

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION 'YUGOSLAV BORN' IN AUSTRALIA*

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1. An overview

Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia, officially recognised by Australia in 1992, were included in the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census as separate categories for the first time in 1996. As a geographic area, ex-Yugoslavia has been recorded in Australian census collections since 1921. Prior to 1921 the geographical area was made up of Montenegro, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and Serbia. The 1921 census recorded 829 'Yugoslav born' persons. This figure rose to 129,000 and 161,064 in 1971 and 1991 respectively. The estimate for 1996 is 180,000.**

In spite of the fact that the official ABS census figures provide only an aggregate of 'Yugoslav born' persons in the 1991 census, nearly half of the respondents (41%) also gave a specific response according to republic and ethnicity. Of those who gave a specific republic response, about a fifth (19%) identified Croatia as their country of birth, 17% Macedonia, 3% Slovenia, 2% Serbia and an insignificant number (0.3%) said Bosnia-Herzegovina. The low number of persons who identified Bosnia-Herzegovina as their republic of origins reflects the fact that almost all Croats identified Croatia as their country of birth, regardless of which republic they were born in. According to the ABS, the separate republic responses were included in the 'Yugoslav born' figures, given that the individual republics were 'non-country entities'. This rule, however, was not applied to the then constituent republics of the Soviet Union, i.e. Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and the Ukraine, nor

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** Research for this study was conducted before the data of the 1996 and 2001 ABS censuses were available.

did it include separate categories for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

While population data in Australia is based almost exclusively on the number of people born in a particular country, birthplace statistics present a number of difficulties in countries where ethnic origins are distorted (Price and Martin: 1976, 33-34). It could be argued that in the case of ex-Yugoslavia, a cobbling together of many ethnic groups, the primary language and religion correlate more closely with ethnicity than birthplace (AIMA: 1985, 43). For the 'Yugoslav born' the primary language is complicated by the inclusion of the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' categories. Religion, and its distinctive network of relationships with ethnicity, was one of the markers of separateness of the ethnic groups from ex-Yugoslavia and is a particularly strong distinguishing factor in Australia. Though Croats, Macedonians, Slovenes and others from ex-Yugoslavia belonged to one political state, and therefore had a common nationality, they nonetheless represented distinct ethnic groups. Many intensely disliked the political union created after the First World War (Price: 1963, 3).

An analysis of the demographic profile of the 'Yugoslav born' is timely because of the enormous political changes in ex-Yugoslavia. The enormous changes in responses of the 'Yugoslav born' between the 1986 and 1991 censuses reflect the political change and disintegration of ex-Yugoslavia.

2. Methodology

To distinguish between the ethnic groups among the 'Yugoslav born' and those belonging to the second generation who had at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent, the data used for this demographic profile was the 1986 ABS census ancestry responses of the 'Yugoslav born', and a matrix of the 1991 ABS census 'Yugoslav born' by language spoken, religion and age.

The most significant groups of 'Yugoslav born' and the second generation in Australia are Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, Slovenian and Hungarian speakers. Language, however, as a

distinguishing factor in the ABS census, is complicated by the ABS inclusion of 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' as languages. In this report both are regarded as non-specific answers and are referred to as language categories, not languages as such. The matrix for this research was used to develop a formula whereby the two language categories were allocated to specific languages recognised in Australia. The English-only speakers were allocated in the same way as 'Yugoslav' speakers, because it was regarded as a non-specific answer that included a diversity of religions and age profiles.

In contrast to language, the ABS census religious responses of the 'Yugoslav born' are specific. There is also a very high response rate and correlation between religion and languages spoken by the 'Yugoslav born' in Australia. Almost all Croatian speakers (95%) in the 1991 census were Catholic, 95% of Macedonian speakers Orthodox and 88% of Serbian speakers Orthodox. In 1991 the two Orthodox responses were differentiated for the first time. Prior to 1991 all specific Orthodox responses were simply classified under 'Orthodox'. The differentiation between the two made it much easier to identify Macedonians, who constitute the significant majority of this religion, from the smaller Serbian population.

The correlation between languages spoken and religious affiliation of the 'Yugoslav born' in Australia are very strong indicators of the distinct groupings. They could be used to indicate the ethnic affiliation of the groups. To ensure the highest possible accuracy in deciphering the aggregate of the 'Yugoslav born' category, another factor - age - was used. Languages such as Croatian, Slovenian, Hungarian, Macedonian and Serbian have a high affiliation with particular religions and quite distinct age profiles.

The two factors - religion and age - together showed that in the 'Yugoslav' language category, the Catholic populations dominated in the age brackets from 45 onwards, while the Orthodox were dominant up to the age of 44. These age profiles were then used to allocate similar aged Catholics or Orthodox 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' speakers to specific languages. The majority of the older 'Yugoslav' speakers were allocated to the Catholic related language, while the majority of the younger were allocated to the

Orthodox related language. The age and religious profiles of the language groups were also used to distribute the English-only speakers, given that it too was regarded as a non-specific answer.

The 'Yugoslav' language category and English-only speakers were distributed amongst all the languages recorded as being spoken by people born in ex-Yugoslavia. The 'Serbo-Croatian' speakers were only allocated to the Croatian or Serbian language based on religion and age profiles. The result is the total allocation of the 'Serbo-Croatian' and 'Yugoslav' language categories to what we have called an 'estimate' of each of the ethnic groups. Some of the older, smaller, and essentially Catholic populations may be over-estimated after the allocation of the 'Yugoslav' language. This is due to the assumption of the research formula that if, for example, 5% of the total 'Yugoslav' born responded that they spoke Hungarian they were also allocated 5% of the 'Yugoslav' language category.

The high correlation between religion and a specific language, as well as the multi-dimensional profile of each language group that was developed for this research, provides an ethnic map of the 'Yugoslav born' in Australia.

3. Profile of the 'Yugoslav born'

According to the 1991 ABS census, there were 169,962 people born in ex-Yugoslavia with an excess of 10,000 males. 10% of the total 'Yugoslav born' said they spoke only English. Of the English-only speakers, the male to female ratio was two to one.

Croatian language speakers had a median age of 45 to 54. Albanian speakers were the youngest with a median age of 25 to 34, followed by Macedonian and Slovak speakers, both of which had median ages between 35 and 44. German, Slovenian and Italian speakers had a median age of 55 to 64. German males had the highest median age of between 65 and 74. German speakers also had the highest percentage of persons aged 55 years and over, 72% of total speakers. This was followed by Italians with 59%, Slovenians 49%, and Hungarians with over one third (36%).

Albanians had the lowest proportion of persons aged 55 and over, 13%. One quarter (25%) of Croatian speakers were aged 55 and over.

The age distribution indicates the length and migration patterns of each group. The longer a group has been in Australia without renewed migration, the higher their median age will be, as exemplified by German and Italian speakers from ex-Yugoslavia. The most recent arrivals, Albanians, constitute the youngest group. The Macedonian population, though not as young as the Albanian, is a more recent group in Australia than Croats. The median age for Croats, 45 to 54, indicates on-going immigration over a long period.

4. Religious profile

Figure 1. 1.
1986 census religion responses

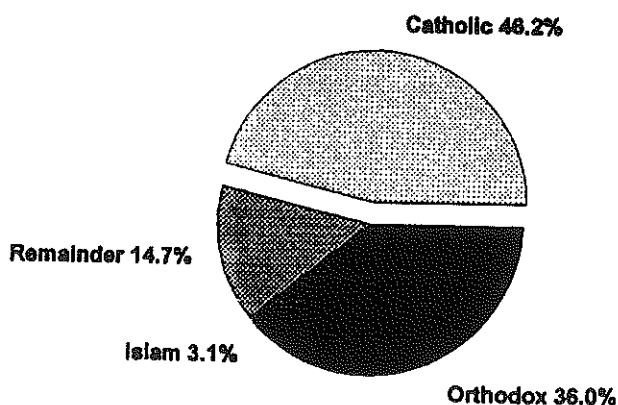
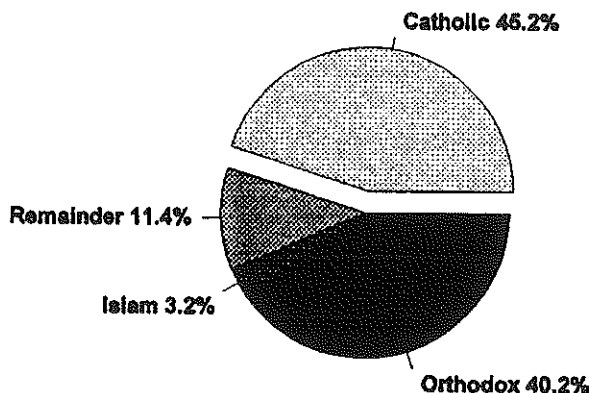


Figure 1. 2.
1991 census religion responses



The religious responses of the 'Yugoslav born' in the 1986 and 1991 censuses in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 clearly demonstrate that the major populations are Catholic and Orthodox. Thus those ethnic groups associated with the respective religions represent the major members in this population.

The 'remainder' religious category, including no responses and no religion, declined from 15% in 1986 to 11% in 1991. This means that 20% (3,655) of the people in the 'remainder' category changed their answer between 1986 and 1991. It is unlikely that they changed their religions. The more likely reason for the decline in the 'remainder' category is a more specific answer to the question. This trend from a non-specific response, such as no religion or a non-specifying response, was consistent with the trend away from 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' in the language responses. At the same time, changes in the language responses were quite dramatic. This suggests that religion is a much more significant, consistent and uncompromising factor in the identity of the 'Yugoslav born' ethnic groups. This makes religion the most reliable condition for determining ethnicity.

Apart from the consistency in responses, there is a high correlation between religion and ancestry on the one hand, and religion and language on the other. In 1986 almost all (94%) Croatian speakers were Catholic. This increased by one per cent in 1991. Other language groups displaying a high correlation with the Catholicism were Slovenian (87%), Italian (85%), Hungarian (80%) and Ukrainian (79%). Numerically, Croatian speakers are by far the most significant Catholic group. There is also a high correlation between the Orthodox religion and Macedonian speakers (93% in 1986 and 95% in 1991) and Serbian speakers (87% in 1986 and 88% in 1991).

5. Language profile

Figure 1.3
1986 census language responses

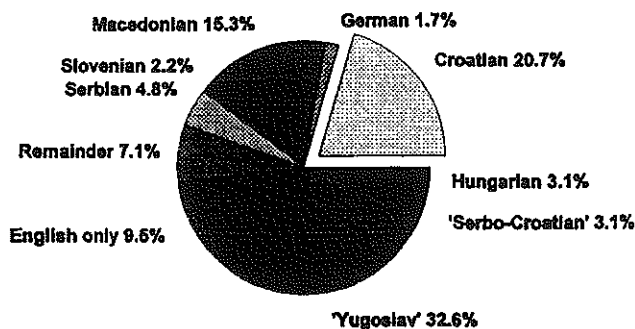
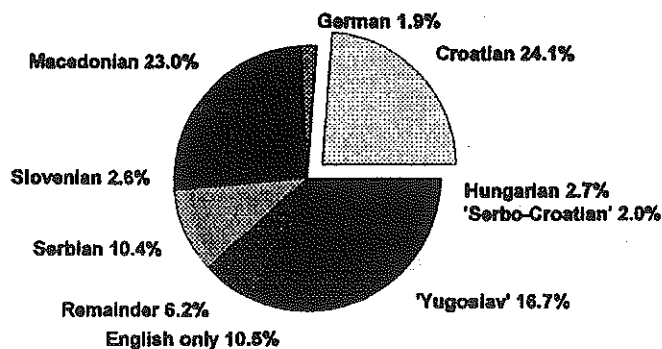


Figure 1.4
1991 census language responses



Figures 1.3 and 1.4 show significant changes in language responses. The 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories declined by more than one half. The significant changes in language responses cannot be explained by the 11,000 increase in the 'Yugoslav born' population between the two censuses, but by a change from non-specific to specific responses. The increase in the number of Croatian speakers was insignificant, 2%. The changes in the language responses are mostly among the Macedonian and Serbian languages, the latter increasing by 50%.

There is no obvious explanation why the Orthodox Macedonian and Serbian language speakers changed to a more specific language response in much greater numbers than the Catholic Croatian speakers. Such a trend, however, is consistent with the tendency for Croats to give non-specific responses. This is exemplified by the dominance of Catholics in the 'Yugoslav' language category, the majority of who are Croatian because of the high number of Croats who make up that religion among the 'Yugoslav born'. Two possible explanations are that Macedonians and Serbs have a more definite view of their ethnic identity or that Croats are more reluctant to identify theirs. This reluctance may be a result of the negative perception they believed the wider community had of Croats.

Figure 1.5
1986 and 1991 'Yugoslav' language category responses according to religion

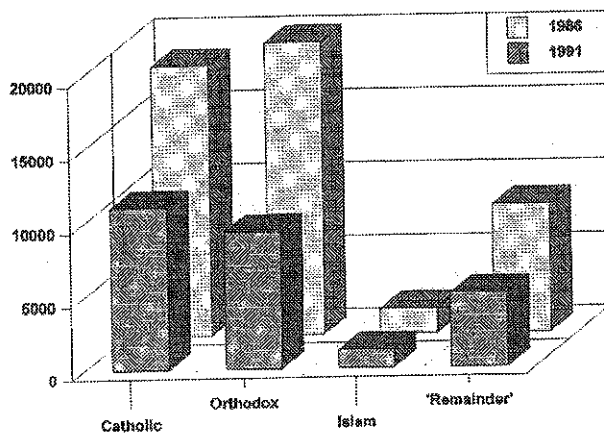
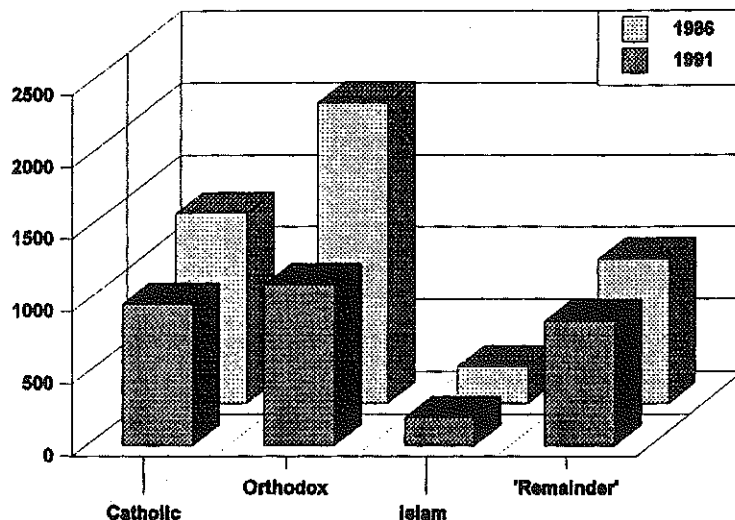


Figure 1.6
1986 and 1991 'Serbo-Croatian' language category responses
according to religion



Figures 1.5 and 1.6 indicate the changes in the religious affiliation of the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' responses between the two censuses. In 1986 the 'Yugoslav' language category of 48,862 was made up of 38% Catholic, 41% Orthodox, 3% Islamic and 18% 'remainder'. In 1991 the total number decreased by nearly one half (45%) to 26,959. The number consisted of 41% Catholic, 35% Orthodox, 5% Islamic and 19% 'remainder'. The 'Serbo-Croatian' language category in 1986 totalled 4,642 persons, consisting of 28% Catholic, 45% Orthodox, 5% Islamic and 21% 'remainder'. By 1991 the total had dropped by one third (32%) to 3,149. The number consisted of 31% Catholic, 35% Orthodox, 6% Islamic and 27% 'remainder'.

Overall, Croats were more significantly represented in the 'Yugoslav' language category and the Serbs with the 'Serbo-Croatian' language category. However, the proportion of Catholics in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories increased between 1986 and 1991, due mostly to the Orthodox respondents changing their language responses to Macedonian and Serbian. If future religious changes in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' responses follow the same trend, then the proportion of

Catholics remaining in both language categories will continue to increase.

The religious and consequent ethnic composition of the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories has major implications when utilised in the interests of service planning and resource allocation. In particular, the religious composition of the language categories seriously questions the tendency, evident at all levels of government and the community sector, to aggregate the language responses of Serbian, 'Serbo-Croatian' and 'Yugoslav' into one category. The impending result, intended or not, is that this single category amounts to the same ethnic group - namely Serbian.

Figure 1.7
1991 census Orthodox religion according to language responses

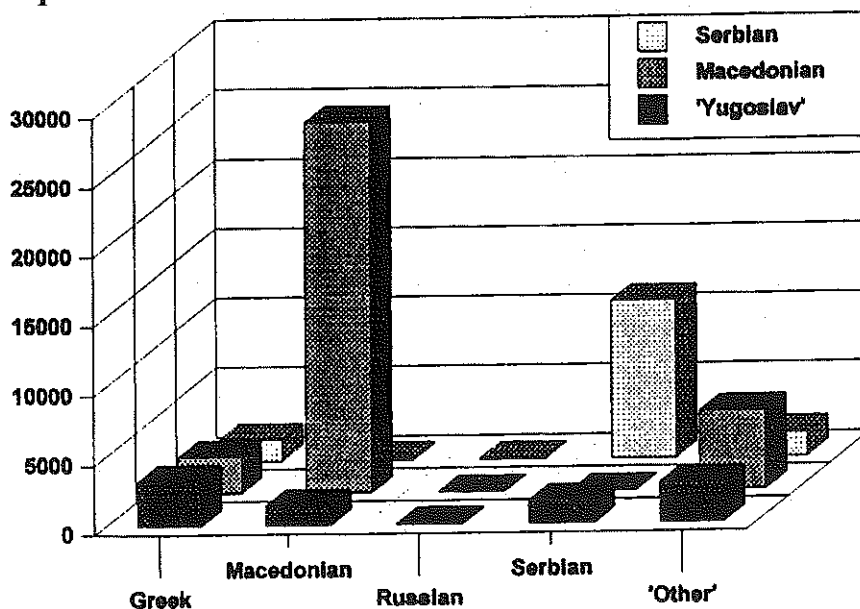


Figure 1.7 shows that Macedonian speakers constitute over one half the Orthodox population, 54% or 35,250 of the total of 64,736 persons. Serbian speakers represent less than a one-quarter of the Orthodox population, 23% or 14,753 persons. Both Macedonians and Serbs have a high correlation (76%) between their languages and their respective Orthodox churches.

Figure 1.8
1991 census age distribution and religious profile of the
'Yugoslav' language category

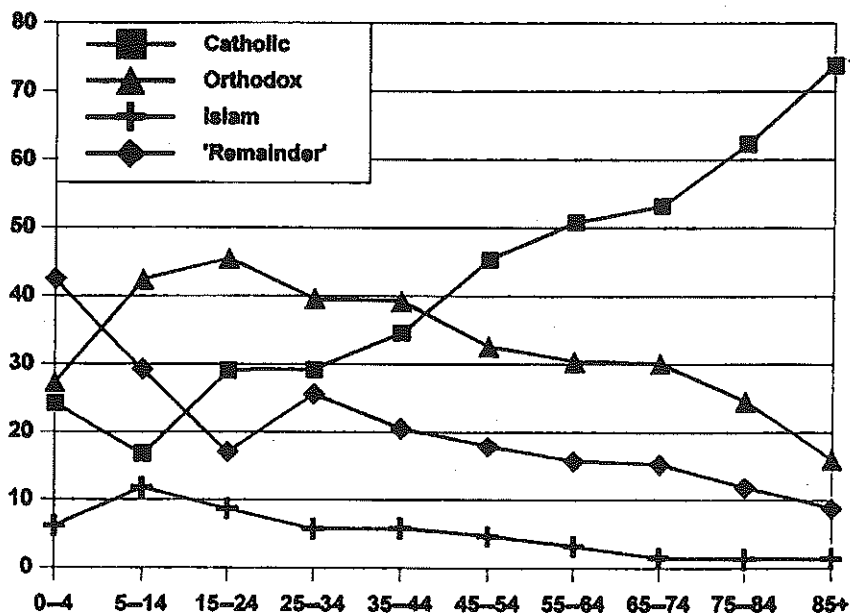
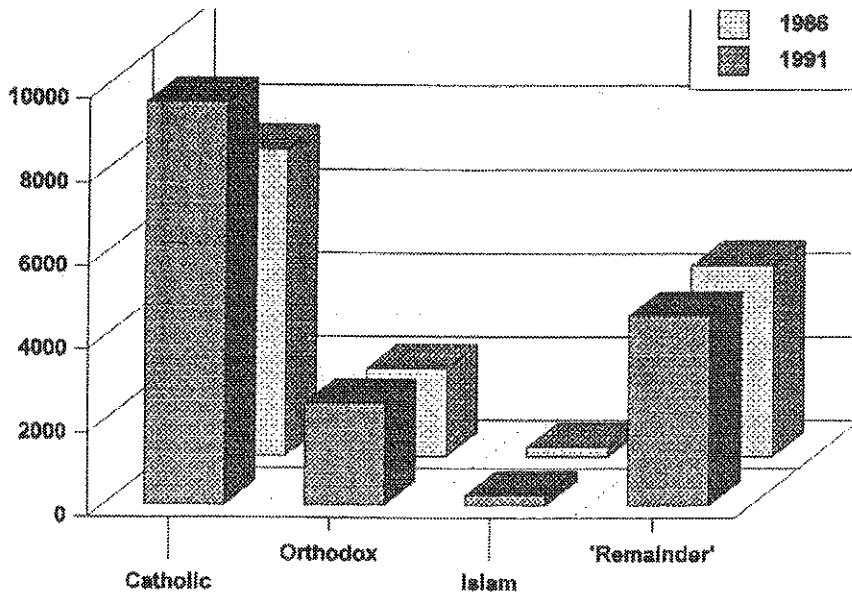


Figure 1.8 shows that Catholics are dominant in more than one half of the 'Yugoslav' language age ranges, from 17% in the 5 to 14 age group to 74% in the 85 plus age group. Consistent with the age profile of the specific language responses, older people are more likely to be Catholic and Croatian. The dominance of Catholic 'Yugoslav' responses is consistent with the trend for Croats to give non-specific answers. Persons professing Orthodoxy, mostly Macedonians, are dominant in the younger age brackets. The language and religion responses, coupled with the age profile, provide the clearest picture of the distinct ethnic groups.

Figure 1.9
1986 and 1991 census English-only language responses
according to religion



According to Figure 1.9, most (57%) English-only speakers are Catholic. Only 15% of English-only speakers are Orthodox.

Between the 1986 and the 1991 censuses, the number of Catholic English-only speakers increased significantly (31%), while the number of Orthodox English-only speakers increased by one half of that rate (16%). One of the possible reasons for this trend is that Catholics who no longer wanted to identify themselves with the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories were still reluctant to give a specific language answer. This is consistent with the trend of the Catholic 'Yugoslav born'. This also indicates that the English-only language category is not a reliable indicator for usage or competence in the English language. According to one study, people who had responded that they spoke English or spoke it very well in the 1981 census performed poorly in a sample evaluation (Young: 1985, 40).

6. 1986 ancestry profile

The 1986 census included a question on ancestry. This was not repeated in 1991 and there are no plans to include such a question in future census collections. In the 1986 census question on ancestry, respondents were allowed to provide a first and second answer. Most of the 'Yugoslav born' (74,950) provided a specific ancestry, i.e. Croatian, Macedonian, etc. Responses of people who answered 'Yugoslav' first (6,734), and then gave a specific ancestry as their second response, have been combined with those who only gave a first answer for a total of the specific ancestry answers. The second most popular response was a 'Yugoslav' ancestry only (72,164). This group did not provide a second specific ancestry answer. Also, 2,929 persons did not give a response. The 1986 ancestry responses have a high correlation with the language and religion responses.

Figure 1.10
1986 census specific ancestry responses

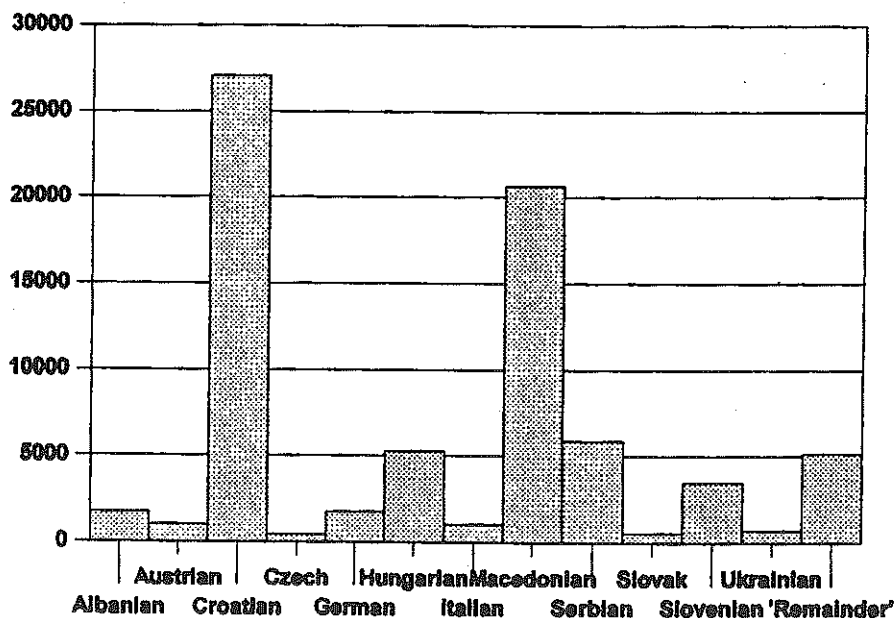


Figure 1.10 is a breakdown of the specific ancestry responses of 74,950 from a total of 150,043 responses to this question. Unspecified ancestry responses numbered 72,164 'Yugoslav' and 2,929 who did not respond. Just under one half (48%) of the 'Yugoslav born' in Australia gave 'Yugoslav' as their ancestry. This can be compared to the 6% and the 3% who provided the same answer in the 1981 and 1991 censuses respectively in ex-Yugoslavia. In the Republic of Croatia, the percentage of persons who identified themselves as 'Yugoslav' in 1991 was 2%, amounting to one quarter of the all time high of 8% in 1981.

The significant decline and small number of those who identified themselves as 'Yugoslav' in ex-Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia is not reflected amongst Croats in Australia.

Table 1.1
Correlation between language and ancestry in the 1986 Census

ancestry	number	% of ancestry speaking ancestral language
Croatian	27,054	90
Macedonian	20,662	86
Albanian	1,754	86
Hungarian	5,292	69
Slovak	579	67
Serbian	5,886	65

The high correlation between ancestry and language in Table 1.1 is consistent across all states and territories. The correlation also reflects the 1991 census results in the Republic of Croatia in which 78% of the population declared their ethnicity as Croatian, and 82% said they spoke Croatian (Baletić: 1994, 33).

The ancestry and religion correlation in Australia was even higher than the correlation between ancestry and language. 95% of those persons who gave a Croatian ancestry response were Catholic, 94% of Macedonian ancestry said they were Orthodox and 90% of Serbian ancestry were Orthodox.

Figure 1.11
1986 census English-only language specific ancestry responses

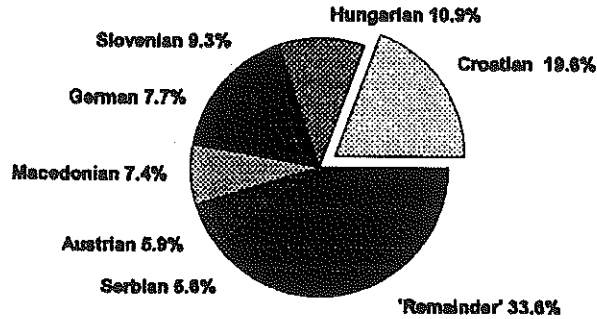


Figure 1.11 is a breakdown of the 34% (4,791) of 14,279 persons speaking only English who gave a specific ancestry response. The 'remainder' answered 'Yugoslav' or did not respond. People of Croatian ancestry were the most significant group who said they spoke only English.

Figure 1.12
1986 census English-only language Catholic religion specific ancestry responses

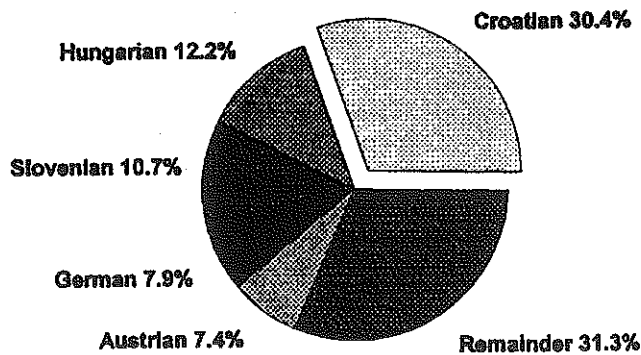


Figure 1.12 is a breakdown of the 35% or 2,588 English-only speakers who were Catholic and gave a specific ancestry. More than one half (7,354 of a total of 14,279) English-only speakers were Catholic. It can also be assumed that the majority of the Catholic English-only speakers in the 'remainder' category who gave a 'Yugoslav' ancestry are in fact Croatian. This is consistent with the trend in language responses in 1991 and the overall trend for Croats to give non-specific answers.

Figure 1.13
1986 census English-only language Orthodox religion specific ancestry responses

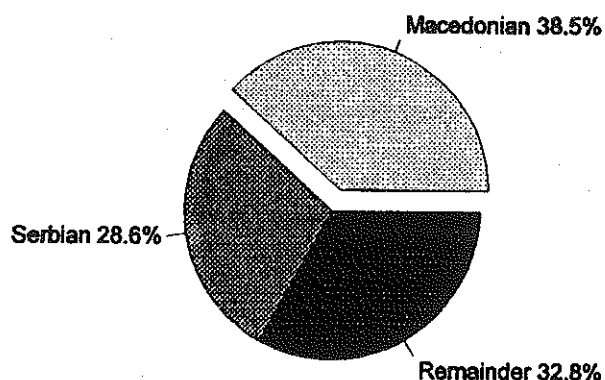


Figure 1.13 is a breakdown of the 688 persons or 32% of Orthodox English-only speakers who stated a specific ancestry. English-only speakers who were Orthodox made up 15% or 2,106 persons from a total of 14,279 English-only speakers. The dominance of Macedonians in the Orthodox English-only speakers group reflects their much larger numbers, and does not necessarily imply that a greater proportion of Macedonians than Serbs speak only English.

Table 1.2

1991 census estimate of languages used at home by people born in ex-Yugoslavia and estimate of ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimated ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	38,845	28	49,834	17	58,217	36
Macedonia	36,983	16	43,045	5	45,079	28
Serbian	16,755	39	23,216	9	25,231	16
Hungarian	4,361	27	5,517	18	6,500	4
Slovenian	4,115	24	5,119	15	5,882	4
German	2,989	37	4,026	18	4,747	3
Italian	2,851	30	3,717	15	4,291	3
Albanian	2,406	30	3,131	10	3,435	2
Slovak	964	42	1,370	21	1,653	1
Ukrainian	461	24	573	14	655	-
Greek	295	45	428	11	475	-
Romanian	256	36	349	14	399	-
Czech	111	41	156	15	180	-
'Remainder'	2,560	40	3,579	18	4,218	3
English only	16,902	-	16,902	-	-	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	3,149	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	26,959	-	-	-	-	-
			16,0962		16,0962	

Table 1.2 shows that persons of Croatian ancestry constitute the largest group of the 'Yugoslav born' in Australia. They constitute over one third of the total population (36%). Macedonians are the second largest group (28%). All other ancestries make up the remaining 36% of the 'Yugoslav born'. Of those remaining 36%, the most significant ancestries are Serbian with 25,231 persons (16%), Hungarian with 6,500 (4%), Slovenian with 5,882 (4%), German with 4,747 (3%), Italian with 4,291 (3%) and Albanian with 3,435 (2%).

The final ancestry number or estimated ancestry was derived after the allocation of the 'Yugoslav', 'Serbo-Croatian' and English-only responses to the 1991 census question on language spoken at home.

Table 1.3
Comparison of ancestries of 1986 Australian Census, 1991 ex-Yugoslavia Census and 1991 Australian estimate

ancestry	Yugoslavia 1991	%	Australia 1986	%	Australia 1991 estimate	%
Albanian	2,170,444	9	1,754	1	3,435	2
Austrian	396	-	1,029	1	r. German	
Croatian	4,684,986	20	27,054	18	58,217	36
Czech	13,408	-	455	-	180	-
German	3,181	-	1,777	1	4,747	3
Greek	303	-	380	-	475	-
Hungarian	345,376	2	5,282	4	6,500	4
Italian	24,366	-	1,051	1	4,291	3
Macedonian	1,373,412	6	20,662	14	45,079	28
Romanian	43,294	-	322	-	399	-
Serbian ²	8,527,773	36	5,886	4	25,231	16
Slovak	72,978	-	579	-	1,653	1
Slovenian	1,749,441	7	3,515	2	5,882	4
Ukrainian	21,046	-	713	-	655	-
'Yugoslav'	701,716	3	72,410	48	-	-
Turkish	109,390	-	na	na	na	na
Romany	201,817	1	na	na	na	na
Bulgarian	25,836	-	na	na	na	na
Muslim ¹	2,303,313	10	na	na	na	na
Montinegrin ²	534,465	2	na	na	na	na
'Others'	614,659	3	7,410	5	4,218	4
TOTAL	23,552,151		150,043		160,962	

1. Muslim and Montinegrin were not ABS categories in the 1986 Census.
2. In 1991 each republic in ex-Yugoslavia had their own ancestry categories. Serbian was the only ancestry category that was included in all the republics. Other ancestries are therefore enumerated.

According to Table 1.3, when the proportions of the ethnic populations of ex-Yugoslavia are compared to the proportion of the 'Yugoslav born' in Australia, the Croatian and Macedonian ancestries are over-represented in Australia, while the Serbian and Slovenian are significantly under-represented. Macedonians, who made up only 6% of the total population of ex-Yugoslavia, constitute 28% of the 'Yugoslav born' in Australia. Some of the very small ancestries, e.g. Austrian and Greek, are more numerous among the 'Yugoslavia born' in Australia than in ex-Yugoslavia itself. Romany, Turkish and Bulgarian ancestries, which total in the tens or hundreds of thousands in ex-Yugoslavia, are present in very small numbers in Australia.

7. Demographic profile of the second generation in Australia

The total Australian born population with one or both parents born in ex-Yugoslavia in 1991 was 120,690, compared to the first generation total of 160,962. The smaller number of the second generation implies that this population is a more recent arrival than the Greek or Italian born populations, who have a more significant second generation than first. The differences in the numbers of the first and second generations also implies the ongoing trend of emigration of 'Yugoslav born'.

Table 1.4

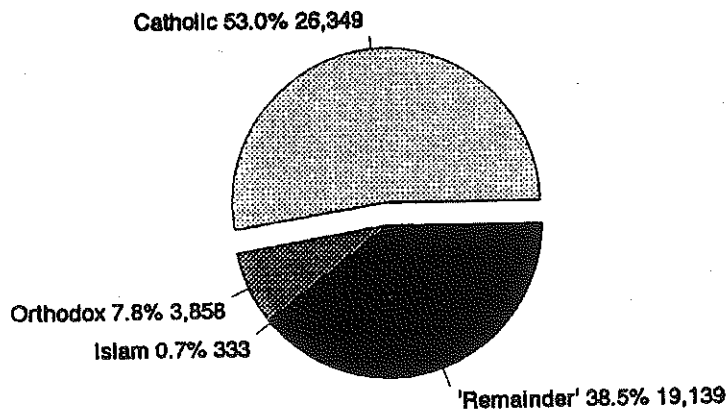
1991 census language responses of the second generation

language	number
English only	49,679
Albanian	1,490
Croatian	22,152
German	805
Hungarian	1,377
Italian	1,576
Macedonian	19,338
Serbian	6,630
'Serbo-Croatian'	1,042
Slovak	442
Slovenian	1,478
Ukrainian	314
'Yugoslav'	9,764
'Remainder'	4,957
	120,690

In Table 1.4 the most significant response for the language spoken at home is English-only, followed by Croatian. The English-only responses are significant, nearly one half of the total second generation compared to 10% of the first generation. While an increase in English-only is expected in the second generation, these figures are particularly high and have serious implications for language and consequent cultural maintenance among the second and third generations. If the figures give a fairly accurate picture, it suggests that children only speak English at home even in cases in which the parents do not have adequate English language skills. This raises many questions about the level and quality of communication between the two generations.

Data collected by the Victorian Department of Education from 1980 to 1993 indicates a gradual decrease in the number of persons speaking Croatian at home based on students' responses to school surveys. The decline seems to be greater than other non-English speaking languages spoken at home by Victorian students.

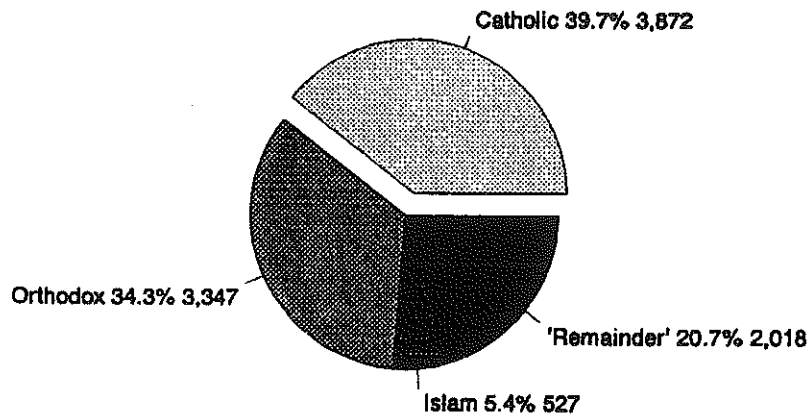
Figure 1.14
1991 census second generation English-only responses
according to religion



In Figure 1.14 the use of only English is much more common among individuals from a Catholic religious background. This is

consistent with the trend for first generation Catholics. There was a small decrease in second generation Catholic English-only speakers, 53% compared to the first generation 57%. The percentage of individuals from an Orthodox religious background using only English is nearly one half of the first generation, from 15% to 8%.

Figure 1.15
1991 census 'Yugoslav' language category second generation responses according to religion



In Figure 1.15 the major religion in the 'Yugoslav' language category is Catholic. This is consistent with responses among the first generation, with Catholics dominating in this category.

Figure 1.16
1991 census second generation 'Serbo-Croatian' language category second generation responses according to religion

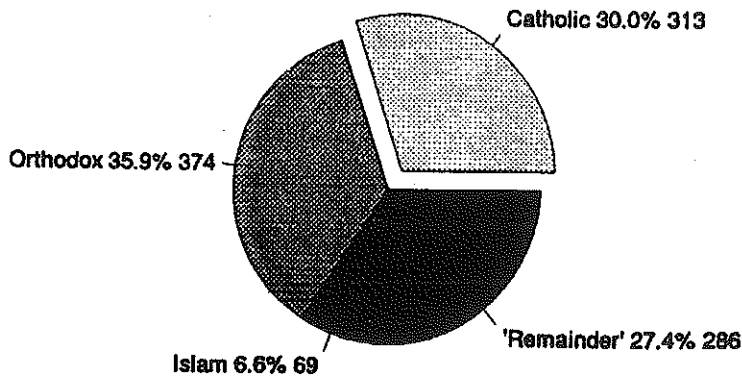


Figure 1.16 is a breakdown of the total 'Serbo-Croatian' language category of 1,042 persons. The significantly smaller number of 'Serbo-Croatian' responses in the second generation reflects the smaller proportion of the Serbian Orthodox group, which identified itself most with 'Serbo-Croatian'.

Figure 1.17
1991 census religion responses of second generation

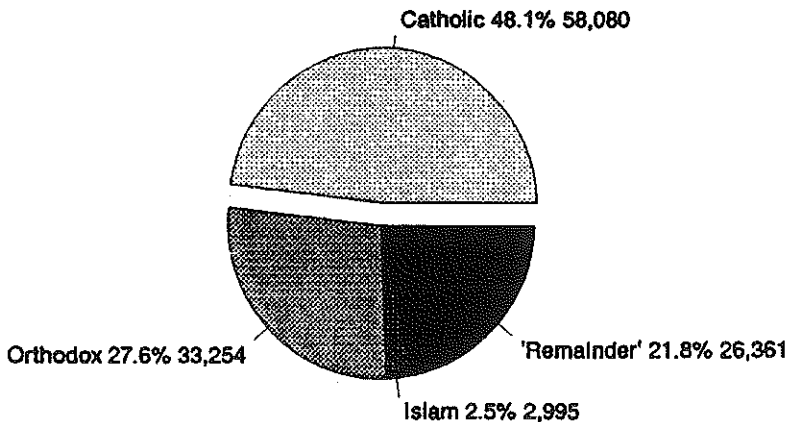


Figure 1.17 shows that the Catholic religion is the major religion of those with one or both parents born in ex-Yugoslavia. The proportion of Catholics is slightly higher among the second generation than in the first, with 48% compared to 45%. The small percentage increase in persons professing Catholicism does not

account for the expected increase in numbers, owing to a much longer period of emigration of Catholic populations (and consequently more significant numbers of second generation Catholics born in Australia). One of the possibilities is that second generation Catholics, the majority of whom are Croatian, are even more reluctant than their parents to give specific answers identifying them and may be in the 'remainder' category, which doubled in the second generation (22% compared to 11%). The increase in the 'remainder' category is due to larger numbers of 'no religion' or 'not stated' responses. The extent to which individuals changed religions or abandoned all religious affiliations between the two generations cannot be assessed, but it is unlikely to be significant.

The decrease in second generation persons professing an affiliation with the Orthodox religion, from 40% to 28%, reflects the younger first generation and, therefore, smaller number of children. It is hard to assess what percentage of the 'remainder' category may be second generation Macedonians and Serbs. However, the significant decrease in the proportion of second generation Orthodox who said they spoke English suggests that the trend of 'Yugoslav born' Macedonians and Serbs to provide specific answers is in fact strengthened in the second generation.

Figure 1.18
1991 census second generation Orthodox religion

According to Figure 1.18, Macedonian Orthodox are the most significant among the Orthodox religion. This is consistent with first generation figures.

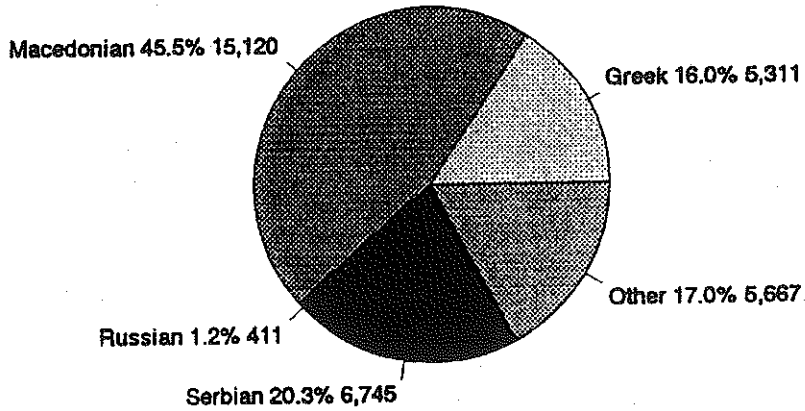
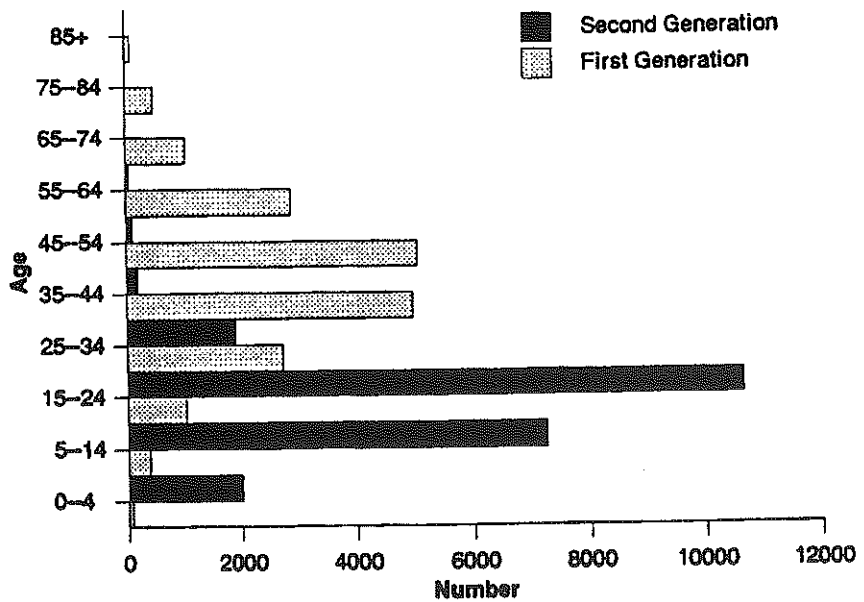


Figure 1.19
1991 census age distribution of first and second generation Croatian speakers



According to Figure 1.19, the second generation is more concentrated in age. Most persons are in the 15 to 24 year bracket. This reflects the peak migration of first generation Croats in 1970 and 1971, and means that there will be a significant third generation of Croats in the future.

Table 1.5

1991 census estimated languages used at home by people with one or both parents born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people with one or both parents born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	22,152	127	50,379	42
Macedonian	19,338	47	28,382	24
Serbian	6,630	79	11,839	10
Italian	1,576	220	5,046	4
German	805	416	4,151	3
Slovenian	1,478	170	3,989	3
Hungarian	1,377	152	3,465	3
Albanian	1,490	76	2,628	2
Slovak	448	321	1,886	2
Greek	461	120	1,012	1
Ukrainian	314	142	760	1
Romanian	89	185	254	-
Czech	46	224	149	-
'Remainder'	2,550	165	6,750	6
'Serbo-Croatian'	1,042	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	9,764	-	-	-
'Not stated'	1,451	-	-	-
English only	49,670	-	-	-
	120,690		120,690	

According to Table 1.5, the percentage of second generation Croats is higher than the first generation. This reflects, compared to Macedonians as the other significant group, the relatively higher

average age of first generation Croats, their longer stay in Australia and regeneration. The increase in the number of second generation Croats after the allocation of the 'Yugoslav', 'Serbo-Croatian' and English-only speakers indicates their overall high numbers amongst those with at least one parent born in ex-Yugoslavia.

8. Total number of first and second generation Croats

The combined number of 58,217 first generation and 50,379 second generation Croats amounts to a total of 108,596 persons. This figure is based on the responses of people answering the 'Yugoslav born' question and those who had at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent in the 1991 census. Notwithstanding, the number of Croats in Australia identified in this research under-estimates the total number. When the factors outlined below and the third generation are taken into account, the number of Croats in Australia is estimated to be over 150,000 - and most likely closer to 200,000.

The ABS census and the methods used in this research underestimate the size of the Croatian population due to the following factors: generous allocation of the Catholic religion category to smaller ethnic groups from ex-Yugoslavia, which probably over-estimates their numbers at the expense of the Croatian population; the difficulty of identifying Croats who are not Catholic and are members of other religious denominations; the lack of reliability of census responses demonstrated by huge changes in answers between the 1986 and 1991 censuses; the reluctance of Croats to give specific responses to questions on language and their consequent inclusion in categories that cannot be easily analysed; and the inability to identify first and second generation Croats not born in ex-Yugoslavia.

Each of the 'Yugoslav born' populations are distinct. Croatian speakers are overwhelmingly Catholic (95%), the smaller Slovenian population is 92% Catholic, while Macedonian speakers are 95% Orthodox and Serbian speakers are 88% Orthodox. This high correlation was consistent with the 1986 religion and ancestry responses. The high consistency of religion responses among the

'Yugoslav born' and the correlation between religion, specific language responses, ancestry and age profiles is suggestive of the high degree of accuracy of the method that was developed for this research.

Developing and applying a formula to obtain the most accurate numbers of each of the ethnic communities was a major exercise in itself. Other social and demographic factors cannot be easily analysed (or cannot be analysed at all) using the aggregate ABS data. Most other research, which does not face the enormous barriers presented by aggregate data, has the advantage of simply stating the total numbers and analysing socio-economic and other factors of interest.

The huge changes in language spoken responses between the 1986 and 1991 censuses demonstrate the 'flexibility' of the responses, as well as the degree to which they reflect the political reality of the respective overseas country and the Australian social and political climate.

9. Demographic profile of the 'Yugoslav born' and the second generation in Australian states and territories

A detailed demographic profile of each of the states and territories is available on request from the researchers. In this publication only summary results are presented.

New South Wales (NSW)

- NSW is the most popular state for Croats. They are the largest and most significant group, 35% or 21,450 persons of the total number of 'Yugoslav born'. This is consistent with the national trend of 36%. NSW is also home to 38% (61,155 people) of the total 'Yugoslav born' population, the second largest number after Victoria. The NSW population does not have the same diversity of ethnic groups from ex-Yugoslavia as the Victorian population.

- The Orthodox populations, in particular Macedonian, are concentrated more in NSW than in any other state or territory. Hence the Orthodox were dominant in both the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories. This goes against the national trend where Catholics, with 41%, constituted the most significant group in the 'Yugoslav' language category.
- The decline in number of unspecified religious responses under the 'remainder' category between the 1986 and 1991 censuses was more significant in NSW, with 26% compared to the national estimate of 20%. One of the factors accounting for this may be the concentration of the two Orthodox religions that had a very strong trend to change their answers from non-specific languages and religions to specific ones between the 1986 and 1991 censuses.
- The percentage of Catholic English-only speakers was slightly higher than the national 57%. This indicates an even higher number of Catholic, and mainly Croatian, responses among the English-only speakers in NSW, given that Catholics dominate this category.
- The Albanian median age in NSW was between 35 and 44, compared to the national figure of between 25 and 34. Median ages for the other language groups adhered to national trends.
- Second generation Croats living in NSW constitute nearly one half of the population (18,311 persons or 42%) with at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent. This is the highest number of any state or territory, and is consistent with the national trend of 42%. The combined number of the first and second generations gives a total of 39,761 Croats living in NSW, the highest number in Australia.

Table 1.6
1991 census estimated languages used at home in NSW by people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	14,772	25	18,466	16	21,45	35
Macedonian	16,563	18	19,617	4	0	33
Serbian	7,457	32	9,816	7	20,45	17
Hungarian	1,321	24	1,636	17	8	3
Slovenian	1,301	24	1,610	15	10,47	3
German	966	36	1,313	19	1	3
Italian	831	26	1,049	14	1,917	2
Albanian	249	60	398	13	1,854	1
Slovak	87	44	125	21	1,560	-
Ukrainian	30	37	41	15	1,191	-
Greek	84	50	126	13	449	-
Romanian	42	26	53	8	151	-
Czech	27	33	36	11	47	-
'Remainder'	817	44	1,179	16	142	2
English only	5,690	-	5,690	-	57	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	1,001	-	-	-	40	-
'Yugoslav'	9,917	-	-	-	1,368	-
					-	
	61,155		61,155		-	
					-	
					61,15	
					5	

Victoria

- Victoria is the second most popular state for Croats. They constitute one third (33% or 21,130 persons) of the 'Yugoslav born'. The proportion of Croats is slightly lower than the national 36% owing to the overall high numbers of most of the ethnic groups from ex-Yugoslavia. 40% (64,307 persons) of

the total 'Yugoslav born' live in Victoria, the highest number in any state or territory.

- The 1986 census Croatian ancestry response in Victoria was the second most significant, after Macedonian. Nationally, Croatian ancestry responses were the most significant.
- In 1986 the Macedonian ancestry English-only speakers were over one half (51%) of the total Orthodox population, compared to the national figure of 39%.
- Victoria has the most diverse representation of all the 'Yugoslav born' language ethnic groups. It also has the highest concentration of most language ethnic groups. Albanian (77%), Slovak (75%), Romanian (74%) and Ukrainian (72%) speakers are located almost exclusively in Victoria. Macedonians and Serbs are more concentrated in NSW.
- The decline in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories was slightly higher in Victoria than the national trend.
- The Victorian Ministry of Education statistics on state school students suggest a steady decrease in the number of children speaking Croatian at home.
- The Victorian Ministry of Education statistics on state school students confirm the finding of this research, that 'Yugoslav born' Catholics and their children are more likely to speak only English at home compared to Orthodox believers from the same geographic area.
- The success of the Victorian Ministry of Education in collecting student data on only the officially recognised languages of the 'Yugoslav born' demonstrates the pro-active role governments can play in data collection at all levels.
- Second generation Croats living in Victoria make up over one third (15,681 persons or 35%) of those with at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent. This is the second highest number in

any state or territory, but below the national trend of 42%. The combined number of the first and second generations gives a total of 36,811 Croats living in Victoria, the second highest number after NSW.

Table 1.7
1991 census estimated languages used at home in Victoria by people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	15,255	22	18,620	13	21,130	33
Macedonian	16,679	12	18,620	4	19,396	30
Serbian	6,244	36	8,199	8	8,815	14
Hungarian	2,202	20	2,651	14	3,025	5
Slovenian	2,028	20	2,427	12	2,718	4
Albanian	1,968	22	2,405	8	2,595	4
Italian	1,145	21	1,385	11	1,540	2
German	956	23	1,177	11	1,309	2
Slovak	762	35	1,025	18	1,213	2
Ukrainian	349	19	415	12	465	1
Romanian	190	36	259	15	298	-
Greek	145	32	192	10	211	-
Czech	51	25	64	13	72	-
'Remainder'	1,076	26	1,358	12	1,520	2
English only	5,510	-	5,510	-	-	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	1,153	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	8,594	-	-	-	-	-
	64,307		64,307		64,307	

Western Australia (WA)

- Croats make up 42% (5,374 persons) of the 'Yugoslav born' in WA, the third highest in the country and above the national trend of 36%. 8% (12,726 persons) of the population born in ex-Yugoslavia lives in WA.

- The growth in the 'Yugoslav born' population in WA has been the most consistent of all the states and territories, avoiding the huge swings shown by other states and territories.
- The percentage of Croats aged 55 and over is slightly higher in WA, consistent with the fact that it is the oldest state of Croatian immigration.
- The decline in the unspecified religious responses in the 'remainder' category between 1986 and 1991 in WA was 15%, lower than the national 20%.
- The decline in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories was less significant in WA than the national trend.
- WA was the only state where Catholics were the overwhelming majority in both the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories. Nationally, Catholics dominated the 'Yugoslav' language category, and the Orthodox the 'Serbo-Croatian'.
- WA was the only state where the percentage of Catholics declined in both the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories. The national trend saw an increase in the percentage of Catholics in the two language categories owing to the significant exodus of the Orthodox religion responses between the 1986 and 1991 censuses.
- The number of Catholic English-only speakers increased by more than one half, to 55%. This was much greater than the national trend of 31%.
- WA was the only state or territory where the 1986 Croatian ancestry response was the second most significant after the Macedonian.
- The Slovenian language responses declined by 26%. There was also a decline in Tasmania, consistent with a decline in the total population.

- In WA Serbian speakers have a lower correlation with the Serbian Orthodox religion, 56% compared to the national 79%.
- Second generation Croats in WA make up nearly one half (6,158 persons or 48%) of those with at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent. This is above the national rate of 42%. This figure, combined with the first generation, gives a total of 11,532 Croats living in WA, the third largest total in Australia. In WA the second generation total exceeds the first generation, which is indicative of the age of the population.

Table 1.8
1991 census estimated languages used at home in WA by
people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of
people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	2,513	75	4,402	22	5,374	42
Macedonian	2,753	25	3,443	6	3,660	29
Serbian	633	81	1,148	12	1,281	10
Italian	264	80	474	19	562	4
German	215	65	354	21	430	3
Slovenian	186	85	344	17	402	3
Hungarian	139	68	233	24	288	2
Albanian	73	71	125	10	138	1
Greek	42	64	69	12	77	1
Ukrainian	15	73	26	38	36	-
Czech	6	100	12	-	12	-
Slovak	-	-	-	-	-	-
Romanian	-	-	-	-	-	-
'Remainder'	233	68	375	24	466	4
English only	1,721	-	1,721	-	-	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	282	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	3,661	-	-	-	-	-
	12,726		12,726		12,726	
			6			

South Australia (SA)

- Croats make up 44% (3,998 persons) of the total 'Yugoslav born' population in SA. This is the third highest concentration of Croats in Australia, above the national trend of 36%. 6% (9,081 persons) of the total 'Yugoslav born' population lives in SA.
- Some of the smaller 'Yugoslav born' populations, such as Albanian and Slovak, are too small to measure with any accuracy. Consequently, no median and/or over 55 age profiles are available for them.
- The 'Yugoslav born' population of SA has been static over the last two decades. The last sizeable increase in population was in the 1971 census.
- The percentage of Croats aged 55 years and over is higher in SA than in other parts of Australia. The trend is repeated in all the 'Yugoslav born' language groups. This is a result of the static population.
- The high age profile also reflects the fact that SA was one of the states of earliest Croatian migration.
- The correlation between Croatian ancestry and language was slightly lower than the national trend.
- The decrease in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories was not as significant in SA as the national trend.
- Serbian Orthodox is the most significant Orthodox category, and the second highest in number after Croats. This signifies a reversal of the Australia wide results in which the Macedonian Orthodox population constituted the overwhelming Orthodox majority. This also reflects the trend of Macedonians, who are the more recent Orthodox arrivals, to settle in other states.
- The increase in specific Orthodox responses between the 1986 and 1991 censuses, as well as the corresponding decrease in

the 'remainder' religious category, was not as significant in SA as it was nationally.

- There is an overall trend of an older, static 'Yugoslav born' population. Changes from non-specific language and religious responses to specific ones between the 1986 and 1991 censuses is less significant than the national trend.
- Second generation Croats living in SA constitute nearly one half (3,286 persons or 43%) of those people with at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent. This is consistent with the national trend of 42%. The combined number of the first and second generations gives a total of 7,284 Croats living in SA, the fourth largest total in Australia.

Table 1.9

1991 census estimated languages used at home in SA by people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	2,446	35	3,290	22	3,998	44
Serbian	1,067	69	1,799	10	1,975	22
German	405	32	534	19	635	7
Italian	332	28	426	20	512	6
Macedonian	320	32	422	11	470	5
Hungarian	273	33	362	24	449	5
Slovenian	264	22	321	16	373	4
Slovak	30	62	49	39	68	1
Ukrainian	61	28	84	18	99	1
Albanian	65	71	111	10	122	1
Greek	21	71	36	8	39	-
Romanian	12	50	18	11	20	-
Czech	-	-	-	-	-	-
'Remainder'	174	47	255	26	321	4
English only	1,374	-	1,374	-	-	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	299	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	1,938	-	-	-	-	-
	9,081		9,081		9,081	

Queensland

- Croats in Queensland are the largest group (41% or 3,579 persons) of the 'Yugoslav born'. The concentration is above the national trend of 36%. 5% (8,700 persons) of the total 'Yugoslav born' population lives in Queensland.
- After Croatian, the second largest language group is the English-only language group with 20%. The third largest is the Serbian language with 16%, and the fourth is Macedonian with 6%. Nationally, the Macedonian language is the second largest with 27%, the Serbian language third with 14%, and English-only fourth with 11%.
- Hungarian was the second most significant 1986 ancestry. Queensland was the only state where this occurred.
- In Queensland the Albanian language group is divided equally between Catholicism and Islam. Nationally, Albanian speakers are overwhelmingly Islamic.
- The percentage aged 55 and over is slightly higher in Queensland than Australia wide.
- The 'remainder' religious category in Queensland increased by 5% between the 1986 and 1991 censuses. The national trend consisted of a 20% decrease.
- The drop in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories between the two censuses was only about one half of the national decrease.
- Contrary to the national trend, Macedonians made up one of the smaller groups in Queensland.
- In Queensland (Tasmania and Northern Territory), the Greek Orthodox population is the major Orthodox group. The assumption is that some Macedonians are a part of the Greek Orthodox Church because of historical and geographic reasons. Serbian Orthodoxy was the second largest. This is against the

Australia wide trend where Macedonian Orthodoxy constitutes the majority.

- The correlation between Macedonian speakers and the Macedonian Orthodox religion (54%) and Serbian speakers and the Serbian Orthodox religion (52%) was low compared to the national trend of over 70%.
- Second generation Croats in Queensland make up one half (50% or 4,059 persons) of the total population with at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent. This is the fourth largest concentration in Australia and above the national trend of 42%. The combined number of the first and second generations amounts to a total of 7,638 Croats living in Queensland. The number of the second generation is greater than the first.

Table 1.10

1991 census estimated languages used at home in Queensland by people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	1,880	49	2,793	28	3,579	41
Serbian	723	52	1,400	20	1,681	19
Hungarian	384	53	587	30	762	9
German	336	53	515	25	646	7
Macedonian	333	61	537	14	612	7
Italian	213	43	305	28	390	4
Slovenian	153	35	206	27	262	3
Slovak	79	102	160	29	206	2
Albanian	39	87	73	26	92	1
Czech	27	63	44	27	56	1
Romanian	12	58	19	26	24	-
Greek	3	67	5	20	6	-
Ukrainian	-	-	-	-	-	-
'Remainder'	177	63	289	33	384	4
English only	1,767	-	1,767	-	-	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	267	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	2,307	-	-	-	-	-
	8,700		8,700		8,700	

The Australian Capital Territory (ACT)

- The Croatian population in the ACT constitutes the majority (2,224 persons or 56%) of the 'Yugoslav born'. This is the only state or territory where a particular language of the 'Yugoslav born' is the majority. It is also the highest concentration of Croats in Australia, well above the 36% average.
- Some of the smaller 'Yugoslav born' populations, such as the Albanian and Ukrainian, are absent in the ACT population.
- Compared to the national trend, the percentage of persons aged 55 and over is slightly lower for Croats and other language groups. This reflects a younger and more recent population. Settlement of the 'Yugoslav born' in the ACT only started in the 1960's. Previously, the number recorded by the ABS census was insignificant or absent. The age profiles also reflect the generally younger population of the ACT.
- Catholics in the ACT make up 61% of the population, significantly higher than the national figure of 45%. This reflects the dominance of Croats, who are mostly Catholic, in the ACT population.
- The 1986 Croatian ancestry responses in the ACT were the most significant Australia wide.
- In the 1986 census, half of the English-only language speakers gave a specific ancestry response. This is significantly higher than the national average of 34%.
- More than one half of the English-only language speakers in the ACT were Catholic. This was double the national figure. The higher number of Catholic English-only speakers confirms the dominance of Croats in the population. It also confirms the trend throughout this research of Croats, who are mostly Catholic, to give non-specific language, and to a lesser extent religious, responses in the ABS census.

- In the ACT the Serbian Orthodox population was the largest Orthodox group. The only other such occurrence was in SA. Nationally, Macedonian Orthodoxy was the majority Orthodox religion.
- Like the first generation, second generation Croats living in the ACT constitute the majority of their population group. Their concentration (63% compared to the national average of 42%) is much more significant than the first generation. The combined number of the first (2,294) and second generations (2,140) amounts to a total of 4,364 Croats living in the ACT, the highest overall percentage and the sixth largest numerically.

Table 1.11

1991 census estimated languages used at home in the ACT by people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	1,761	12	1,965	13	2,224	56
Serbian	580	30	753	9	819	21
Macedonian	302	19	358	15	412	10
Slovenian	138	11	153	20	184	5
German	60	10	66	14	75	2
Italian	48	17	56	14	64	2
Hungarian	36	8	39	15	45	1
Slovak	6	83	11	-	15	-
Ukrainian	3	-	3	-	3	-
Greek	-	-	-	-	-	-
Albanian	-	-	-	-	-	-
Czech	-	-	-	-	-	-
Romanian	-	-	-	-	-	-
'Remainder'	48	27	61	21	74	2
English only	480	-	480	-	-	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	114	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	369	-	-	-	-	-
	3,945		3,945		3,945	

Tasmania

- Croats make up nearly one half (49% or 367 persons) of the 'Yugoslav born' population, which is significantly higher than the national trend of 36%. Less than 1% (0.5% or 752 persons) of the total 'Yugoslav born' population live in Tasmania.
- The median age for Croatian language respondents, between 35 and 44, was lower than the national trend of 45 to 54.
- Before the 1954 census, there were less than 10 'Yugoslav born' persons living in Tasmania. The 'Yugoslav born' population has been declining since the 1976 census, and the peak figure of 1,020 was in 1971. The decline reflects the migration of the population to other Australian states and territories.
- The overall small population, and absence of a number of the 'Yugoslav born' groups such as the Albanian, Hungarian, Romanian and Slovak, means that the age profiles and number of persons aged 55 and over could not be estimated with sufficient accuracy.
- The male to female ratio is in excess of two to one, above the national ratio. The English-only language male to female ratio is four to one. This is the most significant ratio across Australia.
- The decrease in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories were more significant than the national trend.
- The increase in English-only language speakers between 1986 and 1991 was much higher than the national average.
- The decrease in the non-specific 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language responses between the 1986 and 1991 censuses were absorbed by the increased non-specific English-only responses and the more specific Orthodox related languages. The Macedonian language response increased from none in 1986 to 80% of Orthodox responses in 1991.

Considering the overall decrease in population, changes in Macedonian can only be accounted for by changes in responses.

- Tasmania is the only state where the Slovenian language had the second highest correlation with ancestry responses in the 1986 census.
- The Greek Orthodox population in Tasmania (Queensland and the Northern Territory) constitutes the major Orthodox population.
- Second generation Croats in Tasmania make up more than one half (505 persons or 52%) of the population, above the national 42%. The combined number of the first and second generations amounts to a total of 872 Croats living in Tasmania, the second smallest population in Australia. The second generation in Tasmania is higher than the first.

Table 1.12

1991 census estimated languages used at home in Tasmania by people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	182	31	238	54	367	49
Serbian	39	67	65	65	107	14
German	48	31	63	37	86	12
Macedonian	30	20	36	47	53	7
Slovenian	24	21	29	48	43	6
Italian	15	20	18	44	26	3
Ukrainian	3	33	4	25	5	1
Albanian	-	-	-	-	-	-
Czech	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greek	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hungarian	-	-	-	-	-	-
Romanian	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slovak	-	-	-	-	-	-
'Remainder'	30	43	43	35	58	8
English only	249	-	249	-	-	-

'Serbo-Croatian'	21	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	104	-	-	-	-	-
	745		745		745	

The Northern Territory (NT)

- Croats make up just under one third (31% or 95 persons) of the NT population born in ex-Yugoslavia. Under 1% (0.2% or 303 persons) of the total ex-Yugoslav population live in the NT.
- The male to female ratio of more than two to one is above the national average.
- The male to female ratio of English-only language speakers is three to one, above the national average and second only to Tasmania.
- The very small population, as well as the absence of many 'Yugoslav born' groups, in the NT means that there is no median age, number of persons aged over 55 and age profiles of any of the language groups on account of the high probability of error.
- The increase in Catholic religion responses between 1986 and 1991 was against the national trend, in which there was an overall decline of about 1%.
- The largest language population in the NT is English-only speakers, 37% of the total population. Tasmania was the only other state where English was the major language.
- The number of English-only speakers remained the same between the 1986 and 1991 censuses. The national trend recorded an increase in the responses of English-only speakers.
- The decrease in 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language category responses between the 1986 and 1991 censuses were small compared to the national trend, in which they decreased by one half.

- Correlations between language and ancestry in 1986 were low for all specific language responses compared to national averages. The number of people who responded that they spoke only English and gave a specific ancestry was slightly higher than the national trend.
- The dominant religion of the Albanian speaking population of the NT was Catholic. Nationally, Albanians were overwhelmingly Islamic.
- The Greek Orthodox population is the dominant Orthodox group. This is repeated in Queensland and Tasmania. Nationally, Macedonian Orthodoxy were the majority Orthodox population.
- Second generation Croats make up the majority (62% or 239 persons) of those who have at least on 'Yugoslav born' parent. This is the second highest concentration after the ACT, and is above the national trend of 42%. The combined number of first and second generation Croats in the NT is 334. The second generation is significantly higher in number than the first.

Table 1.13

1991 census estimated languages used at home in the NT by people born in ex-Yugoslavia, and estimated ancestry of people born in ex-Yugoslavia

language	actual 1991	% increase	estimated languages used	% increase	estimate ancestry	% of total population
Croatian	36	67	60	58	95	31
Serbian	12	200	36	44	52	17
Slovenian	21	38	29	59	46	15
Albanian	12	58	19	105	39	13
Macedonian	3	300	12	50	18	6
Hungarian	6	50	9	56	14	5
German	3	25	4	50	6	2
Italian	3	33	4	50	6	2
Czech	-	-	-	-	-	-

Greek	-	-	-	-	-	-
Romanian	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slovak	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ukrainian	-	-	-	-	-	-
'Remainder'	15	27	19	42	27	9
English only	111	-	111	-	-	-
'Serbo-Croatian'	69	-	-	-	-	-
'Yugoslav'	303		303		303	

Table 1.14
Total first generation Croatian language speakers and ancestry
by states and territories

state/territory	Croatian language speakers	Croatian % of ex-Yugoslav population in each State and Territory	Croatian ancestry	% of ex-Yugoslav population in each State and Territory
New South Wales	18,466	30	21,450	35
Victoria	18,620	29	21,130	33
Western Australia	4,402	35	5,374	42
South Australia	3,290	36	3,998	44
Queensland	2,793	32	3,579	41
ACT	1,965	50	2,224	56
Tasmania	238	32	367	49
Northern Territory	60	20	95	31
Australia	49,834	31	58,217	36

First generation Croats make up over one third (36%) of the total population of ex-Yugoslav language speakers in all states and territories. According to Table 1.14, Croats constitute the majority population (56%) of 'Yugoslav born' in the ACT, followed by South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, New South Wales, Victoria and the Northern Territory, which has the least significant proportion of 31%. In terms of total numbers, New

South Wales and Victoria are the most populace, followed by Western Australia, South Australia, Queensland, the ACT, Tasmania and the Northern Territory.

Table 1.15
Second generation Croats by states and territories

state/territory	Croatian ancestry	% of second generation in all states and territories
Victoria	15,681	35
New South Wales	18,311	42
Western Australia	6,158	48
South Australia	3,286	43
Queensland	4,059	50
ACT	2,140	63
Tasmania	505	52
Northern Territory	239	62
Australia	50,379	42

Second generation Croats in Table 1.15 make up nearly one half (42%) of those persons with at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent. They constitute the most significant population in the ACT, which is consistent with the trend in the first generation. The high proportion of second generation Croats living in the Northern Territory was contrary to the first generation, which made up the least significant proportion of the total numbers.

10. Conclusions

There are national trends, as well as distinct demographic differences, between populations in the states and territories, and changes to responses between the 1986 and 1991 ABS censuses. Croats constituted the largest population in all states and territories, thereby reflecting their over-representation in migration to Australia.

NSW is the most popular state for Croats, followed by Victoria. More than two thirds of first and second generation Croats identified by the ABS census and the methods used in this research live in the two states. Victoria also has the largest and most diverse representation and concentration of some of the ethnic groups who make up the 'Yugoslav born'.

The trend for Catholics, and therefore mostly Croats, to dominate in the English-only and 'Yugoslav' responses to the language spoken at home was consistent, with the exception of NSW where Orthodox responses dominated in the 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' language categories. Overall, Catholics had a high association with the former and the Orthodox had a high association with the latter.

The length of settlement in different states and territories was reflected in distinct trends in the language and 'remainder' religion category responses and age profiles. The states of the earliest migration of Croats, by far the majority ethnic group until the Second World War, had the highest number of persons aged 55 and over. These states - Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland - also tended to have the least significant changes between 1986 and 1991 in response to questions on language spoken at home and religion. In all three states the decline in 'Yugoslav' and 'Serbo-Croatian' responses was less than the national trend. The decline in the 'remainder' religion category was reversed in South Australia, which saw an increase. The older populations tended to remain conservative in their answers. These populations were also mostly Catholic and Croatian.

The dominance of second generation Croats across all states and territories, coupled with their overall high numbers among those with at least one 'Yugoslav born' parent, confirms the fact that Croats are the largest ethnic group in Australia.