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CONTENTS

Sudanese heritage and living in Australia: Implications of demography for individual and community resilience

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Abstract

The present research provides an updated picture of residents of Australia with a Sudanese heritage, places this in the wider context of migration from African refugee-source countries to Australia, and considers the implications of these demographic characteristics for individual and community resilience. It shows that reliance on data concerning country of birth systematically under-estimates the size of the population. It then interprets the rich data available on country of birth in the light of this under-estimation. The article shows how a number of the demographic characteristics of the Sudanese-Australian community create both challenges and opportunities for successful settlement.

Introduction

The present research provides an updated picture of Sudanese-Australians, places this in the wider context of migration to Australia from Africa, and considers the implications of demographic characteristics of this community for individual and community resilience. Data underpinning several authoritative descriptions of the demography of Sudanese-Australians are outdated.[1] In these cases, all or main sections of these descriptions are based on data collected prior to 2001. Because of this, much of the description they provide relates to earlier and very different cohorts of immigrants. For example, in The Australian People, the brief entry about Sudanese-Australians states:

- The majority were Christians "with Greek Orthodox being second in number to the Copts"

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[1] Graeme Hugo, "Migration between Africa and Australia: A Demographic Perspective: Background Paper", in *African Australians: A review of human rights and social inclusion issues (*Sydney: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2009); Graeme Hugo, "Migration between Africa and Australia: Patterns, Issues and Implications", in Catherine Cross, Derik Gelderblom, Niel Roux and Jonathan Mafukidze, eds. *Views on Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Proceedings of an African Migration Alliance Workshop*, (Capetown: Human Sciences Research Council and Department of Social Development, South Africa, 2006); and James Jupp, ed., *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

- "Only the Muslim minority were likely to see themselves as primarily Sudanese" and
- "Those settling in Australia tended to be better educated than the Australian average." [2]

Current Sudanese-Australian demographics have shifted from these conclusions just ten years ago. The two reports by Hugo summarise useful information about Sudanese-Australians but have the more general aim of analysing migration from Africa to Australia, and comparing African migration to Australia with that to other OECD countries. The latter needed to rely on data from 2000, before the peak in migration of African humanitarian entrants to Australia. [3]

The nature of the data is also a concern when interpreting analyses provided by Jupp, [4] and Hugo, [5] and in other recent summaries concerning residents of Australia with an African heritage. [6] These all focus on Australian census data concerning country of birth. This approach has two shortcomings. First, although Australia conducts a census every five-years, there have been dramatic changes in immigration since the last census in 2006. Second, country of birth data ignore children born in Australia to Sudanese-Australian parents, and children born to Sudanese-Australians parents in third countries. For Western source countries that contribute only voluntary migrants, the error of measurement in focusing on country of birth data may be relatively small. However, for countries, such as Sudan, which have relatively high birth rates and which primarily contribute humanitarian entrants who have spent many years in countries of first asylum, the error of measurement in this approach may be large.

This article attempts to estimate the number of residents of Australia who have a Sudanese heritage, and to examine the characteristics and distribution of this population by supplementing data for both "country of birth of person" and "ancestry" collected during the Australian Census

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[2] Jupp, 695.

[3] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Fact Sheet 60 – Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Program* Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011b, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/60refugee.htm (accessed 7 March, 2011).

[4] Jupp, 2001.

[5] Hugo, 2006; and Hugo, 2009.

[6] Surjeet Dahnji, "Welcome or Unwelcome? Integration Issues in the Resettlement of Former Refugees from the Horn of Africa and Sudan in Metropolitan Melbourne," *Australasian Review of African Studies* 30:2 (2009): 152-78.

of Population and Housing in 2006 with information that incorporates information about arrivals since 2006.[7] Data from the census are then interpreted in the light of this overall picture. Census data were extracted from country-specific summaries produced by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (or its predecessor),[8] or calculated using data cubes from 2006 CDATA Online,[9] a free online tool that allows construction of custom-designed tables.

Quality of the 2006 census data - Key questions
The Australian Census of Population and Housing is the nation's official count of population and dwellings. It aims to measure the number of, and several characteristics about, all people who were in Australia on Census Night. The number of persons enumerated at the 2006 census was 20,061,648. This study focuses on information from two measures collected at the 2006 census, namely 'Country of birth of person" and "ancestry".

Country of Birth of Person
The census required the respondent who completed the census questionnaire to indicate the country of birth of each person in the household. If no country of birth was recorded on the census form,

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[7] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Migration 2009-10* (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011), 44; and Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Settlement Reporting*, 2011b, http://www.immi.gov.au/settlement/ (accessed 5 August, 2011).

[8] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Community Information Summaries: Eritrea-Born*; *Ethiopia-Born*; *Liberia-Born; Sierra Leone-Born*; *Somalia Born*; *Sudan-Born* (all accessed online 30 January 2011); Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Sierra Leonean Community Profile* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2007a) http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/settlement-planning/_pdf/community-profile-sierra-leone.pdf; Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Sudanese Community Profile* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2007b) http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/settlement-planning/_pdf/community-profile-sudan.pdf; Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *Eritrean Community Profile* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2006a) www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/.../community-profile-eritrea.pdf (accessed 30 January 2011); Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *Liberian Community Profile* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2006b) http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/settlement-planning/_pdf/community-profile-liberia.pdf (accessed 30 January 2011).

[9] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Cdata Online" Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010, http://www.abs.gov.au/CDataOnline (accessed 16 November 2010).

"edits" attempted to derive an answer from responses from other family members present in the same dwelling. If there was insufficient information provided to derive a response, country of birth was coded as 'Not stated' (i.e., missing).[10]

Country of Birth of Person was classified using the Standard Australian Classification of Countries.[11] This classifies African countries into two broad regions: "North Africa and the Middle East" and "Sub-Saharan Africa." [12] The classification of Sudan as a country in "North Africa and the Middle East" has a number of unhelpful consequences for any attempt to study persons with Sudanese heritage in Australia. These are described below.

Ancestry
In censuses prior to 2001, respondents were asked to provide the country of birth of each of their parents. In the 2006 Census, cultural diversity was assessed by asking respondents to indicate the one or two ancestries they most closely identified with. The question was designed to be used in conjunction with data from person's country of birth to identify the ethnic background of first (country of birth) and second and third generation Australians (ancestry). Note that people wishing to identify with an African ancestry needed to write their answer. Separate responses were requested for each person in the household. This raises two issues. First, writing answers in English can be a significant burden for some African-born residents. Second, no guidance was provided about whether an answer based upon continent, nation, tribe, or religion was most relevant. While self-identification may have been a desirable principle, it

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[10] Australian Bureau of Statistics. *Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (Ed. 2)* (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005); Australian Bureau of Statistics. *Census Dictionary, 2006 (Reissue)* (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006), 176.

[11] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Standard Australian Classification of Countries (Revision 2.03)* (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007a).

[12] Note that in some cases a residual or supplementary code was used. The residual code "Not elsewhere classified" and the supplementary code "Not further defined" have very different meanings. The "Not further defined" code was used were data were of low quality. Incomplete, non-specific or imprecise responses which could not be coded to the most detailed level of a classification were assigned a "Not further defined" if they contained enough information to allow them to be coded to a higher level of classification. In contrast, many answers that were adequately described were coded as "Not elsewhere classified" because they were rare, and therefore a suitable category was not included in the classification.

led to great diversity in responses and consequential difficulty in identifying second and third generation Australians with a heritage from a particular source country, such as Sudan.

The "first" and "second response" to the ancestry question were coded using the Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups.[13] Although subsequent analyses often refer to primary and secondary ancestry, respondents were not asked to rank responses. Thus, for respondents who reported two ancestries, both answers should be given equal standing in analyses.

Limitations of the census data for identifying residents of Australia with a Sudanese heritage

There are four principal sources of error that affect the validity of all census data: respondent error, processing error, partial or non-response, and undercount.[14] Respondent error is possible because the census relies on self-reported information. Processing errors are minimized by automatic processing (e.g., using Intelligent Character Recognition) supplemented with manual processing of illegible handwriting with low legibility. Coding errors of 'write in' answers are also possible. Partial responses occur because some people do not answer all relevant questions. The questions on which the main analyses for the current article are based had missing data for between 4.5% and 10% of respondents. Undercount errors result from forms that are not completed. Despite several precautions, some groups of people in the population are systematically undercounted in the census. These include groups in which many members have trouble reading, or speaking in English.

However, a number of provisions were made to maximise census data for groups with limited English literacy. In many cases, informal assistance in completing the census form may have been available. For example, the household member with the highest level of literacy in English was permitted to complete the census on behalf of others. Where this assistance was unavailable or insufficient, formal assistance was provided to support both an understanding of the goals and procedures relating to the census and the completion of forms. Information about the census was distributed in a number of community languages through brochures and the media, and through provision of information to migrant education units and community groups. In addition, a telephone interpreter service

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[13] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2005.
[14] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006.

was available during data collection, and the census employed collectors with skills in languages other than English. In addition, arrangements could be made for an interpreter to assist respondents to complete their forms. Despite these provisions, it is likely that many African-born residents of Australia did not complete, or only partially completed, their census forms. It is also likely that this attrition from the sample was biased. Limited literacy in English and unfamiliarity with the concept of a census are more likely to occur among some national and ethnic groups (e.g., Sudanese) than among others (e.g., South Africans), and are more likely to occur among "new arrivals" than long-term residents. Factors that show a bias in levels of English literacy (e.g., gender and age) are also likely to bias census data. Thus, errors in census data due to respondent error, processing error, partial or non-response, and undercount are likely to be greater for residents with a Sudanese heritage than for residents from many other heritage groups. Unfortunately, although census reports include estimates of error, these are not available for specific populations (e.g., Sudan-born).

There are also threats to the validity of census data that are specific to the topic of this article. In particular, the way in which ancestry data were classified has implications for the analysis. Because of the diversity of responses, ancestry responses were sometimes classified into a national group (e.g. Sudanese), and at other times classified by 'sub-national group', which is typically based on ethnicity (e.g. Dinka), or 'cross-national (diasporic) group', which is also typically based on ethnicity (e.g. Arab), or religion (e.g., Coptic).[15] This is particularly problematic in the case of Sudan. The ancestry group for participants who classified their ancestry in terms of nationality ("Sudanese') are classified as "North African and Middle Eastern". However, the only two "subnational" ancestry groups that are recognised for people from Sudan, Nuer and Dinka, are classified as "Sub-Saharan African".[16] Therefore, to estimate the Australian population who report a Sudanese ancestry, data must be pooled across two different speadsheets. In addition, because the Sudan has been "split" across these two broad groups, and only two tribal affiliations were recognised as specific cultural and ethnic groups, it is unclear whether responses nominating other tribal affiliations (e.g., Bari) have been systematically classified as "Other North African and Middle East" or as "Other Sub-Saharan African" or whether they are spread across both categories. In the former case, their African identity is

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[15] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006.
[16] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006.

obscured. In all cases, their Sudanese identity is obscured. Moreover, some respondents may have reported their religious ancestry. In particular, earlier waves of immigration from Sudan to Australia were dominated by Coptic Christians who did not primarily identify with their Sudanese nationality.[17] If these participants identified their ancestry in terms of their religious affiliation, their Sudanese identity was also obscured.

Quality of data concerning increases since 2006 in the number of persons with Sudanese heritage living in Australia

Publications concerning the number of entrants to Australia from specific source countries is provided annually by The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) (and its predecessor, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA)). These reports have the advantage of including persons with a Sudanese heritage who were born in Sudan and those born in countries of asylum into the same category. In addition, for some immigration source countries, including the Sudan, the department has generated community profiles that sometimes include information about arrivals after 2006.[18] However, these reports are not regularly updated. To compensate for this, the Department has recently made available the Settlement Reporting Facility.[19] This on-line tool allows simple searches for information about permanent arrivals to Australia since January 1991, and is updated monthly. No data appear to be available concerning the number of children born in Australia to Sudanese-Australian parents since 2006.

Number of residents of Australia who have a Sudanese heritage
Sudan-born residents

At the time of the 2006 census, 19,050 people born in Sudan were living in Australia. This represented 0.043% of overseas-born residents of Australia and made the Sudan the 45th most common source country for overseas-born residents.[20]

Sudan-born residents in the context of African-born residents

For many Australians, Sudanese are the face of African migration to Australia. It is therefore interesting to interpret the census data for Sudan-

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[17] Judd, 695.

[18] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Immigration Update 2009-2010* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2010b).

[19] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Settler Arrivals 2009-2010*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011a.

[20] Hugo, 2009.

born residents in the context of data about residents born in other African nations. At the time of the 2006 census, a total of 248,699 people who had been born in Africa were living in Australia. This represented 5.6% of Australia's overseas-born population and approximately one per cent of its total population.[21] Since then, approximately 50,000 additional African-born migrants have arrived in Australia.[22]

A recent and comprehensive review of the composition of African migration to Australia is available elsewhere.[23] In summary, three countries, South Africa (n = 104,128), Egypt (n = 33,495) and Zimbabwe (n = 20,155) accounted for over 60% of all African-born residents of Australia in 2006. These continued to be the three largest contributors of African immigrants in 2009-2010 estimates of Australia's resident population (South Africa: n = 155,692; Egypt: n = 41,163; and Zimbabwe: n = 31,779).[24] It is important to note that most residents born in South Africa and Zimbabwe are "invisible" as Africans. In the 2006 census, more than half indicated a family background from North West Europe, South East Europe, or South or Central Asia in response to the first (South Africa, 53.3%; Zimbabwe, 70.6%) or second question about ancestry (South Africa, 62.1%; Zimbabwe, 50.0%), and spoke English at home (South Africa, 81.9%; Zimbabwe, 79.0%). Many were highly qualified.

During the past 15 years, the visibility of African immigrants increased as a result of the decision to substantially increase Australia's offshore refugee intake and to increase the percentage of this intake drawn from Africa. In 1997 only 8% of Australia's offshore refugees came from Africa, but by 2003-2004 this had increased to 70.6%.[25] This resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of "visible" African immigrants and in Africans being identified as people in need of humanitarian assistance. The vast majority of African-Australians who participated in a recent project by the Australian Human Rights Commission reported that having a 'visibly different' appearance impacted upon their everyday experiences.[26] There was agreement by members of these communities,

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[21] Australian Human Rights Commission, *In Our Own Words. African Australians: A Review of Human Rights and Social Inclusion Issues* (Sydney: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010).
[22] Australian Human Rights Commission.
[23] Hugo, 2009.
[24] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011.
[25] Hugo, 2009.
[26] Australian Human Rights Commission.

service providers and other stakeholders that 'visibly different' African-Australians experience widespread discrimination in relation to employment, housing, education, health services and the justice system.

Data concerning migration from other African nations also have two other implications. First, although people from refugee-source countries in Africa are highly visible in the community, even the largest source country, Sudan, represents a relatively small percentage of Australia's African-born population (Table 1). Despite this, the increased visibility of residents from refugee-source countries raised the profile of immigration from Africa in Australian political debate. Secondly, Sudan-born Australians arrived in a country in which a large and increasing number of immigrants from South Africa and Zimbabwe were also settled. More than half of the South African-born residents of Australia arrived following the election of Nelson Mandela as president in 1994 and many Zimbabwean-born residents migrated following the transition to majority rule in that country. It is unclear whether these immigrants brought attitudes favourable towards Black Africans, such as South Sudanese, with them to Australia. However, it is extremely unlikely that most of the prejudice and discrimination experienced by 'visibly different' African Australians can be laid at the door of these immigrant groups.[27]

Table 1. Changes in the population of residents of Australia who were born in the main African refugee-source countries

Country of birth	% Increase 2001-2006	2006 census population figures	Annual immigration reported by Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC)^		
			2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010
Sudan	287.7%	19,050	1,030	947	732
Eritrea	24.7%	2,020	147	171	232
Ethiopia	56.7%	5,640	509	784	781
Liberia	983.0%	1,530	255	287	310
Sierra Leone	416.0%	1,810	279	228	432
Somalia	16.9%	4,310	163	411	589

Sources: 2009-2010 annual immigration: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Settler arrivals 2009-2010,* 2011a; Increase 2001-2006 and 2006 census population figures: calculated from 2006 CDATA Online.

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[27] Val Colic-Peisker and Farida Tilbury, "Being Black in Australia: A Case Study of Intergroup Relations," *Race and Class* 49:4 (2008): 38-56; and Ann Wayne Reiner, *Literature Review: Background Paper for African Australians: A Review of Human Rights and Social Inclusion Issues* (Sydney: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010).

Persons with Sudanese ancestry born elsewhere in Africa

Sudanese refugees have been 'warehoused' in neighbouring countries for many years. It is therefore likely that many of the children of Sudanese refugees who subsequently migrated to Australia were born outside Sudan. In the 2006 census, over 1,800 residents of Australia who were born in a country neighbouring Sudan indicated that they had "Sudanese" ancestry while an additional 168 indicated a Dinka or Nuer ancestry (see Table 2). DIAC data indicate that Sudanese entrants to Australia who had been born in countries of first asylum had risen to more than 2,200 by 2007.[28]

Table 2. Ancestry of Australian residents born in countries neighbouring Sudan, Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006

Answer to first ancestry question	Country of birth				
Selected refugee source groups	Egypt	Ethiopia	Kenya	Uganda	Total neighbouring countries
Sudanese	745	138	684	237	1,804
Eritrean	12	115	14	0	141
Ethiopian	13	3,468	48	4	3,533
Oromo	3	288	12	0	303
Somali	31	90	250	0	371
Amhara	0	79	0	0	79
Dinka	45	9	89	5	148
Nuer	3	4	13	0	20
Tigrayan	0	26	0	0	26
Tigre	0	9	0	0	9
Total for countries of birth	852	4217	1110	246	6425

Source: Calculated from *2006 CDATA Online*

These findings raise three issues. First, the 2006 census count of the Sudan-born residents in Australia is increased by approximately 10% by including persons of Sudanese descent who were born in countries of first asylum. Second, the vast majority of these additional Sudanese-Australians are likely to be children and youth, so their under-reporting may have particular significance for provision of education and health services. Third, the findings are a reminder that many members of refugee communities may never have lived in their ancestral homeland. In the

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[28] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007b.

2006 census, this is particularly likely for Australian residents who identified a "Sudanese", Dinka or Nuer ancestry in response to the first ancestry question (n = 18,119). Of this group, 10.9% were born in Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya or Uganda and another 3.0% were born in Australia.

Australian-born persons with Sudanese ancestry
Some additional people, who had been born in Australia, were also reported to have an African ancestry in the 2006 census. These second- or third-generation African-Australians comprised two groups. The first group reported that they had an African background in response to the first ancestry question (n = 27,629). These included 1,535 people who reported that their ancestry was "Sudanese" (n = 1,404), Dinka or Nuer (Table 3) (and an unknown number of other people with Sudanese ancestry who may have been categorized as "North African and Middle

Table 3. Australian-born residents with ancestry from African refugee-source countries, Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006

Answer to first ancestry question

Total Sudanese[a]	Eritrean	Oromo	Tigrayan	Tigre	Amhara	Ethiopian
1,535	432	96	9	5	6	854

Source: Calculated from *2006 CDATA Online*
[a] Sudanese, Nuer and Dinka

Eastern not elsewhere classified" or "Southern and East African not elsewhere classified"). Persons who nominated a "Sudanese" ancestry in response to the first question, rarely answered the second ancestry question (90.7% no other ancestry; 3.8% other Sub-Saharan or North African second ancestry). However, 232 people who had been born in Australia and nominated a non-African background in response to the first question on ancestry subsequently nominated a Sudanese background in response to the second. The majority of people in this group answered the first question on ancestry by nominating a group from Oceania (which includes Australia) or from North West Europe (which includes the United Kingdom). The second group, therefore primarily represents people with both African and non-African ancestries. Despite the presence of this group, the vast majority of Australian-born people with Sudanese ancestry indicated an exclusively African ancestry. Again, the 2006 census count of Sudan-born residents in Australia is increased by approximately 10% by including persons of Sudanese descent who were born in Australia.

Residents with Sudanese ancestry born outside Africa and Australia
Finally, an additional small number of people currently residing in Australia, who were born outside both Africa and Australia, reported that their ancestry was African (n = 4,552). Of these, 322 reported that their ancestry was "Sudanese". Most of these were born in South-East Asia (n = 126) or the Middle-East (n = 101).

The total number of residents of Australia with a Sudanese heritage
This research suggests that a conservative estimate of the total population of people with a Sudanese heritage in Australia at 1 July 2011 was 30,629. It should be noted that this population estimate is more than one and a half times the count of Sudan-born persons in the 2006 census. This number includes the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 estimate of Sudan-born residents (n = 26,199) at 30 June 2010,[29] subsequent Sudan-born arrivals documented by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (n = 688),[30] and additional persons who identified as having Sudanese ancestry in the 2006 census but who were born in countries of first asylum (n = 1,804), Australia (n = 1,636) and elsewhere (n = 322). Although it overcomes some sources of error in previous research, the estimate retains three sources of error. First, data on emigration of Sudan-born residents from Australia between 30 June 2010 and 1 July 2011 are not provided by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Therefore, it is not possible to track recent loss of the Sudanese-Australian population. This may not have been trivial since this period included the vote for independence of South Sudan and the lead-up to the establishment of the new nation of South Sudan. Second, between censuses, there is no count of births to Sudanese-Australian parents after their arrival. Third, no attempt was made to account for Sudanese humanitarian entrants to New Zealand who subsequently migrated to Australia, since the number of Sudanese-born residents of New Zealand is very small.[31] The estimate of population size provided above is therefore likely to be conservative because the sum of births to Sudanese-Australian families between 2006 and 2010 and immigration of Sudan-born persons from New Zealand is predicted to be greater than emigration of Sudanese-born persons from Australia to Sudan (and elsewhere) in the twelve months prior to 1 July, 2011 and emigration of Australian-born children of Sudanese parents.

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[29] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, 44.
[30] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011.
[31] Immigration New Zealand, (2011). "RQ1- Refugee quota all years," http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics/ (accessed 1 August, 2011).

In conclusion, country of birth data from the 2006 census appears likely to represent less than 62% of current Australian residents with a Sudanese heritage. Moreover, it is particularly likely to under-represent children and adolescents born to Sudanese-Australian parents in countries of first asylum and after resettlement in Australia. Despite these shortcomings, 2006 census data organised by country of birth are the most detailed and accessible that are currently available, and the necessary delay between the collection and publication of the 2011 census data will ensure that this remains the case for several years. The remainder of this article therefore focuses on these data. However, the analyses will be interpreted with an understanding that the data are likely to be more reliable for adults than for younger age groups.

Changes in the number of Sudan-born residents of Australia
Rapid increases in humanitarian intake from specific countries have many flow-on effects because of the way Australia provides support during settlement. Between 1997 and April 2011, Australia implemented an Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS). This was designed to offer specialist settlement services to humanitarian entrants during their initial six months in the country.[32] After this, most were referred to general settlement services (e.g., migrant resource centres), migrant service agencies, and organizations funded under the Australian Government's Settlement Grants Program[33]. The IHSS has been superseded by the Humanitarian Settlement Services program, which retains many of the same components but aims to provide more tailored support for a more flexible period after arrival.[34] One assumption underlying both programs is that, alongside government-funded support, and after government-funded support has been reduced, humanitarian entrants will be supported by general community service organizations and the preexisting community of immigrants from their home country. The ratio of new arrivals to established immigrants influences the extent to which this assumption can be met, and therefore influenced the likelihood of successful settlement. Thus, an understanding of changes in waves of migration from the same country and of differences in patterns

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[32] Urbis Keys Young Inc., *Evaluation of the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003).

[33] Department of Immigration and Citizenship. "Fact Sheet 66 – Humanitarian Settlement Services." Department of Immigration and Citizenship, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/66hss.htm (accessed 30 June 2011).

[34] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, "Fact Sheet 60 – Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Program."

of immigration between source countries can help to explain differences in the capacity of these communities and in the depth of social and economic resources that are available to support newcomers.[35]

The Sudan-born population of Australia has changed dramatically in both size and composition over the past 15 years. Sudan-born residents have shown a more spectacular increase in number than residents from any other refugee-source country in Africa. The Sudan-born population increased from 4,900 in 2001 to an estimated 26,887 by 1 July 2011.[36] This resulted in a population in which relatively few members had long-term experience with Australian institutions, attitudes and processes (Table 4). Moreover, the waves of Sudan-born immigration to Australia have been distinctive in their composition. Until 1996, Sudan-born residents of Australia were mostly of Egyptian or Greek ethnicity.[37] More recent waves have been almost exclusively consisted of persons of sub-Saharan African descent. This mismatch between long-term Sudan-born residents and newcomers, and the very rapid rate of growth in their numbers has resulted in many newly arrived Sudan-born entrants having very limited access to community support to guide their settlement.

Table 4. Percentage of Australian residents born in the main African refugee-source countries who arrived in the last 10 years, Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006

Country of birth	% of residents who arrived in the last 10 years
Sudan	84.3
Eritrea	34.3
Ethiopia	64.3
Liberia	95.1
Sierra Leone	87.1
Somalia	65.0

Source: Compiled from *Community Profiles* and *Community Information Summaries* for each country[38]

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[35] Andrew Jakubowicz, *Australia's Migration Policies: African Dimensions: Background Paper for African Australians: A Review of Human Rights and Social Inclusion Issues*, (Sydney: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010).

[36.] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011; and Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011.

[37] Jupp.

[38] DIAC, no date a; DIAC, no date b; DIAC, no date c; DIAC, no date d; DIAC, no date e; DIAC, no date f; DIAC, 2007a; DIAC, 2007b; DIMA, 2006a; DIMA, 2006b.

The recent decline in the number of Sudan-born people entering Australia (Table 1) has also been a source of stress for the community and a challenge to successful settlement. In many cases refugees come from generations of fragmented families.[39] Many Sudan-born residents have cherished the dream of reuniting with their family in Australia and have worked hard to save the money needed to sponsor family members under the Special Humanitarian Program. But they perceive that the door to fulfilling their dream is now closed. From a peak of just under 6,000 Sudanese immigrants to Australia in 2004-5, the quota for humanitarian entrants from Sudan dropped to just 298 in 2009-2010.[40] Moreover, there are few opportunities for members of a wider family to be reunited through the Family Stream for voluntary migrants to Australia. In 2009-2010, more than 90% of approved applications for places in the Family Stream were awarded to partners and parents of Australian citizens.[41]

Location of Sudan-born residents
As is the case for other groups of immigrants, the Sudan-born population of Australia is not evenly distributed across states and territories (Table 5). In every jurisdiction, the Sudan is the largest source of residents born in the refugee-source countries of Africa. The relative size of other groups differs from state to state. However, it is important to note that some states host a disproportionate number of residents born in African refugee-source countries. At the time of the 2006 census, Victoria not only hosted the largest number of Sudan-born residents but also more than half of all Australian residents from the two next largest sources of African humanitarian entrants, Ethiopia and Somalia. This appears to reflect the initial decision concerning site of resettlement made by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

Sudan is not a highly urbanized country, and although some refugees sought asylum in Nairobi, Cairo or Khartoum, many had no experience in living in a large urban centre before their arrival in Australia. Despite this, most residents (90%) who were born in the Sudan settled in one of the state or territory capital cities.[42] Melbourne is home to the largest

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[39] John Higley and John Nieuwenhuysen, eds., *Nations of Immigration: Australia and the USA Compared* ,(Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2009).

[40] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011.

[41] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, "Fact Sheet 29- Overview of Family Stream Migration." Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2010a, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/29overview_family.htm (accessed 2 December 2010).

[42] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007b.

Table 5. Geographic distribution of residents of Australia who were born in the main African refugee-source countries, Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006

Country   Percentage living in each State/Territory[a]
of birth

	Victoria	NSW	QLD	WA	SA	Tasmania	ACT	NT	Total
Sudan	32.6	31.4	12.6	10.6	7.7	2.8	1.2	1.1	98.9
Eritrea	60.2	7.9	7.2	15.8	6.0	1.4	1.4	0	99.9
Ethiopia	55.0	13.3	7.7	11.6	6.9	3.1	1.9	0.5	99.5
Liberia*	14.7	24.8	14.5	17.2	21.1	2.4	0	5.1	94.7
Sierra Leone	5.0	48.0	11.5	15.5	7.2	9.4	3.4	0	100
Somalia	60.8	13.4	6.0	14.6	4.2	0	0.4	0.6	99.4

Source: Compiled from *Community Profiles* and *Community Information Summaries* for each country.[43]
[a] NSW: New South Wales; QLD: Queensland; WA: West Australia; SA: South Australia; ACT: Australian Capital Territory; NT: Northern Territory

number of Sudan-born residents of Australia. Thus, unfamiliarity with urban life adds to the challenges faced during resettlement.

Although most resettle in metropolitan areas, small Sudanese-Australian communities have also formed in a number of regional centres.[44] However, this has not always led to fewer challenges during resettlement. Men from African refugee-source countries, who settled in regional areas report more negative experiences at educational institutions, are more likely to be employed below their level of skills and qualifications, are more dissatisfied with their jobs, and report greater discrimination than their peers who settled in a capital city.[45]

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[43] DIAC, no date a; DIAC, no date b; DIAC, no date c; DIAC, no date d; DIAC, no date e; DIAC, no date f; DIAC, 2007a; DIAC, 2007b; DIMA, 2006a; DIMA, 2006b.

[44] Christine Shepley, *Regional Settlement in Australia: Research into the Settlement Experience of Humanitarian Entrants in Regional Australia 2006-07* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2008); and Janet Taylor and Dayane Stanovic, *Refugees and Regional Settlement: Balancing Priorities,* (Melbourne: Brotherhood of St. Lawrence, 2005).

[45] Ignacio Correa-Velez and Gerald Onsando, "Educational and Occupational Outcomes Amongst African Men from Refugee Backgrounds Living in Urban and Regional Southeast Queensland," *Australasian Review of African Studies* 30:2 (2009): 114-27.

Characteristics of Sudan-born residents - *Gender*
Biases in favour of male migrants, the gendered nature of refugee flows, and the gender-specific nature of some humanitarian visas (e.g., Visa 204 Women at risk) create the potential for gender imbalances among Australian residents born in refugee source countries. Most demographic studies report an overall gender balance among Sudan-born residents.[46] However, the most wide-ranging social consequences occur if a gender imbalance occurs during the years in which partnering and child-rearing normally take place. At the 2006 census, residents born in many African refugee-source countries showed a gender imbalance of more than 10% among persons aged 20-49 years (Table 6). The imbalance was particularly pronounced (more than 20%) among Sudan-born residents, for whom males outnumbered females by a ratio of 122 males to 100 females. This gender imbalance is largely preserved (115 males to 100 females) in the most recent estimate of Australia's resident Sudan-born population.[47]

Table 6. Sex ratio (age 20-49), age ratio (under 50 to over 50) and percentage of children and youth among Australian residents who were born in the main African refugee-source countries, Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006

Country of birth	Sex ratio (males per 100 females) among persons aged 20-49 years	Age ratio (Under 50 years of age to over 50 years of age)	% Children aged 0-14 years in the total population	% Youth aged 15-24 years in the total population
Sudan	122	11.00	26.6	24.4
Eritrea	94	4.35	5.4	11.6
Ethiopia	97	10.43	14.5	15.3
Liberia	85	18.03	14.9	37.1
Sierra Leone	111	13.72	20.0	28.5
Somalia	88	10.26	11.4	28.1
All residents of Australia	98	2.23	19.8[a]	13.6[a]

Source: Calculated from 2006 CDATA Online
[a] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *2006 Census Quicksats: Australia.* Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007b, http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/2006census-quickstats-australia.pdf (accessed 28 January 2011).

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[46] Hugo, 2009.
[47] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011.

Age and family size

Middle-aged and elderly people play important roles as leaders and repositories of cultural knowledge in most African refugee source countries. Grandparents can also lessen the burden of parenting in single-headed households. In addition, in traditional Sudanese culture, elders have important roles as mediators of family conflict and can be effective in preventing family violence and divorce.[48] In Australia, however, most populations born in African refugee source countries contain few middle-aged and elderly people who could fill these roles. ABS 2006 census data cubes show that the overall Australian population contains between 2 and 3 persons under 50 years of age for every person over 50 years of age. In contrast, most populations born in the main African refugee source countries contain more than 10 persons under 50 years of age for every person over 50 years of age. While, this is consistent with the age structure of refugees in countries of first asylum,[49] it may contribute to the perception among many leaders of African-born refugee communities that they are 'losing' their young people to Australian ways,[50] and to difficulties in attempting to deploy elders as agents to prevent family violence in Australia.[51]

A large proportion of Sudan-born residents of Australia are children or youth. In the 2006 census, over 50% of Sudan-born residents were under 25 years of age. This was conspicuous even when compared with other African refugee source countries (see Table 6). Although the proportion of children has recently declined, the most recent estimates of Australian resident population continue to list Sudan as the country of origin with the highest proportion (19%) of residents aged 0-14 years and one of the youngest mean ages (26.7 years).[52]   It should be remembered that analyses reported earlier in this article show that data on Sudan-born young people systematically under-report the total population of child and youth with a Sudanese heritage in Australia. Thus, among Sudanese

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[48] Appollo Nsubuga-Kyobe, "A Note on Tensions in African-Australian Families and the Australian Family Court," *Australasian Review of African Studies,* 28: 1&2 (2006/2007): 97-11; and Springvale Monash Legal Service Inc., *Comparative Analysis of South Sudanese Customary Law and Victorian Law,* (Melbourne: Springvale Monash Legal Service Inc., 2008).

[49] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2009.* (Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010).

[50] Australian Human Rights Commission.

[51] Migrant Education Centre, East Melbourne, *Family Violence within the Southern Sudanese Community: Project Evaluation Report* (Melbourne: Migrant Education Centre, East Melbourne 2008).

[52] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011.

Australians, the true imbalance between children and youth, most of whom are not financially independent, and the adult population that seeks to provide them with care and financial support while dealing with the challenges of resettlement, is likely to be very marked.

Children and young people can be a resource as well as a burden to parents. However, there are both advantages and disadvantages to the general trend for children and young people to adapt to life in Australia more quickly than adults. Children's greater adaptability and their more advanced English-language skills allow them to assist their parents by acting as interpreters. However, this role reversal can change family dynamics in unhelpful ways, and undermine parents' self esteem.[53] Similar phenomena have been reported among humanitarian entrants to other Western countries.[54]

The large size of the population of Sudanese-Australian children relative to Sudanese-Australian adults also ensures that household size is often large. Although all communities from African refugee-source countries contain a large percentage of one-person family units (e.g., Sudan: 37%; Ethiopia: 42%; Sierra-Leone: 35%), they also contain a small percentage of family units containing 7 or more persons (e.g., Sudan: 5%; Ethiopia: 3%; Sierra-Leone: 7%). These situations result in problems finding suitable accommodation as there are very few houses in the public or private rental market that can accommodate large families and those that are available are not affordable.[55] This can result in the separation of family members or overcrowding.[56]

Despite the large size of some family units, many Sudan-born residents would prefer units of an even larger size. The absence of an African type of extended family structure prevents the use of some traditional coping styles.[57]

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[53] Australian Human Rights Commission.

[54] Bridging Refugee Youth and Children's Services, *Strengthening Services for Refugee Parents: Guidelines and Resources* (Baltimore, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, 2009).

[55] Australian Human Rights Commission; and Susan Evans and Rachael Gavarotto, *Long Way Home? The Plight of African Refugees Obtaining Decent Housing in Western Sydney* (Sydney: Social Policy and Research Unit, Anglicare Sydney, 2010).

[56] Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010; Evans and Gavarotto, 2010.

[57] Nsubuga-Kyobe.

Religion
Religion is important because it can give meaning and structure to life, be a source of coping strategies,[58] and provide a culturally sanctioned context for the formation of social networks for both men and women. In addition, faith-based institutions often provide material assistance. Given this, and the strength of religion in their homeland, is not surprising that very few (0.4%) Sudan-born residents reported that they did not follow any religion. This rate was much lower than that for the overall Australian population (18.7%). However, for African Muslims, especially African Muslim women, religion can also be an additional basis for discrimination.[59] Although most Sudan-born residents are Christians, a sizeable minority is Muslim (Table 7).

Table 7. Religious affiliation of residents of Australia who were born in the main African refugee-source countries, Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006

Country of birth	Religious affiliation			
	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	No religion
Sudan	15,945	2,483	4	83
Eritrea	741	1,167	0	29
Ethiopia	3,943	1,252	8	137
Liberia	1,094	308	0	26
Sierra Leone	1,068	607	3	23
Somalia	32	4,107	0	27

Source: Calculated from 2006 CDATA Online

Language and qualifications
Lack of English language skills can make it difficult for residents born in African refugee-source countries to gain employment, benefit from vocational training opportunities, participate in civil society, and to achieve good settlement outcomes.[60] Entrants without good English skills are likely to require translating and interpreting services, possibly in languages that are not readily available. Proficiency in English can be estimated by jointly considering the percentage of a population that speaks English at home and the percentage of those who do not but nevertheless consider that they speak English well or very well. Residents from African refugee-source countries differ markedly in their self-reported proficiency in English (Table 8). However, Sudan-born residents

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[58] Nigar G. Khawaja, Katherine M. White, Robert Schweitzer, and Jaimi H. Greenslade, "Difficulties and Coping Strategies of Sudanese Refugees: A Qualitative Approach," *Transcultural Psychiatry* 45:3 (2008): 489-512.
[59] Australian Human Rights Commission.
[60] Australian Human Rights Commission.

are conspicuous in having a few members who speak English at home and relatively few members who claim to speak English well or very well. Unless this disadvantage can be effectively addressed, this represents a major barrier to their successful resettlement. Refugees without proficiency in English report that they cannot form new social networks, succeed in education, or attain adequate employment.[61] Fortunately, however, most have settled in Australia at a time of record low levels of unemployment, which has increased the opportunities for people with limited English proficiency to find employment of some kind.[62]

Table 8. English proficiency among residents of Australia who were born in the main African refugee-source countries, Australian Census of Population and Housing 2006

Country of birth	% English spoken as the main language at home	Self-rated proficiency in speaking in English when English was not main language spoken at home	
		% speaking in English not well or not at all	% speaking in English well or very well
Sudan	4.4	30.3	67.0
Eritrea	4.2	21.9	76.4
Ethiopia	14.8	15.7	82.1
Liberia	44.4	20.0	77.6
Sierra Leone	17.5	13.6	83.8
Somalia	4.4	16.9	80.5

Source: Calculated from 2006 CDATA Online

On the other hand, residents born in African refugee-source countries have contributed greatly to Australia's linguistic diversity, which is a valuable community asset. Many Sudan-born residents are bilingual or multilingual, being able to speak their native language, one of the lingua franca (Arabic or English), and often another language.[63] At the time of the 2006 census, the main languages spoken at home by Sudan-born people in Australia were Arabic (51.2 per cent), Dinka (23.6 per cent), other specific African languages (15.3%), and other African Languages not elsewhere classified (5.5 per cent). However it is important to note that Juba (or Pidgin) Arabic is a form of the language developed and used mainly in South Sudan. It may not be intelligible to speakers of other

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[61] Khawaja et al.
[62] Hugo, 2009.
[63] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007b.

forms of Arabic.[64] Moreover, many Sudan-born residents can speak fluently in a number of languages but are unable to read and write in them.

Education is highly valued in among most residents born in African refugee source countries.[65] However, lengthy conflict in their homelands has severely limited their educational opportunities. At the 2006 Census, 38.8 % of Sudan-born residents aged 15 years and over had some form of higher non-school qualification. This situation was similar to that for residents born in several other African refugee-source countries, such as Eritrea (45.3%), Somalia (39.9%) and Liberia (46.6%), but considerably lower than that in the total Australian population (52.5%). However, most (66.4%) Sudan-born residents who did not have a high school qualification were currently enrolled at an educational institution.

Employment and income

Finding meaningful employment is a key to successful settlement. Residents born in African refugee-source countries often bring considerable professional and vocational skills, qualifications and experience and are keen to work. However, they face significant barriers to employment including lack of information about relevant vocational education and training programs, employment support services that are perceived to be confusing and difficult to access, difficulties having overseas training, qualifications and experience recognized, discrimination, and lack of knowledge or experience relevant to Australian workplaces and employment conditions.[66] As a result, they have a high unemployment rate. In the 2006 census, the unemployment level among Sudan-born residents (28.5%) was more than five times higher than that in the total Australian population (5.2%). Moreover, many tertiary-educated professionals fail to find employment or are forced to take positions unrelated to their qualifications (e.g., taxi drivers, cleaners). Relatively high levels of un- and under-employment have resulted in loss of self-worth.[67] However, this outcome is not unique to African-born immigrants or humanitarian entrants.[68]

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[64] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007b.

[65] Khawaja et al.

[66] Australian Human Rights Commission; and Graeme Hugo, *A Significant Contribution: The Economic, Social and Civic Contributions of First and Second Generation Humanitarian Entrants: Summary of Findings* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011).

[67] Nsubuga-Kyobe.

[68] Australian Human Rights Commission.

Given relatively low proficiency in English, disrupted education and barriers to employment, it is not surprising that many Sudan-born residents who are employed are engaged in jobs requiring relatively low skill levels. In the 2006 census, Sudanese-born residents were more than twice as likely to be employed as labourers, and less than half as likely to be employed as managers, as members of the wider Australian population. However, this is not unique to Sudanese-born residents. Residents born in the other main African refugee-source countries showed very similar employment patterns.

Given this difference in occupations, it is not surprising that the median income for Sudan-born residents was much lower than that for all Australians (Table 9).

Table 9. Income and employment among residents of Australia who were born in the main African refugee-source countries

Country of birth	Median individual weekly income for persons over 15 years of age ($AUD)	Labour force participation rate	Unemployment rate
Sudan	231	40.3	28.5
Eritrea	317	57.9	17.3
Ethiopia	342	59.4	13.7
Liberia	324	49.5	21.7
Sierra Leone	413	64.3	16.7
Somalia	214	41.7	30.8
All Australians[a]	466	64.6	5.2

Source: Compiled from *Community Profiles* and *Community Information Summaries* for each country[69]
[a] Median income for all overseas-born residents $431; median income for all Australian-born residents $431.

A vivid indication of both individual self-discipline and the strength of kinship relationships of Sudan-born residents is that out of their modest income many former refugees set aside money to provide regular remittances to family members in countries of first asylum and their homeland and to make regular savings to sponsor family members under the Special Humanitarian Program.[70] The financial stress associated with making these financial sacrifices and the emotional stress associated with being unable to meet these commitments has also been described in

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[69] DIAC, no date a; DIAC, no date b; DIAC, no date c; DIAC, no date d; DIAC, no date e; DIAC, no date f; DIAC, 2007a; DIAC, 2007b; DIMA, 2006a; DIMA, 2006b.
[70] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007b.

Sudanese immigrant communities in other countries.[71] Decisions about remittances are also a source of conflict within families.[72] The household livelihood strategies used in attempting to meet these financial obligations have a number of implications for quality of life and settlement success. In particular, it often leads Sudan-born residents to sacrifice or continually postpone achieving their own long-term educational goals in order to maintain their income in the short term.[73] Given the oversupply of men of partnering and child-rearing age in the Sudan-born population, it is likely that many men are seeking a bride. Low income presents a special challenge for these men, since, in addition to maintaining the obligations described above, they will usually be expected to provide a substantial dowry.[74]

Citizenship

In Australia, civil and social rights are attached to residency status and change very little after naturalization. Despite this, there has traditionally been a strong tendency for immigrants from developing countries and immigrants from non-English-speaking countries to make a strong identification with Australia and to have a more rapid transition to citizenship than other immigrants.[75] In Europe too, immigrants from poor or political instable countries are more likely to become a citizen of their country of residence.[76]

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[71] Hugo, 2011; Phyllis J. Johnson and Kathrin Stoll, "Remittance Patterns of Southern Sudanese Refugee Men: Enacting the Global Breadwinner Role," *Family Relations* 57:4 (2008): 431–43; Tess Rod and Jill Murphy, "Remittances among Recently Arrived Immigrants," *People and Place* 5:2 (1997): 78-81.

[72] Nsubuga-Kyobe.

[73] Aimé Saba, "Diasporas for Development: The Cases of Unskilled, Recently Resettled Burundian and Sudanese Refugees in Australia," in *International Conference on Diaspora for Development* (Washington, DC, 2009). http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015 165/Saba.pdf (accessed 3 December 2010).

[74] Francis M. Deng, "The Cow and the Thing Called "What": Dinka Cultural Perspectives on Wealth and Poverty," in Francis M Deng, Abdullahi An-Na'im, Yash Ghai and Upendra Baxi, ed. *Human Rights, Southern Voices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Nyawaragak Dei Wal, *Southern Sudanese Culture* (Melbourne: Migrant Information Centre, Eastern Melbourne, 2004).

[75] Evans, M.D.R. "Choosing to Be a Citizen: The Time-Path of Citizenship in Australia." *International Migration Review* 22:2 (1988): 243-64.

[76] Jaap Dronkers and Maarten Vink, "Explaining Immigrant Citizenship Status. First and Second Generation Immigrants in Fifteen European States," *MPRA Paper No. 26198*. (Munich, 2010). http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/26198/1/MPRA_paper _26198.pdf (accessed 3 December 2010).

In a series of *Community information summaries* based on country-of-birth data from the 2006 census,[77] the Department of Immigration and Citizenship provided data on the rate of uptake of citizenship for residents born in the main African refugee-source countries. These data have been adjusted for the percentage of the community who do not yet meet the residential requirement for citizenship, temporary entrants to Australia and under-enumeration at the census. The estimated rate of uptake of Australian Citizenship for Sudan-born residents was 70.9%. This is far lower than the rate of uptake by residents born in many other African refugee source countries, including Eritrea (90.7%), Ethiopia (85.7%), and Somalia (90.6%). However, it was comparable to that for residents born in Sierra Leone-born (73.7%) and all overseas-born residents of Australia (75.6%) and higher than that for residents born in Liberia (62.0%). The factors that contribute to these differences are currently not well understood.

Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) Statistical Reports
Census data and academic reports provide information about past migration. This can be useful for long-term planning of policies and service provision. However, services that provide settlement support require regularly updated information about humanitarian entrants who are newly arrived and those who are scheduled to arrive in the future. Such providers are able to register to receive confidential updates from the Settlement & Multicultural Affairs Branch, Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Until recently, these reports were updated each month. However, in August 2011, subscribers were informed that future reports would only be updated quarterly due to budget cuts.

These reports provide raw data concerning humanitarian entrants who were resettled during the preceding month, resettled in the year to date, and scheduled to arrive in the next month for the state in which the service is located. They provide information about gender, age group (early childhood, primary school age, secondary school age, and adult), family size, self-reported country of origin and ethnicity, preferred language, religious affiliation and visa subclass. This potentially very valuable information currently has three main shortcomings as a basis for service provision. First, the information is only cross-tabulated for country and language. For example, a monthly statistical report may indicate that 100 of the humanitarian entrants who are expected to arrive in a particular state during the next month identify as Sudanese, and that

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[77] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Community Information Summaries*.

50 of these list Arabic as their preferred language. It may also indicate that 50 humanitarian entrants will be aged 5-12 years, and that 21 humanitarian entrants belong to households containing seven persons. However, a service provider does not know whether any or all of the Sudanese entrants are aged 5-12 years, or whether any Sudanese children speak Arabic, or whether any of the Sudanese entrants belong to households of seven persons. Second, the service provider does not know where within the state any of the new humanitarian entrants will be settled. Third, the conditions under which DIAC provides this information preclude sharing the data, which may limit service co-ordination.

Settlement Reporting Facility
An alternative source of demographic information about persons with a Sudanese heritage is the Settlement Reporting Facility.[78] This on-line tool provides access to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship's Settlement Database, contains statistical data on all permanent arrivals to Australia since January 1991, and is updated monthly. The Settlement Database combines data from DIAC and other government departments with the aim of informing the planning and provision of services to migrants by government and community agencies. This facility overcomes some of the disadvantages of the HSS reports. In particular, it allows open-access, so information can be shared between service providers. It counts all persons from a specific refugee source country, and therefore captures people with refugee experiences who enter Australia in the Family migration stream as well as those who enter in the Humanitarian stream. It is also allows users to produce custom-designed tables showing cross tabulation between two types of information, and reports can be focused on specific locations. However, it has several important disadvantages. First, it does not allow forward planning; since it reports arrivals only after these have occurred. Second, many service providers are unaware of its existence, and many who are aware of it do not access it because the cross-tabulation options are very limited and preclude many of the combinations of greatest importance for service provision. Third, some of the information of greatest importance to service providers and policy makers (e.g., English language proficiency) is not collected systematically. Fourth, it focuses on country of birth rather than ancestry, and therefore fails to capture the many humanitarian entrants born in countries of asylum and children born after their parents' arrival in Australia.

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[78] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Settlement Reporting*, 2011b

Conclusion

Humanitarian entrants to Australia, including those with Sudanese heritage, make significant economic, social and civic contributions to their new country.[79] However, their ability to make these contributions is heavily influenced by the appropriateness of the support they receive during the initial settlement phase and in the years that follow this.[80] Having access to regularly updated information about demographic characteristics and level of English language proficiency is critical to the delivery of appropriate support to humanitarian entrants and their Australian-born children.

Data of greatest relevance to service providers and policy makers are systematically collected during the census. However there is a significant delay before this information is available and it is quickly out-of-date. Australian service providers are fortunate in also having access to raw statistical data on migration that are regularly updated. Unfortunately, none of these data allow a complete picture of the Sudanese-Australian community.

It is recommended that the Department of Immigration and Citizenship make two changes to the data it provides. The first is relatively minor in its resource implications. Most service providers are concerned with country or culture of origin rather than country of birth. It is recommended that DIAC combine the information it currently collects on country of birth and ethnicity to allow the Settlement Database to provide counts based on country of ancestry. This change would capture humanitarian entrants born in countries of asylum in the count. The second recommendation has larger resource implications because it requires an extension of current data collection. Information about geographic movement of humanitarian entrants and a count the number of children born to humanitarian entrants after settlement can only be gained through ongoing collection of core demographic information. Such data collection is warranted because the demographic characteristics of many humanitarian entrant communities, including the Sudanese-Australian community, present a number of challenges to successful resettlement and may therefore have long-term consequences for individual well-being, community cohesion, and economic productivity. Other characteristics may present unique opportunities. The additional information is required for a complete count of the Sudanese-Australian

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[79] Hugo, 2011.
[80] Hugo, 2011.

community (and other humanitarian entrant communities), and ideally would be available at national, state and local government levels.

The analysis provided in this article also allows recommendations about service delivery. Some of the challenges faced by the Sudanese-Australian community are shared with other residents from African refugee-source countries, while others are unique. For example, culturally competent youth services and housing appropriate for large families are required by all the African-Australian communities examined in this article. However, the level of demand for culturally competent services for younger children, support for the development of proficiency in English, and accommodation of the social challenges presented by the gender imbalance in the age-range most relevant for partnering and child-rearing, are unique to the Sudanese-Australian community. However, it is clear that, whether they are shared with other African-Australian communities or unique, the demographic characteristics of the Sudanese-Australian population present challenges and opportunities that will shape the demand for government and community services and are likely to influence the resilience of the community and the individual members that comprise it.

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Liberia-Born, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/liberia.pdf;
Sierra Leone-Born, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/sierraleone.pdf;
Somalia, http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/somalia.pdf
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