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*Zimbabwe's Exodus to Australia***

Abstract : Zimbabwe's Exodus to Australia

According to Crush and Tevera (2010:3), in their edited book *Zimbabwe's Exodus*, 'Estimates of the number of Zimbabweans who have left the country in recent years vary widely-from the barely plausible to the totally outlandish.' The estimated numbers have been increasing markedly since 2000, when Mugabe's government authorised seizure of white-owned land through a loosely organised group of war veterans. At first it was mostly white Zimbabwean farmers who were permanently leaving the country, but with the worsening of economic and human rights conditions in 2002, black Zimbabweans left the country for South Africa and other countries. However, not much has been written about the increasing number of Zimbabweans who have migrated to Australia, a country with good migration data. This profile discusses the migration patterns of Zimbabweans to Australia, by undertaking primary analysis of the 2006 Australian Census using TableBuilder software, together with the settlement reporting facility of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). In addition to looking at the basic characteristics of the Zimbabwe-born, date of arrival in Australia will be related to political events in Zimbabwe, while language spoken at home and ancestry will be used as proxies for ethnicity.

Zimbabwe's Exodus to Australia

This paper focuses on emigration of the Zimbabwe-born to Australia in the twenty-first century partly because Australia is largely omitted from the important text, *Zimbabwe's Exodus* (Crush and Tevera 2010) even though it has become an important destination, and partly because the data is better for Australia, and for New Zealand, than for other major destination countries.

Data Sources

This profile discusses the characteristics of persons born in Zimbabwe and of Zimbabwean ancestry Australia, by undertaking primary analysis of the 2006 Australian Census using the TableBuilder software of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, together with the settlement reporting facility of the Department of Immigrants and Citizenship (DIAC).

Birthplace data from censuses has the disadvantage that it is a poor substitute for a migration history. In the case of a country such as Zimbabwe which has formerly been a destination for white immigrants (Mlambo 2010), it omits people not born in Zimbabwe who have spent much of their working lives in there. An example is the life story told by Lennigan (1995), who was born in Salford in the UK around 1920, and migrated to

Rhodesia in 1936. On moving to Australia, he joined the Rhodesian Association in Perth in 1983.

Other major destination countries such as the USA and the UK, only hold a census every ten years, often in years ending in '0' or '1' so that the significant changes in this decade are not yet apparent. Australia and New Zealand have censuses every five years, and between 2001 and 2006 the Zimbabwe-born in Australia nearly doubled, and, while in New Zealand the number almost tripled. (Lucas 2008:114). Of the five major destination countries, New Zealand appears to be the easiest to enter as an emigrant (van Rooyen 2000:66).

Europeans in Zimbabwe

This section identifies key events which show how the Zimbabweans regained control of their country after a period of 90 years of white domination. In the text below the terms 'European' (preferred in official statistics) and 'white' (preferred by the media) are used interchangeably

1889. 'The British South African Company, emanating from a flimsy agreement involving an illegal arms deal that had been obtained in dubious circumstances, and since repudiated by its principal signatory, was formally granted a royal charter by Queen Victoria, with a remit similar to a government.' Meredith 2007: 229).

1890. An armed paramilitary force, the British South Africa Police, entered Matabeleland and constructed two forts, Fort Victoria, and Fort Salisbury (Meredith 2007: 236-237).

1923. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (2011), in 1923 the United Kingdom annexed Southern Rhodesia from the (British) South Africa Company in 1923. 'However, in most respects Britain did little to prevent the consolidation of a racially stratified and segregated society in the 1920s and 1930s.' (Kay 1988:1137)

1930. The Land Apportionment Act 'severely restricted the access of Africans to the land by dividing the country into two racially exclusive parts. Little attention was paid to the development of African commercial farming....' (Kay 1988: 1137). Between 1941 and 1957 the total population of Southern Rhodesia rose from approximately 1.5 million to over 2.5 million. During that period the number of Europeans rose from around 67,000 to 193,000 due 'to the unprecedented rate of immigration since the war.' (Gordon-Brown 1959:261).

1965. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the white settler government of Rhodesia led to the war of liberation, spearheaded by ZANU, the Zimbabwe African National Union (Kay 1988:1139). In the 1970s, as the security situation deteriorated, the number of emigrants began to rise. McAleese (1993:143) described the situation during UDI:

'The attitude among the whites was that Rhodesia had an answer for everything the international community could do to her. However, all this pressure was too much for some people who quit, on what was called "the chicken run" or "taking the gap", rather than hang on to witness inevitable defeat. They took what little they could, but no financial stocks or funds were allowed to be transferred out of the country so their apartments stayed empty and unsold.'

1980s and 1990s

1980 marked the end of UDI, and the creation of Republic of Zimbabwe, with Robert Mugabe as Prime Minister. This led to an increase of white emigration (Zinyama 1990:754).

Yet in 1980, 42 per cent of Zimbabwe was owned by 6,000 white commercial farmers, who were producing about 90% of Zimbabwe's marketed food requirements (Palmer 1990:167). During the 1980s many black households were re-settled onto land willingly sold by whites. By 1989 commercial farmers (no longer exclusively white) numbered 4,319 and owned 29% of the land (Palmer 1990:169). In the 1980s food production peaked: Howden (2009) refers to 'Robert Mugabe's honeymoon period with the white farmers'

Table I illustrates the decline in the number of Europeans after the 1969 census. As shown in Table 2, during the 20 years period 1978-1997 documented emigration peaked just after UDI, as did the proportion of emigrants going to South Africa. In the early 1990s, as South Africa moved towards democracy, South Africa may have become less attractive to white Zimbabweans, while the UK became more attractive. Even so, the percentage choosing Australia remained at relatively low levels.

Post 2000

Mugabe decided to mollify the war veterans. 'Hence 1,471 white farms were earmarked for seizure in 1997, and two years later Mugabe indicated that no compensation would be forthcoming' (Nugent 2004:408). The Zimbabwean Government's land reforms initially impacted on white farmers, but subsequently contributed to the exodus of Africans as the economy went into free fall. In 2003 the Commonwealth suspended Zimbabwe over its sham elections, sending 'a message to the world that not only rich nations but many African neighbours rejected the brutal policies of the Mugabe regime.' (*Sunday Canberra Times*, 30 October 2011:22). Also, 'in 2003, Zimbabwe was locked in a downward spiral of epic proportions. The national economy was in tatters and possibly as many as a million peasants were teetering on the brink of famine.' (Nugent 2004:408).

According to an article in the *Canberra Times* (16 June 2004:15)

'Mr Mugabe's Government has forced about two thirds of Zimbabwe's white farmers off their land over the last four years under a drive to redistribute the plots among landless blacks.' This policy was sustained throughout the decade and in 2009 President Mugabe

stated that a court ruling that 78 white farmers could keep their farms was 'rubbish' and that 'The few remaining white farmers should quickly vacate their farms as they have no place there.' (AP 2009)

After the 2002 Census, the *Irish Examiner* (2005) reported that independent analysts estimated that only 30,000 whites remained.

After 2000 much emigration is undocumented, with Zimbabweans crossing the borders into neighbouring countries.

Crush and Tevera (2010:3-4) considered that media claims of 3 million Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa originated in 2003. Yet Zimbabwe does not have reliable statistics of departures and South Africa does not know how enter 'clandestinely'. Restrictions on entry to South Africa eased after the 2002 Immigration Act, with 1.25 million legal entrants in 2008, most of whom stated 'Holiday' as their purpose of entry (Crush and Tevera 2010:8) In contrast as a result of increased restrictions, the number of Zimbabweans entering the second most popular destination, the United Kingdom, dropped from 56,600 in 2002 to 39,250 in 2007, with most of the drop in the 'Visitors' category (Crush and Tevera 2010:9).

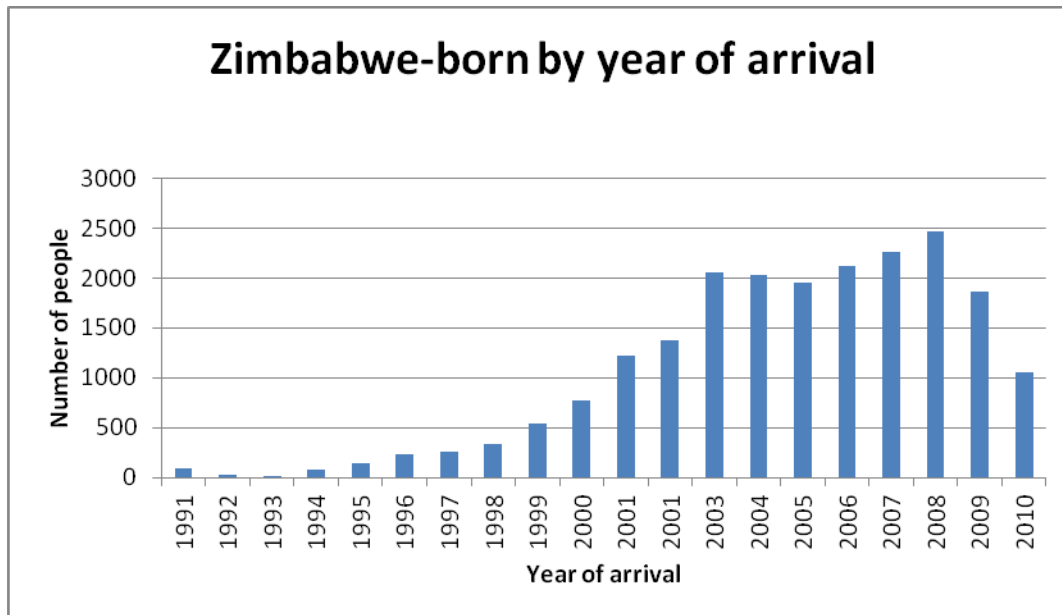
According to Merrett (2009) many Zimbabweans in South Africa were '... accountants, doctors, health workers, and public servants reduced to hawking goods by the roadside or working as security guards.' Similarly, Pasura (2010:208) considered that "The majority of Zimbabwean in Britain are highly educated professionals and belong to middle- and upper-class families in Zimbabwe.'

Apart from economic decline, State repression by the Government of Zimbabwe also contributed to internal and international migration, a major example, in 2005, being 'Operation Murambatsvina (OM), a state-sponsored campaign to stifle independent economic and political activity in the country's urban areas.' (Bratton and Masunungure 2006:21).

Zimbabweans in Australia

Kennedy (1988:802) considered that the South Africans in Australia were divided whereas 'the 5,000 settlers from Zimbabwe' were much more united, with a strong esprit de corps after 15 years of 'pariah' status. Yet as can be seen from Figure 1, derived from DIAC's Settlement Database, Australia's intake of the Zimbabwe-born was a trickle until the late 1990s. The answer may be that many of those emigrating from Zimbabwe to Australia were not Zimbabwe-born.

Figure 1.



As shown in Figure 1, the Zimbabwe –born entering Australia quadrupled between 1999 and 2003. Alternative data from the Census confirms this (Tables 3 and 4) although the figures may be lower because of deaths and emigration.

Rooney (2008) explained why she left Zimbabwe around 2002:

‘My husband and I left our home in Harare six years ago. It was a traumatic decision as we were in our 60s and 70s.... When three people in our area were murdered we decided it was time to go. After a long haul, we are happy to have become Australian citizens.’

The Australians were pro-active in facilitating the emigration of whites, as shown by this quotation from Denise Fisher (2007:176-7) who was Australia’s High Commissioner in Zimbabwe at that time.

‘A second area of consequence for us at the high commission was the dramatic influx of white Zimbabweans seeking visas so that they could leave. We had hundreds of applicants descend upon our small mission, many of them in a state of high emotion, seeking special entry conditions into Australia. I had very early contacted the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs in Canberra, which responded promptly, sending extra officers to assist. The mission’s staff did their job with great professionalism.’

The geographical distribution of the Zimbabwe-born in Australia in 2006 is shown in Tables 5, which shows that Western Australia and Queensland were the preferred destinations. Based on the 1996 Census, Hugo (1999:214) has commented on the concentration in Perth: 'The distribution of the Zimbabwe-born aging emphasizes the similarity with the South Africa-born. Most striking is the fact that the largest community of Zimbabwe-born is in WA, especially Perth (30.2 percent.' Hugo also noted the concentration of Zimbabwe-born in Queensland.

Graham Lang is an artist and writer was born in Bulawayo and has lived in Australia since 1990. In his novel *Leetah's Gift*, a white Zimbabwean character says, 'They should change Perth's name to Zimbabwe-by-the Sea.'

Table 6 identifies the 20 Local Government Areas with the most Zimbabwe-born. Brisbane is at the top but this is because it is an unusually large LGA covering a large part of the metropolitan area. Apart from Western Australia and Queensland, only the Australian Capital Territory gets into the top ten.

Table 7 reflects the fact that the youngest age-groups contain relatively few cases because children born to Zimbabwean parents after emigration will be classed as Australia-born. The number of persons aged 65 and over in part reflects Australia's selection criteria which give points to younger applicants.

Table 8 provides a reminder that immigrants to Rhodesia were largely from the UK since the Anglo-Celtic category includes British, English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish ancestries. The jump in the percentages describing themselves as 'Zimbabwean' is partially explained by Tables 9 and 10 which indicate that recent arrivals include a larger proportion of black Zimbabweans.

From Table 9 it can be deduced that the numbers giving Judaism as their religion for those who arrived in 1990 -1999 have declined slightly compared with those arriving after 1999, although the percentage falls sharply from 2.9% to 0.7%. Those professing 'No religion' also fell, from 14.2% to 5.7%. The rise in the 'Pentecostal' and 'Other Christian' categories, might implying that black Africans (as distinct from whites) are becoming more common amongst the Zimbabwe-born in Australia since Syncretic churches are strong in the Central African region (see, for example, Burdette1988:59).

This trend is confirmed by Table10 which shows that the percentage who speak Shona or Ndebele at home, which was negligible before 1990, had jumped to around 27% for those arriving between 2000 and 2006. As shown by a survey of working professionals in Zimbabwe in 2001, conducted 'just as the outflow of skilled migrants began to intensify' (Tevera and Crush 2010 :113), 27% said that they were likely to or very likely to emigrate within six months, and 9% gave Australia/New Zealand as their preferred destination (Tevera and Crush 2010 :121, 124).

Hugo using 1996 Census data, noted that “One of the distinctive features of the Zimbabwe-born is their high average socioeconomic status.’ They had ‘one of the highest educational profiles of all overseas groups’, were ‘significantly overrepresented in the professional/managerial categories’ and had ‘a lower level of unemployment (6.5 percent) than the total population ..’(Hugo 1999:214). As shown in Tables 11, 12 and 13, these features were also apparent in the 2006 Census. Table 11 indicates that the Zimbabwe-born include a substantial proportion of University graduates: 30% of adult males and 27% of adult females. Table 12 (a) suggests one change over time: recent arrived males are more likely to be in the Technicians and Trades Workers category. Table 13 shows labour force participation rates to be above 94% for males aged 25-54. The unemployment rate for males is below 3% for males aged 30-59 years, and 4% overall, compared with 5.3% for women.

Conclusion

Figure 1 suggests that exodus of Zimbabweans to Australia seems is tapering off and the same may be true for New Zealand where the number of applications decided (that is accepted or rejected) may be falling. This might reflect improved political and economic conditions in Zimbabwe.

Since many Zimbabweans are admitted to Australia as skilled migrants, they have done well here. For many whites return migration might not be a possibility but it remains to be seen whether the Africa languages speakers will stay on.

The 2011 Census results will provide further insights. Migration histories could also help and planned analysis of the online news from former students of a Zimbabwe school, although highly selective, will provide indications of whether migrants come to Australia directly or via South Africa, and the extent to which studying in Australia is a pathway to permanent residence.

Table 1. Zimbabwe: Numbers of Europeans 1931-2002

Census Year	Europeans ('000s)
2002	46
1997	94
1982	148
1969	230
1961	221
1951	138
1941	69
1931	50

Source: Zimbabwe. Central Statistical Office 1985; 10,12; 1998:31;

For 2002, see text.

Table 2. Zimbabwe: Documented emigration 1978-1997 by Destination (%)

Destination	Calendar two-year time periods									
	1978/ 1979	1980/ 1981	1982/ 1983	1984/ 1985	1986/ 1987	1988/ 1989	1990/ 1991	1992/ 1993	1994/ 1995	1996/ 1997
South Africa	52.9	62.4	52.6	40.9	16.3	20.4	13.1	7.7	12.5	15.7
Other Africa	5.1	15.8	24.0	29.7	36.5	38.8	25.6	26.1	27.5	16.6
Americas	3.6	3.0	2.6	3.7	9.9	6.7	13.4	17.1	15.5	11.7
Asia	1.6	0.6	1.2	2.7	4.2	3.4	5.7	6.0	3.2	4.2
UK	24.7	11.0	11.4	14.2	20.1	17.8	23.8	26.8	23.5	22.1
Other Europe	7.6	2.7	3.4	4.9	8.5	7.5	11.2	11.4	10.7	9.7
Australia	3.2	3.9	4.2	2.8	3.5	4.4	6.1	3.8	3.8	3.0
Other and Not Stated	1.2	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.5	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	29418	37,744	37,009	23,879	9,117	8,870	8,255	5,671	6,755	3,450

Zinyama (1990:672: 2002; Tevera and Zinyama 2002:13)

**Table 3. Number of Zimbabwe-born in Australia and New Zealand
Censuses, 1981-2006**

Census Year	Australia	New Zealand
1981	4,110	714
1986	6479	
1991	8352	750
1996	8954	1,443
2001	11734	2,886
2006	20157	8,151

Sources:

For New Zealand: Lucas 2008: 113

For Australia:

1981, 1986, 1991: Hugo 2009: Table 6.

1996, 2001, 2006: Lucas 2008:114

Table 4. Zimbabwe-born by year of arrival

Year of arrival	Male	Female	Total
Before 1980	1,048	1,063	2,111
1980-1989	2,020	2,182	4,202
1990-1999	1,431	1,383	2,814
2000-2006	5,210	5,295	10,505
Not stated	255	268	523
Total	9,964	10,191	20,155

Source: 2006 Census of Population.

Table generated using TableBuilder

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Zimbabwe-born by State, 2006

State	Location		
	Major Urban	Other	Total
Western Australia	22.8	7.8	30.6
Queensland	19.6	8.9	28.5
New South Wales	15.8	4.6	20.4
Victoria	9.6	2.1	11.7
South Australia	3.0	1.7	4.7
Australia Capital territory	1.6	0.0	1.6
Nothern Territory	1.3	0.1	1.4
Tasmania	0.3	0.8	1.1
Total	74	26	100
N=	14,906	5,249	20,155

Source: See Table 4.

Table 6. Geographic distribution of Zimbabwe-born, 2006, Top 20 Local Government Areas

State/Territory	LGA	N
Queensland	Brisbane	1,963
Western Australia	Joondalup	1,088
Western Australia	Stirling	545
Queensland	Gold Coast	528
Western Australia	Wanneroo	520
Western Australia	Melville	435
Queensland	Maroochy	382
Western Australia	Canning	342
Australia Capital Territory	ACT	327
Queensland	Logan	306
Queensland	Toowoomba	280
Western Australia	Swan	243
New South Wales	Hornsby	231
Queensland	Pine Rivers	228
Queensland	Mackay	220
Queensland	Redland	216
New South Wales	Ku-ring-gai	206
Western Australia	Kalgoorlie/Boulder	194
Western Australia	Kalamunda	183
Victoria	Whitehorse	179

Source: See Table 4.

Table 7. Zimbabwe-born 2006. Percentage Distribution by Sex by Five-year Age Group

	Male	Female	Total
Age	%	%	%
0-4	1.2	1.6	1.4
5-9	4.4	4.7	4.5
10-14	5.8	5.7	5.8
15-19	6.9	6.7	6.8
20-24	9.2	9.5	9.4
30-34	9.9	10.2	10.0
35-39	10.7	11.0	10.8
40-44	11.4	11.8	11.6
45-49	12.6	11.8	12.2
50-54	8.8	8.2	8.5
55-59	5.8	4.9	5.3
60-64	2.9	2.4	2.6
65+	3.6	4.0	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	9,965	10,190	20,155

Source: See Table 4.

Table 8. Zimbabwe-born by First Ancestry by Year of Arrival,

	Before 1980	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2006	Total	N
Ancestry	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
Australian & New Zealand	2.9	2.0	1.5	0.7	1.4	266
Anglo Celtic	76.1	71.3	62.1	43.7	55.8	10,950
Zimbabwean	5.2	8.4	12.0	27.7	18.9	3,713
Other African	1.6	2.4	3.9	10.0	6.6	1,295
European	8.3	6.7	7.6	4.4	5.8	1,136
South African	3.6	4.6	5.5	3.3	4.0	776
Southern Asian	0.3	1.6	4.6	4.6	3.5	685
Asia and Middle East	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.2	0.4	86
American	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	26
Others	1.4	1.7	1.9	2.8	2.3	453
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	19,634
N	2,124	4,198	2,812	10,500	19,634	

Source: See Table 4.

Note: Anglo Celtic includes; British, English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish

South African includes; South African and Afrikaner

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Table 9. Zimbabwe-born: Religion by Year of Arrival

	Before 1980	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2006	Total	N
Religion	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
Anglican	28.0	26.9	23.9	22.5	24.2	4,760
Western Catholic	15.9	15.2	16.6	19.7	17.9	3,516
Presbyterian	5.7	8.0	8.8	9.5	8.7	1,701
Uniting Church	4.7	5.7	4.5	5.6	5.4	1,057
Judaism	2.9	2.5	2.9	0.7	1.7	324
Baptist	1.9	3.3	5.4	5.5	4.6	910
Pentecostal, nfd	0.8	1.2	1.9	4.1	2.8	546
Other Christian	8.9	8.8	12.2	17.2	13.8	2,690
Other Religions	2.0	3.2	4.7	5.0	4.2	835.0
Not defined	0.8	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.9	171
No Religion	22.4	19.3	14.2	5.7	11.6	2,284
Not stated	6.0	5.2	4.2	3.4	4.2	826
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	19,634
N	2,120	4,200	2,812	10,502	19,634	

Source: See Table 4.

Table 10. Zimbabwe-born by Language and Year of Arrival

Language spoken at home	Year of arrival				
	Before 1980	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2006	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
English	96.4	96.4	89.4	66.5	79.4
Other European	2.5	2.2	3.7	2.8	2.8
Shona	0.2	0.4	2.8	23.7	13.2
Ndebele	0.0	0.0	0.2	3.5	1.9
Other African Languages	0.0	0.1	0.5	1.2	0.7
Other Languages	0.1	0.5	2.7	1.1	1.1
Not stated	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.5
Inadequately described	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	2,120	4,200	2,812	10,502	19,634

Source: See Table 4.

Table 11. Zimbabwe-born Adults by Qualifications**(a) Males**

	Post-graduate	Bachelor Degree	Advanced Diploma and Diploma	Certificate	None	Not stated	Total	N
Age								
15-19	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.8	86.3	8.8	100.0	685
20-24	0.8	15.0	10.6	10.3	58.5	4.8	100.0	921
25-29	4.9	32.8	15.9	15.9	25.5	5.1	100.0	687
30-34	7.2	29.5	17.1	24.3	15.2	6.7	100.0	981
35-39	10.4	26.5	18.5	27.1	12.7	4.9	100.0	1,062
40-44	8.6	24.2	15.5	35.8	11.0	4.8	100.0	1,139
45-49	10.3	24.0	16.2	31.7	13.9	3.9	100.0	1,255
50-54	11.7	25.8	16.7	23.4	18.6	3.8	100.0	875
55-59	13.5	25.5	13.9	20.8	21.2	5.0	100.0	576
60-64	10.1	19.1	17.4	21.5	25.3	6.6	100.0	288
65+	8.4	17.1	13.4	28.9	24.1	8.1	100.0	357
Total	7.8	22.6	14.5	23.2	26.4	5.3	100.0	8,826

(b) Females

Age	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
15-19	0.0	0.4	1.9	4.2	85.8	7.7	100.0	689
20-24	1.1	19.6	11.5	11.4	49.6	6.7	100.0	964
25-29	3.9	32.0	28.5	12.3	17.7	5.7	100.0	775
30-34	9.6	29.0	26.6	9.8	17.6	7.4	100.0	1,033
35-39	7.5	23.9	29.2	9.7	21.9	7.8	100.0	1,117
40-44	7.1	21.5	28.3	11.0	24.3	7.8	100.0	1,200
45-49	8.4	20.2	27.1	9.5	27.1	7.7	100.0	1,206
50-54	7.2	20.8	25.7	10.5	27.8	7.9	100.0	835
55-59	9.2	16.6	22.0	9.0	35.6	7.6	100.0	500
60-64	4.5	17.8	22.7	11.3	35.2	8.5	100.0	247
65+	4.0	9.1	12.1	7.2	46.2	21.5	100.0	405
Total	6.1	20.6	22.8	9.8	32.7	8.1	100.0	8,971

Source: See Table 4.

Table 12. Zimbabwe-born employed by Occupation by Year of Arrival*

(a) Males

Occupation	Before 1980	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2006
Managers	21.9	23.7	21.0	18.4
Professionals	33.7	28.1	30.8	25.9
Technicians and Trades Workers	15.3	20.0	23.8	23.7
Community, Personal Service Workers	4.8	5.0	4.0	5.2
Clerical and Administrative	6.3	7.2	4.2	4.4
Sales Workers	5.7	5.2	6.0	7.3
Machinery Operators and Drivers	6.3	4.6	3.1	4.1
Labourers	4.6	5.2	5.6	10.4
Inadequately described	1.5	1.0	1.2	.5
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0
N	826	1754	1207	3298

(b) Females

Occupation	Before 1980	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2006
Managers	14.0	10.6	8.7	6.8
Professionals	36.8	34.8	32.6	35.3
Technicians and Trades Workers	3.1	3.8	3.6	3.0
Community, Personal Service Workers	9.4	8.4	10.5	16.2
Clerical and Administrative	25.1	32.0	31.5	23.6
Sales Workers	5.5	7.2	8.8	8.0
Machinery Operators and Drivers	1.1	.7	.3	.7
Labourers	5.0	2.3	3.6	5.9
Inadequately described	-	.2	.5	.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	709	1607	596	2848

Source: See Table 4. Note: * Excludes Not Stated

**Table 13. Zimbabwe-born Adults by Labour Force Status:
(a) Males**

Age	1. Employed (no.)	2. Unemployed (no.)	3. Not in the labour force (no.)	4 = 1+2+3	UR= 1/1+2 (%)	LFPR = 1+2/4 (%)
15-19	289	48	343	680	14.2	50.0
20-24	650	73	191	914	10.1	79.1
25-29	611	33	39	683	5.1	94.3
30-34	907	25	48	980	2.7	95.1
35-39	995	25	38	1,058	2.5	96.4
40-44	1,072	28	32	1,132	2.5	97.2
45-49	1,170	27	51	1,248	2.3	95.9
50-54	804	18	51	873	2.2	94.2
55-59	497	10	65	572	2.0	88.6
60-64	197	11	76	284	5.3	73.2
65+	82	7	258	347	7.9	25.6
Total	7,274	305	1,192	8,771	4.0	85.4

(b) Females

15-19	293	54	334	681	15.6	51.0
20-24	700	62	187	949	8.1	80.3
25-29	609	32	130	771	5.0	83.1
30-34	755	32	242	1,029	4.1	76.5
35-39	830	48	238	1,116	5.5	78.7
40-44	959	44	182	1,185	4.4	84.6
45-49	975	43	183	1,201	4.2	84.8
50-54	657	21	155	833	3.1	81.4
55-59	345	7	142	494	2.0	71.3
60-64	117	6	124	247	4.9	49.8
65+	52	5	327	384	8.8	14.8
Total	6,292	354	2,244	8,890	5.3	74.8

Source: See Table 4.

Notes: UR = Unemployment Rate; LFPR = Labour Force Participation Rate

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