

## CHAPTER 2. THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT OF REFUGEE- HUMANITARIAN MIGRATION

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Third Intergenerational Report (Swan, 2010, 21) argues that Australia's future economic growth in the context of an ageing society is through the development and support of social policies in the '3Ps':

- Productivity
- Participation
- Population

In the context of the current chapter it is the third 'P' which is a focus of attention. A growing population is seen as assisting in managing the pressures of an ageing population and providing the skills to support economic growth. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the contribution of the refugee-humanitarian immigration intake to Australian population growth and in particular to its contribution to the workforce age groups. It begins with a brief discussion of the numerical contribution of refugee-humanitarian migration to population growth in Australia as a whole and to the respective states and territories. It then looks at the age-sex distribution of the refugee-humanitarian intake and examines some of its implications. The fertility of refugee-humanitarian groups is then discussed, since the second generation of refugee-humanitarian settlers is an important group when assessing the impact of this group on the economy.

Research has drawn attention to the '*demographic dividend*' of economic growth that can be delivered by a favourable age structure. (Wang and Mason, 2007; Mason and Lee, 2006; Mason, 2007). Such an age structure is one where the workforce grows faster than the overall population – especially when it grows faster than the dependent segments of the population (children and the elderly). In Asia, the rapid and sustained declines in fertility that followed a baby boom generation created a special demographic situation: the ratio of the working age to the non-working age population is the highest it has ever been. While this

does not automatically confer a dividend of enhanced economic growth if there is an unfavourable policy environment, several empirical studies of Asian countries have confirmed the existence of a dividend (Mason, 2007).

If the correct policies are in place, the combined effect of this large working age population and the appropriate health, family, labour, financial and human-capital policies can create cycles of wealth creation. Asia's demographic dividend has coincided with the era of globalisation, and will continue to increase for the next decade or so before it begins to decline in the late 2020s. It has been estimated that 20 percent of China's rapid economic growth in recent decades has been due to a high ratio of working to non-working population delivered by low fertility (Wang and Mason, 2007). It is shown in this chapter that humanitarian migration has in fact delivered a type of demographic dividend through its age structure. It is also shown that refugee settlers have lower emigration rates than other types of migrants, which adds to their economic contribution.

The final part of the chapter examines the spatial distribution of refugee-humanitarian settlers in Australia. It is argued that their increasing settlement in regional areas is making a small but important contribution to meeting labour shortages in some parts of regional Australia.

## **2.2 TRENDS IN REFUGEE-HUMANITARIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA**

Australia's first experience with a modern refugee situation goes back to the period immediately before World War II, although refugees have sought and received asylum in Australia since the earliest days of European settlement (Australian Population and Immigration Council [APIC], 1979, 5). Some months after the 1938 Evian Conference, Australia agreed to accept, over a three-year period, 15,000 Jewish refugees who had fled Germany, Austria and the Czech Sudetenland as a result of the anti-Semitic policies pursued by Hitler. However, only 7,500 had arrived by mid 1939, when the outbreak of war forced the program's suspension (APIC, 1979, 5). It is in the post-war period that resettlement of refugees has assumed major significance. Australia has resettled around three quarters of a million refugees since Federation. This represents around a tenth of the overall immigration intake and around a twentieth of the total national population growth. Hence, from a purely demographic perspective, the significance of refugee migrations is considerable.

A refugee component was specifically included in the Australian immigration program only in 1978, but there have been a variety of arrangements under which refugees have immigrated to, and settled in, Australia. An important feature of refugee-humanitarian migration has been its wave nature. These include the following waves where Australia has responded to the outbreak of war or violent displacement in different parts of the world:

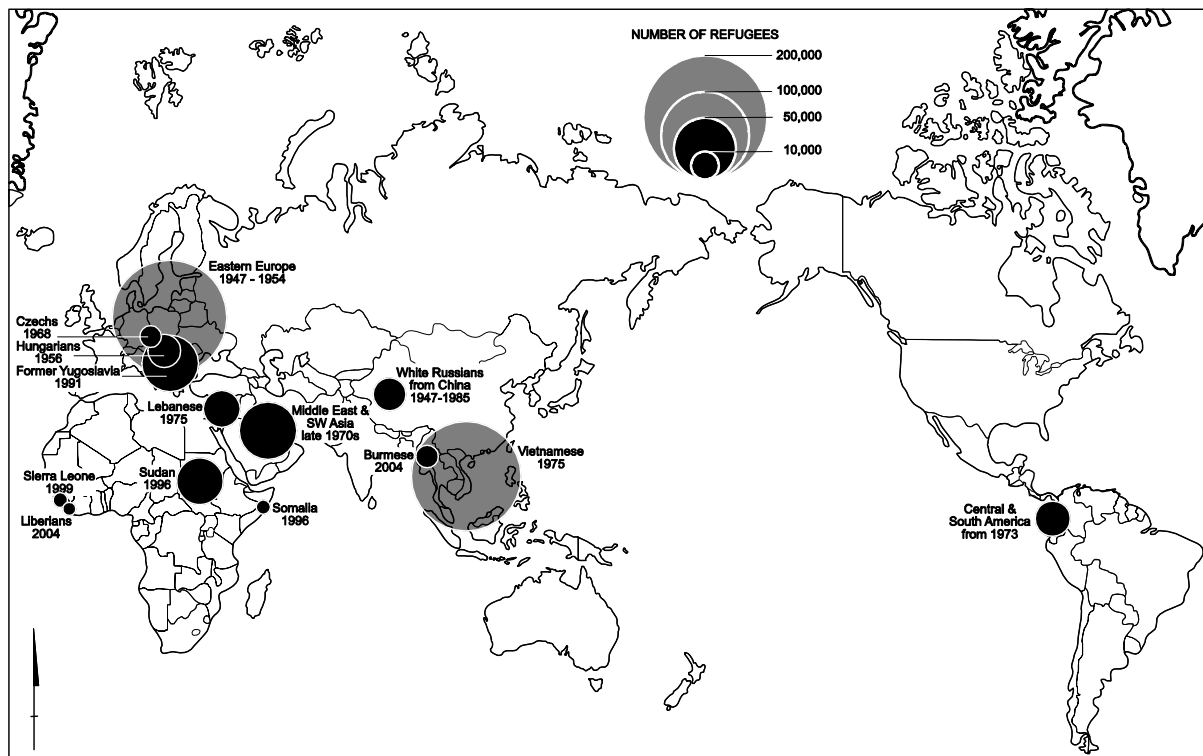
- Displaced Persons Program which involved the settlement of 180,000 Central and Eastern Europeans displaced as a result of World War II. This program ran from 1947 to 1954.
- White Russians from China, involving the resettlement of some 14,000 Russians who arrived in North China as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution and the later white Intervention in 1921, and their dependants.
- Hungarians who fled Hungary after the 1956 uprising, involving the resettlement of 14,000.
- Czechs who fled Czechoslovakia after the Prague uprising in 1968, resulting in the resettlement of almost 6,000.
- Lebanese who were resettled as a consequence of the 1974 Civil War, involving some 18,000 during the period 1975 to 1978 and others following subsequent crises.
- Indo Chinese from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, involving the resettlement of 130,000 since 1975.
- Eastern Europeans under a continuing commitment following the end of the displaced Persons Program in 1954, and from Poland following the Polish crisis of 1980-81.
- Latin Americans largely from Chile and El Salvador resettled under programs which were begun in 1982, involving resettlement of some 3,000.
- Refugees from the Middle East and North Africa following the Gulf War and other major outbreaks over the last two decades (143,265 persons).

- In the 1990s there was a significant inflow from the former Yugoslavia and the former USSR following conflicts in Eastern Europe (92,670 persons).
- Refugees from Iran and Iraq have been important for over two decades (52,110 persons).
- The Horn of Africa countries of Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan have been important origin areas over the last decade (39,439 persons).
- Afghanistan refugees began to move to Australia after the 1979 Russian invasion of Afghanistan but have been especially significant since the 1990s (18,609 persons).
- Sri Lanka (22,541 persons) and Myanmar (7,862 persons) have become significant origins in recent years.

The wave nature of refugee-humanitarian settlement in Australia has been referred to in Chapter One (Figure 1.4) as a key feature. Figure 2.1 shows the major waves of refugee-humanitarian migrants coming to Australia since 1945. The present report concentrates largely on three waves of refugee-humanitarian settlers who have come to Australia since 1978 when the government introduced a specific refugee-humanitarian sub-program into the Immigration Program. Since that time, 438,620 persons have entered Australia as refugee-humanitarian settlers. However it is estimated that since Federation around three quarters of a million refugees have settled in Australia (Refugee Council of Australia, 2010).

### Figure 2.1: Waves of Refugees to Australia Since 1945

Source: Drawn from data in Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), 2009b, 25



Around 700,000 people in humanitarian need resettled since 1945

1. More than 2800 people from Sierra Leone resettled since 1999
2. Around 2300 Liberians resettled since 2004
3. 170 000 displaced persons from Eastern Europe between 1947 and 1954
4. Almost 6000 Czechs resettled after the Prague Spring in 1968
5. 14 000 Hungarians resettled after the 1956 uprising
6. Around 42 000 people resettled from the former Yugoslavia since 1991
7. 18 000 Lebanese resettled after the 1975 civil war
8. Around 28 000 Sudanese resettled since 1996
9. More than 2700 Somalis resettled since 1996
10. Around 43 000 people resettled from the Middle East and South West Asia since the late 1970s
11. 14 000 White Russians from China resettled between 1947 and 1985
12. Almost 6500 Burmese resettled since 2004
13. More than 155 000 Vietnamese resettled since 1975
14. More than 16 000 people from Central and South America resettled since 1973

As was indicated in Chapter 1 there is no way of identifying former refugee-humanitarian settlers in the Australian population so that an accurate estimation of the current 'stock' of

former refugees in Australia is not possible. Clearly the three quarters of a million arrivals over the last century have suffered attrition due to mortality and subsequent emigration to other countries. However, they have also added to the population growth through:

- Fertility of refugee women after their arrival in Australia.
- Subsequent assistance and encouragement given to other family members and friends to migrate to Australia under the family or skill elements of the migration program.

In order to give an indication of the scale of the demographic impact of refugee-humanitarian migration on the contemporary Australian population, Table 2.1 shows the numbers at the 2006 Australian population census who were:

- (a) born in a country which has been the origin for a large number of refugee-humanitarian settlers to Australia; and
- (b) are Australia-born but also indicated that their ancestry was from one of those designated countries.

This clearly does not provide a completely accurate picture of first and second generation humanitarian settlers in Australia. The first generation is incorrect insofar as it:

- (a) includes persons who migrated to Australia with a different (non-refugee-humanitarian) visa;
- (b) excludes persons born in other countries who came to Australia under a humanitarian visa.

However, in almost all of the countries listed in Table 2.1, most of the persons either migrated to Australia as a refugee-humanitarian settler or as a sponsored family member of such a settler.

**Table 2.1: Australia: Number of Persons Born in a Country Which Has Sent Significant Numbers of Refugees to Australia and Australia-Born Persons Indicating Their Ancestry was in One of These Countries, 2006**

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2006 Census

Country of Origin	First Generation (Birthplace)	Second Generation (Ancestry)	Total
<i>Group Arriving 1946-60</i>			
Bulgaria	2,627	2,123	4,750
Croatia	50,996	64,916	115,912
Estonia	1,934	5,584	7,518
Hungary	20,161	35,484	55,645
Latvia	5,611	12,750	18,361
Lithuania	3,072	7,484	10,556
Romania	13,878	6,131	20,009
Russian Federation	15,354	31,606	46,960
Slovakia	3,323	3,112	10,435
Ukraine	13,666	20,832	34,498
<i>Groups Arriving 1960s and 1970s</i>			
Chile	23,304	9,911	33,215
Czech Republic	7,179	10,178	17,357
<i>Groups Arriving 1980s and 1990s</i>			
Bosnia and Herzegovina	24,631	3,614	28,045
Cambodia	24,528	7,240	31,868
East Timor	9,317	2,123	11,440
El Salvador	9,397	1,709	11,006
Laos	9,375	3,444	12,819
Lebanon	75,849	107,561	182,410
Vietnam	159,850	54,305	214,155
<i>Recent Arrivals</i>			
Afghanistan	16,751	3,304	20,055
Burma (Myanmar)	12,378	5,022	17,400
Burundi	753	356	1,109
Congo	521	675	1,196
Eritrea	2,015	513	2,528
Ethiopia	5,034	1,045	6,679
Iran	22,549	4,404	26,953
Iraq	35,520	3,317	38,837
Liberia	1,523	51	1,574
Sierra Leone	1,809	63	1,872
Somalia	4,314	1,720	6,034
Sri Lanka	62,256	19,974	82,230
Sudan	19,049	1,692	20,741
<b>Total Refugee Groups</b>	<b>658,126</b>	<b>432,323</b>	<b>1,090,449</b>

With respect to the second generation the numbers are subject to a number of qualifications which apply to all of the ancestry data collected at Australian censuses (Khoo and Lucas, 2004; ABS, 1984; ABS, 1994a). These include:

- (a) An increasing number of Australia-born persons give their ancestry as Australian as opposed to the birthplace of their overseas-born parents or grandparents.
- (b) Some refugee origin groups give their ancestry as an ethnic/religious category other than a country such as Tamil (1,543 persons in 2006), Kurdish (1,245) and Armenian (5,841).
- (c) The data includes third and later generations as well as the second generation.

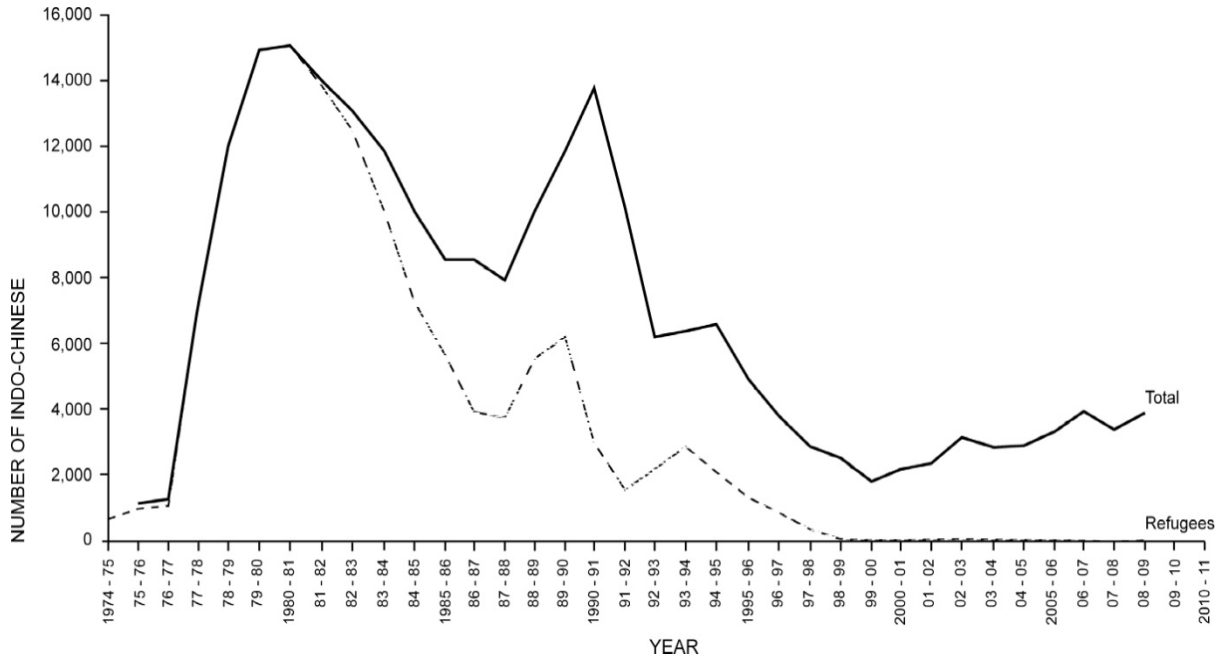
Nevertheless, despite these limitations it is argued here that Table 2.1 gives a robust picture of the scale of the demographic impact of post-war refugee migration on the contemporary Australian population. It is of note that at the 2006 Australian census over a million Australians - over five percent of the population - indicated that they were either born in a country which has sent a significant number of refugees to Australia, or were Australia-born and indicated that their ancestry was in one of those countries.

The largest single refugee-humanitarian group are the Vietnamese, the first and second generation of whom numbered 214,155 or around one percent of the total national population. Together with Cambodians (31,868) and Laotians (12,819) the Vietnamese refugee movement predominantly occurred in the 15 years following the reunification of Vietnam in 1975. Figure 2.2 shows the annual inflow of Indo Chinese immigrants since 1975 and indicates how the refugee-humanitarian component was dominant in the initial years but has been gradually replaced by other, mainly family, migration.

The second largest group are the Lebanese, whose second generation is larger than their first generation with a total population of 182,410. Lebanese refugee-humanitarian migration and follow up family migration has occurred over a long period which means that a mature community has developed with a large second generation. The communities from Iran and Iraq have been more recently developed so they have a much smaller second generation.

**Figure 2.2: Refugee and Humanitarian Program and All Indo Chinese Settlers Arriving in Australia, 1974-2009**

Source: Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs unpublished statistics and DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues



The third largest community is from Croatia with 115,912. It will be noted that the second generation is also larger than the first generation, reflecting the fact that there were two waves of migration - firstly, following World War II and then following the conflicts surrounding the break-up of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The group from Bosnia-Herzegovina (28,045 persons) are similarly experiencing two waves of humanitarian inflows. Several of the European origin groups predominantly date from refugees mainly in the early post-war years so they are older established communities with large second generations. They include those from Bulgaria (4,750), the Czech Republic (17,357), Estonia (7,518), Hungary (55,645), Latvia (18,361), Lithuania (10,556), Romania (20,009), Russian Federation (46,960), Slovakia (10,435) and Ukraine (34,498).

There have been more recent refugee movements from Asia represented in the growing communities from Afghanistan (20,055) and Burma (Myanmar) (17,400) where the second generation are relatively young and few in number. Refugee migration from Sri Lanka is of increasing significance but the large Sri Lankan community (82,230 persons) has only a minority of refugees with economic and family migrants being predominant. The small East

Timor group (11,440) dates back to the refugee flow following Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975.

Africa has been a significant source of refugee-humanitarian flows in recent years (Hugo, 2009a). In each case the second generation is very small compared to the first generation. The largest groups originate from Sudan (20,741), Ethiopia (6,679), Somalia (6,073) and Eritrea (2,528).

The refugee-humanitarian origin population hence represent a very diverse group in terms of their ethnic, birthplace and religious origins. Also varied is their time of arrival in Australia, so the average time that community members have had to adjust to the labour market and other aspects of life in Australia differs. It is important to bear those differences in mind when assessing their contribution to the national economy and society.

Because the timing of the waves of refugees differs between different ancestry and birthplace groups, they are experiencing quite different rates of population growth. Table 2.2 shows the annual growth rates of the major refugee birthplace groups between the 2001 and 2006 population censuses and also, where 2008 population estimates are available, for the 2006-08 period. It will be noted that several groups have grown quite rapidly with rates well above the national population growth rate, which itself has been higher over this period. This especially applies to the African groups but also Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq. Several of the European groups grew only slowly and some even decreased. The largest groups of Vietnamese and Lebanese grew only slowly indicating the major influx from these origins has passed.

**Table 2.2: Australia: Selected Refugee Groups by Country of Birth, 2001-08**  
 Source: ABS, 2001 and 2006 Censuses and Estimated Resident Population Data

Country of Birth	2008	2006	2001	Growth Rate p.a. (%)	
				2001-06	2006-08
<i>Groups Arriving 1946-60</i>					
Bulgaria	3,428	2,677	2,571	0.8	2.0*
Croatia	69,962	50,996	51,909	-0.4	-1.0
Estonia	2,271	1,934	2,389	-4.1	0.1
Hungary	23,267	20,161	22,752	-2.4	-1.1
Latvia	6,077	5,611	6,688	-3.5	-3.5
Lithuania	3,334	3,072	3,687	-3.6	-3.3
Romania	16,746	13,878	12,821	1.6*	1.0
Russian Federation	20,373	15,354	15,021	0.4	5.2*
Slovakia	5,437	3,323	2,984	2.2*	1.7
Ukraine	15,168	13,666	14,062	-0.6	-1.9
<i>Groups Arriving 1960s and 1970s</i>					
Chile	27,903	23,304	23,420	-0.1	1.5
Czech Republic	14,217	7,179	6,973	0.6	0.3
<i>Groups Arriving 1980s and 1990s</i>					
Bosnia and Herzegovina	37,898	24,631	23,848	0.6	-0.3
Cambodia	29,417	24,528	22,979	1.3*	2.0*
East Timor	10,487	9,317	9,389	-0.2	-0.7
El Salvador	10,822	9,397	9,696	-0.6	0.2
Laos	10,955	9,375	9,565	-0.4	0.7
Lebanon	89,065	74,849	71,349	1.0	1.5
Vietnam	193,288	159,850	154,831	0.6	2.1*
<i>Recent Arrivals</i>					
Afghanistan	22,919	16,751	11,296	8.2*	8.1*
Burma (Myanmar)	17,217	12,378	10,973	2.4*	10.6*
Burundi	Na	753	27	94.6*	na
Congo	Na	520	136	30.8*	na
Eritrea	2,620	2,015	1,599	4.7*	4.9*
Ethiopia	7,527	5,634	3,544	9.7*	7.3*
Iran	29,582	22,549	18,789	3.7*	6.0*
Iraq	41,664	32,520	24,832	5.5*	5.4*
Liberia	Na	1,523	124	65.1*	na
Sierra Leone	2,842	1,809	363	37.9*	16.7*
Somalia	5,514	4,314	3,713	3.0*	4.6*
Sri Lanka	79,995	62,256	53,461	3.1*	5.6*
Sudan	24,796	19,049	4,900	31.2*	7.2*
Total population	21,431,781	20,061,646	18,972,354	1.1	1.8
Australia	15,975,917	14,072,946	13,629,481	0.6	1.2
Mainly English Speaking (MES)	1,982,653	1,675,351	1,601,421	0.9	2.8
Non-English Speaking (NES)	3,503,211	4,313,349	3,741,452	2.9	4.4

\* Above national average growth rate.

**Table 2.3: Ancestry Multi Response: Refugee-Humanitarian Birthplace Groups, 1986, 2001 and 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census

Ancestry, Multi Response	2006	2001	1986	Growth Rate (%)	
				2001-2006	1986-2006
Australian	7,371,823	6,739,594	3,402,047	1.8	8.0
<i>Groups Arriving 1946-60</i>					
Bulgarian	4,898	4,179	3,179	3.2	4.4
Croatian	118,049	105,747	47,833	2.2	9.5
Estonian	8,234	7,543	7,820	1.8	0.5
Hungarian	67,623	62,859	57,928	1.5	1.6
Latvian	20,061	18,938	20,610	1.2	-0.3
Lithuanian	13,275	12,317	11,404	1.5	1.5
Romanian	18,325	16,121	9,009	2.6	7.4
Russian	67,056	60,213	46,352	2.2	3.8
Slovak	8,504	7,054	2,449	3.8	13.3
Ukrainian	37,584	33,960	29,885	2.0	2.3
<i>Groups Arriving 1960s and 1970s</i>					
Chilean	25,433	21,579	13,344	3.3	6.7
Czech	21,194	17,126	24,228	4.4	-1.3
<i>Groups Arriving 1980s and 1990s</i>					
Bosnian	18,463	17,993		0.5	
Khmer	25,553	21,361	9,725	3.6	10.1
Timorese	6,242	5,491	2,231	2.6	10.8
Salvadoran	6,871	6,617		0.8	
Lao	10,768	10,086	6,459	1.3	5.2
Lebanese	181,753	162,239	92,428	2.3	7.0
Vietnamese	173,666	156,581	64,998	2.1	10.3
<i>Recent Arrivals</i>					
Afghan	19,414	12,410		9.4	
Burmese	13,821	10,557	6,422	5.5	8.0
Southern and East African, nec (includes Afar, Namibian, Tutsi)	2,865				
Central and West African, nec (includes Fang, Fulani, Kongo)	2,656				
Eritrean	2,659	2,029		5.6	
Ethiopian	5,603	3,054		12.9	
Iranian	23,575	18,798	6,001	4.6	14.7
Iraqi	16,763	11,190	1,642	8.4	26.2
Liberian	1,144				
Sierra Leonean	875				
Somali	6,404	5,007		5.0	
Sinhalese	73,849	58,602	20,750	4.7	13.5
Sudanese	17,844	3,788		36.3	
Kurdish	5,470	4,494	1,928	4.0	11.0
Tamil	8,897	7,706	1,304	2.9	21.2

Note: Only ancestries with at least 2,000 responses in 2001 included.

Another way of examining the dynamics of the growth of the stocks of refugee-humanitarian settler groups is to use ancestry data and Table 2.3 presents this data for the 1986, 2001 and 2006 censuses. As with the birthplace data, the table highlights the rapid recent growth of the African groups (e.g. Sudanese, Somalis, Eritrean and Ethiopian).

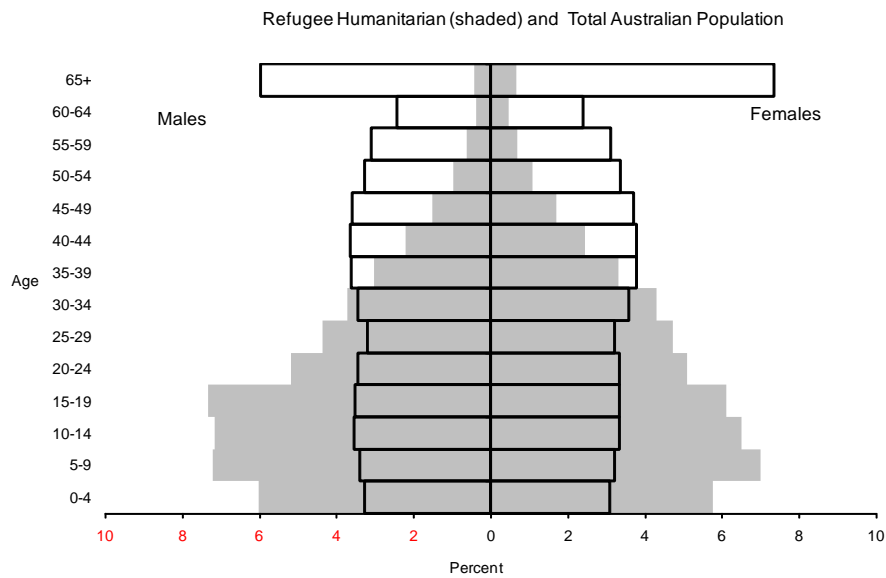
### **2.3 THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE REFUGEE-HUMANITARIAN POPULATION**

There is an increasing amount of research evidence that points to the impacts that age structure has on economies. Wang and Mason (2007) have estimated that between 15 and 20 percent of China's rapid economic growth in the reform era has been due to the demographic dividend of a favourable ratio of working age to non-working age population. Hence from an economic perspective the age structure of refugee-humanitarian populations is of significance. An important characteristic of the contemporary refugee-humanitarian intake, as Figure 2.3 indicates, is that it is substantially younger than the national Australian population. Indeed the median age of the refugee-humanitarian intake over the 2003-09 period was 31.8 years compared with a median age of 42.9 in the Australian population. The Index of Dissimilarity between the age structure of the refugee inflow and the total population is 33.5, meaning that a third of the refugees would need to change their age group to duplicate the national resident population.

It is also important to point out that not only is the refugee intake young when compared with the national resident population, it is very young when compared with the total immigration intake. Figure 2.4 overlays the age-sex composition of the refugee-humanitarian settlers arriving in the 2003-09 period with that of the total migrant intake. It is readily apparent that dependent age children and young adults aged 15-24 are significantly overrepresented compared with all immigrants while the middle and older working age groups (25-49) are significantly underrepresented. In fact the median ages of skilled (31.5), family (29.4) and other (24.5) migrants are significantly higher than that for refugees (20).

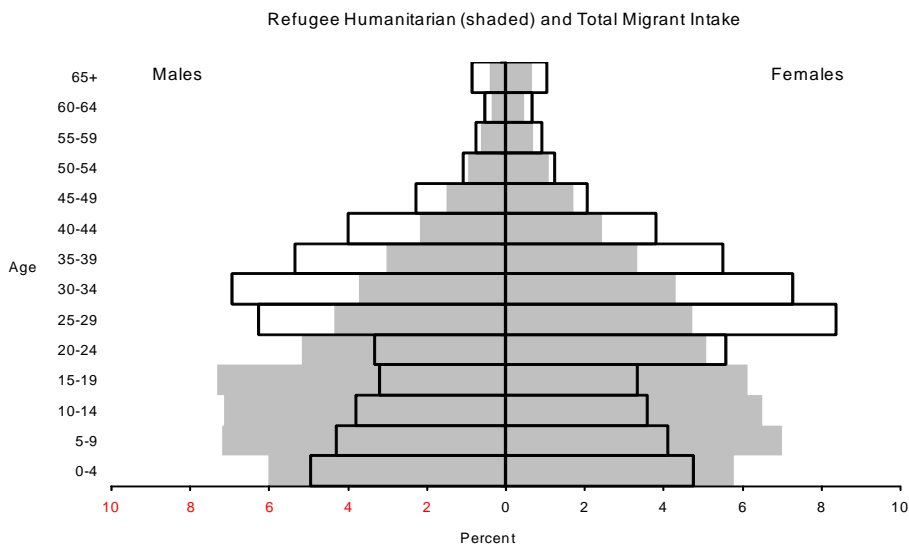
**Figure 2.3: Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Refugee-Humanitarian Migrants, 2003-04 to 2008-09 and Total Australian Population, 2006**

Source: DIAC unpublished data; ABS 2006 Census



**Figure 2.4: Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Refugee-Humanitarian and Total Migrant Intake, 2003-04 to 2008-09**

Source: DIAC unpublished data



It is of some relevance to this study that so many refugee-humanitarian migrants are in the youngest working ages in which many are making the crucial transition from school to work.

**Table 2.4: Australia: Visa Category by Mean and Median Age, 2003-04 to 2008-09**  
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Visa Category	Mean	Median
Total Settler Arrivals	27.3	31.8
Humanitarian	21.8	20.0
Family	31.4	29.4
Skill	26.4	31.5
Other	26.1	24.5
Australia 2006 Census	36.7	42.9

Note: Calculated from five year interval data.

**Table 2.5: Australia: Settler Arrivals by Visa Category, 2003-04 to 2008-09**  
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Visa Category	Percent			Total
	0-14	15-29	30+	
Total Settler Arrivals	25.5	30.1	44.4	100.0
Humanitarian	39.7	32.8	27.5	100.0
Family	12.7	41.7	45.6	100.0
Skill	28.6	21.7	49.8	100.0
Other	29.4	32.1	38.5	100.0

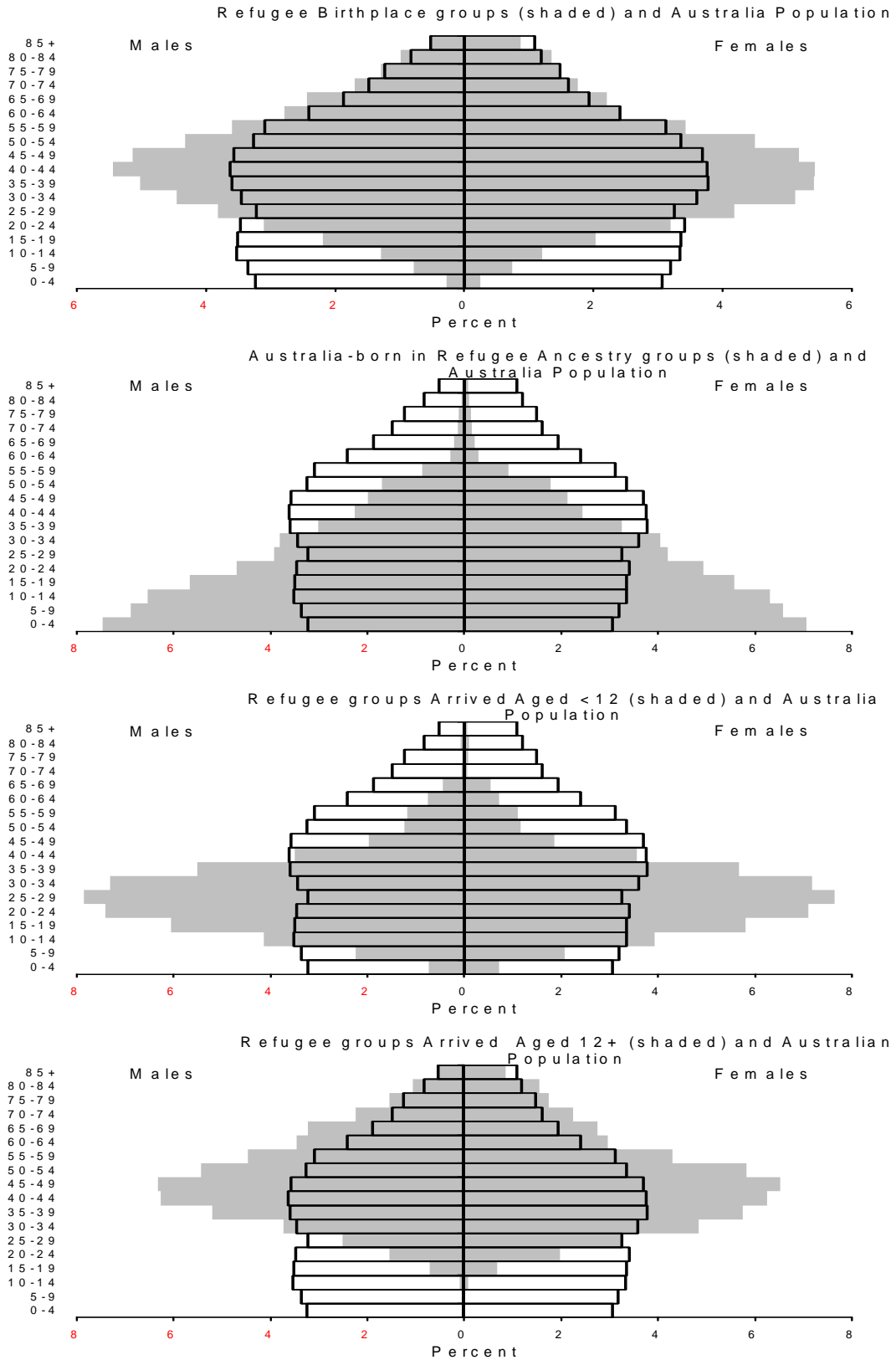
The greater youth of the intake of refugee-humanitarian settlers is apparent in Table 2.4 which indicates the mean and median ages of the settler intake of the major visa categories over the 2003-09 period. It will be noted that both mean and median ages are substantially less for refugee-humanitarian arrivals. This is reinforced in Table 2.5 which shows the proportions in each visa category in the 0-14, 15-29 and 30+ age categories. This shows the proportion of humanitarian arrivals who are dependent children is almost twice that for the other categories. Clearly dependent children are a very important part of the refugee intake. Thus the demographic impact of refugees is somewhat different to that of the other visa categories. A higher proportion of refugee-humanitarian arrivals than other groups are made up of children who receive their education in Australia.

The majority of refugee-humanitarian migrants arrive in Australia as children or young adults. This means that for the bulk of refugee entrants virtually their entire working lives will be spent in Australia. On the other hand, a significant number of other migrants have spent a substantial period working in their home nations before coming to Australia. The fact is that refugee-humanitarian migrants are disproportionately concentrated in the age groups which contribute toward a demographic dividend which potentially can be delivered when the size of the workforce increases faster than the population as a whole due to large numbers entering the workforce ages (Pool, 2004; Wang and Mason, 2007). It is an important point that because many refugee-humanitarian migrants arrive as children, the majority of these arrivals spend almost all of their working lives in Australia, maximising their potential economic contribution compared with other visa categories that often arrive in mid-career.

These age structural elements also must be borne in mind in comparing the workforce performance of recently arrived refugee-humanitarian immigrants to other recently arrived settlers. Simple comparisons of labour force participation, income, etcetera, between visa categories of migrants in the early years of settlement are influenced by the fact that refugee-humanitarian settlers are much more concentrated in the working ages - where the transition from education to the labour market occurs - while other migrants have mostly been employed in their homeland before migration, some with extensive experience in the labour market. Further, unemployment rates in the total and Australia-born labour markets are much higher in the youngest labour force ages (ABS, 2010a). It could thus be argued that any simple comparison of workforce engagement and performance by visa category which is not age standardised is invalid.

**Figure 2.5: Age-Sex Structure All Refugee Birthplace Groups, Australia-Born in Refugee Ancestry Groups, Refugee Groups Who Arrived Aged <12 Years and 12+ Years**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census



While the *flows* of refugee-humanitarian migrants into Australia are very young, the *stocks* vary considerably in their age structure because the different groups vary so much in the timing of their immigration to, and settlement in, Australia. Figure 2.5 depicts the age structures of four composite groups of refugee-humanitarian settlers and their characteristics.

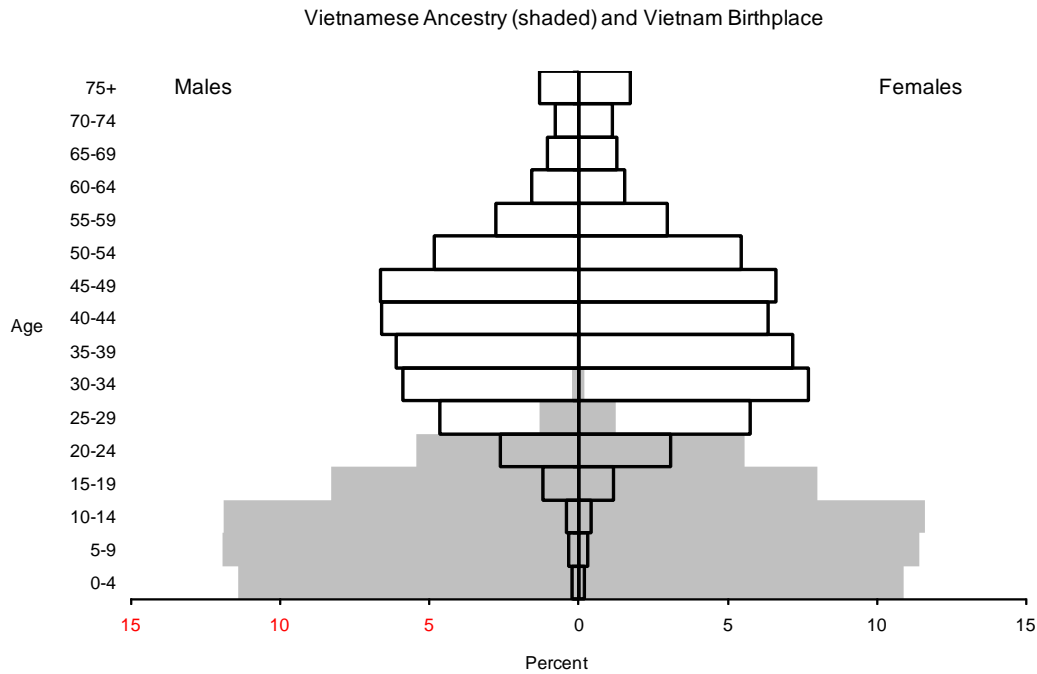
The first age pyramid represents the total population who were born in the countries who have sent a large number of refugee-humanitarian settlers to Australia. This shows a strong concentration in the ages above 30. Of course, this reflects the fact that the children born to refugees after arrival are regarded as Australia-born. Nevertheless, it will be noted that the overconcentration in relation to the Australia-born is in the prime working age groups of 25-59. Hence the age structure has a strong overrepresentation in the age groups which contribute to a 'demographic dividend'.

The second part of Figure 2.5 is almost the obverse of the first one because it largely includes the Australia-born children of the group depicted in the first diagram – the Australia-born who indicated they had the ancestry of a *refugee-humanitarian birthplace group* as defined in the previous chapter. They are clearly dominated by dependent age children and young adults with all age groups less than 30 being overrepresented compared with the total Australian population. This provides another dimension to the already youthful nature of the refugee-humanitarian intake as was discussed earlier in this section – the additional children born to refugees after their arrival in Australia.

As was discussed earlier, it is important to differentiate the refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups between those that arrived in Australia as adults and those who arrived as children. The latter clearly do much of their schooling in Australia and as a result have different resources to adjust to Australian economy and society. Accordingly, the third and fourth diagram in Figure 2.5, as would be expected, shows that those who arrived here as children are a much younger age structure than those who came as adults.

**Figure 2.6: Australia: Age-Sex Distribution of Vietnam-Born and Australia-Born with Vietnamese Ancestry, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census



It is important to note that there are major differences in the age composition of different refugee-humanitarian groups due to the wave nature and the different timing of migration for different groups. Hence, in comparing the labour force and others experience of these groups, we compare some groups in which many have spent several decades working in Australia with others where most have less experience. Taking for example the largest single group, the Vietnamese, Figure 2.6 overlays the age-sex composition of the Vietnam-born and the Australia-born with Vietnamese ancestry. Clearly, the latter are largely the children of the former and the Vietnam-born are dominated by people who moved to Australia as young adults in the 1970s and 1980s. Hence most of the Vietnam-born now are in their 30s, 40s and 50s and in the peak working ages, while most who are Australia-born with Vietnamese ancestry are aged less than 25. The fact that most refugee-humanitarian populations have a distinctive demography due to the wave nature of their migration to Australia can be shown by comparing the age structure of the Vietnam-born in 2006 shown in Figure 2.6 to that of the Vietnam-born population twenty years earlier shown in Figure 2.7. This shows that in 1987 the Vietnam-born were strongly concentrated in the 10-39 age groups. In Figure 2.7 their age structure is overlaid with that of the total Australian population at that time showing

the dominance of young working ages. Clearly, by 2006 there had been little addition to the Vietnam-born and the original migrants have aged up the age pyramid.

**Figure 2.7: Australia: Percentage Age-Sex Distribution of Vietnam-Born and Total Population, 1987**

Source: ABS, 1988

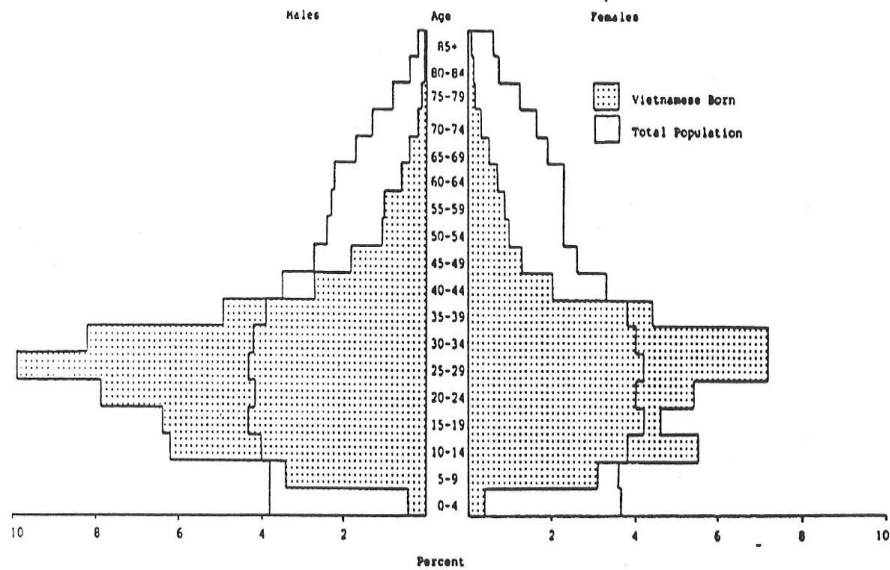
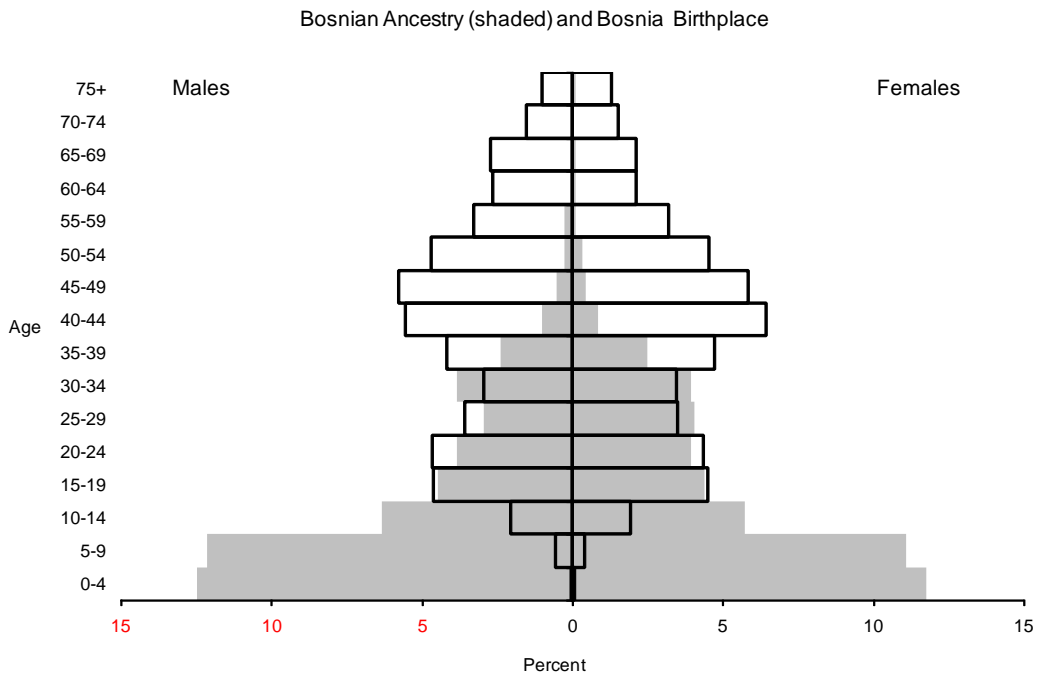


Figure 2.8 shows the Bosnia and Herzegovina-born and their second generation and there is a bimodal pattern evident in two waves of migration in the 1970s and 1990s. A quite different pattern is evident in Figure 2.9 which shows the situation for Croatian refugees. Clearly, most came to Australia in the early post-war years and now are aged over 40 but the second generation is dominated by young adults and the grandchildren of the original refugees.

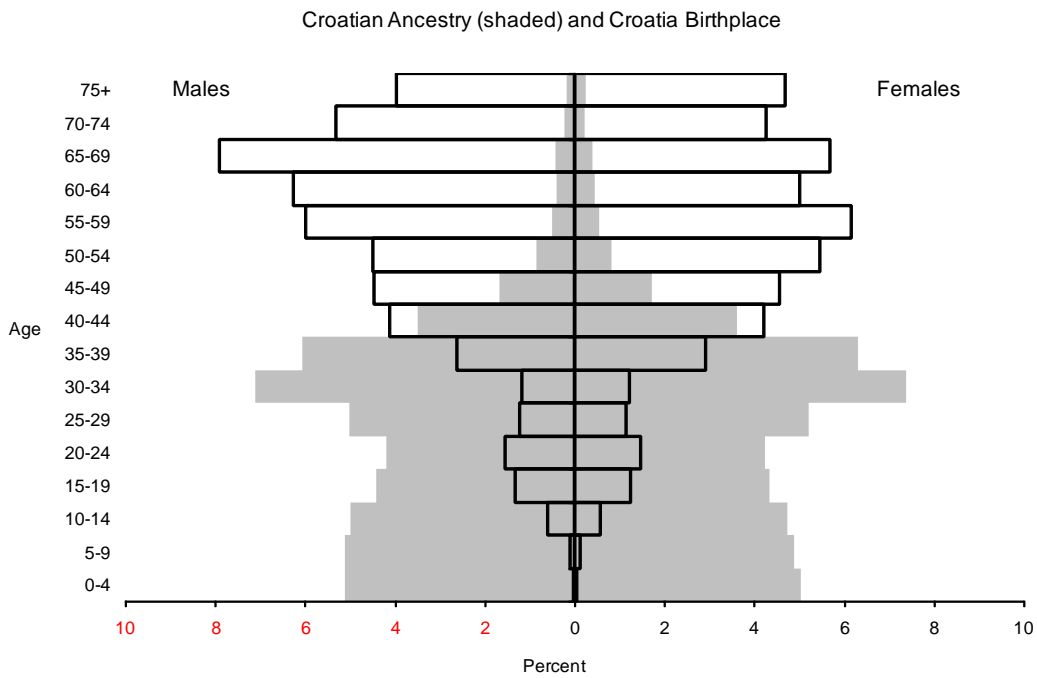
**Figure 2.8: Australia: Age-Sex Distribution of Bosnia and Herzegovina-Born and Bosnian Ancestry, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census



**Figure 2.9: Australia: Age-Sex Distribution of Croatia-Born and Croatian Ancestry, 2006**

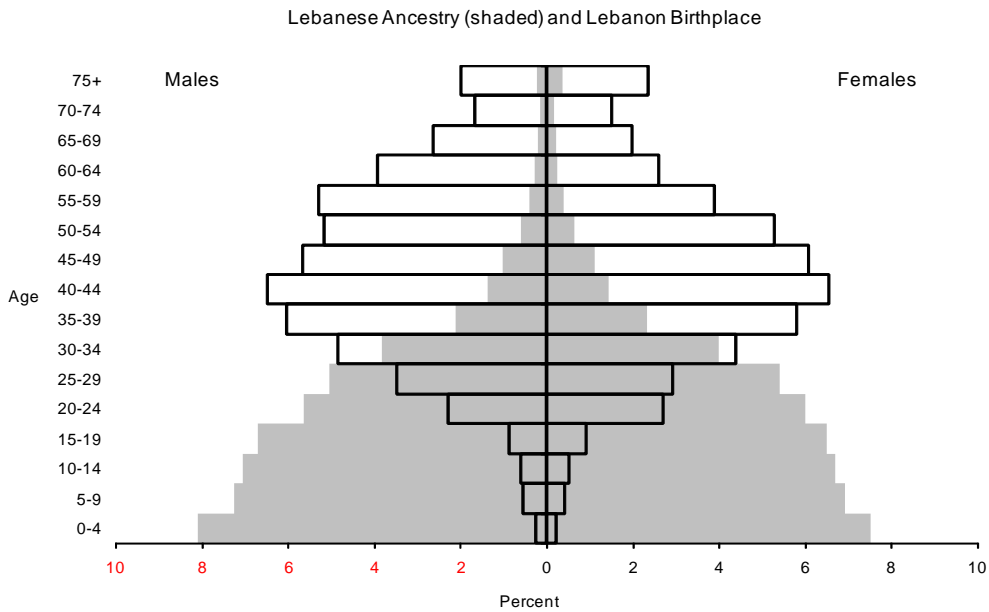
Source: ABS, 2006 Census



The Lebanese are one of the largest groups and their age distribution is shown in Figure 2.10. A strong concentration in the working ages is apparent for the Lebanon-born while for the second generation the bulk are aged under 30.

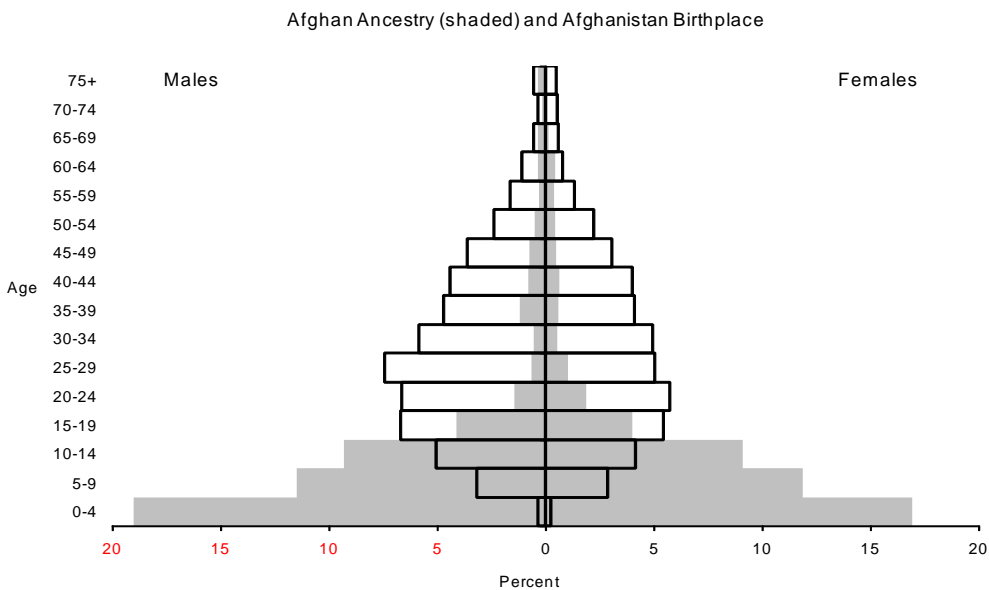
**Figure 2.10: Australia: Age-Sex Distribution of Lebanon-Born and Lebanese Ancestry, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census



**Figure 2.11: Australia: Age-Sex Distribution of Afghanistan-Born and Afghan Ancestry, 2006**

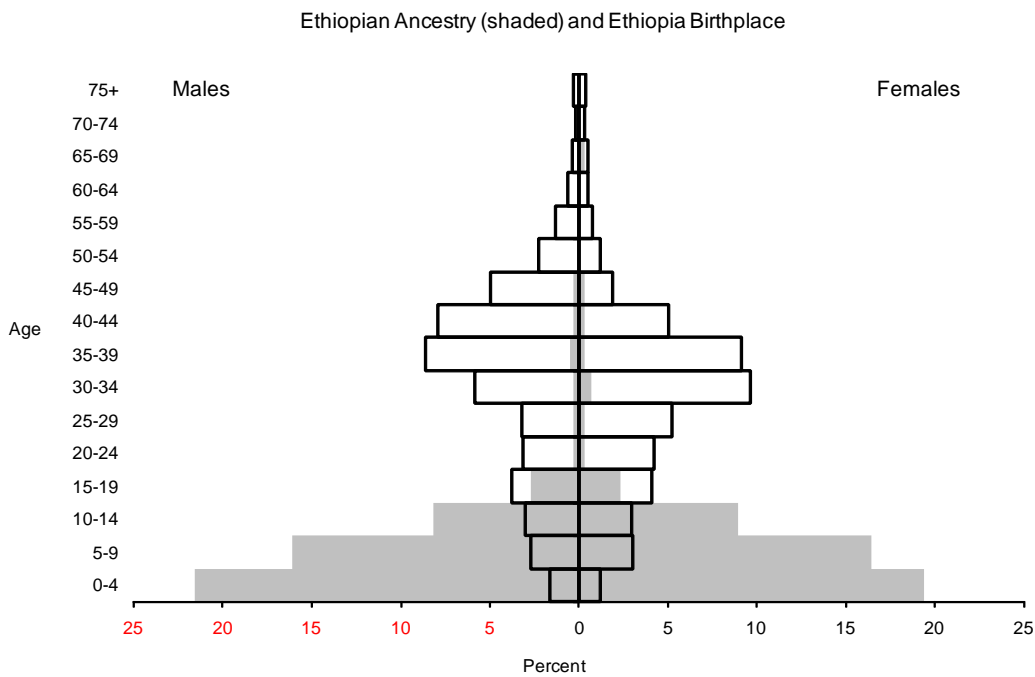
Source: ABS, 2006 Census



Turning to some of the more recently arrived groups, Figure 2.11 shows the pattern for those from Afghanistan. The Afghanistan-born are predominantly in the working age groups while their children are in the dependent ages. A similar pattern is evident in Figure 2.12 which shows the pattern for the group of Ethiopian origin.

**Figure 2.12: Australia: Age-Sex Distribution of Ethiopia-Born and Australia-Born with Ethiopian Ancestry, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census



The substantial differences in the age structure of the various refugee-humanitarian are shown in Table 2.6 which indicates the median age and the broad age distribution of those in the refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups and of their Australia-born children. There are some clear patterns in evidence. In the overseas-born group the median age ranges between 24.4 years for the Liberia-born to 76.5 for those from Estonia. The oldest groups are those groups who arrived in the early post-war years, especially those who came as part of the Displaced Persons wave (Kunz, 1988). They included the groups from Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Hungary. In these groups a large percentage are aged 65 years and over – 48.8, 73.5, 77.1 and 51.1 percent respectively. On the other hand the youngest groups

**Table 2.6: Australia: Birthplace and Ancestry, Percent 0-14, Percent 65+, Percent 75+ and Median Age, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census

Birthplace	First Generation				Ancestry	Second Generation			
	% 0-14	% 65+	% 75+	Median Age		% 0-14	% 65+	% 75+	Median Age
Australia	24.8	11.1	5.5	32.8	Australian	27.2	10.6	5.1	30.8
MES	6.3	19.7	8.9	48.3					
NES	8.4	17.9	8.3	43.8					
<i>Groups Arriving 1946-60</i>									
Bulgaria	4.5	19.4	11.9	45.3	Bulgarian	14.5	11.0	6.2	39.6
Croatia	1.4	31.9	8.7	57.2	Croatian	29.9	1.7	0.4	26.4
Estonia	1.6	77.3	54.5	76.5	Estonian	9.3	20.9	14.0	46.7
Hungary	0.9	51.1	24.8	65.4	Hungarian	11.9	18.8	8.9	42.7
Latvia	0.6	77.1	48.8	74.5	Latvian	9.2	41.9	13.9	47.0
Lithuania	1.2	73.5	48.0	74.1	Lithuanian	8.5	19.4	11.8	46.8
Romania	3.8	18.3	10.5	44.7	Romanian	17.8	9.5	5.0	37.2
Russian Federation	5.3	25.9	16.7	44.5	Russian	12.7	15.0	8.0	41.0
Slovakia	2.2	18.8	11.7	43.6	Slovak	12.7	11.8	5.7	38.2
Ukraine	2.5	48.8	34.9	63.5	Ukrainian	9.8	16.2	12.0	45.0
<i>Groups Arriving 1960s and 1970s</i>									
Chile	2.4	10.4	2.9	45.7	Chilean	25.1	5.4	1.5	30.8
Czech Republic	1.4	27.5	17.4	55.1	Czech	12.5	14.0	8.8	41.6
<i>Groups Arriving 1980s and 1990s</i>									
Bosnia and Herzegovina	5.0	10.2	2.3	41.8	Bosnian	59.6	0.2	0.1	11.0
Cambodia	2.7	7.4	2.8	40.3	Khmer	69.5	0.0	0.0	10.4
East Timor	1.9	10.9	4.3	42.7	Timorese	24.7	5.5	2.3	30.1
El Salvador	1.9	6.1	2.2	38.1	Salvadoran	78.9	0.0	0.0	9.5
Laos	0.9	7.8	2.9	42.8	Lao	22.1	4.9	1.8	32.1
Lebanon	2.5	12.2	4.4	45.0	Lebanese	43.6	1.3	0.6	17.4
Vietnam	1.9	7.3	3.1	41.0	Vietnamese	69.3	0.0	0.0	10.9
<i>Recent Arrivals</i>									
Afghanistan	15.8	3.1	1.1	28.9	Afghan	77.8	1.1	0.4	8.0
Burma (Myanmar)	3.3	19.2	8.2	46.4	Burmese	44.1	0.2	0.1	17.6
Burundi	23.6	1.3	0.4	25.2	S&E Africa	54.3	4.5	2.8	12.8
Congo	26.4	2.9	0.0	26.0	C & W Africa	53.3	1.8	0.4	13.6
Eritrea	5.6	3.9	0.4	37.2	Eritrean	29.0	2.3	0.2	27.2
Ethiopia	14.5	2.0	0.7	33.8	Ethiopian	90.7	0.3	0.0	6.4
Iran	7.6	9.0	3.7	40.4	Iranian	66.8	0.2	0.1	10.7
Iraq	10.3	5.9	2.0	35.7	Iraqi	83.7	0.1	0.0	5.8
Liberia	15.3	0.5	0.3	24.4	Liberian	87.9	6.9	0.0	1.6
Sierra Leone	20.1	0.7	0.2	25.7	Sierra Leonean	90.2			
Somalia	11.9	2.2	0.7	29.4	Somali	94.6	0.2	0.0	5.6
Sri Lanka	5.5	11.5	5.1	43.1	Sinhalese	57.1	0.3	0.1	13.0
Sudan	26.6	2.4	1.0	24.6	Sudanese	88.9	0.0	0.0	1.5
					Kurdish	83.5	0.2	0.0	6.8
					Tamil	80.6	0.0	0.0	8.8

are the recently arrived communities from Africa and Afghanistan. The ages of the second generation are extremely young for recently arrived groups, while for others there are significant proportions in the working age groups.

## 2.4 GENDER COMPOSITION

Migration is a profoundly gendered process and gender is an important dimension in the experience of refugees. Table 2.7 shows the sex ratios (males per hundred females) of the different visa category groups arriving in Australia over the 2003-09 period. While there is

**Table 2.7: Australia: Sex Ratios by Visa Category, 2003-04 to 2008-09**  
Source: DIAC, unpublished data

	Settler Arrivals	Humanitarian	Family	Skill	Other
2003-04	93.1	103.4	64.7	108.7	100.0
2004-05	93.1	112.1	63.7	109.0	99.0
2005-06	91.4	99.1	61.1	108.4	101.3
2006-07	90.3	92.8	58.5	109.8	101.5
2007-08	92.3	100.9	57.9	111.8	102.9
2008-09	89.7	94.2	55.7	110.4	101.9
2003-09	91.5	100.3	59.9	109.8	101.3

some fluctuation from year to year, the refugee-humanitarian intake is more balanced between males and females than any of the other groups. There is some variation in the gender balance between the stocks of the various birthplace groups as is indicated in Table 2.8.

**Table 2.8: Australia: Refugee-Humanitarian Groups, First and Second Generation Sex Ratios, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census

Refugee Country	Born in Refugee Country	Aged Less Than 12 Years on Arrival	Aged 12 Years or More on Arrival	Second Generation Ancestry
<i>Groups Arriving 1946-60</i>				
Bulgaria	100.1			98.1
Croatia	105.6	100.7	106.3	99.7
Estonia	78.0			95.6
Hungary	105.0	103.1	105.3	95.6
Latvia	81.7			95.3
Lithuania	82.7			95.1
Romania	96.9	104.9	94.3	94.5
Russian Federation	62.1	93.7	57.2	91.3
Slovakia	95.5			101.2
Ukraine	72.8	100.9	68.8	95.1
<i>Groups Arriving 1960s and 1970s</i>				
Chile	90.9	96.1	87.8	100.9
Czech Republic	97.2			97.8
<i>Groups Arriving 1980s and 1990s</i>				
Bosnia and Herzegovina	100.4	108.4	98.6	102.9
Cambodia	86.6	105.3	82.8	104.2
East Timor	96.5	97.4	95.7	102.9
El Salvador	92.7	100.4	88.6	103.7
Laos	92.9	94.9	91.3	107.7
Lebanon	107.8	101.2	108.6	100.6
Vietnam	89.0	105.2	84.8	103.3
<i>Recent Arrivals</i>				
Afghanistan	118.9			105.1
Burma (Myanmar)	93.7			98.5
Burundi	110.3			101.7
Congo	121.6			108.8
Eritrea	96.4			102.0
Ethiopia	100.2	99.1	100.6	102.1
Iran	110.0	109.6	109.3	105.0
Iraq	110.5	103.9	112.2	103.1
Liberia	87.2			241.2
Sierra Leone	100.9			74.3
Somalia	92.5			108.0
Sri Lanka	101.2			98.8
Sudan	118.2			100.4
<b>Total Refugee-Humanitarian Groups</b>	<b>97.0</b>	<b>102.6</b>	<b>93.2</b>	<b>99.1</b>

## 2.5 FERTILITY

The demographic contribution of refugee-humanitarian settlers is only partly reflected in the numbers of settlers. As the stock of such settlers grows in Australia the extent to which they have children contributes to population growth. They add to population growth through both net migration *and* natural increase. Accordingly it is important to examine the fertility levels and patterns of refugee-humanitarian settlers. There are two sources of such information – registration data and the population census.

**Table 2.9: Australia: Total Fertility Rate of Selected Birthplace Groups, 2008**  
Source: ABS, unpublished data

Country of Birth	Total Fertility Rate
Australia	1.93
Total Overseas-Born	1.81
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.57
Croatia	1.30
Hungary	1.55
Romania	1.72
Russian Federation	1.68
Iran	1.36
Lebanon	3.57*
Cambodia	2.40*
Laos	2.13*
Vietnam	1.98*
Sri Lanka	1.69
Chile	1.79
El Salvador	1.82

Note: No African groups are shown here because the numbers are not yet large enough for their births data to be published separately.

Registration of births in Australia is mandatory and the birth registration form asks the birthplace of mothers. Accordingly it is possible to use this data to measure the fertility of

birthplace groups. Table 2.9 shows the Total Fertility Rate (TFR)<sup>7</sup> of selected refugee birthplace groups as indicated by the 2008 birth registration data. Unfortunately the numbers of births to women in several of the recently arrived refugee-humanitarian groups were too small to allow the calculation of the TFR. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the level of fertility of the overseas-born population is lower than that of the Australia-born. Most of the refugee groups for which data are available are larger, long established groups. For the Lebanon- and Indo China-born, however, the levels of fertility are higher than for the Australia-born. Indeed, the TFR for the Lebanon-born is almost twice that of the total population.

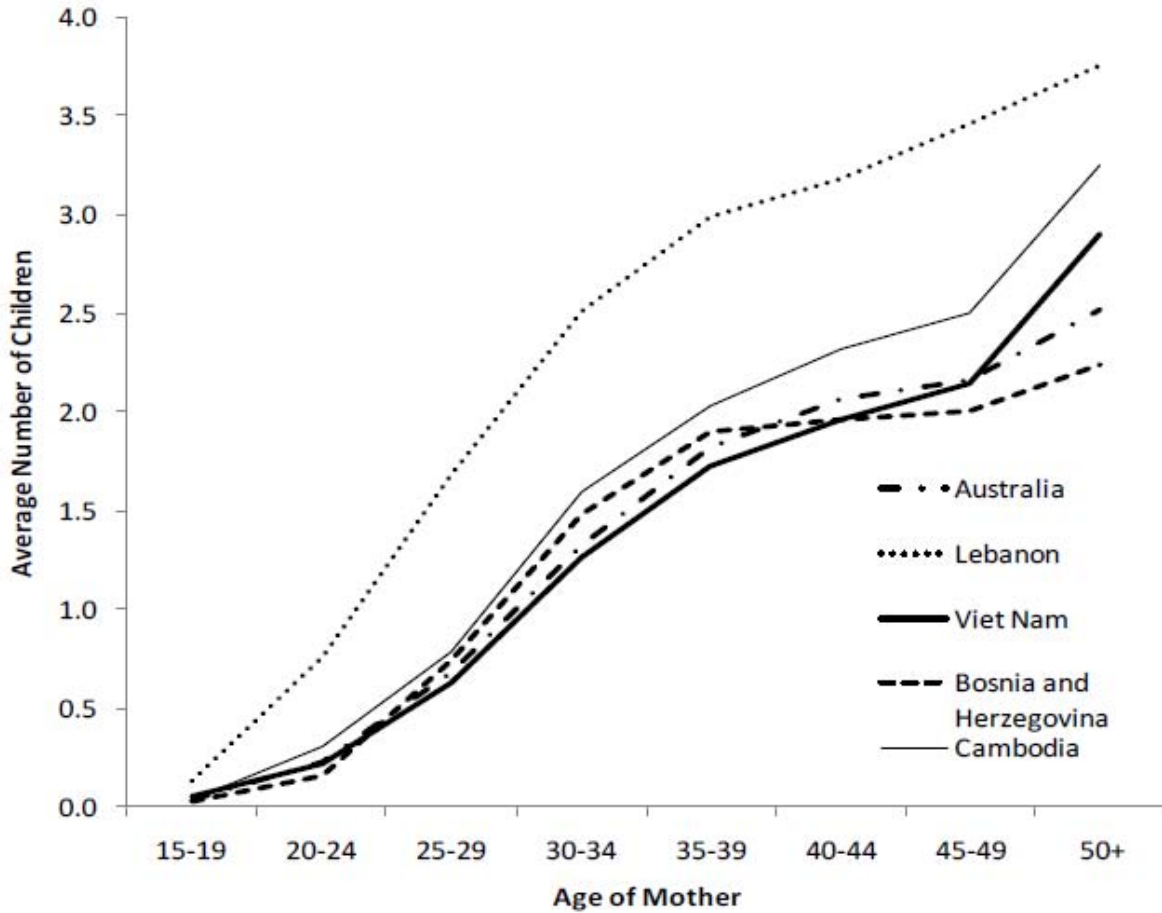
In order to examine the patterns of childbearing among refugee-humanitarian birthplace group women we compare the average number of children which have been born to those of Australia-born women. Figure 2.13 shows patterns for some of the long established refugee-humanitarian groups. It will be noted that the Lebanese have significantly higher fertility than the Australia-born with women having over one more child by the time they have completed their fertility. It will be noted that the fertility difference is evident even in younger ages. For the other large group, the Vietnamese, it will be noted that the pattern of childbearing is quite similar to that of the Australia-born. The largest difference is among older women aged 50+ (2.9 compared to 2.52 children per women). In an analysis of Vietnamese fertility at the 1986 census, Hugo and Rivett (1993, 16) found that Vietnamese women had slightly more children than their Australian counterparts but the difference was especially marked at older ages. Figure 2.13 shows the average number of children of Vietnamese women in 2006 and it is slightly less than that of Australia-born women except in the oldest ages. It is apparent, then, that with extended residence in Australia, Vietnamese fertility has converged toward the Australian average. Cambodian women, on the other hand, had higher fertility on average than their Australia-born counterparts, although not as high as for the Lebanese. This is a longstanding pattern among Cambodians in Australia (Stevens, 1984). The final group shown in Figure 2.13, that of women from Bosnia-Herzegovina, shows a similar pattern of fertility to Australia-born women.

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<sup>7</sup> The TFR can be defined as: the average number of children that would be born alive to a woman during her lifetime if she were to pass through all her child-bearing years conforming to the age-specific fertility rates of a given year.

**Figure 2.13: Australia: Average Number of Children by Age of Mother for Australia, Lebanon, Vietnam, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Cambodia Birthplace Groups, 2006**

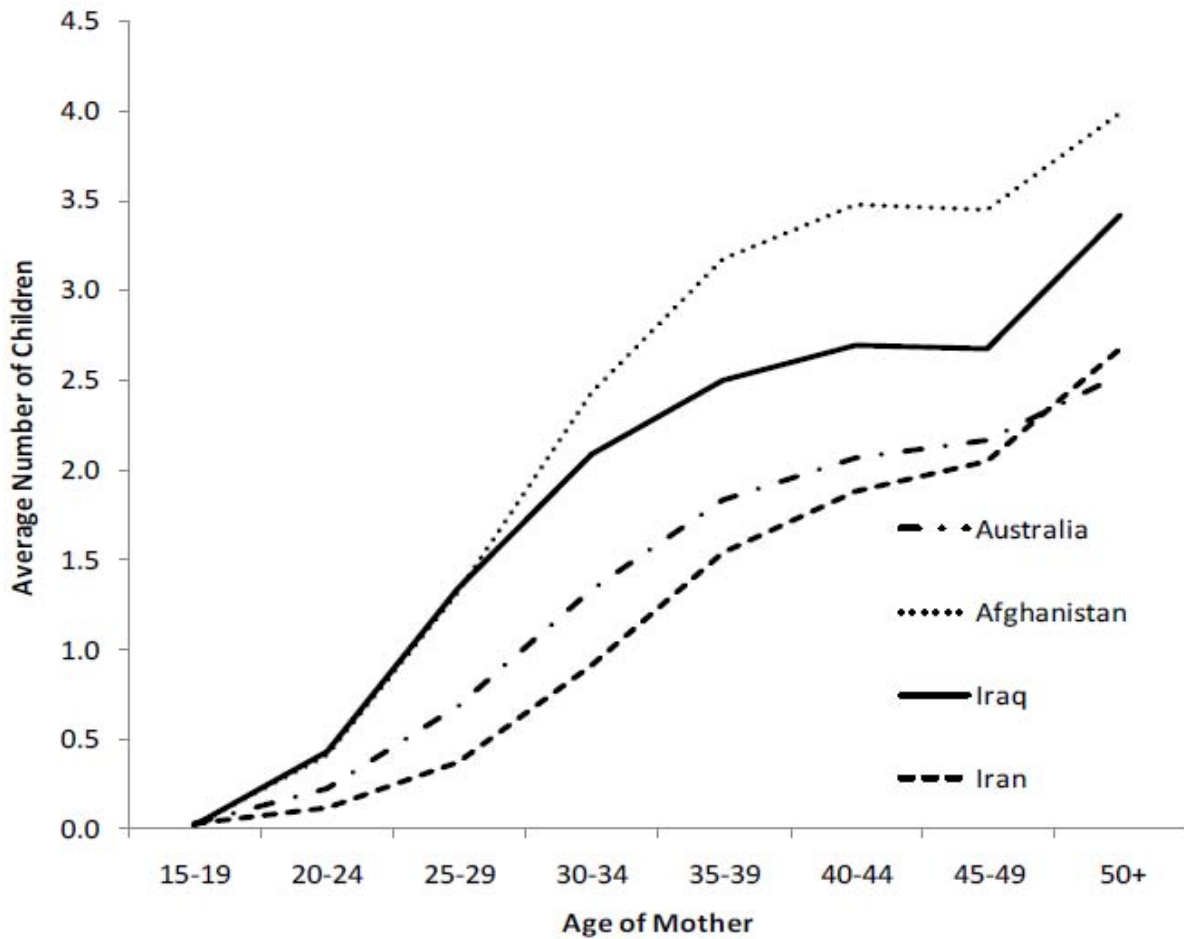
Source: ABS



In Figure 2.14 the following patterns of three major refugee groups from Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran are compared to those of Australia-born women and they show generally higher levels of childbearing. The exception is the Iran-born which shows a similar pattern to the Australia-born. The levels of fertility are especially high for the Afghan refugees who have on average one more child than their Australia-born counterparts. For Iraqis the differences are somewhat smaller.

**Figure 2.14: Australia: Average Number of Children by Age of Mother for Australia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran Birthplace Groups, 2006**

Source: ABS

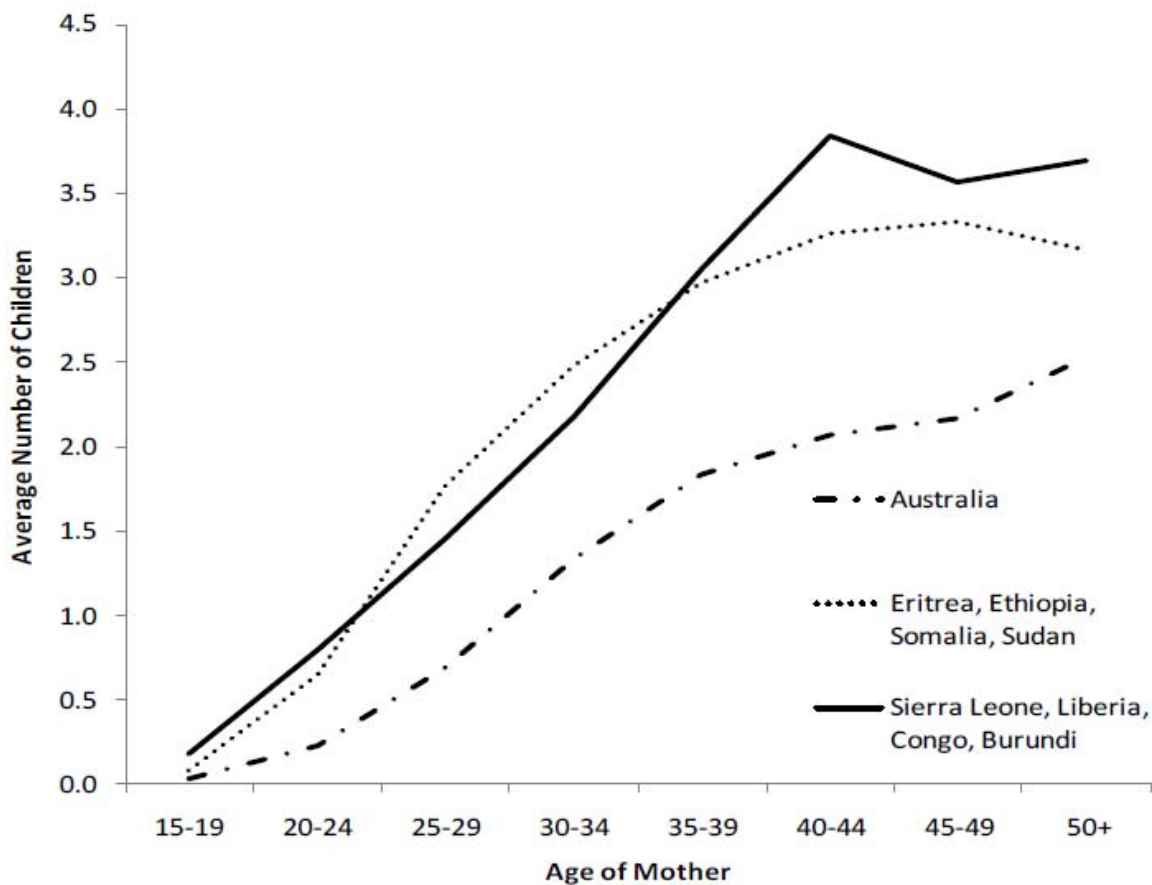


The fertility levels of recent refugee-humanitarian arrivals from some African countries are depicted in Figure 2.15. It has been necessary to combine together a number of individual birthplace groups in order to get sufficient numbers of women in the various age groups to derive reliable estimates. Taking, first of all, the group born in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan it is apparent that they have substantially higher levels of childbearing than Australia-born women. This is especially marked at younger childbearing ages. Whereas women in this group aged between 25 and 29 years have on average 1.77 children, the figure for the Australia-born was only 0.68 (38 percent). This reflects the fact that many in these birthplace groups have quite large families of children which has important implications for housing, female participation in the workforce, schooling, youth issues, etcetera (RCOA, 2009). For those born in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Congo and Burundi the fertility levels are higher still

with similar patterns of much higher levels of childbearing at the younger ages. Obtaining housing large enough to accommodate large families was an issue raised in focus groups and key informant interviews, especially in non-metropolitan areas. Also the fact that there are often several pre-school age children in households is a factor holding back many African refugee women from workforce participation.

**Figure 2.15: Australia: Average Number of Children by Age of Mother for Australia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Sierra Leone, Liberia, Congo, Burundi Birthplace Groups, 2006**

Source: ABS



## 2.6 SETTLER LOSS

In examining the economic, social and demographic contribution of any migrant group into Australia it is of crucial significance to take into account the issue of settler loss. It is not often recognised that a significant proportion of ‘permanent settlers’ to Australia subsequently leave the country, often returning to their homeland. Indeed, the settler loss issue was the subject of a great deal of policy concern and government sponsored research in

the early post-war decades (Hugo, 1994, Chapter 4). Clearly, the scale and nature of the contribution of migrants is greatly influenced by the extent to which they remain in Australia. The rate at which settlers left Australia reached as high as 25 percent by the mid 1970s (Price, 1975). One of the most consistent findings of these studies was that refugee-humanitarian settlers had the *lowest* rate of settler loss of all visa categories. For example, Lukomskyj and Richards (1986, 622) traced the departure rate of all migrants who settled in Australia in 1980. They found that nine percent had left Australia by 1984 but for refugees the rate was only 0.6 percent. The analysis of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) 1 data also found that settlers who entered Australia as refugees had the lowest probability of subsequently migrating out of Australia (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2001, Chapter 3).

A low level of settler loss among refugee-humanitarian groups is to be expected, especially in the early years of settlement, because of the very reason for them leaving their homeland – the fact that they were forced out by the threat of persecution. However, equally it would be expected that a removal of that threat may lead to some return migration. Nevertheless, it is apparent that low levels of settler loss have continued in the refugee-humanitarian group. Table 2.10, for example, compares the number of settler arrivals for the refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups with the number of residents leaving permanently to live in those countries over the 1993-2009 period. The ratio of departures to arrivals among birthplace groups is more than twice as high among the non-refugee-humanitarian groups. This is clearly indicative of low rates of settler loss among refugees – a pattern which has been consistent across studies of emigration from Australia over the last fifty years (Hugo, 1994).

**Table 2.10: Australia: Humanitarian Birthplace Groups by Settler Arrivals and Permanent Departures, 1991-92 to 2008-09**

Source: DIAC, unpublished data

Country of Birth	Settler Arrivals	Resident Permanent Departures	Ratio Departures:Arrivals
<i>Groups Arriving 1946-60</i>			
Bulgaria	2,068	170	0.08
Croatia	6,641	1,508	0.23
Estonia	165	51	0.31
Hungary	2,012	1,052	0.52
Latvia	394	94	0.24
Lithuania	376	67	0.18
Romania	5,830	553	0.09
Russian Federation	3,954	358	0.09
Slovakia	354	94	0.27
Ukraine	4,482	232	0.05
<i>Groups Arriving 1960s and 1970s</i>			
Chile	3,620	2,085	0.58
Czech Republic	1,233	304	0.25
<i>Groups Arriving 1980s and 1990s</i>			
Bosnia and Herzegovina	11,627	716	0.06
Cambodia	11,814	1,343	0.11
East Timor	210	177	0.84
El Salvador	2,651	387	0.15
Laos	1,286	601	0.47
Lebanon	22,754	4,662	0.20
Vietnam	60,177	11,881	0.20
<i>Recent Arrivals</i>			
Afghanistan	18,609	451	0.02
Burma (Myanmar)	10,537	389	0.04
Burundi	1,637	3	0.00
Congo	1,941	17	0.01
Eritrea	1,969	79	0.04
Ethiopia	8,564	192	0.02
Iran	15,228	1,651	0.11
Iraq	36,882	2,020	0.05
Liberia	2,898	13	0.00
Sierra Leone	3,060	25	0.01
Somalia	5,946	194	0.03
Sri Lanka	37,104	1,775	0.05
Sudan	26,800	275	0.01
Total Refugee-Humanitarian Groups	312,823	33,419	0.11
Other Overseas Birthplace Groups	1,562,293	412,963	0.26

The levels of settler loss are extremely low among recently arrived refugee groups such as those from Afghanistan, Burundi, Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Iraq, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan. The rates are somewhat higher among the longer established groups

who are from countries where the political-economic situation has changed such that they are now able to return to their homeland. Indeed, in some countries like Vietnam there are efforts to encourage their return to assist in the development of their homeland. Nevertheless, in most cases the numbers returning are quite small. Vietnam represents an interesting case. There has been a flow back of 11,881 persons since 1993 but this is small in relation to the total Vietnamese population<sup>8</sup> in Australia. Given the rapid economic development in Vietnam following the *doi moi* change in opening up the Vietnamese economy this must be considered a relatively modest backflow. There is also a significant flow back of Lebanese but a more common pattern is for the Lebanese community to live in both Australia and Lebanon, spending long periods in both countries. There has also been a small but significant flow back to East Timor since it gained independence from Indonesia. Indeed, there have been almost as many permanent departures from Australia to East Timor as people who have moved from East Timor to Australia.

The key point here is that one aspect of the economic contribution which refugee-humanitarian migrant settlers make to Australia is that they tend to spend their entire lives and raise their families in Australia to a greater extent than other migrant visa category groups. This greater commitment to life in Australia needs to be factored in to any assessment of their contribution.

## **2.7 THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF REFUGEE-HUMANITARIAN SETTLERS**

### **2.7.1 Introduction**

One of the important dimensions of the contribution of refugee-humanitarian settlers is that the impact will vary from place to place within Australia. Migrants do not settle in the same pattern as the existing resident population. Accordingly it is crucial to examine the pattern of settlement of refugee-humanitarian migrants because the economic and social impacts of migrants, including refugees, are spatially concentrated. Where migrants settle is of significance (Hugo, forthcoming) because firstly, for migrants, especially refugee-humanitarian groups, location can be an especially important factor influencing their

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<sup>8</sup> In 2006 there were 159,850 Vietnam-born persons and 54,305 Australia-born persons who indicated they had Vietnamese ancestry.

behaviour and this is certainly the case for recently arrived settlers. Location can influence access to work opportunities and the ability to interact with people who speak the same language and have similar cultural and religious backgrounds. It will influence the extent they are able to draw on the social capital embodied in networks with fellow settlers from the same background including those who have been in Australia longer who are able to cushion their adjustment to life in a new land. It is also a significant factor influencing their access to goods and services, including those provided by different levels of government, which will impinge on the speed and level of their adjustment.

Of importance from the perspective of the *contribution* of refugee-humanitarian settlers is the extent to which they are settling outside of capital cities. In recent times it has been argued that the development of regional Australia is being hampered by labour shortages. The extent to which refugees are assisting to meet this shortage is important to establish.

Immigrants' ability to adjust to, and participate in, Australian housing and labour markets will be influenced by where they live. It influences the extent to which they mix on a day-to-day basis with second, third and later generation Australians. It will have an impact on the extent of cultural and language maintenance they are able to achieve. It affects what schools their children can attend and the level of mixing they will have with non-immigrant children. The local community can be a crucial factor in the adjustment of new migrants to life in Australia since it is the arena in which many of their day-to-day interactions take place.

Secondly, where immigrants settle influences the extent and nature of their impact on Australia. The impact that settlers have on local and regional economies not only is influenced by the resources which they bring to those communities but the structure, composition and needs of the communities. Hence any assessment of the impact of refugee-humanitarian settlement in Australia needs to examine where they settle in Australia.

One of the important considerations in examining the distribution of refugee groups is the extent to which they are spatially concentrated. The extent of spatial concentration of particular ethnic groups is an issue which has attracted attention in Australia. On the one hand are commentators (e.g. Healy and Birrell, 2003) who see such concentrations as a negative influence creating a barrier to the adjustment of the groups involved. Others (e.g. Viviani, Coughlan and Rowland, 1993; Jupp, 1993) see such concentrations playing more positive roles:

- Providing a cushion for new arrivals allowing them to adjust to Australian society gradually, being surrounded by families, institutions, shops etcetera, and an ability to communicate in the home language.
- Such concentrations may serve as an incubator for ethnic business activity.
- The ethnic businesses often provide an initial entry point for labour and housing markets for migrants that are more readily adopted.

It is important, therefore, to examine the extent to which the different refugee-humanitarian groups are spatially concentrated. In order to do this we have calculated the Index of Dissimilarity ( $I_D$ ) for the major refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups and these are depicted in Table 2.11. The  $I_D$  has been defined in Chapter One and is a quantitative statement of the evenness of the distribution of two sub-populations, in this case the Refugee-Humanitarian Birthplace Group against the Total Population.

The first point that needs to be noted in Table 2.11 is the fact that the Indices are all very high indicating a high degree of spatial concentration among refugee-humanitarian settlers. Refugee-humanitarian groups are among the most spatially concentrated of all migrant groups in Australia. While for some groups the numbers are quite small so that they are more likely to be concentrated, it is evident that the  $I_D$ s are high for both large and small refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups. This concentration is partly a function of recently arrived refugees being settled in particular localities where they are able to access support through compatriots or ethnic specific services. Moreover, those coming as family or refugee-humanitarian migrants are often quite constrained in where they can live both economically in terms of what housing markets they can afford to buy into, and also because they need to rely upon the support of friends, family and compatriots to support them in adjusting to life in Australia.

**Table 2.11: Australia: Indices of Dissimilarity for Selected Refugee Birthplace Groups, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census (based on SLAs)

Birthplace	Year			
	2006	2001	1996	1991
<i>Groups Arriving 1946-60</i>				
Croatia	45.8	46.4	47.1	
Romania	47.6	48.1	49.5	
Russian Federation	50.5			
Ukraine	54.2	53.6	53.9	
<i>Groups Arriving 1980s and 1990s</i>				
Bosnia and Herzegovina	58.1	57.9	58.5	
Cambodia	72.5	73.2	75.1	
East Timor	71.7			
El Salvador	61.9			
Laos	68.6			
Lebanon	70.7	70.3	69.6	68.7
Vietnam	68.6	69.5	70.4	68.5
<i>Recent Arrivals</i>				
Afghanistan	71.0			
Burma (Myanmar)	60.8			
Burundi	87.1			
Congo	82.0			
Eritrea	76.8			
Ethiopia	66.5			
Iran	55.4	56.6	57.0	
Iraq	76.2	74.7	74.8	
Liberia	80.3			
Sierra Leone	77.3			
Somalia	79.5			
Sri Lanka	56.4	55.2	53.2	
Sudan	65.2			

However, it is not only recent arrivals that are strongly concentrated. If we examine the  $I_D$ s for some of the longer established larger groups there are several which live in concentrations. Both the Lebanese and Vietnamese are strongly concentrated, most of them in large cities, especially Sydney. However, it will be noted that the highest  $I_D$ s were recorded by some of the recently arrived groups from Africa.

It is interesting if we compare the  $I_D$ s for refugee-humanitarian birthplaces with those for other birthplace groups. Table 2.12 compares the levels of concentration of a range of birthplace categories for Australia's capital cities. It will be noted from the table that there are wide differences between birthplace groups in their propensity to concentrate with the highest being mainly for those groups who have come to Australia as refugee-humanitarian settlers such as those from Iraq (72.4), Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (66.9), Lebanon (64.0) and Vietnam (60.7). The lowest are for the mainly English speaking (MES) groups such as those born in the UK (21.6), Ireland (22.0), New Zealand (23), Canada (26.7) and the USA (28.2). The figures are also low for longstanding Western European groups like

**Table 2.12: Australia Major Capital Cities: Index of Dissimilarity, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census

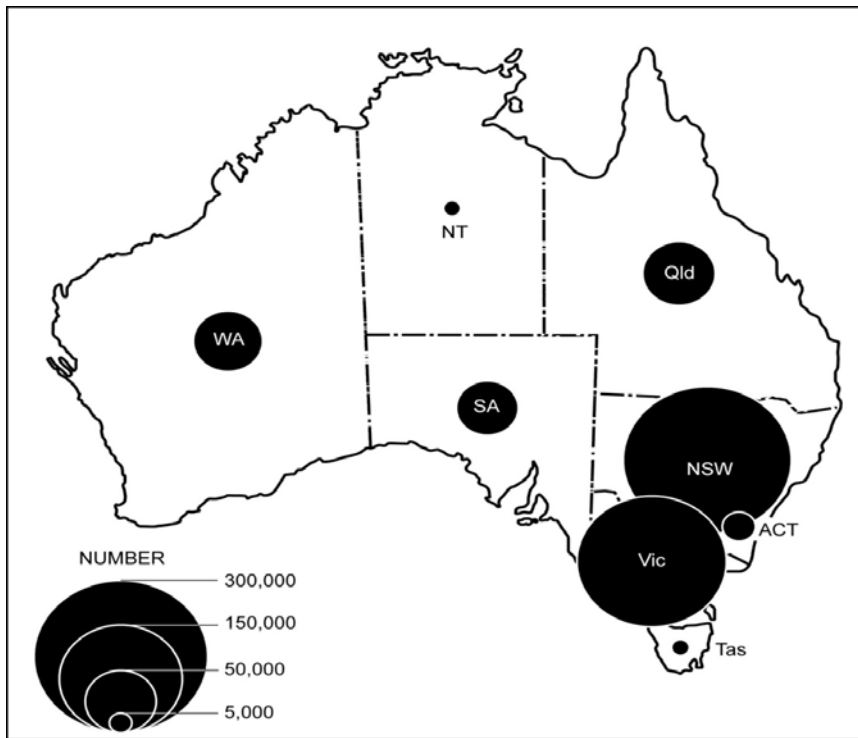
Birthplace	2006 Census	Birthplace	2006 Census
Afghanistan	62.9	Korea, Republic of (South)	58.4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	50.9	Lebanon	64.0
Canada	26.7	Malaysia	42.6
China (excl. SARs and Taiwan Province)	50.9	Malta	51.2
Croatia	38.5	Netherlands	21.6
Egypt	42.0	New Zealand	23.0
Eritrea	69.0	Papua New Guinea	38.0
Ethiopia	60.5	Philippines	39.3
Fiji	48.6	Poland	29.0
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)	66.9	Singapore	42.8
Germany	14.7	Somalia	72.3
Greece	50.9	South Africa	35.0
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	50.9	Sri Lanka	47.3
India	38.5	Sudan	57.9
Indonesia	45.5	Thailand	34.8
Iraq	72.4	Turkey	58.7
Iran	45.0	United Kingdom	21.6
Ireland	22.0	United States of America	28.2
Italy	40.7	Vietnam	60.7
Japan	44.7		

those born in the Netherlands (21.6), Germany (14.7) and Poland (29). The Greece- and Italy-born are still quite concentrated (50.9 and 40.7 respectively) but their second generation have dispersed more widely throughout Australian cities, especially the Italians. A spatial concentration among some Asian, African and Middle Eastern birthplace groups is evident with again the refugee birthplace groups being prominent. For the Vietnamese, for example,



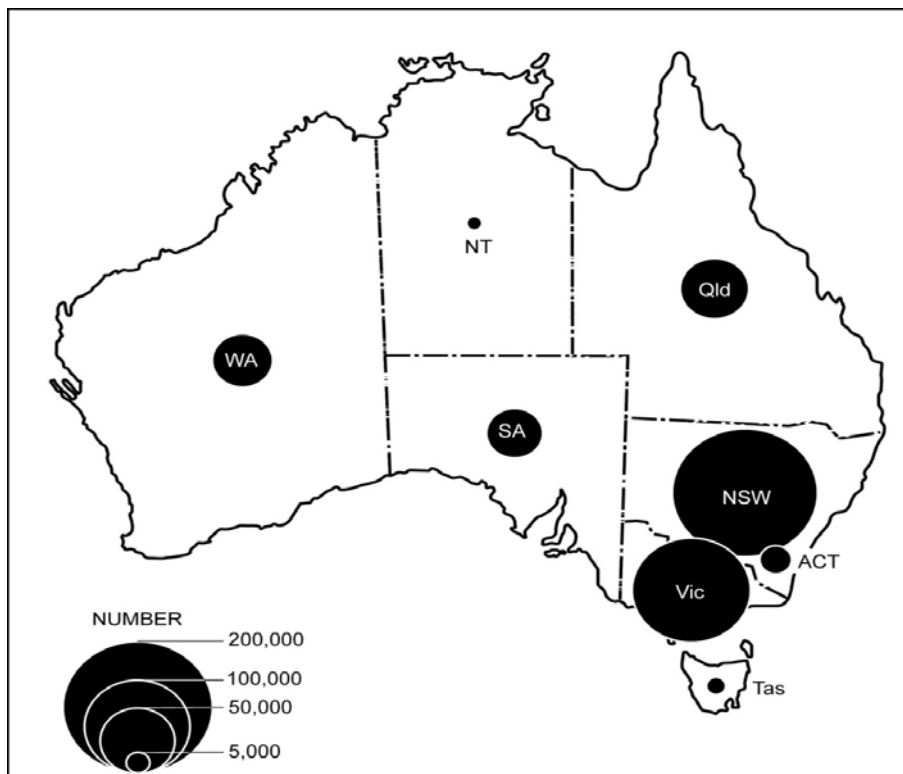
**Figure 2.16: Australia: Distribution of Refugee-Humanitarian Birthplace Migrants, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census



**Figure 2.17: Australia: Distribution of Refugee-Humanitarian Ancestry Migrants, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census



The relative contributions of net international migration as well as net interstate migration and national increase to population change in the states and territories are shown in Table 2.14. It will be noted that in New South Wales, the state with the largest population, there was a net international migration gain of almost 200,000 which accounted for 79.6 percent of the state's population growth between 2001 and 2006. Moreover the state experienced a significant net loss due to interstate migration – a longstanding pattern (Hugo, 2003a). In the past this has been the pattern in Victoria as well but a turnaround in the state's economy saw it experience a small net interstate migration gain between 1996 and 2001, although there was a subsequent small net loss in 2001-06. Conversely Queensland's net international migration gain was not as large as the net gain by interstate migration. Clearly there are wide differences between the states and territories in the significance of immigrant settlement and this impacts upon state/territory economies. Moreover, these patterns are experiencing change.

**Table 2.14: Australian States and Territories: Natural Increase, Net Overseas Migration, Net Interstate Migration and Total Population Growth, Financial Years, 2001-06**

Source: ABS, 2007

State/Territory	Natural Increase		Net International Migration		Net Interstate Migration		Total Population Growth
	No.	% of Growth	No.	% of Growth	No	% of Growth	
New South Wales	191,089	79.0	192,586	79.6	-136,330	-56.3	241,965
Victoria	143,880	44.5	142,892	44.2	-2,197	-0.7	323,584
Queensland	132,050	28.5	129,944	28.1	164,362	35.5	462,600
South Australia	28,179	49.9	27,522	48.7	-12,639	-22.4	56,476
Western Australia	68,668	43.5	82,832	52.5	-1,399	-0.9	157,886
Tasmania	10,026	58.5	3,758	21.9	3,105	18.1	17,137
Northern Territory	13,862	107.4	3,475	26.9	-8,474	-65.7	12,906
Australian Capital Territory	13,531	90.8	2,412	16.2	-6,428	-43.1	14,908
Australia*	601,389	46.7	585,421	45.4	-	-	1,288,248

\* Includes Other Territories.

How do patterns of refugee-humanitarian settlement fit into this pattern? Table 2.15 shows the state/territory of intended residence of different visa category settlers arriving in Australia between 2003 and 2009. Refugee-humanitarian settlers show a greater propensity than other migrant groups to settle in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory. The pattern of a higher proportion of refugees settling in New South Wales, and to a much lesser extent Victoria, reflects the significance of the large refugee populations who already live in those states and serve as support for newly arrived settlers.

**Table 2.15: Australian Settler Arrivals: Visa Category by State/Territory of Intended Residence, 2003-09**

Source: DIAC, unpublished data

State	Humanitarian	Skill	Family	Non-Program (mainly New Zealanders)	Total Population
New South Wales	33.8*	30.3	42.3*	24.0	33.0
Victoria	28.5*	26.0*	27.1*	18.1	24.8
Queensland	10.8	14.6	13.2	43.3*	19.7
South Australia	9.0*	8.5*	4.4	2.0	7.6
Western Australia	13.2*	18.5*	10.2*	11.0*	9.9
Tasmania	2.4	0.5	0.7	0.5	2.4
Northern Territory	1.1*	0.5	0.8	0.4	1.0
Australian Capital Territory	1.3	1.0	1.3	0.6	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Above Population Representation

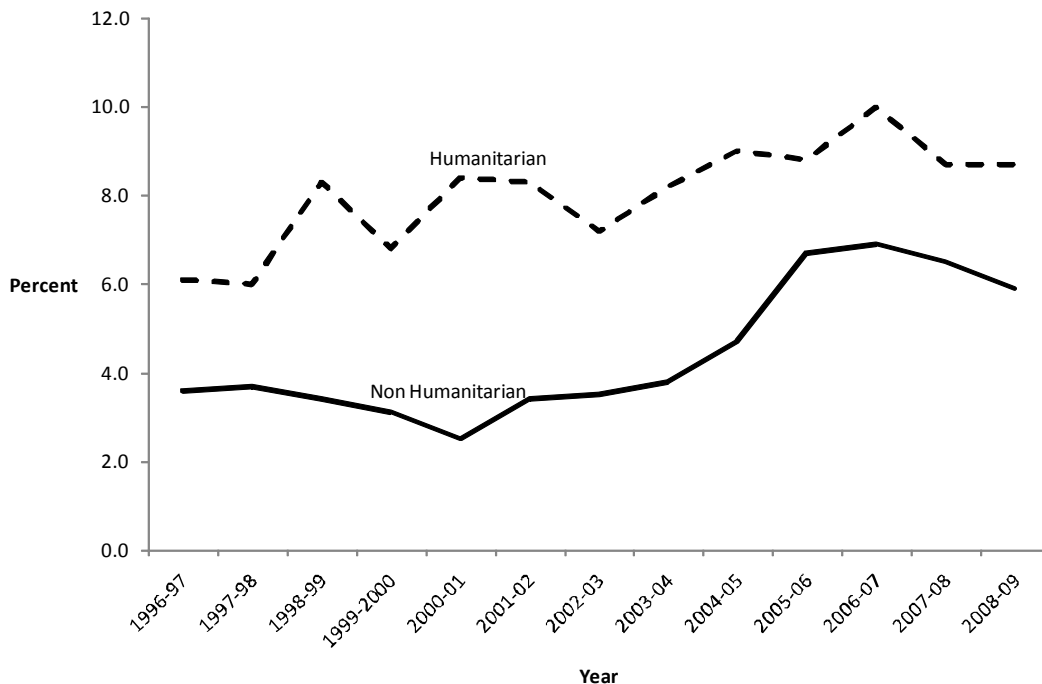
It is especially interesting, however, that there is a disproportionate tendency for refugee-humanitarian settlers to move to South Australia (Hugo, 2010a). This is a ‘lagging’ state to which there has been a disproportionately low immigration of overseas settlers over recent decades.<sup>9</sup> This points to an important role that refugee-humanitarian settlers are increasingly playing in Australia of settling in lagging areas where there are perceived to be significant shortages of workers and of people generally.

<sup>9</sup> Although since 2002 it has greatly increased Skilled migration after two decades of very low immigration intake (Hugo, 2008c).

The South Australian government identified slow population growth as a major barrier to the economic development of the state as far back as the mid 1990s (Hugo, 2008b) and it was confirmed in the development of a State Population Policy in 2004 (State of South Australia, 2004) which included, among its objectives, to increase the state's share of the national immigration intake to the state's share of the national population by 2014. The major vehicle for achieving this objective was to use the State Specific and Regional element within Australia's Immigration Program (Hugo, 2008c). This scheme is designed to attract migrants to particular parts of Australia that are economically lagging but it is restricted to potential settlers applying to come to Australia under the Skill part of the program. (DIAC, 2009a). However, the South Australian government adopted a deliberate strategy to attract refugee-humanitarian settlers to the state as part of its attempt to lift immigration levels. DIAC directs many refugee-humanitarian settlers to areas where there is an assurance of support from family, compatriots, non-government organisations and government. The South Australian government used this to attract a relatively high proportion of refugee settlers to the state and lobbied DIAC to achieve this. Accordingly, Figure 2.18 shows that the state's

**Figure 2.18: South Australian Settler Arrivals: Percentage of National Humanitarian and Non-Humanitarian Intake, 1996-2009**

Source: DIAC



share of refugee-humanitarian settlers has been much greater than its share of the non-humanitarian intake. However, it will be noted that in recent years there has been a converging of the state's shares of the humanitarian and non-humanitarian intakes. This is predominantly due to the state being able to attract a greater share of the non-humanitarian intake. This has been part of a wider recovery of the economy in South Australia (Hugo, 2009c). The impact of refugee-humanitarian migration being a factor in the development of lagging regions is not well understood but it is apparent that refugee-humanitarian migrants played a role as a 'location leader' in the upturn of migration to South Australia and in turn contributed to the revival of economic fortunes in that state.

### **2.7.3 Metropolitan vs Non-Metropolitan Settlement**

Like other Australian post-war immigrants, refugee-humanitarian settlers have until recently concentrated in Australia's major cities and contributed to the economic growth, restructuring and increasing heterogeneity of those cities. While in 1947 only one in eight people living in Australia's major cities was overseas-born, by 2006 it was three out of every ten. The proportion of immigrants living in major cities increased from 61.8 to 82.8 percent in 2006 while for the Australia-born it grew from 49.7 to 61 percent. It is interesting that while there was a decline in the numbers of Australia-born living in rural areas there was a small increase in the overseas-born. In 1947, 31.8 percent of Australians lived in rural areas but only 13.9 percent did so in 2006, while for the overseas-born the population fell from 24.7 to 6 percent.

If we examine the refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups, Table 2.16 shows the proportion that the first and second generation groups make up of the resident population in each state and also in the Capital and Rest of State parts of each state. It will be noted that the first generation share varies from 4.5 percent of the Victorian population to 0.7 percent of the Tasmanian population. The first and second generations are most strongly represented in New South Wales, Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory, with South Australia and Western Australia also having a substantial representation. The representation in capital cities is greater in all states and territories. In Sydney more than one in ten residents is a first or second generation refugee while the equivalent percentage for Melbourne is 9 percent, Canberra 6.1 percent, Adelaide 5.6 percent, Perth 5.1 percent and Brisbane 3.5 percent. The representation is much lower in non-metropolitan areas with the highest in Victoria 1.8 percent, New South Wales 1.6 percent while it is 1.3 percent in Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia.

**Table 2.16: Australian States: Percentage of Population Made Up of First and Second Generation Refugee-Humanitarian Birthplace Groups, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census

State/Territory	First Generation Percent of Population			Second Generation Percent of Population		
	Total	Capital	Rest of State	Total	Capital	Rest of State
New South Wales	4.2	6.3	0.7	2.9	4.0	0.9
Victoria	4.5	5.9	0.8	2.6	3.1	1.0
Queensland	1.3	2.1	0.6	1.0	1.4	0.7
South Australia	2.5	3.3	0.5	1.9	2.3	0.8
Western Australia	2.4	3.1	0.5	1.6	2.0	0.8
Tasmania	0.7	1.0	0.5	0.7	1.0	0.5
Northern Territory	1.4	2.2	0.4	0.9	1.3	0.6
Australian Capital Territory	3.3	3.3	1.3	2.8	2.8	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

There are significant variations between different birthplace groups in their propensity to settle in major cities. Table 2.17 shows the groups which have the highest concentrations in Australia's major cities and it is immediately noticeable that all are countries which mainly speak languages other than English. Moreover, it is clear from Table 2.17 that several of these groups concentrated in major cities were refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups.

**Table 2.17: Australia: Birthplace Groups With the Highest Concentration in Major Cities, 2006**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census

Birthplace	Percentage	Birthplace	Percentage
Vietnam	97.2*	South Korea	95.2
Lebanon	97.2*	Sri Lanka	94.5
China	96.2	Egypt	94.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	96.1*	Turkey	93.5
Hong Kong	96.0	Greece	93.4
Iraq	96.0*	India	92.4
Former Yugoslavia	95.6*		

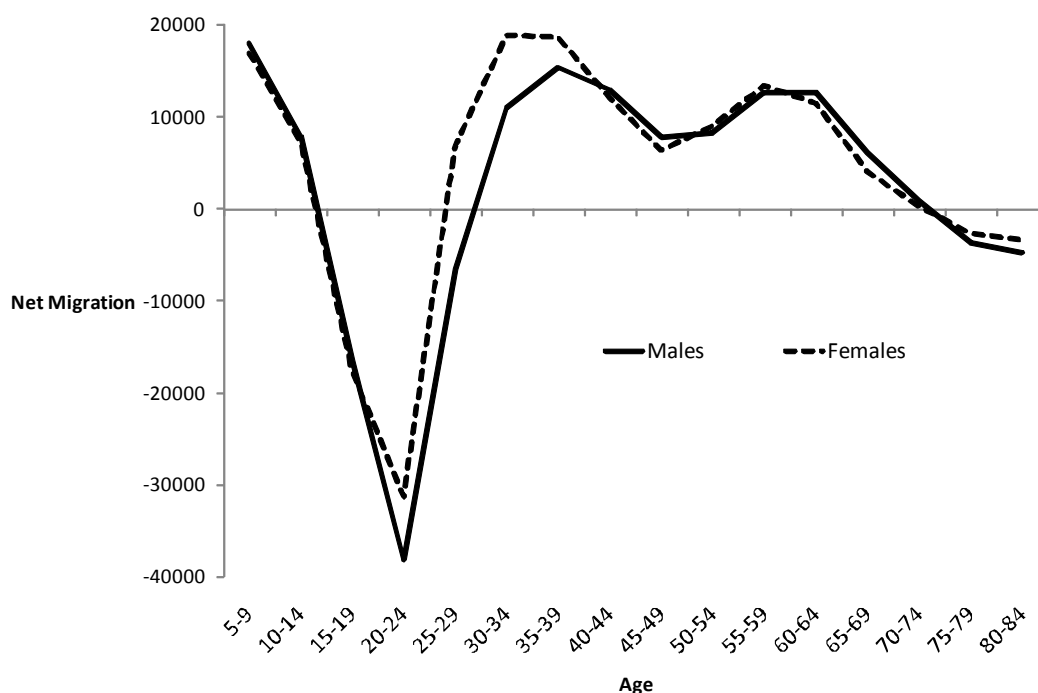
\* Refugee-humanitarian birthplace group.

While there can be no doubting the significance of immigrants in major Australian cities, especially Sydney, there are some indications that international migration is increasingly influencing non-metropolitan areas and that government policy is playing a role (Hugo, 2008c, forthcoming). While the government has been attempting to encourage non-humanitarian migrants to settle in non-metropolitan areas through the State Specific and Regional Migration (SSRM) scheme (Hugo, 2008c) there has been an increase in labour shortages being reported in non-metropolitan areas. This was partly because the general tightening of the labour market which was occurring in Australia due to low fertility and ageing was exacerbated in regional areas by internal migration. Figure 2.19, for example, shows the substantial net internal migration losses of young adults that regional Australia sustained in the late 1990s. This net loss of working age people from non-metropolitan areas has occurred at a time where there has been expansion of job opportunities in some industries and in some communities in non-metropolitan Australia. Some of these developments include:

- A massive expansion of mining activity fuelled by the demand from China in remote areas of Australia, especially in Western Australia, Queensland and increasingly South Australia.
- Food processing is increasing as Australia expands its exports of primary produce, especially to Asia.
- Expansion of the tourism industry has created jobs in many non-metropolitan areas.
- Increasing retirement migration to coastal and other scenically attractive areas.
- Lifestyle, amenity-led migration into attractive ecological areas especially in coastal, alpine and river areas, especially within two hours drive of a major city (Burnley and Murphy, 2004).

**Figure 2.19: Australia: Estimated Net Rest of State<sup>1</sup> Migration, 2001-06**

Source: ABS, 2001 and 2006 Censuses



<sup>1</sup> i.e. area outside of the Capital City Statistical Division.

Increasing reports of labour shortages in non-metropolitan areas in the mid 1990s saw the introduction of a special component in the migration program to channel immigrants into those areas (Hugo, 2008b). The essence of the SSRM program is that it enables employers, state and local governments and families in designated lagging economic regions to sponsor skilled immigrants without them having to meet the full requirements of the General Skilled Migration Points Test. Consequently there is an array of visa categories available under the scheme. While the SSRM scheme is only available to migrants in the Skill stream, it is clear that these developments have also had an influence on settlement patterns of refugee-humanitarian migrants. These include:

- The increasing evidence of labour shortage in non-metropolitan areas in and of itself is attracting humanitarian migrants. This is especially the case because of the fact that many of the jobs being created or made available are unskilled or low skilled so that many humanitarian migrants can compete for those jobs more readily than they can compete for many metropolitan jobs.

- One of the spin-offs of the SSRM scheme is that local and regional government instrumentalities have grown used to taking a more proactive role in immigration and settlement as a strategy to deal with local labour shortages.

Accordingly it is apparent that more refugee-humanitarian arrivals are settling in non-metropolitan areas. This followed a 2003 Review of Settlement Services undertaken by the then Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA)<sup>10</sup> which recommended:

‘That the needs based planning process support the direction of humanitarian entrants to regional locations offering appropriate employment opportunities and access to specialist and mainstream services’ (DIMIA, 2003, 12).

The 2004 Federal Budget made provision for \$12.4m funding to support regional settlement of refugees and decide the numbers settling in such areas by 2005 (Taylor and Stanovic, 2005, 1).

It is not known precisely how many refugee-humanitarian migrants have settled in regional communities for a number of reasons:

- Much of the settlement has occurred since the 2006 population census.
- In some cases refugee settlers have left their families in capital cities and lived temporarily in the destination to take jobs.
- It may be that several of these groups were not detected in the census.

One clear indicator of the increased propensity for refugee-humanitarian migrants to settle outside of Australia’s largest cities is given by the information provided by all arrivals of the state/territory in which they intend to settle on the Incoming Passenger Card completed by all arrivals into Australia. This is not a fully reliable indicator since it is known that this data often reflect the place that immigrants arrive at rather than where they intend to settle. Moreover, it is apparent that many of those moving to regional areas spend some initial time in a capital city. Nevertheless, the data from the Incoming Passenger Cards do indicate a clear increasing tendency to settle outside of capital cities. Between 1996 and 2009 the

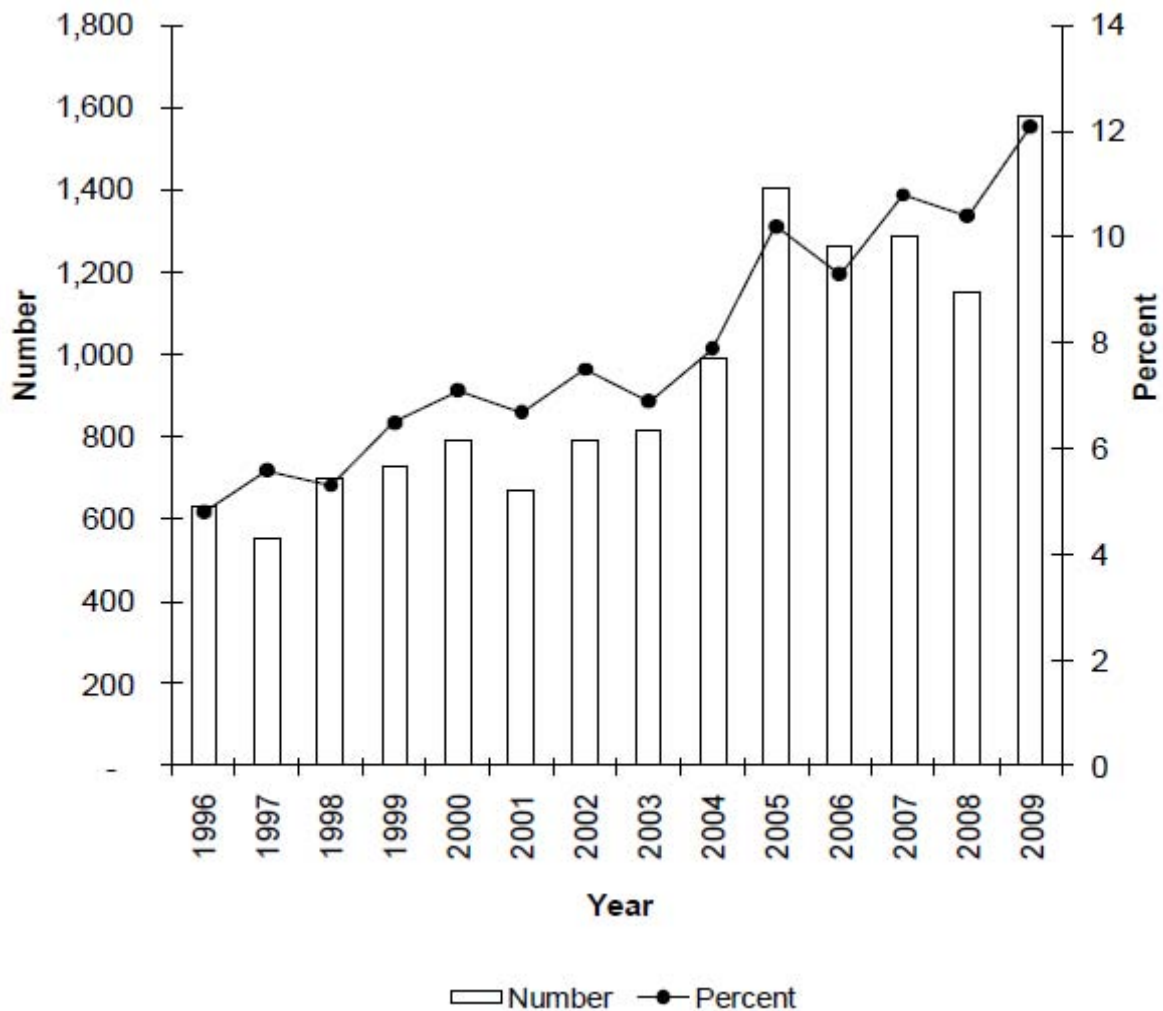
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<sup>10</sup> Now DIAC – Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

proportion of migrant arrivals indicating they intended to settle outside of Australia's capital cities increased from 4.8 to 12.1 percent. Figure 2.20 shows also that the numbers intending to settle outside the capitals increased from 629 in 1996 to 1,580 in 2009. While we are uncertain what proportion of these settlers have remained in non-metropolitan areas, it is clear that refugee settlement in regional Australia is increasing and contributing to overcoming labour shortages in regional areas.

**Figure 2.20: Australia: Settlement of Refugee-Humanitarian Settlers Outside Capital Cities, 1996-2009**

Source: DIAC unpublished data



**Table 2.18: Regional Refugee Settlements**

Source: RCOA, 2010, 21-23; Brotherhood of St. Lawrence, 2005, 3

Location	Group
Shepparton (Victoria)	Iraqis, Congolese
Mildura (Victoria)	Iraqis, Iranians, Afghans
Mt Gambier (South Australia)	Burmese
Bendigo (Victoria)	Iraqis
Swan Hill (Victoria)	Sudanese
Cobram Barooga (Victoria)	Iraqis, Afghans
Gippsland (Victoria)	Bosnians, Nepalese, Sudanese
Colac (Victoria)	Sudanese
Young (New South Wales)	Afghans
Warrnambool (Victoria)	Sudanese
Murray Bridge (South Australia)	Afghans, Uzbeks, Sudanese
Bordertown (South Australia)	Sudanese

It is clear that settlement outside major cities is increasing. Table 2.18 lists some of the regional communities that have concentrations of recently arrived refugee groups. Their settlement has experienced some difficulty associated with the limited support, lack of suitable housing and other difficulties experienced by the settlers (Taylor and Stanovic, 2005). While not minimising these difficulties it is apparent that refugees are meeting some important and significant labour shortages in Australia's regional areas and this dimension of their contribution needs to be considered (Shapley, n.d; Missingham, Dibden and Cocklin, 2006; Stillwell, 2003, 2004; Taylor, 2005).

## **2.8 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has discussed what could be considered the 'demographic' contribution of refugee-humanitarian settlers to Australia – an important social dimension of their overall impact on the Australian society and economy. It has been demonstrated that they have indeed had a unique impact not only by virtue of the fact that they have added three quarters of a million people directly to the population. This demographic impact has been amplified by the fact that:

- The refugee-humanitarian intake is younger than all other migrant streams.
- Several refugee birthplace groups have higher fertility than the Australian average.
- Refugee-humanitarian migrants have the lowest remigration, return migration and settler loss rates of all visa categories.

While refugee-humanitarian groups are strongly concentrated in Australia's capital cities, especially Sydney and Melbourne, there is an increasing number that are settling in regional Australia. It is difficult at this stage to estimate the numbers settling in regional areas because much of the settlement has come after the 2006 census. The 2011 census should give a better indication of the numbers involved. The involvement of refugee-humanitarian migrants in filling crucial labour shortages in regional industries such as agricultural product processing, forestry, abattoirs and agricultural work is discussed in the next two chapters. Moreover, refugee families are an increasing presence in the life of country towns and regional centres. This trend is also apparent in other immigration receiving locations like Canada (Asal, 2008; Couton and Gaudet, 2008; Murdie, 2008) and Europe (Halfacree, 2008; Rogaly, 2008; Kasimis, 2008; Fonseca, 2008; Morén-Alegret, 2008).

In the context of the Third Intergenerational Report (Swan, 2010) it could be argued that humanitarian settlers are making a significant contribution to the population dimension of the 3 'Ps' which are critical to continuation of economic growth in Australia. Research has shown that a *demographic dividend* can be delivered to a society by a favourable balance between working and non-working age population. For example, it has been estimated that 20 percent of China's rapid economic growth in recent decades has been due to the high ratio of working to non-working age population delivered by low fertility (Wang and Mason, 2007). It is apparent that humanitarian settlers in Australia are delivering a demographic dividend of types through:

- Its very young age structure.
- Relatively high fertility, although it varies between groups.
- A large proportion of children who will be educated in Australia and hence are likely to be able to enter the Australian labour market.
- The lowest rate of settler loss of all visa categories.
- An increasing concentration in regional areas.