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## THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MIGRANTS FROM YUGOSLAVIA IN AUSTRALIA\*

### Summary

The author discusses the dramatical change in the age structure and other characteristics of the Yugoslav-born population after nearly 40 years of immigration to Australia. With time, ethnic Yugoslav families progress from having parents and children Yugoslav-born, to having parents Yugoslav-born and children mostly Australian-born.

Yugoslavs have shown a rapid transition between the parent generation and the young adult generation (*with respect to English language proficiency and age at leaving school*), and a reduction between generations with respect to the some of the earlier disadvantages experienced by women. Although the Yugoslav-born population in Australia is aging, the emergence of these Australian-born children brings younger people to the ethnic group. Also of importance found out in this paper is the continuing intermarriage of Yugoslavs with other groups in Australia, leading to a mixing of the various communities. All of these changes have implications on relationships within the family and on the structure of the ethnic group.

### Introduction

Among the non-English speaking migrants coming to Australia during the post-war years, persons from Yugoslavia represented one of the biggest groups, and at the 1986 Census the number of Yugoslav-born people in Australia ranked second (150,000 persons), behind the Italian-born, and ahead of the Greek-born. Unlike the Greek and Italian-born populations in Australia, the Yugoslav-born population increased between the 1981 and 1986 Censuses. After nearly 40 years of immigration to Australia, the age structure and other characteristics of the Yugoslav-born population in Australia have changed dramatically.

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#### Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Patricia Pyne for assistance in drawing the digrams for this paper.

In addition, as has occurred for many other European groups with a similar history of post-war migration to Australia, there are now many children born in Australia with parents who were born in Yugoslavia. Thus the Yugoslav 'ethnic' group now includes both persons who were born in Yugoslavia and Australian-born children with Yugoslav-born parents (or grandparents). This situation has implications for the structure of the ethnic group and for relationships within the family. Over time, ethnic Yugoslav families progress from having both parents and children Yugoslav-born, to having parents Yugoslav-born and children mostly Australian-born. One of the aims of this paper is therefore to follow the way in which this pattern of demographic relationships within families is changing.

Another aim is to investigate intergenerational change between the parent generation and the young adult generation with regard to age at leaving school, proficiency in English, and the extent of inmarriage. Also relevant to the analysis of family relationships are the differences between the characteristics of husband and wife and between sons and daughters. For this purpose, the young adult generation is chosen to be those aged 20-24 years, and the parent generation is represented by women aged 45-49 years and men aged 50-54 years. There is also some reference to the situation of the elderly generation within the ethnic group (persons aged 70 years or more).

This paper also includes a comparison of Yugoslavs with the other main ethnic groups in Australia (with populations of 24,000 or more) with respect to demographic, family and socioeconomic characteristics, to assess the relative situation of Yugoslavs in Australia.

Census data and vital registration statistics from the Australian Bureau of Statistics are the main source of data, including Price's (1982) publication, *The Fertility and Marriage Patterns of Australia's Ethnic Groups*, based largely on 1976 Census tabulations.

### Age structure

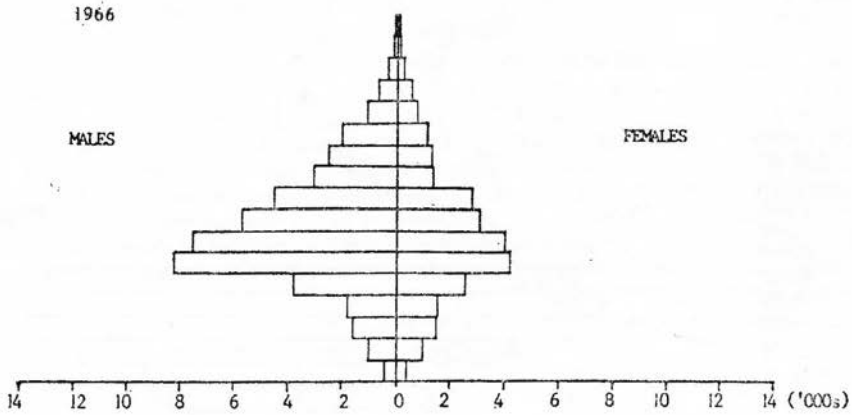
The demographic history of an ethnic group in Australia is usefully described by the transition in its age structure. After 40 years of large-scale immigration to Australia the age structure of the Yugoslav-born population has undergone some dramatic changes, which are illustrated in the series of age structures from 1966 to 1986 in Figures 1 and 2.

The 1966 age structure shows a highly skewed distribution with a large excess at the young adult ages (25-44 years) and a high ratio of males to females at these ages. Between 1966 and 1971 Yugoslavs experienced a high level of immigration (10; 11), and this is reflected in the much wider age pyramid at 1971, and the increasing numbers at the childhood and school ages. The 1976 pyramid continues to show a high ratio of males to females and large numbers at ages 20-44 years. With a slowing down of immigration of Yugoslavs in the years following 1971, the age pyramids for 1976, 1981 and 1986 show evidence of only slight growth in numbers, and also show a sharp undercutting at the very young age groups, 0-4 years in 1976, 0-9 years in 1981 and 0-14 years in 1986. This is accompanied by increasing numbers at the older ages, and a transition to a more symmetrical flat diamond-shaped structure. With the passage of time the excess of males to females is also less apparent. By 1986 the maximum numbers occur at ages 35-54 years, thus reflecting the ageing of the Yugoslav-born population. This ageing is likely to continue, and the large numbers now in their forties will become large numbers in their sixties near the turn of the century.

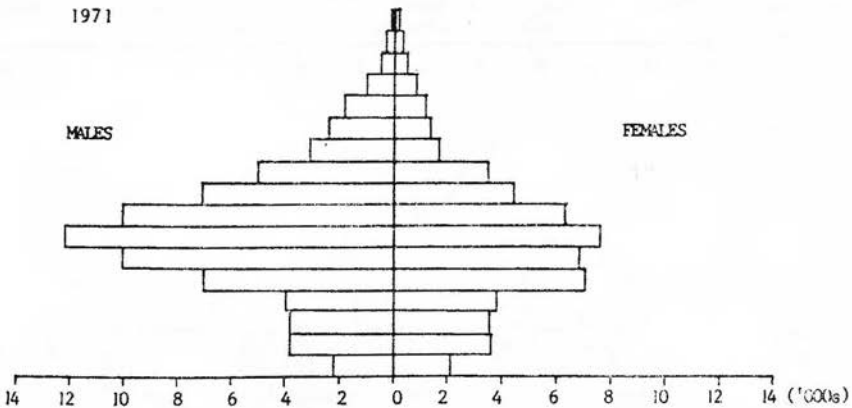
Figure 1: *Age pyramids of the Yugoslav-born population in Australia. 1966, 1971 and 1976 Censuses.*

Age group  
(years)

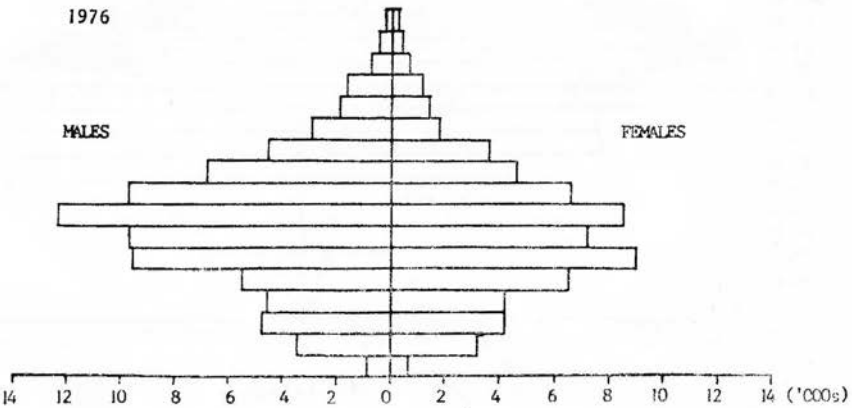
- 80+
- 75-79
- 70-74
- 65-69
- 60-64
- 55-59
- 50-54
- 45-49
- 40-44
- 35-39
- 30-34
- 25-29
- 20-24
- 15-19
- 10-14
- 5-9
- 0-4



- 80+
- 75-79
- 70-74
- 65-69
- 60-64
- 55-59
- 50-54
- 45-49
- 40-44
- 35-39
- 30-34
- 25-29
- 20-24
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- 45-49
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- 25-29
- 20-24
- 15-19
- 10-14
- 5-9
- 0-4

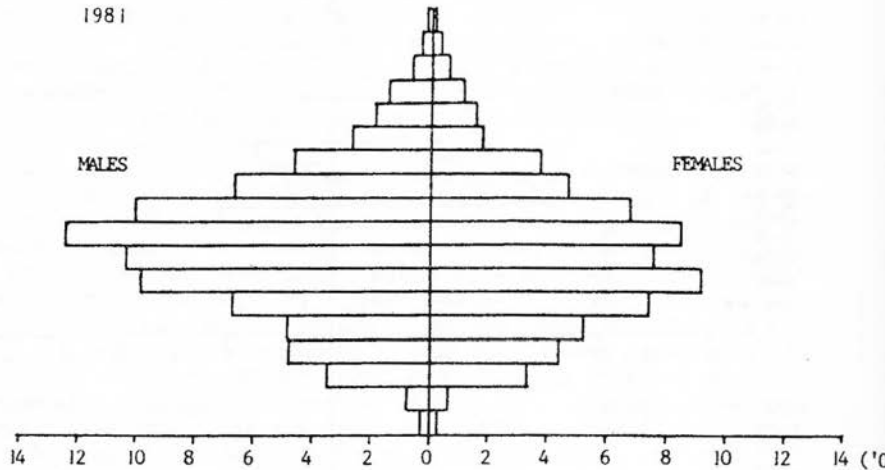


Population

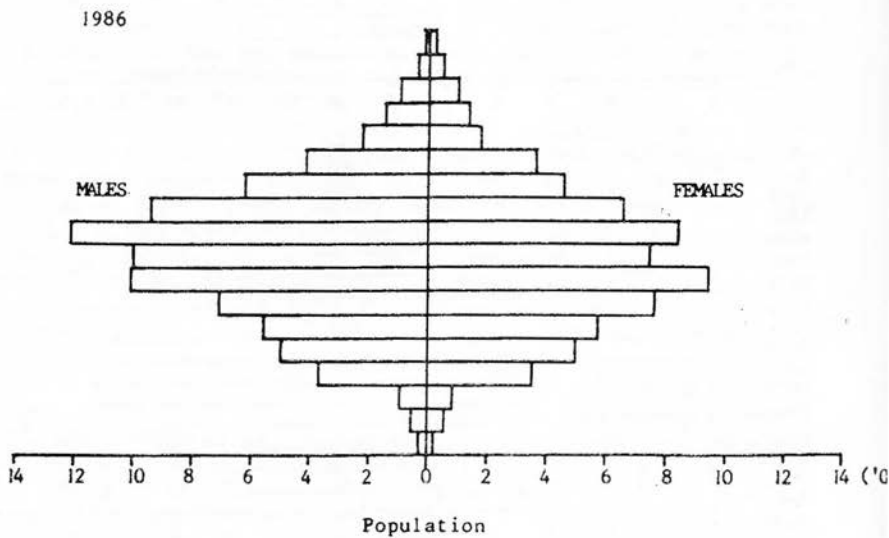
Figure 2: Age pyramids of the Yugoslav-born population in Australia, 1981 and 1986 Censuses.

Age group  
(years)

- 85+
- 80-84
- 75-79
- 70-74
- 65-69
- 60-64
- 55-59
- 50-54
- 45-49
- 40-44
- 35-39
- 30-34
- 25-29
- 20-24
- 15-19
- 10-14
- 5-9
- 0-4



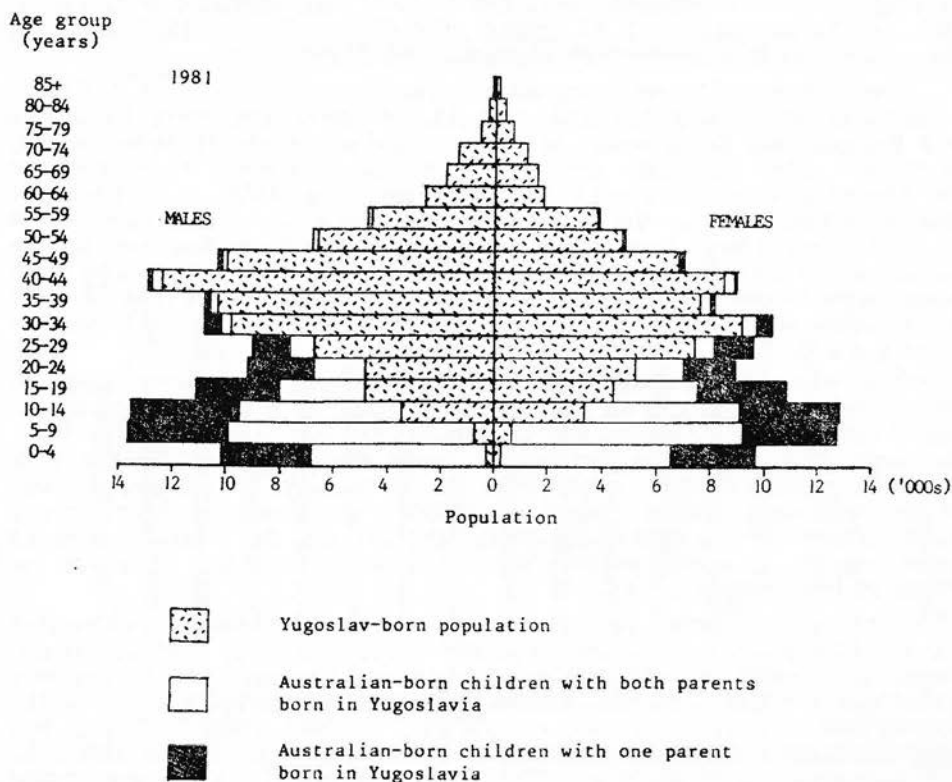
- 85+
- 80-84
- 75-79
- 70-74
- 65-69
- 60-64
- 55-59
- 50-54
- 45-49
- 40-44
- 35-39
- 30-34
- 25-29
- 20-24
- 15-19
- 10-14
- 5-9
- 0-4



The changing balance between the youth generation and the parent generation is also of interest. In 1966 the ratio of Yugoslav-born women in the parent generation (ages 45-49 years) to daughters in the youth generation (ages 20-24 years) was 0.58. In 1971 this ratio was 0.50, followed by 0.71 in 1976, increasing to 1.29 in 1981, and 1.69 in 1986.

As described in more detail later in the paper, there are now many Australian-born children who have one or both parents born in Yugoslavia. Figure 3 shows the way in which the age-pyramid for 1981 is modified when these Australian-born children are added. The triangular shaped bottom of the 1981 pyramid becomes almost rectangular. J. Rowland (1983) shows a similar filling-in of the 1976 age structure of the Yugoslav-born population by the addition of their Australian-born children. In 1976 the filling-in occurs up to ages 20-24 years, while in 1981 this filling-in occurs up to age 25-29 years. One would expect this rectangular shape to gradually progress to each successive five-year age group as each five years elapses. At the same time, unless there are dramatic changes in the level of immigration from Yugoslavia, the ethnic group will become increasingly Australian-born.

Figure 3: Age pyramid of the Yugoslav-born population in Australia and their children born in Australia. 1981 Census.



### Differences in fertility and mortality

How do Yugoslavs compare with other birthplace groups in Australia with regard to the basic demographic measures, fertility and mortality? Census data for 1966 relating to the average issue from the existing marriage of wives aged 45-49 years (8) show that the Maltese (5.58) and Dutch (3.53) had the largest number of children, followed by Italians, Greeks, Australian-born (2.68), and the British, with smaller families among Yugoslavs (2.19), Poles (2.01), Germans (1.93) and Hungarians (1.46). According to figures compiled by Price (1982, p. 76, p. A33-34) relating to the average issue of currently married women at the 1976 Census, immigrant women with the largest number of children were those from **Lebanon (4.64), Malta (3.98), and the Netherlands (3.29)** compared with 2.96 for Australian-born women. Yugoslav-born women had one of the lowest levels of fertility (an average of 2.27 children per woman) together with those from Greece (2.33), Germany (2.14) and Poland (2.11). The 1981 Census also shows Yugoslav-born women with lower average completed family size than Australian born women (2.30 compared with 2.74), and there are similar findings from the 1986 Census.

Therefore, completed family size appears to be consistently low among Yugoslavs, Germans and Eastern Europeans, and consistently high among Lebanese, Maltese and Dutch. Yugoslav-born women in Australia now also seem to have a consistently lower total fertility rate than Yugoslav women in Yugoslavia (2.14 compared with 2.26 in 1975, 1.94 compared with 2.06 in 1981, and 1.6 compared with 1.9 around 1986) (United Nations, 1988), although the reverse was true in 1970 (2.85 compared with 2.29) (7).

Levels of mortality also vary between the birthplace groups in Australia, with the lowest levels at the adult ages (15-74 years) experienced by Greeks and Italians, and by Lebanese males (standardised mortality ratios, SMRs, of 60-67). Most birthplace groups in Australia have lower rates than for the Australian-born, including those from Yugoslavia (SMRs of 85 for males and 86 for females), from the Netherlands, and from England and Wales (SMRs of 82-90), while some have values quite close to the Australian born figures including Germany, Hungary, Egypt, and India (97-108). Only those from Scandinavia (males only), Poland, Ireland and Scotland have a level of mortality higher than that of the Australian-born (SMRs of up to 118) (see Figures 4 and 5).

Compared with all Australians, Yugoslavs in Australia experience significantly higher mortality from diabetes and suicide, with the addition of external causes among women, and high mortality from diseases of the liver. However, they experience significantly lower mortality than for the total Australia population from diseases of the circulatory system and diseases of the respiratory system, with the addition of malignant neoplasms among males. Yugoslav-born men in Australia aged 20 years can expect to live 3.4 years longer than Australian-born men, and the corresponding advantage for Yugoslav-born women is 1.9 years.

Over the age range 15-74 years, according to measures standardised for age differences, most birthplace groups experience lower mortality in Australia than occurs in their country of origin (see Figures 4 and 5). The only exceptions are Canadians and Finnish. Standardised mortality levels in the source countries: Hungary, Malaysia, Malta, Scotland, Ireland, Poland and Yugoslavia are above 120 (compared with a standard of 100 for all Australia), but immigrants from these countries experience considerably lower morta-

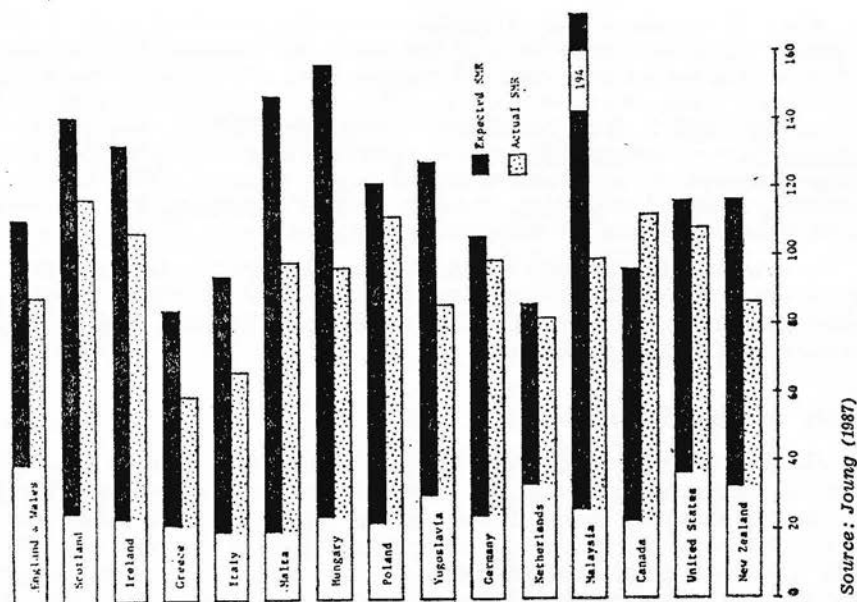


Figure 4: Expected SMR in Australia according to experience in the country of origin compared with the actual SMR of the birthplace group in Australia. Males aged 15-74 years. Experience around 1981

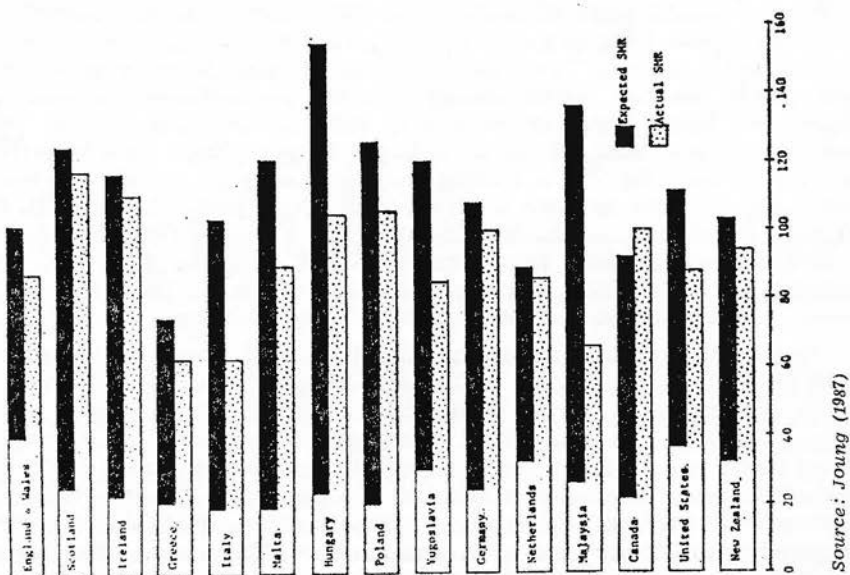


Figure 5: Expected SMR in Australia according to experience in the country of origin compared with the actual SMR of the birthplace group in Australia. Females aged 15-74 years. Experience around 1981

lity when in Australia. For Yugoslav males the transition is from an SMR of 120 in Yugoslavia to an SMR of 85 among the Yugoslav-born in Australia, with a corresponding transition for females from 129 to 86. Birthplace groups in Australia from countries with already relatively low levels of mortality such as the English, New Zealanders, Greeks and Italians tend to experience relatively less reduction. This general reduction in mortality of the immigrant group compared to the situation in the source country is largely due to the selective process of migration, through both self-selection and the minimum health standard required of prospective immigrants.

We now turn to variables which influence or describe family structure and family relationships. These are summarised in Table 1, which relates to the parent generation, with additional information in Tables 2 and 3 relating to the youth and elderly generations.

### Family relationship variables

The birthplace groups have been arranged down Table 1 according to the trend in demographic, social and economic characteristics of the parent generation. In this way the birthplaces at the top of the table differ least from the experience of the Australian-born, while those at the bottom of the table differ the most. Yugoslavs are situated about two thirds of the way down, near Malta, Greece and Italy. One finds that going down the Table there is generally an increase in the extent of ethnic segregation, a decrease in the level of non-marital fertility, a decrease in the incidence of divorce, an increase in the proportion who left school before age 14 years and an increase in the proportion who are unable to speak English well.

On the second page of Table 1, the proportion who are unemployed or not in the labour force is greatest among the birthplace groups at the bottom of the Table (Lebanese, Turks and Vietnamese), and proportions not in white collar groups are also lowest among these and the Southern European groups. Proportions living alone or with only their spouse also tend to decrease while proportions who are heads of larger family groups tend to increase as one moves down the Table. Among Yugoslavs only 20 per cent of household heads aged 50 years or more were heads of single person households, compared with 32 per cent of Australian-born. The Yugoslav figure is larger than the proportions for those from Greece (12 per cent) and Italy (10 per cent), Asia and the Middle East, but lower than the values for those from Northern Europe, Eastern Europe and the English-speaking countries.

Further information about the distribution of family types among the youth generation is provided in Table 2. This indicates the closeness of the family, the extent of sharing with other persons and the tendency for young adults to stay in the family until marriage. For example, the proportions of young adults (aged 20-24 years) living alone is lowest among Turks (11 per cent), Lebanese (13 per cent), Italians (15 per cent), Greeks (16 per cent), Yugoslavs (19 per cent), Vietnamese (19 per cent) and Maltese (20 per cent), compared with 41 per cent of Australian-born. These were also the groups who were most likely to be in families of the type: head, spouse and dependants, e. g., 30 per cent of Yugoslavs compared with 17 per cent of Australian-born. Among heads aged 25-29, the proportion who are heads of families



Table 1:

*Demographic and socioeconomic experience of the parent generation for selected birthplaces*

Birthplace group	Ethnic segregation — total pop'n.	Av. no. of children ever marr. women 45-49 yrs	Fert. index un-marr. women 1976	% divorced women age 30-34 yrs 1976	% left school before age 14 years		% unable to speak English well	
					M	F	M	F
Australia	24	3.1	65	8.5	7.4	6.0	.1	.2
UK & Ireland		2.9	67	8.8	2.7	1.4	0.0	0.0
South Africa		3.1	33	7.5	.9	2.0	0.0	.3
USA		2.9	52	7.9	1.5	1.2	.5	.2
New Zealand	30	2.8	85	11.6	3.7	3.6	0.0	.2
Germany		2.4	70	10.8	3.0	2.0	1.2	1.7
Netherlands	25	3.4	71	7.1	5.8	6.6	.6	.8
Scandinavia		2.7	98	7.9	9.8	7.7		
Hungary		—	44	—	7.4	7.9	6.0	8.3
Poland		2.3	31	7.9	16.0	18.4	6.5	13.9
Egypt		2.5	—	6.8	6.3	9.5	4.1	10.1
India	39	3.2	23	6.3	2.3	3.7	1.2	2.2
Malaysia		3.0	—	4.9	3.5	11.0	4.3	4.8
China		2.8	20	6.5	15.6	25.6	41.5	41.9
Malta	60	4.1	54	4.0	28.5	37.7	9.1	13.8
Yugoslavia	49	2.3	96	4.1	29.1	43.2	26.6	33.9
Italy	47	2.8	30	1.7	50.7	62.0	24.1	36.2
Greece	58	2.4	47	1.7	54.1	69.6	36.7	47.3
Lebanon		4.7	21	1.8	36.9	53.7	33.3	45.1
Turkey	61	2.9	17	1.1	42.0	52.9	60.9	61.1
Vietnam	67	—	—	—	12.6	30.9	71.1	79.4

Source: Column 1: Hugo (1983) — refers to 1981.

Columns 2, 3 and 4: Price (1982) — refers to 1976.

Remaining columns: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1981 Census microfiche and matrix tapes.

Unless indicated otherwise, data refer to women aged around 45-59 years and men aged around 50-54 years.

containing head, spouse and children is very high among the Vietnamese, and also quite high among those from Turkey, Lebanon, Greece, Yugoslavia (60 per cent), Malta and Italy, compared with 40 per cent of the Australian-born.

The proportion of widows among elderly women is partly an indicator of the extent that elderly widowed mothers are brought to Australia as part of the family reunion scheme, and is also an indicator of levels of mortality and the age difference between husbands and wives. Widows are more likely to be in need of care and financial support, and therefore more likely to be sharing accommodation with a family than would a married couple. At ages 70-74 years the proportions of widows were highest, in descending order among those from: Lebanon, Vietnam, Turkey, China, Egypt, Greece, Yu-

Table 1:

*Demographic and socioeconomic experience of the parent generation for selected birthplaces — continued*

Birthplace group	% per of res. 0-9 yrs M 45-54	Women years in labour force a	Males aged around 50-54 yrs. percentage who are:			Family heads 50+ years % who are living:		
			unempl. /pop' 'n	not in l. f. *	Prof., admin., clerical	alone	with spouse only	with spouse, other ad. and dep
Australia	—	21	2.6	10.4	27.3	32.4	34.7	4.6
UK & Ireland	11	22	3.9	7.7	28.2	29.7	40.4	4.4
South Africa	44	24	3.9	5.4	50.6			
USA	44	21	2.3	16.0	50.0	22.9	43.8	5.0
New Zealand	39	21	3.6	16.7	33.7	33.9	38.9	4.0
Germany	4	21	3.8	8.9	19.1	29.1	34.8	5.4
Netherlands	3	19	3.8	9.4	24.0	18.3	39.1	9.1
Scandinavia	8	20	6.8	14.9				
Hungary	4	26	4.9	13.3	24.1	31.5	38.6	4.4
Poland	7	23	3.9	11.7	17.1	26.5	40.7	4.2
Egypt	8	23	3.0	8.7	33.7	20.3	28.0	10.8
India	23	25	2.2	6.4	45.4	24.4	31.5	9.3
Malaysia	42	22	5.2	10.1	67.1	19.1	23.7	13.9
China	37	23	9.5	13.8	29.4	20.3	26.1	14.1
Malta	3	17	2.9	14.4	7.7	16.3	25.8	15.1
Yugoslavia	5	23	4.6	16.1	5.4	19.8	36.7	7.6
Italy	2	19	2.6	11.0	6.4	12.1	28.1	17.3
Greece	2	22	4.1	15.6	7.7	10.0	26.0	16.5
Lebanon	19	14	11.3	24.9	8.3	9.3	13.3	29.9
Turkey	37	20	11.2	29.0	7.2	16.9	30.3	12.4
Vietnam	99	21	33.2	19.5	11.6	4.7	7.9	33.0

\* Two of these birthplace groups have a high proportion of visitors, namely, the United States with 11%, and New Zealand with 9%. The next highest among the other birthplaces listed is Malaysia, with 3% at the 1981 Census.

a Person-years in the labour force of married women beyond age 20 years  
All the columns of the section of the Table refer to the 1981 Census.

Yugoslavia, Malta and India. The proportion for Yugoslavs is 57 per cent, compared with 19-22 per cent for the Germans and Dutch. Proportions near the Australian level occurred among the British, North Americans, New Zealanders, and North and Eastern Europeans (see Table 3). These findings are consistent with figures from Rowland (1976) which show high proportions of elderly women living as ancestors in the families of Greeks (61 per cent), Italians (53 per cent) and Yugoslavs (54 per cent), middle level proportions associated with Dutch (30 per cent) and Scandinavians (36 per cent), and low proportions among the Australian-born (13 per cent) and the British (18 per cent).

Table 2:

*Distribution of family type by birthplace of heads aged 20-24 years. 1981 Census*

Birthplace	H only	H, D	H, S	H, S, D	H, A	Other	Total
Turkey	10.9	7.9	34.2	40.1	2.5	4.5	100.0
Lebanon	13.4	5.7	30.3	41.8	2.8	6.0	100.0
Italy	14.7	3.6	50.1	26.3	3.0	2.2	100.0
Greece	15.9	5.6	36.3	34.9	3.4	3.9	100.0
Vietnam	19.1	6.5	15.3	28.8	16.3	14.0	100.0
Yugoslavia	19.3	8.9	34.6	29.5	4.1	3.6	100.0
Malta	19.8	4.6	44.7	25.5	3.1	2.4	100.0
Egypt	24.0	3.9	43.7	16.9	6.3	5.1	100.0
Netherlands	33.6	6.1	32.7	21.4	3.0	3.2	100.0
China	39.2	4.5	26.1	14.2	11.4	4.5	100.0
UK & Ireland	40.0	9.2	27.7	17.2	3.8	2.1	100.0
Australia	41.0	9.9	25.4	16.9	4.6	2.3	100.0
India	43.0	6.0	25.7	15.1	6.0	4.2	100.0
Germany	43.7	7.2	25.4	17.5	4.3	2.0	100.0
Poland	52.1	3.7	29.0	10.4	2.9	1.9	100.0
USA	52.9	5.1	22.9	13.2	4.7	1.4	100.0
Hungary	55.1	5.9	23.7	13.6	.8	.8	100.0
New Zealand	57.6	5.8	18.6	10.7	4.9	2.4	100.0
Malaysia	67.3	3.1	13.5	4.1	10.6	1.5	100.0

H = Head, S = Spouse, D = Dependants, A = Other Adults.

Other = H, A, D; H, S, A; and H, S, A, D.

Arranged according to the proportion of heads living alone.

To summarise, the demographic characteristics of the Yugoslav family in Australia are somewhat similar to the Southern European birthplace groups, in that there is a high degree of inmarriage, and an early start to childbearing, a low incidence of divorce, few single parent families, and low proportions of young adults living alone, although the proportion living alone is somewhat higher for Yugoslavs than for Greeks and Italians. There is also a high proportion of widows among elderly women, and a high proportion of elderly women living as ancestors in families. The proportions of middle-aged men in professional, administrative and clerical occupations are also similar for each of these ethnic groups, but the proportions of the Yugoslav parent and young adult generations with little schooling are closer to the figures for the Maltese than to the higher figures for Greeks and Italians. Similar proportions of Yugoslav, Greek and Italian women are in the labour force, and these proportions are higher than for Maltese women. Yugoslav women, with an average of 23 person years are slightly ahead of Australian-born women (with 21 person years in the labour force between the ages of 20 and 59 years). One important difference between Yugoslav women and Greek and Italian women is the smaller completed family size among the Yugoslavs, their higher non-marital fertility, and their higher mortality.

Table 3:

*Proportions of women widowed at ages 55-59 to 70-74 years by birthplace.  
45-54 years for selected birthplace groups  
1981 Census*

Birthplace	Age in years			
	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74
Netherlands	10.8	18.6	28.3	41.2
Canada	11.2	20.5	29.6	42.2
USA	9.2	15.8	28.1	44.1
New Zealand	13.4	20.8	32.7	44.7
Total Oceania	13.5	21.8	34.1	45.6
UK & Ireland	11.6	20.2	31.8	45.8
Italy	10.9	19.6	31.8	46.4
Australia	13.9	22.7	33.4	46.7
Hungary	14.2	23.9	39.1	47.0
Germany	14.6	21.5	31.0	48.2
Poland	16.8	24.4	34.2	49.7
Rep. of S. Africa	14.2	29.1	33.3	52.2
Ukraine & USSR	16.4	23.8	37.9	52.7
India	18.9	30.3	43.8	56.9
Malta	15.2	25.8	40.5	56.9
Yugoslavia	15.2	27.5	41.7	57.1
Greece	16.4	28.3	44.0	58.8
Egypt	17.7	31.6	46.2	59.7
China	19.8	38.5	48.0	62.7
Turkey	21.0	37.0	50.9	67.3
Vietnam	28.2	41.7	52.3	68.3
Lebanon	22.0	34.7	50.5	68.9

Birthplaces are arranged according to the proportions widowed among women aged 70-74 years.

### Generational and male-female differences

Three topics are considered in relation to generational differences and male-female differences within birthplace groups. They are: age at leaving school, English language proficiency and inmarriage. Generational differences between the parent and youth age groups are of special relevance to family relationships, besides also indicating the progress made from the parent to the younger generation. Male-female differences also indicate the constraints and disadvantages experienced by women in a given birthplace group.

#### Age at leaving school

Husband-wife relationships and a parent-child relationships within the family are affected by differences in levels of education between different family members. Table 4 illustrates differences between males and females aged 20-24 and 45-54 years according to the proportions who left school before reaching age 14 years (including those who never attended). Several important observations can be made from these figures. Firstly, among Yugoslavs and most other birthplace groups, the proportions with little schooling are much smaller among the younger than the older age group. Secondly, among Yugoslavs and several other birthplace groups, the proportions with little schooling are higher among women than among men. However, in general these differences are smaller among the younger than the older age groups, showing some reduction in female disadvantage between generations.

Thirdly, between the parent and youth cohorts, the greatest declines in the proportions with little schooling has generally occurred among the birthplace groups with the initially highest proportions who left school before 14 years. Among Yugoslav males, there is a difference of 27 percentage points between the parent generation and youth generation, while among Yugoslav females there is difference of 38 percentage points.

Table 4:

*Proportions who left school before age 14 years for age groups 20-24 years and 45-54 years for selected birthplace groups*

Birthplace	Males (years)		Females (years)		20-24	45-54	Males	Females
	20-24	50-54	20-24	45-49	F-M	F-M	O-Y	O-Y
	Percentages							
USA	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
S. Africa*	0	2	1	1	1	-1	2	0
India	0	2	1	4	1	1	2	3
UK & Ireland	0	3	0	1	-0	-1	2	1
Germany	0	3	0	2	-0	-1	3	2
Malaysia	0	4	1	11	0	8	3	10
New Zealand	0	4	0	4	-0	0	3	3
Netherlands	0	6	0	7	0	1	6	6
Egypt*	1	6	2	9	1	3	5	7
Australia	1	7	1	6	-0	-1	7	5
Hungary	0	7	0	8	-0	1	7	8
Scandinav.*	1	8	1	10	-0	2	7	9
Vietnam	10	13	12	31	1	18	2	19
China	4	16	2	26	-2	10	12	24
Poland	1	16	0	18	-0	2	15	18
Malta	1	28	1	38	0	9	28	37
Yugoslavia	2	29	5	43	3	14	27	38
Lebanon	9	37	14	54	5	17	28	39
Turkey	11	42	33	53	22	11	31	20
Italy	1	51	1	62	1	11	50	61
Greece	4	54	7	70	3	15	50	63

M = Male, F = Female, O = Old (45-54 years) Y = Young (20-24 years)

Except for the birthplaces marked \*, the figures for the youth generation represent the proportion of 'ethnic' youth who left school before age 14 years.

Arranged according to the proportion of middle aged males who left school before age 14 years.

'Ethnic' = born in the given country or Australian-born with one or both parents born in the given country.

#### English language proficiency

Apart from those from the English-speaking countries, less than 10 per cent of middle-aged males are unable to speak English well among those from: Netherlands, India, Germany, Egypt, Malaysia, Hungary, Poland and Malta (See Table 5). The proportion is 24 per cent or more among those from Italy, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Greece, and China, and increases to as high as 61 per cent of Turks and 71 per cent of Vietnamese. Inability to speak English well is usually greater among women than among men, especially for those from Greece, Lebanon, Italy, Vietnam, Poland and Yugoslavia. Among the youth

generation, those least able to speak English are: Vietnamese, Turks and Lebanese.

Small differences between males and females persist in both the adult and the youth generation among Yugoslavs. Among Yugoslavs the generational change in English language ability between middle aged men and the youth generation is 22 percentage points, with a slightly greater change between middle-aged women and young adults (25 percentage points). Among males, the generational change is greatest for Turks, Greeks, Chinese, Lebanese, Italians, Yugoslavs and Vietnamese, in that order.

Table 5:

*Proportions who are unable to speak English well at ages 20-24 years and 45-54 years for selected birthplace groups*

Birthplace	Males (years)		Females (years)		20-24	45-54	Males	Females
	20-24	50-54	20-24	45-49	F-M	F-M	O-Y	O-Y
	Percentages							
S. Africa*	0	0	0	0	-0	0	-0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	-0	0	-0	0
UK & Ireland	0	0	0	0	-0	-0	-0	-0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	0	0	0	0	-0	-0	0	0
Netherlands	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
India	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
Germany	1	1	1	2	-0	0	0	1
Egypt*	1	4	4	10	3	6	3	6
Malaysia	2	4	2	5	-0	0	2	3
Hungary	4	6	3	8	-1	2	2	6
Poland	6	6	5	14	-1	7	1	9
Malta	2	9	2	14	0	5	7	12
Italy	1	24	2	36	0	12	23	35
Yugoslavia	5	27	9	34	5	7	22	25
Lebanon	10	33	22	45	12	12	24	23
Greece	3	37	6	47	3	11	34	42
China	11	42	11	42	0	0	31	31
Turkey	20	61	32	61	12	0	41	30
Vietnam	55	71	58	79	3	8	16	21

M = Male, F = Female, O = Old (45-54 years), Y = Young (20-24 years).

Except for birthplaces marked \*, the figures for the youth generation represent the proportion of 'ethnic' youth who are unable to speak English well.

Arranged according to level of English language proficiency among middle aged males.

n.a. = not available.

'Ethnic' = born in the given country or Australian-born with one or both parents born in the given country.

### Inmarriage

Extensive research on the extent of marriage within ethnic groups has been carried out by Price (1982). Table 6 shows the differences between different birthplace groups, and the changes that have occurred since the time when the parent generation was marrying (1956-58) to the time when the

youth generation was marrying (1981-83). According to 1981-83 figures in-marriage is now most common among those born in Vietnam (90 per cent of grooms and 81 per cent of brides), Turkey (63 and 85 per cent, respectively), Lebanon (56 and 69 per cent), Yugoslavia (53 and 79 per cent), Poland, Greece and China. At the other end of the scale, in-marriage is least common among those from the Netherlands (8 per cent of grooms and 12 per cent of brides), Germany (11 and 14 per cent).

The figures for the 1950s and 1980s show that sharp reductions have occurred in the extent of in-marriage between the parent generation and the youth generation among some ethnic groups, particularly the Dutch, Germans, Hungarians, Greeks and Italians. However, relatively little difference has occurred with respect to the Yugoslavs, and in fact there has been a slight increase in the extent of their in-marriage. Price's (1982) analysis also shows that a relatively high proportion of second generation Yugoslavs and Southern Europeans, particularly brides, marry persons from the first generation ethnic group.

Table 6

*Proportions of grooms and brides marrying persons with the same birthplace, 1956-58 and 1981-83*

Birthplace	1956-58		1981-83		Difference Young - Old		Difference Bride - Groom	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	Old	Young
Netherlands	44	61	8	12	-36	-49	17	4
Germany	40	46	11	14	-29	-32	6	3
Malta	63	78	20	29	-43	-49	15	9
India	5	6	20	24	16	18	1	4
Hungary	51	73	21	35	-31	-38	22	15
Italy	69	92	22	39	-47	-53	23	17
Egypt	34	48	23	35	-11	-13	14	12
Greece	90	91	35	59	-56	-31	0	25
Malaysia	n.a.	n.a.	35	28	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	-7
China	27	28	36	42	9	14	1	6
Yugoslavia	46	63	53	70	7	7	17	17
Poland	30	61	56	61	25	-0	31	5
Lebanon	70	83	56	69	-13	-14	13	13
Turkey	n.a.	n.a.	65	83	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	18
Vietnam	n.a.	n.a.	90	81	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	-9

Birthplaces are arranged according to the proportions of grooms marrying brides with the same birthplace in 1981-83.

G = Groom, B = Bride. Old refers to those marrying in 1956-58 (the parent generation) and Young refers to those marrying in 1981-83 (the youth generation). Differences may not agree exactly with the source figures due to rounding. n.a. = not available.

### Trends in the Australian-born component

During the past 40 years of settlement of migrants from Yugoslavia in Australia there have been major changes in the demographic composition of the ethnic group. Apart from the mixing of Yugoslav-born persons with Australian-born and others through intermarriage, there have also been large

numbers of children born in Australia to Yugoslav-born parents. This means that the group of ethnic Yugoslavs in Australia now includes:

- 1) persons born in Yugoslavia;
- 2) persons born in Australia with both parents born in Yugoslavia;
- 3) persons born in Australia with only one parent born in Yugoslavia; and
- 4) a small number of persons born in Australia, with parents also born in Australia, but with one or more grandparents born in Yugoslavia.

This last would be expected to become larger in subsequent years with birth of more grandchildren of the earlier migrants from Yugoslavia.

The number of persons in the Yugoslav ethnic group in each of these categories and in each age group at the 1981 Census is shown in Table 7. From the Table about 95 per cent of the 5—9 year age group are Australian-born, about three-quarters of the 10—14 year age group, 57 per cent of the 15—19 year age group, 43 per cent of the 20—24 year age group, and about one-quarter of the 25—29 year age group are Australian-born (see Table 7). Overall, in 1981, 37 per cent of 'ethnic' Yugoslav males and 33 per cent of 'ethnic' Yugoslav females were born in Australia. This represents a slight increase over the corresponding figures of 34 per cent and 32 per cent in 1976 (13).

A consequence of the pattern of migration of Yugoslavs to Australia and of the pattern of inmarriage is that, at each five-year age group, Australian-born children with only one Yugoslav-born parent are three times more likely to have a father who is Yugoslav-born than a mother who is Yugoslav-born. This occurs because of the high ratio of males to females among the initial waves of Yugoslav settlers, and the fact that higher proportions of Yugoslav-born, about three-quarters of the 10—14 year age group, 57 per cent of the women.

Some estimate of the trend in the proportion of Australian-born for successive cohorts can be made by relating the number of Australian-born at the 1981 Census to the corresponding cohorts at earlier censuses, on the assumption that the effect of mortality on survival at these young ages is very slight. The results of these calculations are shown in Table 8. The experience of cohorts can be traced by following the figures along diagonals from upper left to lower right. For example, the cohort born in 1962—66 and aged 0—4 years in 1966 becomes the cohort aged 5—9 years in 1971, and the cohort aged 10—14 years in 1976, etc. For this cohort the proportion Australian-born among males declines from 94 per cent at ages 0—4 years, to 62 per cent at ages 5—9 years, and then stabilised at 57 per cent at ages 10—14 and 15—19 years, decreasing slightly to 56 per cent at ages 20—24 years.

Normally there is a fairly steep decline in the proportion Australian-born from the 0—4 to the 5—9 year age group of a given cohort. At the earlier censuses there was also a steep decline in the proportions from 5—9 to 10—14 years, but this has ceased to occur in recent years. For most cohorts the proportion Australian-born has largely stabilised by about age 20—24 years (and this was one of the reasons for choosing the 20—24 year age group in the analysis). Among ethnic Yugoslav males in this age group there is an increase in the proportion Australian-born from about 10 per cent for the cohort born in 1942—46, to 13 per cent for the cohort born in 1947—51, to 29 per cent of the cohort born in 1952—56, 44 per cent for the cohort born in 1957—61, and 56 per cent for the cohort born in 1962—66. The cohort born in 1967—71 would be expected to have nearly 73 per cent Australian-born at



Table 7  
*Numbers of Yugoslav-born and Australian-born, with one or both parents Yugoslav-born, in each age group. 1981 Census*

Age group (years)	Born in Yugosl.	Australian-born with parents born in Yugoslavia				Total ethnic group	Prop'n. Aus-born %
		Both	Father	Mother	Sum		
<b>MALES</b>							
0-4	268	6,511	2,448	841	9,800	10,068	97.3
5-9	765	9,099	2,867	875	12,841	13,606	94.4
10-14	3,487	6,034	3,120	869	10,023	13,510	74.2
15-19	4,778	3,165	2,394	778	6,337	11,115	57.0
20-24	4,824	1,837	1,378	555	3,770	8,594	43.9
25-29	6,730	850	1,145	302	2,297	9,027	25.4
30-34	9,784	400	534	87	1,021	10,805	9.4
35-39	10,324	307	147	32	486	10,810	4.5
40-44	12,400	392	142	12	546	12,946	4.2
45-49	9,963	232	88	12	332	10,295	3.2
50-54	6,633	158	49	6	213	6,846	3.1
55-59	4,609	74	38	3	115	4,724	2.4
60-64	2,674	63	30	1	94	2,768	3.4
65+	4,293	90	30	0	120	4,413	2.7
SUM	81,532	29,212	14,410	4,373	47,995	129,527	37.1
<b>FEMALES</b>							
0-4	241	6,274	2,326	848	9,448	9,689	97.5
5-9	680	8,481	2,694	814	9,295	9,975	93.2
10-14	3,334	5,764	3,027	721	6,485	9,819	66.0
15-19	4,441	3,045	2,243	690	3,735	8,176	45.7
20-24	5,239	1,792	1,389	511	2,303	7,542	30.5
25-29	7,425	796	1,104	247	1,043	8,468	12.3
30-34	9,234	435	521	96	531	9,765	5.4
35-39	7,647	318	155	33	351	7,998	4.4
40-44	8,523	366	137	9	375	8,898	4.2
45-49	6,765	177	97	10	187	6,952	2.7
50-54	4,674	118	56	6	124	4,798	2.6
55-59	3,783	63	40	3	66	3,849	1.7
60-64	1,839	55	24	2	57	1,896	3.0
65+	3,998	84	49	5	89	4,087	2.2
SUM	67,823	27,768	13,862	3,995	34,089	101,912	33.4

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Special tabulations, 1981 Census.

age 20-24 years. A similar trend occurs with respect to ethnic Yugoslav females.

In contrast, although the Australian-born component of the young adult cohorts changes dramatically between the 1966 and 1986 Censuses, the Australian-born component of the parent generation has remained in the region of 3 per cent for fathers (aged 50-54 years) and 3 to 6 per cent for mothers (aged 45-49 years). The parent generation will continue to have a low proportion Australian-born until the cohort born in 1952-56 reaches

the parent age group, i. e., ages 50-54 years for fathers and 45-49 years for mothers. This will occur around 2001-2006, and sooner for mothers than for fathers.

Table 8

*Proportion of Australian-born among 'ethnic' Yugoslavs at each five-year age group, according to the experience of cohorts*

Age in 1981 (years)	Birth year of cohort	Census year					Birth year of cohort
		1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	
<b>MALES</b>							
0-4	1962-66	.94	.82	.94	.97		1982-86
5-9	1957-61	.79	.62	.75	.94	.94	1977-81
10-14	1952-56	.58	.49	.57	.74	.93	1972-76
15-19	1947-51	.35	.37	.45	.57	.73	1967-71
20-24	1942-46	.11	.13	.29	.44	.56	1962-66
25-29	1937-41	.06	.05	.10	.25	.40	1957-61
30-34	1932-36	.04	.04	.05	.09	.24	1952-56
35-39	1927-31	.04	.03	.04	.04	.09	1947-51
40-44	1922-26	.02	.03	.03	.04	.05	1942-46
45-49	1917-21	.03	.02	.03	.03	.04	1937-41
50-54	1912-16		.03	.03	.03	.03	1932-36
55-59	1907-11			.03	.02	.03	1927-31
60-64	1902-06				.03	.03	1922-26
65-69	1897-01					.04	1917-21
<b>FEMALES</b>							
0-4	1962-66	.94	.82	.94	.98		1982-86
5-9	1957-61	.78	.62	.75	.95	.94	1977-81
10-14	1952-56	.59	.51	.59	.74	.93	1972-76
15-19	1947-51	.41	.36	.47	.57	.73	1967-71
20-24	1942-46	.17	.13	.25	.41	.55	1962-66
25-29	1937-41	.11	.07	.11	.22	.39	1957-61
30-34	1932-36	.07	.06	.07	.10	.22	1952-56
35-39	1927-31	.05	.04	.06	.06	.10	1947-51
40-44	1922-26	.04	.04	.04	.06	.06	1942-46
45-49	1917-21	.05	.03	.04	.04	.06	1937-41
50-54	1912-16		.05	.03	.04	.04	1932-36
55-59	1907-11			.04	.03	.04	1927-31
60-64	1902-06				.04	.03	1922-26
65-69	1897-01					.04	1917-21

'Ethnic' as used here refers to the wider definition of ethnic, i.e., Yugoslav-born and all Australian-born with one or both parents Yugoslav-born.

## CONCLUSION

Yugoslavs are one of the largest European birthplace groups in Australia. During the past 40 years of their settlement in Australia Yugoslavs have shown a rapid transition between the parent generation and the young adult generation with respect to English language proficiency and age at leaving school, and a reduction between generations with respect to the some of the earlier disadvantages experienced by women.

One of the most interesting feature of the migration process is the emergence of large numbers of Australian-born among the younger generations of ethnic Yugoslavs — a trend which will continue. Therefore, although the Yugoslav-born population in Australia is ageing, the emergence of these Australian-born children brings younger people to the ethnic group. Also of importance is the continuing intermarriage of Yugoslavs with other groups in Australia, leading to a mixing of the various communities. All of these changes have implications on relationships within the family and on the structure of the ethnic group.

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## PROMJENA DEMOGRAFSKE STRUKTURE I PORODIČNI ODNOSI MEĐU MIGRANTIMA IZ JUGOSLAVIJE U AUSTRALIJI

### SAŽETAK

Članak se bavi dramatičnim promjenama u starosnoj strukturi i drugim karakteristikama useljenika rođenih u Jugoslaviji nakon 40 godina imigracije u Australiju. S vremenom etničke jugoslavenske obitelji mijenjaju se od tipa obitelji u kojima su i roditelji i djeca rođeni u Jugoslaviji ka tipu obitelji gde su djeca sve češće rođena u Australiji.

Autorica nalazi da jugoslavensko imigracijsko stanovništvo pokazuje rapidnu tranziciju između roditeljske generacije i mlade odrasle generacije u pogledu engleske jezične kompetencije i godina provedenih na školovanju, a isto tako i međugeneracijsko smanjenje u ranijoj deprivilegiranosti žena.

Premda u Jugoslaviji rođeno stanovništvo stari, pojava i rast u Australiji rođene djece uključuje mlađe ljude u etničku grupu. Istovremeno autorica ustanovljuje nastanak značajnog trenda mješovitih brakova između Jugoslavena i drugih grupa u Australiji, koji vodi miješanju različitih zajednica. Sve ove promjene imaju implikacije na odnose unutar obitelji i na strukturu ove etničke grupe.