

**AFRICANS IN AUSTRALIA 2011:
THEIR DEMOGRAPHY AND HUMAN CAPITAL**

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This paper compares two segments of the Africa-born immigrants to Australia enumerated in the 2011 Australian Census. One segment covers southern African immigrants, who predominantly enter as skilled migrants. The other segment is dominated by immigrants who comprise part of the humanitarian intake. Particular attention is paid to their human capital.

The south African segment consists covers those born in South Africa and Zimbabwe. By looking at responses to the ancestry and language spoken at home questions in the Censuses, it is concluded that these are mostly Whites, of European descent. For example in the 2011 Census, 45% of the Zimbabwe-born and 34% of the South Africa-born gave ancestries related to the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland.

The second segment consists of those from selected refugee source countries, namely

- Sudan, including South Sudan
- Horn of Africa, defined here as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia
- Central Africa Francophone countries: Burundi, Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Refugee source countries are defined here as those whose migrants to Australia predominantly enter through the humanitarian stream. This analysis covers the eight countries shown above. The refugee source countries all exhibit substantial increases in numbers in recent years (Tables 1 and 2; and Robinson, 2013:Table 2-1) but the percentages are most marked where the base numbers were low in 2001.

Table 1 shows the number of persons born in all sub-Saharan African nations enumerated in the 2001, 2006 and 2011 Censuses. The Table excludes persons born in the North African countries of Egypt (36,533 in 2011), Libya (2558), Morocco (1564), Algeria (1169), Tunisia (480) and Western Sahara (5). The total for these six countries (including 'not further defined') is 42,451. If added to the total for 2011 above, this gives 337,826 Africa-born in the 2011 Census.

Comments on the quality of 2011 Census data can be found in Robinson (2013, pp. 12-15) and in Harte (2013, pp. 86-88). One point relevant here is that since refugees by definition have fled to other countries, many of their children will have been born

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outside of their home countries. As shown by Robinson (2013, Table 2-4), almost two thousand people with Sudanese ancestry were born in two major countries of first asylum: Kenya (1,081) and Egypt (922), while almost five thousand were born in countries of re-settlement.

To simplify the analysis, some refugee source countries have been grouped together and others, notably Sierra Leone and Liberia, have been excluded. Another criterion was the number of persons enumerated, although Djibouti is included on the grounds of geographical completeness. Sudan, including South Sudan, is shown separately because of the depth of information available in Marlowe, Harris and Lyons (2013). As shown in Table 2, the eight selected refugee source countries total 34,350 in 2006, rising to 45,549 in 2011, a gain of 11,399. This gain was vastly exceeded by the additional 51,649 Africa-born from southern Africa (Table 2). The Francophone countries show the greatest percentage increase, albeit from a small base.

Historically movement between South Africa and Rhodesia (which became Zimbabwe in 1980) was quite common (see for example West, 1965, p. 68). Westpac CEO Gail Kelly was born in South Africa in 1956. She 'moved to teach in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1977, where she taught Latin until her husband Allan was released from compulsory military service. The Kellys then moved back to Johannesburg ...' (Owens, 2014).

Table 3 summarizes the type of visa category for entrants from 1991 to 2013. Data are from the Settlement Data Base which are not at present linked to the Census data (may be in future). Two main factors affected the flow of refugees from Africa to Australia: First, 'In 2007, the then Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, Kevin Andrews cut back on the number of Africans admitted under the humanitarian program, stating that some Africans were "unable to settle and adjust into the Australian way of life". This judgement contributed to the slowdown in Sudan-born arrivals in particular...'. (Lucas, Jamali & Edgar, 2013, pp. 63-64). Second, the refugee intake from camps in Africa and elsewhere is reduced by numbers of undocumented refugees who arrive by boat. In 2012, then Immigration Minister Chris Bowen indicated that more places were going to asylum seekers, most having arrived by boat, than to UN declared refugees from camps (Wilson, 2012).

Francophone entrants were not numerous in the 1990s; only in 2003 did the annual intake rise above 100. And from 2003 until 2009, 90% arrived as part of the humanitarian intake. For the Sudan-born the humanitarian share was over 85% between 1993 and 2007. The Horn of Africa intake is different with humanitarian dominating but with family reunion also important reflecting more settled members able to sponsor their close family members to Australia.

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Southern Africans generally enter as skilled migrants and their numbers are affected by the state of the economy. The Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2007-8 may have had a lagged impact in recent years with the total numbers of immigrants from South Africa falling to 8,344 in 2010 after the peaks of 12,080 in 2008 and 11,291 in 2009. In addition to the effect of the GFC, the Zimbabwean economy has improved in recent years. Immigrants from Zimbabwe declined to 1,400 in 2010, compared with 2,740 in 2008 and 2,126 in 2009.

Table 4 shows the age structure of the Africa-born in Australia and reflects the history of the migration stream from Africa. Since White South Africans and to a lesser extent Coloureds were not prohibited by the White Australia policy that ended in the 1970s, they have been coming in numbers for decades, and have thus been more subject to ageing than the recent Francophone and Sudanese groups. Flows from the Horn of Africa began in the early 1990s, and only 38% of this group was aged under 30 in 2011.

The remaining Tables refer to the human capital of the migrants as measured by the following Census variables:

Educational Attainment (Highest Year of School Completed)

Post School Qualifications

Proficiency in English

Labour Force Participation

Occupation

Education and Post School Qualifications

It can be expected that many refugees will have had their schooling interrupted while they were in Africa, so that they have fallen behind the Australia-born and others who have not had similar disruptions. Vincent (2012), who spent a decade in Kakuma camp in Kenya, wrote 'At last, at the age of fourteen and fifteen, I sat in a classroom for the first time and began to get the education I had craved.' (p. 77) In his class of 70 there was only one girl (Vincent 2012, p. 79).

Once in Australia, many former refugees have taken steps to gain qualifications. In the Foreword of *Walking to Freedom*, Garang (2010) wrote 'In 2000 the Australian Government began bringing a thousand people from Kakuma ... now many of us are studying at TAFE and universities across Australia. Many have graduated as engineers, accountants and nurses, and in other professions.' (p. i) Garang's (2010) book contains biographies of eight men and two women from the Awulian community, originally from South Sudan, who were resettled in Queensland. Several describe how they had to improve their English before beginning post-school studies.

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Conversely, in South Africa, 'In the 1980s Whites were required to stay at school until age 16 or until they had passed Standard Ten, whereas Indians were only required to stay until age 15. Attempts to give Coloureds parity with Whites only began in the 1970s, and similar measures for Africans were only initiated in the 1980s.' (Lucas 2000, p. 14). Since the South Africa-born in Australia were largely Whites, in the 1996 Census only 9% of South Africa-born adults had left school before age 16.

Tables 5 and 7 relate age to the expected Year of Schooling for males and females respectively. For example, an Australian 15 year-old has usually completed Year 9. By age 19, Year 12 should have been completed. For both Zimbabwe- and South Africa-born, over 85% of 19 year old males and over 90% of females have completed Year 12. The refugee source countries do less well. 81% of Francophone males aged 15 have completed Year 9 but attainment then slips back among the older youth.

By comparing the last row of Table 5 with Table 6, it can be seen that males age 20 and over from the refugee source countries appear to be doing better than their younger peers, although they are still behind the southern Africans. This is not true for females, with those aged 20 and over having lower rates of Year 12 completion than their 19 year old peers (Tables 7 and 8).

Tables 6 and 8 show educational attainment for males and females, respectively, aged 20 and over. Almost all the Zimbabwe-born and South Africa-born have completed Year 9 or above. In contrast, this is only true for about six out of ten Francophone- and Sudan-born females (and eight out of ten males, including a sizeable proportion with 'not stated' education).

Table 9 shows that the southern Africans are well ahead of the refugee source countries when it comes to University degrees. Hugo (1999), using 1996 Census data, noted that 'One of the distinctive features of the Zimbabwe-born is their high average socioeconomic status.' (p. 214) They had 'one of the highest educational profiles of all overseas groups' (Hugo, 1999, p. 214). Southern African females are almost as likely to be graduates as males, whereas this is not true for the other countries. In terms of diploma and certificate holders, the Francophone- and Horn of Africa-born females, and the Francophone-born males, are similar to the South Africans.

English Proficiency

In recent decades, after the post-war demand for unskilled labour in Australia had subsided, English proficiency became recognised as a pathway to employment and as a predictor of unemployment (Ware and Lucas, 1995, p. 181; Lucas et al., 2013, p. 58). Robinson (2013, p. 40) has shown the percentages of Africans from refugee-source countries who do not speak English well or at all. Unsurprisingly the Francophones do

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worst with 37% of those from Burundi in this category, and 22% from the Democratic Republic of Congo, although this is matched by 23% for the Eritrea-born.

Lucas et al. (2013, pp. 58-59) showed that within the Sudan-born in 2011, 9% of males and 24% of females did not speak English well or at all. For adult males this percent rose from 3% in age group 15-19 to 23% in age group 50-54. For adult females aged 15-19 the percent was similar at only 4% but the peak of 47% at ages 65 and over was considerably higher.

Labour force outcomes

Since the southern Africans are mostly arriving as skilled or business migrants, they could be expected to have relatively high labour force participation rates, comprising both employed and unemployed. In 1996, 95% of the South Africa-born males aged 25-44 (which removes the effects of post school education and retirement) were in the labour force.

For southern African males aged 15-64 in 2011, the labour force participation rate (the sum of the percentages employed and unemployed) is approximately 90% which is fairly typical of the Australian population (Table 10). In Australia between 1976 and 1981, the male labour force participation rate was over 90 percent in the key working ages of 25-49 (Hugo, 1986, p. 267).

More surprising is the relatively low participation rates for the males born in refugee source countries, notably the Francophone males where 44% are not in the labour force, compared with around 10% for the Zimbabwe- and South Africa-born. Other studies have linked low levels of participation in the Australian labour force with low levels of English proficiency (Richardson et al., 2004, p. 9).

Female labour force participation rates are generally lower than for males. However, they show the same general trends, with higher participation among southern Africans compared with African women from refugee sources countries (Table 10).

A compendium produced by the Australian Human Rights Commission (2011, pp. 49-51) produced a number of community, stakeholder and individual responses to a question about challenges faced by African Australians in finding and retaining employment. These included English language difficulties, difficulties in getting overseas qualification recognised, racial and religious discrimination, and a lack of 'Australian based workplace experience.' (p. 8)

Tables 11 and 12 show the occupational structures of Africa-born males and females who were employed in 2011. Again, the human capital of the southern Africans is

reflected in their concentration in the Managers and Professionals category. For males, only around one in ten of the Southern Africans are in the Labourers category, compared with one in two of those born in Horn of Africa and slightly fewer from Sudan and Francohone countries. Just under half of southern African females in employment are Managers or Professionals, consistent with their English proficiency and qualifications, while the majority of females from other countries in Africa are employed in the less skilled Community, Clerical and Sales category.

Residence

As shown by Lucas et al. (2013, p. 50) one of out of every eight Sudan-born in Australia in 2011 lives outside a major urban location. This compares with about one in four of the Zimbabwe-born in 2006 and 2011 (Lucas, Jamali & Edgar, 2011, p. 12; Lucas, Edgar & Jamali, 2013, Table 4). People arriving as refugees have less choice of location than skilled migrants. For example, 'Delays of up to 10 years for public housing in areas such as Flemington, northwest of Melbourne's CBD, mean most newly arrived families move to outer suburbs and regional centres with fewer resources and support networks.' (Baxendale, 2012, p. 6).

Like the Zimbabwe-born, South African immigrants have a greater say in where they live in Australia. Professor Stimson refers to Queensland as being desirable for South Africans because of its established community. For example, Charlene Hounsom, a construction project administrator, lives near a good friend from South Africa, and prefers Brisbane's climate to that of Western Australia. Many South Africans live '... in affluent suburbs such as Kenmore and Brookfield to the city's west and Albany Creek to the city's north.' (Fraser and Elks, 2010, p. 7)

The Future

Cobb-Clark and Chapman (1999, p. 2) analysed the labour market experiences of migrants (Principal Applicants) aged 15 and older who arrived in Australia between September 1993 and August 1995. These were predominantly from Asian (44%) and European (33%) countries, with just 5% from Sub-Saharan Africa. The authors found that proficiency in English 'is associated with significant advantages in the labour market', and that 'small improvements in English speaking capacity ... might result in large gains in job search and on-the-job productivity' (Cobb-Clark and Chapman, 1999, pp. 26-27). The labour market outcomes of recent arrivals from the refugee source countries should, therefore, improve over time as they acquire English skills and knowledge of the local labour market.

Those who arrived as young children should have a labour market advantage from schooling in the Australian system and being proficient in English well before they leave school (Khou, McDonald, Giorgas & Birrell, 2002, p. 27). A study by Edgar (2012, pp. 204,

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217) found no evidence of ethnic discrimination operating to prevent qualified migrants with a good command of English from achieving labour market success comparable to the Australia born. In the absence of discrimination, child migrants from Africa should have the same employment prospects as other Australians with similar human capital.

In his study of refugees from all source countries, Hugo (2011) found that ‘For almost all refugee-humanitarian birthplace groups there are improved labour market outcomes with time in Australia and especially across generations’ (p. 171) and that ‘the second generation has much higher levels of labour force engagement than the first generation...’ (p. xxiii) Thus, further research on second generation African Australians, identified from the Census ancestry question, is desirable. As the community ages and grows over time, it will also be important to analyse how the second generation are faring in the Australian labour market. Will they show the widespread intergenerational mobility found in other, long-settled immigrant groups (Edgar, 2012, pp. 215-216)?

On the other hand, are there religious and cultural barriers that will hinder the future labour force participation and employment of humanitarian migrants from Africa, particularly women? Are there particular factors affecting immigrants from the Francophone countries, of whom 44% of males and 68% of females are not in the labour force? The barriers to labour force participation faced by migrants from the Francophone countries, and to a lesser extent from Sudan and the Horn of Africa, warrant further investigation.

For Sudan and the Horn of Africa, if and when the political and economic situations stabilise and improve, how many migrants will return to their homeland? The prevalence and impact of return migration is another important area for future research.

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Table 1. African-born in Australia 2001- 2011

Birthplace	Census Years			Intercensal growth (%)	
	2001	2006	2011	2001 to 2006	2006 to 2011
Angola	353	396	439	12.2	10.9
Benin	21	19	76	-9.5	300.0
Botswana	709	865	970	22.0	12.1
Burkina Faso	14	26	38	85.7	46.2
Burundi	32	754	1729	2256.3	129.3
Cameroon	66	125	276	89.4	120.8
Cape Verde	22	22	24	0.0	9.1
Central African Republic		11	15		36.4
Central and West Africa, nfd.	178	199	130	11.8	-34.7
Chad	36	27	56	-25.0	107.4
Comoros	21	13	17	-38.1	30.8
Congo (Republic)	134	521	980	288.8	88.1
Congo DR (Zaire)	267	618	2575	131.5	316.7
Cote d'Ivoire	75	256	446	241.3	74.2
Djibouti	71	97	136	36.6	40.2
Equatorial Guinea		9	12		33.3
Eritrea	1599	2015	2841	26.0	41.0
Ethiopia	3544	5634	8452	59.0	50.0
Gabon	22	24	24	9.1	0.0
Gambia	59	130	92	120.3	-29.2
Ghana	2040	2769	3866	35.7	39.6
Guinea	31	334	650	977.4	94.6
Guinea-Bissau	12	8	15	-33.3	87.5
Kenya	6870	9935	13831	44.6	39.2
Lesotho	53	78	100	47.2	28.2
Liberia	124	1523	2672	1128.2	75.4
Madagascar	162	188	223	16.0	18.6
Malawi	486	685	960	40.9	40.1
Mali	26	47	51	80.8	8.5
Mauritania	13	16	38	23.1	137.5
Mauritius	16962	18173	23279	7.1	28.1
Mayotte		0	0		
Mozambique	551	632	752	14.7	19.0
Namibia	437	703	1019	60.9	45.0

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Niger	17	11	26	-35.3	136.4
Nigeria	1738	2500	4519	43.8	80.8
Reunion	71	126	174	77.5	38.1
Rwanda	46	202	639	339.1	216.3
Sao Tome and Principe	11	9	12	-18.2	33.3
Senegal	185	199	338	7.6	69.8
Seychelles	2448	2508	2591	2.5	3.3
Sierra Leone	363	1809	3043	398.3	68.2
Somalia	3713	4314	5686	16.2	31.8
South Africa	79425	104132	145683	31.1	39.9
Southern and East Africa nfd/nec	727	609	505	-16.2	-17.1
Sub-Saharan Africa nfd		3	0		
St Helena		37	42		13.5
Sudan	4900	19049	22855	288.8	20.0
Swaziland	208	233	300	12.0	28.8
Tanzania	1714	2300	3437	34.2	49.4
Togo	13	34	278	161.5	717.6
Uganda	1217	1712	2675	40.7	56.3
Zambia	3070	4078	5537	32.8	35.8
Zimbabwe	11734	20156	30251	71.8	50.1
Total	146590	210873	295375	43.9	40.1

Sources:

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Table 2. Africa-born in Australia, select countries, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

Country	2006 Census	2011 Census	Gain (%)
Francophone	1,897	5,282	3,385 (178%)
Horn of Africa	12,059	17,119	5,060 (42%)
Sudan	19,049	22,856	3,807 (20%)
Zimbabwe	20,155	30,252	10,097 (50%)
South Africa	104,132	145,684	41,552 (40%)
Total	157,292	221,193	63,901 (41%)

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

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Table 3. Africa-born in Australia, select countries by arrival period and migration category, 1991-2013

Country	Arrival Period	Migration category				N=	Mean annual N=
		Family (%)	Humanitarian (%)	Skilled (%)	Not stated/ Other (%)		
Francophone	1991 - 2000	35%	48%	17%	0%	46	5
	2001 - 2008	3%	96%	1%	0%	3,604	451
	2009 - 2013	14%	84%	1%	0%	3,238	648
Horn of Africa	1991 - 2000	27%	71%	1%	1%	9,717	972
	2001 - 2008	39%	58%	3%	0%	7,530	941
	2009 - 2013	40%	57%	3%	0%	6,422	1,284
Sudan	1991 - 2000	6%	90%	2%	2%	4,180	418
	2001 - 2008	4%	96%	0%	0%	22,791	2,849
	2009 - 2013	50%	47%	2%	0%	2,968	594
Zimbabwe	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
South Africa	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

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, table generated using Settlement Reporting Facility. <http://www.immi.gov.au/settlement/srf/> Accessed 20 January 2014.

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Table 4. Africa-born in Australia, by birthplace and age group, 2011 Census

Age group	Francophone	Horn of Africa	Sudan	Zimbabwe	South Africa
0-14 years	18%	10%	17%	10%	11%
15-19 years	16%	8%	13%	7%	7%
20-29 years	24%	20%	25%	17%	13%
30-64 years	41%	59%	43%	62%	59%
65+ years	2%	3%	3%	5%	9%
N=	5,281	17,118	22,855	30,254	145,685

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

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Table 5. Highest year of school completed by birthplace and age, males aged 15–19, 2011 Census

Age, Schooling	Francophone % (N)	Horn of Africa % (N)	Sudan % (N)	Zimbabwe % (N)	South Africa % (N)
15 yr olds, Year 9+	81% (81)	61% (146)	71% (319)	80% (198)	74% (1158)
16 yr olds, Year 10+	64% (84)	64% (120)	64% (305)	83% (222)	72% (1148)
17 yr olds, Year 11+	62% (74)	61% (114)	59% (312)	77% (176)	69% (1131)
18 yr olds, Year 12	44% (107)	24% (107)	51% (305)	69% (185)	63% (1096)
19 yr olds, Year 12	53% (68)	58% (132)	63% (296)	86% (199)	86% (1089)

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

Note: the number in brackets is the base for the percentage.

Table 6. Highest year of school completed by birthplace, males aged 20+, 2011 Census

Schooling	Francophone	Horn of Africa	Sudan	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Year 12	61%	68%	66%	83%	87%
Year 9-11	18%	13%	14%	14%	11%
≤ Year 8	15%	11%	9%	0%	1%
Not stated	6%	8%	11%	2%	2%
N =	1,761	6,843	8,234	12,380	57,517

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

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Table 7. Highest year of school completed by birthplace and age, females aged 15–19, 2011

Age, Schooling	Francophone % (N)	Horn of Africa % (N)	Sudan % (N)	Zimbabwe % (N)	South Africa % (N)
15 yr olds, Year 9+	67% (73)	68% (109)	68% (301)	81% (207)	80% (1106)
16 yr olds, Year 10+	61% (96)	61% (130)	69% (265)	88% (192)	75% (1088)
17 yr olds, Year 11+	42% (84)	54% (156)	57% (257)	83% (183)	74% (1035)
18 yr olds, Year 12	35% (94)	40% (139)	56% (269)	78% (201)	73% (1023)
19 yr olds, Year 12	48% (89)	56% (142)	64% (246)	91% (207)	92% (1018)

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

Table 8. Highest year of school completed by birthplace, females aged 20+, 2011

Schooling	Francophone	Horn of Africa	Sudan	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Year 12	40%	51%	44%	80%	86%
Year 9-11	22%	17%	15%	17%	11%
≤ Year 8	32%	24%	30%	1%	1%
Not stated	6%	8%	11%	2%	2%
N =	1,744	7,300	7,890	12,738	60,537

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

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Table 9. Post-school qualifications by birthplace and sex, ages 20+, 2011

Qualification	Francophone	Horn of Africa	Sudan	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Males					
Degree	15%	19%	16%	36%	40%
Diploma/ Certificate	35%	24%	25%	43%	37%
N =	1,761	6,843	8,234	12,380	57,517
Females					
Degree	9%	9%	10%	34%	38%
Diploma/ Certificate	29%	28%	20%	37%	28%
N =	1,744	7,300	7,890	12,738	60,537

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

Note: Degree includes Postgraduate Degree, Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate.

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Table 10. Labour force (LF) status by birthplace and sex, ages 15-64, 2011
Census

LF Status	Francophone	Horn of Africa	Sudan	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Males					
Employed	41%	58%	45%	86%	84%
Unemployed	13%	11%	14%	3%	4%
Not in LF	44%	27%	37%	10%	11%
Females					
Employed	22%	37%	26%	76%	71%
Unemployed	9%	9%	11%	4%	4%
Not in LF	68%	50%	59%	20%	25%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.

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Table 11. Occupations of employed males, by birthplace, 2011 Census

Occupation	Francophone	Horn of Africa	Sudan	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Managers, Professionals	18%	19%	18%	47%	54%
Technicians, Trades	12%	9%	9%	23%	20%
Community, Clerical, Sales	26%	17%	21%	18%	16%
Labourers	39%	50%	45%	11%	9%
Not stated	5%	5%	8%	2%	1%
N =	891	4,239	4,322	11,152	50,089

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder

Table 12. Occupations of employed females, by birthplace, 2011 Census

Occupation	Francophone	Horn of Africa	Sudan	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Managers, Professionals	24%	18%	17%	45%	47%
Technicians, Trades	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Community, Clerical, Sales	50%	58%	51%	47%	45%
Labourers	19%	18%	25%	4%	4%
Not stated	3%	4%	5%	1%	1%
N =	464	2,887	2,302	9,977	42,423

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, table generated using Tablebuilder.