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2001 census

Australians' **Ancestries:**

2001

AUSTRALIAN CENSUS ANALYTIC PROGRAM

Australian Census Analytic Program

Australians' Ancestries

2001

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout this publication.

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ASCCEG	Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups
na	Not available
n.e.c.	Not elsewhere classified
n.f.d	Not further defined
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In December 2001 the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) announced its Australian Census Analytic Program which had the objectives of assisting issue-driven research and increasing the use of census data. This paper is based on a successful proposal submitted by the Australian Centre for Population Research in 2002 for a study of issues relating to ethnic identification and ethnic intermixture using the census data on ancestry.

The ancestry question has only been asked twice in the Australian census, in 1986 and 2001. The question was included in the 1986 census 'in response to the high level of interest expressed by a wide range of individuals, communities and organisations' (ABS 1984). The data were not widely used outside the academic community. However, a number of researchers have used the data in studies of:

- ethnic intermarriage (Jones 1994; Jones and Luijkx 1996; Giorgas and Jones 2002)
- labour market outcomes among generations of Chinese (Jones 1990)
- the second generation of European origins (Giorgas 1999)
- language retention (Price 1990)
- and consistency in ancestry reporting between parents and children (Khoo 1991).

The question on ancestry was included in the 2001 census 'to enable identification of those groups which cannot be identified adequately through the census questions on Language, Religion, Birthplace of Individual, Birthplace of Parents and Aboriginal/Torres Strait Islander origin.' (Kunz and Costello 2003, p. 3). It was also suggested that a combination of an ancestry question with questions on whether a person's parents were born overseas and on the person's birthplace, 'would provide a good indication of the ethnic background of first and second generation Australians' (Kunz and Costello 2003, p. 2).

A pleasing aspect relating to the 2001 census ancestry data is that much statistical data had already been made available to the public by 2003. A summary of the main findings has been published by the ABS in the 2003

edition of *Australian Social Trends* (cat. no. 4102.0). The ABS has also undertaken a review and evaluation of the data (Kunz and Costello 2003). The Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs has published a report, *The People of Australia*, that also includes statistical tables on ancestry by birthplace and on the birthplace of selected ancestry groups. This valuable resource is also available on the Department's web site <http://www.immi.gov.au/research/publications/index.htm> and on CD-ROM. The report also has population pyramids of selected ancestry groups that show, for example, the older age distribution of people of Scottish or Welsh ancestries compared to people of Australian or Vietnamese ancestries. Companion volumes are available for each state and territory.

In this paper, the ancestry data from the 2001 census have been used to examine a number of issues relating to Australia's ethnic diversity and ethnic identity. These include the generational span of the different ancestry groups; regional differences in ethnic composition; ethnic intermixture; multi-ethnic families and identification of Australian ancestry. Where relevant, comparisons are made with the 1986 census ancestry data to examine changes over the 15-year period. Unless otherwise stated, the analyses in this paper take into account two ancestry responses of people who provided multiple ancestries in the 2001 census. Therefore these people were counted twice in the tables where the multiple ancestry responses have been included.

This first chapter provides a brief background on the 2001 ancestry question and data collected, drawing comparisons with the 1986 question in terms of question design, guidelines on answering the question and classification of the data. Chapter 2 examines the changes between 1986 and 2001 in Australia's population by ethnic origin, the generational 'age' of the major ancestry groups and multiple ancestries by origin and generation. Chapter 3 looks at the heterogeneity of some birthplace groups and the characteristics of various ethnic communities in Australia. Chapter 4 examines patterns of ethnic intermixture by origin and generation and the ancestry of children in families formed by ethnic intermarriage. Since a significant proportion of the population identified themselves as being of Australian ancestry, Chapter 5 examines some of the characteristics of persons identifying as 'Australian' to try to understand the basis for such identification. In Chapter 6 the results of a cohort analysis of the 1986 and 2001 populations are presented in an attempt to detect changes in

ethnic identification between the two censuses. Chapter 7 summarises the main issues arising from the analyses that will continue to be of interest in the future.

1.1 THE ANCESTRY QUESTION IN 1986 AND 2001

The 1986 census asked:

> **What is each person's ancestry?**
>
> For example: Greek, English, Indian, Armenian, Aboriginal, Chinese etc.

The following guidelines were given in the guide to householders that were distributed with the census form:

> 'Ancestry' means the ethnic or national group from which you are descended. It is quite acceptable to base your answer on your grandparents' ancestry. Persons of mixed ancestry who do not identify with a single ancestry should answer with their multiple ancestry. Persons who consider their ancestry to be Australian may answer 'Australian'.

The 2001 census question read as follows:

> **What is the person's ancestry?**
>
> For example: Vietnamese, Hmong, Dutch, Kurdish, Australian South Sea Islander, Maori, Lebanese.
>
> Provide more than one ancestry if necessary.

Option boxes were provided for the following ancestries:

> English
> Irish
> Italian
> German
> Greek
> Chinese
> Australian
> Other — please specify

The *Household Guide, How to complete your census form* (ABS 2001, p. 6) adds:

> When answering this question consider and mark the ancestries with which you most closely identify. Count your ancestry back as far as three generations, if known. For example, consider your parents, grandparents and great grandparents.
>
> If you are a descendant of South Sea Islanders brought to Australia as indentured labour around the turn of the century, please answer 'AUSTRALIAN SOUTH SEA ISLANDER'.

The different format of the questions and the different guidelines provided to householders can lead to different interpretations of the two questions. They

can also affect some ancestry responses. While the 1986 householder's guide suggested that people based their answer on their grandparents' ancestry, the 2001 guide suggested that people considered their ancestry as far back as their great grandparents. Specific instructions on the 2001 census form asked people to provide more than one ancestry 'if necessary'. There was no similar instruction on the 1986 census form. Instead, guidelines given in the 1986 householder's guide suggested that, 'people who do not identify with a single ancestry should answer with their multiple ancestry'.

The 1986 census householder's guide told people that, "'Ancestry' means the ethnic or national group from which you are descended." The 2001 guide stated that people "mark the ancestries with which you most identify." It would appear that the 2001 ancestry response has a greater element of self-identification while the 1986 response is largely based on origin or descent. However, the 1986 instructions relating to mixed ancestry and Australian ancestry allowed for some element of self-perceived group identification. Finally, in 2001 there were specific instructions to descendants of South Sea Islanders brought to Australia as indentured labour to identify as Australian South Sea Islanders. No such instructions were provided in 1986.

Table 1.1 compares the specific ancestries mentioned in the 1986 and 2001 census forms and household guides. Specific mention of an ancestry can elicit a greater likelihood of responding with that ancestry. It has been suggested that some of the increase between 1986 and 2001 in the number of people responding as Irish may be attributed to Irish being second on the list with option boxes on the 2001 census form (Kunz and Costello 2003).

1.1 ANCESTRIES SPECIFIED IN 1986 AND 2001

1986 Ancestry (On census form as examples)	*2001 Ancestry (On census form with option boxes)*	*2001 Ancestry (On census form as examples)*	*2001 Birthplace (On census form with option boxes)*
Greek	English	Vietnamese	Australia
English	Irish	Hmong	England
Indian	Italian	Dutch	Scotland
Armenian	German	Kurdish	New Zealand
Aboriginal	Greek	Australian South Sea Islander	Italy
Chinese	Chinese	Maori	Greece
	Australian	Lebanese	Vietnam
	Other — please specify		Other — please specify

Source: 1986 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing Forms.

1.2 ANCESTRY AND ETHNICITY

In a discussion of ethnicity concepts, the 1986 Population Census Ethnicity Committee considered as most enlightening the attempt by a United Kingdom Law Lords statement to define an ethnic group (ABS 1984). This definition suggested that the distinguishing characteristics of an ethnic group included:

- a long shared history, the memory of which is kept alive
- a cultural tradition, including family and social customs, that is sometimes religiously based
- a common geographical origin
- a common language (but not necessarily limited to that group)
- a common literature (written or oral)
- a common religion
- being a minority (often with a sense of being oppressed)
- being racially conspicuous.

They indicated that, "such a group may be coterminous with a nation, cover more than one nation-state, or be a sub-group of one or a number of nation-states or countries" (ABS 1984, p. 4).

The Committee identified two approaches in measuring ethnicity as defined above. The first is a self-perceived identification approach that asked people with which ethnic group they identify. The second is a more historical approach that would seek to determine an individual's ancestry or descent (ABS 1984, pp. 4–5). After field testing by the ABS of questions relating to both approaches, the Committee recommended that an ethnicity question of the ancestry type be included in the 1986 census.

It has been suggested that although an ethnicity question can seek details of origin or identification (Doyle 1985. p. 211), in practice there may be little difference between the two in terms of the responses obtained. As noted above, guidelines for both the 1986 and 2001 censuses allowed people to respond with those ancestries they most closely 'identify' with.

1.3 ANCESTRY CLASSIFICATION

In 2001 the ancestry responses were classified according to the *Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ASCCEG)* (ABS cat. no. 1249.0). The ABS states that, 'this classification recognises the self-defined and self-reported ancestries of all Australians and includes ancestries which refer to nations (e.g. French), to groups within nations

(e.g. Maori, Singhalese), or to groups or regions which cross national boundaries (e.g. Kurdish, Jewish).' (ABS 2003, p. 12).

More than 200 ancestries were recorded. Seventy of these had less than 2,500 people. To facilitate the data analysis undertaken in this paper, the number of ancestries was reduced to 130 or fewer, often by merging small sub-national groups into the national group.

As can be seen from table 1.2, only 1% of the population fall into the sub-national and cross-national categories. The national, sub-national groups and groups that cross national or regional boundaries are also not always mutually exclusive. While national groups are based on current national boundaries, various countries have been affected by partition in the past. Political boundaries may also have split some ethnic groups. Although the Hmong have been described as a hill minority from Laos (Lee 2001, p. 420), they are also a minority in Thailand. Similarly, Basques can be found in north-central Spain and south-western France (Douglass 2001, p. 181).

Groups within nations may be language groups such as French Canadians and Afrikaners. Groups crossing national or regional boundaries include classic diasporas, as discussed in Chapter 3, such as the Jews, the Armenians and the Afro-Americans. Possibly a fourth group comprises those from nations affected by partition such as Ireland and Punjab. It can be seen from table 1.1 that all the option boxes in 2001 refer to nations, with the qualification that the Irish are divided into two political units. In contrast, the 2001 Household Form gives only three national examples, Vietnamese, Dutch, and Lebanese, and four minority examples.

1.2 POPULATION BY NATIONAL, SUB-NATIONAL AND CROSS-NATIONAL ANCESTRIES ('000)

Region	*National*	*Not further defined*	*Sub- and cross-national*	*Not elsewhere classified*	*Total**	*Examples of Sub- or cross-national ancestries*
Oceania	5 215	6	129	1	5 351	Aboriginal, Australian South Sea Islander, Maori, Torres Strait Islander
European						
Britain/Ireland	4 430	7	–	1	4 438	Manx
North and North West	488	3	–	4	495	Breton
South and East	1 262	7	1	–	1 270	Roma/Gypsy
Eastern	229	5	–	–	234	
North Africa/Middle East	264	13	30	1	308	Arab, Assyrian, Jewish
Asia						
South-East	331	–	1	1	333	Anglo-Burmese, Hmong
North-East	545	–	–	–	545	Tibetan
South/Central	215	2	28	2	247	Armenian, Tamil
Americas						
North	25	–	4	–	29	Hispanic, French Canadian
South and Caribbean	41	6	–	1	48	Arawak
Sub-Saharan Africa	64	4	1	3	72	Afrikaner, Akan, Fulani, Oromo, Yoraba

Notes: *Differences due to rounding. Total does not include 1,230,000 Not Stated, 49,000 Inadequately Described, and 20,000 Overseas Visitors.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Regional groups

In Oceania, the main sub-national groups are the indigenous ancestries: Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders for Australia and Maori for New Zealand. In 2001 the ancestry question was preceded by the question on Aboriginality. Although people of Australian South Sea Islander descent were asked specifically to identify as such in both the census form and the Household Guide, only 3,442 did so.

The Britain/Ireland category is of considerable historical importance, hence its special treatment. Britain consists of three 'homelands', each with its own sub-national ancestry. According to Price (1979) cited in Lucas (1987, p. 93), persons of English ethnic origin comprised over half of Australia's population while another four out of ten were of Welsh, Scottish or Irish ancestry. Ireland was part of the United Kingdom until its partition in the 1920s, with Northern Ireland remaining within the United Kingdom. The Isle of Man and the Channel Islands are not part of the United Kingdom, but are often included for statistical purposes, and for the ancestry classification they were included in the category, British, n.e.c.

The other European sub-national populations shown as separate ancestries include Breton, Flemish and Walloon, Catalan, Basque, and Roma/Gypsy. The

European n.e.c., includes groups such as the Aromani or Vlach, a people scattered throughout the Balkans, and the Sorbs or Wends, whose Slavic language survives in Germany (Okai 2001).

The North Africa/Middle East region includes thousands of persons with Arab, Kurdish, Assyrian/Chaldean, and Jewish ancestries. These are all cross-national ancestries, with Arab as a language group and Jewish associated with the Jewish diaspora. The other groups were considerably affected by the 1914–1918 War and its aftermath. The Kurdish homeland was partitioned and Assyrians (like the Armenians in Cental Asia) were persecuted and dispersed.

Among the Asian ancestries there are several where persons are of European and Asian descent: the Anglo-Indians, the Anglo-Burmese, and the Burghers.

Among the categories grouped under the Americas are minority ancestries such as African American, Hispanic and American Indian, as well as French Canadian.

Sub-Saharan Africa perhaps provides the biggest test of moving away from national identities to ethnic identities. One estimate is that in pre-colonial days there were 10,000 politically autonomous units (Low 1996, p. 8). Certainly today very few African countries have a well-defined majority, with Somali as one of the larger exceptions. South Africa has ten official languages including English and Afrikaans, which is based on Dutch.

Because of the artificial nature of colonial boundaries, many African countries have a diverse range of ethnicities, the few exceptions including Somalia, Swaziland and Lesotho. If national identities did not predominate it would be hard to reduce the categories to a manageable number. Even so, the difficulty with mixing national categories with sub-national and cross-national categories can be illustrated with the 104,905 people who gave African ancestries. They were divided into 27 categories. Of these 7.6% were in 'not further defined' African categories; 3.9% were not elsewhere classified, mostly sub-national categories such as Fang but also including national categories such as Liberian; 2.2% were Akan, Fulani, Yoruba Afrikaner, and Oromo (see Jupp 2002, p. 347). More than 87% were in national categories, with South African and Mauritian being the two largest.

1.4 DATA QUALITY

Over one-fifth of the population stated multiple ancestries, an increase from 13% in 1986. The ABS stated that the issue that had the most impact on the quality of the ancestry data was the decision to code only the first two ancestry responses (Kunz and Costello 2003:22). Seven per cent of the population stated more than two ancestries and their third or fourth ancestries were not recorded and therefore 'lost'. About one-third of all lost ancestries were 'Australian'; others were mostly European ancestries (Kunz and Costello 2003, p. 24). Ancestries particularly affected with over 40% lost were French, Danish, Welsh, Scottish and Norwegian, as shown in the lower panel of table 1.3.

1.3 SELECTED ANCESTRIES: FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD CAPTURED RESPONSES IN 2001

Ancestry	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*	*1st+2nd*	*1st+2nd+3rd*
English	6 336 810	22 070	10 186	6 358 880	6 369 066
Irish	884 243	1 035 484	9 027	1 919 727	1 928 754
Italian	665 723	134 533	47 933	800 256	848 189
German	388 860	353 352	175 953	742 212	918 165
Greek	332 715	42 988	15 279	375 703	390 982
Chinese	517 767	38 787	19 722	556 554	576 276
Australian	5 462 014	1 277 580	606 000	6 739 594	7 345 594
French	37 378	41 701	72 448	79 079	151 527
Swedish	11 074	13 350	21 420	24 424	45 844
Danish	17 811	20 826	31 606	38 637	70 243
Welsh	38 058	46 188	65 358	84 246	149 604
Scottish	264 817	275 229	333 383	540 046	873 429
Norwegian	7 943	9 350	12 283	17 293	29 576

Source: For the 1st and 2nd ancestries the data is from 2001 Census of Population and Housing. For the 3rd ancestry the data is from a Data Quality Investigation Sample. See Kunz and Costello (2003, pp. 21–26, 55–58).

The top panel of table 1.3 shows the major ancestry groups that have option boxes on the census form. The order of ancestries listed on the census form also affects the order of people's responses of multiple ancestries, which in turn affects the size of the ancestry group. English was the first on the list of ancestries using option boxes, with 99% of people stating an English ancestry captured as a first response, making English the largest ancestry group if only the first response is considered. When the first two captured responses are considered, Australian ancestry becomes the largest group.

Those stating Irish ancestries are also more likely to state multiple ancestries, compared with those stating English or Scottish (see Chapter 2). Ancestries shown on the census form with option boxes appeared much less likely to be captured as a third response (with German as the exception).

Of Australia's population of 18.8 million people, 13,376,596 people provided a sole ancestry response, while 4,026,240 people provided more than one ancestry response. Two of these multiple responses were coded or captured in data processing. Therefore, including people's multiple ancestry responses gives us a total of over 21 million responses, all data within this publication use these multiple responses, unless otherwise stated. Almost 1.3 million people did not state their ancestry in 2001, resulting in a non-response rate of 6.9%. The non-response rate to the ancestry question in the 1986 census was about the same at 6.8 %. About half (46%) of non-respondents to the ancestry question in 2001 also did not respond to the birthplace question and 44% of non-respondents were born in Australia.

A problem that is common to all census taking is proxy reporting, whereby one person may provide information for all household members. This may work better for items that can be objectively measured, such as country of birth or language spoken at home, than for ancestry which involves some element of self-identification.

In an evaluation of the 2001 census data, the ABS has concluded that 'overall the quality of 2001 census ancestry data is high' (Kunz and Costello 2003).

CHAPTER 2 AUSTRALIA'S ETHNIC DIVERSITY .....

2.1 ANCESTRY IN 2001

Of the 18.8 million people living in Australia in 2001, 6.7 million reported their ancestry as Australian, making it the largest ancestry group. The next two largest ancestries were English at 6.4 million and Irish at 1.9 million. They were followed by Italian, German, Chinese and Scottish, all with 500,000–999,999 people (table 2.1).

There were 10 ancestry groups with at least 100,000 but less than 500,000 people. Five of these were European (Greek, Dutch, Polish, Maltese, Croatian) and four were Asian or Middle Eastern (Lebanese, Indian, Vietnamese, Filipino). The other group was New Zealander, which was likely to be a mixture of European and Pacific Islander ancestries.

There were 12 ancestry groups with 50,000–99,999 people, 17 groups with 20,000–49,999 people, 25 groups with 10,000–19,999 people and 30 groups with 2,000–9,999 people. They came from all regions of the world.

2.2 CHANGES BETWEEN 1986 AND 2001

Table 2.1 also shows changes in the ancestry of Australia's population between 1986 and 2001. There was a near doubling in the number of people who identified their ancestry as Australian between 1986 and 2001, with the proportion of the population stating Australian ancestry rising to 36% compared to 22% in 1986. In contrast there was a decrease in the number of people stating English ancestry and the proportion of the population reporting English ancestry declined from 42% in 1986 to 34% in 2001 (table 2.2).

2.1 NUMBER OF PEOPLE(a) AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE BY ANCESTRY, 1986 AND 2001

	no.		*% change*
Ancestry	*1986*	*2001*	
Australian	3 402 047	6 739 594	98.1
English	6 607 228	6 358 880	–3.8
Irish	902 679	1 919 727	112.7
Italian	620 227	800 256	29.0
German	510 402	742 212	45.4
Chinese	201 331	556 554	176.4
Scottish	740 522	540 046	–27.1
Greek	336 782	375 703	11.6
Dutch	231 148	268 754	16.3
Lebanese	92 428	162 239	75.5
Indian	71 185	156 628	120.0
Vietnamese	64 998	156 581	140.9
Polish	142 713	150 900	5.7
Maltese	125 797	136 754	8.7
Filipino	38 698	129 821	235.5
New Zealander	75 085	123 314	64.2
Croatian	47 833	105 747	121.1
Serbian	9 206	97 315	957.1
Australian Aboriginal	186 594	94 950	–49.1
Welsh	118 797	84 246	–29.1
Macedonian	41 658	81 898	96.6
French	111 762	79 079	–29.2
Spanish	73 075	75 237	3.0
Maori	26 035	72 956	180.2
Hungarian	57 928	62 859	8.5
Russian	46 352	60 213	29.9
Sinhalese	20 750	58 602	182.4
Turkish	36 903	54 596	47.9
South African	17 287	52 119	201.5
Korean	10 264	43 753	326.3
American	43 094	44 255	2.7
Danish	52 230	38 637	–26.0
Austrian	39 022	38 112	–2.3
Portuguese	28 540	35 687	25.0
Ukrainian	29 885	33 960	13.6
Japanese	13 945	31 433	125.4
Indonesian	10 428	28 267	171.1
Samoan	na	28 091	
Egyptian	15 607	27 001	73.0
Swedish	29 906	24 424	–18.3
Jewish	35 735	22 553	–36.9
Swiss	22 014	22 151	0.6
Chilean	13 344	21 579	61.7
Khmer	9 725	21 361	119.7
Thai	4 952	20 606	316.1
Canadian	12 444	20 007	60.8
Latvian	20 610	18 938	–8.1
Iranian	6 001	18 798	213.2
Assyrian	7 132	18 667	161.7
Malay	10 814	18 294	69.2
Finnish	17 374	18 106	4.2
Bosnian	na	17 993	

2.1 NUMBER OF PEOPLE(a) AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE BY ANCESTRY, 1986 AND 2001 *continued*

	no.		*% change*
Ancestry	*1986*	*2001*	
Mauritian	9 436	17 886	89.6
Norwegian	19 195	17 293	–9.9
Czech	24 228	17 126	–29.3
Fijians	7 588	16 620	119.0
Arab	25 121	16 463	–34.5
Romanian	9 009	16 121	78.9
Tongan	6 230	14 889	139.0
Armenian	13 970	14 667	5.0
Slovene	8 497	14 189	67.0
British	339 627	14 049	–95.9
Pakistani	2 506	12 618	403.5
Afghan	na	12 410	
Anglo-Indian	na	12 327	
Lithuanian	11 404	12 317	8.0
Iraqi	1 642	11 190	581.5
Burmese	6 422	10 557	64.4
Albanian	6 634	10 459	57.7
Syrian	4 510	10 213	126.5
Lao	6 459	10 086	56.2
Torres Strait Islander	11 794	9 791	–17.0
Bengali	865	9 549	1003.9
Papua New Guinean	5 844	9 441	61.6
Cook Islander	na	8 154	
Tamil	1 304	7 706	491.0
Estonian	7 820	7 543	–3.5
Slovak	2 449	7 054	188.0
Palestinian	2 149	7 001	225.8
Salvadoran	na	6 617	
Argentinian	4 367	6 482	48.4
Timorese	2 231	5 491	146.1
Uruguayan	na	5 196	
Somali	na	5 007	
Peruvian	na	4 772	
Kurdish	1 928	4 494	133.1
Taiwanese	na	4 416	
Bulgarian	3 179	4 179	31.5
Polynesian	na	3 929	
Sudanese	na	3 788	
Brazilian	1 741	3 763	116.1
Colombian	na	3 475	
Australian South Sea Islander	521	3 442	560.7
Coptic	na	3 344	
Ethiopian	na	3 054	
Nepalese	na	2 946	
Zimbabwean	na	2 896	
Jordanian	836	2 687	221.4
Punjabi	na	2 263	
Seychellois	na	2 104	
Eritrean	na	2 029	

(a) Only ancestry categories with at least 2,000 responses in 2001 are included.

Note: na=not available/coded in 1986.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

There was also a doubling in the number of people identifying as Irish. As a result the proportion of the population identifying as Irish rose from 6% in 1986 to 10% in 2001. As noted in Chapter 1, many people were coded as Irish in combination with another ancestry, possibly because Irish was listed on the census form, with option boxes so that people could simply mark it as one of their ancestries. It is also possible that many Australians may have become more aware of their Irish heritage due to an increased interest in genealogy since 1986, particularly in the origin of one's ancestors who were the migrants to Australia. Irish pubs have also become fashionably popular in recent years in Australian cities and people may be more likely to acknowledge their Irish ancestry now than in the past.

There were also significant increases in the number of people of German and Italian ancestries. This may also be partly due to German and Italian being included on the 2001 census form with option boxes.

Table 2.1 also shows large increases in some of the smaller ancestry groups. There was a ten-fold increase in the number of people identifying as Serbian. Most of this increase was due to people changing their ancestry identification from Yugoslav in 1986 to Serbian in 2001 after the break up of the former Yugoslavia. Some of the increase in the number of Croatians and Macedonians was due to the same reason although there was also some migration of Croatians and Macedonians to Australia during the 1990s due to the unrest in the Balkans. The migration of refugees from Bosnia during this period was reflected in the 18,000 Bosnians counted in 2001 when in 1986 Bosnian was not even coded as an ancestry category. Refugee migration during the 1990s also contributed to the increase in the number of Afghans, Iraqis and other Middle Eastern and Western Asian groups. Most of these groups numbered between 10,000 and 20,000 in 2001 when their numbers in 1986 were less than 10,000.

Most non-European ancestry groups show significant increases over the 15-year period, mainly due to immigration during the late 1980s and 1990s, but also to natural increase, as many migrants produce Australian-born children once they have settled into their new home country. The number of people of Chinese, Indian, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Khmer, Fijian and Tongan ancestries more than doubled while the number of people of Filipino and South African ancestries tripled and those of Korean, Thai and Tamil ancestries increased at least four-fold. The number of people identifying as Bengalis increased ten-fold although it was less than 10,000.

The number of people identifying as Australian South Sea Islanders also increased more than six times between 1986 and 2001. This was likely to be due to the specific instructions given in the census booklet asking people who were of Australian South Sea Islander origin to identify as such, and 'Australian South Sea Islander' being given as one of the examples on the 2001 census form.

Ancestry groups that show a decrease in size between 1986 and 2001 were mostly of Anglo-Celtic or other European origins, such as Scottish, Welsh, French, Danish, Swedish and Czech. As indicated in the previous chapter, analyses by the ABS indicate that the number of people of French or Welsh ancestry would have been much larger if third or fourth ancestries were also coded because many people mentioned these ancestries as their third or fourth ancestries (Kunz and Costello 2003). The number of people stating British ancestry showed a dramatic decrease from nearly 340,000 to 14,000.

There was also a significant decrease in the number of people identifying as Australian Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander ancestry. This was rather surprising as the number of people identifying as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander in response to the separate census question on Aboriginality has been increasing during the same period. Almost two-thirds of people identifying as Aboriginal and 41% of those identifying as Torres Strait Islander in 2001 stated their ancestry as Australian. This is a valid response as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have the strongest claim to Australian ancestry.

Overall the proportion of population stating a European ancestry declined from 74% in 1986 to 66% in 2001, while the proportion stating an Asian ancestry rose from 3% to 7%. There was also an increase in the proportion of Middle Eastern ancestries, as well as in the proportion of Pacific Islander ancestries, although both regional groups were still less than 2% of the population (table 2.2).

2.2 NUMBER OF PEOPLE ACCORDING TO ANCESTRY(a), 1986 AND 2001

	1986		*2001*	
Ancestry	*no.*	*% of population*	*no.*	*% of population*
Australian	3 402 047	21.8	6 739 594	35.9
Other Australian ancestries(a)	198 909	1.3	106 447	0.6
New Zealander	75 085	0.5	123 314	0.7
Maori	26 035	0.2	72 956	0.4
Other Pacific Islander	19 662	0.1	91 739	0.5
English	6 607 228	42.3	6 358 880	33.9
Irish	902 679	5.8	1 919 727	10.2
Scottish	740 522	4.3	540 046	2.9
Italian	620 227	4.0	800 256	4.7
German	510 402	3.3	742 212	4.0
Greek	336 782	2.2	375 703	2.0
Dutch	231 148	1.5	268 754	1.4
Maltese	125 797	0.8	136 754	0.7
Other European	1 600 746	10.3	1 196 164	6.4
Total European	*11 675 531*	*74.8*	*12 338 496*	*66.2*
Lebanese	92 428	0.6	162 239	0.9
Turkish	36 903	0.2	54 596	0.3
Other Middle Eastern	106 993	0.7	147 032	0.8
Total Middle Eastern	*236 324*	*1.6*	*363 867*	*1.9*
Chinese	201 331	1.3	556 554	3.0
Indian	71 185	0.5	156 628	0.8
Vietnamese	64 998	0.4	156 581	0.8
Filipino	38 698	0.2	129 821	0.7
Other Asian	107 363	0.7	339 481	1.8
Total Asian	*483 575*	*3.1*	*1 339 065*	*7.1*
Others(b)	284 192	1.7	243 872	1.3

(a) Includes Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and Australian of South Sea Islander descent.
(b) Includes 'mixed' ancestry.
Note: Percentages do not add to 100 because people could state more than one ancestry.
Source: 1986 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

2.3 REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ANCESTRY

Table 2.3 shows that the states and territories differ in their ethnic composition as indicated by ancestry. Within each state, there are also considerable differences between the capital city and the rest of the state as shown in table 2.4. Tasmanian residents were the most likely to state Australian ancestry, with nearly half of the population doing so. Only one-third of the population of Victoria, Western Australia and the Northern Territory stated their ancestry as Australian. Within each state, people living outside the capital cities were more likely to identify as 'Australian' than capital city residents. Not surprisingly, the

proportion stating Aboriginal or Other Australian Peoples was highest in the Northern Territory at 18%. In Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory it was just 0.1%.

2.3 ANCESTRY OF STATE AND TERRITORY POPULATIONS, 2001

	New South Wales	*Victoria*	*Queensland*	*South Australia*	*Western Australia*	*Tasmania*	*Northern Territory*	*Australian Capital Territory*
Ancestry	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Australian	35.3	33.0	39.7	36.7	34.1	47.4	33.4	38.9
Other Australian Peoples	0.2	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.9	0.1	17.9	0.1
New Zealand and Pacific Islander	1.7	1.0	2.5	0.5	1.6	0.6	1.6	1.2
English	31.2	30.3	37.7	38.4	40.1	40.8	25.9	35.5
Irish	9.9	10.2	12.1	8.2	9.4	9.4	9.0	13.8
German	2.9	3.3	5.9	7.3	2.8	2.8	4.1	4.3
Other North-West European	5.3	6.1	6.8	6.4	7.5	5.6	5.6	7.9
Italian	3.5	6.3	2.6	5.7	5.3	1.2	1.7	3.2
Greek	2.0	3.5	0.7	2.6	0.8	0.5	1.8	1.5
Other Southern and Eastern European	5.7	7.3	2.8	4.9	4.6	2.0	2.1	6.6
Total Southern and Eastern European	*11.2*	*17.1*	*6.1*	*13.2*	*10.7*	*3.7*	*5.6*	*11.3*
North African and Middle Eastern	3.5	2.3	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.5
Vietnamese	1.0	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.9
Chinese	4.2	3.3	1.6	1.3	2.7	0.6	2.1	2.5
Other Asian	4.5	3.5	2.0	1.6	3.2	0.8	3.3	4.0
Total Asian	*9.7*	*8.0*	*4.0*	*3.7*	*6.5*	*1.4*	*5.7*	*7.4*
Americas	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.7	1.2
Sub-Saharan African	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.5
Not stated	7.7	7.4	7.2	5.9	6.8	7.2	9.5	5.9

Note: Column percentages do not add up to 100 because some people state more than one ancestry.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Queensland had the highest proportion of people claiming New Zealander or other Pacific Islander ancestry. Among the capital cities, Brisbane had the highest proportion of people with New Zealander or Pacific Islander ancestry at 3%, followed by Sydney at 2.2%.

Around forty per cent of the population of Western Australia and Tasmania stated English ancestry, while only 26% of the population of the Northern Territory did so. In New South Wales and Victoria, the proportion stating English ancestry was higher outside the capital cities than in Sydney and Melbourne. The Australian Capital Territory had the highest proportion claiming Irish ancestry at 14% while South Australia had the lowest at 8% (table 2.3).

2.4 ANCESTRY OF MAINLAND STATE POPULATIONS, BY CAPITAL CITY AND REST OF STATE, 2001

Ancestry	Sydney %	Rest of New South Wales %	Melbourne %	Rest of Victoria %	Brisbane %	Rest of Queensland %	Adelaide %	Rest of South Australia %	Perth %	Rest of Western Australia %
Australian	28.8	46.3	28.7	44.2	37.2	41.7	33.9	44.3	31.1	41.8
Other Australian Peoples	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.2	1.3	0.1	1.2	0.2	2.9
New Zealand and Pacific Islander	2.2	0.9	1.1	0.6	3.0	2.0	0.6	0.5	1.6	1.7
English	27.5	37.2	27.8	36.7	38.3	37.3	38.0	38.8	40.0	40.2
Irish	9.3	10.8	9.6	11.7	13.1	11.3	8.4	7.5	9.5	9.0
German	2.5	3.5	3.1	4.0	5.6	6.1	6.4	9.8	2.7	3.1
Other North-West European	5.3	5.5	6.0	6.4	7.3	6.3	6.7	5.6	7.9	6.3
Italian	4.2	2.2	7.4	3.4	2.4	2.7	7.1	2.1	6.0	3.4
Greek	2.8	0.6	4.5	0.6	1.0	0.5	3.3	1.0	1.0	0.3
Other Southern and Eastern European	7.3	3.1	8.8	3.3	3.4	2.3	5.9	2.1	5.5	2.4
Total Southern and Eastern European	*14.3*	*5.9*	*20.7*	*7.3*	*6.8*	*5.5*	*16.3*	*5.2*	*12.5*	*6.1*
North African and Middle Eastern	5.3	0.4	3.0	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.8	0.1
Vietnamese	1.5	0.1	1.7	0.1	0.8	0.0	1.1	0.1	0.8	0.1
Chinese	6.3	0.6	4.4	0.5	2.5	0.9	1.6	0.2	3.5	0.5
Other Asian	6.7	0.9	4.6	0.7	2.7	1.5	1.9	0.7	4.0	1.2
Total Asian	*14.5*	*1.6*	*10.7*	*1.3*	*6.0*	*2.4*	*4.6*	*1.0*	*8.3*	*1.8*
Americas	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.4
Sub-Saharan African	0.7	0.2	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.2	0.1
Not stated	8.0	7.2	7.4	7.4	6.4	7.9	5.6	6.6	6.4	8.0

Note: Percentages do not add to 100 because some people state more than one ancestry.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

South Australia had the highest proportion of people of German ancestry, at 7% of the population. Of the South Australian population living outside Adelaide, 10% were of German ancestry. Victoria had the highest proportions of Italians, Greeks and people of other Southern and Eastern European background, and they were concentrated mostly in Melbourne where they were 21% of the city's population. Tasmania had the lowest proportion of people of Southern and Eastern European origins. Just 4% of Tasmania's population were of Southern or Eastern European ancestry.

New South Wales had the highest proportion of people of Middle Eastern and Asian origins and they were mostly in Sydney, where they were 5% and 15% respectively of Sydney's population. Melbourne had the next highest proportions of Middle Eastern and Asian people at 3% and 11% of its total population. There is a clear contrast between capital cities and the rest of the state in the proportions of Middle Eastern and Asian ancestries. People of these backgrounds have a strong preference for the capital cities and very few live

outside the major cities. Among the states, Tasmania has the lowest proportions of people of Middle Eastern and Asian origins.

The ancestry data show that the capital cities are more ethnically diverse than regional areas. Sydney and Melbourne are particularly cosmopolitan, with Southern and Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Asian ancestries well represented. Among the states and territories, Tasmania is the least diverse, with very small numbers of people of non-English-speaking origins.

2.4 ANCESTRY GROUPS BY GENERATION

Some ancestry groups have lived in Australia for many generations while others have been here for only one or two generations, depending on when members of the group and their ancestors migrated to Australia. The first generation refers to people who are born overseas and have migrated to Australia. The second generation are born in Australia but have one or both parents who are born overseas. The third or more generations are people who are born in Australia and whose parents are also born in Australia.

Table 2.5 shows the major ancestry groups by generation. It is no surprise that people identifying as being of Australian Aboriginal ancestry are overwhelmingly third or more generations since the Aboriginal people have lived in Australia for many centuries. People who identified as being of Australian ancestry were also mostly third or more generations. Very few who identified as being of Australian ancestry were first or second generation. Kunz and Costello (2003b) have referred to these people as 'aspirational Australians'.

2.5 MAJOR ANCESTRY GROUPS(a) BY GENERATION, 2001

	1st generation	*2nd generation*	*3rd+ generation*	
Ancestry	*%*	*%*	*%*	*Total number of people stating ancestry*
Australian	1.4	15.4	83.3	6 739 594
Australian Aboriginal	1.4	2.7	95.9	94 955
English	18.0	20.9	61.1	6 358 880
Irish	11.1	16.3	72.7	1 919 727
Scottish	27.5	26.7	45.8	540 046
Welsh	37.5	25.7	36.8	84 246
Italian	29.9	44.4	25.7	800 256
German	18.5	22.5	59.1	742 212
Greek	36.4	46.5	17.1	375 703
Dutch	38.5	44.9	16.5	268 754
Polish	48.0	39.0	12.9	150 901
Maltese	34.9	49.2	15.9	136 754
Croatian	49.6	43.1	7.4	105 747
Serbian	58.2	35.0	6.8	97 316
Macedonian	53.5	41.1	5.3	81 895
French	42.7	24.1	33.2	79 079
Spanish	58.2	28.1	13.7	75 235
Hungarian	51.4	39.9	8.7	62 857
Russian	53.3	34.4	12.1	60 213
Lebanese	41.8	50.1	8.1	162 239
Turkish	55.0	42.3	2.8	54 596
Chinese	72.2	21.8	5.9	556 554
Indian	75.6	21.8	2.6	156 628
Vietnamese	71.1	27.4	1.5	156 581
Filipino	73.5	24.5	2.0	129 821
Sinhalese	74.8	23.0	2.2	58 602
New Zealander	60.0	33.8	6.2	123 314
Maori	68.3	24.5	7.1	72 956
South African	75.5	20.9	3.6	52 119

(a) Those with at least 50,000 persons in 2001.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Since the earliest migrants to Australian were mostly English or Irish, more than 60% and 70% of people of English and Irish ancestries respectively were at least third or more generation. The only other ancestry group with a majority in the third or more generation was German. Germans have been migrating to Australia since the 19th Century.

Many communities of European origin formed mostly through immigration during the 1950s and 1960s, such as the Italians, Greeks, Dutch and Maltese, are now moving into the third or more generation. The first generation has become a minority among these groups while nearly half of the groups' members are second generation and 16%–26% are third or more generation. The Eastern

European groups such as those of Polish, Hungarian and Russian origins have a higher proportion — about half — who are first generation, because the flow of immigrants from Poland, Hungary and Russia resumed in the 1980s and 1990s after the end of communism. Similarly, migration from the Balkan states during the 1990s following the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, was the reason for the higher proportion — 50%–60% — of the people of Croatian, Serbian or Macedonian ancestry being of first generation and a smaller proportion — less than 10% — of the third or more generation.

The two Middle Eastern ancestries, Lebanese and Turkish, are almost equally divided between first and second generations. Migration from Lebanon and Turkey has been continuous since the late 1960s so that there is a sizeable second generation as well as a relatively high proportion of first generation.

Most people of Asian ancestries are first or second generation Australians, with three-quarters being first generation because of the recency of Asian immigration to Australia. Only 1%–2% of most Asian ancestry groups are third or more generation.

New Zealand has been a long-standing major source of migrants to Australia. The Trans-Tasman Agreement allows New Zealand and Australian citizens to migrate across the Tasman without the need for a visa. Since 1995 New Zealand has become the largest source of migrants and this has contributed to the relatively high proportion of first generation among people stating New Zealander or Maori ancestries.

South Africa has also been a major source of immigrants to Australia in the 1980s and 1990s. Most people reporting South African ancestry are first or second generation as expected.

2.5 MIXED AND MULTIPLE ANCESTRIES

Twenty-two per cent of the population reported more than one ancestry, an increase from 12% in 1986. The most common ancestry combinations are shown in table 2.6. Over one million people reported having English-Irish ancestries, the largest mixed ancestry combination. The next largest group was English-Australian ancestry, stated by nearly 900,000 people. Other combinations with more than 100,000 persons are English-German, Irish-Australian and English-Scottish.

2.6 MOST COMMON MULTIPLE ANCESTRIES AS STATED, 2001

Ancestry	*no. of people*	*Ancestry*	*no. of people*
English-Irish	1 023 243	English-Greek	20 778
English-Australian	895 618	English-Chinese	20 442
English-German	248 846	English-Welsh	19 349
Irish-Australian	186 157	Greek-Australian	19 087
English-Scottish	107 379	English-New Zealander	17 121
English-Italian	92 478	Chinese-Australian	16 581
German-Australian	80 858	English-French	15 829
Irish-German	80 297	Italian-German	13 772
Australian-Scottish	76 817	Australian-Maltese	13 593
Italian-Australian	67 352	German-Scottish	13 403
Irish-Scottish	52 632	Australian-Maori	12 214
Australian-Dutch	42 503	Australian-American	11 809
Irish-Italian	35 303	Australian-Polish	11 274
English-Dutch	27 160	Australian-Welsh	11 166
Australian-New Zealander	26 369	Italian-Greek	10 127

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Most people reporting multiple ancestries stated a combination of the major European ancestry groups in Australia: English, Irish, Scottish, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, Welsh and French. The prevalence of these combinations reflects the extent of intermarriages between people of these ethnic origins during the previous century. The largest mixed European-Asian combination reported was English-Chinese. Twenty thousand people reported they were of English-Chinese ancestries.

Many people reported themselves as hyphenated Australians such as Italian-Australian, Chinese-Australian or Australian-American. It is unclear whether hyphenated Australians reflect a mixture of Australian and the other ancestry or a reference to Australian identity or nationality by persons who are not necessarily of mixed origins. For example, some of the people who reported themselves as Chinese-Australian may have done so because they see themselves as Australians of Chinese ancestry, not because they are descended from Chinese and Australian ancestors. The Australian ancestry response will be examined further in Chapter 5.

Individuals of some ethnic origins are more likely than others to report multiple ancestries (table 2.6). More than 50% of people of Western European ancestry reported their ancestry as one of two or more ancestries. Three out of four people reporting Irish ancestry stated more than one ancestry, the most common being English-Irish, Irish-Australia or Irish-German as shown in table 2.6.

2.7 PERCENTAGE STATING ANCESTRY AS PART OF A MULTIPLE RESPONSE

50% or more		30%–50%		20%–30%		10%–20%		<10%	
Irish	75.9	Estonian	46.8	Australian	24.3	Australian Aboriginal	15.6	Bosnian	8.4
Welsh	62.7	Lithuanian	44.5	Samoan	28.1				
Scottish	57.1	Latvian	41.3	Tongan	27.3	Macedonian	10.3	Assyrian	9.0
		Russian	43.1						
German	68.3	Ukrainian	37.6	Albanian	20.5	Iraqi	16.9	Hmong	2.9
French	64.6	Czech	38.1	Croatian	21.3	Lebanese	12.0	Vietnamese	6.0
Swiss	52.4	Bulgarian	37.7	Greek	21.2	Jordanian	19.6		
Austrian	50.2	Polish	36.7	Romanian	28.0	Armenian	18.2	Korean	3.2
		Hungarian	36.5	Serbian	24.8	Coptic	18.0		
Swedish	64.6	Slovene	35.0	Slovak	27.5	Iranian	12.0	Afghan	7.1
Norwegian	62.7					Kurdish	10.6	Bengali	5.3
Danish	62.1	Jewish	38.9	Arab	22.1	Turkish	10.7		
				Egyptian	25.0			Eritrean	7.3
Canadian	63.8	Spanish	46.7	Palestinian	20.0	Khmer	14.7	Ethiopian	8.9
American	57.6	Italian	34.8	Syrian	27.6	Lao	13.5	Somali	4.2
Mexican	53.5	Portuguese	31.1						
		Maltese	31.0	Thai	24.1	Chinese	14.7		
New Zealander	51.8			Filipino	21.6	Indian	17.0		
		Dutch	42.7	Japanese	21.8	Pakistani	17.3		
		English	41.8			Sinhalese	17.6		
		Finnish	38.7	Sikh	26.7				
				Tamil	22.8	Salvadoran	11.0		
		Papua New Guinean	49.6						
		Malay	48.0	Colombian	20.4				
		Timorese	39.7	Chilean	24.0				
		Indonesian	34.8						
		Fijians	40.3	Ghanian	20.8				
		Maori	44.6	Nigerian	27.7				
		Torres Strait Islander	37.5	Mauritian	29.0				
		Cook Islander	30.7						
		Argentinian	45.1						
		Brazilian	38.9						
		Uruguayan	37.9						
		Peruvian	30.3						
		Punjabi	36.9						
		Burmese	36.3						
		South African	32.9						

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Over 60% of people of Scandinavian origins also reported multiple ancestries. The other regional groups with a majority stating multiple ancestries were those of Northern American origins — Canadian, American and Mexican — and New Zealanders.

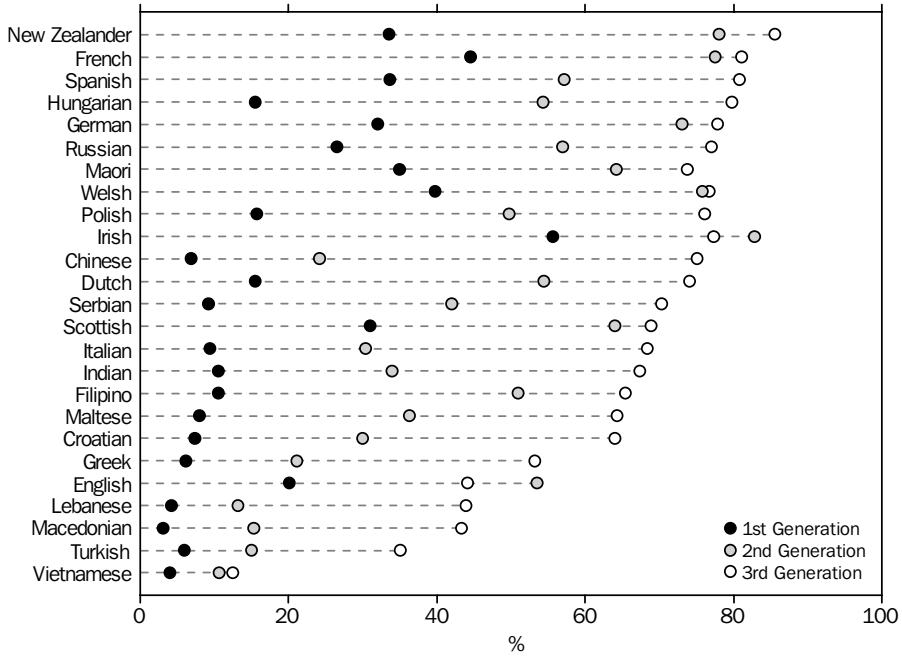
Between 35% and 45% of people of Eastern European descent reported more than one ancestry, as did people with ancestors from a number of South American countries and the islands in the Pacific region close to Australia.

Ancestry groups with 20%–30% stating multiple ancestries included several from South Eastern Europe such as Albanian, Croatian, Greek, Romanian, Serbian and Slovak as well as Pacific Island groups such as Samoan and Tongan. Also included in this category were four Middle Eastern groups, five Asian groups, two South American groups and three African groups.

People of Middle Eastern or Asian ancestry are much less likely to state multiple ancestries. Among people of Middle Eastern origins, the proportion reporting more than one ancestry was between 10% and 20%. Similarly, only 10%–20% of people of Asian origins, such as Chinese, Indian, Sinhalese, Khmer and Lao, stated more than one ancestry. Among the ancestry groups shown in table 2.6, the Hmong had the lowest proportion — just 3% — stating multiple ancestries. Most of the ancestry groups with less than 10% stating multiple ancestries were associated with refugee migration to Australia in the 1980s and 1990s.

All the ancestry groups that had less than 20% reporting multiple ancestries were of non-European origins. The low percentage of multiple ancestries among these groups is partly a reflection of the recency of their migration to Australia. As shown earlier, most people of non-European origins are first generation Australians and the second generation is still young (see Khoo et al. 2002). Ethnic intermixture is more likely to occur among second, third or more generations.

2.8 PERCENTAGE OF MULTIPLE RESPONSE BY ANCESTRY AND GENERATION, 2001



Source: 2001, Census of Population and Housing.

That second and third or more generation Australians are much more likely to claim multiple ancestries than the first generation, is confirmed in the comparisons shown in graph 2.8. In most of the 25 ancestry groups shown, the proportion reporting multiple ancestries increased considerably from the first to the second generation. The increasing trend continued from the second to the third or more generation for many non-European and some non-English speaking European groups. The increase in multiple ancestries from the second to the third or more generation was much smaller for some groups such as those of New Zealander, French, German, or Scottish ancestry and there was a small decline among persons of Irish or English ancestry. It was only among people of Vietnamese origin that the proportion stating multiple ancestries in the second and third or more generations was not very much higher than that in the first generation, suggesting a community that seemed not very open to ethnic intermixture. In contrast, the increase in multiple ancestries from the first to the second generation and from the second to the third or more generation was quite spectacular among many non-English speaking groups such as the Hungarians, Polish, Chinese, Indians, Dutch, Serbians, Italians, Croatians, Maltese, Greeks and Macedonians. By the third generation, 75% of people of Chinese ancestry were reporting a combination of Chinese and another ancestry, compared with less than 10% of the first generation. Even the Lebanese and Turkish ancestry groups showed a sharp rise in the percentage reporting multiple ancestries, from about 5% in the first generation to 35%–45% in the third or more generation.

Overall the second generation has the highest percentage — 34% — claiming multiple ancestries. Just over 10% of the first generation reported more than one ancestry and 21% of the third or more generation did so. There were some differences by location (table 2.9). A lower percentage of the first and second generations in Sydney and Melbourne stated multiple ancestries compared to those in other cities and regional areas. This is likely to be due to the presence of large migrant communities of recent origin in the two cities, which receive more than 60% of all immigrants each year. Recent migrant groups such as the Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chinese and Indians are more likely to report a single ancestry than multiple ancestries (ABS 2003, p. 15) and these communities are largely located in Sydney and Melbourne. The third and older generations living in the capital cities are more likely to report multiple ancestries than those living outside the capital cities. This indicates a more homogenous population in regional areas compared to the large cities. People living in the Australian

Capital Territory were the most likely to state more than one ancestry, followed by people in Brisbane. The residents of Tasmania were the least likely to report more than one ancestry.

2.9 PERCENTAGE STATING MULTIPLE ANCESTRIES BY GENERATION AND LOCATION, 2001

	1st generation	*2nd generation*	*3rd + generation*	*Total*
Location	%	%	%	%
Sydney	9.4	30.0	22.3	20.0
Rest of New South Wales	12.2	38.4	18.4	20.4
Melbourne	8.5	29.6	22.3	20.1
Rest of Victoria	10.5	37.5	18.7	20.4
Brisbane	14.9	40.0	25.6	26.0
Rest of Queensland	15.7	40.5	21.7	23.4
Adelaide	9.1	35.1	23.4	22.6
Rest of South Australia	10.0	39.8	19.3	21.0
Perth	12.0	36.4	23.5	23.2
Rest of Western Australia	13.3	37.6	19.0	21.8
Tasmania	13.2	43.0	17.3	19.8
Northern Territory	16.0	42.4	16.1	19.9
Australian Capital Territory	14.8	44.3	28.6	29.0
Total	**10.7**	**34.3**	**21.4**	**21.5**

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

CHAPTER 3 DISPERSION AND DIASPORA

This chapter deals with the heterogeneity of some birthplace groups and how migrants in Australia have dispersed from their home country or homeland. Ancestry, birthplace, language, and religion are used to define members of various diasporas in Australia, and selected ancestries are examined in more detail.

3.1 DEFINING DIASPORA

Although the diaspora is becoming more accepted as a part of population studies, it is a subfield that is lacking in quantification, partly because of a failure to agree on an operational definition. As Butler (2001, p. 190) has written, "diaspora scholars need to search for a consensus on the definition of diaspora".

Although based on the Greek words meaning to colonise (Cohen 1997, p. ix), the term was often associated with the forced exile, notably of the Jews. Cohen (1997, p. 26) has a broader definition of a diaspora that goes beyond forced exile and he lists nine common features, starting with the origin and nature of the emigration. His first feature is:

> Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions.

His second feature broadens the definition further:

> Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade, or to further colonial ambitions.

Another broad definition is given by Vertovec (1997, p. 227).

> 'Diaspora' is the term often used to describe practically any population that is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational' — that is, which has originated in a land other than that in which it currently resides, and where social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states, or, indeed, span the globe.

Although this definition includes the idea of dispersion, which can be quantified in censuses, the existence of networks can only be discerned by other forms of social enquiry.

Butler (2001, p. 189) notes that the simplest definition of a diaspora is the dispersal of a people from its original homeland, and until recently was associated with the dispersion of the Jewish, Armenian, Greek and African peoples. These four diasporas are discussed in more detail below.

Butler (2001, p. 192) considers that a diaspora should at least involve:

- a scattering to two or more destinations
- a relationship to an actual or imagined homeland (or to one that has ceased to exist)
- awareness of one's group identity
- existence over two generations
- making allowances for multiple identities.

The next sections consider how the 2001 Census of Population and Housing assists in applying these criteria.

Scattering or dispersion

Censuses often ask a birthplace question to identify persons born elsewhere: only rarely do they ask about persons born in the country who are currently abroad. In the absence of data on dispersion from the country of origin, its measurement can involve combining birthplace, ancestry, or ethnicity data for as many destination countries as possible.

Thus looking at Australia's birthplace data alone does not indicate dispersion, but reference to censuses of other possible major destinations will assist with this. In Oceania the other major destination country is New Zealand, and it is fairly easy to access the Statistics New Zealand data on birthplace or ethnicity. Between the 1996 and 2001 New Zealand censuses, the number of persons born in Africa more than doubled, with the South Africa-born, Zimbabwe-born , and Somalia-born most prominent (Statistics New Zealand 2001). The South Africans and Somalis also showed large, but less dramatic, increases in Australia in the same period. Taken by themselves the Australian data indicate just these streams of people moving from Africa to Australia but the 1996 New Zealand census confirms that South Africans and Somalis are moving to at least two destinations.

In the above definitions by Cohen and Butler, the requirement of scattering to two destination countries is pretty minimal and almost all diasporas go way beyond this. For example as shown by the ABS (2003, p. 6) in *Australian Social Trends* (cat. no. 4102.0), 9% of persons with Spanish ancestry were born in the Philippines and another 24% in five Latin American countries.

Having both ancestry and birthplace questions in the 2001 census gives an additional dimension to the analysis, since the birthplace is not necessarily the ancestral homeland. The ABS (2003, pp. 6–7) has given a number of examples of such dispersions in its publication *Australian Social Trends* (cat. no. 4102.0). Many people of Chinese or Indian ancestry are not born in China or India but in other parts of Asia, confirming dispersion in the past. Many immigrants from Viet Nam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and East Timor are Chinese, suggesting selective migration of Chinese from these places.

Identifying a homeland

The ancestry question helps in identifying the original homeland where this differs from the current nation state (see table 1.2). For example, the Breton homeland is Brittany, once a separate country but now part of France. Ancestry also provides a link with previous colonial ambitions and to some extent the pursuit of trade. The birthplace of children and others may indicate step migration, with, for example, some Somalis enumerated in the 2001 census being born in other African states or New Zealand.

The Somalis come from a nation state largely occupied by one ethnic group. In contrast, Bosnia and Hercegovina, unlike the other Yugoslav Republics, had no dominant ethnic group. In the 1990s Bosnia was engaged in a civil war and was effectively divided between Serbian and Muslim-Croatian communities (Jupp 2001, pp. 186–7). As pointed out in Chapter 2, Bosnian was not a recorded ancestry in 1986 and most Bosnians have come to Australia after the Civil War.

Group identity

As shown in Chapter 1, responses to the ancestry question are supposed to reflect the ancestry or ancestries with which the person most closely identifies. However, just as a census question on religion does not indicate religiosity or church attendance, ancestry responses may be based on only a tenuous link with a particular ancestry.

Other major indicators of group identity derived from a census would be language and religion, and possibly citizenship, and these are discussed in more detail below. Together or separately they could support a person's claim to an ancestry, especially if the person was born in a place not associated with that ancestry's homeland.

Generations

Once again Butler's criterion of two generations seems rather minimal, implying perhaps just the first generation of migrants and their children. The census also enables ancestry to be analysed by generation, and a spread over three generations suggests the durability of an ancestry.

A complication is that sometimes generations may consist of different dispersions prompted by different events, or different generations may represent different waves of immigration from the same country of origin. One example would be German Lutherans who came to rural South Australia from the Province of Brandenburg before 1914 (Harmsdorf 2001, p. 360), and whose descendants would be included in the third or more generation. These can be contrasted with the Australian-born children of the highly urbanised 20th century German migrants (Clyne 2001, p. 386) who would also be in the third or more generation.

Allowing for multiple identities

As shown in Chapter 1, the 2001 census allowed for persons to report several ancestries but only the first two were coded.

3.2 LANGUAGE

Language can be an indicator of both dispersion and identity. The census enables language to be a proxy for identity for groups that do not speak English at home, while a lack of language maintenance may indicate the weakening of diasporic links.

The 2001 census asked the following question:

15. Does the person speak a language other than English at home?

- Mark one box only.
- If more than one language, write the one that is spoken most often.

No, English only. Yes, Italian. Yes, Greek. Yes, Cantonese. Yes, Mandarin. Yes, Arabic. Yes, Vietnamese. Yes, other — please specify.

Clyne and Kipp (2002, p. 3) have noted the substantial declines in the numbers of German speakers (down 23% since the 1996 census), and modest declines in

the top two community languages, Italian (down 6%) and Greek (down 2%). Amongst the other 20 top community languages, the major gains were for Mandarin (up 51% since 1996), Indonesian (up 42%), Hindi (up 41%), Korean (up 32%), Serbian (up 32%), Vietnamese (up 19%) and Arabic (up 18%).

Kipp and Clyne (2003, p. 35) have suggested various interrelated factors to explain the declining numbers of German speakers, including the ageing of the population and the assimilationist ideologies of post-war Australia. Another influence is that, as shown above, German did not get an option box in 2001. An ancestry question was not asked in 1996 yet in the period 1986–2001 the number of persons claiming German ancestry rose.

3.3 LANGUAGE AND GENERATIONS

Generations have already been discussed in Chapter 1, and generation influences the degree to which English is spoken at home.

- There were 4.1 million people, all born overseas, in the first generation. Of these 90% gave one ancestry only. This holds true for virtually all ancestry groups. 52% spoke only English at home.
- The second generation comprised 3.6 million persons born in Australia but with one or both parents born overseas. Of these 66% gave one ancestry only.
- It was possible to divide the second generation into those with both parents born overseas (1.6 million) and those with one parent born overseas (2 million). Of the former 59% spoke only English at home compared with 93% of the latter.
- For multiple responses (first plus second ancestries) there were 1.8 million responses from persons whose father was born overseas: 84% of these spoke only English at home. Of the 1.1 million whose mother was born overseas, 94% spoke only English at home. Thus the influence of the mother is confirmed, although one difficulty here is obviously that if one parent was born overseas but in an English speaking country then this would raise the percentage speaking English at home.
- In the third or more generation there were 11 million persons, all of whom had both parents born in Australia. Of these 79% gave one ancestry only and 91% spoke only English at home.

The 162,485 people in the third or more generation who spoke a language other than English at home included 43,171 who gave Australian Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (5,436) as their ancestry. The ancestries of the remaining 113,878 are shown in table 3.1.

3.1 THIRD OR MORE GENERATION: PERSONS WHO SPEAK A LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH AT HOME(a)

Ancestry	*no.*
Australian	28 188
Greek	18 229
English	17 190
Italian	14 825
Irish	9 420
German	3 361
Lebanese	2 983
Chinese	2 248
Macedonian	1 589
Vietnamese	1 279
Other	14 566

(a) Excludes Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.
Note: Excludes the inadequately described, non-verbal and not stated.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 3.2 compares the persons giving German as their ancestry with those giving Greek or Vietnamese and shows that for the Germans in the third or more generation nearly everyone speaks English at home, and that this generation comprises 59% of the German total. In the second generation, the number with one parent born overseas is slightly less than the number with both parents born overseas. Not only do the Greeks have a lower percentage in the third generation (17% or about one in six) but with a minority speaking only English at home.

In contrast, 71% of Vietnamese are in the first generation. Most of those in the second generation have both parents born overseas. The Vietnamese are one of the largest groups with a relatively low percentage speaking only English at home.

3.2 PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BY ANCESTRY, SPEAKING ONLY ENGLISH AT HOME, BY GENERATION

	German		*Greek*		*Vietnamese*	
	no.	*%*	*no.*	*%*	*no.*	*%*
First generation	137 178	58.7	136 773	10.3	111 321	2.5
Second (both parents born overseas)	67 415	83.9	123 347	24.6	38 914	5.4
Second (one parent born overseas)	99 537	95.1	51 249	56.3	4 026	28.5
Third or more generation	438 352	97.7	64 334	64.1	2 320	10.7
Total(a)	**742 212**		**375 703**		**156 581**	

Note: Per cent indicates percentage speaking only English at home and does not indicate proficiency in English.

(a) Totals exclude the inadequately descibed, non-verbal and not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Overall half of those in the first generation speak only English at home but this hides a bimodal distribution with some ancestries associated with English-speaking countries such as New Zealander, where the percentage of the first generation is almost as high as for the third or more generation. In contrast, in some groups hardly anyone speaks only English at home. These include Bosnians, Assyrian/Chaldeans, Copts, Kurds, Afghans, Hmong, Eritreans, and Somalis, and, as shown above, the Vietnamese.

For the second generation, 61% of those with both parents born overseas speak only English at home, compared with 94% of those with one parent born overseas. For the former group there is again a distinction between English speaking countries and once again the Vietnamese are at the lower end of the scale with only Salvadorans below them. Many of the groups with less than 10% also had less than 5% of the first generation speaking only English at home.

3.4 RELIGION

Religion is an important identifier because a few ancestries such as Judaism are based on religion, while some ancestries have a dominant religion.

Religion is the only optional question in Australian censuses, and in 2001 the question was:

19. What is the person's religion?

- Answering this question is **OPTIONAL**
- For example, Salvation Army, Hinduism, Judaism or Humanism
- If no religion, mark the last box

The option boxes were:

Catholic, Anglican (Church of England), Uniting Church, Presbyterian, Greek Orthodox, Baptist, Lutheran, Islam, Buddhism, Other-please specify, No religion.

Information about a person's religion is particularly useful where the religion is associated with a particular ancestry and does not generally seek converts, as with Judaism and Hinduism. In contrast, Anglicans in Australia belong to a denomination that began in England but has spread throughout the former British Empire and beyond.

The nexus between ancestry and religion is weakened because of the 10% of the population reporting no religion. Ancestry responses with over one-quarter reporting no religion included New Zealander, Czech, Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, and Canadian. About 14% of persons coded with Jewish ancestry reported having no religion, with 10% reporting Christianity. Goldlust (2001, p. 544) suggests that many Soviet Jews living in Western countries may have anti-religious feelings absorbed through their socialisation in the secular Soviet system, while many in Australia have non-Jewish spouses.

In contrast, ancestry groups with low percentages stating No Religion included Pacific Islanders such as Tongans (2%) and strongly Catholic communities such as the Maltese (2%). Hu' Akua (2001, p. 709) writes that, "The churches remain the most influential institutions in the life of Tongans overseas." For the Macedonians (1%), Hill (2001, p. 575) has written, "The Macedonian Orthodox Church has now become more overtly a key player in the struggle to control the Macedonian diaspora." Middle Eastern ancestries include Lebanese and Jordanian (both at 1%). African ancestries such as Somali (1%) are generally associated with low percentages with No Religion.

3.5 CITIZENSHIP AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE

Other relevant questions on the 2001 census household form were:

10. Is the person an Australian citizen?

Yes, Australian citizen

No

12. In what year did the person arrive in Australia to live here for one year or more?

These two questions are related, partly because citizenship cannot normally be acquired until after two years of continuous residence as a permanent resident, and because citizenship rates rise as duration of residence increases.

After excluding those resident in Australia for under five years, a citizenship rate can be calculated for different ancestries:

$$\frac{\text{Number of Australian Citizens} \times 100}{\text{Number of Australian Citizens} + \text{Number of Non-Citizens}}$$

In some countries of origin, including Japan, Germany and Israel, citizenship is largely determined by ancestry. Persons with Japanese ancestry have the lowest rate of Australian citizenship at 19%. The other four ancestries below 40% can be assumed to have free access to Australia: Nuiean (22%), Maori (23%), Cook Islander (26%) and New Zealander (39%).

Ancestry groups with citizenship rates of between 40% and 70% include some Scandinavian groups, various Pacific Islanders and also American (56%) and Scottish (61%). Groups with similar rates are Irish (65%), British (66%), English (66%) and Welsh (67%). Most ancestry groups had rates of 90% or above, headed by Jordanian and Egyptian around 97% and Coptic at 98%.

3.6 SELECTED ANCESTRIES

British and English

The Australian colonies were part of the British Empire and there was a major distinction between British subjects and 'aliens'. Australians were British citizens prior to the *1948 Nationality and Citizenship Act* that created the status of 'Australian citizenship'. Even so, British passports were not replaced by locally issued Australian passports until 1972 (Lucas 1987, pp. 56–57).

As shown in Chapter 1, British has almost disappeared as a major ancestry whereas it is still a dominant ancestry in the United Kingdom. In 2001, of the 11,760 whose ancestry was British, 50% were born in Australia and 32% in the United Kingdom. Of those born in Ireland, 888 of those born in Northern Ireland gave their ancestry as British compared with only 39 born in the Republic of Ireland. Persons of Manx ancestry are also likely to call themselves British.

The 1996 census showed a slight decline to 1,072,562 in the numbers of the United Kingdom-born, or about 4% lower than in 1991. There was a further decline to 1,036,245 in 2001, or 4% lower than in 1996. The English have always dominated immigration from the United Kingdom and 93% of those born in England gave English ancestry. In terms of concentration in the third generation for the major ancestries, the English with 60% came after Australian and Irish. English ancestry and influence may be eroded as the numbers of English immigrants fall away and because of the shift to Australian ancestry. This may be partly offset by immigrants of English ancestry from South Africa and New Zealand.

Irish

As shown in Chapters 1 and 2, Irish is the third most important ancestry in Australia.

Coogan (2001, p. 431) quotes Al Grassby as saying that Australia is the most Irish country in the world outside Ireland, with one-quarter of Australians having an Irish connection. Coogan says that others believe the proportion to be understated and should have been one-third, or even four out of ten. This is not readily confirmed by the 2001 census which shows 1.9 million persons, or 11% of the total with Irish ancestry. Of the major ancestry categories, the Irish were most likely (76%) to give more than one ancestry (ABS 2003, p. 5).

In 1861, 15% of Australia's population was born in Ireland but this percentage hurtled downwards to 44,813 persons or 0.6% in 1947. In 2001, there were 21,746 born in Northern Ireland and 50,235 born in the Republic of Ireland, giving a total of 71,981.

The increase in the numbers reporting Irish ancestry has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Coogan (2001, pp. 430–431) in his story of the Irish diaspora, *Wherever the Green is Worn*, describes the transformation that occurred in Australia from the 1960s when Irishness was still a liability. Amongst the positive changes are the expansion of Irish Studies in universities, the rising popularity of Irish culture, and the growing numbers of student exchanges, backpackers, and other tourists.

In the 19th Century, the Irish stood out from the other migrants from what was then the United Kingdom because they were mostly Catholic. They came to dominate the Catholic Church in Australia, until their influence was watered down by the influx of Catholics from mainland Europe, notably the Italians, after 1947. As can be deduced from table 3.3. there are more Catholics with Italian ancestry than Irish. However, the celebration of St Patrick's Day remains a major national festival in Australia, as demonstrated by Cronin and Adair (2002). Almost 50% of those with Irish ancestry are Catholic, so are one-fifth of the English. The English are just as likely to be Anglicans as the Welsh in spite of the non-conformist or chapel tradition in Wales.

3.3 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED ANCESTRIES BY RELIGION

		Catholic	*Anglican*	*Other Christian*	*None*	*Other**	*Total*
Ancestry	*no.*	%	%	%	%	%	%
English	6 358 880	19.9	31.7	20.2	17.9	10.3	100.0
Scottish	540 046	16.4	17.4	34.7	20.6	11.0	100.0
Welsh	84 246	14.4	30.0	21.7	22.2	11.9	100.0
Irish	1 919 727	46.2	15.3	13.5	15.6	9.5	100.0
Italian	800 256	79.7	3.2	5.6	6.3	5.2	100.0

* Other includes Other Religions, Not Stated, Inadequately Described, etc.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Chinese

Of the 556,554 coded with Chinese ancestry in 2001 just under three-quarters (72%) were in the first generation and only 6% in the third or more generation. Although restrictions on Chinese immigration were imposed in the late 19th Century, the Chinese were the most populous non-European migrant group at the time of the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901. Chinese immigration only resumed with the relaxation of the White Australia policy in the 1970s. This break may explain why a minority (48%) in the Chinese third or more generation reports a sole ancestry.

The Chinese dispersion is reflected in the birthplaces of the first generation, 54% were born in what could be considered the historical Chinese homeland: China (133,412), Hong Kong (60,917), and Taiwan (18,571). Of those born elsewhere, Viet Nam (7%), Indonesia (4%) and Malaysia (10%) were the most important individual birthplaces.

Indian

In August 2000 the Government of India appointed a High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora which reported in January 2002. The term Indian Diaspora was used 'to describe the people who migrated from territories that are currently within the borders of the Republic of India.' (High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora 2002). Together with their descendants these are estimated to number 20 million in 2001 of whom 190,000 were in Australia (30,000 being Indian citizens). This total included secondary and tertiary migrants who had arrived from Fiji (estimated to be around 40,000) and from other countries.

The 2001 census shows just over 156,000 persons reporting Indian ancestry as a multiple response, giving a number less than the estimated 190,000. Only 3% of those with Indian ancestry were in the third or more generation. After India itself, the most important country of birth was Fiji, with Malaysia, Singapore and Africa also important (ABS Social Trends 2003, p. 7).

A wide range of languages was spoken by this ancestry group with about one-third using English at home. Six out of ten spoke Indian languages at home, the most important being, in order: Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Gujarati, Malayalam, Marathi and Kannada.

One in twenty spoke a variety of other languages including Arabic, Fijian, Malay, Afrikaans and French.

Over 60% of those born in North Africa/Middle East, Africa or the United Kingdom spoke English at home. The Fiji-born were most likely (four out of five) to speak an Indian language at home.

As pointed out by Jones (2000, pp. 32–33), the predominant religions in India are Hinduism and then Islam which together account for 94% of the population. In contrast in the 1996 census, more than half (57%) of the India-born were Christians (mostly Catholics) and 43% were non-Christians, including 29% Hindu and 9% Sikh.

Post imperial diasporas

The ancestry question also provides examples of groups who see themselves as different from others born in India or elsewhere in South Asia. According to Cohen (1997, p. 67), an imperial diaspora results after 'settlement for colonial and military purposes' by one power, and that from Europe, 'Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German, French and British colonists fanned out to most parts of the world'.

Looking at ancestry and birthplace provides evidence of the colonial past in two ways. Firstly, there are people of European ancestry living in Australia who were born in former colonies. Secondly there is a sub-group of mixed European and Asian descent, who after the end of the colonial era, opted to leave their country of birth.

Over 21,000 of persons born in South Asia (mostly in India and Sri Lanka) gave their ancestry as British, English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish. A further 2,010 persons with Portuguese ancestry and 3,803 with Dutch ancestry were born in South Asia, most of the latter in Sri Lanka.

The census enables us to study the characteristics of distinct groups of mixed European and Asian descent. Many of these will have come to Australia after their countries of birth had gained Independence. After Burma gained its Independence in 1948 the Anglo-Burmese, "the offspring of the British and their Burmese wives", according to Allmark (2001, p. 189), 'were abandoned by the British government and forced to fend for themselves as best they could. Those who were able to do so left Burma on British passports...' Although most went to the United Kingdom, some migrated to Australia after the relaxation of the White Australia policy (Allmark 2001, p. 190).

Rablot (2001, p. 694) describes the Burghers of Sri Lanka as 'an ex-colonial elite, the product of Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial rule which lasted nearly 450 years.' He says that there were approximately 11,000 Ceylon Burghers in Australia. However by 2001, only 919 people stated Burgher, and 822 stated Anglo Burmese ancestries.

Anglo Indians are descended in the male line from Europeans and in the female line from Indian women (Moore 2001, p. 436). The Anglo Indians are the largest of these groups: of the 23,121, Catholics are 37%, 6% Anglicans and 5% Other Christians. Virtually all those stating a religion are Christian and speak English at home.

Using ancestry data with birthplace data enables the discussion of waves of immigrants from the same birthplace. For example the Burghers who migrated from Sri Lanka after Independence in the 1960s met the criteria of European ancestry, appearance, and upbringing required by the White Australia policy. As this policy waned in the 1970s, Sinhalese professionals came, to be followed by Tamil refugees in the 1980s, with a probable shift back to the Sinhalese in the early 1990s. (Jones 2000, p. 1).

Armenian

Armenia was, in effect, partitioned into Turkish, Persian and Russian Armenia in 1828 but the Armenians retained their allegiance to the Catholic Armenian Church and the Armenian Orthodox Church. The traumatic events related to the Armenians in Turkey included the killing of around 300,000 Armenians, followed by the genocide of perhaps 1.5 million between 1915–1922. After these atrocities, the Armenians joined earlier communities in the Middle East, particularly in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Iran.

In 1985 there were an estimated 6.6 million Armenians worldwide, of which around 4.6 million were in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Of the two million in the rest of the world, the major concentrations outside of the Middle East were in North America, France and Argentina (see Cohen 1997, pp. 44–48).

Armenian was the reported ancestry of 14,667 persons, 32% of whom were born in Australia, 11% in Iran, 10% in Egypt, 9% in Lebanon, 7% in Turkey, and 6% in Armenia. Cohen (1997, p. 47) refers to "a confusing plethora of statistics" but shows that between 1966 and 1985, two major countries where the numbers of Armenians were in decline were Syria and Turkey (Cohen 1997, table 2.1). Yet few Armenians in Australia were born in Syria, one notable exception being the Primate of the Armenian Church in Australia and New Zealand (Jupp 2001, p. xv).

Given the nature of the Armenian diaspora, it is unsurprising that relatively few were born in Armenia. In 1996 there were only 757 of these, but 9,938 persons reported speaking Armenian, and many were multi-lingual speaking Arabic (Ata 2001, p. 172). The Armenian churches are seen as fundamental to the community. In 2001, 7,398 Armenians reported their religion as the Armenian Apostolic Church or 50% of those with an Armenian ancestry.

Jewish and Palestinian

These two ancestries have their historic homeland in Palestine. The term diaspora has often been applied to the dispersion of the Jews expelled from Palestine. Associated traumatic events were the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 586 BC by the Babylonians and the destruction of the second Temple by the Romans in 70 AD. This time span of hundreds of years can be compared with that of the Palestinians whose major traumatic event was the partition of Palestine in 1947, only decades ago. With the creation of the Jewish state of Israel, the Jews had gained a homeland, but this prompted the flight of most Palestinians (Cohen 1997, p. 28) and today more Palestinians live in exile than in historic Palestine (Kazak 2001, p. 616).

3.4 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS WITH PALESTINIAN OR JEWISH ANCESTRY BY BIRTHPLACE

	Palestinian	*Jewish*
Country/Region of Birth	%	%
Australia	30.4	28.1
New Zealand/Other Oceania	0.1	0.8
Eastern Europe	0.1	17.5
Other Europe	1.0	22.3
Israel	4.4	9.1
Gaza Strip/West Bank	16.0	–
Other North Africa/ Middle East	44.9	10.1
Asia	0.5	2.0
Americas	0.7	1.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.1	3.5
Inadequately described/Not stated	2.0	5.1
Total %	100.0	100.0
Total	**8 797**	**30 752**

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

As shown in table 3.4, Palestinians were born in a narrower range of countries than the Jews, which reflects the time span. Jewish convicts arrived with the First Fleet, and were followed by free settlers (Rutland 2001). Anti-Semitism in Europe led to successive waves of Jewish emigrants (Goldlust 2001), some of whom came to Australia. This is reflected in table 3.4 where about one in ten of those with Jewish ancestry were born in Europe. This table also shows the dispersion of Palestinians to Islamic countries in North Africa and the Middle East.

One interesting statistic is that about 70% of the economically active with Jewish ancestry were employees (wage or salary earners), compared with 84% of all Australians. Persons of Jewish, and to an even greater extent, Korean, ancestry were more likely to be working in their own businesses than other Australians.

Africans

Cohen (1997, p. 31) considers that there are many parallels between the Jewish and African diasporas, including servitude, forced migration and the development of a return movement. The last ship carrying Africans to the Americas as slaves crossed the Atlantic in 1867 (Richardson 1998). The only indicator of this earlier diaspora in the 2001 census is shown by the number identifying themselves as Afro Americans. Although slavery survived in Brazil until 1888, (Box and Day 2000, p. 743), Brazil's population is predominantly white, 'near white', or of mixed race, with the Italians and Portuguese dominating European immigration to Brazil between 1884–1954 (Box and Day 2000, p. 763). Afro Brazilians did not appear in the 2001 census responses. Of

the 4,713 giving Brazil as their birthplace in the 2001 census, 2,441 described their ancestry as Brazilian, 716 as Italian, 711 as Portuguese, 333 as German and 221 as English.

More recent dispersions from Africa are reflected in census data showing that the number of persons born in Sub-Saharan Africa rose to 141,985 in 2001 with major birthplaces including South Africa and Kenya. There were also increases in numbers from the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan). Other recent dispersions of Africans include the exodus of whites from South Africa to other English speaking countries, of which Australia is perhaps the second most important destination after the United Kingdom (see Van Rooyen 2000, p. 52; Kalule-Sabiti et al. 2003). Van Rooyen (2000, pp. 36–37) has noted that for many years, the typical emigrant from South Africa was white, educated and English-speaking. However he claims that by 1999 emigrants may be less likely to be white, and "with the language split estimated at 50/50 English Afrikaans." (Van Rooyen 2000, p. 36). The ancestry data can be used to examine the ethnic composition of South African emigrants to Australia. However Although 52,119 people gave South African their ancestry, 72% were born in Africa. Only 1,645 people gave Afrikaner as their ancestry, and of these, 31% spoke a language other than English at home. This suggests that Australia is not receiving many Afrikaners or that they are reporting themselves as South Africans.

South Africa's history of white immigration is reflected in the birthplace data. Of the 79,421 born in South Africa, 36,029 (45%) gave South African as their ancestry, and 25,605 (32%) English. The Afrikaners were outnumbered by the 2,694 Indians (3%) and the 1,838 Dutch (2%).

3.7 MEASURING DIASPORAS

In view of the lack of consensus about the definition of a diaspora, it is perhaps unsurprising that measurement has received very little attention (see Lucas 2002). One statistic that does appear, is the total number of people considered as a member of that diaspora worldwide, sometimes broken down into destination region or country. Australia has one of the highest percentages of immigrants in the world but in terms of numbers, however, the top position in 1993 was claimed by the United States of America with almost 20 million which exceeded Australia's total population (ABS Social Trends 1997). One of the more popular statistics is the number of members in the diaspora resident throughout the world and in different countries or regions.

The 2001 Australian ancestry data enables the verification of the Australian component of a diaspora, and can provide a warning of the limitations of birthplace data. For instance, the census enumerated about 95,000 persons born in India, of whom 66,081 or 69% gave their ancestry as Indian. To these might be added 1,104 Punjabis and 371 Sikhs born in India giving 71%. Amongst the remainder 19,583 or just under one-fifth gave their ancestry as British, English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish. At the same time, many persons with Indian ancestry were born elsewhere.

As noted above, an estimated 20 million persons of Indian ancestry live in countries other than India. Assuming India's population is one billion this would give a ratio of two Indians overseas to every 100 in India. Regardless of how the Australian component is calculated it would thus be very small. Similarly, the number of persons of Indian descent living in Australia is less than 1% of the number living outside India.

In contrast, the ancestry question shows a rise in the number with Tongan ancestry, this rose from 6,230 in 1986 to 14,899 in 2001. Largely because of emigration, the population of Tonga itself has not grown much in recent years and is around 100,000. There are about 15 Tongans in Australia for every 100 in Tonga, so that the number in Australia forms an important component of the Tongan dispersion.

CHAPTER 4 ANCESTRY AND FAMILIES

This chapter examines patterns of intermarriage by comparing the ancestry of spouses in couple families. Patterns of intermarriage are examined for the first, second and third or more generations for the larger ancestry groups. The ancestry of the youngest child living in the household is also compared with the ancestries of the parents to investigate consistency in ancestry reporting of parents and children and how parents report their children's ancestry in families where parents are of different ancestries.

4.1 EXAMINING INTERMARRIAGE FROM CENSUS DATA ON ANCESTRY

Ethnic intermarriage is examined according to the ancestry of spouses in couple families where both spouses were present in the household on census night. Couple families include couples who are married as well as couples in de facto relationships. The analysis is based on persons reporting only one ancestry.

The 2001 census did not collect information on timing of marriage or start of a de facto relationship. Therefore it was not possible to determine for couples where at least one partner was born overseas whether they had married before or after arriving in Australia or whether their migration was related to their marriage. It is therefore not possible to say whether a high rate of in-group marriage among the first generation is related to a high propensity for family units to migrate or a low propensity for immigrants to intermarry. Intermarriage is a better indicator of integration for the second, third and later generations who are born in Australia.

4.2 INTERMARRIAGE: PATTERNS BY ORIGIN AND GENERATION

Analyses of marriage statistics by birthplace of the bride and groom and their parents have indicated that intermarriage rates vary considerably by origin and that the second generation has higher rates of intermarriage than the first (Price 1993; 1994). Within some national origin groups, intermarriage rates also vary by gender. Among people from some countries or regions, males are significantly more likely to marry outside the ethnic or national group than females (Penny and Khoo 1996). The reverse pattern is observed for people from other countries or regions. The 2001 census ancestry data confirm these patterns. It is also possible with these data to examine for the first time, intermarriage by ancestry in the third or more generation in comparison with the first and second generations.

Table 4.1 shows the percentage of men and women by ancestry and generation, whose spouse is of a different ancestry. A high percentage indicates a high propensity to partner a person of a different ancestry.

There is considerable variation in the intermarriage indicator by ancestry. In the first generation, the proportion of men with spouses of a different ancestry ranges from 82% for Americans to 8% for Koreans. For women, the range is from 85% for Thais to 9% for Macedonians. In the second generation, the range is even larger: from 97% of men and 96% of women of American ancestry to 7% of men of Korean and 13% of women of Vietnamese ancestry. By the third generation, it was the men and women with English ancestry who had the lowest proportion with a spouse of a different ancestry. Only one in four men and women of the third or more generation of English ancestry had a spouse of a different ancestry. Among the third or more generation of other ancestries at least two-thirds had spouses of a different ancestry.

4.1 PERCENTAGE OF INDIVIDUALS WITH SPOUSE OF A DIFFERENT ANCESTRY(a), BY SEX AND GENERATION

	1st generation		2nd generation		3rd generation		Total	
Ancestry	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
English	47.1	42.5	49.8	48.4	27.0	26.5	36.8	34.5
Irish	68.4	64.2	85.6	83.8	73.5	69.6	73.3	69.7
Scottish	68.9	63.4	91.9	89.6	86.2	81.2	78.8	74.0
Welsh	75.6	70.0	96.4	95.5	96.6	94.4	82.9	78.3
Macedonian	11.1	8.7	40.4	33.8	*	54.2	16.6	14.7
Greek	15.7	11.4	42.3	34.5	73.9	67.6	26.2	21.9
Serbian	32.3	22.7	73.4	67.4	95.2	89.6	39.4	32.1
Croatian	30.0	23.1	63.7	59.9	84.2	77.7	37.9	33.7
Italian	26.6	14.9	57.4	47.4	82.5	77.8	41.0	32.7
Maltese	38.6	32.0	71.2	67.6	82.5	80.1	52.2	48.7
Spanish	41.8	42.6	79.2	77.6	99.1	98.0	48.1	48.8
Polish	40.9	38.1	82.9	80.6	94.9	93.9	53.8	51.9
Hungarian	52.6	40.0	87.2	85.6	*	94.7	60.6	53.1
Russian	35.3	45.1	76.9	74.8	94.2	91.7	47.0	52.8
Dutch	67.4	59.8	91.3	90.3	94.5	93.9	75.9	72.6
French	67.0	65.3	91.3	90.6	98.2	97.7	74.8	72.5
German	65.3	61.0	90.5	90.6	77.5	73.7	74.5	71.5
Turkish	16.1	9.7	27.1	17.8	*	*	17.2	10.9
Lebanese	15.4	11.6	38.1	26.0	75.7	65.6	20.9	16.4
Armenian	26.7	18.8	46.5	37.2	*	*	28.2	20.7
Egyptian	30.8	19.2	67.3	60.3	*	*	33.9	24.1
Vietnamese	9.6	13.5	9.5	12.8	*	*	9.6	13.5
Khmer	10.8	17.4	*	*	*	*	10.7	17.6
Korean	7.6	18.5	6.6	23.0	*	*	7.6	18.6
Indian	17.2	18.6	45.6	51.1	83.9	75.2	18.5	20.2
Sinhalese	19.5	18.1	68.2	67.5	*	*	21.7	20.7
Chinese	9.5	18.2	30.5	38.8	76.4	75.9	11.3	19.7
Lao	21.3	28.0	*	*	*	*	21.9	27.8
Indonesian	32.1	56.6	54.8	65.6	*	*	33.5	57.0
Filipino	11.0	62.1	21.9	59.7	*	*	11.6	62.0
Japanese	24.2	64.9	*	87.6	*	*	26.0	65.3
Thai	31.7	84.5	*	*	*	*	33.1	84.6
South African	37.7	42.3	76.8	79.1	*	*	39.6	44.0
Other Sub-Saharan African	43.8	42.4	76.7	76.4	*	*	46.7	45.7
Maori	64.3	60.8	84.7	83.8	93.0	94.2	65.4	62.3
New Zealander	73.4	73.1	94.0	92.9	96.5	94.4	75.2	74.7
American	82.3	81.8	96.9	96.4	98.2	95.3	83.7	83.0

(a) Based on sole ancestry response.
* Less than 100 persons.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Intermarriage rates based on marriage statistics have shown that men and women born in America and women born in Thailand have a high rate of intermarriage with persons born in Australia (Penny and Khoo 1996). The rate of intermarriage with Australian-born persons has also been high for migrants from Western European countries such as the Netherlands, France and Germany (Price 1987). This is confirmed by the relatively high proportion of the

first generation of Dutch, French or German origin who had spouses of a different ancestry compared with the first generation of Southern or Eastern European origins. The low proportion of couples with spouses of a different ancestry among the first generation of Middle Eastern, Asian and some of the Southern European origins partly reflects the migration of family units from these regions.

As expected, for most ancestry groups, the likelihood of intermarriage increases from the first to the second generation and from the second to the third or more generation. The exceptions were persons of Anglo-Celtic ancestries. For the men and women of English, Irish or Scottish ancestries, there was an increase in marrying outside the ancestry group from the first to the second generation, but the third or more generation actually had a lower proportion with spouses of a different ancestry than the second generation. Among persons of Welsh ancestry, there was no difference between the second and third or more generations; the proportion with spouses of a different ancestry was similarly high in both groups.

The increase in intermarriage from the first to the second generation and from the second to the third or more generation is quite striking for most of the groups of non-English-speaking origins. For example, while 10%–20% of the first generation of Greek origin had spouses of a different ancestry, 35%–45% of the second generation partnered a person of different ancestry, and the proportion among the third or more generation increased further to about 70%. Similarly for the Lebanese, the proportion marrying outside the ethnic group increased from 15% for men and 12% for women of the first generation to 38% for men and 26% for women of the second generation to 76% for men and 67% for women of the third or more generation. For persons of Italian ancestry, the proportion marrying outside the ancestry group increased from between 15%–30% in the first generation to 45%–60% in the second generation to 75%–85% in the third or more generation.

Men and women of Eastern European ancestries such as Polish, Hungarian and Russian, had a higher proportion with spouses of a different ancestry in the first generation compared with persons of Southern European or Middle Eastern origins. About 40%–50% of the first generation had spouses of a different ancestry. By the third or more generation, more than 90% had spouses of a different ancestry.

The two Asian ancestry groups that have a sufficiently large third or more generation also show the same sharp rise in ethnic intermarriage. While less than 20% of the first generation of Chinese or Indian origin had a spouse of a different ancestry, this had increased to 30%–60% of the second generation and to more than 75% in the third or more generation.

Because of their relatively recent migration, the other Asian ancestry groups do not have a third generation yet; even the second generation is mostly still young. For the small number of second generation that has married, the likelihood of intermarriage varies considerably by origin. The second generation of Vietnamese origin, like the first generation, has a low percentage intermarrying, with only 10% of men and 13% of women having a spouse of a different ancestry. A large proportion of the second generation of Vietnamese origin is still not married so these figures may change later. The second generation of Korean origin also has a low rate of intermarriage, with 7% of the men and 23% of the women having a spouse of a different ancestry. In contrast, the second generation of Sinhalese, Japanese or Indonesian origin is more likely to marry someone from another ethnic group. Two-thirds of the second generation of Sinhalese origin had spouses of a different ethnic origin compared with about 20% of the first generation.

Among the overseas-born of Filipino, Japanese or Thai ancestry, a low proportion of the men have spouses of a different ancestry, but this is not so of the women. Sixty-two per cent of Filipino women, 65% of Japanese women and 85% of Thai women had spouses of a different ancestry. Many Filipino women migrate to Australia to marry non-Filipino men (Cooke, 1986; Cahill 1990; Smith and Kaminskas 1992) and an analysis of marriage statistics has shown that Thai and Japanese women have a higher rate of intermarriage with Australian-born men than their male counterparts with Australian-born women (Penny and Khoo 1996).

Among the Asian origin groups, women are more likely than men to marry outside the ethnic group. This is not so among people of most European or Middle Eastern origins. As shown in table 4.1, men of Greek, Italian, Lebanese or Turkish origin are more likely than their female counterparts to marry outside the ethnic group. The Asian pattern reflects the cultural attitude in many Asian societies that women leave their families when they marry whereas men continue the ancestral line, underscoring the importance that they marry within the ancestry group. In Middle Eastern and Southern European societies,

women are more protected within the family while men have more freedom to mix outside the community group; consequently men are more likely to meet a partner outside the ethnic group (Penny and Khoo 1996).

Among the European ancestry groups, the first generation of Russian ancestry shows a pattern that is similar to that of the Asian ancestry groups, with a higher proportion of women than men marrying outside the group. This is likely to be related to the recent migration of Russian women for marriage with Australian men.

4.3 INTERMARRIAGE WITH PERSONS OF AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY

Marriage between persons of a particular ethnic origin and persons stating Australian ancestry may be considered an indicator of the social interaction between the ethnic community and mainstream Australian society. Table 4.2 shows the percentage of men and women of selected ancestry groups and by generation who have a spouse of Australian ancestry.

As befits the geographic proximity of Australia and New Zealand and the freedom of movement across the Tasman Sea for Australian and New Zealand citizens, persons stating New Zealander ancestry are the most likely to have a spouse of Australian ancestry. One in three people of New Zealander ancestry had a spouse of Australian ancestry. After the New Zealanders, the Americans had the second highest proportion with an Australian spouse, followed by the Dutch.

Men and women of Anglo-Celtic and Northwestern European ancestries were more likely than those of Southern and Eastern European ancestries to have spouses of Australian ancestry. In most of the Southern European groups, less than 10% were married to persons of Australian ancestry. In all the Middle Eastern and most of the Asian ancestry groups less than 10% had spouses who were of Australian ancestry. The exceptions were women of Thai, Filipino, Japanese or Indonesian origin, of whom 10%–20% had a spouse of Australian ancestry.

4.2 INTERMARRIAGE WITH PERSONS OF AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY(a), BY ANCESTRY AND GENERATION

	1st generation		*2nd generation*		*3rd generation*		*Total*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Ancestry	*% with spouse of Australian ancestry*							
English	17.7	8.2	19.9	17.9	1.9	1.8	9.6	8.2
Irish	15.7	7.9	22.3	19.8	4.9	4.3	9.2	7.9
Welsh	19.9	15.0	29.0	27.6	7.1	7.4	18.2	15.0
Scottish	20.1	15.8	28.7	26.0	7.2	7.4	17.5	15.8
Macedonian	1.1	1.4	6.8	4.0	*	*	2.2	1.4
Greek	2.5	2.6	7.5	4.5	14.1	11.5	4.5	2.6
Croatian	4.0	4.3	12.4	10.2	16.3	12.1	6.0	4.3
Serbian	3.9	4.6	17.0	12.0	19.5	17.4	6.1	4.6
Spanish	5.1	5.4	14.2	11.0	8.7	12.4	6.2	5.4
Italian	5.2	5.4	12.9	8.4	16.9	12.9	8.7	5.4
Russian	5.2	7.4	17.5	14.7	11.7	12.1	8.2	7.4
Hungarian	9.3	9.3	21.8	18.8	*	21.2	12.2	9.3
Polish	7.6	9.8	21.5	18.7	13.3	15.7	11.5	9.8
Maltese	10.4	10.1	17.7	14.6	19.5	16.0	13.4	10.1
French	11.4	10.5	19.9	18.4	9.1	6.9	11.7	10.5
German	13.9	11.0	25.2	22.6	7.5	6.0	13.2	11.0
Dutch	20.4	19.3	29.2	25.8	19.0	18.0	23.3	19.3
Turkish	1.8	0.8	3.5	1.4	*	*	2.0	0.8
Lebanese	2.0	1.7	7.1	3.4	15.7	10.7	3.2	1.7
Armenian	2.7	2.2	7.4	4.4	*	*	3.1	2.2
Egyptian	3.7	2.7	9.2	7.3	*	*	4.2	2.7
Vietnamese	0.4	1.2	0.8	1.6	*	*	0.4	1.2
Khmer	0.5	1.5	*	*	*	*	0.5	1.5
Lao	0.7	2.1	*	*	*	*	0.8	2.1
Korean	0.3	2.2	0.3	3.0	*	*	0.3	2.2
Indian	2.7	3.4	12.1	11.9	19.6	12.1	3.1	3.4
Chinese	1.0	3.0	7.3	8.8	18.1	16.0	1.5	3.0
Sinhalese	3.4	3.7	19.4	17.2	*	*	4.1	3.7
Indonesian	6.8	12.0	8.9	11.8	*	*	6.8	12.0
Japanese	3.9	13.6	*	14.2	*	*	4.4	13.6
Filipino	1.5	15.7	3.7	14.8	*	*	1.6	15.7
Thai	2.4	18.9	*	*	*	*	2.3	18.9
Other Sub-Saharan African	8.3	8.7	16.3	17.7	*	*	9.0	8.7
South African	9.0	9.1	19.0	23.1	*	*	9.5	9.1
Maori	16.1	15.2	24.5	23.4	14.1	28.3	16.3	15.2
American	31.9	31.8	32.0	28.7	13.6	17.1	31.3	31.8
New Zealander	33.3	33.0	37.0	32.8	15.8	20.2	33.4	33.0
Total(b)	**10.5**	**9.3**	**24.1**	**21.8**	**33.6**	**32.5**	**24.9**	**23.9**

(a) Based on sole ancestry response.

(b) Includes other ancestries not specified above.

* Less than 100 people.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Studies of intermarriage of migrants with persons born in Australia have shown that migrants born in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, United States of America, and Western European countries such as Netherlands and Germany are more likely to be married to Australian-born persons than migrants from the Southern and Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Asian countries (Price, 1993; Penny and Khoo 1996). They have also shown that women born in the Philippines, Thailand and Japan have a higher rate of intermarriage with Australian-born men than men born in these countries with Australian-born women.

Among men and women of most non-English-speaking origins, the proportion with Australian spouses increases from the first to the second generation and from the second to the third or more generation, illustrating a process of increasing integration and interaction between the second and third or more generations and Australian society. More than 10% of the third or more generation of Greek ancestry who were partnered had a spouse of Australian ancestry compared with 4%–8% of the second generation and 3% of the first generation. A similar pattern was observed for partnered men and women of Italian, Croatian, Serbian, Lebanese, Chinese or Indian ancestries.

These patterns show that the process of intermixing varies by ethnic origin, with some ancestry groups more likely than others to marry or form de facto relationships with persons outside the group. However, among persons of all ancestries, there is a clear trend of increasing likelihood of intermarriage from the first to the second generation and from the second to the third and later generations.

4.4 IN-GROUP MARRIAGES IN THE SECOND GENERATION

Table 4.1 shows that the second generation of some ancestry groups still tends to marry within the community and have relatively low proportions with spouses of a different origin. For example, less than 50% of men and women of Greek, Macedonian, Armenian, Lebanese, Turkish, Chinese and Korean origins are married to people of a different ancestry. Within-group marriage still seems to be the choice of the majority, and there have been suggestions that some members of the second generation have even looked to their parents' homeland to find marriage partners (Birrell 1995). A recent study indicates that second generation women of Middle Eastern origins may be particularly likely to sponsor marriage partners from the parents' country of origin (Khoo 2001).

It is possible with the census ancestry data to examine whether the second generation who have married within the ethnic group have married someone who has migrated from overseas (first generation), or someone who is also of the second generation.

Table 4.3 shows the second generation of Southern European, Middle Eastern and Asian ancestries who have married within the group by whether their spouse is of the first or second generation. Among the ancestry groups shown, the second generation of Turkish origin was the most likely to marry a person of the same origin who was first generation. Nearly half of all the women and 30% of the men had married a person of the same ancestry who was overseas-born. The next most likely were the men and women of Lebanese origin, with 22% and 43% respectively. The proportion who married another member of the second generation of the same ancestry was similar for both the Turkish and Lebanese second generation. In both groups the proportion was higher for men than for women. This is in contrast to the proportion married to the first generation, which was higher for women than for men in both groups. Indeed, the proportion of women with a husband who was first generation was higher than the proportion with a husband who was also second generation. These patterns indicate that second generation women of Middle Eastern origins are more likely to look to the parental homeland for marriage partners than their male counterparts who are more likely to find marriage partners from within the second generation in Australia.

4.3 SECOND GENERATION MEN AND WOMEN WITH SPOUSE OF THE SAME ANCESTRY

		Generation of spouse		
Ancestry		*1st*	*2nd*	*Total with same ancestry spouse*
		%	*%*	*%*
Greek	Males	7.5	49.3	56.8
	Females	18.7	46.2	64.9
Italian	Males	5.8	36.1	41.9
	Females	17.0	35.1	52.1
Macedonian	Males	12.6	46.7	59.3
	Females	28.4	37.7	66.1
Lebanese	Males	22.1	39.0	61.1
	Females	42.7	30.8	73.5
Turkish	Males	30.2	42.7	72.9
	Females	48.2	33.7	81.9
Armenian	Males	12.4	41.1	53.5
	Females	26.6	36.2	62.8
Vietnamese	Males	6.1	84.0	90.1
	Females	18.7	68.6	87.3
Filipino	Males	6.7	70.8	77.5
	Females	6.7	33.3	40.0
Chinese	Males	23.8	44.2	68.0
	Females	18.5	41.3	59.8
Korean	Males	12.3	81.1	93.4
	Females	17.0	60.0	77.0
Indian	Males	19.5	34.6	54.1
	Females	18.3	29.5	47.8

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Just under half of all second generation men and women of Greek ancestry married another person who is also second generation of Greek ancestry while one-third of second generation men and women of Italian ancestry married a person of the same generation and origin. There was not much difference between men and women from each of these ancestry groups who were married to spouses who were also second generation, but there was a noticeable difference between the sexes in the proportion whose spouse was first generation. As in the Lebanese and Turkish ancestry groups, the proportion with a spouse of the first generation was higher for women than men.

The figures for the second generation of Macedonian or Armenian background also show a similar pattern. However, a higher proportion had spouses who were of the first generation, indicating a greater tendency among these two groups, compared to the Greeks or Italians (but not as high as the Turkish or Lebanese) to seek spouses from the parental homeland.

Five Asian ancestry groups are shown in table 4.3. Among the second generation of Vietnamese and Korean ancestries, there is a high propensity to seek marriage partners from within the second generation. This is also observed in Filipino males but less likely in Filipino females who are more likely to marry outside the ethnic group. Among the Vietnamese and Koreans, there is also a greater tendency for women to have overseas-born partners than for men to do so.

The proportion of the second generation of Chinese or Indian ancestry marrying within the second generation is only half that observed in the Vietnamese and Korean second generation. Another difference between these two groups and the Vietnamese and Koreans is that the proportion with an overseas-born partner was higher for males than for females.

The relatively high rates of in-group marriage in the second generation in these ethnic groups, and their distinctive regional patterns in relation to gender differences in partnering, point to an endurance of culture and gender roles in the second generation in these groups. However, as table 4.1 shows, for those groups which are now into their third or more generation, culture and gender roles appear to have much less influence, as the vast majority of the third or more generation, both men and women, have married outside the ethnic group.

4.5 ANCESTRY OF SPOUSES IN COUPLE FAMILIES

Couples where both spouses were of Australian ancestry, were the largest group at 17% of all couple families. There were half a million couple families (14%), where both spouses had English ancestry (table 4.4). The third largest group comprised families of Italian origin (close to 100,000 couples or 2.3% of all couple families) followed by families of Chinese ancestry (close to 90,000 couples or 2.1% of all couple families), Greek ancestry (about 60,000) and Irish ancestry (34,000).

4.4 COUPLES WITH SPOUSES OF THE SAME ANCESTRY, MAJOR ANCESTRY GROUPS

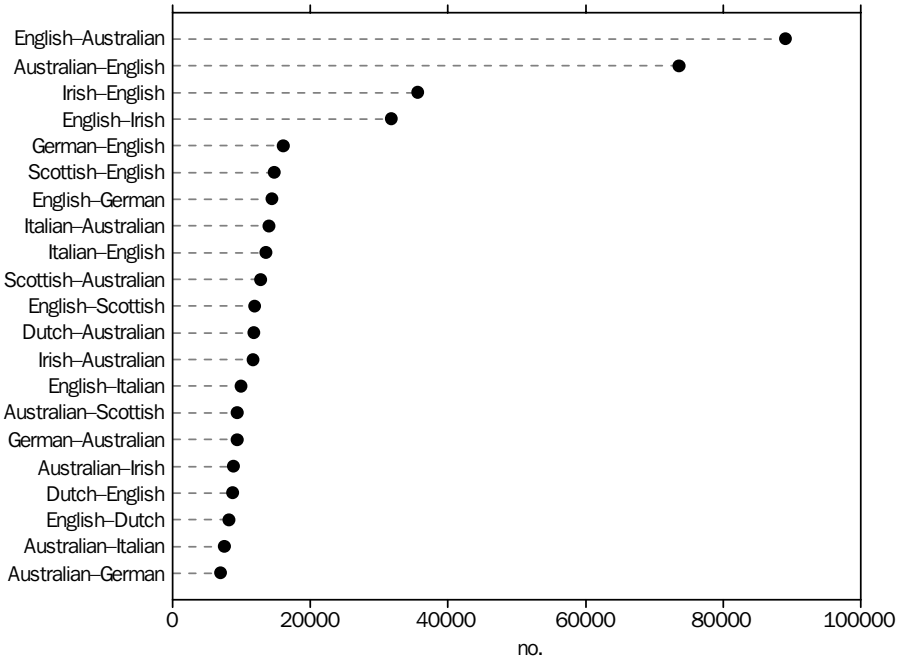
Ancestry of spouses	*Number of couples*	*% of all couples*
Australian	692 364	16.9
English	586 307	14.4
Italian	94 872	2.3
Chinese	87 082	2.1
Greek	60 884	1.5
Irish	34 100	0.8
Indian	25 733	0.6
Vietnamese	25 023	0.6
Lebanese	24 829	0.6
German	18 175	0.4

Note: Includes couples stating only one ancestry.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Among couples with spouses of a different ancestry, the most common ancestry combination was English-Australian (graph 4.5). The next most common combination was Irish-English. There was much intermarriage between men and women of English, Scottish or Irish backgrounds and between people of English, Scottish or Irish ancestry and people stating Australian ancestry. There were also relatively large numbers of couples where one spouse was English and the other was of Dutch or German origin.

The ancestry of spouses shows that most couple families comprise partners who are of the same ethnic origin. Where the spouses are of different ancestries, the most common combinations are British or other Western European ancestries. Couple families in which one spouse has Australian or European ancestry and the other has a non-European ancestry are a very small minority, and couple families where the spouses have different non-European origins are even less common. This may be related to the recency of non-European migration to Australia. It is possible that with a longer period of residence there will be more social interaction between people of different ethnic origins and more intermarriage between people of different ethnic backgrounds.

4.5 MOST COMMON SOLE ANCESTRY COMBINATIONS OF SPOUSES IN COUPLE FAMILIES



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

4.6 ANCESTRY OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

One would expect that the ancestry of children would be the same as the ancestry of their parents where the parents have the same ancestry, or the combination of their parents' ancestries, if the parents have different ancestries. An evaluation of how parents reported the ancestry of their children in the 1986 census showed that the level of consistency was very high (more than 90%) when both parents were of the same ancestry (Khoo 1991). However, when parents were of different ancestries, the children's ancestry was often simplified to a single ancestry and when parents were of different or multiple British ancestries, there was a tendency to report the children's ancestry as 'Australian'. There was therefore less consistency between parents' and children's ancestry in families of mixed origins.

The current analysis compares the ancestry of parents with that of the youngest child living in the same household for all couple families with dependent children (those under age 15 years or aged 15–24 years in full-time education). The analysis is based on families where the parents state only one ancestry. The data again show that there is a very high correlation between parents' and children's ancestry when parents have the same ancestry. It is a less simple situation when parents have different ancestries.

Table 4.6 examines the children's ancestry for some selected combinations of parents' ancestry including some of the more common combinations. Where two ancestries were stated for children, both were included in calculating the percentage of children with the same ancestry as their father or mother. Also shown in the table is the proportion of children with multiple ancestries. Theoretically all children should have a combination of their parents' ancestries.

4.6 ANCESTRY OF THE YOUNGEST CHILD IN FAMILIES WHERE PARENTS HAVE DIFFERENT ANCESTRIES(a)

	Ancestry of child			
Ancestry of father, ancestry of mother	*% same as father*	*% same as mother*	*% children with 2+ ancestries*	*Number of families*
Australian, English	88.6	39.0	31.3	40 332
English, Australian	32.3	92.7	28.3	46 589
Irish, English	39.1	53.4	32.4	15 690
English, Irish	55.2	40.4	34.8	13 316
German, English	37.6	57.0	34.4	7 515
English, German	57.0	39.2	36.1	6 579
Italian, English	53.0	68.0	49.6	8 245
English, Italian	67.4	52.3	48.6	5 911
Irish, Australian	30.8	89.0	26.4	6 318
Australian, Irish	85.6	34.7	28.0	4 986
Scottish, English	30.9	55.7	29.6	6 493
English, Scottish	55.4	33.6	32.0	4 915
Dutch, English	37.5	65.9	40.0	4 747
English, Dutch	61.7	39.1	41.3	4 633
Italian, Irish	61.8	54.1	55.8	1 687
Irish, Italian	51.0	57.4	52.5	1 447
Greek, Italian	75.0	75.2	73.9	1 619
Italian, Greek	75.5	57.4	73.7	1 624
Chinese, Vietnamese	74.5	44.2	27.9	1 010
Vietnamese. Chinese	69.2	47.5	30.7	783

(a) Families where parents state only one ancestry.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

A number of features can be observed in relation to families of Australian, Anglo-Celtic or Western European origins, which are the most common combinations:

- When one parent had Australian ancestry, most parents tended to simplify their children's ancestry to 'Australian'. This is illustrated by families where one parent was Australian and the other was English or Irish. More than 85% of the children had Australian ancestry and less than 40% had English or Irish ancestry. Also, only one ancestry was stated for the majority of children.

- When one parent had English ancestry and the other parent's ancestry was not Australian, the children were more likely to have English ancestry than the other ancestry. This most likely is related to the fact that English was top of the list with option boxes on the census form.
- There was no apparent patrilineal or matrilineal pattern in ascribing children's ancestry where parents were of Australian, Anglo-Celtic or other European ancestries.

A different pattern was observed in families that are not of Western European origins. Children are more likely to have mixed ancestries when one or both parents are of Southern European origin. Around 50% of children in families where one parent was Italian and the other was English or Irish had mixed ancestries. The proportion was even higher, at 74%, in families where one parent had Italian ancestry and the other parent had Greek ancestry. There also does not appear to be a preference for one ancestry over the other, with mostly 74% of the children reported as having Italian or Greek ancestry.

In the one example where parents were of different Asian ancestries, there was a clear indication of a patrilineal effect, with 70% of the children having their father's ancestry and about 45% having their mother's ancestry. The parents were less likely to report the children as having mixed ancestries, with only one-third of all children having multiple ancestries.

Table 4.7 examines the ancestry of children in families where one parent is of Australian ancestry and the other parent is not. In families where one parent is Australian and the other is 'Other Australian Peoples', which include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, there is a stronger inclination to identify the children's ancestry as 'Other Australian People' than as 'Australian'. In other families where one parent is Australian, there was a greater likelihood of ascribing 'Australian' ancestry rather than the ancestry of the other parent to the children. 'Australian' ancestry was reported for at least 80% of the children, regardless of whether it was the father or the mother who was Australian. The other parent's ancestry was stated less than 50% of the time, except in families where one parent was of Asian ancestry, when it was more likely to be reported together with Australian ancestry. A study in the United States of America has shown that second generation children with a native-born American parent were more likely to identify themselves as American (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

4.7 ANCESTRY OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES WHERE ONE PARENT'S ANCESTRY IS AUSTRALIAN(a)

	Ancestry of youngest child			
Ancestry of father, ancestry of mother	*% same as father's*	*% same as mother's*	*% with 2+ ancestries*	*Number of families*
Australian, Other Aust. People	28.2	70.4	14.1	213
Other Aust. People, Australian	56.1	56.1	21.5	214
Australian. New Zealander	89.6	29.7	24.7	3 099
New Zealander, Australian	27.3	92.6	25.4	3 064
Australian Scottish	87.3	32.8	27.5	5 069
Scotish, Australian	28.1	91.0	24.9	6 653
Australian, Dutch	89.3	33.3	28.5	5 415
Dutch, Australian	32.2	92.2	28.9	6 909
Australian. German	88.2	35.1	30.3	3 975
German, Australian	30.0	92.9	27.3	5 262
Australian, Italian	89.9	41.0	35.9	5 003
Italian, Australian	41.1	93.0	38.1	9 217
Australian, Maltese	89.0	33.5	28.4	1 822
Maltese, Australian	31.7	91.9	28.5	2 612
Australian, Croatian	85.1	38.7	33.2	576
Croatian, Australian	35.5	91.4	33.1	875
Australian, Greek	86.1	48.7	40.8	1 312
Greek, Australian	49.7	90.6	44.5	2 383
Australian, Macedonian	81.9	38.4	27.7	177
Macedonian, Australian	42.0	88.3	38.2	343
Australian, Serbian	85.2	27.6	21.9	526
Serbian, Australian	28.8	91.4	26.3	775
Australian, Polish	90.3	28.6	24.8	1 397
Polish, Australian	25.1	93.1	23.1	1 817
Australian, Russian	79.8	39.2	26.2	347
Russian, Australian	25.5	92.9	23.4	368
Australian, Lebanese	86.6	32.9	26.4	307
Lebanese, Australian	38.6	91.3	35.4	690
Australian, Turkish	86.4	54.2	45.8	59
Turkish, Australian	43.7	83.4	40.4	151
Australian, Vietnamese	74.7	57.3	46.6	178
Vietnamese, Australian	62.1	86.4	62.1	66
Australian, Filipino	84.0	45.2	35.4	3 707
Filipino, Australian	60.8	92.2	58.2	153
Australian, Chinese	85.3	55.3	47.9	1 811
Chinese, Australian	55.9	90.4	51.6	946
Australian, Indian	86.7	37.4	32.9	708
Indian, Australian	42.9	91.3	41.9	611

(a) Families where parents state only one ancestry.
Note: Excluding no matches and multiple matches.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

In the families shown in table 4.8, only a minority of children had more than one ancestry, when all should have both their parents' ancestries. There was slightly stronger inclination among Australian-Asian families to recognise their children's mixed ethnic origins. Children in families where one parent was of Asian origin were more likely to have more than one ancestry, even though 30%–40% of the children still had only one ancestry.

It is clear from tables 4.7 and 4.8 that when parents have different ancestries, they do not always report their children as having both their ancestries. Instead there is a tendency to simplify their children's ancestry to just one. This single ancestry could be Australian, if one parent has Australian ancestry, or it could be one of the ancestries provided on the census form, or the father's ancestry. The tendency towards simplification of children's ancestry to a single response, which can occur in 60% of families of some mixed origins, would have resulted in understatement of many ancestries. The situation is similar to that relating to the ancestry data from the 1986 census (ABS 1990, p. 13). The conclusion is that people's response to the ancestry question is not based objectively on their knowledge of their own or their children's ancestry. There appears to be a preference for or identification with a particular ancestry as well as a tendency to simplify mixed or multiple ancestries to a single ancestry.

CHAPTER 5 AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY

The 1986 Population Census Ethnicity Committee raised the issue of whether 'conceptually, there is such a thing as Australian ancestry, and if there is, what is it?' (ABS 1984, p. 5). The issue arose in the Committee's discussion of the two approaches it was considering to asking people about their ethnicity in the census: a self-perceived group identification approach or an ancestry/origin approach. The Committee wrote that with an ancestry/origin approach, "the conceptual acceptability of Australian ethnicity must be questionable. In theory, only persons of Aboriginal descent have Australian ancestry" (ABS 1984, p. 5). However, with a self-perceived group identification approach, Australian ethnicity would be acceptable since any person could identify as belonging to an Australian ethnic group, regardless of origin. Although the Committee eventually recommended that an ancestry question be included in the 1986 census, they allowed Australian ancestry to be accepted as a valid response, mainly in recognition that people might be inclined to state 'Australian' as part of a multiple or hyphenated response, such as 'Greek-Australian', because government policy on multiculturalism might encourage people to "foster feelings of being Australian yet retaining a distinct ethnic identity" (ABS 1990, p. 6).

In tests of the ancestry question before the 1986 census, three main reasons were given by people who responded as having Australian ancestry:

1. They had a long family history in Australia (of at least three generations) and felt this was sufficient grounds for claiming Australian ancestry.
2. A feeling of 'being Australian' among some adult persons with overseas-born parents.
3. A feeling among a small proportion of overseas-born persons that their children born in Australia were 'Australian' (ABS 1990, p. 26).

In the 1986 census, one in five people reported their ancestry as 'Australian'. There was an inverse relation between Australian ancestry and age. 30% of children under age five years were reported as having Australian ancestry compared with 15% among people over age 65 years (ABS 1990, p. 14).

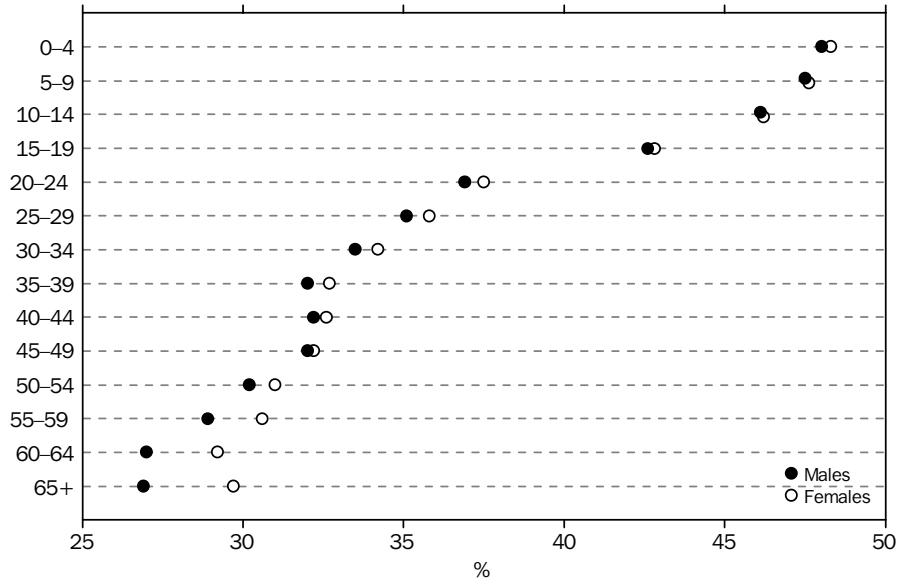
Ninety-nine per cent of the people with Australian ancestry were born in Australia and only 1% were born overseas (ABS 1990: p. 16).

5.1 AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY IN 2001

In 2001, 6.7 million people were coded as having an 'Australian' ancestry. This proportion increased to 36% in 2001 from 22% in the 1986 census. As noted in Chapter 1, 'Australian' was among the examples given on the 2001 census form, but not on the 1986 census form. 'Australian' was also one of the categories provided with an option box, and that could be one of the reasons for the increase in the number of people responding as 'Australian' in 2001.

As in the 1986 census, there was an inverse relation between Australian ancestry and age in 2001. Close to half of all children under age five years had Australian ancestry compared with about 30% of persons aged 65 years and over (graph 5.1). Between 1986 and 2001, the proportion of people stating Australian ancestry increased in all age groups.

5.1 PERCENTAGE RESPONDING AS 'AUSTRALIAN' BY AGE AND SEX, 2001



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

As shown in table 5.2, 83% of all those who responded as 'Australian' were people born in Australia and whose parents were also born in Australia, that is they were at least third or more generation Australians. About 15% were second generation and only 1% were first generation or overseas-born, which was the same as in the 1986 census. People who stated 'Australian' as their only ancestry were overwhelmingly third or more generations (92%). However, among

people who stated Australian ancestry as part of a hyphenated response, 58% were third or more generation, 39% were second generation and 4% were first generation.

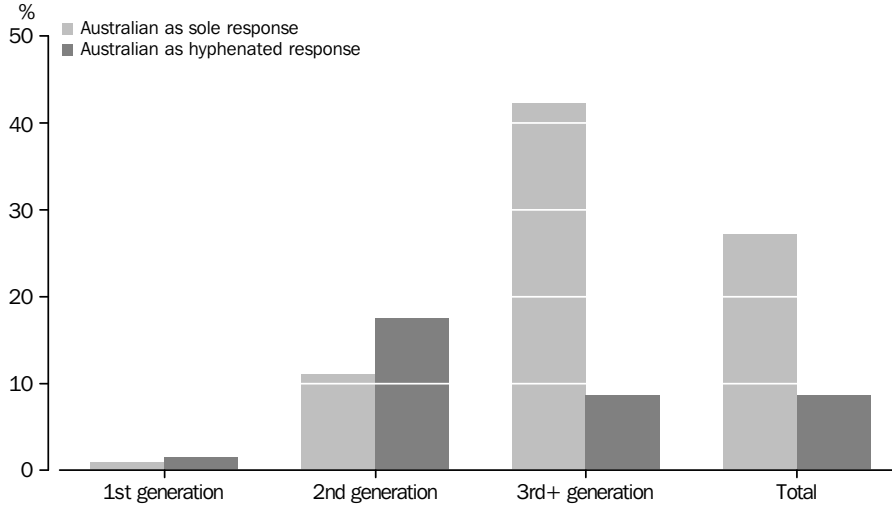
5.2 AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY GENERATION

	'Australian' as sole response		*'Australian' as hyphenated response*		*Total identifying as 'Australian'*	
Generation	*no.*	*%*	*no.*	*%*	*no.*	*%*
1st	35 406	0.7	58 168	3.6	93 574	1.4
2nd	400 836	7.9	633 681	38.7	1 034 517	15.3
3rd+	4 666 757	91.5	944 744	57.7	5 611 501	83.3
Total	**5 102 999**	**100.0**	**1 636 593**	**100.0**	**6 739 592**	**100.0**

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Graph 5.3 shows the percentage of each generation of Australians who identify as having Australian ancestry, either as their only ancestry or as part of a hyphenated response. Over 50% of the third or more generation responded as 'Australian', with 42% stating 'Australian' as their only ancestry. Among the second generation, 29% stated Australian ancestry and only 11% gave 'Australian' as their only ancestry. Among the overseas-born first generation, only 2% stated Australian ancestry and 1% gave 'Australian' as the sole ancestry. There was no difference by duration of residence in the proportion of first generation stating 'Australian' ancestry. Overseas-born residents who lived in Australia for a long time were not any more likely to identify their ancestry as 'Australian' than those who arrived more recently (data not shown).

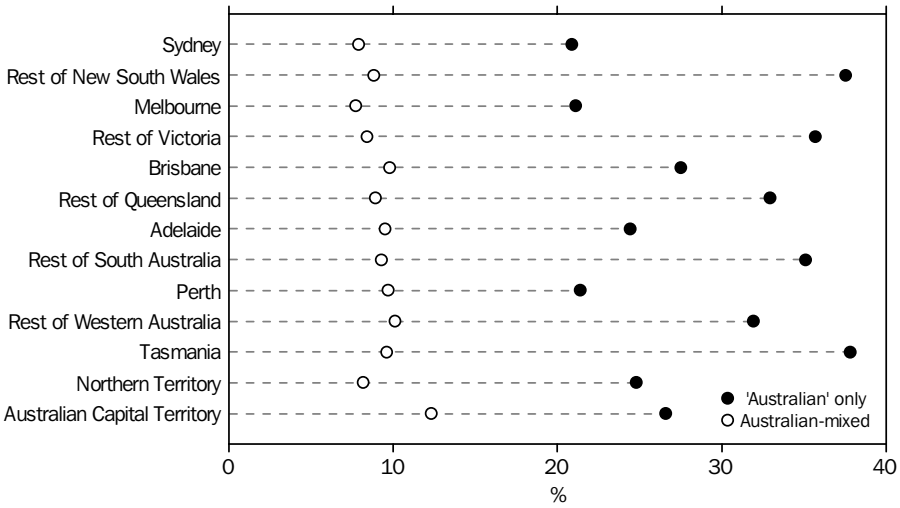
5.3 PERCENTAGE WITH AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY BY GENERATION, 2001



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

People living in regional areas were more likely to identify as 'Australian' than those living in the state capital cities (graph 5.4). This is likely to be due to the larger percentage of overseas-born people in the capital cities than in regional areas, and that the overseas-born do not identify their ancestry as 'Australian'. Sydney and Melbourne, which have large communities of overseas-born people, have the lowest proportion of people with Australian ancestry.

5.4 AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY BY LOCATION



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

5.2 INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS AND AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY

The 1986 Population Census Ethnicity Committee in its deliberations about the ancestry question suggested that 'in theory only persons of Aboriginal descent have Australian ancestry' (ABS 1984, p. 5). Yet, in the 1986 census only 8% of persons who identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people in the question on Aboriginality gave their ancestry as Australian. The vast majority (81%) reported their ancestry as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (ABS 1990, p. 23).

The situation was rather different in 2001. More than half of people who identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders stated Australian ancestry (table 5.5). Only one in four stated their ancestry as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander or other Australian peoples, a significant decline from the 1986 figure. The greater inclination for Aboriginal people to state Australian ancestry in 2001 than in 1986 might be related to a stronger recognition of their Australian heritage. People who identified as Aboriginal or both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander were more likely to state Australian as their ancestry than those

who identified as Torres Strait Islander only. An examination of the 1986 census figures shows that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the Northern Territory were the least likely, and those in Tasmania were the most likely to identify their ancestry as Australian (ABS 1990, p. 23).

5.5 INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS AND AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY, 2001

	Ancestry response (%)		
Response to census question on Aboriginality	*Australian*	*Other Australian Peoples*	*Total Australian or Other Australian Peoples*
Aboriginal	53.7	24.6	78.3
Torres Strait Islander	41.4	29.5	70.9
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	54.6	26.9	81.5
All Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	**52.9**	**25.0**	**77.9**

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

5.3 HYPHENATED AUSTRALIANS

Which people are more likely to respond as 'Australian' in combination with another ancestry? Table 5.6 shows that among the first generation, Americans and New Zealanders were more likely than other immigrants to state 'Australian' as one of their ancestries. Among the second generation, it was again those who stated American or New Zealander ancestries as well as those who stated Canadian ancestry. Chapter 4 shows that the proportion of people of American, New Zealander or Canadian ancestry who had a spouse of Australian ancestry was quite high. It is therefore not surprising that the proportion with hyphenated Australian ancestry would be high in the second generation of these ancestries. The high proportion stating Australian in combination with another ancestry in the second generation of Japanese and Thai ancestry is also related to the relatively high proportion of Japanese and Thai women with a partner who was of Australian ancestry, as shown in Chapter 4. On the other hand there was a very low proportion of second generation stating Australian ancestry in combination with Vietnamese, Korean or Chinese ancestry or with Lebanese, Turkish, Macedonian or Greek ancestry.

The proportion of hyphenated Australians in the third or more generation exceeded that in the second generation for all ancestry groups other than the Anglo-Celtic groups, French, German, Americans and Canadians. In these latter groups, the proportion with hyphenated Australians peaked in the second generation and declined in the third or more generation. It might be that by the

third or more generation, many people with these ancestries were inclined to state only Australian ancestry.

5.6 HYPHENATED AUSTRALIANS BY ANCESTRY AND GENERATION

	Generation		
Ancestry	*First*	*Second*	*Third or more*
Maori	2.0	26.7	32.6
New Zealander	5.3	45.0	53.1
English	2.1	24.1	14.2
Irish	1.8	12.9	10.4
Scottish	1.5	23.7	17.1
Welsh	1.4	26.3	17.2
Dutch	1.1	22.3	36.1
French	1.5	17.2	13.0
German	1.4	15.8	12.5
Greeks	0.3	5.0	16.2
Italian	0.4	7.9	19.2
Maltese	0.4	11.5	28.6
Croatian	0.4	6.9	22.7
Macedonian	0.3	3.0	11.9
Serbian	0.4	8.4	25.3
Spanish	0.4	10.9	15.2
Hungarian	0.6	13.6	33.0
Polish	0.5	10.8	25.7
Russian	0.6	9.6	22.4
Lebanese	0.9	4.2	15.1
Turkish	0.6	4.0	11.3
Filipino	1.2	19.9	35.5
Thai	2.1	28.6	*
Vietnamese	0.3	2.5	4.8
Chinese	0.3	6.9	23.0
Japanese	2.2	32.1	44.7
Korean	0.4	4.4	*
Indian	0.3	10.7	24.3
Sinhalese	0.4	13.5	33.2
South African	1.5	25.5	34.7
American	8	47.8	34.8
Canadian	7.8	47.4	35.3

*Less than 1,000 people.
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The proportion of hyphenated Australians in the second and third or more generations in table 5.5 shows a relation with the pattern of intermarriage discussed in Chapter 4. It is to be expected that where there is a greater likelihood of intermarriage between persons of that ancestry group and persons of Australian ancestry, there will be a higher proportion of the second and third or more generations of that ancestry group with a hyphenated Australian ancestry. This is because the children in these families of intermarriage would have a combination of Australian and another ancestry. This is the pattern

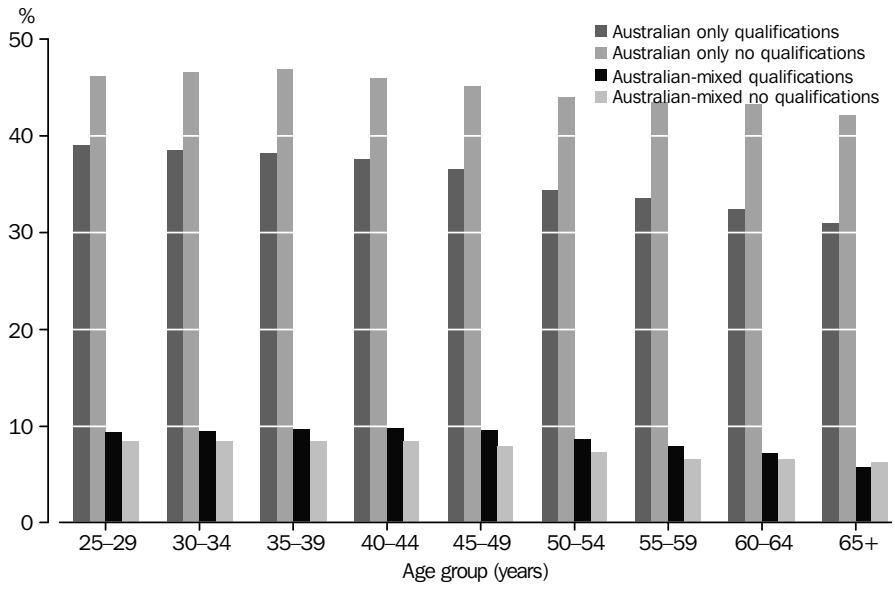
observed in table 5.5. A high proportion of people of American, New Zealander, Canadian and Western European ancestries such as English, Scottish and Dutch have spouses with Australian ancestry. These groups also have a high proportion with hyphenated Australians in the second generation. Conversely, groups with a low rate of intermarriage with Australians, such as Vietnamese, Korean, Lebanese, Turkish, Greek and Macedonian have a low proportion with hyphenated Australian ancestry in the second and third or more generations.

5.4 LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY

We also examined whether the propensity to state 'Australian' ancestry was related to level of education. It may be hypothesised that people who are more educated may be more aware of their ancestral origins and less likely to simplify their answer to the ancestry question to 'Australian'. To test this hypothesis, we restricted our analysis to the third or more generation aged 25 years and over. We excluded children and young people under age 25 years because parents were usually likely to fill in the census form on their behalf if they live at home with their parents. We examined the percentage with Australian ancestry or hyphenated Australian ancestry for the third or more generation with and without post-school qualifications in each age group. It is necessary to compare the percentages by age because younger people are more likely to have post-school qualifications as well as more likely to respond as having Australian ancestry.

Graph 5.7 shows that persons with no qualifications were more likely to state only Australian ancestry than persons with qualifications. This is the pattern in each age group examined. The gap between the two groups was smaller in the younger age groups than older age groups. The difference between those without qualifications and those with qualifications was seven percentage points in the 25 –29 years age group, increasing to 11 percentage points in the 65 years and over age group. There was not much difference, however, between the two groups with and without qualifications in the percentages with hyphenated Australian response.

5.7 AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND AGE



Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

These patterns indicate that level of education appears to have an effect on the propensity to identify as 'Australian', but not on the propensity to identify as a hyphenated Australian. People with some post-school qualifications are less likely than those with no qualifications to state Australian ancestry as their only response, but there was no difference in the proportion stating Australian as part of a multiple response between those with and without qualifications.

5.5 CONCEPTS OF AUSTRALIAN ANCESTRY

The patterns discussed above provide interesting insights into people's perceptions of the meaning of Australian ancestry. As shown in tables 5.2 and 5.5, the inclination to identify as having Australian ancestry begins in the second generation and strengthens in the third or more generation. Many people whose families have lived in Australia for three or more generations consider themselves as having Australian ancestry and no longer identify with the origins of their ancestors who had migrated three or more generations ago. Some might not know the origins of their ancestors; some might have many ancestries and decided that Australian ancestry best describes their mixed or multiple origins.

Second generation Australians have the largest proportion identifying as hyphenated Australians, which suggest that Australian ancestry in combination with another ancestry is perceived as a transitional stage in one's ethnic origin

from being based solely on parents' origin to identification with being Australian in heritage. The second generation has been considered a transition generation in immigrant adaptation and assimilation theories, and this seems to be borne out by their being the most likely of the three generation groups examined to identify as hyphenated Australians.

Some of the second generation who state their ancestry as hyphenated Australians are also likely to be children of intermarriages between migrants to Australia and persons of Australian ancestry, thus having a legitimate claim to hyphenated Australian ancestry. As shown in Chapter 4, when one parent's ancestry is Australian, there is a strong tendency to report the children's ancestry as Australian only or as hyphenated Australian. Also, as indicated in Chapter 4, there is a tendency among parents to simplify their children's ancestry to Australian if they have different or multiple ancestries. Thus, Australian ancestry is also seen as an outcome of the mixing of different ethnicities in Australia.

CHAPTER 6 STABILITY AND CHANGE IN ANCESTRY, 1986 AND 2001

The previous chapters have discussed some of the changes in the ancestry of the total Australian population between 1986 and 2001. This chapter examines which groups of people are likely to have changed their answer when responding to the ancestry question in the 1986 and 2001 censuses. A cohort analysis is used to compare the ancestry responses of people in three age groups in 1986 with their responses fifteen years later in 2001 when they were fifteen years older. The method of analysis is described in detail in the next section before results of the analysis are presented.

6.1 A COHORT ANALYSIS OF ANCESTRY GROUPS

Cohort analysis is a standard demographic method used to follow and study the same group of people over a period of time to examine their life experiences and survivorship. In this chapter, cohort analysis was used to compare the ancestry response of people in a particular age group in 1986 with their ancestry response in 2001, when they were fifteen years older. The population in 1986 was divided into three age groups: 0–14 years, 15–29 years and 30–44 years. People in each age group were divided into males and females and whether they were born in Australia or overseas. Tabulations of these age cohorts were obtained from the 1986 census showing captured first and second ancestry responses.

Age-sex-specific survival ratios were applied to the ancestry groups in each age cohort to estimate the number that would have survived over the fifteen-year period to 2001. The survival ratios were those based on life tables for Australia 1993 published by the ABS, 1993 being the mid-point of the fifteen-year period between 1986 and 2001. The same age-sex survival ratios were applied to the Australian-born and overseas-born populations. Since the Aboriginal population has significantly lower life expectancies than the Australian population as a whole, separate survival ratios based on the ABS Experimental Life Tables of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People, 1991–96 (ABS 1999) were used in

surviving people of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ancestry from 1986 to 2001. The survival ratios are shown in table A.4 in the Appendix.

The survivors of the three cohorts aged 0–14 years, 15–29 years and 30–44 years in 1986 would be aged 15–29 years, 30–44 years and 45–59 years in 2001. They were compared with the actual 2001 census count of people aged 15–29 years, 30–44 years and 45–59 years. Those who were born in Australia were compared with the number of Australian-born in 2001. Those who were born overseas were compared with the number in 2001 who were born overseas and had arrived in Australia before 1986. The difference between the 1986 survivors and the 2001 census count would be the estimated number of people who have left Australia during the intercensal period either permanently or temporarily and were not enumerated in the 2001 census.

6.1 COHORT ANALYSIS, 1986–2001

	Age in 1986		
	0–14 years	*15–29 years*	*30–44 years*
Australian-born			
Number in 1986	3 383 069	3 165 885	2 393 770
Survivors to 2001*	3 360 141	3 117 598	2 309 167
2001 census count	3 044 833	2 984 445	2 262 959
Not in Australia in 2001**	315 308	133 153	46 208
Overseas-born			
Number in 1986	217 135	674 802	1 001 445
Survivors to 2001*	215 753	665 486	967 996
2001 census count of those who arrived before	148 077	528 283	856 103
Not in Australia in 2001**	67 676	137 203	111 893

* Estimated by applying age-sex survival ratios to 1986 population.

** Emigrated during intercensal period as well as temporarily out of the country at 2001 census.

Source: 1986 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The results of surviving the 1986 age cohorts to 2001 are shown in table 6.1. The difference between the survivors of the 1986 age cohort to 2001 and the actual 2001 census count shows that the Australian-born population aged 30–44 years in 1986 were least internationally mobile during the intercensal period and the most likely to be enumerated in the 2001 census. This is not surprising as people in this age group usually have young families and jobs and would be less likely to move overseas than younger people. By comparison some 300,000 of the Australian-born cohort aged 0–14 years in 1986 were not enumerated in the 2001 census as were some 68,000 of the overseas-born of the same age. Some of these young people who would be aged 15–29 years in 2001 were likely to be overseas and some might be simply missed in the census. The rate of undercount in the 2001 census was 3.1% for people aged

20–24 years and 3.2% for people aged 25–29 years compared with 1.8% for the total population. The undercount of males in these age groups were 3.7% and 3.8% respectively, which were the highest recorded for any age-sex cohort (ABS 2003b, p. 20).

Compared with the Australian-born in each age cohort, a larger proportion of the overseas-born of the same age who were present in Australia in 1986 were not enumerated in 2001. This is not unexpected as some, especially those who were overseas students (most of whom would be aged 15–29 years in 1986) or visiting temporarily would have returned to their home country.

The cohort analyses can provide only an indication of stability and change in ancestry between 1986 and 2001 because a number of assumptions are made in surviving the 1986 age cohorts to 2001. One assumption is that all persons with the exception of people of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander ancestry are subject to the same mortality rates of the Australian life tables of 1993. The second assumption is that the same adjustment factor is used to adjust for emigration and under-enumeration in all ancestry groups, with the exception of people of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ancestry. It is likely that persons of particular ancestries in 1986 might be more likely than others to have emigrated or were temporarily overseas in 2001 and were not enumerated.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the cohort analysis appeared to have produced quite reliable results of the expected Australian-born and overseas-born population in the three age groups in 2001.

6.2 THE COHORT AGED 0–14 YEARS IN 1986

It was likely their parents or some other adult in the household would have reported the ancestry of this age cohort in 1986. In 2001 at age 15–29 years, many would have left their parents' household and would be answering the ancestry question themselves. It is interesting to see the level of consistency in this situation with possibly different people answering the ancestry question for this cohort.

6.2 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN PEOPLE AGED 0–14 YEARS IN 1986 (15–29 YEARS IN 2001)(a)

	Australian-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
Australian Aboriginal	71 156	26 092	0.37
Torres Strait Islander	4 519	2 547	0.56
Albanian	1 555	1 695	1.09
American	7 778	6 041	0.78
Armenian	2 528	1 908	0.75
Australian	1 010 071	1 436 804	1.42
Austrian	5 181	5 298	1.02
British	58 174	1 742	0.03
Canadian	2 430	2 624	1.08
Chilean	1 857	2 140	1.15
Chinese	28 929	34 787	1.20
Croatian	11 540	19 647	1.70
Czech	3 184	1 989	0.62
Danish	7 286	5 148	0.71
Dutch	50 105	53 851	1.07
English	1 163 984	1 080 397	0.93
Filipino	7 041	6 953	0.99
Finnish	3 357	3 210	0.96
French	16 779	11 449	0.68
German	87 660	137 979	1.57
Greek	69 894	68 682	0.98
Hungarian	8 841	9 134	1.03
Indian	12 673	9 379	0.74
Irish	142 460	353 651	2.48
Italian	126 372	153 649	1.22
Jewish	5 316	2 065	0.39
Latvian	2 659	2 814	1.06
Lebanese	28 387	32 871	1.16
Lithuanian	1 541	1 554	1.01
Macedonian	10 212	16 050	1.57
Maltese	29 667	29 879	1.01
Maori	4 330	4 654	1.07
New Zealander	11 432	13 161	1.15
Norwegian	2 555	2 285	0.89
Polish	22 966	22 560	0.98
Portuguese	4 658	4 460	0.96
Russian	6 902	7 319	1.06
Scottish	103 213	85 132	0.82
Serbian	1 730	12 982	7.50
Sinhalese	2 847	3 529	1.24
Slovenian	1 276	1 815	1.42
South African	1 954	3 432	1.76
Spanish	11 322	9 655	0.85
Swedish	3 878	3 103	0.80
Swiss	3 262	2 826	0.87
Turkish	8 870	8 126	0.92
Ukrainian	4 950	5 242	1.06
Vietnamese	7 468	7 946	1.06
Welsh	15 716	11 740	0.75

(a) Selected ancestry groups with more than 1,000 in 1986 and 2001. Numbers include 1st and 2nd ancestry captured responses.

(b) Based on survival of 1986 ancestry groups adjusted for emigration/non-enumeration in 2001.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 6.2 shows the ancestry of the Australian-born when they were aged 0–14 years in 1986 and when they were aged 15–29 years in 2001. The last column in the table shows the ratio of the 2001 census ancestry count to the 1986 numbers survived to 2001 and adjusted for emigration and/or under-enumeration in 2001. A ratio close to 1.0 indicates a close correspondence between the 1986 and 2001 numbers. Ratios much less than 1.0 indicate a decline in identification with that ancestry in 2001 compared with 1986, while ratios greater than 1.0 show an increase in identification with that ancestry in 2001 compared with 1986. The 1986 and 2001 ancestry figures are based on both first and second captured ancestry responses.

It was apparent that many children whose ancestry was stated as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander in 1986 did not state that ancestry in 2001. The 2001 figures for people of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander ancestry were only a fraction of what they should be according to the cohort analysis. Most children with British ancestry in 1986 also did not state that ancestry in 2001. Many children whose ancestry was Jewish in 1986 also did not state that ancestry in 2001. A significant proportion of children whose ancestry was reported as Czech, Danish, French, Indian and Welsh in 1986 also appeared to have changed their ancestry response in 2001.

In contrast there was a large increase in the number of people stating Serbian ancestry. As noted in earlier chapters, the break-up of Yugoslavia has resulted in many people changing their ancestry from Yugoslavian in 1986 to Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian or Slovenian in 2001.

The Australian-born in this age cohort identifying as Irish more than doubled between 1986 and 2001. There was also a significant increase in the number identifying as Australian, German or South African, and smaller increases in the number with Chinese, Italian, Lebanese or Sinhalese ancestry, a possible indication of stronger ethnic identification among the young people themselves in 2001 compared to their parents in 1986.

The Australian-born children less likely to change their ancestry were of these origins: Greek, Maltese, Dutch, Finnish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Turkish, Maori, Filipino and Vietnamese ancestry. Most would be second generation and this level of consistency suggests a strong identification with their parents' ethnicity as they reached young adulthood. The number with English ancestry was also more or less the same in 1986 and 2001.

6.3 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF OVERSEAS-BORN PEOPLE AGED 0–14 YEARS IN 1986 (15–29 YEARS IN 2001)(a)

	Overseas-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count(c)*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
Australian	9 761	14 770	1.51
British	3 470	243	0.07
Chilean	1 426	1 581	1.11
Chinese	14 250	16 610	1.17
Dutch	2 451	2 684	1.10
English	41 117	42 251	1.03
Filipino	3 394	3 704	1.09
French	1 429	1 127	0.79
German	3 180	4 815	1.51
Greek	2 250	2 160	0.96
Indian	4 094	3 628	0.89
Irish	4 692	10 584	2.26
Italian	2 203	3 006	1.36
Khmer	1 881	1 893	1.01
Korean	1 524	1 468	0.96
Lebanese	2 607	3 169	1.22
Maori	2 591	2 532	0.98
New Zealander	5 596	3 757	0.67
Polish	3 121	3 432	1.10
Portuguese	1 506	1 481	0.98
Scottish	5 012	5 244	1.05
Sinhalese	1 589	1 700	1.07
South African	1 871	2 335	1.25
Spanish	2 781	2 409	0.87
Turkish	1 317	1 404	1.07
Vietnamese	9 208	10 310	1.12
Welsh	1 005	1 121	1.12

(a) Ancestry groups with more than 1,000 in 1986 and 2001. Numbers include 1st and 2nd ancestry captured responses.

(b) Based on survival of 1986 ancestry groups adjusted for emigration/non-enumeration in 2001.

(c) Overseas-born who arrived before 1986.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Similar patterns of stability and change in ancestry are observed among the overseas-born of this age cohort, who would have migrated as children with their parents to Australia before 1986 (table 6.3). The most dramatic change was the four-fold increase in the number identifying as having some Irish ancestry. As for the Australian-born, there was also an increase in the numbers identifying as Australian, German, South African, German, Italian, Lebanese or Chinese.

Again the groups showing consistency over time were English, Greek, Dutch, Filipino, Maori, Polish, Portuguese and Turkish. Recent migrant groups such as Khmer and Korean also showed little change between 1986 and 2001. The number stating Welsh or Scottish ancestry was about the same in both censuses for the overseas-born in this age group in contrast to the Australian-born, where there was a decline, possibly because they might have stated Scottish or Welsh as a third or fourth ancestry which was not recorded.

6.3 THE COHORT AGED 15–29 YEARS IN 1986

This cohort aged from 15–29 years in 1986 to 30–44 years in 2001, going through their prime adult working ages over the fifteen-year period. The younger members of the cohort might be living with their parents in 1986 but most would have left home by 2001, therefore they were likely to be answering the ancestry question themselves in 2001.

The Australian-born of this age cohort showed very similar patterns of stability and change in ancestry (table 6.4) as the Australian-born who were aged 0–14 years in 1986. This reinforces the soundness of the results for both age cohorts.

The number of Australian-born people in this age cohort stating Serbian or Australian South Sea Islander ancestry increased by more than twelve times. In contrast, there was a decline in the number stating Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander ancestry and also the number with Jewish ancestry. As in the younger cohort, many in this age cohort who were of Southern and Eastern European ancestries — such as the Greeks, Hungarians, Maltese, Polish and Russians — showed little change in their ancestry response.

6.4 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN PEOPLE AGED 15–29 YEARS IN 1986 (30–44 YEARS IN 2001)(a)

	Australian-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
Australian Aboriginal	55 194	19 403	0.35
Torres Strait Islander	3 059	1 720	0.56
American	4 898	2 474	0.51
Australian	814 612	1 364 106	1.67
Austrian	7 558	7 255	0.96
British	53 005	1 265	0.02
Canadian	1 428	1 364	0.96
Chinese	10 391	13 971	1.34
Croatian	6 038	13 107	2.17
Czech	3 336	1 991	0.60
Danish	10 376	6 248	0.60
Dutch	51 224	54 681	1.07
English	1 242 613	1 076 742	0.87
Estonian	1 319	1 516	1.15
Finnish	2 235	2 020	0.90
French	24 211	10 929	0.45
German	123 002	157 767	1.28
Greek	73 497	73 621	1.00
Hungarian	9 537	10 046	1.05
Indian	4 139	2 770	0.67
Irish	211 709	390 388	1.84
Italian	147 227	168 149	1.14
Jewish	4 458	1 626	0.36
Latvian	3 436	3 780	1.10
Lebanese	9 504	10 110	1.06
Lithuanian	2 013	2 180	1.08
Macedonian	4 189	5 812	1.39
Maltese	26 206	26 941	1.03
Maori	1 424	1 545	1.08
New Zealander	4 819	5 822	1.21
Norwegian	4 209	2 853	0.68
Polish	19 975	19 495	0.98
Russian	7 206	7 049	0.98
Scottish	163 375	98 747	0.60
Serbian	748	9 448	12.63
Slovenian	1 491	3 124	2.10
Spanish	9 643	5 547	0.58
Swedish	6 400	3 663	0.57
Swiss	3 628	2 562	0.71
Turkish	1 181	1 150	0.97
Ukrainian	4 409	4 813	1.09
Welsh	25 629	13 265	0.52

(a) Selected ancestry groups with more than 1,000 in 1986 and 2001. Numbers include 1st and 2nd ancestry captured responses.

(b) Based on survival of 1986 ancestry groups adjusted for emigration/non-enumeration in 2001.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

6.5 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF OVERSEAS-BORN PEOPLE AGED 15–29 YEARS IN 1986 (30–44 YEARS IN 2001)(a)

	Overseas-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count(c)*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
American	4 484	2 909	0.65
Armenian	1 721	1 646	0.96
Assyrian	1 399	1 460	1.04
Australian	10 535	20 226	1.92
Austrian	1 635	1 564	0.96
British	12 076	831	0.07
Burmese	1 171	1 185	1.01
Canadian	1 440	1 407	0.98
Chilean	2 628	2 728	1.04
Chinese	39 141	33 934	0.87
Croatian	3 968	7 992	2.01
Czech	1 499	1 004	0.67
Danish	2 070	1 770	0.86
Dutch	9 499	9 815	1.03
Egyptian	2 087	2 137	1.02
English	179 380	201 361	1.12
Fijian	1 313	1 096	0.83
Filipino	6 103	6 065	0.99
Finnish	1 612	1 725	1.07
French	6 958	5 526	0.79
German	12 767	15 729	1.23
Greek	16 342	16 641	1.02
Hungarian	2 723	3 118	1.15
Indian	11 723	9 009	0.77
Indonesian	1 895	1 414	0.75
Iranian	1 206	1 138	0.94
Irish	20 668	38 005	1.84
Italian	21 970	25 546	1.16
Khmer	2 321	2 236	0.96
Korean	1 978	1 636	0.83
Lao	1 720	1 592	0.93
Lebanese	12 175	14 261	1.17
Macedonian	4 189	8 070	1.93
Malayan	2 833	1 296	0.46
Maltese	5 416	5 425	1.00
Maori	6 082	5 640	0.93
Mauritian	1 404	2 206	1.57
New Zealander	15 885	10 927	0.69
Polish	5 982	5 841	0.98
Portuguese	4 522	4 502	1.00
Russian	2 069	2 164	1.05
Scottish	25 787	24 619	0.95
Serbian	792	6 967	8.80
Sinhalese	3 155	3 321	1.05
South African	2 809	3 623	1.29
Spanish	8 453	8 004	0.95
Swedish	1 455	1 012	0.70
Swiss	1 448	1 099	0.76
Thai	1 033	893	0.86

6.5 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF OVERSEAS-BORN PEOPLE AGED 15–29 YEARS IN 1986 (30–44 YEARS IN 2001)(a) *continued*

	Overseas-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count(c)*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
Tongan	1 189	1 134	0.95
Turkish	7 807	8 007	1.03
Vietnamese	18 357	18 450	1.01
Welsh	5 449	5 732	1.05

(a) Ancestry groups with more than 1,000 in 1986 and 2001. Numbers include 1st and 2nd ancestry captured responses.

(b) Based on survival of 1986 ancestry groups adjusted for emigration/non-enumeration in 2001.

(c) Overseas-born who arrived before 1986.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Among the overseas-born in this age cohort, an important change was the near doubling of the number with Australian ancestry in 2001 compared to 1986 (table 6.5). This suggests that the propensity to identify as Australian increases with duration of residence among this young overseas-born cohort. It also indicates that the overseas-born has been influenced in the same way as their Australian-born peers by the increasing trend to identify one's ancestry as Australian. There was also an increased propensity to state Irish ancestry in the overseas-born in this age group just as in their Australian-born peers. And as expected, there was an increase in the number stating Serbian, Croatian and Macedonian ancestries.

There was remarkable stability in the ancestry responses in 1986 and 2001 of the overseas-born in this age group who are of Southern or Eastern European, Middle Eastern, Asian or Pacific Islander ancestries. The number of Greeks, Maltese, Portuguese, Polish, Russians, Armenians, Assyrians, Egyptian, Turkish, Iranian, Khmer, Lao, Vietnamese, Sinhalese, Maoris and Tongans in 2001 were within 10% of their number in 1986. The number with Scottish, Welsh or Spanish ancestry in the overseas born was also fairly stable unlike among their Australian-born peers.

6.4 THE COHORT AGED 30–44 YEARS IN 1986

This cohort aged from 30–44 years in 1986 to 45–59 years in 2001. The cohort analysis showed that this is a relatively stable age group in that relatively few people had moved overseas or were not enumerated in 2001.

This cohort also showed similar patterns of stability and change in their ancestry response as the two younger cohorts. The Australian-born members of the cohort (table 6.6) showed similar patterns as the Australian-born in the younger cohorts and the overseas-born members (table 6.7) were similar to the overseas-born in the younger cohorts.

6.6 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN PEOPLE AGED 30–44 YEARS IN 1986 (45–59 YEARS IN 2001)(a)

	Australian-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
Australian Aboriginal	24 373	9 319	0.38
Torres Strait Islander	1 521	1 037	0.68
American	3 913	2 351	0.60
Australian	635 964	1 063 451	1.67
Austrian	2 089	2 064	0.99
British	64 988	1 187	0.02
Chinese	5 207	7 328	1.41
Croatian	333	1 778	5.34
Danish	9 467	5 919	0.63
Dutch	11 527	10 918	0.95
English	1 088 192	961 932	0.88
French	18 221	8 041	0.44
German	86 221	113 008	1.31
Greek	12 003	12 425	1.04
Hungarian	2 473	2 677	1.08
Irish	177 079	340 788	1.92
Italian	37 229	43 735	1.17
Jewish	3 681	1 495	0.41
Latvian	2 118	2 291	1.08
Lebanese	2 424	2 643	1.09
Lithuanian	1 312	1 442	1.10
Maltese	5 710	5 474	0.96
New Zealander	2 614	2 862	1.09
Norwegian	3 511	2 443	0.70
Polish	15 482	15 451	1.00
Russian	4 834	4 758	0.98
Scottish	132 839	78 888	0.59
Serbian	164	3 311	20.19
Spanish	5 464	2 338	0.43
Swedish	5 456	3 402	0.62
Swiss	2 501	1 730	0.69
Ukrainian	3 652	4 177	1.14
Welsh	21 730	10 698	0.49

(a) Selected ancestry goups with more than 1,000 in 1986 and 2001. Numbers include 1st and 2nd ancestry captured responses.

(b) Based on survivial of 1986 ancestry groups adjusted for emigration/non-enumeration in 2001.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

6.7 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF OVERSEAS-BORN PEOPLE AGED 30–44 YEARS IN 1986 (45–59 YEARS IN 2001)(a)

	Overseas-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count(c)*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
American	7 187	5 408	0.75
Armenian	2 513	2 358	0.94
Assyrian	1 298	1 342	1.03
Australian	6 009	11 149	1.86
Austrian	5 029	5 260	1.05
British	21 435	1 732	0.08
Burmese	1 372	1 102	0.80
Canadian	2 163	2 384	1.10
Chilean	3 415	3 202	0.94
Chinese	40 698	41 527	1.02
Croatian	9 244	15 512	1.68
Czech	4 218	2 974	0.71
Danish	3 161	2 957	0.94
Dutch	34 216	36 645	1.07
Egyptian	3 477	3 443	0.99
English	252 860	281 237	1.11
Fijian	1 499	1 168	0.78
Filipino	11 300	11 037	0.98
Finnish	3 057	3 034	0.99
French	10 259	8 668	0.84
German	30 122	36 128	1.20
Greek	47 287	44 787	0.95
Hungarian	8 004	8 689	1.09
Indian	15 333	11 123	0.73
Indonesian	2 628	2 163	0.82
Iranian	1 543	1 384	0.90
Irish	29 016	49 642	1.71
Italian	64 884	68 635	1.06
Japanese	3 538	1 615	0.46
Jewish	3 512	2 143	0.61
Khmer	1 748	1 560	0.89
Korean	2 184	1 580	0.72
Lao	1 265	1 144	0.90
Latvian	1 794	1 941	1.08
Lebanese	13 781	15 539	1.13
Lithuanian	1 058	1 258	1.19
Macedonian	8 546	14 145	1.66
Malayan	1 700	1 496	0.88
Maltese	21 620	21 048	0.97
Maori	4 595	4 485	0.98
Mauritian	1687	2 212	1.31
New Zealander	14531	11 209	0.77
Norwegian	1159	1 020	0.88
Polish	22 353	22 758	1.02
Portuguese	5 918	5 457	0.92
Romanian	1 775	1 621	0.91
Russian	6 023	6 177	1.03
Scottish	38 806	39 463	1.02
Serbian	1 819	11 212	6.16

6.7 COMPARISON OF 1986 AND 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSE OF OVERSEAS-BORN PEOPLE AGED 30–44 YEARS IN 1986 (45–59 YEARS IN 2001)(a) *continued*

	Overseas-born		
Ancestry	*Expected 2001 ancestry(b)*	*Actual 2001 census count(c)*	*Ratio of actual to expected ancestry*
Sinhalese	4 830	4 648	0.96
Slovenian	1 097	1 698	1.55
South African	3 882	4 543	1.17
Spanish	11 807	10 297	0.87
Swedish	1 808	1 611	0.89
Swiss	2 911	2 797	0.96
Thai	1 419	1 223	0.86
Tongan	1 257	1 093	0.87
Turkish	7 429	6 460	0.87
Ukrainian	3 536	4 188	1.18
Vietnamese	12 618	12 661	1.00
Welsh	7 822	8 705	1.11

(a) Ancestry groups with more than 1,000 in 1986 and 2001. Numbers include 1st and 2nd ancestry captured responses.

(b) Based on survival of 1986 ancestry groups adjusted for emigration/non-enumeration in 2001.

(c) Overseas-born who arrived before 1986.

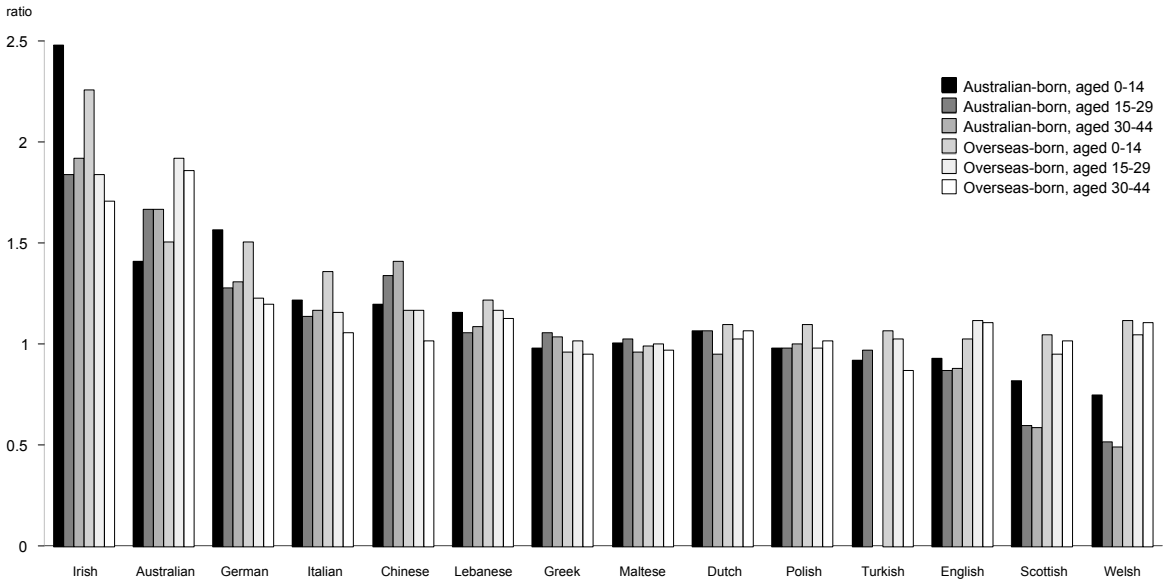
Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS

The cohort analyses were undertaken in an attempt to compare the ancestry responses of the same group of people, by age group and whether Australian or overseas-born, in the 1986 and 2001 censuses. The aim was to observe whether particular groups of people were more or less likely to state the same ancestry in 2001 as in 1986.

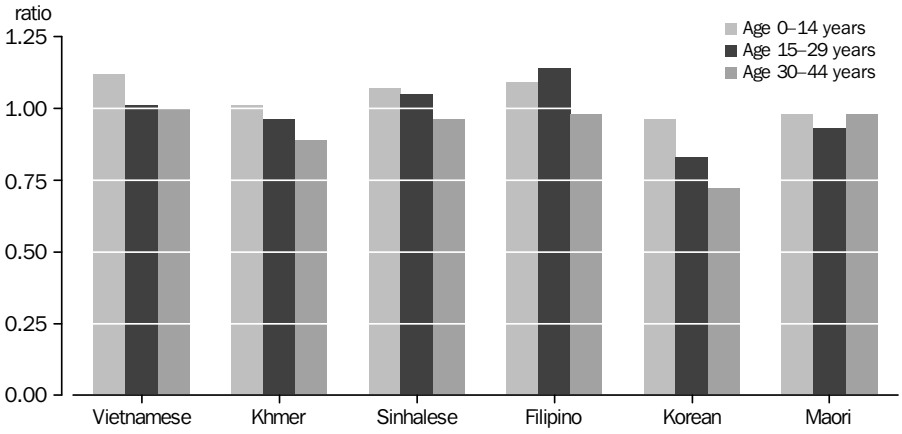
Some ethnic groups appear to demonstrate remarkable consistency in their ancestry response in the two censuses fifteen years apart. The number of people, both Australian-born and overseas-born, stating Greek, Maltese, Dutch or Polish ancestry in 2001 was very similar to the estimated number based on cohort analyses of the 1986 figures (graph 6.8). Other groups showing stability in their ancestry reporting were overseas-born residents of Asian-Pacific origins such as the Vietnamese, Filipinos and Maoris although there appeared to be a decreasing propensity to identify as Khmer, Korean or Sinhalese ancestry with age (graph 6.9).

6.8 STABILITY AND CHANGE IN ANCESTRY, 1986 AND 2001 IN AUSTRALIAN-BORN AND OVERSEAS-BORN COHORTS



Source: 1986 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

6.9 RATIO OF 1986 TO 2001 ANCESTRY RESPONSES, OVERSEAS-BORN AGE COHORTS



Source: 1986 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

The increase in the propensity to state Australian or Irish ancestry was observed in all three age cohorts examined, both Australian-born and overseas-born, with the number stating Irish ancestry more than doubling in the cohort aged 0–14 years in 1986 (graph 6.8). A more expected pattern is the increase in the number of people in all age groups, both Australian and overseas-born, stating Serbian, Croatian and Macedonian ancestries in 2001 compared with 1986, with the increase being particularly large for Serbian. Smaller increases were shown in the number of people stating German, Italian or Lebanese ancestry. There

was an increase of 20%–40% in the number stating Chinese ancestry among the Australian-born, but not among the overseas-born.

Graph 6.8 also shows the different patterns between Australian-born and overseas-born people stating English, Scottish or Welsh ancestry. While the Australian-born were less likely to be coded as such for the first two ancestry responses in 2001 compared with 1986, there was little change among the overseas-born.

The cohort analyses also confirmed that many people who stated Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander ancestry in 1986 did not do so in 2001. This was also true of people stating Jewish ancestry in 1986. In contrast, many people who did not state their ancestry as Australian South Sea Islander in 1986 did so in 2001 (although their number in each age cohort was still small), most likely due to the reasons cited in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

This report has shown the scope for analysis of the data on ancestry. The data have been used to examine a variety of issues relating to Australia's ethnic diversity, origins and identity. Analyses of the ancestry response by generation and age cohorts and in combination with information on birthplace, language and religion have demonstrated the usefulness and limitations of the ancestry data. The data have made it possible to identify minority groups within a birthplace group and those with a history of dispersion from their homeland. They have also been useful in the neglected field of measuring diasporas. For the first time, it was also possible to examine the intermarriage patterns of the third or more generation and to compare them with those of the first and second generations, providing an insight into the pace of integration in each generation of migrant background. These analyses are particularly significant for Australia as a country of immigration.

The analyses have also raised a number of issues for further consideration and research. Among these are:

- the effect of listing specific ancestries with option boxes on the census form
- the meaning of Australian ancestry and multiple ancestries
- and the loss of information from coding only the first two ancestries and from the apparent tendency to state or identify with a single ancestry when there is a valid case for stating multiple ancestries.

The analyses seem to suggest that people tended to identify with an ancestry that was specifically mentioned on the census form. Whether the listed ancestry acts as a prompt or leads people to simplify their answer is unclear. There was an increased propensity to identify with ancestries such as Irish, German, Italian and Chinese, all of which were listed on the form with option boxes.

The increase in the number of people identifying with Australian ancestry is also likely to be related to the listing of Australian ancestry with an option box on the 2001 census form. However, there are also likely to be other reasons for the increase in the propensity to state Australian ancestry in 2001 compared to 1986, as indicated by the higher proportion of young people having Australian

ancestry and by the significantly higher proportion of people of Aboriginal or Torres Strait lslander origin stating Australian ancestry.

The second generation was the most likely of the three generation groups to report multiple ancestries and also the most likely to state Australian ancestry as one of two or more ancestries. As the Australian-born children of at least one immigrant parent, many seemed to have identified both with their parents' ethnic origin as well as their country of birth.

Groups most likely to report only one ancestry often had the youngest age structures, suggesting a recent history of migration to Australia and therefore still maintaining a strong ethnic identity. Their rate of intermarriage is low. With increasing generations and duration of residence, the propensity for intermixing increases and this is demonstrated by increasing multiple ancestries in later generations.

The 2001 Census Guide suggested that people could refer back to their great grandparents in answering the ancestry question, which could give a maximum of eight different ancestries. Yet only the first two were coded, and these were not ranked. Thus a person who had one English great grandparent and seven Irish would be coded as having English as the first ancestry response and Irish as the second. Persons who gave three ancestries such as English, Irish and Scottish would not have the last one counted, even if their ancestry was predominantly Scottish. It might have been helpful to inform people to state only two ancestries if two ancestries were to be coded, so that people could respond with the two that they identified with most. However, understatement of ancestry does not affect the analyses in this report that compare the ancestry groups according to their propensity to intermarry, to respond with more than one ancestry or with a hyphenated Australian ancestry.

There is obviously scope for further in-depth analyses of many of the 200 plus ancestry groups enumerated in 2001. Chapter 3 has examined the birthplace, language spoken at home and religion of some of the major groups and a selected few that are part of diasporas. A recent study has also looked at language shift, based on changes in the percentages speaking only English at home, for different ethnic groups from the same birthplace, such as Vietnamese and Chinese from Viet Nam (Kipp and Clyne 2003). As shown in Chapter 1, there was a lag before publication of academic work based on the 1986 ancestry data, but due to the rapid dissemination of the 2001 data, such lags may be

shorter this time. Jupp (2003) was able to use both the birthplace and ancestry data for 2001 for his study of the English in Australia.

The interest in family history may cause some families to clarify their ancestries in the 2001 census, contributing to some of the changes observed in the cohort analyses of Chapter 6. There was also considerable interest in Australia's heritage and national identity in the lead up to the Centenary of Federation in 2001. However, it is not possible to establish whether these or other factors have an influence on people's answers to the ancestry question. While the census ancestry data have been useful in studying the origins and ethnic composition of Australia's population, questions remain about the factors that shape people's conceptualisation of their ethnicity and identity in their ancestry response, especially for those in the second and third or more generations.

For the first time in an Australian census, the 2001 census included an option for people to agree to their name-identified personal details being kept for 99 years and then made publicly available. Over half (53%) of the population agreed to their forms being retained, with the highest rates of agreement by persons reporting Scottish (62%), Irish (61%) or Indian (59%) ancestry, and persons with Australian ancestry ranked ninth. The Chinese had the lowest percentage (41%) in agreement (ABS no date). Although these people will not be alive by the time their census records are made publicly available, their descendants will be able to trace their ancestry back to these ancestors. Thus the 2001 ancestry data will also be useful to future generations when they have to respond to the 2101 census question on their ancestry.

APPENDIX

A.1 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY ENGLISH/OTHER LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

	Language			
**ASCCEG Code/Ancestry*	*English*	*Other*	*no.*	*% Speaking English*
1000 Oceanian, n.f.d.	5 981	2 493	8 474	70.6
Australian	6 525 065	81 310	6 606 375	98.8
1102 Australian Aboriginal	47 398	44 117	91 515	51.8
1103 Australian South Sea Islander	3 002	346	3 348	89.7
1104 Torres Strait Islander	3 453	5 829	9 282	37.2
1201 Maori	65 643	5 223	70 866	92.6
New Zealander	119 068	2 424	121 492	98.0
1303 Papua New Guinean	6 437	2 625	9 062	71.0
Melanesian & Papuan n.e.c.	1 184	536	1 720	68.9
Micronesian	434	445	879	49.4
Polynesian n.e.c.	2 299	1 495	3 794	60.6
1501 Cook Islander	4 998	2 697	7 695	65.0
1502 Fijian	7 710	8 010	15 720	49.0
1503 Niuean	796	442	1 238	64.3
1504 Samoan	9 201	17 528	26729	34.4
1505 Tongan	4 599	9 545	14144	32.5
2100 British, n.f.d.	11 210	391	11 601	96.6
2199 British, n.e.c.	2 238	25	2 263	98.9
2101 English	6 206 776	56 564	6 263 340	99.1
2102 Scottish	529 352	5 172	53 4524	99.0
2103 Welsh	81 698	1 698	83 396	98.0
2201 Irish	1 872 299	21 776	1 894 075	98.9
North Western Europe n.e.c.	11 612	3 908	15 520	74.8
2301 Austrian	28 173	9 433	37 606	74.9
2303 Dutch	225 412	40 251	265 663	84.9
2305 French	56 137	21 439	77 576	72.4
2306 German	660 251	72 272	732 523	90.1
2307 Swiss	15 146	5 879	21 025	72.0
2401 Danish	33 119	5 037	38 156	86.8
2402 Finnish	11 553	6 297	17 850	64.7
2404 Norwegian	14 187	2 869	17 056	83.2
2405 Swedish	19 752	4 374	24 126	81.9
South European n.e.c.	383	412	795	48.2
3103 Italian	454 627	333 647	788 274	57.7
3104 Maltese	93 779	40 937	134 716	69.6
3105 Portuguese	15 365	19 619	34 984	43.9
3106 Spanish	31 527	42 318	73 845	42.7
South East European n.e.c.	4 041	8 524	12 565	32.2
3201 Albanian	2 709	7 483	10 192	26.6
3202 Bosnian	1 370	16 246	17 616	7.8
3203 Bulgarian	1 837	2 276	4 113	44.7
3204 Croatian	36 435	67 592	104 027	35.0
3205 Greek	115 108	253 775	368 883	31.2
3206 Macedonian	12 341	68 011	80 352	15.4
Romanian	5 668	10 706	16 374	34.6
3213 Serbian	33 691	62 028	95 719	35.2

A.1 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY ENGLISH/OTHER LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME *continued*

	Language			
*ASCCEG Code/Ancestry	English	Other	no.	% Speaking English
3214 Slovene	7 853	6 147	14 000	56.0
3302 Czech	9 757	7 118	16 875	57.8
3303 Estonian	5 784	1 690	7 474	77.4
3304 Hungarian	36 274	25 790	62 064	58.5
3305 Latvian	13 167	5 557	18 724	70.3
3306 Lithuanian	9 335	2 854	12 189	76.6
3307 Polish	89 317	59 840	149 157	59.9
3308 Russian	30 642	28 658	59 300	51.7
3311 Slovak	2 591	4 366	6 957	37.2
3312 Ukrainian	18 750	14 814	33 564	55.9
East European n.e.c.	7 442	2 466	9 908	75.1
North African & Middle East	1 221	2 138	3 359	36.4
Arab	2 453	13 606	16 059	15.3
4101 Algerian	191	482	673	28.4
4102 Egyptian	7 654	18 855	26 509	28.9
4103 Iraqi	998	9 801	10 799	9.2
4104 Jordanian	322	2 304	2 626	12.3
4106 Lebanese	31 530	126 355	157 885	20.0
4111 Palestinian	985	5 873	6 858	14.4
4113 Syrian	1 449	8 519	9 968	14.5
4201 Jewish	11 465	10 693	22 158	51.7
4901 Assyrian/Chaldean	1 136	16 995	18 131	6.3
4903 Coptic	228	3 046	3 274	7.0
4904 Iranian	2 673	15 701	18 374	14.6
4905 Kurdish	261	4 092	4 353	6.0
4906 Sudanese	223	3 367	3 590	6.2
4907 Turkish	6 540	46 381	52 921	12.4
South East Asian n.e.c.	654	1 429	2 083	31.4
Burmese	5 939	5 210	11 149	53.3
5103 Hmong	84	1 697	1 781	4.7
5104 Khmer	1 792	18 849	20 641	8.7
5105 Lao	1 161	8 624	9 785	11.9
5106 Thai	5 864	14 333	20 197	29.0
5107 Vietnamese	6 229	147 182	153 411	4.0
5201 Filipino	49 598	76 408	126 006	39.4
5205 Malay	8 792	9 155	17 947	49.0
5207 Timorese	1 051	4 217	5 268	20.0
Indonesian	8 002	20 170	28 172	28.4
Chinese	111 715	435 140	546 855	20.4
6102 Taiwanese	456	3 884	4 340	10.5
6901 Japanese	7 290	23 446	30 736	23.7
6902 Korean	5 024	37 898	42 922	11.7
Other NE Asian n.e.c.	248	443	691	35.9
South Asian n.e.c.	1 549	3 189	4 738	32.7
7101 Anglo-Indian	11 888	291	12 179	97.6
7102 Bengali	700	8 538	9 238	7.6
Indian	61 041	92 344	153 385	39.8
7111 Nepalese	459	2 396	2 855	16.0
7112 Pakistani	2 687	9 351	12 038	22.3
7113 Punjabi	242	1 979	2 221	10.9
7114 Sikh	221	842	1 063	20.8
7115 Sinhalese	26 804	30 790	57 594	46.5
7116 Tamil	1 058	6 524	7 582	14.0
Central Asian n.e.c.	310	1 730	2 040	15.2
7201 Afghan	855	10 999	11 854	7.2
7202 Armenian	3 013	11 423	14 436	20.9

A.1 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY ENGLISH/OTHER LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME *continued*

	Language			
**ASCCEG Code/Ancestry*	*English*	*Other*	*no.*	*% Speaking English*
North America n.e.c.	552	180	732	75.4
American	45 401	3 723	49 124	92.4
Canadian	19 826	1 158	20 984	94.5
South American n.e.c.	3 769	6 781	10 550	35.7
8201 Argentinian	1 743	4 551	6 294	27.7
8203 Brazilian	1 133	2 529	3 662	31.0
8204 Chilean	4 622	16 465	21 087	22.0
8205 Colombian	685	2 705	3 390	20.2
8208 Peruvian	1 016	3 644	4 660	21.8
8211 Uruguayan	1 325	3 771	5 096	26.0
Central American n.e.c.	411	1 200	1 611	25.5
8301 Mexican	750	849	1 599	46.9
8303 Salvadoran	440	6 021	6 461	6.8
Caribbean	3 758	521	4 279	87.8
Ghanian	637	1 172	1 809	35.2
Nigerian	637	542	1 179	54.0
East African n.e.c.	1 658	1 558	3 216	51.6
East African	817	833	1 650	49.5
Central African	2 815	439	3 254	86.5
9201 Afrikaner	1 101	513	1 614	68.2
9203 Eritrean	122	1 771	1 893	6.4
9204 Ethiopian	520	2 259	2 779	18.7
9207 Mauritian	9 393	7 200	16 593	56.6
9213 Seychellois	1 384	599	1 983	69.8
9214 Somali	262	4 339	4 601	5.7
9215 South African	45 978	5 393	51 371	89.5
Central & West African n.e.c.	5 015	3 799	8 814	56.9
&&&& Not stated	583 582	90 051	673 633	86.6
0000 Inadequately described	46 797	17 962	64 759	72.2
Total	**18 806 180**	**3 004 541**	**21 810 721**	**86.2**

* The codes in the ancestry column are based on the Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ASCCEG). No code shown indicates several categories have been combined to facilitate analysis.

Note: This table excludes Not stated, Non verbal and Inadequately described.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

A.2 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY AUSTRALIAN OR OTHER CITIZENSHIP FOR OVERSEAS BORN

	Citizenship				
*ASCCEG Code/Ancestry	Australian	Other	Not stated	Total	% Australian
1000 Oceanian, n.f.d.	1 340	1 080	55	2 475	54.1
Australian	62 698	10 936	765	74 399	84.3
1102 Australian Aboriginal	524	368	18	910	57.6
1103 Australian South Sea Islander	180	54	6	240	75.0
1104 Torres Strait Islander	55	17	3	75	73.3
1201 Maori	7 125	23 423	693	31 241	22.8
New Zealander	20 463	31 861	710	53 034	38.6
1303 Papua New Guinean	2 727	1 193	53	3 973	68.6
Melanesian & Papuan n.e.c.	295	228	10	533	55.3
Micronesian	247	109	4	360	68.6
Polynesian n.e.c.	808	767	39	1 614	50.1
1501 Cook Islander	837	2 258	81	3 176	26.4
1502 Fijian	5 756	2 295	130	8 181	70.4
1503 Niuean	118	396	26	540	21.9
1504 Samoan	7 130	5 006	273	12 409	57.5
1505 Tongan	3 051	2 887	134	6 072	50.2
2100 British, n.f.d.	3 206	1 633	59	4 898	65.5
2199 British, n.e.c.	611	317	8	936	65.3
2101 English	642 848	335 758	10 000	988 606	65.0
2102 Scottish	79 059	50 878	1 330	131 267	60.2
2103 Welsh	18 857	9 299	245	28 401	66.4
2201 Irish	115 360	61 873	1 869	179 102	64.4
North Western Europe n.e.c.	4 444	1 951	62	6 457	68.8
2301 Austrian	12 893	4 065	160	17 118	75.3
2303 Dutch	73 294	20 252	974	94 520	77.5
2305 French	22 729	4 819	305	27 853	81.6
2306 German	88 609	30 774	1 173	120 556	73.5
2307 Swiss	7 149	1 365	60	8 574	83.4
2401 Danish	5 692	3 984	88	9 764	58.3
2402 Finnish	5 339	2 504	73	7 916	67.4
2404 Norwegian	2 062	1 445	40	3 547	58.1
2405 Swedish	2 659	3 384	51	6 094	43.6
South European n.e.c.	327	68	3	398	82.2
3103 Italian	174 240	44 574	2 006	220 820	78.9
3104 Maltese	33 955	10 758	490	45 203	75.1
3105 Portuguese	16 829	3 893	187	20 909	80.5
3106 Spanish	32 905	6 189	361	39 455	83.4
South East European n.e.c.	5 787	443	51	6 281	92.1
3201 Albanian	3 294	183	41	3 518	93.6
3202 Bosnian	8 652	292	94	9 038	95.7
3203 Bulgarian	1 734	101	15	1 850	93.7
3204 Croatian	45 873	1 538	378	47 789	96.0
3205 Greek	120 693	4 877	1 119	126 689	95.3
3206 Macedonian	38 382	1 226	321	39 929	96.1
Romanian	8 939	431	113	9 483	94.3
3213 Serbian	41 217	1 902	413	43 532	94.7
3214 Slovene	6 273	182	55	6 510	96.4
3302 Czech	8 425	609	70	9 104	92.5
3303 Estonian	2 563	123	23	2 709	94.6
3304 Hungarian	28 879	1 259	260	30 398	95.0
3305 Latvian	7 102	304	53	7 459	95.2
3306 Lithuanian	4 886	319	60	5 265	92.8
3307 Polish	62 915	4 171	545	67 631	93.0
3308 Russian	24 788	1 584	236	26 608	93.2
3311 Slovak	3 744	204	52	4 000	93.6
3312 Ukrainian	13 436	610	118	14 164	94.9
East European n.e.c.	3 813	288	42	4 143	92.0

A.2 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY AUSTRALIAN OR OTHER CITIZENSHIP FOR OVERSEAS BORN *continued*

	Citizenship				
*ASCCEG Code/Ancestry	Australian	Other	Not stated	Total	% Australian
North African & Middle East	1 236	135	28	1 399	88.3
Arab	6 040	346	81	6 467	93.4
4101 Algerian	249	39	3	291	85.6
4102 Egyptian	13 549	295	98	13 942	97.2
4103 Iraqi	4 158	159	108	4 425	94.0
4104 Jordanian	1 143	38	0	1 181	96.8
4106 Lebanese	56 878	1 561	599	59 038	96.3
4111 Palestinian	3 348	113	29	3 490	95.9
4113 Syrian	4 568	130	39	4 737	96.4
4201 Jewish	10 891	626	133	11 650	93.5
4901 Assyrian/Chaldean	9 478	291	102	9 871	96.0
4903 Coptic	1 996	27	17	2 040	97.8
4904 Iranian	10 347	1 026	165	11 538	89.7
4905 Kurdish	1 925	94	37	2 056	93.6
4906 Sudanese	1 126	42	13	1 181	95.3
4907 Turkish	23 756	2 074	265	26 095	91.0
South East Asian n.e.c.	611	310	14	935	65.3
Burmese	5 652	553	55	6 260	90.3
5103 Hmong	899	64	11	974	92.3
5104 Khmer	12 615	658	164	13 437	93.9
5105 Lao	6 073	231	71	6 375	95.3
5106 Thai	7 075	2 524	127	9 726	72.7
5107 Vietnamese	93 087	3 127	1 073	97 287	95.7
5201 Filipino	71 591	4 209	543	76 343	93.8
5205 Malay	4 982	3 022	55	8 059	61.8
5207 Timorese	2 546	970	46	3 562	71.5
Indonesian	5 389	5 828	130	11 347	47.5
Chinese	242 209	51 256	2 426	295 891	81.9
6102 Taiwanese	2 050	331	36	2 417	84.8
6901 Japanese	2 388	10 007	112	12 507	19.1
6902 Korean	13 813	6 665	171	20 649	66.9
Other NE Asian n.e.c.	193	49	6	248	77.8
South Asian n.e.c.	2 274	333	46	2 653	85.7
7101 Anglo-Indian	6 996	404	35	7 435	94.1
7102 Bengali	3 660	354	35	4 049	90.4
Indian	66 820	13 794	610	81 224	82.3
7111 Nepalese	465	671	21	1 157	40.2
7112 Pakistani	4 317	585	92	4 994	86.4
7113 Punjabi	903	273	10	1 186	76.1
7114 Sikh	450	170	7	627	71.8
7115 Sinhalese	27 152	6 940	249	34 341	79.1
7116 Tamil	4 297	623	36	4 956	86.7
Central Asian n.e.c.	850	74	10	934	91.0
7201 Afghan	5 252	160	95	5 507	95.4
7202 Armenian	8 470	290	52	8 812	96.1
North America n.e.c.	210	76	4	290	72.4
American	11 743	8 579	157	20 479	57.3
Canadian	5 474	2 912	65	8 451	64.8
South American n.e.c.	4 806	833	63	5 702	84.3
8201 Argentinian	3 177	426	41	3 644	87.2
8203 Brazilian	1 224	367	23	1 614	75.8
8204 Chilean	9 390	3 895	118	13 403	70.1
8205 Colombian	1 272	170	20	1 462	87.0
8208 Peruvian	2 501	196	16	2 713	92.2
8211 Uruguayan	2 710	268	43	3 021	89.7
Central American n.e.c.	936	96	26	1 058	88.5

A.2 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY AUSTRALIAN OR OTHER CITIZENSHIP FOR OVERSEAS BORN *continued*

	Citizenship				
**ASCCEG Code/Ancestry*	*Australian*	*Other*	*Not stated*	*Total*	*% Australian*
8301 Mexican	480	196	4	680	70.6
8303 Salvadoran	4 786	235	57	5 078	94.2
Caribbean	1 431	416	17	1 864	76.8
Ghanian	784	124	10	918	85.4
Nigerian	367	64	4	435	84.4
East African n.e.c.	1 069	246	14	1 329	80.4
East African	404	127	10	541	74.7
Central African	1 305	199	14	1 518	86.0
9201 Afrikaner	573	80	3	656	87.3
9203 Eritrean	949	57	24	1 030	92.1
9204 Ethiopian	1 239	90	33	1 362	91.0
9207 Mauritian	8 757	673	80	9 510	92.1
9213 Seychellois	983	70	6	1 059	92.8
9214 Somali	1 621	84	49	1 754	92.4
9215 South African	22 038	2 503	203	24 744	89.1
Central & West African n.e.c.	3 327	586	71	3 984	83.5
&&&& Not stated	62 206	19 141	2 829	84 176	73.9
0000 Inadequately described	17 014	3 395	299	20 708	82.2
Total	**2 824 359**	**870 882**	**38 961**	**3 734 202**	**75.6**

* The codes in the ancestry column are based on the Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ASCCEG). No code shown indicates several categories have been combined to facilitate analysis.

Note: This table only includes persons born overseas who arrived prior to 1997.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

A.3 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY CHRISTIAN AND OTHER RELIGIONS (PER CENT)

*ASCCEG Code/Ancestry	Total	Catholic	Anglican	Other Christian	Other Religions	None
		%	%	%	%	%
1000 Oceanian, n.f.d.	8 879	20.1	13.9	46.4	4.5	15.1
Australian	6 739 595	24.6	25.4	20.8	3.1	26.2
1102 Australian Aboriginal	94 950	19.5	16.5	38.2	6.3	19.5
1103 Australian South Sea Islander	3 442	13.5	19.0	44.7	3.6	19.2
1104 Torres Strait Islander	9 791	9.7	46.7	25.4	8.1	10.1
1201 Maori	72 956	16.5	18.3	25.4	4.7	35.2
New Zealander	123 329	16.3	19.1	21.6	4.9	38.1
1303 Papua New Guinean	9 441	36.0	10.5	36.1	3.1	14.3
Melanesian & Papuan n.e.c.	1 830	25.2	16.3	39.1	5.2	14.2
Micronesian	907	39.5	4.5	36.2	5.3	14.6
Polynesian n.e.c.	3 927	21.4	9.4	46.8	5.5	17.0
1501 Cook Islander	8 154	12.3	3.9	65.5	2.9	15.4
1502 Fijian	16 620	18.8	5.1	41.6	24.2	10.4
1503 Niuean	1 301	10.8	4.2	61.3	2.8	20.8
1504 Samoan	28 091	22.2	2.4	61.8	3.8	9.8
1505 Tongan	14 889	25.3	3.5	61.9	3.0	6.3
2100 British, n.f.d.	11 760	16.7	22.7	27.3	5.7	27.6
2199 British, n.e.c.	2 289	11.9	31.6	23.1	4.6	28.8
2101 English	6 358 880	19.9	31.7	20.2	3.2	25.0
2102 Scottish	540 046	16.4	17.3	34.7	4.0	27.6
2103 Welsh	84 246	14.4	29.9	21.7	4.6	29.4
2201 Irish	1 919 727	46.2	15.3	13.5	3.6	21.5
North Western Europe n.e.c.	15 836	33.2	9.4	16.1	10.0	31.3
2301 Austrian	38 112	47.1	6.9	12.7	8.1	25.1
2303 Dutch	268 754	31.8	8.2	22.4	4.5	33.0
2305 French	79 079	42.9	13.3	13.4	5.7	24.7
2306 German	742 212	21.7	16.5	32.8	4.2	24.8
2307 Swiss	22 151	27.3	11.6	25.7	4.8	30.5
2401 Danish	38 637	12.8	20.8	33.3	4.3	28.9
2402 Finnish	18 106	6.9	7.6	56.6	3.8	25.0
2404 Norwegian	17 293	13.5	20.3	30.7	4.9	30.7
2405 Swedish	24 424	14.5	18.7	31.6	5.0	30.2
South European n.e.c.	810	50.7	4.0	10.9	11.2	23.2
3103 Italian	800 256	79.7	3.2	5.6	1.6	10.0
3104 Maltese	136 754	87.0	1.5	3.6	1.0	6.8
3105 Portuguese	35 687	82.2	2.0	5.9	1.8	8.0
3106 Spanish	75 237	64.4	4.4	12.8	3.1	15.3
South East European n.e.c.	12 944	9.8	1.6	64.6	12.2	11.9
3201 Albanian	10 459	10.5	1.8	5.7	71.0	11.1
3202 Bosnian	17 993	9.9	0.2	5.4	69.4	15.0
3203 Bulgarian	4 179	10.7	6.6	55.5	6.6	20.6
3204 Croatian	105 747	85.6	0.9	4.5	1.4	7.6
3205 Greek	375 703	5.2	2.9	83.5	1.3	7.1
3206 Macedonian	81 898	2.2	1.5	89.3	2.1	4.9
Romanian	16 721	12.4	2.0	59.0	11.1	15.5
3213 Serbian	97 315	17.8	2.6	63.1	3.1	13.5
3214 Slovene	14 189	79.4	1.9	6.0	2.0	10.8
3302 Czech	17 126	43.1	4.8	9.3	9.0	33.8
3303 Estonian	7 543	8.8	10.2	51.0	4.4	25.7
3304 Hungarian	62 859	51.3	4.0	14.9	9.1	20.6
3305 Latvian	18 938	13.7	7.4	50.3	5.4	23.1
3306 Lithuanian	12 317	49.1	3.3	11.2	17.8	18.5
3307 Polish	150 900	63.6	3.0	7.4	10.2	15.7
3308 Russian	60 213	10.4	5.5	39.4	20.0	24.8
3311 Slovak	7 054	48.7	1.6	26.4	5.3	18.0
3312 Ukrainian	33 960	46.8	4.4	27.4	4.7	16.7
East European n.e.c.	10 032	31.9	6.1	18.9	20.1	22.9

A.3 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY CHRISTIAN AND OTHER RELIGIONS (PER CENT) *continued*

*ASCCEG Code/Ancestry	Total	Catholic	Anglican	Other Christian	Other Religions	None
		%	%	%	%	%
North African & Middle East	3 475	12.6	2.3	12.3	59.6	13.2
Arab	16 631	18.3	0.8	13.4	62.0	5.4
4101 Algerian	696	8.3	1.6	5.6	66.2	18.2
4102 Egyptian	27 001	20.8	1.5	54.2	18.3	5.2
4103 Iraqi	11 190	31.3	0.6	10.1	55.1	2.9
4104 Jordanian	2 687	37.6	0.9	17.0	40.8	3.6
4106 Lebanese	162 239	43.0	0.9	11.8	40.2	4.0
4111 Palestinian	7 001	21.0	1.1	23.5	49.8	4.6
4113 Syrian	10 213	21.6	0.9	30.9	40.2	6.4
4201 Jewish	22 553	3.1	2.4	4.5	71.3	18.7
4901 Assyrian/Chaldean	18 667	45.9	0.9	48.9	2.4	1.9
4903 Coptic	3 345	0.6	0.1	98.4	0.6	0.3
4904 Iranian	18 798	3.8	1.2	4.6	76.7	13.8
4905 Kurdish	4 494	1.0	0.2	0.9	75.6	22.3
4906 Sudanese	3 788	26	9.6	52.1	9.8	2.4
4907 Turkish	54 596	1.3	0.5	1.4	88.2	8.5
South East Asian n.e.c.	2 198	19.0	4.4	24.7	42.1	9.8
Burmese	11 375	45.9	5.9	10.6	29.2	8.4
5103 Hmong	1 837	3.3	0.2	7.5	59.4	29.7
5104 Khmer	21 361	3.8	0.6	6.8	79.9	8.9
5105 Lao	10 086	7.5	0.5	3.8	82.0	6.2
5106 Thai	20 606	6.6	2.0	4.5	75.8	11.1
5107 Vietnamese	156 581	30.3	0.4	3.1	55.2	11.0
5201 Filipino	129 821	80.4	1.0	13.4	1.1	4.1
5205 Malay	18 294	21.1	4.7	10.9	47.6	15.7
5207 Timorese	5 491	75.1	0.7	3.2	11.4	9.6
Indonesian	28 878	22.2	2.7	21.9	42.9	10.3
Chinese	557 021	14.3	4.1	13.6	29.4	38.5
6102 Taiwanese	4 416	5.4	1.8	11.2	44.0	37.6
6901 Japanese	31 433	6.8	3.7	6.0	32.1	51.5
6902 Korean	43 753	25.1	3.0	46.1	8.0	17.8
Other NE Asian n.e.c.	715	7.1	4.3	8.1	60.0	20.4
South Asian n.e.c.	4 916	16.7	4.5	8.4	64.4	6.0
7101 Anglo-Indian	12 327	69.4	11.8	9.1	2.3	7.4
7102 Bengali	9 549	2.3	0.4	1.1	93.6	2.6
Indian	156 790	20.4	3.6	6.8	62.0	7.2
7111 Nepalese	2 946	2.5	1.4	4.0	83.8	8.4
7112 Pakistani	12 618	6.6	1.6	2.4	85.6	3.8
7113 Punjabi	2 263	1.2	0.2	1.4	95.3	1.9
7114 Sikh	1 097	1.6	0.3	1.7	92.9	3.5
7115 Sinhalese	58 602	29.7	8.0	9.9	46.9	5.5
7116 Tamil	7 706	10.9	4.1	9.6	73.1	2.3
Central Asian n.e.c.	2 114	4.2	1.2	16	62.0	16.7
7201 Afghan	12 410	0.8	0.7	1.1	94.4	3.0
7202 Armenian	14 667	13.8	2.9	74.4	2.2	6.7
North America n.e.c.	758	35.1	11.6	16.6	10.4	26.3
American	49 819	22.8	11.2	26.6	8.6	30.7
Canadian	21 244	20.7	17.0	22.1	6.6	33.6
South American n.e.c.	10 801	62.6	3.0	14.0	4.9	15.5
8201 Argentinian	6 482	63.1	1.7	13.5	4.3	17.5
8203 Brazilian	3 763	59.2	2.2	15.0	7.2	16.4
8204 Chilean	21 579	66.2	1.4	15.0	2.3	15.2
8205 Colombian	3 475	73.8	1.8	10.8	3.0	10.6
8208 Peruvian	4 772	75.4	1.5	12.7	2.1	8.4

A.3 ANCESTRY RESPONSE BY CHRISTIAN AND OTHER RELIGIONS (PER CENT) *continued*

*ASCCEG Code/Ancestry	Total	Catholic	Anglican	Other Christian	Other Religions	None
		%	%	%	%	%
8211 Uruguayan	5 196	65.4	1.2	9.7	2.3	21.4
Central American n.e.c.	1 658	50.1	1.9	26.4	5.7	16.0
8301 Mexican	1 635	56.8	3.5	13.1	6.6	20.0
8303 Salvadoran	6 617	60.8	0.7	25.9	1.7	10.9
Caribbean	4 354	30.5	19.8	18.1	8.7	22.9
Ghanian	1 925	19.6	5.8	53.6	10.3	10.8
Nigerian	1 256	24.8	15	40.5	8.3	11.4
East African n.e.c.	3 366	20.3	7.8	27.1	30.5	14.4
East African	1 714	29.2	16.5	28.4	11.6	14.3
Central African	3 317	19.7	23.0	32.7	7.3	17.2
9201 Afrikaner	1 645	11.8	15.0	46.5	5.1	21.6
9203 Eritrean	2 029	6.7	0.7	22.4	65.9	4.3
9204 Ethiopian	3 054	4.6	1.3	60.4	26.5	7.1
9207 Mauritian	17 886	76.3	2.8	8.9	3.9	8.1
9213 Seychellois	2 104	81.7	4.3	4.4	1.9	7.7
9214 Somali	5 007	0.4	0.1	0.3	97	2.2
9215 South African	52 119	17.6	17.8	27.7	19.9	16.9
Central & West African n.e.c.	9 378	29.1	11.1	26.5	18.2	15.1
&&&& Not stated	1 299 722	15.8	11.1	10.4	3.7	59.0
0000 Inadequately described	69 829	26.7	8.8	16.5	22.6	25.4
Total	**22 812 237**	**27.2**	**20.5**	**20.5**	**6.4**	**25.4**

* The codes in the ancestry column are based on the Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ASCCEG). No code shown indicates several categories have been combined to facilitate analysis.

Note: Other religions includes inadequately described and Not stated.

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

TABLE A.4 SURVIVAL RATIOS USED IN COHORT ANALYSIS, 1986–2001

	Total population		*Indigenous population*	
Age group	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
0–14 years to 15–29 years	0.9914	0.996	0.9684	0.979
15–29 years to 30–44 years	0.9804	0.9921	0.8919	0.9278
30–44 years to 45–59 years	0.958	0.9757	0.7643	0.8213

Note: Based on Australian Life Tables for 1993 and Experimental Life Tables of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people 1991-1996.

Source: ABS Deaths 1993; Deaths 1998, cat. no. 3302.0 (1994; 1999)

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