethnic categories of concern to this study are Australian and overseas-born brides and bridegrooms. Marriages in which both parties were Australian-born remained the dominant between 1945 and 1980, although their proportion of the total declined from four-fifths to two-thirds. The number and proportion of marriages with other combinations generally increased, although there was a decline for two overseas-born partners from the early 1970s. Of these smaller marriage categories, overseas-born grooms and Australian-born brides were most numerous to the mid-1950s - when newly or recently arrived immigrant males were marrying Australian-born females, probably of British descent - and again from the end of the 1960s. For the latter period, males who immigrated to Australia as children, as well as more recently arrived ones, were marrying females born in Australia,\textsuperscript{39} possibly of post-war immigrant parents of the same origin as themselves. During the intervening years, marriages between two overseas-born persons, often from the same country, were more numerous.\textsuperscript{40} The true intermarriage ratio, A(t),\textsuperscript{41} indicates that after falling in the late 1940s, the proportion of each year's


\textsuperscript{38} Galvin, Judith (1980b), 'Indices of social change in ethnic studies', Australian Geographical Studies 18(2), pp. 155-168.

\textsuperscript{39} Price (1982), op. cit., Volume Two, p. A75.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., Volume One, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{41} The true intermarriage ratio, A(t), comprises all persons intermarrying as a proportion of all persons marrying. Price and Zubrzycki (1962a), loc. cit., p. 67.
marriages which were intermarriages, i.e. those between Australian- and overseas-born partners, generally rose to approach one-quarter by 1980. That is, intermarriage was causing increasing ethnic diversity through a greater demographic mix of the population.

More recently than his 1960s work in this field, Price (et al.) has compiled statistics on 'first and second generation' intermarriages for a range of birthplaces for various periods from World War II. In this case he defines first generation brides and grooms as those born overseas. He defines second generation ones in two ways: those born in Australia with an overseas-born father, and those born in Australia with an overseas-born mother, but prefers to examine those descended through the maternal line as he is concerned with populations whose intermarriage has been low and their in-marriage high. The Australian-born child is less likely to intermarry if his overseas-born parent is his mother rather than his father, as it is more likely that the mother's background will determine the child's cultural upbringing.

The data indicate that females of both first and second generations generally married within their own origin more than the equivalent males did. They also show that all second generation ethnic categories had a higher propensity to marry Australian-born persons and persons from outside their region of origin, for example, outside southern Europe for those of Greek descent, than had first generation persons of the same background.

Various patterns emerge for categories of persons born in, or originating from, individual birthplaces. For example, early in the post-war period in-marriage was highest amongst first generation persons from Greece and Italy - over 90 per cent of marriages for Greek brides and grooms and Italian brides - and higher than for other southern Europeans like the Maltese and Yugoslavs. It lessened over time, particularly for males, but - except for Italian-born males - still remained a greater proportion of all their marriages than those to persons born in Australia or elsewhere. Second generation females of Greek and Italian descent were most inclined to marry first generation males of the same origin, although their brothers most often chose Australian-born brides of at least the third generation. Nevertheless, their second

44. Ibid., p. 105.
generation in-marriage remained high to the end of the 1970s. This was particularly so for Greeks, over half of whom married within the Greek community, the highest proportion of any major category.\footnote{Price, Charles (1982), 'The Second Generation', Department of Demography, The A.N.U., Canberra, mimeo, p. 4.}

In-marriage for first generation Yugoslav males and females increased at the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s because of heightened immigration at that time, especially of single females.\footnote{Price (1982), op. cit., Volume One, p. 101.} Very few first generation females married Australian-born males, although their second generation most frequently did. By contrast, first generation Poles married persons from a range of birthplaces - Australia and elsewhere - because there were relatively few potential partners of their own origin. This intermarriage was especially true of their second generation.\footnote{Ibid., Volume Two, p. A70.} For the Lebanese, there was a further pattern. In-marriage for them remained high over the whole post-war period, at least in part because of the upturn in settlers from the late 1960s and especially in the late 1970s. Their second generation in-marriage was therefore relatively high, especially for females.

Those born in the various countries of the U.K. and Eire and north America had comparatively high propensities to marry the Australian-born and their second generations had even greater ones. First generation tendencies were similar for those from north-west Europe and increased over time, while their second generations also most commonly intermarried. Persons born in Asia were inclined to marry persons born in Australia or their own country, although there is evidence of an upturn in in-marriages over the 1970s as more Asian immigrants arrived and became potential marriage partners. Second generation Asians very largely married Australian-born brides or grooms.

Because so many of those with overseas origins who intermarried in fact married Australian-born persons, this birthplace category in-married less over the post-war years. However, its far greater size compared with every other category ensured that it remained overwhelmingly in-marrying.

4.3.3 Fertility

Trends in nuptial confinements\footnote{Price, Pyne and Baker (1981), loc. cit., pp. 42-43.} of parents of various birthplaces may be examined using the techniques employed in studying intermarriage. An index

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{The characteristics of both parents have been recorded from 1946 only for nuptial confinements.}
\end{itemize}
similar to the true intermarriage ratio used above for parents born in Australia and overseas was found to follow the same broad trends as A(t). However, it increased later, reflecting the time lag between marriage and confinements, and its values remained lower to the end of the 1970s.

Unfortunately, no other available data on fertility include details of the father's ethnic origin, as well as that of the mother. However, Price has prepared and analysed a wealth of data relating to the fertility and issue of the mother. Several of his tables which provide information relevant to the impact of fertility on Australia's ethnic composition are considered below.

The first of these tables refers to all females, as those bearing children in ex-nuptial unions contribute to overall fertility trends as do those within marriage. The table shows, inter alia, that by the mid-1970s the total fertility rate of Australian-born females probably equalled replacement level, while that of the total overseas-born reached it some few years later. At the beginning of the 1970s females born in major countries of overseas settlement were experiencing very high fertility rates, especially those from Lebanon, Turkey and southern Europe (Table 4.8). By the late 1970s, however, fertility was most likely above replacement only for females born in Lebanon, Turkey, elsewhere in Asia, southern Europe and the Netherlands. For those from New Zealand, fertility was particularly low.

The other two of Price's tables examined here relate to the issue of first and second generation mothers from a range of origins and still in their

53. Replacement is achieved when the size of one generation equals the size of the previous one, allowing for mortality before the end of the childbearing period. In Australia replacement level for all females of all birthplaces together was reached in 1976. It corresponded to a total fertility rate of approximately 2.10. A.B.S. (1983), Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly. September 1982 (3101.0), p. 19.
54. See Price (1982), op. cit., Volume One, p. 76 and p. 78.
### TABLE 4.8 : TOTAL FERTILITY RATES FOR ALL FEMALES AGED 15-49 YEARS BORN IN AUSTRALIA AND MAJOR COUNTRIES OF SETTLER ARRIVALS : AUSTRALIA : 1971 TO 1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</th>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1978-79</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. &amp; Eire</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-China</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>5.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>2.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. As defined in Figure 4.1, where data are available.
2. Rates based on the average number of births over the calendar years 1970 to 1972 and the number of females enumerated at the 1971 Census.
3. Rates based on the average number of births over the calendar years 1975 to 1977 (including in some cases an estimate for 1975) and the number of females enumerated at the 1976 Census.
4. Rates based on the number of births in the calendar year 1976 and the number of females at the 1976 Census adjusted for under-enumeration.
5. Rates based on the average number of births over the calendar years 1978 and 1979 and the adjusted 1976 Census number of females projected to mid-1979.
6. England and Scotland were the major birthplaces within the U.K. and Eire.

(Cont.)...
TABLE 4.8 : (Cont.)

7. Vietnam and other individual countries not available.

8. Despite Turkey's classification as in Europe for immigration purposes from the late 1960s, it continues to be counted as part of Asia for official statistical purposes.

first marriage. Price considers that such data provide the best measure of average family size, even though they include children born before as well as after their mothers immigrated, so that the effect of the move on family-building cannot be gauged.

These tables show that in the mid-1970s family size was largest on average for the third and later generations together, 3.4 children, and smallest for all first generation mothers, 3.0 children. This finding differs from that concerning total fertility as it measures childbearing actually accomplished over some time, rather than a hypothetical rate where all age-groups are given equal weight. For mothers from the above individual origins, first generation Lebanese recorded the highest performance as well as rate, with an average family size of 5.0. One-fifth of these mothers had borne at least seven children (Table 4.9). Their second generation family size was, however, considerably lower, perhaps because of greater adoption of Australian norms.

While some other origins also experienced lower family sizes in their second generations, most had higher ones, at least in part because of a reduction between generations in the proportion of mothers with only one child, as among Germans and Yugoslavs. In general, there was an intergenerational convergence on the 'third-plus' generation's family size by mothers with first generation family sizes smaller or larger than the third-plus generation's. However, like the Lebanese mothers, those of Maltese and Dutch origins remained high.

4.3.4 Grant Of Australian Citizenship

Another influence on the composition of Australia's population is the extent to which former immigrants retain their own nationalities or choose to become Australian citizens. Permanent arrivals comprise the major source of persons changing their citizenship, although temporary entrants granted permanent resident status are also eligible to apply for it.

Over the whole post-war period, the U.K. and its Colonies, for example Hong Kong, have together been the most important source of new Australian citizens - 236,200 recorded from January 1945 to June 1981 (Table 4.10). Over four-fifths of these persons adopted their new citizenship during the 1970s, although many were eligible to do so far earlier. It appears that

55. Ibid., p. 75.
56. Ibid., p. 20 and p. 75.
### TABLE 4.9: ISSUE OF MOTHERS IN FIRST MARRIAGES OF FIFTEEN OR MORE YEARS' DURATION BY GENERATIONS ORIGINATING IN MAJOR COUNTRIES OF SETTLER ARRIVALS: AUSTRALIA: 1976 CENSUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN¹</th>
<th>GENERATION</th>
<th>First²</th>
<th>Second³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average Issue</td>
<td>% With One Child</td>
<td>% With 7+ Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. &amp; Eire</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece (&amp; Cyprus)⁴</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain &amp; Portugal</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>4.99</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey⁷</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A. &amp; Canada</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL OVERSEAS</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-Plus⁸</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia⁹</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cont.)...
TABLE 4.9  :  (Cont.)

n.a. = not available.
1. Major individual countries of origin are defined here as those major countries of birth in Figure 4.1 for which data on issue by generation are available.
2. Persons born overseas.
4. First generation refers to Greece only; second generation to Greece and Cyprus.
5. Consists of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.
6. India only.
7. Despite Turkey's classification as in Europe for immigration purposes from the late 1960s, it continues to be counted as part of Asia for official statistical purposes.
9. Excludes respondents the birthplace of whose mother was not stated.

the considerable similarity between the immigrant's way of life in his new and former countries, as well as his rights as a British subject probably until the early 1980s caused relatively few settlers from the U.K. to seek Australian citizenship when first eligible.

Other major sources were outside the Commonwealth and almost all elsewhere in Europe: Italy provided 216,200 citizens, Greece 164,200 and Yugoslavia 126,400, with each country supplying a larger proportion of its post-war settlers than did the U.K. The next most important origins were the Netherlands, Poland, Germany, Lebanon and Hungary (Table 4.10).

In the earliest post-war years the largest numbers of new Australian citizens were southern Europeans, especially Italians, whom Australia was actively seeking both as full-fare and assisted migrants, or were Displaced Persons and other refugees, such as Poles. Those in the second category generally had a greater tendency to become Australian citizens than the others although their motives were not always clear-cut. During the late 1950s grants to former citizens of southern and eastern European countries increased, paralleling trends in arrivals five or more years earlier, while greater numbers of north-west Europeans also became Australian citizens.

By the 1960s the refugee migration from Europe was tapering (Table 4.2), so that citizenship grants to nationals of refugee source countries declined after their peaks during the late 1950s. However, news of failed nationalistic movements or specific events caused temporary upturns. In particular, the increase in arrivals of Hungarians after the 1956 uprising and of Czechs after the 1968 intervention led to corresponding rises in grants after five years' residence. The Yugoslavs too were an important exception: as fewer came as refugees, more arrived as assisted passage migrants. Their citizenship grants were therefore still increasing at the end of the 1970s.

60. Ibid., p. 49.
TABLE 4.10 : PERSONS GRANTED AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP BY SELECTED COUNTRIES OF FORMER CITIZENSHIP : AUSTRALIA : 1945 TO 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY OF FORMER CITIZENSHIP</th>
<th>CALENDAR YEARS&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>FINANCIAL YEARS&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth Countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. and Colonies&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Commonwealth Countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUROPE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMERICA</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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(Cont.)
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>AFRICA</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATELESS</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>230.7</td>
<td>216.2</td>
<td>207.9</td>
<td>359.8</td>
<td>333.8</td>
<td>1421.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.

n.a. = not available.

0.0 = less than 50.

- = zero.

1. Prior to 26 January 1949, aliens who were naturalized became British subjects. With the introduction of the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948, all such persons automatically became Australian citizens.

2. Countries of former citizenship have been selected if they provided over 15,000 Australian citizens between January 1945 and June 1981 and/or their birthplace equivalents were major countries of settler arrivals as defined in Figure 4.1.

3. Commonwealth countries of citizenship are not available by calendar years prior to 1963. Alien countries of citizenship are not available by financial years prior to 1956-57.


5. Included with the U.K. and Colonies prior to 1963.

6. Despite Turkey's classification as in Europe for immigration purposes from the late 1960s, it continues to be counted as part of Asia for official statistical purposes.


There were various patterns for other settlers from Europe. After the high Italian intakes of the 1950s, grants to former Italian nationals remained steady to the mid-1960s, declined and then climbed again following settler increases at the end of the 1960s. Continuing high intakes from Greece led to a peak in citizenship grants in the early 1970s, although settler arrivals had been greater well over five years earlier. Amongst the Dutch and the Germans relatively high numbers of grants took place some years after arrival, perhaps because the economic well-being of their homelands continued to attract them for some time.

Settlers from Asian countries very often sought Australian citizenship as soon as they became eligible. There were grants to former Lebanese citizens throughout the 1970s, as much as a result of the smaller peaks in settler arrivals in the early 1970s, as of the far larger one following the arrival in 1976-77 of those in hardship. Former Chinese nationals saw a marked upturn in grants in 1966-71 after the residential qualifying period was reduced from fifteen to five years, but recorded less than 14,000 grants over the whole post-war period.

Apart from those from the U.K. and Colonies, there were relatively few grants to citizens of Commonwealth countries. Those that were made were most frequently to Indians, especially in 1971-76 following the increase in arrivals over the late 1960s, and to Maltese settlers, particularly in the second half of the 1970s. Grants to New Zealand citizens scarcely rose even at the end of the 1970s. The similarity and proximity of Australia and New Zealand were probably as much the reasons as that many of the recent arrivals were still ineligible to apply for Australian citizenship. Settlers from the U.S.A., although not Commonwealth nationals, exhibited patterns like those of the New Zealanders. However, unlike New Zealanders, for them accepting Australian citizenship meant renouncing that of their homeland.

4.3.5 Inclusion Of Information On Persons Of All Races In Population Censuses

The final process considered here differs from those above. Ethnic diversification of Australia's population through sustained growth of the Aboriginal people had actually taken place from the late 1930s. Yet part of this diversification went largely unnoticed because full-blood persons

were excluded from official estimates of Australia's population at censuses to 1961. Even when they were included in such estimates in the 1966 Census, their characteristics were overlooked because they did not appear in cross-classifications.

The process of repealing Section 127 of the Commonwealth Constitution therefore permitted greater visibility of Aboriginals as part of Australia's population and upgraded their legal status to citizens. Their extra numerical strength, as determined in connection with post-war censuses to 1961, is provided in the next chapter in Table 5.1.

In contrast to this improved coverage of racial origins, the identification only of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in the 1981 Census again restricts the known diversity of the population. In particular, the impact on Australia's racial composition of persons arriving from Asia in the late 1970s cannot be gauged.
5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 examined a number of demographic processes which have directly influenced the size and composition of Australia's population in the period following the Second World War. The present chapter shows how these and other processes, for which flow data are not available, affected population stocks at successive post-war censuses to 1976 and in a few cases to 1981. It describes how Australia's total population diversified in ethnic terms.

5.2 THE COVERAGE OF POST-WAR CENSUSES

Many of the processes examined in Chapter 4 relate to persons who were or had been permanent residents of Australia. The others, however, refer to the population actually located in Australia or moving between Australia and overseas, i.e. the de facto population. It is this population alone for which data on demographic characteristics were released at censuses to 1976, and for which the major part of results from the 1981 Census are to become available.

Other general points need to be made about the nature of Australian census data as they affect the findings given in this chapter. Firstly, all data collected from censuses are only estimates of the population stock at particular times. Invariably, some persons will be missed by the census, causing under-enumeration, and others will mis-state answers or give no response to particular questions. Until the 1971 Census, under-enumeration, as measured by post-enumeration surveys, was considered insufficient to justify changes to census counts of the total population size. However, it increased between the 1971 and 1976 Censuses from 1.350 to 2.709 per cent - although this was no higher than that experienced by comparable countries - before decreasing


to 1.86 per cent between 1976 and 1981. Despite this under-enumeration, the unadjusted totals usually remain when population characteristics are considered, as they are here.

Secondly, in processing the 1976 Census, a sample basis was used except for certain characteristics: age, sex, marital status and birthplaces of Australia, the U.K. and Eire, and 'other', each of which was fully processed. For general purposes, the A.B.S. considers that the huge sample size - in excess of 6.5 million persons - guarantees reliable estimates of the many minority groups encompassed by the census. Full processing was again carried out for the 1981 Census.

Thirdly, as indicated in Chapters 3 and 4, at Australian censuses until and including 1961, full-blood Aboriginals were excluded from all estimates of the total population. However, census collectors still counted the number of full-blood Aboriginals. These estimates may be added to those of the rest of the population to yield a series comparable with later censuses. A further complication also noted above is the exclusion of Aboriginals from official cross-tabulations to the 1966 Census. Again they have been added here, as appropriate, to cross-classified data in 1966, although this has not always been possible where no information is available on the categories into which they might fall.


5. The following sampling scheme was adopted to meet budgetary restrictions and satisfy users' demands:

i Process all schedules from non-private dwellings ... in Australia
ii Process all schedules from private dwellings in the Northern Territory (to provide accurate estimates of the Aboriginal population's characteristics)
iii Process 50% of schedules from private dwellings in all States and the A.C.T. This sample was selected at the Collection District (CD) level by randomly selecting either the first or second private dwelling in the CD, and then systematically taking every second private dwelling after that. All persons within each selected dwelling were included in the sample'.


6. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

Fourthly, because of migration category jumping (Chapter 4), sampling of certain arrivals and departures, delays in registering vital events after their occurrence, differing rates of under-enumeration at censuses and of international movements and vital events, it is not possible to measure intercensal population changes exactly. Broad reasons only are therefore advanced in describing the nature of intercensal population diversification according to ethnic categories.

5.3 TOTAL POPULATION SIZE AT POST-WAR CENSUSES

Table 5.1 shows the various de facto population totals obtained at post-war censuses to 1981, through enumerating the population in scope and including full-blood Aboriginals at each census. At censuses from 1947 to 1961, the total population is described below mostly without full-blood Aboriginals, although the discussion of racial origin includes some reference to them. At the 1966 Census, full-blood Aboriginals are included where possible, as mentioned above.

Over the post-war period 1981, the de facto population of Australia almost doubled (Table 5.1). The largest numerical increases occurred in the seven-year intercensal periods 1947-54 and 1954-61 which coincided with high levels of total net migration gains and increasing levels of natural increase. However, a relatively large increase was also recorded for the five-year period 1966-71 when net migration gains again peaked (Table 4.1) and natural increase was climbing to another high at the beginning of the 1970s. Average rates of growth generally fell over the period from around 2½ per cent per annum immediately after the War to 1 1/5 per cent per annum in the first half of the 1970s, when net migration and natural increase both exhibited low levels. They then increased, as net migration and natural increase rose in the second half of the 1970s and especially in the financial year 1980-81. The addition of full-blood Aboriginals to Australia's earlier post-war population affected these rates only at the end of the 1960s.

5.4 FORMS OF ETHNIC DIVERSIFICATION AT POST-WAR CENSUSES

Chapter 3 described the various items of data collected on ethnic variables at post-war censuses in Australia. This chapter examines the information they are each able to provide on different forms of ethnic

---

TABLE 5.1 : TOTAL ENUMERATED DE FACTO POPULATION : AUSTRALIA : 1947 TO 1981 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enumerated population excl. full-blood Aboriginals to 1966 ('000)</td>
<td>7579.4(^1)</td>
<td>8986.5(^1)</td>
<td>10508.2(^1)</td>
<td>11550.5(^2)</td>
<td>12755.6</td>
<td>13548.5</td>
<td>14576.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercensal population change ('000)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1407.1</td>
<td>1521.7</td>
<td>1042.3</td>
<td>1205.1</td>
<td>792.9</td>
<td>1027.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual intercensal growth rate (%)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumerated population incl. full-blood Aboriginals at each census ('000)</td>
<td>7603.2</td>
<td>9012.9</td>
<td>10544.3</td>
<td>11599.5</td>
<td>12755.6</td>
<td>13548.5</td>
<td>14576.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercensal population change ('000)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1409.7</td>
<td>1531.4</td>
<td>1055.2</td>
<td>1156.1</td>
<td>792.9</td>
<td>1027.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual intercensal growth rate (%)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.a. : not applicable

1. Although estimates were made of the number of full-blood Aboriginals in contact with the census from 1947 to 1961, they were not included in official counts of the population.

2. Although full-blood Aboriginals were counted in the 1966 Census, they were not included in official cross-classifications of the population at that Census.

(Cont)
TABLE 5.1 (Cont.)

diversification. Unfortunately, some types of diversity may be investigated only at the 1976 Census when, for the first time, more than several variables could be studied simultaneously.

5.4.1 Birthplace

As mentioned in Chapter 3, birthplace is often considered to be the single most useful indicator of ethnic origin. It has also been the most informative for Australia over the whole post-war period, so is examined first.

The most basic division of birthplace is between Australia and overseas. The overseas-born expanded their share of Australia's population from 10 to 14 per cent between the 1947 and 1954 Censuses because of high post-war immigration. They increased more slowly to 20 per cent by the 1971 Census, but did not rise any further by 1976 because of lower immigration in the early 1970s. With upturns in net migration, they then grew marginally to 21 per cent by 1981. Those born in the U.K. and Eire hovered between 7 and 9 per cent of the total population between 1947 and 1981, while other Europeans rose from 2 per cent in 1947 to 8 per cent in 1961, then remained between 8 and 9 per cent. The Asian share grew consistently to 3 per cent by 1981, and that of Oceania to 2 per cent, although those of America and Africa increased only to one per cent each. Greatest diversification of the population by birthplace therefore occurred in the early post-war years, principally in the 1947-54 intercensal period.

Among the overseas-born population, the U.K. and Eire-born assumed a declining share to 1961 (Figure 5.1), principally because persons born in other parts of Europe increased at considerably faster rates and even outnumbered them from 1961 to 1971 (Table 5.2). The U.K. and Eire-born were again more numerous from 1976 as departures from some European countries exceeded the smaller number of arrivals in the early 1970s and the mortality levels of longer settled, older persons increased. However, those born in the U.K. and Eire and elsewhere in Europe each comprised around 40 per cent of the total overseas-born population in 1976 and a little less in 1981.

Persons born in Asia increased most rapidly when immigration was promoted in the early post-war years, at the end of the 1960s after various entry policies towards non-Europeans had been relaxed and in the late 1970s with the

9. Assuming that persons who did not state their birthplace were born in Australia, an assumption possibly more accurate than pro-rating them over all countries of birth.

FIGURE 5.1: OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION BY REGIONS OF BIRTH: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1981 CENSUSES

Note: Excludes those born at sea. See also footnotes to Table 5.2.

Sources: As for Table 5.2.
### TABLE 5.2: TOTAL POPULATION BY REGIONS OF BIRTH: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1981 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>6835.2</td>
<td>7700.1</td>
<td>8729.4</td>
<td>9468.6</td>
<td>10176.3</td>
<td>10829.6</td>
<td>11572.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. &amp; Eire</td>
<td>541.3</td>
<td>664.2</td>
<td>755.4</td>
<td>908.7</td>
<td>1088.2</td>
<td>1117.6</td>
<td>1110.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>110.3</td>
<td>490.9</td>
<td>840.8</td>
<td>984.8</td>
<td>1108.3</td>
<td>1093.2</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Europe</td>
<td>651.6</td>
<td>1155.1</td>
<td>1596.2</td>
<td>1993.5</td>
<td>2196.5</td>
<td>2210.8</td>
<td>2232.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>101.4</td>
<td>167.2</td>
<td>240.6</td>
<td>371.6</td>
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<td>America</td>
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<td>14.5</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>96.2</td>
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<td>Africa</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>115.8</td>
<td>212.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At sea</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Overseas-born</td>
<td>744.2</td>
<td>1286.5</td>
<td>1778.8</td>
<td>2130.9</td>
<td>2579.3</td>
<td>2718.8</td>
<td>3003.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL POPULATION</td>
<td>7579.4</td>
<td>8986.5</td>
<td>10508.2</td>
<td>11599.5</td>
<td>12755.6</td>
<td>13548.4</td>
<td>14576.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.a. = not applicable
1. Birthplaces grouped as in Appendix Table.
2. Excludes full-blood Aboriginals in censuses to 1961.
3. Includes 178,600 persons who did not state their birthplace.

Sources:
arrival of Indo-Chinese refugees (Table 5.2). Their share of the overseas-born population therefore grew to 12 per cent by 1981 (Figure 5.1). Those from America and Africa also grew at above average rates, but each still formed only 3 per cent of the overseas-born population in 1981. For Oceania, the story was slightly different. From a far larger base than the Asian-born in 1947 - 7 per cent - their comparatively low growth rates caused them to assume declining proportions of the overseas-born until 1966. These were then arrested, particularly with the upturn in arrivals from New Zealand at the end of the 1970s, so that Oceania again comprised 7 per cent in 1981.

Individual overseas countries of birth are defined here as ethnically significant at censuses at which they comprised at least one per mille (or 0.1 per cent) of Australia's total population. Relatively few countries were significant (Table 5.3), even at more recent censuses, while other countries' smaller proportions of the population may be deduced from the Appendix Table.

According to the above definition, Australia's population was not homogeneous in 1947, but owed its diversity to a handful of overseas countries of birth (Table 5.3) of which England, and to a less extent Scotland, were the most significant and so reinforced Australia's British heritage. Persons born in Ireland and New Zealand - again both British Isles or British-derived - and Italy, as mentioned in Chapter 2, comprised lesser shares. By 1954, active immigration policies caused England and Scotland to become slightly more prominent, while Italy's share had risen close to that of Scotland. Germany, Poland and the Netherlands had also become more significant as migrants arrived under formal inter-country Agreements and Displaced Persons schemes.

By 1961 the continuing high migrant intakes from continental Europe caused England's and Scotland's shares to fall slightly. Italy was by then comprising a greater proportion of the total population than was Scotland, second only to England amongst overseas countries of birth. Germany and the Netherlands remained the next most sizeable birthplaces. However, Poland and other sources of Displaced Persons became less important as their arrivals dwindled. An upswing in settlers from Greece during the 1950s therefore caused persons from that country to form a greater share of Australia's population than did Poles by 1961. Other sources in Europe such as Yugoslavia and Malta were also becoming more prominent, while Hungary's increased proportion was a direct effect of arrivals after the 1956 uprising and declined thereafter.

During the early 1960s the proportions born in England and Scotland again rose, while the Italian-born sustained a smaller increase than previously,
### Table 5.3: Total Population by Ethnically Significant Countries of Birth: Australia: 1947 to 1981 Censuses

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</table>

TOTAL 1000.0 1000.0 1000.0 1000.0 1000.0 1000.0 1000.0
TOTAL NO. ('000) 7579.4 8986.5 10508.2 11599.5 12755.6 13548.4 14576.3

... : not ethnically significant.

1. Countries are defined here as ethnically significant at censuses at which they comprised at least one per mille (or 0.1 per cent) of Australia's population.

2. Countries are defined as in Appendix Table.

3. Excludes full-blood Aboriginals in censuses to 1961. Full-blood Aboriginals are all assumed to have been born in Australia in 1966.

4. Includes persons who did not state their birthplace.

5. Despite Turkey's classification as part of Europe for immigration purposes from the late 1960s, it continues to be counted as part of Asia for official statistical purposes.

6. Includes all ethnically insignificant countries at each census.

Sources: As for Table 5.2.
although remaining ahead of the Scottish-born. By 1966 the Greek-born almost equaled those from Scotland, while Yugoslavia's and Malta's shares continued to rise. On the other hand, low total net migration gains and even losses caused the German- and Dutch-born shares to fall, as many left to participate in the economic boom of their homelands (Chapters 2 and 4).

High total net migration gains from England at the end of the 1960s caused the share of population from that source to rise further by 1971. The Italian-born population's growth, however, continued to slow compared with earlier intercensal periods, so that its proportion fell, although it still maintained its relative position. The Greek-born outranked the Scottish-born by this time, while the increased intakes of Yugoslavs at the end of the 1960s caused them to outweigh the still declining Germans and Dutch. As well, upturns in arrivals from New Zealand and Ireland caused their shares to increase between 1966 and 1971. At this time also, the total net gains from other smaller source countries began to assume greater roles as Australia looked further than before for immigrants regarded as suitable.

The lower settler arrivals of the early 1970s, greater settler losses and total net migration losses for various major birthplaces (Table 4.4) caused some consolidation by 1976 of the trends to 1971. Many of the major source countries from the earlier post-war years recorded smaller shares of Australia's population in 1976 than 1971. By contrast, the growing contributions noted in 1971 among more recent or increasing source countries, while generally far lower than those of the earlier major sources, rose further by 1976.

By 1981 the trends of the 1970s were even more firmly established, as virtually all of the ethnically significant countries in Europe, except Poland and the U.S.S.R., declined in relative importance after 1976. (Latvia and the Ukraine were no longer significant). Persons born in some of these countries did show numerical increases at this time, for example England, Yugoslavia, Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland, Poland and Malta, although those from other major ones decreased in size: Greece and Italy, because of total net migration losses and low gains, respectively, as settler losses continued (Table 4.3). Yugoslavia therefore came to outrank Greece. Significant countries outside Europe were widespread and continued to increase in number. New Zealand was far and away the most important of these and, in fact, at this time ranked only behind England and Italy, ahead of Scotland, Yugoslavia and Greece.
5.4.2 Period Of Residence Of The Overseas-born

Data on period of residence in Australia do not, in themselves, define ethnic origin. Rather, they give some indication of the possible strength of ties to the country of origin or to Australia of the overseas-born. When used in conjunction with birthplace data, they are able to show which links individual birthplace categories are more likely to feel. These uses of the data complement those described in Chapter 3, in which persons in ethnic categories of shorter or longer periods of residence are likely to require greater or less assistance in settling into Australia or be eligible for certain benefits.

Table 5.4 describes the total overseas-born population from 1947 to 1966 and overseas-born residents in 1971 and 1976. It shows that immediately after World War II 85 per cent of the population born outside Australia had been resident here for over 15 years, so presumably few of them had no links with Australia. Within seven years this picture had changed markedly. By 1954 a little over half the overseas-born population had arrived in the large post-war migration intakes. The effects of continuing high net migration gains meant relatively even period of residence distributions over the post-war period to 1966 and declining proportions resident for longer periods. The even higher net migration gains at the end of the 1960s meant an upturn by 1971 in the proportion of the total overseas-born resident only since the previous census date. By contrast, lower net gains during the early 1970s caused the 1976 proportion resident for less than five years to be smaller than that from the peak migration years at the end of the 1960s. In general, post-war immigration meant that by 1976, only 8 per cent born overseas had been resident from the Second World War or earlier.

The information available on period of residence for the total population for a number of overseas birthplaces shows the rapid decline from the early post-war years in the dominance of pre-war settlers from the U.K. and Eire. However, only from 1971 were British persons resident since the previous census date more numerous than those from before 1947. The large influx of settlers from Italy during the 1954-61 intercensal period stood out at all later censuses, while the increasing number of immigrants from outside Europe from the late 1960s caused them to be prominent from 1971.

5.4.3 Race

Despite the considerable attention given to including appropriate questions on race in Australian censuses noted in Chapter 3, race has not been a major
TABLE 5.4: OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION1 BY PERIOD OF RESIDENCE: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENSUS</th>
<th>DATE OF ARRIVAL (1 JULY TO 30 JUNE)</th>
<th>AND PERIOD OF RESIDENCE (YEARS)</th>
<th>Total No. (excl. not stated) ('000)</th>
<th>Total No. (incl. not stated) ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From previous census date</td>
<td>Prior to previous census date</td>
<td>(per cent)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1932-47</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>744.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From previous census date</td>
<td>Prior to previous census date</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1947-54</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>1286.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From beginning post-war period (1-7-47)</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>1778.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
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<td>52.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
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<td>1961-66</td>
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<td>1971</td>
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<td>15.1</td>
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<tr>
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1. Includes visitors to Australia to 1966 Census; excludes visitors in 1971 and 1976 Censuses.
2. Although census date was 1933 rather than 1932, data are available only for period of residence 0-14 years, rather than 0-13.
3. 30-6-47 was first post-war census date.
4. Excluding a high proportion of 'not stated' cases - 36.5 per cent of persons in scope, compared with only 2.9 per cent in 1947, 1.7 per cent in 1954, 2.1 per cent in 1961, 2.2 per cent in 1966 and 6.5 per cent in 1971.

Sources:
- A.B.S., 1976 Census: Population and Dwellings; Summary Tables (2417.0), p. 3.
indicator of ethnic variation in Australia. Even after the relaxed entry policies of the late 1960s, non-Europeans numbered less than 2 per cent of Australia's population by 1971 and under 3 per cent in 1976 (Table 5.5). Nevertheless, information on racial origin has had important uses in the post-war period. It identifies Aboriginals and distinguishes them from the descendants of long-established or more recent non-European settlers, on the one hand, and from other persons born in Australia, on the other. It also clarifies the nature of the population born in countries outside Europe.

When enumerated full-blood Aboriginals are included in estimates of the population by racial origin at each post-war census to 1981, it may be seen (Table 5.6) that the Aboriginal population increased over each intercensal period. However, between 1976 and 1981 its recorded growth was only marginal from 144,400 to 144,700. As noted in Chapter 3, this was not necessarily due to reduced growth rates, but probably to overstated Aboriginality in 1976. The Aboriginal population may therefore not have, in fact, experienced slower growth to 1981.

Although uncertainty surrounds the official estimate of the Aboriginal population in 1976, these racial origin data are examined further without adjustment. According to them, Aboriginals formed the largest non-European racial origin at censuses to 1976 when comparison with a range of other origins was possible. Despite their growing numbers, their share of the non-European population declined from close to two-thirds in 1947 to approximately two-fifths in 1976. Persons of Chinese racial origin formed the next most significant category, but their share of the non-European population increased only to 1961. After that date other non-Europeans assumed increasing proportions and by 1976 made up just over half (Figure 5.2).

The dominance amongst the total population of persons of European racial origin born in Australia declined somewhat over the post-war period, while there were increases in the share of overseas-born Europeans during the high immigration years to 1971. Aboriginals - almost all Australian-born - were

11. Assuming that persons who did not state their racial origin in 1976 were Europeans who did not see the need to identify themselves as other than Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders.

TABLE 5.5 : TOTAL POPULATION BY BROAD RACIAL CATEGORIES : AUSTRALIA : 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>No. ('000)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No. ('000)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No. ('000)</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7524.1</td>
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<td>8921.7</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>10418.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-European</td>
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<td>27.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>41.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Half-caste</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>8986.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>10508.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>full-blood</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginals to 1966</td>
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| European              | 7524.1 | 99.0   | 8921.7 | 99.0   | 10418.8 | 98.8   | 11453.4 | 98.7   | 12542.0 | 98.3   | 12037.2 | 88.8   |
| Non-European          | 45.4   | 0.6    | 53.8   | 0.6    | 77.7    | 0.7    | 146.1   | 1.3    | 213.7   | 1.7    | 370.4   | 2.7    |
| Half-caste            | 33.7   | 0.4    | 37.4   | 0.4    | 47.8    | 0.5    | n.a.    | n.a.   | n.a.    | n.a.   | n.a.    | n.a.   |
| Not stated            | n.a.   | n.a.   | n.a.   | n.a.   | n.a.    | n.a.   | n.a.    | n.a.   | n.a.    | n.a.   | 1140.9  | 8.4    |
| TOTAL incl.           | 7603.2 | 100.0  | 9012.9 | 100.0  | 10544.3 | 100.0  | 11599.5 | 100.0  | 12755.6 | 100.0  | 13548.4 | 100.0  |
| full-blood            |        |        |        |        |         |        |         |        |         |        |         |        |
| Aboriginals at each   |        |        |        |        |         |        |         |        |         |        |         |        |
| census                |        |        |        |        |         |        |         |        |         |        |         |        |

Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.

n.a. = not applicable/not available.

1. Although full-blood Aboriginals were counted in the 1966 Census, they were not included in official cross-classifications of the population at that census.

2. Includes enumerated full-blood Aboriginals not included with the non-European racial origin category above, but excludes those out of contact with the census who were estimated to number about 13,000 in 1954 and about 3,900 in 1961.

(Cont.)...
TABLE 5.5 (Cont.)

Sources:  
### TABLE 5.6: TOTAL POPULATION BY DETAILED RACIAL ORIGINS: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1981 CENSUSES

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<td>No. ('000)</td>
<td>O/00</td>
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<td>8921.7</td>
<td>989.9</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
<td>23.6</td>
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<td>Indian, Pakistani</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islander³</td>
<td>5.8⁴</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian, Lebanese</td>
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<td>Torres Strait Islander</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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<td>Total Non-European</td>
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<td>125.6²</td>
<td>11.9²</td>
<td>146.2²</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7603.2²</td>
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<td>9012.9²</td>
<td>1000.0</td>
<td>10544.3²</td>
<td>1000.0</td>
<td>11599.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.

n.a. = not available/not applicable.

(Cont.)
TABLE 5.6 (Cont.)

1. European, Non-European and half-caste racial origins of over 3,000 at any census from 1947 to 1966 when a wide range of individual racial origins was identified in census results.

2. Includes enumerated full-blood Aboriginals: 23,900 in 1947, 26,400 in 1954, 36,100 in 1961 and estimated here as 49,000 in 1966; but excludes those out of contact with the census who were estimated to number about 13,000 in 1954 and 3,900 in 1961.

3. Excludes Fijians, Maoris, Papuans, New Guineans, but includes Pacific Islanders, Polynesians and South Sea Islanders, so described.

4. Includes Torres Strait Islanders.

5. Included with Pacific Islanders.

Sources: As for Table 5.5 and

FIGURE 5.2 : NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION BY DETAILED RACIAL ORIGINS :
AUSTRALIA : 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

('000) 79.1 91.2 125.6 146.2 213.7 370.4

Note: See footnotes to Table 5.6.
Sources: As for Table 5.5.
the next largest category, followed by the Chinese, the majority of whom were overseas-born. The descendants of Chinese settlers from the mid-nineteenth century formed the major part of the Chinese racial category in Australia only in 1947. Similarly, persons of Indian/Pakistani, Japanese and Syrian/Lebanese racial origins were recorded throughout the period for which data are available as mainly born outside Australia, although there were also some descendants of earlier settlers. By contrast, Pacific Islanders who were descended from the Kanakas, were identified as being more numerous than newcomers at all censuses except 1976.  

Within what might otherwise be the statistically homogeneous category of persons born in Australia, those of European racial origin predominated, with Aboriginals being the next most significant, albeit far smaller, category. The Chinese and Torres Strait Islanders followed, with the Islanders exceeding the Chinese in 1971 and 1976. The growing proportion of persons of all other races was an important factor in diversification by non-Europeans born in Australia. This took place especially over the 1970s as children were born to immigrants arriving from the late 1960s.

Among the population in Australia born in non-European countries of note, Chinese persons from China outnumbered Europeans by around 3 to 1 in 1947, as they included long-term residents from the mining days. The ratio then declined from 1954 as immigration restrictions were enforced, until by 1966 Europeans were more numerous. In 1976 the trend was reversed, because of easier Asian immigration. By contrast, Europeans born in the Indian sub-continent outnumbered Indians and Pakistanis and other non-Europeans over the whole post-war period, even though the total non-European population increased. There were, however, shifts in the proportions of those who were of Lebanese/Syrian, other non-European or European origins among those born in Lebanon. Some change of identity over the 1970s may have complicated these trends. In summary, as was found earlier in the century (Chapter 3), Europeans born in Asia continued to outnumber non-Europeans over the post-war period. Similarly, Europeans born in Oceania - mostly in New Zealand - exceeded non-Europeans. These findings demonstrate that data on racial origin are an important supplement to those on birthplace in understanding the contribution of immigrants from outside Europe to Australia's population structure.

13. See also ibid., pp. A49-A50.
14. If not in 1961 for which data are not available.
5.4.4 Birthplace Of Parents

Data on birthplace are also not able to describe the part played in ethnic diversification by those elements of the population who have been settled in Australia for more than one generation. Because questions on the birthplaces of respondents' parents have been asked in post-war censuses only from 1971, estimates of diversity according to this important variable are not available for the larger part of the post-war period to date when ethnic composition was changing most rapidly. In fact, over the first half of the 1970s the total population showed no real change in diversity as 61 per cent of the population had both parents born in Australia in 1971, compared with 60 per cent in 1976 if those who did not state the birthplace of one or both of their parents are included and 62 per cent if these respondents are excluded. This lack of diversification occurred because of the decline in immigration during the early 1970s and the maturing of those Australian-born children of persons who came to Australia in the early post-war period, so that their children, in turn, had Australian-born parents. In 1971, 11 per cent had one parent born overseas - 7 per cent father and 4 per cent mother. The remaining 29 per cent had both parents born overseas. By 1976 there was scarcely any change in the proportion with at least one parent overseas-born.

At the 1971 and 1976 Censuses, the largest population categories were those who had both parents born in Australia or one of the countries of longer and generally continuous immigrant settlement in Australia, such as the U.K. and Eire, Italy and Germany, or those who had one parent born in the U.K. and Eire and the other in Australia. However, these categories assumed smaller proportions of the total population at the later census as persons whose parents were both from birthplaces of generally shorter settlement, such as Greece and Cyprus, Malta and Asia, became more numerous (Table 5.7). For all the above overseas birthplaces except the U.K. and Eire, there was an upturn in the proportions over the early 1970s who had one parent born overseas and one in Australia, because nuptial confinements to one overseas-born and one Australian-born parent increased as a proportion of all nuptial confinements (Chapter 4). As mentioned above, higher proportions had their father only rather than their mother born outside Australia.

16. In 1971 persons who did not state the birthplace of one or both of their parents were included with those whose parents were born in 'other' birthplaces. See Table 5.7.

17. Asia was defined by the A.B.S. to exclude Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon and Israel in 1971, but to exclude only Cyprus and Lebanon in 1976.
### TABLE 5.7: TOTAL POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS: AUSTRALIA: 1971 AND 1976 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER</th>
<th>AUSTRALIA</th>
<th>U.K. &amp; Eire</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Greece &amp; Cyprus</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Malta</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
<th>Yugoslavia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
<th>Other Eastern Europe</th>
<th>Asia (excl. Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon &amp; Israel)</th>
<th>Other &amp; not stated</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. ('000)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>642.6</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
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<td>161.3</td>
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<td>Israel)</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
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<td>12.1</td>
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<td>12.8</td>
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<td>133.7</td>
<td>710.7</td>
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(Cont.)...
### TABLE 5.7 (Cont.)

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<th>U.K. &amp; Eire</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Greece &amp; Cyprus</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Malta</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
<th>Yugoslavia incl. Lebanon</th>
<th>Other Europe (n.e.i.)</th>
<th>Asia (n.e.i.)</th>
<th>Other Countries</th>
<th>Not Stated</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Australia</strong></td>
<td>597.5</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>637.0</td>
<td>8629.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.K. &amp; Eire</strong></td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>102.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>151.3</td>
<td>2049.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italy</strong></td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>502.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Greece &amp; Cyprus</strong></td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>288.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Germany</strong></td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>160.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Malta</strong></td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Netherlands</strong></td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>166.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yugoslavia</strong></td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>205.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Europe incl. Lebanon</strong></td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>499.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia (n.e.i.)</strong></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>215.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Countries</strong></td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>294.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not Stated</strong></td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>440.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>667.3</td>
<td>134.3</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>1000.0</td>
<td>13548.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL NO. ('000)</strong></td>
<td>9041.2</td>
<td>1819.2</td>
<td>452.4</td>
<td>277.3</td>
<td>159.4</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>149.7</td>
<td>187.0</td>
<td>433.1</td>
<td>211.1</td>
<td>285.0</td>
<td>441.1</td>
<td>13548.4</td>
<td>13548.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*n.e.i.* = not elsewhere included.

0.0 = less than 0.05 per mille.

Data from these two censuses may also be used to categorise the population more simply into persons with different parentages. This is performed here excluding respondents at the 1976 Census who did not state the birthplace of both parents, since information about their ethnic origin is incomplete. Because this thesis is concerned with the effects of various demographic processes on population diversity, the approach adopted here is that which allows a number of parentage categories: Australian, mixed and overseas. All persons with both parents born in Australia are classified as having Australian parentage. According to this definition, these persons comprised 61 per cent of the total population in 1971 and 62 per cent in 1976 and included the small number of persons who were born overseas of two Australian-born parents - in the main, children born while their parents were temporarily overseas. Persons with one parent born overseas and one in Australia are of mixed parentage. Those with only father born overseas, regardless of their own birthplace, formed 7 per cent of Australia's population at each of the 1971 and 1976 Censuses, while those with only mother born overseas made up 4 per cent at both dates. For each of these sub-populations the vast majority were themselves Australian-born. Persons with both parents overseas-born comprise the remaining category of those with overseas parentage. They formed 29 per cent of the population in 1971 and 27 per cent in 1976. Those with at least one parent born outside Australia, i.e. of overseas or mixed parentage, did not therefore cause ethnic diversification in the early 1970s as they constituted 39 per cent of the total population in 1971 and 38 per cent in 1976.

It is also possible to sub-divide the total population of overseas and mixed parentages into individual parentages, assuming that only one parent's birthplace indicates ethnic origin. Because more Australian-born persons had only their father (rather than only their mother) born outside Australia, it is assumed here that origin is determined primarily by the father's birthplace, regardless of the birthplace of the individual. This follows the practice of Hutchinson in his major study of the U.S. foreign stock\(^{18}\) and differs from that of Price above (see Chapter 4) who was most concerned with categories having low levels of intermarriage.\(^{19}\) However, for the cases in which only the


mother was born overseas, her birthplace is used to indicate origin in the current study.\textsuperscript{20}

It is not possible to quantify precisely the changes to population composition according to individual parentages because of the respondents who did not state their parents' birthplaces and because the birthplaces of parents coded at the two censuses were not identical.\textsuperscript{21} However, when the 'not stated' cases are excluded, it may be seen (Table 5.8) that the proportion of the total population with European parentage (for whom data are available at both censuses) changed little, because immigration peaks and troughs were matched by similar trends in births. The main exception was a slight shift away from the long-established U.K. and Eire parentage category, as over time more persons of this origin were Australian-born and so did not contribute to this category. As well, there was an increase in those of Yugoslav origin due to recent high immigration. However, all these European parentage categories, including the U.K. and Eire, showed minor proportional increases as part of the population of overseas and mixed parentages, as this declined in absolute size.

The population of overseas and mixed parentages may be divided into two further sub-categories: persons born overseas of at least one overseas-born parent - \textit{first generation Australians} - and persons born in Australia of one or both parents overseas-born - \textit{second generation Australians}. In keeping with these terms, persons of Australian parentage are here called alternatively (and equivalently) \textit{third-plus generation Australians}.\textsuperscript{22} Table 5.9 indicates that at both censuses first generation Australians slightly outnumbered second generation ones, although the third-plus generation exceeded their combined total. It also shows that over the early 1970s the shift to the Australian or third-plus generation noted in earlier tables was caused by absolute and proportional declines in the size of the second generation. The reason for this is explored below.

It is also possible to classify the overseas and mixed parentage category into the first and second generations of the various individual origins. For example, first generation Italians consist of all persons born anywhere overseas

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} This assumption takes no account of the commonly accepted view that the mother's influence, and presumably origin, is greater on the children than the father's, as noted in Chapter 4.
\item \textsuperscript{21} See Table 5.7.
\item \textsuperscript{22} The use of these terms differs from that of Price (1982), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 105, referred to in Chapter 4.
\end{itemize}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>TABLE 5.8 : TOTAL POPULATION BY PARENTAGE : AUSTRALIA : 1971 AND 1976 CENSUSES</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENSUS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARENTAGE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Australian</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overseas and Mixed</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. and Eire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek and Cypriot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Eastern European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European incl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian (n.e.i.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian (excl. Cypriot, Syrian, Lebanese )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Israeli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other and not stated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL OVERSEAS AND MIXED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NO. ('000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.a. = not applicable/not available. n.e.i. = not elsewhere included.

¹. Excludes respondents the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.
Sources : As for Table 5.7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERATION</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th></th>
<th>1976</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. ('000)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No. ('000)</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First^1</td>
<td>2553.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>2595.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second^2</td>
<td>2477.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>2342.8</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First &amp; Second</td>
<td>5031.5</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>4937.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-Plus^3</td>
<td>7724.2</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>8094.8</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12755.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>13032.6^4</td>
<td>100.0^4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Persons born overseas with at least one overseas-born parent.
2. Persons born in Australia with at least one overseas-born parent.
3. All persons with both parents Australian-born.
4. Excludes respondents the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.

Sources: As for Table 5.7.
with father born in Italy, or with father born in Australia and mother in Italy. Second generation Italians comprise all persons born in Australia with the equivalent birthplaces of parents.

Table 5.10 shows that there were only minor parts played in total population diversity by the second generations of parentage categories whose first generations were themselves relatively small, for example the Maltese, or whose members had been settling in Australia in sizeable or significantly increasing numbers only in the more recent years of the post-war period, such as Asians and Yugoslavs. The U.K. and Eire, Italy, Germany and other countries from which immigrants had come in larger numbers over a longer period, provided relatively higher proportions of second generation persons, reflecting their greater opportunities for childbearing after arriving in Australia. This finding is similar to that of Hutchinson in his study of the U.S.A. between 1850 and 1950, in which he summed up the proportions in each generation for each origin as being more directly related to the period of residence and the age of the ethnic category, than to relative fertility.23

In fact, with the lengthening period of post-war immigration between 1971 and 1976 there was an increase in the proportion in the second generation of all but one origin (for which directly comparable data are available). The exceptional category was the U.K. and Eire. Although its second generation formed over half its total even in 1971 and continued to do so in 1976, these persons declined in absolute numbers between 1971 and 1976. A major factor in this decline appears to be the particularly aged population structure of this second generation - median age of 36.4 years in 1976 - compared with other categories (see Table 7.5) and hence some population loss through mortality at higher ages.

Because the U.K. and Eire category comprised close to half the population of overseas and mixed parentages (Table 5.8), its second generation reduction was a major cause of the total second generation decline recorded in Table 5.9. However, the large number in 1976 of those born in Australia who did not state the birthplace of both their parents - 425,900, may also have contributed to this reduction, perhaps even producing a misleading finding of a decline. Despite this complication, it still appears most reasonable to exclude persons for whom birthplace of parents data are incomplete in this and later chapters.

TABLE 5.10 : TOTAL POPULATION BY PARENTAGE AND GENERATION : AUSTRALIA : 1971 AND 1976 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parentage</th>
<th>First Census</th>
<th>Second Census</th>
<th>First &amp; Second Plus Census</th>
<th>Third Census</th>
<th>TOTAL Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>605.5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>621.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas &amp; Mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(per mille)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. and Eire</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>101.7</td>
<td>187.5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>183.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek and Cypriot</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltese</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Eastern</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European incl.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian (excl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot, Syrian,</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanese and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israeli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other and not</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL OVERSEAS AND MIXED</td>
<td>200.2</td>
<td>194.3</td>
<td>394.5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>378.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>200.2</td>
<td>194.3</td>
<td>394.5</td>
<td>605.5</td>
<td>1000.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NO. ('000)</td>
<td>2553.6</td>
<td>2477.9</td>
<td>5031.5</td>
<td>7724.2</td>
<td>13032.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note : Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.

n.a. = not applicable/not available.
n.e.i. = not elsewhere included.
1. Excludes respondents the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.

Sources : As for Table 5.7.
Although data on birthplace of parents extend significantly the information available on ethnic diversity within Australia's population, persons of Australian parentage remain a large undifferentiated part of the population. Attempts to sub-divide this category further are, however, possible at the 1976 Census using data drawn from matrix tapes containing different combinations of ethnic variables. These are undertaken later in this chapter after consideration of religion, language and allegiance.

5.4.5 Religion

As noted in Chapter 3, information on religion may be used to identify certain ethnic origins. This may be by itself, for example Jewishness, or in conjunction with other variables. The Catholic religion may be the only means of noting that a significant proportion of the Australian-born at earlier post-war census and even of the third-plus generation in 1971 and 1976 was of Irish rather than other British descent. Similarly, the Lutheran religion generally denotes German or less frequently Scandinavian origin. Furthermore, religion and language data may be used together to precisify origins of persons born in Mediterranean countries such as Yugoslavia.

Data on religion by itself show that over the post-war period there was a general increase to 1971 in the number of persons claiming adherence to the long-established western Christian denominations and to Judaism, but a fall in the number of their followers in 1976. This was not so much due to increases in the early 1970s in the number of persons identifying as Orthodox Christians, members of smaller Christian sects or as non-Christians other than Jews. Rather it was due to changes in the non-response rate caused by variations between 1966 and 1976 to the instructions accompanying the census question (Chapter 3) and to an upturn in the number and proportion claiming no religion. From around 10 or 11 per cent of the total population of Australia without a religion or not stating it between 1947 and 1966, this proportion jumped to 13 per cent in 1971 and to 20 per cent in 1976 (Figure 5.3).24

Despite these changes over the 1970s, the largest part of Australia's population continued to report itself as Christian, although the proportion

24. These high proportions may distort estimates of adherents to various denominations, especially smaller ones. The analysis here, however, is restricted to census results, rather than accounting for persons contained in the 'not stated' category. For details of such persons, refer to Price and Pyne (1980), loc. cit., pp. A45-A46.
FIGURE 5.3: TOTAL POPULATION BY RELIGIONS: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES

CENSUS


100

90

80

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

0

('000) 7579.4 8986.5 10508.2 11550.5 12755.6 13548.4

Note: Excludes full-blood Aboriginals in censuses to 1966.

Sources: See following page.

(Cont.)...
FIGURE 5.3 : (Cont.)


fell from close to 90 per cent between 1947 and 1966 to 79 per cent in 1976. Non-Christians rose steadily in number and as a proportion of the population, but even in 1976 they comprised only one per cent of the total. Among the Christian denominations, Church of England or Anglican remained the dominant throughout the post-war period, reflecting the origins of a significant part of the population in 1947 and of a substantial proportion of settlers after that date. However, these adherents fell from 39 per cent of the population in 1947 to 28 per cent in 1976, as the effects of the religious denominations of other post-war immigrants began to be felt. In 1947 all Catholics, whether calling themselves Roman or otherwise, comprised approximately half the share of Anglicans, largely due to the presence of persons of Irish descent although these were by no means exclusively Catholic. As settlers arrived from countries which are mostly Catholic, like Italy and Malta, as well as from other parts of Europe, the total number of Catholics rose almost to the Anglican level by 1976.

The next most sizeable Christian denominations were far smaller. Methodists and Presbyterians - both denominations largely of British stock - showed numerical peaks in 1966, but declined as proportions of Australia's population throughout the post-war period. Other Christian denominations were smaller still, but each provided some diversity. In particular, the growing Lutheran and especially Orthodox religions reflected the increasing variation in birthplaces of post-war settlers.

Data on non-Christian adherents show that persons identifying as Hebrews were the largest non-Christian denomination in Australia between 1947 and 1976. However, in 1976 all other non-Christian denominations together were more numerous for the first time, reflecting the new sources of settlers during the early 1970s, although, even at that time they comprised only 0.5 per cent of Australia's population.

From at least 1954, when data on birthplace by religion first became available, Anglicans born in Australia comprised the major religious category, although they were a declining proportion of the total over time. The next largest category, Australian-born Catholics, however, assumed an increasing share of the population to 1971 as more children of former migrants were born in Australia. The absolute fall between 1971 and 1976 was probably due to the continuing upturns in Australian-born persons not specifying a religion. Overseas-born Catholics also assumed increasing proportions of Australia's population to 1971. Compared with overseas-born Anglicans, they came from a
greater range of countries. Italy was the dominant origin as early as 1954 and remained so in 1976, while the other sources were ranked differently at individual censuses, depending on their major periods of immigration. Unlike other Christian denominations, Orthodox Christians born overseas were more numerous than those born in Australia. This indicates the recency of settlement of persons of this denomination from such countries as Greece - very largely - but also Yugoslavia, Egypt and the U.S.S.R.

Persons born overseas were also more numerous among non-Christians, yet each of those born in Australia and overseas assumed greater shares of the total population at successive censuses. The birthplaces of the Jews and Muslims reflected their world-wide dispersal, as they came, respectively, from such countries as Poland, England, Germany, Hungary, Israel and the U.S.S.R.; and from Turkey, Lebanon/Syria, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Malaysia and Indonesia. Other overseas-born non-Christians were largely born in non-European countries like India and Malaysia although others again came from England, as that country was experiencing its own ethnic diversification.

Turning now to the identification of diversity amongst persons born in specific countries, Anglicans were most numerous amongst those born in England, Presbyterians amongst the Scottish-born and Catholics amongst those born in Germany and the Netherlands. There were, however, many other denominations - some with significant numbers of followers - recorded in Australia for persons from each of these birthplaces. Settlers from Poland in the early post-war years were mostly Catholic, but the minority who were Jews were more numerous than those from any other country including Israel. As well as the substantial majority of Muslims from Turkey, the 1971 and 1976 Censuses recorded a minority of Orthodox Christians, possibly due to forced population exchanges between Turkey and Greece in the 1920s. Cypriots who were Muslim were, however, a minority compared with Orthodox Christians, indicating that those of Greek origin have come to Australia in larger numbers than Turkish ones. Although settlers from the Baltic States are often regarded as a single category, the majority of Latvians and Estonians arriving in the early post-war period were Lutherans, while the Lithuanians were mostly Catholic. Lebanese settlers in Australia have also had a range of religions including Catholic, Muslim and Orthodox, while Catholics and Orthodox Christians - the latter being

25. Including England, Yugoslavia, Malta, Poland, all Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, Scotland, India, Lebanon/Syria, Hungary, New Zealand and Spain.

generally of Greek origin - have been the most numerous from Egypt, with 'other' Christians, as defined by the census,\textsuperscript{27} such as Copts.

For persons from some countries there was one dominant religion and relatively few adherents to other faiths. Greeks were almost all Orthodox,\textsuperscript{28} an ethnically determined religion,\textsuperscript{29} while Italians, Maltese and Spaniards were overwhelmingly Catholic.\textsuperscript{30} For persons from such countries, what determines the specific origin is often the local region of the country.\textsuperscript{31} Unfortunately, no Australian census data are available on subdivisions within overseas countries of birth. The exception is for Ireland, which is often divided into Northern Ireland and Eire. However, as many respondents record their country of birth simply as 'Ireland', the distinctions tend to be a little unclear. When combined, these Irish birthplace categories show Catholics to be most numerous, followed by Anglicans and Presbyterians. The larger number of Catholics are in fact from Eire, while the other two denominations are drawn from both parts.\textsuperscript{32}

Another major immigrant source country for which both region of origin and religion are important indicators of ethnic variation is Yugoslavia, although language data are also necessary for complete identification. This country consists of a federation of six republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, of which Serbia and Croatia are the most populous. Regional identity for those born in Yugoslavia is, however, clouded by the fact that there are considerable numbers outside the region in which their ethnic category originated.\textsuperscript{33} Data on religion can, nevertheless, shed some light on the origins of Yugoslav-born persons in Australia, as various branches of the Orthodox Church are based on the Serbian and Macedonian communities. The Church of Serbia includes many of those from

\textsuperscript{27} Other Christian denominations not specified individually in sources to Figure 5.3.
\textsuperscript{29} Bottomley, Gillian (1979), After the Odyssey. A Study of Greek Australians, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{31} Price, Charles A. (1963), Southern Europeans in Australia, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{32} Price and Pyne (1980), loc. cit., p. A64.
Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro and the Church of Macedonia is based on those in Macedonia. On the other hand, the Catholic Church is the majority church in Croatia and Slovenia, but it also has the support of significant minorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. Because Catholics born in Yugoslavia outnumbered Orthodox Christians in Australia throughout the post-war period, it seems most likely that the largest part of the Yugoslav-born population in Australia consisted of Croats and/or Slovenes, but more particularly Croats, although Serbs and Macedonians also comprised significant shares. The ethnic origins of Yugoslavs are discussed further using data on language from the 1976 Census, although it has been noted that processing errors restrict the usefulness of information available on languages spoken in Yugoslavia and hence ethnic origin.

5.4.6 Language Usage

Although there have been questions in post-war censuses on different aspects of language usage only from 1976 (Chapter 3), it is possible to investigate Australia's linguistic diversity at earlier censuses. Estimates of the number who did not speak English may be made from data on persons not born in major English-speaking countries, here taken to be Australia, the U.K. and Eire, New Zealand, the U.S.A., Canada and South Africa. These measures are necessarily very approximate as persons from other countries, particularly Commonwealth ones, often speak English on arrival or learn it soon afterwards. Furthermore, not all those born in Australia or the other major English-speaking countries speak English. Young children may speak only another language as their mother tongue, while older persons may have social and other contacts exclusively with those who speak no English. Some Aboriginals may use English and others not.

Leaving aside these limitations, it would appear that there was little linguistic diversity in Australia at the 1947 Census, as only two per cent of the total population were born outside the above major English-speaking countries. Diversification then took place rapidly over the next two intercensal periods. With the increase in immigration from non-traditional sources at this time, those from outside the main English-speaking countries

35. Clyne, Michael (1979), 'Community Languages in Australia - What the 1976 Census will (and will not) tell us', Paper presented to the Annual General Meeting of the Society for Linguistics and Education, Melbourne, p. 4.
36. Full-blood Aboriginals have not been included in these calculations until the 1966 Census.
increased to 6 per cent of the population in 1954 and 9 per cent in 1961. From that time continuing high intakes from the U.K. and Eire and other major English-speaking sources, especially New Zealand in the late 1970s, offset rising intakes from other countries. Non-English speakers therefore rose only to 10 per cent of the population in 1966 and remained at 11 per cent from 1971 to 1981.

In relation to the question on language usage on the 1976 Census, it will be recalled that in Chapter 3 this was described as relating primarily to the provision of data on English-training and non-English information needs. Some limited use of the data may also be made in specifying the ethnic origins of that part of the population for whom language is an important component of ethnic identify. However, the question on language was not asked of the 9 per cent of persons aged under five years - a substantial part of the population. This is unfortunate as information on mother tongue (actual or potential) which this question would almost certainly have elicited for young children, is seen as amongst the most sensitive indicators of ethnic origin. The way in which responses to the language question were coded by the A.B.S. adds further complications. Codes on the use of English and up to three other languages means that many tables were produced only for the number of users of particular languages, rather than for the number of persons aged over five years. In addition, while a primary list of fourteen languages was coded, another eight languages were coded 'same as birthplace', thereby not permitting independence of these two variables and allowing no identification of Australian-born speakers of these languages. Furthermore, persons born in Yugoslavia responding as using 'Yugoslav' were supposed to be coded as Serbo-Croat speakers. However, through the processing errors mentioned above, these respondents were coded as using 'language same as birthplace - Slovene'.

38. Languages were coded in alphabetical order - rather than in relation to frequency of use - thereby favourably biasing such languages as Arabic, according to Clyne (1979), loc. cit., p. 4.
39. Aboriginal, Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Macedonian, Polish, Serbo-Croat (including Croatian and Serbian), Spanish, Ukrainian. A.B.S., 1976 Census: Classification of Characteristics. Information Paper No. 9(1) (2112.0), p. 27.
40. Czech, Hungarian, Maltese, Portuguese, Russian, Slovene, Turkish, Other, ibid., p. 28.
This mistake therefore inflated the size of the Slovene-speaking population and reduced the Serbo-Croat category.\textsuperscript{41}

The data available from the 1976 Census suggest that English is used almost universally in Australia, as only one per cent of the population over five years was recorded as not using it regularly.\textsuperscript{42} This contrasts strongly with the proxy of 11 per cent from non-English-speaking countries among the total population. It may therefore be hypothesised that a figure between these two is closer to the true value.\textsuperscript{43} Amongst the Australian-born population over five years, only 0.2 per cent did not use English regularly according to the language question, compared with 6 per cent of overseas-born persons. Eighty-three per cent of the total used English only - 91 per cent of the Australian-born, but only 56 per cent of the overseas-born. Apart from English, the languages recorded as having most users were Italian, Greek, German, Slovene, French, Dutch and Polish,\textsuperscript{44} although - as mentioned above - many of the Slovene-users may really have used Serbo-Croat. There are also doubts about the number of French-users, as outlined below.

The number of Australian-born persons who use languages other than English gives some indication of that part of the population not tracing its origins to the British Isles and the degree to which persons of various origins have maintained elements of their cultures while living in Australia. The languages most regularly used by the Australian-born in 1976 were Italian (144,800 users), Greek (81,800), German (44,800), French (27,900) - although some may have learnt French only at school and had little connection with the French community, as there were only 7,800 French-speakers born in France - the various Aboriginal languages (27,300), Polish (11,500) and Dutch (8,600). Together, all these CLOTES (community languages other than English)\textsuperscript{45} used by Australian-born persons aged over five years in 1976 comprised 9 per cent of all languages regularly used by this population.

Information on the languages used by persons of particular birthplaces is able to shed only some light on their precise origins. On the one hand,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} Clyne, Michael (1979), \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{42} These results include in the total those who did not state the language(s) they used regularly.
\item \textsuperscript{43} See also Ware, Helen (1981), \textit{A Profile of the Italian Community in Australia}, Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Melbourne and Co.As.It. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne, p. 29.
\item \textsuperscript{44} \textit{A.B.S.}, 1976 Census: \textit{Population and Dwellings: Summary Tables} (2417.0), p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Clyne (1979), \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 1.
\end{itemize}
overseas-born respondents may no longer use CLOTES, especially where they made considerable use of English in their homelands, where any language they used previously was similar to English and/or where they had a relatively lengthy period of residence in Australia. Clyne has calculated this 'first generation language shift' to English for persons from Europe to have been as high as 44 per cent for Dutch-born persons at the 1976 Census. This is no doubt in part because of the frequent use of English in the Netherlands, the similarity of the English and Dutch languages and especially because of the desire by Dutch persons to become Australians. However, this rate is in fact far exceeded by persons born in the Indian sub-continent - 89 per cent for Sri Lankans and 86 per cent for Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis combined - as many of them were of British descent, British educated, and/or had only English-speaking contacts in Australia. On the other hand, older respondents whose mother tongue was not English may have regressed from the English they learnt and perhaps used exclusively since coming to Australia. In addition, persons from some birthplaces may have had difficulty in learning English because of their relatively low educational levels and so maintained the language of their homeland.

Despite these limitations, various trends are able to be observed using a special matrix tape prepared from the 1976 Census (tape 38). Price et al. used this tape to compile various unpublished tables which summarise the main languages used by the population (as distinct to language-users) aged over five years from various birthplaces. In preparing these tables they made decisions, as necessary, about which language is the real indicator of ethnic origin for persons who recorded a number of languages.

According to the tables, persons aged over five years born in Italy and Greece demonstrated the highest regular use in Australia of the main local language. Over 90 per cent of each used English and Italian or Greek, respectively, (and in some cases a further language which did not alter their origin), or their local language only, while only a few used English alone. Among Greeks, another few used Macedonian. These results support the findings from the study of religion above that region in the homeland is often the major pointer to ethnic variation within certain countries. Other birthplace categories with significant proportions using the local language(s) alone or with English were those settling relatively recently from Spain, Cyprus (Greek), Yugoslavia (Serbo-Croatian, Slovene or Macedonian) and Turkey and those from countries which, like Italians and Greeks, have formed tightly-knit communities in Australia - Poland, Malta and the Baltic States.

The difficulties of unravelling the origins of the Yugoslav-born population have already been discussed. It would seem most reasonable to interpret the language data as meaning that up to 72 per cent were of Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian origin, with the first two - especially Croats according to the data on religion above - comprising the larger part. There were also 6 per cent of Italian origin - due to the proximity and, in fact, historical mobility of the border - and 3 per cent each Macedonian and German. Other origins such as Hungarian are unable to be quantified. In addition, 10 per cent of respondents born in Yugoslavia described themselves as using English only, so presumably distorting the ethnic distribution described above.

Other Mediterranean countries have provided settlers from a range of linguistic backgrounds even when one origin has predominated. Although the majority of Cypriot-born persons spoke Greek as expected from the study of religion and noted above, smaller numbers used Turkish or Macedonian. Likewise, a minority of Turks spoke Greek. Almost half those from Lebanon used Arabic most frequently, while a small proportion spoke other Lebanese languages which may well have included variations of the Syrian Arabic dialect or even Armenian or Kurdish. There was also a smattering of persons identified as users of Greek, French or Italian, which supports the findings on religion, although French may have simply been a language used by the educated. For those

50. Persons who did not state the languages they used regularly have been excluded.
born in Egypt the numbers speaking European languages who were probably of European origins - Greek, Italian or French - outnumbered the local, i.e. Arabic-speaking population.

One other point needs to be made here. Although the majority of those born in Austria and Germany used German regularly - three-fifths - while half as many others used only English, there was also a range of other languages. The largest of these was Polish, no doubt used by the children born to ethnic Poles in World War Two prison camps.\(^{52}\) The German language itself was used with some frequency by persons born in most other countries in north-west and eastern Europe, especially by Czechs, 10 per cent of whom spoke it.

5.4.7 Allegiance

As indicated in Chapters 3 and 4, what official statistics on nationality and citizenship seek to identify are the countries to which the Australian population owes legal allegiance. This variable is therefore not a major indicator of ethnic origin; rather it points to ties with the Australian community and to a further source of diversity within the population. Over the post-war period, there have been three main sources of information on allegiance - the naturalization records used in Chapter 4 to denote the process of becoming an Australian citizen, the population census described in Chapter 3 and the Aliens Register required by legislation\(^{53}\) and maintained until 1976. As only aliens over the age of 16 years were included in this Register,\(^{54}\) census information alone is examined below.

At the time of writing, there were three broad divisions of nationality for official purposes in Australia. These were persons with British or Commonwealth nationality, those with allegiance to other, i.e. 'alien', countries, and stateless persons, i.e. those deprived of their citizenship by new hostile regimes in their homelands. As outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, Australian citizenship was one of a number of possible allegiances within the Commonwealth. However, only at the 1976 Census were individual Commonwealth citizenships identified separately, so that their effect on population composition could not be determined at earlier censuses.


Australian censuses to 1976 show that the population consisted very largely of Commonwealth nationals even after the arrival of high numbers of settlers from outside the U.K. and Eire in the early post-war years. Persons whose allegiance was to other countries increased their numbers almost ten-fold between 1947 and 1954, but still formed only 4 per cent of the population by 1954 (Table 5.11). These persons peaked in 1961 as a proportion of the total population and fluctuated thereafter as longer settled migrants became Australian citizens, i.e. assumed British nationality. Stateless persons were most numerous and proportionately highest in 1954, with the arrival of Displaced Persons immediately after World War II. Among Commonwealth nationals, those born in Australia comprised decreasing shares of Australia's population until 1971, while those born overseas increased their share at each successive census to 1976.

Even fewer individual countries of allegiance than countries of birth (Table 5.3) offered any form of diversity at post-war censuses. No alien countries provided any significant variation to the pattern of almost exclusive British nationality in 1947. By the 1954 Census, this picture had changed markedly. Although considerable numbers of post-war settlers were naturalized as soon as they became eligible as noted in Chapter 4, many had not yet satisfied the then five year residential requirement applying to persons of European race. Italians, Dutch, Poles and other southern and north-west Europeans, together with former Displaced Persons, therefore offered the first diversity by nationality. During the late 1950s, southern and north-west Europeans continued to be most responsible for increasing the number of non-British nationals, as high levels of immigration of these peoples either began or continued. On the other hand, Poles and stateless persons whose immigration had already peaked were rapidly acquiring Australian citizenship. From then until the 1976 Census, only citizens of Greece and Yugoslavia in the early 1960s and of Yugoslavia and the U.S.A. in the late 1960s showed relative increases, reflecting recent arrivals from each of these sources. By 1976, lower total immigration levels and the reduced residential qualifying period for citizenship grants for both Europeans and non-Europeans meant an absolute and relative decline in the number of non-Commonwealth nationals in Australia.

Data on allegiance may also be used to measure a further aspect of variation within birthplace categories in addition to those considered above. At the 1966 and later Censuses, it is possible to determine the proportion of each birthplace category having British nationality and at the 1976 Census, the distribution of individual Commonwealth citizenships.
### TABLE 5.11: TOTAL POPULATION BY ALLEGIANCE: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALLEGIANCE</th>
<th>1947¹ ('000)</th>
<th>1954¹ ('000)</th>
<th>1961¹ ('000)</th>
<th>1966 ('000)</th>
<th>1971 ('000)</th>
<th>1976 ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth of Nations²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Australian-born</td>
<td>6835.2</td>
<td>7700.1</td>
<td>8729.4</td>
<td>9468.6</td>
<td>10176.3</td>
<td>10829.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Overseas-born</td>
<td>705.5</td>
<td>883.1</td>
<td>1255.3</td>
<td>1619.8</td>
<td>1857.0</td>
<td>2188.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total British/Commonwealth³</td>
<td>7540.7</td>
<td>8583.1</td>
<td>9984.7</td>
<td>11088.4</td>
<td>12033.3</td>
<td>13017.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Commonwealth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>364.4</td>
<td>499.0</td>
<td>497.9</td>
<td>590.1²</td>
<td>463.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Alien</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>403.4</td>
<td>523.7</td>
<td>511.1</td>
<td>722.6³</td>
<td>475.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7579.4</td>
<td>8986.5</td>
<td>10508.2</td>
<td>11599.5⁴</td>
<td>12755.6</td>
<td>13548.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.a. = not applicable/not available.

2. Comprises all persons born in Australia and all others who are citizens of any Commonwealth country. 1954 figure revised in 1961 to include Indian nationality.
3. Irish nationality is included here with British nationality.
4. Includes full-blood Aboriginals, all of whom are assumed to have been born in Australia.
5. In a small number of cases persons of British nationality and birthplace were inadvertently shown in census results as having nationality 'same as birthplace' rather than 'British'.
6. Includes 'not stated' cases.
7. Included with stateless.

As inferred from Chapter 4, few persons born in the U.S.A. were British subjects. Many Turkish-born persons were ineligible for Australian citizenship on period of residence grounds in 1971 and still had not adopted it by 1976. Relatively few Spanish-born persons satisfied the residence requirements even in 1976, neither did recent arrivals from Yugoslavia. However, persons from other birthplaces outside the Commonwealth showed a marked increase between 1966 and 1976 in the proportions with British nationality - generally Australian citizenship. This was especially the case for countries which yielded high numbers of Displaced Persons shortly after World War II, or from which nationals arrived after specific incidents such as those in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. In a number of cases, such persons were still being granted citizenship many years after arrival.  

Persons born in Commonwealth countries exhibited one of two patterns. All Australian-born persons were defined by the census as Australian citizens. Those born in Papua New Guinea - many in fact children of ex-patriot Australians who had returned to Australia after Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975 - were also mostly Australian citizens. Furthermore, the majority of those born in some Commonwealth countries in Asia, such as Sri Lanka and India, had acquired Australian citizenship because of close links with their new country or because they had taken advantage of relaxed citizenship eligibility criteria for non-Europeans. For persons born elsewhere in the Commonwealth, allegiance was more frequently to countries other than Australia, although overall Commonwealth nationality was high. As noted in Chapter 4, this is because existing British subjects often saw little advantage in acquiring Australian citizenship as well as their own local or U.K. citizenship. There may be some future changes to these trends following legislative amendments to restrict enrolments for voting in Federal elections to Australian citizens rather than British subjects.

5.5 OTHER APPROACHES TO IDENTIFYING ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

5.5.1 At The 1976 Census

The general release of data on matrix tapes at the 1976 Census, noted above, allowed the cross-classification for the first time of a range of ethnic

variables and a greater insight into ethnic diversity than at previous censuses. Diversity in 1976 is examined here through cross-classifying a set of four variables from each of matrix tapes 4, 11 and 12 and one set of six variables from tape 38. These tapes span the widest range of ethnic variables produced by the A.B.S., but unfortunately tape 38 does not contain race, although it covers each other variable except resident/visitor status which is included among those on tape 11. Race does, however, appear on tapes 4 and 11. The language variables on matrices 4 and 38 relate to whether respondents speak English and/or how many CLOTES - language A - and to individual languages regularly used or language 'same as birthplace' - language B.\(^5\) Language A on tape 4 includes a code of 'not applicable' for children under five years. Because language B on tape 38 does not, it was necessary to add a seventh variable, age, to the cross-classification from that tape to isolate the children under five years for whom no language details were recorded. Those variables examined below are birthplace, citizenship, race and language A from tape 4, resident/visitor status, race, birthplace and religion from tape 11, birthplace, birthplace of parents, citizenship and period of residence from tape 12 and birthplace, birthplace of parents, period of residence, religion, citizenship, language B (and age) from tape 38.

It is not the intention here to consider specific ethnic origins in detail. Rather, the population is divided into categories depending on whether its members form part of the Australian core, defined here purely in demographic terms according to the ethnic variables on the individual tapes. Dichotomous codes have been constructed, where possible, to allocate most weight to persons having links outside this core, so as to permit the effects of immigration, intermarriage and other processes of diversification to be seen. Exceptions were for language A and period of residence, for each of which three codes were devised to cover the 'not applicable' cases and the other two categories; for birthplace of parents, for which four were needed to include an Australian and an overseas category for each of father and mother and so identify those of Australian, mixed and overseas parentages; and for religion, for which a 'not stated/no religion' code was drawn up in addition to the others. Apart from this sub-division for religion, all 'not stated' cases have been included with the 'non-core'. For example, race has been divided into

\(^5\) The A.B.S. devised two classifications of languages regularly used by the population aged over five years - A and B. 'A' records whether respondents regularly used English only, or English and one or more other languages. 'B' shows the languages actually listed in two parts as noted in footnotes 39 and 40. A.B.S., 1976 Census: Classification of Characteristics, op. cit., pp. 27-28.
the categories 'European' and 'non-European and not stated' even though, as noted above, it is likely that most respondents not stating their race were, in fact, Europeans. The inclusion of those who did not state the birthplace of each of their parents also differs from that above.

As indicated by the variables from tape 4 (Figure 5.4), the largest part of Australia's population in 1976 consisted of those who had been born in Australia, were therefore Australian citizens, were of European race and used only English regularly. The 59 per cent of Australia's population in this version of the core category, 4A, would have been even larger if persons aged 0-4 years who had the above birthplace, citizenship, racial and language characteristics were able to be transferred from category 4B - 8 per cent of the population - the next largest category. Those persons born outside Australia, without Australian citizenship, but of European race and using only English - many of them from the U.K. and Eire - formed the third largest category, 4C, 7 per cent of the total population. Other sizeable categories included non-Europeans born in Australia, hence Australian citizens, and speaking only English, category 4D. This 6 per cent of the population included some Aboriginals and descendants of long-settled categories such as the Chinese and Kanakas. Another 5 per cent were racial Europeans born outside Australia but now Australian citizens, who used English and other languages or no English at all, category 4E. Such persons included many of the settlers arriving from Europe since the Second World War, while their children comprised a large part of the 4 per cent making up category 4F - those of European race, born in Australia, with Australian citizenship and speaking English and other languages.

The distinction between resident and visitor status on tape 11 had no statistical significance, as visitors - by definition overseas-born - comprised less than 0.5 per cent of Australia's population in 1976. Like the ethnic variables on matrix tape 4, the others on tape 11 divided the population into one major category, the Australian core, and a relatively small number of lesser ones (Figure 5.5). Where the two tapes differed slightly was that the second and third largest categories from tape 11 were larger than the equal-ranked ones from tape 4. Over half the population, 55 per cent, consisted of persons of European race, born in Australia and having 'traditional' Western


Western
FIGURE 5.4: TOTAL POPULATION BY ETHNIC CATEGORIES 1: BIRTHPLACE BY CITIZENSHIP BY RACE BY LANGUAGE A: AUSTRALIA: 1976 CENSUS

Category:
4A: BPL 1, CIT 1, RAC 1, LNA 1;
4B: BPL 1, CIT 1, RAC 1, LNA 2;
4C: BPL 1, CIT 1, RAC 1, LNA 3;
4D: BPL 2, CIT 1, RAC 1, LNA 1;
4E: BPL 2, CIT 1, RAC 1, LNA 2;
4F: BPL 2, CIT 1, RAC 1, LNA 3;
4G: BPL 2, CIT 2, RAC 1, LNA 1;
4H: BPL 2, CIT 2, RAC 1, LNA 2;
4I: BPL 1, CIT 1, RAC 2, LNA 1;
4J: BPL 1, CIT 1, RAC 2, LNA 2;
4K: Other categories each containing less than one per cent of the population;

where the following codes apply:
Birthplace (BPL): 1 Australia, 2 Overseas;
Citizenship (CIT): 1 Australia, 2 Overseas and not stated;
Race (RAC): 1 European, 2 Non-European and not stated;
Language A (LNA): 1 English only, 2 No English, English plus other language(s) and not stated, 3 Not applicable (i.e. 0-4 years).

FIGURE 5.5 : TOTAL POPULATION BY ETHNIC CATEGORIES 2 : RESIDENT/VISITOR STATUS BY RACE BY BIRTHPLACE BY RELIGION : AUSTRALIA : 1976 CENSUS

Category : 11A REV 1, RAC 1, BPL 1, REL 1;
11B REV 1, RAC 1, BPL 1, REL 3;
11C REV 1, RAC 1, BPL 2, REL 1;
11D REV 1, RAC 2, BPL 1, REL 1;
11E REV 1, RAC 2, BPL 2, REL 3;
11F REV 1, RAC 2, BPL 1, REL 3;
11G REV 1, RAC 1, BPL 1, REL 2;
11H REV 1, RAC 1, BPL 2, REL 2;
11I Other categories each containing less than one per cent of the population;

where the following codes apply:–

Resident/Visitor Status (REV) : 1 Resident, not stated and not applicable (i.e. Australian-born), 2 Visitor;
Race (RAC) : 1 European, 2 Non-European and not stated;
Birthplace (BPL) : 1 Australia, 2 Overseas;
Religion (REL) : 1 Traditional, 2 Non-Traditional, 3 No religion and not stated.

religious denominations (category 11A), i.e. largely the descendants of those from the various parts of the British Isles. Another 12 to 13 per cent consisted of each of Australian-born racial Europeans with no religion (category 11B), i.e. persons similar to the above but not obviously linked to any denomination, and overseas-born racial Europeans with traditional religions (category 11C), many of them settlers from Britain and continental Europe since the Second World War.

The largest category (12A) drawn from matrix tape 12 again comprised 59 per cent of the population (Figure 5.6). These were persons of Australian parentage who were themselves born in Australia and so had Australian citizenship and a 'not applicable' period of residence, i.e. they were the largest part of the Australian parentage category. The second category, 10 per cent, were Australian-born of overseas parentage (12B) - mainly the children of post-war settlers. Eight per cent of the population were overseas-born of overseas parentage, had arrived in the previous ten years and had not become Australian citizens (12C), i.e. had few ties with Australia. The Australian-born component of mixed parentage with father overseas-born (12D) comprised 7 per cent, as it did above when including the overseas-born, because few of this parentage were themselves overseas-born.

Ethnic diversity, as measured by the 7 relevant variables on tape 38 (Figure 5.7), exhibited some noticeable differences from the above analyses (Figures 5.4 and 5.6). Firstly, the core category, 38A, was far smaller than those from the other tapes - here 41 per cent of the population. This category, consisting of persons over five years of age born in Australia and hence Australian citizens, of Australian parentage, having traditional religions and speaking only English, was smaller than the otherwise comparable category from tape 12 which did not include religion or language usage, even after the absence of those under five years was allowed for. This highlights earlier findings that religion and language(s) used are important indicators of ethnic identities which last for many generations and may not be revealed by data on birthplace or parentage. Secondly, cross-tabulating 7 rather than 4 variables means that the population can fall into a higher number of categories. Many of these were insignificant by themselves - here taken to be those whose members comprised less than one per cent of the total population - but collectively they formed the second largest category (38T). That is, their importance was in their number, rather than in their individual sizes.

---

60. The cross-classification of the 7 variables from tape 38 permitted 576 individual categories of which 156 actually contained members. Of these 156, 137 were combined to form the residual category 38T.
FIGURE 5.6: TOTAL POPULATION BY ETHNIC CATEGORIES 3: BIRTHPLACE BY BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS BY CITIZENSHIP BY PERIOD OF RESIDENCE: AUSTRALIA: 1976 CENSUS

Category: 12A: BPL 1, BPP 1, CIT 1, PER 3;
12B: BPL 1, BPP 4, CIT 1, PER 3;
12C: BPL 2, BPP 4, CIT 2, PER 1;
12D: BPL 1, BPP 3, CIT 1, PER 3;
12E: BPL 2, BPP 4, CIT 1, PER 1;
12F: BPL 2, BPP 4, CIT 3, PER 2;
12G: BPL 1, BPP 2, CIT 1, PER 3;
12H: BPL 2, BPP 4, CIT 2, PER 2;
12I: Other categories each containing less than one per cent of the population;

where the following codes apply:

Birthplace (BPL): 1 Australia, 2 Overseas;

Birthplace of Parents (BPP): 1 Father Australia, Mother Australia;
2 Father Australia, Mother overseas and not stated;
3 Father overseas and not stated, Mother Australia;
4 Father overseas and not stated, Mother overseas and not stated;

Citizenship (CIT): 1 Australia, 2 Overseas and not stated;

Period of Residence (PER): 1 0-9 years and not stated;
2 10+ years;
3 Not applicable (i.e., Australian-born).

FIGURE 5.7: TOTAL POPULATION BY ETHNIC CATEGORIES 4: BIRTHPLACE BY
BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS BY PERIOD OF RESIDENCE BY RELIGION
BY CITIZENSHIP BY LANGUAGE B BY AGE: AUSTRALIA: 1976
CENSUS

where the following codes apply:

Birthplace (BPL): 1 Australia, 2 Overseas;

Birthplace of Parents (BPP): 1 Father Australia, Mother Australia,
2 Father Australia, Mother overseas and not stated,
3 Father overseas and not stated, Mother Australia,
4 Father overseas and not stated, Mother overseas and not stated;

Period of Residence (PER): 1 0-9 years and not stated,
2 10+ years, 3 Not applicable (i.e. Australian-born);

Religion (REL): 1 Traditional, 2 Non-traditional,
3 No religion and not stated;

Citizenship (CIT): 1 Australia, 2 Overseas and not stated;

Language B (LNB): 1 English only, 2 No English, English plus other
language(s), not stated, not applicable (i.e. 0-4 years);

Age (AGE): 1 0-4 years, 2 5+ years.

Apart from the core category, other major categories from tape 38 were often similar to the larger ones from the other tapes. They included persons like those in category 38A, but not stating their religion or not having one, 38B; persons like 38A but of mixed parentage with their father overseas-born, 38C; those aged 0-4 and like category 38A but without information on language, category 38D; and those identical to 38A but with overseas parentage, category 38E.

5.5.2 Between 1947 And 1978

The above sets of data presuppose that the Australian core category, however defined, represents a unique ethnic origin. To take a different view and assume that its members actually have origins stretching further back in time, it is at present necessary to go beyond the census for other data sources, such as those relating to intermarriage, fertility, mortality and naturalization. Price's enterprising attempts to exploit such sources are described below as an example of the ethnic composition of Australia's population which might be thus calculated.

Price's approach allocates Australia's population according to the relative contributions made by individual birthplace origins (so called) and ethnic origins outside Australia, as well as the Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, to the total population at mid-1947 and 1978. It takes account not only of the birthplace of the first and second generations, as was done above, but also later ones, through averaging information on paternal and maternal descent - an important step forward. It reduces the other newer countries of European settlement - Canada, the U.S.A., New Zealand, Latin America and South Africa - to their indigenous populations, for example through checking race statistics, and distributes their immigrant populations back to their countries of origin. It also removes the minority (usually European) immigrant populations from various Asian, African and Pacific Island countries. By using data on religion, language, race or naturalization Price identifies ethnic categories among those born in such countries as Cyprus - Greeks and Turks; Germany - Poles and other former Displaced Persons; Egypt - for example, Greeks; Yugoslavia - Slovenes, Croatians and Serbs; and adds certain persons to other birthplaces, for example, ethnic Greeks born in Egypt to the Greek category. He also considers Jews and Armenians as part of their birthplace origins rather than religious categories.

FIGURE 5.8: TOTAL POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGINS: AUSTRALIA: 1947

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
Eastern European
Italian
Other North-west European
Scandinavian
Other British Isles
British Isles

Note: Ethnic origins as defined in source. Also see text.
1. Includes Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian.

FIGURE 5.9: TOTAL POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGINS: AUSTRALIA: 1978

Other Asian
Other North-west European
Western Asian
Dutch
Other Southern European
Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian
Other British Isles
Greek
Eastern European n.e.i.

English
Scottish
Irish
Italian
German
Scandinavian
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
Other

Note: Ethnic origins as defined in source. Also see text.
n.e.i. = not elsewhere included.

Source: As for Figure 5.8.
Results from these investigations indicate clearly the continuing dominance of those of English, Irish and Scottish origins, still 77 per cent of the total population in 1978, although falling from 90 per cent in 1947 (Figures 5.8 and 5.9). German remained an important origin even in 1978 because the relatively early settlement in Australia of persons born in Germany allowed contributions to Australia's ethnic composition to be made by even seventh generation German settlers. However, Italians, Greeks, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Macedonians were still very largely first and second generation immigrants even in 1978. Persons of other origins whose proportions of the total population rose over the post-war period were eastern Europeans—principally the Displaced Persons and their descendants—other southern Europeans, the Dutch and other north-west Europeans except the Scandinavians, and Asians, Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders.

The above results on ethnic origin differ most noticeably from those obtained by studying census data, in the dominance of the Irish. According to birthplace data from the census (Table 5.3), the long-settled Scottish outranked the Irish over the whole post-war period, while an increasing number of persons of more recently settled origins did too. The explanation lies in the high proportion in the post-war Australian population who can trace their origins back to an Irish-born ancestress who arrived in the mid-nineteenth century, having emigrated to Australia to escape the poverty of her home land and to help level the high masculinity of the Australian colonies.^[62]

63. Ibid., p. A85.
6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 described the ethnic diversification of Australia's population over the post-war period, mostly according to census variables. It made broad comments about the levels of diversity at each census, the extent of diversification between censuses and paid particular attention to diversity at the 1976 Census. Chapter 6 aims to extend these findings by calculating measures of diversity and diversification which are, in general, readily comparable over time.

This approach calls for a qualitative definition of the census variables discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 which best represent the real nature of ethnic variation within Australia's population. Because much of this diversity has been due to post-war immigration and subsequent intermarriage (Chapter 4), birthplace and birthplace of parents are taken to be the key indicators. Although there was little overall variation due to racial origin, race is nevertheless the sole means of identifying certain persons such as Aboriginals. Language and religion were found to specify various long-lasting identities which would otherwise be lost by the third-plus generation. Like race, they also distinguish different origins within particular birthplaces and are therefore important supplements to that variable. By contrast, period of residence and citizenship do no more than indicate the strength of association with Australia of the overseas-born.

This chapter therefore concentrates on birthplace, race and parentage, as defined in Chapter 5. It also examines and compares potential English-speakers and languages used and considers religion in a summary form with the other ethnic variables available from the 1976 Census. Finally, ethnic origins derived from allocating the total population back to its ancestral source countries are considered, as they were in Chapter 5.

6.2 METHODOLOGY

The measures of population diversity developed over some years by Lieberson and described most clearly in 1969¹ form the basis of the analysis in

this chapter. His pursuit of Greenberg's measures of diversity maintained a linguistic focus, but he also showed that the method could be generalised to other aspects of population diversity.

Lieberson's methods assume essentially that diversity measures the position of a population along a homogeneity-heterogeneity continuum (Chapter 1) with respect to one or more variables. Following Greenberg, Lieberson defined diversity operationally as the probability of obtaining unlike characteristics when two members of a population are randomly paired. He then calculated an index of diversity within a population, $A_w$. Later he extended this approach to cover average annual levels of diversification, i.e. changes in diversity, assuming uniform or linear diversification over time. He used regression techniques or a simplified equivalent to measure these changes.

Greenberg's probability-based indices attracted favourable comment at the end of the 1950s for their operational interpretation. More recently, this quality has again been noted as having possible advantages over other approaches to qualitative variation. It therefore seems justified to use Lieberson's indices although with appropriate modifications.

6.2.1 Measures Of Diversity

The index of diversity, $A_w$, was defined in detail for populations whose internal diversity is being measured according to one or more variables or characteristics. Its theoretical range is from 0.00 - complete homogeneity.

4. For example, Lieberson, Stanley; Dalto, Guy and Johnston, Mary Ellen (1975), 'The Course of Mother-Tongue Diversity in Nations', American Journal of Sociology 81, pp. 34-61.
8. Ibid., p. 38.
or no diversity - to 1.00 - complete heterogeneity within the population, i.e. members of the population equally divided between the different classes of the variable. For computational simplicity, sampling with replacement is assumed when randomly pairing members of the population. 12

In the simplest case, when only one variable $X_i$ is considered,

$$\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i = 1.00,$$

where there are N possible classes making up the variable's distribution. The proportion of pairs from the population with each possible combination of classes is therefore:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i^2 = 1.00,$$

i.e.

$$\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i^2 + 2 \sum_{i=1}^{N} \sum_{j>i} X_i X_j = 1.00 \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots (I).$$

In other words,

$$S + D = 1.00,$$

where S is the sum of cross-products of population pairs falling into the same class, and D is the sum of cross-products of population pairs falling into different classes. That is, the index of diversity within a population is:

$$A_w = 1.00 - S,$$

the simplest method of computation. 13

The case of diversity according to two or more variables is more complicated. It requires knowledge of both the proportion of the population belonging to each combination of classes, for example $X_i Y_j Z_k$, and the proportion of constituent classes which the members of each pair of combinations have in

12. Ibid., p. 851.
13. Ibid., p. 851.
common. Therefore,

$$A_w = \left( \frac{N}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{N} C_i + 2 \sum_{i=1}^{N} \sum_{j>i}^{N} C_{ij} W_{ij} \right)$$

\[(\text{II})\]

where \(C_i\) is the proportion of the population in a given combination, \(N\) is the number of combinations, \(C_{ij}\) refers to a pair of combinations, \(i\) and \(j\), expressed as the cross-products of their proportions of the population, and \(W_{ij}\) is the proportion of specified classes shared between the pair of combinations designated by \(C_{ij}\), i.e. \(W_{ij}\) is the combination's weight.\(^{14}\)

Lieberson has pointed out, however, that values of \(A_w\) are:

solely a function of the frequency distribution within each variable's (classes) and are not affected by different possible combinations of these (classes).\(^{15}\)

A short-cut computational formula may therefore be employed:

$$A_w = 1 - \left( \frac{\sum_{k=1}^{p} Y_k^2}{V} \right)$$

\[(\text{III})\]

where \(Y_k\) is the proportion of the population falling into a given class of a variable, \(V\) is the number of variables, and \(p\) is the total number of classes of all variables.\(^{16}\)

Although the index \(A_w\) may take values ranging in theory from 0.00 to 1.00, only the lower end of the range is ever reached in practice. While it is always possible for population members to be homogeneous according to some characteristic, without adjustment to the formula the upper end of the range cannot actually reach 1.00. This is because the number of classes into which individual population variables are divided, \(N\), affects the index's maximum value. \(A_w\)'s actual maximum is only \(1 - \frac{1}{N}\). So as to allow it to reach 1.00, the index has been modified to:

$$A'_w = \frac{A_w}{1 - \frac{1}{N}}$$

\(^{14}\) Ibid., pp. 853-854.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 855.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 855.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., p. 860.
This modification has the added advantage of allowing values to reach a more familiar limit. Furthermore, it permits direct comparisons between indices calculated from different numbers of classes. Where \( A_w \) maintains an advantage over \( A'_w \), however, is that the former measures actual levels of diversity.\(^{18}\) It is appropriate to calculate the standardised as well as the actual index for small numbers of classes of a variable, for example less than 10, or when comparing indices based on different numbers of classes.

### 6.2.2 Measures Of Diversification

Ethnic diversification has not occurred linearly over time in Australia, due amongst other things to peaks and troughs in immigration from particular sources (Table 4.4). The measures of diversification used by Lieberson in his 1975 paper are therefore inappropriate here. What seems reasonable is a constant or average rate able to measure the way in which the population has changed over time. Such a measure is geometric and is expressed most simply by the compound interest formula. In terms of changes to the index of diversity, a rate of diversification within a population, \( r_w \), may be derived from the formula:

\[
A_{w_t} = A_{w_0} (1 + r_w)^t 
\]

where \( t \) is the period of time under study, \( A_{w_0} \) is the index of diversity at the beginning of period \( t \), and \( A_{w_t} \) is the index of diversity at the end of period \( t \). A standardised rate of diversification, \( r'_w \), may be calculated in a similar way.

The above rates of diversification assume that compounding takes place at constant intervals of time, such as a year, which may not in fact be the case. This limitation is overcome by using the exponential growth curve, which allows compounding to take place continuously within a fixed period of time.\(^{19}\) Such a formula is well suited to measuring change along a homogeneity-heterogeneity continuum. A rate of this kind, again denoted by \( r_w \), may be derived from the expression:

---

18. Ibid., p. 861.

\[ A_w(t) = A_w(0) e^{r_w t} \]  \hspace{1cm} \cdots (V),

where \( A_w(t), A_w(0), r_w \) and \( t \) are as before, and \( e \) is a mathematical constant.  \(^{20}\)

For computational purposes, however, there is little difference in calculating \( r_w \) from either formula (IV) or (V), \(^{21}\) so that for convenience the rate of diversification is calculated here according to (IV).

6.3 DIVERSITY AND DIVERSIFICATION ACCORDING TO ONE ETHNIC VARIABLE

6.3.1 Birthplace

The above measures confirm that the total population of Australia diversified most rapidly in the years immediately following World War II, when the overseas-born component is considered as a whole (Table 6.1). The standardised index of diversity is preferred, as it allows for the small number of classes and provides a theoretical maximum of 1.00. \( A'_w \) shows that the total population moved from one-third of the way towards heterogeneity in 1947 - defined in this case as half the population Australian-born and half overseas-born - to one-half of the way by 1954. Diversification continued at slower rates until the beginning of the 1970s, when a downturn in immigration levels, rising emigration rates and the birth in Australia of immigrants' children caused minor homogenisation. At the turn of the 1980s, there was again slight diversification because of increased net migration gains.

Division of the overseas-born population into a handful of regions of birth - the U.K. and Eire, other Europe, Asia, America, Africa, Oceania and 'at sea' - increased only slightly the unstandardised indices of diversity at each post-war census to 1981. Again there was only minor increases in actual diversity (\( A'_w \)) when the contribution of all countries of birth defined to be ethnically significant \(^{22}\) was taken into account (Table 6.2). This means that the numerically superior Australian-born far outweighed the effects of the higher numbers of classes of birthplace.

20. Ibid., p. 379.
22. Countries of birth were defined in Chapter 5 to be ethnically significant if they comprised at least 1 per mille (0.1 per cent) of the population at any post-war census to 1981. They are Australia, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Malta, Spain, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, the Ukraine and U.S.S.R., China, Hong Kong, India, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Cyprus, Lebanon, Turkey, Canada, the U.S.A., Chile, Egypt, South Africa, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea, although not all at each census, as indicated in Table 5.3.
TABLE 6.1 : INDICES OF DIVERSITY AND RATES OF DIVERSIFICATION\(^1\) BY BIRTHPLACES AUSTRALIA AND OVERSEAS : TOTAL POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA : 1947 TO 1981 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENSUS</th>
<th>INTERCENSAL PERIOD</th>
<th>(A_w)</th>
<th>(r_w)</th>
<th>(A'_w)</th>
<th>(r'_w)</th>
<th>Population in Scope (^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1947-54</td>
<td>0.17710</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>0.35420</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>7579.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1954-61</td>
<td>0.24533</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>0.49066</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>8986.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1961-66</td>
<td>0.28125</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.56250</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>10508.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1966-71</td>
<td>0.29992</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.59984</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>12755.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1971-76</td>
<td>0.32264</td>
<td>0.64528</td>
<td>0.64160</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>13548.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>0.32721</td>
<td>0.65442</td>
<td>14576.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Diversification in this case is defined as a change from all members of the population being born in Australia to half being born in Australia and half overseas.


3. Persons not stating their birthplace are assumed to be Australian-born.


TABLE 6.2: INDICES OF DIVERSITY AND RATES OF DIVERSIFICATION\(^1\) BY BIRTHPLACES AUSTRALIA AND ETHNICALLY SIGNIFICANT COUNTRIES OF BIRTH\(^2\): TOTAL POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1981 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENSUS</th>
<th>INTERCENSAL PERIOD</th>
<th>(\bar{A}_w) (%)</th>
<th>(\bar{r}_w) (%)</th>
<th>(\bar{A}'_w) (%)</th>
<th>(\bar{r}'_w) (%)</th>
<th>Population ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.18378</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>0.20216</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>7579.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-54</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.26224</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>0.27535</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>8986.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.30589</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>0.31979</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>10508.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.32881</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>0.34376</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>11599.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.35773</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.37051</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>12755.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.35556</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.36741</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>13548.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.36457</td>
<td>0.37562</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14576.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Diversification in this case is defined as a change from all members of the population being born in Australia to equal proportions being born in Australia and ethnically significant countries as defined at individual censuses.

2. Ethnically significant countries are defined as Australia, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Malta, Spain, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Ukraine and U.S.S.R. (here taken together), China, Hong Kong, India and Sri Lanka (here taken together), Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Cyprus, Lebanon, Turkey, Canada, U.S.A., Chile, Egypt, South Africa, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea, although not all at each census, as indicated in Table 5.3. The number of categories for calculating the indices depends on the number of ethnically significant countries at individual censuses. All other countries at each census are grouped as a residual category.


4. Persons not stating their birthplace are assumed to be Australian-born.

Sources: As for Table 6.1.
In the extreme two-class case of Table 6.1, standardisation doubled the indices. However, it had far less effect on the indices in Table 6.2, where the population was divided into as many as 34 classes in 1981. Standardised levels of diversity among ethnically significant birthplaces rose from two-fifths in 1947 to close to four-fifths in 1981.

Diversity according to the broad geographical regions referred to above was markedly higher within the overseas-born population alone than within the total population, because each region's contribution was more significant when no longer swamped by the Australian-born (Table 6.3). After initial rapid post-war diversification, rates of change remained low as the immigration patterns of the early post-war years were maintained (Table 4.4). However, from the mid-1960s growth rates among the smaller immigrant populations were in general high or increasing, compared with the declining ones for the U.K. and Eire, and other European populations (Table 5.2). Regional diversification therefore showed some recovery, especially at the end of the 1970s (Table 6.3).

Among the overseas-born, the standardised index of diversity was already 0.77 in 1947 for the above ethnically significant countries. It grew most rapidly to 0.87 in 1954, as many more birthplaces became major contributors to population diversity (Table 5.3). Diversity declined marginally in the early 1960s when there were no important new contributors, but was beginning to recover after that period as individual Asian and American countries increasingly joined the ethnically significant ranks. It had therefore reached 0.91 by 1981.

6.3.2 Race

Because the total population was even more concentrated into one racial category than one birthplace, there were very low indices of diversity by European and non-European categories, even in 1976. However, their accompanying rates of diversification, 5.8 per cent during 1966-71 and 10.1 per cent over 1971-76, reflect the rapidity with which small but growing numbers of non-Europeans were incorporated into the total Australian population from the late 1960s, through identification as Aboriginals, immigration and natural increase. With the division of the non-European population into more detailed racial origins23 there were only minor increases in the indices of diversity, again because of the dominance of the European population.

23. Australian Aboriginal, Chinese, Indian and Pakistani, Japanese, Malay, Pacific Islander (as defined in Table 5.6), Syrian and Lebanese, Torres Strait Islander and 'other'. Not all these origins were recorded individually in 1947, 1971 and 1976. For these censuses, there were fewer categories for calculating the indices.
### Table 6.3: Indices of Diversity and Rates of Diversification by Overseas Regions of Birth: Overseas-Born Population of Australia: 1947 to 1981 Censuses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENSUS</th>
<th>INTERCENSAL PERIOD</th>
<th>$A_w$ (%)</th>
<th>$r_w$</th>
<th>$A'_w$ (%)</th>
<th>$r'_w$</th>
<th>Population in Scope (000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1947-54</td>
<td>0.44337</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>0.51727</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>744.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1954-61</td>
<td>0.58453</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.68195</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>1286.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1961-66</td>
<td>0.59291</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.69173</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>1778.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1966-71</td>
<td>0.60082</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.70096</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>2130.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1971-76</td>
<td>0.63069</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.73581</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>2579.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1976-81</td>
<td>0.65816</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.76786</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>2718.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.70144</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.81835</td>
<td></td>
<td>3003.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Diversification in this case is defined as a more even distribution between overseas regions of birth of members of the overseas-born population.

2. U.K. and Eire, other Europe, Asia, America, Africa, Oceania and 'at sea'.

3. Persons not stating their birthplace are assumed to be Australian-born.

Sources: As for Table 6.1.
Omitting the European population led to far more pronounced diversity, 0.63 in 1947 and over 0.80 in the early 1970s, according to A'. Yet these levels were not as high as the comparable ones for individual countries of birth, both because of the fewer race than birthplace categories at each census and because of the pre-eminence of Aboriginals amongst the non-Europeans. Although Aboriginals became considerably less dominant over the post-war period (Figure 5.2), they still caused the rate of diversification to remain low. Unfortunately, no clear trends in diversification by racial origin are apparent for the 1966-71 and 1971-76 intercensal periods, because of the reduction in the number of race categories coded in 1971 and 1976, the consequent increase in the relative size of the aggregated 'other' category at each of these censuses and the increasing propensity of the population to identify as Aboriginals.

6.3.3 Parentage

When the population was divided into two main parentage categories, Australian on the one hand and overseas and mixed on the other, there was a very slight decline in diversity, i.e. homogenisation, between 1971 and 1976 (Table 6.4), because of the shift from the second to the third-plus generation noted in Chapter 5. Yet the index of diversity, standardised for the division into only two classes, remained higher than all other such indices examined above for this period. The reason is that the population outside the Australian parentage core was relatively larger than each of the overseas-born and non-European categories. This reinforces the importance of parentage as a source of diversity within Australia's population.

The unstandardised levels of diversity were higher at each census when the total population was split into Australian and other individual parentages. It rose further when those of Australian parentage were excluded. Importantly too, there was minor diversification between 1971 and 1976 within the population of overseas and mixed origins. This reflects the contributions of immigrants from sources which were then new or expanding, for example Asia and Yugoslavia, as well as earlier settlers whose increasing periods of residence provided greater opportunities for intermarriage and childbearing in Australia.

24. First and second generations combined, as defined in Chapter 5. At the 1971 Census these were: U.K. and Eire, Italian, Greek and Cypriot, German, Maltese, Dutch, Yugoslav, Polish, other Eastern European, Asian (excluding Cypriot, Syrian, Lebanese and Israeli), and 'other and not stated' together; at the 1976 Census: U.K. and Eire, Italian, Greek and Cypriot, German, Maltese, Dutch, Yugoslav, other European including Lebanese, Asian (not elsewhere included) and 'other'.
### TABLE 6.4: INDICES OF DIVERSITY AND RATES OF DIVERSIFICATION\(^1\) BY AUSTRALIAN, AND OVERSEAS AND MIXED PARENTAGES: TOTAL POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA: 1971 AND 1976 CENSUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENSUS</th>
<th>INTERCENSAL PERIOD</th>
<th>(A_w)</th>
<th>(r_w)</th>
<th>(A'_w)</th>
<th>(r'_w)</th>
<th>Population in Scope ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.47772</td>
<td>0.95544</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12755.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-76</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12755.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.47066</td>
<td>0.94132</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13032.6(^2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Diversification in this case is defined as a change from all members of the population having Australian parentage to half having Australian and half having overseas or mixed parentage.

2. Excludes respondents the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.

**Sources:**
6.3.4 Language Usage

Chapter 5 noted that, at the beginning of the post-war period, Australia's population had been almost entirely born in major English-speaking countries and so was potentially able to speak English. With early post-war immigration linguistic diversification took place at extremely high rates - an average of 18 per cent per annum during 1947-54 - because of the influx for the first time of high numbers of settlers from non-English-speaking countries. Thereafter diversification slowed progressively to reach almost a standstill during 1971-76.

Diversity at the 1976 Census according to languages regularly used reflects both the range of languages recorded, with and without English, and the dominance of the use of English alone. The standardised level of diversity in 1976 was higher according to potential English-speaking ability (0.38) than languages regularly used (0.24), because of the fewer classes of the former.

6.4 DIVERSITY ACCORDING TO A NUMBER OF ETHNIC VARIABLES AT THE 1976 CENSUS

At the 1976 Census Australia's population was most diverse according to the ethnic variables on matrix tape 12 (Table 6.5) - birthplace, birthplace of parents, citizenship and period of residence - rather than the larger number of categories from tape 38. The addition of the variables religion, language B and age to those from tape 12 reduced the relative size of the 'core' Australian category, 38A, as defined in Chapter 5, and in fact caused the largest three categories from tape 38 to be smaller than the equivalent-ranked ones from the other tapes. However, because the categories from tape 38 consisted basically of one large and very many smaller ones, the population was distributed less evenly according to tape 38 than tape 12. The other two tapes also allocated the population less evenly than tape 12, because of relatively high concentration in just a few of the possible categories, especially for tape 11.

25. Australia, the U.K. and Eire, New Zealand, the U.S.A., Canada and South Africa. All other countries are considered here to be non-English-speaking.

26. Languages coded consisted of Aboriginal, Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Macedonian, Polish, Serbo-Croat, Spanish, Ukrainian and language same as birthplace: Czech, Hungarian, Maltese, Portuguese, Russian, Slovene, Turkish and other. See Chapter 5 for comments about problems associated with the coding of the language question at the 1976 Census.
TABLE 6.5: INDICES OF DIVERSITY\(^1\) BY SUMMARY ETHNIC CATEGORIES\(^2\): TOTAL POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA: 1976 CENSUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MATRIX TAPE</th>
<th>ETHNIC VARIABLES</th>
<th>(A_w)</th>
<th>(A'_w)</th>
<th>Population in Scope ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Birthplace, Citizenship, Race, Language A (Figure 5.4)</td>
<td>0.27637</td>
<td>0.28839</td>
<td>13,548.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Resident/Visitor Status, Race, Birthplace, Religion (Figure 5.5)</td>
<td>0.23407</td>
<td>0.24435</td>
<td>13,548.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Birthplace, Birthplace of Parents, Citizenship, Period of Residence (Figure 5.6)</td>
<td>0.35107</td>
<td>0.35854</td>
<td>13,548.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Birthplace, Birthplace of Parents, Period of Residence, Religion, Citizenship, Language B, Age (Figure 5.7)</td>
<td>0.33448</td>
<td>0.33506</td>
<td>13,548.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Diversity in this case is defined as a more even distribution of the population across the various summary ethnic categories available from the individual 1976 Census matrix tapes.

2. Summary categories of ethnic variables as defined in Figures 5.4 to 5.7.

3. For this formula \(N\) is the total number of combinations of all possible variables. See formula II in text.

Sources: A.B.S., 1976 Census: Matrix tapes 4, 11, 12 and 38.
6.5 DIVERSITY AND DIVERSIFICATION BETWEEN 1947 AND 1978

Diversity at the 1976 Census did not reach higher levels than shown in Table 6.5 because of the overwhelming size of the core category even from tape 38. The removal of this category, through ascribing the population to its ancestral origins, caused Australia's population to be distributed more evenly and hence rated considerably more diverse, even in 1947. Standardised levels of diversity were 0.73 in 1947 and 0.79 in 1978. Diversification over the whole period 1947 to 1978 therefore proceeded at a low rate, although it seems fair to assume that over these years it underwent peaks and troughs akin to those for ethnically significant countries of birth.

CHAPTER 7
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AND WITHIN MAJOR ETHNIC CATEGORIES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 examined the ethnic diversification of Australia's total population over the post-war period. Chapter 6 then quantified these changes using indices of diversity and diversification. This chapter considers not the whole population, but selected ethnic categories within it and describes some of the variation they have contributed to significant characteristics of the total population.

The categories studied in this chapter include the most sizeable as identified in Chapter 5, as well as others which provide a wider range of diversity. Certain birthplaces and racial origins are examined at each post-war census to 1976, as are the generations of various parentage categories at the 1976 Census. The Australian-born are the standard against which the other birthplaces and the races are compared: persons born in each of the U.K. and Eire - all constituent countries combined for simplicity; Germany and the Netherlands to represent north-west Europe; Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia as typical of southern Europe; Poland for eastern Europe; Lebanon (with Syria in 1947) as part of the Middle East, because immigration from there was of longer standing than from Turkey but also exhibited a recent rapid upturn; Aboriginals as a category in their own right and Chinese on behalf of Asians, with the last two also grouped as non-Europeans. The overseas and mixed parentage categories are U.K. and Eire, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek and Cypriot (combined), and Yugoslav, examined internally by generation and compared with those of Australian parentage.

The relative sizes of the above ethnic categories were discussed in Chapter 5 and are repeated in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. The Aboriginal population included in Table 7.1 differs from other definitions used above in that it consists of all persons for whom cross-classified data are available. To 1966 it comprises only those of half-caste origin, so that the significant increase between 1966 and 1971 is due to the change at the 1971 Census of cross-classifying all persons who described themselves as 'Aboriginal' and to some

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1. Few data on population characteristics by parentage are available from the 1971 Census, so that ethnic categories are considered here only for 1976.

2. As shown in Chapter 5, many persons of Chinese race have been born outside China, so that it is more appropriate to consider the category defined in racial terms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENSUS</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>U.K. &amp; Eire</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>Yugoslavia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
<th>Lebanon</th>
<th>Aboriginal</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>6835.2</td>
<td>541.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>7700.1</td>
<td>664.3</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>119.9</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>8729.4</td>
<td>755.4</td>
<td>109.3</td>
<td>102.1</td>
<td>228.3</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>9419.5</td>
<td>908.7</td>
<td>108.7</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>267.3</td>
<td>140.1</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>10176.3</td>
<td>1088.2</td>
<td>110.8</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>289.5</td>
<td>160.2</td>
<td>129.8</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>106.3</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>10829.6</td>
<td>1117.6</td>
<td>107.6</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>280.1</td>
<td>152.9</td>
<td>143.6</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>144.4</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Includes Syria in 1947.
2. Excludes full-blood Aboriginals in censuses to 1966 and consists of persons who described themselves as Aboriginals in 1971 and 1976.
3. Full-blood and half-caste Chinese to 1966 then as self-described in 1971 and 1976.

Sources:
racial re-identification, rather than to extreme rates of growth. The Lebanese-born and Chinese were the smallest categories studied, but their increases at the beginning of the 1970s, when racial discrimination was removed from immigration policies and when large numbers of Asian students were coming to Australia, are clearly discernible.

Table 7.2 shows that the first generation of some overseas and mixed parentage categories was close to the size of the equivalent birthplaces at the 1976 Census. Others, however, were smaller because relatively high proportions of respondents did not state the birthplace of their parents. The addition of Cypriots to Greeks caused their combined first generation to exceed the Greek-born population, while Cypriots are likely to have had little impact on the size of the second generation, due to their generally recent settlement in Australia by 1976. The second generations of the long-established U.K. and Eire and German populations exceeded their first generations, while that of the Yugoslav category was less than half its first generation, due again to the recency in 1976 of much immigration from that origin.

Although the source of the measures used in Chapter 6 also provides indices for calculating diversity between populations, they are not regarded as the most suitable means of measuring differences between ethnic categories in the current analysis. Some of the characteristics investigated in the present chapter have their own summary rates and ratios. Other differences from the standard categories may be more appropriately quantified by the index of dissimilarity, which is considered to be 'particularly pertinent' in comparing the characteristics of two ethnic categories.

The index of dissimilarity measures the proportion of the first population which would need to be distributed differently according to some characteristic to fit the other population, here the standard ethnic category, i.e.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERATION</th>
<th>Australian</th>
<th>U.K. &amp; Eire</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Greek &amp; Cypriot</th>
<th>Yugoslav</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('000)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1116.4</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>92.5</td>
<td>269.4</td>
<td>170.2</td>
<td>138.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1271.4</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>233.9</td>
<td>117.0</td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First &amp; Second</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>2387.8</td>
<td>178.3</td>
<td>182.1</td>
<td>503.4</td>
<td>287.2</td>
<td>204.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-plus</td>
<td>8094.8</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.a. = not applicable.

1. Excludes persons the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.

where $X_i$ is the percentage in class $i$ of a characteristic of the standard ethnic category, $Y_i$ is the percentage in class $i$ of the same characteristic of another ethnic category, and $N$ is the number of classes. $I_D$ has a range from 0 to 100. Like the index of diversity (see Chapter 6), it is affected by the number of classes in the distribution and has been used here only to compared like numbers of classes with like.

7.2 BIRTHPLACES AND RACIAL ORIGINS AT POST-WAR CENSUSES

Although other characteristics would have also provided effective indicators of the nature of settlement in Australia by the various ethnic categories, those examined below are considered to the most generally useful.

7.2.1 Age-Sex Distribution And Dependency Burden

Each ethnic category studied has been concentrated at working ages, 15-64 years, over the post-war period. The trends for the Australian-born are summarised in the triangular graph in Figure 7.2, while Figure 7.1 demonstrates the use to which such graphs are put in this chapter. Figure 7.2 shows that there were moderate decreases in the proportion of Australian-born persons in this age group from 66 per cent in 1947 to 58 per cent in 1961, with slighter increases to 1976. The annual number of births in Australia peaked in 1961, causing the proportion of young dependants to increase to that date. Although births later rose to an all-time high in 1971, this proportion did not rise further, as working age persons and aged dependants, 65+ years, were increasing more rapidly. Older persons born in Australia climbed to around 6 per cent in 1961 and remained around that level to 1976.

These trends mean that the greatest changes in the Australian-born population's age structure occurred between 1947 and 1961, although Figure 7.2 shows even these to be small. They mean also that the total dependency ratio

---

11. The number of young (0-14 years) and aged (65+ years) dependants per 100 persons of working age (15-64 years).
FIGURE 7.1: TRIANGULAR GRAPH INDICATING DISTRIBUTION OF BROAD AGE GROUPS

Per cent 0-14 years

Per cent 15-64 years

Per cent 65+ years

Mostly Working Age

Mostly Young Dependents

Mostly Aged Dependents

increased to 1961 before falling again. Throughout the whole post-war period, the young comprised the greater share of the dependency burden, 12 close to 80 per cent at each census date. However, their dependency ratio increased only to 1961 while that of the aged rose to 1976. Furthermore, the sex ratio 13 of the elderly decreased to 1966, indicating an increasing need for social support by females at higher ages.

At each post-war census, there were noticeable differences between the age-sex distributions of the Australian-born and the other ethnic categories. In 1947 27 per cent of those born in the U.K. and Eire would have needed to have been in different age groups for them to have had the same broad distribution as the Australian-born. As indicated in Table 2.2, there was a decline in the size of the U.K. and Eire-born population between 1933 and 1947, so that by the latter date these persons comprised a relatively elderly population category (Figure 7.2), with 24 per cent aged over 65 years and less than one per cent under 15 years. Figure 7.2 shows that this category then underwent considerable rejuvenation because of high immigration levels during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1971 there were 15 per cent in each of the age groups 0-14 and 65+ and the index of dissimilarity had fallen to 18. Population ageing recommenced, however, in the early 1970s when immigration levels fell. The U.K. and Eire category also had higher proportions than the Australian-born at working ages and consequently lower dependency ratios. In contrast to those of the Australian-born, their dependents were more aged than young, especially at the beginning of the post-war period.

Compared with the other ethnic categories, the age distributions of the populations born in north-west Europe underwent the greatest swings from one census to the next (Figure 7.2). In 1947 the German-born showed themselves to have an even higher proportion at older ages than the British, because of their long but not recent history of immigration (Table 2.2). 14 They were considerably more aged than the newly immigrating Dutch, who were particularly clustered at working ages. By 1954 high levels of family migration had caused the north-west European age distributions to be less dissimilar to that of the Australian-born than any other birthplace categories before or since. 15 From 1954-61, the German- and Dutch-born began to concentrate further at working ages,

12. The number of young and aged dependants.
13. The number of males per 100 females.
15. The indices of dissimilarity were 9 for the German-born and 7 for the Dutch-born in 1954.
especially during 1961-66 (Figure 7.2), when immigration and hence population growth was slower (Tables 4.4 and 7.1). There was little ageing of the population in proportionate terms, but a consistent movement away from young dependants, so that by 1976 elderly persons were the larger part of their dependency burdens. Despite the immigration of families, the sex ratio for older Dutch-born persons was still well above 100 in 1976.

Unlike the populations born in the U.K. and Eire, and Germany, those born in southern Europe increased through immigration between 1933 and 1947 (Table 2.2). They were therefore not aged in 1947, but were even more concentrated at working ages than the Dutch-born, over 90 per cent for each birthplace (Figure 7.3). Well over 80 per cent of southern Europeans continued to be aged 15-64 years to 1976, because of the influx of settlers at these ages, firstly from Italy, then from Greece and most recently from Yugoslavia (Chapter 4). However, there was also some increase in the proportions under 15 years from Italy and Greece to 1961 and from Yugoslavia to 1971. This trend caused concern at the time with the number of children who did not speak English.

In the initial post-war years there was an upturn in the already high sex ratio at working ages for the Italian-born, caused by the arrival of many men who were unmarried or who came without their families, as part of migration chains. After that time they began returning to Italy to find and/or bring out wives and children, while the immigration of whole families also became a greater component of settler arrivals from Italy because of the extension of government assistance to southern Europeans. For Greeks, the declining sex ratio at working and older ages indicates that government-assisted family migration - and even that of single females - was the pattern from the early post-war years, as much as single male migration. Similarly,

16. See also Borrie (1954), op. cit., p. 52.
20. Ibid., p. 136.
FIGURE 7.3: SUMMARY AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF PERSONS BORN IN ITALY, GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES

Sources: As for Figure 7.2.
immigration from Yugoslavia after the War was able to go some way towards reducing the high sex ratio at the oldest ages and its related social problems. Later immigration included both families and unattached males, so that although masculinity amongst working-age persons also decreased, it was still 126 in 1976.

Because of the general concentration at working ages, the dependency burden falling on southern Europeans remained relatively low in the post-war period. They were predominantly young dependants from 1954, except for Italians in 1976, as population ageing coincided with total net migration losses in the early 1970s (Table 4.4).

Like persons from southern Europe, the Poles were very much clustered at working ages immediately after the Second World War (Figure 7.4), because of population growth since the Great Depression years and the earliest arrivals of Displaced Persons (Chapter 4). In addition, aged persons comprised 9 per cent of the Polish-born, because of adult migration over an extended period.

With the upsurge in post-war immigration, the extreme predominance of working age persons continued, although there was a slight shift to young dependants and away from old ones by 1954. From the end of the 1950s until the turn of the 1980s there was far less immigration from Poland (Figure 4.1), so that the Polish-born population experienced considerable ageing. In 1976 96 per cent of its dependency burden was elderly, although this seems likely to change with immigration during the 1980s.

Arrivals from Poland in the early post-war years were very largely male. These persons had little chance of bringing out a bride or family, although intermarriage (see Chapter 4) and a small wave of Polish immigration in the late 1950s provided some relief. Nevertheless, many of them remained unmarried and attempted to compensate for their lack of family life in Australia through membership of formal organisations. Despite these measures, these persons often remained socially isolated in Australia and experienced attendant problems such as alcoholism and psychiatric disturbances which became especially prevalent as the population reached older ages. From the end of the 1970s,

FIGURE 7.4: SUMMARY AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF PERSONS BORN IN POLAND AND LEBANON AND OF ABORIGINALS AND CHINESE: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES


Sources: As for Figure 7.2.
however, the Polish community was making efforts to provide relief to its needy older members.\textsuperscript{27}

Compared with the populations from other birthplaces, the number of persons born in Lebanon and Syria stagnated over the early years of the twentieth century,\textsuperscript{28} so that by 1947 they were relatively elderly.\textsuperscript{27} Immigration during 1947-54 rejuvenated the Lebanese-born, in part because of the arrival of single males at working ages\textsuperscript{29} (Figure 7.4). Further population growth to 1966 caused a higher concentration at working ages and a proportional reduction of aged persons, while from 1966 to 1971 young dependants increased their share of the total. The refugee and special program arrivals of the late 1970s (Chapter 2) seem likely to consolidate the population at working and younger ages.

Although their age distributions have been considerably different from each other, the Aboriginal and Chinese populations have each had consistently lower indices of dissimilarity from the total Australian-born than the birthplace categories,\textsuperscript{30} between 10 and 20. The major difference between the Aboriginal and Australian-born categories was the Aboriginals' higher proportions at young ages and their resulting lower concentration at working ages. As indicated in Figure 7.4, around 50 per cent of the Aboriginal people were recorded in each of the young and working age groups at each census, with never more than 4 per cent over age 65. Their total dependency ratio was therefore higher than that of the Australian-born. From 1954 to 1966 it was above 100 and only in 1976 was it below 90. Although these dependants were almost entirely young, in certain Aboriginal communities the economic needs of children may not be great and their care and instruction may be the responsibility of the whole community, rather than of individual parents as in the wider society.\textsuperscript{31} The sex ratio of Aboriginals at older ages also bears noting. Amongst the comparatively small aged population the ratio exceeded 100, reflecting often continuous childbearing,\textsuperscript{32} female mortality greater than that of the general population\textsuperscript{33} and the low status of female Aboriginals.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{27} Unikoski (1978), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{28} C.B.C.S., 1947 Census: Volume 1 Detailed Tables, Part XII Birthplace, p. 614.
\textsuperscript{29} Department of Immigration (1968), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{30} Except for the north-west Europeans mentioned above, the indices for birthplace categories were between 20 and 30.
\textsuperscript{31} National Population Inquiry (1975), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 505.
\textsuperscript{32} Jones (1983 forthcoming), \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{33} National Population Inquiry (1975), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 505-507.
\textsuperscript{34} Ware, Helen (1983 forthcoming), 'Status of Women', United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (1983 forthcoming), \textit{op. cit.}.
At the 1947 and 1954 Censuses, persons of Chinese origin showed the effects of a much earlier immigration which had fallen markedly as recent restrictions became more pronounced. There were proportions at working ages similar to those of the Australian-born and comparatively high proportions aged over 65 years - the survivors of the earlier predominantly male movements. From 1961 to 1976 there was an increase in the concentration at working ages to around three-quarters and a corresponding decrease in the proportion who were aged (Figure 7.4). This was because post-war immigration was generally more balanced in terms of age and sex, young adults were increasingly permitted temporary residence as students and there was rising mortality among those at advanced ages.

The total Chinese dependency ratio therefore declined between 1947 and 1971, but rose slightly to 1976 as that population sustained a burst of growth in the early 1970s (Table 7.1). The inability or disinclination of Chinese males to bring their families to Australia in the earlier part of the century (Chapter 2) is well demonstrated in the sex ratio at ages over 65 of 1058 in 1947. This ratio had approximately halved by 1954 and continued falling to the 1970s, while masculinity at working ages also fell from 1954, as little by little wives and children were allowed to accompany their male relations (Chapter 2).

7.2.2 Female Labour Force Participation

During the post-war period females experienced far more significant changes to their labour force participation rates than did males, so that only female patterns are examined here. The new trends were largely a result of increased participation by married women from the mid-1960s, because of

38. The number of females in the labour force per 100 in the population.
earlier marriage and family-building\textsuperscript{41} and longer life after childbearing.\textsuperscript{42} However, shifts in the Australian economy and its industrial base provided different opportunities, such as more clerical and sales positions available to females.\textsuperscript{43} In addition, participation rates by the females of individual ethnic categories were influenced by the acceptability or otherwise in the country of origin of females' working outside the home and the need to supplement the family's income in Australia, especially if it were anxious to acquire its own home.\textsuperscript{45} Furthermore, there was a move away from the immigration of females primarily as spouses or potential spouses of male immigrants and an increasing recognition of the contribution of female immigrants in their own right.\textsuperscript{46}

Between the 1961 and 1966 Censuses the coverage of the labour force changed from persons of all ages engaged in an industry or business to those who answered 'yes' to any of a series of questions about working or looking for work.\textsuperscript{47} The major component of the resulting increase was females working part-time, sometimes for only a few hours a week.\textsuperscript{48} From 1966 it also became possible to calculate age-standardised participation rates\textsuperscript{49} as well as the crude ones available to the 1961 Census. The Australian-born female population aged over 15 was taken as the standard population for these calculations.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Richmond (1974), \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 271.
\item Broom and Jones (1976), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 32 and p. 37 and Richmond (1974), \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 271.
\item Ware (1981), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 45.
\item Ibid., p. 7.
\item These remove the effects on the crude rates of the different age distributions of the various ethnic categories. See also Shryock, Siegel and Associates (1975), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 289-290.
\end{enumerate}
The crude rates show (Table 7.3) that there was relatively little change in the proportion of Australian-born females in the labour force, close to one-fifth between 1947 and 1961. However, from 1966 the new definitions and employment patterns caused upturns in participation rates. By contrast, crude rates for the other birthplaces generally climbed over the whole post-war period. For the Polish-born, who were beginning to age as the period advanced, there was, however, a decline from 1966, while for those born in Greece and Germany, there was a dip between 1966 and 1971 (Table 7.3).

When the effects of the greater concentration at working and older ages of the U.K. and Eire- and German-born populations (Figure 7.2) were removed by standardisation, similar participation patterns remained between 1966 and 1976 (Table 7.3). Moreover, at each census they exceeded the Australian-born's rate, possibly because of higher education levels. The rates for Dutch-born females again increased over time, but from 1966 they were slightly below those of the Australian-born.

Likewise, age-standardisation did not change the general trends in crude rates for the southern European birthplaces. The increases by the Italian-born females were perhaps due to moves away from traditional roles, in which they were not encouraged to train for a career outside the home and to individual economic needs in Australia. Unlike the British- and German-born, the earlier high participation by Greek-born females was not due to superior educational levels, but possibly to the increased authority commanded by a Greek wife from working outside the home as well as bearing children, as much as to economic necessity. Yugoslav-born females were the category with the highest standardised proportion in the labour force in 1976 - 48 per cent of those aged over 15 years. For recent arrivals among them, participation may have been associated with the desire to establish themselves financially.

50. No data on labour force participation are available from the 1947 to 1961 Censuses for Aboriginals or Chinese.
55. Bottomley, Gillian (1979), After the Odyssey. A Study of Greek Australians, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, p. 86.
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n.a. = not available.

1. Proportion of females in the labour force. For the 1947 to 1961 Censuses, the proportion relates to all females. For the later censuses it relates only to females over 15 years with an expanded definition of the labour force explained in the text.

2. No data on labour force participation by age group are available from the 1947 to 1961 Censuses, so that the participation rates calculated for these censuses are crude. From 1966 to 1976 age data are available for most ethnic categories, so that as well as crude rates, it is possible to calculate a rate standardised against the age-distribution of the Australian-born aged over 15 years.


In contrast to the other categories, age-standardisation curbed the steady falls in labour force participation noted above for Polish-born females. In other words, the growing proportion of the total Polish-born population aged above 65 years (Figure 7.4) caused little real reduction in female labour force participation because of the relatively few females at advanced ages.

Standardisation also caused marked changes in participation by the Middle Eastern-born. Restrictions on female employment in Lebanon, as well as high levels of childbearing in Australia (Chapter 4), caused this category to have the lowest standardised participation rates of the birthplaces studied, a result noted elsewhere when standardising for period of residence rather than age. The increase in participation during the 1970s was relatively slight, despite the waves of immigration from the late 1960s to the late 1970s (Figure 4.1) and presumably the desire by these immigrants to establish themselves over the next few years.

Few data are available on labour force participation by race, even from 1966 and especially for the Chinese. All that can be determined for 1966 is that crude participation by females of both races was markedly lower than for all Australian-born ones. Participation by Aboriginals was particularly low, presumably because there was discrimination against them and/or because many of them were concentrated in rural areas far removed from employment opportunities. Although there was a significant upswing in their participation from 1971, perhaps for such reasons as increased exposure to European education and also government-initiated schemes to provide employment or vocational training, even in 1976 the standardised rate was less than three-fifths that for all Australian-born females. Likely causes are no previous work experience or history, the 'discouraged worker' effect and the size and nature of employment, including the fact that Aboriginals register for employment far less than other Australians. Official unemployment levels and rates may, in

58. Ibid., pp. 43-44 and p. 131.
fact, grossly distort the true picture of labour force participation by Aboriginals.

7.2.3 Occupational Distribution

Occupation is examined here because it is a useful measure of socio-economic status. It is used to compare the economic well-being of the various ethnic categories under study.

Those in the Australian labour force (both males and females) from 1947 to 1966 and employed persons aged 15 years and over in 1971 and 1976 may be classified into two broad occupational groups: professional, technical, administrative and managerial workers; and 'other' workers, so dividing the labour force or employed population into two status groups. Information on occupation by birthplace is not available from the 1954 Census and for racial origins only between 1966 and 1976, so that the census is able to show only some of the variety in the circumstances of individual ethnic categories according to occupation.

Australian-born males underwent a steady increase in their overall status through growing concentration in professional and managerial occupations, especially between 1947 and 1961 (Table 7.4), as changes were made to the Australian economy in the earlier post-war years. Proportional increases in professional and managerial workers also took place for Australian-born females. However, their high-status occupation group included many lower professionals such as nurses and teachers, so that they were already more concentrated in this group in 1947 than were males.

There was considerable variety in the broad occupational distributions of other ethnic categories. Males born in the U.K. and Eire were slightly more clustered at each post-war census in professional and managerial occupations than were their Australian-born equivalents. This demonstrates that in the early post-war years Australia looked to Britain to meet high level deficiencies

62. The labour force relates to persons of all ages at censuses from 1947 to 1961, but only to persons aged 15 years or more from 1966.
63. The change in the census classification of occupation from labour force to employed persons 15 years and over means that unemployed persons are omitted in 1971 and 1976. Direct comparability with the earlier part of the series is therefore not possible, especially for any occupation groups with high unemployment levels.
64. Broom and Jones (1976), op. cit., p. 37.
TABLE 7.4: SUMMARY OCCUPATION GROUPS OF SELECTED BIRTHPLACES AND RACIAL ORIGINS BY SEX: AUSTRALIA: 1947 TO 1976 CENSUSES

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<th>CENSUS</th>
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<th>Birthplace - U.K. &amp; EIRE</th>
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(Cont.)...
TABLE 7.4: (Cont.)

n.a. = not available.
1. Professional, technical, administrative and managerial workers.
4. So called 'official Aborigines' at the 1966 Census who were described as being of half or more Aboriginal descent.

in its labour force. The workers in demand were principally male, so that amongst female workers even from the U.K. and Eire there was a fall in concentration at higher levels between 1947 and 1961 which they never regained.

Until 1961 there was a proportional move away from higher level occupations for north-west European males and females. After this census, however, their broad occupational distributions assumed considerable similarity to those of the Australian-born. From the mid-1970s their concentration in high status occupations actually exceeded that of the Australian-born, as Australia sought to attract highly-skilled workers from north-west Europe as well as from Britain.

The Italian-and Yugoslav-born showed little difference from the occupational distribution of the Australian-born in 1947, while the Greek-born had higher proportions in prestige occupations and significant proportions who were employers or self-employed.65 Whereas the Australian-born of both sexes then increased their status, those from Italy and Greece suffered overall declines - particularly amongst females - over their periods of major post-war immigration to the 1960s, as these countries supplied mostly unskilled and semi-skilled workers.66 Similarly, with the upturn in immigration from Yugoslavia around the turn of the 1970s, there was only minimal change in status, because of relatively few professional and skilled arrivals.67

Those born in southern Europe therefore remained disadvantaged in employment compared with the Australian-born. This was due to their occupational distribution prior to migration, their low educational levels including their relatively few qualifications obtained before coming to Australia, the minimal rates at which those overseas qualifications they did have were recognised in Australia and their general lack of knowledge of English.68 Accordingly, they suffered other economic maladies,69 although many attempted to relieve them by

pursuing jobs offering opportunities to work overtime, so as to boost their earnings.\textsuperscript{70}

These findings echo those of Zubrzycki who placed Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs — along with the Maltese — at the bottom of his system of ethnic stratification on occupational terms.\textsuperscript{71} They also support more recent claims that, even with lengthy residence in Australia, some workers are 'stuck' in low-grade occupations,\textsuperscript{72} although others very much improve their collective statuses with increasing length of residence.\textsuperscript{73} Contrary to these findings, it has been argued that occupational distribution is more a function of opportunities on arrival in Australia, than any definite trend to upward mobility with lengthening residence.\textsuperscript{74} What remains is that absolute levels of high status workers remained low amongst these birthplace categories (Table 7.4).

Within the Polish-born population, there were high proportions reporting professional and managerial occupations in 1947, especially among males. These were probably the survivors of the small refugee elite settling in Australia from the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{75} By 1961, however, the proportions for both sexes had fallen significantly to a little below those of the Australian-born, as there were few better-educated refugee arrivals shortly after the War.\textsuperscript{76} Between 1961 and 1976 there were minor increases to the proportion of Polish-born workers in higher status occupations, reflecting perhaps the greater experience of an ageing labour force.

\textsuperscript{70} Tsounis (1975), \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 29.


\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., Tables 7 and 9.

\textsuperscript{74} Ware (1981), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57.


Although the Lebanese-born improved their occupational status early in the post-war period, later immigration generally caused declines in the concentration in high status occupations as very few trained workers came from the Middle East. The Lebanese - like southern Europeans and for the same reasons - were therefore disadvantaged, as relatively high proportions of them were at lower occupational levels than in their homeland.

Compared with the total Australian-born, Aboriginals remained under-represented in professional and managerial occupations, despite slight increases over time for both sexes, because of movement away from rural occupations. Their low formal educational qualifications stood against them, as did their continuing geographical remoteness from such jobs. The Chinese, by extreme contrast, were very much more concentrated in upper level occupations than the Australian-born. There was an increase between 1966 and 1976 in the already high share for males, because of the disproportionately large intake of professional and skilled workers who arrived after the introduction of the 'Distinguished and Highly Qualified Asians' immigration category in 1966. In addition, some of those who came to Australia as students remained after they had obtained their qualifications (see Chapter 2).

7.2.4 Industry Distribution

The industries in which individual ethnic categories are engaged at different censuses indicate whether they are benefiting from any post-war changes to the Australian economy, such as increasing employment in tertiary industries and declining proportions in primary industries. Even in 1954,

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77. Australian Population and Immigration Council (1977), op. cit., p. 46.
78. Australian Population and Immigration Council (1976), op. cit., p. 52.
79. Ibid., p. 32.
83. Industry divisions have been grouped into four, following Gerschuny, Jonathan (1978), After Industrial Society? The emerging self-service economy, Macmillan, London, p. 60. The divisions are: primary - agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting; and mining; secondary - manufacturing; intermediate - electricity, gas and water; construction; transport and storage; and communication; tertiary - wholesale and retail trade; finance, insurance, real estate and business services; public administration and defence; community services; entertainment, recreation, restaurants, hotels and personal services; and 'other' industries.
when information on industry and birthplace first became available, almost
two-thirds of Australian-born females were employed in tertiary industries -
which include teaching and nursing - over double the proportion for males.
Such differences between the sexes were noticeable for all ethnic categories
except Aboriginais and are perhaps of greater moment than inter-ethnic
variations, although the latter are of more concern here. The main
distinction between those born in the U.K. and Eire, and Australia was the
former's smaller proportions in primary industries, reflecting their greater
concentration in urban areas. Their large numbers in tertiary industries
support the evidence noted above for high participation in professional and
managerial occupations. Over time the industrial distributions of the north-west
European populations also became increasingly similar to that of the Australian-
born. In fact, by 1976 only the U.K. and Eire's distribution was more alike.
For each birthplace and sex from north-west Europe, there was again relatively
high concentration in tertiary industries, but also in intermediate industries
for males.

The comparative occupational disadvantages recorded above for those born in
southern Europe are reflected in their industrial distributions. Even with
increases over the post-war period, the proportions of each sex in tertiary
industries were far lower than for the Australian-born. The dominant industry
for females and for the highly urbanised Greeks was manufacturing, i.e.
production process work, particularly at earlier post-war censuses. Italian-born
males were over-represented in intermediate industries, many of them in 'dirtier'
jobs and they were also much more frequently found in primary industries than
the other southern Europeans, because their concentration in metropolitan areas
was lower, especially than the Greek-born.

Likewise, the eastern European-born labour force/employed population
exhibited dissimilarities to that of the Australian-born. Although the

4, State and Territory Population Growth in Australia, A.G.P.S.,
Canberra, p. 11.
86. Ibid., p. 11 and Bottomley (1979), op. cit., p. 47.
87. Birrell, Robert and Birrell, Tanya (1981), An Issue of People:
Population and Australian Society, Australian Studies series, Longman
Cheshire, Melbourne, pp. 76-77.
88. Burnley, I.H. (1970), Immigration, Commentary to accompany Geographic
Section, Department of National Development (1970), Immigration map-sheet,
Atlas of Australian Resources, Second Series, Government Printer,
Canberra, pp. 8-9.
Polish-born were also clustered in manufacturing, from 1961 females were most concentrated in tertiary industries, although at rates far below those for Australian-born females. For persons born in the Middle East, there was again a significant over-representation in secondary industries. This supports the above claim that the Lebanese-born were disadvantaged in employment terms. From their earliest settlement in Australia, Lebanese persons have remained highly urbanised, so that their employment in primary industries was far lower than for any other birthplace category.

By contrast, the data from 1971 on Aboriginals (and in 1976 Torres Strait Islanders as well) show their employment in primary industries to be proportionately greater than all other ethnic categories', including the Australian-born's. This reflects their high concentration in rural areas, especially in 1971. In fact, their industry distribution was distinct from all other categories', as they were particularly clustered in tertiary industries, especially females, but probably in lower status jobs.

7.3 PARENTAGE CATEGORIES AT THE 1976 CENSUS

The 1976 Census is able to extend the analysis of birthplace categories by providing information on persons of Australian parentage and on intergenerational changes in the characteristics of persons of overseas and mixed parentages, as defined in Chapter 5.

7.3.1 Age-Sex Distribution And Dependency Burden

The population pyramid for the third-plus generation (persons of Australian parentage) (Figure 7.5) shows the peak number of births in the early 1960s identified for the Australian-born above, as well as the rapid declines after the even greater high in 1971. For each overseas and mixed parentage category, the second generation increased significantly the number of persons aged less than 25 years. However, length of settlement in Australia played a large part in determining whether there were sizeable proportions of second generation persons above this age. For example, the continuous arrival over a long period of immigrants born in the U.K. and Eire, noted in earlier chapters, caused the second generation of that origin to outnumber the first (Table 7.2) and the proportion of second generation persons to be high at all ages, especially over 70. The median ages of first and second generation U.K. and Eire persons were therefore

89. Australian Population and Immigration Council (1980), op. cit., p. 11.
90. No data are available on the industry distribution of the Chinese.
FIGURE 7.5: AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTIONS OF SELECTED PARENTAGE CATEGORIES:
AUSTRALIA: 1976 CENSUS

**Australian**
(3rd-plus generation)

Males ('000) : 3997.4
Females ('000) : 4097.4

**U.K. & Eire**
(1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000) : 570.2 1st gen
612.7 2nd gen
Females ('000) : 546.2 1st gen
658.7 2nd gen

**German**
(1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000) : 42.9 1st gen
46.0 2nd gen
Females ('000) : 42.7 1st gen
46.7 2nd gen

For key to 1st and 2nd generations see p. 227.

(Cont.)...
FIGURE 7.5 : (Cont.)

Dutch
(1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000): 50.5 1st gen
45.7 2nd gen

Females ('000): 42.1 1st gen
43.8 2nd gen

Italian
(1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000): 147.4 1st gen
119.4 2nd gen

Females ('000): 122.0 1st gen
114.5 2nd gen

Greek and Cypriot
(1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000): 88.2 1st gen
59.8 2nd gen

Females ('000): 82.1 1st gen
57.2 2nd gen

(Cont.)...
FIGURE 7.5 : (Cont.)

Yugoslav
(1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000) : 75.9 1st gen 34.1 2nd gen

Females ('000) : 62.2 1st gen 32.4 2nd gen

Overseas and mixed parentage generations

Note: Excludes respondents the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.

of the same order — well above the third-plus generation's (Table 7.5). By contrast, the high median ages of first generation Germans and Italians and comparatively low ones of their second generations indicate that pre-war settlement was considerably boosted in the early post-war years. In addition, relatively brief periods of residence in Australia of sizeable numbers of Greeks and Cypriots, Dutch and Yugoslavs caused marked differences between the age distributions of their first and second generations.

It is reasonable to assume that persons of working age of both first and second generations support dependent persons in each generation of their own ethnic origin. According to this assumption, the heaviest burden was on those of German origin (Table 7.5), due to their high second generation proportions at both older and younger ages, caused by pre- and post-war immigration, respectively. As for those of U.K. and Eire origin, second generation Germans were more numerous than first generation ones. However, the more rectangular age distribution of the U.K. and Eire category (Figure 7.5) caused that origin to have the lowest dependency ratio.

As for the overseas birthplaces, the high masculinity of each first generation (Figure 7.5) is explained by the predominance of males in settler intakes from most source countries, despite the higher departure rate of males than females. Masculinity was especially high for first generation Yugoslavs, as noted above, and also for Italians and the Dutch, even though by 1976 there had been much Italian family migration and Dutch immigration had never experienced a considerable imbalance of the sexes. Whereas the sex ratio peaked at middle or late working ages for each first generation, there was some tendency for this ratio to fall with increasing age for the second generation and approach the patterns of the third-plus generation.

7.3.2 Female Labour Force Participation

Few obvious patterns emerge when comparing the standardised female labour force participation rates for first and second generations of individual overseas and mixed parentages. Italians, and Greeks and Cypriots (together) both experienced an upturn in participation between generations which may be attributable to greater tolerance of Australian customs for females. No more


TABLE 7.5 : MEDIAN AGES AND DEPENDENCY RATIOS OF SELECTED PARENTAGE CATEGORIES BY GENERATION:
AUSTRALIA : 1976 CENSUS

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n.a. = not applicable.

1. Excludes persons the birthplace of one or both parents was not stated.
2. The number of young (0-14 years) and aged (65+ years) dependants per 100 persons of working age (15-64 years).

definite statement than that is possible, as the first generation participation rate for Greeks and Cypriots was already above the Australians'. On the other hand, the Yugoslavs recorded relatively fewer females in the labour force in the second generation, but still participated more than other second generation southern Europeans. German participation patterns resembled those of the U.K. and Eire population far more than they did those of the Dutch and were probably an indication of longer settlement. There were intergenerational decreases for the Germans and British, but an increase for the Dutch.

The foregoing analysis provides few definite conclusions. Any hypothesis that second generation females might demonstrate labour force participation patterns more similar to the Australian generation's than their first generations', was neither universally proved nor disproved. In general, it would be necessary to standardise for other variables such as marital status, period of residence, qualifications, occupation and desire to resemble Australians. Even then, it is possible that the variable 'influence of Australian customs' would remain elusive and unquantifiable.

7.3.3 Occupational Distribution

There were considerable differences between the sexes in the labour force characteristics of the 1976 employed population, as noted above for birthplace categories. One occupation predominated amongst the members of each sex of Australian parentage. For males it was the trades/production processing/labouring group, while for females it was clerical work (Figure 7.6).

Both first and second generation males of U.K. and Eire origin were also employed most frequently in the trades/production processing/labouring group, presumably most often as skilled tradesmen, because of the relatively high proportion of such males with trade qualifications. Although there was some intergenerational shift away from this group, the occupation(s) to which they moved cannot be stated with certainty. Overall there was scarcely any increase in the proportion in higher occupations, because of the continuing dominance of trades occupations - above that for Australian males. Females of U.K. and Eire parentages did not undergo an intergenerational shift out of the clerical occupations where they too were concentrated, but maintained a proportion equal

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93. This is a hybrid group, consisting of skilled tradesmen, semi-skilled and/or unskilled process workers and unskilled labourers.

FIGURE 7.6: OCCUPATION GROUPS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS AGED OVER 15 YEARS OF SELECTED PARENTAGE CATEGORIES BY GENERATION AND SEX: AUSTRALIA: 1976 CENSUS

Australian (3rd-plus generation)

For keys to occupation groups and 1st and 2nd generations see p. 233.

(Cont.)...
FIGURE 7.6: (Cont.)

Dutch (1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000): 41.7 1st gen 8.3 2nd gen
Females ('000): 16.9 1st gen 6.3 2nd gen

Italian (1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000): 115.2 1st gen 28.2 2nd gen
Females ('000): 49.3 1st gen 20.6 2nd gen

Greek and Cypriot (1st & 2nd generations)

Males ('000): 66.9 1st gen 9.3 2nd gen
Females ('000): 38.3 1st gen 6.9 2nd gen

(Cont.)...
FIGURE 7.6 : (Cont.)

Yugoslav (1st & 2nd generations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Group</th>
<th>Males ('000)</th>
<th>Females ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>55.2 1st gen</td>
<td>28.5 1st gen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2nd gen</td>
<td>3.8 2nd gen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupation Groups:

0: Professional, technical
1: Administrative, executive, managerial
2: Clerical
3: Sales
4: Farmers, fishermen, hunters, timber getters
5: Miners, quarrymen
6: Transport, communication
7/8: Tradesmen, production process, labourers
9: Service, sport, recreation
10: Armed services
11: Inadequately described, not stated

Note: Excludes respondents the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.

Sources: A.B.S., 1976 Census: Matrix tape 12.
to that of the Australian category. As for Australian females, the larger part of their high status workers continued to be in the professions rather than management.

For the two north-west European parentage categories, there were distinct intergenerational shifts for males, although both first generations were again most concentrated in trades/production processing/labouring positions. Whereas this lessened for second generation Germans, it increased for the Dutch, possibly with a movement into the more skilled components of this group. What was unusual was that males of both categories shifted their overall status downwards, as the proportions in professional/technical and especially administrative/managerial occupations declined, more particularly for the Dutch. For females from these origins, on the other hand, these proportions increased.

The birthplace data above showed that southern Europeans were disadvantaged in occupational terms. The same conclusion may be reached when considering the first generation of the equivalent (or near equivalent) parentage categories. However, between their relatively large employed first generations and much smaller second generations, there were occupational shifts which caused them to gain in status far more noticeably than the already high-ranking U.K. and Eire category. The second generation's improved status was usually welcomed and encouraged by the first generation, although occasionally it caused friction.

Males of each southern European origin remained concentrated in the trades/production processing/labouring group, although there were considerable intergenerational reductions and perhaps an internal shift to tradesmen from unskilled positions. The greatest increase in status was recorded for Greek and Cypriot males, whose concentration in higher level occupations increased from 9 to 23 per cent. In fact, it has been claimed that 'of all nationalities the Greeks seemed to be making the best fist of combatting cultural disadvantage', possibly because of the need to regain any lost honour through their first generation's employment in low status occupations. For those of Italian origin, this may be less of an issue; family status is not necessarily judged by the father's occupation, but by well-being emanating from the household.

95. Price (1981c), loc. cit., Table 7.
Southern European females exhibited different intergenerational patterns and changes. Unlike those of other origins, their first generations were concentrated — although not to the same extent as their male counterparts — in trades/production processing/labouring occupations, almost certainly most often as process workers. By the second generation, however, they were each most highly clustered in clerical occupations. Although each improved its status between generations, especially those of Greek and Cypriot origin, their concentration in high level occupations remained below that of the other ethnic categories.

7.3.4 Industry Distribution

Although Australian parentage males were most clustered in manufacturing, and wholesale and retail trades, which provided employment in trades/processing/labouring occupations, females were most numerous in community services as clerical or professional workers. Overall 46 per cent of males and 75 per cent of females were employed in tertiary industries.

For males of U.K. and Eire origin, manufacturing was the major employer for both the first and second generations, but less so for the second. By the second generation there was little dissimilarity from the Australian generation's distribution and for both first and second generations, close to the Australian's proportion in tertiary industries. Females of British descent followed the Australian pattern closely, with no change in the proportion in tertiary industries which continued to lie close to the Australian figure.

North-west European males reduced some of their predominance in manufacturing and construction, mainly through moving into wholesale/retail trades. For females, community services and wholesale/retail gained at the expense of manufacturing. There was therefore an increase by sex and generation for each category in the proportions in tertiary industries to 83 per cent for second generation Dutch females.

Italian males were most often employed in manufacturing, construction and wholesale/retail trades. The intergenerational trend was away from the first two, for which only low educational levels were usually required and in which there were often Italian employers, and into the third, so becoming more similar to Australian males. Greek and Cypriot males also moved from secondary into tertiary industries such as wholesale/retail, reflecting their increasing proportions in clerical and professional occupations and making their second

100. Ware (1981), op. cit., p. 52.
generation the most highly concentrated of all males in tertiary industries at 61 per cent. First generation Yugoslav males were even more concentrated in manufacturing than were other southern Europeans, because the production process work offered by it was all that those of short work experience in Australia could often obtain. Between generations this concentration decreased and males more than doubled their proportion in tertiary industries, so that their second generation share equalled the Australian one.

Southern European females also recorded significant shifts, paralleling their occupational changes. The most important of these was away from manufacturing and hence production processing and into sales and clerical work. Like males of their origin, Greek and Cypriot females were the most concentrated in tertiary industries of all females, 84 per cent of them, while the proportion for second generation Yugoslav females also exceeded that for the Australian generation.
CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION

8.1 NEO-EVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND ETHNIC ACCOMMODATION

This thesis has examined a number of changes to Australian society, mainly since World War II. Many of them have been due to successive Commonwealth government practices towards the entry and accommodation of immigrants and Aboriginals. These policies developed in response to emerging national needs, obligations and perceptions of the types of people considered suitable to become full members of the Australian community. Such official adaptations led directly or indirectly to ethnic diversification or differentiation of Australia's population. This differentiation caused Australian society to evolve - both its component parts and as a whole. By learning how to accommodate the new elements within it, the community reintegrated and reached new concensuses about which persons were acceptable as members.

Adaptation, differentiation and reintegration are the key concepts of neo-evolutionary theory. This theory of social change grew out of the late nineteenth century evolutionary theory of society, developed by such scholars as Herbert Spencer (1892) and Auguste Comte (1877) from the idea - following Charles Darwin's theory of biological evolution - that societies, like organisms, can grow, flourish and decline. Neo-evolutionism paid greater attention to the mechanics of transition from one evolutionary stage to the next, than did its predecessor. It also challenged the invariable 'progress' which was necessarily 'good', assumed under evolutionary theory. According to the neo-theory, the main impetus for change lies in the social system's need for greater adaptive capacity and effectiveness. Differentiation therefore occurs when more complex social organisations arise because of the failure of the simpler structures to fulfil their functions effectively. Reintegration

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3. Ibid., p. 29.
explains why differentiation does not produce disorganisation. Any 
differentiation requires counterbalancing until a new equilibrium is reached. In summary:

(t)he direction of differentiation and reintegration is given 
by the need for a unit to adapt to its environment. 

This chapter borrows concepts from neo-evolutionary theory as an organising 
framework. It summarises government policy adaptations (Chapter 2), consequent 
population differentiation (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) and reintegration of 
society necessary to accommodate these changes (Chapter 3). It then draws 
conclusions about the nature of ethnic diversification in Australia and 
resulting social changes.

8.2 ADAPTATION OF COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT IMMIGRATION AND ABORIGINAL 
POLICIES

8.2.1 Immigration Policies

Two major aims of Australia's immigration policies have been to restrict 
the entry of persons considered undesirable and to encourage the inflow of 
those needed to build Australia's population for defence, economic and 
developmental reasons. Whether those wishing to come to Australia, or their 
sponsors, have been afforded any government assistance with fares may be used 
as a crude measure of their suitability as settlers. However, the overall 
number of assisted passages in any period has also been highly related to 
prevailing economic conditions, with more individuals being helped in times 
of boom and fewer in recession.

Until after the Second World War, government funding was generally 
provided only to persons from the British Isles, or to a lesser extent to 
north-west Europeans such as Germans or Scandinavians. By the 1920s, especially 
after the passing of the Empire Settlement Act 1922, the level of passage 
assistance confirmed British immigrants as the most desirable. North-west 
Europeans were permitted to enter without numerical restriction - except for 
Germans after the First World War - but generally without financial support. 
Other Europeans were admitted only in limited numbers because they were seen as 
providing employment competition for Australian soldiers returning home after

A Demographic Analysis and Projection, A.G.P.S., Canberra, Volume One, 
pp. 93-94.
World War I and because they were thought to be more difficult to assimilate into Australian society. However, the number of immigrants from southern Europe later increased as restrictions eased, causing that region to become a larger source of immigrants than north-west Europe in the years leading to the Second World War. By contrast, non-Europeans could generally enter Australia only on a temporary basis prescribed in legislation after Federation of the colonies in 1901.

Although the events of World War II initially caused only minor modifications to policies towards non-Europeans, practices towards continental Europeans changed markedly. When post-war shipping shortages in Britain reduced the number of immigrants able to travel from the most desirable source, Australia turned to other parts of Europe to obtain the immigrants required by its population-building program and offered them passage assistance. Australia's acceptance of, and assistance to, Displaced Persons from 1947 to 1951 - many of whom were from Poland, Yugoslavia and the Baltic States - marked the first major adaptation of immigration policy to meet Australia's needs for immigrants when those from the traditional source were not available. It also heralded the earliest moves to abandon the pre-war ranking of those best able to fit into Australian society, according to their ethnic origins.

After the supply of Displaced Persons dwindled, Australia adapted further by making inter-governmental arrangements in the early 1950s to fund settlers from such diverse European countries as Malta, the Netherlands, Italy, West Germany, Austria and Greece. In 1954 it commenced a General Assisted Passage Scheme which was later extended several times to provide passages to citizens from a variety of countries. In 1966 Australia introduced a Special Passage Assistance Program to provide unilateral assistance to Europeans not covered by international agreements and who were either inside or outside their own countries. It took another significant step in 1967 when it concluded a formal agreement with Turkey, assisting Turks to come to Australia, for the first time as persons from Europe (although for statistical purposes they and other Middle Eastern peoples like the Lebanese continued to be regarded as coming from outside Europe). Despite these measures, British immigrants continued to receive top priority, so that their arrivals were most numerous at any time, except during the early post-war shipping shortages. The level of assistance for individuals was also highest for British settlers until 1967, when lobbying by Italy caused this funding to be made uniform throughout the whole of Europe.

In time, changing perceptions of non-Europeans also led to new policies towards them. In 1956 many who were residents became eligible for Australian
citizenship, while a few distinguished and highly qualified non-Europeans were allowed to enter Australia for indefinite stay, although initially on temporary permits only. Changes also took place for persons of mixed descent. However, ten years elapsed before there was any further significant lowering of the standards applying to non-Europeans. In 1966 well qualified persons were admitted, although on temporary permits for their first five years and still for Australia's rather than their own benefit. A change of government was necessary before most of the remaining racial discrimination was removed from migration legislation in 1973. The government also avowedly adopted a non-discriminatory immigration policy and extended passage assistance to non-Europeans. More recent policy adaptations have included the acceptance of significant numbers of Asian refugees, principally from Indo-China after the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. As in the early post-war period, refugees of previously untried origins were causing new forms of ethnic diversification.

At the beginning of the 1980s Australia was accepting immigrants from all parts of the world. Ironically neither of the two major sources was in Europe, although one consisted largely of 'British overseas', i.e. New Zealanders, who may in fact be regarded as more similar to Australians than their British forebears and hence more acceptable on ethnic grounds. The other source was Asian, notably Indo-Chinese, who were able to come to Australia because of their refugee status and consequent passage assistance by the Australian government. Other assisted passages were being phased out following a Review of Commonwealth Functions completed in 1981. This re-allocation of assisted passages by the Australian government showed a complete about-face. No longer were they granted on the basis of ethnic origin. Rather, they were provided to selected refugees who needed that level of assistance to come to Australia.

8.2.2 Aboriginal Policies

Government attitudes towards Aboriginals evolved over the same period as those relating to immigrants. They therefore exhibit similarities in the severe treatment of a non-European people. Until the first few decades of the twentieth century, one extreme European view was that full-blood Aboriginals would eventually die out. Part-Aboriginals were also thought likely to disappear, but in this case through assimilation into a completely European population. The realisation in the 1930s that half-caste intermarriage was a frequent occurrence acted to modify this belief. Increasingly, therefore, over the next few decades Aboriginals were expected to assimilate socially
but no longer racially, then integrate. Finally in the early 1970s they were given the right to self-determination 'as significant components within a diverse Australia'.

The greatest demographic contribution which full-blood Aboriginals have been permitted to make has occurred since 1967 when a referendum that year abolished Section 127 of the Commonwealth Constitution which stated that:

in reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted.

The full impact on Australia's population of those who regard themselves as Aboriginals is therefore able to be measured officially in population censuses. In fact the attention given to Aboriginals in framing the 'race' question from the 1971 Census may be regarded as evidence that Aboriginal people form an integral part of the Australian community. However, information on race is not included in vital statistics, so that it is more difficult to obtain precise details of vital events for Aboriginals.

8.3 DIFFERENTIATION OF AUSTRALIA'S POPULATION

The adaptation over the post-war period of government policies towards immigrants and Aboriginals has caused changes in the composition of Australia's population and the major ethnic categories within it, through various processes of diversification.

8.3.1 Processes Of Diversification

Immigration programs introduced in the early post-war years have determined the number of assisted and unassisted settlers arriving at any time. Some regions and countries have provided immigrants over an extended period, although with peaks and troughs, while others have been short-lived or more recent sources. From 1959 until the late 1970s, data on birthplace show that the total number of settlers arriving in any year consisted mainly of persons from Europe. The greater part of these, in turn, came from the high priority U.K. and Eire from the early 1960s, after Displaced Persons and southern Europeans peaked during the 1950s. However, the proportion of Europeans fell progressively from over nine-tenths at the turn of the 1960s to around one-third at the end of the 1970s - when the total number was also far lower -

before rising to one-half in 1980-81. Persons born in Asia and Oceania made up the bulk of the other settler arrivals at that time, another one-third and close to one-fifth, respectively.

Apart from the U.K. and Eire - whose major peaks in settler arrivals since 1959 were in the mid- and late 1960s, other important individual birthplaces of settlers have been Italy - particularly until the turn of the 1960s and again in the late 1960s, Greece - with peaks in the mid- and late 1960s, Yugoslavia - especially at the turn of the 1970s, Germany and the Netherlands - until the beginning of the 1960s and New Zealand and Vietnam - increasingly from the mid-1970s (Figure 4.1).

The effects of post-war immigration on Australia's population structure are most easily seen from data on total net migration, such as that prepared by Price et al., as not all former settlers remain in Australia and some temporary entrants are allowed to become permanent residents. These birthplace origin data have been calculated from 1947 and show some parallels to the settler arrivals series from 1959. Migration gains from the U.K. and Eire - especially England - have comprised substantial proportions of the total throughout the post-war period. Other sources have been significant at different times, sometimes exceeding the gains from the British Isles. These have included eastern Europe - especially Poland - to 1951, southern Europe - largely Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia - over the 1950s and 1960s, north-west Europe - mostly the Netherlands and Germany - during the 1950s, south Asia - about half from Indo-China and Timor - during the 1970s, and Oceania - very largely New Zealand - in the second half of the 1970s (Table 4.4). The U.K. and Eire's share of net migration peaked at half the total in the early 1960s and declined to only one-fifth at the end of the 1970s, when Oceania and south Asia each comprised larger proportions.

Next to the gains from the U.K. and Eire may be placed those according to pre-war ethnic priorities. The second-ranking north-west Europeans did not represent sizeable gains to Australia until the 1950s, because shipping was more readily available for eastern European refugees at the end of the War. When the north-west Europeans did come during the 1950s, their numbers were far outweighed by the net gains from southern Europe at that time. It

may therefore be claimed that, in practice, the traditional ethnic rankings were abandoned immediately Australia realised her need for rapid post-war development and actively encouraged the arrival of eastern Europeans.

By the early 1970s, when the non-discriminatory entry policy was finally introduced, the impact on Australia's population of non-Europeans was dampened because the immigration program was severely curtailed at that time. Nevertheless, there were increased gains in the first half of the 1970s of persons born in south Asia who may have had some effect in preparing the Australian community for the even greater influx later in the decade. On the other hand, the high gains from that part of Asia were tempered by the slightly greater ones from New Zealand and other parts of Oceania.

Other data to 1957 show that immigration provided very little scope for diversification of Australia's population by race in the early post-war years. Only two per cent or less of the annual total net migration gain were of non-European racial origins and, as noted above, most non-Europeans arriving at that time came on temporary permits (Table 4.5). During the 1960s, however, relaxation of entry provisions for the permanent entry of non-Europeans and persons of mixed descent caused such persons to rise to 8 per cent of all permanent arrivals by the early 1970s (Table 4.6). Furthermore, those non-Europeans who did come as temporary entrants were sometimes eligible to be granted permanent resident status. According to the data, non-Europeans—notably persons with Asian nationalities (Table 4.7)—formed significant proportions of all temporary residents approved for permanent resident status between the late 1960s and the turn of the 1980s.

Apart from total migration, the processes of diversification most affecting ethnic composition in Australia have been intermarriage and fertility. Over the post-war period the latter two have contributed increasingly to population diversity, with one-quarter of the annual marriages and one-fifth of the annual nuptial confinements at the turn of the 1980s resulting from unions between one overseas-born partner and one Australian-born. Compared with their first generations, the second generations of individual origins had universally greater propensities to marry third-plus generation Australians or persons from outside their own regions of origin. Females of

both first and second generations showed a general tendency to in-marry more than their male peers. Over the 1970s intermarriage was highest for those from English-speaking origins and north-west Europe and lowest for those from Mediterranean countries, such as Greece, Lebanon, Yugoslavia and Italy.

By the late 1970s the total fertility of the overseas-born had fallen to around replacement level (Table 4.8). In other words, assuming a continuation of these fertility rates and with no further gains through migration, persons of overseas origins would just about maintain their existing numbers. The Australian-born, on the other hand, would be likely to decline in the long-run as their total fertility rate had fallen below replacement. In contrast to these results, findings on actual performance at this time showed that the third-plus generation had a larger average family size than the first generation, 3.4 children compared with 3.0 (Table 4.9).

At the beginning of the 1970s children of females born in major countries of overseas settlement were acting to increase the population of their mother's origin in Australia, especially those from Lebanon and other Mediterranean countries. By the end of the 1970s, however, expansion according to total fertility rates was expected for only a few birthplaces, including Lebanon in particular. Although first generation Lebanese mothers also experienced the highest average family size, that of their second generation, as for the second generation of other origins, lay closer to the Australian norm. The average second generation family size was larger than the first generation's. It may therefore be hypothesised that migration and settling into a new society caused a reduction in completed family size which was increased in the next generation. This is particularly likely if the husband emigrated ahead of his wife, for example, from southern Europe.

In general, the impact on Australia's overall population composition of overseas ethnic categories with high fertility patterns depends on a complex of factors. The relative size of the total population of a specific origin and of those of each sex amongst it who are potential marriage partners are only two. Whether immigration from that source is continuing and tendencies towards intermarriage are also important. In the Lebanese case, for example, little female intermarriage, combined with high fertility in both the first and second generations, an excess of males in the main marrying ages and a population recently increased significantly through immigration all point to a growing number of persons of that background.

A process affecting ethnic diversity differently from the others studied is the granting of Australian citizenship. Its distinction lies in its not generally changing an individual's true origin, but rather in conferring on him a new national identity and associated loyalties, rights and responsibilities. Its effect on the ethnic composition of the population is therefore usually incidental, but it is a useful indicator of demographic changes within the population as a whole and within individual categories which have been derived from other ethnic variables. Furthermore, it is an invaluable measure of the extent to which persons from overseas have themselves chosen to become full members of the Australian community.

Over the post-war period, the U.K. and its Colonies (together) have provided the largest number of new citizens as well as new settlers, although the other major immigrant source countries - Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia - have supplied relatively higher numbers of citizens than have the U.K. and Colonies. Former Displaced Persons and other refugees from the Second World War and events such as the Hungarian uprising in 1956, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the aftermath of the Vietnam War from the mid-1970s have had greater propensities to become Australian citizens than have other settlers, especially those from such countries as the U.K. and New Zealand. For those who were already Commonwealth nationals there was often little advantage in becoming Australian citizens. As well as there being many similarities between their old and new homelands, their existing nationality conferred all rights of citizenship on them in Australia until the early 1980s. The upturn in Australian citizenship grants over the 1970s to those of U.K. citizenship may be due to closer identification with Australia and perceived economic differences between the two countries. For other settlers, increases in Australian citizenship grants often coincided with changes in residential requirements. Such upturns were especially noticeable for countries which provided non-European settlers.

8.3.2 Differentiation Of The Total Population

The processes of diversification described above have collectively acted upon Australia's population size and structure. They have caused changes over time to the ethnic composition of the population, as measured by indicators drawn from the census.

Birthplace of respondent is among the most useful of these. Between 1947 and 1971 continuing immigration caused the total overseas-born population to increase its share of Australia's population from 10 to 20 per
cent. The greatest diversification according to birthplace occurred between 1947 and 1954, while the downturn in immigration levels and rising emigration rates caused minor homogenisation according to the index of diversity \(^\text{15}\) between 1971 and 1976, before a slight upturn to 1981. At each post-war census there was an increase in the proportion of overseas-born persons who were post-war arrivals. Increases in the proportion arriving over the preceding intercensal period were most noticeable in 1954 and 1971, because of the high influx of settlers in 1947-54 and 1966-71 (Table 5.4). By themselves, data on period of residence do not specify origin. With birthplace data, however, they can show that even at more recent censuses, long-resident U.K. and Eire-born persons formed a sizeable part of the overseas-born population.

The large size of the Australian-born population meant that relatively few individual countries of birth contributed significantly to population diversity (Table 5.3). However, immigration caused both the main British sources of England and Scotland and major continental European birthplaces like Italy, Germany, Poland and the Netherlands, to become prominent in the early post-war years. Greece and Yugoslavia later came to be ranked next to England and Italy, ahead of the other countries listed, but by 1981 New Zealand had become the third largest source. The collective size of other countries from Europe and Asia caused further diversification by birthplace. However, the numerically superior Australian-born far outweighed the part played by the growing list of significant countries of birth, even in 1981.

Data on birthplace of parents provide more comprehensive information than birthplace in indicating the stock from which the population is descended. They show that by the first half of the 1970s, there was little real change in diversity as 61 per cent of the population had both parents born in Australia in 1971 and 62 per cent in 1976.\(^\text{16}\) This inertia occurred because of falling immigration during the early 1970s and the birth of third generation Australian grandchildren to persons who came to Australia shortly after World War II.

Persons with both parents born in Australia were classed as having Australian parentage, while all others had overseas or mixed parentage. The proportion of the total population with European parentage, as defined primarily by birthplace of father, changed little during the early 1970s (Table 5.8). The main exceptions were a slight shift away from the long-established category of U.K. and Eire parentage, as over time more persons of this origin were Australian-born, and an increase in the Yugoslav category.

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16. Excluding respondents the birthplace of one or both of whose parents was not stated.
due to recent high immigration. Second generation persons were more numerous than first generation ones only amongst persons with U.K. and Eire parentage, but were also relatively important amongst other longer settled origins (Table 5.10).

Diversification according to race occurred most rapidly during the early 1970s, but even in 1976 non-Europeans were recorded as less than 3 per cent of the total population (Table 5.5). Where this variable is nevertheless particularly useful is in distinguishing Aboriginals from other persons born in Australia and from other non-Europeans. After Europeans, Aboriginals have been the next most significant, albeit far smaller racial origin, followed by the Chinese and Torres Strait Islanders (Table 5.6). Unlike other non-Europeans of immigrant origins, from 1954 most Chinese were no longer the descendants of persons who had settled in Australia from the mid-nineteenth century. Rather they consisted largely of temporary entrants and persons permitted permanent entry as restrictions on non-European immigrants lessened. Race data also show that Europeans born in Asia and Oceania outnumbered non-Europeans at each post-war census, although there was uncertainty surrounding the definition of race for those born in Middle Eastern countries such as Turkey and Lebanon.

Data on religion reinforce information currently provided by birthplace. They show that there was a general increase over the post-war period in adherence to long-established western Christian religions, Judaism and other non-Christian religions (Table 5.11). The denomination with the largest following was Anglican, because of the English origin of most of the population in 1947 and many later immigrants. Catholics were also numerous because of the presence in 1947 of persons of Irish descent and the subsequent immigration of settlers from a range of European countries with Catholic populations, particularly Italy. Other much smaller but generally increasing Christian denominations reflected both pre and post-war immigration, for example Lutherans of mainly German origin, or post-war arrivals, such as Orthodox Greeks.

Religion also assists in identifying the ethnic origin of persons from certain birthplaces, notably Mediterranean countries, although data on languages used are often needed as well. Because Catholics born in Yugoslavia, for example, outnumbered Orthodox Christians, it seems likely that the largest part of the Yugoslav-born population in Australia consisted of

17. These generations were defined in Chapter 5.
Catholic Croats and/or Slovenes, but more particularly Croats, although Orthodox Serbs and Macedonians also comprised sizeable parts.

Like religion, language usage reflects the origins of the population described by other ethnic variables and helps pinpoint the origins of persons born in certain individual birthplaces. Post-war linguistic diversification is estimated to have taken place most rapidly between 1947 and 1954, as persons born outside the main English-speaking countries experienced their greatest proportional increases at that time. Those languages recorded as having most users amongst the 1976 population aged over five years were English, Italian, Greek, German, Slovene, French, Dutch and Polish, although the numbers using Slovene and French were inflated because of processing and response errors, respectively.

As noted above, as well as showing religious diversity, Mediterranean countries are also sources of linguistic diversity. The available data on languages used by the Yugoslav-born population in Australia suggest that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes collectively formed the greatest part, while data on religion point to Croats as the largest individual category. Language data also identified some persons of Italian, Macedonian and German ancestry amongst those born in Yugoslavia.

The above analysis shows the importance of cross-classifying a number of census variables to obtain finer divisions of ethnic origin. To date this has been possible only from the 1976 Census, when data from one matrix tape with birthplace, birthplace of parents, period of residence, religion, citizenship and language(s) regularly used produced a core Australian category of only 41 per cent of the total population (Figure 5.7). This was smaller than the comparable Australian parentage category referred to above - 62 per cent - and shows the importance of religion and language in identifying ethnic origin. However, even persons within the core category may be allocated to origins not identified by census variables, using other forms of data. For example, Price has demonstrated the continuing dominance of persons of English, Irish and Scottish descent, still 77 per cent of the total population in 1978, although falling from 90 per cent in 1947.

18. Australia, the U.K. and Eire, New Zealand, the U.S.A., Canada and South Africa.
19. Persons born in Australia and hence having Australian citizenship, with Australian parentage, having a traditional Western Christian or Jewish religion and speaking only English.
Various major conclusions may be drawn from the above. Firstly, ethnic diversification of a population with a significant immigrant component may occur in a number of ways. It may be due to a reduction in the relative size of the core category within the total population, or to a more even distribution of the rest of the population across its constituent categories. In terms of the index of diversity, increasing the number of categories within the non-core population has little effect on the level of diversity. In Australia's case, the core category has so dominated the total population that most diversification has been of the first kind.

Secondly, the index of diversity and rate of diversification (Chapter 6) are useful summary measures of the extent to which the population is concentrated into one category (homogeneity) or is evenly distributed across a range of categories (heterogeneity). They confirm the trend towards generally increasing ethnic diversity within Australia's population over the post-war period with most rapid diversification occurring immediately after the Second World War according to birthplace and during the early 1970s according to racial origin. However, they show homogenisation of Australia's population by birthplace and parentage between 1971 and 1976. This result may, in fact, arise because of the limitations of the index of diversity, as increasing heterogeneity according to these variables may actually have taken place at this time. Departures from Australia were mainly from the larger birthplace categories, so that the smaller ones came to play greater roles in overall diversity, i.e. there was diversification by birthplace. Intermarriage and fertility among newer immigrant categories were increasing, so that diversification by parentage may also have occurred. A further limitation of the index is that it gives little recognition to diversity arising from higher numbers of categories within the non-core population. In Australia's case, this is a very real form of diversity, as even small numbers of persons from individual origins make the population more diverse in real life.

Thirdly, of those census variables which shed light on the true nature of ethnic diversity in Australia, birthplace is the single most useful to 1981 only because its time series far exceeds that of parentage. When, however, the investigation is concerned with the stock from which the population is descended, this latter variable is much more informative. This was particularly so in 1976 as the proportion in the core parentage category
(both parents born in Australia) was far lower than for birthplace. Nevertheless, birthplace remains an important short-term measure as it identifies immigrants from new or expanding sources and separates ethnic generations. The variable race makes only a small contribution to reducing the core category, but is essential for distinguishing Aboriginals. These three variables in combination therefore seem to isolate most major ethnic categories in Australia, according to current census data. However, as time passes, and the proportion of first and second generation persons decreases in relation to the third and later generations, birthplace and parentage, as derived from data on birthplace of parents, will become much less useful indicators of ethnic diversity.

Of the other variables, language usage and religion are vital for differentiating certain smaller ethnic origins or persons whose long-term identities would otherwise be lost - such as those of Irish or German descent. However, they are not seen as having the same broad significance as the above three in identifying ethnic categories from Australian censuses to date. This is especially because language(s) regularly used elicited from the 1976 Census a proportion of the population in the core category (persons using only English) higher than did birthplace, while religion was not acknowledged or not recorded by a sizeable part of the population. Yet in future their importance is likely to increase as that of birthplace and parentage diminish. The other ethnic variables, period of residence and citizenship, are not regarded primarily as indicating the origins of the overseas-born, but rather their likely identification with Australia.

8.3.3 Differences Between And Within Ethnic Categories

As well as altering the composition of the total population, the processes of diversification have caused individual ethnic categories to change over time, sometimes becoming increasingly dissimilar to the Australian core category. Some of the differences have meant relative advantages over the core, while others have aggravated existing disadvantages caused by the recruitment of workers with few skills from various countries.

In comparison with the Australian-born population between 1947 and 1976, those born in the U.K. and Eire were not handicapped, according to a number of population and labour force characteristics. Their dependency burden was lighter, although it comprised more aged than young persons - unlike the
Australian-born's. The U.K. and Eire-born's concentration in higher occupations (Table 7.4) and tertiary industries was of the same order as the Australian-born's, reflecting Australia's dependence on Britain in the early post-war years to fill high level gaps in its labour force.

Over time, dependency became less of a burden for north-west Europeans who were also relatively well-placed compared with the Australian-born, in terms of their occupational and industry distributions, as north-west Europe was also a source of highly skilled workers. On the other hand, persons born in Mediterranean countries were generally not recruited for their skills and so had considerably lower proportions in higher occupations and tertiary industries than the Australian-born. For this and other reasons, such as the low rates at which the few overseas qualifications they did possess were recognised in Australia - so causing some of them to be at lower occupational levels than in their homelands - they were particularly badly situated. Although those born in eastern Europe had much lower dependency burdens than the Australian-born, their high sex ratios - especially at the later post-war censuses studied - led to other social problems. These were exacerbated by their low concentration in high level occupations and tertiary industries, like the immigrants from Mediterranean countries.

Although:

disadvantage or deprivation is the average experience rather than a minority experience for settlers from Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia,\textsuperscript{21}

the circumstances of Aboriginals appear to be even worse on virtually every measure of disadvantage.\textsuperscript{22} They contrasted strongly with the other non-European category studied, the Chinese, who stood out in economic terms compared with the Australian-born, for example because of the immigration from 1966 of 'distinguished and highly qualified Asians'. Even their marked imbalance of the sexes, dating from the days when immigration policies made family reunion difficult, lessened over time.


High rates of female labour force participation did not necessarily benefit some ethnic categories because they increased participation in lower level occupations in, for example, secondary industries. Labour force participation by these categories was perhaps a function of economic necessity of individual households, rather than social acceptance of females' undertaking roles outside the home or following careers. The extra earnings nevertheless may have improved the standard of living of individual families.

Information from the 1976 Census on first, second and third-plus generations provides a more comprehensive picture of the characteristics of ethnic categories than does the variable birthplace by itself. The period of residence in Australia of the individual categories is reflected in their characteristics as well as the relative sizes of their first and second generations. As shown by their median ages, the longest-settled population of U.K. and Eire descent was the most concentrated at older ages, while the much more recently-arriving Yugoslavs were least concentrated (Table 7.5). Those of U.K. and Eire origin therefore had the highest proportion of aged dependants of the individual ethnic categories, while the Dutch - also largely newcomers since the War - and Yugoslav had the lowest. The highest total dependency burden fell on the Germans because of the concentration of their second generation at both older and younger ages.

As indicated by occupation (Figure 7.6), status was a little higher for those of U.K. and Eire origin than for the Australian category, so that it was able to compensate for the high proportion of aged dependants. Greek and Cypriot males improved their situation between generations to the British level, while other southern Europeans showed lesser improvements. Occupational trends were least conclusive for north-west Europeans. The U.K. and Eire category's industrial distribution showed little dissimilarity from the Australian origin's, especially in the second generation. Second generation Greeks and Cypriots, however, showed most concentration of any origin - including the Australian - in tertiary industries, paralleling their occupational improvement. Even the relatively small Yugoslav second generation showed considerable movement away from its first generation's patterns.

On many measures the second generation population of Greek and Cypriot origin was better placed than persons of other backgrounds. These persons had increased their status on several important labour force characteristics, not only over their first generation parents, but over the Australian category as well. Moreover, in 1976 they were burdened with only an average share of
dependants and few of these were aged (Table 7.5). According to these criteria, persons of this ethnic origin had fitted into Australia well. Furthermore, they appeared not to be disadvantaged by maintaining a closely-knit ethnic Greek community through considerable in-marriage.

Persons of other southern European origins also showed some improvement in overall status between generations. Even though their first generations included few skilled workers and had suffered various economic difficulties, including until 1967 the one forced on them by the Australian government - passage assistance below that given to other Europeans, when it was they who could probably least afford it - there were definite signs that these difficulties relative to persons of British and north-west European origins would not last forever (Figure 7.6). By contrast, there was also ample evidence that the first generations of ethnic origins not selected for immigration according to their occupational or other economic skills, or lacking a knowledge of English, suffered severe and continuing deprivation without government or other assistance. Similar deprivation was also noted for the Aboriginal population.

8.4 REINTEGRATION OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

8.4.1 Assimilation

Before the Second World War the accommodation of Aboriginals was directed at assimilating them into a completely European society. By contrast, persons from overseas who were considered incapable of becoming full members of the Australian community were denied entry, while those who were permitted to come were expected to conform to the modified British norms implied in the contemporary legislation. After the War the Commonwealth government remained largely indifferent to any special needs or preferences the immigrants might have had.

This assimilationist approach continued because the social implications of early post-war demographic changes largely went unheeded. Australia's

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population diversified significantly through the addition of persons from overseas to the predominantly locally-born population. These newcomers came from a range of geographical regions and from a variety of countries within them. Yet the majority attitude ensured that questions about how Australian institutions responded to the influx of persons from outside the British Isles did not arise at the time of greatest diversification - between 1947 and 1954 according to census data on birthplace - not did questions about special consideration for migrants or Aboriginals. The local population believed in the existence of an essentially stable society and, after initial outrages, was relieved that the immigration of southern Europeans and refugees and the presence of Aboriginals did not disrupt the Australian way of life as they saw it at the time.

In fact, it may be hypothesised that no general attitudinal changes occurred in the early post-war years. Firstly, prejudices and ranking of peoples had been the common view throughout Australia's history and these could not be altered overnight. Secondly, many of those immigrants who arrived in the late 1940s to early 1950s were skilled workers from the U.K. and Eire, so that they served to reinforce the prevailing view of European and especially British superiority. Thirdly, those who arrived as refugees were often dispersed to country areas. They were also expected to be grateful that they had a new homeland, so were in no position to speak out against such inconveniences as inadequate housing and labour contracts. Similarly, those who came from southern Europe were mostly lacking in skills.

32. Martin (1978), op. cit., p. 27.
but were keen to establish themselves economically. They therefore had little time for wider concerns like campaigning to improve conditions for themselves. Furthermore, the skills they lacked often included a command of English, so any complaints they might have wished to make went unheard.

8.4.2 Integration

Two more intercensal periods - 1954-61 and 1961-66 - were to pass before the Australian core group came to realise that post-war immigration and the presence of Aboriginals had far-reaching effects on society as a whole. Ethnic diversification along birthplace lines took place over these years at much lower rates than during 1947-54. Yet what seemed more important was that by the late 1960s, the immigration of persons from outside the U.K. and Eire had taken place over a sufficient period for some of the core population's old prejudices to lessen. In particular, its members realised that the earlier waves of post-war immigrants had caused no threat or disruption to their way of life, that these persons were in many ways becoming like themselves and that they could help shape 'an Australian personality'. Any lingering prejudices against early post-war immigrants were almost forgotten, as later settlers from sources such as Turkey and Asia were even more different from the British norm. In practical terms, these more recent immigrants at last made providers of services recognise that non-English-speaking clients were providing obstacles so great as to prevent them from carrying out their functions adequately, even though the incorporation of persons born in non-English-speaking countries into the population had occurred at much higher rates between 1947 and 1954. Furthermore, early findings from the Commonwealth Government's Inquiry into Poverty in the late 1960s showed that certain peoples of (so-called) non-Anglo-Saxon origin had extremely high rates of poverty. Official attention was therefore forced to turn from the host society to the new arrivals, through a change in policy from

37. Department of Immigration (1961), Australian Citizenship Convention Digest, Government Printer, Canberra, p. 44.
39. Reported in ibid., p. 33.
assimilation to integration. Emphasis was on assistance to allow the newcomers to adjust, rather than on changes to existing institutions to allow them to cater better for the minority.

Without this new focus, the Commonwealth Government faced the possibility of emigration by former immigrants whose well-being it had been largely able to ignore earlier in the post-war period. It also risked losing potential settlers to its immigrant-seeking competitors or to European countries with labour shortages. Reintegration of Australian society in terms of immigrant accommodation had therefore taken place. It also occurred at this time in terms of Aboriginal accommodation. When the 1967 referendum abolished Section 127 of the Constitution, other Australians accepted Aboriginals as integral members of the population and even granted them citizenship.

8.4.3 Multiculturalism

By the 1970s the integrationist approach to immigrant and Aboriginal accommodation was being questioned. There had been record numbers of settlers arriving in Australia in the late 1960s and these had caused a slight increase in the rate of diversification by birthplace and a significant upturn in diversification by race. Racial diversification continued at an even higher level in the early 1970s as Aboriginal re-identification also took place. Together these changes showed that Australian society was entering a new phase which, this time, received government recognition.

This second reintegration of Australian society, known officially as multiculturalism, aimed for:

- the preservation and development of a culturally diversified but socially cohesive Australian society free of racial tensions and offering security, well-being and equality of opportunity to all those living here.

It was concerned with the special requirements of immigrants to be

re-established as quickly as possible after they arrived in Australia and to have access to social resources equal to those of the local-born. It also saw the importance of fostering the retention of the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups and promoting intercultural understanding. Yet, multiculturalism stressed the maintenance of a unified Australian society, with aspects of individual cultures, rather than structures being preserved and developed within it. If ethnic identities were encouraged as part of society at large, then the whole community was seen to benefit and its democratic nature reinforced.

The resurgence of Aboriginal ethnicity which was possible from the late 1960s after the gains made in 1967 led to the new accommodation policy for Aboriginals of self-determination in the early 1970s. Until the beginning of the 1980s this approach to accommodation remained distinct from the multiculturalism which covered other minority ethnic groups. In 1982 the various accommodation policies were brought a little closer together by the suggestion that ethnic affairs policies related to all Australians.

8.5 ETHNIC DIVERSIFICATION AND AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

Persons of British Isles descent remain the dominant ethnic category in contemporary Australian society. Since the Second World War their pre-eminence has lessened slightly because of the growing number of origins which make up the rest of the population and an increase in their collective proportion of the total, reflecting the Australian government's determination that there be a balanced migrant intake.

As well as overseas migration, other demographic processes have prompted ethnic diversification of Australia's population. Major ones have included

47. Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Galbally, Frank - Chairman), (1978), Migrant Services and Programs, A.G.P.S., Canberra, pp. 11-12.
48. Ibid., p. 104.
intermarriage, fertility and full enumeration of Aboriginals. Overseas migration was the most important of these in the earlier post-war years. As public opinion permitted the government to encourage persons from an increasing range of birthplaces and races to come to Australia, other demographic changes occurred. These included a growing variety in the population's religious affiliations and in the languages its members used.

In time, intermarriage and fertility also became prominent. Whether they have, in fact, overtaken overseas migration in the relative size of their contributions to diversification is an extremely complicated issue. To consider it would require data on population stocks and flows by ethnic categories not currently available from official statistics. Some idea of the complexities involved is given by the trends in ethnic generations over the first half of the 1970s. The total third-plus generation increased in size and proportion of the population between the 1971 and 1976 Censuses, reflecting the lengthening period for childbearing by the descendants of immigrants arriving no later than the early post-war years. However, unlike the third-plus generation, second generation persons decreased in number and proportion of the total. Those of U.K. and Eire origin were solely responsible for this decline and serve to highlight the need to examine the characteristics of individual ethnic categories when studying changes to the total population.

Although intermarriage and fertility are often linked, they actually provide information on different aspects of diversification. Intermarriage gives some indication of the extent to which ethnic categories have common values and are prepared to accommodate each other. Very largely, persons of English-speaking and north-west European origins showed the highest tendencies to marry third-plus generation Australians and others outside their ethnic category, indicating their easy acceptance into Australian society. Although those of Mediterranean origins, especially females, had relatively low rates of first generation intermarriage, the influence of Australian customs caused far greater second generation intermarriage, again usually to Australians.

Fertility provides information on the likely continuation of ethnic origins, through the numbers of children born, as noted above. It also offers some guidance on the survival of individual cultures and cultural affiliations. It has been claimed that the family is the 'central institution fostering ethnic identify', so that the rate of intermarriage

affects the transmission of common parental values.\(^{52}\) Children born into unions between persons from different origins are therefore influenced by various cultures. Price has argued that they are products of a mixed cultural society, rather than a multicultural one, as they mix elements of the different cultures they inherit.\(^{53}\) When overall intermarriage is low, individual ethnic communities and pure cultural values are more likely to survive intact. When it is high, ethnic diversification is greater and the children of these marriages, including half-caste Aboriginals, may be accepted more easily by both the individual ethnic groups and the wider society.

The intermarriage patterns described above imply least blending of cultures among persons of Mediterranean origins and most by those with some British or north-west European ancestry. Because the second generation of all overseas origins intermarry more than their first generations, there is nevertheless evidence of possible diminishing 'exclusiveness' over time for all ethnic groups in Australia. In fact, even amongst the least intermarrying there may be a tendency for the second generation to adopt Australian norms or for a pluralistic personality to emerge. This is the person:

> educated in one or more traditions besides those learned in the home, the person aware of his or her own cultural roots and yet highly skilled in 'passing over' from one cultural tradition to another.\(^{54}\)

By the 1970s the children of early post-war immigrants were reaching adulthood and were participating in Australian occupational systems far more than their parents had done.\(^{55}\) Even those of relatively disadvantaged Mediterranean backgrounds were achieving at least some, if not a considerable, measure of success, for example the Greeks, compared with both their parents and the local population. That is, it may be inferred that these persons - whose success needs to be measured according to Australian values, rather than the ethnic cultural ones of their parents\(^{56}\) - saw the benefit of sharing in Australian institutions and traditions. They realised that the more they

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52. Ibid., p. 97.
56. Ibid., p. 11.
involved themselves in ethnic organisations, the less they would be able to take part in the dominant institutional structure which offered higher rewards.\textsuperscript{57}

These findings emphasise the need for further investigation of the effects of intermarriage and fertility. Aspects requiring attention include the long-term cultural affiliations of both those who intermarry and their children. Such a study should examine upward mobility by individuals and the relative sizes and intermarriage patterns of ethnic categories.

Unlike other processes of diversification such as those considered above, the granting of Australian citizenship is believed to alter neither an individual's ethnic identification nor the population's overall ethnic composition. However, it does permit those from overseas to take a significant step towards full membership of the Australian community. Such persons may be able to become more Australian, but at the same time become no less 'ethnic'.\textsuperscript{58}

Compared with the granting of Australian citizenship, the adoption of policies of self-determination for Aboriginals in the early 1970s had an impact on the ethnic composition of the population as recorded by official statistics, although not necessarily in real life. That is, at the 1976 Census, it caused some persons who had previously denied their Aboriginality, or who had seen benefit in claiming another racial origin - usually European - to reclassify themselves. Despite this resurgence of Aboriginal ethnicity and the very definite advances made by the early 1980s in accommodating them within Australian society, such as in the thrust of the 1981 Census question on race, the Aboriginal people and those concerned for their well-being remain very conscious of the administrative anomalies relating to them. They are very much aware that they are still a depressed minority in Australian society and that they are 'not fully incorporated into the body politic, let alone the body social'.\textsuperscript{59} They are that part of the Australian population most in need of the powers flowing from anti-discriminatory legislation and most in need of a 'rightful place in the national framework'.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., pp. 5-6.

\textsuperscript{58} Bottomley, Gillian (1979), After the Odyssey. A Study of Greek Australians, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, pp. ix-x.


\textsuperscript{60} Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (1982), op. cit., p. 5.
How Australia seeks to measure its ethnic diversity census by census reflects the importance it places on accommodating both those of immigrant and Aboriginal origins. In planning for the 1981 Census, consideration was given to asking a number of questions on ethnic origin, as the ethnic variables included in previous censuses were seen as not necessarily pinpointing it. A pre-test in March, 1979 found that many former immigrants themselves did not understand the term ethnic origin, so that a direct question on the topic could not be included.

A second question was also tried in March 1979, that of mother tongue, which is generally described as the language first spoken. In relation to this, the United Nations considers that:

Language, and particularly mother tongue, is probably a more sensitive index (for determining ethnic origin) than either country of birth or country of citizenship because linguistic differences tend to persist until complete cultural assimilation has taken place. Common ancestral customs may be reflected in the mother tongue of individuals long after these persons have changed their citizenship. Thus, important ethnic groups, not only among foreign born alone but also among native born or second generation population groups, may be distinguished by language differentials.

Although the question obtained adequate and sufficiently reliable data, for most respondents it gave no information on ethnic origin additional to that provided by their answers to the questions on birthplace and birthplace of parents. These results reinforce the above findings that birthplace and birthplace of parents are important indicators of ethnic origin in Australia at present.

In planning for the 1986 Census the A.B.S. is pursuing the search for an appropriate question on ethnic origin. It has established an independent expert committee to investigate ways in which more comprehensive information on the ethnic background of Australia's population might be obtained. This

follows government acceptance of a recommendation by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs that:

(f)uture censuses should include a question on ethnic origin as well as questions on birthplace of parents and language usage.  

The committee's terms of reference include:

1. Ascertain in precise terms the requirements for and uses of data on ethnicity as collected in a population census.
2. Determine the extent to which information collected at previous censuses satisfies the more important of these requirements.
3. Insofar as important requirements were not met in previous censuses determine the concepts to be used in measuring those aspects of ethnicity.  

The committee is therefore required to distinguish carefully between different concepts such as ethnic origin and ethnicity in its quest for a better measure of the variety of cultures in Australia and the number of persons affiliated with each. Any questions it proposes should uncover some of the diversity which is hidden by existing statistics, such as when the children of two sets of second generation parents marry. In particular, it may find that mother tongue is best able to show which cultures are continued amongst second and subsequent generation Australians of overseas or mixed origins.

The establishment of the committee is to be particularly welcomed as the collection of census data on ethnic composition provides an important opportunity for advancing views on both population changes and their effects on Australian society. Points made by the Commonwealth Statistician in the 1933 Census about the 'utility of birthplace statistics', like his decision to replace terms relating to race by ones dealing with ethnic origin, demonstrate clearly the interest in ethnic matters at that time. In fact, the Statistician's comments about culture appear to have placed him some few decades ahead of his time:

Among the several important aspects under which the composition of a country's population is to be seen ... are the

geographical sources from which the population springs. The culture which develops in a comparatively new country like Australia will tend to be increasingly characterized by its own peculiar features, and these will tend to be more firmly established, the greater the proportion of native-born Australians in the population as a whole.... On the other hand, those elements of the population which are recruited from other countries bring with them a variety of cultural influences. It is important to know, therefore, what proportion of the total population was born outside Australia and the countries of birth of these immigrants. The significance of birthplace statistics relates chiefly to the complex of factors which make up a country's cultural outlook and is not identical with the significance to be attached to statistics of nationality or political allegiance or to statistics of 'racial' or ethnic origin.69

Even though these comments were repeated in the Statistician's Reports produced until and including the 1961 Census,70 scant attention appears to have been paid them by contemporary designers of accommodation policies. Similarly, little was made public about the reasons for including a question on birthplace of parents in the 1971 and later Censuses. There was, however, more discussion on the nature of the race question in the 1976 Census71 and the Aboriginality question and why one on ethnic origin could not be asked in the 1981 Census.72

In particular, the committee's findings may throw some light on those persons who today regard themselves as full members of the Australian community. Depending on the nature of any recommendations, it might be possible to ascertain the number and other characteristics, such as period of residence or parentage, of those who are outside the core ethnic category according to current census statistics as described above, but who nevertheless identify with Australia sufficiently to regard themselves as having Australian ethnicity, or as belonging to the Australian ethnic group.

This issue is important for two reasons. The first is to identify the characteristics of those who see themselves as part of the group which has

69. Ibid., p. 77.
traditionally influenced policies about who is fit to join the Australian community. Despite today's non-discriminatory policies, some of these persons may prefer particular types of immigrants and/or react as unfavourably to settlers from new sources such as Indo-China as their forebears did to earlier arrivals such as the Germans in the nineteenth century, Italians in the 1920s, Greeks in the 1950s and Turks in the late 1960s. Secondly, those with Australian ethnicity are likely to have most ties with British-based culture, modified to Australian conditions, unlike those with other ethnicities and hence require least support in understanding Australian institutions.

Notwithstanding recent governments' commitment to multiculturalism and acceptance of an Evaluation of official post-arrival programs and services for migrants which took too little notice of immigrants' place in Australian society, it is pleasing that they understand the need for flexibility in their accommodation policies. Their advisors recognise that certain sections of the Australian community favour assimilation as the current form of accommodation, i.e. at least some shift in emphasis back towards the host society. Some prefer assimilation as they see multiculturalism providing special services for certain people and creating ethnic enclaves. Others consider that assimilation is the best way to ensure that all Australians have equal 'life chances', for example, equal social and occupational mobility and access to education, i.e. the equality of opportunity and access claimed to be underlying multiculturalism. As described above, some persons of immigrant origin have themselves recognised the greater rewards of the dominant institutional structure.

It is therefore realised that there are limits to multiculturalism, especially as the vast majority of Australians are still British or Irish in origin. Any move away from a society with one set of rules common to everyone would be unlikely to receive much support from the core ethnic group.

73. See, for example, The National Times, 13-19 September, 1981, pp. 28-29.
75. Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1982), op. cit.
78. Ibid., p. 11.
Furthermore, it may severely disadvantage other Australians by placing undue emphasis on cultural life, rather than political realities.  

It has been suggested that the extent of structural pluralism which Australian society is willing to tolerate in its pursuit of cultural pluralism may well be one of the urgent issues facing the future development of multiculturalism. If, as the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs has noted, there is a need for changes to Australia's institutions, as:

> it is not possible to change attitudes and minimise prejudice if the structural conditions which encourage them are maintained,

such changes would have to be made with extreme caution. Already, for example, the recognition by civil law or certain Aboriginal tribal laws has been mooted. Such concerns transcend the current government inquiry into multiculturalism and may, in time, lead to further approaches to accommodating the ethnically diverse components of Australia's population.

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80. Ibid., p. 106.
81. Ibid., p. 106.
82. Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (1982), op. cit., p. 13 said to be citing Lewins (1980), loc. cit. Lewins' paper does not, however, contain these exact words, although pers. comm. with him corroborates them.
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(In chronological order)

REGISTRAR GENERAL

COMPILER

GOVERNMENT STATISTICIAN

COMMONWEALTH STATISTICIAN

AND ACTUARY


COMMONWEALTH BUREAU OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS


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SMITH, L.R.

SPENCER, Herbert


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### APPENDIX TABLE: Total Population by Detailed Birthplaces: Australia: 1947 to 1981 Censuses

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Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding.

n.a. = not available.
n.e.i. = not elsewhere included.
0.0 = less than 50.

1. Changes have occurred to the list of countries on which data are available separately at the various post-war censuses. Countries listed here are based on those identified separately by the United Nations and generally grouped into regions according to United Nations (1979) Demographic Year Book 1979, United Nations, New York, p. 13, with groupings within these regions into Commonwealth countries, as appropriate, according to Europa Publications (1982), The Europa Year Book 1982. A World Survey, Europa; London, Volume 1, p. 154.

2. Excludes full-blood Aboriginals in censuses to 1961. Full-blood Aboriginals are all assumed to have been born in Australia in 1966.

3. Includes 178,600 persons who did not state their birthplace.

4. Includes 'U.K. and Eire undefined'.

5. Consists of Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland and 'Ireland undefined'.

6. Consists of German Democratic Republic and German Federal Republic.

7. Consists of countries in Total Europe not specified separately.


12. Included with India in 1947.
13. Includes Bangladesh to 1971.
15. Included with Malaysia in 1947, with Singapore in 1954 and in Other Commonwealth Oceania from 1961 to 1971.
18. Despite Turkey's classification as part of Europe for immigration purposes from the late 1960s, it continues to be counted as part of Asia for official statistical purposes.
20. Includes countries in Asia not specified individually nor included in above footnotes.
23. Consists of Total America less Canada and the U.S.A.

Sources: As for Table 5.2.