

MOBILITY OF THE VIETNAM-BORN IN SYDNEY: A RE-ASSESSMENT AFTER THE 2001 CENSUS

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Vietnamese migrants to Australia have congregated in the poorer suburbs of Western Sydney, especially around Cabramatta in Fairfield. Scholars have argued about how this phenomenon should be interpreted. Is Fairfield a zone of transition, where new arrivals establish themselves among compatriots and then move on? Or is it becoming an ethnic enclave where residents remain trapped, unable or unwilling to integrate into the wider society?

The author uses census data, including 2001 data, to search for answers. He finds that, though overseas migration from Vietnam is now very low, 82 per cent of Vietnam-born people in Sydney still live in what he calls the 'core region'. Some established Vietnam-born residents have moved out of the core region since the last census — a few shifting to more affluent areas. However, their places have been taken by migrants from Vietnam and by other Vietnam-born people moving in from elsewhere in Sydney.

INTRODUCTION

Many people of Vietnamese birth have lived in Cabramatta, Bankstown, Marrickville and nearby Sydney suburbs since the late 1970s. Vietnamese refugees who arrived in Sydney in the late 1970s and early 1980s settled mainly in these areas because they were near the refugee hostels.¹ Later Vietnamese arrivals under the humanitarian and family reunion programs were attracted by the established social networks, migrant support institutions and employment opportunities.² The majority of Sydney's Vietnam-born remain concentrated in the Cabramatta area. For many Australians of non-Vietnamese origin, this part of Sydney is now a fascinating window into another culture: in the words of Fairfield City Council, a 'day trip to Asia'.³

But Cabramatta also has an unfortunate association with social deprivation, drugs and crime.⁴ The concentration of Vietnam-born in and around Cabramatta has provoked negative comment from politicians, academics, and the public.⁵ Observers such as Geoffrey Blainey and Bob Birrell have expressed concern at the 'ghettoisation' and accompanying 'concentration of disadvantage' of the

Vietnamese community in centres such as Cabramatta.⁶

Concentrations of relatively new migrant communities, such as the Vietnamese, are perhaps unavoidable. Residential concentrations play a crucial role in helping migrants adjust to an unfamiliar environment.⁷ According to James Jupp and others, such concentrations represent 'zones of transition' inevitable in the life cycle of immigrant populations before longer-term residential dispersal takes place.⁸ If this is correct, then one would expect that, in the longer-term, the Vietnam-born concentration in and around Cabramatta will disperse to other areas.

Moreover, high levels of residential concentration in migrant communities do not necessarily prevent members of those communities from being successful and upwardly mobile in a socio-economic sense. The achievement of Southern European and East European migrants occurred despite, because of, or regardless of their (initially) high levels of residential concentration.⁹ According to some observers, many Vietnamese are doing remarkably well.¹⁰ Perhaps, therefore, the most successful and upwardly mobile

members of the Vietnam-born community are already dispersing from the Cabramatta area.

However, the less successful elements of the Vietnam-born community might remain trapped in and around Cabramatta. Nancy Viviani has suggested that the Vietnamese community is becoming increasingly polarised, between those who are doing well and those who are doing badly. According to Viviani, the Vietnamese exhibit a dual tendency for upward mobility and residential dispersal on the one hand, and for continued concentration of the more disadvantaged elements on the other.¹¹

After the 1996 Census, Viviani and Healy each published papers in this journal in which they re-assessed the distribution of Vietnam-born in Sydney (and Melbourne) on the basis of the 1996 census data.¹² According to Viviani, the 1996 data provided evidence that the Vietnam-born concentrations in areas such as Fairfield had stabilised, and that there was also significant movement of Vietnam-born in and out of such areas.¹³ But according to Healy, the areas of highest concentration became *more* concentrated between 1991 and 1996. Healy's analysis suggested that there was only limited outward movement from these areas. Fairfield, for example, retained most of its earlier arrived Vietnam-born and received a disproportionate share of new arrivals. Healy also found a continuing 'concentration of disadvantage'.¹⁴

The recently released 2001 census data provide an ideal opportunity to revisit the issue of Vietnam-born residential concentration. This study therefore re-examines the distribution of the Vietnam-born population in Sydney in the light of the 2001 data, and compares the 2001 data with data from the 1976-1996 censuses.

This study also analyses patterns of movement of Vietnam-born between different parts of Sydney from 1991-2001, based on 1996 and 2001 census data on current and former (five years previously) place of residence. Analysis of patterns of movement of Vietnam-born, to and from areas of Vietnamese residential concentration, enables a more comprehensive re-assessment of the observations by Blainey, Birrell, Jupp et al., Viviani and Healy. If Vietnam-born people are *not* moving from areas of residential concentration, then Blainey's and Birrell's concerns about 'ghettoisation' carry extra weight. On the other hand, evidence of movement out of areas of concentration supports Jupp et al.'s 'zones of transition' thesis. Viviani's observations about polarisation suggest that one should expect more movement of *successful* Vietnam-born compared to *less successful* Vietnam-born, particularly out of the areas of Vietnamese residential concentration. If Healy is correct, and areas of highest concentration are becoming more concentrated, then one would expect more movement *into* areas of concentration, compared to movement *out* of those areas.

THE SYDNEY VIETNAM-BORN IN 2001: IMPRESSIONS FROM THE CENSUS

Population distribution

The Vietnam-born population of the Sydney Statistical Division (a geographical area defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics) has grown from a few hundred persons in 1976 to 61,319 persons in 2001 (refer to Table 1). The population grew rapidly during the 1980s but more slowly during the 1990s; the 1996-2001 increase of 1,986 persons was far smaller than the quinquennial increases of 10,000 or more experienced

Table 1: Vietnam-born persons by census year by Statistical Local Area (SLA), Sydney Statistical Division, 1976-2001

Statistical Local Area (SLA)	1976*	1981*	1986*	1991	1996	2001
Fairfield**	...	3,524	9,584	19,410	24,653	24,906
Bankstown**	143	1,579	3,241	6,298	8,570	9,726
Canterbury**	...	1,351	4,742	4,696	5,272	4,692
Liverpool**	...	829	809	1,809	2,838	4,171
Auburn**	...	807	2,523	3,245	3,810	3,419
Marrickville**	...	1,400	4,359	3,843	4,282	3,076
Parramatta	...	339	709	1,107	1,350	1,439
Blacktown‡‡	...	89	477	842	865	878
South Sydney	...	821	...	818	862	864
Holroyd	...	56	128	462	681	748
Campbelltown	...	152	260	551	598	595
Rockdale	...	156	258	370	526	560
Strathfield	...	834	746	447	474	552
Randwick	212	474	374	406	489	512
Burwood	...	829	657	364	366	481
Hurstville	...	45	91	157	325	436
Leichhardt	...	87	164	505	398	430
Ryde	...	102	173	218	282	402
Ashfield	...	349	543	393	406	388
Baulkham Hills	...	42	85	94	161	387
Hornsby	...	62	155	224	239	328
Sutherland Shire‡	...	98	205	221	255	287
Sydney - Remainder††	930	52	105	204
Botany	...	160	274	236	259	203
Penrith	...	43	80	149	191	189
Kogarah	...	37	28	56	74	167
Warringah††	...	58	161	146	165	164
Concord	...	134	102	90	83	143
Ku-ring-gai	...	44	53	70	71	132
Willoughby	...	49	58	52	78	126
North Sydney	...	94	81	63	98	107
Drummoyne	...	23	15	29	29	82
Waverley	...	110	57	37	51	77
Gosford	...	15	21	52	54	64
Sydney — Inner††	...	451	24	28	57	64
Woollahra	...	36	29	15	119	46
Lane Cove	...	9	27	21	29	45
Mosman	...	10	12	9	30	39
Blue Mountains	...	22	14	9	24	35
Wyong	...	7	3	15	18	27
Camden	...	0	4	9	6	26
Hunter's Hill	...	9	10	15	23	25
Manly††	...	30	36	19	20	22
Hawkesbury	...	13	2	15	11	20
Pittwater††	18	18
Wollondilly	...	0	4	6	18	17
Total Sydney Vietnam-born	< 1,000	15,379	32,308	47,673	59,333	61,319
Population in core region	...	9,490	25,258	39,301	49,425	49,990
Population in non-core region	...	5,889	7,050	8,372	9,908	11,329
Percentage of total in core region	...	62%	78%	82%	83%	82%
Population change over preceding 5-year period	+16,929	+15,365	+11,660	+1,986
New arrivals from overseas in previous 5-year period	7,818	3,905

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Community Profiles, Censuses of Population and Housing 1981-2001; Coughlan¹⁷(1976 data)

Notes: '.....' indicates information not available.

*1976-1986 data are for Local Government Areas (LGAs). Boundaries of SLAs and LGAs are in most cases identical.

** Denotes core region for the purposes of this study.

‡ SLA boundaries as of the 1996 census. 2001 census data have been adjusted to fit the 1996 boundaries.

†† Data for South Sydney, Sydney-Inner, Sydney-Remainder, Manly, Pittwater, and Warringah SLAs/LGAs are not directly comparable across the whole time period due to boundary changes.

between 1976 and 1996. The decreasing growth rate reflects the decreasing level of immigration from Vietnam to Australia in the late 1990s. In 1996, for example, 7,818 Vietnam-born residents in Sydney had arrived from overseas in the previous five years, while in 2001 the equivalent figure was only 3,905.

In 2001, Sydney's Vietnam-born population was concentrated in six Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) — Fairfield, Bankstown, Canterbury, Liverpool, Auburn and Marrickville — which collectively were home to 49,990 Vietnam-born residents, or 82 per cent of the Sydney total. Of these SLAs, Fairfield (which includes the suburb of Cabramatta) was by far the main centre. Fairfield had 24,937 of Sydney's Vietnam-born residents (some 41 per cent of the total) and these people made up almost 14 per cent of the Fairfield population. The other five SLAs each had a Vietnam-born population of more than 3,000 making up more than two per cent of the total population of that SLA.

These six SLAs are all near the hostels in which many Vietnamese refugees were initially housed, and subsequent Vietnamese arrivals also tended to settle nearby.¹⁵ Over 80 per cent of Sydney's Vietnam-born population has lived in these six SLAs since the mid-1980s (refer to Table 1). For the purposes of this study, therefore, these six SLAs shall be referred to as the 'core' region of Sydney Vietnam-born settlement. Conversely all other SLAs in Sydney shall be referred to as the 'non-core' region of settlement.

The Vietnam-born population of the non-core region in 2001 was 11,329, an increase of 1,421 over the 1996 population of 9,908, and almost double the non-core population twenty years previously of 5,889. Of the non-core SLAs, only Parramatta has a Vietnam-born population

of over 1,000 (1,439 persons in 2001); twenty-four other SLAs have Vietnam-born populations of between 100 and 1,000; and the remaining fifteen SLAs have relatively insignificant Vietnam-born populations of less than 100 persons.

Apparent movements of Vietnam-born

Within the core region, the Vietnam-born appear to be moving westward. The Vietnam-born population has consistently increased since the mid 1980s in Fairfield, Liverpool, and Bankstown, but stabilised or decreased in Canterbury, Marrickville and Auburn. The periods of maximum population growth for the latter three areas occurred when the number of new Vietnamese arrivals from overseas was also highest, suggesting that they might have been areas of initial settlement for new arrivals, who have subsequently dispersed elsewhere.

The census data from 1976-2001 provide evidence of growing Vietnam-born populations in parts of the non-core region, such as Parramatta and the surrounding areas of Holroyd and Blacktown (total Vietnam-born population of 3,065 in 2001); the Inner Western areas of Strathfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Leichhardt, Concord and Drummoyne (over 2,000 persons); the Hurstville-Rockdale-Kogarah area (over 1,000 persons); and the Campbelltown area (over 600 persons).

The 1976-2001 census data also provide evidence of a small but growing movement of Vietnam-born to the more affluent northern and eastern parts of Sydney, notably Baulkham Hills (population of 387 persons in 2001), Willoughby (126 persons), Hornsby (328 persons) and Ku-ring-gai (132 persons). These data suggest that some Vietnam-born are successfully climbing the socio-economic ladder.

AN ANALYSIS OF MOVEMENTS OF VIETNAM-BORN WITHIN SYDNEY, 1991-2001

To perform a deeper analysis of movements of Vietnam-born within Sydney, five-year custom migration matrices for Vietnam-born and non-Vietnam-born populations were obtained from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, for all SLAs within the Sydney Statistical Division. The five-year migration matrices were derived from answers to the 1996 and 2001 Census questions¹⁶ regarding current place of residence and place of residence five years previously.

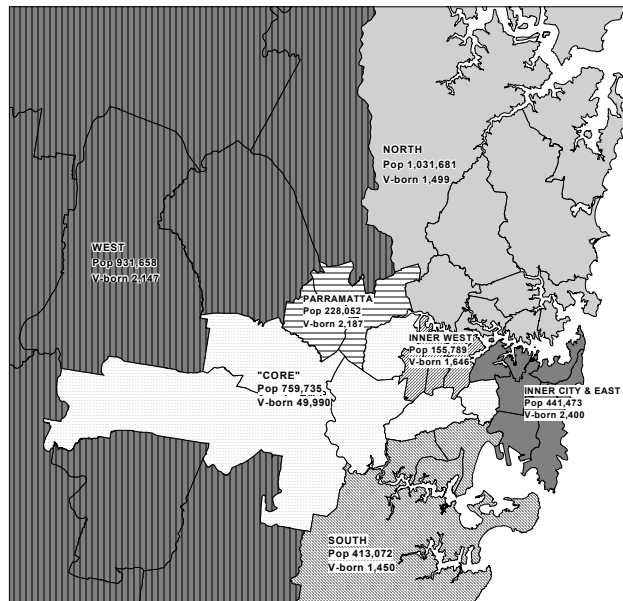
Because the Vietnam-born population of many Sydney SLAs is relatively small, in- and out-migration flows of Vietnam-born for these SLAs were sometimes too small for useful analysis. Therefore for analytical purposes, the matrices were manipulated so that migration data for particular groupings of SLAs were aggregated. Two different aggregations

were used: first, a geographic aggregation whereby SLAs were aggregated into 'geographic regions'; second, an aggregation according to a socio-economic index, whereby SLAs were aggregated into 'socio-economic regions' corresponding to different socio-economic levels.

Sydney SLAs were categorised into seven geographic regions for the purposes of this study. The regions included the core region of Vietnam-born concentration; an 'Inner City and East' region comprising the Central Business District, South Sydney, Botany and the Eastern Suburbs; an 'Inner West' region, comprising the SLAs within the Inner West Statistical Subdivision; a 'Parramatta' region comprising Parramatta and Holroyd; and 'North', 'South' and 'West' regions comprising SLAs in those outer regions of the Sydney Statistical Division (refer to Figure 1).

The seven geographic regions were defined so they would each have a

Figure 1: Geographic regions used in this study



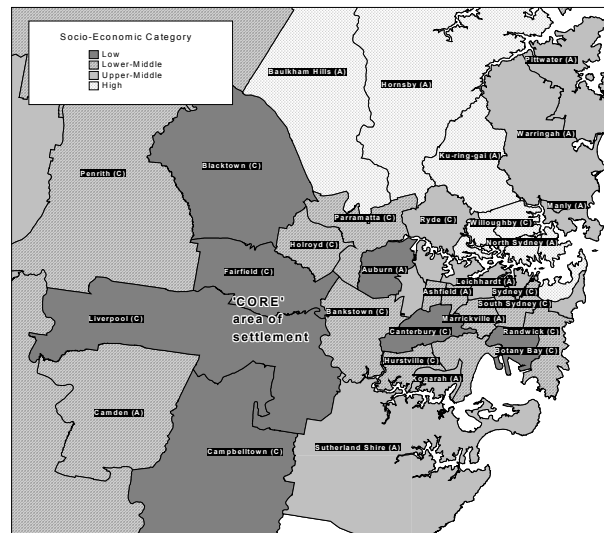
Vietnam-born population of at least 1,000 in 1996, on the basis that if their population were any smaller the corresponding in- and out-migration flows would be too small for useful analysis. As a result of this methodology and the uneven distribution of the Vietnam-born population in the Sydney Statistical Division, some of the geographic regions (for example the 'North') are physically much larger than others (for example the 'Inner West'). The physically larger geographic regions also have larger total populations (including all birthplaces) than others: the 'North', for example, has a population of over a million, while the 'Inner West' has a population of only around 150,000.

Sydney SLAs were also categorised into socio-economic regions, based on their socio-economic level as calculated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in its 1996 Socio-Economic Index for Areas (the 'SEIFA index'¹⁸). Five socio-economic regions were used: the core

region; a 'Low' region, comprising those SLAs outside the core region with a SEIFA index of less than 960; a 'Lower Middle' region, comprising SLAs outside the core region with a SEIFA index of between 960 and 1,040; an 'Upper Middle' region, comprising SLAs outside the core region with a SEIFA index of between 1,040 and 1,140; and a 'High' region, comprising SLAs outside the core region with a SEIFA index of greater than 1,140 (refer to Figure 2).¹⁹ Note that the core region itself was comprised of SLAs falling either in the 'Low' or 'Lower Middle' socio-economic categories.

As with the geographic regions, the distribution of the total (all birthplaces) population between socio-economic regions is unequal, with only 0.62 million persons living in the High region, compared to 2.46 million persons living in Lower Middle or Low socio-economic regions in 2001. The Vietnam-born popu-

Figure 2: Socio-economic regions used in this study



lation is even more unevenly distributed. In 2001, 49,990 Vietnam-born persons (82 per cent of the Vietnam-born population) lived in the core region (equivalent in socio-economic terms to the Low and Lower Middle regions), and 7,447 persons (12 per cent) lived in Lower Middle or Low socio-economic regions. A mere 1,235 Vietnam-born persons — two per cent of the Vietnam-born population — lived in areas with a High socio-economic index.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the Vietnam-born population in the High socio-economic region has more than doubled (563 to 1,235) since 1991. In contrast, over the same period the Vietnam-born population in the Low

socio-economic region (outside the core region) only increased marginally from 1,644 in 1991 to 1,740 in 1996, then decreased to 1,703 in 2001.

Movements between geographic regions

Summaries of the geographic movements of Sydney's Vietnam-born population over the 1991-1996 and 1996-2001 intercensal intervals appear at Table 2 and Table 3. These tables show that the majority of Vietnam-born stayed in the same geographic region, as defined in this study, over both the 1991-1996 and 1996-2001 intervals. Over the 1991-1996 interval, 42,319 Sydney Vietnam-born residents (89 per cent of

Table 2: Geographic movements of Vietnam-born within Sydney, 1991-1996

	<i>Region of residence in 1996</i>							Total movements to other Sydney regions
	<i>Core</i>	<i>Inner City & East</i>	<i>Inner West</i>	<i>North</i>	<i>Parra-matta</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>West</i>	
<i>Core</i>	-	353	233	132	416	221	272	1,627
<i>Inner City & East</i>	337	-	32	22	15	42	3	451
<i>Region of residence in 1991</i> <i>Inner West</i>	321	21	-	20	21	12	20	415
<i>North</i>	90	16	18	-	16	21	15	176
<i>Parramatta</i>	270	6	13	16	-	6	62	373
<i>South</i>	156	12	6	6	0	-	9	189
<i>West</i>	332	9	23	3	46	11	-	424
Total movements from other Sydney regions	1,506	417	325	199	514	313	381	3,655
Resident in other parts of Australia in 1991	1,276	103	41	78	59	33	52	1,642
Resident overseas in 1991	7,045	294	85	138	181	142	183	8,068
Resident in the same region in 1991, and the same SLA within the region	31,392	1,262	835	592	1,082	607	1,123	36,891
Resident in the same region in 1991, but different SLA	5,036	138	37	65	78	49	25	5,428
No information available re 1991	3,170	126	35	55	117	36	110	3,649
Total population in 1996	49,425	2,340	1,358	1,125	2,031	1,180	1,874	59,333

Source: Calculated by the Author from custom 1996 census tables provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)

the 1991 total Vietnam-born population of 47,673) stayed in the same region. During the years 1996-2001, the equivalent figure increased to 49,286 persons, or 83 per cent of the 1996 total Vietnam-born population of 59,333. Approximately one eighth of these people stayed in the same geographic region but moved SLAs within that region (13 per cent, or 5,428 out of 42,319 persons, during the period 1991-1996; and 13 per cent, or 6,442 out of 49,277 persons, during the period 1996-2002). The majority of these intra-regional movements occurred within the core region.

A relatively small number of Sydney Vietnam-born residents moved between

geographic regions, as defined in this study, during the periods 1991-1996 and 1996-2001. This category included eight per cent or 3,655 of the 47,673 Vietnam-born persons resident in Sydney in 1991, and seven per cent or 4,085 of the 59,333 Vietnam-born persons resident in 1996. Most of this inter-regional movement was from the core regions to non-core regions. However, there were also sizeable counter-flows from non-core regions back to the core region: 41 per cent (1,506 out of 3,655 total inter-regional moves) from 1991-1996 and 32 per cent (1,293 out of 4,085 total inter-regional moves) from 1996-2001. See Tables 2 and 3.

It can be seen from Tables 2 and 3 that

Table 3: Geographic movements of Vietnam-born within Sydney, 1996-2001

	<i>Region of residence in 2001</i>							Total movements to other Sydney regions
	<i>Core</i>	<i>Inner City & East</i>	<i>Inner West</i>	<i>North</i>	<i>Parramatta</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>West</i>	
<i>Core</i>	-	372	369	250	392	366	400	2,149
<i>Inner City & East</i>	324	-	37	38	12	42	7	460
<i>Inner West</i>	239	12	-	12	9	7	15	294
<i>North</i>	76	18	18	-	19	3	47	225
<i>Parramatta</i>	268	10	23	43	-	12	76	432
<i>South</i>	128	35	18	21	6	-	4	212
<i>West</i>	258	17	20	26	26	10	-	357
Total movements from other Sydney regions	1,293	464	485	390	464	440	549	4,085
Resident in other parts of Australia in 1996	1,005	134	66	109	77	43	48	1,482
Resident overseas in 1996	3,261	337	112	126	127	101	118	4,182
Resident in the same region in 1996, and the same SLA within the region	36,595	1,264	880	714	1,349	764	1,269	42,835
Resident in the same region in 1996, but different SLA	6,000	86	49	107	69	66	65	6,442
No information available re 1996	1,836	115	54	53	101	36	98	2,293
Total population in 2001	49,990	2,400	1,646	1,499	2,187	1,450	2,147	61,319

Source: Calculated by the Author from custom 2001 census tables provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)

there were larger movements of Vietnam-born *out* of the core region to other areas from 1996-2001 compared with from 1991-1996. This finding is consistent with Jupp et al.'s prediction of increasing Vietnam-born residential dispersal. However, as previously noted, a still considerable number of Vietnam-born also moved *back* into the core region from the non-core region. Clearly, patterns of Vietnam-born residential dispersal will be affected not only by how many Vietnam-born move out of the core region, but also by how many move back. It appears that the core region might be more than just a 'zone of transition', as suggested by Jupp et al. Rather, the core region appears to exert a continuing influence on the movement of Vietnam-born people, even for those who had previously moved out of the core to elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the findings of this study support Viviani's 1996 assertion that 'stabilisation' of the core region of Vietnam-born settlement is taking place. It is clear that the Vietnam-born population of the core region is no longer growing as quickly as previously. This is due largely to the declining number, over the 1990s, of new Vietnam-born arrivals into the core region from other parts of Australia (outside Sydney) and from overseas. The total number of such new arrivals into the core region was only 4,266 persons from 1996-2001, compared to 8,321 persons from 1991-1996 (refer to Tables 2 and 3).

Movements between socio-economic regions

Movements of Vietnam-born people between socio-economic regions of Sydney over the 1991-1996 and 1996-2001 intercensal intervals are shown at Table 4. The majority of Vietnam-born in Sydney (over 42,000

from 1991-1996, and over 49,000 from 1996-2001) remained in the same socio-economic region over both of these intervals. Nevertheless, as shown in the table, a still sizeable minority of Vietnam-born moved from one socio-economic region to another: 3,750 persons (eight per cent of the 1991 Vietnam-born population of 47,673) from 1991-1996, and 4,144 persons (seven per cent of the 1996 Vietnam-born population of 59,333) from 1996-2001.

Table 4 shows that a larger proportion of the Vietnam-born moved *up* the socio-economic ladder in 1996-2001, compared to 1991-1996. Of the 4,144 movements from 1996-2001, 62 per cent were upward movements, compared to 53 per cent from 1991-1996. Much of this increase was attributable to greatly increased migration to the highest socio-economic regions (High and Upper Middle): from 1996-2001, 411 and 736 Vietnam-born people moved to the High and Upper Middle regions respectively (from lower socio-economic areas), compared to 216 and 454 from 1991-1996. These findings are consistent with Viviani's observations of Vietnam-born academic and vocational success.

Comparison of Vietnam-born movements with the non-Vietnam-born population

Movements of Vietnam-born and non-Vietnam-born between selected geographic and socio-economic regions of Sydney are shown at Table 5. As would be expected given the far larger non-Vietnam-born population, the numbers of non-Vietnam-born persons moving are considerably larger than the numbers of Vietnam-born persons. Table 5 also shows the respective *migration rates* (out-migration rates, relative to the source population) of Vietnam-born and

Table 4: Movements of Vietnam-born between socio-economic regions, 1991-1996 and 1996-2001

1991-1996		<i>Socio-economic region of residence in 1996</i>					Total movements to other Sydney regions
		<i>High</i>	<i>Upper Middle</i>	<i>Lower Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Core</i>	
<i>Socio-economic region of residence in 1991</i>	<i>High</i>	-	14	36	6	50	106
	<i>Upper Middle</i>	44	-	125	16	332	517
	<i>Lower Middle</i>	66	107	-	74	806	1,053
	<i>Low</i>	6	23	100	-	318	447
	<i>Core</i>	100	324	939	264	-	1,627
Total movements from other Sydney regions		216	468	1,200	360	1,506	3,750
Total movements to higher socio-economic regions*		216	454	1,039	264	0	1,973 (53%)
Total movements to lower socio-economic regions*		0	14	161	96	1,506	1,777 (47%)
1996-2001		<i>Socio-economic region of residence in 2001</i>					Total movements to other Sydney regions
		<i>High</i>	<i>Upper Middle</i>	<i>Lower Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Core</i>	
<i>Socio-economic region of residence in 1996</i>	<i>High</i>	-	44	37	6	57	144
	<i>Upper Middle</i>	54	-	110	23	274	461
	<i>Lower Middle</i>	98	158	-	73	823	1,152
	<i>Low</i>	21	17	61	-	139	238
	<i>Core</i>	240	561	1,209	139	-	2,149
Total movements from other Sydney regions		413	780	1,417	241	1,293	4,144
Total migrants to higher socio-economic regions*		411	736	1,270	139	0	2,556 (62%)
Total migrants to lower socio-economic regions*		0	44	147	102	1,293	1,586 (38%)

Source: Calculated by the Author from custom 1996 and 2001 census tables provided by the ABS

non-Vietnam-born, and the ratio of the Vietnam-born migration rate to the non-Vietnam-born migration rate, to and from selected geographic and socio-economic regions.

The migration rates in Table 5 are especially interesting, because they show that the *rates* of Vietnam-born migration into the core region were far higher than the rates of Vietnam-born migration out of the core region, despite the fact that the *numbers* of Vietnam-born moving into the core region were smaller than the numbers moving out of it. In contrast, for the non-Vietnam-born population,

migration rates out of the core region were generally higher than migration rates into the core.

The final column of Table 5 (the ratio of the Vietnam-born migration rate to the non-Vietnam-born migration rate) quantifies the extent of the differences between the migration rates for Vietnam-born and non-Vietnam-born. Some of these differences are considerable. For example, the Vietnam-born were over five times less likely than the non-Vietnam-born to move from the core to the West or Low regions, and less than half as likely to move from the core to the High region.

Table 5: Movements of Vietnam-born compared with movements of non-Vietnam-born, selected source and destination regions, 1996-2001

Source region (1996)	Destination region (2001)	Vietnam-born		Non-Vietnam-born		^(a) / ^(b)
		Persons migrating	Migration rate ¹ per 1,000 ^(a)	Persons migrating	Migration rate ² per 1,000 ^(b)	
<i>Movements from core to other regions</i>						
Core	Lower Middle ³	1,209	24.3	39,201	56.9	0.4
Core	Upper Middle ³	561	11.3	17,745	25.7	0.4
Core	West	400	8.0	27,738	40.2	0.2
Core	Parramatta	392	7.9	8,587	12.5	0.6
Core	Inner City and East	372	7.5	7,550	10.9	0.7
Core	Inner West	369	7.4	7,395	10.7	0.7
Core	South	366	7.4	14,556	21.1	0.4
Core	North	250	5.0	11,613	16.8	0.3
Core	High ³	240	4.8	7,416	10.8	0.4
Core	Low ³	139	2.8	13,077	19.0	0.2
<i>Movements from other regions to core</i>						
Lower Middle	Core	823	149.2	31,144	28.6	5.2
Inner City and East	Core	324	136.7	11,470	27.2	5.0
Upper Middle ³	Core	274	117.0	13,348	15.6	7.5
West	Core	272	135.3	12,417	13.9	9.7
Parramatta	Core	268	127.1	5,876	26.6	4.8
Low ³	Core	139	80.7	5,236	9.6	8.4

Source: Calculated by the Author from custom 1996 and 2001 census tables provided by the ABS

Note: ¹Denominator is the average of the 1996 and 2001 Vietnam-born populations of the source region

²Denominator is the average of the 1996 and 2001 non-Vietnam-born populations of the source region

On the other hand, the Vietnam-born were almost ten times more likely than the non-Vietnam-born to move to the core from the West region, eight times more likely to move to the core from the Low region, and about five times more likely to move to the core from the Lower Middle, Inner City and East, and Parramatta regions.

These findings suggest that movements of the Vietnam-born population are affected by different factors to movements of the non-Vietnam-born population. Despite the increase in Vietnam-born movement out of the core region, the core region is still disproportionately attractive as a destination for Vietnam-born movers. The core region is also, relatively speaking, unattractive as

a destination for non-Vietnam-born movers. The findings of Table 5, as did the findings of Tables 2 and 3, suggest that the core region is more than just a 'zone of transition' for the Sydney Vietnam-born population.

CHARACTERISTICS OF VIETNAM-BORN PERSONS WHO MOVED

This study has identified various groups of Vietnam-born persons who moved between regions of Sydney between 1991 and 1996 and between 1996 and 2001. To further investigate the characteristics of some of these persons, customised data tables were obtained from the Australia Bureau of Statistics for a range of indicators relating to age distribution, English

language proficiency, household type, household income, occupation, and year of arrival in Australia. A selection of these data is shown at Table 6. Seven groups of Vietnam born persons are shown in the table, comprising five groups of persons who moved from the

core region in 1996 to five different geographic and socio-economic regions in 2001 (West, South, Parramatta, Upper Middle and High); the group of persons who moved from the non-core region in 1996 to the core region in 2001; and the group of persons who lived in the core

Table 6: Selected characteristics of Vietnam-born individuals, by regions of residence in 1996 and 2001

Region of residence in 1996	Core	Core	Core	Core	Core	Non-core	Core
Region of residence in 2001	West	South	Parramatta	Upper Middle	High	Core	Core
Percentage of Vietnam-born individuals							
Age distribution (in 2001)							
Persons aged <18	1	1	0	2	0	3	4
Persons aged 18-24	10	6	9	12	8	12	10
Persons aged 25-34	37	33	42	37	36	38	24
Persons aged 35-50	41	47	38	37	47	34	43
Persons aged >50	11	13	11	12	9	13	19
Language							
Speak English "very well" or "well"	62	73	72	72	79	65	52
Household type							
Couple with children	61	60	52	52	60	49	63
Couple without children	16	18	20	20	18	18	10
One parent family	10	8	6	8	2	10	10
Other household type	13	10	18	17	16	20	13
Not stated	0	4	2	3	4	3	4
Total weekly household income							
Less than \$400	11	6	12	7	6	11	14
Between \$401 and \$999	29	20	33	20	13	25	33
More than \$1,000	51	65	48	64	74	52	41
Not stated	9	9	7	9	7	12	12
Occupation							
Managerial or professional	25	35	29	39	46	21	12
Trades	6	8	6	5	3	6	6
Clerical or sales	13	17	17	16	18	17	11
Production, transport or labourer	15	10	12	8	11	16	17
Unemployed	6	4	7	6	5	7	10
Not stated or not applicable (includes persons not in the labour force)	35	26	29	26	17	33	44
Year of arrival in Australia							
1985 or earlier	54	66	59	68	78	53	47
1986-1990	20	17	22	17	12	23	25
1991-1996	22	13	17	11	6	21	23
Not stated	4	4	2	4	4	3	5
n (total persons)	400	359	390	550	238	1,300	42,596

Source: Calculated by the Author from custom 2001 census tables provided by the ABS

region in both 1996 and 2001.

Table 6 shows that there are some obvious differences between these seven groups of Vietnam-born. Generally speaking, the three groups who moved from the core region to the High, Upper Middle, and South regions were more advantaged — in terms of English ability, income, and occupation — than the other groups, particularly compared to the group who stayed within the core region. In all three of these groups, over 70 per cent of individuals spoke English ‘very well’ or ‘well’, compared to only 52 per cent in the group which stayed within the core region (the ‘core group’). A clear majority of individuals (from 64 to 74 per cent) in these three groups belonged to households earning over \$1,000 per week, compared to 41 per cent of the core group, and over a third (from 35 to 46 per cent) of individuals in these three groups reported their occupation as ‘managerial or professional’, compared to only 12 per cent of individuals in the core group.

There were also differences between the groups in terms of age, the time that members had been in Australia, and the type of households they lived in. The more successful groups (those with higher incomes and with a greater proportion of people in managerial/professional occupations) had a greater proportion of people who arrived in Australia earlier (before 1985). In particular, the group of persons who moved to the High region were much less likely to belong to one-parent families (only two per cent of persons, compared to around ten per cent of most other groups). There were also fewer older people (aged over 50) in this group compared to the other groups.

The findings shown in Table 6 suggest that patterns of dispersal of Vietnam-born

in Sydney are closely linked to patterns of occupational and economic success. This supports Viviani’s thesis that the Vietnam-born community is becoming increasingly polarised. It might be inferred from the data that a sizeable minority of the Vietnam-born community has been quite successful, and is also living in (or moving to) different areas to the less successful elements of the community. Nevertheless, it should be noted that some of the more successful Vietnam-born still appear to be living in the core region, or even moving to the core region from other regions. Of the Vietnam-born who lived in the core region in both 1996 and 2001, 41 per cent lived in households earning over \$1,000 per week, and 12 per cent were in managerial or professional occupations. These indicators are even higher — 52 per cent and 21 per cent respectively — for the Vietnam-born who moved to the core region from elsewhere. So the polarisation is not as stark as Viviani’s observations might suggest.

CONCLUSION

This study confirms that the majority of Sydney’s Vietnam-born population continue to live in six Statistical Local Areas (SLAs): Fairfield, Liverpool, Marrickville, Auburn, Bankstown and Canterbury. These six SLAs have formed the core region of Sydney’s Vietnam-born settlement since the early 1980s. From 1980 until the mid 1990s, the Vietnam-born population of the core region continued to grow through arrival of new migrants from overseas. Over this period, relatively few Vietnam-born people settled in other parts of Sydney.

The findings of this study suggest that

a change to this pattern of settlement might now be underway. Since the early 1990s, fewer new Vietnamese migrants have settled in the core region from overseas. Over the same period, increasing numbers of Vietnam-born people have moved out of the core region to other parts of Sydney. There is now evidence of growing Vietnam-born populations in the Parramatta area, Hurstville, the Inner West, Campbelltown, and the Hills District. There is also evidence that some Vietnam-born are moving from the core region to affluent areas in Sydney's north and east. This changing pattern of settlement is consistent with the hypothesis by Jupp et al. (1990) that the concentration of Vietnam-born in the core region represents a 'zone of transition', and that the Vietnam-born will disperse to other areas.

However, the continuing significance of the core region to Vietnam-born settlement in Sydney should not be underestimated. The percentage of Sydney's Vietnam-born people who live in the core region remained unchanged, at approximately 82 per cent, between 1991 and 2001. This study has found that during the 1990s relatively large numbers of the Vietnam-born moved back to the core region from other parts of Sydney. Furthermore, analysis of migration rates of Vietnam-born and non-Vietnam-born in and out of the core region indicates that the core region continues to exert a

powerful influence on patterns of Vietnam-born movement within Sydney. Jupp et al.'s 'zone of transition' hypothesis therefore may not be fully correct. The core region is clearly more than just a 'zone of transition' for the Vietnam-born.

This study has also found that there is considerable variation, in terms of income, occupational status, and English ability, among groups of Vietnam-born who moved to and from different regions of Sydney between 1996 and 2001. The Vietnam-born who moved from the core region to more affluent areas in the northern and southern regions of Sydney were much more likely to have higher incomes, to work in managerial or professional occupations, and to have a good command of spoken English than those who either stayed in the core or moved to other regions. These findings are consistent with Viviani's (1996) suggestion that the Vietnam-born population is becoming increasingly polarised between ambitious, successful and socially mobile persons, and unsuccessful persons who are trapped in a situation of disadvantage. It appears that many successful Vietnam-born are either living in, or moving to, different areas to the less successful elements of the Vietnam-born community. But this study has also found that some of the more successful Vietnam-born are either staying within the core region or moving to it from elsewhere.

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- ¹⁴ E. Healy, op. cit., note 14
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- ¹⁶ Refer to question 7 (current place of residence) and question 9 (place of residence five years ago) in both the 1996 and 2001 Australian censuses.
- ¹⁷ J. E. Coughlan, *The Spatial Distribution and Concentration of Australia's Three Indochinese-born communities: 1976-1986*, Australia-Asia Papers No. 44, Centre for the Study of Australia-Asia Relations, Griffith University, 1989, appendices
- ¹⁸ The Socio-Economic Index for Areas (SEIFA) Index of Relative Socio-Economic Disadvantage uses a selection of weighted variables, such as income, educational attainment and employment, to determine the level of disadvantage of a geographical area. A fuller description of the SEIFA Index can be found in the *Information Paper: 1996 Census of Population and Housing - Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, catalogue no. 2039.0.
- ¹⁹ The socio-economic regions used in this study correspond to the categories of socio-economic index as applied to Sydney at page 10 of the *Information Paper* cited at note 20.