Second Generation Australians

Report for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The main objectives of this study are to examine the social, economic and demographic outcomes of second generation Australians, to compare them by their parents' national or ethnic origins and with their peers who are either first or at least third or more generations. Among the socioeconomic and demographic outcomes examined in the study are educational attainment, employment, occupational status, language shift and family formation patterns. The study also explores the issue of intergenerational mobility by examining whether the second generation's outcomes are related to their parents' socioeconomic background.

The study is based primarily on data from the 1996 Census. The second generation is identified directly from census data on birthplace and parents' birthplace. In this study, the second generation is defined as persons born in Australia with one or both parents born in an overseas country. The second generation is examined according to the country of birth of both parents where both are born in the same country, or if not, the father's country of birth. Comparisons are also undertaken according to their parents' English proficiency country groupings (EP Groups), a classification developed by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA 1997) that takes account of the level of English proficiency of recent immigrants.

The study takes a cohort approach in examining the second generation. It focuses on four specific age cohorts: children aged 0-14 years, youth aged 15-24, and adults aged 25-34 and 35-44 in 1996. These age cohorts are associated with different waves of immigration to Australia, with the younger cohorts including the children of Asian immigrants who arrived after 1975, while the older cohorts are predominantly of European origins, reflecting the post-war migration from Europe of the 1950s and 1960s.

Demographic background

In 1996 there were 3.4 million second generation Australians – about 20 per cent of the total population of 17.8 million. The largest number of second generation Australians are those with one or both parents born in the United Kingdom, a reflection of the UK as the largest source of immigrants to Australia. The second generation of European origins greatly outnumbered the second generation of non-European origins in 1996. They also outnumbered the first generation of European origins because immigration from Europe, aside from the UK, has slowed down considerably after 1970. The second generation of Asian origins is still smaller than the first generation, but its number is likely to increase because of continuing migration from Asian countries and the relatively young age structure of recent Asian migrants.

The second generation aged 0-14 years

Since this age group is too young for a study of their socioeconomic outcomes, the focus is on their family situation. Their living arrangements, the extent that English is spoken in the home, and the family's socioeconomic status – as indicated by parents' education and qualifications, employment and occupational status, household income

and housing tenure – are examined by their parents' birthplace. The birthplace groups that are the focus of this chapter are mainly of non-European origins.

Compared with the first and third or more generations, the second generation is more likely to live with both parents. The second generation of Asian origins – particularly those with parents born in Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, India and Philippines – tends to have very high proportions living with both parents. The exception is the second generation of Vietnamese parents, where the proportion living with the mother only is higher than other Asian groups and suggests that difficulties in settlement may have contributed to their parents' marriage breakdown.

The data show wide variation in the children's family's socioeconomic status by origin. Children whose parents have migrated from countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong and India are more likely to have well educated, employed parents and live in high income households. Many immigrants from these countries are skilled or business migrants and this is reflected in their occupational status. In contrast, a significant proportion of children with parents from Lebanon, Turkey or Vietnam come from families of lower socioeconomic background, with fathers who are more likely to be employed in low skilled occupations or not employed at all. Immigration from these three countries has been largely characterised by family or refugee migration rather than skill migration.

The most important finding for this age group is that most children are proficient in speaking English once they reach school age, regardless of their parents' English competency. Although a high proportion of children with parents born in Vietnam, China, Hong Kong, Lebanon or Turkey speak a language other than English at home and their parents are less proficient in English than other migrants, almost all of them can speak good English by age 10. This finding suggests that schools play an important role in the development of English language skills in children whose parents speak little or no English. Proficiency in English has been shown to be associated with positive labour market outcomes for immigrants (Cobb-Clark and Chapman 1999; Williams et al 1997; Wooden 1994). The English proficiency of almost all children in the second generation, regardless of their parents' English ability, holds promise of a successful integration into the labour market and Australian society when they read adult age.

The second generation aged 15-24 years

The second generation in this age group is in transition from education to work. Outcomes examined for this age group include enrolment in education for those aged 15-21 and qualifications for those aged 22-24, as well as labour force participation and employment outcomes for those aged 18-24. Since a large proportion of the second generation in this age group is still enrolled in secondary or tertiary study, the information on their occupational outcomes is likely to be still incomplete.

A large proportion of the second generation aged 15-21 still live at home with parents. This makes it possible to examine their educational and employment outcomes in relation to their family's socioeconomic background, as indicated by residential location and father's or sole parent's occupational status. Second generation youth of Greek or FYROM origin are the most likely to live with their parents.

Almost all second generation youth are proficient in English even if they do not speak it as the only language at home. The second generation's enrolment rate in secondary or tertiary education is also significantly higher than that of youth who are at least third generation. Consequently, their proportion with post-school qualifications is also higher than that for their peers who are at least third generation. Second generation youth with parents born in Malaysia, China, Greece, Italy, Poland, Hungary or Lebanon are particularly likely to stay in school longer, proceed to tertiary study and obtain post-school qualifications. The second generation of UK or Western European origins is similar in these respects to Australians who are at least third generation.

Because of their higher participation in education, the second generation has a lower participation rate in the labour force at these ages than their peers who are at least third generation. However, unemployment rates tend to be higher for the second generation who are in the work force than for the third generation, with the highest unemployment rate observed among the youth of Turkish or Lebanese origin.

Another significant finding for the second generation in this age group is that those who come from families of lower socioeconomic background, as measured by father's occupation, are more likely to be enrolled in education than their third generation counterparts of similar socioeconomic background. The second generation living in middle or low income suburbs were also more likely to be enrolled in education than the third generation from the same suburbs, while there was no difference in educational participation between second and third generation youth who live in high socioeconomic status suburbs. These results indicate that second generation youth from lower socioeconomic background may have a greater capacity to overcome their disadvantage than their third generation peers by participating longer in education and obtaining post-school qualifications.

The second generation aged 25-44 years

Socioeconomic outcomes are clearer for this age group since they have completed their education and are in their prime working ages. The 1996 Census data confirm the findings of earlier studies that the second generation who are of most Southern or Eastern European origins have better educational and occupational outcomes than those of UK or Western European origins. Although small in number, the second generation of parents born in Malaysia or China has the highest proportion with university qualifications and in professional occupations. The second generation of Eastern European or Asian origins who are in managerial or professional occupations also have higher incomes.

A large proportion of the second generation of Greek, Italian, FYROM or Maltese origins live in homes that are owned by them or their family, particularly at ages 25-34. Other second generation groups with relatively high proportions living in owned homes are those with parents born in Lebanon, China or Poland. In contrast a smaller proportion of the second generation of British or Western European origins live in owned homes. The gap between them and the second generation of Southern European origins is smaller at age 35-44 than at age 25-34, as more of them become home owners in their late 30s and early 40s.

Two age cohorts – those aged 25-34 and 35-44 in 1996 – are also examined using data from the 1986 and 1991 Censuses to track their socioeconomic outcomes over the ten-year period between 1986 and 1996. Generally, differences in the second generation's socioeconomic outcomes by origin are maintained over time as the cohort ages. However, the gap between the second and third or more generations in educational achievement widened for the cohort aged 15-24 in 1986 as they moved into the 25-34 age group in 1996. In contrast, differences in unemployment rates, occupational status and home ownership rates between the second and third or more generations became smaller as the cohorts became older as the Australian third generation caught up slightly in occupational status and home ownership rates.

The cohort analyses also show a definite shift to speaking only English at home as the second generation becomes older, although differences by origin remain fairly large. Maintenance of the parents' language at home continues to be strong among the second generation of Greek origin, followed by those of Lebanese, Italian and Chinese origins even as they reach middle age.

Family formation patterns are also examined for this age group. In terms of their partnering, marriage and fertility patterns, second generation Australians of UK origin are almost exactly the same as the third generation. The second generation with parents born in New Zealand, Ireland, Germany or Netherlands also shows patterns of behaviour that are similar to Australians of at least third generation, although the second generation of New Zealand origin is more likely to marry later and to be in cohabiting relationships than Australians who are at least third generation. In contrast the second generation of Mediterranean origins have a pattern of early marriage and low rates of cohabitation. The second generation of Southern European origins also has high rates of in-marriage.

Second generation women have lower fertility on average than Australian women who are at least third generation. Only women of Dutch or Lebanese origin have higher fertility in the 25-34 age group and only women of Dutch or Maltese origin have higher fertility in the 35-44 age group than women who are at least third generation. Women of Chinese origin stand out as having the lowest fertility among the second generation. Other groups with low fertility are women of Greek or Italian origin who are more likely to delay the first birth and who also have very low rates of ex-nuptial fertility.

Conclusions

This study of socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation shows that the second generation as a group are doing or has done better than their peers who are at least third generation in terms of educational attainment and occupational status. However, there is also considerable diversity in outcomes by origin. The second generation of some Southern European, Eastern European and Asian origins are more likely to achieve better educational and occupation outcomes than those of other origins. The second generation of English-speaking or Western European origins are more similar to at least third generation Australians in their socioeconomic characteristics.

There are also differences in language and cultural maintenance among the second generation by origin, as indicated by differences in the shift to speaking English only at home and in demographic behaviours such as ex-nuptial fertility, cohabitation and independent living. The second generation of Mediterranean or Asian origins are more likely to differ from the third or more generations in these demographic behaviours. However, almost all second generation youth are proficient in English regardless of their parents' level of English competency. This should help in their integration into Australian society and the labour market.

As contended by Portes and Macleod (1996), the long-term prospects of ethnic communities created by contemporary immigration hinge on the second generation's social adaptation and educational success. Indeed achievement of this end, the future benefit of their children, is often the motivating factor of the migration of the first generation. With this strong motivation on the part of their parents, it is perhaps no surprise that most second generation groups perform better in educational outcomes than their peers who are at least third generation. The study has also shown that in circumstances where the parental generation is economically disadvantaged, the second generation seems more able to overcome this disadvantage – through greater participation in education and achievement of tertiary qualifications – than their peers who are at least third generation.

The census data used in this study are not able to explain the reasons for the better socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation compared to the third generation. Nor are they able to explain the diversity in outcomes by origin among the second generation. More detailed survey data are needed to examine the factors associated with particular country of origin groups that have an impact on the second generation outcomes observed in this study.

While conclusions can be drawn about the socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation of European origins whose parents immigrated during the 1950s and 1960s, it is still premature to assess the socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation of non-European origins whose parents immigrated after 1975. There are clear signs that the second generation of Asian origins whose parents immigrated before 1970 has done well in terms of gaining university qualifications. However, they are small in number and their parents are a select group of immigrants from only a few Asian countries. The vast majority of second generation Australians of non-European origins are children of immigrants who arrived after 1975. They have more diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Although there are clear indications that these second generation youth are remaining in the education system longer than their peers who are at least third generation, it will be another five to ten years before their socioeconomic outcomes will be fully known. There is a need therefore for continuing research on second generation Australians.

1. INTRODUCTION

In a country of immigration such as Australia, the second generation represents an important link between their overseas-born parents and the wider community. As the generation born in Australia of immigrant parents, it is a generation in cultural transition, subject to the linguistic, cultural and ethnic influences of their parents as well as the social environment of their country of birth. While their parents' generation has spent their childhood, youth or even adulthood in another country before immigrating to Australia, the second generation has lived in Australia since birth. They have gone to school and grown up with other Australian children, even if at home with their parents they may still experience a different cultural system that includes eating different foods, speaking a different language or adhering to a different set of social values and cultural norms. It has therefore been suggested that it is among the second generation, not the first, that issues such as the maintenance of language, cultural traditions and ethnic identity will be decided (Portes 1994).

The second generation can also be distinguished from their overseas-born parents in terms of national identity and citizenship. Unlike their immigrant parents who may view Australia as their adopted country, the second generation are Australian citizens from birth and may know no other country as home. Because this is their country of birth and citizenship, their social and economic adaptation is particularly important.

It has also been suggested that the social and economic outcomes experienced by the second generation can have important implications for the future of ethnic communities. In their study of educational outcomes among the second generation in the United States of America, Portes and MacLeod (1996) contend that the long-term prospects of ethnic communities created by contemporary immigration are likely to hinge on the second generation's social adaptation and educational success. In the current 'knowledge-based' society such as the USA's or Australia's, educational performance is an important factor in career and social mobility. How well the second generation, particularly those whose parents have migrated from a non-English speaking country, adapt to an English language education and school curriculum will be important for their own and their community's social and economic integration with mainstream society.

Although Australia has had more than fifty years of post-Second World War immigration that has brought people from all regions of the world, there has been little focus on the second generation and their social and economic adaptation from the perspective of academic research or government policy. Most of the research on immigrant adaptation has focussed on the first generation, because the government considers the successful settlement of immigrants to be an important measure of the success of its immigration program. There is sometimes also an implicit assumption that the second generation, being Australia-born and having grown up here, would have social and economic outcomes that are unlikely to differ very much from those of other native-born Australians.

Until the 1990s, it would not have been possible to examine the socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation who are the children of post-war immigrants because they would have been too young. This relative youth of the "new" second

generation has also been one of the reasons for the lack of research focus on their socioeconomic adaptation in the United States, until recently (Portes 1994). Only a small number of the second generation in Australia whose parents immigrated from Southern and Eastern Europe during the 1950s and 1960s would have reached adult age before 1980; the majority did so in the 1980s and 1990s. The second generation of non-European origins is even younger, since the arrival of significant numbers of non-European migrants and refugees from Vietnam occurred only after 1975, following the end of the White Australia policy and the Vietnam war. The vast majority of the second generation of non-European origins is still of school age although some are now moving into young adulthood. The study of the second generation of post-war immigration is only now possible because sufficient numbers of them have grown up.

The second generation, defined in this study as Australian-born with at least one overseas-born parent, currently numbers about 3.4 million people or nearly 20 per cent of the total population. One in every 5 persons is a second generation Australian. The study of the second generation is therefore the study of a significant group in the population. As shown later, the second generation is a relatively young group of people. It will be an important force in defining the country's future.

Study objectives

The main objectives of the study are to examine the demographic, social and economic outcomes of the second generation, to compare them by their parents' national or ethnic origins and with their peers who are either first generation or third or more generations.

The study also aims to examine issues of intergenerational mobility by looking at whether the socioeconomic outcomes observed for the second generation are related to their parents' origins, socioeconomic status and residential location. It also examines the extent of ethnic language maintenance and conversely the shift to speaking English at home as measures of cultural maintenance and adaptation to Australian society.

Previous research

The second generation in Australia

As indicated earlier, there has been little research on the second generation in Australia until the 1980s, as before then the second generation who were the offspring of post-war immigrants were too young for any study of their socioeconomic outcomes. Since 1981 researchers have made use of data from each successive census to study the second generation of post-war immigration to Australia. Information on parents' birthplace is collected in the census, making it the best source of data on the second generation and greatly facilitating research on their characteristics and outcomes.

In the 1970s there was concern about the adaptation to an English language school system of immigrant children whose first language was not English. It was thought that children who came from non-English speaking homes might have difficulties in schools where English was the language of instruction and the curriculum required an

adequate level of English proficiency. These concerns prompted the first studies of second generation children of non-English speaking origins. Martin and Meade (1979) followed a cohort of secondary school students in Sydney over the 1974-78 period to investigate whether children of non-English speaking origins were in any way disadvantaged. Their study found that a higher proportion of second generation children of Southern European background completed their high school education than did the children of Australian origin (Meade 1983).

Other later studies based on data from the population censuses have also pointed to the higher educational attainment of the second generation of Southern European origins. Hugo (1987) examined data on the second generation from the 1981 Census as part of a larger study of Australia's population. His analysis included the second generation aged 15 and over of mainly European origins. At the time, 10-25 per cent of the second generation of non-English speaking European origins were still in school and so the findings were somewhat preliminary. But there were signs of upward mobility between the second and first generations of some birthplace groups in educational attainment and occupational status. The proportion having tertiary education was higher among the second generation than the first generation of Greek, Italian, Yugoslav, Polish and Middle East origins and also higher than the Australian average. A much higher proportion of the second generation of the same origins were also in professional and managerial occupations compared with the first generation.

A question on ancestry was asked in the 1986 Census that enabled the second generation to be examined by this indicator of origin. A study comparing the second generation of Dutch, German, Hungarian, Polish, Italian and Greek origins with the majority Anglo-Celt population also found differences in economic outcomes by origin (Giorgas 1999). The second generation of Eastern or Southern European origins had better educational and occupational outcomes compared with the second generation of Western European origins or the Anglo-Celt majority, although this advantage might not necessarily be translated into earnings potential. It was suggested that socio-cultural factors might be important in explaining these differences by origin. In particular, ethnic concentration and restricted social interaction with the Anglo-Celtic majority might have led to the maintenance of group norms and values that encouraged investment in education and occupational achievement among the second generation of Southern and Eastern European origins.

Following the 1991 Census, Birrell and Khoo (1995) also examined the second generation on their educational and occupational outcomes, focussing on those in the 25-34 year old age group. Their study also compared the second generation with the first generation of the same origin who had immigrated to Australia before 1981. The findings confirmed that there was a considerable degree of upward mobility in some groups. The proportion with tertiary qualifications was substantially higher among the second generation than the first generation of many Southern and Eastern European origins and also those of Middle East origins. On the other hand, males of Australian and Western European origins were more likely to have vocational and trade qualifications. The higher educational attainment of the second generation of Southern and Eastern European origins was again reflected in their occupational status. The 1991 data also showed considerable upward mobility for the second generation of Greek, Italian, Yugoslav and Lebanese parentage, with much higher proportions of both males and females in professional occupations than the first

generation of these origins. On the hand, there appeared to be little upward mobility in terms of occupational status among the second generation of Western European origins. There was also not much difference between the second generation of parents born in the United Kingdom or Ireland and Australians who were of the third or more generations. This was not surprising as most Australians of third or more generations would have descended from British or Irish ancestors.

Brooks (1996) also analysed data from the 1991 Census to investigate the factors associated with labour force participation and unemployment rates among the first and second generations. His study found that second generation males with parents born in the Middle East or East Asia had lower unemployment rates than the first generation from these regions, while the opposite pattern was observed for males from New Zealand or Western Europe. However, his analyses showed that parents' birthplace was not as important as English language proficiency in affecting inter-generational differences in labour market outcomes.

The second generation of the twenty largest birthplace groups was examined in terms of their educational qualifications and language spoken at home in the series of Community Profiles based on the 1996 Census published by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (2000). The Profiles also show a higher proportion with tertiary qualifications among the second generation than the first generation of Southern European, Polish and Lebanese backgrounds, but little difference between the generations of New Zealand or Western European origins. Although the Profiles included a number of Asian birthplace groups, the proportion of second generation in these groups that was over the age of 25 was too small for an examination of their qualifications.

The Profiles also show that the shift to speaking English only at home is occurring in all second generation groups, although the extent of language maintenance varies among the groups. The Southern European groups showed a greater degree of ethnic language maintenance than the Western or Eastern European groups. There were also differences among the Asian origin groups, although some of these differences might be related to differences in the age structure of the second generation.

These studies all point to considerable success in terms of educational and occupational outcomes among the second generation of Southern and Eastern European as well as Lebanese origins, especially when compared with their parent's generation. The second generation of these origins had even surpassed the Australian average in these outcome measures. On the other hand, the second generation of Western European origins, including those of British or Irish origins, were more similar in their educational and occupational outcomes to Australians who were at least third generation. In discussing their findings, Birrell and Khoo (1995) suggested that the belief held by some immigrant groups about the importance of education and the transmission of this belief to their children might have led to the positive educational and occupational outcomes observed for the second generation. Also, the expansion of the secondary and tertiary education systems and the abolition of university fees in the 1970s would also have helped in facilitating access to higher education among children of immigrants coming from less privileged backgrounds.

Price (1993; 1994) examined the likelihood of intermarriage among the second generation. He found that there was considerable variation by ethnic origin. In the early 1990s, between half and three-quarters of second generation women of Greek, Italian, Lebanese or Turkish origin and about half of second generation men from these communities married within their own community. In contrast less than 10 per cent of second generation of Western or Eastern European origins married within their own community. On average, he estimated that nearly three-quarters of all second generation men and women were marrying persons of a different origin and suggested that this would have implications for the maintenance of various ethnic languages and sociocultural traditions.

The second generation in the United States and Canada

There has been more research on the second generation in the United States even though recent censuses in the US have not asked about parents' birthplace, making it impossible to identify the second generation in census data. Most of the studies have been concerned about language shift and educational outcomes of the large numbers of second generation of Hispanic and Asian backgrounds whose parents immigrated after the 1965 changes to the Immigration Act. The studies were based on small surveys of high school students, using data on educational performance to examine their adaptation to the American educational system and the implications for assimilation and social mobility. In spite of the limitations in data and scope, the studies of second generation youth in the US have been rich in the development of theoretical perspectives on the process of their (the second generation's) socioeconomic integration.

The pioneering work was that of Portes and Zhou (1993) which was based on data collected by the project, *Children of Immigrants: The Adaptation Process of the Second Generation.* They introduced the concept of segmented assimilation to describe the diverse outcomes of the 'new' second generation. They suggest that the experiences of the post-1965 immigrants and their children show different patterns of adaptation into American society. Some are integrating into the white middle class while others are assimilating into the underclass. A third pattern of adaptation is that of "rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity" (Portes and Zhou 1993:82). Portes and Zhou have suggested that differences in second generation outcomes can be explained by the social contexts faced by immigrant youth, in particular the factors of race, location and economic opportunity, and the types of resources made available through government programs or networks in their own ethnic community.

A number of empirical studies of the new second generation were presented in a special issue of *International Migration Review* (vol 28, Winter 1994). An examination of 1990 Census data on second generation children still living with their parents showed a mixed picture of disadvantage according to some indicators and advantage according to others (Jensen and Chitose 1994). Compared to other American children, the second generation was more likely to be living in poor households, with household heads over-represented in the lowest education categories. However, the second generation children were also more likely to be living in households where the heads were over-represented among the most

educated, were more likely to be married and less likely to be receiving welfare income.

Language adaptation was examined in another study based on children in south Florida and this showed that knowledge of English was near universal (Portes and Schauffler 1994). Furthermore, most second generation children preferred to use English in everyday communication, leading the authors to conclude that the concern was more the preservation of the languages spoken by the immigrant parents, not the loss of English as the dominant language.

A case study of Vietnamese youth showed that although many came from modest socioeconomic backgrounds, with parents who have no qualifications, those aged 16-19 had a lower school dropout rate than their American counterparts (Zhou and Bankston 1994). The study also showed that the second generation Vietnamese youth had high levels of ethnic involvement which was shown to be correlated with their academic orientation, leading the authors to suggest that social capital might be more important than human capital for the successful adaptation of this group of second generation.

In reviewing the US studies, Waldinger and Perlmann (1998) concluded that while there was concern about the prospects for intergenerational mobility for some second generation groups, particularly those disproportionately represented in the underclass, there were also indications that many children of working class immigrant parents were doing well in school and this was important for their future integration into American society. They were more optimistic than the proponents of segmented assimilation although the future was yet to be seen.

The profile of the second generation of adult age in Canada is one of success, although there are some variations by origin (Boyd and Grieco 1998). Data from a 1994 Canadian survey showed that the second generation aged 25-64 had high levels of education and labour market achievements. The second generation in this age group was mostly of American or European origins and so was not comparable to that which was the focus in the US studies. It might be more comparable to the second generation aged 25 and older that is described in Chapter 5 of this report.

The second generation in Europe

Unlike Australia, Canada and the United States of America, the countries of Europe are not countries of immigration. Nonetheless many European countries have communities of immigrants and foreign workers and a sizeable second generation and there have been a few studies of the adaptation of the second generation.

A study of Belgium-born young women of Moroccan or Turkish parentage showed important differences between the second generation and their parents' generation in social attitudes and language shift. The Belgian-born second generation, particularly those of Moroccan origin, had a high proportion reading French and Dutch newspapers, married later, were more in favour of female autonomy and less likely to be committed to the sociocultural and religious ideals of their parents' generation (Lestaeghe and Surkyn 1995).

In Germany, even though the second generation of Mediterranean origins continued to be considered as immigrants like their parents, there had been some occupational mobility into non-labouring employment (Seifert 1997). They were more likely than their immigrant parents to see themselves as German and 90 per cent were proficient in the German language.

Data and methodology

The study is based primarily on data from the 1996 Census of Population and Housing. The data are obtained from the Australian Bureau of Statistics in the form of large matrix tables.

The second generation is identified directly from census data from information on birthplace and parents' birthplace. In this study, the second generation is defined as persons born in Australia with one or both parents born in an overseas country. Detailed country of birth coding enables the second generation to be characterised and examined by the national origins of their parents.

Initial plans had included a three-way comparison: those with both parents born in a particular country with those with only the father or the mother born in that country. However, preliminary analyses showed that the socioeconomic outcomes – except in terms of language shift – were not very different between those with the father only born in a particular country of birth and those with the mother only born in that country. Therefore, the second generation is examined according to their parents' or father's birthplace, except where language maintenance is examined. This approach led to considerable saving in data costs.

Identification by whether the parents or the father only is born in a particular country accounts for a large majority of the second generation of all origins except those with Philippines-born parentage. This is because of the large number of Philippines-born women who are married to non-Philippines-born men. Thus, the second generation of Philippines-born parentage is the only group that is examined according to whether both parents or only the father or mother was born in the Philippines.

Comparisons of the second generation are also undertaken according to their parents' English proficiency country groupings (EP Groups). These country groupings have been developed by DIMA to classify the source countries of Australia's immigrants based on the English proficiency of recent arrivals (DIMA 1997). Countries have been classified into four EP Groups on this basis. EP Group 1 countries are those from which at least 98 per cent of recent migrants are proficient in English. They are the main English-speaking countries (United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Canada, United States of America and South Africa). EP Group 2 countries (excluding the countries in EP Group 1) are those from which at least 80 per cent of recent migrants are proficient in English. EP Group 3 countries are those from which 50-80 per cent of recent migrants are proficient in English and EP Group 4 countries are those from which less than 50 per cent of recent migrants are proficient in English. A list of the EP Group countries based on 1996 Census data are available from DIMA (1997).

Comparisons are also made between the second and the first generations and the second and third or more generations. The first generation refers to people who are

born overseas and have immigrated to Australia. Persons who are third or more generations are defined as those who are born in Australia and whose parents are also born in Australia. It is not possible to differentiate between the third and subsequent generations from census information. The reference to the third generation in this report refers to people who are at least third generation, that is the total Australian population excluding people born overseas and their children.

Data from the 1986 and 1991 Censuses are used for a cohort analysis of some second generation groups, those of mainly European origins, to examine cohort patterns of socioeconomic outcomes between 1986 and 1996.

Structure of the report

The report comprises eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the next chapter provides some background information about the second generation – its numbers, origins, age distribution and locational distribution.

Chapter 3 examines the family situation of Australian-born children aged 0-14 years who have one or both parents born overseas. The focus of this chapter is on children of the 'new' second generation – that is, those whose parents immigrated after 1975. The new second generation refers to those who are mostly of non-European origins and the second generation featured in this chapter are those whose parents were born in countries in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and the Pacific region.

Chapter 4 examines a cohort that is at an important life cycle stage – the age group 15-24 who is in transition from education to work. An important aspect of the analysis of socioeconomic outcomes for this group is an investigation of the relationship of outcomes to parents' socioeconomic status and the issue of intergenerational mobility. The second generation featured in this chapter includes those of European origins as well as a few of the larger groups of Asian origins.

Chapter 5 looks at the second generation aged 25 and over and examines how they have fared in terms of educational attainment, labour market outcomes and home ownership. The second generation examined in this chapter is mainly of European origins whose parents immigrated before 1970.

Chapter 6 presents the results of following two second generation cohorts during a ten-year period from 1986 to 1996. Using data from the 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, the chapter examines the socioeconomic outcomes of second generation men and women who were aged 15-24 and 25-34 in 1986 as they passed through 10 years of adulthood.

Demographic outcomes are examined in Chapter 7, with a particular focus on family formation patterns. The final chapter, Chapter 8, discusses the main findings of the study and their implications for immigration and multicultural policies.

2. DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Before examining the socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation, it is useful to look at their numbers, origins, age distribution and residential location. Although they are all born in Australia, the second generation is a diverse group since their parents were born in countries all over the world. As noted earlier, they are also different in terms of their age structure because, depending on their origins, their parents have immigrated to Australia at different times. Most of the second generation of European origins whose parents arrived during the 1950s and 1960s are now in their twenties, or thirties while most of the second generation of non-European origins whose parents arrived more recently in the 1970s or 1980s are only in their twenties, teens or younger.

Numbers

In 1996, there were 3.4 million second generation Australians, out of a total population of 17.8 million. Thus, one out of every five persons was a second generation Australian. The number of people in the second generation increased by more than 1 million over the twenty-year period between 1976 and 1996 (Table 2.1). Their percentage of the total population also increased slightly from 17 per cent in 1976 to 19 per cent in 1996.

Table 2.1. Second generation Australians, 1976-96.

Year	Number	% of total population
1976	2,276,330	16.8
1981	2,424,526	16.6
1986	2,771,037	17.8
1991	3,139,579	18.6
1996	3,389,962	19.1

Sources: Censuses, 1976-1996.

There were more second generation with one parent born overseas than second generation with both parents born overseas (Table 2.2). Since 1986, the proportions of these two groups have remained at about 56 per cent and 44 per cent respectively. The father was the overseas-born parent for more than 60 per cent of the second generation with one parent born overseas, while the mother was the overseas-born parent for less than 40 per cent of the second generation with one parent born overseas. This is probably a reflection of the larger number of male migrants compared with female migrants who were single at the time of migration and who subsequently married Australian-born spouses.

Origins

The largest group of second generation Australians were those with one or both parents born in the United Kingdom. This is to be expected since the UK has been the largest contributor of immigrants to Australia up until 1995 (when New Zealand took over as the largest contributor). The second generation of British origins numbered

just under 1.5 million in 1996, which was almost half the total number of all second generation.

Table 2.2. The second generation by parents' birthplace

Parents' birthplace	1986		1991		1996	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Both parents born overseas	1,221,477	44.1%	1,381,766	44.0%	1,473,908	43.5%
One parent born overseas	1,549,560	55.9%	1,757,813	56.0%	1,916,054	56.5%
Father only born overseas	986,931	35.6%	1,096,020	34.9%	1,169,205	34.5%
Mother only born overseas	562,629	20.3%	661,793	21.1%	746,849	22.0%
Total	2,771,037	100.0%	3,139,579	100.0%	3,389,962	100.0%

Sources: ABS (1991), *Multicultural Australia*, Catalogue No. 2505.0; ABS (1993), *Census Characteristics of Australia: 1991 Census of Population and Housing*, Catalogue no., 2710.0; 1996 Census, DIMA Table CS074.

A distant second in terms of numerical size was the group of Italian parentage. They were the largest second generation group of non-English speaking origin. The second generation of Italian origin numbered about one-third of a million. Next were the groups of New Zealand, Greek and Dutch origins. As shown in Table 2.3, all the second generation groups that had more than 50,000 people in 1996 were of English-speaking or other European or Lebanese origins whose parents immigrated during the 1950s and 1960s. Among the second generation groups of Asian origins whose parents mostly migrated after 1975, none exceeded 50,000 in 1996. The largest, those with one or both parents born in Vietnam, had 46,756 people.

Table 2.4 shows the second generation numbers in relation to the first generation for the country-of-origin groups considered in this report. The size of the second generation exceeded that of the first generation for most of the groups of European origins. Migration from European countries such Ireland, Netherlands, Malta and Greece peaked in the 1950s and 1960s and slowed down considerably after 1970. Hence numbers in the first generation have been declining in relation to the second generation. Many groups of Southern and Eastern European origins are now into the third generation.

Among more recent migrant groups such as those of Asian origins whose migration occurred since 1970, the size of the second generation was still smaller than that of the first generation. Only about one-quarter of Australians of Asian origins were of the second generation in 1996. However, there is momentum for growth as the groups have a relatively young age structure (see DIMA 2000) and the proportion of second generation will increase in the forthcoming years.

Table 2.3. Second generation groups covered in this report by origin and age, 1996

Birthplace of one or both parents	Age (years) 0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	Total
	Number of persons					
New Zealand	105,438	30,331	15,574	11,116	37,424	199,883
Other Oceania	32,665	7,587	3,194	1,888	2,792	48,126
UK	372,924	245,194	194,272	138,879	493,175	1,444,444
Ireland	15,954	13,852	14,864	11,992	38,492	95,154
Greece	29,962	43,294	53,418	17,062	10,140	153,876
Italy	60,320	82,720	104,669	58,356	27,983	334,048
Malta	17,020	23,309	22,370	10,662	3,764	77,125
Croatia	12,943	14,850	10,145	2,051	1,192	41,181
FYR Macedonia	11,842	11,382	3,655	1,117	474	28,470
Germany	28,550	39,340	36,538	20,423	14,437	139,288
Netherlands	26,052	41,289	45,375	25,644	3,996	142,356
Hungary	4,183	5,785	8,025	6,029	1,209	25,231
Poland	10,533	6,725	11,242	19,224	7,659	55,383
Lebanon	47,371	22,871	7,220	2,671	2,449	82,582
Turkey	12,593	4,873	965	346	295	19,072
Malaysia	21,153	6,224	2,090	823	433	30,723
Philippines	30,446	3,712	519	245	247	35,169
Vietnam	43,441	2,956	181	87	91	46,756
China	20,924	7,250	5,405	3,248	3,513	40,340
Hong Kong	12,906	3,982	1,426	572	450	19,336
India	19,588	10,460	5,957	3,807	4,029	43,841
Sri Lanka	10,368	3,537	1,849	767	444	16,965
South Africa	14,128	4,316	2,266	1,168	6,058	27,936
Other sub-Saharan Africa	12,931	3,408	1,337	308	211	18,195
Total 2nd generation*	1,077,201	683,117	579,711	365,278	684,655	3,389,962

Sources: DIMA (2000), *Community Profiles 1996 Census*; customised tables.

*Includes birthplace groups not listed above.

Table 2.4. Second generation as a percentage of the first and second generation, 1996.

Country of origin	Second generation	First generation	Total	% second generation
Ireland	95,154	51,501	146,655	64.9%
Netherlands	142,356	87,984	230,340	61.8%
Malta	77,125	50,902	128,027	60.2%
Italy	334,048	238,263	572,311	58.4%
United Kingdom	1,444,444	1,072,774	2,517,218	57.0%
Germany	139,288	110,390	249,678	55.8%
Greece	153,876	126,571	280,447	54.9%
Lebanon	82,582	70,213	152,795	54.0%
Hungary	25,213	25,179	50,392	50.0%
Croatia	40,642	47,061	87,703	46.3%
Poland	55,383	65,102	120,485	46.0%
New Zealand	199,883	291,460	491,343	40.7%
FYR Macedonia	28,388	42,237	70,625	40.2%
Turkey	19,057	28,950	48,007	39.7%
India	43,841	77,689	121,530	36.1%
Other Oceania	48,102	86,747	134,849	35.7%
Other sub-Saharan Africa	18,195	34,647	52,842	34.4%
South Africa	27,936	55,761	83,697	33.4%
Malaysia	30,723	76,359	107,082	28.7%
Philippines	35,169	92,902	128,071	27.5%
China	40,340	111,124	151,464	26.6%
Sri Lanka	16,965	47,103	64,068	26.5%
Vietnam	46,756	150,941	197,697	23.7%
Hong Kong	19,336	68,350	87,686	22.1%

Sources: 1996 Census, DIMA Tables CS072 and CS074.

Age distribution

The age structure of the second generation was younger than that of the total Australian population. This was expected since most of them were born after 1950 of parents who immigrated during the second half of the twentieth century. The majority (52 per cent) of the second generation was less than 25 years old in 1996 and about one-third (32 per cent) were children aged less than 15 years (Figure 2.1). By comparison, only 36 per cent of the total Australian population were less than 25 years old and only 22 per cent were children under the age of 15.

Although second generation Australians are younger on average than the total population, there are enormous differences in the age structure of second generation groups by origin. This is because, as mentioned earlier, the various waves of immigration to Australia since 1950 have been dominated by immigration from different parts of the world. Thus, the Australian-born children of Southern European immigrants whose peak migration years were during the 1950s and 1960s have a much older age distribution than the Australian-born children of Asian immigrants most of whom arrived after 1975.

Figure 2.1. Age distribution of the second generation and the total Australian population, 1996.

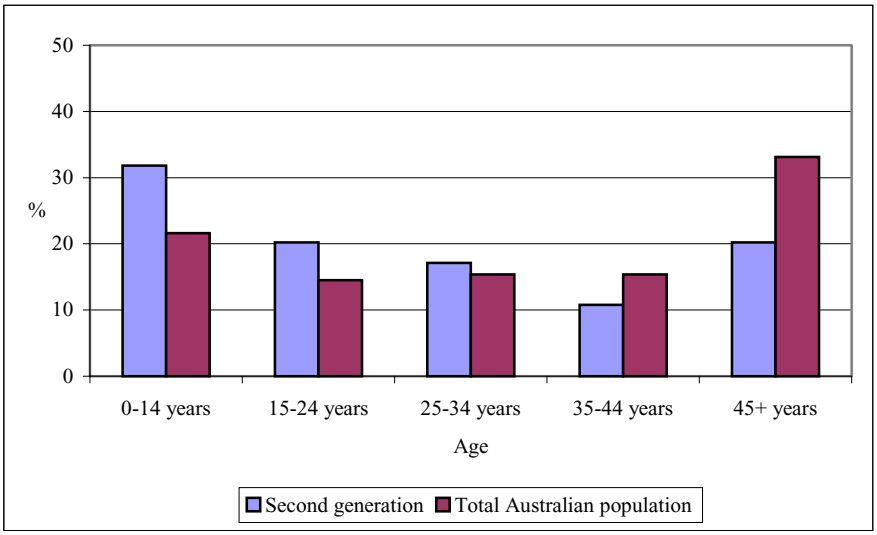
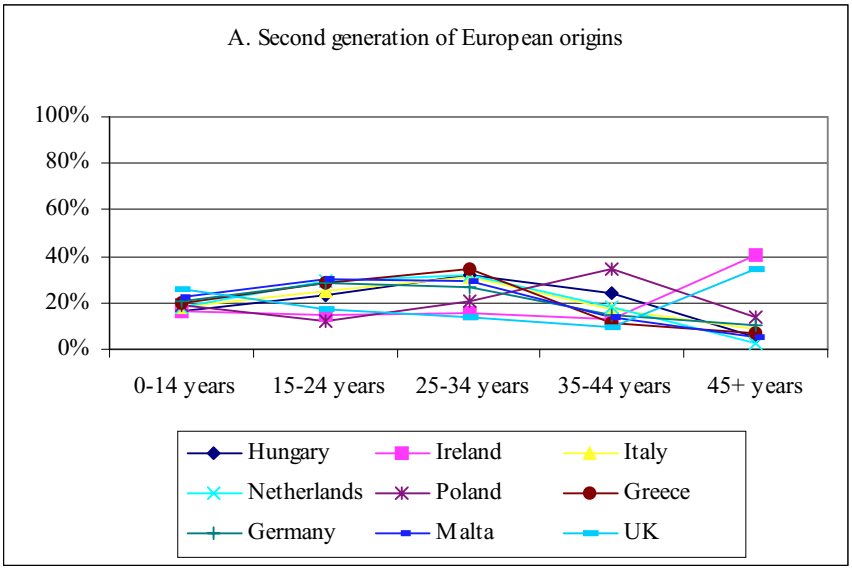


Figure 2.2 compares the age distribution of the second generation groups examined in this study and shows three distinctly different age distribution curves for the groups according to their parents' group migration history. The first pattern is that of the second generation whose parents' generation's peak migration years were in the 1950s and 1960s. The age distribution is in the form of a broad convex curve with larger proportions in the middle age groups and smaller proportions at younger and older ages. The majority of the second generation in these groups had reached adulthood and only 20 per cent were aged less than 15 years. The second generation of Irish origin showed the oldest age distribution, with the largest proportion (40 per cent) aged 45 or more in 1996.

The second pattern is shown by the second generation from countries that have been sources of fairly continuous immigration to Australia over the past fifty years. Here the age distribution is more conventional with a larger proportion at the younger ages and decreasing proportions at older ages. Between 30 and 60 per cent of the second generation in these groups were less than 15 years old in 1996, declining to 20-40 per cent in the 15-24 age group, 10-30 per cent in the 25-34 age group and less than 10 per cent in the 35-44 age group.

The third pattern is shown by the second generation whose parents immigrated after 1970. It is a highly skewed curve, due to the high proportion of the second generation in the 0-14 age group and small numbers over the age of 35. Over 60 per cent of the 'new' second generation group were under age 15 in 1996. The curve for the second generation of Vietnamese origin was the most skewed, with 92 per cent under aged 15 and the remainder aged 15-24. This was not surprising as there was very little migration from Vietnam to Australia before 1975, which was when the Vietnam War ended.

Figure 2.2. Patterns of age distribution of the second generation by parents' origin, 1996.



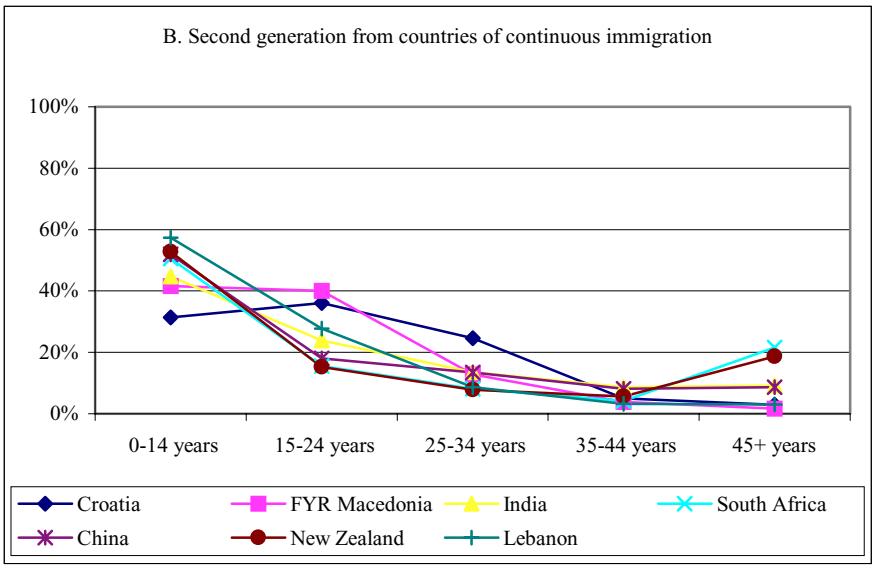


Figure 2.2 (continued).

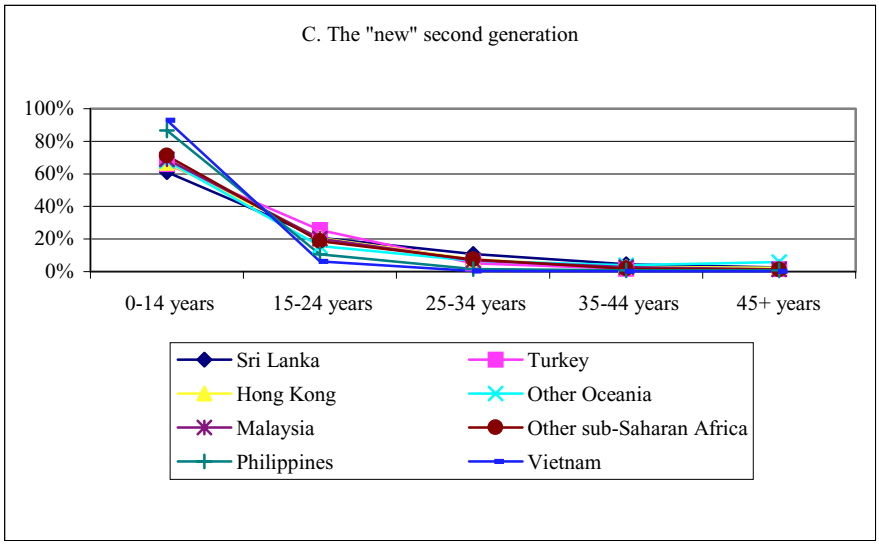
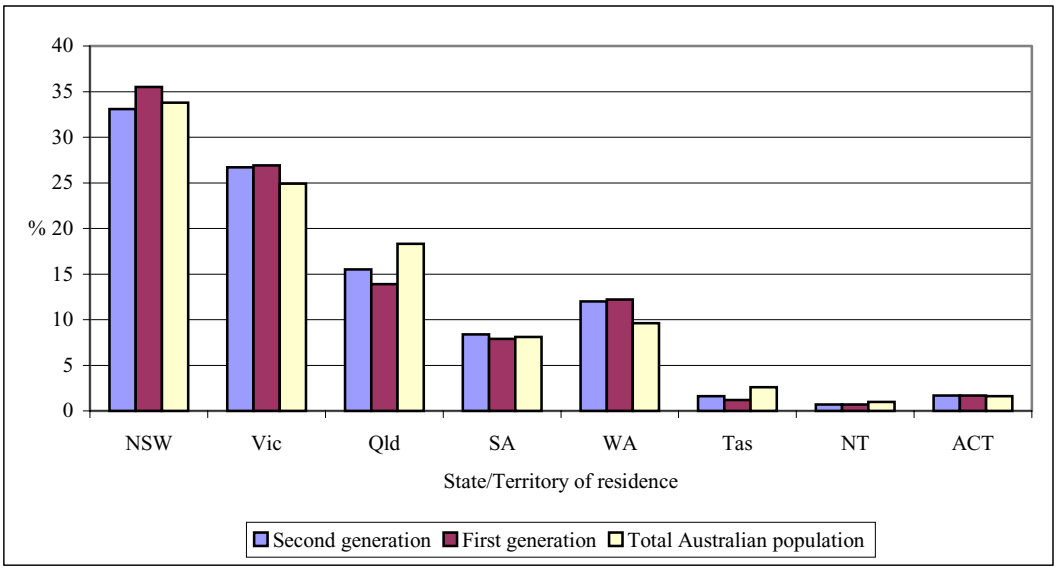


Figure 2.3. Locational distribution of the second generation compared with the first generation and the total Australian population, 1996.



Locational distribution

The residential distribution across States and Territories of the second generation follows that of the first generation, as expected, and differs slightly from that of the total Australian population. Since a disproportionate number of immigrants tend to settle in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth, the proportion of first generation in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia was higher than the proportion of the total Australian population residing in these States. Victoria and Western Australia also had a larger share of the second generation compared to their share of the total population while Queensland and Tasmania had a smaller share of the second and first generations compared with their share of the total population (Figure 2.3).

3. THE FAMILY SITUATION OF SECOND GENERATION CHILDREN

This chapter focuses on the family situation of the children of recent immigrants to Australia, most of whom migrated after 1975. At the time of the 1996 Census, the Australian-born children of these immigrants were mostly of school age. It is still too early to examine their educational attainment and occupational outcomes. That will have to wait another ten years. However, the census presents an opportunity to look at their family situation. In a sense this is an examination of the first generation rather than the second for it is the second generation's immigrant parents' characteristics that are being studied. However, their parents' characteristics and family circumstances can be important in shaping the lives of these children and influencing their later socioeconomic outcomes. They present both challenges and opportunities to the socioeconomic integration of the second generation. Knowledge of the young second generation's family situation will be useful for future studies of the socioeconomic outcomes of this cohort in determining whether intergenerational mobility has occurred.

The family situation of children of the second generation is examined firstly by two indicators of the family environment: living arrangements and the extent that English is spoken in the home. The family's socioeconomic status is then examined according to three parental characteristics – qualifications, employment status and occupation – and two measures of household status – household income and occupancy status. To provide a context for examining the children's family situation, we also look at their numbers and origins.

Number and origins

As observed in the previous chapter, about 1,077,200 or one-third of all second generation Australians in 1996 were children aged 0-14 years. The largest group – about 373,000 or roughly one-third – were those who had at least one parent born in the United Kingdom. Until 1995, the United Kingdom was the largest contributor of immigrants to Australia and this was reflected in the large number of second generation of British origins. The second largest group was of New Zealand origin and they numbered just over 100,000. When the second generation with parents born in other English-speaking countries were included, about half (49 per cent) of all second generation aged 0-14 were of English-speaking origins. There were also substantial numbers who were of European origins, with those having one or both parents born in Italy outnumbering those having one or both parents born in Vietnam, who were the largest among the Asian-origin groups (see Table 2.3). The largest non-European group was that with one or both parents born in Lebanon. The parents of the second generation of European origins were likely to have migrated when they were very young since there had been very little migration from countries such as Italy and Greece since the 1970s and could themselves be considered second generation having grown up in Australia.

Table 3.1 shows the second generation by parents' origin that will be the focus of this chapter.[1] Included are seven groups of Asian origins, two of Middle East origins, one

[1] This table shows the second generation by father's birthplace only (with the exception of those of Philippines origin) and excludes the second generation with only the mother born in an overseas

of Sub-Saharan African origins (excluding South Africa) and one of Pacific region origin (excluding New Zealand). These groups have been selected because they have been formed largely by immigration since 1975. The second generation of English-speaking origins, represented by those having parents born in the UK, New Zealand or South Africa, is included for comparison since these three countries have also been important sources of immigrants in the years since 1975.

Table 3.1 Second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' birthplace*, 1996: birthplace groups examined in this chapter.

Birthplace of parents or father	Age 0-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	Total (0-14 years)
	%	%	%	
New Zealand	41.1	34.2	24.6	62584
Other Oceania	46.1	33.7	20.2	21431
United Kingdom	30.7	34.0	35.3	226240
Lebanon	33.4	34.5	32.1	41835
Turkey	36.8	35.9	27.3	11580
Malaysia	35.4	37.1	27.5	12936
Philippines	39.2	36.2	24.6	30332
Vietnam	44.0	33.2	22.8	39222
China	54.3	25.5	20.1	15463
Hong Kong	43.7	31.8	24.5	8812
India	40.7	31.4	27.9	14255
Sri Lanka	46.6	32.7	20.7	8319
South Africa	35.2	35.9	28.9	8809
Other Africa	39.3	34.2	26.5	12174
Other	31.7	33.6	34.6	575622
Total	33.9	33.7	32.4	1069786

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2.
*Based on parents' or father's birthplace only, except for those of Philippines origin and Total row, which include all second generation as defined in Chapter 1.

Between 40-50 per cent of second generation children of Asian origins aged 0-14 were not yet of school age in 1996. More than half of all Australian-born children with both parents or father only born in China were under age 5 in 1996. Other second generation groups such as those with parents or father only from Lebanon or Malaysia where immigration had been occurring before 1980 were more evenly distributed across the three age groups corresponding approximately to pre-school, primary school and secondary school ages shown in Table 3.1.

Living arrangements

The children's living arrangements provide an important perspective into their family situation. Compared to children of the third generation, a higher proportion of the second generation lived with two parents and a lower proportion lived with only one parent (Table 3.2). The same pattern is observed when the second generation is compared with the first generation of the same origin: the second generation was

country, hence the difference in the size of the second generation compared with the figures in Table 2.3.

more likely than their first generation peers to live with both parents and less likely to live with either the father or the mother only.

The living arrangements of children with New Zealand-born or UK-born parents were similar to those of the third generation, as were those of children with parents born in Other Oceania. The living arrangements of children whose parents were from South Africa were different even though South Africa is considered as a mainly English speaking country. They resembled more the pattern shown by the second generation of non-English speaking origins.

The second generation of Asian origins tended to have very high proportions living with both parents. The highest proportion living with both parents were observed among the second generation with both parents born in Malaysia. Other second generation groups of Asian origins with a high proportion living with both parents were those with parents born in Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, India and Philippines. The second generation with parents born in Vietnam or China had a lower proportion living with both parents, but 10 per cent or more lived in multi-family households that might include both parents. The other two second generation groups with relatively high proportions living with two parents were those of Lebanese or Other African origins.

Conversely, the proportion living with only one parent was quite low among the second generation of most Asian origins. The exception was the second generation with parents born in Vietnam. The relatively high proportion of second generation children of Vietnam-born parents who lived with the mother only suggested a high incidence of marriage breakdown in the Vietnam-born community that might be related to difficulties in settlement.

It was also noticeable that compared with children with both parents born in a particular country, children with only the father born in that country were more likely to live with only one parent, most often the mother. This would also suggest that the relationship between parents was more likely to break down when they were not from the same country of origin than when they were, resulting in the children living with one parent. The percentage living with the mother only was at least twice as high among children in the second generation who had only the father born in Other Oceania, Turkey, Malaysia, Philippines, India, Sri Lanka or South Africa compared with those who had both parents born in these countries.

Another difference in the pattern of living arrangements between the second generation of non-English-speaking origins and those of English-speaking origins or the third generation is the larger percentage living in multi-family households among the former group, with the exception of those with parents born in Malaysia. The highest percentage – 13 per cent – was observed for children with parents born in China. The next highest was 10 per cent among the children of parents born in Vietnam. Among other Asian origin groups and the Other Oceania group, the percentage of children living in multi-family households ranges from 5 to 10 per cent (with the exception of those with Malaysia-born parents) compared to 1-2 per cent in the third generation or the second generation of English-speaking origins.

Table 3.2. Living arrangements of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' birthplace, compared with first and third generations, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Living with both parents	Living with mother & her partner	Living with mother only	Living with father only	Living in multi-family household	Other arrange-ments	Number of children
		%	%	%	%	%	%	
3rd+	Australia	74.5	4.2	13.5	2.4	2.2	3.3	2350712
2nd	New Zealand- parents	74.4	3.7	14.5	2.8	2.1	2.6	17910
2nd	New Zealand - father	69.3	4.2	18.8	2.5	2.1	3.1	44674
1st	New Zealand - self	64.4	7.7	16.5	4	3.3	4.1	19618
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	74.2	1.9	11.4	2.2	6.3	3.0	11164
2nd	Other Oceania - father	61.3	3.5	23.6	2.7	4.6	4.3	10267
1st	Other Ocenia - self	69.1	3.9	11.8	3.2	6.3	5.8	11314
2nd	UK - parents	79.4	4.4	11.0	2.4	1.0	1.8	56521
2nd	UK - father	75.5	3.9	14.3	2.6	1.3	2.4	169719
1st	UK - self	79.8	5.2	9.2	2.4	1.5	1.1	28703
2nd	Lebanon - parents	82.6	0.8	9.0	1.6	4.6	1.5	32755
2nd	Lebanon - father	75.6	1.3	12.7	2.2	5.5	2.9	9080
1st	Lebanon - self	76.5	1.1	12.5	3.1	4.1	2.6	3676
2nd	Turkey - parents	77.6	1.2	9.9	2.4	6.7	2.2	9337
2nd	Turkey - father	63.4	2.9	22.4	2.9	6.0	2.4	2243
1st	Turkey - self	74.2	3.3	10.0	3.3	6.1	3.1	1404
2nd	Malaysia - parents	92.1	0.4	2.7	1.1	2.6	1.2	6331
2nd	Malaysia - father	78.8	2.7	11.3	2.2	2.9	2.0	6605
1st	Malaysa - self	85.7	1.6	7.4	1.4	1.6	2.2	5540
2nd	Philippines - parents	83.2	1.0	5.4	1.2	7.8	1.5	8885
2nd	Philippines - father	66.3	3.7	19.8	1.4	5.7	3.1	1619
2nd	Philippines - mother	78.4	2.8	11.1	3.4	2.3	2.0	19828
1st	Philippines - self	73.1	10.1	7.1	2.3	4.4	3.0	10756
2nd	Vietnam - parents	73.3	1.0	11.4	1.9	9.6	3.0	35056
2nd	Vietnam - father	61.7	2.8	16.9	3.9	10.5	4.2	4166
1st	Vietnam - self	66.3	2.1	15.1	3.3	7.9	4.3	11891
2nd	China - parents	76.1	0.9	5.6	1.9	13.1	2.5	10721
2nd	China - father	78.7	1.4	10.1	1.7	5.9	2.2	4742
1st	China - self	74.0	2.0	8.5	4.4	6.8	3.2	10309
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	86.7	0.4	3.7	1.2	6.5	1.5	5097
2nd	Hong Kong - father	82.4	1.6	7.2	1.5	6.1	1.3	3715
1st	Hong Kong - self	81.3	0.7	9.0	1.9	3.4	3.6	6286
2nd	India - parents	86.5	0.7	3.6	1.4	6.9	0.8	7899
2nd	India - father	77.2	2.8	13.8	2.1	2.2	1.8	6356
1st	India - self	88.6	0.8	3.9	1.4	4.0	1.3	7535
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	88.6	0.5	3.1	1.3	5.7	0.8	5611
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	79.4	2.7	12.6	1.8	1.9	1.6	2708
1st	Sri Lanka - self	86.7	1.0	4.7	2.0	4.3	1.3	5676
2nd	South Africa - parents	88.3	1.7	4.8	1.7	2.0	1.6	3404
2nd	South Africa - father	76.5	3.2	13.4	2.3	1.8	2.8	5405
1st	South Africa - self	86.4	2.4	5.7	1.7	2.1	1.8	4849
2nd	Other Africa - parents	82.0	1.9	10.6	1.5	3.0	1.1	4181
2nd	Other Africa - father	78.8	2.1	12.8	2.0	2.1	2.1	7993
1st	Other Africa - self	73.0	2.4	14.9	3.4	2.3	4.0	4756
	All second generation	76.2	3.2	12.9	2.3	3	2.5	1069786

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2.

Comparisons by parents' EP Group

The proportion living with both parents was highest among second generation children whose parents were in EP Group 2, followed by those with parents in EP Group 3 and was considerably higher than that among children of EP Group 4 parents or Australian-born parents. The corollary was that the proportion living with only one parent was lowest among children of EP Group 2 parents, followed by those of EP Group 3 parents. It was only half the proportion observed for children of Australian-born parents. The living arrangements of children with both parents from EP Group 1 countries were similar to those of children with Australian-born parents (Table 3.3).

The proportion living with one parent was highest among children with one parent born in an EP Group 1 country. This proportion was also relatively high among children with one parent from any EP Groups 2, 3 or 4 and the other parent from a different EP Group. This suggests that more children in these groups are affected by their parents' marriage or relationship breakdown.

Ten percent of second generation children whose parents were from EP Group 4 countries lived in multi-family households, the highest observed among the EP Groups, and twice the percentage for children of parents from EP Groups 2 and 3. In contrast, just 1 per cent of children with parents from EP Group 1 countries and 2 per cent of children with Australian-born parents lived in multi-family households.

Table 3.3. Living arrangements of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' EP Group, compared with first and third generations, 1996

Generation and parents' EP Group	Living with both parents	Living with mother & her partner	Living with mother only	Living with father only	Living in multi-family household	Other arrange-ments	Number of children
Second generation	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Both in EP Group 1	78.5	3.9	11.9	2.4	1.3	0.7	98977
Both in EP Group 2	84.5	1.2	6.3	1.7	4.8	0.5	58029
Both in EP Group 3	82.9	1.0	7.8	1.7	4.8	0.5	125635
Both in EP Group 4	74.2	1.1	10.2	1.9	9.8	0.8	62219
One in any EP 1 country*	73.3	4.5	15.5	2.6	1.5	0.7	414362
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	75.4	2.9	13.7	2.4	3.1	0.6	310501
First generation							
Both in EP Group 1	76.3	6.0	10.1	2.9	2.1	2.6	48947
Both in EP Group 2	80.1	4.3	6.6	2.2	3.9	4.7	46684
Both in EP Group 3	77.5	2.6	9.8	2.3	4.0	4.9	52778
Both in EP Group 4	70.1	2.1	11.5	3.6	8.1	9.5	25696
One in any EP 1 country*	71.0	5.0	15.6	3.0	2.3	3.3	20820
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	71.6	3.3	14.2	3.4	3.6	4.8	20505
Third generation							
Australia	74.5	4.2	13.5	2.4	2.2	0.8	2350661

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2.
* Other parent in a different country or different EP Group

The living arrangements of the second generation by parents' EP Group were similar to those of the first generation. However, compared with the first generation, a

slightly higher proportion of the second generation lived with both parents and a lower proportion lived with one parent. This was true of all EP Groups and indicated that second generation children were more likely than their first generation peers to be living in intact families.

Parents' and children's level of English proficiency

The second generation is usually the decisive one in relation to ethnic language maintenance. Growing up and going to school in Australia, they are likely to be more proficient in English than their parents' generation and it is likely to be up to them whether they will continue the use of their parent's ethnic language in their daily lives. This section looks mainly at the extent that English is being spoken in the home environment of children of the second generation and whether this has an impact on the children's proficiency in English.

Excluding the second generation whose parents were born in New Zealand, United Kingdom and South Africa, most of whom spoke English at home, 56 per cent of children of the second generation had parents or a sole parent who spoke English only at home. Another 33 per cent had parents who spoke English very well or well although it was not the only language spoken at home. Five per cent had only one parent who spoke English well and another 5 per cent had parents both of whom did not speak English well or at all.

Table 3.4. English proficiency of second generation aged 0-14 years* by English proficiency of parents, 1996.

English proficiency of parents or sole parent	English proficiency of child			Number of children
	Spoke English only	Spoke English well/very well	Did not speak it well or at all	
	%	%	%	
Both/sole parent(s) spoke English only	99.5	0.3	0.2	375160
Both/sole parent(s) spoke it well/very well	21.5	64.8	13.7	222308
One spoke it well, other not well	5.8	62.1	32.1	35546
Both/sole parent(s) did not speak it well or at all	4.0	56.4	39.6	36129
Total*	63.5	28.0	8.5	669143

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2
*Excluding those with parents born in the main English-speaking countries and those whose English proficiency was not stated.

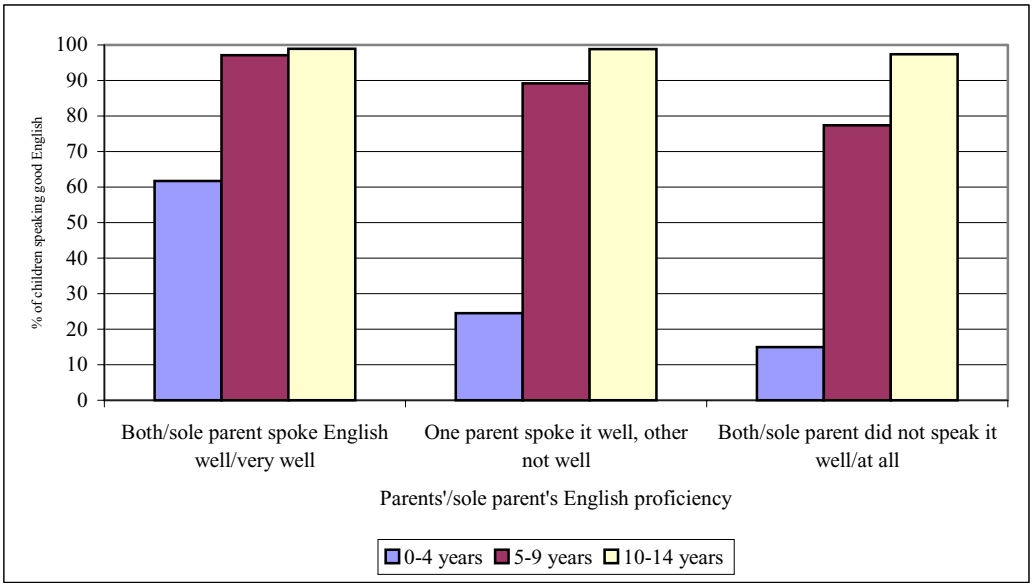
As Table 3.4 shows, even though the children had parents who did not speak good English, many of them could speak English well or very well, because those of school age would have learnt and spoken it in school. The majority of second generation children living with parents who could not speak good English were able to speak English well or very well. Those who did not speak English well or at all were mostly children under age 5 and had not been to school yet. As Figure 3.1 shows, among children of school age, nearly 80 per cent of those aged 5-9 were proficient in English and among those aged 10-14, almost all were reported as proficient in English. These percentages indicate that once children start going to school, most of them are able to

speak English well or very well even though their parents do not speak it well or at all.

Figure 3.1 shows that parents' (or the sole parent's) level of English proficiency is correlated only with the English proficiency of children of pre-school age. When second generation children reached primary school age, a very large majority could speak English well or very well, and when they reached secondary school age, almost all were proficient in English, regardless of their parent's level of English proficiency.

Table 3.5 examines the parents' level of English proficiency of children of the second and first generations, providing an indication of the numbers and proportions of children of non-English speaking origins who are growing up in English or non-English speaking families. More than 90 per cent of children who had at least one parent born in Malaysia, Philippines, India, Sri Lanka, Other Oceania and Sub-Saharan Africa had parents who spoke only English at home or could speak it well or very well. However, 30-40 per cent of the second generation with parents born in Vietnam or China had parents who did not speak English well or at all.

Figure 3.1. Percentage of second generation aged 0-14 years who spoke good English by age and parents'/sole parent's English proficiency, 1996.



Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2

Table 3.6 on the children's level of English proficiency shows similar patterns as Table 3.5. More than 50 per cent of all children with parents born in Malaysia, Philippines, India, Sri Lanka and Other Africa spoke only English at home and another 30-40 per cent could speak it well or very well. However, among the second generation with parents born in Vietnam or China, about 40 per cent could not speak English well. Between 25-32 per cent of children with parents born in Hong Kong or Turkey also did not speak English well.

Table 3.5. Second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' level of English proficiency and birthplace compared with first generation, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Parents spoke English only	Parents spoke Eng. Well	One parent spoke it well	Parents did not speak it well	Number of children
		%	%	%		
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	10.9	81.3	4.9	3.0	10250
2nd	Other Oceania - father	84.0	14.5	1.0	0.5	8621
1st	Other Ocenia - self	14.2	75.5	5.4	4.9	10161
2nd	Lebanon - parents	1.7	67.3	18.9	12.2	31232
2nd	Lebanon - father	28.7	60.7	8.1	2.5	7873
1st	Lebanon - self	2	55	20.2	22.9	3462
2nd	Turkey - parents	1.8	56.1	27.5	14.7	8786
2nd	Turkey - father	46.6	42.4	9.1	1.9	1919
1st	Turkey - self	2.0	39.9	24.7	33.4	1294
2nd	Malaysia - parents	13.5	78.0	4.9	3.6	5907
2nd	Malaysia - father	65.9	29.0	2.7	2.4	5758
1st	Malaysia - self	17.0	70.6	6.0	6.4	4964
2nd	Philippines - parents	3.2	95.2	1.1	0.5	8453
2nd	Philippines - father	81.1	18.2	0.7	0.0	1294
2nd	Philippines - mother	72.1	26.6	0.7	0.6	12442
1st	Philippines - self	7.5	89.3	2.1	1.1	9400
2nd	Vietnam - parents	0.8	37.2	20.0	42.0	33512
2nd	Vietnam - father	22.6	36.8	16.3	24.4	3736
1st	Vietnam - self	0.9	13.7	13.9	71.5	11202
2nd	China - parents	1.3	47.0	20.4	31.3	10207
2nd	China - father	20.9	46.6	15.1	17.5	4281
1st	China - self	1.1	37.0	26.3	35.6	9451
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	0.7	77.2	11.7	10.5	4817
2nd	Hong Kong - father	29.5	46.9	13.1	10.5	3374
1st	Hong Kong - self	2.6	68.4	12.8	16.2	5584
2nd	India - parents	41.0	54.6	3.1	1.3	7562
2nd	India - father	86.1	13.5	0.4	0.0	5655
1st	India - self	27.5	67.5	4.2	0.9	7121
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	31.4	59.8	3.7	5.1	5397
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	92.1	7.8	0	0	2388
1st	Sri Lanka - self	20.0	68.1	5.9	6.0	5413
2nd	Other Africa - parents	25.1	68.4	3.7	2.8	3915
2nd	Other Africa - father	86.2	12.6	0.8	0.4	6968
1st	Other Africa - self	34.7	48.3	6.8	10.3	4355
2nd	Total**	54.4	34.3	5.6	5.6	691991

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2

*excludes those not living with parents or parents' English proficiency not stated.

** Includes other non-English speaking origins.

Table 3.6. English proficiency of the second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' birthplace compared with first generation, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Spoke English only	Spoke English well/very well	Did not speak English well	Number of children
		%	%	%	
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	30.4	51.5	18.1	9972
2nd	Other Oceania - father	88.6	8.6	2.8	9975
1st	Other Ocenia - self	26.6	64.5	8.9	10924
2nd	Lebanon - parents	7.0	76.6	16.4	30815
2nd	Lebanon - father	42.4	44.5	13.1	8467
1st	Lebanon - self	5	85.2	9.8	3567
2nd	Turkey - parents	4.1	71.2	24.7	8718
2nd	Turkey - father	55.6	31.5	12.9	2120
1st	Turkey - self	4.3	73.7	22.0	1362
2nd	Malaysia - parents	50.6	39.6	9.8	6104
2nd	Malaysia - father	76.9	17.1	6.0	6452
1st	Malaysia - self	38.7	57.4	3.9	5490
2nd	Philippines - parents	48.5	42.1	9.4	7818
2nd	Philippines - father	89.7	8.5	1.8	1562
2nd	Philippines - mother	90.3	8.2	1.6	19223
1st	Philippines - self	31.9	63.9	4.2	10550
2nd	Vietnam - parents	4.2	57.5	38.3	32234
2nd	Vietnam - father	31.1	37.0	32.0	3873
1st	Vietnam - self	2.4	73.3	24.4	11520
2nd	China - parents	6.5	50.5	43.0	9266
2nd	China - father	32.8	48.8	18.3	4516
1st	China - self	2.1	73.2	24.6	10182
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	5.3	62.8	31.9	4818
2nd	Hong Kong - father	41.2	40.9	17.8	3520
1st	Hong Kong - self	3.9	73.8	22.3	6236
2nd	India - parents	55.5	33.5	11.0	7277
2nd	India - father	89.7	8.7	1.6	6246
1st	India - self	36.9	56.2	6.9	7397
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	52.8	31.1	16.1	5079
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	52.8	31.1	16.1	2660
1st	Sri Lanka - self	33.8	56.7	9.5	5600
2nd	Other Africa - parents	61.4	29.6	9.0	3792
2nd	Other Africa - father	90.9	7.5	1.6	7849
1st	Other Africa - self	46.7	41.7	11.6	4624
2nd	Total**	63.5	28.0	8.5	699143

Source: 1996 Census, Table 1.2.
*Excludes those whose English proficiency was not stated.
**Includes other non-English speaking origins.

Table 3.7 shows that the second generation with parents born in Vietnam, China, Hong Kong or Turkey who did not speak English well were mainly under age 5. More than 80 per cent of the children aged 5-9 and almost all of those aged 10-14 could speak English well or very well. A lower proportion of first generation children were able to speak English well or very well compared with second generation children. This is likely to be related to their being recent immigrants.

These findings on the English proficiency of children in the second generation have important implications for the second generation's prospects of integration into Australian society when they get older. They provide conclusive evidence that second generation children are not hindered by their parents' lack of English language skills in developing their own proficiency in the language once they reach school age. The implication is that schools play an important role in the development of English language skills in children whose parents speak little or no English.

Tables 3.5 and 3.6 also show that English was much more likely to be the language spoken at home by both parents and second generation children when parents were not born in the same country than when they were. The same pattern was observed for the second generation in an analysis of 1991 Census data (Khoo 1995). The ethnic language was more likely to be maintained when both parents were from the same country.

Table 3.7. Percentage of first and second generation children aged 0-14 years who spoke good English, by age and parents' origins.

Birthplace of parents, father only or self	Age of child		
	0-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years
	%	%	%
Lebanon - parents	48.3	95.3	99.0
Lebanon - father	69.9	97.5	99.0
Lebanon - self	37.7	92.9	98.5
Turkey - parents	34.8	90.2	98.5
Turkey - father	72.6	97.0	100.0
Turkey - self	26.2	83.1	92.3
Vietnam - parents	19.5	82.5	98.3
Vietnam - father	44.6	85.9	98.3
Vietnam - self	18.2	65.3	88.1
China - parents	33.2	86.4	97.0
China - father	49.0	92.3	99.4
China - self	35.0	67.7	83.7
Hong Kong - parents	34.1	93.4	98.0
Hong Kong - father	57.9	93.7	99.1
Hong Kong - self	25.3	77.4	90.2

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2.

Comparisons by parents' EP Group

As expected, children who had parents who were less likely to speak English (those in EP Groups 3 and 4) were also less likely to speak English only at home. This was true of all children under age 15. Those children aged 0-4 were also less likely to be able to speak English well or very well. However, the proportion of children who could speak English well or very well increased quite dramatically when the children reached school age, even for those children with parents in EP Group 4. More than 80 per cent of the children aged 5-9 could speak good English and almost all those aged 10-14 years were reported as being proficient in English even though they might not speak it all the time at home (Table 3.8).

Although the same pattern of improvement in English language skills when children reach school age is also observed among the first generation, the second generation, being Australian-born, did have a slight advantage over their overseas-born peers in English proficiency, particularly those with parents from EP Groups 3 and 4 countries. In all the age groups examined in Table 3.8, a higher proportion of the second generation with parents from EP Groups 3 and 4 countries than their first generation peers were proficient in English.

Table 3.8. English proficiency of second generation aged 0-14 years by age and parents' EP Group, compared with first generation, 1996.

Generation and parent's EP Group	0-4 years			5-9 years			10-14 years		
	English only	Well/ very well	Total proficient	English only	Well/ very well	Total proficient	English only	Well/ very well	Total proficient
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Second generation									
Both in EP Group 1	97.7	0.8	98.5	98.5	1.0	99.5	98.8	0.7	99.5
Both in EP Group 2	30.9	28.2	59.1	47.5	48.5	96.0	58.1	40.4	98.5
Both in EP Group 3	8.9	33.3	42.2	15	79.2	94.2	17.2	80.2	97.4
Both in EP Group 4	3.2	17.6	20.8	5.2	77.4	82.6	6.5	90.5	97.0
One in EP Group 1	96.4	1.5	97.9	97.7	1.8	99.5	98.2	1.3	99.5
Parents in different EP Groups 2,3 and 4	64.3	15.2	79.5	74.1	23.4	97.5	79.3	19.3	98.6
First generation									
Both in EP Group 1	96.3	2.7	99.0	97.4	2.5	99.9	98.0	1.9	99.9
Both in EP Group 2	19.1	38.2	57.3	26.9	66.7	93.6	31.7	66.4	98.1
Both in EP Group 3	5.2	23.4	28.6	5.2	75.1	80.3	5.8	85.0	90.8
Both in EP Group 4	2.4	19.9	22.3	2.1	63.8	65.9	2.9	82.8	85.7
One in EP Group 1	88.1	8.6	96.7	90.4	9.0	99.4	93.0	6.8	99.8
Parents in different EP Groups 2,3 and 4	37.8	32.3	70.1	40.2	52.5	92.7	39.3	57.0	96.3

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 4.1

Proficiency in English has been shown to be associated with positive labour market outcomes for immigrants (Cobb-Clark and Chapman 1999; Williams et al. 1997; Wooden 1994) and it is likely to be the same for their Australian-born children. That almost all children in the second generation were reported as being proficient in English by the time they reached their early teens, regardless of their parents' English

ability, holds promise of a successful integration into the labour market and Australian society when they reach adult age.

Parents' qualifications

The educational level of parents has implications for their employment and occupational status and consequently on household income. It is useful to examine the second generation in terms of these indicators of their family's socioeconomic status to provide a background for later studies of their own socioeconomic outcomes. If the second generation from families of low socioeconomic status were later to have achieved educational and occupational success, then it would be a strong indication that their parents' socioeconomic background has not been an impediment to their achievement of positive outcomes. On the other hand, if the second generation from lower status family backgrounds were not able to move up socioeconomically, this would indicate an entrenchment of intergenerational disadvantage that might require policy intervention.

The children were examined according to the highest qualification of their father or sole parent. The parents of the second generation were generally more educated than the parents of the third generation. Just over one-third of all second generation children had fathers or sole parents with degree qualifications, which was slightly higher than among children who are at least third generation. The proportion whose father or sole parent had no post-school qualifications was slightly lower among the second generation than the third generation. Children who are at least third generation were more likely to have fathers or sole parents with vocational qualifications (Table 3.9).

There were differences by parents' birthplace, as expected. About three-quarters of second generation children with parents born in Philippines or Malaysia had fathers or sole parents with degree qualifications. The proportion who had fathers or sole parents with degree qualifications was also higher than average among those second generation children whose parents were born in India, Sri Lanka, China, Hong Kong or South Africa.

Many immigrants from these countries who arrived in Australia in the 1980s and early 1990s were independent skilled migrants and had to meet selection criteria based on occupational skills and qualifications. Many were therefore well educated.

In contrast, only a small proportion of second generation children whose parents were born in Lebanon or Turkey – just over 10 per cent – had fathers or sole parents with degree qualifications. Three out of four children had fathers or sole parents without post- school qualifications. The proportion with fathers or sole parents who had degree qualifications was also below the average for second generation children with parents born in Vietnam, New Zealand or other Oceanic countries.

Table 3.9. Qualifications of father or sole parent of second generation aged 0-14 years compared with first and third generation, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Associate diploma, degree or higher	Vocational qualifications-	No post-school qualifications	Number of children
		%	%	%	
3rd+	Australia	29.5	26.9	43.6	2107983
2nd	New Zealand- parents	23.2	28.3	48.5	15866
2nd	New Zealand - father	30.3	25	44.7	40047
1st	New Zealand - self	23.8	25.1	51.1	16778
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	22.5	15.6	61.9	8817
2nd	Other Oceania - father	32.0	17.7	50.3	8928
1st	Other Ocenia - self	32.3	16.8	50.9	8766
2nd	UK - parents	33.5	32.9	33.6	51271
2nd	UK - father	35.9	25.4	38.7	15391
1st	UK - self	45.7	34.7	19.6	25931
2nd	Lebanon - parents	10.1	13.3	76.6	24872
2nd	Lebanon - father	18.4	21.9	59.7	7421
1st	Lebanon - self	21.8	12.3	65.9	2776
2nd	Turkey - parents	12.1	13.3	74.6	7755
2nd	Turkey - father	21.0	19.7	59.3	1903
1st	Turkey - self	25.3	12.5	62.2	1126
2nd	Malaysia - parents	74.7	7.2	18.2	5859
2nd	Malaysia - father	58.2	12.3	29.6	6040
1st	Malaysia - self	66.3	10.3	23.4	4952
2nd	Philippines - parents	76.9	9.0	14.2	7960
2nd	Philippines - father	39.4	14.7	46.0	1427
2nd	Philippines - mother	44.6	19.6	35.8	16862
1st	Philippines - self	72.3	12.5	15.2	9526
2nd	Vietnam - parents	17.5	6.0	76.5	29618
2nd	Vietnam - father	19.2	7.8	73.0	3566
1st	Vietnam - self	10.4	3.6	86.0	9508
2nd	China - parents	45.5	7.6	47.0	8238
2nd	China - father	40.1	10.3	49.6	4150
1st	China - self	54.1	6.7	39.2	8770
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	55.1	9.3	35.6	4662
2nd	Hong Kong - father	52.5	8.7	38.8	3401
1st	Hong Kong - self	57.0	10.2	32.8	5667
2nd	India - parents	68.6	11.0	20.4	7067
2nd	India - father	48.8	17.4	33.8	5703
1st	India - self	82.9	8.5	8.6	7013
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	60.8	16.3	22.9	4981
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	51.5	15.9	32.6	2450
1st	Sri Lanka - self	70.2	14.5	15.3	5016
2nd	South Africa - parents	68.1	19.1	12.8	3124
2nd	South Africa - father	55.7	18.7	25.6	4963
1st	South Africa - self	71.0	18.0	11.0	4441

Table 3.9. (continued).

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Associate diploma, degree or higher	Vocational qualifications-	No post-school qualifications	Number of children
		%	%	%	
2nd	Other Africa - parents	39.9	17.8	42.3	3487
2nd	Other Africa - father	51.5	17.9	30.5	7229
1st	Other Africa - self	55.1	14.8	30.1	4001
2nd	Total**	34.3	23.0	42.7	936856

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.2
*Excludes those not living with parents.
**Includes other origins and those with parents' birthplace inadequately described.

It is also of interest to note that a much lower proportion of the second generation with only the father or the mother born in Philippines had fathers or sole parents with degree qualifications compared with their peers with both parents born in the Philippines. Their proportion who had fathers or sole parents without post-school qualifications was 2-3 times higher. A similar pattern was observed among the second generation of Malaysia-born, India-born or South Africa-born parentage, although the difference between those with both parents and those with the father only from these countries was not as large as observed among the second generation of Filipino parentage.

The opposite pattern was observed among the second generation of Lebanese or Turkish parentage. A smaller proportion of the second generation with both parents born in each of these countries had fathers or sole parents who were tertiary degree or diploma holders than their peers who had only the father born in either of these countries.

Comparisons by parents' EP Group

There was an apparent inverse relation between parents' level of education and their EP group, that is, the higher the EP Group, the lower the percentage with fathers or sole parents with qualifications (Table 3.10). More than 50 per cent of the second generation whose parents were from EP Group 2 countries had fathers or sole parents with diploma or degree qualifications compared with just 20 per cent of second generation whose parents were from EP Group 4. More than 70 per cent of the second generation of EP Group 4 parents had fathers or sole parents with no post-school qualifications compared with just 32 per cent of second generation children with EP Group 2 parents. Thirty per cent of the second generation with EP Group 1 parents had fathers or sole parents with vocational qualifications, the highest percentage among the EP Groups examined.

Compared with the first generation, a lower proportion of the second generation had parents with post-school qualifications. A higher proportion of overseas-born children from all EP Groups had parents with tertiary degree qualifications. This difference is likely to be related to more recent migrants being better qualified, particularly those who arrived as independent skilled migrants in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Table 3.10. Qualifications of father or sole parent of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' EP Group compared with third generation, 1996.

Generation and parents' EP Group	Associate diploma, degree or higher	Vocational qualifications-	No post-school qualifications	Number of children
Second generation	%	%	%	
Both in EP Group1	35.3	29.7	35.0	89284
Both in EP Group 2	51.8	16.3	31.8	49835
Both in EP Group 3	24.3	20.3	55.5	99762
Both in EP Group 4	20.6	7.3	72.1	52451
One in any EP 1 country*	35.0	25.2	39.9	374364
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	36.2	23.2	40.7	271212
First generation				
Both in EP Group1	40.7	30.5	28.7	43495
Both in EP Group 2	64.2	13.7	22.1	40395
Both in EP Group 3	47.3	15.2	37.5	42890
Both in EP Group 4	26.6	4.9	68.5	20953
One in any EP 1 country*	53.0	18.0	28.9	18414
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	51.2	14.4	34.3	17259
Third generation				
Australia	29.5	26.9	43.6	2107972

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 4.1
*Other parent in a different country or different EP Group

Parents' employment status

The second generation's parents' employment status is an important indicator of the family's socioeconomic status. There is also concern about the socioeconomic implications of children living in families where neither parent is employed. The second generation is examined here in terms of whether both their parents (or the sole parent) are employed full time; one or both parents are employed part-time; only one parent is employed and the other is not employed; or both parents are not employed.

The highest proportion with both parents employed full time in 1996 were children with both parents born in the Philippines (Table 3.11). They were followed by children with parents born in India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka. As mentioned earlier, many immigrants from these countries were highly educated and had come as independent skilled migrants. Less than 10 per cent of Australian-born children with parents born in these countries had parents who were both not employed or a sole parent who was not employed.

In contrast only 7 per cent of the second generation with parents born in Lebanon and 14 per cent of those with parents born in Turkey had parents who were both employed full time. This is partly a reflection of the low labour force participation rates of women born in Lebanon and Turkey. It is more common for the children to have only one employed parent. The unemployment rate of migrants from these countries was also relatively high (DIMA 1994; 1995; 2000). More than half (54 per cent) of all second generation children with parents born in Lebanon had no employed parent, as

did 44 per cent of the second generation with parents born in Turkey. The other group with a relatively high proportion (38 per cent) with no employed parent was the second generation of Vietnamese origin. By comparison, just under 20 per cent of third generation children had no employed parent. Part-time employment among parents of children of Lebanese, Turkish or Vietnamese origins was also lower than for parents of other children.

A larger proportion of children had two employed parents when the father only was born in Lebanon or Turkey than when both parents were born in these countries. This is a further indication of the lower employment rate of women born in these countries compared to women born elsewhere.

For the second generation of Filipino parentage, the opposite pattern is observed. A lower proportion of the second generation had two employed parents and a larger proportion had no employed parent when only one parent was born in the Philippines than when both parents were born in the Philippines.

These comparisons of second generation children by the employment status of their parents indicate the wide range of socioeconomic circumstances of the second generation by parents' origin. While it is a common situation for some second generation children to have both parents working full time, for a less fortunate small group the more common pattern is one of having no employed parent in the household.

Comparisons by parents' EP Group

There is a negative relation between the proportion of second generation aged 0-14 having two employed parents and parents' EP group. Fifty-five per cent of second generation with parents in EP Group 1 had two employed parents (or an employed sole parent). This percentage decreases with higher EP groups and just 33 per cent of second generation with parents in EP Group 4 had two employed parents (or an employed sole parent) (Table 3.12).

There is correspondingly a positive relation between the proportion of children with no employed parent and parents' EP Group. While just under 15 per cent of second generation children of EP Group 1 parents had no employed parent, 37 per cent of second generation children of EP Group 4 parents were in this situation.

A similar pattern is observed among overseas-born children (the first generation). However, aside from the second generation of EP Group 1 parents, a lower proportion of the second generation than the first generation had no employed parents. There was a difference of more than 10 percentage points between the second and first generation with parents from EP Groups 3 and 4 countries. This is likely to be a reflection of the low participation in employment among recent migrants from these EP Groups. The proportion with no employed parent was higher for both first and second generation children with EP Groups 3 and 4 parents than for children of the third generation.

Table 3.11. Employment status of parents of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' birthplace compared with first and third generations, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Both/sole parents employed full time	At least one parent employed part-time	Only one parent employed	Both/sole parent(s) not employed	Number of children
		%	%	%	%	
3rd+	Australia	17.0	33.3	30.6	19.1	2225159
2nd	New Zealand- parents	18.5	30.8	31.8	18.9	16777
2nd	New Zealand - father	16.9	32.5	29.3	21.3	41784
1st	New Zealand - self	19.7	25.8	31.5	23.1	18337
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	20.2	14.4	33.9	31.5	10651
2nd	Other Oceania - father	16.1	27.7	27.7	28.5	9660
1st	Other Ocenia - self	20.1	12.3	27.7	39.9	10735
2nd	UK - parents	18.9	36.5	30.9	13.7	53486
2nd	UK - father	17.6	34.8	30.4	17.3	160248
1st	UK - self	21.4	34.7	33.0	10.9	26719
2nd	Lebanon - parents	6.7	7.4	32.3	53.7	31595
2nd	Lebanon - father	12.5	17.4	32.1	38.0	8741
1st	Lebanon - self	6.1	7.0	29.9	57.0	3531
2nd	Turkey - parents	13.5	10.2	32.2	44.1	8942
2nd	Turkey - father	16.5	19.5	27.2	36.9	2185
	Turkey - self	14.4	9.7	28.4	47.5	1345
1st						
2nd	Malaysia - parents	31.6	28.7	32.5	7.2	6051
2nd	Malaysia - father	23.0	33.1	29.9	14.0	6242
	Malaysa - self	27.5	22.7	32.3	17.5	5114
1st	Philippines - parents	42.7	22.7	24.6	9.9	8635
2nd	Philippines - father	19.6	25.5	29.7	25.3	1556
2nd	Philippines - mother	19.5	18.7	32.4	29.5	18938
	Philippines - self	41.6	19.2	25.1	14.1	10256
2nd	Vietnam - parents	24.5	9.9	27.9	37.7	33904
2md	Vietnam - father	21.7	11.1	31.1	36.1	4014
1st	Vietnam - self	14.0	6.2	20.1	59.6	11439
2nd	China - parents	25.4	13.8	38.1	22.7	10233
2nd	China - father	28.1	22.4	28.1	21.4	4543
1st	China - self	26.8	14.1	33.5	25.6	9586
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	28.7	23.2	36.8	11.3	4860
2nd	Hong Kong - father	26.9	25.0	33.9	14.2	3595
1st	Hong Kong - self	15.5	16.0	38.4	30.1	5652
2nd	India - parents	33.9	24.5	32.5	9.1	7639
2nd	India - father	20.2	32.8	31.6	15.4	6021
1st	India - self	32.9	20.6	34.6	12.0	7283
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	28.9	22.3	39.9	9.0	5432
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	18.7	37.3	28.8	15.3	2609
1st	Sri Lanka - self	29.6	19.6	34.6	16.2	5420

Table 3.11. (continued)

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Both/sole parents employed full time	At least one parent employed part-time	Only one parent employed	Both/sole parent(s) not employed	Number of children
		%	%	%	%	
2nd	South Africa - parents	25.7	37.7	25.8	5.8	3167
2nd	South Africa - father	18.1	39.1	30.0	12.9	5042
1st	South Africa - self	28.1	34.2	29.5	8.2	4584
2nd	Other Africa - parents	24.9	23.4	30.2	21.6	4022
2nd	Other Africa - father	19.2	36.3	30.0	14.6	7592
1st	Other Africa - self	22.6	21.8	24.2	31.5	4561
2nd	Total**	18.9	28.9	30.7	21.4	1016696

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.3
*Excludes those not living with parents.
**Includes other origins and those whose parents' birthplace was inadequately stated.

Table 3.12. Employment status of parents or sole mother of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' EP Group compared with third generation, 1996.

Generation and parents' EP Group	Both/sole parents employed full time	At least one parent employed part-time	Only one parent employed	Both/sole parent(s) not employed	Number of children
Second generation	%	%	%	%	
Both in EP Group1	19.3	35.6	30.6	14.5	93368
Both in EP Group 2	27.6	22.7	33.5	16.3	55901
Both in EP Group 3	17.8	18.0	32.3	32.0	121154
Both in EP Group 4	22.7	10.4	30.4	36.5	59990
One in any EP 1 country*	17.3	34.3	30.1	18.3	390314
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	19.0	29.2	30.5	21.2	295948
First generation					
Both in EP Group1	21.5	30.8	33.9	13.8	45831
Both in EP Group 2	29.1	18.0	31.6	21.4	44446
Both in EP Group 3	14.8	13.7	29.0	42.5	50069
Both in EP Group 4	18.2	8.5	25.6	47.7	24493
One in any EP 1 country*	19.9	31.2	30.3	18.5	19231
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	18.0	20.0	29.9	32.1	18901
3rd generation					
Australia	17.0	33.3	30.6	19.1	2225093

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 4.1
*Other parent born in different country or different EP Group

The number of children of the second generation with no employed parent totalled 217,500 in 1996. There were about 58,000 children of the first generation in this situation. This is an underestimate of children in this situation since the children examined in this study exclude those defined by mother's birthplace. Among children of Australian-born parents (third or more generations), 19 per cent or about 425,000 children had no employed parent in 1996.

Parents' occupational status

The occupation of the father or sole parent was examined for those children whose father or sole parent was employed. Four broad occupation groups were examined: managerial or professional occupations; para-professional or trade occupations; sales, service or clerical occupations; and other occupations (which included transport and machine operators, labourers, etc.).

The second generation with parents born in Malaysia, South Africa or Hong Kong had the highest proportion with fathers or sole parents in skilled occupations (Table 3.13). Between 40 and 60 per cent of the second generation with parents from these countries had fathers or sole parents who were in managerial or professional occupations. This was above the average of 32 per cent for children of the third-plus generation. Other second generation groups which were also above the average were those with parents born in India or Sri Lanka. As shown in the previous section, these children were also likely to have two parents in employment.

Although a high proportion of the second generation with Philippines-born parents also had both parents in employment, their occupational pattern was different from those of the birthplace groups mentioned above. More than 40 per cent had fathers or sole parents who were employed in low skilled occupations and less than 20 per cent had fathers or sole parents in managerial or professional occupations. Among those with only the father born in the Philippines, 50 per cent had fathers or sole parents who were employed in low skilled occupations. Among those with only the mother born in the Philippines, about one-third had fathers or sole parents employed in low skilled occupations while another third had fathers or sole parents in para-professional or trade occupations.

The occupational status data also showed that more than half of all second generation children with parents born in Turkey or Vietnam, and 44 per cent of the children with parents born in Lebanon, had fathers or sole parents who were employed in low skilled occupations. Many migrants from Lebanon and Vietnam were refugees or had been sponsored by their family. Only 10 per cent of the children of parents born in Lebanon or Turkey and 16 per cent of the second generation of Vietnam-born parents had fathers or sole parents employed in managerial occupations. These statistics together with the those in the previous section on employment status showed that a very large proportion of second generation of Lebanese, Turkish or Vietnamese origin were from families where either no parent was employed or the father or sole parent was employed in a low skilled occupation.

There was not much difference in the father's or sole parent's occupational status between the second generation with parents born in English-speaking countries such as New Zealand or the UK and the third generation.

Table 3.13. Occupational status of employed father or sole parent of second generation aged 0-14 years compared with that of first and third generations, 1996*.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father or self	Managerial/ professional	Para-prof. or trades	Sales, service, clerical	Other	Number of children
		%	%	%	%	
3rd+	Australia	32.0	33.2	10.6	24.2	1742418
2nd	New Zealand- parents	25.8	34.2	9.1	30.9	132508
2nd	New Zealand - father	29.1	33.1	11.4	26.4	31744
1st	New Zealand - self	27.2	29.9	10.4	32.5	13557
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	14.1	24.7	8.8	52.4	6801
2nd	Other Oceania - father	29.9	26.8	13.1	30.3	6620
1st	Other Ocenia - self	19.5	27.6	8.1	44.8	5992
2nd	UK - parents	32.6	37.4	11.3	18.7	44319
2nd	UK - father	34.6	32.8	12.4	20.2	127499
1st	UK - self	40.9	37.9	8.8	12.4	22940
2nd	Lebanon - parents	10.0	40.6	5.0	44.4	14201
2nd	Lebanon - father	19.2	38.4	8.4	34.0	5182
1st	Lebanon - self	16.9	33.9	6.0	43.1	1459
2nd	Turkey - parents	10.8	28.1	4.5	56.6	4709
2nd	Turkey - father	19.7	32.9	9.5	37.9	1300
	Turkey - self	19.4	24.6	3.6	52.4	659
1st						
2nd	Malaysia - parents	58.1	23.0	7.7	11.2	5461
2nd	Malaysia - father	50.5	26.0	9.5	14.0	5211
	Malaysia - self	47.6	27.0	8.7	16.6	4063
1st	Philippines - parents	18.1	27.3	13.8	40.8	7510
2nd	Philippines - father	26.8	28.2	14.3	50.4	1125
2nd	Philippines - mother	22.4	30.1	11.6	35.8	12164
	Philippines - self	15.2	27.2	13.5	44.2	8374
2nd	Vietnam - parents	16.4	28.8	4.4	50.4	20091
2md	Vietnam - father	17.0	31.7	7.0	44.3	2455
1st	Vietnam - self	12.5	25.1	2.9	59.5	4347
2nd	China - parents	20.8	45.4	6.0	27.8	7543
2nd	China - father	29.4	44.6	7.6	18.4	3437
1st	China - self	25.4	37.0	5.0	32.7	6656
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	43.0	36.2	10.4	10.5	4233
2nd	Hong Kong - father	41.9	35.7	10.1	12.8	3013
1st	Hong Kong - self	44.2	34.2	10.9	10.7	3791
2nd	India - parents	39.7	26.5	10.5	23.3	6696
2nd	India - father	42.0	26.6	14.2	17.2	4928
1st	India - self	47.2	26.5	9.0	17.3	6175
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	37.8	25.3	13.5	23.5	4797
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	43.7	25.2	16.9	14.2	2144
1st	Sri Lanka - self	43.4	23.2	10.7	22.7	4377

Table 3.13 (continued).

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father or self	Managerial/ professional	Para-prof. or trades	Sales, service, clerical	Other	N
		%	%	%	%	
2nd	South Africa - parents	54.7	32.4	5.9	7.0	2957
2nd	South Africa - father	51.3	27.3	10.3	11.0	4254
1st	South Africa - self	57.4	30.1	6.1	6.5	4067
2nd	Other Africa - parents	31.3	24.7	14.6	29.4	3021
2nd	Other Africa - father	44.5	26.6	11.8	17.0	6313
1st	Other Africa - self	43	25.4	9.5	22	3004
	All second generation**	30.9	33.5	10.5	25.2	767431

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.3
*Excludes occupation not stated and not employed
**Includes other origins and those whose parents' birthplace was inadequately stated.

Comparisons by parents' EP Group

Comparison of the second generation by their parents' EP group and fathers' or sole parents' occupational status indicates that the higher the parents' EP group, the lower the proportion of children with fathers or sole parents in highly skilled occupations (Table 3.14). The proportion of children with fathers or sole parents employed in managerial or professional occupations was more than twice as high among children with parents in EP Group 1 than among children with parents in EP Group 4. On the other hand, the proportion of children with fathers or sole parents employed in low skilled occupations was more than twice as high among children with parents in EP Group 4 than among children with parents in EP Group 1.

The distribution of the second generation of parents in EP Groups 1 and 2, and those with parents from a mixture of EP Groups, was not much different from that of the third generation. But the proportion with the father or sole parent in low skilled occupations was higher among the second generation with both parents in EP Groups 3 and 4 than among the third generation.

Compared with the first generation, the second generation had a lower proportion with fathers employed in managerial or professional occupations, particularly those with parents from EP Group 3 countries. As with educational qualifications, the larger proportion of first generation children with fathers in managerial or professional occupations is likely to reflect the larger numbers of skilled migrants arriving in Australia in the 1980s and 1990s.

Household income

Household income is an important indicator of the household's economic status. Since it is based on the income of all household members, it can be affected by the number of persons and income earners in the household. Households with two income earners are likely to have higher income than those with one or no income earner.

Table 3.14. Occupational status of employed father or sole parent of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' EP Group compared with third generation, 1996.

Generation and parents' EP Group	Managerial/ professional	Para-prof. or trades	Sales, service, clerical	Other	Number of children
Second generation	%	%	%	%	
Both in EP Group1	34.1	35.7	10.3	20.0	76911
Both in EP Group 2	31.3	27.8	10.3	30.6	44870
Both in EP Group 3	18.0	37.8	6.7	37.5	78388
Both in EP Group 4	16.0	31.5	4.9	47.6	36188
One in any EP 1 country*	34.1	32.8	11.9	21.2	307596
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	32.2	33.6	10.9	23.3	223378
First generation					
Both in EP Group1	38.3	35.4	8.5	17.9	45831
Both in EP Group 2	33.5	27.0	10.0	29.5	44446
Both in EP Group 3	30.2	31.3	6.7	31.9	50069
Both in EP Group 4	18.3	29.4	3.7	48.6	24493
One in any EP 1 country*	48.7	26.1	10.0	15.2	19231
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	42.2	27.8	9.3	20.8	18901
3rd generation					
Australia	32.0	33.2	10.6	24.2	1742398

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 4.2
* Other parent born in different country or EP Group

Table 3.15 shows the distribution of second generation children by their household's weekly income in 1996 compared with those of the first and third generations. The average weekly earnings of an adult in full time employment in 1996 were $678 (ABS 1997). A weekly household income of less than $400 was likely to be indicative of the household being dependent on social security payments, with no full time income earner.

A slightly higher proportion of second generation children were living in households with incomes of less then $400 per week compared with children in the third generation. The proportion of children living in households with a weekly income exceeding $1500 was also slightly higher among children who are second generation children than those who were at least third generation. This suggests that the second generation children had a more unequal distribution in terms of their household incomes than third generation children.

The data on household income also indicate large differences in household economic status by parents' birthplace. More than 40 per cent of second generation children with parents born in South Africa and nearly one-third of those with parents born in Malaysia lived in households with a weekly income of $1500 or more. This was nearly four and three times respectively the proportion among children of the third generation. A number of other Asian origin groups also had relatively high

proportions of children in high income households. The proportion was twice as high for the second generation with parents born in Philippines, Hong Kong, India and Sri Lanka as that for the third generation. As indicated earlier, children with parents born in these countries were likely to have both parents in employment, which would contribute to higher household income. Less than 10 per cent of children with parents born in these countries lived in households with a weekly income of less than $400, which was consistent with the low proportion with no employed parent.

In contrast, nearly 30 per cent of the second generation with parents born in Lebanon or Turkey lived in households with a weekly income of less than $400 and less than 5 per cent lived in high-income households. Two Asian origin groups also had one-quarter of their second generation aged 0-14 living in households with a weekly income of less than $400 and less than 10 per cent living in high-income households: those with parents born in Vietnam or China. Immigrants who arrived during the 1980s from these four countries were mostly sponsored by other family members or selected as refugees or other humanitarian migrants. They were not skilled migrants and, as shown earlier, many of them were either employed as low skilled workers or not employed. The Other Oceania group also had a higher proportion of second generation children in low-income households and a lower proportion in high-income households compared with children in the third generation.

Compared with the first generation of the same ethnic background, a smaller proportion of the second generation lived in households in the lowest income group. In a number of Asian origin groups, the proportion of children in the highest income group was substantially higher among the second generation than the first generation, an indication of the better economic status of the households of second generation children compared with their first generation counterparts.

Comparisons by parents' EP Group

Comparison by parents' EP Group shows the expected pattern of an inverse relation between parents' EP Group and the household income of second generation children (Table 3.16). There was not much difference in the distribution of the second generation by household income between parents' EP Groups 1 and 2 and between parents' EP Groups 3 and 4. The main difference was between Groups 1 and 2 and Groups 3 and 4. The proportion in households with a weekly income of less than $400 was twice as high for the second generation with parents in EP Group 3 compared with those with parents in EP Group 2 while the proportion in households with incomes of $1500 or more was only half as much. The second generation with parents in EP Group 4 were the most disadvantaged in terms of their household income, with one in four living in households with a weekly income of less than $400. These patterns were consistent with the pattern of parental employment discussed earlier.

Although the second generation of EP Groups 3 and 4 parents were comparatively disadvantaged when compared with those of EP Groups 1 and 2 parents, they were still better off than their peers of the first generation. The proportion from the lowest household income category was higher among the first generation with parents from EP Groups 3 and 4 countries than the second generation from these countries. However, when compared with the third generation, a higher proportion of the second generation of EP Groups 3 and 4 parents lived in low-income households.

Table 3.15. Household income of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' birthplace*, compared with first and third generations, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Household income per week					Number of children
		$0-$400	$400-$699	$700-$999	$1000- $1499	$1500+	
		%	%	%	%	%	
3rd+	Australia	15.4	27.9	24.5	20.3	11.9	2074873
2nd	New Zealand- parents	13.1	26.4	24.9	21.1	14.6	15595
2nd	New Zealand - father	17.7	27.7	23.1	19.1	12.4	39389
1st	New Zealand - self	16.2	27.9	22.7	19.6	13.7	16670
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	19.4	33.0	24.1	16.6	7.0	8933
2nd	Other Oceania - father	20.4	27.9	22.9	18.5	10.3	8995
1st	Other Ocenia - self	22.9	32.1	22.1	16.3	6.6	8827
2nd	UK - parents	11.4		23.2	25.9	24.2	49818
2nd	UK - father	14.5	24.7	24.7	22.0	14.1	150861
1st	UK - self	8.9	19.5	24.1	25.3	22.3	24706
2nd	Lebanon - parents	29.1	40.1	17.5	9.6	3.7	26435
2nd	Lebanon - father	25.3	36.4	18.7	12.6	7.0	7867
1st	Lebanon - self	31.8	39.7	15.2	10.1	3.1	2959
2nd	Turkey - parents	29.4	37.9	18.5	10.4	3.8	8093
2nd	Turkey - father	28.1	35.0	16.9	13.1	7.0	1937
1st	Turkey - self	33.3	35.1	17.6	8.9	5.1	1176
2nd	Malaysia - parents	6.1	16.5	19.7	25.8	31.9	5722
2nd	Malaysia - father	11.9	21.9	20.7	22.0	23.6	5887
1st	Malaysia - self	13.5	21.2	21.8	24.1	19.4	4606
2nd	Philippines - parents	4.9	18.6	24.8	21.0	20.7	7875
2nd	Philippines - father	17.5	29.6	21.5	21.1	10.4	1435
2nd	Philippines - mother	25.1	29.2	21.0	16.5	8.2	17373
1st	Philippines - self	8.5	22.4	28.0	28.3	12.8	9265
2nd	Vietnam - parents	26.3	31.6	19.2	15.4	7.5	31169
2nd	Vietnam - father	27.5	31.4	20.0	14.6	6.5	3815
1st	Vietnam - self	30.0	33.1	14.1	9.4	3.4	10050
2nd	China - parents	24.2	35.9	20.1	14.3	5.5	9411
2nd	China - father	19.3	28.0	20.0	18.8	13.9	4145
1st	China - self	26.1	33.9	22.2	12.4	5.4	8893
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	12.1	25.1	19.9	22.8	20.2	4610
2nd	Hong Kong - father	12.8	26.0	19.8	20.8	20.6	3362
1st	Hong Kong - self	27.0	25.8	18.5	16.9	11.8	5320
2nd	India - parents	6.4	18.7	24.0	28.7	22.3	6931
2nd	India - father	13.0	21.8	23.0	25.0	17.3	5529
1st	India - self	9.0	18.9	23.4	29.8	18.9	6675
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	6.7	24.0	24.3	27.4	17.7	5043
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	10.1	21.1	24.5	25.0	18.9	2460
1st	Sri Lanka - self	13.0	22.2	25.3	24.2	15.3	4913

Table 3.15 (continued)

Generation	Birthplace of parents, father only or self	Household income per week					Number of children
		$0-$400	$400-$699	$700-$999	$1000- $1499	$1500+	
		%	%	%	%	%	
2nd	South Africa - parents	3.5	10.5	16.3	26.4	43.2	2848
2nd	South Africa - father	11.6	19.5	20.9	22.9	25.1	4799
1st	South Africa - self	5.2	11.8	18.7	26.7	37.6	4050
2nd	Other Africa - parents	13.8	25.4	23.3	23.8	13.8	3606
2nd	Other Africa - father	12.2	21.3	23.5	24.3	18.3	7051
1st	Other Africa - self	19.9	23.8	19.7	20.6	16.1	4031
	All second generation**	16.6	27.0	23.3	20.2	13.0	936594

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.5.
*Excludes household income not stated or not available because of absent occupants.
**Includes other origins.

Table 3.16. Household income of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' EP Group compared with third generation, 1996.

Generation and parents' EP Group	Household income per week					Number of children
	Less than $400	$400-$699	$700-$999	$1000- $1499	$1500 or more	
	%	%	%	%	%	
Second generation						
Both in EP Group1	11.5	23.0	24.8	23.5	17.2	86726
Both in EP Group 2	10.9	24.3	23.9	24.3	16.7	50063
Both in EP Group 3	20.5	32.8	22.0	16.6	8.1	105288
Both in EP Group 4	26.6	33.3	19.3	14.4	6.5	54800
One in any EP 1 country*	15.4	25.5	24.2	21.1	13.9	367313
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	17.4	27.3	22.7	19.8	12.9	272397
First generation						
Both in EP Group1	9.9	20.9	23.4	23.8	22.0	41798
Both in EP Group 2	14.4	24.2	23.9	23.7	13.7	39373
Both in EP Group 3	29.6	30.9	18.5	13.1	7.9	44427
Both in EP Group 4	34.2	34.8	17.2	10.2	3.7	21800
One in any EP 1 country*	14.2	22.2	19.2	16.7	23.5	17761
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	24.5	25.8	19.2	23.8	13.9	17132
3rd generation						
Australia	15.4	27.9	24.5	20.3	11.2	2074858

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 4.2.
*Other parent born in a different country or different EP Group.

Housing tenure

The second household characteristic examined is housing tenure. For most Australian families, the family home is their main asset and a fully owned house is an indicator that the family has an asset. In 1996, one-quarter of third generation children lived in fully owned homes; 45 per cent in households that were paying off mortgages and 28 per cent in rental housing. A slightly higher proportion – 28 per cent – of second generation children lived in fully owned homes; however this proportion varied considerably by parents' origins (Table 3.17).

More than half of children of the second generation with parents born in Hong Kong or Malaysia lived in fully owned homes. The first generation from these two countries also had a similar pattern of housing tenure, with a high proportion living in fully owned homes. Other second generation groups with a relatively high proportion of children living in fully owned homes were those with parents from China, Lebanon, Turkey, Vietnam and India. However, the first generation from these countries was less likely than the second generation to be living in fully owned homes.

The proportion living in rental housing was largest among children of parents from Other Oceania. Other groups with relatively high proportions in rental housing were those from New Zealand, Lebanon, Turkey, Philippines and Vietnam. A larger proportion of children of the first generation from these origins was in rental housing than children of the second generation.

The home ownership rate appeared to be relatively low among migrants from New Zealand and Other Oceania. Less than 20 per cent of the second generation of parents born in New Zealand, Other Oceania or the United Kingdom lived in fully owned homes. This was about half of the proportion observed among the children of the third generation. A rather high proportion of children with parents from Other Oceania lived in rental housing while 60 per cent of children with both UK-born parents were in housing that was being purchased.

Comparisons by parents' EP Group

Consistent with the above finding of a low rate of home ownership among the second generation of New Zealand-born and UK-born parents, the second generation of EP Group 1 parents had the lowest proportion living in homes that were fully owned (Table 3.18). It also had the highest proportion in households that were paying mortgages on their homes.

The proportion in fully owned homes were at least twice as high among the second generation with parents in EP Groups 3 and 4 than those with parents in EP Group 1, even though the previous sections showed that many children with parents from EP Groups 3 and 4 countries had parents who were not employed or employed in low skilled occupations. The Census does not identify which household member owns the home in which each individual is enumerated. It would appear that some children with parents from EP Groups 3 and 4 countries might be living in housing owned by their extended family.

The second generation of all EP Groups with the exception of those of EP Group 1 had a higher proportion in fully owned homes than the third generation. A larger proportion of second generation children than first generation children lived in fully owned homes. First generation children were more likely to be in rental housing, a reflection of their recent immigrant status.

Table 3.17. Housing tenure* of second generation aged 0-14 by parents' birthplace, compared with first and third generations, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Housing tenure				Number of children
		Owned outright	Purchasing	Renting	Other	
		%	%	%	%	
3rd+	Australia	24.8	44.5	28.4	2.4	2324742
2nd	New Zealand- parents	12.4	43.5	42.9	1.2	17784
2nd	New Zealand - father	16.7	45.2	36.3	1.8	44268
1st	New Zealand - self	10.8	31.3	56.2	1.7	19399
2nd	Other Oceania - parents	13.6	21.8	63.2	1.4	10725
2nd	Other Oceania - father	15.2	34.2	48.5	2.1	10125
1st	Other Ocenia - self	11.6	16.6	70.4	1.5	10986
2nd	UK - parents	17.0	60.5	21.7	0.8	56159
2nd	UK - father	20.1	51.9	26.6	1.4	168562
1st	UK - self	13.4	53.9	31.5	1.2	28411
2nd	Lebanon - parents	37.9	21.8	38.0	2.3	31586
2nd	Lebanon - father	31.8	30.8	34.7	2.7	8890
1st	Lebanon - self	17.6	18.5	62.2	1.7	3581
2nd	Turkey - parents	31.1	31.6	35.4	1.9	9035
2nd	Turkey - father	21.4	37.3	39.5	1.9	2187
1st	Turkey - self	19.1	25.6	52.3	3.0	1372
2nd	Malaysia - parents	52.1	37.4	8.8	1.9	6928
2nd	Malaysia - father	34.1	42.1	22.3	1.5	6501
1st	Malaysia - self	49.8	30.3	18.3	1.7	5470
2nd	Philippines - parents	16.5	46.9	35.5	1.1	8770
2nd	Philippines - father	18.1	38.0	42.3	1.7	1562
2nd	Philippines - mother	37.4	32.1	28.6	1.9	19579
1st	Philippines - self	12.4	38.0	48.4	1.3	10576
2nd	Vietnam - parents	35.4	32.8	30.4	1.4	33872
2nd	Vietnam - father	30.2	31.4	36.6	1.9	4074
1st	Vietnam - self	18.0	22.6	58.2	1.2	11354
2nd	China - parents	40.0	29.6	28.9	1.5	10431
2nd	China - father	51.9	28.7	17.6	1.8	4647
1st	China - self	32.6	20.5	45.8	1.2	10080
2nd	Hong Kong - parents	57.2	27.5	13.0	2.3	5075
2nd	Hong Kong - father	49.7	33.0	14.9	2.4	3724
1st	Hong Kong - self	61.2	16.7	20.2	1.9	6243
2nd	India - parents	31.0	44.1	23.6	1.4	7771
2nd	India - father	26.2	49.3	23.2	1.3	6282
1st	India - self	20.0	30.3	47.8	2.0	7453
2nd	Sri Lanka - parents	19.8	50.8	28.6	0.9	5492
2nd	Sri Lanka - father	22.9	54.1	21.9	1	2690
1st	Sri Lanka - self	17.8	36.4	44.7	1.1	5561

Table 3.17 (continued).

Generation	Birthplace of parents or father only or self	Housing tenure				Number of children
		Owned outright	Purchasing	Renting	Other	
		%	%	%	%	
2nd	South Africa - parents	29.8	51.9	17.1	1.2	3381
2nd	South Africa - father	23.8	49.7	24.9	1.6	5378
1st	South Africa - self	25.5	37.8	35.0	1.7	4774
2nd	Other Africa - parents	20.7	45.8	32.5	1.0	4096
2nd	Other Africa - father	22.9	50.3	24.8	2.0	7968
1st	Other Africa - self	13.4	33.3	51.7	1.6	4711
	All second generation**	28.0	43.0	27.0	1.7	1054465

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 1.3.
*Excludes tenure not stated.
**Includes other origins.

Table 3.18. Housing tenure of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' EP Group compared with third generation, 1996.

Generation and parents' EP Group	Housing tenure				Number of children
	Owned outright	Purchasing	Renting	Other	
	%	%	%	%	
Second generation					
Both in EP Group1	17.0	55.5	26.6	1.0	98259
Both in EP Group 2	30.3	37.9	30.4	1.4	56877
Both in EP Group 3	43.3	27.7	27.0	2.1	121719
Both in EP Group 4	35.7	31.5	31.4	1.5	60328
One in any EP 1 country*	20.2	49.7	28.6	1.5	411316
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	35.0	39.2	23.6	2.2	305928
First generation					
Both in EP Group1	11.8	44.0	42.4	1.7	48470
Both in EP Group 2	19.5	29.1	50.0	1.5	45824
Both in EP Group 3	22.8	18.5	57.0	1.7	51118
Both in EP Group 4	20.9	22.1	55.8	1.3	24718
One in any EP 1 country*	19.7	39.1	38.9	2.3	20637
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	31.9	25.5	40.1	2.5	20041
3rd generation					
Australia	24.8	44.5	28.4	2.4	2324741

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 4.2
*Other parent born in a different country or different EP Group.

Conclusion

This examination of the family situation of the second generation aged 0-14 years shows wide variation in their socioeconomic circumstances by parents' origin. Many in the second generation whose parents came from countries such as Malaysia, South Africa, Hong Kong, India or Sri Lanka had well educated and highly skilled parents who were likely to have been immigrants in the independent skill visa categories. Many of these children had two employed parents and lived in high-income households.

The second generation with parents born in Lebanon, Turkey or Vietnam were more disadvantaged. A disturbingly high proportion of these children had no parents in employment and lived in households with incomes of less than $400 a week. Of those children who had an employed father or sole parent, that parent was also more likely to be in a low skilled occupation. However, a relatively high proportion of these children lived in housing that was fully owned by their families.

The second generation with parents born in New Zealand, Other Oceania or the United Kingdom was not very different in their socioeconomic circumstances from the third or more generations whose parents were born in Australia. Their household economic profile was about average.

Although the family situation of some children of the second generation appears disadvantaged, it is too premature to say whether this will affect their socioeconomic outcomes when they reach adulthood. This chapter has also shown that almost all the children, regardless of their parents' level of English proficiency, were reported to be proficient in English at ages 10-14. This should help considerably in their integration into Australian society and the labour market, considering the importance of English proficiency for full social and economic participation in Australia.

4. THE EDUCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF YOUNG SECOND GENERATION AUSTRALIANS

Previous research on second generation young people from Southern or Eastern European origins has shown that a higher proportion complete their secondary education than do the third generation or second generation of UK or Western European origins (Birrell and Khoo 1995). The longitudinal research conducted by the Australian Council of Education Research (ACER) during the 1980s and 1990s also reports similar findings for first generation youth born in Asian or Southern and Eastern European countries (Long et al. 1999). A higher proportion complete secondary school and a larger share also continue on to university compared with their Australian-born counterparts, or peers born in English-speaking countries. This has occurred despite the ACER's estimate that many of these young people come from a lower socioeconomic background.

This chapter examines the education and employment situation of the second generation aged 15-24 years in 1996 by their origin and parents' socioeconomic status. The interest is to observe how the second generation's educational and employment outcomes vary by origin and whether there is any relation with their parents' socioeconomic status.

The chapter begins with some background information about this group: their age distribution, living arrangements, English proficiency status, educational enrolment and labour force status. This is followed by a comparison of second generation youth with their peers of the first and third generations and an analysis of the second generation's educational and labour market outcomes by residential location and parents' socioeconomic status.

The second generation aged 15-24 in 1996 was born in the 1970s, specifically 1972-81. Therefore their parents were immigrants who arrived before 1980. The second generation in this age group who were of Asian origins were the children of the earliest group of immigrants from Asia, who arrived during the 1960s and 1970s.

The age group is a diverse one in terms of life cycle stage as people at the younger end of the age group are likely to be still in school while those at the older end of the age group are likely to have completed their education and be working. Hence the second generation is separated into smaller age ranges when their educational and employment outcomes are examined.

Twenty-four country-of-origin groups are examined in this chapter: all the groups included in Chapter 3 plus 10 of European origins. It is therefore possible to compare some of the 'new' second generation with some of the 'old' second generation.

Table 4.1. Second generation aged 15-24 by parents' or father's birthplace*, 1996.

	Age (years)				
Parents/father born in:	15-17	18-19	20-21	22-24	Total
	%	%	%	%	
New Zealand	38.3	19.4	17.9	24.4	17 490
Other Oceania	41.3	20.6	16.0	22.1	3 879
UK	29.8	19.1	19.8	31.3	152 454
Ireland	25.4	20.6	19.9	34.2	9 016
Greece	22.9	18.3	20.7	38.1	39 178
Italy	24.2	18.4	20.7	36.8	73 338
Malta	25.8	19.4	21.1	33.6	17 829
Croatia	24.6	18.3	20.9	36.2	13 457
FYR Macedonia	27.4	19.8	20.7	32.1	10 519
Germany	25.8	18.9	21.5	33.8	23 579
Netherlands	24.8	18.9	20.7	35.6	25 666
Hungary	24.1	17.8	19.4	38.7	4 044
Poland	26.4	16.7	18.8	38.2	4 229
Lebanon	36.4	22.6	18.9	22.1	21 425
Turkey	40.6	21.6	18.9	19.0	4 514
Malaysia	44.7	22.1	15.0	18.1	3 498
Philippines	61.6	20.0	9.6	8.8	3 466
Vietnam	88.1	6.8	3.3	1.8	2 492
China	33.6	21.6	19.1	25.8	5 276
Hong Kong	42.3	22.0	16.5	19.2	2 105
India	30.9	18.3	21.2	29.6	7 256
Sri Lanka	32.2	23.0	20.5	24.4	2 619
South Africa	42.7	21.8	14.8	20.7	2 422
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	35.9	19.5	18.0	26.7	4 087

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.1

*Based only on parents' or father's birthplace except for second generation of Philippines origin which includes those with mother only born in Philippines.

Age distribution

Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the second generation across the 15-24 age range according to their parents' or father's birthplace. The second generation of Vietnamese origin was clustered at the younger end of the age group, with most of them aged 15-17 in 1996. In contrast the second generation of Polish, Hungarian or Greek origins had a larger proportion at the older end of the age group. These patterns of age distribution reflect the period of immigration of their parents' generation. Immigration from Asia increased substantially after 1970; consequently the second generation of Asian background is considerably younger than their European counterparts. In contrast, many parents of the second generation of European origin immigrated during the 1950s and 1960s. The volume of migration from Southern and Eastern Europe decreased after 1970.

Compared with the second generation of European origins, the size of the second generation of Asian origins in this age group is still relatively small. None of the Asian origin groups shown in Table 4.1 had more than 7,500 people and most had between 2,000 and 3,500. By comparison, the second generation of Italian origin numbered over 70,000 in this age group. These numbers excluded those second

generation with only the mother born in these countries, with the exception of those of Philippines origin.

Table 4.2 shows that the second generation whose parents were from EP Group 4 countries was the youngest, with over half of everyone in the age group between the ages of 15 and 17. This group includes the second generation of Vietnamese origin, who are shown in the previous table as having the youngest age distribution. In contrast, the second generation whose parents were from EP Group 3 countries was much older. EP Group 3 countries include many European ones.

Table 4.2. Second generation aged 15-24 by parents' EP Group compared with third generation, 1996.

	Age (years)				
Parents' EP Group:	15-17	18-19	20-21	22-24	Total
Both in EP Group 1	27.9	18.2	20.0	33.9	66004
Both in EP Group 2	27.6	18.9	19.7	33.8	34999
Both in EP Group 3	24.5	19.0	20.9	35.6	140752
Both in EP Group 4	52.8	15.9	14.0	17.4	9105
One in any EP 1 country*	32.0	19.6	19.4	29.0	220054
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	30.8	19.8	19.6	29.9	193111
Total 2nd generation	29.7	19.3	19.8	31.2	664025
Australia (3rd generation)	30.4	19.1	19.4	31.1	1351800

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 8.1

* Other parent in different country or EP Group

Living arrangements

Information about living arrangements shows differences in the proportion not living with parents among the second generation, indicating that there are differences in the age at leaving the parental home among the second generation by origin (Table 4.3). The second generation of Southern European or Asian origins had lower proportions not living with parents than the second generation of English-speaking or Western European origins. The second generation of FYROM origin was the least likely to be living outside the family home. Other second generation groups with a low proportion not living with parents were those with parents or the father born in Greece, Croatia or Italy. Among the second generation aged 22-24 years, the proportion of second generation of Greek origin not living with their parents was similar to that of second generation of FYROM origin (around 23 per cent). These findings suggest that, even upon becoming economically independent, children of FYROM or Greek parents tend to remain within the family home.

Although the percentage of second generation of Vietnamese origin aged 22-24 years not living with parents seems rather high, the number was actually very small. Most second generation groups of Asian origin had relatively low proportions not living with parents, particularly when under age 21.

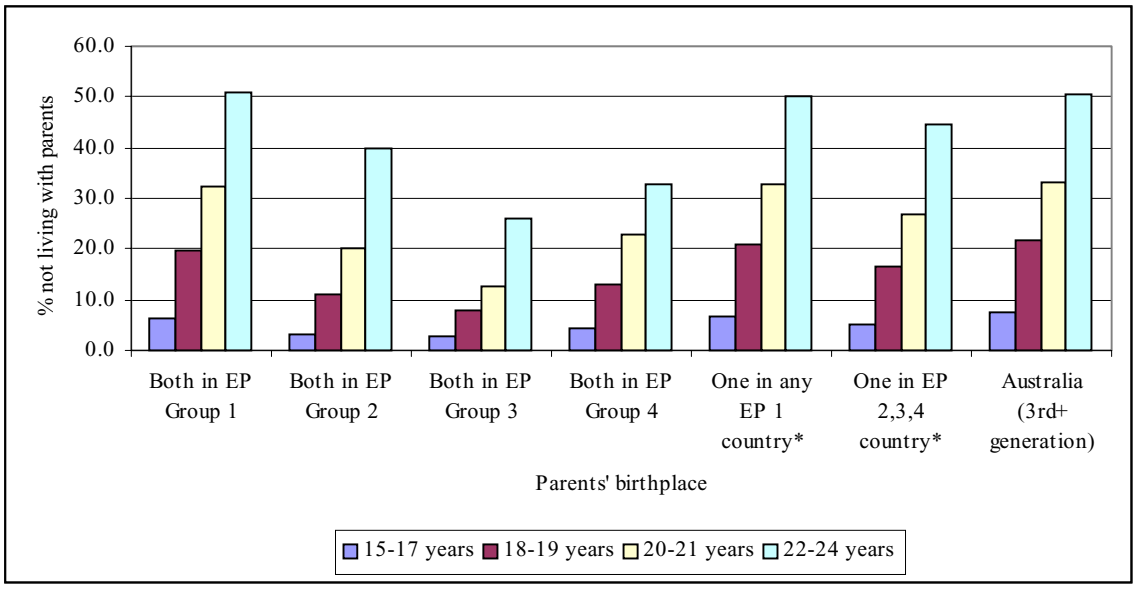
Table 4.3. Per cent not living with parents: second generation aged 15-24 by parents' birthplace, 1996.

	Age (years)			
Parents or father born in:	15-17	18-19	20-21	22-24
New Zealand	7.7	21.3	32.6	48.1
Other Oceania	9.7	21.2	32.5	43.5
UK	6.1	19.8	32.2	50.4
Ireland	5.0	19.0	34.4	48.9
Greece	3.0	7.2	12.4	23.6
Italy	2.9	9.4	14.9	30.8
Malta	3.5	12.6	21.3	41.4
Croatia	4.0	10.5	15.4	28.6
FYR Macedonia	1.6	5.0	10.2	22.6
Germany	5.1	16.6	27.6	46.5
Netherlands	5.8	19.7	32.3	51.9
Hungary	6.1	16.1	25.9	41.1
Poland	6.9	12.5	27.5	40.4
Lebanon	3.2	10.4	16.7	31.3
Turkey	5.0	14.7	25.4	42.3
Malaysia	4.7	12.4	19.8	32.2
Philippines*	3.7	11.6	15.6	34.8
Vietnam	3.8	12.4	18.5	40.0
China	4.1	12.6	18.6	28.4
Hong Kong	1.7	7.1	13.3	34.6
India	3.1	11.2	23.0	36.7
Sri Lanka	2.1	10.5	20.3	32.7
South Africa	4.3	16.3	33.2	45.8
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	4.2	14.1	20.7	34.7

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 5.1
*Includes mother only born in Philippines

Figure 4.1 compares the proportion of second generation not living with parents by parents' EP Group and with the third generation. Second generation youth of all EP Groups except those of EP Group 1 origin tended to leave the parental home at a later age compared with third generation youth since they had a lower proportion not living with parents. The second generation with parents from EP Group 3 countries had the lowest proportion not living with parents and therefore the highest proportion living at home, followed by those with parents from EP Group 4 countries. The second generation of EP Group 1 background – who were of English-speaking origins – had the highest proportion not living with parents. This group also showed a similar pattern at each age with the third generation in their proportion not living with parents.

Figure 4.1 Per cent not living with parents: second generation aged 15-24 by parents' EP Group compared with third generation, 1996.



Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 8.1

Language shift and English proficiency

Table 4.4 provides information on language shift and English proficiency among the second generation. The second generation groups with the highest proportion speaking only English at home (about 90 per cent) were those of German, Dutch or Sri Lankan origins. The second generation with parents from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia or Turkey were the least likely to speak English only at home (8 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). Among those groups with a low proportion speaking English only at home – such as those of Greek, FYROM, Lebanese or Vietnamese origin – a very large proportion (around 80 per cent) nevertheless spoke English 'well or very well'. The data showed that almost all second generation youth were proficient in English even though they might not speak it as the only language at home.

The low proportion of second generation who spoke English only at home was also indicative of intergenerational language retention. Compared to other second generation, the second generation of FYROM, Turkish or Vietnamese origin were the most likely to retain the use of their parents' native language at home, followed by those of Lebanese or Greek origin. As noted in the previous section, a large proportion of these groups, particularly the second generation of FYROM origin, still lived at home with their parents, so it might be expected that they would continue to speak their parents' native language at home.

Figure 4.2 shows the shift to speaking English only at home and English proficiency among the second generation with parents from EP Groups 2-4. A lower proportion of second generation whose parents were from EP Group 4 spoke only English at home, but a large proportion also spoke English well or very well. The second generation whose parents were from EP Group 3 had the next lowest proportion speaking only

English at home, but also had a large proportion speaking English 'well or very well'. It was notable that the second generation was more likely to speak only English at home when parents came from different EP Groups than when they were both from the same EP Group. This indicates that either parent's native language is less likely to be maintained by the second generation if their parents come from different countries than if their parents are from the same country.

Table. 4.4. English proficiency of second generation aged 15-24 by parents' or father's birthplace, 1996.

Parents or father only born in:	Spoke English only at home	Spoke English well/very well	Total proficient
Other Oceania	73.7	25.5	99.2
Greece	16.6	82.7	99.3
Italy	50.3	48.8	99.1
Malta	76.5	23.0	99.5
Croatia	30.9	68.7	99.6
FYR Macedonia	7.9	91.5	99.4
Germany	91.7	8.2	99.9
Netherlands	96.8	3.1	99.9
Hungary	80.1	19.6	99.7
Poland	72.6	27.1	99.7
Lebanon	14.1	85.1	99.2
Turkey	9.9	87.9	97.8
Malaysia	81.1	18.7	99.8
Philippines	84.7	15.1	99.8
Vietnam	11.1	86.2	97.3
China	41.7	57.4	99.1
Hong Kong	44.3	54.1	98.4
India	88.2	11.7	99.9
Sri Lanka	95.2	4.8	100.0
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	80.5	19.3	99.8

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Tables 5.6 and 6.1
Note: 'Philippines' includes those with mother only born in Philippines.

Figure 4.2. Per cent who spoke only English at home or who spoke it well or very well: second generation aged 15-24 by parents' EP Group, 1996.

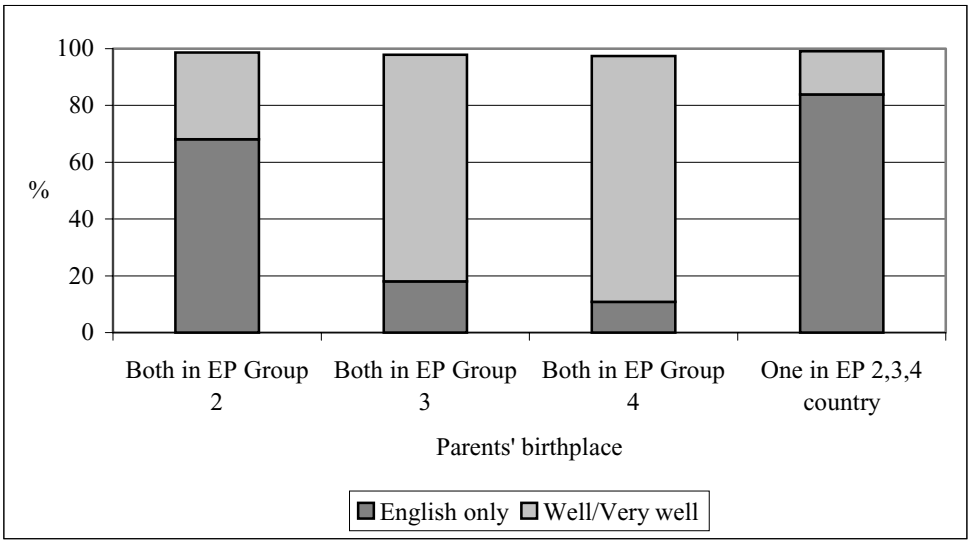


Table 4.5. Percentage enrolled in education: second generation aged 15-21 years by parents' birthplace, 1996.

Parents or father only born	Males			Females		
in:	Aged 15-17	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 15-17	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21
	%	%	%	%	%	%
New Zealand	81.1	41.8	32.8	84.6	44.1	38.5
Other Oceania	83.6	52.2	46.2	88.2	53.8	35.4
UK	81.6	44.0	30.9	85.7	48.3	33.7
Ireland	85.4	46.3	33.1	89.3	50.9	37.7
Greece	90.1	63.1	46.1	93.1	71.0	48.9
Italy	87.2	52.4	35.4	90.4	58.7	38.1
Malta	80.6	42.8	25.7	87.1	48.3	30.2
Croatia	89.3	58.6	40.8	93.9	68.7	44.2
FYR Macedonia	91.0	52.9	34.3	94.0	65.7	34.4
Germany	85.4	49.3	36.9	88.7	51.4	41.2
Netherlands	83.3	47.0	33.9	86.6	49.2	34.0
Hungary	87.1	65.6	41.2	93.6	55.6	45.4
Poland	89.3	64.7	52.8	91.8	67.7	43.2
Lebanon	87.3	57.5	41.9	91.5	56.5	37.1
Turkey	85.7	58.9	33.1	93.4	62.5	46.0
Malaysia	96.9	86.4	62.9	97.1	86.9	68.6
Philippines	92.4	74.7	61.2	94.8	73.8	46.9
Vietnam	95.8	82.4	77.8	97.3	86.5	64.3
China	96.6	77.2	68.3	97.3	85.3	70.5
Hong Kong	96.6	84.5	78.3	95.3	88.5	79.7
India	90.4	66.2	51.6	93.6	67.7	51.4
Sri Lanka	96.6	69.9	45.4	92.1	67.0	52.1
South Africa	90.8	44.8	35.6	92.0	70.0	39.1
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	89.5	64.4	44.2	91.8	62.8	39.3

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.2.
Note: Philippines include those with mother only born in Philippines.

Table 4.6. Percentage enrolled in education: second generation aged 15-21 years by parents' EP Group and third generation, 1996.

	Males			Females		
Parents' EP Group:	Aged 15-17	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 15-17	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21
Both in EP Group 1	77.9	42.1	28.7	82.2	45.3	32.7
Both in EP Group 2	83.4	56.6	40.1	88.1	61.2	41.1
Both in EP Group 3	83.3	56.9	41.0	88.2	64.1	42.0
Both in EP Group 4	88.3	66.0	50.8	92.0	68.4	51.5
One in any EP 1 country*	79.2	43.7	32.0	82.5	47.6	34.2
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	82.4	51.1	36.6	84.8	54.5	39.0
Total 2nd generation	81.2	49.5	35.7	84.7	53.8	37.7
Australia (3rd generation)	76.9	40.4	28.7	81.0	45.2	31.4

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 8.3.
* Other parent in a different country or different EP Group.

Educational enrolment and qualifications

Educational outcomes for this age group are examined in terms of enrolment in education for those aged 15-21 and post-school qualifications for those aged 22-24 who are likely to have completed any post-school education. Table 4.5 shows the proportion enrolled in secondary school or post-school education among the second generation by origin. Two distinctive patterns emerge from the table: (i) the second generation of Asian origins had a relatively high proportion enrolled in education at ages 15-21; (ii) the second generation with a father born in Malta was less likely to be studying than the second generation of other origins.

The proportion enrolled in education was particularly high among the second generation with a father born in Vietnam, Hong Kong, China or Malaysia. Although the proportion of these second generation continuing their education decreased with age, it was still greater than that of other second generation youth. Among the second generation from European backgrounds, those of Greek, Polish or Hungarian origin also showed a higher proportion enrolled in study. In contrast, the second generation of Maltese origin had a high likelihood of ceasing their education at an early age.

Table 4.6 shows the educational enrolment of the second generation aged 15-21 according to their parents' EP Group and compared with the third generation. These data show that second generation youth were more likely to be enrolled in secondary school, university or TAFE compared with their peers of the third generation.

The second generation youth whose parents were from EP Group 4 countries was more likely to be enrolled in education regardless of age compared to other second generation. These were the second generation of Chinese, Lebanese, Vietnamese or Turkish origin. Second generation youth whose parents were from EP Group 1 countries had a lower educational enrolment rate than those from other EP Groups. They were more similar to the third generation in their educational enrolment patterns.

The proportion of second generation aged 22-24 with post-school qualifications is shown in Table 4.7. The second generation with parents born in China, Malaysia or India was more likely than the second generation of other origins to have obtained diploma or degree qualifications, with the proportion exceeding 50 per cent among females. However the second generation of Asian origins tended not to favour vocational qualifications, with a relatively low proportion having such qualifications.

The second generation of Southern or Eastern European origin – particularly women of Greek origin – also had relatively high proportions with post-school qualifications. The exception was the second generation of Maltese origin, with the men having the lowest proportion with degree or diploma qualifications. Second generation men of Maltese origin appeared to favour vocational qualifications, however, as they had the highest proportion with such qualifications.

Table 4.7. Per cent with qualifications: second generation aged 22-24 by parents' or father's birthplace*, 1996.

Parents or father only born	Males			Females		
in:	Diploma/Degree	Vocational	Total	Diploma/Degree	Vocational	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
New Zealand	21.0	23.2	44.2	30.6	8.9	39.5
UK	16.4	25.0	41.4	27.2	11.8	39.0
Ireland	15.7	29.0	44.7	29.8	12.9	42.7
Greece	22.7	21.3	44.0	41.7	12.7	54.4
Italy	20.0	28.2	48.2	33.8	14.7	48.5
Malta	10.8	38.0	48.8	25.5	12.6	38.1
Croatia	21.0	27.6	48.6	38.3	13.1	51.4
FYR Macedonia	21.9	18.0	39.9	31.6	15.2	46.8
Germany	19.7	28.7	48.4	31.8	10.2	42.0
Netherlands	17.6	28.7	46.3	29.7	12.6	42.3
Hungary	25.5	21.6	47.1	32.4	14.1	46.5
Poland	25.0	22.0	47.0	35.9	8.5	44.4
Lebanon	19.7	19.4	39.1	29.1	15.0	44.1
Turkey	17.8	14.8	32.6	20.6	9.7	30.3
Malaysia	40.0	12.2	52.2	53.7	5.5	59.2
China	41.9	10.0	51.9	57.4	5.1	62.5
India	29.7	13.1	42.8	39.5	11.0	50.5
Sri Lanka	28.1	16.2	44.3	39.3	9.3	48.6
South Africa	22.3	17.1	39.4	35.5	3.8	39.3
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	20.7	13.0	33.7	30.6	8.9	39.5

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.3
* Excluding qualifications not stated.

Table 4.8. Per cent with qualifications: second generation aged 22-24 by parents' EP Group*, 1996.

Parents' EP Group:	Males			Females		
	Diploma or degree	Vocational	Total with qualifications	Diploma or degree	Vocational	Total with qualifications
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both in EP Group 1	14.4	24.6	39.0	24.0	10.9	34.9
Both in EP Group 2	18.2	27.7	45.9	30.5	10.4	40.8
Both in EP Group 3	19.8	22.3	42.1	33.7	12.4	46.0
Both in EP Group 4	27.1	8.0	35.0	39.4	7.5	46.9
One in any EP 1 country**	17.1	23.0	40.0	26.8	10.8	37.5
One in EP 2,3,4 country**	19.3	23.5	42.8	29.3	10.7	40.0
Total 2nd generation	19.3	24.7	44.0	31.5	12.1	43.6
Australia (3rd generation)	16.4	26.5	42.9	27.9	11.2	39.1

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 8.4.
*Excluding qualifications not stated.
**Other parent from different country or different EP Group.

Table 4.8 shows the proportion of second generation with qualifications according to their parents' EP Group and compared with the third generation. Among males, the highest proportion with any post-school qualifications was the second generation of EP Group 2 origins. However, the highest proportion with degree or diploma qualifications was the group with parents from EP Group 4 countries. The proportion with vocational qualifications was relatively low among young men with parents from

EP Group 4 countries compared with their peers with parents from the other EP Groups.

Among young women, the highest proportion with post-school qualifications are those with parents from EP Group 4. Table 4.8 shows a clear relation between the proportion with degree or diploma qualifications and parents' EP Group, with those from higher EP Groups more likely to have such qualifications. There is also a similar relation between the proportion having any post-school qualifications and parents' EP Group.

The second generation was also more likely to have tertiary degree or diploma qualifications or any post-school qualifications than the third generation although a greater proportion of third generation men had vocational qualifications compared with second generation men.

It should be noted, however, that the EP Groups reflect the level of English proficiency among recent immigrants and not necessarily the parents of the second generation in this age group who would have lived in Australia for at least 15 years at the time of the 1996 Census. Nonetheless, it is an important finding that the second generation that comes from immigrant groups that are currently the least likely to be proficient in English is the most likely to be enrolled in education and to have degree or diploma qualifications. This suggests that second generation youth coming from immigrant communities that may not have very good English skills have nonetheless been fairly successful in remaining within the Australian education system through secondary school and tertiary study.

Labour force status

Young people in this age group are in transition from education to work. Table 4.9 shows their labour force participation rate between the ages of 15 and 24. Among males under age 21 who were second generation, the highest labour force participation rate was observed for those who were of British or Maltese origins while the lowest rate was observed for the second generation of Vietnamese origin. The low labour force participation rate of second generation males of Vietnamese origin was likely to be related to their higher participation in education at these ages. As shown in Table 4.5, the proportion enrolled in education among second generation male youth aged 18-19 who were of Vietnamese origin was nearly twice as high as the proportion among their counterparts of British or Maltese origins. Aside from the second generation of Vietnamese origin, other second generation youth that had low labour force participation rates in these ages were those with parents from other Asian countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong and China, with less than 50 per cent participation rates. In contrast, the second generation of English-speaking or Western European origins had participation rates of about 80 per cent or higher.

Among women under age 21, those of Asian origins, with parents from Vietnam. Malaysia, Hong Kong or China, had some of the lowest labour force participation rates, with less than 50 per cent in the work force at ages 18-19. However, their work force participation rate at these ages was not as low as the male participation rate. Women of Lebanese or Turkish background also had relatively low participation

rates. Among the second generation of European origins, those of Greek, Croatian or Polish origins had lower participation rates than others.

At ages 22-24, differences by origin were smaller as most young people at these ages were likely to have completed their education and moved into the work force. The labour force participation for men in this age group was about 80-90 per cent, except for those of Vietnamese or Hong Kong origin whose rate was less than 80 per cent. The participation rate for women was about 70-85 per cent, with the lowest rate of 70-71 per cent observed for women of Lebanese or Turkish origin.

The labour force participation rate of the second generation was compared by their parents' EP Group and with the third generation in Table 4.10. Among men aged 18-24, labour force participation was highest for the second generation whose parents are from EP Group 1 countries. Their participation rate was also similar to the participation rate for the third generation. Among women, those with parents from EP Group 1 countries had the highest participation rate at ages 18-21. At ages 22-24, the second generation with parents from EP Group 3 countries had the highest participation rate. Men and women with parents from EP Group 4 countries hade the lowest participation rate at all the ages shown in the table. Since Table 4.6 shows that they had the highest educational enrolment rate, their lower labour force participation rate was likely to be related to their greater participation in education at these ages.

The second generation men had lower labour force participation rates than third generation men at ages 18-24. Second generation women aged 18-19 also had a lower labour force participation rate than third generation women of the same age, but at ages 20-24 the second generation women had higher participation rates than third generation women.

Unemployment rates of second generation youth are shown in Table 4.11. The second generation of Turkish origin had the highest unemployment rate for the groups shown in the table. Their unemployment rate was more than twice as high as that for the second generation of Italian origin, for example. Other second generation youth with rather high unemployment rates were those of Lebanese, FYROM or 'Other Oceania' origin.

In contrast, the second generation with a father born in either Hong Kong or Sri Lanka had quite low unemployment rates. The unemployment rate was also relatively low for females aged 22-24 with a father born in the Philippines or Hungary, and males with a father born in Malaysia. For males and females in this age, the second generation of Maltese or South African origin also had rather low unemployment rates.

Table 4.12 shows unemployment rates for second generation according to the EP group of their parents and for the third generation. For both males and females in each age group, the second generation whose parents were from EP Group 2 countries had the lowest unemployment rates, whereas second generation of EP Group 4 parents had the highest. The higher unemployment rates for the second generation of EP Group 4 origins were most likely due to the high rate of the second generation of Turkish or Lebanese origin who were included in this category.

The second generation had unemployment rates that were similar or slightly higher than the rates for the third generation at these ages. Only the second generation of EP Group 2 origins had lower unemployment rates than the third generation. The second generation with parents from EP Groups 1 and 4 had higher rates than the third generation.

Table 4.9. Labour force participation rate of second generation aged 18-24 by parents' or father's birthplace, 1996.

Parents or father only born	Males			Females		
in:	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24
	%	%	%	%	%	%
New Zealand	77.4	84.9	91.6	73.0	76.6	79.2
Other Oceania	66.2	77.2	81.3	56.4	70.1	75.4
UK	79.0	86.9	90.8	74.7	80.0	78.4
Ireland	77.8	86.7	90.6	77.3	78.8	80.6
Greece	63.4	75.9	87.8	62.1	76.6	86.3
Italy	72.2	84.2	90.6	71.1	83.1	86.6
Malta	79.9	89.0	92.4	77.1	82.7	82.8
Croatia	67.8	77.9	88.4	66.5	79.9	85.4
FYR Macedonia	67.0	83.4	90.5	70.1	81.8	85.4
Germany	75.4	82.0	90.5	73.3	79.8	81.1
Netherlands	77.2	84.6	92.0	75.2	79.1	79.9
Hungary	70.1	81.2	88.2	70.9	76.6	77.9
Poland	66.4	76.7	81.4	67.1	66.3	78.1
Lebanon	59.9	72.8	84.6	56.7	67.2	71.0
Turkey	54.1	73.1	81.0	55.8	66.3	70.1
Malaysia	36.8	61.8	80.0	46.8	71.9	80.6
Philippines	50.6	84.7	90.2	60.1	79.9	85.3
Vietnam	19.5	53.9	77.8	42.3	75.0	*
China	46.6	59.5	81.0	47.5	69.0	83.0
Hong Kong	43.9	63.0	75.7	45.8	59.1	79.6
India	67.8	76.0	88.2	70.0	72.9	85.1
Sri Lanka	67.5	81.9	85.7	71.8	78.8	85.2
South Africa	73.7	77.6	92.8	66.7	75.4	80.8
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	64.7	86.6	90.5	68.2	83.7	83.6

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.1.
Note: Excluding labour force status not stated. Philippines includes those with mother only born in Philippines.
*Less than 10 people

Table 4.10. Labour force participation rate of second generation aged 18-24 by parents' EP Group compared with the third generation, 1996.

	Males			Females		
Parents' EP Group:	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24
Both in EP Group 1	80.0	87.9	91.5	75.9	80.3	78.6
Both in EP Group 2	65.8	81.6	90.0	67.8	78.2	83.2
Both in EP Group 3	63.9	78.2	88.3	62.8	77.5	85.0
Both in EP Group 4	44.7	68.0	79.9	47.3	63.4	72.5
One in any EP 1 country*	77.9	86.2	90.7	74.0	79.4	78.5
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	71.4	82.3	89.3	70.4	78.4	80.9
Total 2nd generation	72.2	83.0	89.7	70.2	78.6	80.9
Australia (3rd gen)	78.9	86.9	90.8	73.3	78.2	77.6

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 8.1.
Note: Excluding labour force status not stated.
* Other parent from different country or different EP Group.

Table 4.11. Unemployment rate of the second generation aged 18-24 by parents or father's birthplace, 1996.

Parents or father only born	Males			Females		
in:	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24
	%	%	%	%	%	%
New Zealand	20.9	20.3	14.6	16.8	14.5	11.1
Other Oceania	24.1	24.5	20.6	18.0	20.7	10.8
UK	22.2	18.9	15.7	19.7	14.7	11.0
Ireland	21.2	19.7	12.1	16.7	10.2	10.0
Greece	20.8	18.5	15.3	19.3	14.1	10.5
Italy	14.8	13.7	10.8	15.1	10.7	8.0
Malta	16.1	11.5	9.7	16.2	8.8	6.5
Croatia	20.0	17.3	14.8	17.5	11.1	10.3
FYR Macedonia	32.1	23.1	17.9	20.1	17.8	11.5
Germany	20.1	18.4	15.7	20.9	13.5	11.0
Netherlands	19.0	16.0	13.3	17.8	13.7	9.2
Hungary	29.5	19.5	16.0	21.0	8.3	10.1
Poland	28.4	18.8	13.7	20.9	12.2	8.5
Lebanon	31.8	23.0	20.2	27.0	16.9	13.7
Turkey	34.1	27.0	29.4	39.8	30.9	23.4
Malaysia	22.1	14.3	9.8	14.3	10.3	8.1
Philippines	20.2	16.7	12.5	20.5	5.9	0.0
China	25.7	12.5	10.7	15.1	11.4	7.0
Hong Kong	8.9	12.6	13.5	6.2	10.2	16.7
India	19.9	15.0	11.5	17.1	11.9	6.9
Sri Lanka	6.1	16.3	15.5	18.8	16.7	9.1
South Africa	20.9	7.2	18.0	13.9	16.7	5.1
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	19.1	11.4	13.4	21.9	9.8	10.5

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.1
Note: Excluding labour force status not stated. Philippines includes those with mother only born in Philippines.

Table 4.12. Unemployment rate of the second generation aged 18-24 by parents EP Group compared with the third generation, 1996.

	Males			Females		
Parents' EP Group:	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24	Aged 18-19	Aged 20-21	Aged 22-24
Both in EP Group 1	21.5	19.1	16.0	18.2	14.3	10.9
Both in EP Group 2	16.3	15.1	11.0	16.1	11.2	8.1
Both in EP Group 3	21.9	17.6	13.8	19.3	13.9	9.7
Both in EP Group 4	33.8	27.0	19.7	29.3	25.9	14.3
One in any EP 1 country*	22.6	18.6	15.4	19.9	15.2	11.1
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	20.4	17.3	14.6	18.3	14.1	10.2
Total 2nd generation	21.5	18.0	14.6	19.1	14.4	10.3
Australia (3rd gen)	20.6	17.3	14.6	19.1	14.1	10.1

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 8.1.
Excluding labour force status not stated.

Occupation

Occupational outcomes for the second generation aged 20-24 are shown in Table 4.13. There was greater variation by origin in the percentage employed in managerial or professional occupations than in the other occupational groups. Men and women of Chinese or Malaysian origin had the highest proportions in the managerial or professional group, with more than 25 per cent of the men and more than 30 per cent of the women in these occupations. In contrast, less than 12 per cent of men and less than 15 per cent of women of Maltese, FYROM, Lebanese or Turkish origin were in these occupations. Men of these origins were more likely to be in para-professional or trade occupations and also in the 'Other' occupational group which included the lower skilled occupations. About 40 per cent of employed women of all origins were in sales, services and clerical occupations and about 20 per cent are in the 'Other' occupational group. There was not a lot of difference by origin in these occupational groups.

Table 4.14 compares the occupational outcomes of the second generation by their parents' EP Group and with the third generation. The second generation with parents from EP Group 4 countries had a distinctly different occupational distribution from the second generation of other EP Group origins and from the third generation. They had the highest proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations, with 22 per cent of both men and women employed in such occupations. The men were much less likely than other second generation and the third generation men to be in para-professional or trades occupations and the women were less likely than other second generation or the third generation women to be in the 'Other' occupational groups. The occupational distribution of the second generation with parents from the EP Groups 1, 2 and 3 was rather similar to the third generation.

Overall, the occupational outcomes of the second generation aged 20-24 were not very different from the third generation of the same age. However, as shown earlier, there were some distinct differences by origin when examined by their parents' birthplace.

In the next section, the educational and employment outcomes of second generation youth are examined further by residential location and parents' socioeconomic status.

Table 4.13. Occupational distribution of second generation aged 20-24 by parents' or father's birthplace, 1996.

Parents or father only born in:	Managerial/ Professional	Para-prof./ Trades	Sales/Serv. Clerical	Other	Managerial/ Professional	Para-prof./ Trades	Sales/Serv./ Clerical	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
New Zealand	15.5	36.6	15.0	32.9	18.5	13.6	44.0	23.9
Other Oceania	12.9	31.0	16.9	39.2	19.7	12.8	45.6	21.9
UK	12.5	39.3	13.3	34.9	16.3	13.8	43.9	26.0
Ireland	11.1	38.5	16.6	33.8	17.2	14.4	47.3	21.2
Greece	13.3	39.8	13.0	33.9	17.1	13.6	42.1	27.3
Italy	13.9	43.8	12.9	29.4	16.6	14.3	43.6	25.5
Malta	9.7	45.5	10.2	34.7	14.1	14.8	45.6	25.6
Croatia	12.4	44.6	10.6	32.6	17.1	15.2	42.9	24.8
FYR Macedonia	9.5	34.8	13.5	42.2	13.2	12.9	46.3	27.6
Germany	13.5	43.1	13.6	29.9	17.5	14.3	43.2	24.9
Netherlands	14.0	44.2	10.3	31.6	18.9	14.7	41.0	25.4
Hungary	20.1	32.4	14.0	33.5	17.2	12.0	39.4	31.3
Poland	18.1	40.3	14.5	27.1	22.4	13.8	40.4	23.4
Lebanon	12.0	43.1	12.1	32.8	14.4	16.5	43.8	25.3
Turkey	11.0	33.9	5.1	50.0	12.1	11.6	47.3	29.1
Malaysia	25.4	24.8	19.2	30.6	32.5	8.4	39.7	19.4
China	25.8	31.8	21.3	21.1	30.2	12.7	38.5	18.6
India	18.8	32.2	20.0	29.0	22.6	10.6	42.3	24.8
Sri Lanka	13.6	20.0	26.1	40.3	24.1	6.5	46.2	23.2
South Africa	16.4	31.6	15.2	36.8	17.4	12.3	45.7	24.6
Other Sub-S. Africa	11.2	26.8	20.4	41.6	17.9	10.3	46.9	25.0

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.6. Excludes occupation not stated.

Table 4.14. Occupational distribution of second generation aged 20-24 by parents' EP Group and compared with the third generation, 1996.

	Males				Females			
Parents' EP Group:	Managerial/ Professional	Para-prof./ Trades	Sales/Serv. Clerical	Other	Managerial/ Professional	Para-prof./ Trades	Sales/Serv. Clerical	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both in EP Group 1	11.7	40.0	13.0	35.3	16.0	14.2	44.3	25.5
Both in EP Group 2	13.7	41.6	12.0	32.6	18.4	12.8	43.6	25.2
Both in EP Group 3	12.8	42.0	12.9	32.3	16.3	14.1	43.5	26.2
Both in EP Group 4	22.0	27.8	15.7	34.5	21.2	14.8	42.5	21.6
One in any EP 1 country*	13.3	38.8	13.7	34.3	16.8	13.8	44.2	25.3
One in EP 2,3,4 country*	14.9	39.3	13.5	32.2	18.3	14.0	42.4	25.3
Total 2nd generation	13.5	39.9	13.3	33.3	17.1	13.9	43.5	25.5
Australia (3rd gen.)	13.3	39.7	12.4	34.6	17.7	14.1	42.8	25.4

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 8.3. Excludes occupation not stated.

Residential location, parents' socioeconomic status and second generation socioeconomic outcomes

Although studies discussed earlier have indicated that some first and second generation youth, whose parents have migrated from countries where English is not widely spoken, have generally fared well in the education system, there are still residual concerns that recently arrived migrant children may be at a disadvantage in pursuing their educational aspirations. Such concerns have been most clearly manifested in accounts of the problems that recently arrived migrants face in low socioeconomic suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne. These suburbs are identified in public discussion of these issues with Sydney's south-western suburbs and in the case of Melbourne with several groups of suburbs to the city's west, north and south-east. In the case of Melbourne, recent work has suggested that the public school system in the western suburbs is not capable of providing the educational resources needed to compete with other schools, particularly those in the private system, and academic results have tended to be poor (Teese 2000).

Such concerns are also reflected in the Commonwealth Government's higher education equity category system. This system has been designed to contribute to a university student population more reflective of the overall student age population base. To this end various 'equity' categories have been created, including persons of rural origin, persons of Aboriginal origin and persons of recent migrant background who come from families where a language other than English is spoken at home. Recently arrived migrants were thought to be the most likely to suffer from disadvantages associated with their cultural and language background (Martin 1994).

Subsequent empirical investigation has not supported this assumption. By the mid-1990s, recently arrived migrants of university student age were (as a group) significantly over-represented in Australian universities (Dobson et al. 1996). Part of the explanation was that for several of the birthplace groups, including those from Malaysia and China, the parents tended to be of professional and managerial background, thus well placed to overcome any cultural or linguistic disadvantages. However young people of Vietnamese language background, whose families tended to be concentrated in the low socioeconomic status ethnic communities, were also over represented amongst the university student population.

The divergence between these findings about university participation rates and the evidence provided by Teese and others concerning educational disadvantage in metropolitan suburbs with high concentrations of low socioeconomic status migrant communities has not been resolved. This study of second generation youth was structured to provide some answers. In order to explore more closely the educational and employment outcomes of the low status suburban communities in question, a spatial dimension has been added. This identified high, middle and low socioeconomic status suburbs in Sydney and Melbourne. The main criterion was adult income levels. In the case of low socioeconomic status suburbs they coincided with areas marked by high concentrations of relatively poor migrant communities, including areas which are now the major settlement points for recently arrived low income migrants many of whom also have low English proficiency.

Table 4.15 shows the distribution of 18-19 year olds living in Sydney and Melbourne in 1996 according to the suburban classification discussed above. As anticipated it indicated that a higher proportion of first generation 18-19 year olds lived in the third tier of suburbs than their second and third generation counterparts. Conversely, third generation youth were less likely to be living in the low status suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne. The first generation youths were predominantly from low-income migrant groups such as those born in Lebanon or Vietnam.

Table 4.15. Distribution of 18-19 year olds by socioeconomic status of suburbs in Sydney and Melbourne by generation, 1996.

Generation	Sydney				Melbourne			
	High	Middle	Low	Total	High	Middle	Low	Total
	%	%	%	number	%	%	%	number
First	21.9	41.7	36.3	20,085	23.5	49.0	27.4	14,999
Second	21.6	47.2	31.2	31,836	16.9	60.4	22.7	30.702
Third	27.0	58.3	14.7	41,223	20.6	67.1	12.2	36,057

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.2.

Attachment to education

The evidence from previous studies is that the tertiary education achievements of young persons of migrant origin and their conversion of these credentials into professional and managerial occupational status is grounded on high secondary school completion levels and a subsequent high propensity to pursue post-school studies. No data were available for this project which permitted the calculation of secondary school completion rates. Instead, in order to assess the extent of commitment to the education system in the 1990s, the indicator used was the proportion of 18-19 year olds who were studying (or not studying). Those groups with a high proportion not studying (whether in school, university or TAFE) in this age group clearly show the least attachment to the education system. Young people who have opted out of study at age 18-19 are at serious risk of consigning themselves to a low skilled employment future. Given this prospect it is disturbing to note that 52 per cent of all 18-19 year old Australian males and 48 per cent of all females were not studying in 1996.

Table 4.16 shows the distribution of 18-19 year olds according to the 'not studying' indicator for first, second and third or more generation Australians. The findings are consistent with past studies. Late teenage second generation Australians showed significantly greater attachment to education than third generation Australians. The figures for first generation Australians are especially striking. They show a very high attachment to education. Unfortunately, the results for this group may be misleading because they include overseas students here on student visas. They therefore inflate all measures for educational participation rates relating to overseas born persons.

This problem is not present in the case of birthplace origin groups where there are very few overseas students, such as those born in Vietnam, Lebanon or Turkey. For these three birthplace groups, the proportion not studying amongst males was lower than for third and second generation male Australians aged 18-19. This is a significant outcome.

Table 4.16. Proportion of 18-19 year olds who were not studying by socioeconomic status of suburbs in Sydney and Melbourne and the rest of Australia, 1996.

Sex, generation and origin	Sydney Upper	Sydney Middle	Sydney Low	Melbourne Upper	Melbourne Middle	Melbourne Low	Rest of Australia	Total Number	%
Males	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
First generation	18.2	30.4	31.0	12.2	24.3	31.8	40.6	32412	32.2
Second generation	34.2	49.9	43.9	25.8	43.5	47.4	56.1	63456	49.2
Third generation	36.7	54.6	57.1	26.7	48.7	57.3	63.4	127616	58.7
Females									
First generation	16.0	29.1	29.0	11.0	23.9	25.7	40	31642	29.5
Second generation	32.6	45.0	40.8	23.6	37.8	40.1	52.3	62135	45.3
Third generation	35.8	53.9	57.9	24.3	41.8	52.2	57.9	125012	53.9
Males: first generation									
Vietnam	16.7	18.5	21.8	4.0	17.2	21.2	20.8	3042	20.2
Turkey	*	18.2	36.0	*	*	36.7	40.9	239	32.2
Lebanon	*	36.7	41.5	*	52.0	54.7	35.1	497	40.4
Females: first generation									
Vietnam	16.7	12.7	16.1	4.6	13.7	25.7	16.2	2936	15.3
Turkey	*	25.0	52.4	*	51.4	31.0	65.1	220	45.9
Lebanon	57.1	41.0	51.4	*	50.0	56.5	54.6	556	50.3

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.2

The attachment to studying within these birthplace groups runs against the strong relationship evident from Table 4.16, which is that late teenagers living in the high socioeconomic suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney are more likely to be studying than their counterparts living in the middle and especially the low socioeconomic suburbs. Since a relatively high proportion of Vietnamese, Lebanese and Turkish-born 18-19 year olds live in low status Sydney and Melbourne suburbs it might be expected that high proportions of 18-19 year olds born in these places would not be studying. That the reverse is the case is a further indication of their attachment to education.

This generalisation also applies to young women aged 18-19. However it is notable that women from Turkey and Lebanon were exceptional in that they show lower participation in education than do men from the same birthplaces. For almost all other birthplace groups, including third generation Australians, women in this age group were much more likely to be studying than their male counterparts.

An examination of the commitment to education (as indicated by 'not studying rates) by father's occupation confirms these findings for the second generation. The analysis was limited to second generation young people because many of the first generation 18-19 year olds in Australia at the time were overseas full fee students. Table 4.17 compares 'not studying' rates by occupation of father (or mother in the case of most young people living in sole parent households) for second and third generation Australians where the young people were living at home. The table shows that for each occupational group of the father or sole mother, third generation Australians aged 18-19 were more likely to be not studying than their second generation Australian counterparts. It is notable that the difference in 'not studying' rates are particularly high for the 'other occupations' category. These include all low skilled occupations. This finding is consistent with earlier work showing the strong

commitment to education for their children on the part of the migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, many of whom came from rural backgrounds and thus had little choice but to enter low skilled operative or labouring jobs (Birrell and Khoo 1995).

Table 4.17: Proportion of 18-19 year olds not studying by generation and father's occupation*, 1996.

Father's or sole mother's occupation	Males		Females	
	2nd gen.	3rd gen.	2nd gen.	3rd gen.
	%	%	%	%
Managerial/professional	33.1	40.0	28.2	31.9
Para-professipnal/Trades	44.5	54.7	41.6	50.7
Sales/Service/Clerical	46.7	54.1	43.8	48.5
Other occupations	53.7	70.5	47.7	65.1

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.2
*Does not include 18-19 year olds not living at home.

Participation in higher education

Previous studies have shown that young people of migrant origin have been relatively successful in bridging the gap between secondary education and higher education. However, it cannot be taken for granted that this achievement will be sustained. Entry into university is competitive and demands reasonable results at year 12 level. Given the findings in Teese's (2000) study concerning the poor academic performance of students attending secondary schools in low socioeconomic suburbs (which feature high concentrations of first generation migrants), it might be expected that this would diminish the prospects of first generation migrant students attending such schools. There is also concern about the capacity of students from low socioeconomic locations to afford the costs of higher education. Studies of the social composition of university students have repeatedly shown that students with parents from managerial and professional backgrounds are heavily over-represented amongst the student population (Birrell et al. 2000). This outcome partly reflects the financial capacity of parents from such backgrounds to afford to send their children to private schools and to support their children while they are studying at university. It also reflects the 'cultural capital' they contribute to their children's performance in school and career aspirations.

The indicator chosen to assess the extent to which the various groups enter higher education is the proportion of 20-21 year olds who are studying either part-time or full-time at university (Table 4.18). The aggregate results showed that a far higher proportion of the first generation is attending university than is the case for second generation Australians (although as indicated earlier the first generation includes overseas students). In turn, the latter showed higher enrolment rates than do third generation Australians. There is a similar pattern for TAFE enrolment.

Table 4.19 shows the proportions studying by socioeconomic status of suburb for selected birthplace groups. In the case of second generation 20-21 year olds, the pattern follows that shown in earlier studies. The proportion of the second generation of Greek or Italian origin who were studying at university is considerably higher than that of young people whose parents were from the UK or who were at least third

generation Australians. It was notable that this relationship did not hold for third generation Australians who lived in high socioeconomic status suburbs. It was in the middle and low socioeconomic status suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney that the second generation of Greek, Italian or Lebanese background outperformed their UK or third generation Australian male counterparts. The implication is that these second generation groups show a greater capacity to overcome class disadvantage than is the case for other second and third generation Australian males.

Table 4.18. Proportion of 20-21 year olds attending university or TAFE (full-time or part-time) by sex, socioeconomic status of suburb and generation, 1996.

Type of institution,	Sydney			Melbourne			Rest of	Total
sex and generation	Upper	Middle	Low	Upper	Middle	Low	Australia	
University	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males								
1st generation	50.5	37.1	26.2	62.0	43.0	29.4	34.5	37.3
2nd generation	31.5	17.8	16.0	41.2	22.2	17.7	18.2	20.3
3rd generation	28.5	13.8	12.2	41.7	21.9	15.6	14.1	16.4
Females								
1st generation	52.5	38.3	24.8	63.1	44.3	28.8	38.1	39.1
2nd generation	36.9	23.7	23.5	50.0	30.9	27.5	22.7	26.4
3rd generation	35.8	20.2	20.1	48.1	30.3	24.3	19.1	22.2
TAFE								
Males								
1st generation	14.8	16.7	19.7	19.5	15.0	17.4	11.9	14.9
2nd generation	18.2	19.3	22.8	15.2	16.7	15.2	11.4	14.8
3rd generation	18.3	17.1	17.1	12.3	14.6	11.3	9.9	11.7
Females								
1st generation	13.3	14.0	15.7	14.9	12.0	13.7	10.2	12.3
2nd generation	11.7	11.2	12.5	9.4	10.8	11.7	8.7	14.9
3rd generation	9.3	9.3	7.4	8.7	9.0	8.4	7.7	8.1

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.2.

This implication is confirmed in Table 4.20, which shows university participation rates for those still living at home by fathers' birthplace and occupation (or mother in the case of most sole parent households). Second generation Australians who were 20-21 years old were more likely to be studying than were third generation Australians for each parental occupational group. As with the 'not studying' findings above, the gap between second and third generation enrolment rates was widest for the 'other occupation' group. This was particularly evident for those of Greek or Italian origin. On the other hand, second generation 20-21 year olds from UK and German backgrounds showed similar university participation rates by father's occupation as their third generation Australian counterparts.

Table 4.19. Proportion of 20-21 year olds studying at university, by sex and selected birthplaces by socioeconomic status of suburbs, Sydney and Melbourne, 1996.

Sex, generation and origin	Sydney			Melbourne			Rest of	Total	
	Upper	Middle	Low	Upper	Middle	Low	Australia		
MALES	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Persons	%
First generation									
United Kingdom	30.6	13.8	7.0	41.0	19.0	18.2	19.4	4908.0	19.8
Lebanon	22.2	19.1	14.7	*	10.3	14.4	22.7	834.0	16.4
Malaysia	92.7	91.9	64.3	86.6	88.5	88.5	85.2	2392.0	86.8
Vietnam	50.0	55.8	34.2	79.7	45.6	40.9	41.2	3156.0	41.0
China	68.9	60.8	44.0	66.7	66.8	43.2	64.8	1821.0	60.7
India	69.4	53.1	41.4	57.2	53.1	31.4	52.7	936.0	51.9
Second generation									
United Kingdom	24.7	11.7	11.5	38.3	20.0	12.2	19.4	14658.0	17.2
Greece	22.7	20.7	19.1	34.4	26.1	25.1	30.4	4114.0	23.8
Italy	19.1	13.3	13.5	28.6	21.6	16.1	16.9	7536.0	18.0
Germany	24.5	20.2	11.6	48.3	20.1	18.0	22.7	2474.0	20.8
Lebanon	23.7	20.6	16.6	39.0	27.1	17.5	22.7	2029.0	20.6
Third generation	28.5	13.8	12.4	41.7	21.9	15.6	14.1	129107.0	16.4
FEMALES									
First generation									
United Kingdom	35.6	18.9	6.3	46.6	27.7	24.6	23.1	4813.0	24.3
Lebanon	*	16.4	12.0	*	19.7	6.8	30.6	988.0	13.6
Malaysia	81.1	92.2	70.6	89.4	89.4	88.9	87.6	2461.0	87.9
Vietnam	55.5	49.4	32.4	60.0	45.4	38.0	39.8	3286.0	39.0
China	76.9	59.9	45.7	73.8	65.6	48.5	69.3	1815.0	64.3
India	43.7	52.2	39.1	40.5	46.8	39.7	40.2	659.0	43.1
Second generation									
United Kingdom	36.5	20.0	18.6	46.9	26.7	19.8	20.4	14988.0	22.7
Greece	41.3	33.5	31.3	46.5	38.0	36.0	27.5	3947.0	34.8
Italy	23.3	22.2	21.5	47.2	29.9	28.3	21.6	7244.0	25.5
Germany	24.4	21.9	19.8	46.3	31.7	44.3	24.8	2450.0	26.9
Lebanon	27.7	19.6	18.4	45.4	27.3	17.9	23.5	1847.0	20.6
Third generation	35.6	20.2	20.1	48.1	30.3	24.3	19.1	129370.0	22.2

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Tables 5.2.

It is important to note that there were huge disparities in the class location of parents in the first generation category. The low socioeconomic status of young people born in South-East Asia and the Middle-East has been noted. But students born in Malaya, Hong Kong, India, South Africa, amongst others, generally have parents who hold managerial or professional occupations. These parents tend to place a high value on their children's education and can afford to finance their training – thus the record of high tertiary education enrolment. The 1996 Census data confirm this pattern. The vast majority of young people from Malaysian, Hong Kong and related backgrounds were studying at university, although these results were likely to be exaggerated by the presence of overseas students from these birthplaces.

Table 4.20. Proportion of second and third generation Australians aged 20-21 attending university by father's or sole parent's occupation and selected birthplaces*, 1996.

	Managerial/ professional	Para-prof./ Trades	Sales/Services/ Clerical	Other occupations
Males, Second generation	%	%	%	%
United Kingdom	30.9	14.9	16.9	8.6
Greece	34.2	27.2	25.9	22.5
Italy	25.9	18.2	21.2	18.2
Germany	39.6	19.8	14.6	7.8
Lebanon	41.6	29.1	15.8	26.5
Total Second generation	36.5	19.7	19.4	14.3
Total Third generation	30.8	12.9	15.8	6.7
Females, Second generation				
United Kingdom	39.8	19.2	22.0	11.9
Greece	40.9	38.4	33.0	38.1
Italy	36.4	25.4	29.3	21.3
Germany	42.1	27.1	19.3	19.2
Lebanon	41.4	24.8	7.1	22.1
Total Second generation	44.6	25.1	27.2	20.3
Total Third generation	40.1	18.5	22.5	11.1

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.2.
*Does not include 20-21 year olds who do not live at home.

The attendance rates for these birthplace groups were mainly responsible for the overall high university participation rates for first generation migrants. But some of the lower socioeconomic status groups, particularly the Vietnamese, also show high university participation rates. Some 41 per cent of Vietnamese-born males aged 20-21 were studying at university in 1996 (more than double the percentage of third generation Australians). This was despite the fact that most Vietnamese-born students lived in suburbs classified as lower status and would have attended the allegedly low academic achievement state schools located in Melbourne's western suburbs or in Sydney's low socioeconomic status south-western suburbs. To the extent that there were casualties deriving from these schools as regards university participation it appeared to be mainly amongst the third generation and other second generation Australian males who lived in these suburbs. The rates of university attendance amongst third generation males living in areas of low socioeconomic status in Sydney and Melbourne were the lowest of all the birthplace groups listed.

A similar pattern was observed among young women. The main difference was that for almost all the birthplace groups examined women showed a higher propensity to be studying at university than do men. In the case of the second generation there was no evidence of young women being held back in favour of men of the same background. Whatever the socioeconomic category of the suburb, whether in Sydney or Melbourne, the participation rates of second generation women of Greek or Italian origin, for example, greatly exceeded those of their brothers. It might be expected that cultural norms favouring male education would be stronger amongst first generation young people. This did not seem to be the case for the total first generation population aged 20-21. However, young men born in Vietnam or Lebanon had slightly higher university participation rates than young women born in these countries (Table 4.19).

The conversion of participation into qualifications

It is one thing to make it to university or TAFE and another to complete the relevant qualification. By age 22-24 most young people would have finished a first degree or a TAFE qualification. The record of achievement by generation and birthplace is shown in Table 4.21.

As indicated earlier, men and women of the second generation showed a higher achievement level (for university qualifications) than was the case for third generation Australians. The results for the first generation were different. As would be expected from the above analysis, this group showed the highest proportion with university qualifications. However, their achievement was less than anticipated given the high university participation rates cited. One reason for this was that many of the overseas students who had obtained their degrees would have left Australia after completion. Thus Table 4.21 probably gives a more realistic picture of the achievement of resident first generation Australians than the earlier tables.

The figures for young people born in Vietnam or Lebanon were puzzling. They show that the proportion of 22-24 year old males and females from these countries who held associate diploma or above qualifications was lower than for at least third generation Australians. The same pattern was evident for vocational qualifications, despite the higher enrolment levels evident for TAFE shown in Table 4.18 for 20-21 year-olds. This outcome cannot be due to the loss of overseas students, since as noted there were few such Vietnamese or Lebanese students in Australia. The implication is that there might be a high drop out or failure rate amongst the students in question or that some might be in non-award training.

An alternative explanation might be that students from this background continued at university and TAFE level to ages 22-24 (and perhaps older age groups – though no data were collected for such people in this project) at a higher rate than other birthplace groups. This hypothesis was supported by evidence that these birthplace groups reported relatively high education participation rates at ages 22-24. In the case of Vietnamese-born males aged 22-24, 27 per cent were studying at university level, compared with 9 per cent for third generation male Australians. For Vietnamese-born women aged 22-24, 20 per cent were studying at university level, compared with 10 per cent of third generation female Australians.

Table 4.22 compares second and third generations aged 22-24 with post-school qualifications by socioeconomic status of their suburbs in Sydney and Melbourne. It was only in the upper status suburbs that the percentage with university qualifications was higher among the third generation than the second generation. In the middle and low status suburbs, a larger proportion of the second generation than the third generation had university qualifications. This is true of both males and females. It was also significant that the gap between the second and third generations was greatest in the lower socioeconomic status suburbs. This suggests that the second generation from these suburbs have been more able to overcome any disadvantage associated with the public school system and to pursue university education than the third generation. Second generation females in the low status suburbs were more likely to have vocational qualifications than their third generation counterparts, although this was not the case among males.

Table 4.21. Highest level of qualification of 22-24 year old males and females by generation and origin, 1996.

	Associate Diploma or Degree	Vocational qualification	No post school qualification	Still in school	Total persons
MALES					
First generation	23.1	13.5	62.6	0.8	55,477
Second generation	19.3	24.7	55.9	0.2	98,492
Third generation	16.4	26.5	57.1	0.1	197,776
FEMALES					
First generation	31.0	8.5	59.8	0.8	57,691
Second generation	31.4	12.0	56.4	0.1	96,094
Third generation	27.9	11.3	60.7	*	198,017
MALES FIRST GENERATION					
United Kingdom	21.6	22.7	55.3	0.1	9,088
Lebanon	13.3	14.3	72.0	0.4	1,394
Malaysia	37.8	4.9	57.2	0.1	2,693
China	26.7	4.8	66.8	1.7	2,933
Vietnam	15.4	4.3	77.5	2.8	4,409
Hong Kong	30.1	3.9	65.5	0.5	1,160
FEMALES FIRST GENERATION					
United Kingdom	31.4	12.5	55.9	0.1	9,011
Lebanon	13.1	5.9	79.8	1.1	1,573
Malaysia	45.5	3.2	51.1	0.2	2,501
China	38.4	5.5	54.3	1.8	3,089
Vietnam	20.2	3.4	73.4	3.0	5,121
Hong Kong	41.2	3.7	55.1	*	945
MALES SECOND GENERATION					
United Kingdom	16.4	25.0	58.4	0.1	22,495
Greece	22.7	21.3	55.9	0.1	7,229
Italy	20.0	28.2	51.6	0.2	12,824
Germany	19.7	28.7	51.5	0.1	3,749
Lebanon	19.7	19.4	60.7	0.1	2,170
FEMALES SECOND GENERATION					
United Kingdom	27.2	11.8	60.9	0.1	22,485
Greece	41.7	12.7	45.5	0.2	6,499
Italy	33.8	14.7	51.5	*	11,997
Germany	31.8	10.2	58.0	*	3,681
Lebanon	29.0	15.0	55.9	*	1,952

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.3.

Table 4.22. Percentage with post-school qualifications: second and third generation aged 22-24 years by residential location, 1996.

Qualification,	Sydney			Melbourne			Rest of	Total
sex and generation	Upper	Middle	Low	Upper	Middle	Low	Australia	
Diploma or degree	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males								
2nd generation	29.9	20.6	20.0	32.1	19.8	17.9	16.3	19.3
3rd generation	30.7	18.1	14.6	34.3	19.6	14.9	13.8	16.4
Females								
2nd generation	47.0	35.7	35.6	49.7	33.9	32.3	26.1	31.8
3rd generation	49.5	31.3	29.0	49.2	32.9	24.1	24.0	27.9
Vocational qualification								
Males								
2nd generation	23.7	28.4	28.5	16.4	24.8	22.9	25.4	25.3
3rd generation	24.1	28.9	30.3	15.0	26.3	23.7	26.8	26.5
Females								
2nd generation	12.4	13.5	15.5	8.1	10.0	10.7	13.0	12.3
3rd generation	12.1	12.3	11.0	7.4	9.8	8.2	11.5	11.2

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.3.

Employment levels

Given that significant proportions of the young people under study were still participating in the education system up to the age of 24 it was not possible to assess how effectively they had been able to convert their educational achievements into employment positions. This requires data on older persons or some form of longitudinal study that follows particular cohorts into their working ages, as in the analysis of two second generation cohorts in Chapter 6.

Data on employment levels for those who had entered the workforce were available and Table 4.23 shows the outcome for persons aged 20-21. This cohort was chosen for detailed analysis because by this age most young persons had entered the labour market. Less than 20 per cent of at least third generation and second generation Australian males in this age group were not in the labour force in 1996 (with most of these enrolled in higher education) and around 22 per cent of females. The percentage of first generation migrants in this age group not in the labour force was far higher, again partly reflecting the presence of overseas students. Because of this high participation rate in education only a minority of most birthplace groups were actually in the workforce at age 20-21. This minority of the first generation was likely to be Australian residents rather than overseas students. If there was a significant group of first generation migrants who were being left behind in terms of school and employment achievement, as some commentators feel, it was likely to be among this group.

Also shown is the unemployment rate of those in the workforce. Youth unemployment was alarmingly high, especially for males and particularly for first generation migrants. Table 4.23 shows that 25 per cent of first generation males aged 20-21 were unemployed in 1996 compared with 18 per cent of second generation

Australians and 17 per cent of third generation Australians. The gap between first generation females and other 20-21 year old females was even greater. These findings run counter to the success story for the first generation portrayed above. Unemployment levels were particularly high for 20-21 year-old males and females born in Malaysia or China as well as those born in Vietnam or Lebanon.

This information indicates that there is a sharp polarisation of outcomes within some of the first generation birthplace groups. The majority did quite well compared with third or more generation Australians, as indicated by the high proportion of Vietnamese-born and other Asian-born 20-21 year olds who were not in the workforce. As shown above, most of these young people were involved in post-school study. However, of the half or less who were in the workforce, the unemployment record was worse than that for third generation Australians.

It is likely that one of the reasons for this outcome is that a high proportion of the first generation in question lived in low socioeconomic suburbs. As shown in Table 4.24, unemployment levels were particularly acute for young Vietnamese, Chinese and Lebanese-born residents in the low socioeconomic suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne. Part of the problem is that residents of these suburbs have had to cope with the restructuring of local manufacturing industries. This has limited the availability of entry level jobs for young people without post-school credentials.

Table 4.23. Labour force status of persons aged 20-21 by generation and selected birthplace origins, 1996.

Generation and origin	Percent in workforce who are unemployed		Per cent not in work force		Number of persons	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	%	%	%	%		
First generation	24.6	23.3	41.5	46.9	35,518	36,805
Second generation	18.1	14.3	17.0	21.5	63,175	61,057
Third generation	17.3	14.1	13.1	21.8	125,266	122,692
SELECTED ORIGINS						
FIRST GENERATION						
Vietnam	36.9	38.3	53.3	55.7	3,292	3,375
Malaysia	30.8	25.8	77.3	75.2	2,459	2,480
United Kingdom	17.2	15.3	14.1	19.6	4,756	4,763
New Zealand	21.8	18.6	12.4	22.8	2,961	3,351
China	26.0	24.9	70.9	71.6	1,737	1,790
Lebanon	32.3	36.5	24.4	54.5	806	970
Hong Kong	25.7	20.8	77.3	77.4	1,232	1,041
SECOND GENERATION						
United Kingdom	18.6	14.7	13.1	20.0	14,356	14,658
Greece	19.1	14.5	23.1	23.3	3,954	3,858
Italy	13.6	10.5	15.9	16.6	7,436	7,000
Germany	17.1	13.9	17.7	21.0	2,429	2,382
Lebanon	23.4	17.5	28.4	31.6	1,860	1,792

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.4

Table 4.24. Unemployment rates of males and females aged 20-21 by generation and selected birthplace groups, and socioeconomic status of suburbs in Sydney and Melbourne, 1996.

Sex and generation	Sydney			Melbourne			Rest of	Total
	Upper	Middle	Low	Upper	Middle	Low	Australia	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males								
First generation	12.7	21.9	27.0	25.8	26.5	37.2	23.7	24.5
Second generation	6.7	12.8	13.7	15.7	16.5	20.3	21.1	17.5
Third generation	6.9	13.7	12.6	12.3	14.8	20.4	19.7	17.3
Females								
First generation	11.1	18.2	28.9	21.9	27.6	37.0	22.0	23.1
Second generation	6.2	9.2	9.3	14.3	12.8	18.0	15.7	13.5
Third generation	4.7	9.9	10.3	7.3	12.2	14.3	16.2	14
First generation: selected birthplace groups								
Males								
Vietnam	28.6	19.6	35.3	16.2	46.1	44.9	33.3	36.9
China	19.6	30.7	24.8	36.1	22.2	45.4	22.2	26.1
Lebanon	20.0	34.1	30.6	*	43.4	38.6	38.9	32.3
Females								
Vietnam	12.5	19.5	39.0	35.7	38.9	46.6	34.9	38.3
China	18.4	21.4	35.4	26.1	26.3	45.5	15.7	25.0
Lebanon	16.7	40.9	31.1	*	62.3	44.2	25.6	36.5

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.1

Unemployment rates of the second generation aged 20-21 living in low socioeconomic status suburbs were much lower than those of the first generation and were more similar to or only slightly higher than those of the third generation. The main difference was between the high and low status suburbs, with both second and third or more generation young people living in the high status suburbs having much lower unemployment rates than those living in the middle or low status suburbs.

It was possible to explore the implications of family background for the employment situation of young second generation Australians. Information on their father's occupation and their parents' employment status was available through the census records for young people who were still living with their families. The tables below are limited to 18-19 year olds because after this age the majority of young people do not live at home, thus limiting the value of any generalisations about family background drawn from this data set for employment outcomes.

Table 4.25 shows the proportion of 18-19 year olds who were in the workforce in 1996 and the unemployment rate of those in the work force by father's occupation (or mother's occupation in the case of most sole parent households). As would be expected from the findings cited above, second generation young people in this age group showed lower workforce participation rates than their third generation counterparts. This was largely due to their higher level of involvement in school or post-school studies. This was particularly evident for the 'Other occupation' group which included machine operators and labourers. However the unemployment rates for second generation Australians point marginally in the other direction. Second generation Australians who were in the workforce showed slightly higher unemployment rates for each occupational category of father than third generation Australians, especially for males.

Table 4.25. Proportion of 18-19 year olds in the workforce and unemployed by father's occupation for second and third generation Australians*, 1996.

	Father's or sole mother' occupation							
	Managerial/Professional		Para-Professional/Trades		Sales/Services/Clerical		Other occupation	
	In work-force	Un-employed	In work-force	Un-employed	In work-force	Un-employed	In work-force	Un-employed
MALES	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Second generation	71.4	14.2	75.1	13.1	74.8	17.0	75.3	18.5
Third generation	76.3	11.7	82.2	12.7	80.0	15.9	84.2	17.3
FEMALES								
Second generation	71.4	10.5	73.8	11.6	76.1	12.2	72.5	15.4
Third generation	76.1	9.7	79.5	11.2	79.7	12.2	77.5	15.2

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.6.
*Does not include 18-19 year olds who do not live at home.

Table 4.26. Proportion of 18-19 year olds in the workforce and their unemployment rate by employment status of parents or sole parent: second and third generation Australians*

	Parents' employmetn status							
	Both/sole parent employed full time		Both/Sole parent employed part-time or one part time		One employed, other not employed		Both/Sole parent not employed	
	In work-force	Un-employed	In work-force	Un-employed	In work-force	Un-employed	In work-force	Un-employed
MALES								
Second generation	75.2	14.5	74.8	14.7	68.3	18.8	63.2	36.3
Third generation	81.5	13.5	81.2	13.3	77.3	17.6	68.7	44.2
FEMALES								
Second generation	75.6	11.0	76.2	9.8	64.2	19.3	53.0	33.7
Third generation	81.7	9.8	81.7	9.6	66.8	19.9	46.4	45.4

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 5.6
*Does not include 18-19 year olds who do not live at home.

The pattern just described is repeated when the analysis is based on parents' employment status (see Table 4.26). Second generation Australians showed lower workforce participation rates than third generation Australians regardless of parent's employment status, again, largely because of involvement in study. However, this latter factor is probably not the reason for the low workforce participation rates for 18-19 year old second and third generation Australians living in households where only one parent or neither parent was employed. In this case, it was likely that the reason was not due to high studying rates. Some of the young people in question had probably withdrawn from the labour market, perhaps because of longstanding difficulties finding work and were neither looking for work or studying. There was a disturbingly high combination of low workforce participation rates and high unemployment levels for those in the workforce amongst 18-19 year old second generation households who lived in households where neither parent was employed. This combination iwa particularly striking amongst third generation Australians. The number of such households (not shown in the table) was substantial. About 20 per cent of second generation 18-19 year olds living with parents and 14 per cent of the third generation were living in households where neither parent was employed in 1996.

Conclusion

These findings generally support previous research that shows that second generation youth are more likely to be enrolled in education than their peers who are at least of the third generation. Educational enrolment rates were particularly high among the young second generation whose parents were from countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, China or Vietnam. Aside from the second generation of Asian origins, second generation youth of parents born in Greece, Hungary or Poland also had higher educational enrolment rates than other second generation young people. These groups also have a higher proportion with university degrees than other second generation groups and the third generation.

Because the second generation had a higher participation rate in education, their labour force participation was lower than that of the third generation. However, among those who were in work force in their late teens and early twenties, unemployment rates tended to be relatively high, particularly among those of Lebanese or Turkish origin. Another more disturbing pattern was the lower work force participation rate and higher unemployment rate among 18-19 year old second generation who were living in households where neither parent was employed. Although they were in the minority, it is a reminder that not all second generation youth were doing well.

However, the prospects for intergenerational mobility for many second generation youth of lower socioeconomic background are good based on the findings that those coming from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are generally doing well – and better than the third generation – in terms of remaining in the education system and getting post-school qualifications. It is particularly significant that many second generation youth living in the low income suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne – more so than the third generation – are staying in school and continuing to university or TAFE to obtain post-school qualifications. This is likely to lead to better employment outcomes for them in the future.

5. SOCIOECONOMIC OUTCOMES OF OLDER SECOND GENERATION

The second generation that is the focus of this chapter has been studied previously using data from earlier censuses. They are the children of the immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s and as noted in Chapter 1, those who are of Southern or Eastern European origins have achieved educational qualifications and occupational outcomes that have exceeded that of their parents. As for the second generation youth examined in the previous chapter, this older group has stayed in school longer, more of them have obtained tertiary qualifications and a greater proportion are in professional occupations than their peers of English-speaking or Western European origins (Birrell and Khoo 1995).

This chapter follows on from previous studies to examine the socioeconomic situation of these second generation Australians aged 25-44 years in 1996. They are in their prime working ages. Most would also have left their parental homes and set up their own households. This chapter examines their qualifications, labour market outcomes and housing situation.

The second generation aged 25-34 and 35-44 are examined separately. The analysis of outcomes for the 25-34 age group focuses on the second generation with parents born in 15 countries. The countries include 11 from Europe, 1 from Middle East, 3 from Asia, and New Zealand. For the analysis of outcomes for the 35-44 age group, only 2 of the 3 Asian origin groups are included; the second generation of parents born in Malaysia is excluded because of small numbers.

Educational attainment and qualifications

The second generation aged 25-44 in 1996 was more qualified than the third generation and comparable to the first generation of the same age (Figure 5.1). Men of the second generation had a higher proportion with university qualifications but a slightly lower proportion with vocational qualifications than men of the third generation. Among women, both the proportions with university qualifications and vocational qualifications were higher for the second generation than the third generation.

The second generation was more qualified than the first generation of most origins except those from UK, Ireland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Malaysia and India. These places were sources of skilled migration to Australia during the 1980s and 1990s and this was reflected in the high proportions of first generation with qualifications. The overseas-born first generation men were as well as if not better qualified than the second generation. However, second generation women aged 35-44 were better qualified than the first generation of the same age.

The highest proportion with university qualifications among the second generation aged 25-34 years were those with parents born in Malaysia, followed by those with parents born in China (Table 5.1). These second generation would be children of immigrants who arrived before 1970. Their numbers, especially those with parents from Malaysia, were relatively small. Nonetheless their educational achievement was obvious, with 50-70 per cent having degree or diploma qualifications.

Among 35-44 year old second generation, where those with parents born in Malaysia were excluded from the analysis, the proportion with degree qualifications was highest for the second generation with parents born in China (Table 5.2). Other groups that had a higher proportion with qualifications than the third generation were those with parents born in New Zealand, Ireland, Greece, Hungary, Poland or Croatia.

The second generation aged 25-44 of parents from the UK, Germany and Netherlands was similar to the third generation in their educational outcomes. As observed for the second generation youth of Maltese origin in the previous chapter, the adults with parents born in Malta also had the lowest proportion with degree or diploma qualifications, but the highest proportion with vocational qualifications.

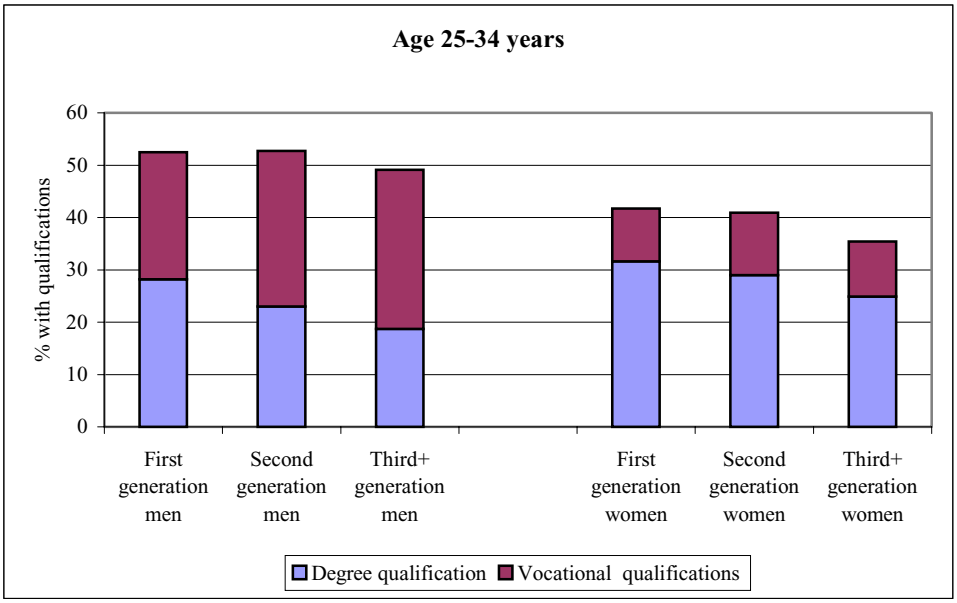
Among women aged 25-34 years, the highest proportions with vocational qualifications were those with parents from Italy, Croatia or Lebanon. In the 35-44 age group, the highest proportions with vocational qualifications were those with parents born in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Italy, Croatia or Netherlands.

It was noticeable that the proportion with qualifications was higher in the younger age group than in the older age group for second generation women of most origins. However, there was not much difference in the proportion with qualifications in the two age groups for men in the second generation nor for women who were third generation. This indicated that women of the second generation had participated in the improvements in educational levels in the past twenty years, but not their male counterparts nor women who were third generation.

When the second generation with both parents from the same country was compared with the second generation with the father only born in that country, the proportions with university qualifications tended to be higher when both parents were from the same country. The exceptions were the second generation of Lebanese or Hungarian origins where those with the father only born in those countries were more educated than those with both parents from these countries. There was not much difference in educational outcomes between those with one and those with both parents born in the United Kingdom, Ireland or New Zealand.

The proportion with vocational qualifications in the 25-34 age group also tended to be higher among men with both parents born in Malta, Netherlands, Germany or Croatia, than those with only the father born in one of these countries. However, the proportion with vocational qualifications was much lower for men with both parents born in the Asian countries than those with only the father born in these countries. A higher proportion with vocational qualifications was observed among women aged 25-34 years with both parents born in Italy or Croatia than those with only the father born in these places.

Figure 5.1. Percentage with qualifications: first, second and third generations aged 25-34 and 35-44 years, 1996.



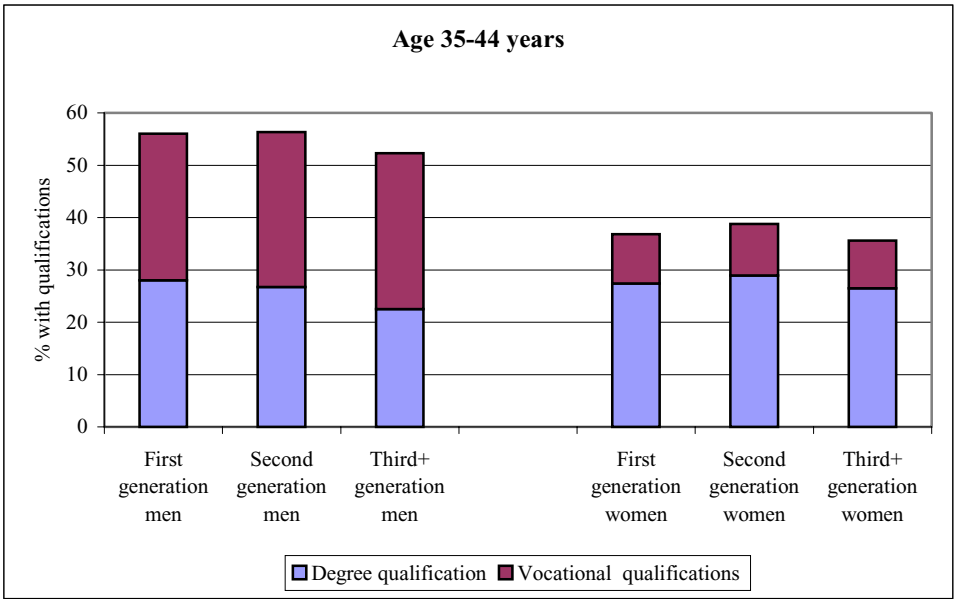


Table 5.1. Percentage with qualifications: second generation aged 25-34 by sex and parents' birthplace, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents, father only or self	Males			Females		
		Diploma or degree	Vocational quals.	Total with qualifications	Diploma or degree	Vocational quals.	Total with qualifications
		%	%	%	%	%	%
3rd+	Australia	18.7	30.4	49.1	24.9	10.5	35.4
2nd	New Zealand -parents	32.4	20.9	53.3	39.0	7.4	46.4
2nd	New Zealand -father	25.5	25.6	51.1	30.4	9.7	40.1
1st	New Zealand - self	16.5	28.0	44.5	19.9	9.8	29.7
2nd	United Kingdom -parents	16.9	28.1	45.0	21.2	10.0	31.2
2nd	United Kingdom -father	20.8	27.5	48.3	25.7	10.1	35.8
1st	United Kingdon -self	24.1	29.8	53.9	27.3	11.3	38.6
2nd	Ireland - parents	19.9	28.9	48.8	28.0	10.3	38.3
2nd	Ireland - father	20.1	29.2	49.3	28.0	9.0	37.0
1st	Ireland - self	27.9	35.7	63.6	37.6	13.2	50.8
2nd	Greece - parents	27.8	21.4	49.2	35.7	12.2	47.9
2nd	Greece - father	24.8	24.7	49.5	28.8	10.2	39.0
1st	Greece - self	20.6	21.4	42.0	25.9	12.3	38.0
2nd	Italy -parents	21.1	30.9	52.0	24.5	14.0	38.5
2nd	Italy - father	19.7	30.9	50.6	23.4	11.9	35.3
1st	Italy - self	16.5	29.0	45.5	20.3	13.5	33.8
2nd	Malta - parents	12.0	37.4	49.4	13.9	9.2	23.1
2nd	Malta - father	9.9	34.4	44.3	14.9	9.7	24.6
1st	Malta - self	15.1	26.2	41.3	13.1	8.7	21.8
2nd	Croatia - parents	28.0	31.1	59.1	34.1	13.7	47.8
2nd	Croatia - father	25.2	29.4	54.6	31.8	12.2	44.0
1st	Croatia - self	17.5	26.7	44.2	20.8	13.3	34.1
2nd	Germany -parents	21.0	35.0	56.0	25.8	10.7	36.5
2nd	Germany -father	21.4	30.3	51.7	25.4	11.8	37.2
1st	Germany - self	32.7	34.4	67.1	41.2	16.8	58.0
2nd	Netherlands -parents	19.1	36.5	55.6	23.8	11.4	35.2
2nd	Netherlands -father	18.9	31.6	50.5	24.6	10.4	35.0
1st	Netherlands -self	28.4	29.0	57.4	35.7	12.4	48.1
2nd	Hungary -parents	26.9	25.4	52.3	31.2	9.9	41.1
2nd	Hungary - father	23.4	26.5	49.9	29.5	11.7	41.2
1st	Hungary -self	25.2	38.2	63.4	32.9	15.7	48.6
2nd	Poland -parents	31.0	26.1	57.1	37.6	9.4	47.0
2nd	Poland -father	21.2	25.5	52.7	31.4	9.8	41.2
1st	Poland -self	36.7	26.8	63.5	44.5	12.0	56.5
2nd	Lebanon -parents	24.3	25.0	49.3	22.9	13.4	36.3
2nd	Lebanon -father	25.9	20.7	46.6	28.8	12.7	41.5
1st	Lebanon -self	14.6	18.3	32.9	11.8	6.7	18.5

Table 5.1 (continued).

Generation	Birthplace of parents, father only or self	Males			Females		
		Diploma or degree	Vocational quals.	Total with qualifications	Diploma or degree	Vocational quals.	Total with qualifications
		%	%	%	%	%	%
2nd	Malaysia -parents	67.6	5.3	72.9	71.1	0.0	71.1
2nd	Malaysia - father	50.3	14.0	64.3	57.3	4.2	61.5
1st	Malaysia -self	66.8	5.9	72.7	63.0	6.4	69.4
2nd	China -parents	51.0	15.6	66.6	54.8	8.5	63.3
2nd	China -father	45.8	17.6	63.4	48.4	9.6	58.0
1st	China -self	51.1	7.5	58.6	48.6	5.7	54.3
2nd	India -parents	34.6	13.9	48.5	39.6	9.8	49.4
2nd	India - father	30.6	23.0	53.6	35.7	8.7	44.4
1st	India -self	59.7	15.8	75.5	63.0	5.4	68.4

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 9.4.

When all qualifications were considered, differences were small for most groups between men with both parents and men with one parent born in any particular country. However, there was a clear pattern of a higher proportion with qualifications among men with both parents born in China compared with men with one parent born in China. The opposite pattern was observed for men and women with parents born in India or Lebanon.

Gender differences

A higher proportion of women than men in the age group 25-34 had university qualifications. This is observed for all second generation groups except those with parents born in Lebanon.

In the age group 35-44, there were fewer groups where the proportion with university qualifications was higher for women than men. In this age group, this pattern was observed for women with parents from the English speaking countries, Germany, Netherlands or Croatia, but not for those with parents from the Southern European, Middle East or Asian countries. The proportion with qualifications was much higher in the 25-34 age group than the 35-44 age group for women of Southern European origins, showing increasing participation in higher education among younger cohorts of women of these origins than older cohorts.

As expected, men were more likely than women in all the second generation groups to have vocational qualifications and this was observed in both the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups. The differentials were quite large, with the largest observed for the second generation of Maltese origin.

Considering all post-school qualifications, the proportion with qualifications was higher among men than women for all second generation groups aged 25-34. The gender differential was largest among second generation whose parents were born in Malta, followed by those with parents born in Germany or Netherlands. The large differential was due mainly to the large proportion of men of these origins who had vocational qualifications.

Similarly in the 35-44 age group, a much larger proportion of men than women had qualifications, except those with parents born in New Zealand. In this group, there was not much difference between men and women.

Comparison by parents' EP Group

In both the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups, the second generation of EP Group 4 parents had the highest proportion with degree or diploma qualifications (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). This high rate is due mainly to the high proportion with qualifications among the second generation whose parents had immigrated from China before 1970. The second generation of EP Group 1 parents had the lowest proportion with degree or diploma qualifications in the age group 25-34. In the 35-44 age group the lowest proportion were those with parents in EP Group 2.

Second generation men with parents from EP Group 2 countries had the highest proportion with vocational qualifications, while among second generation women, those with EP Group 3 parents were the most likely to have vocational qualifications.

In the 25-34 age group, the second generation of EP Group 1 parents were the least likely to have post-school qualifications. The proportion with no post-school qualifications was also higher in this group than for the third generation. In the 35-44 age group, men of EP Group 3 parents and women of EP Group 2 parents were the least likely to have post-school qualifications; however their proportions without post-school qualifications were still less than that for the third generation.

Table 5.2. Percentage with qualifications: second generation aged 35-44 by sex and parents' birthplace, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents, father only or self	Males			Females		
		Diploma or degree	Vocational quals.	Total with qualifications	Diploma or degree	Vocational quals.	Total with qualifications
		%	%	%	%	%	%
3rd+	Australia - parents	22.5	29.8	52.3	26.5	9.1	35.6
2nd	New Zealand -parents	35.7	16.5	52.2	29.6	8.3	51.0
2nd	New Zealand -father	28.7	26.2	54.9	32.4	9.7	42.1
1st	New Zealand - self	18.7	32.6	51.2	23.8	9.4	33.2
2nd	United Kingdom -parents	21.4	30.0	51.4	23.5	9.0	32.5
2nd	United Kingdom -father	23.9	28.7	52.6	26.4	8.7	35.1
1st	United Kingdon -self	26.7	33.4	60.1	27.1	10.6	37.7
2nd	Ireland - parents	28.1	28.2	56.3	35.0	6.8	41.8
2nd	Ireland - father	25.4	28.1	53.5	30.3	9.1	39.4
1st	Ireland - self	27.4	35.0	62.4	34.8	9.9	44.7
2nd	Greece - parents	30.0	19.3	49.3	27.8	9.0	36.8
2nd	Greece - father	28.0	21.0	49.0	25.8	9.3	35.1
1st	Greece - self	16.2	20.0	36.2	12.2	6.8	19.0
2nd	Italy -parents	23.2	29.0	52.2	18.8	10.2	29.0
2nd	Italy - father	20.0	30.1	50.1	22.4	9.2	31.6
1st	Italy - self	16.4	31.0	47.4	12.7	9.7	22.4
2nd	Malta - parents	11.6	38.6	50.2	9.9	6.5	16.4
2nd	Malta - father	13.2	31.6	44.8	11.8	7.9	19.7
1st	Malta - self	9.2	27.4	36.6	6.2	4.8	11.0
2nd	Croatia - parents	25.7	27.8	53.5	29.9	10.3	40.2
2nd	Croatia - father	31.2	24.7	55.9	28.3	14.0	42.3
1st	Croatia - self	13.0	28.6	41.6	10.2	9.4	19.6
2nd	Germany -parents	20.5	34.8	55.3	23	1.8	32.5
2nd	Germany -father	25.9	28.7	54.6	30.3	9.2	39.5
1st	Germany - self	28.2	39.7	67.9	33.8	15.3	49.1
2nd	Netherlands -parents	22.9	33.9	56.8	25.3	10.2	35.5
2nd	Netherlands -father	26.0	31.1	57.1	32.4	9.7	42.1
1st	Netherlands -self	25.6	33.1	58.7	26.6	10.7	38.3
2nd	Hungary -parents	33.6	25.7	59.3	35.1	10.8	45.9
2nd	Hungary - father	27.5	24.9	52.4	35.7	9.3	45.0
1st	Hungary -self	26.9	36.3	63.2	26.6	10.7	37.3
2nd	Poland -parents	31.9	24.1	56.0	29.6	7.1	36.7
2nd	Poland -father	28.8	26.4	55.2	29.1	8.3	37.4
1st	Poland -self	38.3	29.6	67.9	31.8	15.5	47.3
2nd	Lebanon -parents	25.1	20.6	45.7	19.8	9.8	29.6
2nd	Lebanon -father	32.1	21.1	53.2	24.3	8.7	33.0
1st	Lebanon -self	12.3	13.1	25.4	6.4	2.9	9.3
2nd	China -parents	50.0	17.9	67.9	46.3	9.1	55.4
2nd	China -father	38.2	22.1	60.2	40.1	7.3	47.4
1st	China -self	45.3	8.7	54.0	35.8	6.3	42.1
2nd	India -parents	29.9	16.4	46.3	26.9	6.0	32.9
2nd	India - father	34.2	22.8	57.0	36.9	7.6	44.5
1st	India -self	59.7	16.1	75.8	55.1	6.6	61.7

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Tables CS082 and 9.4.

Table 5.3. Percentage with qualifications: second generation aged 25-34 by parents' EP by Group, 1996

Parents' EP group	Males			Females		
	Diploma or degree	Vocational qualifications	Total with qualifications	Diploma or degree	Vocational qualifications	Total with qualifications
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both in Group 1	18.8	29.3	48.1	24.2	10.5	34.7
Both in Group 2	20.0	36.0	56.0	25.5	11.3	36.8
Both in Group 3	25.5	28.8	54.3	32.1	14.4	46.5
Both in Group 4	44.5	14.8	59.3	49.4	8.5	57.9
One in any Group 1 country	22.0	29.2	51.2	28.1	10.8	38.9
One in Group 2,3, 4 country	23.8	29.6	53.4	29.7	11.4	41.1
Total	23.0	29.7	52.7	29.0	11.9	40.9

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 12.2.

Table 5.4. Percentage with qualifications: second generation aged 35-44 by parents' EP Group, 1996

Parents' EP group	Males			Females		
	Diploma or degree	Vocational qualifications	Total with qualifications	Diploma or degree	Vocational qualifications	Total with qualifications
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both in Group 1	23.9	31.3	55.2	27.5	9.5	37.0
Both in Group 2	22.8	35.8	58.6	25.4	9.9	35.3
Both in Group 3	27.8	27.3	55.1	26.3	10.6	36.9
Both in Group 4	49.0	18.0	67.0	48.5	8.4	56.9
One in any Group 1 country	26.5	29.8	56.3	30.1	9.7	39.8
One in Group 2,3, 4 country	28.5	28.5	57.0	31.5	9.9	41.4
Total	26.7	29.6	56.3	28.9	9.9	38.8

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 12.2.

Labour force status

Table 5.5 shows the labour force participation rates of the second generation aged 25-44 years by one or both parents' birthplace compared with the first and third generations.

At least 90 per cent of men in all the second generation groups were in the labour force in 1996 except those with parents born in Malaysia who had a slightly lower participation rate. There was more variation in the female participation rate. Women of Asian origins showed participation rates exceeding 80 per cent in the 25-34 age group. Women of Eastern or Southern European origins (with the exception of those of parents from Malta) also had relatively high participation rates, exceeding those of women of UK or Western European origins.

Men in the second generation had comparable participation rates to men in the third generation. Most second generation women had higher participation rates than third

generation Australian women, except for those with parents born in Lebanon, Malta or Netherlands.

There was not a lot of difference in labour force participation rates between the second and the first generation of the same age and origin, except for those of Lebanese or Chinese origins. The first generation from Lebanon or China had noticeably lower work force participation rates than the second generation with parents from these countries, particularly among the women. It was likely that many female migrants from these countries were fairly recent arrivals and might not be proficient enough in English to enter the labour force.

Gender differentials were largest among the second generation with parents born in Malta or Lebanon. They were smallest for the second generation with parents born in Malaysia, China or India.

There was not much difference for most second generation groups in their labour force participation rate by whether one or both parents were born in a particular country, particularly for men. However, women with parents born in Lebanon had a lower participation rate than women with only the father born in Lebanon.

Comparison by parents' EP Group shows a slightly lower labour force participation rate for men with parents from EP Group 4 countries, particularly in the 25-34 age group; otherwise differences were small (Table 5.6). Female labour force participation rates showed the opposite pattern by parents' EP Group to the male rate. Women of EP Group 2 background had the lowest participation rate while those aged 25-34 of EP Group 4 background had rather high rates.

Table 5.5. Labour force participation rate of second generation aged 25-44 by origin compared with first and third generations, 1996.

Generation	Birthplace of parents, father only or self	Males		Females	
		Aged 25-34	Aged 35-44	Aged 25-34	Aged 35-44
		%	%	%	%
3rd+	Australia	92.8	91.9	67.4	72.0
2nd	New Zealand -parents	92.0	87.1	76.6	73.8
2nd	New Zealand -father	92.0	92.2	71.4	72.6
1st	New Zealand - self	93.9	93.2	69.3	74.2
2nd	United Kingdom -parents	92.5	91.0	69.4	72.3
2nd	United Kingdom -father	92.3	91.7	69.8	72.6
1st	United Kingdon -self	93.6	93.2	68.4	73.2
2nd	Ireland - parents	91.6	91.8	75.2	76.6
2nd	Ireland - father	92.4	92.7	72.5	74.4
1st	Ireland - self	93.8	93.8	75.1	76.4
2nd	Greece - parents	92.1	91.9	78.7	71.2
2nd	Greece - father	91.3	91.0	73.7	71.7
1st	Greece - self	90.5	88.9	67.4	65.9
2nd	Italy -parents	93.8	93.4	74.8	69.7
2nd	Italy - father	92.9	92.3	72.4	70.1
1st	Italy - self	91.2	91.4	64.7	64.4
2nd	Malta - parents	93.8	90.4	66.4	67.0
2nd	Malta - father	92.1	89.9	67.2	65.3
1st	Malta - self	91.4	88.7	57.6	59.0
2nd	Croatia - parents	94.5	91.3	79.0	75.1
2nd	Croatia - father	90.9	86.2	74.1	64.2
1st	Croatia - self	91.8	88.6	70.8	72.7
2nd	Germany -parents	93.0	91.9	71.0	71.6
2nd	Germany -father	92.4	90.4	71.3	70.9
1st	Germany - self	89.8	91.5	68.3	69.7
2nd	Netherlands -parents	93.9	94.0	66.5	71.2
2nd	Netherlands -father	92.8	92.5	70.1	72.0
1st	Netherlands -self	91.3	92.2	68.0	70.8
2nd	Hungary -parents	91.8	91.0	71.3	74.0
2nd	Hungary - father	92.1	89.1	71.6	74.2
1st	Hungary -self	88.5	86.9	67.9	69.1
2nd	Poland -parents	92.7	91.5	75.8	74.4
2nd	Poland -father	90.8	92.1	71.9	73.2
1st	Poland -self	89.1	90.6	65.2	73.3
2nd	Lebanon -parents	89.5	87.7	64.2	58.1
2nd	Lebanon -father	91.7	86.2	72.0	73.9
1st	Lebanon -self	83.7	76.5	34.0	30.9
2nd	Malaysia -parents	86.8	-	81.1	-
2nd	Malaysia - father	89.6	-	83.6	-
1st	Malaysia -self	81.5	-	68.9	-

Table 5.5. (continued).

Generation	Birthplace of parents, father only or self	Males		Females	
		Aged 25-34	Aged 35-44	Aged 25-34	Aged 35-44
		%	%	%	%
2nd	China -parents	91.1	92.1	81.4	72.8
2nd	China -father	93.2	91.7	93.2	73.1
1st	China -self	82.6	88.3	60.5	63.4
2nd	India -parents	94.2	88.0	83.8	77.9
2nd	India - father	93.2	90.4	93.2	75.6
1st	India -self	91.2	94.7	60.0	76.2

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Tables CS083 and 9.4.

Table 5.6. Labour force participation rate of second generation aged 25-44 by parents' EP Group, 1996.

Parents' EP group	Males		Females	
	Age 25-34	Age 35-44	Age 25-34	Age 35-44
	%	%	%	%
Both in Group 1	92.9	91.8	69.5	72.3
Both in Group 2	93.8	93.0	68.6	70.2
Both in Group 3	93.3	92.7	75.6	70.9
Both in Group 4	88.9	91.4	75.0	70.6
One in any Group 1 country	92.8	92.1	70.0	72.4
One in Group 2,3, 4 country	92.5	91.6	71.5	71.5
Total	93.0	92.2	71.7	71.6

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 12.2

Unemployment rate

The unemployment rate for men in the 25-34 age group was less than 10 per cent in 1996 for all the origin groups compared except for those with parents born in the United Kingdom (Figure 5.2). The following second generation groups had low unemployment rates compared with the third generation: those with parents born in Greece, Italy, Malta, Malaysia or China. Unemployment rates were lower for women than for men except for those with parents born in India or Malaysia. Gender differentials in the unemployment rate were largest for the second generation with parents born in Croatia, Germany or Poland.

Unemployment rates in the age group 35-44 were lower than those in the age group 25-34. No second generation group had an unemployment rate of more than 9 per cent in this age group (Figure 5.2). However, many second generation groups had higher unemployment rates than third generation Australians. Men with parents born in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and women with parents born in India had the highest unemployment rates in this age group. Only these groups had unemployment rates that were lower than those for third generation Australians: men and women with parents born in Italy or China; and women with parents born in New Zealand or Ireland.

As in the 25-34 age group, unemployment rates also tended to be higher for men than women in the 35-44 age group, except for those with parents born in India or Hungary. Women with parents born in China had a very low unemployment rate.

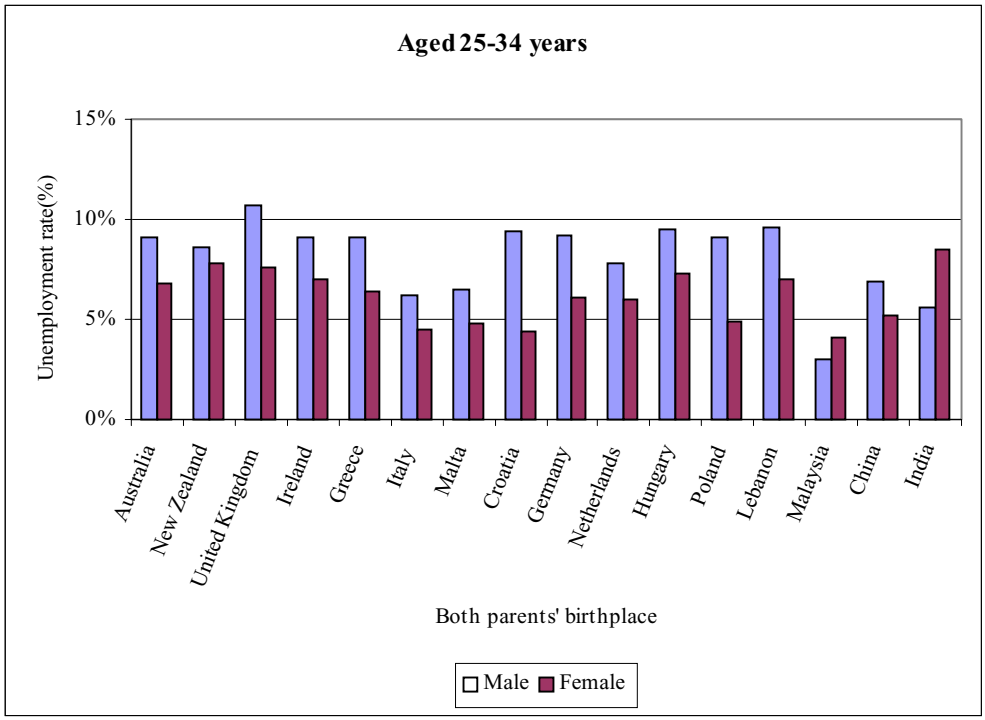
Unemployment rates by parents' EP Group are shown in Table 5.7. Men with parents born in EP Groups 1 and 4 countries had higher rates than those with parents from EP Groups 2 and 3 countries. The same pattern was observed for women except that women of EP Group 4 background in the age group 35-44 (mainly those with parents born in China) had a very low unemployment rate. There was not much difference between the second and third generations in their unemployment rates at these ages.

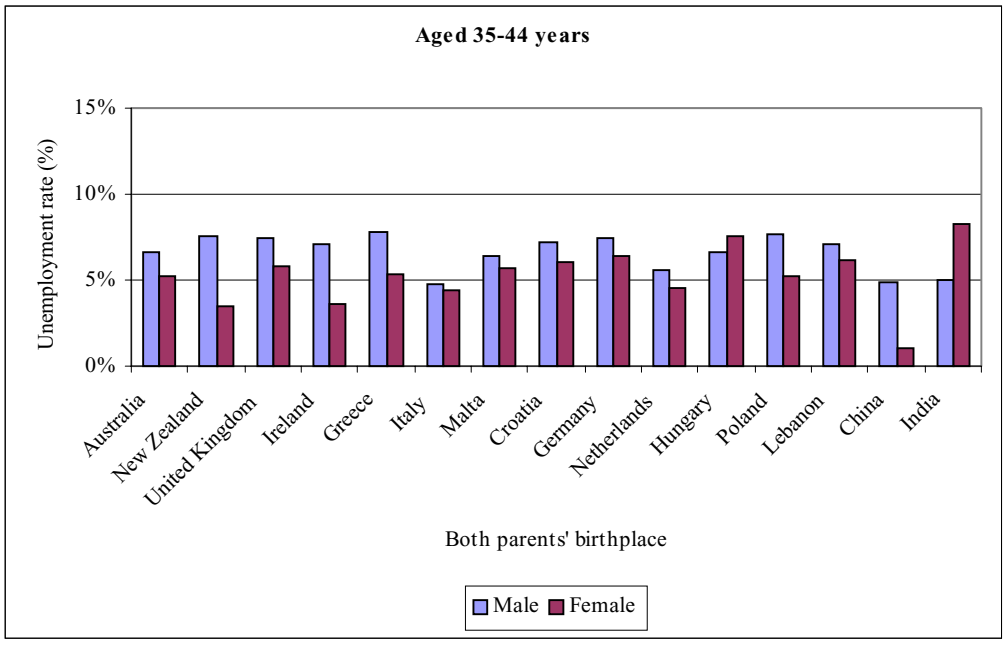
Table 5.7. Unemployment rates of the second generation aged 25-44 by parents' EP group compared with the third generation, 1996.

Parents' EP group	Males		Females	
	Age 25-34	Age 35-44	Age 25-34	Age 35-44
	%	%	%	%
Both in Group 1	11.3	7.8	8.0	6.1
Both in Group 2	8.3	6.6	6.4	5.7
Both in Group 3	8.2	6.3	5.8	5.2
Both in Group 4	11.2	7.4	8.9	2.8
One in any Group 1 country	10.4	7.2	7.9	6.0
One in Group 2,3, 4 country	9.9	7.6	7.4	6.2
Total - second generation	9.6	7.1	7.1	5.9
Australia - third generation	9.7	7.0	7.2	5.6

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 12.2.

Figure 5.2. Unemployment rates: second and third generations aged 25-44 in 1996 by sex and parents' birthplace.





Occupation

Four categories of occupational status were examined. These were (1) managerial or professional occupations, (2) para-professionals or trades, (3) clerical, sales or service occupations and (4) other (mainly low skilled or unskilled) occupations. Tables 5.8 and 5.9 show the percentages of employed Australian-born men and women in the age groups 25-34 and 35-44 respectively in these occupational categories by their parents' birthplace.

A high proportion of the second generation in the age group 25-34 with parents born in Malaysia or China were employed in managerial/professional occupations. This pattern was consistent with their high proportions with qualifications, as discussed earlier. The proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations was higher for all second generation groups than for third generation Australians, except for the second generation men and women with parents born in Malta or United Kingdom, and women with parents born in Lebanon or Italy.

A higher proportion of women than men were employed in managerial or professional occupations in the 25-34 age group for most second generation groups and for third generation Australians. There was little or no gender difference in the proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations for the second generation with parents born in Italy, Lebanon or Egypt.

In contrast, the proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations was higher for men than women in the age group 35-44 in many second generation groups. The exceptions were the second generation with parents born in New Zealand or Ireland where a greater proportion of women than men were in managerial or professional occupations, and the second generation with parents born in Germany or Netherlands where there was little or no gender differential. There was also very little gender difference for the third generation.

Comparison by parents' EP Group

In both the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups, the second generation of EP Group 4 background had the highest proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations (Tables 5.10 and 5.11). They were mainly the children of immigrants born in China. The EP Group classification reflects the English proficiency level of recent immigrants and might not reflect the English proficiency level of the immigrant parents of this cohort of second generation. Nonetheless, the second generation of EP Group 4 origin has demonstrated considerable educational and occupational success, considering the likely English proficiency level of their parents.

In the age group 25-34, the proportion of second generation employed in managerial or professional occupations increased as parents' EP Group number increased; that is, the lower the level of English proficiency of the community group, the greater the proportion of its second generation in highly skilled occupations. In contrast, the second generation of English-speaking origins (EP Group 1) had the highest proportion in lower skilled occupations (the 'other' category).

Table 5.8. Occupation of employed Australian-born persons aged 25-34 years by parents' birthplace, 1996.

Both parents' birthplace	Managerial/ professional	Paraprof./ trades	Clerical/sales service	Other (unskilled)	Number in age group
MALES	%	%	%	%	
Australia	23.9	36.1	28.5	9.3	591680
New Zealand	35.8	33.4	22.3	6.7	676
United Kingdom	21.1	38.2	30.2	8.4	21821
Ireland	24.6	39.0	27.6	6.6	1109
Greece	26.5	34.7	31.0	5.6	19096
Italy	24.7	39.3	26.6	7.2	33490
Malta	17.3	40.5	31.2	8.4	5714
Croatia	25.9	39.1	25.1	6.6	2882
Germany	24.1	41.0	26.2	6.6	3572
Netherlands	24.2	43.7	23.4	6.9	6471
Hungary	29.3	36.2	25.5	6.7	972
Poland	33.1	34.8	24.6	4.7	1556
Lebanon	26.2	38.1	26.2	6.2	2296
Malaysia	56.8	17.9	22.1	-	95
China	44.3	30.8	20.9	2.1	880
India	34.4	30.3	29.0	4.7	465
FEMALES					
Australia	28.9	15.1	48.5	5.7	459666
New Zealand	39.6	13.0	41.9	3.9	546
United Kingdom	25.0	15.4	51.9	6.0	16995
Ireland	33.0	13.0	48.4	3.9	917
Greece	28.3	15.5	51.5	2.8	15555
Italy	24.7	15.5	54.8	3.0	26079
Malta	19.6	12.7	60.1	5.4	3874
Croatia	31.6	14.7	47.6	3.0	2504
Germany	28.4	16.0	49.1	5.0	2701
Netherlands	28.2	17.1	47.7	5.3	4601
Hungary	31.7	16.5	46.7	4.4	823
Poland	35.1	12.7	47.9	2.9	1226
Lebanon	25.3	15.9	53.2	2.5	1665
Malaysia	59.0	14.1	26.9	*	78
China	47.3	12.4	37.4	2.1	824
India	39.9	13.0	42.3	4.0	376

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table CS083a

Table 5.9. Occupation of employed Australian-born persons aged 35-44 years by parents' birthplace, 1996.

Both parents' birthplace	Managerial/ professional	Paraprof./ trades	Clerical/sales service	Other (unskilled)	Number in age group
MALES	%	%	%	%	
Australia	32.5	32.4	25.7	7.2	632115
New Zealand	42.4	28.0	20.5	5.7	264
United Kingdom	30.9	34.7	25.7	6.6	13533
Ireland	35.0	30.4	27.2	5.7	970
Greece	35.6	30.7	26.6	4.7	5398
Italy	33.4	34.3	24.2	5.7	19594
Malta	21.5	37.3	30.3	8.6	3138
Croatia	35.3	34.5	20.5	6.8	513
Germany	27.3	39.1	24.1	7.3	2774
Netherlands	32.1	38.1	22.3	5.3	7085
Hungary	39.5	29.6	23.1	5.1	1083
Poland	36.7	30.4	24.7	5.7	3485
Lebanon	35.4	29.8	27.4	4.6	746
China	48.9	25.1	18.4	6.4	483
India	43.7	25.8	24.4	1.9	213
FEMALES					
Australia	28.9	15.1	48.5	5.7	459666
New Zealand	39.6	13.0	41.9	3.9	546
United Kingdom	25.0	15.4	51.9	6.0	16995
Ireland	33.0	13.0	48.4	3.9	917
Greece	28.3	15.5	51.5	2.8	15555
Italy	24.7	15.5	54.8	3.0	26079
Malta	19.6	12.7	60.1	5.4	3874
Croatia	31.6	14.7	47.6	3.0	2504
Germany	28.4	16.0	49.1	5.0	2701
Netherlands	28.2	17.1	47.7	5.3	4601
Hungary	31.7	16.5	46.7	4.4	823
Poland	35.1	12.7	47.9	2.9	1226
Lebanon	25.3	15.9	53.2	2.5	1665
China	47.3	12.4	37.4	2.1	824
India	39.9	13.0	42.3	4.0	376

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 12.2.

Table 5.10. Occupation of employed second generation aged 25-34 by parents' EP Group, 1996.

Parents' EP group	Males				Females			
	Managerial/ professional	Paraprof. or trades	Clerical/ sales/service	Other (unskilled)	Managerial/ professional	Paraprof. or trades	Clerical/ sales/service	Other (unskilled)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both in Group 1	22.4	38.3	11.8	27.5	26.7	15.5	36.7	18.1
Both in Group 2	23.4	41.5	10.0	25.1	27.3	153	40.4	17.0
Both in Group 3	26.1	38.3	11.9	23.6	27.4	15.5	41.7	15.4
Both in Group 4	38.4	30.8	14.1	16.8	43.5	13.1	31.2	12.2
One in any Group 1 country.	25.5	37.5	11.6	254	30.4	15.3	37.7	16.6
One in Group 2,3, or 4 country	26.8	37.5	11.3	24.4	30.6	16.1	37.3	16.0
Total	25.5	38.1	11.5	24.8	29.1	15.6	39.1	16.3

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 12.2.

Table 5.11. Occupation of employed second generation aged 35-44 by parents' EP Group, 1996.

Parents' EP group	Males				Females			
	Managerial/ professional	Paraprof. or trades	Clerical/ sales/service	Other (unskilled)	Managerial/ professional	Paraprof. or trades	Clerical/ sales/service	Other (unskilled)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both in Group 1	32.4	35.0	10.0	22.6	31.8	14.8	35.5	18.0
Both in Group 2	30.8	37.8	8.3	23.1	29.4	13.8	36.4	20.4
Both in Group 3	35.5	33.5	10.6	20.3	28.6	14.7	38.4	18.2
Both in Group 4	48.6	28.0	10.4	12.9	37.6	14.7	30.4	17.4
One in any Group 1 country.	35.0	33.2	9.8	21.9	33.9	13.8	34.8	17.6
One in Group 2,3, or 4 country	36.7	33.0	9.3	21.0	34.7	14.2	34.4	16.7
Total	34.9	33.9	9.8	21.5	32.3	14.2	35.7	17.8

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 12.2.

Income

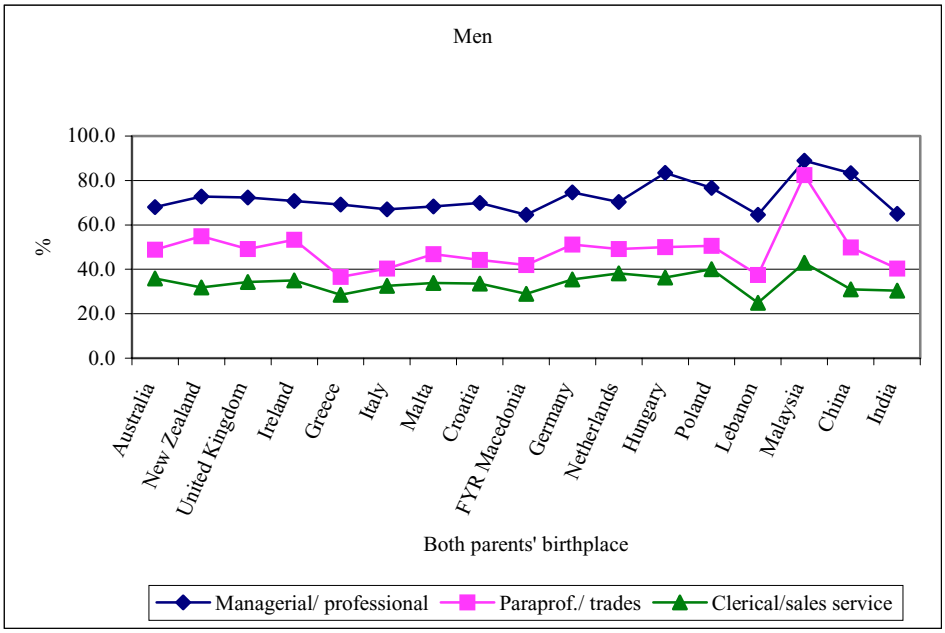
How does the second generation compare with the third generation and among themselves by origin in terms of income by occupation? Figure 5.3 shows the proportion with income of $600 or more per week in 1996 for employed second and third generation men and women aged 25-34 years in three occupational groups. As expected, men and women in managerial or professional occupations were more likely to be in this above average income group than those in the other two occupational groups.

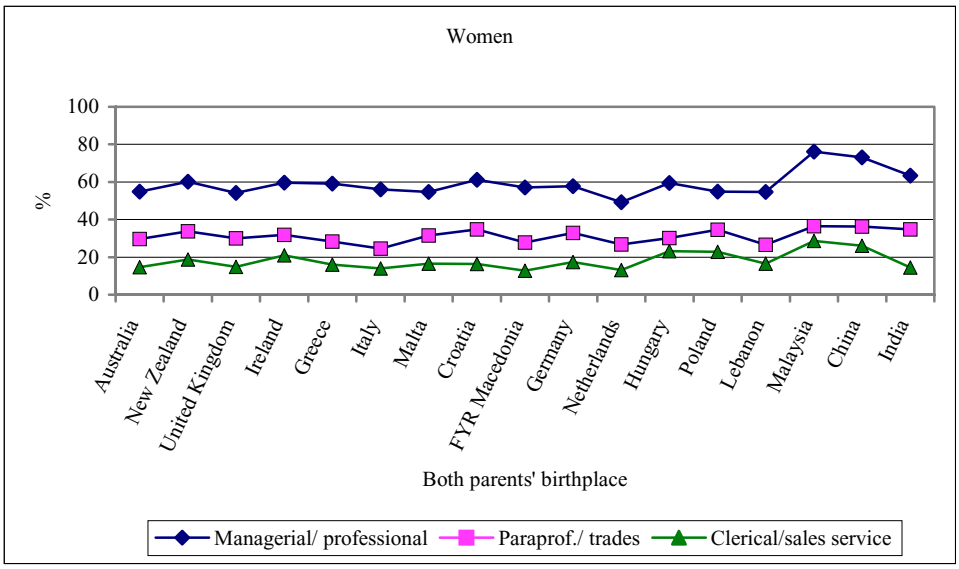
Most second generation groups in managerial or professional occupations had about the same or slightly greater proportion in this above average income group than the third generation. Second generation groups with noticeably higher proportions in this income group were those of Eastern European or Asian origins. The second generation of most other European origins was not much different from the third generation in terms of their proportion in this income group. The second generation who appeared to do less well in income terms were those with parents from Lebanon, India or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Men who were of the third generation or the second generation of English-speaking origins who were in para-professional or trades occupations appeared to do better in terms of income when compared with the second generation of non-English speaking origins. The exception was the second generation with parents from Malaysia, which was a small group. Second generation men of Lebanese background who were in para-professional, trades or sales occupations also appeared not to do as well as other second generation or third generation Australians.

Second generation women of Eastern European or Asian or Croatian background appeared to do better than others in having higher proportions earning $600 or more a week. It might be that they were more likely to work full time than part time.

Figure 5.3. Per cent with income of $600 or more a week: employed second and third generations aged 25-34 by occupation group and parents' birthplace, 1996.





Housing

Most Australians consider home ownership to be an important socioeconomic goal. Often the home also represents the most important family asset. Therefore the housing tenure of second generation Australians is an important indicator of their socioeconomic status.

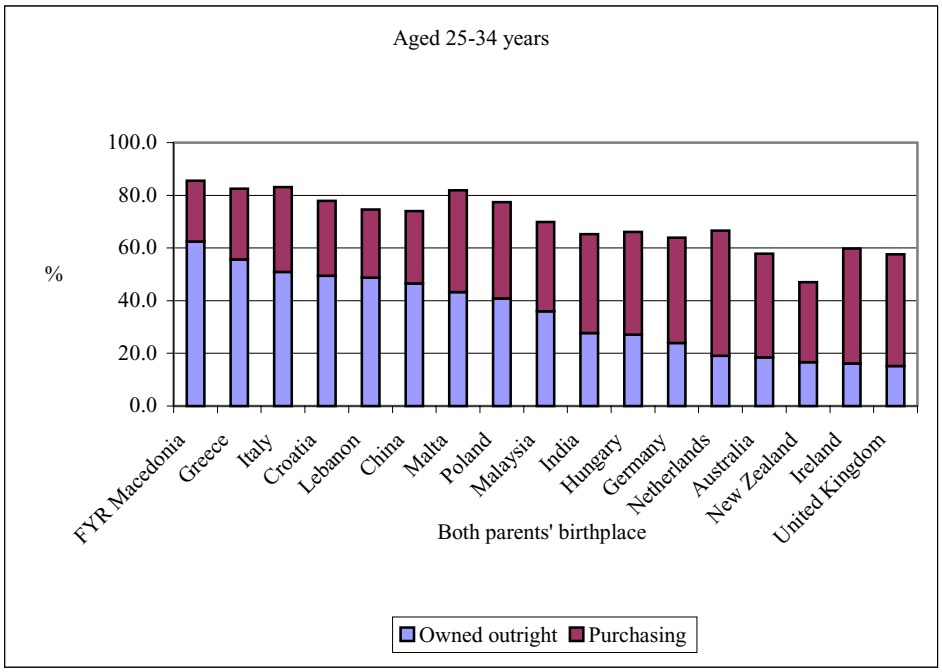
Figure 5.4 shows the percentage who lived in homes that were fully owned or were being purchased. The percentage living in fully owned homes was highest among the second generation of FYROM origin (63 per cent) followed by those of Greek (56 per cent) and Italian origins (51 per cent). When those living in homes that were being purchased were included, the highest rate of home ownership was observed among the second generation of FYROM, Greek, Italian or Maltese origins. All of them had more than 80 per cent living in their own homes, with those of Croatian origin not far behind. These are all second generation of Southern European origins. It was likely that some might be living with their parents (as shown in Chapter 7) in homes that were owned by their parents.

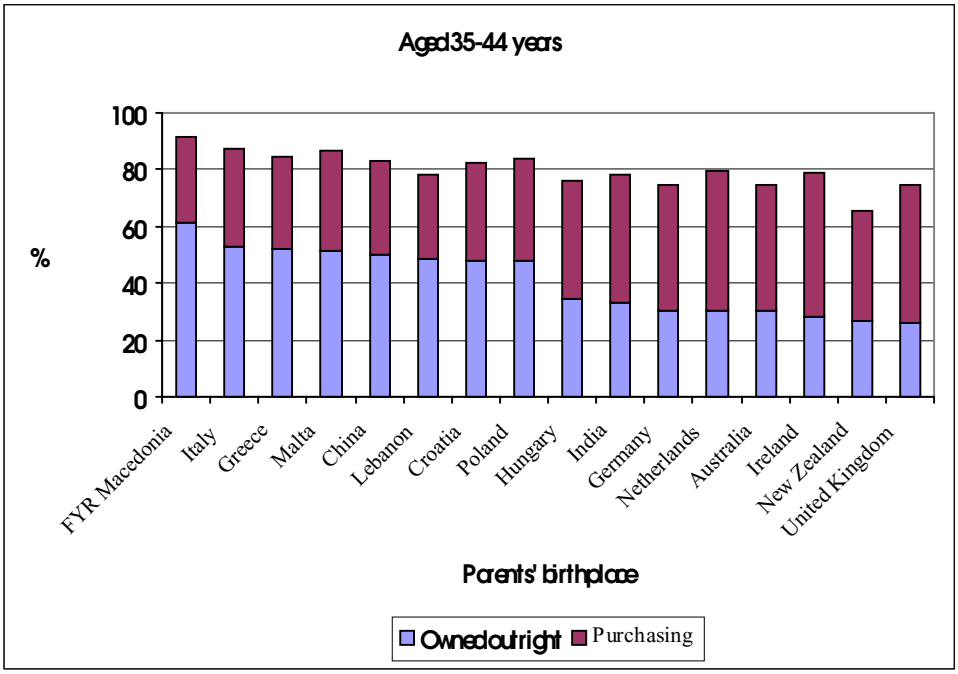
Other second generation groups with relatively high rates of home ownership were those with parents born in Lebanon, China or Poland. In contrast, the second generation of English-speaking or Western European origins had much lower rates of home ownership. Less than 20 per cent of the second generation aged 25-34 whose parents were from New Zealand, United Kingdom, Ireland or Netherlands were in fully owned homes, as were Australians of the third generation. A greater proportion of these groups were still paying off mortgages compared with those of Southern European backgrounds. Overall, less than 60 per cent of the second generation of UK- or New Zealand-born parents and the third generation lived in their own homes, compared with over 80 per cent of the second generation of Southern European origins.

The corollary of these patterns is that a larger proportion of the second generation of English-speaking or Western European origins and the third generation who were aged 25-34 in 1996 lived in rented housing compared with the second generation of Southern European origins. The proportion in rented housing was 2-3 times as high among the former than the latter. Fifty per cent of the second generation of New Zealand-born parents and nearly 40 per cent of those with UK or Ireland-born parents or third generation Australians were renting compared with less than 15 per cent of the second generation of Southern European-born parents.

The gap in home ownership between the second generation of Southern European origins and those of English-speaking or Western European origins and third generation Australians was smaller in the 35-44 age group than in the 25-34 age group. More members of the latter groups became home owners in their 30s and early 40s and their home ownership rates were close to 80 per cent, with the exception of the second generation of New Zealand origin, whose rate was noticeably lower.

Figure 5.4. Percent living in homes that were fully owned or being bought: second and third generations aged 25-44 years, 1996.





Differences in housing tenure were also observed among the second generation with both parents born in the same Southern European country and those with only the

father born in that country (Table 5.12). The proportion owning their home outright was higher among those with both parents born in Greece, Italy, Malta, Croatia or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia than those with only the father born in these countries. The difference was as high as 23 percentage points between those with both parents born in Greece and those with only the father born in Greece. A similar pattern was also observed for the second generation of parents born in Poland, Lebanon, Malaysia, China or India although the difference was not as large (in the order of 10-15 percentage points). In all these groups, the proportion living in rented housing was much higher among those with only the father born in a particular country than those with both parents born in the same country. In contrast, there was not much difference in the rate of home ownership and the pattern of housing tenure between the second generation with both parents born in English-speaking or Western European countries and those with only the father born in these countries.

The second generation, particularly those with both parents born in the same country, tended to have a higher proportion in fully owned homes than the first generation of the same origin. In a number of groups of non-English speaking origins, the proportion in their own homes among the first generation was similar to that among the second generation with only the father born in that country. A higher proportion of the first generation lived in rental housing and this was likely to be due to their recent immigration and shorter duration of residence compared with the second generation.

An index of dissimilarity compares the housing occupancy status of the first and second generations with that of the third generation. It is obvious that the second generation of Mediterranean origins (parents from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Greek, Italian, Croatian, Malta and Lebanon) shows the greatest difference from the third generation in terms of housing tenure, with an index of dissimilarity exceeding 30 (25 for Malta) for those with both parents born in the same country in this region. The index of dissimilarity for the second generation with just the father born in this region was much lower, indicating a smaller differential between them and the third generation. Other second generation groups with a relatively high value in their index of dissimilarity were those of Chinese or Polish origins. Low values in the index of dissimilarity (less than 10) were observed for the second generation of English-speaking (New Zealand, British and Irish) or Western European origins (German, Dutch), indicating close resemblance in their housing pattern to that of the third generation.

The difference in housing occupancy status between the second generation of Southern European origins in the age group 35-44 and their peers who were third generation was not as large as that in the 25-34 age group noted above (Table 5.13). The index of dissimilarity for this age group was less than the equivalent index for the 25-34 age group for almost every parental birthplace group.

Table 5.12. Housing status of second generation aged 25-34 compared with first and third generations, 1996.

Generation	Parents' or father's birthplace	Owned outright	Purchasing	Renting	Other/ not stated	N	Index of dissimilarity
		%	%	%	%		
3rd+	Australia	18.5	39.3	38.1	4.0	1407233	
2nd	New Zealand - parents	16.7	30.3	50.5	2.5	1537	12.5
2nd	New Zealand - father	17.2	34.5	44.5	3.9	6892	5.6
1st	New Zealand - self	8.9	32.5	55.7	3.0	49495	12.7
2nd	UK - parents	15.2	42.4	39.5	2.8	51645	4.5
2nd	UK - father	16.6	39.7	40.4	2.2	72877	3.2
1st	UK - self	11.7	44.9	40.9	2.5	149542	8.4
2nd	Ireland- parents	16.2	43.6	37.2	3.0	2596	4.3
2nd	Ireland - father	17.2	40.8	38.9	3.2	7722	2.2
1st	Ireland - self	10.9	40.7	45.6	2.8	13532	8.9
2nd	Greece - parents	55.7	26.8	11.4	6.1	43483	39.3
2nd	Greece - father	32.4	32.8	29.3	5.5	5214	15.3
1st	Greece - self	43.8	30.8	19.5	5.9	8862	27.2
2nd	Italy -parents	50.9	32.2	11.4	5.6	73659	33.9
2nd	Italy - father	31.0	37.3	27.1	4.7	23370	13.1
1st	Italy - self	37.9	36.2	20.4	5.5	14293	20.9
2nd	Malta - parents	43.2	38.7	13.4	4.7	12523	25.4
2nd	Malta - father	25.3	39.8	31.3	3.7	5643	7.2
1st	Malta - self	39.4	37.0	17.5	6.1	2690	23.0
2nd	Croatia - parents	49.5	28.4	16.2	5.9	6669	32.9
2nd	Croatia - father	33.6	33.8	28.7	3.8	2627	15.1
1st	Croatia - self	36.7	34.0	23.3	6.0	5766	20.2
2nd	FYR Macedonia -parents	62.5	23.1	8.9	5.5	2916	45.5
2nd	FYR Macedonia - father	48.0	27.2	21.2	3.6	419	29.5
1st	FYR Macedonia - self	51.9	29.5	13.0	5.5	6855	34.9
2nd	Germany - parents	23.9	40.0	32.5	3.7	8088	6.0
2nd	Germany - father	18.5	38.2	39.8	3.5	14182	1.7
1st	Germany - self	18.8	32.5	44.9	4.0	7396	7.0
2nd	Netherlands - parents	19.1	47.5	29.9	3.5	14531	8.8
2nd	Netherlands -father	17.3	41.1	38.1	3.6	17320	1.7
1st	Netherlands - self	16.1	37.1	42.5	4.3	5858	4.7
2nd	Hungary - parents	27.1	39.0	30.3	3.7	2306	8.5
2nd	Hungary - father	23.7	35.7	36.9	3.7	4227	5.2
1st	Hungary - self	17.1	34.0	45.3	3.6	2001	7.2
2nd	Poland - parents	40.8	36.6	19.7	3.0	3450	22.2
2nd	Poland - father	26.5	37.2	33.0	3.2	4993	8.0
1st	Poland - self	21.5	31.2	43.7	3.5	5220	8.6

Table 5.12 (continued).

Generation	Parents' or father's birthplace	Owned outright	Purchasing	Renting	Other/ not stated	N	Index of dissimilarity
		%	%	%	%		
2nd	Lebanon - parents	48.7	25.9	19.2	6.2	5604	32.3
2nd	Lebanon - father	33.0	30.9	31.0	5.3	1013	15.7
1st	Lebanon - self	27.0	22.9	44.7	5.4	16745	16.5
2nd	Malaysia - parents	36.0	33.9	26.9	3.2	186	17.5
2nd	Malaysia - father	22.2	31.9	41.0	4.9	1008	7.5
1st	Malaysia - self	33.6	28.6	33.7	4.1	9126	15.2
2nd	China - parents	46.5	27.5	20.2	5.8	2024	29.8
2nd	China - father	31.6	31.8	32.3	4.3	1849	13.4
1st	China - self	27.9	24.3	43.8	4.0	40648	15.1
2nd	India - parents	27.7	37.5	32.4	2.5	958	9.1
2nd	India - father	17.7	42.5	37.0	2.8	2586	3.2
1st	India - self	17.0	29.6	50.5	2.8	18560	11.8

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 9.3.

Table 5.13. Housing status of second generation aged 35-44 compared with first and third generations, 1996.

Generation	Parents' or father's birthplace	Owned outright	Purchasing	Renting	Other/ not stated	N	Index of dissimilarity
		%	%	%	%		
3rd+	Australia	30.1	44.3	22.4	3.2	1479844	
2nd	New Zealand - parents	26.7	38.8	31.7	2.8	632	8.2
2nd	New Zealand - father	28.8	43.7	24.5	3.0	5399	2.1
1st	New Zealand - self	16.6	42.8	37.8	1.8	53218	15.9
2nd	UK - parents	26.4	47.9	23.2	2.5	31152	4.4
2nd	UK - father	29.0	45.3	22.9	1.8	63659	2.0
1st	UK - self	20.1	53.0	24.9	2.0	194582	11.2
2nd	Ireland- parents	28.3	50.3	18.9	2.4	1975	6.1
2nd	Ireland - father	27.2	47.8	22.5	2.5	6700	3.6
1st	Ireland - self	19.5	53.9	24.4	2.2	15738	11.6
2nd	Greece - parents	51.8	32.8	11.0	3.4	12094	22.4
2nd	Greece - father	39.2	39.1	18.5	3.3	2888	9.2
1st	Greece - self	55.1	26.1	13.3	5.6	18465	27.4
2nd	Italy -parents	53.1	34.5	8.8	3.8	42471	23.5
2nd	Italy - father	38.3	40.0	18.1	2.6	11466	8.7
1st	Italy - self	53.6	31.8	10.4	4.3	31152	24.6
2nd	Malta - parents	51.3	35.2	10.3	3.2	7068	21.2
2nd	Malta - father	36.9	40.4	20.0	2.7	2165	6.8
1st	Malta - self	56.2	30.3	10.0	3.6	9530	26.5
2nd	Croatia - parents	48.1	34.2	13.0	2.7	1173	19.0
2nd	Croatia - father	44.6	36.5	15.7	3.2	572	14.3
1st	Croatia - self	50.2	30.1	14.6	5.1	8113	22
2nd	FYR Macedonia -parents	61.5	29.9	6.1	2.6	807	31.4
2nd	FYR Macedonia - father	42.6	42.0	15.4	0.0	162	12.5
1st	FYR Macedonia - self	64.5	20.4	9.4	5.7	9965	36.9
2nd	Germany - parents	30.6	43.8	22.4	3.2	6359	0.5
2nd	Germany - father	30.0	43.1	24.0	2.9	5111	1.6
1st	Germany - self	31.9	39.8	25.1	3.2	12744	4.5
2nd	Netherlands - parents	30.3	49.0	17.8	2.9	15643	4.9
2nd	Netherlands -father	26.7	47.1	23.3	2.9	6426	3.7
1st	Netherlands - self	28.5	45.8	22.8	2.9	14537	1.9
2nd	Hungary - parents	34.3	41.6	21.5	2.7	2471	4.2
2nd	Hungary - father	30.0	44.9	22.8	2.3	2682	1
1st	Hungary - self	27.1	36.9	32.0	3.9	3961	10.4
2nd	Poland - parents	47.7	36.0	13.5	2.8	8033	17.6
2nd	Poland - father	38.0	40.7	18.4	3.0	8495	9.0
1st	Poland - self	31.9	38.4	26.5	3.3	14303	6.0
2nd	Lebanon - parents	48.7	29.7	16.8	4.8	1798	20.2
2nd	Lebanon - father	41.1	38.1	16.3	4.5	533	12.3
1st	Lebanon - self	39.5	22.7	32.5	5.3	15923	21.6

Table 5.13. (continued).

Generation	Parents' or father's birthplace	Owned outright	Purchasing	Renting	Other/ not stated	N	Index of dissimilarity
		%	%	%	%		
2nd	China - parents	50.1	32.8	12.5	4.5	1037	21.4
2nd	China - father	35.0	41.0	20.3	3.7	1273	5.4
1st	China - self	41.5	25.4	29.5	3.6	56624	18.9
2nd	India - parents	33.2	45.0	17.0	4.8	560	5.4
2nd	India - father	27.7	47.2	22.3	2.8	1754	2.9
1st	India - self	26.6	40.5	30.1	2.9	20651	7.7

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 9.3

Table 5.14. Housing tenure of the second generation aged 25-44 by parents' EP Group compared with the third generation, 1996.

Parents' EP group	Aged 25-34			Aged 35-44		
	Owned	Purchasing	Renting	Owned	Purchasing	Renting
	%	%	%	%	% %	
Both in Group 1	15.4	42.2	40.6	26.8	48.2	23.5
Both in Group 2	29.5	41.8	26.2	36.3	44.4	17.4
Both in Group 3	51.3	30.8	13.9	50.5	35.5	11.5
Both in Group 4	42.6	27.1	26.1	49.4	31.8	16.2
One in any Group 1 country	17.1	39.7	40.9	29.2	45.8	23.2
One in Group 2,3, 4 country	24.8	37.7	34.7	34.7	42.4	20.9
Total second generation	29.2	37.2	30.8	35.8	42.7	19.4
Australia - 3rd generation	18.8	39.8	38.6	30.4	44.8	22.7

Source: 1996 Census, DIMA Table 12.2.
Note: Totals may not add up to 100 per cent because of a small percentage in other housing status.

Comparison by parents' EP Group

The second generation with EP Group 3 parents were the most likely to be living in homes that were owned or being bought and least likely to be renting, followed by those with EP Group 4 parents (Table 5.14). On the other hand the second generation of EP Group 1 parents were the most likely to be renting. The data on housing confirms the better socioeconomic outcomes of the older second generation of non-English speaking origins when compared with those of English-speaking origin. Their rate of home ownership also exceeded that of third generation Australians.

Language shift

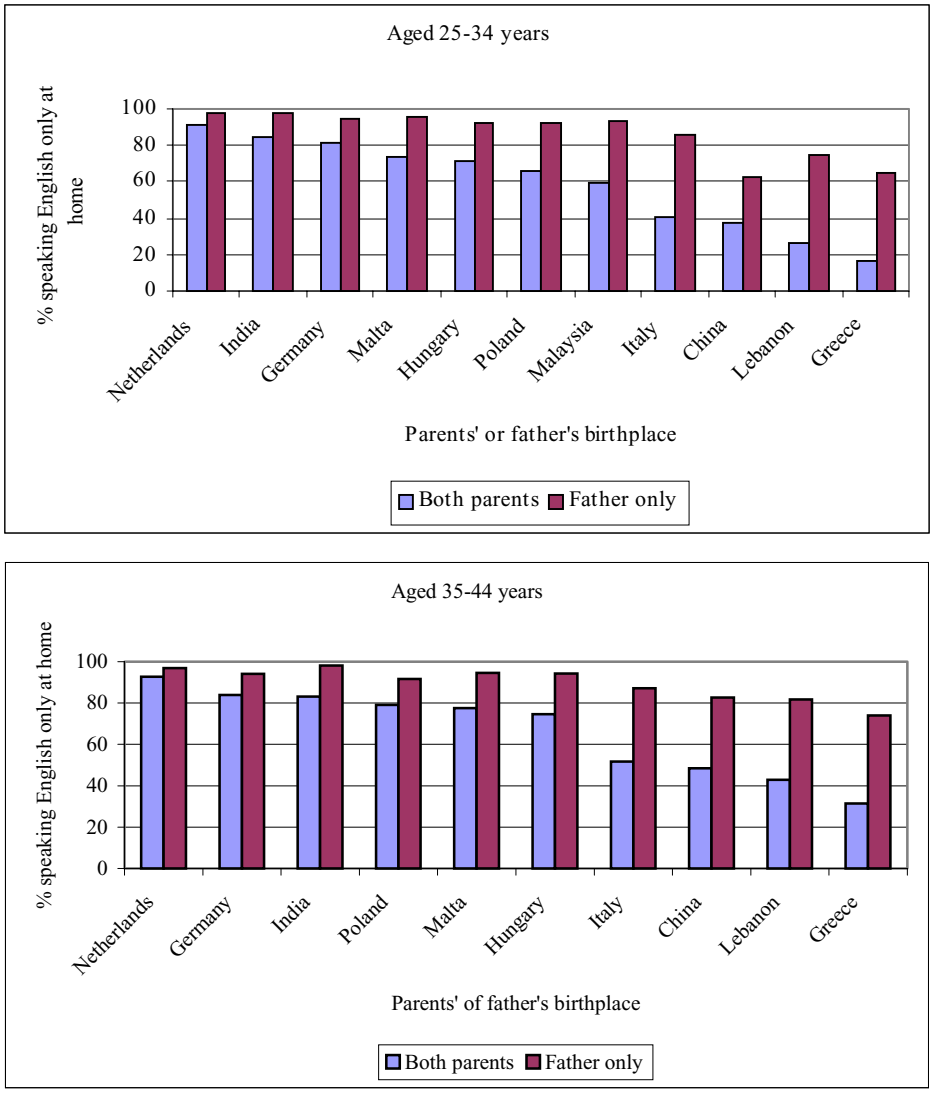
In the previous chapters examining second generation youth, many of them were still living at home with their parents and were likely to use their parents' native language in everyday communication, particularly if the parents could not speak English well. However, when the second generation reaches adulthood and leaves the parental home, there is the possibility of a greater shift to speaking English only at home.

As for the younger second generation, the shift to speaking English only at home varies among the adults by origin (Figure 5.5). The second generation with parents from Greece were the least likely to speak English only at home, followed by those with parents born in Lebanon, and those with parents born in China. Less than 50 per cent of the second generation aged 35-44 with parents born in Greece or Lebanon spoke English at home in 1996. On the other hand, the second generation of Dutch, Indian or German origins were the most likely to speak English only at home, with over 80 per cent doing so.

There was also a large difference in language shift between those with both parents and those with the father only born in the Southern European countries, Lebanon or China. Language maintenance was stronger by the second generation with both parents born in these countries than by the second generation with only the father born in these countries. In contrast the shift to English was almost universal among the second generation with both parents or the father only from the Netherlands.

The shift to English appeared to continue as the second generation became older, with the largest shifts occurring among the groups that had lower proportions speaking English only at home at ages 25-34. This suggests that an even greater proportion of their children's generation will be speaking English only at home compared to their generation. The proportion speaking English only at home among the second generation with parents born in Greece or Lebanon at ages 35-44 was considerably higher than at ages 25-34, possibly because many of those aged 25-34 were still living with parents. The analyses in the next chapter which follow two second generation cohorts as they age over a ten-year period will show more clearly the extent of language shift as the second generation grows older.

Figure 5.5. Per cent speaking English only at home: second generation aged 25-44 by parents' or father's birthplace, 1996.



Conclusion

The second generation who were born in the 1950s and 1960s of parents who immigrated to Australia during those years have now reached their prime adulthood. The second generation of parents from the Eastern European, Mediterranean (except Malta) and Asian countries examined in this chapter were more likely than their peers from British or Western European backgrounds to have tertiary qualifications and managerial or professional jobs. The latter groups were more similar to third generation Australians in their socioeconomic outcomes.

The second generation of Southern European origins showed particularly high rates of home ownership in their late 20s and early 30s compared with the second generation of other origins and with third generation Australians, although it was not clear if they were the owners or they were living with their parents who were the owners. However, by ages 35-44, other second generation and the third generation were able to reduce the gap in the rate of home ownership.

It was also significant that the majority of the second generation over age 25 whose parents had migrated from non-English speaking countries spoke only English at home. There remains considerable variation in the shift to speaking only English at home by origin, however, with a greater likelihood of language maintenance at home among those of Mediterranean backgrounds. Also, as has been demonstrated in earlier studies (Clyne and Kipp 1995; Khoo 1995), those with both parents from the same country were more likely to continue using their parental language at home than those with only one parent from that country.

The better socioeconomic outcomes observed for the second generation of Eastern European, Southern European and Asian origins compared to the second generation of UK or Western European origins confirm the findings of earlier studies by Hugo (1987) and Birrell and Khoo (1995). They were also similar to the results of a study of the second generation in Canada, which shows that those with parents born in areas of Europe other than the United Kingdom and Ireland had higher educational and occupational achievements than those of English-speaking origins or the third generation (Boyed and Grico 1998). It is not possible from the analysis of census data to explore the reasons for the differences observed by origin and why the second generation have done much better than the third generation. It is likely that a number factors related to family background, parental aspirations and the social context of particular immigrant communities – the issue of social capital- all play some role in contributing to the second generations' socioeconomic outcomes.

6. A COHORT ANALYSIS OF SOCIOECONOMIC OUTCOMES

This chapter examines the second generation aged 25-44 in 1996 over the ten-year period from 1986 to 1996. This cohort analysis provides a longitudinal perspective to examining their education attainment, labour market outcomes and housing tenure as they age from 15-34 in 1986 to 25-44 in 1996. Their propensity to shift to speaking English only at home as they grow older is also examined. Comparisons with the third generation provide an indication of whether there is convergence or divergence between the two groups as they age over the ten-year period.

The analyses are based on data from the population censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996. The two age groups – those aged 25-34 and 35-44 in 1996 – are examined separately. The younger cohort is examined first, followed by the older cohort.

The cohort aged 15-24 in 1986.

This cohort was born during the years 1962-71. Therefore their parents were immigrants who arrived in Australia before 1971. The group would be aged 20-29 in 1991 and 25-34 in 1996. The cohort analysis focuses on the years of transition from education to the workforce and the early years of working life.

Transition from education to work

In 1986, this group was just completing their education and entering the workforce. As shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, 21 per cent were still studying; only 64 per cent of the men and 58 per cent of the women were in the labour force. There was considerable variation by father's birthplace. Groups with high labour force participation rates were those with fathers born in the Netherlands, Ireland and Malta. Groups with low labour force participation rates were those with fathers born in Greece, Lebanon, Malaysia and China. The groups with lower participation rates also had higher proportions still studying and this might be partly because there were more people at the younger end of the age group.

In 1986, only a small percentage had completed tertiary studies, but some second generation groups in this cohort were already showing a greater likelihood of having tertiary qualifications than others and the second generation as a whole had a slightly higher percentage with tertiary qualifications than the third generation. As this cohort moved into the 20-29 and 25-34 age groups, the proportion with tertiary qualifications increased much faster for the second generation than the third generation. The gap between the two generation groups widened from 0.3 per cent points at age 15-24 to more than 3.5 percentage points when the cohort reached age 25-34. Thus the two generations diverged on this measure of educational achievement over the ten-year period and this diverging trend was observed for both men and women.

The labour force participation rate of this cohort increased sharply between 1986 and 1991 as more of them completed their education and entered the labour force. The labour force participation rate increased among the men during the ten-year period but showed a rise and then a decline among women. The women's pattern, observed for women in both second and third generations was likely to be related to their

withdrawal from the workforce because of childbearing and child care responsibilities when they reached their late 20s and early 30s.

There was a converging trend between the second and third generations among the men but not the women. Second generation women had a lower participation rate than third generation women at age 15-24 but they showed a greater increase in labour force participation than their third generation peers when they moved into the 20-29 age group and their work force participation rate exceeded that of the third generation at ages 20-34.

Differences by origin became smaller for both men and women although men with fathers born in Greece, Lebanon, Malaysia and China continued to have lower participation rates. In contrast, women from these backgrounds, with the exception of those with fathers born in Lebanon, had above average participation rates.

Table 6.1. Per cent still studying in 1986 and percentage with qualification: second generation aged 15-24 in 1986 by parents' or father's birthplace.

Parents' or father's birthplace	Percent still studying in 1986	Per cent with qualifications 1986	1991	1996	Number in 1986
Males		Aged 15-24	Aged 20-29	Aged 25-34	
New Zealand	27.1	3.6	15.6	26.6	4159
UK	20.9	2.4	10.5	19.0	63196
Ireland	15.8	3.5	12.0	20.0	4515
Greece	26.4	3.5	16.2	27.7	26214
Italy	18.2	3.6	12.3	20.6	50577
Malta	15.9	1.2	5.7	11.4	9872
Germany	21.1	2.6	11.7	21.0	12026
Netherlands	16.8	3.0	10.9	19.0	15940
Hungary	19.1	3.8	14.8	25.4	3278
Poland	14.2	6.2	18.9	27.8	4600
Lebanon	29.8	0.3	11.6	24.4	3439
Malaysia	33.5	7.0	32.4	53.9	644
China	29.8	2.5	28.7	48.8	2112
India	29.4	4.1	14.8	31.3	1958
Total 2nd generation*	**21.0**	**3.1**	**12.4**	**21.6**	306176
Australia (3rd generation)	**16.8**	**2.8**	**10.5**	**17.7**	743364
Females					
New Zealand	26.7	4.4	20.2	32.1	3986
UK	21.0	3.5	14.9	23.7	63106
Ireland	18.7	4.9	18.3	27.9	4764
Greece	27.5	5.5	22.4	34.8	24736
Italy	19.4	4.9	16.1	24.3	48542
Malta	17.5	1.8	9.0	14.8	9307
Germany	21.7	4.0	15.3	25.6	11657
Netherlands	17.9	3.7	15.5	24.0	15677
Hungary	17.8	5.8	20.1	30.2	3290
Poland	14.5	8.1	24.3	33.5	4334
Lebanon	30.9	3.7	13.7	23.9	3346
Malaysia	29.8	10.6	37.7	56.4	634
China	31.1	8.5	34.9	52.2	2068
India	28.8	4.2	21.0	35.1	1942
Total 2nd generation*	**21.7**	**4.3**	**17.1**	**26.6**	299153
Australia (3rd generation)	**17.1**	**4.1**	**15.7**	**23.1**	734226

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.2, 13.1 and 9.4.
*Includes other origins

Table 6.2. Male and female labour force participation rates, 1986-96, of second generation aged 15-24 in 1986.

Parents' or father's birthplace	Labour force participation rate (%) 1986	1991	1996	Number in 1986
Males	Aged 15-24	Aged 20-29	Aged 25-34	
New Zealand	60.6	85.2	88.6	4157
UK	67.4	87.1	88.8	63211
Ireland	70.1	86.0	88.5	4516
Greece	52.7	82.3	88.7	26235
Italy	66.5	85.4	89.9	50603
Malta	70.5	87.1	89.3	9909
Germany	65.0	86.9	88.8	12053
Netherlands	71.6	87.9	89.3	15914
Hungary	64.5	85.3	87.6	3291
Poland	68.1	86.6	88.8	4627
Lebanon	50.9	79.4	86.7	3428
Malaysia	44.0	77.9	85.7	632
China	49.1	78.4	89.8	2104
India	57.5	83.7	89.2	1960
Total 2nd generation*	**64.0**	**85.5**	**88.4**	306348
Australia (3rd generation)	**70.2**	**87.0**	**88.5**	743341
Females	Aged 15-24	Aged 20-29	Aged 25-34	
New Zealand	55.8	71.2	68.4	4022
UK	60.4	70.2	66.1	63135
Ireland	62.2	71.4	68.6	4788
Greece	49.7	74.8	74.1	24750
Italy	62.6	74.6	70.3	48578
Malta	62.7	70.6	62.9	9331
Germany	59.6	71.6	68.0	11692
Netherlands	62.7	69.8	64.8	15704
Hungary	59.9	71.5	68.5	3290
Poland	63.0	72.4	69.7	4357
Lebanon	45.6	66.6	62.1	3348
Malaysia	47.1	71.9	77.2	637
China	47.3	73.9	74.4	2083
India	53.8	72.9	71.7	1970
Total 2nd generation*	**58.4**	**71.8**	**68.2**	299360
Australia (3rd generation)	**60.9**	**68.0**	**64.4**	734183

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.2, 13.2, 9.4 and CS082.
* Includes other origins.

Unemployment rate

The cohort's unemployment rate declined as expected as they moved from age 15-24 to age 25-34 (Table 6.3). It was interesting to note that the second generation had slightly lower unemployment rates than the third generation at age 15-24 but the pattern reversed and there was a diverging trend when the cohort reached age 20 or older. This would indicate that a small proportion of the second generation was still not as well integrated into the labour force as the third generation.

Table 6.3. Unemployment rates, 1986-96 of second generation aged 15-24 in 1986, by origin.

Parents' or	Unemployment rate (%)		
father's birthplace	1986	1991	1996
Males	Aged 15-24	Aged 20-29	Aged 25-34
New Zealand	15.5	18.0	10.9
UK	18.0	18.6	10.9
Ireland	15.9	17.5	10.8
Greece	20.1	18.6	9.8
Italy	12.3	13.7	6.9
Malta	12.8	14.6	8.0
Germany	16.5	17.7	10.3
Netherlands	13.7	15.8	8.9
Hungary	16.0	18.7	10.4
Poland	15.9	15.5	9.4
Lebanon	21.9	19.6	9.9
Malaysia	14.8	14.3	5.4
China	13.8	13.6	7.2
India	16.3	17.3	7.4
Total 2nd generation*	**16.7**	**17.2**	**10.7**
Australia (3rd generation)	**17.1**	**16.5**	**9.7**
Females	Aged 15-24	Aged 20-29	Aged 25-34
New Zealand	15.6	14.7	8.6
UK	17.9	14.0	8.2
Ireland	16.3	11.5	6.9
Greece	17.2	14.1	6.8
Italy	11.9	9.9	5.1
Malta	13.0	10.1	6.2
Germany	17.3	13.4	7.6
Netherlands	14.6	11.6	6.9
Hungary	17.4	12.9	8.0
Poland	14.9	12.1	7.3
Lebanon	20.9	15.0	7.3
Malaysia	15.9	9.0	5.4
China	13.5	10.7	5.6
India	18.5	12.6	7.4
Total 2nd generation*	**16.3**	**12.8**	**7.7**
Australia (3rd generation)	**16.4**	**12.4**	**7.3**

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.2, 13.2, 9.4 and CS082.
* Includes other origins

Differences by origin also became smaller as the cohort became older. At ages 15-24, males of Lebanese or Greek origin and females of Lebanese origin had relatively high unemployment rates, but the rates declined to about the same level as the third generation when the cohort moved into the 25-34 age group.

Occupational status

Among those in employment, the percentage in managerial or professional occupations increased as expected for both men and women and the whole second and third generations as the cohort aged from 15-24 to 25-34 (Table 6.4). Differences

between the two generations were small. Differences by origins among the second generation were much larger.

The index of dissimilarity showed that the differences in occupational distribution between the second generation of parents born in China, India and Malaysia and the third generation became larger as the cohort aged from 15-24 to 25-34. This was mainly due to the large differences in the percentage in professional/managerial occupations between these second generation groups and the third generation. However, the index showed a decline over time for many second generation groups, particularly men of Southern European or Mediterranean origins, indicating a convergence with the third generation in their occupational distribution.

Compared with the cohort aged 25-34 in 1986, which is examined in the next section, this cohort on reaching the same age group in 1996 had a lower percentage in managerial/professional occupations among men but a higher proportion among women. Differences between the second and third generations in the percentage in managerial/professional occupations were also smaller for this cohort compared with the cohort ten years older.

Housing tenure

At age 15-24 in 1986, a large proportion of this cohort was likely to be still living in the parental home. Therefore their housing tenure was likely to refer to the parental home. As they moved into the 20-29 and 25-34 age groups, more might have left home and set up their own households and so their housing tenure at these ages might be more their own. Table 6.5 appears to validate this argument. The proportion living in fully owned homes declined as the cohort moved from age 15-24 to age 25-34. The proportion living in homes that were being purchased also declined slightly between the age groups 15-24 and 20-29 but then increased sharply as the cohort reached 25-34. The trend was the same for both second and third generations. However, differences in housing tenure observed between the two generation groups at these ages could also be related to differences in the age at leaving the parental home.

Shift to speaking English

Language shift is examined for the second generation of non-English speaking origins according to whether both parents or only the father was born in a particular country since this factor makes a significant difference (Table 6.6). All origin groups showed an increase in the proportion speaking only English at home as the cohort aged from 15-24 to 25-34 years, with the increase being larger for the second generation with both parents from the same origin than those with parents of mixed origins. The former still had lower proportions speaking only English at home compared with the latter.

There was a larger increase in the shift to speaking only English at home when the cohort moved from ages 20-29 to ages 25-34 than when the cohort moved from ages 15-24 to ages 20-29 for the second generation with both parents born in Greece, Italy, Lebanon or China. This pattern was likely to be related to many second generation men and women leaving the parental home during their twenties for marriage or to live on their own.

Table 6.4. Percentage in managerial or professional occupations and index of dissimilarity, 1986-96: second generation aged 15-24 in 1986 by origin.

Parents' or	% in managerial/professional occupations			Index of dissimilarity		
father's birthplace	1986	1991	1996	1986	1991	1996
Males	Aged 15-24	Aged 20-29	Aged 25-34			
New Zealand	11.6	23.7	31.2	5.9	7.9	8.3
UK	7.9	17.0	23.6	2.6	3.6	2.4
Ireland	8.6	17.9	23.8	6.7	4.0	3.9
Greece	12.5	23.4	27.1	12.4	13.6	5.3
Italy	11.9	21.5	25.1	8.8	6.3	4.5
Malta	5.8	13.0	17.6	8.9	7.7	6.9
Germany	8.2	17.5	24.5	8.0	6.5	4.7
Netherlands	8.6	18.2	24.2	8.2	6.8	6.0
Hungary	11.8	23.3	28.4	3.3	6.5	5.5
Poland	14.1	24.7	31.2	7.3	7.6	7.6
Lebanon	12.4	23.4	27.3	12.2	10.0	5.1
Malaysia	19.6	35.6	52.4	17.8	28.2	28.2
China	18.7	35.1	45.2	17.6	22.3	22.0
India	12.8	23.9	33.0	10.6	11.1	11.5
Total 2nd generation*	**9.9**	**19.9**	**25.5**	4.0	4.4	3.5
Australia (3rd generation)	**10.0**	**18.8**	**24.3**	(Reference population)		
Females						
New Zealand	10.6	21.0	35.6	3.4	1.9	6.4
UK	7.4	17.8	28.0	2.3	1.9	1.4
Ireland	10.1	19.0	32.5	3.1	2.4	4.6
Greece	10.9	23.4	28.8	6.3	7.9	2.9
Italy	9.1	19.2	25.6	4.6	5.7	5.2
Malta	5.5	14.7	20.5	7.6	8.0	10.6
Germany	7.5	18.0	29.2	1.4	1.6	1.2
Netherlands	8.1	17.8	29.2	1.3	1.4	0.9
Hungary	11.9	26.1	31.7	3.7	6.9	2.8
Poland	13.2	25.5	33.9	4.4	6.3	4.7
Lebanon	11.4	19.7	27.4	8.4	9.8	4.4
Malaysia	18.1	29.6	49.8	10.3	13.0	21.2
China	17.2	34.3	46.4	8.3	15.1	17.2
India	9.6	23.3	35.4	1.6	4.2	6.3
Total 2nd generation*	**8.9**	**19.6**	**29.1**	2.0	3.0	1.7
Australia (3rd generation)	**8.8**	**19.2**	**29.2**	(Reference population)		

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.2, 13.2, 9.3 and CS083
* Includes other origins

Table 6.5. Percentage living in homes that were fully owned or being purchased: second and third generations aged 15-24 in 1996.

Generation	Year and age	Housing tenure	
		Fully owned	Being purchased
Second generation	1986 (Aged 15-24)	42.4	29.9
	1991 (Aged 20-29)	36.6	29.8
	1996 (Aged 25-34)	29.2	37.2
Third generation	1986 (Aged 15-24)	30.4	32.5
	1991 (Aged 20-29)	24.3	31.5
	1996 (Aged 25-34)	18.8	39.8

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.1, 13.1 and CS074

Table 6.6. Percentage who spoke English only at home, 1986-96: second generation aged 15-24 in 1986 by parents' origin.

Parents' or father's birthplace	Per cent spoke only English at home			Number in 1986
	1986	1991	1996	
	Aged 15-24	Aged 20-29	Aged 25-34	
Greece - parents	4.5	7.5	16.4	45916
Greece - father only	50.4	57.8	64.5	5034
Italy - parents	19.6	25.8	41.2	75968
Italy - father only	78.9	80.8	85.5	23151
Malta - parents	56.2	63.6	74.0	13287
Malta - father only	94.7	94.5	95.8	5892
Germany - parents	67.7	72.6	80.8	8565
Germany - father only	92.3	93.9	94.3	15118
Netherlands - parents	84.3	89.4	91.7	14589
Netherlands - father only	97.0	97.5	97.5	17028
Hungary - parents	47.9	61.0	71.1	2351
Hungary - father only	89.0	90.6	92.3	4217
Poland - parents	42.7	54.9	65.6	3768
Poland - father only	87.9	90.0	92.5	5166
Lebanon - parents	15.1	15.6	26.4	5796
Lebanon - father only	73.2	70.3	74.4	989
Malaysia - parents	62.1	54.1	59.2	198
Malaysia - father only	94.6	94.5	92.9	1080
China - parents	20.4	25.7	37.0	2148
China - father only	79.1	81.5	79.4	2032
India - parents	83.9	84.3	84.8	1067
India - father only	97.1	97.8	97.4	2833

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.1, 13.1 and CS074.

The cohort aged 25-34 in 1986.

This cohort was born during the years 1952-61. Therefore their parents were immigrants who arrived before 1961. The group would be aged 30-39 in 1991 and 35-44 in 1996. Twelve country of origin groups are included: 10 of European origins plus those with parents born in Lebanon and New Zealand. This analysis examines their passage through their prime adult years.

Qualifications

In 1986, 16 per cent of this cohort of second generation men and women had tertiary qualifications (associate diploma, degree or higher). This percentage increased over the next 10 years to 25 per cent among the men and 26 per cent among the women of the second generation (Table 6.7). The increase was observed for men and women of all country of origin groups although differences by origin were maintained. Men and women of Maltese parentage had much lower proportions with tertiary qualifications than other second generation groups and the third generation.

The proportion with tertiary qualifications also increased among men and women of the third generation. However, differences between the second and third generations were maintained as the cohort aged over the ten-year period. The proportion with tertiary qualifications among the third generation remained a few percentage points lower than for second generation at all ages.

Labour force status

In 1986, over 90 per cent of the men and 58 per cent of the women were in the labour force (Table 6.8). Differences by origin were small. The highest participation rate among the men was 92 per cent for those with fathers born in Germany and Netherlands, and the lowest rate of 89 per cent was observed for those with fathers born in Lebanon. Among the women, those with fathers born in Greece and Hungary had the highest participation rate of 65 per cent while those with fathers born in Malta had the lowest rate of 51 per cent.

Five years later, the participation rate of men declined slightly to less than 90 per cent, but that of women increased to 62 per cent. There was a further decline to 82 per cent by the time the men reached the age group 35-44 in 1996, but the rate for women continued to increase to 64 per cent in 1996. The same pattern of declining participation rates for men and increasing participation rates for women was also observed for the third generation. There was little difference in the male participation rate between the second and third generations. Women of the second generation had a slightly higher participation rate than women of the third generation at age 25-34. The difference narrowed when they reached age 30-39 and by age 35-44, women of the third generation had a slightly higher participation rate than women of the second generation.

Differences by origin were larger by the time the men reached age 35-44, with men of Italian background having the highest rate of 85 per cent and men of Lebanese background having the lowest rate of 78 per cent. Labour force participation increased with age for women of all origins except for those with fathers born in Greece or Hungary, whose participation rate remained fairly stable at a relatively high level of 65 per cent, and for those with fathers born in Lebanon whose participation rate declined slightly. At age 35-44, women of Lebanese or Maltese background had lower work force participation rates than other women.

Table 6.7. Percentage with tertiary education qualifications: second generation aged 25-34 in 1986 by origin.

Parents' or father's birthplace	Per cent with tertiary qualifications 1986	1991	1996	Number in 1986
Males	Aged 25-34	Aged 30-39	Aged 35-44	
New Zealand	22.2	26.8	29.9	2690
UK	14.7	19.3	23.1	44212
Ireland	15.4	21.6	26.5	4191
Greece	22.3	25.6	29.5	7295
Italy	15.2	19.5	22.4	26486
Malta	5.9	9.1	11.9	4757
Germany	15.0	19.2	23.5	5744
Netherlands	14.1	19.2	23.5	10464
Hungary	21.3	27.1	31.3	2518
Poland	21.2	26.7	30.2	8558
Lebanon	20.2	24.1	26.6	1103
Total 2nd generation*	**16.4**	**21.5**	**25.0**	184016
Australia (3rd generation)	**13.7**	**18.0**	**21.2**	737400
Females				
New Zealand	22.2	30.8	34.2	2875
UK	14.9	22.9	25.3	45572
Ireland	16.9	28.6	31.1	4152
Greece	20.6	23.6	27.5	6777
Italy	13.7	17.1	19.4	25684
Malta	5.4	7.8	10.4	4644
Germany	16.1	23.3	26.2	5682
Netherlands	14.5	24.9	27.4	10574
Hungary	22.1	30.4	34.3	2639
Poland	20.7	27.0	29.7	8522
Lebanon	14.8	17.8	20.9	1034
Total 2nd generation*	**16.3**	**23.7**	**26.2**	185998
Australia (3rd generation)	**14.2**	**22.5**	**24.4**	754377

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.1,13.2 and 9.4.
* Includes other origins

Table 6.8. Male and female labour force participation rates: second generation aged 25-34 in 1986 by origin.

Parents' or father's birthplace	Labour force participation rate (%) 1986	1991	1996	Number in 1986
Males	(Aged 25-34)	(Aged 30-39)	(Aged 35-44)	
New Zealand	90.3	89.8	81.8	2715
UK	90.8	88.7	81.5	44211
Ireland	90.3	89.0	81.2	4198
Greece	90.0	87.4	81.8	7253
Italy	91.8	88.9	85.2	26469
Malta	90.1	87.8	80.3	4727
Germany	92.3	88.6	81.5	5715
Netherlands	92.2	90.1	84.2	10474
Hungary	90.4	89.0	79.8	2558
Poland	91.4	89.3	81.4	8572
Lebanon	88.8	87.3	78.3	1054
Total 2nd generation*	**90.2**	**88.9**	**81.6**	183840
Australia (3rd generation)	**90.7**	**88.6**	**81.8**	737386
Females	(Aged 25-34)	(Aged 30-39)	(Aged 35-44)	
New Zealand	60.8	63.6	65.4	2896
UK	56.3	62.0	65.1	45637
Ireland	60.3	64.9	67.9	4168
Greece	65.5	64.1	64.3	6790
Italy	60.2	59.5	63.7	25717
Malta	51.6	55.2	59.1	4576
Germany	60.3	63.1	63.5	5674
Netherlands	55.4	60.3	64.5	10563
Hungary	65.1	65.1	65.8	2577
Poland	61.7	64.6	66.5	8447
Lebanon	57.7	54.6	55.0	1027
Total 2nd generation*	**58.3**	**62.3**	**64.3**	185877
Australia (3rd generation)	**55.1**	**61.5**	**65.2**	754391

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.2,13.2 and 9.4 and CS082.
* Includes other origins

Unemployment rate

Table 6.9 shows the cohort's unemployment rate at the time of the censuses. Among men of both the second and third generations, the unemployment rate increased from 8 per cent in 1986 to over 9 per cent in 1991 before dropping back to just over 7 per cent in 1996. Australia had a recession in 1991. Interestingly the recession was not reflected in the female unemployment rate. It was possible that women were more likely to withdraw from the work force entirely during recession times or that they were in industries that were less affected compared with the men. The female unemployment rate was highest in 1986 at over 8 per cent and declined steadily to less than 6 per cent in 1996 as the women aged.

It was also interesting to note that in 1991 the second generation – both men and women – had higher unemployment rates than the third generation. But in 1986 and 1996, the second generation either had lower or similar rates of unemployment as the

third generation. This seems to suggest that the second generation tended to be more adversely affected than the third generation during a recession.

There was considerable variation in the second generation's unemployment rate by origin. The lowest rate was observed among men and women of Italian background at all three censuses. Men of Lebanese background had the highest unemployment rate in 1986 and 1991, but as the cohort moved into the 35-44 age group in 1996, men of Hungarian background recorded the highest unemployment rate. High unemployment rates were observed for women of German background at all three censuses, and for women of Hungarian background in the 1996 Census.

Table 6.9. Unemployment rates 1986-96: second generation aged 25-34 in 1986 by origin and third generation.

Parents' or	Unemployment rate (%)		
father's birthplace	1986	1991	1996
Males	(Aged 25-34)	(Aged 30-39)	(Aged 35-44)
New Zealand	8.6	9.9	8.5
UK	8.3	10.1	8.1
Ireland	8.2	9.5	8.0
Greece	9.6	10.0	8.5
Italy	5.7	7.9	5.7
Malta	7.8	10.1	7.9
Germany	8.8	11.6	8.8
Netherlands	6.9	9.0	7.0
Hungary	8.5	11.4	9.2
Poland	7.4	9.5	8.6
Lebanon	9.8	12.0	8.3
Total 2nd generation*	**8.1**	**9.8**	**7.1**
Australia (3rd generation)	**8.3**	**9.4**	**7.6**
Females	(Aged 25-34)	(Aged 30-39)	(Aged 35-44)
New Zealand	8.8	7.9	7.4
UK	8.8	8.0	6.4
Ireland	8.4	7.2	5.4
Greece	7.2	8.8	6.0
Italy	6.3	6.8	5.1
Malta	8.0	8.8	6.8
Germany	9.1	9.2	7.5
Netherlands	8.3	7.9	5.8
Hungary	8.6	9.0	7.6
Poland	6.9	7.9	6.2
Lebanon	9.4	8.3	5.6
Total 2nd generation*	**8.4**	**7.9**	**5.9**
Australia (3rd generation)	**8.7**	**7.5**	**5.9**

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables 16.2,13.2 and 9.4 and CS082.
* Includes other origins

Occupational status

Table 6.10 shows the percentage in managerial or professional occupations as the cohort moved from the 25-34 age group to the 35-44 age group. The index of dissimilarity compares their occupational distribution (not shown) with that of the third generation, for men and women separately.

For both men and women, the second generation had a slightly higher proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations in all the three years than the third generation. Among the men, groups with a relatively high proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations were those with fathers born in Lebanon, Greece, New Zealand or Hungary. Among the women, those with fathers born in New Zealand, Hungary, Greece or Poland had a relatively high proportion in managerial or professional occupations. Men and women whose fathers were born in Malta had the lowest proportion employed in managerial or professional occupations.

The proportion in managerial/professional occupations increased among most second generation groups as the cohort aged from 25-34 to 30-39 before levelling off after age 35 for men although the increasing trend continued for women. A similar pattern was observed for men and women of the third generation.

The index of dissimilarity showed that the second generation groups with the largest difference in occupation distribution from the third generation were those of Lebanese, Greek or Maltese origins at ages 25-35 and 30-39. At ages 35-44, the differences had become much smaller, as indicated by decline in the value of the index, except for the second generation of Maltese origins. As the cohort moved into the 35-44 age group the proportion in managerial/professional occupations among the second generation of Greek or Lebanese origins tended to decline, reducing the gap with the third generation. There was little change among the second generation of Maltese origin.

Differences in the occupational distribution between the second and third generations became smaller for most second generation groups as they aged from 25-34 to 35-44 years, as shown by the decrease in the index of dissimilarity between the years 1986 and 1996. This appeared to be due to a catch-up process as more members of the third generation moved into managerial/professional occupations compared with the second generation as the cohort passed into the older age groups.

Housing tenure

More than half of the second generation groups shown in Table 6.11 were living in owned or mortgaged homes when they were aged 25-34 in 1986. Over 80 per cent of those with parents from Italy, Malta and Greece were in this situation compared with less than 70 per cent of those of other European origins. The proportion in owned or mortgaged homes among the second generation with parents born in the UK or Germany was not much different from that for the third generation.

Table 6.10. Percentage in managerial or professional occupations and index of dissimilarity, 1986-96: second generation aged 25-34 in 1986 by origin, and third generation.

Parents' or	% in managerial/professional occupations			Index of dissimilarity		
father's birthplace	1986	1991	1996	1986	1991	1996
Males	(Aged 25-34)	(Aged 30-39)	(Aged 35-44)			
New Zealand	33.1	41.3	39.5	8.5	8.1	6.5
UK	25.7	32.4	33.3	3.3	2.9	2.0
Ireland	26.0	34.9	34.8	4.0	4.3	4.1
Greece	34.7	40.4	36.6	14.4	13.8	5.3
Italy	30.2	36.3	33.9	6.2	5.9	4.0
Malta	16.5	23.0	22.4	12.0	12.5	11.1
Germany	24.3	31.1	31.2	4.6	5.1	5.0
Netherlands	25.9	32.0	33.5	8.0	6.5	5.4
Hungary	31.6	38.4	40.6	8.1	8.8	7.5
Poland	31.5	37.0	36.9	5.9	5.1	4.8
Lebanon	38.6	44.6	38.0	19.7	18.1	6.0
Total 2nd generation*	**28.5**	**35.3**	**34.9**	3.6	3.8	3.2
Australia (3rd generation)	**26.9**	**33.2**	**33.0**	Reference category		
Females						
New Zealand	34.7	34.3	41.1	10.6	7.9	8.9
UK	24.3	27.2	31.9	1.4	0.8	1.3
Ireland	25.0	29.7	38.2	3.2	3.8	6.0
Greece	29.8	31.8	30.4	10.5	9.7	3.6
Italy	23.6	26.1	25.5	9.4	8.1	6.7
Malta	14.3	17.3	18.3	16.4	14.7	16.9
Germany	24.4	26.8	32.4	2.3	1.2	0.4
Netherlands	24.5	27.5	33.9	2.0	1.9	2.6
Hungary	30.7	36.2	37.5	6.2	7.6	6.4
Poland	28.1	30.7	34.6	5.3	4.3	3.5
Lebanon	25.9	34.2	24.5	13.8	10.5	9.8
Total 2nd generation*	**25.9**	**29.2**	**32.3**	3.1	3.0	1.5
Australia (3rd generation)	**25.1**	**27.6**	**32.2**	Reference category		

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables. 16.2, 13.2, 9.4 and CS082.
*Includes other origins.

The rate of home ownership increased as expected as the cohort became older, with the exception of the second generation with both parents born in Lebanon which remained at 78 per cent over the ten-year period. The second generation of Southern European origins increased their proportion to about 85 per cent at ages 35-44 while the others achieved a rate close to 75-80 per cent. The exception was the group with parents born in New Zealand, which had the lowest rate of 65 per cent.

It would appear that this second generation cohort had achieved some measure of socioeconomic success in terms of their employment, occupation and housing status. At ages 25-34, they were relatively more successful than their third generation peers on these indicators, but the latter were able to reduce the gap as the cohort moved into middle age.

Table 6.11. Percentage living in homes that were fully owned or being purchased, 1986-96: second generation aged 25-34 in 1986 by origin, and third generation.

Parents' or father's birthplace	Per cent living in own home			Number in
	1986	1991	1996	1986
	(Age 25-34)	(Age 30-39)	(Age 35-44)	
New Zealand - parents	52.9	65.9	65.5	582
New Zealand - father only	51.6	67.9	72.5	5029
UK -parents	63.4	69.6	74.3	29492
UK - father only	63.7	69.9	74.3	60356
Ireland - parents	64.4	74.1	78.6	1876
Ireland - father only	62.0	70.0	75.0	6490
Greece - parents	81.1	82.4	84.7	11524
Greece - father only	71.8	74.6	78.3	2519
Italy - parents	83.4	85.1	87.5	41286
Italy - father only	69.6	74.4	78.3	10900
Malta - parents	82.3	84.0	86.5	7234
Malta - father only	68.6	73.8	77.3	2069
Germany - parents	63.5	70.8	74.4	6335
Germany - father only	60.2	66.9	73.1	5054
Netherlands - parents	68.1	74.6	79.3	14946
Netherlands - father only	60.3	68.7	73.8	6091
Hungary - parents	64.2	73.3	75.9	2488
Hungary - father only	63.6	69.6	74.9	2647
Poland - parents	77.0	80.1	83.7	8508
Poland - father only	69.1	75.3	78.7	8511
Lebanon - parents	78.4	77.8	78.4	1598
Lebanon - father only	67.3	73.3	79.2	483
Australia 3rd generation	63.4	69.7	74.4	1491777

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Tables. 16.1, 13.1, and CS074.

Shift to speaking English

Table 6.12 examines the shift to speaking only English at home over the ten-year period as the cohort aged from 25-34 years to 35-44 years. As for the younger cohort, an increasing proportion of this cohort shifted to speaking English only at home over the ten-year period although differences by origin were maintained. Maintenance of the parents' language continued to be high among the second generation of both parents born in Greece, Lebanon or Italy even as they reached middle age. Comparison of this cohort at ages 25-34 with the younger cohort at the same age (Table 6.6) shows that a higher proportion of the younger cohort of Italian, Maltese or Hungarian origins were speaking only English at home.

Table 6.12. Percentage speaking only English at home, 1986-96: second generation aged 25-34 in 1986 by origin.

Parents' or father's birthplace	Per centspoke only English at home 1986	1991	1996	Number in 1986
	Aged 25-34	Aged 30-39	Age 35-44	
Greece - parents	18.6	22.8	31.4	11530
Greece - father only	62.8	68.1	74.0	2542
Italy - parents	36.4	42.0	51.7	41296
Italy - father only	82.5	84.6	87.1	10874
Malta - parents	63.4	71.5	77.6	7279
Malta - father only	92.0	92.6	94.6	2122
Germany - parents	76.6	79.2	83.9	6330
Germany - father only	91.8	92.5	94.1	5096
Netherlands - parents	85.6	90.5	92.7	14978
Netherlands - father only	96.0	97.0	96.9	6060
Hungary - parents	59.5	68.4	74.6	2497
Hungary - father only	89.9	90.5	94.2	2660
Poland - parents	66.0	74.0	79.1	8566
Poland - father only	87.9	90.1	91.7	8514
Lebanon - parents	35.3	36.8	42.9	1626
Lebanon - father only	78.5	72.0	81.7	511

Sources: 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, DIMA Table 16.1, 13.1 and CS074.

Conclusion

The cohort analyses confirm that the second generation who reached adulthood during the 1980s and 1990s were more likely to have tertiary qualifications and to be in managerial or professional occupations than the third generation. They also appeared to move more quickly into home ownership. The analyses also confirm that differences in these socioeconomic outcomes by origin were maintained over time. However the second and third generations showed some convergence in occupational status and home ownership as more third generation Australians move into managerial positions and become home owners at older ages.

The only less positive observation that emerged was that their unemployment rate was higher than that of the third generation when economic conditions were unfavourable as they were in the year 1991. For both the cohorts examined, both male and female unemployment rates were higher for the second generation than the third generation at the time of the 1991 Census. This suggests that the second generation can still be disadvantaged in the labour market during periods of economic recession.

The cohort analyses also showed a definite language shift to speaking only English at home as the second generation became older. Although differences by origin remained fairly large even at older ages, a large majority of second generation of non-English speaking origins, with the exception of those of Greek or Lebanese origins, spoke English only at home.

7. THE FAMILY FORMATION BEHAVIOUR OF SECOND GENERATION AUSTRALIANS

Family organisation is a core feature of cultural identity. It is fundamental to the idealised morality to which cultures aspire. As such, family is steeped in tradition and in religion. Consequently, it has been observed that the family tends to be more resilient to change than most other social institutions (McDonald 1994). While convergence of world family systems to a 'western' model was confidently predicted in the 1960s (Goode 1963), on a global scale, this has not taken place. Indeed, the family in the West itself has shifted dramatically from the model that 1960s' sociologists predicted would come to dominate world family systems. When people leave their own country and migrate to another country, there is a general interest in the extent to which cultural identity is maintained in the face of an alternative, dominant culture. Given the resilience of family systems, there is a particular interest in examining the extent to which immigrants maintain older family systems within their new cultural environment.

In this chapter, the focus is upon family formation and dissolution, the demography of families. This is only one aspect of family organisation but one that is most accessible from the available statistics. Standard measures can be compared across different groups and with the dominant culture. Family formation and dissolution behaviour can also be indicative of broader aspects of family organisation such as authority structures, economic order, gender roles and values related to marriage and children. For example, the age difference between brides and grooms is usually a good indicator of the level of gender equity in relationships, particularly when the age at marriage for women is low (Casterline, Williams and McDonald 1986). For migrant groups, the extent of intermarriage is also frequently regarded as a good indicator of the maintenance of traditional family systems (Jones 1994a; Penny and Khoo 1996). On the other hand, this is not always the case and the relationship of broader aspects of family organisation to age at marriage, number of children, divorce rates, intermarriage and so on may be vague or equivocal. Bracher and Santow (1995), for example, have argued that, for Southern Europeans in Australia, the number of children that couples have may not be an important cultural value but its adjustment may be a means by which other cultural values are maintained.

There are several aspects of the migration process that can affect the extent to which culturally-specific family behaviour is maintained. First generation immigrants who arrive as adults have already experienced the origin culture for many years and, indeed, often arrive in their new country well down the path of formation of their own families. They may already have married and have children before they arrive in the new country. As such, we would expect a greater level of adherence to the family organisation of the culture of origin. On the other hand, first generation immigrants may arrive as young, single adults to a large degree cut off from their families of origin, especially the values and discipline of their parents. As immigrants or innovators, they may be open to new ideas and behaviours. Those who arrive as individuals may intermarry with the local population especially where there is a shortage of potential partners from the homeland.

There is also an issue of cultural distance between the countries of origin and destination. If the cultural distance is narrow, then the potential for change in behaviour is small; if the cultural distance is wide, then the issue of change takes on greater interest.

The size or 'separateness' of the ethnic community in the destination country is likely to be another factor influencing behaviour, especially as attention shifts to the behaviour of the second generation. In big cities, there may be sufficient numbers of people from the one cultural origin that they are able to meet their family needs insulated from the dominant culture for a very long period of time, even across generations. In other instances, even small groups can form isolated communities in rural areas and maintain traditional culture by exclusion of other groups. While this latter phenomenon is evident in rural areas of the United States, the almost complete absence of small-holder rural settlement in Australia has largely precluded this situation arising, although it does apply in some instances to indigenous people in rural Australia. Besides geographic dispersal, differences of religion or language may also be factors that support the maintenance of the family behaviours of the culture of origin across generations. Clearly, the extent to which the second generation follows the family system of the culture of origin is influenced heavily by the extent to which the first generation has done so. If the first generation moves rapidly to adopt the practices and behaviour of the host or dominant culture, then, we would not normally expect the second generation to revert to the culture of origin of their parents. For this reason, it is important to give some consideration to the family formation behaviour of first generation immigrants to Australia. There are limitations in this analysis. For example, a child that arrived in Australia at age one, a first generation migrant, is probably more like her brother born in Australia two years later than her parents. Second, there is an age gap between the first and second generation meaning that they have lived their lives in differing secular contexts.

Family formation behaviour of the first generation

Background

Literature on the family formation behaviour of first generation immigrants in Australia is dominated by studies of the behaviour of Southern Europeans, or more broadly of those from Mediterranean countries. This dominance is associated with the factors discussed in the previous paragraph. Australian family formation behavior has always been very similar to behaviour in England and Wales. For 150 years in Australia, changes in ages at marriage, proportions marrying, marriage breakdown, numbers of children, cohabitation and children leaving home have mirrored those in England and Wales[1]. Of course, intermarriage of native-born Australians with people from Britain and Ireland has a very long history. The cultural distance between the dominant Australian family culture and that of immigrants arriving from the United Kingdom has always been very narrow. This is also true for immigrants from New Zealand and to a large extent for immigrants from western Europe such as those from Germany and the Netherlands. Beyond these culturally-close immigrant groups, those from Southern European countries such as Italy,

[1] Increasing ethnic differences between the two countries are now starting to give rise to some differences, a topic worthy of further research.

Greece, Malta, Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have been the largest immigrant groups prior to the relatively recent expansion of migration from Asian countries. With a few small exceptions (eg. Italians in North Queensland), Southern European and other Mediterranean immigrants to Australia have settled mainly in Sydney and Melbourne. Group size and geographic concentration have been important determinants of cultural maintenance for these groups (Jones 1994a). There has been a long history of movement to Australia from Lebanon and the character of the movement has varied across time to some extent, reflecting the diversity of cultures in Lebanon itself. Earlier migration was largely of Christian peoples and was very family-oriented. In the 1980s, however, refugee migration became prominent and the proportion of Muslim among immigrants from Lebanon rose considerably. On the other hand, the demography of family does not vary dramatically between the different cultures originating from Lebanon. In all cases, daughters are closely protected, marriage is controlled by the parental generation, fertility is high and divorce is rare.

The large majority of first generation immigrants from Central and Eastern European countries arrived as refugees in the 1950s. There have been some subsequent movements such as the movement from Poland in the 1980s. From the perspective of families, these movements were undertaken under much greater constraint than the movements already discussed. Refugees had often suffered the loss of family members or families were scattered. Many arrived in Australia as individuals. The group resources necessary to maintain family systems were not as strong as they were for the more family-oriented movement from Southern Europe. The more recent movement from Asian countries, with the exception of the refugee movement from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, has taken place under very settled and planned conditions. Entry conditions have also given an advantage to new applicants with already-existing family connections in Australia. The potential to maintain family systems has been strong. On the other hand, again with the exception of refugees, immigrants from South, Southeast and East Asia have been more highly skilled and educated than the generation of Southern Europeans who arrived between 1950 and 1975. As such, they have been more exposed to Western ideas and are perhaps more open to a shift in values towards those of the host society, Australia. Furthermore, many of these immigrants came to Australia originally as students, thus experiencing Australian culture as young, single people.

The first-generation from Mediterranean countries

Besides their numerical significance, there has been a focus on Southern Europeans in this type of research because their family formation behaviour in Australia has displayed resilience in the face of the dominant trends. In general, Southern Europeans and those from other Mediterranean countries (in numerical importance, principally those from Lebanon and Turkey) have had relatively low rates of intermarriage (Jones 1994a; Penny and Khoo 1996). Where intermarriage has occurred, it is much more likely for men than for women (Penny and Khoo 1996). Age at first marriage has been young for both sexes (Carmichael 1988; Santow and Bracher 1994). Rates of cohabitation outside of marriage, ex-nuptial birth and divorce have been very low in comparison to the Australian population in general (Santow and Bracher 1994; Jones 1994b; McDonald 1991; Bracher,

Santow, Morgan and Trussell 1993). Young people, particularly young women, tend to remain at home with parents until they are married rather than setting up independent households. (Young 1987; McDonald 1991).

In the late 1970s, the fertility rate was higher for women born in Mediterranean countries than it was for women born in Australia (Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald 2000). The Total Fertility Rate for women born in Australia was 1.9 births per woman in 1977-81 compared to 4.2 for those born in Lebanon, 2.6 for Turkey, 2.4 for Cyprus and Malta, 2.2 for Greece, 2.1 for Italy and 2.0 for former Yugoslavia. Ten years later, 1987-91, the fertility rates for Australian women born in Italy (1.6), Greece (1.5) and former Yugoslavia (1.6) had fallen below the level for the Australian-born (1.8). The rates for women of other Mediterranean origins also fell during this decade but remained above the level for the Australian-born. The 1987-91 rate for women born in Lebanon was 3.4, Turkey 2.3, Malta 2.0 and Cyprus 1.9. In most instances, the falls for women born in Mediterranean countries mirrored the falls that occurred at the same time in the countries of origin. This was particularly noticeable for those born in Greece as shown in Table 7.1. The evidence suggests that Greece-born women in Australia followed the trend in Greece itself much more closely than the trend for Australia-born women.

Table 7.1: Total fertility rates, 1977-1991: Greece-born women in Australia compared to women in Greece and Australia-born women.

Year	Greece-born in Australia	Greece	Australia-born
1977-81	2.2	2.2	1.9
1982-86	1.7	1.8	1.9
1987-91	1.5	1.4	1.8

Source: Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald, 2001: Table 1.

Fertility rates for those of Southern European origins in Australia have fallen to low levels while the same people have maintained traditional family values. In reference to Southern Europeans in Australia, Bracher and Santow (1995: 25) conclude:

> Many aspects of the actual family seem to be resistant to change: the relation between the sexes; the structure of authority within the family; its emphasis on marriage as the only acceptable form of adult life; its striving for economic security; its desire to conduct itself in private.

They suggest that the number of children may be a less important value for Southern Europeans than economic security and the search for the latter may restrict the former. It has also been suggested that the maintenance of a male-oriented traditional family system in societies that offer considerable non-traditional opportunities to women as individuals leads to some women having fewer children than they would otherwise have had (McDonald 2001).

In summary, we can conclude that Australians born in Mediterranean countries (the first generation) have maintained the family values of the country of origin to a very large extent. For the Greece-born, a distinct religion has been an element of this cultural maintenance. For all groups, relatively low levels of education may also have contributed to conservatism. As this report shows, the second generation of Southern European origins have much higher levels of education on average than the first generation. Does the shift in education as well as a lifetime of exposure to the values of the dominant culture lead to changes in family formation behaviour for the second generations of Southern European origins?

The first generation from Asian countries

Family formation behaviour for the first generation born in Asian countries is much more difficult to interpret. For some countries of origin (eg. India and Indonesia), the first generation includes a significant number of people whose origin is not Asian (British for those born in India and Dutch for those born in Indonesia). Women born in the Philippines include a significant number who married Australian men. Those born in Malaysia, China, Hong Kong and Singapore, at younger ages, include many people who are students only temporarily living in Australia. Those born in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos consist heavily of former refugees whose family lives were often severely disrupted through the process of flight from their country of origin. Finally, large-scale immigration from Asia is a more recent phenomenon than the migration from Mediterranean countries. Table 7.2 indicates some differences in family formation behaviour of the first generation from three Asian countries of origin. The numbers are restricted to those where both parents were born in the same country to exclude most persons whose origins were other than the specified country. The ages chosen also tend to exclude temporarily-resident students.

The proportion ever married in the age group 25-29 is an indicator of the timing of marriage. It suggests that women born in India were much more likely to have married at an earlier age than the other groups. The Chinese are also more likely to have married than women born in Australia. In both these cases, however, the higher proportions ever married may be due to selectivity. That is, many of these women may have migrated to Australia with their husbands and their presence in Australia may be related to the fact that they were already married. Those born in Malaysia were less likely to have married than the Australian-born. It is known that Malaysians of Chinese origin have a relatively high age at first marriage and this may be the reason that those in Australia are less likely to have married. However, this group may also be selective of women with somewhat higher levels of education and hence later marriage.

Table 7.2. Selective indicators of family formation and dissolution behaviour for the first generation, Malaysia, China and India, 1996 Census.

Country of birth	Women aged 25-29		Women aged 35-44	
	Per cent ever married	Mean births	Mean births	Per cent separated, divorced or widowed [(b)]
Malaysia[(a)]	48.5	0.32	1.71	9.5
China[(a)]	68.7	0.44	1.48	11.2
India[(a)]	80.6	0.73	1.91	9.6
Australia	53.6	0.79	2.16	21.0

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 9.1
(a) Person and both parents born in the specified country.
(b) Percentage of those ever married.

The mean number of births for both those aged 25-29 and 35-44 years is higher for the Australia-born than for women from the three Asian countries of birth. Those from India have the next highest mean number of births. The fact that the Australia-born have a higher mean number of births at age 25-29 than the India-born despite a much lower proportion ever married suggests that the Australia-born are much more likely to have had a birth outside marriage. This is confirmed by the data in Table 7.3. By 35-44 years, the China-born have the lowest fertility. This was not due to a high proportion with one child but relatively low proportions with three or more children.

The final indicator in Table 7.2 is the proportion separated, divorced or widowed among those ever married for women aged 35-44 years. As widowhood is very uncommon at these ages, this measure can be taken as an indicator of the extent of marriage breakdown. For all three Asian countries of birth, the rate of marriage breakdown appears to be half or less of that of the Australia-born.

Table 7.3 shows three indicators for current first generation immigrants ffrom a selection of Asian countries. With the exception of the Malaysia-born, the Total Fertility Rates of women born in these Asian countries do not vary widely from those of the Australia-born. Those born in China, Vietnam, and the Philippines have slightly higher fertility than the Australia-born. The low rate for the Malaysia-born may reflect the student component at younger ages or the relatively high level of education of this group. Interestingly, the Malaysia-born have the highest percentage where the father of the child was not born in Malaysia; 37 per cent of the fathers were born in Australia and 30 per cent in a third country. As mentioned above, ex-nuptiality was very uncommon for mothers born in India and uncommon also for those born in Indonesia, Malaysia and China. Ex-nuptiality was more prominent among women born in the Philippines and in Vietnam, but women from all Asian countries of birth had lower rates of ex-nuptiality than the Australia-born.

Table 7.3. Fertility indicators for women born in Asian countries [(a)], Australia 1999.

Country of birth	Total Fertility Rate	Father of child born in same country [(b)]	Per cent ex-nuptial
Indonesia	1.69	56	9.3
Malaysia	1.24	33	8.7
Philippines	1.89	43	19
Vietnam	1.93	80	26.6
China	1.99	79	11.8
India	1.74	73	4.4
Australia	1.74	83	32.3

Source: ABS 2000: 70-71.
(a) Only those countries with 1000 or more confinements.
(b) Percentage of those with paternity acknowledged.

Family formation patterns among the second generation

Background

The analyses in this section are based on only the second generation with both parents born in a given country. This approach is chosen because the chapter is focused upon cultural maintenance in the presence of a dominant host culture. When a person has parents from two different cultures and both cultures are different from the host culture, interpretation of statistical data becomes complex. The analysis focuses also on those who were aged 25-44 years in 1996. This is the age range best used to indicate differences in family formation behaviour. For some groups addressed in other chapters of this report, the numbers of the second generation in age groups within this range is too small for any sensible analysis. Groups excluded on the basis of small numbers at these ages are Turkey, South Africa, Philippines, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Other Oceania and Other sub-Saharan Africa. For all of these excluded groups, over 50 per cent of the second generation in Australia in 1996 were aged less than 15 years. Some of the included groups also had more than 50 per cent of the second generation aged less than 15, but the group size was large enough to allow consideration of family formation behaviour at older ages. These groups were China with 52 per cent of the second generation aged less than 15, Lebanon (57 per cent) and New Zealand (53 per cent).

As census data are cross-sectional in nature, the analysis cannot be based upon family formation histories, the preferable approach in this type of research. Instead, the analysis relies upon cross-sectional indicators. In this circumstance, indicators must be chosen that are not biased in some way. For example, the available tables provided data for the population aged 45 years and over, but any indicators based on this age range could be severely affected by inter-group differences in age structure for those aged 45 years and over. This precludes any investigation of widowhood. The indicators selected for analysis

have been chosen to avoid biases of this type and to measure the most recent experience that is possible from the data. The time frame of behaviour across groups is standardised, that is, indicators for groups are compared at their current age in 1996. This has the disadvantage that, for some groups, the second generation is concentrated in this age range (25-44 years), while for other groups the concentration of the second generation is at older or younger ages. For those where the second generation is concentrated at ages 45 years and over (Ireland and the United Kingdom), there has been a longer, 'second-generation' experience. Previous cohorts may have led the way. For groups where first generation migration is concentrated in the 1950s and 1960s (Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Malta, Greece, Hungary and Poland), the second generation in the selected age range, 25-44 years, is large. This has the effect that while growing up in Australia, they have many other second generation peers and the group size may have been sufficient to sustain community or group activities in the second generation. For the remaining groups considered in this chapter, the second generation in the age range 25-44 years is the vanguard, the early second generation (those with parents born in Lebanon, Croatia, New Zealand, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, India and China). As such, they are not the descendants of the more recent, mainstream of migration from these countries. Their parents were the early arrivals and they themselves might not have had a large number of peers of the same origin when they were growing up. These differences will be considered in the interpretation of the findings. In the tables, the 16 countries of origin are divided into six groupings as follows:

English-speaking, long duration: United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand

Western European, central duration: Netherlands, Germany

Southern European, central duration: Italy, Malta, Greece

Eastern European, central duration: Hungary, Poland

Mediterranean, short duration: Lebanon, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Asian, short duration: India, China

Although New Zealanders are mainly short duration, they have been categorised with United Kingdom and Ireland because of their proximity to Australian culture.

Intermarriage

Before examining indicators from the 1996 Census, Table 7.4 shows rates of in-marriage for marriages in Australia in 1991-92 for the groups under study. Marriages at that time would relate to some of the post-marriage indicators used in this chapter. As we are dealing here with the second generation, the vast majority would have married in Australia.

As expected from the experience of the first generation and from cultural distance, rates of group in-marriage are very low for those of English-speaking or Western European origins.

Table 7. 4. The second generation: per cent marrying within the same group, by country of origin, Australian marriages, 1991-92.

Birthplace of parents [(a)]	Per cent marrying within group	
	Brides	Grooms
United Kingdom	18.2	18.9
Ireland	n.a	n.a
New Zealand	5.7	3.6
Netherlands	6.1	6.9
Germany	4.3	4.4
Italy	50.4	46.5
Malta	22.7	26.3
Greece	65.6	60.4
Hungary	5.5	6.5
Poland	10.8	11.9
Lebanon	72.5	52
Former Yugoslavia	40.8	33.2
India	5.2	5.4
China	21.9	28.4

Source: Price 1994 republished in Penny and Khoo 1996: 48.
(a) The figures refer to percentages of Australian-born brides or grooms by mother's country of birth who married grooms or brides born in, or having one or both parents born in, the same country of origin.

Among the longer duration Southern European groups, the in-marriage rates are high for those of Italian and Greek origin, but not so high for the Maltese. The high rates of in-marriage among those of Italian and Greek origins represent a remarkable degree of cultural maintenance, continuing the high degree of cultural maintenance in the first generation. It presumably reflects geographic concentration in Melbourne and Sydney and the capacity of these groups to provide group-specific activities for young people. Both concentrate on language maintenance into the second generation, the Greeks through Saturday Greek schools. Both provide group-specific sporting and entertainment clubs for young people. While not classified as such here, the Maltese are English-speaking and this may have had some effect on their higher rates of out-marriage. The second generation of Maltese origin in the marriageable ages at this time is quite large so shortage of potential spouses is not a likely explanation. Both first and second generations of Maltese origin in Australia have had less economic mobility than the first

and second generations of Italian or Greek origin. It may be speculated that cultural maintenance to some extent may be related to economic outcomes for a group.

In-marriage was low for the second generation whose parents were born in Hungary or Poland. These groups were much smaller than the groups of Southern European origins and this might be part of the explanation for their low in-marriage rates. Also, their first generation had high rates of out-marriage. Less than 10 per cent of Poland-born men marrying in the years 1945-64 married a woman who was also born in Poland. The equivalent figure for Poland-born women was about 30 per cent. In these groups, the first generation contained a large excess of men.

The short-duration groups of Mediterranean origins had high to very high rates of in-marriage in their second generation. The second generation with parents from Lebanon, Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are large. For those of Lebanese origin, religion may have played a part in high rates of in-marriage. Thus, cultural maintenance seems to be confirmed for the second generation of most Mediterranean origins.

Finally, rates of in-marriage were remarkably low for the second-generation of Asian origins who were marrying in Australia in the early 1990s. Those of all three origins were relatively small in number at this time. Those of Indian origin were also relatively highly educated. These factors may have led to low levels of in-marriage. Religion does not seem to have been a limiting factor for those of Indian origin. There is also a possibility that the definition of the second generation used in this table allows for the inclusion of people of British ancestry. As the Indian-origin group becomes larger in Australia, rates of in-marriage among the second generation may increase.

Age at first marriage

The percentage who have never married among those aged 25-29 is a good indicator of age at first marriage for both sexes (Table 7.5). As expected, the percentage is lower for females reflecting their earlier marriage. In this analysis, the reference group is the third generation, the group who are born in Australia and have both parents born in Australia. Differences between groups can be related to their location in Australia. Groups like those of Netherlands origin who have a higher proportion living outside metropolitan areas are likely to have earlier marriage for that reason. Education level is also highly associated with age at marriage.

Age at first marriage for those of UK origin is almost exactly the same as third generation Australians for both women and men. Those of Irish origin, marry somewhat later, perhaps reflecting the long tradition of late marriage among the Irish. Of greatest interest is the second generation of New Zealand origin who have a very late pattern of marriage for both men and women. This pattern applies even though they have very high rates of out-marriage and the cultural distance to the general Australian population is minimal. Only the second generation with parents born in China rivals those whose parents are born in New Zealand in relation to late marriage. In Table 7.6, it is evident that the

second generation of New Zealand origin, unlike those of China origin, have exceptionally high rates of cohabitation (living as a couple without being married). Overall, the proportions of both men and women living in a couple relationship at ages 25-29 are higher for third generation Australians than for second generation Australians of New Zealand origin but the difference is considerably less than the difference in the proportion who are married. The reasons for the high cohabitation rates among the second generation of New Zealand origin are unclear.

The second generation of German origin marry a little later than the third generation, however, the second generation of Netherlands origin have a very early marriage pattern. Indeed, men of Dutch origin marry earlier than any other group in the table with the exception of those of Maltese origin. First generation Dutch immigrants were more likely to settle outside metropolitan areas than other groups under consideration. They also had relatively large families and the education levels of the second generation are not as high as some other groups. They tend to be concentrated in trade occupations. These factors may produce the early marriage pattern.

Among the Southern Europeans of longer duration, the second generation of Maltese origin married at particularly young ages, the youngest of all groups in the table. This may reflect low levels of education in this group. The second generation of Italian origin also married at younger ages than third or more generation Australians. Second generation men of Greek origin married at about the same ages as the third generation, but women of Greek origin married a little earlier than the third generation. Given that the second generation of Italian or Greek origin generally have higher education than the third generation (see Chapter 5) and are concentrated in metropolitan areas, earlier marriage for these groups reflects a different cultural pattern, a continuation of the earlier marriage pattern of the first generation.

The second generations of Hungarian or Polish origin both have relatively late ages at first marriage. Concentration in metropolitan areas and relatively high levels of education would explain this difference. There is a mixed pattern among the second generation of Mediterranean origins. Those of Croatian origin have a very late pattern of marriage resembling the pattern for those of Polish or Hungarian origin. Urban concentration and higher education can again be offered as explanations. On the other hand, those of Lebanese origin marry at very young ages. Somewhat like those of Greek origin, the second generation of FYROM origin has early marriage for women compared to the third generation but similar ages at marriage for men.

Table 7.5. The second generation in age group 25-29 years: per cent never married by parents' country of origin, Australia 1996.

Birthplace of parents [(a)]	Per cent never married	
	Females	Males
Australia [(b)]	46.4	62.1
United Kingdom	46.1	63.0
Ireland	51.3	68.6
New Zealand	60.3	72.9
Netherlands	38.6	51.2
Germany	49.7	65.4
Italy	38.9	54.9
Malta	29.4	50.3
Greece	43.3	62.3
Hungary	53.2	69.1
Poland	51.9	70.3
Lebanon	35.6	54.7
Croatia	50.8	68.1
FYR Macedonia	37.8	60.0
India	54.0	71.1
China	60.8	73.6

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 9.1
(a) Both parents born in the country of origin
(b) The third generation

Finally, the two Asian origin groups for which data are available, the second generation with parents born in India or China, have very late ages at marriage compared to the third generation. Education is likely to be playing a role as previous chapters show that a high proportion had tertiary qualifications. Marriage occurs at late ages in urban China and this cultural pattern may carry over to the second generation in Australia.

Cohabitation

From the 1970s, it became common in Australia that young Australians were likely to live together before marriage. Relationships where the couple live together but are not married are referred to here as cohabitation. As a modern, 'Western' trend, the incidence of cohabitation is likely to be a good indicator of the extent to which the second generation of the various origins has taken on the values of the host culture. Table 7.6 shows that several second generation groups had cohabitation rates that were similar to those of third generation Australians. They were the second generation with parents from

the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, Poland and, perhaps surprisingly, India. Those with parents born in China had a similar rate of cohabitation for men but a much lower rate for women.

Table 7.6. The second generation aged 25-29 years in couple relationships: per cent cohabiting by country of origin, Australia 1996.

Birthplace of parents [(a)]	Per cent cohabiting	
	Females	Males
Australia [(b)]	22.0	29.0
United Kingdom	24.8	31.5
Ireland	24.6	32.8
New Zealand	34.5	40.4
Netherlands	18.3	20.4
Germany	24.2	27.3
Italy	1.9	6.3
Malta	6.0	11.4
Greece	1.0	3.3
Hungary	21.8	24.9
Poland	16.8	24.6
Lebanon	0.0	2.0
Croatia	8.8	11.5
FYR Macedonia	1.0	6.5
India	19.3	22.8
China	5.7	22.8

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 9.1
(a) Both parents born in the country of origin
(b) The third generation

Only the second generation of New Zealand origin had rates that were significantly higher than those of the third generation. The second generation of parents born in Croatia or Malta had what might be termed an intermediate level of cohabitation, but all other groups, those with parents from Italy, Greece, Lebanon and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, had almost no cohabitation for women and low levels for men. For the second generation of latter origins, the original culture has been strong enough to resist the pattern of the host culture even for those who are born in Australia. This probably reflects a continuing level of control of the parental generation over the formation of relationships by their children. For these groups, as we shall see below, young people leave their parents' home only when they marry.

Living alone or in a group household

Another pattern that applies to many young Australians is to live alone or in a group household rather than to live at home with parents (Table 7.7). Here the interest is in those persons who are not in a couple relationship or are not a sole parent. Are they living at home with parents or are they living at least somewhat independently alone or in a group household? This measure separates the second generation of Mediterranean and Asian origins from the others. The second generation of all Mediterranean origins had very low proportions of both men and women living as independent single persons. It was clear that the second generation of these origins remained at home with parents until marriage. Those of Indian or China origin also had relatively low proportions living independently. Women of New Zealand origin stood out in the opposite direction being much more likely than the Australian third generation to be living independently. Retention of the culture of origin, thus, is very prominent once again for those of Mediterranean origins, this time with no exceptions.

Marriage breakdown

Variation of rates of marriage breakdown across different origin countries of first generation immigrants has been very wide (Khoo and Zhao 2001). Those of Mediterranean and Asian origins have considerably lower rates of marriage breakdown than the Australia-born. Jones (1994b) estimated divorce rates in the years, 1976-79, for marriages contracted in Australia after 1965. The rates that he obtained for different first generation immigrants are shown in Table 7.8. Where both partners were born in the same country, the rates were very low for the Greece-born and the Italy-born. For example, the rate for the Australia-born was more than six times the rate for the Italy-born. Rates for the Yugoslavia-born, the Poland-born and the Netherlands-born were well under half the rate for the Australia-born. However, if the bride or groom had married a person from a different country of birth, the rate of divorce increased substantially for those birthplace groups that had low divorce rates. For example, intermarried Greece-born men had divorce rates similar to Australia-born men. In a very interesting analysis, Jones showed that the divorce rate of intermarried couples was close to the rate that you would expect if the independent probabilities of divorce for each partner based on their country of birth were combined. The additional probability related to the marriage being ‘mixed’ was small.

Table 7.7. The second generation aged 25-29 years: per cent living alone or in group households among those not in a couple relationship or a sole parent, by country of origin, Australia 1996.

Birthplace of parents [(a)]	Per cent living alone or in group households	
	Females	Males
Australia [(b)]	49	56
United Kingdom	50	47
Ireland	45	53
New Zealand	61	56
Netherlands	53	45
Germany	38	41
Italy	18	16
Malta	26	23
Greece	12	12
Hungary	39	36
Poland	39	29
Lebanon	7	10
Croatia	21	18
FYR Macedonia	12	9
India	31	26
China	15	23

Source: 1996 Census DIMA table 9.1
(a) Both parents born in the country of origin
(b) The third generation

Unfortunately, data of the type used by Jones are not available for the second generation. The best that can be done from census data is to examine the proportions separated and divorced at given age groups from among those who have ever married. This measure understates the extent of marriage breakdown because the numerator does not include people who have remarried after divorce. Nevertheless, it gives a rough indication of relative marriage breakdown levels. Also, the data set provided for this analysis included widowed persons with the divorced and separated. This is less of a problem because widowhood is very uncommon at young ages. For example, in Australia in 1996, only 0.8 per cent of persons aged 35-44 years, the ages used in this analysis, were widowed. Table 7.9 shows the percentage of second generation, ever married men and women who were separated, divorced or widowed at age group 35-44 years. The table has the major disadvantage that it does not specify the country of birth of the person's former spouse. As Table 7.8 shows, being intermarried can have a considerable impact on a person's chances of divorce if the rate of divorce is different for the group into which the person is marrying. Thus, the indicators measure the dual risk of divorce and intermarriage.

Table 7.8. Estimated divorce rates for the registration period 1976-79 per 100 surviving marriages contracted in Australia after 1965 for persons born in selected countries.

Country of birth	Bride and groom same birthplace	Bride only born in this country	Groom only born in this country
Australia	7.4	7.9	8.5
Other English-speaking	6.4	8.5	7.8
Germany	5.5	7.3	8.3
Netherlands	3.3	7.2	7.1
Poland	2.1	5.3	4.9
Greece	1.8	4.8	7.3
Italy	1.2	5.1	4.7
Former Yugoslavia	3.1	6.5	6.8

Source: Jones 1994b: 122.

Table 7.9 indicates low apparent rates of marriage breakdown for the second generation with origins in China, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia or Italy for both sexes and for men of Lebanese or Croatian origin. In the latter cases of low apparent rates for men but not for women, the rates may be misleading because of different rates of remarriage for divorced men and women. Given relatively high rates of in-marriage (Table 7.4), the apparent marriage breakdown rates for women of Greek or Lebanese origin seem to be high in comparison to the low rates for first generation women of the same origins. A similar conclusion might be drawn for those of Maltese, Dutch, Polish or Croatian origin. Conclusions must remain tentative given the poor quality of the data but there are indications that, with the possible exception of those of Italian, FYROM or Chinese origin, rates of marriage breakdown in the second generation have moved considerably in the direction of the host culture. The secular impact that comes with the passage of time may be a factor here. Also, compared to family formation, marriage dissolution is less likely to be under the influence of the parental generation.

Table 7.9. The second generation aged 35-44 years: percentage separated, divorced or widowed among those ever married, Australia 1996

Birthplace of parents [a]	Per cent separated divorced or widowed	
	Females	Males
Australia [b]	21.1	16.9
United Kingdom	21.7	20.2
Ireland	19.6	15.5
New Zealand	21.7	20.2
Netherlands	18.5	13.9
Germany	20.8	18.7
Italy	11.7	10.9
Malta	16.6	14.0
Greece	15.2	12.4
Hungary	22.8	17.4
Poland	20.2	15.8
Lebanon	14.0	8.9
Croatia	16.9	10.4
FYR Macedonia	9.9	10.6
India	19.7	17.1
China	9.6	7.7

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 9.1
(a) Both parents born in the country of origin
(b) The third generation

Fertility

The final feature of family formation considered here is the fertility of the second generation. Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald (2000) have estimated the total fertility rates of second generation women in Australia. The rates that they obtained for the years 1987-91 for selected origins are shown in Table 7.10.

The table shows that fertility rates of the second generation in Australia were lower than those of all Australia-born women for those whose mothers were born in Greece, Italy

Table 7.10. Total fertility rates of the second generation, selected countries, Australia 1987-91

Country of origin [(a)]	Total fertility rate
United Kingdom and Ireland	1.8
Netherlands	2.2
Poland	1.6
Italy	1.7
Greece	1.5
Lebanon	2.1
All Australia-born	1.8

Source: Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald (2000: Table 2).
(a) Women born in Australia whose mother was born in the country of origin

or Poland. Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald (2000) argue that the low rates of fertility of the second generation of Southern European origins in Australia may be related to similar factors that have led to low fertility in the countries of origin themselves, especially the gender system. The fertility rate of the second generation of Lebanese origin is very low in comparison to the high rates of the first generation from Lebanon. In the same years, 1987-91, first generation Lebanese women had a total fertility rate of 3.4 births per woman. Thus, there seems to have been a strong movement towards Australian fertility norms among the second generation of Lebanese origin. The relatively high fertility rate of second generation of Dutch origin probably relates to their relative concentration outside the metropolitan areas.

Tables 7.11 and 7.12 show more detail in relation to the fertility of the second generation. Table 7.11 shows the mean number of children ever born to women aged 25-29 and 35-44 and the percentage in both these age groups who had no children as at the 1996 Census. The final column of the table shows the percentage of women aged 35-44 years who had three or more children ever born to them. Based on all five measures shown in the table, almost all second generation women had lower fertility than the third generation. Only those of Dutch or Lebanese origin had more children by 25-29 and women of Dutch or Maltese origin had higher mean number of children ever born in the age group 35-44. In each of these instances, the second generation's fertility was only slightly higher than that of the third generation. Similar conclusions apply when the percentage childless or the percentage with three or more children is used as an indicator. The second generation of Dutch origin displayed higher fertility than the third generation based on all five measures shown in the table, but was the only group in this situation. Those of Maltese origin had a lower mean number of children ever born for 25-29 year olds and a lower proportion with three or more children for 35-44 year-olds compared to the third generation. Those of Lebanese origin had a particularly high childless percentage for those aged 35-44 years which led to a lower mean number of children ever born at these ages than the third generation, despite their having the highest percentage of all groups with three or more children.

Table 7.12 shows a measure of the delay of births within relationships (the percentage of those aged 25-29 in couple relationships who had no children) and a measure of ex-nuptial fertility (the mean children ever born for never married women aged 25-29). The third generation is again notable for the low percentage who delay the birth of the first child within a couple relationship. Also in the direction leading to higher fertility, the mean number of children ever born to never married women of the third generation is the highest of all groups shown in the table. Among the other three groups described in the previous paragraph as rivaling the third generation in regard to relatively high fertility (those of Dutch, Lebanese or Maltese origin), compared to the third generation, all three have lower percentages of childless couples at age group 25-29 years, suggesting a shorter delay in the birth of the first child. However, women of Lebanese or Maltese origin have much lower rates of ex-nuptial fertility than the third generation. The ex-nuptial rate for women of Dutch origin is also lower than for the third generation, but not considerably lower.

Women of Chinese origin stood out as having the lowest fertility in the second generation. Almost 30 per cent were childless in the 35-44 age range and only 21 per cent had three or more children, almost half the level of the third generation. Those of Indian or Chinese origin had very low fertility at ages 25-29. This results from a combination of late marriage (Table 7.5), delay of childbearing in couple relationships (Table 7.12) and low rates of ex-nuptial fertility (Table 7.12).

As in other tables, those of United Kingdom origin closely resembled the third generation for all of the measures shown in Tables 7.11 and 7.12. Other groups that might have been expected to resemble the third generation, the second generation of Irish, New Zealand, German, Polish and Hungarian origins, all had fertility rates noticeably lower than those for the third generation. They had a lower average number of children at ages 25-29 and 35-44, higher percentages childless in both age groups, lower percentages with three or more children at ages 35-44, higher percentages childless among couples in couple relationships at age 25-29 and a lower average number of children for never married women in age group 25-29. Furthermore, the values of all seven indicators were similar across all five of these groups. This pattern may reflect a higher degree of metropolitan concentration than that of the third generation.

The fertility indices were even lower for those of Greek, Italian or Croatian origin. In age group 25-29 years, the second generation of Greek or Italian origin were more likely to have married than the third generation (Table 7.5), but their average number of children in the same age group was only half that of the third generation. Compared to the third generation, they were considerably more likely to be childless, more likely to delay the first child in couple relationships and extremely unlikely to have an ex-nuptial birth. This is a different arrangement to the low fertility regimes that apply in Greece and Italy today where delay of marriage is the principal factor. Thus, it seems that the second generation of Italian or Greek origin in Australia take up an independent couple status at an earlier age than women in Italy and Greece, but, having done so, they exercise a high degree of fertility control. The aim may be the same, economic advancement, but, in Australia, the

relatively lower costs of housing may make it easier for the second generation to take a different pathway to their counterparts in Europe. Another interpretation is that the second generation in Australia may be able to achieve a higher level of social and economic independence from parents than is possible in Greece or Italy. However, the norm of avoiding births outside of marriage is strongly maintained for the second generation of Italian or Greek origin in Australia as it is for women in Greece and Italy.

Table 7.11. The second generation: various indicators of fertility for women aged 25-29 and 35-44 years, Australia 1996.

Birthplace of parents [(a)]	Age group of woman				
	25-29 years		35-44 years		
	Mean number of children ever born	% with no children	Mean number of children ever born	% with no children	% with 3 or more children
Australia [(b)]	0.86	53.8	2.20	13.8	38.4
United Kingdom	0.84	53.6	2.08	15.2	34.4
Ireland	0.63	64.5	1.99	34.4	35.0
New Zealand	0.57	66.6	1.98	19.7	20.1
Netherlands	0.90	52.7	2.26	13.2	40.4
Germany	0.64	63.0	1.93	17.9	28.7
Italy	0.46	70.0	1.97	18.0	31.9
Malta	0.80	53.1	2.22	11.6	37.2
Greece	0.44	71.2	1.80	20.6	25.4
Hungary	0.62	65.8	1.81	21.2	26.8
Poland	0.45	71.2	1.89	19.8	29.0
Lebanon	0.93	53.7	2.18	24.8	43.2
Croatia	0.47	71.7	1.78	15.0	24.2
FYR Macedonia	0.68	57.8	1.99	24.0	29.5
India	0.30	79.4	2.03	17.4	31.4
China	0.31	81.8	1.53	29.3	20.8

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 9.1

(a) Both parents born in the country of origin

(b) The third generation

Table 7.12. Second generation women aged 25-29 years: percentage childless of those in couple relationships and mean number of children ever born to never married women, Australia 1996

Birthplace of parents [a]	Per cent childless in couple relationships	Mean CEB for never married women
Australia [b]	42.7	0.48
United Kingdom	42.9	0.43
Ireland	51.1	0.20
New Zealand	52.8	0.31
Netherlands	41.2	0.33
Germany	50.2	0.26
Italy	53.4	0.04
Malta	39.2	0.15
Greece	51.8	0.03
Hungary	50.4	0.25
Poland	56.0	0.15
Lebanon	30.3	0.09
Croatia	50.5	0.07
FYR Macedonia	33.3	0.04
India	65.9	0.05
China	62.1	0.03

Source: 1996 Census DIMA Table 9.1
(c) Both parents born in the country of origin
(d) The third generation
CEB: children ever born

Conclusion

The first conclusion to be drawn is that the family formation patterns of the second generation of United Kingdom origin are almost exactly the same as for the third generation. Other groups for which the cultural distance between the country of origin and Australia was small (New Zealand, Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands) in general showed patterns of behaviour that were similar to the third generation. All of these groups displayed high levels of intermarriage. However, there were exceptions to the rule. Those of New Zealand origin were much more likely to marry late and to be in cohabiting relationships than the third generation. Women with parents born in New Zealand were also more likely to be living alone or in group households. Despite this, their rate of ex-nuptial birth was lower than that of the third generation. They also scored lower on all of the fertility measures. All of these characteristics marked them as more *avant garde* than any other second generation group, even to the extent that they had avoided ex-nuptial birth. They are a relatively small group at the ages examined in this

chapter, their parents arriving before the mass movement of New Zealanders to Australia. The answer to their behaviour may lie in the characteristics of their parents.

The second generation of Dutch origin also displayed some surprising differences in behaviour. They married at an earlier age than the third generation, were less likely to be cohabiting, a little less likely to have experienced marriage breakdown and they scored higher on all the fertility measures, except the rate of ex-nuptial birth. Thus, counter to the second generation of New Zealand origin, they showed relatively conservative behaviour. Again, the behaviour may trace to the parental generation many of whom included relatively conservative Dutch people with high fertility who settled to a greater extent than other groups outside the major metropolises. In general, their behaviour could be described as unlike the behaviour of young people in the Netherlands today.

The behaviour of the second generation of Irish, German, Hungarian and Polish origin – their later marriage compared to the third generation, similar rates of cohabitation and marriage breakdown, lower fertility, longer delay of the first child and lower rates of ex-nuptial birth – would resemble better educated third generation Australians living in the major cities.

The second generation whose parents were born in India displayed similarities with and differences from the third generation. Their rate of intermarriage was high. Their age at marriage was late but their rates of cohabitation, single independent living and marriage breakdown were similar to the third generation. They cohabited to a similar extent to the third generation. They scored significantly lower than the third generation on all fertility measures and had very low rates of ex-nuptial birth. Thus, they displayed a pattern that might be more indicative of Australians with high levels of education. The second generation of parents born in China resembled the second generation of Indian origin in most respects, the exception being much lower rates of marriage breakdown and lower rates of cohabitation for women. This could be called a conservative, high education pattern. The behaviour of the second generation of Croatian origin could probably also be classified in this way. They were a mix between the conservative behaviour of the second generation of Southern European origins in regard to cohabitation, ex-nuptial birth and single independent living and the prudent behaviour of the second generation of Eastern Europeans in regard to marriage and fertility.

The second generation of Southern European origins in general had high rates of in-marriage. Most were also relatively numerous in the age range examined in this chapter. Thus, there would be a higher expectation of cultural maintenance for these origin groups than for others. In some respects, this proved to be the case. Compared to the third generation, the second generation of parents from Italy, Greece, Malta, Lebanon and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia had early marriage, low rates of cohabitation, low rates of single independent living, low divorce rates and very low levels of ex-nuptial birth. They differed from each other in their patterns of fertility. Those of Maltese or Lebanese origin, along with those of Dutch origin, were the only groups to have fertility outcomes that were as high as those of the third generation. It should be pointed out, however, that at these levels, there had been a considerable fall in fertility between the

first and second generations of Maltese or Lebanon origin. For the other three groups (of parents from Italy, Greece or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), especially for those of Greek and Italian origin, the fertility of the second generation was significantly lower than of the third generation. Second generation of Italian or Greek origin in Australia seem to be mirroring the low fertility outcomes of women in Italy and Greece. However, these outcomes are achieved in a different way, through early marriage combined with control of fertility within marriage. It is speculated that the capacity to set up as an independent couple may be more favourable in Australia than it is in Italy and Greece, but in both cases, there are low fertility norms. It may be that the level of gender equity in couple relationships may be higher for the second generation of Italian or Greek origin in Australia than it is for women in Greece and Italy, and that, as a consequence, fertility will not be as low for the second generation in Australia as it is in Italy and Greece.

Overall, the factors that show strong to moderate degrees of cultural maintenance are those that carry a heavier value orientation: the rate of ex-nuptial births, cohabitation and living as an independent single person. The second generation of Southern European or Asian origins still differs substantially in these forms of behaviour from the third generation. Divorce is an exception to this rule. While the rates are low for the second generation from Southern Europe and Asia, they are not as low as might be expected. Increasing rates of intermarriage contribute to higher divorce rates as well as the relative degree of separation for parents that has taken place before a divorce is contemplated. As speculated by Bracher and Santow (1995), fertility rates and age at marriage seem to be more instrumental, not being tied to cultural values but being free to move according to the demands of the host society. The extent of intermarriage remains a good indicator of cultural maintenance, although the two Asian groups considered here maintained the value-oriented aspects of family behaviour despite high rates of intermarriage.

8. CONCLUSION

This study of second generation Australians is the first comprehensive investigation of the demographic and socioeconomic situation of the Australian-born children of post-war immigrants. The second generation of post-war immigration is the most culturally diverse group of native-born Australians as the sources of immigrants to Australia during the last fifty years have extended from Europe to Asia and other regions. As suggested by researchers in the US, the second generation's diversity can lead to different pathways of adaptation and progress to adulthood (Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993). Depending on their family's resources and the social and environmental context of their childhood, they may assimilate into the middle class majority or into the underclass or combine upward mobility with a retention of their ethnic identity and cultural values (Portes and Zhou 1993). According to Portes (1994), it is among the second generation, not the first, that issues such as the maintenance of language, cultural traditions and ethnic identity are decided. The main objective of this study has been to see whether the second generation in Australia has also experienced diverse pathways of adaptation in terms of their socioeconomic outcomes.

Four second generation cohorts are examined in this study: children aged 0-14; youth aged 15-24 and adults aged 25-34 and 35-44 in 1996. These cohorts are associated with different waves of immigration to Australia, and since the origins of immigrants have changed over time, extending from Europe to Asia and the Pacific, the four cohorts differ in their ethnic origins. The youngest cohort – the children aged 0-14 – comprises mostly the offspring of migrants who arrived after 1975 from the countries of Asia, the Middle East and Oceania. The second generation youth aged 15-24 includes the children of immigrants from Asia who arrived in the late 1960s and early 1970s as well as the children of European immigrants who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s. The second generation aged 25 years and older are mostly of European or Mediterranean origins as there were very few migrants from Asia before 1965. The cultural diversity of these second generation cohorts suggests the potential for diversity also in their adaptation and socioeconomic outcomes.

The study has begun with an examination of the family situation of the youngest second generation cohort – the children aged 0-14 in 1996. The data suggest wide variation in their socioeconomic circumstances by parents' origin although about half of all the second generation aged 0-14 years are of English-speaking origins. Compared to children of the third generation, a higher proportion of the second generation lived with two parents rather than one. This was especially true for the second generation of Asian origins. The second generation with parents from countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, India or South Africa lived in relatively high income households with parents who were well educated, highly skilled and employed. However, second generation Australians with parents born in Lebanon, Turkey or Viet Nam were more disadvantaged, with a disturbingly high proportion in low income households where there was no employed parent or a parent employed in a low skilled occupation. It is too early to say how the family situation of this cohort will affect their adaptation and socioeconomic outcomes when they become adults. One promising finding from this analysis is evidence of almost complete English language competency among these children once they reach age 10-14 years, even when their parents do not speak good English. Since English proficiency has been

shown in numerous studies to be an important factor in immigrants' successful integration into the labour market, this evidence of English competency among second generation children holds promise of better educational and labour market outcomes for them in the future.

The very good economic circumstances of children born in Australia to parents who were born in Malaysia, Hong Kong, India and South Africa is a direct result of the selective migration program that brought the parents to Australia. On the other hand, the poor economic circumstances of children of some other groups characterised by refugee migration are also derived from the nature of the migration program. The question for policy in regard to the latter group is whether access to the Australian school system is able to compensate for the disadvantages that these children face because of a poor economic environment at home. At least in terms of English language capacity, this report suggests that the school system is successful in this regard. Longer-term success is better measured by outcomes for 15-24 year-olds as discussed in the next section.

Less than 1 per cent of the second generation aged 15-24 years reported that they spoke English 'not very well or not at all'. The low proportions of the second generation in this age range who reported that they spoke 'English only' is also indicative of intergenerational language retention. It also shows that retention of the language of origin is not an obstacle to achieving good English language capacity.

The earliest signs of educational and labour market outcomes can be observed for the second generation aged 15-24, who are completing their education and entering the labour force. Since a large proportion of this age group still live at home with parents, it is also possible to examine their educational outcomes in relation to their parents' socioeconomic background. The significant finding emerging from the study of this second generation cohort is their greater involvement in education compared with the third generation, even among those living in low income suburbs or who have parents in low skilled employment. The gap in participation rates in secondary or tertiary education between the second and third generations is in fact wider among those coming from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than among those from middle class or higher socioeconomic backgrounds.

Although the 15-24 year old second generation cohort as a group are showing signs of achieving better socioeconomic outcomes than the third generation, there are also differences by origin. Second generation youth with parents born in Malaysia, China, Greece, Italy, Poland, Hungary or Lebanon are particularly likely to stay in school longer, proceed to tertiary study and obtain post-school qualifications than those of other origins. The second generation of Maltese origin stands out with their low participation rate in education, particularly among males who opt instead for vocational qualifications. There is also evidence of high rates of unemployment among second generation youth, with those of Lebanese, Turkish, FYROM or 'Other Oceania' background faring particularly poorly, in spite of their being competent in English as are all second generation youth in this cohort. In the middle and low status suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne, the second generation of non-English speaking origins outperforms their United Kingdom or third generation Australian male counterparts in relation to participation in higher education. This result does not apply to youth in the high socioeconomic status suburbs. The

implication is that second generation males from non-English speaking origins show a greater capacity to overcome class disadvantage than is the case for their counterparts of UK origins or males who are of the third generation.

These differences in educational outcomes among second generation youth and between the second and third generations would appear to support the 'segmented assimilation' theory of Portes and Zhou (1993), although it is not clear that the factors contributing to the diversity of outcomes seen in this study are necessarily the same as those affecting second generation outcomes in the US. While the current study cannot determine the reasons behind the differences observed, others have found that children of Asian origins, for example, put more effort in studying and they and their parents have higher educational and occupational aspirations compared to other groups (Flynn 1991; Dandy and Nettelbeck 2000; forthcoming). Further research on the reasons for the differences in outcomes for different groups, including the relatively low outcomes for the third generation, is desirable.

Socioeconomic outcomes among the second generation aged 25-44 are clearer and these confirm the findings of earlier studies showing higher educational achievement and better occupational outcomes among the second generation of Southern and Eastern European origins than among those of UK or Western European origins. The latter groups are similar to the third generation in their level of education, occupation status, income and housing situation. Women in the second generation particularly have participated in improvements in education levels in the past 20 years. For them, there was a considerable increase in educational levels between those who were aged 35-44 in 1996 to the next younger cohort aged 25-34 in 1996. Most second generation women had higher labour force participation rates than third generation Australians, the exceptions being those whose parents were born in Lebanon, Malta or the Netherlands.

The proportion of 25-44 year-olds employed in managerial and professional occupations was higher for all second generation groups than for third generation Australians, except for the second generation men and women with parents born in Malta and the United Kingdom, and women with parents born in Lebanon or Italy. On the other hand, men who were of the third generation or the second generation of English-speaking origins who were in para-professional or trades occupations appeared to do better in income terms compared with the second generation of non-English speaking origins. Thus, the higher educational levels of the second generation of non-English speaking origins and their subsequent level of involvement in managerial and professional occupations may be related to the perceived income potential at the para-professional and trades levels for these groups. This is a matter for further research. It is important to note also that the cohort analysis conducted in this study shows that the proportions of second generation men and women holding tertiary education qualifications increased substantially between 1986 and 1996 for those already beyond the normal ages of tertiary education. In 1986, 16 per cent of the second generation aged 25-34 years of both sexes had tertiary qualifications. By 1996, at ages 35-44 years, this percentage had risen to 25 per cent for men and 26 per cent for women.

Finally, the study considered the family formation behaviour of the second generation. It was found that the behaviours that show strong to moderate degrees of

cultural maintenance into the second generation were those that have a heavier value orientation: ex-nuptial births, cohabitation and living as an independent single person. The second generation of Southern European or Asian origins still differs substantially from the third generation in these behaviours. Other behaviours, such as the fertility rate and the age at marriage seem to be more adaptable, not being tied to cultural values but being free to change according to the economic circumstances and aspirations of the second generation in Australia.

As contended by Portes and Macleod (1996), the long-term prospects of ethnic communities created by contemporary immigration hinge on the second generation's social adaptation and educational success. Indeed, achievement of this end, the future benefit of their children, is often found to be a motivating force of the migration of the first generation. With this strong motivational background, it is perhaps no surprise to find that most second generation groups perform better in educational outcomes than the third generation. In Australia, this is particularly the case for the second generation of Southern or Eastern European or Asian origins. The study has shown that, in circumstances where the parental generation is economically disadvantaged, the second generation seems more able to overcome this disadvantage than the third generation. Also, on the social dimension, the study found a remarkable extent to which the second generation for some groups holds to values of the parental generation in regard to cohabitation, leaving the parental home and ex-nuptial births. However, as the second generation of United Kingdom origin has both social and economic outcomes that are very similar to the third generation, the explanation of differences between the second generation and the third generation lies beyond the process of migration itself. Census data are not sufficiently refined to provide this explanation and further research of a survey type is required. Country of origin of the parents, on which the comparison of second generation outcomes in this study are based, is likely to be a proxy measure for a number of factors that cannot be examined using census data.

While conclusions can be drawn about the socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation of European origins whose parents immigrated during the 1950s and 1960s, it is still premature to assess the socioeconomic outcomes of the second generation of non-European origins whose parents immigrated after 1975. There are clear signs that the second generation of Asian origins whose parents migrated before 1970 has done well in terms of gaining university qualifications. However, they are small in number and their parents are a select group of immigrants from a few Asian countries. The vast majority of second generation Australians of non-European origins are children of immigrants who arrived after 1975. They have more diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Although there are early indications that these second generation youth are remaining in the education system longer, it will be another five to ten years before their socioeconomic outcomes will be known. This and other issues indicated above suggest a need for continuing research on the second generation in Australia.

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