

**Africa: Diversity and Development**

**Southern Africans in the Antipodes**

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**Historical introduction**

The emigration of people born in Southern Africa to Australia and, to a lesser extent, New Zealand has increased substantially in the last five decades. In 1961 the number of Africa-born in Australia (excluding those born in Egypt) was 12,272, of whom 7,896 were born in South Africa and 4,376 in ‘Other countries in Africa’ (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1970, p.13). In 2011 the South Africa-born alone numbered over 145,000, with a further 40,000 from other Southern African countries (Table 1). This paper adds to the literature on this migration stream with selected stories of individual migrants and with analysis of the 2011 Australian Census data.

A convenient starting point is 1960, when the White Australia policy still existed, although its erosion had already begun (Jupp, 2001, p.865). In February, 1960, Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, made his famous ‘Wind of Change’ speech to the South African Parliament. Macmillan’s speech was followed by Independence being granted to five Southern African nations in the 1960s. The former South African High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland) became independent as Lesotho and Botswana in 1966 and Swaziland in 1968. These countries had relatively small European populations and Lesotho had no white settler population. Kirke-Greene (2001) referred to the

diaspora of career civil servants employed by Her Majesty's Government when Independence was granted. Of the four Basutoland expatriate civil servants known to have come to Australia and New Zealand, one was born in London, two in British India and one in Bechuanaland. However their wives and children were mostly born in Southern Africa.

The former Central African Federation or the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland existed only briefly from 1953-1963. Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) became independent in 1964 and Malawi (formerly Nyasaland) in 1966. In 1973 there were 29,000 Europeans in Zambia and 16,000 Asians with 'a considerable decline in the number of non-Africans since independence with the proportion of short-term contract employees, especially among Europeans, increasing.' (Williams, 1988, p.1112). Malawi's population included 6,377 Europeans in 1977 and 5,682 Asians (Malawi Department of Information, 1988, p.663).

It can be seen from Table 1 that these five countries (Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia and Malawi), with Namibia, have made only a small contribution to Australia's Southern Africa-born population. In 2011 they comprised under 5 percent of the 186,013 Southern Africa-born in Australia (Table 1).

Southern Rhodesia, with a more substantial European population who wished to retain power, had taken a different path. In 1962 the Rhodesian Front was formed by an amalgamation of white groups opposed to racial integration and land reform, and in 1965 Ian Smith announced UDI, the unilateral declaration of independence (Brown, 1999, p. 1139). This extended white rule until 1979 when independence was finally attained. Within four years the white population of Zimbabwe had dropped by one-half (Brown 1999, p.1140-1). This exodus from Zimbabwe to

Australia has been discussed elsewhere (Lucas, Jamali & Edgar, 2011; Forrest , Johnston & Poulsen 2013). As shown in Tables 1 and 2, this accelerated after 2001, particularly to New Zealand.

The 1974 coup in Portugal liberated Angola (1975) and Mozambique (1976). This had little impact on Australia and New Zealand migration because large numbers returned to Portugal. For Angola, an estimated 350,000 whites were repatriated to Portugal (Pelissier 1988a, p.231). For Mozambique, a similar flow must be assumed, with the white population decreasing by 80% to less than 20,000 between 1973 and the late 1980s (Pelissier 1988b, p.722).

South West Africa was formerly a German colony administered by a United Nations Mandate since 1920. However by 1968/9 'Namibia was, in effect, integrated into South Africa' (Spray, 1988, p.745). In 1966 the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) had begun an armed struggle against South Africa and this continued for over 20 years, spilling over the northern border into Angola. However the small white population which owned most of the land lived in the south. Namibia gained its independence in 1990.

The final country to achieve multi-racial democracy was South Africa, marked by the 1994 elections. In 1990 President De Klerk had unbanned the ANC and the PAC and this enabled anti-apartheid exiles to return to South Africa. These included a small number from Australia, notably Eddie Funde who was Chief Representative of the ANC's Australasia and Pacific Mission (*Who's Who Southern Africa*, no date). Anecdotal evidence suggests that a few of the younger ANC exiles were not keen to return.

Table 2 shows the growth in the numbers of South Africa-born in Australia and New Zealand. In the decades following independence, the population in Australia has tripled, and the New Zealand population has seen a nearly tenfold increase.

### **Movement within Southern Africa**

Historically there has been considerable movement within Southern Africa, with whites predominating in permanent moves (Zinyama, 1990, p748). Below are some examples of Southern Africans who emigrated to Australia and had experience of more than one country within the region. Some born outside South Africa went there for education, often to the English-speaking universities, and also for employment.

Jaimes Leggett, appointed Chief Executive of M&C Saatchi Australia in 2013, was born in Botswana, went to school in South Africa and moved to New Zealand with his family when he was 13 (Crisp 2013). Pamela Angus-Leppan was born in Zambia in 1931, educated in Johannesburg and settled in Australia in 1962. In the *Who's Who of Australian Women* (2006, p.47), she was described as being a Management Consultant and Company Director. Launa Inman was born and raised in Zimbabwe (Australian Institute of Company Directors 2014, p.1) and came to Australia in 1997 to run Big W's clothing store. Previously she had been working in merchandising in South Africa (*Who's Who of Australian Women*, 2006, p.542).

Born in Bulawayo, Judith Neilson 'became Australia's second-richest woman over-night in 2007 after her husband, Kerr floated a big chunk of his company Platinum Asset Management on the stock exchange' (Hare, 2015). She had studied textile and graphic design in Durban before moving to Australia with her South Africa-born financier husband in 1983 (Verghis, 2010).

In 2015 Gail Kelly retired as CEO of Westpac. She was born in Pretoria in 1956 and after marrying Allan Kelly, they went to Rhodesia in 1977 as he was required to undertake compulsory military service there. They then moved to the University of Witwatersrand for his medical studies. He subsequently became a pediatrician. Worried about their children's future they emigrated to Australia in 1997 (Murphy 2005).

Dr Mary White grew up in Southern Rhodesia and gained her Master's degree in Botany at the University of Cape Town. She and her family migrated to Australia in 1955 and until the late 1980s she was a consultant to the Bureau of Mineral Resources in Canberra (Sustainable Population Australia, n.d.).

Famous popular author Bryce Courtenay (1933-2012) was born in South Africa but worked in the mines in Rhodesia. His first novel was published about thirty years after his arrival in Australia (Steger & Dow, 2012).

Andrew Murray, a member of the Australian Senate from 1996 to 2008, was born in Hove, England, in 1947 and sent as a Fairbridge child migrant to Zimbabwe when aged four. He was educated at Rhodes University and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford but was deported from South Africa in 1968. He migrated to Australia in 1989 (Parliament of Australia, n.d.).

Using birthplace data understates the number of people coming from Southern Africa to Australia. An example is John Omer-Cooper who was born in England but moved to South Africa as a child when his father was appointed Professor of Zoology at Rhodes University. After lecturing at the University of Lagos from 1955-1965, Omer-Cooper became Foundation Professor of History at the

University of Zambia, moving to New Zealand in 1974 after a ‘near miss with a letter bomb’ (Burnett, 1998).

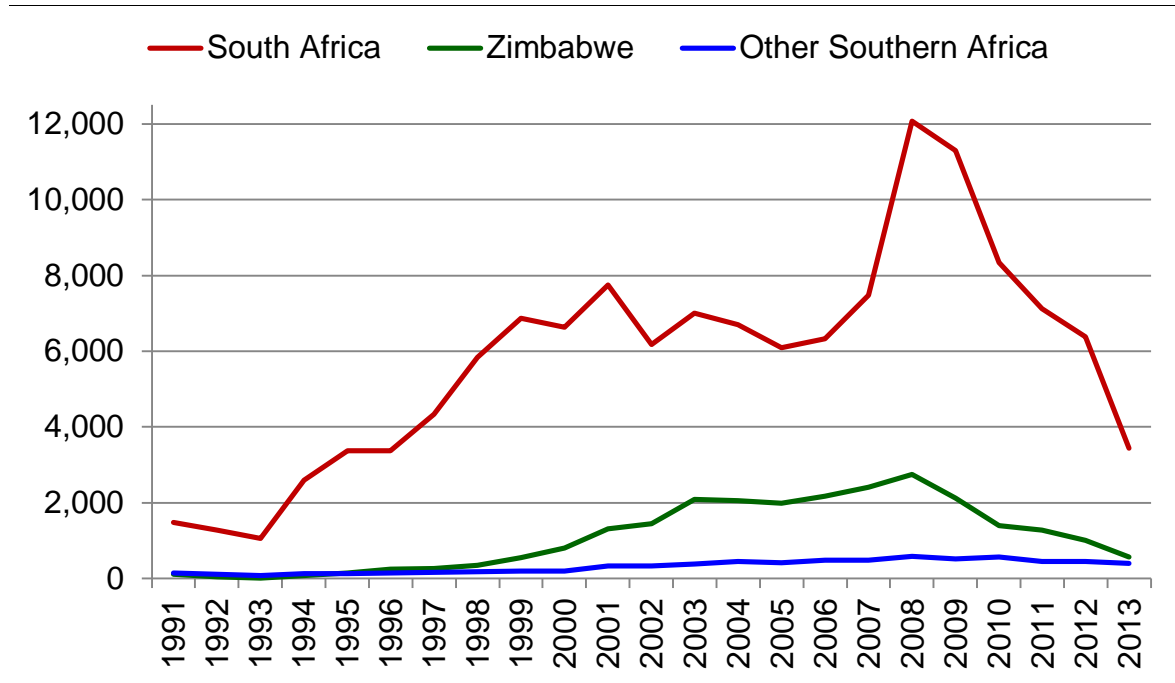
In the case of Zimbabwe, which was once a destination for white immigrants (Mlambo 2010), birthplace data omits people not born in Zimbabwe who have spent much of their working lives there. During the period 1941 to 1957 the number of Europeans in Zimbabwe almost tripled, from 67,000, due to the unprecedented rate of immigration (Gordon-Brown 1959, p.261). Thus many of those who sought to leave Zimbabwe in later years had spent most of their working lives there but were not Zimbabwe-born.

Reports of deaths in the *Bundu Times*, published in Western Australia by the Rhodesian Association, indicate that several members were born in South Africa or Britain, emigrated to Rhodesia and then to Australia. In the issue dated August/September 1995, John Plant, a commercial pilot, and his wife Sylvia described their move from England to Rhodesia circa 1959 with their children. After 33 years in Africa they followed their now adult son and daughter, who had been living respectively in South Africa and Harare, to Western Australia.

Figure 1 shows the flow of Southern Africans into Australia, with South Africa and Zimbabwe as the most important origin countries. Significant dates foreshadowing an increase in numbers are 1994 for South African, when the first elections were held, and around 2000 in Zimbabwe when white farmers were under pressure and the Australian Government was pro-active in bringing white farmers to Australia. The declines after 2009 may be related to the Global Financial Crisis (GFC).

Similarly, as shown in Table 2, New Zealand strengthens as an alternative destination for the South-Africa born in the 1990s and the Zimbabwe-born after 2001.

**Figure 1. Southern Africa-born to Australia by Birthplace and Year of Arrival**



Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection. Table generated using Settlement Reporting Facility. Accessed 20/01/2014.

Note: Includes both persons who arrived as migrants and persons who arrived as temporary entrants and were later granted permanent resident status onshore.

### **Why the emigrants were mostly white**

Reasons for migration to Australia are well covered in Louw and Mersham (2001) and in Forrest, Johnston and Poulsen (2013, p. 55). There are a number of reasons why the Southern Africa-born in Australia are predominantly white.

The first is historical, with the White Australia policy only finally dismantled in the early 1970s. Also in 1974 New Zealand stopped the uncontrolled immigration of white British, which presumably included South Africa-born with British

passports, by requiring that all Commonwealth citizens of European ancestry living outside Australia have an entry permit (Farmer 1985, p.66). Even so, whites emigrating later may have had networks in Australia which non-whites did not, and these would help sustain the chain migration flow.

Secondly the white Europeans in Southern Africa were generally well educated under the colonial regimes and, with the exception of those in Mozambique and Angola, were generally proficient in English. Furthermore they would have had more opportunities to improve their human capital by gaining work experience in the professions, management and trades. Amoateng, Kalule-Sabiti and Lucas (2004), using 1996 South African Census data, have shown that in terms of gaining skills and experience that would meet the minimum requirements for emigration, South African whites and Asians would have a distinct advantage over the black population.

Thirdly Africanisation, which involved replacing white expatriates by locals, meant more opportunities for Africans. In South Africa, policies of black empowerment and positive discrimination for women led to the quip that white South African males were an endangered species. In 2000, Marisa Fick-Jordaan said that she was a seventh generation South African to whom the concept of living somewhere else was crazy, but she empathised with the white emigrant who had four young boys feeling that there was ‘...not a hope in hell for a white male in South Africa...’ (Laurie 2000).

### **Flows from South Africa to Australia**

Louw and Mersham (2001) have identified five waves of emigrants from South Africa, ‘each wave being bigger than the one preceding it.’ A common theme among the emigrants’ stories is the desire to escape from violence or threatened violence.



The first two waves ran from the 1950s to the late 1970s. Two significant events were the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the 1976 Soweto revolt. Mary Walters, who arrived from South Africa in the 1950s, said that ‘We could see the writing on the wall even then.’ (Younes 2002, p.7). Dr Sidney Sax (1920-2001) was a pioneer in Australian health planning. ‘In 1960 he made the same decision as many of his liberal-leaning fellow country people and left a nation that was becoming increasingly isolated because of its apartheid policies.’ (Cooke 2001)

Neville Curtis came to Canberra in 1974 ‘having fled South Africa, where he was a banned person for his opposition to the apartheid regime’ (O’Dwyer 2007). He was preceded to Australia by his friend John Brink who had been imprisoned during the State of Emergency after Sharpeville. Together with his wife Margaret Brink he founded the Australian anti-apartheid movement (ABC Radio National 2011).

The third and fourth waves occurred from the late 1970s until 1990. This period included the State of Emergency declared in 1985. Writing in the late 1980s, Kennedy (1988, p.802) observed that:

‘Today most South African immigrants are white, well educated and from the large cities... Alienation from the Nationalist regime and its policies (including military conscription) has motivated many among English-speaking liberals, academics and disenfranchised non-white groups such as the Cape Coloured people to leave. Black Africans, are conspicuous by their absence.’

South African lawyer Andrea Durbach migrated to Australia in 1989. She had previously represented 25 black South Africans accused of the murder of a policeman, a trial described in her 1999 book *Upington*. Andre Biet emigrated in

1986 as a result of the violence and economic uncertainty in South Africa (Manning 2004). In 1991 he and his partners founded the property developer, Charter Hall.

Figure 1 indicates that the fifth wave, which began with the negotiations that led to the multi-racial 1994 elections, appears to have ended around the time of the 2007/8 GFC which preceded the end of the mining boom. The family of Clyde Rathbone, who played rugby for the Brumbies and Wallabies, is an example of a family reunion migrant. ‘Clyde was the first of the four Rathbone brothers to move to Australia from South Africa in 2002. His mother Glynis and younger brothers Dayne, Luke, 22, and Rory, now 20, followed in 2006. His father Alan commuted between the countries for six years’ (Doherty 2013). Glynis Rathbone had been seriously injured in a home invasion in South Africa, which confirmed the family’s decision to migrate permanently to Australia (ABC Stateline, 2006).

In introducing their study of the five waves of emigrants from South Africa, Louw and Mersham (2001, p. 308) commented that:

‘Our ethnographic studies of the South African community in Australia undertaken in 1998 and 2000 confirmed that this diasporic community is not limited to ex-South African citizens or South African-born people. It has also come to include whites, Indians and coloreds (WICs) from other Southern African countries like Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia.

Rhodesians (i.e. white Zimbabweans), in particular, form an important subgroup within the wider South African diaspora.’

However, the experience of Zimbabweans in the 21<sup>st</sup> century means that they should not be lumped together with South Africans as suggested. Whereas the acceleration in South Africa-born settlers to Australia began around 1994, for the Zimbabwe-born it began around 2000, as shown in Figure 1. Recent flows from

Zimbabwe include substantial numbers of black Zimbabwe-born, mostly Shona speakers as discussed later.

### **Skilled flows and human capital**

The Southern Africa-born in Australia are a relatively advantaged group. The majority have arrived as skilled migrants, with over three-quarters of South African migrants in this category (see Table 3). However numbers of humanitarian entrants from Southern Africa, traditionally very low, have increased recently. From 2009 to 2013, 18% of settlers from Angola and Mozambique arrived under the humanitarian program, as did 15% from 'Other Southern Africa', mainly Malawi, and 12% from Zambia.

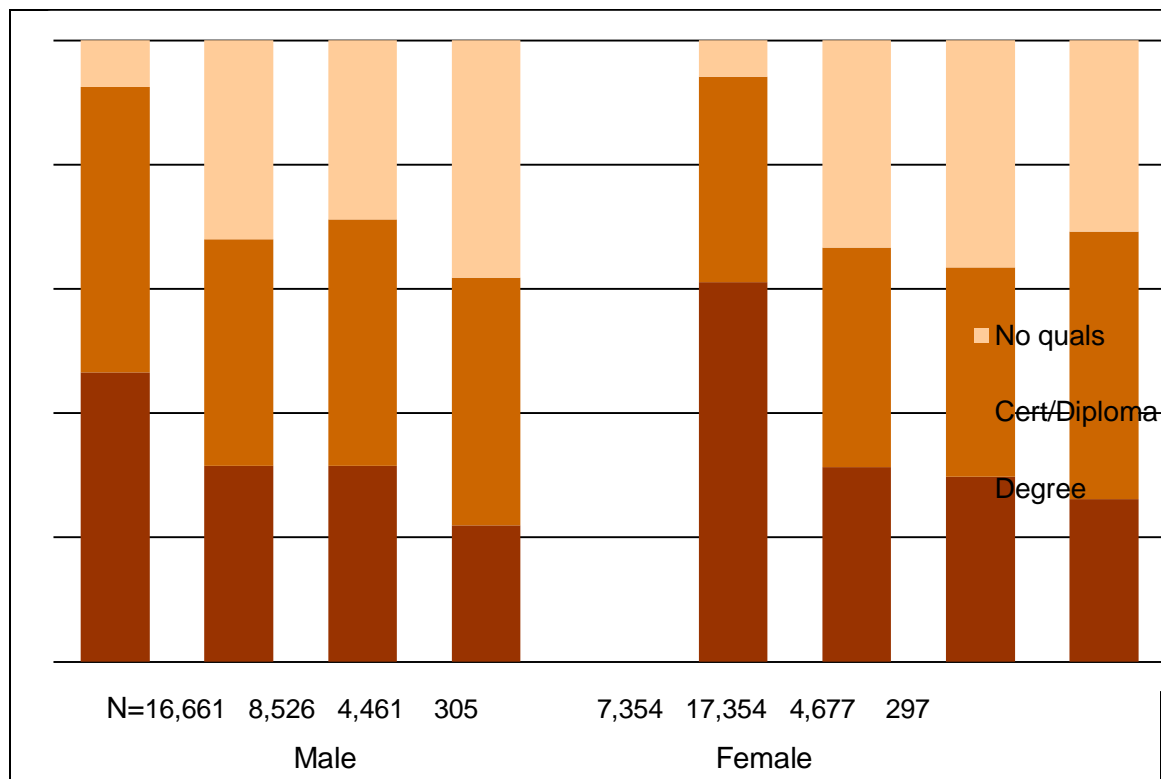
Figure 2 shows the prevalence of educational qualifications among recently-arrived skilled, family and humanitarian migrants from southern Africa, as at the 2011 Census. The large majority, 84%, are skilled migrants, almost half of whom have met the selection criteria for a skilled visa (1<sup>y</sup> or primary skilled migrants), while a little over half were members of the migrating family unit (2<sup>y</sup> or secondary skilled migrants).

As expected, primary skilled migrants are the most highly educated category, with over 90% holding a post-school qualification and around half (47% of males and 61% of females) having a university degree. Humanitarian entrants are the least likely to have a university degree, although 22% of males and 26% of females do so. Secondary skilled migrants have similar education profiles to family migrants. The former are mainly the partners and now-adult children of primary skilled migrants; the latter are mainly partners and now-adult children of Australian

resident sponsors. Primary skilled migrants are the only category that must undergo a skills assessment as part of the visa application process.

As at the 1991 Census, the proportion of South-Africa born resident in Australia with post-secondary qualifications, that is degrees or diplomas, was 29%, considerably higher than for the total Australian population (13%) (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994, p.18). In 1996 the corresponding percentages were 36% and 17% (Lucas 2000, p.20).

**Figure 2. Southern Africa-born by Sex, Migration Category and Post-school Qualifications, 2011**



Source: ABS Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset. Ages 20+ years.

Notes: Persons who entered Australia between 1 January 2000 and 9 August 2011 (Census night) and have been granted a permanent skilled, family or humanitarian stream visa. Skilled 1<sup>y</sup> are primary skilled migrants; Skilled 2<sup>y</sup> are secondary visa holders, mainly partners and now-adult children of the primary skilled migrant.

The majority of Southern Africans in Australia are proficient in English. In the 1991 Australian Census, the percentage of the South Africa- and Zimbabwe-born with poor English proficiency was negligible. The percentage who only spoke English at home was over 88% for the South Africa-born (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994, p.2). In 2011 73% of Southern Africans in Australia spoke English only at home, while a further 24% spoke English ‘very well’. Less than 1% reported not speaking English well (2011 Census data).

### **Labour force participation**

Skilled, well-educated migrants with a good command of English tend to do well in the Australian labour market. A study by Forrest et al. (2013, p.55) found that few South Africans or Zimbabweans had any difficulty finding wage or salaried employment after 6-18 months in Australia, consistent with their pre-emigration experience.

Figure 3 confirms that migrants from Southern Africa have high rates of employment after a short settling-in period. Twelve months after arrival in Australia, 96% of ‘primary’ skilled males are employed, as are 87% of ‘primary’ skilled females. Employment rates for ‘secondary’ skilled and family migrants are a little lower. The gradual decline in employment among ‘primary’ skilled females over time can be attributed to family formation.

**Figure 3. Southern Africa-born: %Employed by Sex, Migration Category and Years in Australia, 2011**



Source: ABS Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset. Ages 15-64 years.

### Occupation and industry

Being typically skilled immigrants with high levels of human capital, many Southern Africans in Australia work in managerial and professional occupations. About one in two employed males from Southern Africa are in these occupations, (see Table 4). By comparison, only one in three of all employed Australian males are managers or professionals. Few Southern Africans work in low and unskilled occupations, with 9% of employed males working in labourer/machinery operator occupations (22% of men nationally). Construction, distribution and production managers are in the top two occupations of men from South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Engineering professionals are the second top occupation for South Africa-born males (see Table 5).

Like their male counterparts, females from Southern Africa are more likely to be employed in managerial/professional occupations (47%), compared with all Australian women (34%). Only 4% work in labourer/machinery operator occupations (9% of women nationally). Midwifery and nursing professionals are in the top two occupations of females from South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. However, 7% of South Africa-born females work as school teachers, the top occupation for this birthplace group (see Table 5).

South-African migrants have traditionally been a highly skilled group. In the 1991 Census, 23% of South Africa-born males and females had professional occupations, compared with 13% of the total Australian population (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994, p.22). The corresponding percentages for 1996 were 30% and 18% (Lucas 2000, p.20).

South-African migrants in New Zealand are highly skilled like their counterparts in Australia. In the 2013 New Zealand Census, of 28,656 people in the ethnic group profile 'South Africa, Not Elsewhere Classified', 27% of employed males and 33% of employed females were working as professionals.

In terms of industry, 15% of employed males from Southern Africa in Australia were working in professional, scientific and technical services in 2011. Only 5% of employed males were working in the mining sector, but this is an area that is in decline in Australia. One in four employed females from Southern Africa were working in health care and social assistance, an area which is expected to grow (2011 Census data).

## **English Speakers**

Under the apartheid regime that operated in South Africa the populations were divided into white, coloured (mixed race), Asian (mostly Indian) and black. These groupings have persisted in the South African Census and have also been used in other Southern African countries. As noted previously, white immigrants, predominantly English speakers, have dominated the flow from Southern Africa to Australia. Louw and Mersham (2001, p.53) have noted that white Anglo South Africans were the dominant group in the ‘emerging South African diaspora’. In Australia at the 1996 Census, 90% of South Africa-born reported speaking English at home, and 6% Afrikaans (Lucas 2000, p.2). By 2006, 80% of migrants from all countries in Southern Africa spoke English at home, although this had fallen to 73% in 2011 (Table 6).

English-speaking Jews have been a prominent minority amongst the South Africa-born in Australia. In 1996 13.5% of the South Africa-born in Australia professed Judaism (Lucas, 2002, p.2). This fell to 8.9% in 2011 (Census data).

Many South African Jews were descendants of Litvacs (Jews from historic Lithuania) who had arrived between 1880 and 1914 (Mendelsohn and Shain, 2008, p.34). The Jewish population in South Africa were therefore relatively recently arrivals without the same commitment to the land as earlier groups. A Jewish stereotype expressed by British actress Maureen Lipman is that ‘When the going gets tough, the Jews get packing ...’ (Pilditch 2015). Peter Godwin (cited in Crwys-Williams 2008, p.5) is quoted as saying ‘A white in Africa is like a Jew everywhere – in sufferance, watching warily, waiting for the next tidal wave of hostility’.



## **Afrikaans Speakers**

Afrikaans speakers in Australia as a percentage of migrants from Southern African countries have increased in recent years, from 12% at the 2006 Census to 17% in 2011 (Table 6). These would largely be persons of Afrikaner or Cape Coloured ancestry.

Some people with Afrikaner ancestry would speak English at home, one example being J. M. Coetzee who migrated to Adelaide in 2002 and won the 2003 Nobel Prize for Literature. According to Waldren (2005) Coetzee ‘grew up using English as his first language.’

The Afrikaner population of Southern Africa had its origins in the Dutch East India Company’s settlement at the Cape in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although Afrikaans speakers had spread beyond South Africa, for example to South West Africa after 1920 (Spray 1998, p.745), the Australian Afrikaans speakers shown in Table 6 are predominantly (31,484 out of 32,438 or 97%) South Africa-born. This group has become a more significant flow in recent years. Analysis of the 2011 Australian Census shows the percentage of South Africa-born immigrants speaking Afrikaans at home rose from 6% for those arriving before 1996 to 38% for the 2007-11 arrivals.

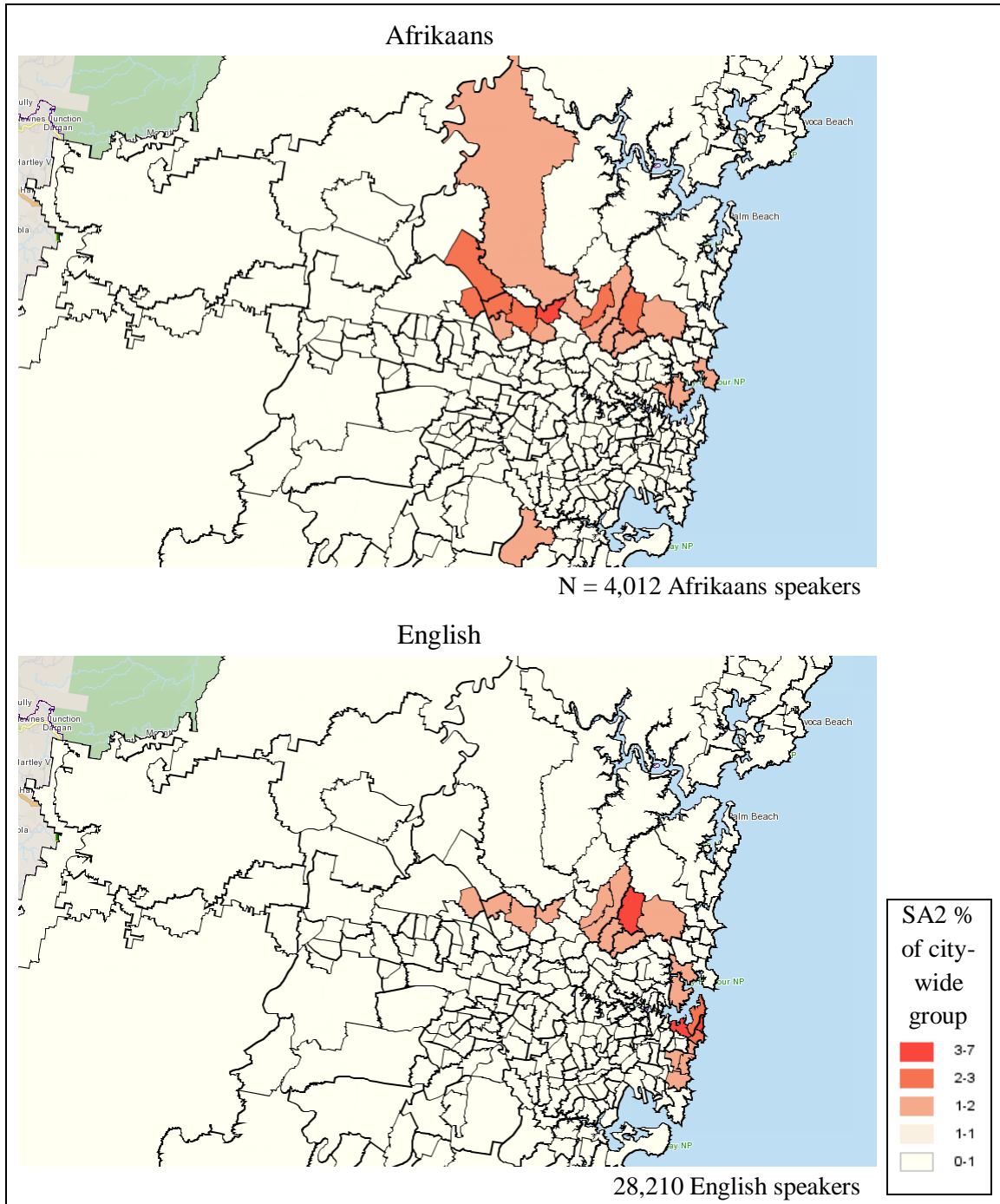
Writing just over a quarter of a century ago, Kennedy (1988, p.802) felt that ‘exile from family and *vaderland* was particularly painful for Afrikaners’. The Afrikaners’ undivided loyalty to their land is reflected in the derogatory term ‘soutpiel’ implying someone with one foot in Africa and one in the UK. The Afrikaners do not have a homeland outside of South Africa unlike the Jews who are entitled to emigrate to Israel, or holders of UK passports who can migrate to the European Union.

The Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census *Ethnic Group Profiles* give the following numbers: person identifying as Afrikaner 1,197; South African Coloured 255; and ‘South African, not elsewhere classified’ 28,656. Philipp and Ho (2010, pp.83-84) noted that ‘the political and economic turmoil’ related to the transition to democracy in South Africa coincided with New Zealand’s adoption of a merit-based points system, thus most of the South Africa-born came as skilled migrants. Philipp and Ho (2010, pp.85-6) interviewed six South African women in Hamilton, of which four were Afrikaners, one English South African, and one Coloured. They perceived ‘an emerging transnational identity amongst some South African migrants’ (Philipp and Ho 2010, p.81).

As shown in Table 7, over half of the male Afrikaans speakers in 2011 were managers or professionals. Whether the managers tended to prefer workers who were also Afrikaans speaking is a possibility. It was certainly the perception of a disgruntled Australian gold geologist in the late 1990s who was reported as saying, ‘You won’t get anywhere in the Australian gold mining industry unless you learn Afrikaans.’ (McIlwraith 1999).

Afrikaans speakers are less spatially concentrated in Australian cities than English speaking South Africans although both groups tend to favour socioeconomically advantaged areas. In Sydney the Afrikaans speakers favour the northern suburbs, as shown in Figure 4. Almost 5% of the Sydney group live in Cherrybrook and almost 3% in St Ives, two very advantaged suburbs in the top 2 percentiles of advantage (see the Australian Bureau of Statistics Index of Relative Socio-economic Advantage and Disadvantage, 2011). More South Africans speak English at home than speak Afrikaans. English speakers also favour St Ives, where almost 7% of the Sydney group live, with another cluster centred around the advantaged eastern suburbs of Dover Heights (4.6%) and Double Bay/Bellevue Hill (3.1%).

**Figure 4. South Africa-born by language spoken at home, Sydney SA2s, 2011**



Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing, 2011. Tablebuilder facility.

## **Shona Speakers**

Virtually all (99%) of Southern African Shona speakers in the 2011 Census were born in Zimbabwe and this group has also been growing quickly. The Census showed, for the Zimbabwe-born, that Shona speakers scarcely existed in Australia pre-1980 but that they comprised 45% of the 2007-11 arrivals. Speakers of other Southern African languages are relatively few in number.

As shown in Table 7 about one third of employed Shona speaking males and one half of the females are professionals. Compared with the Afrikaans speakers and the total, however, they are under-represented in managerial positions. Shona speakers are more likely to be employed as community and personal service workers, including health workers and carers, than other groups.

## **Conclusion**

Numbers of Southern Africans in Australia will continue to increase but the rate of increase has already begun to slow. The substantial number of skilled female immigrants in the health and aged care sectors will continue to have good employment prospects as the Australian population ages.

Some Southern Africa-born have been extremely successful in Australia in terms of wealth and celebrity status. It remains to be seen whether the second generation of Southern Africans, born and educated in Australia, will over time achieve the educational and labour market advantages of their parents' generation.

Furthermore language maintenance may prove difficult for speakers of African languages since a critical mass may not exist because the populations are geographically spread. This area for further research will be inhibited if Australia fails to hold its 2016 Census.

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*International Migration Review*, 24(4), 748-767.



## Tables

**Table 1. Southern Africa-born in Australia 2001-2011**

Birthplace	Census Years			Intercensal Growth	
	2001	2006	2011	2001 to 2006 (%)	2006 to 2011 (%)
South Africa	79 425	104 132	145 683	31.1	39.9
Zimbabwe	11 734	20 156	30 251	71.8	50.1
Zambia	3 070	4 078	5 537	32.8	35.8
Angola, Mozambique	904	1 035	1 191	14.5	15.1
Other Southern Africa*	1 893	2 559	3 349	35.2	30.9
Total	97 026	131 963	186 013	36.0	41.0

Sources:

2001: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs

*The People of Australia*. Canberra. Table 3, pp 3-7.

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2006 and 2011: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Tablebuilder. <http://www.abs.gov.au>

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Note: \*Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Swaziland.

**Table 2. South Africa- and Zimbabwe-born in Australia and New Zealand, various Censuses 1981-2011**

Census Year	South Africa-born		Zimbabwe-born	
	Australia	New Zealand	Australia	New Zealand
1981	26,965	3,999	4,110	714
1986	37,058		6,479	
1991	49,009	5,652	8,352	750
1996	55,821	11,334	8,954	1,443
2001	79,425	26,061	11,734	2,886
2006	104,128	41,676	20,157	8,151
2011	145,683	54,276*	30,251	8,100*

Sources:

For Australia: 1981, 1986, 1991: Graeme Hugo, *Migration between Africa and Australia: a demographic perspective*. Sydney: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2009, Table 6. [http://www.hreoc.gov.au/africanaus/papers/africanaus\\_paper\\_hugo.html#Heading599](http://www.hreoc.gov.au/africanaus/papers/africanaus_paper_hugo.html#Heading599) Accessed 2 January, 2012.

For Australia: 1996, 2001, 2006: David Lucas, 'Africans in New Zealand' *Australian Review of African Studies* 29 (1-2) (2008):114.

For New Zealand: 1981 - 2006: *Ibid.*, p.113.

For New Zealand: 2013: Statistics New Zealand *2013 Census Totals by Topic*, Table 5 Birthplace.

Note: \*2013 New Zealand census

**Table 3. Migration Category of Immigrants from Southern Africa, 1991-2013**

Birthplace Arrival Period	Migration category (%)				N	Mean Annual N
	Family	Human- itarian	Skilled	Other/ Not stated		
<b>South Africa</b>						
1991 -2000	16%	0%	75%	9%	36,828	3,683
2001 -2008	13%	0%	86%	0%	59,614	7,452
2009 -2013	14%	0%	76%	10%	36,583	7,317
<b>Zimbabwe</b>						
1991 -2000	20%	1%	73%	7%	2,621	262
2001 -2008	9%	5%	85%	0%	16,218	2,027
2009 -2013	16%	5%	67%	12%	6,373	1,275
<b>Zambia</b>						
1991 -2000	21%	2%	64%	13%	797	80
2001 -2008	17%	4%	77%	1%	1,805	226
2009 -2013	23%	12%	53%	12%	1,049	210
<b>Angola, Mozambique</b>						
1991 -2000	32%	20%	37%	11%	247	25
2001 -2008	38%	2%	60%	0%	301	38
2009 -2013	29%	18%	42%	12%	210	42
<b>Other Southern Africa*</b>						
1991 -2000	25%	1%	65%	9%	420	42
2001 -2008	18%	8%	73%	1%	1,378	172
2009 -2013	19%	15%	48%	18%	1,109	222

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection , Settlement Reporting Facility.

Note: \*Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Swaziland.

**Table 4. Occupations of Employed Males and Females from Southern Africa, 2011**

	South Africa	Zimbabwe	Zambia	Angola, Mozambique	Other Southern Africa
<b>Male</b>					
Managers, Professionals	54%	47%	53%	39%	57%
Technicians, Trades	20%	23%	16%	25%	13%
Community, Clerical, Sales	16%	18%	19%	19%	17%
Labourers, Machinery ops	9%	11%	11%	17%	12%
Not stated	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
N	50,091	11,154	2,118	433	1,015
<b>Female</b>					
Managers, Professionals	47%	45%	46%	39%	52%
Technicians, Trades	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%
Community, Clerical, Sales	45%	47%	45%	45%	39%
Labourers, Machinery ops	4%	4%	5%	9%	4%
Not stated	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%
N	42,422	9,977	1,906	335	910

Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing, 2011.

**Table 5. Main Occupations of Males and Females from Southern Africa, 2011**

<b>Male</b>	
South Africa-born	
5.1%	Construction, Distribution and Production Managers
4.2%	Engineering Professionals
Zimbabwe-born	
6.3%	Mechanical Engineering Trades Workers
4.0%	Construction, Distribution and Production Managers
Zambia-born	
5.2%	Engineering Professionals
5.1%	Construction, Distribution and Production Managers
<b>Female</b>	
South Africa-born	
7.0%	School Teachers
5.6%	Midwifery and Nursing Professionals
Zimbabwe-born	
16.7%	Midwifery and Nursing Professionals
9.1%	Personal Carers and Assistants
Zambia-born	
9.3%	Midwifery and Nursing Professionals
9.7%	Personal Carers and Assistants

Source: See Table 4.

**Table 6. Language spoken at home by Southern Africa-born**

	2006	2011
English	80%	73%
Afrikaans	12%	17%
Shona	2%	4%
Other African	2%	2%
Other languages	4%	3%
Not stated	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%
N	131,957	186,013

Source: See Table 4.

**Table 7. Occupations of Employed Southern Africa-born by Language and Sex, 2011**

Occupation	Language spoken at home:					
	Afrikaans		Shona		All Languages	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managers	20%	9%	4%	2%	21%	10%
Professionals	32%	37%	34%	49%	32%	37%
Technicians and Trades	24%	4%	22%	2%	20%	3%
Community and Personal Service	4%	10%	16%	29%	5%	12%
Clerical and Administrative	5%	26%	5%	7%	6%	24%
Sales Workers	4%	8%	3%	5%	6%	8%
Machinery Operators and Drivers	4%	1%	6%	0%	4%	1%
Labourers	5%	4%	8%	5%	5%	3%
Inadequately described	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Not stated	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	11,666 <sup>1</sup>	9,096 <sup>2</sup>	2,386 <sup>3</sup>	2,462 <sup>4</sup>	64,811	55,550

Source: See Table 4.

Notes: 1. 11,230 South Africa-born, 242 Zimbabwe-born, 136 Namibia-born, 58 other birthplace.

2. 8,803 South Africa-born, 139 Zimbabwe-born, 113 Namibia-born, 41 other birthplace.

3. 2,378 Zimbabwe-born, 8 Zambia-born.

4. 2,443 Zimbabwe-born, 12 Zambia-born, 7 other birthplace.